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The Never-ending Test

A Jain Tradition of Narrative Adaptations

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English Summary

Repetition, reconfiguration and recreation form important characteristics of the Indian literary traditions. Being one of them, Jain literature, consists of many 'recomposed' versions, or adaptations of the important texts or narratives in their literary history. This dissertation explores the repetition of one such narrative, known as the *Dharmaparīkṣā* ('Examination of Religion'). The *Dharmaparīkṣā* has intrigued audiences for the satirical style by which it criticises Brahmanical beliefs and authority, while retaining the didactic undertone of a Jain frame narrative. While previous scholarship has studied a small selection of versions of this narrative, this dissertation is the first to study six versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* together as a tradition of adaptations. By doing so, it does not only reveal what practices Jain authors applied in creating their adaptations, but also what their motivations were and how these were influenced by their respective literary and social historical contexts.

Chapter 1 introduces the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. It discusses previous scholarship on the narrative, explains the methodological frame of adaptation theory that is used in this dissertation, analyses the different genre identities of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and details its circulation. The chapter ends with an elaborate summary of the narrative plot, based upon the authoritative version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

Chapter 2 discusses this authoritative version in Sanskrit composed by the eleventh-century author Amitagati. It establishes how Amitagati's text relates to elite literary spheres and thus became the most powerful adaptation of the tradition.

Chapter 3 analyses the vernacularisation of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* that was composed by Manohardās. This seventeenth-century Brajbhāṣā adaptation 'translates' the *Dharmaparīkṣā* into a vernacular setting, in which the local and the experiential are central.

Chapter 4 explores the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in South-India where Vṛttavilāsa created a 'proper' Kannada poetical adaptation of the narrative. This adaptation aligns itself with a typical Kannada style of high literature and is therefore particularly regional.

Chapter 5 brings together three *Dharmaparīkṣās* that are characterised by condensation and by being written in Sanskrit. Two of them have an explicit sectarian identity as being

Śvetāmbara, in contrast to the earlier Digambara versions. The third text is the shortest of the dissertation and shows obvious resemblances to the 'southern' adaptation of Chapter 4.

The dissertation concludes by analysing the different threads of change that we can recognise throughout the continuation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. It shows how over the centuries the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was related in varied ways to other traditions as well as its own, to popular or elite culture, and to changing perspectives on language order in the Jain literary tradition.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting

Herhaling, aanpassing and herwerking bepalen voor een groot stuk de Indische literaire tradities. Ook de Jain literaire traditie kent veel 'vernieuwde' versies, of adaptaties, van de belangrijke teksten of verhalen uit hun literaire geschiedenis. Deze doctoraatsthesis onderzoekt de herhaling van één zo'n narratief, dat de titel *Dharmaparīkṣā* ('Onderzoek naar Religie') draagt. De *Dharmaparīkṣā* intrigeert tot op vandaag toehoorders en lezers omwille van de satirische toon waarmee zij de overtuigingen en autoriteit van de Brahmanen onderuit haalt, terwijl zij een didactische toon aanhoudt die typisch is voor Jain kaderverhalen. Waar voorgaande studies slechts een beperkte selectie aan versies van dit verhaal hebben geanalyseerd, bekijkt deze thesis als eerste zes *Dharmaparīkṣās* naast elkaar als een traditie van adaptaties. Op die manier, onthult de thesis niet alleen de literaire praktijken waarmee Jain schrijvers hun adaptaties creëerden, maar ook de motivaties die zij hierbij hadden en hoe deze beïnvloed waren door de literaire en sociale contexten van hun tijd.

Hoofdstuk 1 introduceert de *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Het bespreekt voorgaande studies van het verhaal, analyseert de verschillende genre identiteiten aanwezig in de *Dharmaparīkṣā* en gaat haar circulatie na. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook de gebruikte methodologie, namelijk één die is gekaderd door adaptatie studies, uitgelegd. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met een uitgebreide samenvatting van de verhaalplot, zoals die is gevormd in de autoritaire versie van de *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

Hoofdstuk 2 analyseert deze autoritaire versie in Sanskrit, gecomponeerd door de elfde eeuwse auteur Amitagati. Hierin wordt uitgelegd hoe Amitagati's tekst elitaire literaire sferen aanspreekt en daardoor de meest bepalende versie uit de traditie werd.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt de 'vernacularisatie' van Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* die is gecreëerd door Manohardās. Deze zeventiende eeuwse Brajbhāṣā adaptatie 'vertaalt' de *Dharmaparīkṣā* naar een vernaculaire setting, waarin het lokale en het gepractiseerde een centrale plaats nemen.

Hoofdstuk 4 bespreekt de *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Zuid-India waar Vṛttavilāsa een poëtische en 'waarlijkse' Kannada adaptatie van het verhaal creëerde. Deze adaptatie volgt de conventies van de typische hoog-literaire Kannada stijl en is daarom uitdrukkelijk regionaal.

Hoofdstuk 5 brengt drie *Dharmaparīkṣās* tesamen die allen zijn gekenmerkt door condensatie en het feit dat ze geschreven werden in Sanskrit. Twee van deze teksten zijn expliciet sectarisch en behoren tot de Śvetāmbara traditie, in contrast met de eerdere Digambara versies van het verhaal. De derde tekst besproken in dit hoofdstuk is de kortste in de hele thesis en toont duidelijke gelijkenissen met de 'zuiderse' adaptatie uit Hoofdstuk 4.

De thesis eindigt met een analyse van de verschillende processes van adaptatie die zichtbaar zijn doorheen de herhaling van de *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Dit toont aan hoe de *Dharmaparīkṣā* over de eeuwen heen op gevarieerde manieren omging met zowel andere tradities als haar eigen traditie, zich wisselend associeerde met elitaire en populaire cultuur, en zich positioneerde ten opzichte van een veranderende taalorde binnen de Jain literaire traditie.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

> 'If the same absurdity was bound to reappear over and over again [...] then there was something which was not absolutely absurd or else it would not reappear.' (Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The 1977 CBC Massey Lectures, 'Myth and Meaning'*)

The religious tradition of Jainism belongs to the oldest religio-philosophical developments on the Indian subcontinent, going back to the sixth century BCE.[1] I speak of developments in the plural, because Jainism did not form itself independently nor evolved invariably. The Jain religious tradition grew and continued as one of the 'fittest' – to use biological terminology – thought-experiments that arose at that time. Over the centuries, it was able to 'adapt' appropriately, by means of appropriative or oppositional reactions, to its environment, which consisted most importantly of the other survivors from those changes in thought, namely the Brahmanical tradition in the first place and Buddhism in the second. This dissertation to a large extent concerns itself with such reactions that demonstrate the relations between the Jain tradition and other traditions, predominantly Brahmanical Hinduism, that stem from a period between the tenth and seventeenth century.[2] It will do so by studying the continuation of a specific narrative that is explicitly concerned with positing the Jain tradition against these other religions. While this continuation indeed demonstrates the repetition of a method, strategy or concern by Jains to oppose non-Jain traditions, it is by no means singular. Every repetition of the narrative shares some traits with its predecessors and successors but adapts itself to its new environment. This involves changes in terms of society, religion, and literary

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[1] The most important overviewing books on Jainism are by Jaini (1979) and Dundas (2002). Long's (2009) shorter introduction is also useful for those who seek less historical and philological details.

[2] I am well aware of the fact that the use of the word 'Hindu' or 'Hinduism' to refer to any tradition before the nineteenth century has been problematized by several scholars. However, I choose to use the term to refer to a category of traditions that is opposed to Jainism and is characterised by adherence to the Hindu Purāṇas (in contrast to the Jain Purāṇas) and, though not exclusively, by the dominant position of Brahmins.

culture amongst other things, but – against Barthes' famous maxim (1967) – it is also influenced by the hand of the author.[3]

The narrative I discuss goes by the name of *Dharmaparīkṣā* ('Examination of Religion'). It is a frame narrative that satirises or ridicules Brahmanical Hinduism by pointing out the absurdities in their epic-purāṇic stories through a comparative narrative structure. The main plot of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tells the story of two befriended *vidyādharas*, humanlike figures with the ability to fly and transform, one of whom is a devoted Jain, while the other has started to follow the path of the Hindu gods.[4] In order to convince his friend of the inadequacy of this latter tradition, they both go to Pāṭalīputra in different disguises. There, they engage in discussions with Brahmins which result in proving the inconsistency of the epic-purāṇic corpus. In the end, the *vidyādhara* who had turned away from the words of the Jina, becomes a devoted lay Jain.

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* is one of the many narratives or literary materials that can be found in the richly stocked Jain manuscript libraries and has been consistently repeated. Although some research on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* has been done before, this is – like for many narratives – relatively limited: most repetitions that exist of the story have so far not been studied or even recognised, nor has the issue of the repetition itself been dealt with.[5]

In this dissertation, I approach the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a 'textual tradition', as to focus upon how this narrative of opposition was passed on by Jain authors in a textual form. For the concept of 'textual tradition', I am indebted to Patel (2014), who importantly stresses that looking at a textual tradition is informative of a text's reception history. Indeed, I add the adjective 'textual' to make clear that I am dealing first and foremost with texts – be it in varied ways of engagements – and to exclude all other sorts of non-textual traditions. The word 'tradition' comes from the Latin *traditio* that is related to the verb *tradere* which means as much as 'transferring', 'handing down', and also 'narrating'. Its past participle is *traditus* from which the Italian term *tradíto* is derived, which mainly designates what is preserved and handed down by a succession of manuscripts (Squarcini

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[3] I refer here to his widely cited essay 'The Death of the Author', in which he posits that the 'the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the Author' (1967: 6), and argues for a reading that understands that a text is defined by quotations and multiple cultural influences that make it unable to 'decipher' it.

[4] In fact, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative does not specify that Pavanavega turns towards the Hindu tradition. Instead the narrative states that he is touched by the venom of false belief (*mithyātva*) (cf. infra, p. 48). Since the *Dharmaparīkṣā* mainly attacks beliefs about the Hindu gods, I interpret Pavanavega's wrong behaviour as a turn towards Hindu beliefs.

[5] I use the word 'repetition' here to refer to how a narrative (i.e. the *Dharmaparīkṣā*) was re-used by several authors over several centuries into a new text. Further in this introduction, I propose and discuss the concept of adaptation to delineate this repetition as without replication (see Hutcheon 2006: 7).

2005: 14).[6] This implication of mediated transmission is very applicable to the topic of this dissertation, since it indeed involves a narrative that was handed down predominantly in written form, i.e. in manuscripts. For something to be re-enacted or passed on, it has to be deemed important enough. As such, the term 'tradition' implies that there is an aspect of power, authority or at least relevance to the community which it is concerned with, in this case the Jain community. Furthermore, the term 'tradition', while positing a sense of unity, also leaves space for the different aspects or agents that are involved in this process of handing down. It enables us to look at a set of texts as unified but diverse, in its mediation through its (re-)composers and audiences. By identifying the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as textual tradition, I foreground the *Dharmaparīkṣā* itself as a powerful literary object, while at the same time stressing the multiplicity of literary engagements with this object.[7] My perspective, as such, while not excluding the importance of historical context and authorial agency, implies a turn towards reception. In this dissertation, I am not only pointing out the different ways in which a particular narrative or text was repeated or adapted, but I try to answer why it was adapted, what circumstances or processes informed this adaptation and what role the intended audience played in it. In this way, this study of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition will also be informative of the processes that went on in the Jain tradition and of the circumstances that influenced its literary engagements during the times under discussion.

1.1   Previous studies on the *Dharmaparīkṣā*

Compared to many other Indian texts and textual traditions, relatively little research has been done on the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Nevertheless, the work – mostly Amitagati's version – did find its way into some classic literary historiographies, where it is presented as a narrative. Winternitz for example, calls it 'ein dogmatisch-polemisches Werk, das aber so sehr mit Erzählungen durchflochten ist, dass es auch der Erzählungslitteratur zugerechnet werden kann' and describes the stories inspired by the epics and Purāṇas –

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[6] Squarcini's Introduction to *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia* (2005) is one of the most constructive discussions of the notion of tradition in South Asian contexts. He breaks a lance for the analytical use of 'tradition' to the study of South Asian culture, arguing that a tripartite model of tradition (into *tradens*, *traditum*, *recipiens*) is applicable to a variety of South Asian sources on e.g. *paramparā* and *sampradāya*.
I also found the theoretical discussion on 'tradition' in the recent volume of *Ethnologia Europaea* (Testa and Isnart 2020), including nine statements by selected scholars, very insightful to my own study.
[7] Note that foregrounding the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a literary object presumes if not an original text, at least an original unitary idea of the narrative. This is indeed my held view.

in a fashion typical for his time – as 'sehr entstellt wiedergegeben' (1920: 345). Warder, about six decades later, includes the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in his sixth volume of *Indian Kāvya Literature* on the Indian novel, with a drawn-out description of the narrative's content (1992: 253-261). However, in Warder's overview as well, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition is limited to three authors.[8] These literary historiographies, evidently, are dependent upon how the narrative formerly received attention by Indologists. In what follows I will walk along the chronological path of scholarly reflections on the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, which started in the nineteenth century through the discoveries of Indian manuscripts and had a jagged continuation up to the present day, with the most influencing studies by Mironow and Upadhye and a recent study by Osier.

The first words written on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by a modern scholarly hand were by Horace Hayman Wilson, who arrived in India as surgeon to the East-India Company, but soon focused his interest upon Sanskrit, completing his first publication on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta in 1813 (Courtright 2004). In the *Descriptive Catalogue* (1828) of the Mackenzie Collection he described the text by Vṛttavilāsa as an 'Account of a conversation upon the nature of the Hindu Gods, and the religious observances to be followed by the *Jains*, between two *Vidyádharas*, *Manovega* and *Pavanavega*' (1828: 184). Although Wilson's description of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as an 'account of' does not do justice to the lively narrative character of the text, his observation that the 'Hindu Gods' play an important role in the text is apt. The same version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Kannada caught the eye of Kittel, the German missionary and pioneer of Kannada Studies, who included a summary of the frame narrative of the plot in an essay on Old Kannada Literature published in the *Indian Evangelical Review* (1873 no. 1: 64-78). Pāṭhak has cited some verses of Vṛttavilāsa's text that refer to Pūjyapāda's composition *Jainendra* in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 12 (1883: 20).

   In the same century the British Sanskrit professor Peter Peterson, on the government-funded search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, comes across a manuscript of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, which he gives the rightful appreciation of 'a poetical treatise on morals'. He further refers to Amitagati as 'the well-known name of the Jain author of the Subhâshitaratnasandoha, a book written in samvat 1050' and renders the lineage of predecessors as Amitagati gives them in the *praśasti* (colophon) to his work (1887: 11). Further, Peterson includes extracts from the beginning and end of the text (1887: 294-296). Weber in his *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* refers to Peterson's description and adds the transcription of some verses from the first and last *pariccheda* together with the first verse of each of

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[8] Namely Jayarāma, Hariṣeṇa, and Amitagati.

the twenty *paricchedas* taken from a manuscript of Amitagati's version contained in the Royal Library in Berlin (1892: 1110-1112).

It is in this instance, when manuscripts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* along with other Jain manuscripts were brought to Germany through the work of scholars like Bühler, that lies the start of the first study on the full content of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati.[9] In 1897 Ernst Leumann published his *List of the Strassburg Collection of Digambara Manuscripts* which attests to three manuscripts of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, two of which are kept in the Royal Library in Berlin.

It must have been because of the availability of the text in Europe and the personal interest of Ernst Leumann, who worked on 'the other' Jain satire *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadra (cf. infra, p. 33), that Nicolaus Mironow, Leumann's pupil, completed his doctoral thesis on *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati* in 1903 (Strassburg, published as short 56-paged monograph in Leipzig in 1903). His thesis studies in detail the contents of the work composed by Amitagati, and is divided into three larger parts: (1) an introduction ('Zur Orientierung'), (2) an overview of the whole text ('Der Text als Ganzes'), and (3) an analysis of the individual stories in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* ('Die Einzel-Bestandteile des Textes').

Mironow opens his thesis by introducing the author Amitagati about whom little is known at the time except for the period (eleventh century) and place (Mathurā) in which he lived, and a second composition of his hand, the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*, because 'Weitere Äusserlichkeiten hinsichtlich der Persönlichkeit Amitagati's sind seinen beiden Werken nicht zu enthnehmen' (1903: 1). After a discussion of other scholarly references to Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā,* which indeed are not more than short acknowledgements of the existence of the work in reports (see above), he describes the manuscripts he knows that exist. Mironow himself has only used two manuscripts kept in Berlin and further knows only of four manuscripts in the Deccan College Library in Pune (now Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) and one in Ahmedabad, in addition to three manuscripts of Vṛttavilāsa's text (in Madras) and one *Dharmaparīkṣā* by an unknown author (also in Pune). He also mentions the existence of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Hariṣeṇa without further detail. (1903: 3). As the section below on the distribution of manuscripts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* will illustrate, the number of manuscripts that Mironow knew about, is only the so-to-speak 'tip of the iceberg', suggesting that Mironow's thesis is more important than what he himself might have thought of it at the time of writing. Further in his introduction, Mironow briefly presents what the text is about and discusses the language and style of the work. He recognises the simplicity of many of Amitagati's

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[9] Most of the manuscripts brought to Berlin were collected in India under the guidance of Georg Bühler, who was 'one of the prime movers behind the increased study of the Jains' (Folkert 1993: 26). Other descriptions of the collecting activities by Bühler can be found in Leumann (1898) and Flügel (1999).

sentences while acknowledging that some parts, mostly at the end of a chapter, are written with more bravura. Inspiring later scholars (e.g. Upadhye), Mironow also points to the influence of Prakrit on Amitagati's Sanskrit. At the end of the introductory first part of his thesis, Mironow anticipates his analysis of the content of the work dividing it into three parts, namely Jain teachings, Indian popular ideas, and a satirical depiction of Brahmanical narratives. Here, he also notices the similarity with the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadra, possibly laying the foundation of the recurring comparison of the two textual traditions.

In the second part of his thesis (1903: 10-14), Mironow describes the evolution of the text as a whole, listing every story within the frame narrative (with verse references), before tackling in more detail the individual stories of the text in his third part. These individual narratives he categorises into (1) invented stories, (2) Brahmanical-epic stories, (3) critique of Brahmanical and Buddhist teachings, (4) Jain teachings, and (5) Jain legends. For every one of these stories Mironow renders a short paraphrase referring to the corresponding verses in the text. He also adds references to other Indian literary works in which some of the narratives occur. For example, 'The story of the man who had his cheeks pierced' (Amitagati 9.59-86) occurs as well in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* 10.63 (Mironow 1903: 22). Many of Amitagati's stories depict characters or passages known from the Indian epic and purāṇic tradition. These are treated by Mironow partly under 'Brahmanisch-epische Geschichten' and partly under 'Jinistische Legenden'. The distinction seems to be built upon the idea that narratives in the first category would come from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* (1903: 26-27), while those in the second category would stem from the Jain versions of the epics, more specifically Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra *Pāṇḍavapurāna* (1903: 49-52).[10] Additionally, there are also some stories ascribed by Amitagati to the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, but to which Mironow, nor I, found any reference to (1903: 27-33). Therefore, these seem to be either inventions by Amitagati (or rather Jayarāma, the 'original' author of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*), or popular oral stories that were only written down in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In my opinion, the structure of Mironow's thesis would have benefitted from grouping these epic-purāṇic stories together. Firstly, this would have provided a structure to understand all of the epic-purāṇic stories as typifying the Jain Purāṇa tradition, and it would leave more opening for new studies able to link other literary works to these narratives. Another topic in Mironow's thesis deals with the critique on Brahmanical and Buddhist teachings given in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, divided into mythology, general theology, and Buddhist teachings. Here, Mironow mainly summarises the passages from Amitagati's text that inform (subjectively) about Hindu and Buddhist beliefs and

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[10] Mironow does not indicate whether he is referring to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābharata*. He only renders the title and has no bibliography to his thesis.

compares this to what he knows about those beliefs (he elaborates on Viṣṇu's *avatāras* and refers to *Mīmāṃsa* and *Yoga* theory). The second to last section of the thesis (before the above described 'Jaina Legends') discusses parts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that indicate Jain teachings and refers to Jain sources in which similar descriptions are found (1903: 39-45), for example he describes how Amitagati's description of the Jain *śrāvaka-vratas* (lay vows) occurs in the same form in Amitagati's *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*.

The pioneering study by Mironow thoroughly describes the content of the work, but it also suffers from the period in which it was written. The references to other Indian literary sources are only preliminary, because studies on Purāṇas and epics were still in their infancy. Secondly, the purāṇic-epic material is understood as primarily Brahmanical, with the Jain Purāṇas as adoptions, rather than an independent countertradition or a Jain genre with its internal logic, as current scholarship would describe it (see Jaini 1993, Cort 1993, De Clercq 2008).

In 1917 Jugalkishore Mukhtār writes a *graṃtha-parīkṣā* (a sort of book review of a classical Indian work) about the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Padmasāgara. He recognises that this work, written in 1645 VS (*vikrama saṃvat*) according to its *praśasti*, does not only have the same topic as Amitagati's text, but even has 1260 verses that are literally the same as Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. For this reason, Mukhtār's evaluation of the text is rather severe and he believes the word *nakala* ('unauthentic copy') is not misplaced to evaluate Padmasāgara's version (1917: 315). Moreover, the fact that the Śvetāmbāra Padmasāgara has not mentioned Amitagati or any other preceding author of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* in his work suggests, according to Mukhtār, contempt towards Digambara Jain authors. After a formal analysis of Padmasāgara's work, Mukhtār compares the content of Padmasāgara's *Dharmaparīkṣā* with that of Amitagati and evaluates every differentiation as necessitated by the difference in affiliation between both authors. He compares the narratives in Padmasāgara's version with Śvetāmbara sources (in fact one: the *Tattvadarśa* by Ātmarāmajī, published in 1881) and finds that in some cases Padmasāgara has appropriately adapted the narratives, whereas in others he kept a version that is inconsistent with the Śvetāmbara tradition. This leads Mukhtār to conclude that Padmasāgara is nothing but a thief, who is not worthy of the title *sādhu* (paraphrased from 1917: 324).

The negative evaluation of Padmasāgara's text by Mukthār, himself a Digambara, is based upon an understanding of writing in which originality and the individuality of the author is central. This might overpass the way in which Indian authors in the past understood the composition of an adaptation, where a previous author perhaps would be implied in the text and supposed to be known by the audience. It remains, on the other hand, interesting that Padmasāgara inserted several elements specific to Śvetāmbara Jainism. The meaning of these changes and of the equalities will be discussed below in Chapter 5.

The next important study was written in 1942 by A.N. Upadhye who focused on the *Dhammaparikkhā* by Hariṣeṇa. His sixteen-page long article is an excellent introduction into the textual tradition as it lists the authors of different versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, refers shortly to previous studies and makes interesting conclusions with regard to the text by Hariṣeṇa.

By examining manuscript catalogues Upadhye distinguishes nine authors, with their dates, who have written a *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1942: 592-593). However, it appears that Upadhye has not looked at the manuscripts themselves, but only took into account the title of the works: not all authors on his list have composed a version of the same narrative as that of Hariṣeṇa. To be precise, Mānavijaya, Jinamaṇḍana, and Yaśovijaya composed *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts of a different content: the first two wrote a different story (*kathā*), while the latter author composed a philosophical text.

Before tackling the main point of the paper, namely Hariṣeṇa's *Dhammaparikkhā*, Upadhye highlights briefly the texts by Amitagati, Padmasāgara, and Vṛttavilāsa, referring to the studies by Mironow on Amitagati (1942: 593) and Mukhtār on Padmasāgara (1942: 594).

Upadhye's attention was drawn towards the text by Hariṣeṇa because it is written in Apabhraṃśa and because it is the oldest extant version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. He describes in detail the two manuscripts he found in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1942: 595). Next, he lays out the structure of the work that exists of eleven *saṃdhis* with each seventeen to twenty-seven *kaḍavakas,* and discusses the opening and concluding *kaḍavakas*, which contain information on the author (1942: 596-597). As this was the first study of this text, Upadhye mainly paraphrases what is in the text itself. The rest of the paper is dedicated to a comparison between the texts by Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati.

Upadhye aptly notices that the two versions show relatively close agreement. In some places Hariṣeṇa is more detailed in his descriptions of places (e.g. *lokasthiti*) or adds a short story with some 'local colour', whereas Amitagati is more elaborate in didactic discourses (1942: 598). Upadhye also traces a couple of nearly common phrases in the two texts. He lists five sentences that accord with regards to content rather than vocabulary (1942: 599). Added to this the fact, suggested earlier by Mironow, that Amitagati's text was probably based on a Prakrit original work, as he uses several loanwords and shows influences in verbal forms from Prākrit (1942: 600), Upadhye comes to the question whether Amitagati used Hariṣeṇa's composition in making his own, or maybe if they both had another Prakrit work before them, as Hariṣeṇa ascribes his inspiration for the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to a work in *gāthā* metre (a Prakrit metre) composed by Jayarāma.[11] From

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[11] Mironow's evaluation of the influence of Prakrit on Amitagati's Sanskrit language is based solely on his linguistic scrutiny. He suggests that subparts of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* were based upon Prakrit originals (1903: 6-7).

a closer comparison of some sentences of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati and Hariṣeṇa, Upadhye concludes that Amitagati did not base his composition on the work by Hariṣeṇa, but that both authors probably had a common Prakrit original text before them (1942: 603). This argument is compelling but remains purely hypothetical. In the following section Upadhye discusses the Sanskrit quotations found in Hariṣeṇa's *Dhammaparikkhā* checking if the same sentences are found in Amitagati's text. He concludes that these are not found *verbatim* in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, but that some of them do occur in other Sanskrit works such as the *Yaśastilakacampū* by Somadeva (1942: 604). Finally, Upadhye briefly refers to the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadrasūri because it has a similar goal and motive as it also exposes the incredible character of purāṇic stories. Although the *Dharmaparīkṣā* contains mostly different stories than the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and although it is more vehement in its attack on purāṇic Hinduism, Upadhye is convinced that the author of the hypothetical original Prakrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* might have been familiar with Haribhadra's work.[12] Though not impossible, it may be even more elusive to research whether there were other older or contemporary works that used this type of mockery of Hinduism as the main focus of the work (1942: 607).

Shortly after Upadhye's exposé, a short article by Dr. Hirā Lāl Jain in the Jain magazine Anekānt (1952: 105-107) discusses a *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Śrutakīrti, that was not mentioned yet by Upadhye or in any other study. The article gives a glance overview of the work and presents what is known about its author Śrutakīrti. Although Jain seems to have only scanned the text he got into his hands, his article is valuable to the present study since it proves the existence of another Apabhraṃśa version of the narrative from a much later period than the version by Hariṣeṇa. Since I was yet unable to collect a manuscript of this text, I will not discuss Śrutakīrti's version in the present dissertation.

In 1986, Raghavendra Rao published his doctoral dissertation in Kannada on the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa. His approach to the text is similar to the approach by Mironow and mainly seeks to 'open up' the contents of Vṛttavilāsa's work to modern Kannada audiences. In his thesis, Rao shortly introduces the author and his time, the other *Dharmaparīkṣā* works, and the literary context that might have motivated Vṛttavilāsa's writing. After writing up what previous scholars (notably Upadhye) have said about Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's versions, Rao gets to the most interesting part of his dissertation, namely the synopsis of the text by Vṛttavilāsa (Chapter 6). This is a synopsis that tells all of the subnarratives in relative detail but drops elements that relate

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[12] In his study of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* (2002/1944) Upadhye includes a section on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* because of its similarity (pp. 41-49). This section is a bit more elaborate on the similarity in motifs of the two works, but Upadhye adds nothing new that has not been stated in his article on the *Dhammaparikkhā* by Hariṣeṇa.
Since the *Dhūrtākhyāna*-story goes back to the *Niṣithabhāṣā*, a commentary on the *Niṣithacūrṇi* (Osier and Balbir 2004: 19; Krümpelmann 2000: 21), it is also possible that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* relies upon this source.

to the aesthetics or Jain didactics of the text. Also interesting for the purpose of the present dissertation is his analysis of similarities and differences with Amitagati's text (Chapter 8). He even includes a comparative list of subtales in which he puts Vṛttavilāsa's text next to the ones by Amitagati and Hariṣeṇa (Chapter 14). Further, Rao is the first to mention an adaptation of the text by Vṛttavilāsa written by Candrasāgara in the nineteenth century (supposedly 1810; see Chapter 7). This composition would have been requested by lay Jains in Belagula through the mediation of the local *bhaṭṭāraka*, in order to understand the earlier work of Vṛttavilāsa. The adaptation of Candrasāgara seems to be a translation in the stricter sense, since it includes a word-by-word translation with occasional restructuring and simplification for reasons of clarity (Rao 1986: 87). I will not discuss this work in my dissertation, because I have not been able to find this text. Based on the conclusions by Rao in comparison with the conclusions in this dissertation, it would be interesting to examine how Candrasāgara's translation practices compare with earlier translation practices. In Rao's thesis we further find a description of Vṛttavilāsa's narrative mode and style (Chapter 10) and a limited discussion of satire in southern Jain literature (mostly of Brahmaśiva's *Samayaparīkṣe* and Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛta*; Chapters 11-12).

Continuing the scholarly tradition of Ernst Leumann, the next, chronologically last – and only book-length – study of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was completed by Jean-Pierre Osier, student of Nalini Balbir, who himself refers to Leumann's conference paper 'Über eine indische Satire' (1902) as a foregoing study to his thesis (Osier 2005: 34). While Leumann's paper had in fact as a topic the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadra (later Leumann also wrote about the same narrative within the Niśīthacūrṇi), Osier's doctoral thesis *Les Jaïna: Critiques de la mythologie hindoue* (2005) studies together the *Dhūrtākhyāna* in the Niśīthacūrṇi and by Haribhadra, and the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati, as examples of Jain satires (or rather 'railleries').

Osier's examination of the two narratives starts from the idea that religions use and have used different sorts of rhetorical techniques to test the validity of their and others' religious values (quite literally implied in the title of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*), one of which being mockery ('raillerie'). After a short exploration of two examples of mockery in Western Classics (the writings of Lucian of Samosata and passages from the Bible), Osier explores mockery of gods in the Indian literary tradition. According to him, mockery in theological argumentation is not allowed in Indian literature, because laughter at the expense of others is seen as a form of violence (2005: 17). Osier narrates the example of Śiśupāla in the Mahābhārata who in front of Bhīṣma ridicules the divine Kṛṣṇa and in consequence is killed by him. In Osier's analysis, Śiśupāla by mocking Kṛṣṇa questions Bhīṣma's understanding of what true *dharma* is. Because of his ridicule in the context of *dharma,* he is killed, as such paying the price fit for such an act of violence (2005: 18-21). Osier then focuses on 'la condemnation de la raillerie chez les bouddhistes et les jaïna'

(2005: 22). With regard to Buddhism, Osier explains that the Buddha always smiles and never laughs, since laughter would express attachment to worldly joy (2005: 24). Moreover, when irony or parody is used in the Buddhist *suttas* this is not to ridicule other religions but rather to stimulate better understanding of the Buddhist view on *dharma* (2005: 25-27). In accordance with Jain philosophy, the iconography of the Jains presents an impassive Jina, who remains completely within himself (2005: 28). Laughter is condemned in the Jina's teachings in the Śvetāmbara canon, and accordingly, explains Osier, the dialogues between Mahāvīra and Makkhali Gosāla, show no sign of mockery or irony (2005: 31-32).[13] This is why Osier claims that 'dans la littérature jaïna, la raillerie et le ridicule *ne devraient pas* trouver place lorsqu' il s'agit de critiquer le *dharma* et particulièrement le *dharma* des autres' (2005: 33).

It is for that reason that Osier discusses the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and *Dharmaparīkṣā* as exceptional literary pieces, a perspective I hope to nuance in this dissertation by focusing on the plenitude and wide circulation of the *Dharmaparīkṣās*.

Osier's discussion of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (2005: 204-317) takes a comparative approach since it departs from his conclusions on the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. After a schematic summary of its content (2004: 205-206), Osier analyses the narrative in three chapters. The first chapter examines the elements of the frame narrative. Two elements that distinguish the *Dharmaparīkṣā* from the *Dhūrtākhyāna* are the presence of the Brahmins and the climate of fear (2005: 211-215). The direct confrontation with the Brahmins puts the two main characters of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in danger of losing face in the debate about what is true, whereas the risk in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* pertains only to giving a copious meal (2005: 211). That is why Manovega, one of the two protagonists, repeatedly expresses his fear of continuing his stories among Brahmins who might not understand them (2005, p. 215). According to Osier, these elements express a larger soteriological ambition than that of the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. In this chapter Osier also discusses the audience. From the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s plot ending where the second protagonist, Pavanavega, becomes a *śrāvaka* (lay Jain), he deduces that the text is directed not only to already committed mendicants ('des religieux'), but also towards the Jain laity (2005: 216). The *Dharmaparīkṣā* was not, in Osier's opinion, meant as a conversion story (2005: 218).[14] Osier further views the story as a religious narrative, in which the characters, who are portrayed in such a way as to enable the lay audience to identify with them, argue along the lines of dogmatism that depends on the authority of a spiritual master (2005: 225, 233-234). Although Osier forwards interesting points about the audience, his conclusions are not

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[13] On the other hand, there are dialogues in the early Jain canonical texts that display mockery with the Buddhists. For example, in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga Adda, who defends the views of Mahāvīra, mocks Buddhist monks for their insistence on intention rather than on act (see Bollée 1999: 411-413).

[14] Here, Osier means conversion in the sense of turning from one religion to another (cf. infra: 13; 26)

completely translucent and are rather limited when having the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition in view.[15]

Osier's second chapter, 'Vagues des arguments', in a way similar to Mironow's study, presents the consecutive argumentative 'waves' (or subplots) of the narrative. He starts with a discussion of the instructive function of the stories of fools, which was already recognised by Hertel as occurring in several Asian literary works and thus seemed to have existed as a narrative genre (2005: 241; see also below p. 24). Osier explains thoroughly how within the *Dharmaparīkṣā* the stories of the fools express a lack of discernment which the main character (Manovega) fears to apply to his interlocutors (2005: 245), and function as 'une sorte de pierre de touche qui permet d'évaluer les capacités de[s] [...] Brahmanes [et] Pavanavega' (Manovega's friend) (2005: 253). Osier also argues for the necessity of opening the narrative with these stories of fools. However, this argument does not hold when taking into account the fact that in Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā,* the stories of fools are spread throughout the work (cf. Chapter 4). Osier follows the order of the narratives in Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* in discussing several 'vagues des arguments' against popular Hinduism. He divides them into (1) Viṣṇu (DP$_H$ 3.20; DP$_A$ 9), (2) the nature of the gods (DP$_H$ 4.3-5.7; DP$_A$ 10.66-12.53), (3) the problem of godly immanence (DP$_H$ 5.8; DP$_A$ 12.53-14.1), (4) some impossibilities (DP$_H$ 7; DP$_A$ 14-15.2), (5) new impossibilities: the irreducibility of genres and destinies (*gatis)* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (DP$_H$ 8.8-9.1; DP$_A$ 15.68-16.20), and (6) the incoherent wonder (DP$_H$ 9.2-12; DP$_A$ 16.21-103). For every section, Osier discusses the story (or stories) told by Manovega and tries to analyse the rhetorical play exposed in them, in order to understand the psychological and spiritual process they engender. Osier distinguishes the rhetoric at play in the dialogues with the Brahmins, from the private teachings to Pavanavega in the forest. Within the first setting, the goal is merely to expose the contradictions in the beliefs of the Brahmins (mostly coming from epic or purāṇic literature) both to Pavanavega and the Brahmins, while the setting in the forest is meant to take Pavanavega spiritually further, initiating him in the truths of Jainism. In several sections Osier refers to similarities with stories in the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas,* and *Paümacariya* that were not mentioned by Mironow (see 2005: 278, 284, 289-292). Osier sees this part of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, that plays on Hindu stories, as an argumentative flow of 'vagues', interrupted by private teachings that slow down the narrative pace. These delays Osier evaluates as 'défauts' (shortcoming's) especially in Hariṣeṇa's text, as they take away from the ultimate goal, namely the conversion of Pavanavega (2005: 293). This would be why in the last 'wave', Manovega does not take his friend to the secluded forest, but directly challenges the

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[15] In this dissertation, I will argue that the intended audience of different Dharmaparīkṣā adaptations differed and that this is marked by certain adaptive choices.

Brahmins with arguments against their beliefs, leaving them in the end silenced (2005: 291).

Parallel to the structure of Amitagati's and Hariṣeṇa's compositions, the last chapter about the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Osier's book tackles the end of the narrative, in which the two *vidyādharas* are alone again and the story turns towards a more dogmatic exposé. Firstly, Osier describes thoroughly the arguments made by Manovega as a reply to the question of Pavanavega to explain to him the specific teachings (*śāstras*) of the Brahmins and others (DP_A 17.3).[16] A second set of arguments, only found in Amitagati's work, attacks some traits of Buddhism, and is analysed by Osier as a way of Amitagati to explain how the *ādi* ('others') in Pavanavega's question are also guilty of violence, inconsistency and implausibility (2005: 300-302). Osier's discussion is well-built with many verse-references to Amitagati's text and some references to other works where similar arguments are made. Secondly, Osier shows how the exposition of Manovega, arising from Pavanavega's question to clarify how these 'wrong' belief systems originated (Amitagati 18.2), corresponds to the Jain understanding of *lokasthiti*, namely the hierarchical structure of the world and order of beings in that world, in which the 'wrong' beliefs can also be placed (2005: 303-308). Here Osier remarks some minor differences between Amitagati's and Hariṣeṇa's text, such as the fact that Hariṣeṇa relates the origin of heretical thinking in the third age after *Ṛṣabha* to violations of *dharma* with respect to food habits, while Amitagati only mentions the origin of heretical thinking in the third age after *Ṛṣabha* (2005: 307). Lastly, Osier turns towards the final event of the narrative, namely the decision by Pavanavega to take up the vows to follow the duties of lay Jains (2005: 309). He questions whether this ending should be understood as a conversion in the proper sense, namely turning from a heterodox religion to Jainism, or rather as purification of a misguided Jain (2005: 314).[17] His close analysis of the texts by both Amitagati and Hariṣeṇa, leads him to conclude that Pavanavega is converted on an intellectual level, he becomes an 'intellectual *nirgrantha*' (without attachment) (2005: 309). This would correspond to the common understanding of conversion in Jainism in which faith is subordinate to knowledge (2005: 310). Even the words of the Jina, to which authority is given, have to be explained for Pavanavega to come to a correct understanding of Jainism (2005: 311-312). In the final part of his book, Osier discusses the differences between Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's text with regard to the Jaina teachings. Osier discerns a first difference in the explanation of Jain lay duties. While Hariṣeṇa only enumerates the lay

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[16] Osier discusses the tenth *sandhi* of the *Dhammaparikkhā* by Hariṣeṇa and the seventeenth and eighteenth *pariccheda* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati.

[17] I discuss this below under section 1.3.1 (p. 23).

principles, Amitagati explains them in more detail, which according to Osier (following Mironow) is related to the fact that Amitagati has written earlier texts related to this theme (2005: 313-314). Osier also sees this elaboration by Amitagati as a 'correction' of Hariṣeṇa's text and thus suggests that Amitagati was familiar with the earlier Apabhraṃśa version. A second difference relates to the focus of the Jain lay vows. While in Hariṣeṇa's text the major vows are related to food habits, Amitagati emphasises the essential principles of Jainism, namely the distinction between animate, inanimate and other beings, as such rationalising the duties of Jain laity (2005: 315-316). This prompts Osier to re-evaluate his earlier argument suggesting, rather tentatively, that the text (at least the one by Amitagati) might have had a broader scope than an exclusively Jain audience (2005: 317).

Supplementing and engaging with these scholars' findings in this dissertation, I focus upon the variance within the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition to address questions about the function of the narrative, about the changing audience and their engagement with the narrative, and about the narrative's adapted relation to its literary context. Building on that, I examine the question of adaptation practices or processes in the Jain community (and more broadly across South Asia).

1.2 Methodology: frameworks to look at a textual tradition

To anyone familiar with Indian literary culture the fact that this dissertation studies a textual tradition, existing of different texts that share the same content, may not sound strange. After all, premodern India's best known literary products, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, come in a plethora of recensions, retellings, translations, adaptations, or other terms that could designate the creative ways in which this material was used repeatedly.[18] Textual repetitions of more or less one particular content (sometimes under a particular title) were also not uncommon to the subcontinent's literary history, and seem to suggest the importance of authority and traditional knowledge.[19] This

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[18] To give some examples of the wide range of literary creations in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic material was used: (1) there are different recensions of the *Rāmakathā* out of which the version by 'Vālmīki' (who is himself more a legendary character, then an author) is authoritative; (2) there are specific episodes that have become separate literary works (e.g. *Setubandha* supposedly by Pravarasena); (3) there are also distinct Jain versions of the epic (e.g. Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya*); (4) next to various versions in performance or other forms.

Among creative engagements with literary objects could also be counted commentaries or hagiographies (see e.g. Patel 2014).

[19] As examples, one might think of the *Bṛhatkathākośa*, the *Bhāgavatī Ārādhanā*, the *Samayasāra*, etc.

observation stands in stark contrast to the modern 'Western' model of literature in which the author is seen as a 'talented individual' – in T.S. Eliot's words – who purposely leaves a personal mark upon his newly composed literary creation.[20] Such perceptions have lead important scholars such as P.S. Jaini to call cases of rewriting or repetition 'skilful plagiarism.'[21] Yet, the mere existence of these types of compositions (or re-compositions) proves the necessity for a different approach and understanding to this kind of literary culture.

The present study of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition concretely builds upon an analysis of six versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, spread over four chapters that are divided according to language and adaptation practices. These were selected on the basis of representativity of the tradition and manuscript prevalence (cf. p. 41-48). My analyses are based upon a close reading of the editions and of manuscripts of the primary texts (cf. Bibliography, p. 303-306), to a larger or lesser extent aided by secondary sources.[22] The manuscripts were collected during two fieldtrips to India (Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra). Some were collected from traditional Jain libraries with which Jain scholars have established a good connection and that are known to have a relatively big collection, others came from governmental libraries.[23] Additionally, some manuscripts were downloaded from *idjo.org*, the digital library of the Jain Siddhānt Bhavan (Arrah, Bihar), and one manuscript was retrieved from the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. My analytical approach towards these texts is informed by three areas of theorization that are related to the just discussed issue of retelling and translation. The first exists of a set of approaches formed within studies of South Asian literature that treat creative engagements with a textual tradition. The second theory forms the main perspective I apply in this dissertation, namely the

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[20] The reference to T.S. Eliot's famous essay 'Tradition and the individual talent' (1919) is made on purpose. Eliot acknowledges the importance of literary tradition and calls for the 'impersonalisation' of the poet. His tripartite essay contains several sentences that seemingly would fit this dissertation (e.g. 'No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists'). However, underlying his exposé are the centrality of historicity and of individuality, two ideas that do not aptly describe the Indian sense of a tradition of literature. I hereby do not mean to say that an Indian literary text is timeless and imbedded in collectively, but instead that the creation of literature does not depart from history (in the Western sense, i.e. not *itihāsa*) and individuality (Eliot 1919).
One could here also think of the earlier quoted essay by Roland Barthes 'The Death of the Author' (1967), an essay which would not be possible without the existence of the idea of the author-genius.

[21] See Jaini (1991) and also Clines (2016).

[22] I transcribed and translated the *Dharmaparīkṣā* discussed in the second chapter (by Amitagati in Sanskrit) and thoroughly read the complete *Dharmaparīkṣā* discussed in the third chapter (by Manohardās in Brajbhāṣā). The text discussed in the fourth chapter (by Vṛttavilāsa in Kannada) was read with the help of a secondary source about this text (Rao 1986) and the texts in the fifth chapter were read through with a focus on their content.

[23] The traditional libraries are the Ācārya Śrī Kailāsasāgarasūri Jñānmandir in Koba, the Amer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār in Jaipur, and the Hemacandra Jain Jñān Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ. One manuscript was copied by my colleague Tillo Detige at the Svarn Mandir in Gwalior. The governmental libraries are the Bhandārkar Oriental Library and the Lālbhāī Dalpatbhāi Institute in Ahmedabad.

theory of adaptation as conceptualised by Linda Hutcheon. Thirdly, the relatively recent surge in South Asian Studies of thinking about the role of languages and the relations between different languages forms an important field of study within which my dissertation is set. My use of these theories is systematic, though not equal for every text. In the first place, I have let the texts themselves guide me in the application of these ideas. The fact that each text (or chapter) speaks to a relatively different subfield of South Asian literature has lead to the fact that some concepts apply better to one than to another text. Also the difference in depth with which I have researched the texts engendered some difference in the application of these theories. In the following sections I present these concepts and methodological approaches and explain how they relate to the present study.

1.2.1   South Asian Literature Studies

Within the study of South Asian literature, there have been different ways to frame the complexities within a 'textual tradition'. Some have put more focus on textuality, whereas others have emphasised changes linked to historical literary contexts, or linked to parameters characteristic of oral versus written literary engagements.[24] Probably the most famous study to confront this issue is A.K. Ramanujan's 'Three Hundred *Rāmāyaṇas*: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation' (1991). Ramanujan tries to make sense of the copious amount of different *Rāmāyaṇas*, in different languages, forms and styles, that can be found in South and Southeast Asia and sees them as 'a series of translations clustering around one or another in a family of texts' (1991: 156). He understands the relations between them in Peircean terms, namely by categorising them into iconic, indexical and symbolic translations.[25] An *iconic* relationship occurs when two texts resemble each other 'geometrically', 'as one triangle to another' (1991: 44). In that case one text is what we could call a 'faithful' translation of the other, reproducing textual features such as characters, imagery and even metre. An *indexical* translation of a text would render the same plot of the text but is essentially embedded in a specific locale or

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[24] Studies focused on textuality mainly concern questions of recension. The work of Phillips-Rodriguez on the Mahābhārata is exemplary in this respect (2012; et al. 2009).

Doniger (1991) and Sathaye (2017) have highlighted the importance of orality in Indian literature simultaneously with written forms of literature and have argued for the fluidity between these two modes. Therefore, Doniger has posited the distinction of fluid versus fixed texts, instead of oral versus written texts. Williams (2014) has viewed texts as products of a feedback loop between the oral and the written. These studies point out the dynamism between oral and written traditions, which is important in a literary tradition where many texts were noted down – though not exclusively – to be performed.

[25] Ramanujan adopts the triadic theory of semiotics by the philosopher, Charles Sanders Peirce, in which he distinguished iconic, indexical and symbolic signs.

context and refers to it. The *symbolic* translation then, stands somewhat further away from what we would generally call a translation, as it represents a relationship between two texts where both use the same 'narrative discourse' but say something different, possibly opposite (1991: 156-157).

Within the field of Jain Studies, John Cort (2015) uses this frame by Ramanujan in his analysis of the 'translations' by the seventeenth-century Jain author Banārsidās.[26] His study is the first to address the issue of translation practice in the Jain tradition. At the centre of his discussion of Banārsidās' texts is the idea of 'trans-lation', namely the transposition of a text previously authored in one language into a new language. Cort recognises that thinking about language in relation to literature is not alien to Indian culture, but that any sustained thinking about translation seems to be absent from the Indian vocabulary. Drawing from Hatcher (2017), he highlights the modernity of the word *anuvāda* ('translation') and points out that early modern writers in North-Indian vernacular rather used words related to *bhāṣā* ('vernacular').[27] What is most interesting about Cort's chapter is that he analyses and contextualises multilingual literary practices in early modern Jain communities, while highlighting the particular engagement of the Jains in working in and between multiple languages. The former will prove informative for my second chapter, and the latter observation supports the necessity for more studies that analyse multilingual engagements with literature in the Jain tradition. The tripartite analytical frame by Ramanujan, however, is limited in its applicability on this dissertation because, as Ramanujan himself notices, all translations inevitably bear all three kinds of elements. Thus, it is unable to describe exactly in a differentiated way the 'translatory' processes at hand in the different *Dharmaparīkṣās*. Moreover, since especially the first category seems to apply only to trans-lingual relations between texts, the frame is not effective to analyse Sanskrit versions composed after the Sanskrit version by Amitagati.

Processes that underly a textual 'recreation' can be influenced by extratextual factors. In this respect, the work by Orsini has highlighted the context of literary production (in the early modern period). In her 'How to do multilingual literary history?' (2012) she has vouched for an approach that pays attention to all the different aspects that can be deduced from material textual sources (i.e. the manuscripts). In order to understand a multilingual literary reality, which is indeed the reality also of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, one has

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[26] Cort discusses as translations the *Nāmamāla*, the *Sahas aṭhottar nām* (or *Jinasahasranām*), the *Samaysār nāṭak*, and the *Kalyāṇamandira stotra* (or *Param jyotī stotra*) by Banārsidās, and *Sūktimuktāvalī* translation by Banārsidās and Kaunṛpāl.

[27] The original paper by Hatcher from which Cort drew was a paper presented at the AAR of 2010.
Cort also mentions the earlier inclusion of *chāyās*, 'a literal word-for-word trot', in Sanskrit commentaries of Prakrit texts, or the *bālabodha* (or *bālāvabodha*) vernacular translations 'for the Unlettered' as pre-modern 'genres' of translation (2015: 90). In the following chapters I do not refer to these, since the texts I discuss do not refer to themselves by these concepts, nor should be recognised as such.

to look at the language, script and format of written texts as well as the spaces or locations where literature was produced, and the oral-performative practices and agents that brought the texts to its audiences (2012: 227-228).[28] In terms of methodology this approach is close to the one I will explain below, although it does not start from the idea of 'translation', 'recreation' or 'adaptation'. Since I am dealing with written textual sources (manuscripts) from India, her approach could be seen as a region-specific layer that coats my adaptation-theory perspective. Another relatively recent volume that looks at literature from the angle of its context was edited by de Bruijn and Busch (2014). This volume analyses how literary products were created and recreated by means of circulation. What is interesting in this volume is that it enables us to understand a perhaps overly defined hermeneutical tool as that of intertextuality in relation to geographical places, movements or moving agents.[29] Since this dissertation discusses a tradition of texts coming from different places, it is paramount to think about the circulation of this tradition.

1.2.2 Adaptation Theory

The approach I am using in this dissertation is the comprehensive theory of adaptation formed by Hutcheon (2006). I find this theory fruitful because it encompasses all of the above-mentioned aspects that affect the coming into being of a text, that repeats a previous text, within a single methodological frame. The concept of adaptation has several advantages over possible 'synonyms'. In contrast to 'retelling', it does not limit itself to spoken words as a medium for bringing across a certain content. A concept like 'version' is limited because it does not do justice to the creativity that went into the new composition. And better than 'translation' or 'transcreation', the concept of adaptation leaves space for compositions that remain within the same language.

Before discussing the different definitional layers of 'adaptation', I will comment, following Hutcheon, upon what it means to treat a work as adaptation. By calling a text an adaptation we announce its overt relation to another work or works (Hutcheon 2006: 6).[30] As a consequence, framing my set of texts as adaptations firstly establishes the coherence of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, and thus of my dissertation, and related to this, suggests the idea of circulation or even evolution throughout these texts.[31] Secondly, it

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[28] The edited volume Orsini published together with Schofield (2015) can be seen as an extension of this approach, focusing on auditory or performative aspects of texts in their contexts.

[29] See Freschi and Maas (2017: 20-21)

[30] 'This is what Gérard Genette would call a text in the "second degree"' (Hutcheon 2006: 6).

[31] Evolution is suggested when considering the adaptations as a tradition of adaptations, which implies a sense of time (cf. Conclusion).

implies certain relations of authority between the discussed works. On the other hand, calling a text an adaptation also implies changes that went into its creation, so that each adaptation has its own autonomous aura. For this dissertation, this implies that each chapter, discussing one specific adaptation or particular set of adaptations, can stand on its own. To put this double nature more simply, 'adaptation is repetition, but repetition without replication' (Hutcheon 2006: 7).

In Hutcheon's theory analysing a work or works as adaptation involves three (concurrent) perspectives. Firstly, an adaptation is a product, or a formal entity, that is an 'announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works' (Hutcheon 2006: 7). This transposition can involve a change in medium (e.g. from book to film), or a change in language, in which case it is something like translation, or any other change such as a change in genre or frame. Treating the textual tradition in this dissertation as a series of adapted products will therefore lead to examining these kinds of formal characteristics of the texts. It is important to note about the cases under discussion, that the transposition is not always announced in the text. However, we can suppose that the receivers of the adaptation were most-likely aware of precedents. Secondly, adaptation can be seen as a process. It always involves (re-)interpretation and (re)creation (Hutcheon 2006: 8). This perspective on adaptation brings the creating agent, the adapter, in view. Why did the adapter adapt this work, what are his motivations? These motivations can involve personal interests (one likes a work), economic lures, or cultural capital (the authoritative aura of the precedent) amongst other reasons. In the texts I am dealing with, economic motivations can be seen for example in Manohardās' adaptation, since he was commissioned by his patrons (cf. Chapter 3, p. 147), and I suspect that cultural capital underlies most of the latest versions. Further, perceiving adaptations as a process also entails knowing about the life of the adapter, because understanding the author's adaptive choices supposes to be aware of the historical context in which he lived (in terms of society, literature, religion, place, etc.). Thirdly, adaptation involves a process of reception in a particular way. For the audience, adaptations are a form of intertextuality: 'we experience adaptations (*as adaptations*) as palimpsests through our memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation' (Hutcheon 2006: 8). Their 'palimpsestuous' nature may lead to frustration, but also to pleasure. The mixture of novelty within familiarity and difference within repetition has a definite appeal to the audience. This appeal might come forth from the comfort that lies in the repetition of adaptations, but also from the intellectual and aesthetical pleasure of understanding the interplay between works. In this way, this perspective from adaptation theory can lead to insights with regard to the prevalence of 'textual traditions' in Indian literary culture.

Another idea coined by Hutcheon in which adaptation as product and as process (of creation and reception) intersect, is 'modes of engagement'. Hutcheon discerns the telling mode, the showing (or performance) mode, and the interactive mode. From the perspective of the adapted product, the modes of engagement partially replace the

medium of the product, although different media can involve the same mode of engagement. For example, both the films and the theatre plays about Harry Potter are in the showing mode. The formal aspects of an adaptation will be defined by its mode of engagement, which in turn will depend on the process of adaptation. This involves not only in which way the adapter wants his audience to be engaged with his creation, but also what the contextual expectations or conventions are that will influence the audience's engagement with the adaptation. As such, essentially with the concept of modes of engagement, we can evaluate how the audience was involved with the text, and how this changed between different adaptations. In this dissertation, the question I will ask is what aspects within the product that relate to (1) telling; (2) the visual, gestural, auditory or aural (vs. oral); or (3) interaction, demonstrate a change in the engagement expected by the audience.[32] Hutcheon's approach of foregrounding modes of engagement instead of media is definitely relevant in a study of pre-modern to early modern Indian literature, because it enables us to appreciate changes in aural aspects of a text which are central to Indian literary culture, on the basis of written sources.[33] Further, the added value of examining an audience's engagement within the frame of adaptation theory is that it reveals the different ways or immersive depths with which one particular content could be experienced.

The theory of adaptation by Hutcheon (2006) provides a comprehensive frame to analyse a textual tradition in its diversity and its coherence. It enables to zoom in on the different stimuli that influence the composition of a new 'version', including its author, its historical and geographical context, and its purposed audience. At the same time, adaptation theory provides a structure to evaluate the 'cultural' significance of a specific tradition and to examine the relation between the texts that make up this tradition. When we succeedingly shift the perspective from product to process, such examination is able to provide insights into certain evolutions in the religious and literary realm.

A final comment to conclude this section is that Hutcheon notes that adaptation should not be limited to complete works, but that it can also involve particular stories (or fragments), or characters. I do not use this understanding of adaptation in my dissertation, because it would blur the difference between adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the literary intertexts that influence each specific adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

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[32] We could also induce a change in actual engagement by the audience on the base of for example, manuscripts. I discuss preliminary conclusions below (p. 47) but refer to De Jonckheere 2019 for further details.

[33] 'Aurality' is a term mostly used in relation to performances (such as theatre or bardic performance) to refer to the (shared) hearing of a text. It includes not only the voiced text, but also other auditory elements that accompany the text, such as the melody of the performance, or other melodic, rhythmic or plainly sound effects taking place at the performance.

I address this especially in Chapter 3.

1.2.3   Developments in literary language

One of the important characteristics in which some adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* differ, is their language. The shift from one language to another, or to remain within the same language, is a choice that is linked to broader evolutions within the Indian literary history. The foregrounding of Sanskrit and later the rise of vernacular languages in creating literature has been described in Pollock's influential book *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men.* However, developments that are typical to the Jain community seem also to have played a part in the continuation of *Dharmaparīkṣā* productions.[34] In this section I introduce Pollock's theory of language development in South Asian literature in order to contextualise the linguistic choices made by the different authors of the *Dharmaparīkṣās*.[35]

Pollock (2006) introduces the term the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' to denote the quasi-global culture-power sphere of Sanskrit in the premodern history of South Asia. He chooses this term because it reflects the supraregional dimension of Sanskrit (*cosmo-*), as well as the prominence of the political dimension (*-polis*) in this globalising process (2006: 12). As a language Sanskrit existed already before it became so culturally powerful and was then limited to liturgy and scholastics and the Brahmanical community. What instigated the change in its use, according to Pollock, came from the political sphere, when the immigrant Śaka dynasty around the beginning of the common era ascertained their power by appropriating the ritualised language of Sanskrit for public political purposes, i.e. for their epigraphies (*praśasti*). Once Sanskrit had escaped the domain of the sacred and had entered this-worldly spheres (*laukika*) it became the language of a new textual category, namely *kāvya*, which Pollock describes as beginning around the start of the common era, composed in writing, this-worldly and foremost concerned with human emotional experience. This description by Pollock, viewed from the perspective of Jain literature, is not completely accurate, since Jains have denominated their works which

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[34] The production of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Apabhraṃśa in the fifteenth century seems to be particular to Jain literary communities.

[35] The overwhelming influence of Pollock's thesis is evident from the fact that most (if not all) scholarly discussions on literary language development posit themselves in relation to his work. Ollett (2017) examines the role of Prakrit in Pollock's emergence of a new culture-power order and establishes it as an important vector in the creation of *kāvya* (poetic literature), that had a fixed position in the language order of classical India. His study is especially interesting to the study of Jain literature, since Prakrit was the language of their canonical texts and because they foregrounded Prakrit for their writings up to the thirteenth century (cf. Chapter 2, p. 57-58). Ollett recognises the impetus by Jain poets to Prakrit *kāvya*, but prefers to look beyond the bifurcation between Jain and non-Jain Prakrit literature (2017: 54). With regards to vernacularisation, several scholars have tried to nuance, or adjust, Pollock's thesis, arguing that his view is mostly informed by the emergence of Kannada literature and less applicable to other regions, especially in North India (e.g. Orsini and Sheikh 2014; Novetzke 2016; Busch 2011b; Bangha 2018; see also below).

are imbedded in a religious meaning (e.g. Jaina Purāṇas) as *kāvya* while refuting texts that are *laukika*.[36] The new category of *kāvya* was highly theorised and was restricted to three cultural languages (Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa), among which Sanskrit acquired an incomparable density of textual production and spatial spread. Sanskrit *kāvya* and Sanskrit language in general spread 'with breathtaking rapidity across Southern Asia' and became the sole language of the ruling elites from Pakistan to Java (2006: 14). For a millennium and more, Sanskrit was the medium for political communication and for literature and was also cultivated by elites who patronised the production of grammars, lexicons, metrics, astrology, and all sorts of treatises. Pollock stresses the spheres of culture and power but does not consider religion as relevant to the 'globalization' of Sanskrit. He mentions how Buddhists, though initially opposed to the use of the 'language of the gods', appropriate Sanskrit around the second century CE for their *dharmic* texts. This, Pollock interprets as 'an astonishing expansion of the realm of Sanskrit' (2006: 59). Though I do not dispute Pollock's arguments about the emerging dominance of Sanskrit, I believe his view underrates the impact of religious communities, including Jains and Buddhists, on the production, the preservation and circulation of written texts in Sanskrit and on Sanskrit literature itself.[37] Recently, Ollett (2017) has convincingly argued that within the 'classical Indian culture' – which he prefers to use over 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' (2017: 5) – the 'critical' role of Prakrit should not be overlooked. Not only was Prakrit a determinant in the formation of *kāvya*, but it was also crucial in establishing Sanskrit as 'cosmopolitan' through the dichotomy with Prakrit as 'regional' within the classical Indian language order (2017: 15-16).

Around the ninth century, Pollock recognises the start of vernacularisation processes that became more widely established in the period of 1000-1500. This, he defines as a 'historical process of choosing to create a written literature, along with its complement, a political discourse, in local languages according to models supplied by a superordinate, usually cosmopolitan, literary culture' (2006: 23). Ollett has nuanced the latter part of this definition by explaining how Prakrit provided the model of 'regionality' for the emerging vernaculars that took the place of Prakrit in the language order of Indian literature (2017:

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[36] See e.g. DP$_A$ 10.65, 15.68 and 16.104. See also De Clercq and Vekemans (forthcoming).
This need for nuance was also noticed by Clines (2019). See also Cort (1993: 187) and (1995: 488). In fact, Pollock himself calls the *Ādipurāṇa* by Jinasena a 'poetic history' (2006: 338). Further, Pierce-Taylor (2020: 344-345) has pointed out that while Pampa categorized two of his Kannada compositions (the *Vikramārjunavijayaṃ* and the *Ādipurāṇaṃ*) as respectively *laukika* and *jināgama*, he considered both of them as poetry (*kāvya*).

[37] Jains and Buddhists were the first to establish manuscript libraries that preserved texts of all genres and traditions, and Jains retained their function as 'primary preservers' of manuscript culture (see e.g. Johnson 1993; Balbir 2020). In a time in which literature was to a large extent a written endeavour (see Pollock 2006), these 'knowledge warehouses' – as Cort (1995a) calls Jain libraries – must have played an important role in transferring Sanskrit literature and poetics. Further, Jain mendicants participated in conceptualising Sanskrit as a literary language (e.g. Hemacandra, see Dundas 2020).

16). Similarly, to the becoming of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, Pollock stresses the stimuli of politics and written literature in vernacularisation. Such view seems to be informed by his expertise on literary history in Southern India (Kannada literature) but has been nuanced for being less applicable to the North-Indian situation (see Orsini and Sheikh 2014; Novetzke 2016; Busch 2011b; Bangha 2018; see Chapter 3). On the base of his study of Kannada literary and non-literary history, Pollock posits that 'the history of a language and its literature are not coextensive' (2006: 24). Although the existence of the written form of a language is a prerequisite for the existence of its literature, there is a time lag between the literisation and literarisation of a language.[38] For example, Kannada was documented already in the fifth century, but only from the ninth century a literarily self-conscious discourse was present in the *praśastis*. A second characteristic of vernacularisation, according to Pollock, is a re-configuration of the culture-power order. Sanskrit loses ground as medium for political expression to the local language, which in turn comes to characterise vernacularising polities. Pollock's third feature of vernacularisation is the creation of a wider regional-language literary culture. For the case of Kannada, *kāvya* works arose at the same time as the vernacular *praśastis* and were marked by a literary self-expression (2016: 336-338). This vernacular literary culture drew from the cosmopolitan discourse but added its own features to become a high-culture phenomenon that expressed transregionality. Even though Pollock's conviction that more or less the same model as that of Kannada vernacularisation applies to the histories of vernacularisation across southern Asia has been effectively contested (see Busch 2011b; Bangha 2018; Novetzke 2016), his foregrounding of a vernacular language culture that is transregional and has 'quasi-global' characteristics is important to understand the reach and impact of literary vernacular languages. It helps us understand the multiple existences of *Dharmaparīkṣās* in vernacular languages and the importance of their production to an extent that reaches further than the mere understandability of the text by local audiences. On the other hand, the material at hand does contrast Pollock's emphasis on the political sphere. Jain engagements in vernacularisation were early and not out of concerns of power, albeit they were set within elite circles (see Clines 2020; Dundas 2020).[39]

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[38] Pollock has defined literarisation as 'the development of literary expressivity in accordance with the norms of a dominant literary culture', in contrast to literisation which is 'the committing of a [...] language to [...] written form' (2007: 81). Ollett assigns literarisation a slightly different meaning: 'the process by which an existing discourse takes on "literary" features, whatever those features are and however they are defined, or by which a new discourse characterized by these features is created' (2017: 48).

[39] Only the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Jinadāsa is relatively early (cf. infra). The other vernacularisations were mostly part of an elite Jain culture.

1.3 What is the *Dharmaparīkṣā*?

In this section I focus on the core of the textual tradition under discussion, that which makes the set of texts treated here as a tradition, namely the *Dharmaparīkṣā* plot. Since I consider that a textual tradition is defined as evolving around an authoritative text, I will use as a model for this plot the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati. However, the aspects that I will discuss here of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* speak to all the texts I have examined, and I treat the specificities of those versions in the succeeding chapters. From the introduction I have given it should be clear that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* contains several layers. It is a narrative that both analyses and criticises the religion of the other in a debate that is based upon purāṇic stories, ending with one of its main characters taking up the Jain vows. This sentence contains the layers I will analyse hereunder, starting with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a narrative and ending (as does the plot) with its embeddedness in the formation of a Jain lay community.

1.3.1 The *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a religious *kathā*

Although the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in its authoritative version does not present itself as a *kathā* ('story') – Amitagati uses *kāvya* (DP$_A$ 20.90) and also *śāstra* (DP$_A$ *praśasti*) and the title designates it as *parīkṣā* – the text(s) tells without doubt a narrative.[40] It represents an imaginative dialogue between supernatural beings (*vidyādharas*) in a timeless time.[41] In the same style as India's best exported story, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is a frame story.[42] Embedded in the main plot about the two Vidyādharas lie several shorter stories some of which themselves frame yet other substories. The bulk of the plot consists of *khaṇḍakathās* ('short stories'; see Warder 1972: 194) that point out moral vices in human behaviour, so that combined, the narrative can be said to be, just like the *Pañcatantra*, a *nidarśana* ('satire') which is didactic in purpose (Warder 1972: 195). Indeed, Warder places the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, to which the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is very frequently compared, under this

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[40] Hariṣeṇa calls his work *kavvu* (*kāvya*; DP$_H$ 1.1.9) and *kaha* (*kathā*; DP$_H$ 11.27.13). Manohardās calls it a *bhāṣā* ('vernacular rendering') and himself a *kavi* ('poet') and Vṛttavilāsa calls his text a *campū* (another categorisation of poetry). The other authors do not seem to categorise the work, but some scribes and manuscript cataloguers call it a *kathā*.

[41] From the perspective of classical Indian literature, a narrative (*kathā*) is always fictitious, but within Jain literature a distinction is made between *carita* 'biographical' (Prakrit: *cariya*) and *kalpita* 'fictitious' (Prakrit: *kappiya*). Balbir evaluates this as unique to Jainism (1994b: 225).

[42] The literary device of the frame story is a prominent feature of pre-modern Indian literature. The *Mahābhārata* exemplifies a fully developed form of the device, but precursory forms of the frame story are already found in Vedic literature (see Witzel 1987).

category, more specifically he calls it a satirical *nidarśana* (1972: 195).[43] To this category of narrative also belongs the *mugdhakathā*, or story about folly. This is a type of narrative found across cultures (see Thompson 1885-1976: J1700-J2749), that in Indian literature goes back to the *Digha Nikāya* and exists in a sort of anthological form in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Warder 1977: 53).[44] The *Dharmaparīkṣā* also surfs on this particular wave of folkloristic literature, since it also contains stories of ten types of fools, the last type in fact made up of three foolish stories (so twelve in total).[45]The two examples of *mugdhakathā* that Warder provides both also occur in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1977: 53, n. 1255-1256). From this it is clear that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* draws on 'folklore' (cf. infra), combines this with didacticism – which was the way in which the *Digha Nikāya* also used these stories – and frames it then within a critique on Brahmanism from the perspective of correct Jain lay behaviour.[46] That this all comes across to the modern reader as sort of *bric-a-brac* is not necessarily an incorrect assessment, and I believe that this characteristic of the 'text' not only shows its multiple influences, but also the possibility for it to be broken up and used in parts suitable to the specific religious (practical) context.

Because this *Dharmaparīkṣā* 'box of stories' is explicitly religious, we could also situate it within a different type of category, namely that of *dharmakathā* ('religious story'), the category that is perhaps the most important within the Jain *kathā* genre, which is itself extremely prominent in Jain literature.[47] Such categorisation follows the differentiation of *kathās* as that by the Śvetāmbara author Haribhadra (eighth century) into *artha-, kāma-, saṃkīrṇa-*, and *dharmakathā*.[48] The 'religious story' is typified by a plot that ends with the religious transformation of the main character – mostly liberation from the cycle of

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[43] In fact, whereas I do recognise the close similarities between the two 'texts', I would not call the *Dharmaparīkṣā* a satire. By contrast, I would still use this term for the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. I aim to justify in detail this argument in a future project.

Note that in her overview of Jain classifications of narrative, in discussing the parable, Balbir writes that 'Suivre le destin de [...] *nidarisana* (sk. *nidarśana*) se révèle difficile car le terme, non attesté dans le Canon, est à la fois rare et indifférencié' (Balbir 1994b: 242).

[44] Warder (1977: 52-54) also mentions Kṣemendra's *Mūrkhākhyāyikā* in his *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. The oldest collection of such foolish stories is supposed to be the anonymous *Mugdhakathā* which only has been preserved in a Chinese translation, titled the *Po Yu King*, by Guṇavṛddhi. This in turn is supposedly translated from an adaption called the *Puṣpamālā* by the Buddhist Saṃghasena.

[45] I discuss the term 'folklore' and the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s relation to it under 1.3.4 in this Introduction.

[46] I believe it would be worthwhile to study this premodern embeddedness of Jainism to folkloristic, or popular, culture (cf. infra) and its relation through folklore to other Indian traditions in more detail.

[47] In her chapter on the different forms of the narrative genre in Jain literature Balbir writes 'La dhammakaha étant la plus importante par principe, puisqu'elle est le moyen de véhiculer les valeurs fondamentales [...]' (1994b: 228).

Kragh (2013) argues on the base of his study of the catalogue of the Amer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār in Jaipur that the narrative genre in general (*kathā*) is dominant in the Jain tradition in terms of manuscript production.

[48] This distinction goes back at least to the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti* (possibly second-third century CE, see Dundas 2002: 24; Balbir 1994b: 227, fn. 12).

rebirth – and is interspersed with didacticism.[49] This description indeed corresponds with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* which ends with the second *vidyādhara*'s commitment to the Jain vows. The function of this kind of story is said to evoke the interiorisation of Jain values in a lay audience within a sermonic setting, and achieves this, according to Flügel, by means of 'self-referentiality' (2010: 361). On the basis of its function, Digambara texts, like their Śvetāmbara counterparts explain that the *dharmakathā* is of four kinds: (1) *ākṣepaṇī*, attracting the listener; (2) *vikṣepaṇī*, establishing one's own religion after characterising others; (3) *saṃvedanī*, inspiring detachment by pointing out the deficiencies of the body; and (4) *nirvedanī*, inspiring indifference by enumerating the bitter and pleasant fruits of *karman* (Flügel 2010: 363).[50] Applying this differentiation on the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, I would argue that it fits partly into all of the categories. It is *ākṣepaṇī* because it exposes truths by adopting different standpoints, namely those of the Brahmanical Purāṇa*s*. It is *vikṣepaṇī* because it establishes Jainism after characterising the faulty convictions of the Brahmins. It is *saṃvedanī* because it points to the inferiority and impurity of the body – especially that of the female body in Amitagati's version (see Chapter 2). It is only partly *nirvedanī* because *karman* is not an explicit topic in the narrative, but we could understand the bad behaviour (or *mithyātva*) of the fools as examples of behaviour that would have an effect on one's next life.

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[49] Didactic narrations are prevalent in the canonical texts (of the Śvetāmbaras) and are characteristic to the hermeneutical *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* corpora (see Balbir 1994b: 223).

[50] This description comes from the Śvetāmbara *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* (4.2.246) (Flügel 2010: 363). Balbir mentions that other sources are the *Sthānāṅga-* and the *Daśavaikālika-niryukti*, and on the Digambara side the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā* and the *Anagaradharmāmṛta* (1994b: 228, fn. 17).

These four types are further detailed. I have taken the description of their details from Flügel (2010: 363):

Ākṣepaṇī are of four types: (1) Describing the attractive conduct of Jain mendicants and laity to the listeners; (2) Explaining the advantages and disadvantages of atonements; (3) Collecting and removing doubts; and (4) Exposing the truth by adopting different standpoints according to the listeners' abilities (Ṭhāṇa1–2 4.2.247).

Vikṣepaṇī are of four types: (1) Stating one's own doctrine, and then stating other doctrines; (2) Stating first other doctrines, and then establishing one's own doctrine, (3) Stating first the right principles, and then the wrong principles; and (4) Stating first the wrong principles, and then the right principles (Ṭhāṇa1–2 4.2.248).

Saṃvedanī are of four types: (1) Pointing to the worthlessness and transient nature of human life; (2) Pointing to the worthlessness and transient nature of forms of existence in other worlds (gods, hell-beings, animals, and plants); (3) Pointing to the impurity of one's own body; and (4) Pointing to the impurity of others' bodies (Ṭhāṇa1–24.2.249).

Nirvedanī are of four types [actually eight]: (1) Pointing to the bitter fruits in this life of bad *karman* acquired in this life; (2) Pointing to the bitter fruits in the next life of bad *karman* acquired in this life; (3) Pointing to the bitter fruits in this life of bad *karman* acquired in the past life; and (4) Pointing to the bitter fruits in the next life of bad *karman* acquired in the past life. Also, (1) Pointing to the pleasant fruits in this life of good *karman* acquired in this life; (2) Pointing to the pleasant fruits in the next life of good karman acquired in this life; (3) Pointing to the pleasant fruits in this life of good *karman* acquired in the past life; and (4) Pointing to the pleasant fruits in the next life of good *karman* acquired in the past life (Ṭhāṇa1–2 4.2.250).

Balbir interestingly explains how these four rhetoric strategies establish religious realisation through different (emotive) effects on the audience, such as repulsion or attraction (1994b: 228).

In order to analyse in more depth how Jain *dharmakathās* could effectuate their desired end, Flügel examined a specific type of 'religious story' which he calls 'conversion stories'. These represent the motif of conversion in their plot in order to generate conversion (2010: 380). Flügel's examination is relevant to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* because, as I mentioned above, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* ends in a religious transformation.[51] Although Osier does not count the transformation from lay person gone astray to committed Jain as belonging to the conversion narrative, because it is not a transformation to mendicancy (2005: 218), I would say that it does accord with how Flügel sees 'conversion' because our transformed *vidyādhara* recognises *samyaktva*.[52] Flügel's analysis, and in general the categorisation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a *dharmakathā,* helps to make us understand the initial function of the 'text'. We can see how the *Dharmaparīkṣā* could prepare a lay person to commit himself to the Jain religion as a first step, or to help a more advanced Jain to follow the vows more strictly, within a longer process of conversion (perhaps eventually leading to renunciation) (see Flügel 2010: 405-412).[53] Secondly, this categorisation frames the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as one of the many Jain *dharmakathās*, demonstrating that it belonged to a prominent genre as well as illustrating how the 'text' could today still be used in sermons (see Chapter 2, fn. 77, p. 107).

1.3.2 Purāṇic connection

The substories of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* do not all belong to the category of moralising plain human vices. Though they perhaps amount to less text in number of verses, an equally important theme is the faultiness of the Brahmanical Purāṇas and epics, illustrated by means of several stories from or short references to the purāṇic-epic corpus. By doing so, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* frames itself within the tradition of Jain Purāṇas. This category of literature represents a corpus of texts that is 'concerned with the lives of specific human beings who lived at specific times in Jaina history' (Cort 1993: 187).[54] These specific human beings are the 'illustrious men' amongst whom are Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, two central figures

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[51] Flügel uses the word 'conversion' in the conventional sense, used by translators of Jain texts, to describe references to events of spiritual insight, *samyag-darśana* or *samyaktva.* (2010: 364, fn. 28).

[52] Note that in Manohardās' version the lead *vidyādhara* becomes a monk by taking *dīkṣā* (initiation).

[53] I have deliberately not spoken here of conversion from non-Jain to Jain. I do not exclude this possibility, but I believe that each adaptation has its own specific goal. These goals are discussed within the specific chapters (see especially Chapter 2). I can mention here already that in the version by Vṛttavilāsa it is explicit that the Brahmins take up the Jain vows.

For descriptions of such non-Jain to Jain conversions see Babb (1996; 2004), Granoff (1989), and Laidlaw (1995: 83-119). Also informative is the art historical case study of the Osian temple by Meister (1991). Currently, Steven Vose is further exploring the subject of Jain caste conversions in the early modern period. For historical perspectives on Jain conversion see Dundas (2003).

[54] For information on Jaina Purāṇas see also Jaini (1993), Kulkarni (1990), and De Clercq (2008).

of the Hindu Purāṇas and epics.[55] The Jain Purāṇas belong to the postcanonical *kāvya* literature, that is relatively close to story literature, and are divided by Cort into three major types: (1) *Jinacaritras*, that tell the life of one of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras; (2) *Rāmāyaṇas* or *Padmacaritas*, Jain versions of the Rāma-story; and (3) *Harivaṃśas*, Jain versions of the Kṛṣṇa-story. Fourthly, there are also the Jain *Mahāpurāṇas* that treat all these topics under the umbrella of the Jain Universal History – another name for this type of literature – which consists of the biographies of the 'illustrious men' (*śalākā puruṣās*), classified as twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, twelve Cakravartins, and nine groups of Vāsudevas, Baladevas, and Prativāsudevas. The Rāma- and Kṛṣṇa-stories are encapsulated within this genre by framing Rāma as a Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa as a Vāsudeva. The Jain Universal History presents a model of exemplary figures at different stages on the path to liberation for Jains to be inspired by. The Tīrthaṅkaras are liberated beings, the Cakravartins are kings who become ascetics and reach liberation at the end of their lives, the Vāsudevas are also ideal Jain kings but they do not reach liberation in this life, the Baladevas represent the detached layman and the Prativāsudevas are the anti-heroes, the enemies of the Vāsudevas.[56] Another implication of this Universal History is that it is a means through which Jains are able to compete with the authoritative Hindu Purāṇas. By appropriating the *dharmic* figures of the Brahmanical tradition and by calling them Jain, the Jain tradition has been able to present an alternative understanding of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma (a.o.), thus resisting Brahmanical dominance (see Cort 1993: 202; Jaini 1993; De Clercq and Vekemans forthcoming).

Opposition to Brahmanism is not only implicit in the Jain Purāṇas, it can also be explicit.[57] Many of these Purāṇas directly criticise the Hindu versions of the epic-purāṇic corpus. They attack specific episodes, of which they have their own version, calling them 'popular belief' (*laukika*) or 'heresy' (*mithyātva*) and sometimes explicitly refer to the Brahmanical authors (Vālmīki, Vyāsa) as telling lies.[58] This is exactly what we also find in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. It tells purāṇic or epic stories either (1) to show the reproachfulness of certain Hindu characters (mostly gods), (2) to prove the impossibility or illogical character of these stories, or (3) to explicitly attack them and replace them by the Jain version. In order to briefly illustrate this, I give here an example of each type: (1) Kṛṣṇa is a reproachable figure because he lusted for 16000 *gopīs* (DP$_A$, 11.26); (2) It is impossible

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[55] The Jain tradition did not develop a differentiation between the *purāṇa* genre and the epic genre (*itihāsa*) (Cort 1993: 187).

[56] As Cort notes, these exemplary men are not cult figures. They are part of the Jain mythic-historical view of the world (1993: 201).

[57] This is what De Clercq and Vekemans (forthcoming) have called 'appropriating and rejecting'. Qvarström (1998) has analysed Jain approaches to other traditions in various fields as 'opposition' and 'absorption', or as 'stability' and 'adaptability'.

[58] Actually, this seems to be unique to Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (De Clercq and Vekemans forthcoming). We find the same comment in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. (15.57-67 and 16.2, 45, 53, 77, 96).

that Śiva cut off nine of Rāvaṇas heads and then attached them again (DP$_A$ 16.50-57); (3) That Vālin was killed by Rāma, as is said by Vālmīki, is a lie (DP$_A$ 16.96).

The way in which the *Dharmaparīkṣā* plays with this Jain purāṇic tradition is clear, but the question can be asked why this religious narrative was created in such a way. Firstly, I would point to the authority the Jain Purāṇas had acquired as an underlying motivation. The 'initial' author of the 'text' (supposedly Jayarāma) might have wanted to create a composition that would build on the material that had become so powerful in providing a Jain model of history (or of excellence), in competition with Brahmanism. In the case of Hariṣeṇa, we might also think of the fact that the authoritative Apabhraṃśa authors, whom he mentions, have created Jain Purāṇas.[59] An additional reason could be the argumentative nature of Purāṇas. The Purāṇas in general (including non-Jain ones) have a dialogical structure through which they provide answers to a diverse set of questions (see Hardy 1993). This is not different in the Jain Purāṇas, which often open with King Śreṇika asking about the universe to Gautama.[60] The fact that these were the 'alternative' set of Purāṇas makes them quasi per se argumentative.[61] Further, the argumentative nature is also demonstrated by the fact that Jaina Purāṇas are – though not primarily – used in sermons, where a monk 'reads from a root text, translates it in the vernacular and then elaborates upon the text, giving homiletic examples and referring to other texts as suits the occasion' (Cort 1993: 204).

The combination of these aspects makes the Jain purāṇic discourse a perfect tool to both argue against the Brahmanical tradition as well as expound correct Jain behaviour, as is the purpose of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

1.3.3   A genre of *parīkṣā*?

Titles of texts often refer to a specific category or genre within which the text fits. As such, I have above referred already to *purāṇa* or *caritra* as the name of the specific genre that tells (parts of) the Jain Universal History. The tradition under discussion names itself *parīkṣā*. This is not a classically differentiated genre, but it is a name that is used by

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[59] These are Caturmukha (author of a lost *Abdhimathana*), Svayambhū (author of *Paümacariu* a.o.) and Puṣpadanta (author of *Mahāpurāṇa* a.o.).

[60] This framing dialogue between Śreṇika and Gautama is not present in, for example, Hemacandra's *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* and several other Śvetāmbara *caritas* (see De Clercq 2005: 607)

[61] There is discussion about the 'origin' of the epic stories (see Brockington 1998: 4-17), and some (e.g. Weber) have also noticed the relation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the early Buddhist *jātakas* (Brockington 1998: 50). However, I would argue that, at least at the time of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s conception (ninth century?), the Jain versions of the Rāma story were considered as 'alternative' to what had crystalized as Hindu versions, attributed to Vyāsa and Vālmīki, since Jainism was a minority religion to Hinduism and since the Jain Purāṇa tradition itself treats the Hindu Purāṇas as the 'other'.

multiple texts. In this section I would like to tentatively analyse what a 'genre' of *parīkṣā* could be, and why the tradition under discussion would identify itself as such. In general, the word *parīkṣā* means 'examination' or 'test'. It is perhaps most associated with Indian philosophy where it refers to testing the veracity of an assumption, as a final step of establishing a treatise (*śāstra*).[62] This goes back to Vatsyāyana's *Nyāyabhāṣa* (fourth century commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra*) where the author posits that an explanation of a theory (*śāstra*) should consist of three steps, namely *uddeśa* 'definition', *lakṣaṇa* 'characterisation', and *parīkṣā* 'ascertainment' of the appropriateness of the distinguishing characteristic by means of the *pramāṇas* (Manevskaia 2008: 105). Another interpretation of the term *parīkṣā* comes from the *Nyāyaṭīkā* (or *Nyāyabindu*) (by Dharmakīrti?) saying that it is as an 'examination' of the strengths (*prābalya*) and flaws (*daurbalya*) of the inferred theses (*yukti*) of different systems of thought (Varni vol. 3 2002: 38).[63] With such an understanding we may come closer to what our *Dharmaparīkṣā* endeavours, since it examines indeed different religious systems. However, our 'text' does not leave space for any balanced examination of Brahmanism, but only points out its mistakes. A third definition of *parīkṣā* comes from the *Dhavalā* and calls *vicaya*, *vicāraṇā*, *mimāṃsā*, and *parīkṣā* synonyms (Varni 2002: 541). This mention is particularly interesting for Amitagati's version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, since it seems to put focus on *vicāra* ('consideration'). (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, all these definitions seem to imply a philosophical nature whereas the *Dharmaparīkṣā* under discussion does not primarily fit into this category.[64] The *Jainendra Siddhānt Koś* (Varni 2002) also includes a short list of related terms in its glossary of the term *parīkṣā*, in which the fourth topic is *parīkṣā* of *deva* ('god'), *guru* ('teacher'), and *śāstra* ('treatise' or 'authoritative knowledge') (Varni 2002: 38). This is indeed the kind of examination undertaken in our *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Moreover, our authoritative author Amitagati seems to be aware of this interpretation as he affirms that one should examine a *deva* by a *deva*, a *śāstra* by a *sāstra* and a *yatin* by a *yatin* ('ascetic') (DP$_A$ 13.101).

Moving beyond definitions of the word *parīkṣā*, it is efficient to take a glance at other works that have *parīkṣā* in their title. Such a glance confirms the fact that *parīkṣā* is predominantly associated with more 'philosophical' or 'scientific' literature. For example, the index of Potter's Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy has forty-three entries

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[62] In fact, Amitagati frames his *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a *śāstra* (see Chapter 2) and calls it a *śāstra* in his *praśasti* (v. 20).

[63] Varni does not mention the author of the *Nyāyaṭīkā* he refers to.

[64] Ulrich Timme Kragh in his study of the manuscript collection of the Amer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār categorises the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati as a philosophical-religious work. Since its content does not fit with how he delineates this category (by means of the other works in it), I presume that Kragh has categorised Amitagati's text on the basis of its name. Note as well, that the dating of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Kragh's article is wrong (1003 instead of 1014) (2013: 29).

with *parīkṣā* in the title.[65] As is intrinsic to the Indian philosophical system, many of these works are religio-philosophical in character, but they use the sort of discourse that is more explanatory and analytical than how we would assess the discourse in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. To mention just one example of a 'philosophical' *parīkṣā*, I refer to Yaśovijaya's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. This seventeenth-century work bears the same title as the subject of this dissertation, but has a very different content (see Dundas 2007: 150-164).[66] As our work under discussion itself demonstrates, it would be wrong to state that the word *parīkṣā* was solely used for treatises that used a non-fictitious discourse or were of strictly philosophical nature. An example of another 'examination' that best relates to our *Dharmaparīkṣā* is the *Samayaparīkṣe* by Brahmaśiva. This is a Kannada text from the twelfth century that criticises Brahmin religion by means of satire (see Chapter 4). Similarly, to the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, this text addresses issues or bad customs that have grown into Jain practice, such as devotion to folk gods, and does this in a rather blunt style and manner (see Zydenbos 1986).

I now move on to the question: Why the frame narrative under discussion would name itself a *parīkṣā*? Firstly, I would like to note that this title does not necessarily have to be problematised. Just like many other *dharmakathās*, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* involves an examination of what is correct behaviour and what is wrong behaviour and tries to make this clear to its audience. However, in view of the overt association of *parīkṣā* with texts of a philosophical nature, a further explanation that links the two seemingly separate types of *parīkṣā*, seems appropriate. The *Dharmaparīkṣā* commits itself to looking with a critical eye towards another tradition and to testing its validity. In this way, it is related to the first definition I have previously mentioned. Viewed from this perspective, our 'text' takes up the final step of the threefold logical process, and concludes that the validity of the Brahmanical tradition does not hold.[67] In my opinion, the self-designation as *parīkṣā* of our textual tradition is deliberate and meaningful, and points exactly to the form or genre under which it wanted to be understood. As such, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* aims at participating in the debate between multiple religions and wants to argue for the validity of Jainism and invalidity of Brahmanism. This it does by means of narrative.[68]

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[65] I must acknowledge that it is difficult to assess for each of these works if we would generally understand them as 'philosophical', but from the information I gained on a selection of works it seems fair to make this claim.

[66] It is a scholarly work not exclusively directed towards monastic intellectuals that was written to controvert Dharmasāgara's *Sarvajñaśataka.*

[67] This idea seems to be especially present in Amitagati's version (see Chapter 2).

[68] This conclusion relates to Nussbaum's claims of how ethical concerns and narrative should not be seen as strictly separate in the Greek tradition, an idea which I will return to in Chapter 2 (Nussbaum 1990: 3-53).

1.3.4   The *Dharmaparīkṣā* and popular culture

I have thus far emphasised the narrative character of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and have tried to explain several dimensions in its narration. Now, I discuss yet another aspect of this narrative character, namely its relation to popular culture. Popular culture is not easy to define, and it has mostly been delineated in dialectic terms. The influential historian Peter Burke for example has delineated 'popular culture' in a negative manner as 'unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite, the "subordinate classes" as Gramsci called them' (1979: xi). In the same study on *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Burke has also explained by use of many examples, how popular culture does not limit itself to the boundaries of the 'subordinate classes', but how it has been in interaction with the elite (and middle) strata of society. I will come back to this interaction with regards to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* below. The concept of 'popular culture' goes hand in hand with that of 'folklore' and it has been the latter term that has predominated studies that are relevant to the popular character of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative. Folkloristics started with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries European fascination for 'der Volksgeist' – in Herderian language – and its *Volkslieder*, *Volksmärchen*, *Volkssagen*, etc. (see Burke 1979: 3-22). It was this enchantment of folk tales that led Western adventurers and colonial explorers to search for and collect folk stories in India.[69] The tales that they collected are the fables of the *Pañcatantra* and other stories which, as I mentioned earlier, are similar to those we find in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative. Indeed, many of the substories of the 'text' that I am treating here do not only function as Jain didacticism, but bear all the characteristics of folk tales, being that they are fictional, happen in any time or any place, include human and non-human characters and are, when extracted from their frame, relevant on a non-religious level.[70] This explicit connection should establish that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* indeed is entangled with folk or popular culture. It does not mean that the narrative as a whole originates from or is purely popular culture, or popular religion (see the 'Conclusion').[71] Just like in early modern Europe the great and little traditions interacted with elite circles participating in popular culture and popular strata drawing from elite fashions (Burke 1979: 58-64), in India popular stories became literarised for the elite and 'learned' texts were popularised for the 'commoners'. The *Dharmaparīkṣā* in its

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[69] An early adventurer was Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) (Haase 2008: 147). Colonial collectors were e.g. Mary Frère (1881) or William Crooke (2002) and most famously, Rudyard Kipling (2005).
See also Dorson (1968) and Naithani (2002).

[70] This definition comes from Bascom (1965: 5) and is useful because it distinguishes a folktale from other orally transferred narratives. A definition such as that by Ramanujan (1991) does not delimit the category of folktales as such. He describes it as 'a poetic text that carries some of its cultural context within it; it is also a travelling metaphor that finds a new meaning with each new telling' (1991: xi).

[71] In fact, also the *Pañcatantra* is involved with elite culture, since it belongs to the genre of *specula principum* ('mirrors for princes').

general characteristics finds itself on this intersection.[72] It is a composed text, meant to be literature, that draws from the popular oral tradition and takes up themes of popular religion. It has its feet in both the great and little traditions and is perhaps best thought of as being somewhere in the middle. Moreover, as a textual tradition the *Dharmaparīkṣā* varies because of the time, place, social context, etc., of the author, and this diversity also applies to its position on the continuum between the elite and popular. My analysis in the coming chapters will advance which position a specific adaptation seems to take, so that in the conclusion, I evaluate the back-and-forth interactions between elite-ish and popular-like levels of a religious community.

1.3.5   The *Dharmaparīkṣā* and *Dhūrtākhyāna*

I have mentioned in my overview of previous studies that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is often, if not always, compared to the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadra. This is because the works have a similar set-up, refer to similar purāṇic-epic stories, and both use humour to criticise the Brahmanical tradition. In order to clarify to the reader of this dissertation the basis upon which the two works are compared, I will here explain in a few sentences what kind of text the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is and by which details it is similar to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and how it is different. As a third comparative element, I will give a preliminary statement on how these two texts use humour.

The *Dhūrtākhyāna* ('The Rogue Tales') is a frame narrative best known in the version by the Śvetāmbara author Haribhadra written in Prakrit in the eighth century.[73] In fact, the narrative goes back to the *Āvaśyaka* literature in the *Nisīhavisesacunni* (seventh century) and in a condensed form in the *Nisīhabhāsa* (sixth century), and exists, just like the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, in several adaptations, including one in old-Gujarati language. The authoritative version is, however, the version by Haribhadra, and it is this text that is said to have inspired the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (Upadhye 1983: 149). For the plot of this novel, I paraphrase Osier and Balbir (2004: 26):

> During the rainy season hundreds of rogues come together in a park near Ujjain. Their leaders, Mūladeva, Śaśa, Puṇḍarīka, Elāṣāḍha and Khaṇḍapaṇā, the only woman, decide to play a game of which the reward is a feastmeal for the whole group. The rules of the game are such that each of them has to tell an experience and that the others have to prove its banality by referring to purāṇic or epic stories.

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[72] My idea of a generic *Dharmaparīkṣā* is informed by the content as it is in the version by Hariṣeṇa, or in the version by Amitagati without the elements that are particular to his adaptation, though none of the characteristics I describe would not fit the other versions as well.

[73] For studies on the *Dhūrtākhyāna* see Upadhye (1983; 2002), Krümpelmann (2000), Osier and Balbir (2004), and Osier (2005).

Indeed, for each of the narrated experiences the rogues are able to find similarly 'ridiculous' purāṇic legends and thus they must be true. Khaṇḍapāṇa is the last one to share her life experiences. After telling several episodes, which are confirmed, she turns her story thus that she reveals the identity of the other leaders as nothing more than thieves. To this, the male rogues keep quiet and accept their defeat.

Given the way in which I have described the *Dharmaparīkṣā* so far in this dissertation it should be clear that the biggest similarity between the two plots is the pattern of comparing ridiculous life stories with purāṇic-epic episodes, and that this is done to discredit the purāṇic tradition. What is not evident from the general description of these plots is that also among the stories that are told several are the same or similar. I will here list those stories or references that are similar but refer to my detailed description of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*-plot below, as well as to Osier and Balbir (2004), Upadhye (2002), and Krümpelmann (2000), for details on their specific place within the *Dhūrtākhyāna* plot.

Dhūrtākhyāna	*Dharmaparīkṣā*
Mūladeva tells how he was chased by an elephant, even when he fled into a pot. Fortunately, after he jumped out, the elephant, wanting to follow him out of the pot, got stuck by the hair of his tail. (1)[74]	Manovega tells how he and his 'brother' were chased by an elephant, even when they fled into a pot. Fortunately, after they jumped out, the elephant, wanting to follow him out of the pot, got stuck by the hair of his tail. (12)
Perplexed by Tilottamā's dance, Brahmā grows four extra heads. (1)	Perplexed by Tilottamā's dance, Brahmā grows four extra heads. The last one is the head of a donkey. (11)
Brahmā and Viṣṇu cannot find the extremities of Śiva's liṅga. (1)	Brahmā and Viṣṇu cannot find the extremities of Śiva's liṅga. (17)
Brahmā is born from Viṣṇu's navel but remains stuck to it (because of his *daṇḍa*). (1)	Brahmā is born from Viṣṇu's navel but remains stuck to it (because of his scrotum hair). (13)
The belly of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) encompasses the whole universe, which becomes a point of rivalry with Brahmā. (2)	The belly of Viṣṇu encompasses the whole universe, which makes Brahmā subjugated to him (13).
The cut-off head of Elāṣādha eats the fruits from a shrub. In the morning villagers join his head to his body again. (3)	Manovega cuts off his own head to eat the fruits in the top of a tree. When the head comes down, it is rejoined to his body (16).
Jarāsaṃdha whose body was cut in two, was rejoined again. (3)	Jarāsaṃdha whose body was cut in two, was rejoined again. (16)

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[74] The numbers refer to the chapter in which this motif occurs.

Lakṣmaṇa and several killed (dismembered) monkeys were healed by Hanumān. (3)	Hanumān rejoins the body of Angada after he was killed by Rāvaṇa's sword. (16)
Skanda, who was born in six parts from six mothers, was united into one. (3)[75]	Skanda's six heads were made into one. (16)
If Hanumān could lift a mountain, then why could not a man lift a rock. (3)	If the monkeys (from the *Rāmāyaṇa*) can lift mountains, then why could two jackals not lift a *stūpa*. (16)
Agastya swallowed the ocean. (4)	Agastya swallowed the ocean. (13)
The monkeys (from the *Rāmāyaṇa*) built a bridge across the ocean. (4)	The monkeys (from the *Rāmāyaṇa*) built a bridge across the ocean. (16)
Kuntī united with the Sun without being burned by him. (5)	Kuntī united with the Sun and remained a virgin. (14)
The wife of Yama united with Agni and was not burned by him. (5)	Chāyā, guarded by Yama, had intercourse with Agni and took him in her belly. (11)
Gautama took vengeance on Indra, after he had seduced his wife Ahalyā. (5)	Gautama took vengeance on Indra, after he had seduced his wife Ahalyā. (11)

Whereas some of these purāṇic-epic references are exactly the same, others are only partly equal.[76] It also interesting that the life experience of having his cut-off head eating fruits, as told by Elāṣādhā, is supported by exactly the same stories in the similar invented experience by Manovega. Because of the number of similar motifs and the comparative structure of the plot, Upadhye (1983) is convinced that the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s supposed original author (Jayarāma) based himself upon Haribhadra's work (149). It is totally plausible, indeed, that any author of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* after Haribhadra (eighth century) and before Hariṣeṇa's time (tenth century) would have known Haribhadra's work, since we know (also from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition) that Digambara and Śvetāmbara literature was not strictly divided. However, considering that the 'Rogue Tales' go back to the *Āvaśyaka* literature, I believe that we should not exclude the possibility that frame narratives of a similar set-up circulated already longer, probably orally, and that two of the literary products engendered by this circulation which we know today, are the ones here compared.[77]

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[75] Note that these three just-mentioned stories in both versions are used to support a similar life story. In the *Dhūrtākhyāna* they support the story of Elāṣādha whose head was rejoined to his body after it had been cut off by thieves (see Osier and Balbir 2004: 87-88). In the *Dharmaparīkṣā* they support the story of Dadhimukha (cf. infra, p. 70)

[76] For example, the reason why Brahmā is stuck to Viṣṇu's navel in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is because of the stick and the pot he is holding, whereas in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* it is his pubic hair that gets stuck in Viṣṇu's navel.

[77] I believe that it is probable that when we further unlock the Jain manuscript libraries, we would encounter other stories with such set-up.

After presenting the similarities, I will now indicate significant differences between the two narratives (see also Osier 2005; Upadhye 1983). First, I want to point out the difference in the characters of the two narratives. In the *Dhūrtākhyāna* there are only rogues telling ridiculous stories. In the *Dharmaparīkṣā* we have on the one hand the two *vidyādharas* and on the other hand the Brahmins. The *vidyādharas* are fictitious figures, popular in Jain *kathās* and *Purāṇas*, able to transform into characters that evoke questions in the Brahmins. Especially the lead *vidyādhara* (Manovega) cannot be blamed for faults because he only makes up stories of fictitious gaffes to confront the Brahmins. This is in contrast to the rogues or Khaṇḍapānā, who even after winning the contest, remains a rogue. As such, next to pointing out the illogicalities of the Brahmanical narratives, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is stronger in also guiding the audience towards a correct religious path. This is moreover emphasised by the interference of a Jain monk from whom our main character has received the authority to teach his friend (and the audience). As said, the Brahmins form the second type of character and are the dialogue partners of our *vidyādharas*. Their presence makes that there is more at stake for the flying creatures. Not only do they impose fear, but they also make the debate between the two religions very real.[78] Unlike in the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* the debate between the *vaidika* affiliates and the Jain affiliates is staged as if it would be in real life, with the difference of the setting and the magical elements. This makes the soteriological effect of the narrative under discussion stronger, since it is easier for the audience to assimilate, and enables the narrative to end with the rules of lay conduct that bring the listeners one step closer to achieving the Jain goal, than in the *Dhūrtākhyāna*.

Both these narratives are said to be satires (Leumann 1902; Mironow 1903; Upadhye 2002; Osier 2005),[79] because they ridicule the Brahmanical belief in the purāṇic and epic corpus.[80] Indeed, the humorous element within their plots is evident, but there are important differences in the way this humour works. First of all, the difference in characters influences the humoristic effect. In the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, there are rogues on both sides of the dialogue. Because of that, we know that we are dealing with untrustworthy characters whose stories we should not believe. However, it is not explicit whether the experiences are true or not, or whether the rogues actually believe in the purāṇic-epic

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[78] Osier has also noted this (2005: 211-215; see above).

[79] Osier actually leaves room for interpretation. He writes 'Satire ou autre genre littéraire, l'essentiel reste: [...] le recours à la dérision dans la disussion avec les brahmanes sur des points de théologie s'est fait littérairement jour [...] dans les deux courants principaux de la religion jaïna et a abouti à la constitution d'un corpus satirique' (2005: 37).

[80] The meaning of satire has undergone several changes in history (see Horstmann and Pauwels' introductory discussion in Horstmann and Pauwels 2012), so that today there is no single agreed upon definition of it. Sometimes it is strictly associated with classical Greek and Roman culture, but more often it is seen as involved in overturning power structures, although not all 'satires' have that intent. I choose not to go deeper into this discussion and leave an examination of whether or not these texts are satirical for later study. See also fn. 21.

stories. The confrontation of the ridiculous stories of these debased characters with the Brahmanical ones leads to a parody of the latter and highlights the brilliance of the rogues' deceitfulness. This reversal of status adds to the hilarious effect of the narrative. In the *Dharmaparīkṣā* Manovega is identified as a faithful Jain. After telling his 'life story', of which we know it is untrue because he fakes being someone else, he supports it by referring to purāṇic-epic stories told by the Brahmins, of whom we know they are the religious opponents. Because of his moral superiority Manovega acquires the personality of a worthy debating partner and even of a teacher. The confrontation of this ridiculous experience and the Brahmanical narrative remains parodic and evokes laughter, but the tone is immediately much more didactic. Secondly, the setting of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* frames the parodic confrontation as in fact a serious issue. Manovega is afraid for his friend and is therefore advised by a monk to go into these narrative debates with the Brahmins. What is at stake is more than just ridiculing the purāṇic-epic narratives but is to effectuate a significant change in his friend's (and perhaps that of the Brahmins') beliefs. The *Dhūrthākhyāna* also unmistakably wants to have a similar effect on its audience, but this is only explicit in the final verses of Haribhadra. Therefore, I believe that the humour in both works is slightly different and I suspect that the *Dhūrtākhyāna* would have been received with more laughter than the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[81]

1.4   What is the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition?

This dissertation analyses the textual tradition that is made up of different *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts that have more or less the same content. In the opening paragraphs of this Introduction I have explained what I mean by textual tradition and in the sections thereafter I have explained what a generic *Dharmaparīkṣā* would be, as well as already referring to some of the texts that make up its tradition. Here, I will firstly discuss in detail which texts I will include within the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition under review, who their authors are, and when, where and in which language they were composed. Secondly, I will analyse the geographic circulation of this textual tradition. This enables us to assess the popularity in terms of the spread of particular adaptations.[82]

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[81] I leave a more definite answer to this issue for later research. Such research might also take into account the question of the effect of humour on the two narratives popularity. It seems that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was repeated more frequently and was more widespread than the *Dhūrtākhyāna*.

[82] Most of what is discussed in the current section, has been published in De Jonckheere (2019).

1.4.1 Its authors

In order to create a chronology of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition I have used a diverse set of sources. My first resort was the secondary literature specifically on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that initially brought my attention to the multiplicity of the narrative. Mironow (1903: 4) mentions as authors Hariṣeṇa and Vṛttavilāsa next to Amitagati, and Upadhye (1942: 592-593) includes a list of ten authors in total, based on the then still unfinished *Jinaratnakośa* (1944) by Velankar. The same list is repeated in the introduction to the edition of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Śāstri (1978: 15), while the edition of Hariṣeṇa's *Dhammaparikkhā* by Bhāskar (1990: ii-iii) lists a total of seventeen *Dharmaparīkṣās*. I have compiled my own list of authors based on manuscript catalogues and the database by NAMAMI, and used as well Johrāpurkar (1958) and Caudharī (1998).[83] My preliminary selection of texts that could belong to the textual tradition under discussion is based upon their title, namely if this title is 'Dharmaparīkṣā' or a translation thereof. Additionally, I have found three anonymous works titled *Manovegakathā*, *Manovegapavanavegakathānaka* and *Manovegapavanavegacaupāī*.[84] At this point, it is important to mention that Indian literary works sometimes share the same title while not sharing the same content. [85] As such, there are some *Dharmaparīkṣās* that do not tell the story of Manovega and Pavanavega, and thus do not belong to the currently discussed tradition. Nevertheless, for reasons of completeness I am listing here all of the names of authors who wrote a *Dharmaparīkṣā:*[86]

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[83] The list of catalogues I have used can be found in the bibliography of this thesis.

[84] Attested respectively in the *Jaina Granthāvalī* and the Dela Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār (Velankar 1944, p. 301), and in Jaisalmer (Jambūvijaya et al. 2000, p. 93).

[85] The *Dharmasaṃgraha*, for example, is both a famous work ascribed to the Buddhist author, Nāgārjuna that glosses Buddhist technical terms, and a work by the Jain author, Mānavijaya describing the duties of Jain laity and ascetics (Winternitz 1933, pp. 347, 594).

[86] I have chosen to list these authors in alphabetical order instead of chronological order, which might seem more informative. This is firstly because we do not know the date of each author and secondly because not all works belong to 'the tradition'. Therefore, a chronological order would not be very informative of the relation between these works.

For the authors whose *Dharmaparīkṣās* are excluded from the tradition under discussion, or for which it is unclear if they belong to it, I add extra information – if that is available – in the footnotes.

I have marked the authors that are not mentioned in Upadhye (1942) with one star (*). Except for Pārśvakīrti, Manohardās, and Devavijaya, these are also not mentioned by Bhāskar (1990). The authors marked with two stars (**) are mentioned by Bhāskar (1990) or Caudhurī (1998) but I did not find them in the manuscript catalogues.

Amitagati, Daśarath Nigantvā*,[87] Devasena*,[88] Devavijaya*,[89] Devendrakirti**,[90] Hariṣeṇa, Jinadāsa*, Jinamaṇḍana,[91] Lakṣmaṇaprasādativarri*, Mānavijaya,[92] Manohara Lāla*,[93] Manohardās*, Manovega*,[94] Nayasena*,**,[95] Nayavijaya*,[96] Padmasāgara, Pannalāl Caudharī*, Pārśvakīrti*,[97] Rāmacandra, Sahasoma ji*, Saubhāgyasāgara, Śrutakīrti*, Sumatikīrti*, unknown*, Vādisingh**,[98] Viśālakīrti**,[99] Vṛttavilāsa, and Yaśovijaya.[100]

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[87] Composed in 1718 CE in Sanskrit with Hindi prose (ṭīkā) (Kāslīvāl 1962: 355). The content of this work is unclear.

[88] Written in Kannada script (Velankar 1944).

[89] See Mānavijaya (fn. 86).

[90] Composed in Marathi and dated to the seventeenth century by Bhāskar (1990: iii).

[91] Written at the end of the fifteenth century (Caudhuri 1998: 278). Jinamaṇḍana supposedly also wrote a *Śraddhā-guṇa-vivaraṇa* (Williams 1963: 15). Based upon my reading of a manuscript of the text, I think this *Dharmaparīkṣā* is a kind of sermon. It seems to contain stories and quotes from Prakrit works and from the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata(purāṇa).

[92] Bhāskar (1990, p. iii) and the catalogue of Kobā Tīrth refer to two separate *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts by Mānavijaya and Devavijaya, and I have collected both manuscripts tagged Devavijaya and Mānavijaya. However, these manuscripts contain the same text and are, in my reading, composed by Mānavijaya, since the *praśasti* contains 'gadya-baṃdhāt kathā ceyaṃ vṛta-baṃdhākṛtā mayā su-manāvijayākhyena śuddhī-kāryā-supaṃditai.' ('The story that was written in prose, is now composed by me, the honourable Mānavijaya, in verse; [the story] which purifies the wise men.') (ms. Koba n. 16167, v. 365). This is why I refer here to one text using two names separated by a forward slash.
This work does not provide its date of composition.

[93] See Kāslīvāl (1967: 716).

[94] This is the name of the main character of the narrative and thus most unlikely the name of an author.

[95] According to Bhāskar this work was written in Sanskrit-Kannada in 1125 CE (1990: iii). If this is a correct attestation and if this work included indeed the story of Manovega and Pavanavega, then it is possible that Vṛttavilāsa knew or used this work to make his own composition.

[96] This might be a wrong attestation by the catalogue-compiler, because Nayavijaya was the predecessor of Yaśovijaya.

[97] Reference to Pārśvakīrti as the author of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* is found in (Bhāskar 1990, p. iii; Velankar 1944, p. 190; Śāstrī 1998). The edition of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (Śāstrī 1998: (353-371) includes an unedited *Dharmaparīkṣākathā* that is said to be composed by Pārśvakīrti (the header reads *pārśvakīrtiviracitā*). However, the text included in the edition appears to be the text by Rāmacandra. Firstly, the text itself reads: *iti śrī-rāmacandreṇa muninā guṇa-śālinā| khyātā dharmaparīkṣā sā kṛtā kṛtar iyaṃ tataḥ//* (Śāstrī 1998, p. 378). 'In this way the virtuous muni Śrī Rāmacandra has composed this literary work, the famous Dharmaparīkṣā.' The sentence referring to Pārśvakīrti comes only after the seemingly closing sentence of the text: *iti dharmaparīkṣākathā samāptāḥ //cha// śubhaṃ bhavatu lekhaka-pāṭhakayoḥ/ graṃ 200/ śrī-sarasvatyai namaḥ/ śrī-deśīyagaṇāgra-gaṇya-sakala-saṃyama-guṇāmbhodhi-śrī-pārśvakīrti-muni-rājasya dharmaparīkṣā-granthasya śubham astu/ kalyāṇam astu/* (Śāstrī 1998, p. 378). Moreover, manuscripts of the *Dharmaparīkṣākathā* ascribed to Rāmacandra (BORI 1270 of 1891–95; BORI 1268 of 1886–92; Hemacandra Jain Jñān Bhaṇḍāra Pāṭaṇ 1762) contain the same text and do not include the last sentence referring to Pārśvakīrti, who would be the muni in whose possession the manuscript (*grantha*) was (so for whom it was copied).

[98] Attested by Caudhuri (1998: 275) who states that it is described in the Jain monastery (*math*) of Varanga (Karnataka).

[99] According to Bhāskar (1990: iii) written in Sanskrit Śaka Saṃvat 1729.

[100] Seventeenth Century (see Dundas 2007).

I have not been able to find a manuscript or a conclusive description of all these texts, so that for some authors it is at present not clear to me if their *Dharmaparīkṣā* contains the narrative of Manovega and Pavanavega. On the contrary, I am certain that the texts by Jinamaṇḍana, Mānavijaya, and Yaśovijaya have different content. The authors who have certainly written a *Dharmaparīkṣā* within the tradition I am discussing are included in the following table:

Author	Time of Composition	Language	Affiliation	Place
Hariṣeṇa	1044 VS (988 CE)[101]	Apabhraṃśa	Digambara	Citrakuṭa/ Acalapura[102]
Amitagati	1070 VS (1014 CE)[103]	Sanskrit	Digambara	Mālava[104]
Vṛttavilāsa	ca. 1360 CE[105]	Kannada	Digambara	Karnāṭaka[106]
Jinadāsa	15th century	Old Hindi	Digambara[107]	
Śrutakīrti	ca. 1552 VS (1495 CE)	Apabhraṃśa	Digambara	Jerahaṭ[108]
Saubhāgyasāgara	1571 VS (1515 CE)[109]	Sanskrit	Śvetāmbara	

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[101] See Upadhye (1942: 596).

[102] Hariṣeṇa came from Citrakuṭa but composed the text in Acalapura (*cittaüḍu* and *acalaüraha* in the text: Sandhi XI, Kaḍavaka 26).

[103] Amitagati, Dharmaparīkṣā, *praśasti* v.20:

saṃvatsarāṇāṃ vigate sahasre sasaptatau vikrama-pārthivasya, idaṃ niṣiddhānya-mataṃ samāptaṃ jinendra-dharmāmṛta-yukta-śāstram. 20

[104] Amitagati wrote during the reign of the Paramāra dynasty in the Mālava region (see Chapter 2). In the *Pañcasaṃgraha*, Amitagati accounts that he wrote the work in Masūtikāpurā (present-day Masīd Bilaudā) (*Jainagrantha-praśasti-saṃgraha* 1954, p. 70).

[105] Upadhye and Rice ascribe Vṛttavilāsa to circa 1160 CE (Upadhye 1942, p. 592; Rice 1921: 37). Venkatasubbiah argues that he lived around 1345 CE (Venkatasubbiah 1931, p. 520). Rao follows Venkatasubbiah and writes that Vṛttavilāsa must have lived circa 1360 CE (1982, p. 3). I follow the argument of Rao and Venkatasubbiah (see also Chapter 4).

[106] Rao writes that, according to Devacandra's *Rājāvalli Katte*, Vṛttavilāsa lived during the reign of the Hoysāla king Ballala (1982: 4).

[107] See Kāslīvāl (1967: 31-32).

[108] Biographical information about the author Śrutakīrti is taken from the *praśasti* of the *Harivamśapurāṇa* by the same author (see Jain 1952, 1949). Jerahaṭ should probably be located near Damoh in Madhya Pradesh (See the discussion by Hira Lal Jain: 2002: 86–91).

[109] See Caudharī 1998: 275; Velaṅkar 1944: 190.

Sumatikīrti	1625 VS (1568/1569 CE)[110]	Braj Bhāṣā	Digambara	Haṃsoṭ[111]
Padmasāgara	1645 VS (1588/1589 CE)[112]	Sanskrit	Śvetāmbara	Velākūlapura
Rāmacandra	17th century[113]	Sanskrit	Digambara	
Manohardās	1705 VS (1649 CE)	Braj Bhāṣā	Digambara	Dhāmpur[114]
Daśaratha Nigotiā	1718 VS (1661 CE)	Rājasthāni[115]		
Nemavijaya	1821 VS (1764/1765 CE)[116]	Gujarati	Śvetāmbara	

This chronological table testifies to the popularity of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative throughout several centuries, as it was told or written and retold or rewritten from the tenth century until at least the seventeenth century. The oldest version was written in Apabhraṃśa by Hariṣeṇa, who himself claims that he has based his *Dharmaparīkṣā* on a composition in *gāthās* by Jayarāma.[117] A manuscript of this text has not yet been found and Hariṣeṇa's account is the only mention of it.[118] The most widespread version was written in Sanskrit by Amitagati, whose composition seems to have served as the basis for later versions (Manohardās explicitly refers to Amitagati's text as his source). By the early modern period (ca. 1500–1800), *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts were being composed in vernacular literary languages, as is indicated by the texts of Sumatīkirti and Manohardās

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[110] Because the Vikrama Saṃvat calendar and the Gregorian calendar do not start at the same time, it is impossible to translate the date into an exact corresponding date of the Gregorian calendar when only the year of composition is given. This issue is even more complex from the fact that there are two variants of the Vikrama Saṃvat calendar (*pūrṇimānta* and *amānta*) with different monthly schemes and thus starting at different times. It is for that reason that I give two possible dates of the Gregorian calendar, when I do not refer to a secondary source.

[111] See Johrāpurkar 1958: 198.

[112] Padmasāgara, *Dharmaparīkṣā*, v. 1483:

tadrājye vijayiny ananyamatayaḥ śrīvācakāgresarā, dyotante bhuvi dharmmasāgaramahopādhyāyaśuddhā dhiyā, teṣāṃ śiṣyakaṇena pañcayugaṣaṭcandrāṅkite vatsare (1645), velākūlapure sthitena racito grantho'yam ānandataḥ. 1483

[113] Bhāskar 1990: iii. This dating is presumptive as the text itself does not seem to render any date.

[114] See Kāslīvāl 1950, *prastāvnā*, p. 20.

[115] See Kāslīvāl 1967: 311.

[116] Nemavijaya, *Dharmaparīkṣā Rās*, Khaṇḍa IX Ḍhāla 7, v. 8:

saṃvat āḍhāra ekavīsamāṃ vaiśāka sudda paḷa, tithi pāṃcama guru vāsare gāyā guṇa meṃ saḷ ka°.

[117] *jā jayarāmeṃ āsi viraïya gāha-pabaṃdhi, sāhammi dhammaparikkha sāpaddhaḍiya baṃdhi.* (Kāslīvāl 1950, p. 109). The edition (Hariṣeṇa 1990) renders *jā jagarāmeṃ āsi viraïya gāha-pavaṃdhiṃ, sāhami dhammaparikkha sā paddhaḍiyāvaṃdhiṃ.* Manuscripts 478, 483, and 491 from the Jaina Vidyā Saṃsthān, and manuscript 617 (1875–1876) from BORI all render *jayarāma* instead of *jagarāma*. As such, Kāslīvāl's rendering seems more correct.

[118] From his comparison of Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's text, Upadhye (1942) hypothesises that a Prakrit text, possibly by Jayarāma, served as the independent basis for both versions.

in Braj, Nemavijaya in Gujarati, and Daśaratha Nigotiā in Rājasthāni. Jinadāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā Rās* seems to be a forerunner of this trend. This shows, on the one hand, the rise in literary importance of these languages among the Jains, and on the other hand, the importance of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to be translated in vernacular languages. In the same period, we see that Sanskrit continues to be used as a literary language (in the new versions of Saubhāgyasāgara, Padmasāgara, and Rāmacandra).

1.4.2 Its circulation (the manuscript tradition)

To speak of a tradition implies a cultural transmission. This transmission has so far been discussed as the diachronic creative literary engagement with a cultural property, i.e. the creation of adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative. However, there is another side to this textual tradition, another type of transmission that has influenced the former cultural transmission and that has been maintained by the receiving party of these creations. This is the material transmission or circulation of *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts, or the *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscript tradition.

In what follows I will discuss the material transmission of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition in order to further establish the narrative's widespread popularity. My analysis will also give insights into the varied ways in which manuscripts are conserved today, and the difficulties this brings with it for an assessment as the one here probed.

A first indicator of the material circulation of a text or textual tradition would be the number of manuscripts that were produced from it. Today of course, the exact number of manuscripts that were ever produced is impossible to ascertain. One can only resort to the extant manuscripts, especially those that have been recorded in catalogues. Through the method of consulting all the catalogues I could retrieve,[119] I have found 232 manuscripts titled *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Of those manuscripts, twenty-five are of a different type of text, as they contain the texts composed by Yaśovijaya, Jinamaṇḍana, and Mānavijaya/Devavijaya. Another thirty-eight manuscripts are unclear regarding their contents. This leaves 169 manuscripts which belong to the *Dharmaparīkṣā*-tradition that is defined by the story of Manovega and Pavanavega.

The numerical distribution of the manuscripts according to ascribed authors shows a relatively greater importance of Amitagati's text. With a presence of seventy-nine manuscripts (i.e. forty-six percent of the 169 manuscripts), Amitagati's composition is confirmed to be the most popular version in material terms. The second most occurring author is Manohardās, with forty-six manuscripts.

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[119] These are the same catalogues as the ones consulted for the different *Dharmaparīkṣā* compositions (cf. supra).

Another indicator to estimate the importance and popularity of a textual tradition is its geographical spread. Geographical information is found most broadly in the manuscript catalogues (in addition to more local geographical references in the manuscripts themselves). In order to visualise the spread of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, I have chosen to map the places where the manuscripts are stored today using three types of catalogues. The first type are catalogues of community-based manuscript libraries (the *bhaṇḍāras*) that, in addition to a list of manuscripts kept in the library, often contain extra details such as the date of composition and state of the manuscript.[120] The second type of catalogues list the collection of institute-based libraries (e.g., BORI). These catalogues contain similar details and are often more easily available through a wider spread publication. The last type is the 'catalogues of catalogues' (e.g. *Catalogus Catalogorum*) that exist as general registers, reports (e.g. Peterson Reports) or databases (e.g. NAMAMI) of manuscripts referring to the places where the manuscripts are kept.

Figure 1 visualises the geographical spread of the extant manuscripts, pinning each location for which there is a catalogue entry of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscript.[121]

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[120] These include, e.g. the handwritten list of the manuscripts at the Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Prācīna Jinālaya in Idar (retrieved in photographs), but also Kāslīvāl's *Rājasthān ke Jain śāstra bhaṇḍāroṃ kī grantha sūcī* in four volumes.

[121] I have only included the manuscripts of *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts of which I know for certain they contain the story of Manovega and Pavanavega.

Figure 1 Places of preservation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* textual tradition
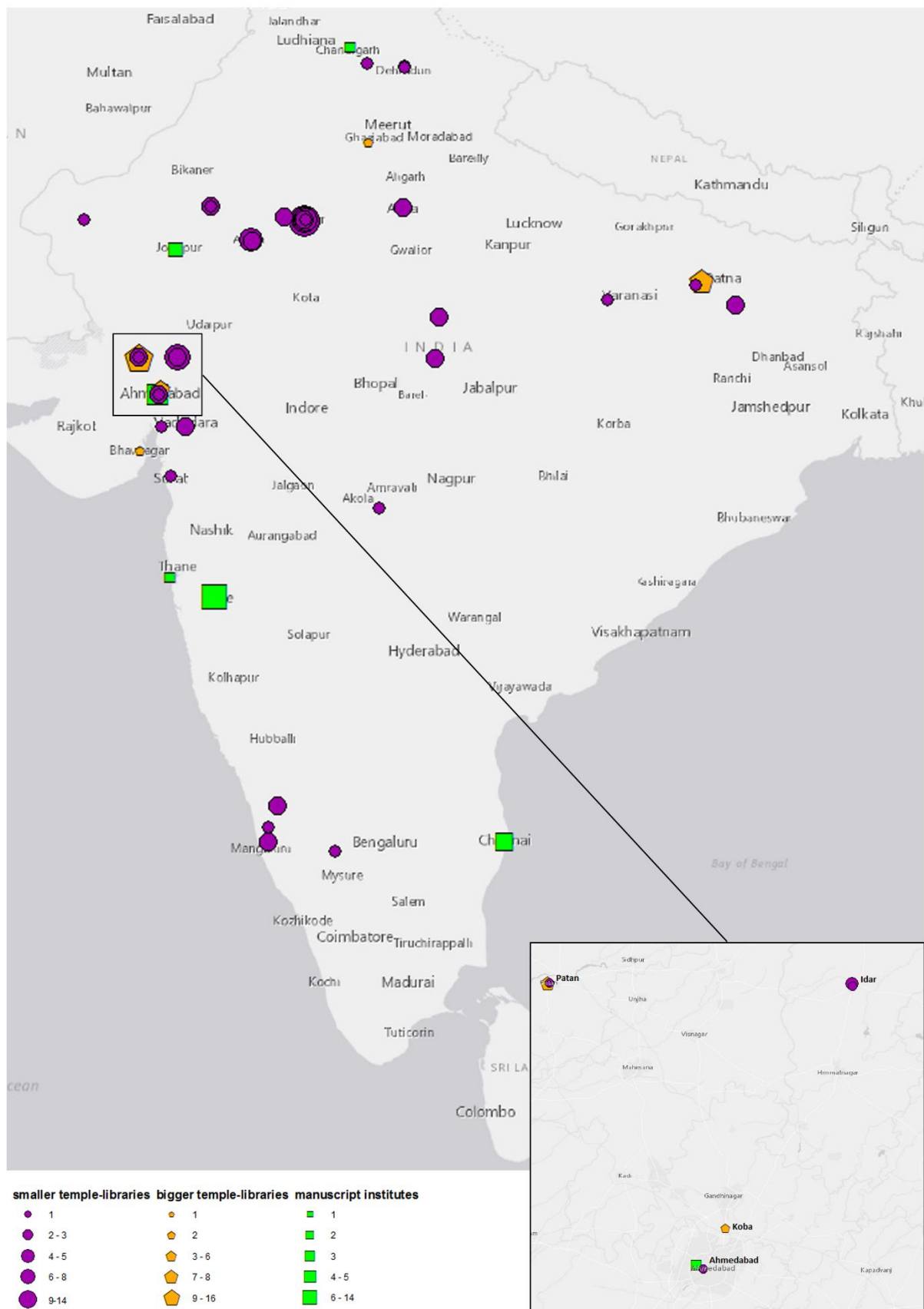
The points on the map represent the places where *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscripts are now housed and do not show where the manuscripts were produced or where they have been kept throughout the centuries. Moreover, as some catalogues or registers date from decades back, the points also do not guarantee that one would still find a *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscript at the pinpointed places today. What the points on the map do represent are the places where, at a certain point in time, a manuscript of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was kept. This indicates that, in those specific places, the manuscript was deemed valuable to be either kept for practical reasons (it was used), or for reasons of preservation (the text was considered 'worthy' to be preserved). The marks on the map are differentiated by colour and form to indicate the type of library in which the manuscripts have been attested. A purple dot indicates a smaller library traditionally attached to a Jain temple (*jñāna bhaṇḍāra*). An orange pentagon refers to the bigger Jain temple-libraries that have established themselves as quasi-research institutes and contain multiple manuscript collections, some of which were originally kept in *bhaṇḍāras* at other places.[122] Green squares represent the manuscript institutes (e.g. BORI) that only house manuscripts collected from other collections (including private collections and traditional *bhaṇḍāras*) and were established solely for the purpose of research. The development of these institutes has nevertheless been crucial for manuscript preservation and progress in the study of literature.

The purple dots, representing the smaller libraries, are of most interest because they are most likely to contain manuscripts obtained through traditional networks and preserved for traditional reasons. The locations of the bigger Jain *bhaṇḍāras* (orange pentagons) are also elucidating with regard to the geographical spread of the textual tradition, because the collections these organisations have gathered into one library originate from places with which the Jain organisation has or had social connections.[123]

Most of the locations pinpointed on the map keep more than one manuscript of *Dharmaparīkṣā* and often by the same author. As such, the map does not represent the total number of manuscripts. The Jain Vidyā Saṃsthān in Jaipur, which includes the former famous collection of the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār, for example, holds, according to the catalogues, eight manuscripts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, two by Hariṣeṇa, and three by Manohardās. However, it must be noted that when I visited in January 2017, I was shown three manuscripts by Hariṣeṇa, three by Amitagati and none by Manohardās,

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[122] Cort (1995a) has described how the collection of the Hemacandra Jñān Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ was consolidated from several collections coming from places including Ahmedabad, Jaisalmer, Kacch, and Panjab because of impetuses like political choices and connections between laymen of different *saṅghas*. As such, the Hemacandra Jñān Bhaṇḍār is indicated by an orange pentagon.

[123] It has to be noted that these bigger *bhaṇḍāras* are not all completely transparent as to which policies they follow in collecting manuscripts (e.g. questions have been raised among scholars of Jain studies about which practices Kobā Tīrth in Gujarat is applying).

indicating a discrepancy between the published catalogues and the present-day situation. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that some manuscripts got lost in the archives, some might have suffered from decay due to the fragile character of manuscripts, while others might have been on loan, or simply because catalogues are not necessarily correct. The Jain Vidyā Saṃsthān is an example of the bigger libraries marked in orange. Over the years, these *bhaṇḍāras* have become large temple-based research institutes devoted to the preservation of manuscripts coming from their own original collection, and also manuscripts collected from smaller *bhaṇḍāras*. The best example of such a library is the Hemacandra Jñān Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ, as it gathered a number of temple-based manuscript collections and is managed by a trust directed by Jain lay people. Other collecting manuscript libraries are attached to research institutes (like BORI) and university libraries (marked with green squares). The size of the marks (dots, pentagons, and squares) on the map are graduated according to the number of *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscripts each library holds (the larger the mark, the more manuscripts kept in that library, with a maximum of fourteen in one place). Notice that Jaipur has a cluster of libraries where many *Dharmaparīkṣā* manuscripts are kept, the most important libraries being the *Jain Baḍā Terahpanthī Maṇḍir* (see Kāslīvāl 1962, 1954) and the *Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār* at the *Jain Vidyā Saṃsthān* (see Kāslīvāl 1950).

Figure 1 clearly shows that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* textual tradition as a whole was widely spread across the subcontinent. In addition, Figures 2 and 3 below visualise the material spread of the texts by Amitagati and Manohardās, which are the two dominant versions in numerical terms. Both versions seem to have been well circulated. Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, next to having a numerical dominance, also has a distributional dominance. Manuscripts of his composition are found in both North and South India in smaller *bhaṇḍāras*, and his version is also preserved in more eastern parts of India in the Jain Siddhānt Bhavan in Arrah, a research institute of Jain affiliation. Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* has been well spread across northern India. The most southern mark on the map points to BORI in Pune which holds manuscripts originally collected from other places. The relatively strong presence of the text by Manohardās in North India is presumably related to the language of the text, which is Braj Bhāṣā. Premodern Hindi (a term for a set of languages to which Braj belongs) was used as a literary medium from Gujarat to Bengal and from northern Hindustan to the Deccan.[124] Manohardās' text was thus part of this wide and flourishing literary culture due to its language, but presumably its aesthetical value also had an impact. With regards to the other versions it is difficult to make conclusive interpretations, because of the limitations in terms of which *bhaṇḍāras* have been catalogued and the tendencies there have been over the last few decades to incorporate smaller *bhaṇḍāra* collections into a bigger institute. Based on the

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[124] For a discussion on Braj literature, I refer to the Introduction of (Busch 2011a).

present manuscript holdings, except for Amitagati's version, there are only two other *Dharmaparīkṣās* that are attested in both northern and southern India. Manuscripts of Vṛttavilāsa's Kannada *Dharmaparīkṣe* are attested in various (mostly private) collections in Karnāṭaka (see Rao 1986), in the Govermental Library in Madras (Taylor 1857, vol. 1: 635) and in the Jain Siddhant Bhavan in Arrah Velaṅkar 1942: 190). Manuscripts of the supposedly southern (see Chapter 5) Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* attributed to Pārśvakīrti (who is in fact Rāmacandra; cf. supra, and see Chapter 5) are attested in the Vāraṅga Jain Math (Velaṅkar 1942: 190), as well as in the Baḍā Maṇḍir in Jaipur (Kāslīvāl 1954. 322) and the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ (n. 1768). It is not surprising that other versions did not find their way across the northern-southern Indian border, because they are either in a North Indian vernacular or Śvetāmbara, but it is interesting that the two southern versions did. For Vṛttavilāsa's text I suggest that the preservation of a manuscript of his work in Bihar is a consequence of the collecting activities of this temple-based institute. The spread of the text by Rāmacandra seems to be more connected to traditional transmission networks, since his text is kept in smaller northern and southern *bhaṇḍāras*. I suggest that the text's language benefitted its transmission and that its abridged form made it easier (and cheaper) to be reproduced, and therefore perhaps more attractive to patrons and collectors.

Figure 2. Places of preservation of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā.*

Figure 3. Places of preservation of Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā.*

The three maps together illustrate a relatively strong presence of manuscripts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in western India, which is known to have a prominent Jain community. Interestingly, there seems to be no necessary division between Śvetāmbara and Digambara repositories with regards to the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, as manuscripts of Digambara versions such as that by Amitagati are well present in Śvetāmbara libraries (e.g., Hemacandra Jñān Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ). The textual tradition also made its way to South India where, next to manuscripts of Vṛttavilāsa's Kannada version, Amitagati's text is also preserved. The *Dharmaparīkṣā* today is kept in both traditional Jain libraries as well as research institutes without affiliation (e.g. The Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Madras). With this, we can conclude that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts knew a vivid circulation and therefore seem to have been liked by the Jain community who decided to copy a specific manuscript, or have it copied. Although the number of manuscripts I have found is not overwhelming, it is still a significant number. Moreover, this number is definitely not a final count, as many libraries and smaller collections have not been catalogued.

The material transmission of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* does not only demonstrate its geographical circulation, but also tells us something about its social circulation. On the basis of the *puṣpikās* (scribal colophons) as well as the form of some of the manuscripts I have collected, I was able to make some conclusions about the practical use of the *Dharmaparīkṣās* as well as the social agents who participated in and stimulated its

circulation.[125] In some cases the text was used by lay people for their own reading or study, sometimes it was gifted to a *muni* (monk) by lay patrons who outsourced the copying of a manuscript to professional scribes. Further, the colophons also demonstrate that one manuscript could circulate across sectarian boundaries. As for the texts' practical use, the colophons testify that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was read, but also suggest that it was recited in religious circles. The existence of *guṭakā* ('notebook') manuscripts further prove that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* played a vital role in actual religious practice. In contrast to *pothī* manuscripts, these were devoid of any aesthetical concerns and could be 'noted' down by multiple people for practical purposes of study or recitation. This picture I have sketched about the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s social circulation accords with the general perception we have of the Jain manuscript tradition, wherefore we can say that the narrative followed a normative pattern of religious use.

1.5   Dissertation design

In this dissertation I will analyse different adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in order to ascertain the popularity of this type of narrative, to determine the different receptions of the story and varied engagements with it and, more broadly, in order to discuss the production of literary adaptations in the Jain community. This dissertation will further add to our knowledge of the varied ways in which the relationships between Jains and non-Jains were mitigated, the function of the narrative to Jain religious practice and the place of Jain littérateurs in Indian literary culture.

After this Introduction, Chapter 2 will treat the authoritative version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by the eleventh century mendicant, Amitagati. My analysis will show this adaptation to fully participate in the learned circles of contemporary Sanskrit literary culture, which was then at its zenith. In Chapter 3, I turn to the topic of vernacularisation by analysing the vernacular (Brajbhāṣā) 'translation' of the previous text by the seventeenth century author, Manohardās. This adaptation will prove to be not only vernacularised in terms of language, but also in terms of culture and even religiosity. Chapter 4 discusses the southern poetic version in Kannada by Vṛttavilāsa. It illustrates an adaptation that is engaged in the culture of classical poetics in the vernacular language.[126] In Chapter 5, I discuss in less detail other Sanskrit versions of the

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[125] The details of this analysis can be read in De Jonckheere 2019.

[126] This fourth chapter will be based mostly on secondary literature, whereas the first and second chapter build upon my study of the primary material. My discussions in Chapter 5 are based on selective primary readings.

Dharmaparīkṣā, namely the two Śvetāmbara versions by Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara and the version by Rāmacandra, in order to illustrate the variety of adaptive products, processes and engagements that the narrative under discussion has engendered. The obvious 'absent' author in this dissertation is Hariṣeṇa, who wrote the oldest extant version. I have chosen not to treat his adaptation in a separate chapter or section, because it has already been discussed by several scholars (Upadhye 1942; Osier 2005) and, in contrast to Amitagati's version, it did not appear to impact with such gravity the continuation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition. In addition, I felt more motivated to disclose to a wider scholarly audience vernacular versions (i.e. Hindi and Kannada) that have not been previously studied or have been described in Indian languages (i.e. Kannada; see Rao 1986). However, details on how Hariṣeṇa's text compares with the text by Amitagati are included in Chapter 2. Closing this dissertation, in the Conclusion, I will bring together the different strategies, motivations, and engagements involved in the creation and reception of the different adaptions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā.* By doing so, I will establish how the reception history of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was guided by continuation as well as change and elucidate historical practices of adaptation within the Jain community.

1.6   The narrative in detail

I bring this introduction to a close by providing an extended paraphrase of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, including references to chapter and verse numbers in the edition (Śāstri 1978).

The composition opens with an invocation of the supreme beings, the *tīrthaṅkaras* (1.1), the *siddhas* (1.2), the *sūris* (1.3), *adhyāpakas* (1.4), and *sādhus* (1.5), and an invocation of Sarasvatī (1.6), followed by introductory verses to excuse the poet's difficulty in explaining *dharma* (1.7-1.16). Then follows the main plot:

'On Jambūdvīpa, in Bharatakṣetra, there is a mountain range called Vijayārdha, which has sixty cities on its northern and fifty cities on its southern flank and is inhabited by Vidyādharas (1.17-1.26). On that mountain lies the city Vaijayantī (1.27), where King Jitaśatru ruled (1.32). He had a wife called Vāyuvega (1.37) and together they had a son Manovega (1.43). Manovega was a devout Jain and he befriended the son of the king of another city on that mountain, Priyāpurī, who was named Pavanavega (1.48). Pavanavega was touched by the venom of false belief (*mithyātva*) (1.50). This concerned Manovega who pondered in his mind day and night on how to help his friend turn towards Jainism. He decided to wander the earth in search for a solution (1.51-54). At some point, his *vimāna* ('heavenly chariot') halted and Manovega asked himself if this is due to an ascetic,

a friend, or an enemy (1.56). Peering down upon the earth to find the cause of this obstruction, his gaze was caught by the beautiful city of Ujjayinī in the middle of the Mālava region (1.57-58). In the north of that city there was a park in which a *muni* was sitting (1.64). Manovega descended from the sky and bowed down at the feet of the *muni* (1.69-70) whose name is Jinamati (2.1). Manovega then asked Jinamati to explain the concept of *saṃsāra,* to explain if there is a god, and how much suffering and happiness exists in the world (2.2). Jinamati replied that happiness and suffering are inseparable in *saṃsāra* and illustrated this with a parable of a traveller and an elephant (2.3):

> On his travels a traveller falls into a pit full of threatening snakes. An elephant passes by and starts shaking a tree that stands on the edge of the pit. Because of that, the bees residing in the tree start swarming all around causing pain to the traveller. He looks up in despair and while doing so a drop of honey falls on his frightened lips. This makes him long for more of the honey. Thus, he remains in a situation of concurrent suffering and happiness (2.5-21).

After this, Jinamati elaborated on his explanation of *saṃsāra* and *dharma* (2.22-52). When the teaching ended, Manovega bowed to his feet (2.82) and asked: "My friend has fallen into false belief (*mithyātva*). How can I help him to turn to the path of the Jina?" (2.85). Jinamati replied that Manovega should take his friend to Pāṭalīputra (2.90).[127] Manovega then bowed to Jinamati and left for home in his *vimāna.* (2.95) On his way back, he met Pavanavega, who approaches him and asks desperately: "Where have you been for so long, without me? How could I survive without you? I have searched everywhere, but I could not find you" (3.2-8). Manovega answered him: "I was wandering around the world of humans to worship at Jina temples and on these wanderings I saw the city of Pāṭalīputra. (3.20) That city is inhabited by many Brahmins, knowledgeable of the Vedas, the epics and Purāṇas, etc. (3.23-32). Let us go to that city!" (3.39). The two friends decided to go the next morning and each went back to their palaces (3.41-42).

1.   First entry into Pāṭalīputra

The next morning, they set out for Pāṭalīputra in their *vimāna* (3.44-45) and got down in a beautiful grove outside the city of Pāṭalīputra (3.46). Then they dressed themselves up with many ornaments and entered the city carrying wood and grass. The people of the city curiously observed them and asked each other who these fellows could be (2.55-65). The two *vidyādharas* sat down on a golden throne and beat the drums (2.66). Some Brahmins approached them to argue, and asked them who they are, saying that they should not beat the drums if they have not won a debate (2.67-88). Manovega replied that they are the sons of a poor grass and wood seller (2.93), to which the Brahmins said that they have never seen any grass and wood sellers adorned with jewels (4.1). Manovega in

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[127] The narrative imagination of Pāṭalīputra had a history in Jain literature (see e.g. Fynes 1999).

turn answers that such characters also occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (4.3). When the Brahmins again question his words, Manovega starts telling them a story:

1.1. The Story of Madhukara

'In the region of Mālayadeśa[128] there was a villager's son named Madhukara. One day because of a quarrel with his father he left the house. (4.9) Wandering around the earth, he arrived in the land of the Ābhīras,[129] where he saw huge piles of chickpeas (4.10). There, he met a *Karaṇa* (a person of mixed caste) who asked him if he had ever seen something so wonderful (4.12). Madhukara, the stupid fellow, replied: "As big as these piles of chickpeas, there are piles of pepper in my own country" (4. 13). The *Karaṇa* angrily laughed and called him a liar (4.17), and he urged the peasants to arrest him (4.18). One of the villagers, however, suggested that Madhukara should be punished according to what he deserves (4.19), namely to "put eight peas/rounds[130] on his head" (4.20). After this, Madhukara went back to his own village. There he repeated what he had seen in the previous village, but again the villagers did not believe him, and he received the same punishment (4.23-25). That is why he is known as *muṣṭiṣoḍaśaka*, "the one with the sixteen fists" (4.26).

This story proves that without any visual evidence, truth is not believed by fools (4.28-30).'

Manovega then addressed the Brahmins straightforwardly: "If I am in the midst of such foolish people, then I will not tell any further" (4.32). The Brahmins affirmed to him that they are wise people, and that he should not be afraid of telling the truth (4.34-38). So Manovega continued and explained that there are ten types of fools: the lover, the hater, the stupid-minded, the quarreller, the bilious, the mango fool, the milk fool, the agarwood fool, the sandalwood fool, and the simpleton fool (4.40).[131] Again, he asked to ascertain whether no such of fool was amongst the Brahmins, for he feared what would happen then (4.41), but when the Brahmins urged him to speak further, Manovega started with telling the story of the first fool:

1.2. The story of the lover

'On the southern bank of the river Revā lies the city of Sāmanta, where a village chief Bahudhanyaka lived (4.47).[132] He had two wives, Sundarī and Kuraṅgī. Kuraṅgī was the

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[128] The different manuscripts have mostly Mālaya, but also Mālava and Valaya and Vājava.

[129] A people mostly described as pastoral.

[130] The manuscripts I have collected all render the word *vārtulās* (meaning 'round', 'ball', or 'pea'). The edition by Śāstri (1978) gives a variant *muṣṭayas* (meaning 'fist', or 'punch'). This variant accords with Mironow's interpretation as 'Ohrfeigen' (1903: 15).

[131] Each fool is presented by a separate substory and their title represents a decisive plot element.

[132] In Amitagati's text also the variant Bahudhanika for the name Bahudhanyaka occurs.

youngest and the prettiest and thus Bahudhanyaka lived with her. He told Sundarī to live in another house with their son and gave her eight bulls and ten cows, two ploughmen and two servants (4.49-52). Bahudhanyaka was completely smitten with the younger wife (4.53-59). One day, Bahudhanyaka was summoned by the king to come to his palace (4.60). Kuraṅgī pleaded with him to take her with him, but Bahudhanyaka refused, afraid that the king would take her away because of her beauty. So, he departed for the king's abode, leaving behind his two wives (4. 72). While Bahudhanyaka was gone, however, Kuraṅgī fooled around with some playboys and loaded them with food, money, and clothes (4.78-79). By the time her husband came back, she was bereft of all the possessions in the house (4.84). A messenger sent forth by Bahudhanyaka arrived at the house to tell her she should prepare a feast meal for her husband's return (4.88). Kuraṅgī told him that he should address his request to Sundarī, as she is the eldest wife who would be offended if she was not asked first (4.89). So, the messenger and Kuraṅgī went together to the house of Sundarī to inform her (4.90). Sundarī foresaw that their husband would not like this, but nevertheless prepared a splendid meal. (4.91-93). When Bahudhanyaka arrived he first went to the house of Kuraṅgī (5.1) and blinded by love asked her for food (5.13). But Kuraṅgī faked being angry at him and said: "Go to the house of that mother of yours. Food is made there (5.15)." So Bahudhanyaka did. Sundarī served him all types of delicious dishes (5.30), but Bahudhanika did not like them, blind as he was (5.31). Sundarī asked him why he did not like the food and replied that he only wanted the food made by his younger wife (5.38-39). Sundarī then went to the house of Kuraṅgī and told her that she should prepare food for their husband (5.40). Thinking about the issue Kuraṅgī got an idea. If she would give him cow dung as a meal, then he, liking whatever she gave, would definitely be happy with her (5.42). Thus, Kuraṅgī gave cow dung to Sundarī for their husband to eat (5.44). Bahudhanyaka gladly ate up the cow dung 'prepared' by Kuraṅgī (5.45). After eating it all, he asked a Brahmin why his wife Kuraṅgī was angry (5.49). The Brahmin explained to him the bad nature of women and revealed that Kuraṅgī had given away all his belongings (5.64). Hearing this, Bahudhanyaka went to Kuraṅgī and told her what the Brahmin had told him (5.69). She, however, replied that the Brahmin had bad intentions and was lying (5.70). Therefore, Bahudhanyaka decided to banish the Brahmin (5.72).'

Manovega directs his speech again to the Brahmins of Pāṭalīputra: 'See how there is great danger for those who speak the truth to undiscriminating people' (5.73). After telling this story of the lover (*rakta*), Manovega continued by telling about the hater (*dviṣṭa*) (5.76).

1.3. The story of the hater

'In the town of Kūṭa there were two village-chiefs. The first was called Skanda, the second was Vakra. Vakra was called that way, because he was crooked-minded (5.77). Between both there was enmity, because they were jealous of each other's wealth (5.78).

At a certain time, Vakra had a terminal illness (5.81). His son came to him and said: "Father, you should do something virtuous so that you become void of sin (5.82). Why don't you give your wealth to *sādhus* and Brahmins (5.85)?" Vakra said: "Dear son, although Skanda never did any good, he obtained great wealth. Please do this deed which I will now tell you, to make me happy (5.88). Take my body to Skanda's field and set free all of his animals and destroy the crops (5.89). Hide somewhere on the side and watch him arrive. He will certainly become enraged and will want to kill me. After that, you should tell all the people that he killed me. The king will punish him for it and take away all his wealth (5.90-91)." The son followed his father's request and did all of this (5.92).'

'Those who, like Vakra, are always comparing with another, they cannot obtain pure happiness', said Manovega to the Brahmins (5.95). Manovega then continued by telling the story of the 'stupid one' (*mūḍha*) (6.1).

1.4. The story of the stupid-minded

'In the city of Kaṇṭhoṣṭha, that was like the city of gods, there was a Brahmin called Bhūtamati. He was respected by other Brahmins and was well-taught in the Vedas as a child. His family made him marry a girl Yajñā and he proceeded his life as an *upādhyāya* ('Brahmin teacher') while spending time enjoying himself with his wife (6.2-7). At some point, a boy named Yajña came along, who was worthy of learning the Vedas (6.8-9). While he stayed at their house, Yajñā was completely shaken by his presence (6.10).[133] After some time, Bhūtamati was called by the other Brahmins to go perform a *puṇḍarīka* sacrifice (6.23).[134] Therefore, he told Yajñā to take care of the house and that she should sleep inside, while the boy should rest at the door (6.24). As soon as Bhūtamati had left, the two youngsters fell into each other's arms, yielding to sexual pleasure (6.25-35). When four months had passed, Yajña said to Yajñā: "My love, many days have passed now of loving you and Bhūtamati is about to come back. What should I do (6.38-39)?" Yajñā replied: "Let us take all the belongings and go somewhere else (6.41). You should bring two dead bodies and I will make sure we can leave unseen (6.43)." Yajña did as she said (5.44). After half a night, he brought two corpses (6.45), one of which she put inside the house, the other at the gate. Then she lit everything on fire (6.46) and they both fled. The people found the house burned to ashes with only more ashes and bones remaining inside and grieved (6.48-50). When Bhūtamati came back, he started to cry asking himself how this could have happened (6.52-64). Then, a Brahmacārin came to him and said: "Why do you despair, and do you not see reality (6.65)?"[135] and he continued his speech on the

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[133] This is followed by a section extending on the nature of women (see Chapter 2).

[134] This ritual appears to be a *śrauta* sacrifice often connected to the *aśvamedha* sacrifice ('horse sacrifice') (discussion on Indology List, 5th April 2012).

[135] In the Jain context *brahmacārya* is one of the successive stages in the idealised course of a layman's life. A Brahmacārin is at that stage (see Jaini 1979: 183).

foulness of women and the transience of beings (6.66-79). Bhūtamati angrily replied: "Why should I believe you (6.80)? Why would Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Indra all take pleasure in women, if women were so despicable (6.81)?" Having praised his love for the young woman (Yajña), Bhūtamati put the bones and ashes in a bottle gourd and left to go to the river Ganges (6.86). There, he came across his student Yajña, who cried out "O lord, forgive me!" (6.87). Bhūtamati did not recognise him and asked who he was. Yajña answered that he was his student (6.88). But Bhūtamati went on: "You are a rogue. Go away!" (6.89). Then he met his wife there. She also asked him to forgive her, but he again had to ask who she was and did not believe her when she told him she was his wife (6.90-92). Bhūtamati, thinking that all people in the city were cheats, left for another place (6.93).'

After this story, Manovega again pointed out to the Brahmins that this is the nature of those who do not think (6.94-95). He went on to tell the story of the stubborn-minded (*vyudgrāhin*):

1.5. The story of the stubborn-minded

'In Nanduradvāri there was once a king called Durdhara, who had a son Jātyandha. This prince was blind by birth and gave away all sorts of ornaments to beggars (7.3). A minister of the king saw this and told it to the king, because he feared that his wealth would be depleted (7.4). The king asked the minister for advice and told him to do as he saw fit (7.5-6). So, the minister proposed to have an ornament made out of iron and to give it to the prince to wear. This plan was executed and upon giving the ornament the minister added: "Dear prince, these jewels are your kingly inheritance. Keep them safe. If anyone would come up to you to say that they are made of iron, then do not give them away, but beat that man up (6.7-10)." The prince did as he was told, stuck to his jewels and struck everyone who called his jewels iron (6.12).

This is how a stubborn-minded (*vyudgrāhin*) acts, as one who would never change his mind (6.13-18).'

'Now', said Manovega, 'I will tell you the story about he who suffered from bile disease (7.19).'

1.6. The story of the bilious (*pittadūṣita*)

There was a man who was afflicted by gall disease. To fight the disease, he was given milk mixed with sugar (7.21). The fool drank this concoction in the hopes of being cured believing that it was neem juice (7.22).[136] In this way, one who is affected by bilious disease of ignorance and false belief, is indiscriminate of right and wrong (7.23).

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[136] Neem juice is commonly assumed to boost digestion, whereas milk and sugar aggravates *pitta* ('the bilious humour').

'Let me now continue with the story of the mango tree', said Manovega (7.28).

1.7. The story of the mango tree

'In the country of Aṅga there was the city of Campā, where King Nṛpaśekhara lived (7.29-30). He received the fruit of a mango from the king of Bengal (7.33). He was very pleased with this gift (7.34) and praised the beneficial characteristics of mangoes (7.35-36). Because the king wanted to yield many fruits, he ordered his forester to plant the mango in the forest so that a tree would grow from it (7.36-37). Thus, the forester did, and the tree grew very big (7.39). At some point, a snake was picked up by a bird flying over the tree, and a drop of its poison fell on the fruit (7.40). This fruit ripened into a very beautiful mango but filled with poison (7.41). The forester happily saw the mango and brought it to the king (7.43). This one then gave it to the prince to eat (7.44). Unfortunately, because of the poison in the mango, the prince died immediately (7.45). Finding his son dead, the king was enraged and ordered to cut down the tree (7.47). Immediately after, the people became depressed and sick, since they could no longer benefit from the healthy mangoes (7.48). When they heard about the poison in the mango tree, they all started eating the fruits, longing to be liberated from life (7.49). However, because they ate the healthy fruit, they all became healthy again. When the king heard about this, he was perplexed and felt very bad about what he had done, regretting his thoughtless action (7.51-55).'

'This is the consequence for those who do not reflect. They act uncritically and afterwards have regrets (7.56-58).'

Then, Manovega continued, telling the Brahmins the story of the milk fool.

1.8. The story of the milk fool (_kṣīra_)

'In the country of Chohāra there was a trader named Sāgaradatta who travelled the sea and knew every one of its movements (7.63). Once he went to the island of Caula (7.64) and took a cow with him, giving much happiness, like a praise to the Jina (7.65). Having arrived at the island of Caula, the merchant saw a Tomara lord there and presented a gift to this lord. The next day too, Sāgaradatta offered the lord a delicious 'milk dessert' (_pāyasa_) (7.67). And the day after, he did the same (7.68). The Tomara lord who enjoyed the dairy items a lot, asked the trader: "Where have you found such divine food?" The trader replied: "I obtained it from my 'family deity' (7.71)." Then the king said: "Give me this 'family deity'." The trader replied: "I will give it to you, if you give me what I desire." And so the king promised (7.72-73).

The following day the king took a bowl to the cow and requested her to give him the same kind of food she had given to the trader, but she remained mute like a clever woman to a lustful man (7.75-76). The next day the king went back to the cow, worshipped her and asked again for food (7.77). Again, the cow did not give anything. Because of this the king got rid of the cow (7.82-85).'

'This is how fools are: they give away what is precious because they do not see that they should do something with it, in order to obtain wealth (7.83-96). I will now tell you about the agarwood fool', said Manovega (8.1).

1.9. The story of the agarwood

'In the country of Magadha there was a king named Gajaratha. Once he went out far from the palace, accompanied only by his second minister (8.3). Seeing a servant, he asked his minister who this man was. The minister replied that the servant was a ploughman (8.5), and that he already worked in the service of the king for twelve years (8.6). The king wanted to reward the ploughman and gave him a central village surrounded by five hundred villages (a *maṭamba*). To this the ploughman said: "How could I take care of five hundred villages (8.12)?" and he elaborated on the virtues of wealth. Then he said to the king to give him only one field to plough (7.22). The king thought that the ploughman did not understand the value of five hundred villages, but still wanted to reward him with something more special. Thus, he told the minister to give him a field of agarwood. The minister accordingly showed the ploughman the field full of agarwood. However, the ploughman was not happy, because he thought that the king had given him a field that was overgrown with useless trees. But he accepted (8.25-28). The ploughman then cut down all the agarwood trees (8.29) and went to the king to show what he had made of the field (8.34). The king, in shock, asked him what he could gain from cutting down the trees. To prove his point, he gave a remaining piece of an agarwood tree to the ploughman and told him to sell it in the market. The ploughman went to the market and acquired five *dināras* for his piece of wood from a trader (8.39). Only at that moment the ploughman realised how stupid he had been to cut down the precious agarwood trees (8.43-44).'

Manovega asked the Brahmins: 'Is there someone among you who is unable to discriminate what is strong from what is weak? Because if so, I am afraid to tell further (8.48).'

1.10. The story of the sandalwood

'In Madhyadeśa in the city of Mathurā there was a king named Śāntamanā (8.50). Once the king was extremely sick (v. 51). He was treated with some medicine by those trained in the eightfold traditional medicine (Ayurveda), but nothing helped much (v. 54). Therefore, his minister made a public announcement that whoever could heal the king from his fever, would be given one hundred villages, many jewels and even clothes worn by the king himself (8.55-57).

A trader who had gone out of the city to find sandalwood, met a washerman who was holding on to a piece of sandalwood. The trader asked where the washerman had found the piece of neemwood (8.58-59). The washerman replied he had found it floating in the river. The trader then asked him to give it to him in return for a big pile of wood. This the washerman did (8.61). After this, the trader immediately went to the king's palace, grinded the sandalwood and smeared it on the body of the king (8.62). The king's fever

went away completely (8.63) and the trader was rewarded with what he deserved (8.64). When the washerman heard about the reward for the trader he cried out of sorrow (8.65). "How could he have been so deceived by the trader (8.66-69)?"'

Manovega now addresses the Brahmins: 'If there are such like the washerman among you, then I fear to tell more. If not, I will tell you of another fool.'

1.11. <u>The story of the four fools</u>

'There were four fools going about playfully when they came across an ascetic named Vīranātha, who was very knowledgeable, and skilled in religious thought (*dharma*) (8.74-78). This ascetic was very powerful and could conquer Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Indra (8.82). The four fools bowed to the *muni* and a *dharmic* feeling arose in them (8.87-88). When the *muni* had left them, they started to quarrel about whom of the four the *muni* had blessed (8.89). After fighting for a bit, one said: "Why are we quarrelling? Let us just ask the *muni* himself (8.91)." So, they went to the *muni* and asked: "To whom did you give the blessing, o *muni* (8.92)?" The *muni* replied: "I have given my blessing to the most stupid one among you (8.93)." Since the fools quarrelled about who that was, the *muni* continued: "You should go to the city and ask the wise people there to judge who is the biggest fool (8.94)." In the city, the fools addressed the people: "Dear citizens, listen to each of our stories and tell us who is the most foolish one (9.1-2)." The first fool started:

1.11.1. <u>The story of Viṣamekṣaṇa</u>

"Earlier, I was indulging in pleasure with two fat women. They were stronger than me and beloved by the people but feared by myself (9.5-6). I was once sleeping with both of them, one on each side of me in the bed (9.7). For fun, they had put an oil lamp on my head (9.9). But then, a mouse pushed against the wick of the lamp, so that it fell on my eye and burned it (9.10). I woke up because of the burning feeling and thought: if I push away the wick with my right hand, then the woman on my right will be annoyed, but if I push away the wick with my left hand, then the woman on my left will be disturbed (9.12-13). I did nothing and my eye was completely scorched. Since then, I am called Viṣamekṣaṇa ('defect-eye') (9.16)."

Before continuing, Manovega addressed the Brahmins to ask them if there is anyone as submissive to women as this Viṣamekṣaṇa. They denied and Manovega continued with what the second fool had to say:

1.11.2. <u>The story of Kuṇṭahaṃsagati</u>

"I had two women, who were as if created by Brahmā, poisonous like the fruits of the gigantic swallow wort (*arka*), and with long black shanks. Once, one of them was washing my left foot, while the other was washing the right foot (8.24). They were called Ṛkṣī (female bear) and Kharī (female donkey) (9.25). After she washed my foot, Ṛkṣī laid it on top of my other foot. Kharī then took a pestle and broke my foot. Ṛkṣī shouted out to Kharī: "You whore, why have you done this? (9.28) You should be loyal to your husband

(9.29)!" The two women continued to fight in this manner, like two angry demonesses (*rākṣasīs*) (9.32). Then the second wife took a pestle and broke the second foot (9.33). And I, in fear between the two, remained silent. You see how stupid I am: by remaining silent my feet were broken. From then onwards I was called Kuṇṭahaṃsagati ('the one with the gait of a crippled swan') (9.35)."

Then, the third fool told his story: (9.43)

1.11.3. The story of Boḍa

"Once, I had gone to the house of my father-in-law to sleep with my beautiful wife. In bed, we agreed to say nothing, and the first one who would speak, would have to give ten *apūpa* cakes to the other (9.46). We took the game seriously and said nothing. Even when a thief entered the house and took all the belongings, we kept quiet (9.49). Then the thief started to pull off the clothes of my beloved, but I did nothing. She shouted out: "How could you remain silent, you deceitful man, how could you let me be humiliated in that way (9.50-51)!" All I said to this was: "You spoke first, so you have to give me the ten cakes (9.53)!" You see how because of my stupidity I let all the wealth to be taken. Since then the people call me Boḍa ('simpleton') (9.55)."

Finally, the fourth fool explained his foolishness (9.59):

1.11.4. The story of Gallasphoṭika

"Once, I had gone to the house of my father-in-law to sleep with my wife (9.60). Her mother gave me plenty of delicious food items, but I did not eat them, ashamed as I was (9.61). On the third day, feeling sick in my belly because of the fire [of hunger] that was like the world-destroying fire (*kālānala*) (9.64), I saw a large vessel filled with rice under the bed, shining like the rays of the moon (9.66). As I was so hungry, I filled my mouth with rice. Upon that moment my love came in (9.68). She was worried and brought me to her mother to find out what was wrong with me (9.69). Soon all the women of the village came by to look at me, speculating what could have happened and in which way I had become ill (9.73-76). Then a healer came by, convincing my mother-in-law that he would heal me (9.77). I was shown to him and he squeezed my cheeks, so he could feel the food inside my mouth. When he then also noticed the bowl of rice under the bed he said: "I will heal him from this difficult disease, but it will cost some money (9.81)." Then the healer opened my cheeks and showed the women my mouth filled with worms that looked like rice (9.83). Then he took them out and left with his reward. I stood there, foolish but healed (9.84). As of then the people called me laughingly Gallasphoṭika ('tumours-in-the-cheeks') (9.85)."

'After each of the four fools had told their stories, the citizens told them they were all fools (9.89) and that they should go back to the wise man [Vīranātha].'

Manovega then addressed the Brahmins: 'These were the four fools. If such are among you, then I fear to tell further. For someone inconsiderate there is not virtue, etc. (9.92). Only an intelligent man can reach liberation (9.94-95).'

'Now', said Manovega, 'I have told you about all the ten fools' (10.3). Although the Brahmins confirmed that they were not like any of them, and are capable of thinking, Manovega spoke in doubt: 'The words of one who does not carry books, wears good shoes or nice clothes are often not believed. Therefore, I fear to tell more (10. 6-8).' But the Brahmins again reassured him. So Manovega went on:

1.12. Critique of Viṣṇu

'Let me tell you about Viṣṇu (10.11), who is the creator, maintainer and destroyer of the world, with his disc, club, conch and bow, who killed demons, etc. (10.12-16). Why would you see him as the supreme god? (10.17). How could he be so, if he stayed with the cowherd community of Nanda to protect cows, when he was playing games with the cowherders all the time, or if he was a messenger to Duryodhana under the order of the Pāṇḍavas as a charioteer of Arjuna (10.20-23)? Why would he make a request to Bali in the form of a dwarf, like a beggar (10.24)? If he is upholding the whole world, why then would he be burned by the separation from Sītā (10.25)? If Mura's slayer Viṣṇu can play in all such acts, then why could we not be wood sellers (10.28)?'

The Brahmins, upon hearing this, answered that he was right (10.30). 'If the parts of Viṣṇu (his *avatāras*) are full of passion, then how can he be without passion (10.35)? If he carries the world in his belly, then how could Sītā be abducted beyond it (10.36)? If this god pervades everything, then how could he have been pained by separation from his beloved (10.37)? Why did he take on the form of a fish, a turtle, a boar, a lion, a dwarf and three times Rāma (10.40)?[137] Why did he first create the demons and then kill them; who would do ill to his own sons (10.43)? How could a god have emerged from a uterus which is defiled with fat, blood, flesh, bone, marrow and semen (10.45)?'[138]

Eventually the Brahmins replied: 'You have convinced us in this debate, we have to change our minds about this god (10.46-49).'

1.13. Jain view of Viṣṇu

Upon this, Manovega together with Pavanavega went outside of the city (10.46). There, in the bushes, Manovega told Pavavega about the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣas* ('illustrious beings') (10.54), of which there are twelve *cakravartins*, twenty-four *arhats*, nine like Rāma

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[137] These are Dāśarathi, Paraśurāma and Balarāma.

[138] In fact, it is unclear whether these words are uttered by Manovega or by the Brahmins, since in 10.31 they already admit that they have been awakened by Manovega and repeat that they are convinced in 10.46. In any case, the continued rhetorical questions give the impression of a sermon in which the speaker (e.g. a monk) turns his critique directly to his audience, instead of to the fictitious characters of the narrative,

(*baladevas*), nine like Kṛṣṇa (*vāsudevas*) and nine foes (*prativāsudevas*) (10.55). 'The Brahmins call Viṣṇu the supreme lord, but in fact he is the last of the Vāsudevas (10.57). They call him bodiless and nevertheless worship him in ten *avatāras* (10.60). And what do they not tell about Bali! They say that in order to subject the evil Brahmin Bali, Viṣṇu became a dwarf and bound Bali in three steps (10.65). You see how corrupted their Purāṇa is.'

2.   Second entry into Pāṭalīputra

Next, Manovega turned himself into a tribesman (a Pulinda) with black skin and matted locks, and Pavanavega became a black cat with reddened eyes (10.66-67).[139] In this form they entered the city and approached the Brahmins. They sat on a golden throne and beat the drum. The Brahmins asked them why they are seated on a throne and beating the drum, and why they had come. Manovega replied that he was in the city to sell his cat (10.74) and that this cat had the ability to smell things from twelve *yojanas* away (10.76). For that reason, he asked a price of fifty *palas* (10.77).[140] The Brahmins discussed and decided to give the price he asked (10.80). When they had quickly taken the cat, they noticed its ears were disfigured. They asked about this deformity (10.82). Manovega told them: 'When we are tired, we usually sleep in a place that is full of mice (10.83). While my cat was deeply asleep some mice nibbled its ears (10.84).' The Brahmins laughed: 'If the cat can smell mice from twelve *yojanas* away, then why would it let mice nibble its ears (10.86)?' To this Manovega wisely said: 'Now just because of one mistake, do all other virtues just disappear (10.87)? It is just like the frog in the well. Once, a virtuous bird was asked by the frog how big the ocean was where he came from. The swan replied that the ocean was the biggest. The frog asked then how big the sea was. The swan replied: "It is very large." The frog finally asked: "Can it be bigger than my well?" You see, when truth is not believed, one is like the frog unable to understand it (10.94-97).'

The Brahmins claimed that they were no fools who are unable to believe something that is said, to which Manovega continued:

2.1.   The story of Chāyā

'There was an ascetic called Maṇḍapakauśika. Once, a group of ascetics came to sit and eat with him, but immediately they stood up again. (11.5). Maṇḍapakauśika asked: "Why are you standing up, looking at me as if I am a dog?" (11.6). The ascetics replied: "You are expelled from our group of ascetics, because you have taken asceticism as a boy, without first having a son. Therefore, you will never progress on the ascetic path (11.7-8)." So

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[139] Sircar (1971: 113) identifies them as a hill tribe usually connected with the Vindhyan range. Pargiter notices three different branches of this tribe: a western branch, a southern branch, and one stretching into the Central-Asian Himalayas (1904: 316, 335, 338).

[140] The *pala* is a money standard (equal to 320 *ratis*) for a silver coinage (*rūpya-pala*) (Sircar 1995: 67). It is unclear whether it was still in use at the time of Amitagati.

Maṇḍapakauśika went to his relatives to ask for a bride, but they could not give him one as he had become too old (11.9). Thus, he asked the ascetics for advice (11.10). They told him he should marry a widow and become a householder (11.11). He then took a widow as bride and begot a daughter who was devout, beautiful and charming. She was called Chāyā (11.13-18). When she was eight years old, her parents wanted to go on pilgrimage and had to find a trustworthy god to protect her while they were gone (11.18-21). "But no man", they thought, "would not want to have intercourse with her (11.21). Rudra (Śiva) was always burned up by love. He left Pārvatī to be with Gaṅgā. How could they leave their daughter with him (11.25)? Hari (Viṣṇu) was not even satisfied by 16000 milk maids (gopīs). He left Śrī (Padmā) and fooled around with the milk maids (11.27)." They would not leave their daughter with him.

2.1.1. The Story of Brahmā and Tilottamā

"When Brahmā saw the dance [of Tillottamā], he let go of all his discipline, to obtain the beautiful girl (11.29).[141] Once, he was performing such austere ascetic practice that the seat of Indra became unstable. Indra went to Bṛhaspati for help, who informed that it had become unstable because of Brahmā's ascetic practice. So, Indra ordered him to create a woman who would destroy Brahmā's ascetic practice (11.33). Bṛhaspati then made a woman out of tiny bits of goddesses, and he sent forth this Tillottamā ('the most excellent one made of tiny bits') (11.34-35). She came before Brahmā and revealed to him her sensuous body (11.36-38). Brahmā's eyes did not know where to look first, running all over her body (11.39). He who had performed tapas for a thousand years, lusting for her, formed a new head (a fifth) to perceive her better (11.43). It was the head of a donkey (11.45). Tillottamā then left Brahmā and he became deeply ashamed. When the gods came to see him, he became angry and started attacking them (11.49). So, Śiva approached Brahmā and cut off that fifth head (10.51). Brahmā rose in anger and cursed him that his donkey head would never fall off of Śiva's hand (10.52). Only by the blood of Viṣṇu could it fall off (11.54). Upon these words, Śiva became the 'skull bearer' (kapālī) and went to Viṣṇu to remove his sin. Brahmā in the meantime entered a dense forest (10.57) where he came across a female bear and had sexual intercourse with her. To him even a female donkey would look like an apsaras. The bear brought forth a son called Jāmbava (11.59). How could Brahma, who even had intercourse with an animal, ever take care of our daughter, Chāyā (11.60)?"

"Indra became aroused upon seeing the wife of Gautama, Ahalyā, and was cursed by him to have a thousand vulvas (11.61-62). But the gods asked him to have mercy, and out of compassion, he changed them into a thousand eyes (11.63).

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[141] Amitagati does not mention the name of Tilottamā at that point. The audience is expected to know the story.

There seems to be only one god who is pure and just, and that is Yama (11.65). I will give my daughter to him while I am on pilgrimage," thought Mandapa Kauśika (11.66). And so, the couple went. Yama immediately fell in love with the girl (11.68) and out of fear of losing her, he swallowed her so that she would stay in his belly (11.69). Every day he would have sexual intercourse with her and then put her back inside his belly (11.70). Then at some point, Vāyu, the god of wind, spoke about it to Agni (11.73): "You know that Yama has obtained a beautiful wife whom he enjoys a lot." To this Agni asked: "How can I obtain her (11.76)?" Vāyu explained: "She is kept in Yama's belly, but every day for one *yāma* (one eighth of the day) when he recites the *aghamarṣaṇa* hymn,[142] he takes her out (11.79)."[143] Then Agni went to Yama's place and when Yama had taken her out and had entered the Ganges to expiate his sins, Agni embraced her (11.83). Chāyā felt equally desirous for Agni and they consummated their desire. Then Chāyā warned him: You should go, Yama will come soon (11.85)." But Agni could not be separated from her and thus she swallowed him so that he would be inside of her belly (11.89). Then, when Yama came back, he put Chāyā inside his own belly (11.90). As a consequence, Agni was completely gone from the world and no one could perform a sacrifice or cook food anymore (11.91). Indra requested Vāyu to search for him, but he could not find Agni anywhere. There was one place where he did not look though (11.92-93). Vāyu prepared a meal and invited all the gods. He gave each god one seat to sit on, and to Yama he gave three seats (11.94). Each god got one portion and Yama got three (11.95). Seeing the three portions, Yama asked: "Why did you give me thrice as much? (12.1) Even if you gave me a second portion for my beloved inside me, why did you give me a third (12.2)?" After Yama spat out Chāyā, Vāyu said to her: "You should spit out Agni." This she did, and all the gods were perplexed (12.5). Yama felt betrayed and angrily he chased Agni with his club (12.6). Agni (i.e. fire) fled into stone and wood.[144] He is now never seen outside of it (12.10)."

'Isn't this in your Purāṇas?' Manovega asked. The Brahmins acknowledged this (12.11). Manovega added: 'In the same way Agni kept his qualities, my cat, although its ears were cut off, kept its qualities (12.13-14).' The Brahmins completely agreed that their Purāṇas were invalid. Manovega further taught them: 'You see how beautiful women pierce the minds of all men, even the gods (12.19). Śiva left his meditation and took up Pārvatī as half of his body (12.20), Viṣṇu left Śrī for the milk maids (12.21), Brahmā gave up his virtuous conduct for the dance of a beautiful *apsaras* (12.22), Indra obtained a thousand vulvas (12.23), Yama kept Chāyā inside of him (12.24) and Agni fled into trees and rocks (12.25).'

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[142] Sin-effacing hymn from the Ṛgveda.
[143] The *aghamarṣaṇa* is a Vedic ritual to remove sins (Vettam 1975: 10).
[144] I interpret this as referring to how you make fire.

After this discussion, the two *vidyādharas* went out of the city. Manovega instructed Pavanavega (12.27): 'This is how the gods are, all of them are characterised by eight virtues, including minuteness (*aṇiman*) etc., but frivolity (*laghiman*) is certainly foremost (12.29).[145] Śiva ejaculated prematurely from Pārvatī's touch during their wedding, and while dancing, he agitated female ascetics, and suffered the intolerable pain of his penis (*liṅga*) being cut off. Indra was subdued by Ahalyā and Agni and Yama by Chāyā, Sūrya by Kuntī. There is not a single god, worshipped by men, who is not corrupted by lust (12.33).'

Then Manovega told him of the decapitation of the donkey head (12.34):

2.2. Śiva and Brāhmaṇī

'When Śiva, who was born from the womb of Jyeṣṭhā as a son of Sātyaki, had done extreme ascetic practice he was made supreme lord of *vidyās* (embodied powers). He acquired 500 great *vidyās* and 700 small ones, like the ocean acquires rivers (12.36). But by looking at the beautiful *vidyās* he broke his ascetic practice. When he married eight pretty *vidyādhara* girls, none of the girls could bear intercourse with him (12.38). Once, when he had had sex with his *triśulā vidyā*, she fled away (12.41). Therefore, he was eager to obtain another *vidyā,* namely Brāhmaṇī (12.42). He installed her image before him and started to pray so that she would become a woman (12.43). She started dancing and playing music and he watched her carefully (12.44). Looking at her, he noticed her husband Brahmā (12.45). When he noticed the head of a donkey on top of his head, he cut it off (12.46). But the head stuck to his hand (12.47). Brāhmaṇī as a consequence ran to Śiva (12.48). Then, Śiva saw the image of a Jina on the cremation ground. He bowed before it and touched its feet. Because of this gesture, the head fell from his hand (12.51).'

'Let me now show you something else', said Manovega to his friend, and he took the form of a seer (*ṛṣī*) (12.53).[146]

3. Third entry into Pāṭalīputra

Together they went through the western gate to enter Pāṭalīputra again (12.54). Seated on a golden throne they beat the kettledrum. Like before, the Brahmins approached them and asked them why they were beating the drum, who their guru is, and why they had renounced (12.55-60). Manovega replied that he did not have a guru, and that he was afraid of telling them the truth about his renunciation. To illustrate his fear, he told them a story (12.62):

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[145] The eight qualities of *aṇiman* etc. seem to refer to the eight *siddhis* (powers) usually associated with Śiva. These are *aṇiman* ('to become infinitely small'), *laghiman* ('to become infinitely light'), *mahiman* ('to become large'), *iśitvā* ('the power to rule'), *vaśitvā* ('the power to capture'), *garimā* ('to become infinitely heavy'), *prākāmya* ('unimpeded fulfilment'), and *prāptī* ('unlimited reach') (Powers 1984: 326).

[146] Manovega takes the form of several types of ascetics. Because the terms are not entirely clear in how to distinguish these types, I have given the Sanskrit term in brackets (See also De Jonckheere 2019b).

3.1. The story of the king, the minister, and the singing monkeys

'There was a minister named Hari in Campā. Once he saw a rock floating in the water (12.63). The king did not believe him and imprisoned his minister (12.64). But the minister then withdrew his words and told the king he had indeed lied, so that he would be released (12.66). Next, the minister taught some monkeys to sing a song and showed this to the king (12.68). When the king, charmed by the monkeys, wanted to show it to his lords, the monkeys stopped singing (12.69). The minister told them: "O lords, our king must be mad, we should lock him up (12.70)." But when the minister had had his laugh with the king, he let him go (12.71) and added: "You see, in the same way as I saw a stone floating in the water, you saw monkeys sing a song (12.72)."'

After this story, the Brahmins ensured Manovega that they were not foolish and would recognise when something is said with a reason (12.75). So Manovega went on (12.76):

3.2. The story of the elephant in the waterpot

'My father was a disciple of Munidatta in the city of Śrīpura and ordered me to study with this guru (12.77). One day, Munidatta told me to go fetch some water. I took a water pot and went to get some (12.78). When I came back, the other students told me the *muni* was angry with me (12.79). Hearing this, I thought: "There are other teachers in other cities", so I left (12.80). At some point on my way, I came across an elephant who moved as if he was intoxicated (12.81). Trembling in fear I then noticed the water pot in my hands and jumped right in it (12. 83-84). I thought I was saved, but the elephant followed me full of rage, ready to tear off my clothes (12.85). Finding all my energy I jumped back out of the water pot (12.86). The elephant wanted to do the same, but he could not do it because his tail got stuck to the opening of the water pot (12.87). Freed from the terrifying elephant, I saw a temple of the Jina. I praised the Jina and from exhaustion, completely naked from the fight, I fell asleep on the threshold of the temple (12.89). When I thought about who could give me some clothes, I figured that no one there could give any as they were all naked. So, I decided to enter their community as an ascetic (12.90). Then I started wandering around the country and came upon this city (12.91). That is how I became a renunciant (12.92).'

The Brahmins laughed and told Manovega he was lying, that all the stories he had told were just impossible (12.92-95). Manovega agreed but added that such lies are also told in the Brahmins Purāṇas (12.96-97). The Brahmins replied critically: 'If this is in our Purāṇas, then tell us how (13.1).' Manovega first declined, stating that he was afraid of telling them (13.3-4). But when the Brahmins insisted (13.5), he started to narrate (13.6):

'Once Yudhiṣṭhira asked in an assembly who would be able to bring the serpents from the underworld (13.7). Arjuna stood up and said he would go to get the serpent king and seven ascetics (*muni*) (13.8). He first pointed his bow at the earth and pierced it with his arrows (13.9). Together with his army of ten crore, he went down and took the serpent

king (13.10). If the serpent king and an army of ten crore can pass through a hole made by an arrow, then why not an elephant through the opening of a water pot (13.11-12)?'

'But how would the vase not break with an elephant inside it?' said the Brahmins (13.15). Manovega said: 'In your sacred scriptures it said that Agastya drank the whole ocean. If the whole ocean can fit into his belly, then why not an elephant in the water pot (13.18-19)?'

3.3. The story of how Brahmā became 'the lotus seated'

'In search of his lost creation, Brahmā was wandering around the earth when he stumbled upon Agastya sitting under a tree (13.20-21). *Muni* Agastya saluted him and asked why he was wandering around (13.22). Brahmā told him that he was looking for his creation and could not find it (13.23). Then, Agastya replied that he should go into his water pot, that stood next to him, and that he would find it there (13.24). Inside Agastya's water-pot, Brahmā saw Viṣṇu lying on the leaf of a fig tree (13.25). Brahmā asked the god why his belly was so round. Viṣṇu told him that when he saw how Brahmā's creation was being destroyed in an ocean, he put it inside his belly as to protect it (13.27). Brahmā thanked him, and following Viṣṇu's advice, entered his belly (13.31). There, finally seeing his creation again, Brahmā felt even more happy (13.32). After a while he wanted to get back out of the belly through Viṣṇu's lotus navel (13.33), but a hair of his scrotum got stuck in the narrow navel (13.34). From then onwards Brahmā is famous in the world as the lotus seated (13.36).'

'Is this not told in your Purāṇas?' said Manovega (13.37). The Brahmins confirmed that this was true (13.38) Then, Manovega went back to his own story: 'If the hair of Brahmā is stuck in the hole of a navel, then why not the hair of an elephant in the hole of a water pot (13.39)? If the whole world fits into a water pot, then why would not an elephant (13.41)? If Viṣṇu had put the whole universe inside his belly, then where could he stay, and where could Brahmā wander? (13.42). If Brahmā is all-pervading and all-knowing, then why could he not find his creation (13.44)? He who was able to pull all men out of hell, why could he not pull his own pubic hair out of a navel (13.45)? If Viṣṇu could save the whole world, then why could he not save Sītā from abduction (13.46)? If all misfortunes are annihilated by reciting to him, why can he himself not annihilate the misfortune of his separation from Sītā (13.48)? If this god explained his ten births to Nārada, then why did he have to ask the lord of snakes about his wife (13.49)?'

3.4. The faults in the gods

'Who [but the Jina] is able to straighten the people who are crooked by the wind of eternal false belief in one hundred births (13.51)? Anger, thirst, fear, hatred, passion, delusion, craze, disease, thought, birth, old age, death, sadness, perplexity, sexual pleasure, exhaustion, heat, and sleep are the eighteen worldly faults (*doṣa*) that cause suffering (13.52-53). (1) The fire of anger burns the body, so that the five senses do not

function. (2) Thirst destroys enjoyment, laughter, excitement etc. (3) Fear makes the body tremble and the voice disappear. (4) Hatred causes anger for nothing and blame without reason. (5) Passion blocks the five senses, causes harm to others and the inability to distinguish wrong from right. (6) Delusion causes attachment to relatives. (7) Craze gets everyone into bad behaviour. (8) Disease of three types stresses the body. (9) Thoughts make people worry about friendship, wealth, sons, lovers, fame, and pleasure. (10) Birth is repeated over and over and causes unhappiness. (11) Old age destroys the mind and turns men into slaves. (12) The word death itself inspires fear. (13) Sadness, that is caused by loss of friends, family and wealth, takes away life. (14) Perplexity is characteristic for those without knowledge. (15) Pleasure is taken by vile people in a body that is full of impurity. (16) Exhaustion causes agitation and crushes the body of a weak person. (17) The body breaks out in sweat when working. (18) Fatigue blinds a person to confuse good from evil. (13.54-71).

Śiva had a skull disease, Viṣṇu was ill in his head, the Sun suffered from jaundice, the Moon from leprosy. Viṣṇu was affected by fatigue, Agni by hunger, Śiva by pleasure, and Brahmā by passion. By these faults the gods are affected (13.75).

The universe arose from the contact between Brahmā's semen and the water and was then divided into three parts. If that is true, wherefrom would water first have originated? It could not be from the sky. Or wherefrom would a body have originated to create the universe? (13.79-81). How could the universe, which is material, be created by a bodiless creator? If there is a creator who is pure, eternal, bodiless and all-knowing, what would have been the fruits of creating the world? (13.83-86). Your Purāṇas are full of illogical elements, why should they be believed (13.87)? When the Brahmins remained silent, Manovega took Pavanavega outside of the city and told him (13. 88):

Why should we follow Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śiva (13.90)? The world is without beginning or end, there is no creator. The gods, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Indra, are as much affected by their own failures (13.92-94). How could those that are blinded tell others about the path to liberation (13.96)? Just like gold is examined by beating, rubbing, heating and cutting it, *dharma* should be examined by the virtues of compassion, asceticism, truthfulness, and restraint (13.99) the wise who want to know what is right, examine a god with a god, a *śāstra* with a *śāstra*, a *dharma* with a *dharma*, an ascetic with an ascetic (13. 101). A god is one who has destroyed *karma*, *dharma* is that which can destroy the faults of the passions etc., a *śāstra* manifests truth (13.102).'[147]

4. The fourth entry into Pāṭalīputra

When Manovega had explained all this, he as in the form of a seer (*ṛṣi*) and again entered Pāṭalīputra with Pavanavega, this time in the form of an ascetic (*tāpasa*) through

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[147] This sentence, and other similar sentences (e.g. 13.51), is characteristic of Amitagati's text.

the northern gate (14.1-2). Again, they sat on a golden throne, beating the kettledrum, and again the Brahmins approached them to ask them what theories or debates they knew (v. 3-4). Manovega replied that he came from a village and did not know any theories (v. 5). He suggested to tell his story but is afraid that they will not believe him. Again, the Brahmins urge him to speak (v. 7-9). So Manovaga narrated:

4.1. <u>The story of the child who stayed in his mother's womb for twelve years</u>

'My mother lived in Ujjain. She was a princess. When she married my father, an elephant became excited by the sound of the trumpets and caused an uproar at the wedding. He destroyed the pole he was tied to and everyone fled (14.12-13). While the groom was fleeing, he pushed my helpless mother to the ground with his body (14.14). After that, one and a half months later, it became clear that my mother was pregnant. Her mother asked: "How come you are pregnant?" She answered: "I would not know, except for the body of the groom (14.17)." Then some ascetics came by our house, and my grandmother asked them where they were heading. They told her that they were going to a place where there would be enough food, as there was to be a famine of twelve years (14.18-19). When I, inside the womb, heard this, I feared for my life. And I decided to stay in the womb for twelve years, so I would not have to experience famine (14.21-23). My mother travelled with the ascetics for twelve years, until they told my grandfather: "Now we will go to our own country where food is abundant." Hearing this I wanted to leave my mother's body (14.26). When I was born, I fell into the ashes of the fireplace and stood up holding a vessel, asking my mother for food (14.27-28). Amazed, my grandmother exclaimed: "Dear ascetics, have you ever seen anyone who started begging upon birth (14.29)?" The ascetics replied that my birth would cause the destruction of the house (14.30). So, my mother ordered me to leave and go to the temple of Yama (14.31). So, I went away, my body covered with ashes and performing difficult asceticism (14.34). At some point I went to the city of Sāketa and heard that my mother was marrying another man (14.35). I asked the Brahmins if this was not sinful of her. They replied that just like Draupadī married the five Pāṇḍavas, my mother could marry another man. For of a wife whose husband has died and who has not been pregnant, she may marry again (14.38). A woman who has given birth and whose husband is gone; she must wait eight years; when she has not given birth only four (14.39). Such was said by Vyāsa (14.40). After that I stayed with the ascetics and then went on a pilgrimage and arrived here (14.41-42).'

The Brahmins reacted angrily since they thought this was all untrue (14.43). Manovega, however, replied that such things were also said in the Purāṇas, just like the killing of Brahmā is told there. (14.48) 'The words of Vaśiṣṭha, Vyāsa, and Manu are connected to the Veda, therefore they are authoritative. One who does not consider them as authority, does not understand the killing of Brahmā (14.50).' To this the Brahmins objected, and they asked Manovega to then explain with logic how this would be so in the Purāṇas. (14.52-54). So Manovega argued:

'It is said in your texts that Bhāgīrathī, who was sleeping next to another woman, was impregnated just because of the touch of that woman. (14.56) Why could my mother then not be impregnated by the mere touch of my father (14.57)? It is said that Gāndhārī was promised to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and that while bathing, her womb became enlarged from the embrace with a jackfruit-tree (14.59). Then after she was married, she bore a hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (14.61). Isn't this all in your Purāṇas (14.62)?' The Brahmins admitted this was true, and that Manovega's story must thus also be true. (14.64-65).

Manovega continued: 'If Abhimanyu heard about the *cakravyūha* inside the womb of his mother, then my story should also be true (14.67).'[148]

4.2. The story of Manodari

'*Muni* Maya was once washing his private parts when drops of his semen fell in the water and was ingested by a frog that became pregnant (14.68). She gave birth to a beautiful daughter (14.69) and put the girl on a lotus petal, as she understood the girl did not belong in the frog family (14.70). When the ascetic came back to the lake, he saw the girl. Recognising her as his daughter he decided to raise her (14.71-72). When the girl had reached puberty and had started to menstruate, she once washed the loin cloth of *muni* Maya (14.73) and thus she became pregnant. The ascetic realised it was from his own semen and suppressed her womb for seven thousand years (14.74-75). After that, she married Rāvaṇa and gave birth to a son named Indrajit (14.77). If Indrajit could stay inside the womb of his mother for seven thousand years, then why not I (14.78)?'

The Brahmins replied that this was true, but they asked how his mother could become a virgin (*kanyā*) again (14.79-80). Manovega replied:

4.3. The story of Vyāsa's birth

'There was an ascetic named Pārāśara, honoured by all other ascetics (14.81) Once he crossed the Ganges in a boat operated by a girl from a fisherman's family (14.82). Pierced by the arrows of Kāma, he had intercourse with her (14.83). The child, afraid of being cursed, went along in his embrace (14.84). Shortly after their intercourse a son was born named Vyāsa (14.85-86). He immediately asked what to do, upon which Pārāśara told him to perform asceticism (14.87). Pārāśara himself endowed the girl with the name Yojanagandhā and went to his ashram (14. 88).

If Vyāsa could become an ascetic immediately after birth, then why could I not? (14.89). And even if she had a son, the fisherman's girl could remain a virgin, then why could my mother not (14.90)? In the same way Kuntī could remain a virgin, even after her union with the Sun god.'

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[148] This refers to the *cakravyūha* episode of the *Mahābhārata* (Droṇa Parva). Droṇa, forms a particular army formation on the ground (*cakravyūha*) for the Kaurava army, in which Abhimanyu gets trapped and is killed.

4.4. The story of Uddālaka

'The ascetic Uddālaka once in a dream had his sperm trickle out onto a lotus petal in the Ganges and then he took to asceticism (14.92). The daughter of the king, Candramatī, then came to the Ganges and while smelling that lotus his semen entered her womb (14.94). When her mother saw that she was pregnant, she told the king who sent her to the woods (14.95). There the princess gave birth to a son that looked like a snake in the abode of *muni* Tṛṇabindu. The princess put her child in a basket and placed it in the Ganges hoping that it would find his father (14.97). Uddālaka luckily saw the basket and recognised his son and took care of him (14.98). Candramatī then also came there and saw both Uddālaka and her son. She requested the ascetic to ask the king for her hand in marriage (14.100). Uddālaka did and Candramatī became his wife. (14.101). So, if Candramatī could become a virgin again, then why not my mother? (15.1)' By this, the Brahmins were silenced. Manovega and Pavanavega went out of the city and gave up their disguise as ascetics (15.2).

Then Manovega told Pavanavega: 'Dear friend, anyone who is possessed of false belief would not reflect upon the popular contradictory Purāṇas' (15.3) and he went on repeating the illogical ways in which the women from the previous stories became pregnant (15.4-11): 'If sons are born from gods having intercourse with women, then why not from men having intercourse with goddesses (15.12)? How could the gods love the impure bodies of women (15.13)? Gods and ascetics have intercourse with girls and make them virgins again. Those men who sleep with the wives of others, they are just rogues (15.16).'

4.5. The birth of Karṇa

'Dear friend, I will tell you about the birth of King Karṇa as it is told in the teachings of the Jina (15.17). King Vyāsa had three sons: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, and Vidura. (15.18). One day Pāṇḍu was enjoying himself in the woods when he found the wish fulfilling ring of a vidyādhara (15.19). The moment he put the ring around his finger, the vidyādhara Citrāṅga arrived there searching for it (15.20). Pāṇḍu, not wanting to desire for what is the possession of another, gave it back to him (15.21). The vidyādhara therefore saw him as a friend (v. 23) and asked how he could help him (v. 24). Pāṇḍu explained that he was in love with Kuntī, the daughter of King Andhakavṛṣṭi of Sūryapura (15.25-26), but that she would never be married to him, because of his blindness (15.27). Citrāṅgada consoled him: "If you take this ring, Kuntī will fall in love with you (15.30) and sleep with you. When she is then pregnant, the king will definitely give her to you, as no honourable man would leave a spoiled girl in his house (15.31)." So Pāṇḍu went to Kuntī with the ring and, in the form of Kāma, made love to her (15.33). She became pregnant and had to give birth to the child in secret (15.36). She then put her son in a basket on the Ganges (15.37). King Āditya of Campā saw the basket with the child in it (15.38) and when he opened it, the child grabbed his ear. Therefore, the king named him Karṇa (15.40) and raised him like his own

(15.41). After the king had passed away, Karṇa became the king (v. 42). After Andhakavṛṣṭi had understood what had happened to his daughter, he married her to Pāṇḍu, like Gāndhārī to Dhṛtarāṣṭrā (15.45) This is the story of Karṇa's birth in one way; in another way with the sense of the Purāṇas, it was told by Vyāsa (15.46).'

Manovega went on: 'There are different types of relationships that exist in the world, but never was there the relationship of one woman with five men (15.48-49). Vyāsa was the son of Yojanagandhā and King Pārāśara, who is different from the ascetic Pārāśara (15.50-51). Duryodhana was the son of Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra (15.52). The Pāṇḍavas are the sons of Kuntī and Mādrī (15.52). Karṇa served the sons of Gāndhārī, the Pāṇḍavas were helped by Jarāsandha and Keśava (15.53). Kṛṣṇa killed Jarāsandha in battle and became king (15.54). The sons of Kuntī reached liberation by performing asceticism, the two sons of Mādrī also attained perfection (15.55). Duryodhana and his brothers followed the teachings of the Jina and went to the third heaven (15.56). Vyāsa has the Purāṇas in a different way (15.75). When he composed the Mahābhārata, he thought: "If a useless work can become famous, then a *śāstra* that is full of contradictions can also become widespread (15.59)." This Brahmin (Vyāsa) buried his pot on the banks of the Ganges and put a pile of sand on top of it [to find it] (15.60). All people seeing that pile of sand, started building piles themselves (15.61). When that Brahmin had taken his bath, he did not recognise where he had put his pot (15.62). And so, he thought: "Without reflection people follow what they have seen. Thus, my corrupted *śāstra* will become famous (15.64-66)." The Purāṇas are popular, but not scrutinised by wise people (15.67).'

5.   Fifth entry into Pāṭalīputra

Then Manovega changed the subject: 'I will tell you yet another tale, dear friend!' and he put on a red garb (15.68). They both entered the city through the fifth gate and sat on a golden throne and beat the kettledrum (15.69). The Brahmins approached them and asked if they were wise men (15.70). Manovega told them he did not know any theory. Then, after their reply that they did not believe that, he said that he feared for their response, to which the Brahmins told him not to fear (15.71-74).

5.1.   The story of the two Buddhists

So Manovega told them that they are sons of Buddhists (15.75). Once they had to protect the clothes of the monks lying outside to dry (15.76), when two jackals approached and frightened them (15.77). 'We climbed onto a stūpa, but the two jackals lifted up the stūpa and flew with it into the sky (15.78). Hearing our cries, the monks appeared, and the jackals flew twelve *yojanas* away (15.79).[149] They dropped the stūpa and stood ready to devour us. But then hunters with dogs and weapons arrived there (15.80).

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[149] This distance is different in Amitagati's version from Hariṣeṇa's version.

The two jackals fled (15.81). Then we went along with the hunters and arrived in some city far away from our own city without any travel provisions (15.82-83). We decided to practice asceticism in the way it has come down through our family (15.84). Wandering around the earth we have arrived here (15.87). This was our story.'

The Brahmins replied: 'This must be a lie (15.89).' But Manovega argued: 'Everyone looks at the fault of others, but not of one's self (15.92).'

5.2. The story of building the bridge to Laṅkā

'In your Purāṇas there is the following story (15.94). When Rāma, who had killed Triśiras, Khara, etc. stayed in the forest with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, Rāvaṇa appeared there in the form of a golden deer and took Sītā (15.95-96). After Rāma came together with King Sugrīva, the latter sent Hanumān to find news about Sītā (15.97). Hanumān went to Laṅkā and saw Sītā with the Rākṣasas. So Rāma ordered the monkeys to build a bridge in the water of the ocean (15.98). All the monkeys picked up huge rocks, as if it were a game, and built the bridge. (16.1) Isn't the story told in this way by Vālmīki (16.2)?'

The Brahmins confirmed this (16.3). Then Manovega asked them: 'So if a monkey can pick up mountains, then why could two jackals not pick up a stūpa? (16.4-5). You say your story is true and mine is not. I cannot see anything but emptiness (śūnyatā) of thoughts (16.6).[150] If your theory is like this then your gods and beliefs must also be false (16.7)!' After that, they both went out of the city and took off their red garb (16.9). Pavanavega started asking his friend why the monkeys were not killed by the Rākṣasas, where the gods were with their eight *guṇas*, and how the monkeys could lift up the rocks and remain standing in the waters of the ocean, or why Śiva would give a boon to Rāvaṇa so that he cannot be killed (16.11-16). Manovega explained: 'There are no monkeys like Sugrīva, or Rākṣasas like Rāvaṇa. They are all humans, followers of the Jina. (16.17-18) They were called monkeys because they had a monkey as the emblem in their flag, and the Rākṣasas because they had a Rākṣasa as the emblem in their flag. (16.19). This is how Gautama explained it to Śrenika. (16.20) Now, I will present to you another story.' And they both took the form of a Śvetāmbara monk (16.21).

6. Sixth entry into Pāṭalīputra

They went back to the city, through the sixth gate, sat on the golden throne and beat the kettledrum. The Brahmins asked them anew if they have a guru, or what argument they could give. The Vidyādhara told them that they had no guru. So, the Brahmins asked them why they were performing asceticism (16.22-27).

6.1. The story of the two brothers and the Kapiṭṭha ('wood apple') tree

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[150] The use of the word *śūnyatā* is probably a pun to say both 'I only see empty (senseless) thoughts', and to refer to the doctrine that everything is empty in Buddhism.

Manovega then told them that they were two brothers, sons of a prosperous sheep owner, who came from Vṛkṣagrāma in the Ābhīra region.[151] 'Once, because a shepherd had caught a fever, our father sent us to the forest to let the sheep graze (16.29). There, we saw a wood apple tree full of big fruits. When I saw that, my mind became obsessed with eating those fruits (16.30-31). But I was too hungry to climb the tree. So, I cut off my head and threw it to the top of the tree (16.32-35). After I had filled my belly with the fruits, my head came back down and reattached to my body. (16.36). I went back to the sheep and found my brother asleep (16.37). I asked him: "Where have all the sheep gone?" "They must have gone somewhere while I was sleeping", he said. "Our father will be angry when we return home, so we should go to another region, where they will not recognise us" (16.40). Thus, we changed into the garb of Śvetāmbaras, because our father was a follower of that tradition (16.41-42). Then while wandering around we arrived here (16.43).'

The Brahmins did not believe him, and again Manovega said there were similar stories in their texts (16.44-47).

6.2.   The story of Śiva's boon to Rāvaṇa

'Rāvaṇa with his ten faces worshipped Śiva by cutting off nine of his heads and asked for a boon (16.47-49). He made a Ravanahatha lute out of his own arm and started singing a song that enchanted the gods and the Gandharvas.[152] This convinced Śiva to give Rāvaṇa the boon he desired. As such, the blood of all the heads that were cut off poured onto the earth. Is this not told in your Purāṇas (16.53)?'

The Brahmins agreed. 'If this story is true, then why would my story not be true?' Manovega argued (16.56). 'Just like when Rāvaṇa's heads were cut off and reconnected again by Śiva, my head was also cut off and reconnected. And if Śiva can reconnect Rāvaṇa's heads, why can he not reconnect his own penis that was cut off by ascetics?'

6.3.   The story of Dadhimukha

'There was a Brahmin woman Śrīkaṇṭha who had a son called Dadhimukha, who was born with only a head. Once he met *muni* Agastya and invited him to his home (16.60-61). But Agastya asked him where he should come as Dadhimukha did not have a house of himself. Dadhimukha did not understand as he lived in the house of his father. The *muni* explained to him that to be a "householder" he should have a house and a wife of himself (16.64). Thus, Dadhimukha went to his parents and asked to arrange a marriage (16.65-66). This his parents did; they got him a poor girl in exchange for a lot of money (16.67). After the marriage, for which the family was bereft of money, Dadhimukha wanted to go elsewhere. Therefore, his wife put him in a basket and off they went (16.70). Travelling

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[151] See fn. 122.

[152] This episode refers to the origin of the musical instrument called Ravanahatha.

from place to place the people admired how well the woman took care of her husband and revered her (16.71-72). When they arrived at the city of Ujjain, they went to a gambling house. She left Dadhimukha there and went into the city to beg for money. There, two gamblers started fighting and one cut off the head of the other (16.73-74). Because during the fight the basket of Dadhimukha was also cut through, his head became attached to the headless body of the gambler (16.75-76). Are these not the words of Valmiki?' The Brahmins told Manovega this was true.

6.4. Stories of 'half gods'
'When Rāvaṇa killed Aṅgada with his sword, Hanumān put his body back together (16.80). Dānavendra worshipped the gods in order to receive a boon to get a son. Half of the boon he gave to one wife and half to another wife. In this way, they each gave birth to half a son. Then Jarā came to them and she united (*sandhita*) the halves. Thus, Jarāsandha was born (16.81-84). If both Jarāsandha and Aṅgada were put together, then why could my head not be joined to my body (16.86)? If the god Skanda who consisted of six parts, could become one, then why could my two parts not become one (16.87)?'

The Brahmins agreed that all this was true but questioned how he could have filled his belly (16.90).

'When Brahmins eat, fathers and grandfathers are pleased, why could my body not enjoy when my head eats (16.91)?[153]

Vyāsa and others have taught us things that are lies, such as the idea that Rāvaṇa would have buried Vālin under Mount Kailāśa and would have defeated Indra (16.100-102). How could the great god Viṣṇu have become a charioteer to Arjuna? What is the use of popular discourse that spreads blindness?'.

After telling all these stories and comparing them to the Brahmins Purāṇas, the two Vidyādharas left the silenced and defeated Brahmins and sat down under a tree. Pavanavega then asked his friend to teach him the difference between theories of the Jain and the Brahmins (17.1-3).

6.5. Critique of the Vaidikas[154]
'The Veda is said to be uncreated, but since it is caused by the organs of speech, this is inconsistent (17.7-12). Likewise, there must be an omniscient being, because the meaning

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[153] In the text by Manohardās at this point in the plot, there is a completely new story about the origin of the *śraddhā* ritual. It seems to be in itself a frame story that includes a parable of a goose and a crow between whom some dispute arises that has to be solved by the city council (*pañcāyat*). I have not been able to find this story in any other sources, but the use of animal characters suggests it had a precedent in folk culture. I hope to study this story more closely in the future.

[154] This part of the plot is only included in Amitagati's version (in Chapter 17) and discussed in detail in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Manohardās has minor references to what is told here but does not include it in full (see Chapter 3).

of something (i.e. of the Veda) cannot be explained by itself (17.16-17). The Vedic priests perform violence in their sacrifices, how could they go to heaven (17.19-20)? According to the Veda one's religious duty is determined merely because of birth (*jāti*). The distinction should only be made by differentiating good conduct. There is no real ground to establish the Brahmin class, differentiated from and seen as purer than the Kṣatriya class (17.23-27). One goes to heaven or hell on the basis of his conduct (17.31-32).

A stupid Mimāṃsaka would believe that just by bathing without any moral conduct he is purified. (17.33-39). There are some thinkers [Cārvākas] who do not distinguish the body from consciousness, [believing that everything is matter (i.e. body]. However, this is refuted on the base of perception and inference (17.43-45). If, as those thinkers believe, 'essences' (*tattvas*), 'bondage' (*bandha*), and 'liberation' (*mokṣa*) do not exist, then why would there be 'transmigration' (*saṃsāra*) (17.47-48). It is also not possible that there is only body, because the body is filthy and not fit to hold the pure soul (17.49-50).

Further, those [Yogikas] who think concentration lies in controlling breath are stupid (17.56).

What is true is that the soul abides in the body, and that besides the three jewels nothing can destroy the connection between the soul and *karma* (17.57-59). Only true *dīkṣā*, following lay vows and adhering to the three jewels, can help against sins (17.60-69).'

6.6. Critique of Buddhism

'The one who was born by rupturing the body of his mother, who said there is no harm in eating meat and who has put his body in the mouth of a tigress, how could this Buddha be compassionate and controlled (17.70-72)? If there was complete emptiness, as the Buddha says, then how could he exist, or how could there be bondage and liberation (17.74)? If the soul does not exist, then every action would be meaningless (17.75). If everything is only momentary, then this opposes the fact that in existence there is always a giver and that which is given, a destroyer and that which is destroyed (17.76). The Buddha cannot be omniscient (17.77).'

'Brahmā lives in Vārāṇasi and is the son of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu of Vasudeva and Śiva of the yogin Sātyaki (17.78). How could they be the cause of the creation, the maintaining and the destruction of the world? How could they have one nature as the *trimūrti* (17.79-80)? These gods are all subdued by lust. Neither these gods, nor ascetics are without sin (17.79-88). The only ones who are not struck by these arrows of love are those who overcome their senses and have a truthful character. These learned men know the path to emancipation and understand the theory, only they can reach liberation (17.93-100).'

6.7. The origin of heretic views

Then Pavanavega asked his friend to explain how the philosophies of others came into being and became opposed to each other. So Manovega explained: (18.1-3)

'In Bharata there is the upward and downward cycle of time that constantly moves. They are both divided into six periods (*kāla*): *sukhamāsukhamā* etc.[155] Of the downward cycle (*avasarpiṇī*), the first period lasts four crores-of-crores of Oceans, the second three crores-of-crores and the third two crores-of-crores (18.4-8). In these three periods the height of the body is measured sequentially by three-two-one *krosas*,[156] and eating food by three-two-one days (18.9), food is measured by the jujube (*badara*), gooseberry (*amalaka*), and bastard myrobalan fruit (*akṣaka*) (18.10).[157] In those periods there is no scarcity and abundance, no restraint or vows. People can enjoy everything and are born as twins of a boy and a girl.[158] There are ten types of enjoyments like the ten wishing trees (18.10-16).

At the end of the third period there were fourteen Patriarchs (*kulakaras*). Ṛṣabha [son of the last *kulakara*], ruler of Ayodhyā, married the princesses of Kaccha, Nandā, and Sunandā. They gave him a hundred sons (18.17-25). When the wishing trees (*kalpavṛkṣa*) perished, Ṛṣabha taught the people six professions. When Ṛṣabha saw Niramjasā, an *apsaras* sent by Indra, he realised that in samsara everything is evanescent. Love, youth, material, wealth, sons, etc. all perishes; only the three jewels are true (18.28-36). And thus, he decided to renounce the world (18.37). When he had reached liberation, he went to the Śaṭakapark and sat under a banyan tree (18.40). He pulled out five fists of hair as a sign of his renunciation (18.41). He convinced four thousand kings to become ascetics, but after six months they lost track of the right path. They chose to wear their own dress instead of remaining naked and started eating forbidden foods or went back to their houses (18.42-54). The kings of Kaccha and Mahākaccha thus took the dress of ascetics. And Marīci formed the Sāṃkhya philosophy for his student Kapila (18.56). 363 other heretic theories were formed by these kings. As such, the Cārvāka doctrine was created by Śukra and Bṛhaspati (18.58-59). Perceiving all this, the Jina started to form a path to help the people (18.62). King Śreyāṃsa had a beautiful dream and went to give food to the Jina (18.63). Because of Bharata some disciples became Brahmins (18.64). The *tīrthankara* (Adinātha) created the four legendary dynasties of Ikṣvāku, Nātha, Bhoja, and Ugra (18.65). The student of Pārśvanātha, Mauṅgalāyana,[159] became angry at Mahāvīra and created the Buddhist path (18.68). In the fourth time period, the time of strife (*kalikāla*), all heretical views will be spread. Then, the Jina will be praised (18.72-73). There are no other jewels for liberation then the fourfold correct insight (*samyaktva-darśana*),

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[155] See Jaini (1979: 31).

[156] *Krosa* or *krośa* is a measure of distance.

[157] To each of the three periods of the downward cycle belongs a specific size of meal. These are measured by the three small types of fruit (See also Stevenson's *Notes on Modern Jainism* (1910: 80), which was compiled with the help of Gujarati Jains and Gujarati sources).

[158] See also Stevenson (1910: 79-80).

[159] The edition reads Mauṅgalāyana whereas the standard name of this disciple is Maudgalyāyana.

knowledge (-*jñāna*), behaviour (*carita*), and ascetic practice (*tapas*) (18.78). My dear friend, understand all these pure teachings of the Jina, that is the only path to liberation (18.80-85).'

6.8. Teaching the Jain vows

After listening to this lesson, Pavanavega spoke to his friend: 'I had disregarded the Jain teachings and followed false beliefs, because of my slow-wittedness. And I did not want to listen to your intelligent words. But you, my friend, are my only brother and guru. You have made me understand and guided me away from darkness towards the path of the Jina. Because of you, I can now turn to the threefold path and take up the vows of Jainism[160] (18.86-96).' Then the two went into their *vimāna* and departed for Ujjain (18.99). Arriving in the park of Ujjain, they met Jinamati, who said: 'So this is your friend Pavanavega' (19.1). Manovega confirmed and told the wise man that by understanding different theories in Pāṭaliputra, he has entered onto the path of liberation. Then the wise man said: 'Your grace, now take the lay vows (*śrāvaka vrata*) to mind which has in it god (*deva*), self (*ātma*), teacher (*guru*), and witness (*sākṣin*) (19.6). Take this vow of truthfulness (*samyaktva*) and understand the 'essences' (*tattvas*), soul (*jīva*) and non-soul (*ajiva*) as told by the Jina.[161] There are five small vows (*aṇuvratas*), three subsidiary vows (*guṇavratas*), and four vows of instruction (*śikṣāvratas*) (19.7-12).[162] The five *aṇuvratas* are non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truth (*satyam*), not-stealing (*asteyam*), chastity (*brahmacāryam*), and non-attachment (*asaṅgatā*). They can be known by perception, action and being (19.13). The body is divided into two: *trasa* and *sthāvara*.[163] There are four types of *trasas*: those who have two, three, four or five sense organs (19.17-18). Violence (*hiṃsā*) is of two types: *ārambha* and *anārambha* (19.19).[164] When one eats meat, which is a form of violence, one will go to hell (19.23-30). Alcohol is also to be left as it destroys salvific duty (*dharma*), fulfilment of desire (*kāma*), and acquirement of wealth (*artha*) (19.31-40).[165] Honey and the

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[160] The path of Jainism is made up of the three jewels (*ratnatraya*): 'right belief' (*samyak-dṛṣṭi*), 'right knowledge' (*samyak-jñāna*), and 'right conduct' (*samyak-cāritra*).

[161] The *Tattvārthasūtra*, a text central to both Digambara and Śvetambara Jainism, explains that there are seven *tattvas* that establish karmic theory and thus determine the cycle of transmigration as well as the path to liberation(TS 1.4, see Tatia 2006). This list was later expanded to nine *tattvas* (see Dundas 2006: 96).
Jīva and ajīva are two of them and make up the two types of existents.

[162] The Jain lay vows are divided into these three categories. The *aṇuvratas* appear to be equal in all Jain texts, but there are differences with regards to the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* (see Williams 1963).

[163] Living beings are divided into those that move about (*trasa*) and those that do not move about (*sthāvara*).

[164] *Ārambha hiṃsā* concerns violence occurring from an 'acceptable' occupation (e.g. a farmer accidently killing insects; see Jaini (1979: 171). *Anārambha hiṃsā*, it follows, concerns violence not ocurring from an occupation. Śāstrī indeed glosses *anārambha* as *sāṃkalpika*, meaning out of will (1978: 315). Olivelle, referring to the *Bhagavad Gītā*, explains *ārambha* as involving ritual actions, whereas *anārambha* involves the life of a renunciator, and thus the absence of ritual actions (2011: 133).

[165] *Dharma*, *kāma* and *artha* are the three goals of life in Indian traditions.

five fruits of the *uḍumbara* (fig) are also restricted, just like bulbous roots, roots, fruits, and flowers (19.41-45). One should avoid passions like love, anger, hate, jealousy, and blindness. One should not take the belongings of others (*aparigraha*) (19.46-55). One should not enjoy the wives of others (*brahmacārya*), because it makes you go to hell (19.56-65). Instead, one should be content with one's own wife (*santoṣa-vrata*) (19.67-72).[166] The three *guṇavratas* exist of *dig*, *deśa*, and *anarthadaṇḍa*. The first is to restrict one's directions, the second to restrict one's locations, and the third is to refrain from the five minor types of harmful activity (19.73-82).[167] The *śikṣāvratas* are of four types: equanimity (*sāmāyika*), fasting (*upoṣita*), limiting consumption (*bhogopabhoga*), and sharing food with a guest (19.83-91). One should give (*dāna*) to a *muni* in nine ways and with seven *guṇas* (19.93).[168] When a wise person approaches death, he resorts to *sallekhanā* (ritual fasting to death) (19.94). One who is without passion (*kaṣāya*), false belief (*mithyātva*), and desire for worldly gain (*nidāna*) can become a renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*), and by doing this *śrāvaka dharma* become liberated (19.95-97).' Then Jinamati went on telling about the rules of a lay person (20.1).

'One should not eat at night, as this causes extreme suffering (20.2-10). One who eats outside of the two allowed moments of the day, should do a twofold fast for one month (20.12). One should follow the rules of fasting (20.13-19). *Dāna* should be understood as fourfold: giving food, giving medicine, giving books (*śāstra*), and giving shelter (20.24-39). Then there are seven types of low conduct (*nīcācāra*): drinking alcohol, eating meat, gambling, stealing, multiplying sins, intercourse with the wife of another, and intercourse with a prostitute. (20.41-51) One who follows all these lay rules of conduct and follows *aparigraha*, he will be free of *karma* (20.52-64). In all the vows the most important aspect is truthfulness (*samyaktva*), which cuts through transmigration (*saṃsāra*) (20.65-66). Faith (*darśana*), conduct (*caritra*), and knowledge (*jñāna*) are the three ways to prevent rebirth. He who has *samyaktva* in these three ways is most excellent (20.67-80).'

Having heard all these teachings by Jinamata, Pavanavega was very satisfied. Together with his friend Manovega he went back to their mountain. There, from then on, the two *vidyādharas* were completely engaged with following the fourfold *Śrāvaka dharma* (20.81-89).'

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[166] The vow of chastity (fourth *aṇuvrata*) has a double formulation, existing of (1) avoidance of the wives of others and (2) contentment with one's own wife (see Williams 196: 85).

[167] See Jaini (1979: 179).

[168] The seven virtues are the following: (1) faith, (2) devotion, (3) contentment, (4) zeal, (5) discrimination, (6) disinterestedness, and (7) forbearance (see Williams 1963: 153). The nine ways of *dāna* are the following: (1) reception, (2) giving a seat of honour, (3) washing the feet, (4) worship, (5) obeisance, and purity of the donor in his (6) mind, (7) speech, (8) body and (9) food (see Williams 1963: 159-160).

Chapter 2   The authoritative adaptation: the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati

'That text by Amitagati?' is the reaction I received very often during the four years of my doctoral research, when I told people who worked on Jain literature about my project on the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. This reaction represents how scholars or Jains today think of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. At least for scholars this should not be surprising since Amitagati's version has been the most studied. However, such an association is also one that Jains in the past must have made, since Amitagati's version appears to have been the most authoritative and most popular one of the many different versions available. This is proven by the fact that his text is preserved in the largest number of manuscripts (see Introduction, p. 46) that are the most widely spread and also by the fact that later versions seem to have based their own adaptations on his *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Therefore, it makes sense that I open my examination of the several adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* story with Amitagati's text. As I have discussed in my Introduction, there are several scholars who have written about Amitagati's version. Mironow (1903) has opened up the text to international audiences with his fifty-six-page analysis of the text's contents, Upadhye (1944/2002) has discussed its similarities and dissimilarities with Hariṣeṇa's version, and Osier (2005) has treated it as one of two *Dharmaparīkṣās* (the second being by Hariṣeṇa) together with the *Dhūrtākhyāna* as an innovative genre of Jain writing. I will build upon these earlier studies but will approach the text from the angle that guides this dissertation, namely adaptation theory (see Introduction, p. 17-20). This angle especially gives attention to three aspects of an adaptation, namely the product itself, the adaptive processes that influence the product, and the modes of engagement with the product. As such, I aim to discuss all three of them in the current chapter. However, it is not my aim to discuss these to an equal extent, because they are not equally relevant to understanding the characteristics of Amitagati's text as an adaptation. The current chapter will not only review this version as an adaptation, but also hopes to establish the basis upon which the following chapters will be built. The set-up of this chapter is to analyse the text (i.e. the product) according to different topics, in most general terms, its content, its style and its language, and to

relate to these topics the contexts that would have informed Amitagati's adaptive process. In order to understand these contexts, it is necessary to examine Amitagati's place in the wider Indian literary world. Therefore, I will open this chapter by considering Amitagati the author.

2.1   The author and his context

Although Amitagati is recognised as a prolific author in secondary literature (see Winternitz 1920, 343-347; Warder 1992, 253-261; Premi 1942, 172-184 a.o.), detailed information about his life is limited. Our most indicative sources for this are his own *praśastis* to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*.[1] From these we know that Amitagati was a mendicant in the Mathūrasaṃgha of the Kāṣṭhasaṃgha of Digambara Jainism, following in the lineage of Vīrasena, Devasena, Amitagati (1), Nemiṣena and Mādhavasena.[2] Amitagati (2) lived in the first half of the eleventh century since he wrote the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in 1070 VS and the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* in 1050 VS In this latter work he refers to Rāja Muñja as the ruler at the time (SRS 32.44), and in his *Paṃcasaṃgraha* he refers to Muñja's successor King Sindhu (as *Sindhupati*) (Premi 1942: 182).[3] Other works composed by Amitagati are the *Upāsakācāra* (known as *Amitagati Śrāvakācāra*) and

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[1] Most secondary sources render the title as *subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* (see e.g. Winternitz 1920: 344; Varni 2000: 436; Jain and Upadhye 1968: 6; Velankar 1944: 445). However Schmidt resists this title as he claims that all manuscripts he has consulted read *subhāṣitasaṃdoha* in the work itself (1904: 447). For convenience sake, I take *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* following the majority of the secondary sources, as well as the catalogue of the Bhattarkiya Granth Bhandar at Nagaur (1981: n. 352).

[2] The full lineage is found in the *praśasti* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. The *praśasti* of the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* leaves out Vīrasena. Johrapurkar mentions that our Amitagati is the earliest author to affiliate with the Māthuragaccha and to mention its lineage. Only Devasena's *Darśanasāra* is an earlier source to mention the name of the Māthuragaccha and its supposed founder Rāmasena (Johrapurkar 1958: 238).

[3] *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* 32.44:

samārūḍhe pūtatridaśavasaṃti vikramanṛpe sahasre varṣāṇāṃ prabhavati hi pañcāśadadhike, samāptaṃ pañcamyāmavati dharaṇīṃ muñjanṛpatau site pakṣe pauṣe budhahitamidaṃ śāstramanagham. 44

'Als der Männerfürst *Vikrama* nach der lauteren Wohnung der Dreissig (Götter) hinaufgestiegen war und ein Tausend von Jahren vorlag, vermehrt um fünfzig, am fünften Tage in der lichten Hälfte im Monat *Pauṣa*, als der Männerfürst *Muñja* die Erde beschütze, ist dieses den Verständigen heilsame, makellose Buch verfasst worden.' (translation by Schmidt 1908: 582):

The *praśasti* to the *Paṃcasaṃgraha* reads (Premi 1942: 182):

mādhavasenagaṇī gaṇanīyaḥ śuddhatamo'jani tatra janīyaḥ / bhūyasi satyavatīva śaśāṃkaḥ śrīmati sindhupatāvakalaṃkaḥ //

supposedly the *Ārādhanā* (Jain and Upadhye 1968: 7).[4] All these texts seem to involve the moral behaviour of the Jain laity (*śrāvakācāra*), which can thus be recognised as an important theme of his oeuvre and of his teaching or guidance in general.[5] As a poet Amitagati seems to have excelled in *subhāṣitas* ('beautified sayings'). This is evidenced by his *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* – the title itself ('treasury of *subhāṣita*-gems') professes this – and by the *Dharmaparīkṣā* of which Mironow has stated that the didactic content of its nineteenth and twentieth chapter is very similar to the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* (1903: 41). Another significant characteristic of his authorial occupation is that he translated Prakrit works, namely the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, *Paṃcasaṃgraha*, and *Ārādhanā*, into Sanskrit. Such translatory practices seem to have gained relevance around the time in which he lived. I will discuss his choice for Sanskrit below. Much more about the life of Amitagati is not known, but we can resort to his historical context in order to obtain a more meaningful understanding of the author's activities and motivations.

2.1.1   Amitagati in the Paramāra kingdom

As we know from his reference to Rājā Muñja in the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*, Amitagati lived in the Malwa region at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, that was ruled by the Paramāra dynasty. This dynasty had benefitted from the power struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pratihāras and gained hold of the Malwa region to rule it as an independent kingdom.[6] By the time of its two most famous kings, King Muñja (also known as Vākpati II) and King Bhoja, the dynasty had become a strong imperialistic kingdom that attracted people from different regions and that flourished in all cultural fields. King Muñja himself came to power in 972 CE and expanded the kingdom in several directions during his reign. What is of interest here, is that he seems to have been a

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[4] The Śrāvakācāra is quoted by Jaini as the second oldest of this type of works in the Digambara tradition (1979: 80).

Other works that are authored by an Amitagati are the *Dvātriṃśikā*, the *Tattvabhāvanā*, and *Yogasāraprābhṛta*, but these are supposedly written by a different author with the same name, possibly the Amitagati (1) whom our Amitagati (2) mentions as his predecessor (Jain and Upadhye 1968: 8).

[5] Of Amitagati's works the following have been published so far: (1) the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* edited by Śāstri in the Kāvyamāla series (vol. 82, 1903), and re-edited and translated in German by Richard Schmidt (1908); (2) the *Dharmaparīkṣā* edited with Hindi paraphrase by Bālacandra Śāstri (1978); (3) the *Pañcasaṃgraha* (1960) in an edition together with the Prakrit original text (*mūlagāthā*) and a Hindi translation with commentary, this was earlier published in the Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina granthamālā series (vol. 25, 1927) edited by Darabārīlāla Nyāyatīrtha; (4) the *Śrāvakācāra* (1989) with Hindi translation; and (5) the *Ārādhanā* edited in the Śrī Svāmī Devendrakīrti Digambara Jain Granthamālā series (1935) together with the original Prakrit text by Śivakoṭi.

[6] It is not clear where the Paramāra dynasty came from exactly. Jain reviews several origin legends of the Paramāras of which none seems to offer a historically correct account. He connects them to Abu in current Rajasthan (1972: 329).

fervent supporter of cultural production. He ordered the construction of many temples and other architecture and patronised several authors, amongst whom were Padmagupta, Dhanañjaya, Dhanika, Dhanapāla, Śobhana, and Halāyudha (Jain 1972: 340-341). After the short rule by Sindhurāja,[7] Muñja's younger brother, King Bhoja followed this elan, when he ascended the throne around 1011. This 'universal man' was one of India's most important kings for the development of literary culture and became himself, in Pollock's words, 'the most celebrated poet-king and philosopher-king of his time, and perhaps of any Indian time' (Pollock 2006: 178). The highly cultured courts of both kings produced a vast amount of texts of all genres including poetry, treatises on dramaturgy, poetics and grammar, narrative literature, and philosophical texts.[8] Amitagati was one of the adepts of this flourishing culture.

The Jains occupied a prominent space in the Malwa region, as is evidenced by many temples and images that were consecrated during the *Paramāra* period and even earlier.[9] The Digambara Mūlasaṃgha was well-established in the area from at least the seventh century. Their *paṭṭāvalis* tell how Malwa became an important region of pontifical centres in the migration of the Digambara community from the South to the North (see Hoernle 1892). Another source on the medieval history of the Digambaras in the Malwa region is the *Darśanasāra* by the Mūla Saṃgha author Devasena, who wrote in Dhāra in the beginning of the tenth century (990 VS).[10] The fact that this work attacks several internal divisions within the Digambara community suggests the existence of several Digambara *gacchas* at that time in relative proximity to Devasena. The centrality of Malwa to the Digambara community is further demonstrated by the fact that several *bhaṭṭāraka* seats originated there (e.g. at Ujjain). Although the *bhaṭṭāraka* installation may have only taken

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[7] According to Jain, he ruled from 995 to 1000 CE (1972: 341).

[8] A few examples of texts by prominent court authors are the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, an epic poem by Padmagupta, Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa* on dramaturgy, Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* on dramaturgy and poetics, his commentary on Patañjali titled the *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, and his grammar the *Sarvastīkāṇṭhābharaṇa*, next to the compositions discussed below. According to Pollock, King Bhoja greatly emphasised grammatical correctness (2006: 179), which seems to follow logically from the fact that by the end of the first millennium the analysis of literature had become thoroughly permeated by the concepts, principles, and procedures of Mīmāṃsā, the 'discipline of discourse' (*vākyaśāstra*), or 'scriptural hermeneutics' (2003: 53). This is interesting to keep in mind when reading my discussion of Amitagati's refutations of Mīmāṃsā thought below (p. 89).

[9] Amongst the examples mentioned by Jain (1972) are a Jain temple complex at Badoh dated between the ninth and twelfth centuries (431), ruins of a Jain temple at Bhojapur attributed to Bhoja's reign (437), a Jain temple at Sandhara and at Kethuli (438-439), and several temples at Un (442).

[10] In fact, it is not certain if the work was written in 990 V.S., or in 909 V.S. The Prakrit word 'naüe' can mean either ninety or nine (*Darśanasāra* 49-50). Premi chose to render the date as 909 (1917: 21), after emending the word 'naüe' into 'navae' (Upadhye 1933-34: 206). Upadhye acknowledges the uncertainty in the interpretation of the word and writes that the *Darśanasāra* was compiled in 909 or 990 V.S. (1983: 192).

shape after Amitagati's time,[11] the *gacchas* linked to these seats already had their strongholds in the region.[12] The prominence of Jain ascetics and scholars also left its mark on the courtly milieu, even though the Paramāra kings are supposed to have followed Śaivism (see Jain 1972: 407-408). Amitagati himself mentions King Muñja and might thus have attended his court (cf. infra), and there are other authors who were linked to Muñja's reign, such as Mahāsena, Dhanapāla, and Dhaneśvara (Jain 1972: 401). In order to gain more insight into the social context of Amitagati's writing, it is worth zooming in on some of the Jain scholars who are known to have participated in the courtly circles of the Paramāra kingdom.

A court poet for King Muñja was Dhanapāla,[13] who is most famous for his *Tilakamañjarī* which, in Warder's words, 'reflects the chivalrous illusions of the Paramāra kings, too heroic, too generous, too educated and devoted to the arts to succeed in their aspiration of building a great empire in emulation of the already legendary Vikramāditya' (1988: 756).[14] He also wrote the *Païyalacchīnāmamālā* in 972/973 AD, a Prakrit lexicon that is interesting for the reception history of Prakrit language, and the *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*, a Prakrit hymn in fifty verses to the Jina Ṛṣabha.[15] Dhanapāla was a Brahmin who converted to Jainism before the writing of his most famous work (see fn. 13, p. 85 and Warder 1988: 759, n. 4212).[16] This anecdote demonstrates that conversions to Jainism were happening in Amitagati's time and is therefore interesting to an evaluation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. It proves the actuality of inter-religious polemical texts and suggests their relevance to historical conversion. In several sources (Premi 1942; Jain 1972; Dhanapāla 1938),

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[11] Johrapurkara writes that the *bhaṭṭāraka* rank was installed by the thirteenth century or at earliest after the ninth century (1958: 7). As such, Amitagati's time (the eleventh century) is before the *bhaṭṭāraka* rank was commonly used, or at most in the beginning period of its use.

[12] Amitagati himself is the first monk to attest to being part of the Māthura Gaccha. He mentions five predecessors in this *gaccha* (cf. supra).

[13] Dhanapāla writes in his *Tilakamañjarī* (1938: 7): *taj-janmā janakāṅghri-paṅkaja-rajaḥ-sevāpta-vidyālavo vipraḥ śrīdhanapāla ity aviśadām etām abadhnāt kathām, akṣuṇṇo'pi vivikta-sūkti-racane yaḥ sarva-vidyābdhinā śrīmuñjena sarasvatīti sadasi kṣoṇībhṛtā vyāhṛtaḥ.* 53 ('The honourable Dhanapāla, born as a Brahmin, with [only] a piece (*lava*) of the knowledge acquired by honouring the dusty lotusfeet of his father, composed this complex (*aviśada*) story. Although inexperienced in composing distinguished verses, he was requested [to compose this story] by the honourable king Muñja who is an ocean of all knowledge, like Sarasvatī, at his assembly'; author's own translation).

[14] The *Tilakamañjarī* is a 'full-length novel' in Sanskrit recounting the deeds of Prince Harivāhana, son of King Meghavāhana, who is enchanted by the painting of a princess called Tilakamañjarī. The story of the prince is entwined with the subsidiary story of Samaraketu, son of the king of Ceylon and ally to Meghavāhana (see Warder 1988: 759-787).

[15] It is not clear if the Apabhraṃśa *Bhavisayattakahā* was written by the same Dhanapāla (Warder 1988: 741).

[16] Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* accounts how Dhanapāla was convinced by his brother, who followed the Śvetāmbara Kharataragaccha Jain *yati* Vardhamānasūri, to convert to Jainism (Bühler 1879: 8). According to Bühler 'it seems to be quite correct that Dhanapâla was at first an adherent of one of the Brahmanical sects and that he later became a Jaina S'râvaka' (1879: 9).

Dhanapāla is also linked to the court of Bhoja and even said to have 'softened' Bhoja towards Jain religion. However, these statements are based upon later legends (e.g. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*) and their historical value should not be taken for granted (see also Bühler 1879: 9-10). His *Tilakamañjarī* opens with a praise to the Jinas and to Sarasvatī, and then proceeds by narrating the entwined stories of Harivāhana and Samaraketu. That this work was patronised by Rāja Muñja illustrates that Jain authors indeed had a place at the pluralist court (see fn. 12). However, because this work is mainly secular in its theme, it is difficult to assess to what extent emphatically religious works would have circulated in the courtly environment.

Mahāsena was another author who seems to have been patronised by King Muñja. In the *praśasti* to his *Pradyumnacarita* we can read: '*āsīt śrīmahāsenasūrir anaghaḥ śrīmuṃjarājārcitaḥ*' ('He was the faultless Mahāsena Sūri, who was honoured by Śrī Muñja Rāja') and '*śrīsindhurājasya mahattamena śrīparpaṭenārcitapādapadmaḥ*' ('His lotusfeet were honoured by Śrī Parpaṭa who was a Mahattama ("high official") for Śrī Sindhu Rāja') (Premi 1942: 183). These two lines indicate Mahāsena's importance at the Paramāra court of King Muñja as well as his legacy in the following reign of King Sindhū through his disciple Parpaṭa. Except for his affiliation to the Lāḍa Bāgaḍa Saṃgha of the Digambara Kāṣṭha Saṃgha, not much is known about Mahāsena. His *Pradyumnacarita* is a *kāvya* composition of the specific Jain version of the story of Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī (see Warder 1992: 21-26).[17] This composition of a Jain account of a story from the Kṛṣṇa lore, seems to confirm that the Paramāra court was receptive of such competing Jain versions of the purāṇic-epic corpus. It is therefore not unimaginable that discussions over this corpus may have taken place.

During the reign of Bhoja, Jain authors remained active at the court. Prabhācandra, of the Digambara Mūlasaṃgha, is supposed to have been one of the leading scholars at Bhoja's court (Kaslival 1950: 10). His *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, that forms a development of Akalaṅka's response to Buddhist thinking (of Dharmakīrti) together with his *Nyāyakumudacandra* (see Gorisse 2014), testifies to having been written during Bhoja's reign. And the long list of works that are signed by his name demonstrate the literary prowess and support he must have had. Other works, such as the *Ārādhanā-gadya-kathākośa* were presumably written during the reign of Jayasimha, the successor of Bhoja (Jain 1972: 475). The variety in Prabhācandra's writings illustrate the wide array of topics that were appreciated by courtly audiences. Moreover, the fact that his philosophical texts commentate upon Akalaṅka's theory and add explicit references to Dharmakīrti's thought, are proof of the deeply argumentative nature of the scholarly discussions held at Bhoja's court.

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[17] See also Austin (2019: 111-140) for other Jain versions of Pradyumna's story.

Further scant sources confirm the picture of literary discussions at the court of the Paramāra kings, and the Jain authors' prominent participation in them. I would like to make a final mention here of the Śvetāmbara Jaina scholar Dhaneśvara, who is said to have gained victory in Bhoja's literary assembly, and the ascetic Śāntisena who, according to an inscription from Dubkuṇḍ, is said to have defeated his opponents in an assembly presided over by the king (Trivedi 1991: 191).

This background that establishes the strength of Jain ascetics of different affiliations within the discussion and argumentation platforms that seem to have had a vivid presence at the Paramāra court during the time of Amitagati, has implications on our assessment of Amitagati's own social milieu. It suggests the receptiveness of Paramāra courtly circles to all sorts of religio-philosophical topics and discussions, including works that explicitly support the Jain view. Therefore, I would hypothesise that Amitagati's mention of King Muñja in the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* could very well indicate his own presence at Muñja's court. Indeed, it seems likely that the Paramāra king would have attracted prominent Jain scholars, such as Amitagati, to discuss and explain their work at court, in order to enhance the prestige of his 'multicultural' reign. The style and language of the work would add to such an interpretation (cf. infra p. 52-57). As a consequence, we might also wonder if the *Dharmaparīkṣā* would have circulated among these courtly intellectuals, beyond the Jain community. Can we see the argumentation by Manovega against the Brahmins as reflecting the argumentation by Amitagati against his would-be opponents in scholarly discussions?[18] I will come back to this issue in my conclusion, after setting out my detailed examination of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

2.2   Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* as an adaptive product

The textual analysis I endeavour in this dissertation is one that is framed by a theory of adaptation. Since Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* has already been studied as an independent text for its narrative configuration (Mironow 1903) or, as a narrative in relation to another Jain narrative (the *Dhūrtākhyāna*) that can be said to have the most similarities in terms of genre with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (Osier 2005), I choose to approach the text here as a product dependent on another (earlier or 'original') textual product and steered by adaptive processes (or choices) that by themselves are influenced by historical contexts,

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[18] One should note that Amitagati did not invent the narrative idea of Manovega arguing against the Brahmins, and that the narration itself was thus not formed in reflection of the scholarly discussions. However, I would say that the narrative would fit a scholarly context because it is able to reflect such a context.

most importantly literary and social contexts. My analysis will first highlight particularities in the textual product that relate more to the content and secondly treat those aspects that I perceive as related to style. The distinction between the two is, as the reader will notice, not always clear-cut, and when it is not, I will clarify my choice of category. Because the aspects I will discuss in my analysis are of course not independent from the narrative plot, I refer the reader to my detailed description of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* story in the Introduction (pp. 50-78) which is based on Amitagati's version.

2.2.1 'A debate on *dharma*': the scholastic tendency in Amitagati's version

Treating the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati as an adaptation means analysing the way in which this version sets itself apart from the other available versions, and what is specific about it. This implies that the text is discussed as standing in a dialectic relation with a source version. As this supposed source version did not stand the test of time and next to nothing is known about it,[19] we are obliged to analyse Amitagati's text as an adaptation through itself or in dialogue with other sources. Therefore, in this section I will discuss the distinctiveness in terms of content of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati in comparison to the oldest extent *Dhammaparikkhā* by Hariṣeṇa. I argue that this approach is valid because both versions are claimed by Upadhye to stem from one Prakrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*, and that this would mean that the differences recognised between the two texts are likely to also exist as differences between the one text and the hypothetical source text. An additional argument for this approach is the fact that Amitagati's other adaptations of earlier compositions clearly diverge from their originals,[20] so that it is likely that Amitagati would have introduced original features in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* as well. For my overview of existing differences here will draw from the studies by Upadhye (1942), Osier (2005), and Bhāskar (1990: Upasthāpanā; 1993), complemented by my own insights.

Although the plot of the narrative is very similar in the two versions, there are several differences we can find within the content. Hariṣeṇa includes a few passages that are not in Amitagati's text, for example a story illustrating the Jain prohibition against eating at night (DP$_H$ 11.3-10).[21] These I will not discuss here, because we cannot know if these were included in the supposed source text and thus, they do not necessarily imply what is

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[19] This source version, mentions Hariṣeṇa, was written by Jayarāma (cf. Introduction: 8-9).

[20] This conclusion stems from my readings of the *Paṃcasaṃgraha* (1960) and the *Ārādhanā* (1935), which were both edited with their Prakrit original.

[21] Amitagati does explicitly refute eating at night (DP$_A$ 20.3-10). He calls this one the additional rules (*niyama*) for the *śrāvakas*. This seems to be in contrast to how he categorises *a-rātri-bhojana* (not eating at night) in his *Śrāvakācāra*, namely as one of the *mūlaguṇas* (Williams 1963: 51, fn. 1).

specific in Amitagati's adaptation. Instead I will discuss those differences that exist because Amitagati is more elaborate at some points in the content than Hariṣeṇa. In general, Amitagati has a stronger didactic undertone. He inserts longer passages to explain the moral implications of a story and embellishes these with many *subhāṣitas* (cf. infra, p. 123-133). In contrast, Hariṣeṇa focuses more on the narrative and subnarratives themselves, which makes his work shorter. The more dogmatic-argumentative nature of Amitagati's version becomes especially obvious towards the end of the plot, where Amitagati devotes a full chapter (seventeenth *pariccheda*) to refuting the Brahmins (and others such as the Buddhists), which is not in Hariṣeṇa's text. Furthermore, the two texts are quite different in how they split up the narrative. Hariṣeṇa divides the narrative into eleven *sandhis* according to the narrative logic. Amitagati, on the other hand, divides his twenty-one *pariccheda*s according to the number of verses (around one hundred per chapter), which causes some chapters to be split up in the middle of a story.[22] For what follows here, I elaborate on a selection of passages and elements specific to Amitagati's adaptation. The focus of my argument will be the scholastic tendency that seems to underly Amitagati's version and is contextualised by his other writings and informed by a context of self-cultivation among the elite audiences, to which he directs his text. By means of a thick description with elaborate citations, I hope to make tangible the adaptive processes at hand.

2.2.1.1 The philosophical debate of *pariccheda 17*

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* in general is directed against Brahmanism. The Brahmins are the main dialogical partner in the narrative. Although Manovega is also repeatedly in dialogue with Pavanavega, it is really the Brahmins to whom Manovega reacts and their set of thoughts which are in a dialectic relationship to the perspective he represents. Amitagati takes this dialecticism a step further by elaborating on this criticism. This is most obvious in the seventeenth *pariccheda* where he includes a whole chapter to criticise the views of the Brahmanical tradition, as well as that of the Buddhists to a lesser extent.[23] What is particularly interesting about this chapter is that it lets go of an argumentation through

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[22] I will leave the discussion of chapter division by Amitagati for a further section of this chapter (pp. 121-123).

[23] Note that this refutation starts and ends in the seventeenth chapter. This fortifies the conclusion that it was an insertion by Amitagati, and leads to the hypothesis that the chapter could stand on its own. On the other hand, we have to take into account the possibility that the arguments made in Amitagati's seventeenth chapter were elided by Hariṣeṇa, and therefore were present in the supposed Prakrit source text. For example, the elements for the philosophical argumentation against Brahmins in Raviṣeṇa's adaptation of the Padmacarita, argued by Seema Chauhan (forthcoming) to be a reaction against the Mīmāṃsaka philosopher Kumārila (cf. infra, p. 100), had already been set up in the earlier Prakrit version by Vimalasūri. Vimalasūri's refutation of Brahmin beliefs is shorter and predates Kumārila, but further studies are needed to clarify the exact differences between this Prakrit text and Raviṣeṇa's adaptation (see also fn. 34).

narratives and instead adopts a more philosophical discourse, tackling some of the core (problematic) arguments of Brahmin thought (Mīmāṃsā, Yoga). Moreover, taking into consideration the fact that this specific part has been reproduced in later versions (cf. DP$_M$ v. 921-975 and DP$_P$ v. 1231-1323), it is paramount that I discuss it here at length.[24] This should help to understand the specific motivation of Amitagati's writing as well as the strength of his work to be replicated in later periods. My discussion here of Amitagati's seventeenth *pariccheda* will to a certain extent be parallel to and confirm the writings of Osier (2005: 295-302) and Mironow (1903) but will add more details and new insights.

2.2.1.1.1   The Veda and the Ṭhakaśāstra

Amitagati opens his seventeenth chapter by attacking the core of what unites the Brahmanical traditions, namely the Veda. The Veda is said to be uncreated and faultless (DP$_A$ 17.4). But how, asks Amitagati, could a revelation that proclaims violence (*hiṃsā*) be righteous or any different from the *śāstra* of the *ṭhakas* (DP$_A$ 17.5-6). As Mironow also recognised, this mentioning of *ṭhakas* is worth elaborating on (1903: 36). There are two possible translations for *ṭhaka*: either *ṭhaka* just means 'rogue' in general, or the term refers to a defined religiously inspired criminal group known as 'Thugs', about whom the British colonials spread tales of their 'horrifying', criminal deeds and whose historical existence is still contested (see van Woerkens 2002). If we take their historical existence as a 'sect' to be true and if we see Amitagati's use of *ṭhaka* as a reference to them, then his reference would be one of the earliest attestations of their existence as a group. The best-known and earliest supposed source for the *ṭhakas* is the chronicle by Zia-ud-din Barani from the thirteenth century (van Woerkens 2002: 110). The possibly earliest supposed allusion to them is the account by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang who travelled to India between 629 and 645 CE and tells us how he was attacked by pirates at the Ganges who were looking for a victim for their Durga sacrifice (van Woerkens 2002: 109). A more interesting reference to the *ṭhakas* from our perspective is the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* by Bhāsavarjñā. In this ninth-century text the Nyāya scholar Bhāsarvajña states that 'the killing of Brahmins and so forth' can be found in '"the sacred texts of the Thags" (*ṭhakaśāstra*)', which are invalid and illegitimate and 'they illustrate the dangers of not being under the guidance of the true source, i.e. the Veda' (Halbfass 1991: 103).[25] Here, we find the same expression as in Amitagati's of the existence of a *ṭhaka-śāstra*. Whereas it is perhaps rather unlikely that those denominated as *ṭhaka* had a specific corpus of sacred or doctrinal texts, this kind of attribution seems to imply a certain unity in the category

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[24] The verse references of Manohardās' text accord with the manuscript from BORI 616(1875-76). Manohardās does not include the refutation of Buddhist ideas.

[25] See also Dundas 1995 on some references to the Ṭhags in Jain literature.

of *ṭhaka* at least in the imagination of authors from the late medieval period.[26] On the Jain side, the contemporaneous authors Anantavīrya (tenth century) and Prabhācandra (tenth-eleventh century) mention the Thugs as well.[27] In the latter author's *Nyāyakumudacandra* the teachings of the Thugs are referred to when citing a maxim that advances the killing of a wealthy Brahmin in order to become rich, in turn related to the blind allegiance to the Veda (Halbfass 1991: 103). These references, together with the mention by Amitagati, make it more likely that we should think of the Thugs as indeed a specific tradition, rather than just as rogues in general. Furthermore, because all these references mark the Thugs as violent and attribute to them a doctrine (*ṭhakaśāstra* or *ṭhakāgama* for Prabhācandra), I suggest that from about the ninth to tenth centuries *ṭhakas*, at least within literature, were perceived as 'sectarian' others, associated with the marginal and the radically violent.[28] Thus, as a last remark, Amitagati's connection between the Thugs and the Veda seems to play on a common literary motif, possibly inspired by Prabhācandra.

2.2.1.1.2   The Mīmāṃsakas

Amitagati continues with a refutation of the Veda, first by refuting its status as a *pramāṇa*, or valid means of knowledge. In these verses it is quite clear that Amitagati has in mind the Mīmāṃsakas as opponents. His argument mainly seems to attack the conceptualisation of what constitutes a *pramāṇa* as it was established by Kumārīla (in reaction to the Buddhists), the seventh century Mīmāṃsā philosopher who inaugurated the tradition's high period. Kumārīla develops a theory of intrinsic validity, according to which each cognition is a priori correct, because if its validity depends on a 'good' cause then every 'good' cause in itself requires a 'good' cause ad infinitum, which makes validity impossible. Kumārīla then transfers the intrinsic validity from the area of perception (cognition) onto the Veda. The Veda is a means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) because the utterances in it are intrinsically valid. And this validity is assured by the fact that it does not depend on any cause, as it is authorless. We are furthermore convinced that it is authorless because we do not have the perception of its creation, and our perception is intrinsically valid (Verpoorten 1987: 23-24). The Jains have reacted against these claims, because it implies the impossibility of a composition (the Jain *āgama*) by an omniscient being (the Jina), whose existence Kumārīla has in fact explicitly attacked. The earliest arguments against Kumārīla go back, at least, to the eighth century by Haribhadra and

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[26] For a discussion of the meaning of *śāstra* in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* see below (p. 102-106).

[27] For the dating of Anantavīrya I refer to Potter (2019: n. 556), for the dating of Prabhācandra and of Bhāsarvajña I refer to Ganeri (2017: timeline).

[28] Plainly violent in Amitagati; specifically, as Brahmin killers in the other sources.

Akalaṅka (see Qvarnström 2006).[29] Amitagati draws on this debate and reaffirms that any argument proclaiming that the Veda is uncreated by a human agent (*apauruṣeya*) is incongruent (DP$_A$ 17.7), nor can it be *akṛtrima* (uncreated) because it is caused by the organs of speech such as the palate (DP$_A$ 17.8), and if its cause (*hetu*) is the palate etc. then there must be a purposed cause (*niścaya kāraṇa*) for that (DP$_A$ 17.9).[30] Such an argument was also developed at length by Prabhācandra, who was a philosopher contemporary to Amitagati (980-1065).[31] Amitagati then turns to the necessity of an omniscient being (DP$_A$ 17.13). Because the meaning of something cannot be explained by itself (i.e. the meaning of the Veda is inherent to it), we need an omniscient being to explain it. Against the argument of Kumārīla that as we only perceive the passing on of the Veda and not its creation, there is no creation of the Veda, Amitagati posits that there cannot be a 'passing on' without an omniscient being at the origin of it (DP$_A$ 17.15). Our author does not commit to giving a thorough argumentation but rather seems to follow the argumentative structure of earlier Jain debaters (such as Haribhadra or Prabhācandra) without detailing their main points.

Another attack against the Vaidikas opposes the violence that is installed in their sacrifices and compares the Vedic priests to butchers (DP$_A$ 17.19-22). Those who support such practices cannot attain liberation, nor go to heaven (*svarga-gatin*). Then Amitagati takes up the subject of casts. For him, *jātis* should not be differentiated on the basis of birth, but on the basis of conduct. The refutation of *jāti* by Amitagati represents another important point of discussion between Jains and Mīmāṃsakas in the medieval period. Again, Kumārīla was in the forefront of the Mīmāṃsā defence. He wrote that *jāti*, especially of 'Brahminhood', is determined by birth, it is 'something directly perceivable in a person given the knowledge of who his, or her, parents are' (Lath 1991: 25; quoting *Tāntravārtika*). Jains, together with Buddhists,[32] recognised a division of classes but only on a functional basis. As such, the *Ādipurāṇa* by Jinasena notes that mankind is a single *jāti*, subdivided only socially because of different conduct (*vṛtti*), and Prabhācandra has

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[29] Seema Chauhan has presented a paper at the AAR of 2019 that argues that the seventh-century author Raviṣeṇa presents an earlier reaction to Kumārīla in his Padmacarita. She develops these arguments futher in her forthcoming PhD dissertation.

[30] I take *kāraṇa* here as referring to the efficient cause, which is the agent of an action (being an omniscient being according to Jain philosophy). Another possibility is to emmend *kāraṇa* to *kāraka* (the creator).

[31] I thank Marie-Hélène Gorisse for explaining Prabhācandra's arguments to me. For a summary of his argumentation see Balcerowicz 2013. For the argument by Haribhadra see Qvarnström 2006: 94.

[32] See for example Aśvaghoṣa's Vajrasūci (Mukhopadhyay 1949). This text also uses satire to oppose Brahmanical superiority.

made a similar statement (Lath 1991: 25-26).[33] Amitagati repeats these understandings
(DP_A 17.24-28):

ācāramātrabhedena jātīnāṃ bhedakalpanam,
na jātibrāhmiṇīyāsti niyatā kvāpi tāttvikī. 24
A distinction of *jātis* should be made only by a distinction in proper conduct. Never
could being a Brahmin by birth be established on the base of reality. 24

brāhmaṇakṣatriyādīnāṃ caturnāmapi tattvataḥ,
ekaiva māṇuṣī jātirācāreṇa vibhidyate. 25
Of the four [classes], namely the Brahmins, the Kshatriya's etc. – even if [their
(functional) categorisation] accords with reality – only one *jāti*, namely the human,
should be discerned by means of conduct. 25

bhede jāyate viprāyāṃ kṣatriyo na kathaṃcana,
śālijātau mayā dṛṣṭaḥ kodravasya na saṃbhavaḥ. 26
In the case of making a distinction, a Kshatriya is not born from a Brahmin woman
in any way. In the class of superior rice, I do not see the origin from a pauper's rice.

brāhmaṇo 'vāci vipreṇa pavitrācāradhāriṇā,
viprāyāṃ śuddhaśīlāyāṃ janito nedamuttaram. 27
By a Brahmin (*vipra*), as bearer of pure conduct, it is said that a Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa*)
is born from a pure-natured Brahmin woman. But this is not correct. 27

na viprāviprayor asti sarvadā śuddhaśīlatā,
kālenānādinā gotre skhalanaṃ kva na jāyate. 28
Of a Brahmin man with a Brahmin woman there is not in every circumstance pure
virtuousness. In which family does failure not arise since time immemorial? 28

Next to affirming the existence of one human *jāti* (v. 24), Amitagati recognises that the
category of *brāhmaṇa* ('Brahminhood') does exist, though not in the sense that Brahmins
apply to it (v. 27). A *brāhmaṇa* is not virtuous because he is born from Brahmin parents,
but – as the foregoing sentences suggest – because he is pure in conduct. In fact, such
formulation of the 'true Brahmin' is already present in the Jain Śvetāmbara canonical
texts (*Uttarādhyāyana*; see Jaini 1979: 74-75) and finds similar expression in the early
Buddhist tradition (see McGovern 2019: 210). As for later Jain narrative texts, also Jinasena
in his *Mahāpurāṇa* (cf. infra) and Raviṣeṇa in his *Padmacarita* (11.200-203) redefine a

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[33] According to Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* Ṛṣabha created the different professions of warriors (*kṣatriya*), merchants
(*vaiśya*), and labourers (*śūdra*) and thus structured society on the base of occupation. The class of Brahmins was
only later created by his son Bharata (Jaini 2000: 340-341). Amitagati divides these four classes also on the base
of their occupation in DP_A 18.66.

brāhmaṇa.[34] This demonstrates that Amitagati's refutation, here put in the mouth of Manovega, was part of a general discourse of debate against the Mīmāṃsakas in the medieval period, that came to be implied in the narrative literature of the Jains.

Manovega extends his teaching by enumerating the means by which one's *jāti* becomes great: *saṃyama* (restraint), *niyama* (discipline), *śīla* (virtue), *tapas* (austerity), *dāna* (charity), *dama* (self-control), and *dayā* (compassion) (DP$_A$ 17.29). These aspects should be understood as characterising a person who is *brāhmaṇa*. Jinasena's *Mahāpurāṇa* contains a similar, though different, list of virtues qualifying a *brāhmaṇa*. He enlists *satya* (truthfulness), *śauca* (purity), *kṣānti* (forbearance), *dama* (self-control), etc. (39.107). In comparison, the *Vajrasūci*, attributed to the Buddhist Aśvaghoṣa (around the beginning of the Common Era),[35] includes a list that is closer to the one by Amitagati: *vrata* (vows), *tapas* (austerity), *niyama* (voluntary religious observance), *upavāsa* (fasting), *dāna* (donation), *dama* (self-restraint), *śama* (mental quietness), and *saṃyama* (restraint) (Mukhopadhyay 1949: 5). These lists are similar to the lists of qualities one must have to be reborn as a *tīrthaṃkara* or a *buddha* (see Jaini 1979: 260). Indeed, according to Amitagati (or Manovega), one who possesses these qualities can reach heaven (*svarga*) (DP$_A$ 17.31). The similarity but non-conformity of these lists suggests that the concept of 'Brahminhood' was debated upon but not standardised in the Jain (or Buddhist) tradition, and that their main purpose was to subvert Brahmin dominance through appropriation and a reframing of the denomination within the typical Jain emphasis on ethical responsibility towards one's actions.

The following attack pertains to the rituals performed by the Mīmāṃsakas.[36] In this section Amitagati lets us enjoy again the scurrilous style by which he laughs at his opponents. 'Some believe that purity can be obtained by ritual bathing, rather than by

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[34] Jaini discusses well how Jinasena puts forward the idea of a *jaina brāhmaṇa* (1979: 288-291).

Seema Chauhan has pointed out in her AAR 2019 paper that in Raviṣeṇa's Padmacarita Nārada, in discussion with Parvata and King Vasu, argues that a Brahmin is not the highest class because of birth or because he originated from the mouth of Brahmā, rather 'Brāhmaṇa' is a marker of virtue (*guṇa*). She details this further in her forthcoming dissertation. Similarly to Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* the refutation by Raviṣeṇa is set within an argumentation against the Mīmāṃsakas.

As for non-narrative Jain texts, Prabhācandra both in his *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* and *Nyāyakumudacandra* refutes the category of *brāhmaṇa*, because it is infinitely regressive and circular, and because there is no activity to qualify it (informal communication with Marie-Hélène Gorisse; see also Halbfass 1991: 353).

Several other scholars are currently exploring the topic of Jain reinterpretations of the *varṇa* system, including Sarah Pierce-Taylor and Erich Gurevitch.

[35] Without giving further detail, Halbfass writes that the *Vajrasūci* is wrongly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (1991: 395). Mukhopadhyay (1949) notes that the final sentence of the work, which names Aśvaghoṣa as its composer, was omitted in Wilkinson (11), but that all the manuscripts he consulted atributed the *Vajrasūci* to Aśvaghoṣa (xi). He also discusses the arguments of Winternitz against Aśvaghoṣa as the author of the text, and explains his own contrary opinion on the issue (xvi).

[36] Amitagati explicitly mentions their name in DP$_A$ 17.38.

conduct. However, water is also used to clean kin (*gotra*) that originates from blood and semen and is fabricated by being ejected from a mother. How could sins be washed away in the same way? If sinfulness is caused by passions (*kaṣāya*) then how could it be undone by water, as the stupid Mīmāṃsakas say' (DP_A 17.34-39).[37]

2.2.1.1.3   The Cārvākas and Yogikas

At this point in the chapter, Amitagati moves away from his refutation of the Vedas and takes up questions of ontology (and epistemology).[38] He addresses the question of the existence of the soul (*ātman*) and its relation to the body. When addressing such an issue in the classical South Asian paradigm of philosophical refutations, it is customary to feature the Cārvākas (materialists) as one's opponent. Both Mironow and Osier agree with this identification of Amitagati's supposed interlocutor here. Amitagati first remarks that some thinkers believe that a being (*bhavin*), made of four elements (*bhūta*), only exists from conception (*garbha*) to death, and that the soul (*ātman*) does not exist beyond these states (DP_A 17.40).[39] Indeed, the Cārvākas, who are also known as Bhūtavādins, emphasise that everything is produced out of these four elements and that the origination of the soul can be accounted for in terms of a combination of these elements that form the body, which itself produces the soul.[40] As a consequence, says Amitagati, their understanding of the causation of thoughts is circular and thus invalid. A middle state of consciousness (*citta*) arises from a former one, which in its turn is caused by a final state of consciousness (DP_A 17.41-42).[41] For the Jains this is impossible because there must be another cause of a thought, which is the soul. Amitagati continues by countering the opinion that body and consciousness are not separate entities.[42] Since even if the body is perceived, the soul is not, and vice versa, both are different. The body can be seen by the eyes, and the soul by thinking (DP_A 17.43-44).[43] With this epistemology, according to which body and soul are

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[37] This is a paraphrase of DP_A 17.34-39:

manyante snānataḥ śaucaṃ śīla-satyādibhir vinā, ye tebhyo na pare santi pāpa-pāda-pavardhakāḥ. 34

śukra-śoṇita-niṣpannaṃ mātur udgāla-vardhitam, payasā śodhyate gātram āścaryaṃ kimataḥ param. 35

malo viśodhyate bāhyo jaleneti nigadyatām, pāpaṃ nihanyate tena kasyedaṃ hṛdi vartate. 36

mithyātvāsaṃyamājñānaiḥ kalmaṣaṃ prāṇinārjitam, samyaktva-saṃyama-jñānair hanyate nānyathā sphuṭam. 37

kaṣāyair arjitaṃ pāpaṃ salilena nivāryate, etaj jaḍātmano brūte nānyo mīmāṃsako dhruvam. 38

yadi śodhayituṃ śaktaṃ śarīram api no jalam, antaḥ stitaṃ mano duṣṭaṃ kathaṃ tena viśodhyate. 39

[38] Osier equally notes that 'Cette conclusion permet de changer de registre en abordant l'aspect *ontologique* du sujet différent de ce même corps' (2005: 298).

[39] *garbhādi-mṛtyu-paryantaṃ catur-bhūta-bhavo bhavī, nāparo vidyate yeṣāṃ tair ātmā vañcyate dhruvam. 40*

[40] I thank Marie-Hélène Gorisse for helping me understand these verses and how they relate to Cārvāka thought.

[41] *yathādimena cittena madhyaṃ janyate sadā, madhyamena yathā cāntyam antimenāgrimaṃ tathā. 41*

madhyamaṃ jāyate cittaṃ yathā na prathamaṃ vinā, tathā na prathamaṃ cittaṃ jāyate pūrvakaṃ vinā. 42

[42] As was suggested in DP_A 17.40.

[43] *śarīre dṛśyamāne 'pi na caitanyaṃ vilokyate, śarīraṃ na ca caitanyaṃ yato bhedas tayos tataḥ. 43*

cakṣuṣā vīkṣate gātraṃ caitanyaṃ saṃvidā yataḥ, bhinna-jñānopalambhena tato bhedas tayoḥ sphuṭam. 44

known through different *pramāṇas*, respectively perception and inference, Amitagati defends the Jain dualist ontology.[44] Moreover, these faulty thinkers, who only accept what is seen before the eyes, would also claim the non-existence of the *tattvas*, being *bandha* (bondage), *mokṣa* (liberation), etc (DP$_A$ 17.45-47).[45] This he connects again with the separate existence of the body and the soul. The mere existence of suffering in this world hints at the radical difference between the soul and the body, since only the wrong association of karmic matter with an eternal soul can explain such a suffering (DP$_A$ 17.48, 50, 52).[46] Finally, the thesis according to which something as gross as the body can be a proper receptacle of the soul is hardly convincing (DP$_A$ 17.49), and what happens after death is yet another proof of this (DP$_A$ 17.53).[47]

At this point, Amitagati seems to shift from arguing for the necessity of the existence of a soul, separate from the body, and bound by the principles of *karma*, to arguing for the different possible states of the soul (pure or impure). This shift is not clear-cut, because he introduces the karmic principles (i.e. the *tattvas*) before he ends his argumentation of the separate existence of the body and the soul. For example, verse 17.49 would have fitted better within the discussion of the body and the soul, thus before verse 17.47 is introduced. Osier also seems to have been confused by Amitagati's way of structuring, as he does not discuss verses 17.47 to 17.54 that emphasise the soul's subjection to karmic principles and the influence of correct knowledge on it (see 2005: 299). Mironow groups together verses 17.45-47, representing the Cārvākas, and verses 17.48-54, which he sees as representing yet other thinkers. I argue, however, that it is not logical to separate verse

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[44] Here, the argument of 'one type of knowledge, one type of entity' is actually a Buddhist argument, usually used to prove that particulars and universals exist as two types of entities, and that nothing else exists. It is very effective here as well. Actually for Jains, the existence of souls can be known either (1) through self-experience ('I am happy' implies that 'I exist'); or (2) through an inference of the type of 'thoughts are impermanent entities, i.e. "effects", i.e. they have material, efficient or auxiliary causes, and their material cause cannot be the body, therefore we must suppose something else, that is the soul'; or (3) by testimony that comes from an authoritative teacher who had direct knowledge of all souls (I thank Marie-Hélène Gorisse for providing me with these insights).

[45] The other *tattvas* are, according to *Tattvārthasūtra* 1.2 *jīva* (soul), *ajīva* (non-soul), *āśrava* (influx), *saṃvara* (cessation), and *nirjara* (destruction).

Since the Cārvākas only accept perception as valid means of knowledge, extra-sensuous entities such as the *tattvas* cannot exist. It seems thus that Amitagati's refutation of the Cārvāka ontology involves also a refutation of their epistemology.

pratyakṣam īkṣamāṇeṣu sarvabhūteṣu vastuṣu, abhāvaḥ paralokasya kathaṃ mūḍhair vidhīyate. 45
dugdhāmbhasor yathā bhedo vidhānena vidhīyate, tathātma-dehayoḥ prājñair ātma-tattva-vicakṣaṇaiḥ. 46
bandha-mokṣādi-tattvānāmabhāvaḥ kriyate yakaiḥ, aviśva-dṛśvabhiḥ sadhistebhyo dhṛṣṭo 'sti kaḥ paraḥ. 47
[46] *karmabhirbadhyate nātmā sarvathā yadi sarvadā, saṃsāra-sāgare dhore baṃdha-bhramīti tadā katham. 48*
sukhaduḥkhādisaṃvittir yadi dehasya jāyate,nirjīvasya tadā nūnaṃ bhavantī kena vāryate. 50
kathaṃ nirbuddhiko jīvo yatra tatra pravartate, pravṛttir na mayā dṛṣṭā parvatānāṃ kadācana. 52
[47] *sadā nityasya śuddhasya jñāninaḥ paramātmanaḥ, vyavasthitih kuto dehe durgandhāmedhyamandire. 49*
mṛtyubuddhimakurvāṇo vartamāno mahāviṣe, jāyate tarasā kiṃ na prāṇī prāṇavivarjitaḥ. 53

17.47 from verse 17.48, because they both treat karmic bondage.[48] In my opinion the whole passage from 17.43 until 17.53 should be read together as countering primarily the Cārvāka position. Not only did these thinkers deny the existence of both a body and a soul, but they also denied the existence of *karma* and thus of the whole system of karmic bondage (Gokhale 2015: 141-142). This is exactly the position that Amitagati seems to be attacking.[49]

To come back to the actual shift, from verse 17.54 Amitagati questions an understanding that sees the soul (*ātmā*) as essentially pure. Osier interprets it as Amitagati's criticism of several traditions, among which is the Yoga school of thought (Osier 2005: 299). Mironow also suggests that the Yoga tradition is addressed (1903: 37). Indeed, the practices referred to in the following verses are typical for yogic traditions. If a soul is pure, then what is the use of study (*abhyāsa*) and meditation (*dhyāna*)? A person can only become accomplished by pure knowledge, they instead master meditation by controlling their breath (*śvāsa-nirodha*) (DP$_A$ 17.55-56). So, while Amitagati does not address a specific author or tradition in these verses, it is most likely that this argument is addressed to yoga practitioners following Patañjali's *Yogasūtra.* He concludes this critique by saying that the only way to destroy stains of *karma* in a soul is by correct conduct, correct faith, and correct knowledge, which are known as the three jewels (DP$_A$ 17.58-59).[50] The fact that Amitagati does not name the Cārvākas, Yogikas, or other traditions, whereas he does name the Mīmāṃsakas and Buddhists, could be understood as illustrative of the fact that while their views represent interesting opponents in a theoretical debate,[51] the traditions themselves did not form a part of the imagined opposing communities for Amitagati and his surroundings.

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[48] This is of course under the supposition that the manuscripts consulted by Mironow have the same verse numbering as does the edition by Bhāskar.

[49] Note that Amitagati refers to the Cārvākas in the next chapter, in DP$_A$ 18.59:

cārvāka-darśanaṃ kṛtvā bhūpau śukra-bṛhaspatī, pravṛtau svecchayā kartuṃ svakīyendriya-poṣaṇam.

After the Cārvāka view was formed, the two kings Śukra and Bṛhaspatī followed it in order to foster their senses as they pleased.

[50] *yadyātmā sarvathā śuddho dhyānābhyāsena kiṃ tadā, śuddhe pravartate ko 'pi śodhanāya na kāñcane. 54*
nātmanaḥ sādhyate śuddhir jñānenaiva kadācana, na bhaiṣajyāvabodhena vyādhiḥ kvāpi nihanyate. 55
dhyānaṃ śvāsa-nirodhena durdhiyaḥ sādhayanti ye, ākāśa-kusumair nūnaṃ śekharaṃ racayanti te. 56
dehe 'vatiṣṭhamāno 'pi nātmā mūḍhair avāpyate, prayogeṇa vinā kāṣṭhe citrabhānur iva sphuṭam 57
jñāna-samyaktva-cāritrair ātmano hanyate malaḥ, dadātyaneka-duḥkhāni tribhir vyādhir ivorjitaḥ 58

[51] Furthermore, there was a tradition in Jain doxographical writings, or philosophical critiques, to refute the Cārvākas (see e.g. the work by den Boer 2014). However, judging from Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍarśanasamuccaya,* where they are discussed in an appendix, they appear to indeed have held a less pressing opposing position than for example the Buddhists (see Qvarnström 1999).

2.2.1.1.4   The Buddhists and others

The next comment by Amitagati criticises blind faith in initiation (*dīkṣā*). Just by taking *dīkṣā* one will not purify himself, just like a king does not defeat his enemies by being appointed as king (DP$_A$ 17.60). Initiation without acting according to vows will not remove passions, destroy *karma* and thus lead to liberation. The only effective path to liberation is devoting oneself to the three jewels (right knowledge, right faith, and right conduct) (DP$_A$ 17.60-67). I believe that this comment can be best evaluated as a general critique on the historically increased emphasis on rituals and the laxity in religious vows. Perhaps Amitagati had non-Jain traditions in view, as these verses are included in a chapter that overall is meant to answer Pavanavega's question to explain the specificities of the Brahmanical and other *śāstras*. On the other hand, it is also likely that Amitagati is addressing his own tradition. In line with the overall purificatory critique inherent in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and with other works of the time, such as the *Kathākoṣaprakaraṇa* (see Dundas 2008), Amitagati would here be criticising the Jain monks who see their status as based upon the *dīkṣā* ceremony and would see such beliefs as external influences (by Brahmins or others).

The succeeding verses are explicitly meant as a critique on Buddhism. Osier notes that the placement of this critique is somewhat surprising, because the chapter is mainly devoted to explaining the characteristics of the Brahmins (as asked for by Pavanavega). He also notes that the question by Pavanavega left space for others (*ādi*) to be discussed as well, and that these verses thus pertain to the *ādi* (Osier 2005: 300). I would add that this enquiry into the Buddhist tradition is not just instigated by *ādi* in Pavanavega's question, but that Amitagati's treatment of the Buddhists is spurred on by the narrative of the two Buddhist sons (cf. Introduction, p. 71), which is part of the 'standard' *Dharmaparīkṣā* story. Without introduction, Manovega attacks the Buddha personally. He sees him as violent, because trying to avoid defilement by being born from the vagina, the Buddha acquired birth by breaking his mother's body (DP$_A$ 17.70). Moreover, he who claimed that there is no harm in eating meat, how could he be compassionate? (DP$_A$ 17.71). Further, Manovega criticises episodes such as the Jātaka story in which the Buddha sacrifices himself to a starving tigress who would otherwise eat up her own cubs, because they do not show compassion, but rather a lack of self-control (*saṃyama*). By throwing himself into the mouth of the tigress, which is full of miniscule beings, the Buddha kills more beings than the tigress' cubs (DP$_A$ 17.72).[52] Then, Manovega attacks core aspects of Buddhist doctrine. If everything is empty (*sarva-śūnyatva*), there would be no Buddha to establish the realities of bondage (*bandha*) and liberation (*mokṣa*) (DP$_A$ 17.74). If the soul, that is capable of liberation, is non-existent, every action remains meaningless (DP$_A$

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[52] Critique on the *Vyāghrī Jātaka* is relatively common in Jain narrative literature (see Granoff 1990).

17.75). If everything exists only momentarily, then nothing really exists (DP$_A$ 17.76). For these reasons the Buddha cannot be omniscient. These criticisms are the main arguments Jain philosophers have against Buddhism, as they represent, according to Jain philosophers, the fact that Buddhism undermines ethical responsibility. The addition of this refutation of Buddhists, must be evaluated within the whole addition of this seventeenth chapter, but we can here note already that their explicit mention demonstrates the prominent place they still took up in Jain philosophical debate of the eleventh century.

2.2.1.1.5   The Hindu gods versus the Jina

After these more philosophical refutations and establishments, Amitagati continues with the kind of refutations one would expect within this narrative that satirises several purāṇic episodes, namely against the Hindu gods and those who worship them. Why would these sons of mortal humans (Brahmā of Prajāpati, Upendra (Viṣṇu) of Vasudeva, Śiva of Sātyaki) be called the creator, maintainer and destructor of the world (DP$_A$ 17.78-79). If there is really one form (*mūrti*) of these three 'all-knowers' then why could Brahmā and Viṣṇu not find the end of Śiva's *liṅga* (DP$_A$ 17.80).[53] How can this 'supreme being' (*parameṣṭhin*) be passionless and pure, if his parts are impassioned and impure (DP$_A$ 17.81). Taking up a theme that in fact runs through the whole *Dharmaparīkṣā*, Amitagati explains that this divine trinity is subject to the arrows of Kāma (DP$_A$ 17.84). And if all gods are subdued by him, how would Śiva then have the power to burn him to ashes with his third eye (DP$_A$ 17.85).[54] None of the gods are pure or represent *dharma* (DP$_A$ 17.86). The ascetics

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[53] This refers to a popular story about competition between Viṣṇu and Brahmā, also found in the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Chapter 135, see Söhnen-Thieme and Schreiner 1989: 226). Brahmā and Viṣṇu were arguing about who was superior to the other. Between them appeared Śiva in the form of a giant *liṅga*. A heavenly voice addressed them that whoever would see the end of this *liṅga* would be superior. Viṣṇu decided to go down into the ground to find the end, whereas Brahmā went up. Viṣṇu quickly gave up and returned without finding the end. Brahmā went further and further and finally returned as well. Although he had not seen the end, Brahmā lied that he had (for which he created a fifth head of a donkey). While he was speaking, Hari and Saṃkara (Viṣṇu and Śiva) appeared in one shape before him. Frightened, Brahmā worshipped them. A slightly different version is told in Doniger (2009: 385) based upon the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (1.2.26.10-61).
Note that Osier has interpreted this verse wrongly, namely as: 'ils ignorent les extrémités du membre de Brahmā' (2005: 302) ('They ignore the extremities of Brahma's sex').

[54] This refers to a story known from the Mahābhārata and other sources of how Pārvatī wins the love of Śiva partly with the help of Kāma. Pārvatī wishes to marry Śiva, but he has pledged a vow of chastity. She goes to the hermitage of Śiva and serves him in silence. In order to help her, Indra sends Kāma to shoot his arrows at Śiva so to make him desire Pārvatī. Struck by the arrow Śiva opens his eyes and first notices Pārvatī. However, looking further he sees Kāma and thereupon opens his third eye, which emits a flame that burns Kāma to ashes. He then returns to meditation. After this event, Pārvatī continues her asceticism for Śiva. After a while, he appears before her and tests her devotion to him. She succeeds and he decides to indeed marry her. (Doniger 2009: 393-394).

devoted to them who practice this violent tradition will not reach liberation (DP$_A$ 17.88). Not a god, not a deity, not a human being that is subdued by passions will attain his abode in enlightenment (DP$_A$ 17.89). Only the one who is completely free of sin and who obtains the knowledge of the three worlds, can become an accomplished one, a Jina (DP$_A$ 17.92). Only those who are free of passions, truthful and pure can break the cycle of rebirth (DP$_A$ 17.93). The experts (*paṇḍita*) who take this view (*darśana*) and understand this path to salvation, they are able to grasp the true principles of bondage and liberation (DP$_A$ 17.95). As an end to his chapter, Amitagati repeats again some of the principles he has before already refuted (lust for women, alcohol and meat consumption, greed, passions, gods, etc.) and lets Manovega restate his praise to the divine principle (*devatā*) that is free of birth, aging and death, and to the ascetic who devotes his life to overcome the senses and to practicing non-possession (DP$_A$ 17.100).

This tailpiece to Amitagati's seventeenth chapter serves as a convenient transition to Chapter 18, where our author resumes the plot found also in Hariṣeṇa. Coming from a more philosophical exposé that presupposes the knowledge of certain philosophical debates between different traditions in India, Amitagati returns to those principles that are easier to grasp and would be more visible in the religious practice of the time, otherwise said those that are more popular. By returning to that argument which throughout the *Dharmaparīkṣā* has been the main critique on the Brahmanical belief and its *Purāṇas* (namely the faults of the gods and the contradictions implied in adhering to them, or to their 'legends'), Amitagati sweeps away with a final attack (now stronger because it is a repetition) the claims of the Brahmins. This enables him to take up the Jain view on the universe in the eighteenth *pariccheda* and the Jain path in the following chapters.[55]

This seventeenth *pariccheda* characterises the adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati and specifically impacts how the audience is confronted with the Brahmins. By means of this chapter, the dialogue that Amitagati establishes with the Brahmins acquires a different character than the one prevalent in the rest of the narrative. There, the Brahmins are muted debating partners, depicted as fools who support a contradictory set of texts, the *Purāṇas*, and who believe in the superiority of the gods. Here, the Brahmins are also debated with for the philosophical views and texts they have developed. Not merely their standpoints (e.g. that the Veda is an authority in terms of *dharma*), but also their arguments for these standpoints are invoked (e.g. on the base of it being *apauruṣeya*). This change in register is relevant for the whole of Amitagati's version and I will come back to it below. Moreover, those Brahmins who argue for such views are explicitly

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[55] Amitagati introduces *pariccheda* eighteen with Pavanavega's question to Manovega of how the heterodox *darśanas* arose. Manovega answers by explaining (parts of) the Universal History of the Jains, in which the different time cycles give way to corruptions of the true religious path (see Osier 2005: 302-308).

identified as Mīmāṃsakas. Although it is not obvious why Amitagati would do this, it seems that he views the Brahmin opponents of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*-plot mainly as Mīmāṃsakas. In the beginning of the main narrative, when Manovega describes the city Pāṭalīputra to his friend as a place full of learned men, he says (DP$_A$ 3.30):

> [A city] where the twice-born, who discuss all *śāstras* as if they are agitated by the goddess of speech, constantly reflect upon *mīmāṃsā*.[56]

This verse suggests that according to Manovega the Brahmins are predominantly preoccupied with Mīmāṃsa thought. Their constitutive concern, as we know, is to establish the authority of the Vedas (Clooney 2017: 578).[57] In the surrounding verses indeed, Amitagati stresses the importance of the Vedas to these scholars. In Pāṭalīputra the sound of the four Vedas resounds (3.22), just as you can hear the *smṛtis* by Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Manu, Brahmā, etc. that teach the Vedas (3.23). The city is full of Brahmins, dragging around books (3.24), debating with each other (3.25), teaching students (3.26), and performing the Agni ritual as if they embody the Vedas themselves (3.29).[58] A glance at the text by Hariṣeṇa informs us that his version also mentions the Mīmāṃsakas. However, together with them, Hariṣeṇa refers to the Vaiśeṣikas as well (DP$_H$ 1.18). Therefore, we can conclude that Amitagati puts more focus on the centrality of the Vedas as representing the Brahmins, who are identified as Mīmāṃsakas. Considering then again the opening of the seventeenth *pariccheda* within the light of these verses of the third *pariccheda*, I would say that Amitagati's refutation of Mīmāṃsa thought (*pariccheda* 17) is preluded in his characterisation of the Brahmins in Pāṭalīputra (*pariccheda* 3), and that this exactly enables him to come back to them and tackle some of their most influential points of debate (*pariccheda* 17).

In this choice to present the Mīmāṃsakas as defenders of Brahmanism, there is some peculiarity or paradox, because of the nature of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. As discussed in the Introduction (pp. 28-29), the *Dharmaparīkṣā* connects to the Jain Purāṇas in that it

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[56] *mīmāṃsāṃ yatra sarvatra mīmāṃsante 'niśaṃ dvijāḥ, vibhramā iva bhāratyāḥ sarvaśāstravicāriṇaḥ.* 30

[57] For this reason we could also translate the word *mīmāṃsām* in this verse by 'Vedic interpretation', which is similar to one of the translations given by Monier-Williams ('examination of the Vedic texts'). I chose not to do this, because I believe Amitagati here refers to the Mīmāṃsā school and not to Vedic interpretation in general. I argue for this on the basis that he refutes their ideas in Chapter 17 and on the base that Hariṣeṇa mentions both the Vaiśeṣikas and the Mīmāṃsakas, clearly as philosophical schools.

[58] *caturvedadhvaniṃ śrutvā badhirīkṛtapuṣkaram, nṛtyanti kekino yatra nīradāravaśaṅkinaḥ.* 22
vasiṣṭhavyāsavālmīkamanubrahmādibhiḥ kṛtāḥ, śrūyante smṛtayo yatra vedārthapratipādakāḥ. 23
dṛśyante paritaśchātrāḥ saṃcaranto viśāradāḥ, gṛhītapustakā yatra bhāratītanayā iva. 24
vacobhirvādino 'nyonyaṃ kurvate marmabhedibhiḥ, yatra vādaṃ gatakṣobhā yuddhaṃ yodhāḥ śarairiva. 25
sarvato yatra dṛśyante paṇḍitāḥ kalabhāṣibhiḥ, śiṣyairanuvṛtā hṛdyāḥ padmakhaṇḍā ivālibhiḥ. 26
[...]
agnihotrādikarmāṇi kurvanto yatra bhūriśaḥ, vasanti brahmaṇā dakṣā vedā iva savigrahāḥ. 29

demonstrates the faults and illogical elements in the Hindu Purāṇas and renders authority to the Jaina versions (at least partly; e.g. DP$_A$ 16.17-20). The Mīmāṃsa school, however, does not defend the Purāṇas as authoritative texts in terms of religion (*dharma*). As part of the *smṛti* tradition they are authored and can thus not be a *pramāṇa*. This does not mean that the *smṛti* texts overall should be dismissed, but that they do not have validity when in conflict with the Vedic texts or when 'laid down with a selfish interest' (Radhakrishnan 1996: 418).[59] Amitagati seems to resolve this paradox by suggesting that the *smṛtis* teach the Vedas (DP$_A$ 3.23). His choice for the Mīmāṃsakas as thé classical Brahmins is not unprecedented. In his Padmacarita Raviṣeṇa makes a similar choice to connect epic-Puranic authors as Vālmīki with the Mīmāṃsa philosophers as spearheading a single Brahmanical tradition (Chauhan forthcoming).[60] Amitagati might have found inspiration in this (and perhaps other) earlier work(s) that connects purāṇic discourse with philosophical refutation. Furthermore, for both Amitagati and Raviṣeṇa the motivation to see the Mīmāṃsakas, more precisely in the theorisation by Kumārila, as classical Brahmanism possibly stems from its internal characteristics. As Halbfass writes 'Kumārila is [...] the most effective advocate of Āryan and Brahmanical identity' because he 'uses the philosophy of his time, such as Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and the philosophy of grammar, adopts what is suitable to his purposes, and modifies and expands it in accordance with the requirements of his apologetics' (1991: 32). I would further hypothetically add that Amitagati represents the Brahmins as Mīmāṃsakas because they most dominantly perceive the Vedas as existing independently and prescribing *dharma* independently from any god, for whose knowledge we depend on the purāṇic-epic corpus. If he would instead describe the Brahmins merely as those who believe in the *Purāṇas* and epics, he would leave open a space for the superiority of those Brahmins who do not adhere to these texts (such as the Mīmāṃsakas). Moreover, identifying his Brahmin opponents as *vaidikas* draws the boundary that is most straightforward between *āstika* and *nāstika* traditions.

With this boundary being drawn, I would here like to reassess shortly the 'why' of distinguishing the Buddhists and Cārvākas within the more philosophical exposé of the seventeenth *pariccheda*. In my opinion, the choice by Amitagati to include a refutation of the arguments of the Mīmāṃsakas (who are the Brahmins), necessitates him to also refute the non-Vedic systems. Within the 'original' *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative the Brahmanical beliefs are refuted by proving the inconsistencies in the Hindu Purāṇas and the non-accomplishment of the Hindu gods, and in turn the superiority of the Jaina Purāṇas and the Jinas – thus of Jainism in general – are established. The attack on the Mīmāṃsa view,

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[59] Indeed, the fourteenth-century Mīmāṃsā philosopher Mādhava presents himself as 'Protector of *śruti, smṛti*, and good practice' (Clooney 2017: 583).
[60] In her forthcoming dissertation, Seema Chauhan identifies Mīmāṃsā discourses in Digambara Purāṇas and explores their relation to purāṇic and epic discourses.

however, does not delimit the boundaries of Jainism sufficiently. The same arguments against the Mīmāṃsakas are made by Buddhists and may have been made by the Cārvākas. It is therefore, for reasons of completeness, that Amitagati had to also do away with these *nāstika* views.

As a final remark in my assessment of the seventeenth *pariccheda* in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, I would like to discuss the relevance of this chapter's engagement with a register that is absent from Hariṣeṇa's text, or any other *Dharmaparīkṣā*,[61] namely a more philosophically argumentative register. Whereas the supposed 'original' *Dharmaparīkṣā* presents an ethical model based upon narratives (and the occasional didactic reflection), Amitagati's seventeenth chapter puts forward a set of ethics based upon philosophical argumentation.[62] This difference brings with it consequences in terms of literature and in terms of sociology. From a sociological point of view, this adaptive characteristic of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* suggests that Amitagati wrote his text for an audience that was more learned than Hariṣeṇa's audience. The philosophical references suppose a certain knowledge of the debates between different schools in pre-modern India. The audience must be familiar with the earlier disputes between Kumārila and the Jains or Buddhists and between the Jains and other ascetic traditions. Because of this and because of the implied dialectics we can suppose that the audience was familiar and experienced in such philosophical debates as the text exemplifies. Indeed, reaffirming my above conclusion on the base of the density of *subhāṣitas*, I argue that Amitagati's text was meant for a stricter elite audience, versed in a variety of literature.[63] From a literary point of view, the chapter's inclusion demonstrates that narrative and philosophical registers can go together within an overarching narrative frame. This is interesting because it disproves the supposed superiority of 'dry' philosophy, from which perspective ethical concerns in literature can only be 'popular', as well as suggests the ethical and epistemological

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[61] In his vernacularisation of Amitagati's text, Manohardās touches upon some of the elements discussed by Amitagati. He briefly refutes the Veda and the Brahmin conception of *jāti* (ms. Arrah G-24, v. 1822-1830), and seems to refer to the Cārvākas and Yogikas (ms. Arrah G24, v. 1839-1842 and v. 1848). However, instead of including the Buddhists he argues against certain devotional religious practices (see Chapter 3, p. 166; see also Appendix 1). I argue that this illustrates Manohardās' concern with more practical forms of religiosity rather than philosophical discourse.

[62] The discussion on what constitutes a valid means of knowledge or *pramāṇa* is epistemological, but ultimately underlies the ethical goal which is predominant in all Jain philosophical thinking.

[63] That this philosophical passage is not included in Hariṣeṇa's text, does not necessarily mean his audience was less elite or unversed in these debates. It suggests rather that Hariṣeṇa did not mean to appeal to these skills of his audience with his *Dhammaparikkhā*. Drawing from Ollett (2017), I suggest this is related to the fact that his work was written in Apabhraṃśa. Ollett states that Apabhraṃśa was 'represented in very much the same way as Prakrit was' (2017: 134) and that Prakrit 'represented itself as a discourse that was about if not exactly for and by, common people (*prākṛta-jana*), rather than scholars and ritual specialists' (2017: 118). Reconsidering my comment above (fn. 23), these statements suggest that the inclusion of the scholastic discourse in Amitagati's text is specific to his adaptation and related to his choice for Sanskrit (cf. infra, p. 133).

validity of stories.[64] As Nussbaum (1990: 10-23) has argued about ancient Greek culture, I would say that the strict separation between literary ethics and 'philosophical' ethics does not seem to have existed in pre-modern India. The main concern of these authors or thinkers revolved around human life and how to live it. Nussbaum further argues that for the Greeks methodological and formal choices by a writer were bound by the values they wanted to express and their role in adequately stating a view (1990: 16-17). Taking her example, I hypothesise that Amitagati's adaptive choice to include the seventeenth chapter, with its particular register, which is to the point, explanatory and explicitly directive, is motivated by his ethical beliefs. Since these foreground the blemish of passions, Amitagati does not want to connect with his audience in an emotive way, rather he untangles the complexity of human passions and of views to them and perspicuously sets their insights towards the Jain path.[65]

The following subsection will add to this argument by discerning within and between the entirety of verses in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* the underlying thread of *śāstra*.

2.2.1.2 The concept of *śāstra* in Amitagati's work

I have repeatedly mentioned that one of the main criticisms within the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is that the Hindu *Purāṇas* and epics are faulty. Manovega's – the text's principal character's – aim of telling his 'biographical' stories is therefore to prove exactly that to the Brahmins. This criticism is kept within Amitagati's adaptation, but I argue that he frames the purāṇic-epic texts differently than his predecessors (i.e. Hariṣeṇa and supposedly Jayarāma). Amitagati frames them as *śāstras* and additionally adds the motif that an examination of *dharma* is based on *śāstras*. This motif involves both a debate around knowledge of the *śāstras* as well as an evaluation of correct versus incorrect śāstric texts.[66] My argument for such a motif is based upon 'three layers' that build it up. First of all, in the narrative the Brahmins – the debating partners – are portrayed as experts of the *śāstras*, and this knowledge seems to be an evidence for their validity as proper discussants.

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[64] Epistemological in the sense that stories are valid means of gaining insight into the correct path to liberation.
[65] Note that the same argument can be made about the mulitiplicity of moral reflections Amitagati makes throughout his *Dharmaparīkṣā*.
[66] That this motif of *dharma* as based on *śāstra* does not underlie the text by Hariṣeṇa is proven by the fact that the word *sattha* (*śāstra*) occurs in a very limited amount in Hariṣeṇa's text (I only found three instances).
To speak of *śāstra* as texts is ascertained by Pollock who writes that there 'should be no doubt that the codified rules *śāstra* provides must [...] be organized into a "text", whether oral or written' (1989: 18).

There [in Pāṭaliputra] where the Brahmins, who discuss all the *śāstras*, are all around, constantly reflecting upon the Vedic thoughts, as if they were the coquettish gestures of Sarasvatī. (DP$_A$ 3.30)[67]

Or as the Brahmins claim themselves, when questioning Manovega:

What theory do you know, what detailed doctrine? Can you debate with Brahmins who are familiar with the *śāstras*? (DP$_A$ 14.4).[68]

Secondly, the whole discussion between the Brahmins and the two *vidyādharas* is framed as a debate based upon the knowledge of *śāstras*. When the Brahmins encounter the two princes, they explain their general purpose as follows:

When someone who is mentally fixed on winning a debate comes to discuss, then we, who know the object of valid knowledge of all *śāstras*, do this honestly with him (DP$_A$ 3.82).[69]

Manovega in his first disguise, however, fakes insecurity about his knowledge:

We are the sons of grass and wood sellers, and truly do not know the way of the *śāstras*. But by your words, I who was without knowledge, oh lord, understand [the meaning of] '*vādana*' (debate) [now] (DP$_A$ 3.93).[70]

By this verse Manovega reaffirms that he understands now that the idea of a debate is to discuss the *śāstras*. Further, as part of his explanations outside of the city Manovega tells his friend that a proper examination entails the following (DP$_A$ 13.101-102)[71]:

Praiseworthy and wise men who want to achieve what is proper should leave behind their arrogance and examine a god by a god, a *śāstra* by a *śāstra*, a *dharma* by a *dharma* and an ascetic by an ascetic. (101)
A god [is only] one who has destroyed *karman*, is praised by kings and has his settlement in the known world.
Dharma [is that which is] able to destroy the faults of passion etc. and that is superior in nourishing the living beings.

[Only] a *śāstra* which is able to clarify artfully a reality that should be accepted and not accepted, is desirable.

An ascetic [is one] who is adorned with passionlessness, who goes around boundlessly and who has relinquished pleasures of worldly attachments. (102)

A religious examination, according to these verses, requires a person to be able to discern indeed a correct from an incorrect admirable being, text and religious system.

The verses quoted so far establish, as I have argued above, that the dialogue between our two *vidyādharas* and the Brahmins centres around *śāstra* or more precisely a discussion about the validity of certain knowledge based on different *śāstras*. As a final step in my argument, I now explain how this śāstric knowledge is linked to the purāṇic corpus. The following verses demonstrate this:

Never would men conversant in logic accept such an illogical *śāstra* or *purāṇa* that we [now] would have to accept. (DP$_A$ 13.2)[72]

In this verse Manovega refuses to accept the claims of the Brahminical view (*darśana* DP$_A$ 12.96) that are represented by *śāstra* and *purāṇa*. Here, the two literary categories seem to be separated, but they are linked in that they are where Manovega seeks the Brahmins' faults.[73] Repeatedly Manovega expresses his fear to prove (by means of narrative) that the stories or accounts believed by the Brahmins are false or inconsistent. But the Brahmins ascertain again and again that they are open to reason:

The Brahmins said: 'Tell us without fear. We surely will disregard a *śāstra* that is like what you have just told' (DP$_A$ 13.5).[74]

From the repetitive structure of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative we know already that what should be 'let go of' are the purāṇic-epic accounts. And indeed, after this reassurance by the Brahmins, Manovega continues by telling the *Mahābhārata* story of how Arjuna captured the snake king of the Rasātala hell. Thus, although the Brahmins here use the word *śāstra* they are referring to epic-purāṇic 'knowledge'. The same association of the epic-purāṇic corpus with the word *śāstra* appears from the telling of the *Mahābhārata*'s inception in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (DP$_A$ 15.58-59, 15.66-67).

After creating the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa looked at his insignificant work that was contrary to all that came before and after, and thought in his mind: (58)

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[72] *sarvathāsmākam-agrāhyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāstram īdṛśam, na nyāyanipuṇāḥ kvāpi nyāya-hīnaṃ hi gṛhnate. 2*

[73] To see *śāstra* and *purāṇa* here as separate depends on interpretation. There is no explicit word to mark their 'couple' (*dvandva*) relationship.

[74] *sūtra-kaṇṭhais tato 'bhāṣi tvaṃ bhāṣasvāviśaṅkitaḥ, tvad-vākya-sadṛśaṃ śāstraṃ tyakṣyāmo niścitaṃ vayam. 5*

'If a work that is meaningless can become famous in the world, then [my] *śāstra* which is incoherent and has a contrary sense can certainly too' (59).[75]

[...]

'Even this contrary *śāstra* of mine will obtain fame.' Thinking thus, he looked at the people's confusion and was content. (66)

Understanding this, [demonstrates that] wise people should not uphold the *Purāṇas* as a means of valid knowledge, just like the words of enemies. (67)

Here, we can read that the *Mahābhārata* is identified as a *śāstra*. This identification is established in classical literature and occurs in the *Mahābhārata* itself (MBh. 1.56.21), nevertheless it is not an association one would immediately make. In order to frame this, I would like to explain how Pollock (1989) has analysed the idea of *śāstra* in Brahmanical literature. In its etymological meaning *śāstra* – from the root *śās* – means as much as 'teaching' or 'instruction'. In the medieval period, Kumārila provides us with one of its earliest definitions, namely '*Śāstra* is that which teaches people what they should and should not do. It does this by means of eternal words or those made by men' (1989: 18) As such, *śāstra* is seen as a genre or discourse that implies a set of codified rules that are verbalised. Pollock adds at this point that *śāstra* is without doubt textual. Indeed, the way in which the term is used within Jain texts often refers to the idea of 'scripture' or authoritative text. Further, *śāstra* in Kumarīla's (and other's) explanation is strongly linked to knowledge. Therefore, Pollock ascertains that 'authentic knowledge came to be virtually co-terminus with shastric knowledge' (1989: 18). This 'authentic knowledge' should be a reminder of my discussion above of the place *pramāṇa* takes in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (cf. supra, pp. 11-15). There, I have explained that the concept of *pramāṇa* is linked to the Mīmāṃsakas (mostly, Kumārīla) and that the Mīmāṃsakas represent the Brahmins. Taking this into account, I suggest that the recurrence of *śāstra* refers to this, namely the ongoing debate of what constitutes 'valid knowledge' or *pramāṇa*. Pollock (1989) continues his analysis by contrasting the 'earlier' conceptualisation of *śāstra* as a codification of knowledge and practices, with *śāstra* as 'revealed' knowledge. In this understanding shastric knowledge becomes restricted to a taxonomy of texts, known as the fourteen-fold *vidhyāsthānas*, that Jayantabhaṭṭa (ninth century) sees as exclusively transcendent. These are the Vedas, the six *Vedāṅgas*, *Purāṇa*, *Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā*, and *Dharmaśāstra* (21-22). As Pollock explains, the restriction of knowledge to the transcendent was deemed insufficient to accord with the traditional view of *śāstra* (1989: 23). In consequence, the taxonomy of śāstric knowledge was expanded to be defined by the late ninth-century poet Rājaśekhara into two categories, namely *śāstra* of

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[75] *aprasiddhi-karīṃ dṛṣṭvā purvāpara-viruddhatām, bhārate nirmite vyāsaḥ pradadhyāv iti mānase. 58*
nirarthakaṃ kṛtaṃ kāryaṃ yadi loke prasidhyati, asaṃbaddham viruddhārthaṃ tadā śāstramapi sphuṭam. 59
viruddham api me śāstraṃ yāsyatīdaṃ prasiddhatām, iti dhyātvā tutoṣāsau dṛṣṭvā lokavimūḍhatām. 66
vijñāyetthaṃ purāṇāni laukikāni manīṣibhiḥ, na kāryāṇi pramāṇāni vacanānīva vairiṇām. 67

transcendent origin, which consisted of the four Vedas, the four *Upavedas* (*itihāsa* (the epics), the science of war, music and medicine) and the six *Vedāṅgas*, and on the other hand *śāstra* of human origin, which consisted of the eighteen collections of *Purāṇas*, logic or philosophy in general, *Mīmāṃsa*, and the *smṛtitantra* (i.e. the eighteen *dharmaśāstras*) (Pollock: 1989: 24). The development of such taxonomy is what enables Amitagati to identify the tales of the purāṇic-epic corpus 'with *śāstra*'. The importance of this lies not so much in the identification itself, but in the fact that this is specific to Amitagati's adaptation. As I have hinted at above, I believe that the motivation for Amitagati to reframe the refutation of the epic-purāṇic corpus in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a refutation of a *śāstra* is incited by the underlying purpose of his work to examine what is 'valid knowledge'. I advance that we should read Amitagati's adaptation as framed by the debate on what constitutes valid knowledge, which is equated with śāstric knowledge, in order to achieve *dharma*. and which is implied in the epic-purāṇic corpus, according to the Brahmins, but which Amitagati (or the Jains) does not accept as valid.[76]

As a final note, it is important to clarify here that it is not because Amitagati refutes the validity of the epic-purāṇic stories, that he also refutes their categorisation as *śāstra*.[77] *Śāstra* in Amitagati's terms refers more to that which is deemed to contain valid knowledge. Thus, it remains closely linked to the first meaning we have seen, by which *śāstra* could be translated as scripture (of oneself or another).

My discussion so far has tried to convince the reader of this dissertation that the adaptation by Amitagati, in comparison to earlier *Dharmaparīkṣās*, is marked by a scholastic 'urge', and that this is linked not only to Amitagati's personality, but also to his socio-historical context. I would now like to steer my discussion towards the didactic urge apparent in his text, which is not so much directed towards the circles of inter-religious debate, but more towards a community of self-cultivating men. I will discuss two topics which Amitagati wanted to convince this community of, by means of an elongated though straightforward didacticism, namely women and friendship. These elaborations are

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[76] I would like to point out the similarity of this distinction between a *śāstra* that has valid knowledge and one that does not, with the distinction made in some Jain scriptures between right scriptural knowledge (Pkt. *sammasuya*) and *micchāsuya*, which refers to non-Jain philosophical doctrines, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, grammar, dramas or sounds of birds as omens (Balbir 2020: 761). What is here called *micchāsuya* could be said to represent what Amitagati would call *mithyā-śāstra*. This reminds us of the claim made by Folkert (1993), to reconsider the notion of scripture. It would be interesting to analyse what classical Jains considered to be valid *śāstras* (or *dharmaśāstras*) versus invalid *śāstras* (or *adharmaśāstras*), in the meaning of scriptures.

[77] This would be on the basis that *śāstra* is that which contains valid knowledge.

Raviṣeṇa in his *Padmacarita* makes a statement that suggests such refutation. In verse 11.209 he questions the status of the Veda as *śāstra* (*vedāgamasya śāstratvam-asiddhaṃ śāstram ucyate, taddhi yan-mātṛ-vacchāsti sarvasmai jagate hitam. 209*). On the other hand, elsewhere in his work (2.241) he differentiates a *dharma śāstra* from an *adharma śāstra* which implies a meaning of *śāstra* close to how Amitagati's uses it (for the reference to both verses by Raviṣeṇa I am indebted to Chauhan 2019 and forthcoming).

formed by a typifying *subhāṣita* style, which I will further explore below. Nevertheless, I have chosen to discuss them here – under content-wise adaptive changes – because later audiences have received them as such. The theme of friendship was taken up by Manohardās to be a central theme of his *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the presentation of women has been picked up by twentieth century (Jain) scholars as a peculiarity in Amitagati's text.

2.2.1.3 The agonising nature of women

There is one specific passage in the text that has caught the attention of several scholars writing about Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[78] This is a passage that Upadhye has described as offering 'an etymology of *yoṣā*' (1942: 600), as it describes (in a negative light) different types of women. Although Upadhye hypothesises it to be based on a Prakrit text,[79] I discuss it here because it does not occur in Hariṣeṇa's version, and because it can be connected to other fragments that can be said to be misogynous (DP$_A$ 6.16-20). The passage goes as follows:

> *yato joṣayate kṣipraṃ viśvaṃ yoṣā tato matā,*
> *yato ramayate pāpe ramaṇī bhaṇitā tataḥ. 16*
> When [a woman] agonises the world swiftly then she is considered as a young woman (i.e. 'a pain-maker'), if a woman seduces [one] into [carnal] sin, then she is called a woman (i.e. 'a seductress'). (16)

> *yato mārayate pṛthvīṃ kumārī gaditā tataḥ,*
> *vidadhāti yataḥ krodhaṃ bhāminī bhaṇyate tataḥ. 17*
> When she slays the world, then she is called a 'princess' (i.e. 'a killer of evil'), when she displays her anger, she is named a 'radiant woman' (i.e. 'one who is angry'). (17)

> *vilīyate yataś-cittam etasyāṃ vilayā tataḥ,*
> *yataś chādayate doṣais tataḥ strī kathyate budhaiḥ. 18*
> When she conceals her mind within herself, she is a 'woman' (i.e. a 'concealer'), when she is covers [herself] with faults, she is called a 'wife' (i.e. 'a coverer') by the wise. (18)

> *abalī-kurute lokaṃ yena tenocyate 'balā,*

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[78] For example Upadhye (1942) and Bhāskar (1990). It is also interesting to note how this passage still sparks the interest in Jain education. Abhishek Jain has written to me that he 'heard about this text in [his] daily lectures (*pravacan*) in Todarmal Smarak Bhavan in Jaipur' and that what interested him particularly was that 'several synonyms with the definition mentioned of a woman somewhere in the text like abalā, and others'.

[79] Upadhye argues for these sentences to be rewritten from a Prakrit original because 'otherwise there would be no propriety in tracing Sanskrit *yoṣā*, to the root *juṣ-joṣ*' (1942: 600). Considering these verses similarity to the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* it is likely Amitagati takes this Prakritism from that text (cf. infra).

pramādyanti yato 'muṣyāmāsaktāḥ pramadā tataḥ. 19
Because she makes the people weak, she is called a 'woman' (i.e. 'a feeble-maker'),
when her pursuers idle away their time with her, then she is [called] a woman (i.e.
'the cause of carelessness'). (19)

ityādisakalaṃ nāma nārīṇāṃ duḥkha-kāraṇam
nānānartha-paṭiṣṭhānāṃ vedanānām-iva sphuṭam. 20
Each of these name[s], and others, for women who are skilful in various types of
nonsense [reveals they are] a cause of suffering, as if they were clearly [names] for
afflictions. (20)

These verses make up a list of eight different words – more or less synonyms – for
'woman', presented in an artful manner that plays on stretching their etymologies in a
negative sense (in relation to men): the 'pain-causer' (*yoṣā*), the 'seductress' (*ramaṇī*), the
'slayer (of evil)' (*kumārī*), the 'angered one' (*bhāminī*), the 'concealer' (*vilayā*), the 'coverer'
(*strī*), the 'feeble-maker' (*abalā*), and the 'one causing carelessness' (*pramadā*). That
Amitagati renders a negative connation to these categorisations fits into the larger
textual context of the passage, that points to the dangers of 'falling' for women, and to
the even larger scheme of the text in general (cf. infra). This list is not an invention by
Amitagati. A similar 'typology' of women is found in the *Bhagavatī Āradhanā* (or simply
Ārādhanā) in Prakrit by Śivakoṭi (also known as Śivarāya). Amitagati must have taken the
idea from that text, because he himself has made a Sanskrit rendering of the *Ārādhanā*.
The following quote includes both the *mūlārādhanā* (the original Prakrit text), and
Amitagati's 'translation'.[80]

purisaṃ vadham-uvaṇeditti hodi bahugā ṇirutti-vādammi,
dose saṃghādiṃdi ya hodi ya itthī maṇussassa. 971
doṣāc-chāvanataḥ sā strī vadhūr vadha-vidhānataḥ,
pramadā gaditā prājñaiḥ pramāda-bahulatvataḥ. 994

tārisao ṇatthi ari ṇarassa aṇṇotti uccade nārī,
purisaṃ sadā pamattaṃ kuṇaditti ya uccade pamadā. 972
nārir yataḥ parostyaspāstato nārī nigadyate,
yato vilīyate dṛṣṭvā puruṣaṃ vilayā tataḥ. 995

galae lāyadi purisassa aṇatthaṃ jeṇa teṇa vilayā sā,
jojedi ṇaraṃ dukkheṇa teṇa juvadī ya josā ya. 973

abalatti hodi jaṃ se ṇa daḍhaṃ hidayammi <u>dhidibalaṃ</u> atthi,
<u>kummaraṇopāyaṃ</u> jaṃ jaṇayadi to uccadi hi <u>kumārī</u>. 974*

ālaṃ jaṇedi purisassa <u>mahallaṃ</u> jeṇa teṇa <u>mahilā</u> sā,
eyaṃ mahilā-ṇāmāṇi homti asubhāṇi savvāṇi. 975

kutsitā nuryato <u>mārī kumārī</u> gaditā tataḥ,
bibheti dharma-karmabhyo yato bhīrus tato matā. 996
yato lāti mahādoṣaṃ <u>mahilā</u>bhihitā tataḥ,
<u>abalā</u> bhaṇyate tena na yenāsti <u>balaṃ hṛdi</u>. 997*
<u>juṣate</u> prītitaḥ pāpa yato <u>yoṣā</u> tato matā,*
yato lalati durvṛtte lalamāṃ bhaṇitā tataḥ. 998
nāmāny api durarthāni jāyate yoṣitām iti,
samastaṃ jāyate prāyo nirditaṃ pāpa-cetasām. 999

In the Prakrit *Ārādhanā* we can count eight types of women: *bahugā* (S: *vadhū*), *ṇārī* (S: *nārī*), *pamadā* (S: *pramadā*), *vilayā, joṣā* (S: *yoṣā*), *abalatti* (S: *abalā*), *kumārī*, and *mahilā*. We further notice that the 'translation' by Amitagati is not a one-on-one rendering of the Prakrit original.[81] Most notable is that he does not follow the exact same order in listing the types of women. Therefore v. 971 accords with Amitagati's v. 994, but v. 972 with both v. 994 and v. 994 of Amitagati's *Ārādhanā*. Further, v. 973 accords with v. 998 of Amitagati, v. 974 with v. 996 and v. 997 of Amitagati, and v. 975 of the Prakrit text with v. 997 of Amitagati's text. Moreover, Amitagati adds another type of woman here, 'the playmate' (*lalamā*). The names given in the *Ārādhanā* (both by Śivakoṭi and Amitagati) do not completely accord with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* which has *bhāminī* and *strī* instead of *vadhū* and *mahilā*, nor does the order of the names accord. Amitagati has also further chosen to create new *ślokas* in compiling his list of women. Although the *yatas-tatas* construction is similar in both texts, Amitagati has given the verses of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* a distinct flair by using, for example, the causative forms of the verbs that typify the women's denominations. As such, we can say that Amitagati was inspired by or that he even consciously referred to the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, while choosing to put his own creativity into including a list of women in the new text (the *Dharmaparīkṣā*). Next to noticing that this 'taxonomy' of women is an innovation by Amitagati to the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, it is also interesting to notice that this passage confirms the interrelatedness between Amitagati's different works as well as the fact that Amitagati wrote for a male audience appreciative of poetic playfulness.

As I have mentioned above, these verses are contextualised by a passage that points out the blame in women in a direct moralising way, which is in turn connected to the story of the *mūḍhā* ('the fool') who is completely blinded by love (The story of Yajña and

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[81] This supports my argument described above that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is also not a one-on-one rendering of its hypothetical source text.

Yajñā, cf. Introduction p. 54). The passage occurs in the introduction of the story, right after Yajña and Yajñā have met and fallen for each other, and opens in the following way (DP$_A$ 6.12-15)[82]:

> [Just like] a family must be understood to be a disaster for a poor or dependent man, a young wife is the cause of family destruction of an old man. (12)
> A woman who lusts for another man makes every transgression. What pain does she not spread with her flames blazing as if of a thunderbolt? (13)
> A man who keeps an independent and unrestrained wife in his house, he cannot appease [her] blazing flame of fire [as that in] a corn crop. (14)
> Like the rise of a disease instantly developing into an extreme increase, a beloved girl, when being neglected, causes the destruction of [one's] life. (15)

These verses describe the mistake made by a man (in the story: Bhūtamati) in trying to restrain his wife, while at the same time suggesting that a woman will cause damage anyhow, whether he gives her more freedom or not. They are followed by the above verses that list several types of women. The interpolation within the story of the *mūḍha* is closed by the following two verses (DP$_A$ 6.21-22):[83]

> When she is unguarded, a woman always causes disgrace according to her will. Therefore, she should be constantly guarded. (21)
> Beings seeking welfare never put their trust in rivers, female snakes, tigresses, or deer-eyed women. (22)

These lines seem to pick up again on the idea of restraining a wife, but this time advise to indeed guard her. In the whole fragment there is no build-up or logical sequence. The verses are a rather random combination of sayings against women, loosely bound to the substory by means of its overall moralising function.

These sayings are not solitary in their kind. Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* contains many more diatribes against women (cf. infra) and Indian literature in general knows several examples of misogynistic aphorisms.[84] In fact, Jain moral literature seems to have been among the earliest Sanskrit literature to include them (Sternbach 1977: 41). Sternbach

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[82] *jñeyā goṣṭhī daridrasya bhṛtyasya pratikūlatā, vṛddhasya taruṇī bhāryā kulakṣayavidhāyinī. 12*

sakalaṃ kurute doṣaṃ kāminī para-saṃginī, vajra-śuśukṣa-ṇijvālā kaṃ tāpaṃ vitanoti no. 13

yaḥ karoti gṛhe nārīṃ svatantrām aniyantritām, na vidhyāpayate sasye dīptām agni-śikhām asau. 14

vyādhi-vṛddhir-ivābhīkṣṇaṃ gacchantī paramodayam / upekṣitā satī kāntā prāṇānāṃ tanute kṣayam. 15

[83] *manovṛttir ivāvadyaṃ sarva-kālam arakṣitā, vidadhāti yato yoṣā rakṣaṇīyā tataḥ sadā. 21*

āpagānāṃ bhujaṅgīnāṃ vyāghrīṇāṃ mṛga-cakṣuṣām, viśvāsaṃ jātu gacchanti na santo hita-kāṅkṣiṇaḥ. 22

[84] Examples can be found e.g. in the *Manusmṛti*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. Women generally have a negative connotation. As such, in the *Mahābhārata* they represent old age, whereas in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* – similarly to Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* – they represent cosmic illusion (Balbir 1994a: 257).

writes that the *subhāṣita* collections deal with different themes and often express a polarity of views on the same subject.[85] As such, one *subhāṣita* work can describe a woman in laudatory terms and on another occasion condemn her (1974: 4-5).[86] In Jain literature women are predominantly portrayed in a negative way (see Balbir 1994a).[87] One of the most quoted examples to illustrate the 'misogynistic character' of Jain literature is Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, a collection of didactic teachings (Kelting 1996: 69). Another example is the thirteenth-century *Śṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī* by Somaprabha (Sternbach 1977: 69). Balbir argues that this Jain literature, follows its own logic in the denunciation of women, which can be said to be pan-Indian (Balbir 1994a: 129-130). In it, Jains see women as a symbol of attachment who threaten the vow of chastity. Therefore, the critiques on women are meant 'for the liberation of those who are strongly attached to them' (1994a: 133). Digambara Jains especially have emphasised the inferiority of women, which Balbir calls (after Foucault) 'a theology of subordination' (1994a: 138).

It seems that our Digambara author Amitagati is noticeably vehement in his degradation of women. As Sternbach writes about his *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*: 'Amitagati's language is ascetic, caustic, severe and often even ruthless; many of his verses, of which each is an entity in itself, is a diatribe against those who do not follow Jaina precepts and is couched often in an unpleasant language. Particularly bitter, unrelenting and even repulsive are his observations about women' (1977: 65).[88] The tone of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is indeed equally harsh towards women, and his descriptions of them does not refrain from carnal imagery (DP$_A$ 6.70-72).[89] As can be seen in the following:

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[85] The paradox in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* between the problem of restraining a woman and the need to guard a woman is thus not necessarily odd.

[86] Sternbach (1974) offers an excellent overview of *subhāṣita* literature. He describes these sayings of Sanskrit literature as containing 'the essence of some moral truths or practical lessons', 'drawn from real life', 'in poetical form, mostly composed in *śloka-s* or *anuṣṭubh-s*' and belonging 'to the mass of oral tradition' (1974: 1).
He categorises the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a *subhāṣita* work (1974: 10, fn. 29).

[87] Note that this claim does not only count for *subhāṣita* literature, but rather for Jain literature in general and especially in narrative literature.

[88] Sternbach quotes the verses 6.19 and 6.22 from the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* to illustrate his point:
vaktuṃ lālādyavadya sakalarasabhṛtā svarṇakumbhadvayena māṃsagranthī stanau ca pragaladurumalā syandanāṅgena yoniḥ, nirgacchaddūṣikāstaṃ yadupamitamaho padmapatreṇa netraṃ tacchitra nātra kiṃcid yadapagatamatirjāyate kāmilokaḥ. 19

saṃjñāto'pīndrajālaṃ yaduta yuvatayo mohayitvā manuṣyānnāśāstreṣu dakṣānapi guṇakalitaṃ darśayantyātmarūpam. śukrāsṛgyātanāktaṃ tatakuthitamalaiḥ prakṣaratsrotragartaiḥ sarvairuccarapuñjaṃ kuthitajaṭharabhṛcchiditaṃ yadvadatra. 22

[89] *rudhira-prasrava-dvāraṃ durgandhaṃ mūḍha durvacam, varco-gṛhopamaṃ nindyaṃ spṛśyate jaghanaṃ katham. 70*
lālā-niṣṭhīvana-śleṣma-danta-kīṭādi-saṃkulam, śaśāṅkena kathaṃ, vaktraṃ vidagdhair upamīyate. 71
kathaṃ suvarṇa-kumbhābhyāṃ māṃsa-granthī gaḍūpamau, tādṛśau niśita-prajñair nigadyete payodharau. 72
strī-puṃsayor mataḥ saṃgaḥ sarvā-śuci-nidhānayoḥ, vicitra-randhrayor dakṣair amedhya-ghaṭayor iva. 73

Why, you fool, would one touch the vulva, which is a doorway for urine and blood, foul smelling, unmentionable, and vile, like a toilet. (70)

How is her face, which is a combination of spittle, saliva, phlegm, teeth, germs etc. compared to the moon by the scholarly men? (71)

How are her two breasts that are like two swellings of flesh, or like two large bulges, described as golden pitchers by the clever intellectuals? (72)

The union of a woman and a man, who are both receptacles of all sorts of impurity, is considered by the [true] clever ones as [the union] of two pots filled with foul things with various holes in them. (73)

After these verses that do not leave much to the imagination, Amitagati continues his tirade against the mischievousness of women for whom men fall 'like trees in a flood' (DP$_A$ 6.74). Not all of Amitagati's verses are as extreme in their criticism of women. Several verses point out the power women have over men, in seducing them. In the fifth *pariccheda* he writes for example (DP$_A$ 5.21-22):[90]

This wonderful and charming woman impassions a lover. She seduces the impassioned mind of a man every day again. (21)

A woman capable of ruining love can mend it again, just like a blacksmith can weld iron by means of fire. (22)

Other verses express something similar and add some recognition to the weakness men might encounter (DP$_A$ 6.33-34):[91]

Even though a man experiences the enjoyment of sexual pleasure, the ambrosia of love, given by one's own wife, he commonly starts to tremble, when he secretly meets the wife of another. (33)

How much more would a young man, tortured in celibacy, but raging with lust, not tremble when he secretly meets another's wife still full of youthfulness! (34)

Amitagati, here, shows himself cognisant of the tempting feelings men encounter in different stages of their lives. He is even able to imagine how the union of men and women could be illuminating, in the first three periods of the descending (*avasarpiṇī*) time-cycle.[92] Nevertheless, for most of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* the view of women is plainly misogynous.

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[90] *kaṣāyayati sā raktaṃ vicitrāścaryakāriṇī, kaṣāyitaṃ punaḥ puṃsāṃ sadyo rañjayate manaḥ. 21*

premṇo vighaṭane śaktā rāmā saṃghaṭate punaḥ, yojayitvā mahātāpamayaskāra ivāyasam. 22

[91] *sampadyamāna-bhogo 'pi svastrīdattaratāmṛtaḥ, ekānte 'nyastriyaṃ prāpya prāyaḥ kṣubhyati mānavaḥ. 33*

kiṃ punarbaṭuko matto brahmacarya-nipīḍitaḥ, na kṣubhyati satāruṇyāṃ prāpyaikānte parastriyam. 34

[92] DP$_A$ 18.13:

strīpuṃsayor yugaṃ tatra jāyate sahabhāvataḥ, kāntidyotitasarvaṅgaṃ jyotsnācandramasor iva.

Because of their union, a couple, of a man and a woman is born with their whole body illuminated with loveliness, like two moons by their moonlight. 13

I have pointed out above that although Amitagati seems to be particularly harsh towards women, he is in no respect innovative in writing aphoristic misogynous verses. Therefore, I should point out that the relevance of discussing them here is the fact that they are specific to Amitagati's adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and thus evidence a certain part of the adaptive process that went into creating this version. We might consequently ask what motivated Amitagati to include several of these diatribes against women. Firstly, part of his motivation seems to be engendered by the narrative itself. Most of the derogatory verses against women occur in the fifth and sixth *pariccheda* which tell the stories of Bahudhanya and his mischievous young wife, and of Bhūtamati whose young wife ran away with his student.[93] Secondly, as Balbir suggested (1994a; cf. supra), critiques against women had a specific purpose in the Jain tradition, namely to guide Jain laymen or monks away from the temptations that lead to further attachment to this world. Their inclusion, thus, suits the purpose of the Jain tradition and of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* specifically, since its goal is to point out faultiness (*mithyātva*) and establish the correct *dharma* for Jains. Moreover, Amitagati seems to follow a Digambara conception of women, that is emphatically focused on their inferiority. However, since earlier *Dharmaparīkṣās* (i.e. Hariṣeṇa's) were also authored by Digambaras, it seems fair to argue that Amitagati's personality or character as an author also provided motivation for including these rants of misogyny. This is not to suggest any Freudian reading of these verses, but merely to point out that Amitagati as a writer does not shy away from grotesque anti-feminine utterances and that this seems to be a 'trend' in his writings (as we saw in his *Ārādhana* and *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*). A final point to make about these verses is that they demonstrate that Amitagati was an expert of *subhāṣitas* ('eloquent sayings'), which often expressed certain views (mostly negative) about women. The inclusion of these misogynistic verses therefore can as well partly be evaluated as following the logic of creating a didactic work that wanted to frame itself as a *subhāṣita* work.

2.2.1.4   'Our friendship is like fire and wind.'

Next to the elaboration about women, another theme that is present in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* that has influenced its reception by later littérateurs is that of friendship. Although friendship has been picked up to become an underlying motif in later adaptations (i.e. in Manohardās' version; cf. p. 3), within this text it is just one of the

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This verse refers to the idea in Jain cosmology that during the *suṣamā-suṣamā*, the *suṣamā* and the *suṣamā duṣamā* periods of the *avasarpiṇī* cycle children are born as twins, one male and one female. The final three periods of the *avasarpiṇī* cycle are *duṣamā-suṣamā*, *duṣamā*, and *duṣamā-duṣamā.* In the upward cycle (*utsarpiṇī*; the other half of a full time-cycle) the same periods follow each other in the reverse order (see Jaini 1979: 30-31).

[93] Both of the main characters are Brahmins. As such, these stories from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in general are in themselves warnings against the threat of women, adding the interreligious critique that Brahmins are more prone to falling for their temptations.

several virtues expounded by Amitagati. As such, the following elaboration on friendship should be read as a way in which Amitagati tries to form his audience, of self-cultivating elites, into model men. In this way – similarly to the former section on women– it is part of Amitagati's *subhāṣita* project.

The following verses are extracted from the frame story of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Manovega returns from his meeting with Jinamati and encounters his friend Pavanavega along the way. This one melts into an emotional lament of how much he has missed his friend who left without notifying him, and how he searched for him everywhere (DP$_A$ 3.1-9; DP$_H$ 1.17). Next to including several *similes* that are similar to Hariṣeṇa's text, Amitagati adds six verses on friendship in more abstract terms (DP$_A$ 3.10-15):[94]

> Even in separation there is friendship between us two, who go across and beyond, like fire and wind, from the first moment of meeting. (10)
> Those of whom there never is separation between birth and death, their friendship, as if of body and soul, is superior. (11)
> Like of the sun and the moon, with heat and without heat, uniting only at New Moon, how can there be friendship [of those who unite] only once a month? (12)
> One who never becomes objectified as when represented in a picture, he is to be made a friend and a charming wife, according to the wise. (13)
> Of those who are never separate, like the sky and the sun, their friendship, always faithful, should be praised. (14)
> He who weakens, when his friend has weakened, and grows when he has grown, a friendship together with him is celebrated. (15)

These verses move away from the immediate narrative and expound the general teachings of Jainism on the topic of friendship. Friendship is compared to the union of body and soul; it is a strong force that can keep opposites together until death comes to separate. Friendship can be said to be a universal value, but in the Jain religio-philosophical structure it was given a specific place. Within the present-day Jain community, *maitrī* (friendship) is framed as one of four supplementary *bhāvanās* (contemplations) to the twelve regular *bhāvanās* or *aṇuprekṣās* in Digambara contexts.[95]

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[94] *tiṣṭhator no viyoge 'pi vāta-pāvakayor iva, prasiddhi-mātrataḥ sakhyaṃ tiryag-ūrdhva-vihāriṇoḥ. 10*

nājanma-mṛtyu-paryanto viyogo vidyate yayoḥ, dehātmanor iva kvāpi tayoḥ saṃgatam uttamam. 11

kīdṛśī saṃgatir darśe sūryacandramasoriva, ekadā milator māse sapratāpāpratāpayoḥ. 12

tat kartavyaṃ budhair mitraṃ kalatraṃ ca manoramam, yaj jātu na paradhīnaṃ citrastham iva jāyate. 13

śaṃsanīyā tayor maitrī śaśvad-avyabhicāriṇoḥ, viyogo na yayor asti divasādityayor iva. 14

yaḥ kṣīṇe kṣīyate sādhau vardhate vardhite sati, tenāmā ślāghyate sakhyaṃ candrasyeva payodhinā. 15

[95] See for example https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~pluralsm/affiliates/jainism/jainedu/9tattva.htm, under '7. Samvara'. This website was written by Pravin K. Shah as founding member of the Jain Study Center of North Carolina, a non-profit religious organisation focused on providing education in Jain religion in the US diasporic

These understandings have their roots in early sources. The *Tattvārthasūtra* by Umāsvāti (7.6) and its Digambara commentary, the *Sarvārthasiddhi* by Pūjyapāda (7.11) list friendship as one of the contemplations that strengthen mendicant and lay vows: 'Friendliness (*maitrī*) towards all living beings (*sattva*), delight (*pramoda*) with those whose qualities are superior (*guṇādhika*), compassion (*karuṇya*) for the afflicted and equanimity (*mādhyastha*) towards the ill-behaved (*avinaya*) [should be contemplated]'.[96] Friendship is also connected to *ahiṃsā* (Dundas 2002: 161) and to *samyak-darśana* through its identification with compassion (*anukampā*).[97] Furthermore, its importance is expressed in one of the most famous Jain formulae, that is uttered by a monk during the daily *pratikramaṇa* (repentance) ritual: 'I ask pardon from all living creatures. May all creatures pardon me. May I have friendship for all creatures and enmity towards none' (*Āvaśyakasūtra* 32 in Dundas 2002: 171).[98]

Amitagati himself has emphasised the importance of friendship not only in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, but also in his other works (see *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* 2.7, 16.21, 31.105). As such, the elaboration on friendship in this text can be seen as influenced by his earlier writings. Furthermore, in view of the just explained conceptualisation of friendship in Jainism, the above quoted verses can be interpreted as to function as a meditation on friendship. More specifically, they can be understood within the context of the contemplations to strengthen the Jain vows (*Sarvārthasiddhi* 7.11; see above). The audience of the text is reminded of the importance of loyalty to a friend not merely by means of the narration. Amitagati aids the audience to realise friendship by providing a teaching of its meaning that, in addition, is aesthetically pleasing. We might say that by reading or listening to Amitagati's version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā,* a Jain layman is able to perform one of his religious duties. He is contemplating on this lay vow (i.e. the vow of *ahiṃsā*), rather than being reminded of it, as he would be through only the narrative.

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context. It is meant to explain basic Jain concepts, and is connected to the Pluralist Project of Harvard University, now belonging to its archive.

Further, the emphasis on friendship is highlighted in the writings of Acharya Tulsī, who founded the Anuvrat movement and centred on values of friendship, unity and peace to morally reform Indian society in general (Dundas 2002: 261). Note that Acharya Tulsī was a teacher of Śvetāmbara Jainism and that the Jaina Study Center of North Carolina is mostly based in Śvetāmbara communities.

[96] Translation by Kristi Wiley (2006: 443). A similar verse is found in the *Dvātriṃśatika* by Amitagati I (supposedly another Amitagati; cf. fn. 4) (see Nagarajaiah 2010).

[97] Akalaṅka defines *anukampā* as *maitrī* in his commentary to *Tattvārthasūra* 1.2 (Wiley 2006: 440). See also Wiley 2004.

[98] This is quoted from the *Śvetāmbara* canon, but the Digambara Jains also know this formula (see the introduction by Tatia to TS 1994: xxxii-xxxiii).

2.2.2 Stylistic concerns

When a text gets adapted it is not only the content that is prone to change. In fact, adaptations in general can be said to be more characterised by their specific 'style', often read as demonstrating an author's motivations or personality, than their specific content. As such, the current section aims to discuss the stylistic aspects of Amitagati's adaptation. Truly, the term 'style' has been interpreted in different ways ranging from broad definitions such as 'expression' or 'spirit', to narrower linguistic interpretations. I here interpret 'stylistic aspects' in the broader sense, namely as form or expression of the text that stands in contrast with its content. Such separation between form and content has been debated upon,[99] and, as I have suggested above (cf. p. 8), is for the present case definitely not absolute. However, in discussing the text as an adaptation, I believe it does make sense to differentiate between that which is 'added' or 'removed' in terms of content and that which is changed in terms of the author's expression.

2.2.2.1 The beginning: self-emplotment

Let me start my discussion here from the beginning in order to trace how Amitagati emplots himself in the text.[100] As is common in Jain literature, Amitagati opens his work by paying homage to the five exemplary beings of ascetic perfection. These are the same ones as are reverenced in the famous *namokār mantra*, namely the *tīrthaṅkaras,* then the *muktas* (~*siddhas*), the *sūris* (~*ācāryas*), the *adhyāpakas* (~*upādhyāyas*), and finally the *sādhus* (DP$_A$ 1.1-5). To each of these ascetic ranks Amitagati devotes a separate verse in which he expresses the wish for them to 'shine the light of knowledge upon the thrice-walled house of the people' (DP$_A$ 1.1: *tīrthaṅkara*), to be an example in 'stopping all activity' (DP$_A$ 1.2. *mukta*), to 'guide the path of virtuous deeds' (DP$_A$ 1.3: *sūri*), to 'remove suffering by teaching the *śāstras*' (DPA 1.4: *adhyāpaka*), and to 'destroy the enemies of passions with the principles of peace (*śama*) and virtue (*śīlā*)' (DP$_A$ 1.5: *sādhu*). A similar build-up can be found in some of his other works, such as the *Śrāvakācāra*, where we even find the same grammatical structure of using an imperative as a main verb.[101] This allows us to conclude that the opening of his *Dharmaparīkṣā* is (relatively) characteristic of Amitagati's work. This opening is quite different from the way Hariṣeṇa opens his text. This author only

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[99] For example, de Saussure would contest its possibility strongly, whereas Hutcheon (2006: 9) sees it being practiced in adaptions.

[100] The term 'emplotment' was first coined by Paul Ricoeur and refers to the 'grasping together of the elements (events, factors and time episodes) to enact narrative configuration' (Boje 2001: 114). I use this term in the same restricted sense as Clines (2018) has used it, namely to refer to how the author configures himself within this emplotment.

[101] The introduction of the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* does not have this reverence to the five supreme beings and I did not have access to the *Pañcasaṃgraha*.

devotes one verse to the Jinas (DP$_H$ 1.1,1) and then immediately continues by invoking Caturmukha, Svayambhū, and Puṣpadanta in whose lineage he places himself as also an Apabhraṃśa poet (DP$_H$ 1.1). As such, where Amitagati foregrounds the supreme beings as exemplary, Hariṣeṇa gives primacy to his poetic heroes. Moreover, in the second verse of the work he explicitly regrets that 'those sages who have created beautiful poetry remain unnoticed and receive ridicule, like soldiers devoid of valour in battle'.[102] Amitagati's introduction is not completely devoid of any poetical concern, as he invokes (as Hariṣeṇa also does) the goddess of poetry, Sarasvatī. However, even the purpose of praising her is different in his text (DP$_A$ 1.6):

> Let [me] by the grace of Sarasvatī, who is well-versed and intelligent [achieve] the excellence of the *śāstric* ocean, which is difficult to grasp, [let her] bestow [this] success upon me, just like the Cow of Desires bestows wishes.[103]

Sarasvatī should help us to understand the *śāstras*, the knowledge of which I believe to be one of the central underlying threads of Amitagati's adaptation. She should help in attaining knowledge rather than literary genius. Thus, from the very beginning Amitagati sets up a different purpose and emplots himself differently than Hariṣeṇa does.[104] As for the second aspect, he puts himself in the line of the supreme beings and therefore identifies himself as an ascetic, more than an author. As he explains in verse 1.7, it is by praising the ascetic ideal that he hopes for his composition to be successful in guiding the people:[105]

> Let all obstacles be removed in an instant when they are shaken up by my praises [to the five supreme beings], like heaps of dust that intimidate the people [disappear] at once [when stirred up] by strong winds.

This kind of verse strengthens the conclusion that from the outset of his composition Amitagati is much more concerned with the ethical impact of telling the story. With this understanding, we can evaluate the inclusion of *pariccheda* seventeen as following the logic set up from the beginning. So far, I have discussed these opening verses in the light of how Amitagati presents himself. However, we could also read these verses as speaking

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[102] Translation by Eva De Clercq: *maṇaharu jāi kavvu ṇa rajjaï, taṃ karaṃtu aviyāṇiya ārisa, hāsu lahahi bhaḍa raṇi gaya-porisa.*

[103] *Yasyāḥ prasādena vinīta-cetā durlaṅghya-śāstrāṇavapāram-eti, Sarasvatī me vidadhātu siddhiṃ sā cintitāṃ kāmadugheva dhenuḥ. 6*

[104] Taking into account that he uses a similar build-up in one of his other work, I argue that we can evaluate this as a personal decision by Amitagati in adapting the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

[105] *stavair amībhir mama dhūyamānā naśyantu vighnāḥ kṣaṇataḥ samastāḥ, udvejayanto janatāṃ pravṛddhaiḥ sadyaḥ samīrair iva reṇu-puñjāh. 7*

In comparison, Hariṣeṇa is 'not afraid of making poetry' and will 'somehow charm the excellent people dear to' him (DP$_H$ 1.1).

for his Jain audience instead. Although written in the first person singular, we might wonder to which extent Amitagati is emplotting his own position, and not asking a rhetorical question while putting himself in the position of the audience, when he says (DP$_A$ 1.15):[106]

> How can I, with my unintelligent mind, examine this *dharma*, that has been examined by the leader of [the Jina's] disciples? How can a tree that only a mighty elephant can break, be broken by a hare?

This verse clearly refers to the title of the work and suggests that only the example of the Jina, and his spokesperson and first disciple Indrabhūti Gautama, gives true insight into *dharma*.[107] Amitagati does not give an answer, but the question itself is enough to understand that an attempt at examining *dharma* must only be made and guided by the path of the Jina.[108] Note in this verse as well, the use of metaphor that characterises Amitagati's style (cf. infra, pp. 123-133) and the apologetic tone, which is a common feature in Indian literature.[109]

The opening of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, I have argued, emplots our author within a lineage of supreme beings and characterises the style of Amitagati's adaptation as building upon the ascetic ideal. As such, it stands in contrast with other versions like the Apabhraṃśa version by Hariṣeṇa and with the later Brajbhāṣā version by Manohardās (cf. infra). This language difference seems to be of some importance. Clines (2018) has shown how language seems to be the determining factor of self-emplotment differences between the works of one author, Jinadāsa. He argues that Jinadāsa's vernacular (*bhāṣā*) works contextualise the author in a local way, while the Sanskrit texts establish cosmopolitan lineages for the author and situate him within a paradigm of perfect ascetic practice (2018: 223, 240). The relevance of this conclusion for my evaluation of Amitagati's text lies in the fact that it indicates that his choice of self-emplotment is not just motivated by his personality but also by the literary model within which he writes, namely that of the cosmopolitan Sanskrit literature. I will come back to this later. Here, I would like to continue by analysing another way by which Amitagati emplots himself in the text. This is at the end of every *pariccheda* and thus in the following section I will discuss how Amitagati divides his work into several chapters.

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[106] *dharmo gaṇeśena parīkṣito yaḥ kathaṃ parīkṣe tam ahaṃ jaḍātmā, śakto hi yaṃ bhaṅktum-ibhāvirājaḥ sa bhajyate ki śaśakena vṛkṣaḥ. 15*

[107] The reference to Indrabhūti Gautama may imply the setting of the Jina's *samavasaraṇa* (preaching assembly) which is common to Jain purāṇic literature. There, Gautama is the authoritative figure who clarifies 'false' stories. Note that in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra this purāṇic setting is included explicitly (cf. Chapter 5).

[108] Verses 1.8-1.14 (especially 1.13) affirm that one who strives for a virtuous life can become a virtuous person with the help of the sages.

After verse 1.16 that reiterates this verse, Amitagati immediately proceeds to the main narrative.

[109] Hariṣeṇa makes an apologetic remark with regard to his lack of poetical capabilities.

2.2.2.2   Chapter division

In the last verse of every *pariccheda* Amitagati inserts his own name, though with a meaning different than referring to his actual name. For example, to end his first chapter, Amitagati writes:

> *Amitagati-vikalpair mūrdha-vinyasta-hastair-manuja-divija-vargaiḥ sevyamānaṃ jinendram,*
> *Yati-nivaha-sametaṃ sa praṇamyorusattvo munisadasi niviṣṭastatra saṃtuṣṭacittaḥ. 70*

> That noble natured one (Manovega) bowed before [him as before] the lord Jina, who was attended by classes of human and divine beings whose manifoldness stretched infinitely, with their hands placed on their heads, and who was surrounded by ascetics, and sat down there in the assembly of sages, content in his mind. 70

This example demonstrates that Amitagati uses his name in its etymological meaning of 'going infinitely'. Every concluding verse of a *pariccheda* has the word '*amitagati*' in this same meaning.[110] Again, this kind of structuring and self-emplotting seems to characterise the work by Amitagati, since his *Śrāvakācāra* features the same self-reference at the end of a *pariccheda*.[111] Warder evaluates this self-emplotment in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, together with the relatively random division into chapters of more or less one-hundred verses (instead of following narrative units), as a structure which Amitagati has taken from the supposed original Prakrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1992: 253).[112] However, considering that his *Śrāvakācāra* exhibits the same feature and is not a translation of an earlier work (see Williams 1963: 24), I believe such an immediate conclusion does not hold.[113] Warder's argument is based upon his evaluation of Amitagati's arbitrary chapter division which he calls a 'feature sometimes found in Prakrit novels' and he refers to Dhaneśvara's *Surasuṃdari*, a Prakrit *dharmakathā* from the eleventh century (1992: 253). That contemporaneous work is equally divided according to a certain number of verses and

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[110] Except for the final verse of the final chapter (20.90), which says:
akṛta pavanavego darśanaṃ candraśubhram divija-manuja-pūjyaṃ līlayāhardvayena, amitagatir ivedaṃ svasya māsadvayena prathitaviśadakīrtiḥ kāvyam uddhūta-doṣam.
'Pavanavega made this judgement, clear as the moon and honourable to men and gods, with ease in two days, just like Amitagati, whose spotless fame has spread far and wide, made this faultless poem in two months.'

[111] His *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* again does not have this feature. We can therefore conclude that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and *Śrāvakācāra* were conceived with similar ideas of genre. On the other hand, since the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* does treat similar subjects as the *Śrāvakācāra* (and – though within a narrative – the *Dharmaparīkṣā*) does, it would be interesting to analyse further what motivates the similarities between the *Śrāvakācāra* and *Dharmaparīkṣā* and dissimilarities between those two and the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*.

[112] Warder extracts another element to support his claim, namely that every chapter ends with a more elevated writing and a change of metre (1992: 253).

also has the author's name in the concluding verse of each chapter. More than Prakrit literature, however, I believe it is the literature in the other Middle-Indic language to which Amitagati's self-emplotment at the end of a *pariccheda* refers. Bhayani writes that 'among the Apabhraṃśa poets there was a general practice of inserting their *nāmamudrā* in the concluding stanza of each section of their poems' (1953: 18). Indeed, this practice seems to be characteristic of the *sandhibandha* literature with Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta as authoritative examples to play with their names at the end of each *sandhi*.[114] Hariṣeṇa also follows this convention. In Prakrit literature, the practice seems to occur much less frequent, making its use there a probable influence from the Apabhraṃśa poets. An interesting point that Warder further makes about the chapter division and the repetitive use of a *nāmamudrā* is that it suggests that the work was not only purposed for private reading, but also for recitations in Jain temples. I agree with such an argument on the base that the reoccurrence of the poet's 'signature' is common within the North-Indian vernacular literature, where it is evaluated as expressing orality (cf. Chapter 3). As for the 'mechanical' division into chapters according to a fixed number of verses, it seems indeed logical that such a division was based upon the practicality of time limitations, i.e. to apportion the text into fixed 'time portions'. We can imagine that in an individual reading a person can choose how many verses of the text he reads in accordance to the time he has, whereas in a group recitation the amount of time the reading takes should be planned in advance. Indeed, this kind of logic can be traced to the past. In his analysis of divisions in Sanskrit texts Renou argues that for the Vedic (or pre-classical) literature the main concern, even within the existing variety of types of division, was oral recitation. This resulted in a division of texts into relatively equal parts. Further, Renou states that the equal length in portions was not rigid but needed to be in compromise with semantic concerns. Although Renou perceives a difference between the pre-classical and the classical period, this difference is not absolute. As such, he writes about the *adhyāya* that it is an 'unité propre aux oeuvres didactiques. C'est un élément de recitation, ce qui explique que çà et là il s'arrête au beau milieu d'un réçit ou d'un discours' (1957: 19). This description fits the chapter division in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* perfectly, even if it is divided into *paricchedas*. His text is also didactic and, in some places, ends a chapter in the middle of a narrative (e.g. *pariccheda* 4). To compare, Renou writes about the *pariccheda* that it is a term new to the classical period, relatively common and used mostly for juridical, rhetorical and philosophical texts (1957: 24). This description does not fit Amitagati's (nor Dhaneśvara's) text, but the brevity of his discussion of this type suggests that his definition is open to reassessment. The relevance of Renou's analysis to my examination of the dividing mechanism in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* is that it shows the importance of the practical consideration of recitation that influences writing in the

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[114] This information comes from informal communication with Eva De Clercq.

tradition of Indian literature. Amitagati's choices in dividing his text are not 'random' but are influenced by tradition and by the purposed engagement with the text. It thus seems plausible that Amitagati prepared his work to be recited at public gatherings, by dividing it into portions of a set amount of time.

2.2.2.3   Prosody, words, and sentences, etc.

In this section I would like to describe those features in Amitagati's text that are more traditionally categorised under style. These are prosody, vocabulary, and imagery. My discussion here will for the most part be parallel to Mironow's treatment in his 'Orientierung' of the text (1903: 4-9).

In general, like Mironow, my impression is that the language in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* maintains a balance between clarity of language useful for the didactic purpose of the text and, relative complexity (through compounds, metaphors and grammatical variance), which is characteristic for Sanskrit *kāvya*. Within his relatively simple language, our author demonstrates his poetical skill by using a variety of metres. The predominant metre in the text is the *śloka*, the standard metre of classical Sanskrit literature. Other metres used are the *vasantatilakā, rathoddhatā, svāgatā, dodhaka, śubhaṃprayāta, drutavilambita, praharaṇakalikā, upajāti, sragviṇī, hariṇī, vaṃśasthā, mandākrāntā, śālinī, rucirā, indravajrā, upendravajrā, sragdharā, pṛthvī, śikhariṇī,* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (Mironow 1903: 5-6). Through the poetical play with these metres that are all classical Sanskrit metres, Amitagati demonstrates his eloquent knowledge of the richness of Sanskrit prosody.[115] The non-*śloka* metres almost always occur at the end of a *paricccheda*. Such use of metre variance should be evaluated as another way to separate his work into different parts. Renou has mentioned that poetical works employed a change of metre to divide in the sense of 'une plus grande élaboration' and that such a dividing method can be found in the epics, the *mahākāvyas*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and some other works (1957: 23). The first chapter, the last chapter and the *praśasti* of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* are metrically relatively different as the *śloka* does not dominate there. The first chapter abounds in *upajātis* and the other two parts have a mix of metres (Mironow 1903: 6). The prosodic character of Amitagati's version, in my opinion, demonstrates that Amitagati aligns his writing with Sanskrit *kāvya* literature. The metres he uses are part of the classical Sanskrit prosodic canon and the verse elaboration at the end of each *paricccheda* are modelled on Sanskrit poetry. Therefore, in contrast to what Warder has written (cf. supra), I see Amitagati's choice of chapter division and of prosody as specific outcomes of the adaptive process underlying the composition of this *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

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[115] The *praharaṇakalikā* seems to be less common in poetry. It is mentioned as metre in Velankar's *Jayadāman*, a classified list of the classical Sanskrit metres (1949: 133).

Another indication next to prosody, according to Mironow, of this *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s intertextuality with Sanskrit poetry is the occurrence of some verses that can be traced to famous poetical compositions. As such, Mironow takes from Hertel the similarity between the opening of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (1.1) and the opening of the actual narrative in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1.21), and traces the metaphor of a loosened thread having to go through a pearl that was pierced by a diamond (DP$_A$ 1.16) to the *Raghuvaṃśa* (1.4) (Mironow 1903: 6).[116] As for the first similarity, I do not see this as necessarily an influence of Kālidāsa's genius. The description of the mountain as stretching from East to West is indeed the same, but I would think that this could be a general way of amplifying the greatness of the mountain. Such praise of geography fits into the general characteristic of Indian literature to open a narrative with an embellished description of the geographical situatedness. Moreover, in the same verse Amitagati compares the mountain to a snake which is an image we find in Hariṣeṇa's version as well, and therefore makes me suspect that the intertextuality of this verse with the supposed original version is stronger. The second metaphorical similarity Mironow recognises, is indeed probably influenced by Kālidāsa's poetry. Surely, for an author who was obviously versed in classical Sanskrit literature, knowledge of Kālidāsa's classics would be inevitable.

In contrast to this embeddedness in Sanskrit composition, the language of Amitagati's adaptation shows several influences from Prakrit, as I have already mentioned above. Most obvious is the dominance of passive constructions over active constructions, with the most prevalent form being the past passive participle as main verb with the agent in the instrumental case. Before evaluating this linguistic characteristic as proving the *Dharmaparīkṣā's* Prakrit descent, it must be noted that the increased use of the ergative construction is a relatively general development in later Sanskrit literature.[117] Another

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[116] Kumārasambhava 1.1:

asty uttarasyāṃ diśi devatātmā himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ, pūrvāparau toyanidhī vigāhya sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ. 1.1

'There is in the North the king of mountains, divine in nature, Himālaya by name, the abode of snow. Reaching down to both the eastern and the western oceans, he stands like a rod to measure the earth' (trans. Smith 2005).

DP$_A$ 1.21:

tatrāsti śailo vijayārdha-nāmā yathārtha-nāmā mahanīyadhāmā, pūrvāparāmbhodhita-ṭāvagāhī gātraṃ sthitaḥ śeṣa iva prasāyaṃ. 21

Raghuvaṃśa 1.4:

atha vā kṛtavāgdvāre vaṃśe 'smin pūrvasūribhiḥ, maṇau vajrasamutkīrṇe sūtrasyevāsti me gatiḥ. 1.4

'Or rather, I shall find entrance into this race (I may enter upon the task of describing this line of kings), to which the door of description has already been opened by poets of yore, as does a thread into a gem previously perforated by a diamond-pin' (trans. by Kale 1932: 1).

DP$_A$ 1.16 (Mironow quotes this verse as 1.15, but in the edition by Śāstri it is 1.16):

prājair munīndrair vihita-praveśe mama praveśo 'sti jaḍasya dharma, muktāmaṇau kiṃ kuliśena viddhe pravartate 'ntaḥ śithilaṃ na sūtram. 16

[117] See e.g. Hock (1986), who argues (amongst other things) that the diglossia of Sanskrit and Middle-Indic languages influenced this development. Mironow sees this as a direct influence of Prakrit (1903: 7).

indication of Prakrit influence is the use of the indicative with the function of an imperative. Other verbal forms used by Amitagati include aorist, imperative, indicative, desiderative, and conditional. Though their use is more limited, they demonstrate according to Mironow that Amitagati had a good knowledge of Sanskrit grammar (1903: 7). Next to the conjugation in the text, Mironow recognises Prakritisms also in Amitagati's vocabulary. He enlists *jem* ('eat'; DP$_A$ 5.39; 7.5), *vyudgrah* ('persuade'; DP$_A$ 7), *pell* ('drive (out)'; DP$_A$ 16.69), *nirdhaḍ* ('chase out', DP$_A$ 5.71), *ṭhaka* ('thug', DP$_A$ 17), *proṣadhin* (DP$_A$ 20.56), *mahelā* ('woman'; DP$_A$ 4.89, 5.26, 5.56, 9.18, 15.49), *māhana* ('Brahmin'; DP$_A$ 10.72, 12.74, 12.92, 14.3), and *sikkaka* (*sikyaka* in Śāstri; 'a kind of sling'; DP$_A$ 16.71, 16.73) (1903: 8). Upadhye adds to this list proper names like Chauhāra/Chohāra (DP$_A$ 7.63) and Saṃkarātha-matha (*śaṅkharāḍhā-midha* in Śāstri DP$_A$ 8.10) (1942: 600). Both Mironow and Upadhye conclude from these indications that Amitagati's work must have been a translation from a Prakrit original. Although I do not want to challenge this conclusion, I would like to point out that we should not necessarily see all of these elements as borrowings from the supposed original *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Considering his work as a 'mere' translation unduly underestimates the quality and impact of Amitagati's composition. Amitagati's version exhibits enough originality to demonstrate that he did not need a Prakrit original to form his own verses. Therefore, we could equally evaluate structural aspects that can be linked to Prakrit language as specific to Amitagati's linguistic style. Moreover, Mironow also mentions that Amitagati included several rare words in his composition, some of which seem to come from Pāṇini or other lexicographical texts, or from Kośas (1903: 7-8). This proves that Amitagati attempted to create an original work that could be read as a piece of poetry including all the elements to make it a classical Sanskrit work.

The last stylistic element in Mironow's 'Orientierung' concerns the didactic character of Amitagati's 'sentences', which he divides into 'Laien-Sprüchen' (lay sayings) and 'Mönch-Sprüchen' (monk sayings) (1903: 9). As indicated above, I interpret these didactic sentences within the category of *subhāṣita* literature and will devote the following section to a discussion of them.

2.2.2.4   Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a *subhāṣita* work

Earlier in this chapter (p. 112-113) I have pointed out how Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* is heavily interlaced with gnomic verses, called *subhāṣitas* in the Sanskrit tradition. There, I focused on the diatribes against women and the sayings on friendship.[118] These render more strength to the misogynist sentiments, already inherent in the narrative plots, by

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[118] The first are the 'Mönch-Sprüchen' according to Mironow. The second he would probably categorise under 'Laien-Sprüchen', since for him 'Die ersteren [Laien-Sprüchen] betreffen Verhältnisse des alltäglichen Lebens, die letzteren [Mönch-Sprüchen] warnen von der Welt und ihren geistlichen Gefahren' (Mironow 1903: 9).

clenching together the moral message in compact statements. Amitagati's version contains many more of such aphoristic verses, on different moral themes such as family, friendship, kingship, truth, suffering, etc. These 'beautified sayings' preserving the Indian wisdom on human nature formed an important part of Indian culture. Having their origin in oral tradition, they were often cited by *kāvya* authors and were especially cherished in *kathā* literature for their didactic character (Sternbach 1974: 9-10).[119] Especially illustrative of their influence on Indian culture is the existence of several *subhāṣita* anthologies, the earliest ones being Hāla's *Sattasaī*, Jayavallabha's *Vajjālagga*, and the *Chapannaya Gāhāo* all written in Prakrit (Sternbach 1974: 10).

Although Hariṣeṇa's *Dhammaparikkhā* is not devoid of moral maxims (making it likely that the source *Dharmaparīkṣā* also included them), it seems that Amitagati's adaptation is particularly rich in the use of *subhāṣitas*. Therefore, I evaluate this interlacing as characteristic for Amitagati's stylistic interpretation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. They do not change the content of the narrative significantly, but they make his text more didactically urging as well as literarily beautified. In order to illustrate the varied types of *subhāṣitas* Amitagati includes in his text, I here give a selection of such verses.[120]

Since this work is about finding the path of Jainism as the correct way to get out of the cycle of transmigration, my first example will demonstrate how Amitagati, by means of a combination of practical lessons and poetic imagery, tries to make the audience understand what exactly it means to be in *saṃsāra*. Through this passage, that is put in the mouth of the monk Jinamati who preaches about *saṃsāra* in the beginning of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, Amitagati explains how suffering and happiness relate to each other and to *saṃsāra*, and that in transmigration there is only suffering (DP$_A$ 2.23-29).[121]

> ### On *saṃsāra*
> In *saṃsāra* suffering is like mount Meru and happiness is like a mustard seed. That
> is why one must always try to escape from transmigration. (23)
> Those who serve pleasure for the purpose of happiness which is [only] minute, they,
> I'm afraid, will resort to the fire of lightning to destroy coldness. (24)

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[119] The example 'par excellence' of a narrative interspersed with both pre-existing and original *subhāṣitas* is the Pañcatantra (see Olivelle 1997: xv).

[120] I have selected verses that fit the description by Sternbach who says *subhāṣitas* contained moral thoughts and a carried 'mood and suggestion even if quoted out of the context' (1974: 1) (see also fn. 19).

[121] *duḥkhaṃ merūpamaṃ saukhyaṃ saṃsāre sarṣapopamam, yatastataḥ sadā kāryaḥ saṃsāra-tyajanodyamaḥ. 23*

ye 'ṇumātra-sukhasyārthe kurvate bhoga-sevanam, te śaṅke śīta-nāśāya bhajante kuliśānalam. 24

mṛgyamāṇaṃ himaṃ jātu vahni-madhye vilokyate, saṃsāre na punaḥ saukhyaṃ kathaṃcana kadācana. 25

duḥkhaṃ vaiṣayikaṃ mūḍhā bhāṣante sukha-saṃjñayā, vidhyāto dīpakaḥ kiṃ na nandito bhaṇyate janaiḥ. 26

duḥkhadaṃ sukhadaṃ jīvā manyante viṣayākulāḥ, kanakā-kulitāḥ kiṃ na sarvaṃ paśyanti kāñcanam. 27

saṃpannaṃ dharmataḥ saukhyaṃ niṣevyaṃ dharma-rakṣayā, vṛkṣato hi phalaṃ jātaṃ bhakṣyate vṛkṣa-rakṣayā. 28

paśyantaḥ pāpato duḥkhaṃ papaṃ muñcanti sajjanāḥ, jānanto vahnito dāhaṃ vahnau hi praviśanti ke. 29

Snow can maybe be seen in the middle of a fire if one looks hard enough. But in *saṃsāra* happiness is never seen in any way. (25)

The foolish call suffering that is caused by the sense objects, by the name happiness. Why do people not call a flame that is flickering joyful? (26)

The people who are confused by the sense objects believe what is painful to be pleasurable. Why do people perplexed by gold not see everything as gold? (27)

Happiness acquired because of *dharma* is to be pursued through the preservation of *dharma*. Fruit grown from a tree is eaten through the protection of a tree. (28)

Seeing the pain that is afflicted by sin, the good people free themselves from sin. Knowing that burning is caused by it, who would enter into the fire? (29)

The first of these quoted verses uses an image that is common in Sanskrit literature. The contrast between mount Meru and a mustard seed to portray two complete opposites in terms of size can be found for example in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, or in the *Mahābhārata* (Thapar 2011: 32; Sharma 1988: 154). The image in verse twenty-four is quite poetic. 'Lightning' represents an extremely momentary form of 'fire' and is thus inefficient to fight the cold. In the same way, pleasure causes only a momentary form of happiness and therefore does not lead to ending the suffering of transmigration. The didactic message in this passage is very simple. It limits itself to the basic idea underlying Indian thought, that people's minds are confused and therefore strive after futile things which makes them linger in the cycle of rebirth.

One of these desired futilities is life itself. Amitagati, eloquently continuing Jinamati's preaching, convinces his audience of that in the following way (DP$_A$ 2.48-57):[122]

On Death

A living being may rise over the lord of the earth, he may roam everywhere on earth, or he may enter into hell, even then death consumes him. (48)

Virtuous people, parents, wives, sisters, brothers and children, they are not able to stop the elephant Yama from attacking. (49)

A complete fourfold army of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry cannot save [one] who is being devoured by the demon of death. (50)

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[122] *Ārohatu dharādhīśaṃ dhātrīṃ bhrāmyatu sarvataḥ, prāṇī viśatu pātālaṃ tathāpi grasate 'ntakaḥ. 48*
sajjanāḥ pitaro bhāryāḥ svasāro bhrātaro 'ṅgajāḥ, nāgacchantaṃ kṣamā roddhuṃ samavarti-mataṅgajam. 49
hastyaśva-ratha-pādāti-balaṃ puṣṭaṃ caturvidham, bhakṣyamāṇaṃ na śaknoti rakṣituṃ mṛtyu-rakṣasā. 50
dāna-pūjāmitāhāra-mantra-tantra-rasāyanaiḥ, pāryate na nirākartuṃ kopano yama-pannagaḥ. 51
stanaṃdhayo yuvā vṛddho daridraḥ sadhano 'dhanaḥ, bāliśaḥ kovidaḥ śūraḥ kātaraḥ prabhur-aprabhuḥ. 52
vadānyaḥ kṛpaṇaḥ pāpī dhārmikaḥ sajjanaḥ khalaḥ, na ko 'pi muñcyate jīvo dahatā mṛtyu-vahninā. 53
hanyante tridaśā yena balinaḥ sapuraṃdarāḥ, na narān nighnatas-tasya mṛtyoḥ khedo 'sti kaścana. 54
dahyante parvatā yena dṛḍha-pāṣāṇabandhanāḥ, vimucyante kathaṃ tena vahninā tṛṇa-saṃcayāḥ. 55
nopāyo vidyate ko 'pi na bhūto na bhaviṣyati, nivāryate yamo yena pravṛttaḥ prāṇicarvaṇe. 56
sarvajña-bhāṣitaṃ dharmaṃ ratna-tritaya-lakṣaṇam, vihāya nāparaḥ śakto jarāmaraṇa-mardane. 57

By means of gifts, devotional offerings, boundless food, *mantras*, *tantras* or elixirs, the wrathful serpent Yama cannot be driven away. (51)

[Not] a baby, a youth or an old man, [not] a pauper, a rich or a destitute man, a childish or an experienced man, a hero or a coward, a mighty or weak man. (52)

[Not] an eloquent man or a wretch, a sinner or a righteous person, a good or a mischievous man, not a single soul escapes the burning fire of death. (53)

He who killed the thirty powerful gods, Indra and the others, that Death is never tired as he strikes down men. (54)

By which mountains, built of firm rocks, burn, how would heaps of grass escape that fire. (55)

There is no means, or no being will [ever] exist, by which Yama who set out to chew up living beings, can be warded off. (56)

Other than the *dharma* that is proclaimed by the omniscient beings and marked by the three jewels, nothing can crush death and old age. (57)

As a whole, these verses address the universal truth that death takes no denial. However, Amitagati interlocks this general knowledge with verses that are written from a specific religious perspective. In verse fifty-one we encounter an expression that may be seen as to reflect what will be criticised throughout the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. So far, Amitagati has framed 'the problem' (of Pavanavega) as a deviation from the path of the Jina and an attraction towards *mithyātva*. Here, he seems to suggest that those who are 'confused' believe in the efficacy of performing devotional practices to the gods, like Yama. The solution, according to Amitagati, lies in adhering to the Jain *dharma* with its focus on the three jewels (right knowledge, right conduct, and right belief), as is exemplified by the Omniscient one. In this way, our author concludes the thoughts that occupy the minds of all societies with one verse that directs the audience towards the ultimate truth.

Such realisation should help transform those who read or listen to the text to become 'good people', who are the essential audience of this kind of *subhāṣita* literature (cf. infra). Amitagati addresses and describes these 'good men' (*sajjana*):

On good people
Everyone is deceived by people who ardently long for love and money. For that reason, the good people will always deliberate with a pure mind (DP$_A$ 7.18).[123]

In the same sense, the following half verse adds a moral saying to the narrative:

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[123] *vañcyate sakalo loko lokaiḥ kāmārtha-lolupaiḥ, yatastataḥ sadā sadbhir vivecyaṃ śuddhayā dhiyā. 18*

Having heard these words of her (Kuraṅgī), she (Sundarī) prepared several delicious dishes. Good people always consider the majority of the people to be as honest as themselves (DP$_A$ 4.93).[124]

Amitagati also points with truly poetical words to the contrast between bad and good people and the jealousy that it entails:[125]

> After seeing a good person who gladdens the three worlds with his virtues, a bad person becomes angry. Does Rahu, after seeing the moon that adorns the night with rays of light, not swallow it (DP$_A$ 1.8).

There are many more direct references in the text to a *sajjana* or just *sat*, which I will not quote here.[126] They strengthen the idea that Amitagati purposely framed his text as a *subhāṣita* work. The concept of a good person is also sometimes indirectly implied. As such, the following verse suggests that a good person is one who follows the principles of his or her situation in life (DP$_A$ 9.91):[127]

> A prostitute who is ashamed, a lord giving an excessive donation, a servant who is haughty, a celibate person having sex, a jester acting pure, a pious wife who destroys her virtue, a king who is greedy, they [all] go to ruin (91).

This verse gives expression to an idea that runs through many Indian literary compositions, namely that a virtuous person is one who does what should be done. As such, influential literature such as the *Mahābhārata* or the *Hitopadeśa*, capture the paradox between destiny and human agency (e.g. see Woods 2001; Hitopadeśa 1847: 121). The capability to live according to that principle of 'what ought to be' is 'discrimination' or *viveka* (see Woods 2001: 62-63, 210). Indeed, Amitagati adds (DP$_A$ 9.92):[128]

> No fame, no splendour, no glory, no honour, no righteousness, no love, no wealth, no happiness, [will] ever [come] to a man without discrimination, because one should always exercise discrimination (92).

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[124] *vākyam etad avagamya tadīyaṃ sā sasādha vividhaṃ śubham annam, sajjanā hi sakalaṃ nija-tulyaṃ prāñjalaṃ vigaṇayanti janaugham. 93*

[125] This verse occurs in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* where he sets out his purpose and refers to himself as being the kind of good person described in the verse.
Ānandayantaṃ sujanaṃ trilokīṃ guṇaiḥ khalaḥ kupyati vīkṣya duṣṭaḥ, Kiṃ bhūṣayantaṃ kiraṇais triyāmāṃ vilokya candraṃ grasate na rāhuḥ. 1.8

[126] See, for example, verses 2.29, 3.38, 4.94, 5.10, 7.18, 7.39, 8.90, 8.54, 9.57, 10.97, 10.100, 12.15, 13.37, 14.95, 17.33, 17.18, and 20.48.

[127] *veśyā lajjām īśvaras tyāgam ugraṃ bhṛtyo garvaṃ bhogatāṃ brahmacārī, bhaṇḍaḥ śaucaṃ śīla-nāśaṃ purandhrī kurvan nāśaṃ yāti lobhaṃ narendraḥ. 91*

[128] *na kīrtir na kāntir na lakṣmīr na pūjā na dharmo na kāmo na vittaṃ na saukhyam, vivekena hīnasya puṃsaḥ kadācit yataḥ sarvadāto viveko vidheyaḥ. 92*

The importance of discrimination (*vi-vic, viveka*) runs through the whole *Dharmaparīkṣā* and mostly pertains to discriminating correct *dharma* from wrong *dharma* (as such *dharma-parīkṣā*).[129] However the way in which discrimination is represented in the just quoted verse (9.91) is more at odds with Jain philosophy. Jain philosophy stresses the essential possibility for every human being to progress on the path to liberation and therefore emphasises ethical responsibility, which Jains interpret as avoiding passions.[130] In this perspective, we would not expect a Jain author to seemingly promote that a jester should stick to his buffoonery or a prostitute to her promiscuity. The representation of *viveka* here is much more similar to what we encounter in the epics (see Woods 2001). If we read onwards, we see that Amitagati connects the ideal of the 'good man' with discrimination and reflection upon what needs to be done by the principle of time (DP$_A$ 9.94):[131]

> An excellent man reflects and does everything that needs to be done according to the principle of time. He, respected by his intelligence, who has obtained all that is desirable, reaches liberation (94).

This expression of time is similar to how time is represented in the *Mahābhārata*, which Shulman has argued to be 'an extended essay [...] on time and its errors' (1991: 27). The great epic opens with cosmogony ending in a vision that is rooted in puranic cosmology. '"Everything is rooted in time [*kāla*] – to be or not to be, to be happy or not; time cooks all creatures, and time crushes them; only time quenches the fire of time that burns living beings ...; time moves in all creatures ceaselessly, impartial to all" (1.1.230-233)' (Shulman 1991: 26). It is this framing of time which I believe to be reflected in Amitagati's words. Nevertheless, this understanding does not solve the issue of these verses being not entirely in accordance with Jain philosophy. In an attempt to understand their inclusion, we could hypothesise that Amitagati lets Manovega put himself in the position of the Brahmins as a strategy to refute their ideas. Supporting this argument, is the fact that these verses occur right after Manovega asks his Brahmin debating partners if there is

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[129] My discussion of *śāstra* and valid knowledge is also strongly connected to this (cf. supra, p.104), because establishing valid knowledge relies on discriminating between validity and invalididaty. I want to refer here as well to one of the definitions of *parīkṣā* I have given in my Introduction (p. 29-31), which states that *parīkṣā* is synonymous with *vicaya*, *vicāraṇā*, and *mīmāṃsā.* To this list we could add *viveka* and indeed Amitagati uses the word *vicāra* also often and as practically synonymous to *viveka*. From this definition we can presume another reason why Amitagati stresses discrimination and valid knowledge, namely to accord with the expectations that are engendered by denominating the work *Dharma-Parīkṣā.*

[130] This ethical responsibility results from the Jain view that the soul is active, in contrast to the view of the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, which underlies the *Bhagavad Gītā*, that the soul is inactive. Bronkhorst has discussed this contrast and Kundakunda's reaction to it (2010).

[131] *kālānurūpāṇi vicārya varyaḥ sarvāṇi kāryāṇi karoti yo 'tra, budhārcitaḥ sāram asau samastaṃ manīṣitaṃ prāpya vimuktimeti. 94*

someone amongst them who is like the four fools. In this perspective, the just-quoted verses would serve Manovega to explain to the Brahmins in their own terms why discrimination is so essential in an honest debate. However, I believe that another motivation underlies the inclusion of these verses. In my opinion, the most important impulse here is the ambition of Amitagati to collect in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* a variety of *subhāṣita* verses, drawn or inspired from major works in the Sanskrit literary corpus. As such, the verses here play with the intertextual references to classical and especially purāṇic-epic Sanskrit literature (e.g. the *Mahābhārata*). As a final note, I would like to remark that in verse 9.95 Amitagati himself tries to 'dissolve' the tension he created with Jain thought by simply stating that whether it is beneficial to do as is fit, or to do as is unfit, a wise person, who discriminates, does what is beneficial to another.

A principle that is powerful within the Indian tradition including Jainism – and is in fact a universal truth – is truthfulness. This moral ideal is ubiquitous within for example the epic literature and *subhāṣita* collections, and is one of the principles on which the examination in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is based.[132] The recurring critique on the Brahmins in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is how they can support the accounts in their texts (i.e. the *Purāṇas* etc.) to be true, but not similar accounts told by our main character. This critique is translated into general terms to criticise those who would take something true to be untrue and the other way around. Underlying these criticisms is the conviction that a good person is one who is able to discern truth from untruth. As such, Amitagati includes verses like the following (DP$_A$ 4.27-30):[133]

> On truth
> Without evidence a person surely cannot speak the truth: [because] he will be hurt by other people in the same way as speakers of untruth. (27)
> With evidence people believe untruth even to be truth. How else would the whole world be deceived by deceivers. (28)
> Whether true or untrue, a person should say that which people believe. Otherwise who would prevent great harm from happening [to him]? (29)
> Fools do not accept what is said by a person even if it is true. For that reason, good advice should not be spoken amongst them, even if one would wish to do so. (30)

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[132] See for example the subject index of Sternbach's *Mahā Subhāṣitā Saṃgraha* (1974-2007) or the index to Ducoeur's *Anthologie de Proverbes Sanskrits Tirés des Épopées Indiennes* (2004).
My translation of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* gives around 80 hits for 'truth' and 'true'.

[133] *na satyam api vaktavyaṃ puṃsā sākṣi-vivarjitam, parair vyāpīḍyate lokair asatyasyeva bhāṣakāḥ. 27*
asatyam api manyante lokāḥ satyaṃ sasākṣikam, vañcakaiḥ sakalo loko vañcyate katham anyathā. 28
puṃsā satyam-asatyaṃ vā vācyaṃ lokapratītikam, bhavantī mahatī pīḍā parathā kena vāryate. 29
puṃsā satyam api proktaṃ prapadyante na bāliśāḥ, yatas-tato na vaktavyaṃ tan madhye hitam icchatā. 30

These verses follow the story of Madhukara who gets beaten even though he speaks the truth, just because people cannot believe what he says because they cannot imagine it to be so. Amitagati reflects on this story by questioning the point in trying to prove what is true, when people only believe what they want to be true – a question that might be asked at all times everywhere. This is not to advocate spreading all kinds of lies, but to make the audience (within and outside of the narrative) aware of discerning truth from untruth based on rational arguments.

One who is not capable of doing so, as Amitagati says in the last verse above, is a fool. The fool is the opposite of the good person, because he is unable to differentiate. The character of the fool is elaborately represented within the narrative itself to illustrate bad beliefs and behaviour (see the narratives of 'the ten fools', cf. supra, pp. 53-60), but Amitagati stresses their reproachable nature with several 'beautified sayings', such as the following:[134]

On foolishness
There is no darkness like stupidity, there is no light like knowledge, there is no enemy like birth, there is no kinsman like liberation. (87)
Darkness can dwell in a mirage of sunlight, there can be coldness in a mirage of fire, perhaps there can be heat in a mirage of frost, but there is never consideration in a stupid person. (88)
It is better to enter a forest full of wild beasts, to honour the king of snakes, or to go after the fire of lightning, than to ever follow a fool. (89)

The primary subject of the moralising sayings would be the king. Since he stands at the head of the political body which decides over the doings of the people, he should be an ideal model of the good man. Arai (1978) has shown that such conceptualisation of kingship is especially present in Jain political treatises (*nītiśāstra*) which identify the king with having perfect manhood. The king 'must strive for perfection just like an ascetic, and only in this way, can he be seen as superior as well as equal to his subjects' (Flügel 2010: 388). Although this is not a prominent theme within the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, the text does show traces of such concerns for the king and his circle of governors. Indeed, in the

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[134] *maurkhyaṃ samānaṃ bhavati tamo no jñāna-samānaṃ bhavati na tejaḥ, janma-samāno bhavati na śatrur mokṣa-samāno bhavati na bandhuḥ. 87*
uṣṇa-marīcau timira-nivāsaḥ śītala-bhāvo viṣama-marīcau, syādatha tāpaḥ śiśira-marīcau jātu vicāro bhavati na mūrkhe. 88
śvāpada-pūrṇaṃ varam avagāhyaṃ kakṣam upāsyo varam ahirājaḥ, vajra-hutāśo varam anugamyo jātu na mūrkhaḥ kṣaṇam api sevyaḥ. 89

following verse, a king's superiority is not taken for granted, but depends on his conduct (DP$_A$ 10.99):[135]

On kings
He who does not forsake a king even when he knows that [this king] does not give, is ill-minded and greedy, this tormented vassal, who experiences long lasting pains, is called reproachable.

A sense of political structure also appears from the following saying (DP$_A$ 8.9):[136]

Like study [should be done] by the ascetic class, like household tasks [should be executed] by a virtuous woman, the tasks of the king are to be thought of by the minister day and night.

Although this verse is tightly connected to the story of the agarwood in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, it can perfectly well stand on its own.[137] The same goes for the following verse which provides another insight into the political-economical system (DP$_A$ 8.15):[138]

Because of the villages, wealth is produced, because of [that] wealth the vassals are enriched, by these vassals the king is served. There is nothing more supreme than wealth (15).

This verse preludes an elaboration on wealth and its dangers (DP$_A$ 8.16-21):[139]

On wealth
Because of wealth, a mortal is born in a good family, learned, respectable, valiant, skilled in logic, clever, righteous and beloved. (16)
The eloquent yogis, intelligent and wise, who are skilled in the *śāstras*, they all serve the abundance of wealth with devotion and flattery. (17)
Women that are adorned with fresh youth embrace and sleep with a leper whose nose, hands and feet have fallen off, if he is a wealthy lord. (18)
For one who has wealth in his house, everyone does work, everyone is pleasurable, everyone is obedient. (19)

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[135] *adāyakaṃ duṣṭamatiṃ satṛṣṇaṃ vibudhyamāno 'pi jahāti bhūpam, na yaś cirakleśam avekṣamāṇaḥ sa kliṣṭabhṛtyo 'kathi garhaṇīyaḥ. 99*

[136] *svādhyāyaḥ sādhur vargeṇa gṛhakṛtyaṃ kulastriyā, prabhu-kṛtyam amātyena cintanīyam aharniśam. 9*

[137] This verse follows the advice by the minister to the king to reward a ploughman for his excellent service (see Introduction, p. 56)

[138] *grāmebhyo jāyate dravyaṃ dravyato bhṛtya-saṃpadaḥ, bhṛtyair niṣevyate rājā dravyato nottamaṃ param. 15*

[139] *kulīnaḥ paṇḍito mānyaḥ śūro nyāyaviśāradaḥ, jāyate dravyato martyo vidagdho dhārmikaḥ priyaḥ. 16*
yogino vāgmino dakṣā vṛddhāḥ śāstra-viśāradāḥ, sarve dravyādhikaṃ bhaktyā sevante cāṭu-kāriṇaḥ. 17
viśīrṇāṅghri-kara-ghrāṇaṃ kuṣṭhinaṃ draviṇeśvaram, āliṅgya śerate rāmā nava-yauvana-bhūṣitāḥ. 18
sarve karmakarās tasya sarve tasya priyaṃkarāḥ, sarve vaśaṃvadās tasya dravyaṃ yasyāsti mandire. 19
bāliśaṃ śaṃsati prājñaḥ śūro bhiru niṣevate, pāpinaṃ dhārmikaḥ stauti saṃpadā sadanī-kṛtam. 20
cakriṇaḥ keśavā rāmāḥ sarve grāma-prasādataḥ, parāsādhāraṇa-śrīkā gauravaṃ pratipedire. 21

> An intelligent person praises a simpleton, a hero honours a coward, a righteous person celebrates a sinner, as long as they are settled in wealth. (20)

For Jains, who are historically associated with mercantilism, this kind of warning is especially apt. Other Jain literary sources similarly convey that concerns about money occupied the minds of the Jain laity. After this critique of wealth Amitagati returns to his initial statement – in which we could perhaps read a social critique – that wealth is essentially created by the villagers.

> Cakravartins, Keśavas and Rāmas they have extraordinary fortune and attain importance because of the graciousness of the village. (21)

It is notable that Amitagati seems to suggest that even the 'illustrious men' (śalākāpuruṣa) have to thank not only themselves for their fortune. If such a socio-critical interpretation of this verse is legitimate, then I might hypothesise that Amitagati here tries to address the political and economic elite in order to make them aware of the lower strata of society. Otherwise, viewed from the 'bottom up', this verse could be read or heard as self-confirmation of the importance and thus power of the (educated) village-men in relation to the central court.

Most of the quoted *subhāṣitas* address universal truths and thus present a simple morality that can be followed by everyone. My first examples have illustrated that Amitagati addresses Jain moral teachings in the early chapters of his text, and he seems to return to such 'beautified teachings' towards the end (*paricchedas* eighteen and nineteen; e.g. DP$_A$ 19.31-34). Although they are Jain, these verses too mostly keep a universalistic aspiration as suits a work that aims at reaching wider audiences. Whereas, as I have suggested, the moral aphorisms were not alien to the source *Dharmaparīkṣā*, I see in Amitagati's abundant inclusion of them an exaggeration of this gnomic didacticism. This causes Amitagati's adaptation to present itself as more eloquent and didactically more rigid. A further implication is that by interlacing the *Dharmaparīkṣā* abundantly with *subhāṣitas*, Amitagati frames his composition within the (early) pan-Indian *subhāṣita* literary tradition.[140] Through this adaptive process he puts the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in line with his other works (most importantly the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*), and transfers to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* the specific significance of *subhāṣita*.

Ali (2010) argues that the *subhāṣita* is a distinct literary form that had a specific relevance in the ethical practice of South-Asia and was characterised by a porosity with different social locales. Rooted in the 'floating mass of oral tradition' (Sternbach 1974: 44),

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[140] Sternbach writes that 'Also the earlier collections of moral sayings, such as the didactic works of Amitagati (the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*) and *Dharmaparīkṣā* (10th and the beginning of the 11th century) and Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra belong to the early *subhāṣita* literature' (1974: 10, fn. 29). As such, he classifies both Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's work as *subhāṣita* literature.

the *subhāṣita* became an important factor of ethical self-fashioning linked to the urban courtly culture (Ali 2010: 23). It became a key form of moral learning within the public sphere of 'good men' (*sajjana*) from educated and elite backgrounds.[141] Furthermore Ali, drawing from Shulman and Narayan Rao (1998), argues that the *subhāṣita* was profoundly a dialogical utterance. This is evidenced within *kathā* literature (e.g. Pañcatantra) where narrative characters use moral maxims to persuade each other or illustrate their opinions, often introduced by *uktaṃ ca* ('it is said') to give them external authority (2010: 29). In a later tradition, *subhāṣitas* became an integral part of social circles of learned men who displayed their poetic virtuosity and aesthetic-argumentative strength through ornamenting their verbal interchanges with such verses (Ali 2010: 29). It is in this context that the *subhāṣitas* formed a key tool in edifying the elite literate classes in India (Sternbach 1974: 4; Ali 2010: 29). I hypothesise that Hariṣeṇa's (and the source-text's) use of such verses lies closer to the earlier *kathā* tradition, because he indeed introduces them with *tathoktam* or *tadyathā*, thus implying external authority in them. Amitagati instead seems to give authority to himself for such arguments. His amplification of *subhāṣitas*, instead, indicates in my opinion that his text aspired to reach a more learned audience. By 'exaggerating' the use of literary aphorisms, without referring to an external authority,[142] Amitagati showcases his own poetic eloquence and knowledge of various works on *dharma*, *nīti*, etc., and directs his text towards an elite audience able to appreciate this. Further, we can also see his accumulation of *subhāṣitas* in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as coinciding with the acceleration of compilations of independent moral verses from the tenth century (Ali 2010: 31).

2.3   Relevance of Sanskrit language

One of the most obvious features of Amitagati's adaptation, compared to the Prakrit 'original' or Hariṣeṇa's text, is its language. This eleventh century version is written in the 'language of the gods', Sanskrit. In the biography of our author (cf. supra, p. 81) I have mentioned that he translated several works into Sanskrit. This language shift from the Prakrits to writing in Sanskrit was a practice precedented by several earlier Jain authors (e.g. Raviṣeṇa) and seems to have been an ongoing occupancy at the time of Amitagati.

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[141] Ali recognises the *goṣṭhī* ('literary gathering') as an essential social congregation for this purpose (2010: 27-28). Interestingly, Amitagati uses this word in verse 5.56.

[142] As exceptions, Amitagati uses a referential phrase, embedded within the verse, in 5.18 (*jalpanti*), and 14.6 (*yathocitam*).

The existence of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* itself in Middle-Indic languages in the tenth and supposedly in the ninth century demonstrates that this shift was not yet finite and proves that Amitagati's choice for Sanskrit had a particular motivation. My enquiry into the adaptive process of Amitagati's composition will therefore here treat the question: Why did Amitagati adapt the *Dharmaparīkṣā* into Sanskrit? This question will be contextualised within the conclusions of Pollock's work on the Sanskrit cosmopolis, and Ollett's (2017) nuancing revision of the language order in premodern India, while giving special attention to the Jain position within this development. Related to this, in this section I will also question the relationship between the choice for Sanskrit and the work's content and form, as well as argue that this choice of language impacted the popularity and authoritativeness of Amitagati's version.

To start, I should explain why writing a work in Sanskrit was indeed a choice. Whereas by the eleventh century, writing a poetic or philosophical composition in Sanskrit, the language which until about the beginning of the Common Era seems to have been reserved for liturgical purposes, had been conventional for Hindu and Buddhist authors for several centuries, however, for Jain intelligentsia this was more ambivalent.[143] The first attested Jain text to be written in Sanskrit language is Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthasūtra*, dated around the fourth or fifth century CE. The reason why it was written in Sanskrit at that time is not clear, especially since other Jain Sanskrit works seem to appear at least one century later (Dundas 2020: 745). Dundas (2020) argues by referring to the diglossia of Prakrit and Sanskrit in Siddhasena's writings (sixth century CE), for a gradual shift in language use by Jain intellectuals in order to reposition themselves as full participants in the philosophical dialogues with Brahmins and Buddhists. Interestingly, Siddhasena's choice for a specific language seems to have been related to the intention of his writing. His *Nyāyāvatāra*, a treatise on logic, and his *Dvātriṃśika,* an early doxography, were both written in Sanskrit. In contrast, his *Sanmaitakka*, which treats Jain issues of epistemology, was written in Prakrit. According to Dundas, this indicates that – or rather, these choices of language were due to the fact that – the two former works were meant for a courtly audience, whereas the latter was purposed for 'internal consumption' (1996: 147). In view of the tentative social setting that I have hypothesised so far for the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, it is legitimate to examine to which extent these concerns also influenced our author's language choice (cf. infra). Other Sanskrit works by Jain authors increasingly appeared

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[143] Pollock (2006: 39-74) recognises a development in the use of Sanskrit language around the beginning of the Common Era, in which Sanskrit came to be used for public writing, first in political inscriptions, where before its use was restricted to the Vedic ritualistic setting and to the exclusive social class of the Brahmins. He suggests the possible influence for this development of the 'immigrant' dynasty of the Śakas who were independent from the Brahmanical milieu. He suggests that the Buddhist use of Sanskrit for their scriptures, after half a millenium of rejecting the language, is linked to this appropriation of Sanskrit for political purposes. The Jains, however, did not follow this pattern.

from around 600 CE. Examples are the exegetical works by Haribhadra, who set the tone for later Jain commentaries, or the *Ādipurāṇa* by Jinasena who must have had his patron in view when writing this elegant Sanskrit work (Dundas 2020: 746). During this 'early' period, Sanskrit composition seems to have been confined to philosophical texts or poetry (*kāvya*), but gradually narrative literature in Sanskrit presumably for a non-courtly audience also appeared (e.g. Siddharṣi, ninth-tenth century). Notable as well are, according to Dundas, the many medieval texts on lay duties written in Sanskrit (1996: 147).[144] As such, it seems that Amitagati executed his translatory activities at a relatively early stage of the project to compose Jain texts of a more lay religious nature in Sanskrit (especially his *Śrāvakācara*, but also the *Dharmaparīkṣā* fits this category). So far, I have suggested that the motivations that led to a situation in which an eleventh century author translated from Prakrit to Sanskrit lie in the Jains' involvement in courtly culture, and additionally in the political power of that language. I would like to deepen my enquiry, by sketching the situation around the turn of the first millennium, in order to understand the particular motivations that lie at the base of Amitagati's adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

The literary situation at the time of Amitagati may well be explored through Bhoja's writings on literary theory. This king ruled at the time and place of Amitagati's residence and, according to Pollock, his theorisation reflects more actuality than might seem at first glance (2006: 110). Moreover, since Amitagati aspires to write a *kāvya* it is worth looking at how Bhoja conceptualises literariness (*kāvya*).[145] For Bhoja, the major principle constituting literariness is ornamentation, which exists in the use of external, internal and external-internal properties, as well as in using the appropriate language (Pollock 2006: 109).[146] If Amitagati indeed wanted to create a *kāvya* he would have had to comply

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[144] Dundas notes that the division in genre (between poetry or philosophy on the one hand, and religion on the other) cannot be completely generalised because 'many medieval texts designed to guide the laity in their daily duties *(śrāvakācāra)* and which would have been of minimal interest in the wider cultural world were written in Sanskrit'. He adds as example Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, which is 'the most famous of the *śrāvakācāra* works', 'presumably written in Sanskrit because [it was] directed towards the court circle of Kumārapāla Caulukya' (1996: 148). His suggestion for an explanation on why these works would have been written in Sanskrit rather than Prakrit is because Prakrit was becoming less understood. However, I think we should also consider discursive practices for this choice of language (cf. infra).

[145] The last verse of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (DP$_A$ 20.90) states that 'Amitagati created this *kāvya* in two months'.

akṛta pavanavego darśanaṃ candraśubhraṃ divija-manuja-pūjyaṃ līlayāhar-dvayena, amitagatir ivedaṃ svasya māsa-dvayena prathita-viśada-kīrtiḥ kāvyam-uddhūta-doṣam. 90

The edition gives *graṃtha* as a variant for *kāvya*, but all the manuscripts I have consulted (six in total) render *kāvya*.

[146] The external properties of a language or for example its form (verse, prose, or mixed) or phonological and syntactical structures. They are the figures of sense. The external-internal properties or those that make use of both word and sense for their effect (e.g. *śleṣa*) (Pollock 2006: 110).

to those standards. Bhoja, equal to literary theorists before him, recognised three languages as literary: Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa.[147] These were all devoid of particularity and could thus serve as transregional codes. It is this capability to appeal to a cosmopolitan culture that made them literary (Pollock 2006: 101-109). The differentiation amongst the three languages in terms of use was based upon the literary system itself, according with a genre and a social order that was thereby indexed (Pollock 2006: 113). However, the use of the three languages was never 'balanced' – Sanskrit had always been the 'big brother' – and at the time of Bhoja, Prakrit was at a juncture. In fact, Ollett states that 'Bhoja is [...] one of the last kings to patronize Prakrit poets, or perhaps one of the last kings for whom there were any Prakrit poets to patronize' (2017: 175). The uncertain status of Prakrit was already on its way in the eighth century, when Vākpatirāja regretted that no one any longer respected Prakrit language (Pollock 2006: 204). Jain sources also speak of such a situation. In his *Nyāyakumudacandra*, the tenth-century Prabhācandra, though writing himself in Sanskrit, defends the status of Prakrit language within the linguistic debate against the Mīmāṃsakas. Prakrit words are meaningful without recalling Sanskrit words from which they supposedly derive, and Prakrit is equally qualified to convey religious matters or to be used by educated people (Dundas 2020: 744). Although this defence is set within a specific debate, it demonstrates that Jains fought for Prakrit as the language for their religious literature. By the end of the eleventh century the situation for Prakrit seems to have deteriorated further.[148] Even if the books of the literary critics (like those by Bhoja) proclaim that poets should master all three literary languages, the Jain author Jineśvara Sūri bemoans that in his time (twelfth century) there are only a few who could recite Prakrit poetry (Dundas 1996: 152, fn. 13; Ollett 2017: 171).[149] From the beginning of the thirteenth century, even among the Jain literati, textual production in Prakrit (and

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[147] He also mentions, according to tradition, Paiśāci, which Pollock calls 'the joker in the deck of South Asian discourses on language' since it is only linked to a single lost text and is further irrelevant to the subcontinent's literary history (2006: 92-93).

[148] Ollett refuses to speak of a 'decline' of Prakrit literature and suggests instead to denominate what happens at the beginning of the second millennium as a 'displacement' or 'reconfiguration'. He explains how the dichotomy Sanksrit-Prakrit came to be replaced by a duality of Sanskrit and the vernacular languages, which left no place for 'the language of the snakes' to subsist (see 2017 : 169-188).

[149] This statement comes from Jineśvara Sūri's *Gāhārayaṇakosa* (1194 CE).

Ollett includes a quote from another Jain work whose author is a certain Yaśas that makes a similar expression: 'Pādalipta composed a long story called Taraṅgavatī, full of regional words, intricate and extensive. It features captivating water-lilies in some places, starcrossed lovers in others, and in others, the six passions that are difficult for other people to defeat. Nobody recites it, nobody asks for it to be recited, nobody talks about it. It has become the special preserve of scholars; nobody else can do anything with it. That's why I have collected the verses that Pādalipta wrote and removed the regional words to create this abridged story, in the hope that it will not entirely disappear from the hearts of other people. I beg forgiveness from that monk' (2017: 77-78).

Apabhraṃśa) experienced a definite decline (Ollett 2017: 179),[150] and the language came to be confined to scholarly skill.[151] My sketch of the literary or linguistic situation at the time of Amitagati renders clear that there were several factors at play that could have stimulated Amitagati's choice for Sanskrit as language of his *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In view of the fact that he was a 'translator' (for several of his works) and that the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, as is the hypothesis, already existed in Prakrit, there is a strong argument to be made for the idea that his motivation was affected and guided by the increased incapability of the audience to understand Prakrit. However, there is another path of hypothesis that is at least interesting to ponder upon. About Prabhācandra, Dundas writes that he was necessitated to express himself in Sanskrit because this was the pan-Indian language of learned discourse (2020: 744).[152] Earlier in this chapter I have eluded several times to the fact that Amitagati seems to have been engaged in an elite culture where inter-religious debate had a prominent place. The underlying thread of *śāstra* in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* suggests that this work was in dialogue with the śāstric texts to which Dundas refers (i.e. of a more philosophical nature). This would have equally necessitated Amitagati to use Sanskrit as language to participate in this type of discourse. In consequence, we could hypothesise that the change in language of Amitagati's adaptation followed its change in discursive traits.[153] From a more general perspective and putting more emphasis on social order, an influencing factor could also have been that Prakrit had always been a 'minor' literature in comparison to Sanskrit (Ollett 2017: 172). Such a conception must have had a place in the minds of the elite audience, whether Jain or non-Jain, that actually lived Indian literary culture. By creating a Sanskrit *kāvya* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* Amitagati might have aspired to 'raise' the status of the narrative and to embed it in a truly cosmopolitan

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[150] Ollett argues further that in the thirteenth century the 'stream of Prakrit was systematically diverted into Sanskrit, on the one hand, and in a rapidly-regionalizing variety of Apabhraṃśa, on the other'. This is evidenced by the rich production of translations and transcreations of Prakrit texts into the classical and vernacular language (2017: 179). Amitagati's authorial endeavours could be seen as precursory to this trend.

[151] The fact that Prakrit was becoming a language only preserved by those who had been educated in its linguistic and literary characteristics – and that for many this was not the case – might also be indicated by the production of Prakrit 'handbooks' such as Dhanapāla's Prakrit lexicon, the *Paialacchīnāmamāla* (tenth century), and Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar, the eight chapter of his *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana.*

[152] In his 1996 chapter, Dundas frames it slightly differently, namely that Prabhācandra participated in *śāstra* (1996: 143).

[153] Another idea, though perhaps a bit far-fetched, would be that the texts by Amitagati and Prabhācandra which clearly are in opposition to the Mīmāṃsakas are written in Sanskrit to overthrow their alleged Brahmin superiority and consequently exclusive access to Sanskrit writing.

A possibility related to that, to which I do not give much validity, is that Amitagati chose to translate the work into Sanskrit because this is the language of those he wishes to mock. Whereas the previous idea rather focused on Sanskrit as an argumentative device, here the emphasis lies on Sanskrit as a humorous device.

rather than a transregional culture.[154] The effect of creating a Sanskrit *kāvya* extended to the work's internal properties (or external, internal, and external-internal in Bhoja's terms) as well. With the choice for Sanskrit, came the specific prosodic features and poetical images that belonged to its literary form. As for the *subhhāṣitas*, these are not specific to Sanskrit,[155] but since the 'good men' who would be cultured by the *Dharmaparīkṣā* at the time seemed to have moved in a world literarily dominated by Sanskrit (with Prakrit as a scholarly remnant), we could say that the relationship between the extensive use of 'beautified sayings' and Sanskrit is mediated through the purposed audience.

I now turn to the final question I have announced to treat, namely, in which way did the language of Amitagati's work influence its popularity and its authoritativeness? As I have already written at the beginning of this chapter, what I mean by its popularity is the fact this work was copied many times within Jain communities, and by its authoritativeness that this was the work that was replicated by other Jain authors. With regard to its popularity, the fact that today we as scholars speak of a Sanskrit cosmopolis, in contrast to a Middle Indic trans-regionalism or vernacular regionalism, serves as proof in itself that for the text, Sanskrit was a means of transportation that was much more efficient in reaching geographically dispersed places and socially diverse audiences.[156] Sanskrit was definitely not a language of the lower strata of society, but in the years after Amitagati it had a wider understanding than Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa. We can imagine that when a Digambara mendicant had to choose between the two earliest (extent) versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, he would have preferred to read the Sanskrit version to his audience, who would have had more difficulties to understand the 'deviated' (*vibhraṣṭa*) language of Hariṣeṇa's version.[157] With regards to the text's authoritativeness, there is another aspect of Sanskrit language, next to its wider understanding, that gave this status to Amitagati's version. This was especially relevant, in my opinion, after the vernacular turn had taken place. Sanskrit was and remained the archetypical language of the great

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[154] We may hypothesise as well how this cosmopolitan power of Sanskrit, especially within elite circles, would have aided the religious transformative power of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

[155] The first *subhāṣita* anthology was in Prakrit (the *Sattasaī*) and also the beforementioned work by Jineśvara Sūri was a Prakrit anthology.

[156] This is not to say that Prakrit (or Middle Indic) did not play a role in this Sanskrit cosmopolis. As Ollett has stated, 'Prakrit had one foot, so to speak, in the Sanskrit cosmopolis and the other in the nebulous domain of the regional' (2017: 24), and played a 'major role in the historical [...] formation of the "Sanskrit cosmopolis"' (2017: 15). Nevertheless, it was Sanskrit that became the archetypical cosmopolitan language, to which Prakrit was contrasted.

[157] The interpretation of Apabhraṃśa as a language that derived from Sanskrit with many phonological deviations (*vibhraṣṭa*), or even 'degenerations' taking the word *apabhraṃśa* more literally, goes back to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd century BCE?) and Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (3rd century CE?) (De Clercq 2009: 6-7). However, by the time of Amitagati Apabhraṃśa was considered as a transregional fully literary language, though not easily understood anymore (informal communication with Eva De Clercq).

tradition in Indian literature. It was the language associated with classicism, elite culture, and, I argue, with argumentative power. This association is the reason that Amitagati's version became the one that was most copied (or at least preserved), and was most widely spread, as well as being the text upon which later versions based their adaptation, and in relatively recent times was the text that reached Europe first and was first edited, in short, the 'authoritative text'.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed and analysed the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati from the perspective of adaptation theory. By doing so, I have attempted to present the character of the text as an independent work, as well as to highlight how this character stands in relation to other *Dharmaparīkṣās*. This relation was explained as mediated through adaptive processes which were informed by Amitagati's socio-historical and socio-literary context, his own oeuvre as an author and, of course, his interpretation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative. Underlying my discussion were two questions on which I will elaborate in this conclusion with the aim of giving more resolute answers. These were the questions regarding the authoritativeness of this version and the purposed audience. Before, however, treating these receptive aspects, I would like to ponder on what my discussion can tell us about Amitagati's own reception of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that preceded him. What made him adapt this narrative? To probe this question it is best to, again, look at the context of Amitagati's (religious) writing activities in relation to the properties of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. First of all, the main purpose of this narrative is to criticise Brahmanical customs, which implies that it is directed against Brahmanism as well as against Jain religious practice that would have become influenced by Brahmanism. This topic indeed appears to have been current at the time, since contemporary narrative creations like the *Yaśastilaka* by Somadeva or Mahāsena's *Pradyumnacarita* also include such criticism (see Handiqui 1968: 316-407; Warder 1992: 24-25). Further, we could hypothesise that the text to which the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is most compared, the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by the famous Haribhadra, would have received general attention among Jains at the time, because of the fame of its author. Perhaps Amitagati thought the *Dharmaparīkṣā* suitable for making an elite Digambara equivalent. Thirdly, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in general ends with an exposition of the principles for correct Jain lay conduct (*śrāvakācāra*, see DP$_{\mathrm{H}}$ 10.13-16). Considering the other works by Amitagati, this would have made the narrative appeal to him. Indeed, Amitagati seems to have been a monk-author who specialised in writing literature to shape and guide the lay community, as is illustrated by the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha* and the *Śrāvakācāra*. This specialisation at the same time fits the

general development in Jain religion that was putting an increased emphasis on lay life. In fact, the creation of the genre of *śrāvakācāra* literature was a development from the medieval period that seems to have had its momentum in the tenth and eleventh century (Williams 1963: xvi).[158] The *Dharmaparīkṣā* which combines parodic narratives with straightforward didactics on correct conduct is thus complementary to this setting and to Amitagati's interests.

Returning now to the first of my main questions in this chapter, I have in my discussion posited several possible explanations of why Amitagati's adaptation became the authoritative version. Firstly, there is the matter of language. Although we cannot know why the oldest supposedly Prakrit version did not stand the test of time, it has appeared that Prakrit as a literary language lost its ground to Sanskrit (and to some extent to the vernaculars), the language that had become the medium of literary communities all across the subcontinent and well into regions further East. Contrary to Apabhraṃśa, Sanskrit was a language that was understood in various religious communities and seemed to have been less confined to certain genres (predominantly narratives). Another possible reason, which I have not made explicit so far, but which I have discussed at length, is the scholastic motif that underlies Amitagati's version. This brings us to reasons of content to make Amitagati's version authoritative. Whereas Hariṣeṇa's version seems to be mainly narrative oriented, Amitagati's text puts an important focus on didactic explanation and inter-religious argumentation. It could well be that Jains in the past found such a version to be more convincing to tackle their Brahmin opponents or to pursue correct behaviour. In this regard, the particularities of manuscript culture also might have had an impact. In the Jain context, in most cases in the late medieval period, manuscripts were copied by the laity for a mendicant to use (Cort 1995a: 78). Perhaps they would have found it more suitable to have a text copied which combines narrative with more apologetic content. Furthermore, we could hypothesise how the underlying thread of *śāstra* in Amitagati's work stimulated its material preservation, since Jain manuscript libraries are after all *śāstra-bhaṇḍāras*. A final stimulus to Amitagati's authoritativeness would be the circumstances under which it was composed. Amitagati lived under the rule of two kings (Muñja and Bhoja) who made literary culture flourish in a way that was unprecedented and perhaps never repeated again. Such a context would have made it easier for Amitagati to become known as an author, and might as well have stimulated the copying of his work by one of the many scribes residing in the area, so that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* once out of the hands of its author would lead its own life to be spread geographically and chronologically.

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[158] The overviews of *śrāvakācāra* literature among Śvetāmbara and Digambara authors in Williams (1963: 1, 17) portray a situation in which the tenth and eleven centuries meant the 'breakthrough' of this genre and the twelfth to about the fifteenth century showed a continuity in its production.

The second important issue I have referred to several times, but which I did not definitively resolve yet is who Amitagati wrote his work for? Who was his intended audience? The tension I have thus far maintained is between a courtly audience which would include non-Jains, and a Jain audience. In this (re)examination of Amitagati's intended audience, reviewing the broad lines of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* content, it seems more likely that Amitagati had primarily a Jain lay audience in mind. Amitagati's text opens with a relatively lengthy *maṅgalācaraṇa* (opening invocation) to the supreme beings, includes a lengthy lecture on *saṃsāra*, suffering, and *mithyātva*, and most importantly explains with relative detail the different principles of conduct for the laity (*śrāvakācāra*). Further, the ridiculing harshness with which Amitagati debases the Brahmin opponents could have been too much for a non-Jain audience to swallow. On the other hand, we need to keep in mind that literature by Brahmanical authors equally often stages characters that ridicule their religious others as well as their own kind (see Siegel 1987), and that it is thus possible that they would not have taken real offence in Amitagati's laughter. In comparison, the 'other' satirical Jain didactic text, the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Haribhadra, claims to have been composed 'for purifying the faith' and to 'bestow *bhava-viraha* on the faithful who hear and narrate it' (Upadhye 1983: 118). On the other side of the tension, in view of specific references in the text and of certain genre-specific traits, a more elite and even courtly audience comes to the fore. The religio-philosophical references in the seventeenth chapter seem to be relevant only for an audience specialised in such inter-religious debates, and Amitagati's ethical-literary commitment by embedding the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in the *subhāṣita* literature has been argued to be characteristic of courtly circles. Moreover, my contextualising of Amitagati, in addition to his own reference to the Paramāra kings, has shown that he must have had a presence at court. In my evaluation of these clues, Amitagati definitively had a reader in mind with a certain knowledge and a certain culture. His intention was to reach those men who wanted to perfect themselves as ethical models. These could have been exclusively Jain, after all, Jain laymen may have held some functions in the administration. However, in my opinion the anecdote about Dhanapāla being a Brahmin convert to Jainism should not be overlooked. Moreover, the narrative set-up of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is such that in the end the character for whom this whole examination was executed and who should be seen as a model for the audience undergoes a transformation. And although it is dubious what exactly Pavanavega's starting position is – was he originally a Jain with aberrant religious practices, or not a Jain? – it seems not transgressive to speak of his conversion at the end of the story.[159] For those reasons I do not want to exclude that Amitagati secondarily had

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[159] In verse 2.90b the monk Jinamati advises Manovega concerning Pavanavega:

an audience in mind of cultured men belonging to several religious affiliations, among whom the 'heterodox' could possibly become convinced of the superiority of Jainism.[160] What this discussion shows on a higher level is that the relation between literature, politics, and religion is more complex than some scholars have hereto suggested.[161] Indeed, literature was not just either political or religious, it could play on both fields at the same time. Furthermore, the political did not always supersede the religious. Political circles could make use of religious texts for prestige purposes, but religious agents could also benefit from the platforms given by these circles.

With regard to the audience, I would like to make a final excursion to look at the engagement aspect of the text's reception. How should and did the audience engage with it? The *Dharmaparīkṣā* is a narrative with a strong didacticism that therefore can be supposed to have been recited. However, I believe that the text by Amitagati was conceived and existed mainly as a written text. This I argue because he calls his composition a *kāvya*, which Pollock has called a 'literary text that was written down and primarily transmitted in written form' (2007: 80) and because Amitagati related his adaptation to *śāstra* which was a genre understood as a 'text' (Pollock 1989: 18), and therefore, in my opinion, would have been written down in a time in which manuscript culture had already taken off. The written engagement with this text is not only demonstrated by the fact that it was extensively copied, which actually only shows the medium through which it was transmitted and not the engagement with the text, but also by the fact that manuscript evidence tells us that the text was copied for a layman's own study.[162] My focus on this textual existence should however not guide away from the idea that Amitagati's composition was still heard in recitation. Indeed, the anecdote I mentioned earlier of how one of my Jain colleagues got acquainted with the text through

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mithyātva-doṣam-apahāsyati bhadra sadyo, nītvā sa puṣpanagaraṃ pratibodhyamānaḥ. ('Take him to Puṣpanagara immediately, o blessed one. He will become awakened and will abandon the sin of *mithyātva*.') Dundas writes that the word *pratibodha* ('awakened') would be the equivalent of conversion, but that it implies a less radical transition and denotes instead 'the reemergence of what has temporarily been obscured' (2003: 128).

[160] Flügel's article (2010) on Jain conversion stories makes explicit how such a conversion by means of a narrative could take place (especially in his conclusion).
Note that later usage of the text did not necessarily have this purpose.

[161] I am here thinking mainly of Pollock (2016) and Ollett (2017). For example, when arguing 'that Prakrit was the language of a literature in which religious differences disappeared', Ollett argues that 'Prakrit anthologies [(*kośa*)] were produced by Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains, and it is only a slight exaggeration to say that we would not be able to identify the religious identity of their authors but for the invocations and colophons' (2017: 9). Pollock (2016) has made similar statements with regards to Sanskrit as a literary language. I, on the contrary, have shown how Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a treasury of *subhāṣitas* (just like the *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*) appropriates the 'cosmopolitan' status of Sanskrit in order to assert its religious transformative power.

[162] See ms. Kh-125 from Jain Siddhant Bhavan:
ity-amitagati-kṛtā dharmaparīkṣā samāptaḥ saṃbata 1681 varṣe posavadi saṣṭī tithai, pustaka-paṃḍita-jī śrī rāmacaṃda-jī ātma-paṭhanārthī likhī kṛtā.

the daily lectures (*pravacan*) at the Todarmal Smarak Bhavan in Jaipur demonstrates how the text is today still engaged within an oral mode (a teaching mode) (see fn. 77, p. 107).

My examination of Amitagati's adaptation has mainly revolved around the literary and social aspects of the adaptive process. This gives us insight into the practices of translation or adaptation current among the Jains and into the ways Jain littérateurs stood in relation to the wider Indian cultural world. However, before ending this chapter, I would like to probe what my conclusions can contribute to the history of Jain religion. Within my discussion I have pointed out that Amitagati's adaptation is particularly argumentative and that his narrative could be seen as reflecting the type of debate the author wants to hold with his religio-philosophical others. I have also suggested that such debates would have occurred in elite contexts and that they might have led to (interreligious) conversion. As such, the existence of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati suggests not only purificatory processes in the tenth century community, but also that the Jain community under the early Paramāra rulers had the prominence required for genuinely participating in the multi-religious debate of the time. A prominence that legitimised their use of straightforward ridicule against their opponents and that enabled them to not only 'other' but also possibly convert their religious others.

Chapter 3 The vernacularisation: the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās

Whereas the legacy of the text discussed in the previous chapter is quite firm in the inner circles of Jains knowledgeable of their literary heritage or among scholars of Jaina Studies, the text I discuss here, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās, has remained almost invisible in the discussions of the last century. Such invisibility seems, however, not to have applied to the text in its earlier years, since manuscript evidence demonstrates that this *Dharmaparīkṣā* was the second most copied version after Amitagati's (cf. Introduction, p. 46). The fate of this text is representative of many other texts in the same language, Brajbhāṣā, the most important vernacular of early-modern North India (cf. infra).[1] These texts, and especially those that were adaptations of earlier Sanskrit texts, were considered to be merely vernacular decoctions of their high-culture predecessors, and therefore not necessarily thought of as worthy of study.[2] However, my study will show that there is much more depth to these Braj 'translations' than such a judgment would allow. The adaptation under discussion, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās, exhibits its own distinct character made up of several features that draw from a culture that is clearly different from that of its example, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati. At the same time, it

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[1] Brajbhāṣā is one of the literary dialects of what scholars identify as a continuum of early-modern North Indian vernaculars, denoted as Old Hindi. Significant recent scholarship includes Pauwels 2018, Busch 2011a, 2011b, Strnad 2013, Orsini 2012, and Bangha 2014, 2018. Braj, in particular, gained widespread literary currency (Snell 1991: ix), and was (partly) codified as a literary vernacular by the end of the sixteenth century (see Busch 2011a; see also Orsini and Butler Schofield 2015: 9).

[2] In his doctoral dissertation on the *Sītācarit* by Rāmcand Bālak, Plau has described how this text too 'slipped into near total obscurity' (2018: 11). John Cort has suggested (in informal communication) that the shift from Old-Hindi to Modern Standard Hindi as well as that from hand-written manuscripts to print culture in the late nineteenth century are likely to have impacted Jain intellectual culture in an important way, so that many texts would have disappeared from that culture. The 'disruptive' impact of the printing press can be seen as exemplified by the fact that Jains shifted relatively late to printing their texts, and especially among Digambaras the opposition against printing remained strong for some time (see Cort 2020).

follows quite closely the text it explicitly seeks to mirror. It is this balancing exercise of Manohardās' adaptation between translation and transcreation that has made me call this text a vernacularisation in its meaning that does not exclusively pertain to language (cf. infra).

In this chapter I will discuss the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās as an adaptation of Amitagati's text specifically and endeavour to answer how it relates in terms of both sameness and difference to its Sanskrit source text. This will entail a discussion of the text's own definition of its relationship with Amitagati's version and an in-depth analysis, based on a close reading of the primary material, of this text's content and style in comparison with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati. Before tackling the primary text, I will set out the elements that influence the choices and characteristics of this adaptation, namely the historical and literary context and the importance of a literary vernacular language. The chapter will argue that Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* is a vernacularisation of the text by Amitagati that is firmly set within the Brajbhāṣā literary culture and that is involved in a vernacularised Jain intellectual society.

3.1   The author and his context

The author discussed in this chapter is not a well-known figure about whom sources are plentiful. In fact, the information we have about Manohardās (or Manohar Dās) comes mostly from his own composition of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[3] Luckily for us, both in the introduction to his work (*maṃgalācaraṇa*) and in the 'epilogue' (*praśasti*) Manohardās has left us with a relatively detailed autobiographical description. Manohardās was part of the Sonī 'gotra' (defined by Babb (2004) as 'exogamous clan') within the Khaṇḍelvāl caste and belonged to the *mūlasaṅgha* community of the Digambara Jains.[4] He seemed to have come originally from Sanganer near Jaipur and would then have moved to Dhāmpur,

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[3] This is clearly the source Kāslīvāl as well as Miśra have used to describe the author (Kāslīvāl 1950, Introduction: 20; Miśra 1997: 347).

[4] The Khaṇḍelvāl caste is a merchant caste (see Ellis 1991). The Sonī *gotra* is described by Kāslīvāl (1989: 108-109) in his history of the Khaṇḍelvāl community. He mentions that the name Sonī originally came from Sohanī. Sonī (or Sonar: goldsmiths) is also the name of a Hindu caste (Ellis 1991: 80) andShalin Jain mentions the Sonī *gotra* as part of the Śvetāmbara Osvāl merchant community (2017: 122). Considering the caste conversions that took place in North India after the twelfth century (see Babb 1996; 2004; see Introduction p. 27, fn 53), it seems possible that these social groups were linked at some point in the past.

where he wrote the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in 1705 V.S (1648 or 1649 C.E.).[5] Broadcasting his poetic skills, Manohardās describes Dhāmpur vividly in his *praśasti* as a splendorous city in the valley of Dādura that is bedazzled by gardens in which cuckoos sing five ragas and by stepwells full of lotuses. The city was, according to the author, also home to many wealthy merchants (who enjoyed *pān* and flowers, and) who patronised Jain culture. One of those merchants was Āsū Jeṭha Śāh. He seems to have supported Manohardās well, and had a son named Vidhicaṃda. Then another merchant from Benares, Matisāgar, comes into the picture. He seems to have caused some rivalry among the merchants in Ayodhyā and made life difficult for Manohardās. It was Āsū Jeṭha Śāh who financially protected Manohardās and who probably patronised his writing of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. The person who instructed Manohardās about the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and about the Jain views on morality in general was called Hīrāmaṇi. Further, Manohardās took inspiration from Sālivāhan of Agra,[6] as well as from Jagadatta Miśra Gauḍ of Hisar. A third important exemplary figure for Manohardās was Vegrāj Paṇḍit, who is mentioned both in the *maṃgalācaraṇa* as in the *praśasti* as a Jain intellectual. Because Manohardās found the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (in Sanskrit)

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[5] *kabitā manohara khaṃdelavāla sonī jāta mūlasaṃghī, mūla kajākau saṃganera vāsa hai. karama ke udai tai dhāmapura me vāsana bhayo, saba syauṃ milāpa phuni sajjana ko dāsa hai.* (DP$_M$ Arrah G-24, 7, with emendations)
nagara dhāmapura māṃhi karī bhāṣā buddhisāru, dharmaparīkṣā mitra artha vijana dhari vāru. [...] (DP$_M$ Arrah G-24, 2085).

In dating the text, I first experienced some confusion caused by the fact that I am working with manuscripts. I want to share the following research anecdote because it is telling about the ways in which manuscripts were copied and travelled. In order to date the composition of this text, I started by checking the *praśasti* of the text. There, I could not find a date in any of the manuscripts I collected. These were manuscripts from Arrah (Jain Siddhānt Bhavan), Gwalior (Jain Svarn Mandir), and Pune (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute). In contrast, Schubring (1944: 433-34) does mention a date attested in a manuscript he collected for the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), namely *saṃvat* 1705 (1649 C.E.). Upon checking this manuscript (Ms. or. fol. 2309), I could indeed read the sentence: *satareṃ seṃ panca uttareṃ pausa dasami guru-vāra saṃpūraṇa bhayau grantha iha saj-jana hitakāra||* I cross-checked this reference with details given in manuscript catalogues containing Manohardās' text. Kaslival (1962: 357) records the manuscript found in the Chote Divānjī Mandir Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra in Jaipur to have been composed in *saṃvat* 1700, and 1700 is given also in the catalogue of the Śrī Hemacandra Jain Jñānamandira in Pāṭan (ms. n. 15071). These different attestations are puzzling without doubt but were solved by reading the text from the beginning onwards. In the *maṅgalācaraṇa* we can read *satraha-saï paṃcottaraï | pausada sami guruvāra | śubha belā śubha graha lagana | kiyau muhūrata sāra ||* (Arrah G-24, v. 8). This means that the text indeed was written in 1705 V.S. in the Pauṣadha month, which is either 1648 or 1649 C.E. The fact then that the manuscripts do not all render a date or the same date evidences that there were several copying traditions of the text, of which the manuscripts I have collected had left out or corrupted the verse in question.

[6] This Sālivāhana might be the Mughal court artist who painted a Vijñapti Patra to invite Vijayasena Sūri to Agra in 1610 (Götler and Mochizuki 2018: 584). Notably, his painting depicts Śvetāmbara monks, whereas Manohardās follows the Digambara branch of Jainism.

so helpful in fighting the opponents of Jainism, and in carrying out the meaning of friendship, he decided to make a *bhāṣā* ('translation', cf. infra) version of it.[7]

Besides the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, Manohardās is also though to have written the *Jñāna Cintāmaṇi* in Burhanpur (Jain 1964: 222). This work is said to be a verse text on *adhyātma* or spirituality (cf. infra, p.153), as well as a collection of *subhāṣitas* (Jain 1964: 222).[8] Other works ascribed to Manohardās include the *Guṇaṭhāṇā Gīta*, a short text of seventeen verses, the *Cintāmaṇimāṇa Bāvanī*, a text of fifty-three verses on mysticism (*rahasya-vāda*) that seems to express ideas close to that of the Nirguṇ Sants, the eleven verse long *Suguru Sīṣa* (Jain 1964: 222-224), as well as two *vrat kathās* and a work called *Jñānapad* (Kāslīvāl 1972: 900, 1073; 1954: 96).[9] It is however unsure whether these texts were written by the same Manohardās as the one who wrote the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[10] The above biographical description, which is mostly a paraphrase of Manohardās' informative *praśasti* contains

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[7] Arrah ms. G-24, v. 2071-2084

(caupāi)

deśa dāduro paravata tala, tahāṃ dhāmapura sobhā bhalī, cahuṃ diśi śobhita bāḍī bāga, karai kokilā paṃca rāga. 71

kūpavāvarī śubha poṣarī, dīsai nirmala pāṇī bharī, madhi kamalīna karai vigāsa, madhukara āi lohi tisu vāsa. 72

tahāṃ vasai dhanapati bahu loga, pāna phūla ko kījai bhoga, tahāṃ sarāvaganī ke sukha, karama udai koi hoi dukhī. 73

vitasāru śubha dāna karāṃhi, jugamavāra jina thānaka jāhi, tina madhi āsū jeṭho sāha, kharacai darva lehi dhana lākha. 74

durjana koī dhīra na dharai, karaṇa matai soī vidhi karai, ghaṇī bāta ko karai baḍhāī, nagara seṭha hai mana vaca kāi. 75

(dohā)

jeṭhamalla suta vidhīcaṃda, dātā dīna dayāla, sajjana bhagatā guṇa udadhi, durjana chātī sāla. 76

kuladhana yovana rūpa mada, avara kāṃni mada tāhi ete madi navi jo karai, baḍā tamāso āhi. 77

(savaiyā ikatīsā)

vaṇārasī seṭha matisāgara prathī prasiddha koṭi nako dhaṇī tā ko pāpa udai āyo tho, sadana soṃ nikasi ajodhyā ko gamana kiyo ayodhyā ke seṭha bahu udyama karāyo tho, āpaṇī varāvari ko kari nānā bhāṃti setī de kari varāī nijathānaka paṭhāyo tho, aise hama aśu sāha rāṣai nijavāha dekai kahai manohara hama punya yoga pāyo tho. 79

(dohā)

so to pahuṃcai śubha gati, vājai subhaga bajāi, vidhi caṃda sukha bhogavai, dharma dhyāna cita lāī. 80

hīrāmaṇi upadeśa te, bhayo śāstra śubhasāra, duṣṭa loga ko mati haso, hiradai kari vikāra. 81

(savaiyā ikatīsā)

rāvata salivāhana āgare ko buddhivaṃta hiradai sarala tina jñāna rasa pīyo hai, jagadatta miśra gauḍa hiṃsāra ko vāsī śubha vidyā bali jagata meṃ sāra jasa līyau hai, vegarāja paṃdita brāhmaṇa nagara māṃhi jotiga ko pāṭhī sarasvatī vara dīyo hai, itane sahāi bhae dohī jinarāja jūkī tava mai vicāra kari bhāṣā buddhi kiyo hai. 82

(dohā)

dayā samudra brahmadā liyā, bhayo dusaro nāva, nira lobhī mana ko sarala, dayā dharama śubha ṭhāṃva. 83

sobhī hama pairaka bhayo, dina maiṃ bāraṃbāra, tava hama yaha bhāṣā karī, laghu buddhi chāra vikāra. 84

[8] See also Miśra (1997: 348). Jain (1964: 222) dates this work to 1728 VS, while Miśra (1997: 348) dates it to 1729 VS. Several manuscript copies of this text are mentioned in Kāslīvāl (1949-72), with different dates of composition, including 1700 VS and 1728 VS.

[9] The two *vrat kathās* are titled *Laghu Ādityavāra Kathā* and *Ravivrata Pūjā evaṃ Kathā*.

[10] Moreover, we also know of a Nirañjani author called Manohardās who was mostly active in the second half of the seventeenth century (Williams 2014: 217-18). Since the Jain libraries do not exclusively preserve Jain texts, it is not impossible that some of these texts would be composed by this Manohardās.

many interesting indications of our author's geography, his social and socio-religious context, his role as a composer and his intended audience. Moving beyond the mere statements given by Manohardās, I will try to depict a fuller picture of his biography by contextualising his testimony within the broader historical context.

3.1.1   Manohardās' historical and literary context

The depiction by Manohardās of his own life suggests that our author had a multi-layered identity and role in society, defined by different sorts of interactions. He was a writer of Braj literature and a professional translator who travelled between different cities for this purpose. At the same time, he identified as a Jain who was deeply engaged with the Jain intellectual community and who thoroughly thought about his religion. The different layers of his personality are related to the historical context in which he acted. Mughal India knew a flourishing literary culture in the vernacular language (predominantly Brajbhāṣā) in which many different religious strands were involved. The Jain community itself participated and extensively encouraged a literary-intellectual culture (see Cort 2015; 2019; De Clercq 2014). In what follows, I will first contextualise Manohardās' identity as a Jain littérateur, before zooming out on Braj literary culture of the seventeenth century.

3.1.1.1   Jain literary circles of the seventeenth century

Our author reports on different cities in North India (Dhāmpur, Benares, Ayodhya, and Agra) connected by a network of wealthy Jain merchants interested in Jain literature. This account of his life is reminiscent of the autobiography of Banārsīdās (1587–ca. 1643), who is probably the best-known Jain author who wrote in Brajbhāṣā and lived in roughly the same time period. His autobiography, the *Ardhakathānak* ('Half Story'), is famous for the details it contains about northern India in the seventeenth century and about the life of a literary-interested Jain merchant, as Banarsī was himself.[11] In his Half Story we are told about the extensive travels he undertook as a merchant between Agra, Patna, Allahabad, and Jaunpur and about the struggles that came with these trade enterprises. If we read again the passage above of what Manohardās wrote about his own life, we can see some similarities between the lives of the two authors. Manohardās was equally involved in a community of merchants with their commercial concerns who travelled between cities

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[11] The *Ardhakathānak* has been translated into English prose by Sharma (1970), English verse by Lath (1981), and into English free verse by Chowdhuri (2009) with an introductory preface. It has been translated into French by Petit (2011), who has also published several studies on Banārsīdās (2008-2009; 2013; 2015). For further information on Banārsīdās see also Jain (1966), Vanina (1995), Snell (2005), and Cort (2015).

in the same region.[12] Further, the fact that both Manohardās and Banārsīdās made *bhāṣās* ('translations', cf. infra) of Sanskrit works, shows that they both received education into different languages and literatures.[13] A look into the life of Banārsīdās, through his *Ardhakathānak*, can thus shed a light on the world in which our author lived and puts a clearer perspective on what exactly he describes about his life in the text.

In the *praśasti* by Manohardās we read about Agra, the city that played an important role in the life of Banārsīdās as well. It is suggested in the works of both authors to have been a city of political power where also literary knowledge was spread.[14] Originally coming from Jaunpur, Banārsīdās spent several periods of his life in Agra studying and writing. Agra, at the time, was a city of opportunities where the political and economic powers resided. Many Jains travelled and migrated to the city so that it became a city of cultural prowess also for the Jains. Agra knew several Digambara temples controlled by ritual specialists or *paṇḍitas* who oversaw and organised temple activities and rituals, engaged in the production of Jain texts and delivered public sermons (Cort 2015: 69-70). The writings of Banārsīdās give a clear image of how these public lectures were performed and of the discussion groups (*śailī*) that took place around the temples. In the *Samayasāra Nāṭaka,* his most famous work among Jains, he writes, '[...] they were five men, who met and sat together. They would discuss the supreme truth, and nothing else. Sometimes they discussed the *Samayasāra*, sometimes other texts. Sometimes they would continue to discuss wisdom even after they had stood up [to leave]' (taken from Cort 2015: 72-73). This quote suggests why Banārsīdās invested his time and literary skills in writing a *bhāṣā* of Sanskrit texts, namely, to foster intellectual discussions by providing a vernacular aid to read Jain 'wisdom'. Furthermore, the quote is valuable because it testifies to how Jain laymen in the seventeenth century took a leading role in developing their own religion, how they put an emphasis on knowledge, and how texts became a central medium to study this. These are the characteristics of the new religious movement, called *adhyātma*,

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[12] It is possible that Manohardās himself was a merchant-poet, because he says, '*prītama sunahu vicāra, paṃdita bhī jānai nahī, kāmīnī carita apāra, kahai manohara vāṇiyā*' (Arrah ms. G-24, v. 1204). This can either mean 'Listen to this most precious thought. Even the pandits do not know the excessive behaviour of a lover, says Manohara to the merchants' or '[...], says Manohara the merchant'. My interpretation leans towards the first possible translation.

[13] Cort notes that it was common practice 'for the sons of merchant families to be given basic education in letters and numbers, as these skills were essential for their trade'. Banārsīdās continued his education and studied science, poetics, and Jain religion (2015: 75-76). Petit highlights the importance of *adhyātmika* circles (*śailī*) for religious study and cites the Jain author and commentator Ṭoḍarmal who described that Banārsīdās 'aussi reçu son éducation religieuse dans une des sailī d'Agra' (2013: 247). This is where these authors acquired their intimacy with Jain Sanskrit and Prakrit literary heritage (Petit 2013: 247). However, according to Cort, the knowledge to recite Prakrit works did not mean they were also versed in Prakrit grammar or could understand Prakrit texts without a Sanskrit paraphrase (*chāyā*) (2015: 76, fn. 52).

[14] *rāvata sālivāhana āgare ko buddhivaṃta hiradai sarala tina jñāna-rasa pīyo hai.* The wise Rāvata Sālivāhana of Agra with his simple heart has drank its (the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s) juice of knowledge.

to which the quote refers, that arose in Agra in the first half of the seventeenth century and of which Banārsī was a co-founder. Cort (2002b) has shown how similar movements arose in other North Indian cities around the same period, which eventually led to the split between the Bīsapanthī and Terahpanthī branches of Digambara Jainism.[15] These movements developed out of changes within the Digambara religious circles that had already been instigated before (see Śāstri 1985: 537), and were characterised by a growing opposition to the authority of the *bhaṭṭārakas*, a rejection of many rituals and an emphasis on inner spirituality over outward ritual observance (see Flügel 2006; Cort 2002b; Plau 2018). The reference to Agra in the text by Manohardās is short, but it gives this sense of a Jain layman (named Salivāhana) who read the text of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* for the purpose of gaining knowledge. Another link to these new styles of religiosity as advocated by the *adhyātma* movement, is the fact that Manohardās originally came from Sanganer. Cort (2002b) describes how next to Agra, the region of Jaipur (and especially Sanganer) was another place where Digambara religiosity developed into a new style that focused on knowledge and self-realisation. Merchants from Sanganer would have travelled to Agra for business and would have come into contact with *adhyātma paṇḍits* who preached *adhyātmik* texts. In that way, the new movement that had started in 1626 according to Bakhatrām Śah would have spread to Sanganer (Cort 2002b: 50).[16] The new spiritual religious movement progressed more strongly with the figures Jodhrāj Godīkā and Hemrāj Godīkā, two intellectuals who wrote in the 1660s (See Cort 2002b: 52-53). The dates of the changes that took place in Sanganer are around the time that Manohardās wrote his *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1648/1649 CE). This means that the most important *adhyātma*-inspired events might have occurred after Manohardās had left for Dhāmpur.

It is certain that much was happening in the religious environment in which Manohardās lived and worked, but can we read traces of these developments in his own writings? As I have mentioned above, his *Jñāna Cintāmaṇi* seems to suggest as much, since it is described as a work on spirituality (*adhyātma*). Works like the *Cintāmaṇimāna Bāvanī* and the *Jñānapad*, if they are indeed by him, would suggest a similar intellectual interest in Jainism. Further, the fact that he would have written a *Guṇaṭhānā Gīta*, a song on the *guṇasthānas*, seems to follow the interest the contemporary Jain intellectual circles had

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[15] The Digambara Terahpanth emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in North India 'in protest against the lax and ostentatious conduct of contemporary orange-clad "Bīsa Panthī" ascetics [*bhaṭṭāraks*]' (Flügel 2006: 339). The precise origin of the Terahpanthīs or the history and organisation of its ascetics is not known anymore, but it seems that this Digambara branch was initiated by the lay community (Flügel 2006: 339). Probably, the initially distinct *adhyātma* movement in Agra and the more radically anti-*bhaṭṭāraka* Terah Panth movement around Jaipur became indistinguishable 'with the waning of the influence of the Adhyatma movement in the eighteenth century and the institutional consolidation of the Terah Panth through the construction of numerous temples in North India' (Flügel 2006: 340).

[16] Bakhatrām Śah was a Bīsapanth author critical of the *adhyātma* and Terāpanth movements (see Cort 2002b: 50).

for the fourteen *guṇasthānas*, or levels of spiritual purity, as explained in Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra*. Here again, Banārsīdās serves as the example. After his exposure to the *Gommaṭasāra*, he incorporates the fourteen levels of spiritual purity into Kundakunda's ideas by adding a chapter devoted to the *guṇasthānas* to his *Samayasāra Nāṭaka*, a Brajbhāṣā translation of Kundakunda's *Samayasāra* (Petit 2013: 130-131).[17] Can we find reflections of the internal religious developments also in his *bhāṣā Dharmaparīkṣā*? Some parts of his writing indeed suggest such influence. First of all, in the *maṃgalācaraṇa* and *praśasti*, Manohardās mentions only the names of lay Jains (cf. supra for their names). Except for Amitagati who was his poetic predecessor, there is no reference to any member of the ascetic community. The religious intellectual authority instead seems to be put in the words of a *paṇḍita* (intellectual lay Jain) called Vegrāj (cf. supra), as the following verse demonstrates (Arrah G-24, 2):

> *arihaṃta-deva svarūpa, jo nara jānai mana dharai.[18]*
> *so nara mukti anūpa, varai vegapaṃḍita kahai. 2*

> [I bow to] the Arhat in his true form. The man who knows and bears this in mind,
> that man [reaches] unparalleled liberation, says Vega Paṇḍita excellently.

In this line Manohardās indicates he is quoting the words of Vegrāj, which suggests that he received instruction on Jain religion by this layman who was specialised in Jain ritual knowledge (as his title *paṇḍita* indicates). This intellectual recognition of a *paṇḍita*, already in the second verse of the text, accords with the fact that the *adhyātma* movement and the wider religious intellectual developments were led by such Jain lay specialists. The text by Manohardās puts the focus on Jain laymen as the main stimulators of religious thought since he further mentions several other laymen who have been involved with the text (cf. supra). The same sentence hints at another link to the new religious developments with its focus on knowledge (*jo nara jānai*) in order to reach enlightenment (*so nara mukti anūpa*). In fact, this sentence is reminiscent of a verse by Banārsīdās in his Banārsivilās (Banārsīdās 1905, 190-91):

> *deva tīrthaṃkara guru yatī, āgama kevali vaina,*
> *dharma ananta nayātamaka, jo jānai so jaina.*

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[17] For a discussion on how Banārsīdās' *Samayasāra Nāṭaka* is a translation of Kundakunda's text see Cort (2015: 82-83).

The philosophy presented in Kundakunda's *Samayasāra* initially made Banārsīdās denounce all ritual culture. However, after a series of lectures by a religious scholar named Rūpacand on the *guṇasthānas* in Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra* he changed his attitude perceiving ritual as belonging to one of the levels of spiritual purity (see Petit 2014: 390, 2013:131-135).

[18] Other manuscripts (BORI 616-1875/76 and Ms. or. fol. 2309 from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) have: *[...] jo nara jāni ru mana dharai | [...]*

'The words of the gods, *tīrthaṃkaras*, gurus, ascetics, Āgamas and the enlightened beings, are the endless and just dharma – the one who knows this, he is a Jain' (translation by Plau 2018: 60).

The last stanza of this verse can be seen as a sort of shorter version of Manohardās' half verse. Also similar, are the other words or phrases that occur in its proximity. Just like Banārsīdās praises the gods, the *tīrthaṃkara*s, the *gurus* etc., similarly Manohardās' preceding verse is a salutation to the *arhats*, the gods, and the *gurus*.[19] We might hypothesise that Manohardās took inspiration from Banārsīdās' text when he wrote the sentence, but it is also possible that this phrasing was a literary idiom among Jain authors at the time, since part of good poetic practice is to follow the literary conventions of one's community. In any case, the similarity confirms the embeddedness of Manohardās' text within the Jain literary culture of the time. A final interesting aspect within the quoted verse is the use of the word *svarūpa*. This word can have two different meanings. Firstly, *svarūpa* can refer to the embodied form of the Arhat (cf. *arihaṃta deva svarūpa*), which would in this case imply that the author is bowing to the embodied image of the Arhat.[20] Within the normative tradition of Digambara Jainism, worshipping the embodied aspect of the Jina-image is negatively evaluated, because Jains should not be attached to any god (the Jina) and should instead contemplate on their state of enlightenment.[21] Another meaning to which the word *svarūpa* can refer is the 'true form' or 'pure form' of the Arhat. This true form is the *jīva* in its perfected unconditioned state that is present in any living being, thus also in the Arhat, and can be attained by any living being. This is the meaning I believe to be more correct in the context of a Digambara text that further in the text explicitly refutes the worship of gods (cf. infra, p. 168), and is thus the meaning I have chosen in my translation. In this understanding, Manohardās bows to the Arhat in his 'true form', realising that this is no other than the form we can all attain in this life. The focus on self-realisation and inner spirituality is again something that *adhyātmavāda*, in

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[19] *praṇamu arihaṃta deva | guru nirgrantha dayā dharma | bhava dadhi tāraṇa eva | avara sakala mithyāta bhaṇi ||* (Arrah G-24, 1).

[20] Another related interpretation would be that *svarūpa* is used in a way that is common in Sanskrit literature when occuring at the end of a compound, namely meaning 'in person'. As such, a translation would be 'the Arhat, a god in person'.

[21] This does not exclude that both within Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jainism, worship of Jina icons was (and is) a common practice (see Cort 2002b; 2010). Arguments for the use of Jina icons are usually 'predicated upon a natural and psychological necessity of images and forms: human perception operates by means of external images' (Cort 2010: 254). Thus, the icons are seen as means to advance towards the ideal of a pure soul.
The rejection of worshipping the embodied aspect of Jina-image is also at the heart of the Śvetāmbara Sthānakvāsi critique of Jina icons tout court. They see it as 'illogical to worship (or otherwise use) inert matter in order to attain a condition of pure spirit' (Cort 2010: 255).

the tradition of Kundakunda, puts stress on.[22] Further, the reference to the *svarūpa* (as 'true form') of the Arhat is not uncommon to other traditions of the time. This form of veneration (Manohardās 'bows' to the Arhat) lies close to the practice of the Nirguṇ Sants who worship a god without qualities. As such, the choice of the *svarūpa* might as well indicate influences from this *bhakti* tradition.

To return to the influence of the *adhyātma* movement, Manohardās throughout his text repeats the following words which suggest his involvement in this 'spiritual' tradition: *mana rahasi manoharadās kahai* ('Manohardās, whose mind is on spiritual matters, says'). The term *rahasya* ('secret', 'mystical') is, like *adhyātma*, a cover term for the Digambara 'mystical' or 'spiritual' tradition.[23] Manohardās' repeated self-reference as one who is engaged in this 'spirituality' suggests that at the time of writing his *Dharmaparīkṣā* he indeed was involved in some way in the newly upcoming movement. On the other hand, an element we do not find in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* that was very prominent in *adhyātmik* texts is the emphasis on *niścaya-vyavahāra* (see Petit 2014). This is a theory developed by Kundakunda that distinguishes two points of view, a conventional point of view (*vyavahāra*) which describes different stages towards liberation, and an absolute point of view (*niścaya*) which considers only the existence of the pure supreme self (Petit 2019: 172). The absence of this theory in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* suggests that within the intellectual circles of the time there were different topics and trends of thought circulating.

Although we cannot state with certainty that our author engaged directly in these *adhyātma* circles, the above reflections have made clear that Manohardās did not remain unaffected by the internal religious evolutions, which were most importantly characterised by an emphasis on knowledge through a stronger appreciation of the philosophy of Kundakunda, and expressed by the rise of the *adhyātma* movement.

The vital role of Banārsīdās as a Jain intellectual and his prowess in terms of literary composition and translation, by which he also became an exemplary littérateur, has already been explored above. Moving onwards from a focus on the socio-religious context, I would like to consider here the literary environment of Jain vernacular writing in order to understand the complete – though explicitly Jain – context in which Manohardās operated. Jain literature in Brajbhāṣā covered a wide array of genres ranging from devotional songs (e.g. Ānandghan, see Bangha 2013; or Dyānātrāya, see Cort 2013a; 2013b), over narratives (e.g. Bālak, see Plau 2018; 2019a; Jinadāsa, see Clines 2018; 2019; and Manohardās) to more philosophical treatises (e.g. Banārsīdās' *Samayasāra Nāṭaka*).

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[22] See also Manohardās' use of the term *anubhava* ('inner experience of the self through insight') below (p. 26).

[23] I thank John Cort for his help in pointing out that this phrase indeed suggests a link to the 'mystical' Digambara tradition.

For further reading on the meaning of *rahasya* (see Jain 1975).

The mere fact that in Miśra's historical overview of Jain literature in Old Hindi (identified as Maru-Gurjar) the list of authors from the eighteenth century alone stretches over five full pages (1997: 11-16), renders clear that Jains participated actively in the writing of Brajbhāṣā literature.[24] Moreover, Bangha (2018) has argued that Brajbhāṣā as a literary language had its roots in what he calls Maru-Gurjar, the language of the vernacular literature that consisted overwhelmingly of Jain narrative compositions. After its inception in Gujarat in the twelfth century, this literature extended into Madhyadeśa, flourishing mostly in Gujarat and western Rajasthan up to about the sixteenth century. Bangha's main argument is that Maru-Gurjar provided the literary idiom, which he also identifies as a Jain literary idiom, that continued into Brajbhāṣā literature through geographic expansion and regionalisation (2018: 24).[25] This proves that the role of the Jains must not be overlooked in the development of Braj literary culture. It also proves that Manohardās did not start anything new with his writing in Brajbhāṣā. With his *Dharmaparīkṣā* he put himself within a well-established tradition of vernacular Jain narrative compositions. He also placed himself in the tradition of *bhāṣā* writing, which was seen as important among Jains to spread the knowledge of their tradition (cf. Banārsīdās supra; cf. infra). Moreover, from the study by Jain (1976: 88-124) on Jain narratives (*prabandhakāvya*) translated into Brajbhāṣā it appears that Manohardās was one of the earlier authors to compose a narrative in Brajbhāṣā (see also Plau 2019a: 267-268).

It is very difficult to assess the extent to which the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās was an immediate product of the Jain vernacular literary culture of the time in contrast to a vernacular literary culture of North India in general. As Ollett (2017) has shown for Prakrit literature, social spheres (such as 'courtly' versus 'religious') did not stand in isolation and especially in the literary field, the nature of which is creativity, they mutually influenced each other. It might therefore, indeed, be more effective to think of Manohardās' writing as complying to a hybridised 'literary-cultural ideal with more or less substantive, and more or less rigid, religious and ethical commitments' (Ollett 2017: 74).[26] One way of scrutinising the religious particularity of his Brajbhāṣā composition,

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[24] This in contrast to the idea that Brajbhāṣā is typically linked to *bhakti* poetry (see also Plau 2019a; Busch 2011a).

[25] This has to do with the continuities Bangha sees with Apabhraṃśa writing (2018: 10).

[26] Ollett discusses the bifurcation between Jain literature and non-Jain, mainstream literature. He sees the production of the 'discursive phenomenon' of Prakrit as emerging from the cooperation between the two camps (2017: 82). However, since those who determined the literary canon in premodern India saw Jain literature as 'Jain first and literature second' (2017: 74), Ollett concludes that 'when Jains wrote literature in Prakrit, they were not participating in a "shadow" literary culture entirely cut off from the mainstream, but neither were they recognized as full-fledged participants in the mainstream by the latter's own voices' (2017: 74).

Considering Brajbhāṣā literature, we could say that the different communities of Braj composition (including Jains, Sants, Kṛṣṇa *bhaktas*, *rīti*, etc.) all cooperated in establishing a Brajbhāṣā literary culture, but that none of them fully epitomised the hybridised literary ideal.

could be to look at the language properties of the text and whether there are traces of Maru-Gurjar, the 'mother' vernacular language for Jain literature.[27] I will not attempt this here, because making such conclusions would necessitate in-depth editorial work on the basis of the manuscript material I am using, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Besides, Manohardās' language has been described as fully developed Brajbhāṣā (see Jain 1976).[28] I will, however, point out one textual element that presumptively indicates intertextuality with or embeddedness within North Indian Jain vernacular writing. The first is the extensive use of the idiom *mana vaca kāya* ('in mind, speech and body') in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* (e.g. on folio 33 v. 383 and on folio 100 v. 1210 of Arrah G-24). This triad has a long history in Indian religious traditions as a basic way to understand the human person. It appears in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (17.14-16), in the *Manusmṛti* (12.3, see Rocher 1980: 52) and is widespread in the Buddhist tradition (especially in Vajrayāna Buddhism; see e.g. McBride 2006).[29] In the Jain tradition it goes back to the description of the *mahāvratas* ('great vows') for mendicants in the *Tattvārthasūtra.* They prescribe the mendicant to protect himself from *karma* by a controlled and informed stance towards the surrounding world, which includes following the three *guptis* ('protections') and five *samitis* ('careful actions'). Mind, speech, and body are the three modalities involved in the three *guptis* that should be under constant restraint so that they are not employed without spiritual purpose and thus do not lead to the accumulation of *karma* (Dundas 2002: 164; Jaini 1979: 247). However, these three modalities also play a role in the life of Jain laymen. Williams (1963) mentions how mind, speech, and body are involved in the *vratas* of the *śrāvakas* ('laymen'). They can, for example, be a means to break the *ahiṃsāvrata* ('non-violence'), need to be aligned in upholding equanimity (*sāmāyikavrata*) and must be purified before doing *pūjā* (1963: 69, 131-132, 223). The extensive mention of mind, speech, and body by Manohardās relates to this more general sense of the required state of being of the Jain laymen. This is evident firstly from the fact that the text was primarily meant for a lay audience,[30] secondly from the fact that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* ends with an explanation of the *śrāvakavratas,* and thirdly from the sort of sentences in which this idiom occurs in the text.[31] These sentences seem to be used mostly in direct address either to the audience as a pause in the narration, or to the dialogue partner in the frame

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[27] This is what Plau (2019a) has done for the *Sītācarit.*

[28] Imre Bangha has also pointed this out during an informal discussion about the text at the Braj Camp 2019 held in Gatchina, Russia.

[29] I thank Prof. John Cort for pointing this out to me.

[30] This I deduce from the fact that the text addresses only laymen in its *maṅgalācaraṇa* and *praśasti*, and secondly because of the material evidence (see Introduction).

[31] For example, verse 1210 of ms. Arrah G-24 uses it in the following sentence: *deva vacana suṇi mana vaca kāya,* 'Having listened to the words of the god with mind, speech and body'.

story, and refer to a certain state of being one should uphold.[32] The entanglement of the idiom with the Jain literary context is evidenced as well by its occurrence in other early-modern Jain writings in Braj. We find it, for example, in devotional songs or other verse texts such as by Dyānatrāy (1676-1726) (Cort 2013a: 267) and by Daulatrām Kāslīvāl (Kāslīvāl 1973: 198, 253). As such, the use of this idiom by Manohardās suggests his intertextual engagement with a tradition of other vernacular Jain writings.[33] Furthermore, given the fact that Dyānatrāy and Daulatrām Kāslīvāl are both writers of *adhyātmik* texts, we could read the idiom as emphasising the spiritual care of the individual laymen. To this I would add that the fact that the idiom occurs also in variant forms in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* suggests that it was used as a filler rather than making explicit claims about religious interpretation.[34]

Outside of the Jain tradition, I have also found this idiom in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *Jñānasamudra* (JS 1.1) by Sundardāsa, a major poet of the Dādūpanthī Sant tradition. It appears that the vernacular idiom that expresses the need to uphold a pure state in mind, speech, and body did not exclusively belong to Jain literature, but also circulated in the Sant tradition, or maybe more accurately, that North Indian religions in the seventeenth century influenced each other in many respects, and that they did so, in my opinion, predominantly through the common written or performed vernacular language. With this in mind, the next section will set out the wider context of Brajbhāṣā literary composition.

3.1.1.2 Brajbhāṣā literary culture

Continuing the zooming out mode, that started from Manohardās' autobiographical description and then treated the context of Jain writing in the seventeenth century, here I will broaden the lens for the last time and discuss the wider Indian literary context of writing in the vernacular Brajbhāṣā. This is a complex context due to the different societal levels (including politics, religion, linguistic evolution, etc.) that interfere with each other and come together in the literary products of the time (about the fifteenth to eighteenth century; cf. infra). An important concept that captures this complexity – albeit partly – is

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[32] To give a few examples:

Verse 169 in ms. Arrah G-24: *mana vaca kāyā śuddha kari, jina vaca hiradai dhāra, dayā vrata pālana cahai, tau etī bāta nivāri.*

Verse 332 in ms. Arrah G-24: *tā bhaṭa ko hūṃ putra hūṃ, jānahu mana vaca kāya, tiṇa lākaḍī veca kari, udara bharai duṣa pāï.*

Verse 1210 in ms. Arrah G-24: *deva vacana suṇi mana vaca kāya, liyo pavana surapati bulāya.*

[33] I am aware of the fact that both Dyānatrāy and Daulatrām Kāslīvāl are younger than Manohardās but considering that Manohardās was not a famous author, we can suppose that there must have been other authors using this idiom before him.

[34] For example, as *mana vaca bhāsa.*

the concept of vernacularisation, most influentially described by Pollock as an essentially textual process affected mainly by political stimuli (cf. Introduction). Another important idea, a complex in itself, that overlaps with and influences in many respects the context I here seek to make sense of is *bhakti* (devotion), which plays out on the religious level and affected most, if not all religious movements of the time. These two concepts not only impact Braj literary culture, but also intersect with each other in doing so. They will inform my attempt here at describing the wider literary context of Brajbhāṣā literature.

A first note to make, however, is that by describing my goal as such is somewhat problematic because the term Brajbhāṣā did not circulate in the period treated here (cf. infra) and, does not seem to be attested before the late seventeenth century (Busch 2011a: 8). Literary agents of the time instead mostly used the term Hindavi/Hindui/Hindi in Persian circles or *bhāṣā*, as is evidenced in sources from the fifteenth century (Orsini and Sheikh 2014: 15). The literary vernacular in North India was also referred to with regional terms such as Madhyadeśiya, or more local ones like Gvaliyārī or Maru and Gurjar (Busch 2011a: 8; Bangha 2018: 6). As mentioned above, Manohardās himself refers to his writing as a '*bhāṣā*' (or *bhākhā*; *ṣa* and *kha* are interchangeable in that period), as such positing his language in the most general sense as a vernacular and relating it to a wider transregional range of North Indian literatures.[35] To make a side comment here, I would like to point out that the nomenclatural situation in the emergence of vernacular writing in North India is quite different from the situation in fourteenth century Karṇāṭaka where Vṛttavilāsa made a clear reference to his language as *kannaḍa* suggesting that it was already well-established as the language of regional literature (cf. infra).[36] The reasons I choose to use the term Brajbhāṣā to refer to the language of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās, are that Manohardās' language is recognised as very close to what we consider as 'standard' Brajbhāṣā and that this is still the most common term to refer to the language.[37]

Brajbhāṣā literature is most commonly thought of as the literature of the (overtly Vaiṣṇava inspired) *bhakti* poets, with authors such as Sūrdās and Mīrā.[38] Although these authors have influenced the vernacular literary culture of North India in important ways and indeed helped Brajbhāṣā to flourish at its peak in the sixteenth century, compositions

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[35] Below I discuss the matter of *bhāṣā* further.

[36] Ollett explains this difference as based on a difference in their relationship to Prakrit. 'Southern languages like Kannada and Telugu represented themselves in place of Prakrit [...]. Northern languages, by contrast, represented themselves as largely continuous with Apabhramsha' (2017: 16; see also pages 175-178).

[37] This was confirmed in an informal conversation with Imre Bangha during the 2019 Brajbhāṣā summer workshop in Gatchina, Russia.

Manuscript catalogues usually identify its language as Hindi (e.g. Kāslīvāl 1949 of the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār in Jaipur, or Singh 2012 of the Svarn Mandir in Gwalior).

[38] This association stems from the connection of Braj as a language with the region of Vṛṇḍāvan (the Braj region), where Kṛṣṇa bhakti is particularly strong.

in Brajbhāṣā extended to wider religious circles and socio-political settings, and to different genres as well. Relatively recent scholarship has made invaluable contributions at changing this focus in order to show the wider range of Braj writing that circulated between the thirteenth and eighteenth century (see Busch 2011a; Williams 2014; Plau 2018). These studies instead perceive 'Brajbhāṣā' as one of the languages of Old Hindi literary culture in general, that exists of a continuum of literatures in North Indian vernacular languages (see Pauwels 2018), characterised by certain literary idioms of vernacular writing (see Bangha 2018). In that culture, Brajbhāṣā became the dominant language from about the sixteenth century, as such making the most legitimised claim on being a transregional language for writing literature.

In order to make better sense of the literary continuum in which Manohardās operated and the literary idioms Manohardās was working with in the seventeenth century, I here want to explore the roots of Brajbhāṣā writing, referred to more generally as 'the beginnings of Hindi literature', which also includes other languages like Avadhī. These beginnings have received more attention in recent scholarship and are invaluable to study for the purpose of understanding the processes of vernacularisation in North India that crystallised into an established vernacular literary culture, which I will describe in this section. Notably, vernacularisation in North India is shown to differ in several aspects with the process of vernacularisation as described by Pollock (cf. supra). Two important differences, I would here like to point out, are firstly the fact that religion should not be excluded from this process,[39] and secondly the role orality has played in vernacularising literature. We will see below that several religious communities were indeed involved in and at the vanguard of vernacular literary composition in North India, both through spreading their devotionalism (*bhakti)* in oral performances, as well as putting their poetry into script (manuscript culture). Vernacular literary writing, of course, did not limit itself to religious settings. The courts of Delhi, Agra, Gwalior, etc. also stimulated composition in the vernacular language, sometimes for translatory purposes, but also to support an emerging literary culture. Different points of departure of Braj composition can be selected to illustrate how vernacular writing took off and further developed. They are important literary cases, because of the extent to which they were penned down into manuscripts, the width of their circulation,[40] or the way they set the standard for later works.

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[39] Pollock, basing himself on the example of Kannada literature, sees vernacularisation mainly as a cultural-political orientation and mostly ignores religion.

[40] Oral circulation is also an important indicator for a text's importance and possible influence, but we cannot make conclusions about the oral performance of a historical text without material sources to indicate this (Novetzke 2011 is an excellent study to illustrate the connections between materiality and orality in the case of the Namdev tradition).

One of the earliest genres to be written in 'Old Hindi' was the *premākhyān* genre of Sufi authors, with the Cāndāyan by Maulāna Dāud as its earliest and most famous example. From its inception, the Cāndāyan circulated in manuscript form, meaning that it was widely read, copied, and performed by the literary community (see Williams 2014: 84-85). The style of the work, in Avadhī, exhibits influences from the cosmopolitan literary idioms of Sanskrit and Persian literature, while at the same time departing far enough from it to exhibit a definite distinct literary language (Busch 2011b: 209). In this way, it embeds itself within an already established literary culture and makes claims with respect to its own status as literature, an aspect that is seen as characteristic of vernacularisation (see Pollock 2006: 20-21; Busch 2011b: 212-215). The Candāyan also reflects the process of vernacularisation by expressing the novelty of 'literising' (or writing down) a poem (see Williams 2014: 85). Indeed, the Sufis, probably influenced by the larger scale production of paper in Mughal circles, were among the first to put to paper and circulate their oral poetry. These written texts were ancillary to the orally performed songs, but were at the same time important in spreading Sufi ideology (Williams 2014: 76-84).[41] This duality between the oral and the written, and the recognition of it by Maulāna Dāud, explains the clearly orally-influenced style of the *premākhyāns* and later Old Hindi and Brajbhāṣā literature.

Another socio-religious environment at the vanguard of vernacular writing, is the literary milieu of the Vaiṣṇava tradition. Although traditionally linked to the Braj region and Brajbhāṣā language, Vaiṣṇava literary activities stretched across geographical locations that were linked through a network of poet-saints and their texts. Similar to the Sufis, the emergence of vernacular texts in a written form followed from this spread of the poets. Manuscript culture in the Vaiṣṇava tradition was mostly in Sanskrit, but manuscripts also played a role in the formation of a vernacular literary culture, although less obviously (see Williams 2014 102-109). Vaiṣṇava devotionalism in Brajbhāṣā was primarily orally performed – they collectively sang *bhajans* and *kirtans* – and manuscripts of the poetry of authors like Sūrdās, Haridās, or Harirām Vyās seem to have been produced relatively late (Williams 2014: 110). This oral (/aural) character of the Vaiṣṇava literature, again similar to Sufi poetry, is encoded in texts through several aesthetical aspects (see Williams 2014: 111), that have left their trace in other Brajbhāṣā writings. Some poets did acquire canonisation quicker (e.g. the poetry of Hit Harivamś) or composed texts that circulated on paper from their conception (e.g. Tulsidās' *Rāmcaritmānas*, second half of the sixteenth century). One such author who seems to have

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[41] The Jains were also major 'literizers' as they knew a long tradition of manuscript copying and were the first, together with the Buddhists, to establish manuscript libraries. In these libraries we can see an 'explosion' of manuscript production around the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries with manuscripts on paper (see e.g. Johnson 1993; Cort 1995a; Wujastyk 2014). The role their manuscript production might have played in the process of vernacularisation is yet to be studied.

composed on paper, Nandadās, interestingly explicates that he writes in the vernacular language because he wanted his audience to be able to know the content of treatises earlier written in Sanskrit (Williams 2014: 117). This shows a motivation for vernacularisation parallel to the practices of translation at the Mughal courts but within a *bhakti* sphere.[42] We can find similar intentions expressed in texts by Jain authors (see Cort 2015: 96). Vaiṣṇava vernacular writing in Brajbhāṣā is also characterised by an emphasis on purāṇic material, including 'translations' of *Purāṇas* (Williams 2014: 118). Because of the sacred status of the (Hindu) *purāṇas,* these vernacular texts acquired a specific style that expressed a performative context together with a context in which the material form is deemed valuable. This became a model (the Rāmcaritmānas being the earliest expression of this model) for later purāṇic writing, not exclusively within the Vaiṣṇava communities (Williams 2014: 118-120). Indeed, Williams recognises traces of this model within the Rajasthani Sant traditions, and Jain writings such as the Sītācarit by Ramcand Bālak (see Plau 2018) and Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* (see below) also seems to have been influenced by this model.

A *bhakti* tradition that was more obvious in their commitment to putting their songs on paper, was the Nirguṇ Sant tradition, which comprises of the different religious communities of the Dādu Panth, the Nirañjanis, and the Kabīr Panth. These communities did not only share ideological positions and rituals, but also had a common writing and manuscript culture (Williams 2014: 127). They were, in fact, the first *bhaktas* to create a true scripture of their devotional songs in Brajbhāṣā by anthologising them and defining them as fixed texts (or *granths*), in contrast to the Vaiṣṇava tradition where material texts mostly served a performative purpose (Williams 2014: 128). The importance of literacy is also reflected in several references in the texts of Kabīr and others to a literate social context (see Williams 2014: 130-132). Nevertheless, singing their songs still made up the core of their religious experience, and thus we find variated forms of materialised texts that would help devotees to remember and perform the devotional songs (see Williams 2014: 183-190). These Nirguṇ Sant communities, and especially the Nirañjanis, are interesting in relation to Jain literary communities as they show several similarities. They knew widespread networks because of their connection to merchant communities, circulated in the regions where Jains were also very active (with their core activity in Rajasthan), and were vigorous in producing manuscripts for their religious practice (see

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[42] The Mughal emperors strongly invested in collecting Sanskrit knowledge and making it available to non-Sanskrit speaking audiences. Especially under Akbar, the Mughal court invested in a massive translation project of Indic texts into Persian, or sometimes Brajbhāṣā (Williams 2014: 278). Their motivations for doing so were not only to provide information, but were also linked to solidifying their symbolic power in an Indo-Persian world. See Truschke (2016) for a general discussion of Sanskrit at the Mughal court.

Williams 2014: 200-213).[43] Therefore, further research to the connections made between both religious groups would be meaningful.

One very early and thus notable author to have written texts in a North Indian vernacular language, mostly considered to be Brajbhāṣā, is Viṣṇudās (mid-fifteenth century). He authored several purāṇic-epic adaptations of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa (thus depicting the same trend as the Vaiṣṇava poets) for the courtly audiences in Gwalior. Interestingly he worked contemporaneously (or even slightly earlier) and in the same city as Raïdhū, a Jain author who is famous for his Apabhraṃśa epic-purāṇic works (see De Clercq 2015). This simultaneous occurrence of a classical/regional language (Apabhraṃśa) and an emerging vernacular language shows that vernacularisation was not a straightforward process.[44] Courtly preference (through patronage) seems to have played an influencing role in choosing either one of the two languages (Bangha 2015: 400), but we might also hypothesise how for Raïdhū the choice for Apabhraṃśa would be more in line with his Jain background. The relationship between the two does not end with their location or chosen themes. The language of Viṣṇudās' works exhibits archaic influences which Bangha recognises as similar to the language of two works by Raïdhū in 'proto-Brajbhāṣā' (Bangha 2015: 396), and the style or idiom of Viṣṇudās' epics is similar to the literary idiom of Apabhraṃśa writings (see Bangha 2018). The closeness of Jain Apabhraṃśa literature to early Brajbhāṣā texts has prompted Bangha to put forward the hypothesis that the 'beginnings of Hindi literature' (or at least part of it) must be searched in Jain narrative literature from western North India. I believe that different communities most likely developed vernacular literature simultaneously with cross-influences, but that the influence of Jain authors in Apabhraṃśa (and Maru-Gurjar) is unmistakable to the idiom in which our Jain author Manohardās wrote. Before concluding this section, I would like to complete my overview of the beginnings of northern Indian vernacular literature, by devoting a last paragraph to the emergence of yet another genre in Brajbhāṣā.

Keśavdās is seen as the first to have written *rītigranths* ('court poetry') in Old Hindi (Brajbhāṣā) in the sixteenth century. His texts, and the *rīti* genre, express a self-consciousness in writing in the vernacular and show attempts to formalise the language, thus elevating its status to that of a truly poetic language. For these reasons, Busch (2011b) considers the poetry of Keśavdās as the most apt candidate of a true beginning of Hindi *kāvya*. Although there is indeed a difference between writing in a vernacular language and self-consciously trying to establish a poetics of vernacular writing, I am

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[43] In fact, Bangha and Fynes have noted that the writings of the Śvetāmbar author Ānandghan show that influences between the Jain and Nirguṇ Sant tradition indeed occurred (see 2013: Introduction).

[44] See Ollett (2017: 133-135) on the position of Apabhraṃśa in the language order of 'classical India'. He sees Apabhraṃśa as an iteration of Prakrit as a regional language, 'configured as the furthest stop away from the starting point [of iteration] that is Sanskrit' (2017: 134).

more inclined to follow a perspective that foregrounds the evident influence of other genres, predominantly *kathā* literature, that might have played a greater role in the formation of a literary idiom.

My depiction of the emergence of vernacular literary creation in North India has pointed to different possible beginnings that comprise of various languages, as well as different social settings and various purposes in writing in 'Old Hindi'. At the same time, however, they show several similarities and cross-influences that aided in the crystallisation of a literary culture by the seventeenth century, in which Brajbhāṣā was the fully developed language that was cultivated in several literary genres. These genres circulated and were often produced in manuscripts that were used as a support for oral performances or acquired a status as literary objects in themselves. Many of the widely circulated manuscripts dealt with purāṇic-epic topics, and many were in fact 'translations' or adaptations of earlier Sanskrit texts (our case-text being one of them). This indicates that the literary culture of the time was a multilingual one rather than one that had been transformed from a classical culture into a vernacular culture (see also Orsini 2012; Orsini and Schofield 2015; Ollett 2017). Clear boundaries also did not exist in terms of social context. Both courtly as well as devotional spheres played a significant role in Brajbhāṣā literary production and were moreover linked with each other through practices of authorship, patronage, copying and readership/listenership. I would like to reemphasise, in contrast to Pollock's ideas on vernacularisation, the importance of religious communities in the development and blooming of Brajbhāṣā literature. All of the mentioned religious groups, the Sufis, the Vaiṣṇavas, the Nirguṇ Sants, as well as the Jains, expressed in their texts a duality of orality and literisation, an influence of *bhakti*, and an attention to narrativity. These are then, in my opinion, the characteristics that formed the literary idiom that was applied to most (if not all) texts at the height of Brajbhāṣā literary culture, and thus also to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās. Other related features we might add are a narration marked by condensation and rootedness in earlier compositions, the use of specific metres (*caupaï*, *doha*, etc.) and the retention of Sanskritic elements such as the *maṅgalācaraṇa*.

3.2 Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā as bhāṣā*

A defining element in understanding the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās as an adaptation, is how the text itself defines its relationship with the authoritative version of the same

narrative. As I mentioned before, Manohardās defines his work as a *bhāṣā*, more specifically a *bhāṣā* of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (DP$_M$, Arrah ms. G-24, v. 2069-2070).[45]

> Knowing [the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by] *muni* Amitagati that has been read out a thousand times before,[46] I have made with intellect and validity its *bhāṣā* with folded hands. A thousand and seventy years after the reign of Vikrama then there was this auspicious and excellent *kathā* in Sanskrit.

In this verse Manohardās honours the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Sanskrit and calls it a *kathā*, whereas he qualifies his own work as a *bhāṣā*.

The word *bhāṣā*, though simply glossed as 'speech, language (especially vernacular)' (see McGregor 1993), contains different meanings, that go back to its use in Sanskrit (*bhāṣā*). Derived from the verb √*bhāṣ* (to speak), the term acquired its connotation of 'vernacular' already in classical literary criticism, as we see for example in the work by Abhinavagupta who in his interpretation of Bharata calls *bhāṣā* a deviation (*apabhraṃśa*) from Sanskrit (Ollett 2017: 134).[47] This meaning of *bhāṣā* as non-classical – thus vernacular – was passed on into early-modern times, where the word came to denote generically a vernacular language in the northern parts of India (Orsini 2012: 228).[48] In the vernacular literature of that time, it indeed became common for authors to refer to their own compositions with the term *bhāṣā* – as Manohardās does. Brian Hatcher in his analysis of the word *anuvāda* (modern Hindi for 'translation') illustrates how Bengali authors used expressions such as *saṃgraha bhāṣāte* ('compiled in the vernacular') or *artha bhāṣāte ... prakāśa* ('revealing the meaning ... in the vernacular') to refer to their renderings of earlier (Sanskrit) works into vernacular language (2017: 14). The same author also mentions how another such expression, *bhāṣā vivaraṇa* ('exposition of the meaning in the vernacular'), complicates the meaning of *bhāṣā*. This expression can be taken to mean 'translation' but can be reasonably understood as 'commentary' (Hatcher 2017: 122). In

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[45] *muni amitagati jāni, sahasa-kṛta pūrava kahī, yā me buddhi pramāṇa, bhāṣā kīnī jorikai.* 2069

vikramarājā kuṃ bhae, sāta adhika suhajār, varaṣa tavai yaha saṃskṛta, bhaī kathā śubhasāra. 2070

[46] The compound *sahasa-kṛta* could also be tentatively read as 'to evoke laughter', when we take *sahasa* as a tatsama word. However, because this meaning of *sahasa* is not attested in Callewaert's Dictionary of Bhakti (2009), nor in the Hindi Śabdasāgara (1965–1975), I prefer the first interpretation.

[47] Andrew Ollett has done a thorough analysis of how the dichotomy Sanskrit-Prakrit(s) came to (partly) dominate premodern thinking (2017).

I would even hypothesise how we might see a similar connation in Pāṇini's use of *bhāṣā* ('language'). He distinguishes it from *chanda* (Vedic verse), to contrast the sacred language (*chanda*) to the non-sacred language of scholastics (*bhāṣā*). Though Pāṇini uses the word *bhāṣā* to refer to Sanskrit, we can see a parallel, where Sanskrit would have acquired the status of 'classical' or 'high culture' and *bhāṣā* would have kept its connotation of the opposite.

[48] Orsini speaks of *bhāṣā* ('vernacular language'), at least until the sixteenth century, as a continuum of varieties (including a.o. Avadhi, Brajbhāṣā, Bhojpuri, and Khari Boli) that could be understood over the whole of North India (2012: 229).

this context, it is worth noting that *bhāṣā* is etymologically related to *bhāṣya*, the term used to classify commentarial literature.

The way in which Manohardās uses the word, namely in the construction *bhāṣā kīnī*, appears to have been common for Jain authors. As Cort points out, seventeenth-century Jain authors Banārsīdās, Kaunṛpāl, Hemrāj, and their successors all use the noun *bhāṣā* together with a form of the verb √*kar.* to indicate that their works are 'retellings' of earlier Sanskrit (or possibly Prakrit) works (Cort 2015: 96; 71, fn. 34). Cort translates this construction as 'to make it vernacular'. I would argue that a translation that takes *bhāṣā* as a noun is also meaningful – 'to make a *bhāṣā*' or 'to do *bhāṣā*.'[49] Such a translation understands *bhāṣā* as a product or as a process, and not just as 'vernacular language'. In this sense, *bhāṣā* can be paralleled to adaptation, the central word of this thesis implying both product and process (see Introduction), while adding the focus on 'inter-language' and vernacularity.[50] Perhaps the word 'vernacularisation' could then be a useful translation for *bhāṣā*.

Leaving the question of the most correct translation of *bhāṣā* into English aside, we can conclude that Jain authors used it (in combination with 'to do') as referring to a process of vernacularising. The subsequent question then becomes: What does it mean to vernacularise in early-modern North India?

Allison Busch, in her discussion of how *rīti* authors theorise courtly Hindi literature, describes how Cintāmaṇi Tripāṭhī approaches the act of vernacularising as an enterprise of creating a new literary system. Tripathi, she states, 'viewed himself not so much as a translator of his Sanskrit source texts, but as someone engaged in a new theorization (*vicāra*) of vernacular literature (*bhāṣā kavita*)' (Busch 2011a: 107). Such statements suggest that the process of 'vernacularisation', the creation of a *bhāṣā*, implied the establishment of a specific Hindi (or Brajbhāṣā) literary genre. However, due to the complexity of the word *bhāṣā*, 'to vernacularise' was not limited to this. For Jain authors, making *bhāṣā* was also a means to make Sanskrit texts available to a wider audience and thus entails an engagement with Sanskrit literary culture as well. Several authors, such as Banārsīdās and Nandadās, express that Sanskrit had become too difficult for some people, wherefore they made the text 'easy by making it vernacular' (Cort 2015: 96-97).[51] Manohardās seems to make a similar statement that his *Dharmaparīkṣā Bhāṣā* is for the

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[49] A grammatical analysis of Manohardās' words do not exclude either translation. The female verbal form *kīnī* can either accord with *bhāṣā* (as a grammatical subject), or with an implied *dharmaparīkṣā* from the previous verse, or *kathā* in this verse (as a grammatical subject).

[50] As such *bhāṣā* could be used as an indigenous concept, close to 'translation', to cover a specific part of the idea of adaptation as I am using it here.

[51] Note that Nandadās was a Vaiṣṇava poet.

understanding of the ignorant (*bālaka*; cf. infra, p. 195).[52] The idea of making a text 'easier' is reminiscent of the connection of *bhāṣā* to *bhāṣya* with its embeddedness in scholastic tradition, and to the sense of the word as 'commentary'. The process of vernacularising then refers not only to making it understandable in terms of language, but also in terms of content. Indeed, *bhāṣā* versions are known to not be one-on-one translations of a Sanskrit precedent and, to often 'change' the content of the source text (see e.g. Clines 2018; Cort 2015). For this reason, my use of the concept of vernacularisation, in the following section, will not exclusively refer to its linguistic sense, but instead will borrow from how it came to be understood in anthropological studies (cf. infra). Making something vernacular, in such a sense, means making it 'understandable' in terms of local context and familiar practice.

To return to the word *bhāṣā* itself, it is clear that this is a term with a rich set of connotations, of which not all depths have been elucidated yet. Nevertheless, there is a conceptual base on which I will build my discussion of Manohardās' *bhāṣā* or *bhāṣā*-version. I take *bhāṣā* to refer to a rendering of an earlier text (in Sanskrit) into the vernacular language, which has its own typical character that is linked to the vernacular (literary) context.

The following sections will keep this concept of *bhāṣā* in mind when looking at the text by Manohardās, as an adaptation of the work by Amitagati. My discussion will try to elucidate the adaptive choices Manohardās has made in recreating the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the processes that influenced those choices. I will divide my analysis according to different types of choices, namely specifics in terms of style, form, language, content, and even medium. My aim of this discussion is not only to portray the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās as an adaptation, but also to shed some light on the meaning(s) of *bhāṣā* from the perspective of this specific case.

3.2.1 A comparison of the narrative content

In this subsection I analyse the narrative content of Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Brajbhāṣā in comparison to Amitagati's Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Concretely, I discuss the differences that can be found in the main narrative or in the subnarratives of Manohardās' version. There are different degrees to which the Braj text diverges from the Sanskrit 'original'. One type of difference is that a character of a story is given another name. Another group of differences can be the inclusion of a completely new substory. This relates to the adaptation as a product. With regards to adaptation as a process, these differences might stem from different motivations, such as religious context, literary

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[52] The use of the word *bālaka* is reminiscent of the genre of vernacular commentarial translations called *bālāvabodha* or *bālabodha* ('Instructions for the Unlettered') (see Cort 2015: 90).

environment, or personal creativity. In order to highlight the different motivations in a way that is clear to the reader, I will try to group together those deviations from Amitagati's original that I evaluate as of the same type. For that reason, the following discussion will not directly follow the plot order of Manohardās' text.[53] I discern four different 'types' of adaptation according to the 'subject' of the specific fragment. The first two 'types' are both influenced by processes of vernacularisation and localisation. The first relates to religion, whereas the second pertains to non-religious aspects. Because I believe that these processes (vernacularisation and localisation) are of particular influence in the adaptation of this particular *Dharmaparīkṣā*, I will treat these two types in greater detail. Another type of difference in terms of content discussed here, is elaborations related to gods and purāṇic episodes. The last divergences we can encounter in this Braj text are minor deviations that are influenced by style or preference. I will start my discussion here from the most logical point of the text, namely the very beginning.

Manohardās opens his composition with a *maṅgalācaraṇa*, first to the *tīrthaṅkaras* in general, then to Pārśvanātha and to Sarasvatī. As alluded to above, this kind of opening is common to Brajbhāṣā writings and is seen as a continuation of a Sanskrit literary trope that enables to cosmopolitanise or elevate the status of vernacular writing (see Bangha 2014: 400-401). Although the invocation by Manohardās is typically Jain in the sense that he starts with the *tīrthaṅkaras*, his opening verses express their own specific character.[54] Our Braj author already introduces in the second verse his intellectual guru (Vegrāj paṇḍit) and mentions Hīrāmaṇi in the sixth verse. This illustrates, in my opinion, how Manohardās as a poet was more embedded in, or even dependent on, a social network of Jain intellectuals than for example Amitagati or Hariṣeṇa were (cf. supra). We could say that this opening of the text immediately sets the tone which defines the adaptive work by Manohardās. It situates itself within a Jain literary tradition that is particularised by giving expression to the local environment. This localisation is, however, not exceptional to the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and thus the following examples will fortify the idea of Manohardās' text as a vernacularised and localised version of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

3.2.1.1   Vernacularising Religion

We encounter the first longer 'deviation' from Amitagati's 'original' in the description of Pāṭalīputra, when Manovega describes to his friend what he has seen there looking down upon the city while roaming around in the sky (DP$_A$ 3.21-34; DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 157-181).

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[53] A complete overview of the content of the text in comparison to the contents of other versions can be found in Appendix 1.

[54] One would rather expect this from an opening of a text that typically introduces the work in its socio-historical context.

Before this, from the thirtieth verse onwards, Manohardās narrates the main story closely following Amitagati's words, as he depicts the cosmological setting of the story in a standardised fashion, that starts with *Jambūdvīpa* and zooms in on the mountain where our two *vidyādharas* live.

The sketch of Pāṭalīputra is at first very similar to that by Amitagati. This is a city on the banks of the Ganges inhabited by scholarly Brahmins who recite the Vedas and teach the Smṛtis (DP$_A$ 3.23; DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 160), who debate, who make offerings to Agni (DP$_A$ 3.29; DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 167), who discuss the eighteen Purāṇas and talk about *tarka* ('logic'), *vyākaraṇa* ('grammar'), *kāvya* ('poetry'), and *nītiśāstra* ('politics') (DP$_A$ 3.31-32; DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 168-169). Manohardās' depiction of Pāṭalīputra, however, does not stop there. In contrast to Amitagati he adds a list of Hindu practices that are more akin to a devotional nature. Manohardās says about the Brahmins in Pāṭalīputra:[55]

> Some bathe in the Ganges, some make *pān* of *tulsī* with mango shoots (*dābha*), some experience immersion in many ways, some recite the words 'Hari, Hari, Hari, Hari', some wash themselves with dirt (*kaṣāya*), some have their bodies covered, some wear Rudrākṣamālās, some wear twelve *tilakas*,[56] some have a *tilaka* as a sectarian mark (*chāpa*), some do *pūjā* to Yaśodā and Nanda, some do *pūjā* to Bāla Govinda (the child Kṛṣṇa), some do *pūjā* to *śāligrāma* (a fossil representing Viṣṇu), some do *pūjā* to Sītā and Rāma, some worship Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, some worship Madana Gopāla, some offer all sorts of food and worship full of *bhakti*. [...] Some worship Śiva, some offer crown flowers (*arka*) and mango, [...] Some worship the goddess, some smoke Guggul,[57] some construct a *maṇḍapa* (temporary pavilion) of a banana plant, [...] some wear a *ṭīkā* of red sandal, [...] some make many sons with women, and some devotees would get glory in the world.

This passage reads as a sort of encyclopaedic list of devotional or ritual Hindu practices with certain sentences describing Vaiṣṇava oriented practices and others relating to Śaivism and Śāktism. The prevalence of *bhakti* as the focus of religion in this passage is obvious and different from the description by Amitagati. In trying to make sense of why exactly Manohardās would have chosen to include these sentences, an explanation is, in my opinion, not straightforward. Part of the explanation has to do with the historical context. As mentioned above, the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries in North India are known as the heydays of *bhakti* religiosity with different *sampradāyas* of devotees with various spiritual leaders (including the Rāmānandis, Caitanyites, Vallabhites, and

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[55] This is a paraphrase of DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 271-279.

[56] This is the Vaiṣṇava practice to apply twelve (*dvādaśa*) marks (*tilakas*) on the body (see Narayan 2018).

[57] Guggul refers to the gum resin of the Commiphora wightii tree which is burned for its smoke (see Penacchio, Jefferson, and Havens 2010: 74).

others).[58] As such, Manohardās' account could refer directly to the prevalence of these *bhakta* practices in Pāṭalīputra or in Manohardās' surroundings at the time, in contrast to Amitagati's time. However, such a statement is difficult to make, as establishing the historical origin of religious practices with any certainty is near to impossible. Moreover, Hindu religiosity in the time of Amitagati was already characterised by devotional practices to different gods, most dominantly Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Devī (see Jain 1972: 405-421; see also Al-Biruni's 'History of India', e.g. Chapter 66). The mere fact that Amitagati attacks the Hindu gods so vigorously, who are all in all the centres of Hindu devotion, illustrates this. On the other hand, some of the practices described by Manohardās were probably more prevalent in his time and might have arisen after the writing of Amitagati. For example, chanting Hari's name became a dominant practice among the followers of Caitanya (see Delmonico 2007: 549-575), and marking the body with twelve *tilakas,* also a Gaudīya practice, would have no earlier reference than the twelfth or thirteenth century texts Īśvarasaṃhitā and Agastyasaṃhitā.[59]

Putting the difficulty aside of tracing the historical origin of religious practices, I believe that a valuable part of understanding this inclusion lies in looking at the literary context. More specifically, at the implications that might come with writing in a vernacular language. When trying to generalise the difference between Amitagati's portrayal of the city and Manohardās' portrayal, we could pose that Pāṭalīputra is depicted by Amitagati as a city of scholastics and religious orthodoxy with the Brahmins as experts of this Hindu orthodoxy, whereas Manohardās depicts the city as one of religious practice and diversity within Hindu practice. In a way, we can interpret this as reflecting the difference between the classical and the vernacular. Whereas Amitagati would give expression to a 'high' form of the Brahmanical tradition,[60] Manohardās is able to highlight the more 'vernacular' subtraditions within Hinduism. The word 'vernacular' here is used in its sociological connotation of 'vernacular religiosity' by which I mean a form of religion that is rooted in practice, that is localised, flexible and understood in opposition to the more powerful 'high' religion. It denotes an understanding of religion that emphasises subjective and experiential aspects of religion 'as it is lived', but – through its connection to vernacular linguistics or vernacular art – leaves space for

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[58] Hawley (2011) has written an insightful article on the connection (or relative disconnection) of the four *sampradāyas* of North Indian Vaiṣṇavism with the earlier South Indian *sampradāyas* that is worthy of reading.

[59] I thank James Mallinson for providing me this information via email (7th of November 2019).

[60] His description indeed includes the cultivated form of education a Brahmin would traditionally receive (incl. *tarka*, *vyākaraṇa*, and *kāvya*; cf. supra).

communal interpretations of religion (see Primiano 1995).[61] We could thus say that Manohardās' text does not only vernacularise the language of the 'original' *Dharmaparīkṣā*, but also its content. Now, I must add a note to this interpretation that the practices described by Manohardās are actually not as particularly local as the direct meaning of the term 'vernacular' would suggest. For example, the practices of chanting the name 'Hari, Hari' and wearing the *rudrākṣamālā* are also mentioned in the corresponding passage in the text by Hariṣeṇa (DP$_H$ 1.18). Apart from the possibility that Manohardās has used Hariṣeṇa as a second source,[62] the equal occurrence of these practices in both the text of Hariṣeṇa and the text of Manohardās proves that they were not precisely 'localised' in the time and space of Manohardās.[63] Indeed, practices such as wearing a red *ṭīkā* and marking oneself with a *tilaka*, became relatively widespread through the networks of the religious communities to which they are (not exclusively) linked. As such, the practices described by Manohardās are in fact regional, or even pan-Indian. On the other hand, the practices described by Manohardās are local in that they originated within and often remained linked to specific subsects (e.g. the worship of Bāla Govinda) and are inherently linked to more individual (devotional) forms of religion. Their persistent perceived contrast with 'high' Hinduism also defines their vernacularity. Taking into account this duality in the character of these practices, we could interpret the addition by Manohardās as a premodern act of 'glocalisation' *avant la lettre*. This is a term borrowed from sociological studies to denote the intertanglement of local and global (or here transregional) phenomena (see Robertson 1991).[64] Moreover, because our author brings together these vernacular practices in one city, Pāṭalīputra becomes a truly cosmopolitan city full of diversity that is able to elevate the status of vernacular practices to appeal to a wider audience. We could even go as far as to suggest that Pāṭalīputra can be mirrored to the text itself, that is written in the vernacular with Sanskritic literary elements and that contains both purāṇic as well as folk narrative elements. As such, both the city and the text become a medium to regionalise or globalise vernacularity.

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[61] This does not mean that vernacular religion excludes all that belongs to normative religion, or the other way around. The concept of vernacular religion can even highlight creative engagements with higher forms of religiosity.

For a further discussion on the concepts of 'vernacular religion' in contrast to 'folk' or 'popular religion', see Bowman and Valk (2012).

[62] I have not encountered another example to prove this, nor does Manohardās mention Hariṣeṇa in his text (in contrast to Amitagati).

[63] I actually do not believe Manohardās has used the text by Hariṣeṇa in writing his own version, because there is no other real proof to support this.

[64] In the same way as Pollock (2013) has argued for the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis', although Manohardās' 'globe' was much smaller than that of today, processes of transcultural belonging show resemblances to contemporary globalisation (see also Pollock 2006: 10-19).

Now, the way in which this fragment is 'glocal' does not only stem from the dual character of the content it describes. It is also related to the way in which Manohardās draws from his literary context. Manohardās vernacularises his composition in literary terms as well. He does so by including literary elements that are typical for the vernacular literary idiom. At the same time, such an expression of intertextuality (trans-)regionalises his composition, because it embeds the text in a widespread literary idiom. The following 'deviations' from Amitagati's original clarify this further.

A passage in Manohardās' text that we can relate to the one just discussed occurs towards the end of the plot, where the discussions with the Brahmins have ended and where Pavanavega is taught about the faults in other religions (cf. seventeenth *pariccheda* in Amitagati) (DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-24, v. 1858-1863).

> People do acts of *pūjā* and such, this is the cause of the fruit of shame [for them]. They do not understand [the consequences of] desiring sensuous objects. Know that these souls are without consciousness.
> Tearing, drying, and doing suffering to the body, a yogi mendicant (*bhikṣu*) wastes his soul into worthlessness. He goes to the jungle, eats forest fruits and in silence makes his body suffer. Rejecting asceticism (*tap*) in the standing pose, having gone from the market to the top of the mountain, where have you vanished into. Oh, [your] extension of *anubhava* (experience of the self through insight) is [only] outer juice; lies, oh lies, you would do everything.[65]
> Whether one has repeated an incantation, whether one has performed asceticism, whether one, who has received all the mysteries (*bheda*), has performed a vow, whether one has dwelled naked or has put smoke on the body, whether one has gone to a pilgrimage place and has exhausted himself, whether one has remained in silence, or has meditated, whether he has endured coldness or has recited the eternal Veda. When one has done this, it is said: he who is without a pure psychological state (*bhāv*), he destroys all the fruits.
> By reciting and repeating the lesson, one raises awareness of the whole story of the properties of the Jina, and of soul and non-soul. If one chants and honours the Hindu funeral and ancestral rites, [even] a conqueror of the world, if one bears affection that tears and seizes while worshipping, and if one remains in silence, one who does that much without concentration, who beats down love, he does not have affection with Nirañjana ('Supreme Lord').
> 'Thus is the supremely pure, thus is the ocean of happiness, thus is what is mindful, thus is what is truthful. Thus is morality, thus is veneration for a pious ascetic (*sant sādh*), thus is virtuousness, thus is what is with suffering and without, thus is a celibate, thus is being filled with knowledge and meditation, thus is supporting

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[65] This reference to an inner experience of insight (*anubhava*) is characteristic of *adhyātma* texts (see Parson 2019; cf. supra, p. 8).

vows, thus is that noble-minded warrior, thus is that wealthy tycoon.' The disciple of this, day and night, who is this man? – he, who is absorbed in himself.
Without [correct] knowledge (*jñāna*) and view (*darśana*), one can renounce the material world (*dīkṣā*) for a crore of years, but will not get rid of one's awful sins. Says Manohardās [after] what has been written before.[66]

I start my discussion of this passage with the final sentence where Manohardās returns to echoing the words of Amitagati (17.61) by dismissing *dīkṣā* ('renunciation') without proper understanding.[67] This final phrase motivates what comes before in the fragment, namely an elaboration on several forms of religious practice that is not found in Amitagati's text. As before, we have to consider that Manohardās lived in a historical context different from the one of Amitagati. As such, some traditions and practices did not (commonly) circulate in Amitagati's time and would thus necessitate a discussion by Manohardās of them. Indeed, with the use of the terms *nirañjana* ('Supreme Lord'; v. 1861) and *sant sādh* ('Saint' or 'Devotee'; v. 1862), Manohardās seems to refer to the *nirguṇ bhakti* traditions,[68] which became popular mostly from the fifteenth century onwards (cf. supra, p. 161). The mention of Nirañjana as divine principle, for example, could refer to the authors of the Nirañjani Sampradāya, who after their *guru* Haridās identified with this form of the divine, or to Śaivite and Nāth or even Sufi and Ismaili traditions who shared

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[66] *pujādika karaṇī karai, loka lāja phala heta, viṣai vāsanā nāhi laṣai, te jīva jāni acaita. 1858*

phāḍī sukana tana kari dukhala yogī bhiṣa jīva tucha chīnā, jaṃgala jāi bhaṣai vana phala ko karakai aṃga mauna dukha dīnā, kṣipana rūpa ṣare tapa maṃḍī gira sirī jāi kahā tuma līnā, are āyāṃṇa anubhava rasa vāhira jhūṭha rai jhūṭha savai tai kīnā. 1859

savaīyā ikatīsā

jāpa japyo bhāvai tāpa tapyau bhāvai vrata karau ju laho sava bheda, nagana rahau tana dhūpa sahau bhāvai tīrtha jāi karau vahu ṣeda, mauna karau bhāvai dhyāna dharau bhāvai śīta sahau ra paḍhau nita ved, eto kiyo to kahā bhayo śuddha ju bhāva vinā e savai phala ched. 1860

savaīyā ikatīsā

pāṭha paḍhe ra raṭe jina ke guṇa jīva ajīva kathā sava cetī, jāpa japai tharapai kiriyā ara pīharitī vasudhā parijetī, sei darī harī prīti dharī vahu mauna dharī ra karī vahu etī dhyāna vinā ju payāra ko pīṭa vojo nahī prīti niraṃjana setī. 1861
savaīyā ikatīsā

parama punīta yohī yohī sukha sāgara hai yohī matavāna yohī paravāna jū, yohi dharmavaṃta yohī saṃta sādha pūja yohī guṇavaṃta yohī dukha setī hīna jū, yohī brahmacārī yohī jñāna dhyāna paripūri yoṃhī vrata dhārī yohī subhaṭa adīna jū, yohī dhani dhani vāna yāko cero ahaniśi so to nara kauna jauna ātama so līna jū. 1862
savaīyā ikatīsā

darśana jñāna vihīna, koṭi varaṣa diṣyā dharai, harai na pāpa malīna, kahai manohara pūrva kṛta. 1863
soraṭhā

[67] Amitagati 17.61:
Ye dīkṣaṇena kurvanti papa-dhvaṃsaṃ vibuddhayaḥ, Ākāśa-maṇḍalāgreṇa te chindanti ripoḥ śiraḥ.
'Those without reason who [try to] destroy sin by renouncing the world, they split the head of their enemies as if with a sword of air.'

[68] These two terms commonly occur in texts by, for example, the Dādu Panth and the Nirañjanis, two sects that were prolific in seventeenth-century Rajasthan (see the studies by Monika Thiel-Horstmann 1983; Tyler Williams 2014).

this appellation (see Williams 2014: 139). The reference to yogic practices could then perhaps be seen as resonating the *nirguṇ bhaktas*' reliance on Nāth-Yogic traditions.

However, as with the previous fragment, the changed religio-historical context covers only a part of the explanation. The immediate literary environment of vernacular writing for Manohardās must be seen as another important factor of influence. Indeed, as before, the focus of religion (at least for this fragment that is added to Amitagati's example) lies on religious practice, mostly in its devotional and ritual form, and the practices we encounter seem to express a certain 'localness'. For example, the *yogis* here are situated within the market, which can be seen as a marker of localisation, as it is the centre of common people's lives. In this case as well, we can say that vernacular religion or religiosity lies at the base of Manohardās' adaptive choices. This vernacularisation of religion in the Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā* is made possible by Manohardās' vernacular literary context. Not only does he refer to the *bhakti* traditions that were prolific on a literary level in the seventeenth century (*nirguṇ bhakti* and Krishna devotionalism), he even seems to give voice to the words of these other religious affiliations (v. 1862). I interpret this as a dialogic play by Manohardās with the authors of the referred to traditions, rather than a dialogue between the Jains and non-Jain practitioners.

In addition to the devotional religious practices in this and the previous fragment, we should also note that they are evaluated in a negative way. Manohardās details practices or views of other traditions and asserts his disagreement with them. We are here reminded of the main purpose of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, to discern right from wrong religion, and are made clear that *dharma parīkṣā* ('examination of *dharma*') meant something else to Manohardās or to the time in which he lived, than to the authoritative author. Therefore, Manohardās' attention to 'vernacular' religiosity and his intertextual engagement with vernacular literature not only shows a changed religious environment, but also expresses ways of dealing with evolved concerns of religious identity. These 'interventions' that illustrate a relation with other traditions prolific in Braj literary composition, mirrors the closeness between the Jains and other religious groups. For example, we have seen that the Nirañjanis shared several characteristics with the Jains (cf. supra). Applying Jonathan Z. Smith's (1985) concept of the 'proximate other', it is this closeness that necessitates Manohardās to other exactly the religious proximate others of the seventeenth-century Jains. As such, we can say that multiple but cooperative processes are at play in this fragment. Next to participating in the composition of vernacular texts (in the full sense that does exclude itself to language), Manohardās creates boundaries between himself and the Jains in general, and the 'other' (religious) participants. From the perspective of adaptation studies, we can add that Manohardās' acts of creating boundaries are not necessarily different from Amitagati's strategies, but that the proximate others with whom he creates boundaries are.

The following passage deals with yet different 'religious others'. Here, namely, we encounter Muslims, who are mentioned within a description of the Kali Yuga, set within a rather generic characterisation of the *avasarpiṇī* cycle. Although this context of the degradation of times seems to imply a negative evaluation, we must be careful not to straightforwardly read it as a critique or act of opposition against Islamic religion. Moreover, the fragment also deals with groups of low castes (that do not exclusively intersect with Islamic religion). Before, however, detailing how I read this passage, let me first quote the fragment I want to discuss (DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-24 v. 1933-1934).[69]

> [...] in Kalikāla ('the corrupt age') *mithyā* ('wrongness') is not discerned. There is no pure conduct, the Brahmins have deficient judgement. Whatever sins exist, they flow freely as the refrain of *dharma*. The fishermen, the washermen, the *caṃḍālas*, the *kāchīs*,[70] the butchers, the liquor-sellers, pickpockets, and robbers will be present again, the barbers, the oil-millers, the 'thirteenth caste,'[71] the sellers of betel-leaf, the weavers, the bards, the Jāṭs,[72] the sack makers, the sweepers, the shoemakers, the cane workers, the rice wine-distillers, the crop-sellers, the Muslims, who eat meat and drink liquor, the cotton-carders, and the goldsmiths [will flourish].

The corresponding passage from Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* introduces *kalikāla* as well but describes it merely as the time when all 'heretical' views will be spread (DP$_A$ 18.72). After warning in a parallel fashion about the dominance of 'heretical' views, Manohardās has taken the liberty to add this list of low castes and Muslims to his description of temporal decline.[73] His personalisation of the passage illustrates adaptive processes sensitive to the local context on two related levels. Firstly, it is important to recognise that the identification of Muslims and people of low caste as 'meat eaters' and 'liquor drinkers' is not exclusively Jain. The association of Muslims and low castes and outcastes with dharmic degradation and impurity also occurs in Sanskrit and other Indic literature

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[69] *[...] kalikāla maiṃ mithyā nāhi.*
śuddha ācāra pālai nahī, brāhmaṇa vikala viveka, abae jina doṣī bhaye, chāri dharama kī ṭeka.
dhīvara dhobī caṃḍāla kāchī kasāī kalāla gaṃṭhī chorā hoṃhi phuni hoi vaṭapāra jū,
tāī [nāī] telī teravā taṃbolī tagātāṃta gari bhāṭa jāṭa ṭāṭa mara cūharā camāra jū,
vaṃsaphorā vo jāgara ṣaṭīka musalamāna māṃsa bhaṣī mada pānī dhuniyā sunāra jū [...]
I thank Heidi Pauwels for her help in translating and situating this fragment.

[70] These are vegetable sellers, or people from Kacch.

[71] These are probably the Dumnas or Doms (see Parry 2004: 71).

[72] The Jāṭs are a community in northwest India.

[73] Note that the last caste mentioned by Manohardās, the goldsmiths (*sunār* or *sonār*), is a merchant caste that seems not to fit in this list of low castes. Furthermore, a variant name of this caste is *sonī*, which is the same name as that of the *gotra* to which Manohardās himself belonged. We may thus ask whether the inclusion of the *sunārs* and its equality with the name *sonī* could be interpreted as a critique on his own relations.

(see Keune 2020: 106).[74] Moreover, based upon his study of Marathi *bhakti* hagiographies from the late seventeenth century onwards, Jon Keune has recently described the intermingling of the categorisation of Muslims and low *jātīs* in these texts (2020: 110-121). He interprets this 'swappability' of the two categories as demarcating that 'the precise identities of the others in these stories are less important than the sheer fact that they *are* others' (Keune 2020: 115). Allusions to them are fuzzy (a concept from Foster 2016, see Keune 2020: 105) and function most importantly to demarcate an ontology of alterity that is based on impurity (Keune 2020: 116-117). The way in which Manohardās alludes to Muslims and low castes is equally fuzzy. Other than an enumeration within the context of Kali Yuga there is not much more to characterise them. As such, I read in this allusion to an ontology of 'otherness' that is common to *bhakti* authors (Keune 2020: 116), the evidence of Manohardās' familiarity with the wider culture of North Indian (vernacular) literature and his will to embed the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in this literary culture.

Secondly, the choice for these exact social groups as placeholders of 'otherness' is related to the historical context in which this otherness was expressed. Whereas in the tenth century, Muslims did not yet have a significant presence in India, by the time of Manohardās they exercised political power over large parts of the subcontinent, and as a religious community formed a sizable part of Indian society. Therefore, the choice to identify them with the degradation of times shows a change in the sociocultural world for authors of the seventeenth century.

A final point, I want to make about this fragment, addresses the consequences for the reader/listener that follow from the historically changed and vernacularised 'ontology of alterity'. As I have explained before, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a whole, marks the socio-religious identity of the reader/listener. The passage here that teaches of the Jain conception of 'the dark age',[75] addresses the reader/listener directly in a religious sense and supposes him to identify (*pre-* or *post-narratum*) with Jainism. This Jain identity, in these passages, is one that excludes, or 'others', not only Brahmins but also low caste individuals and Muslims.[76]

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[74] In his overview of ontologies and grammars of alterity applied to these social and religious groups, Jon Keune illustrates well the complexity of their representations in medieval Indic literature (2020: 105-110). Muslims are not only exclusively seen as 'political dominators' but can also be praiseworthy upholders of *dharma* (Keune 2020: 106). Untouchables and low castes do not just occur in literature as dangerous and polluting but are also found in the motif of the 'divine Untouchable' (Keune 2020: 108). For both social groups most studies explain their representations within the framework of *varṇāśrama dharma*.

[75] The preceding words declare explicitly '*cauthe kāla jina kahai baṣāni*'.

[76] Next to these longer passages that depict the religious other, Manohardās, at some points in the text, also alludes to shorter evaluations of religious practices. I can mention as an example the story of Vakra and Skanda where he puts a plea for *dāna* ('donation') in the mouth of Vakra's son, who begs his father to donate his money to a Brahmin so that he would gain religious merit before dying. With this ironic plea Manohardās criticises *dāna* for false reasons (Arrah ms. G-26 v. 523-524).

3.2.1.2 Localising society

Leaving behind passages that express 'vernacular religiosity', the following examples will highlight how the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās as an adaptation is characterised by localisation in terms of social strata.

A first fragment I would like to analyse within this section is found at the end of the story of the trader who cured the king with sandalwood (cf. supra, p. 58). There, Manohardās adds to Amitagati's plot a sketch of the character of a trader. Within the plot, we hear the washerman cry out for his own stupidity and for the deceitfulness of the trader, but it might as well be the voice of Manohardās himself that is reflected in the following passage (Arrah ms. G-24 v. 848-860).[77]

> 'The way in which he destroyed everything, there is no thug like the merchant. He has misled me, playing this gamble for wood. The trader did not forsake his trade, [thinking:] "There is nothing deceitful in it." Though he saw that he had caused injury, he looted everything and did his business.
> Know this in mind, speech, and body: they say that he who trusts trade and is [himself] not deceitful, is deluded.
> When you give him something to hold on to, [he] swallows it all. To his eyes, there is this concern: if there is less for himself, then there is more for another. What affection can there be for such a man?

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[77] *jyauṃ dūḍhai saba ṭhaura, vaṇiyā sama ṭhaga ko nahī, mero kīyo bhaura, hve vo juā de kāṭha ko. 848*

vāṇyo tajai na vaṇiyā mai kachu mithyā nāhī, ghālyo ghāva pichāṇi, vāṇyo saravasa lūṭikai. 849

jānoṃ mana vaca kāya, yā me dhoṣo kachu nahī, tākī mūṃḍho māya, vāṇyo ko mānaiṃ kahyau. 850

dohā

gupati dei to sava gilai, parataṣī saṃso eha, apano ghaṭa to para adhika, tina so kiso saneha. 851

ādi namra pramudita viradhi, kaṭhina kāma-kṛti āni, kāma sarai phuni namna hvai, vaṇiyā piśuna samāna. 852

caupaï

thāna āpa naiṃ siṃgha samāna, jaṃbuka sama paradeśa vaṣāṇa, maithuṇa samai ye svāna samāna, raṇi mṛga sama mānoṃ paravāna. 853

bagulā kī pari mauna ju karai, bhīmasena sama bhoja na dharai, vasana saspajoṃ bahu viddhi gahai, kapi samāna thānai nahi rahai. 854

āpa liṣai āsara kī pāṃti, hīṃga miraca jīro sava bhāṃti, phuni kari tāhi vacāvo koï, haga mara jara vāṃce yo loï. 855

kūḍa duṣṭa nahi dayāla gāra, deṣata lūṭai sava saṃsāra, kāma paḍyā soṃ vinau karei, sarai kāma tava vāṃī dei. 856

dohā

vāṇa pāsoṃ guṇa jo karai, kachu nahi dīsai miṭṭha, agani lagai jima roma koṃ so nahī koilā dīṭha. 857

vaṇiyā sama duṭha ko nahī, karai mila dhana nāṃśa, tātai vara-veśā bhalī, paragaṭa vecai māṃsa. 858

soraṭhā

sava sai vuro sunāra, tāhu ko guru vaṇiyo, dharamavaṃta guṇasāra, sahī sarāvaga jāṇiyo. 859

isa prakāra so kā agani rajaka dajyo sava gāta, lobha ṭhagāvai catura nara, kahā rajaka kī vāta. 860

At first, he is courteous, delighted, and wise. After he has purposefully brought about something terrible, when the task is completed, he becomes courteous again. A merchant is like a backbiter.

In his own place, he is like a lion. In a foreign country he is praised as a jackal. During sex, he is like a dog. At night, he is like a deer, according to his enemies. He bears complete silence like a heron. Like Bhīmsen he cannot resist a meal.[78] Like a snake, he changes his clothes many times, and like a monkey, he does not rest in one place. He himself writes lines of letters, [enlisting] asafoetida, pepper, cumin, all sorts. Then after this he would have someone read it out. Terrified, he counts his money. Thus he is known in the world.

He is cruel and evil, and shows no compassion. What he sees, he loots, the entire universe. When a task has to be done, he makes humble requests. When the task is finished, he speaks boastfully. One who is successful in commerce, without displaying flattery, he lights fire as if to water, charcoal is not seen.

There is no wicked man like the merchant. He combines wealth with destruction. In his logic, a fine prostitute would be decent, [because] she sells her flesh openly. The worst of all is the goldsmith, for him the merchant is the guru. [He says]: "Know that he is the essence of virtue, full of righteousness, a true Jain layman!"' In this way the fire of regret burned the whole body of the washerman.

'A clever man deceives because of greed.' [thus] said the words of the washerman.

This passage is not gentle in its depiction of a merchant. He is primarily blamed for being treacherous, but the scandalisation also pertains to aspects outside of his occupation (e.g. 'he is like a dog during sex' and 'he eats like Bhīmsen'). Knowing that Manohardās worked in an environment of merchants (see the above discussion of the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and *praśasti*), and that in fact his patrons belonged to that occupation, this fragment must have had an impact on its audience. First of all, I should note that the topic of trade or the merchant was not uncommon in Jain vernacular literature.[79] In this perspective, we could say that Manohardās is using a literary trope here. Nevertheless, the choice for Manohardās to include this elaboration was likely also stimulated by the recognition of his intended audience. Manohardās wanted the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to speak to them and to trigger them in their thoughts. The audience who would have been listening to the moralistic stories, without doubt, were woken up again and reacted to the story, either in anger or in laughter. In my own opinion, the persiflage of the businessmen's own character would have evoked a humorous reaction, because the merchant would indeed recognise himself and his colleagues in this engrossed reflection of his life, but he would also recognise the ways in which this piece of literature exaggerates. Especially

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[78] Bhīmsen is one of the Pāṇḍava brothers known for his enormous appetite.

[79] See for example Samayasundara's (sixteenth-seventeenth century) *Dhanadatta Śreṣṭhī Caupaī* (also known as *Vyavahāraśuddhi Caupaī*) (in Nāhaṭā 1961: 103-119).

remarkable, moreover, is Manohardās' reproof of the goldsmith, the caste to which he himself belongs. This self-critical wit helps the audience to realise the humorous nature of this criticism. We could say that Manohardās is here displaying a cunning literary manner of localising the text and of addressing his audience straightforwardly.

However, I also believe that there is more going on here than our author just holding a parodying mirror in front of his audience. As said above, these words might as well express the voice of Manohardās himself. The first reason to believe this, lies in the length of the fragment. The above translation represents an outrage of thirteen verses in which the washerman sneers at the character of a merchant. Reference to the person who shouts these words is only made in the first and last verse of the passage. As such, we get an uninterrupted tirade of eleven verses in which we might as well forget who is actually speaking. Is it the washerman, is it the person who 'performs' the text, is it the author? The audience's perception on this 'speaker' would probably be influenced by the medium of the text (hearing a 'performance' vs. reading a *pothī*). Nevertheless, the intermingling of voices makes it, at least, possible for Manohardās to be critical of his sponsors as well as his own background. The second reason for which I interpret this passage as a form of criticism is the *praśasti* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. As discussed above, the *praśasti* illustrates how Manohardās travelled from city to city to find new jobs with new patrons. We read how his search was impacted by, for example, a change of interest from his patrons, or by money issues (cf. supra, p. 147). Our author was to a certain degree dependent on the whims and caprices of his merchant sponsors. Thus, it would not be surprising and even likely for Manohardās to have some criticism of his employers.

As such, I understand the fragment on the character of a merchant as a display of vernacular creativity that adapts the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to the localised seventeenth century context of merchant Jain communities, and gives expression to our author's personal voice. Furthermore, it fits well into the overall plan of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as it uses humour (exaggeration and irony) to critically reflect on certain kinds of behaviour, not to forget the mention of the Jain path to overcome these flaws.

An illustration of how the local and global can go together, can be found in the following sentences (Arrah ms. G-24 v. 1565), that occur after the story of the child who stayed in his mother's womb for twelve years (cf. Introduction, p. 68):

> Though we have seen the entire East, with Paṭaṇā in Bihār etc., and all of Bengal –
> we even saw Gauḍ[80] then – Rūma and Syāma,[81] Kabul, Khandahar and Khurasan, and

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[80] This is North Bengal (Callewaert 2009: 544).

[81] These two regions represent the regions of present-day Turkey and Arabia. The name of Rūma comes from the city of Rome, but actually refers to the Eastern Roman Empire (with Constantinople as its capital), and Syāma refers to the region of Syria (Hindi Śabdasāgara 1965-1975).

the whole West – we even saw Kalānaura[82] – though we have seen the foot of the mountains etc., the banks of the Ganges, as well as other places – we saw the whole South, Gujarat and Bijapur, nowhere have we seen any boy like you.[83]

These lines geographically map out the world of Manohardās. Speaking here in the plot, are the Brahmins who express their disbelief in Manovega's stories, by stating that in this whole (described) area they have not seen anyone like Manovega – or at least what he says about himself. Because this verse is meant to express the validity of their disbelief, the Brahmins must delimit here a region that extends far and wide and is thus able to support that validity. The map drawn by the Brahmins stretches over the Indian subcontinent from Bengal in the East to Punjab in the West, and from the Bijapur Sultanate in the South to the Himalayan mountains, and even up to Turkey and Arabia (Rūma and Syāma) in the North-West. It is interesting to see that the world described here includes large parts of the Middle East, whereas ('Hindu') parts of the subcontinent are left out. This goes against our expectations when we consider the fact that those speaking are Brahmins, of whom we would expect to mention places connected to Hindu religiosity, where they would have travelled to go on pilgrimages. If the area mapped out here does not exactly accord with the plot and the characters doing the mapping, then what could this geographical delineation denote?

For the compound *rūma-sāma*, *The Dictionary of Bhakti* (Callewaert 2009) refers to Jayasī's *Padmāvat* in Avadhī (1540 CE). Indeed, these place-names are found in the forty-second canto of Jayasī's famous *premākhyān* when sultan Alauddin Khalji raises an army to go into battle against Chittaur to conquer Padmavatī. Jayasī describes how rulers from everywhere join the sultan in their march to Chittaur:

'Those famous nobles and chiefs who marched, how shall I describe the manner of their adornment? Khurasan marched and Hareu: from Gaur and Bengal none remained behind. The sultans of Rum (Turkey) and of Sam (Syria) did not remain behind, or of Kashmir, Thatta or Multan. All the principal races of Turks, the people of Mandau and of Gujarat, the people of Patna and Orissa all came, bringing with them all the best bull elephants. The people of Kanvaru of Kamta and of Pindwa came; they came from Dewagiri as far as Udaya-giri. The hill men came from as far as Kumaon; the Khasiyas, the Magars and all such names.

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[82] This is a small town in Punjab, said to be the place were Akbar was enthroned in 1556 (Von Garbe 2014 (1909): 68).

[83] Arrah ms. G-24 v.1565:

pūrava sakala deṣi paṭanā vihāra ādi sakala vaṃgāle deṣi deṣyo phuni gora hū,
rūma syāma kāvila ṣaṃdhāra ṣurāsāna deṣi sakala pachāha deṣi deṣī kalānaura hū,
pahāḍa kī talī ādi gaṃgā pāra sava deṣi aura hū sakala phiri deṣi vaura ṭhaura hūṃ,
dakṣiṇa sarava gujarāta vījāpura deṣyo nalavāra koū tairī sama aura hū.

All the lands that are from the rising to the setting of the sun, who knows their names? All the seven continents and the nine divisions were assembled and met together' (translation by Shireff 1944: 291).

This fragment from the *Padmāvat* shows interesting similarities to Manohardās' words. Jayasī also seems to want to describe as much of the world as possible, as he expresses that all the lands of the seven continents and nine divisions were there,[84] but that no one knows all their names. Next to Rūma and Sāma, he also mentions some of the other places that we have encountered in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā*, namely Khurasan, Gaur, Bengal, Gujarat, and Patna. Again, the significance of these places (and the other ones) is not absolutely clear. The story of the Padmāvat itself suggests that all these regions must have been ruled by chiefs who had allegiances to the Delhi Sultanate under Allaudin Khalji. This indeed seems to be more or less accurate. Khurasan and Hareu (identified as Herat) were ruled by Turks as were the sultanates of Rum and Sham,[85] and Bengal and Gaur were under the power of the Khaljis. Also Mandaur, the capital of Malwa, would have been under Allaudin Khalji's rule after his conquest of Malwa in 1305. As for the more southern regions, Dewagiri (now Daulatabad) had been subdued by Allaudin in 1306 (Shireff 1944: 288). At the same time, Jayasī suggests that áll the lands in the world were assembled to march against Chittaur. By means of this literary image, he suggests a connection between the world of the Khaljis (and the ruling Turks) and the world that was known at that time. This connection establishes the possibility for this geographical delimitation to become a literary trope. The other attestation I could find of *rūm-sām* in Old Hindi texts occurs in Kabīr's *Bījak* where he says, 'In every quarter of the earth are cities with inhabitants, Rum, Sham, Delhi in the midst' (Shah 1917: 137). Again, these locations are connected to a delineation of the whole world. Here, even as lying both on opposite sides of Delhi. It is clear in this case that these faraway places (Rum and Sham) were imagined in literature as defining some boundary and were used as a literary trope. To suggest something similar for the other places mentioned by Jayasī seems not too far stretched.

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[84] Jayasī refers here to the purāṇic cosmology of seven continents (with seven seas), each of which is divided into nine parts (see Shireff 1944: 2, fn. 8 and 9, fn. 30). It is interesting to see how Jayasī combines a Mughal geography with purāṇic cosmology, reflecting as such his composite cultural environment (see de Bruijn 2012: 101-148). Manohardās' use of a Mughal geography within his purāṇic inspired narrative can be read along similar lines (cf. infra, p. 36).

I would also like to refer to Truschke's discussion of the *Kṛpārasakośa* ('Treasury of Compassion') by the Kharatara Gaccha monk Śānticandra (2016: 74-81). This encomium for Akbar depicts the Mughal ancestral lands (Kabul and Khurasan) as lying outside of the Indian Mughal rule of Akbar. Truschke reads in Śānticandra's composition a construction of the relationship between Jain political motives and the Mughal rule (2016: 74). Though it is interesting to consider how Jains position themselves within a Mughal world in political terms, I prefer to read Manohardās' geographical depiction as a form of intertextuality.

[85] The Khaljis were of Turkish origin and would have come from Khurasan.

To now return to Manohardās' text, I would say that indeed Manohardās gets his inspiration from other Old Hindi works that had already established this way of delineating the world as a literary trope. Perhaps he even got his inspiration from the *Padmāvat* itself. As suggested above, we can understand the freedom with which Manohardās here goes about Amitagati's text as a vernacularising 'interference'. He adapts the text to the literary milieu in which the *bhāṣā* is situated by making use of literary tropes from North Indian vernacular literature. At the same time, by doing so, Manohardās directs his text to a wider audience than the strictly local (be it a socio-religious or geographical locality). Linking his composition to other Brajbhāṣā and even Avadhī texts, our author commits to a trans-regionalising endeavour.[86] Moreover, the geography of the fragment itself underlines this 'extra-local' engagement, because the characters are situating themselves within a world that is also Islamic and Turkish (thus related to the governing power in North India) and not exclusively Brahmanical or Jain (which would be the immediate relation of the audience).

Other than these two more lengthy fragments, there are several shorter instances in which the Braj text hints at a local context. For example, the story of the fourth fool among the four fools tells us how a medicine man is called for to cure the so-called disease of the son-in-law. This medicine man notices how the son-in-law is in fact not ill, but still asks a certain price to cure him. Manohardās, in contrast to Amitagati, specifies this price as fifty rupees and one buffalo. This price must have sounded like a ridiculously high amount of money for curing a disease to its seventeenth century audience.[87] Because Manohardās refers to the common coinage of the time, he makes the price more tangible, which also strengthens the humorous effect of the story.[88]

There is one more fragment relevant to the present discussion. This is a story that is completely new in Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* and that I have not found anywhere else: the story of the crow and the goose (*vāyasa haṃsa*) (cf. Introduction, p. 74, fn. 149). Although I have to leave a more in-depth discussion of this story for the future, I do want to draw attention to some interesting aspects which further characterise Manohardās' adaptation in terms of sociology (i.e. societal structures as well as religion and folkloristics). The story of the crow and the goose is set within a frame narrative meant to illustrate the origin of the *śraddhā* ritual of Brahmins. It allegorises the relation

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[86] I would like to note that the intertextuality of Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* with Jayasī's *Padmāvat* supports the idea of an 'old-Hindi' literary culture rather than a Brajbhāṣā literary culture.

[87] As a reference, Moosvi has calculated on the base of her study of Abu'l Fazl's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (1595) that a horseman of Indian origin in the imperial administration received a salary of twenty rupees a month (2015: 218).

[88] The rupee became the main coin under the Mughals in the sixteenth century (Singh 2012: 5; Moosvi 2015: 362), although the *rūpaka* did occur as a silver coin already under the Paramāra dynasty (Jain 1972: 506). At the time of Amitagati the most used coin was the *dramma* and secondly, the *dināra*. Amitagati refers (as does Hariṣeṇa) to the *dināra* (DP$_A$ 8.39). It is interesting to note that in that same story Manohardās also uses the *dināra* coin.

between two citymen befriending each other but also coming into conflict over a female relation. The conflict is resolved by the city council (*pañcāyat*) and as such the story suggests a more urban involvement for the text's setting. Its link to the *śraddhā* ritual shows certain religious concerns in Manohardās' text as well as how they could be dealt with (namely through allegory). Thirdly, the existence of the narrative as a fable proves Manohardās' knowledge of or interest in folk narrative culture. It might be taken from oral tradition or be a new creation by our author inspired from that tradition. These elements make the story another way in which Manohardās could express his creativity in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and do this with a localising method.

3.2.1.3   Gods and Purāṇas

At several points in the text Manohardās refers to epic-purāṇic stories and characters that Amitagati does not mention. Although I do not read any clear-cut strategy in these references, the multiple occurrence of this kind of deviation proves it to be characteristic for Manohardās' adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In some cases, he adds details to stories already told by Amitagati that give them a certain nuance. In other cases, he adds epic-purāṇic references. Some adaptive changes relate specifically to the Jain purāṇic corpus. To demonstrate this type of adaptive novelty, I will here discuss one fragment from Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā*. At the end of the substory about the king and the mango tree (cf. supra p. 56) Manohardās reflects upon the narrative by referring to the epic-purāṇic corpus, something we do not find in Amitagati at that point in the plot. The end of the story itself is similar in both versions. Manohardās, just like Amitagati, has the king express his regretful sorrows (DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 v. 725: 'Why did I order the fruit to be given to my son without inspection?').[89] However, whereas Amitagati then, as a postlude to the story, devotes a couple of *subhāṣitas* to the disadvantages and the faults of someone who does not reflect,[90] Manohardās tells us the following:

> Sītā was abducted by the lord of Laṅkā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa became sad. On their
> request an army of fifty-six crores of lords, gods and kings came.
> After seeing Tilottamā's beauty, Brahma became desirous to enjoy her.
> Waving his hand up and down, Hara (Śiva) danced in front of Gaurī (Pārvatī).

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[89] Compare DP$_A$ 7.54: 'Aah why was the fruit unreflectingly given by me, a fool! (And) if it was given, why was the mangotree that removes illnesses, cut off [on my order]'.

[90] As an example, DP$_A$ 7.57: 'He who ordains actions one after another without examining, he obtains ardent regret, just like the mangotree-cutter'. or DP$_A$ 7.61: 'This is the only distinction between people and animals: the first are able to consider, the latter are unable to reflect'.

If you know this, do not be arrogant. Who should now say more than this? Manohar says with his mind on spiritual matters: 'The whole world dwells in fate.'[91]

The connection between the epic-purāṇic references and the initial story of the mangotree is not straightforward. Neither does Manohardās give us a clue to understand it in the context of this quotation. The lines that precede the passage are the exclamations by the king, similar to Amitagati's text. The lines that follow this quotation seem to reflect on it by commenting upon the danger of having love or lust (*kāma*) for someone without thinking it through (*viveka*). After that Manohardās picks up the precise plot of Amitagati again by stating, 'He who has knowledge is human, one without knowledge is an animal' (DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 730; see footnote 40). We are thus left to interpret the passage in its own right and cannot but make hypothetical suggestions about its inclusion. Because the quoted passage is put in immediate juxtaposition with the story of the king and the mangotree, we are urged to seek parallels between the two. In the story of the mangotree, the passion or emotion (*rāga*) that provoked the king to cut down the tree of mangos was the love for his son, and the anger or despair caused by the loss of his beloved son.[92] The passion that causes Rāvaṇa's own destruction is also love, or rather desire for Sītā. In the case of Brahma, the passion is love for a woman, in the same sense of lust and desire. For Śiva this is not made explicit, but we can suppose the same. As such, a parallel is drawn between love for a son and love or lust for a woman. Both unrationalised feelings are seen as the cause of faults. The mention of Śiva (of Hara) dancing in front of Gaurī is relatively interesting, because the idea of Śiva's dance as a submissive act towards his wife (which I read in Manohardās' text) is not a common image. Śiva is indeed associated with dance in his form as Naṭarāja, but normally this dance is not performed in front of Gaurī. Instead, his dance can take on several forms according to Śaiva literature and Indian classical dance theory,[93] one of them being a dance together with Gaurī (*Gaurī tandava*) (see Sigl 2003: 3). Indeed, both imagery and performances of Śiva and Gaurī dancing seem to depict a more equal stance of the two dance partners. There is one reference where Śiva is

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[91] DP$_M$ Arrah G-24 v. 728 and DP$_M$ Staatsbibliothek Berlin Ms or folio 2309 (*):

sīya laṃkapati harī rāma lakṣmaṇa/lachimaṇa* dukkha pāya,

chapaṇa koṭi nṛpa īsa nṛpati vala jācani āyo,

dekhi tilottama brahma tāsoṃ ragi/raṃga* rācyo,

tali upari de hātha gauri āgai/āgai* hari/hara* nācyo,

yaha/yahuṃ jāṇi garava ko/kou mati karo ghaṇī bāta koṃ kahai ava,

mana rahasi manohara ima kahai,

hoṇahāra vasi khalaka sava.

[92] I refer to the term *rāga* here, because one of the main goals in all of the substories and *subhāṣitās* (or aphorisms) of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is to prove the fault in having passions, in the sense of the Jain conviction of *vairāgya*.

[93] The most common term found to refer to Naṭarāja's dance is *tandava* (a violent dance), but Coomaraswamy (1971: 67) has distinguished two more types: the twilight-dance and the *lāsya* (a gentle, erotic dance) (Doniger 1980: 131). It is the *lāsya* that Doniger associates with the love for his consort (Doniger 1980: 132).

indeed dancing in front of Gaurī. This is in a purāṇic passage where he dances for Pārvatī (Gaurī) and her mother Menā, who are then won over by his charms (see Doniger 1980: 131-132). All in all, I read in this 'turning of roles' (the male god performing for the female) a creative interpretation by Manohardās of Śiva's dance with Gaurī that serves well the purpose of – suitable to the goal of the whole text – degrading the Hindu gods and heroes. We might even imagine how our author felt inspired from seeing such a dance being performed and thus how the fragment again illustrates a vernacularisation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

It is worthy to devote also a few words on the final phrase of this passage. In it, Manohardās asserts the idea that everything is predestined (*honahār*, 'dwells in fate'): one cannot escape the consequences from once former life in this life, and every action of this life impacts the next life. While causality is a general concept in Jainism, the expression of determinism is rather characteristic to the writings of Kundakunda (Qvarnström 2015: 53). In the same sentence Manohardās gives expression to *adhyātma* thought by emphasising his spirituality of mind (*mana rahasi*, cf. supra). In this part of the plot, Manohardās thus follows a strategy that departs from a story of unthoughtful behaviour, then builds up tension by disapproving Hindu gods, to then finally, in one sentence, return to his own approved ideology of *adhyātmik*-inspired thought.

3.2.1.4 Adaptive hiccups

Finally, there are a few adaptations that we can find in the text by Manohardās that seem to be coincidental or relate to a different reading of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. I will discuss these here.

In the first substory about Madhukara, Manohardās switches the order of the crops that the protagonist encounters (cf. Introduction, p. 52).[94] Whereas in the text by Amitagati (and by Hariṣeṇa and Vṛttavilāsa) he sees a huge pile of chickpeas in the country of the Ābhīrās that is comparable to the piles of peppers in his own region, Madhukara instead sees a huge pile of peppers abroad that is comparable to the piles of chickpeas in his home region. This switch reminds us of how the creation of a 'translation' is a human act, in which the composer can misread certain sentences, tells the story according to his own expectations or perhaps writes it down from how he has heard and memorised it before. It is further interesting to see how not a single copyist of

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[94] DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-26, v. 348-367.

Manohardās' text has tried to alter this switch to make it 'faithful' to the other versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[95]

Other similar differences in Manohardās' text are the reference not to a Tomara lord, but to the king of the island Cola (in the story of the seventh fool, 'the milk fool'), the use of the name Udakayā instead of Mandodarī (DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-26, v. 1492),[96] or mentioning kites and falcons instead of hunters to chase away the jackals (in the story of the two Buddhists; DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-26, v. 1613).

3.2.2   Stylistic concerns

In the creation of an adaptation the author does not only have to make choices that relate to the content of the work he wants to adapt. Decisions about the form and style of the adaptation are also at the centre of the adaptive process. In what follows I discuss the specific characteristics of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās that I evaluate as having to do with stylistics.[97] This analysis furthers the understanding of Manohardās' version as vernacularising, because it illustrates how many of these stylistic markers are shared with wider North Indian vernacular literature and are typifying for that category of literature. The examples I put forward here are not exhaustive but intend to provide an array of stylistic markers that are relevant to an analysis of the Braj text as an 'adaptation.'[98]

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[95] This suggests that 'faithfulness' of translation was not really a concern in the appreciation of *bhāṣā*-texts, which confirms again the fact that we must think of 'translation' – or rather the practice of rendering a text into a vernacular language – as being differently conceptualised in India.
I would here also like to confirm that all manuscripts I could consult of Amitagati's text have kept the order of chickpeas-peppers (and not vice versa). This assertion is to negate the argument that perhaps Manohardās based his *bhāṣā* on a variant manuscript.

[96] In fact, Amitagati refers to the name of Mandodarī as the girl of muni Maya and a female frog only in one sentence (DP$_A$ 14.70), and it is not completely obvious that he mentions Mandodarī as this daughter. Perhaps Manohardās was not familiar with the story of Mandodarī (it is indeed otherwise not known) and therefore called the girl who was born from a frog Udakayā ('born from water').

[97] Style is a difficult concept to delineate and has therefore been the topic of many theoretical discussions. In Ohmann's words, 'a style is a way of writing' and 'that is almost as much as one can say with assurance on the subject' (1964: 1). What I mean by the term is stylistic intuition, a 'rather loosely structured, but often reliable, feeling for the quiddity of a writer's linguistic method' (Ohmann 1964: 1).

[98] As such, I will not discuss characteristics that are also applicable to Amitagati's text and foreground aspects that highlight best the way in which Manohardās' text is an independent *Dharmaparīkṣā* that is embedded in contemporaneous literary culture.

3.2.2.1 Self-emplotment

The first aspect that defines the style of the text is the manner in which our author emplots himself within the text. He does this in a way that is apparently different from Amitagati's self-emplotment, but that is reminiscent of other Jain *bhāṣās* and other vernacular texts (see Clines 2018).

As is common in Indian literature, Manohardās describes his text and himself as author, as we have seen, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the text. There, he situates himself within a (religious) community that is much more local than in the Sanskrit version by Amitagati. The latter author calls upon the generic 'paradigm of perfect ascetic practice' (Clines 2018: 223), as is established in the famous *namokār mantra*, praising first the *tīrthaṅkaras*, then the *muktas* (~*siddhas*), the *sūris* (~*ācāryas*), the *adhyāpakas* (~*upādhyāyas*), and finally the *sādhus*, before reverencing also the goddess of poetry Sarasvatī (DP$_A$ 1.1-6). Manohardās instead establishes authority in his *guru*, whose name (*vega paṃḍita*; Vegrāj) he mentions already in the second verse and refers to his patron (Hīramaṇi) only three verses further down. Both the positioning in time as in geography is thus much more limited in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās; his version is of the here and the now.[99] The discrepancy in authorial emplotment that we notice here between a Sanskrit and a Brajbhāṣā text, has been described by Clines in his analysis of different works by Jinadāsa (2018: 239-248). He notices as well how this choice of self-emplotment connects the text more strongly with its local environment, and how such local embeddedness becomes a source of authority for the author (Clines 2018: 247). The fact that we find similar strategies in multiple Jain *bhāṣās* suggests that the individual vernacular text (as is Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā*) aspires to participate in a literary culture that is particularly linked to the local Digambara community, but at the same time is 'a culture', i.e. a tradition that is cultivated. As such, our text can, also through its self-emplotment, be said to express 'glocal' characteristics.

Another manner in which Manohardās emplots himself in the text is by reminding the reader at several occasions that he has authored this *Dharmaparīkṣā*. The phrase '*kahai manoharadāsa*' ('says Manohardās') occurs multiple times in the text. It always follows some kind of moral evaluation. This can be a lengthy passage or just a short interdiction. There are some instances where we read 'says Manohardās' within or after an exposé of Jain thought. For example, in the beginning of the story, within the frame narrative when Manovega encounters *muni* Jinamati, the latter one explains to his pupil (Manovega) the character of happiness, suffering, and transmigration. Towards the end of this discourse we read in the Brajbhāṣā *Dharmaparīkṣā*:

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[99] Note as well how Hariṣeṇa situates his text in an authorial lineage that is different from Amitagati, though similarly extended in time and geography. He praises the Apabhraṃśa authors Caturmukha, Svayambhū, and Puṣpadanta (cf. Chapter 2, p. 116).

> Such a bad person, who seeks happiness for his liberation, puts faith in transmigration, says Manohardās.[100]

Although the words themselves are not exactly his invention – they are freely 'translated' from Amitagati's version (DP$_A$ 2.71) – this sentence rather straightforwardly convinces us of the fact that Manohardās himself propagates Jain thought. A similar instance of 'says Manohardās' is found in verse 1393, where he explains the eighteen faults that cause suffering in the world.

Sometimes Manohardās refers to himself within an exposé on morality that is not markedly Jain. After the story of Bahudhanika and his two wives (Kuraṅgī and Sundarī), our author devotes a few sentences to the bad character of women. These are put in the mouth of the Brahmin who tries to explain to Bahudhanika what his youngest wife had done. In the end Manohardās writes:

> A woman is like a snake, believe this, desiring her lasts only for one day, says Manohardās.[101]

Again, the inspiration to compare a woman to a snake comes from Amitagati, so these words are not exactly by Manohardās. Moreover, there is some kind of incoherence between the fact that according to the plotline the Brahmin is here speaking, and the insertion 'Manohardās says'. We start to get the idea that rather than being a mere filler, Manohardās uses this phrase to transfer the authority of Amitagati onto himself. In a similar way, Manohardās inserts the self-referential phrase after a relatively lengthy discourse (not found in Amitagati) on the character of a bad person (*durjana*; Arrah ms. G-26 v. 551), and in the characterisation of a *haṭhagrāhi* ('stubborn-minded'; Arrah ms. G-26 v. 578).

Somewhat differently, '*kahai manoharadāsa*' also occurs in combination with a moral evaluation that is very short, only comprising of one or two verses. The shortest example occurs in the story of Śiva who cut off the donkey-head that Brahma had acquired by gazing at Tilottamā. When this head remains stuck to the hand of Śiva, Manohardās exclaims:

> By destroying happiness and lustre, sin will stick to him, says Manohardās. In the same way, the head stuck to his hand.[102]

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[100] Arrah ms. G-26 v. 165:

aise duṣṭa saṃsāra ko, mati ko karu visāsa, jo sukha cāho mukti ko, kahai manoharadāsa

[101] Arrah ms. G-26 v. 503:

nārī nāgina sāriṣī, mati ko karahu visāsa, jiyo cāhai ko ika dina, kahai manoharadāsa.

[102] Arrah ms. G-26 v. 1265:

sukha sobhā ko nāsa, karai pāpa lāgyo huto, kahai manoharadāsa, isa prakāra sira kara lagyo.

Again, Manohardās expresses a certain self-awareness and seems to present himself as a moral specialist by means of the self-emplotting phrase. In fact, this kind of multiple condensed self-reference is common within Braj literature and is designated *bhaṇitā* ('composer's name') or *chāp* ('stamp'). It is most significative to Braj devotional songs, where the name of the (ascribed) author is mentioned at the end of each *pad*. Indeed, Manohardās' signature probably best reminds of the poems of Kabīr who uses the same formulaic ending '*kahai kabīra*' in his *pads* (Mishra 1987: 172). The poetic signature was also frequently used in Old Hindi *muktakas* (independent poems), and Lath has argued that this was through the influence of song tradition (Lath 1983: 226). The *bhaṇitā* does not necessarily appear in combination with a verb to indicate its syntactical relation, but it can also exist of only the author's name.[103] For that reason, Hawley (1988) argues that the significance of the poetic signature involves more than merely citing an author's name. He sees it as a 'stamp' or 'seal' (*chāp*) that gives the poem its proper weight and tone, as it puts the poem's words in the mouth of a teacher (*guru*) around whom devotion is centred (1988: 287). Now, I would not argue that such a personal devotional layer of meaning is implied in Manohardās' use of *bhaṇitās* – especially since we do not know any other work ascribed to him – but it is noticeable how Manohardās resonates this 'devotional song'-setting, especially in the first (and second) example I have given.[104] What then the significance is of the formula *kahai Manohardās*, next to emplotting the author, is that it expresses a definite literary style of this version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in two related ways. Firstly, the reminiscence of *bhakti* songs illustrates how the text draws from different genres and traditions to express its own style. Secondly, through the interlacing of the language of songs within the narrative, the text breathes a vocal aura, in certain parts, and thus as a whole intermingles oral features with written aspects. Such a literary style is characteristic of the North Indian vernacular *kathā* genre, which Orsini has argued to have gained momentum in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Orsini 2015; 2017). Indeed, compositions such as Tulsidās' *Rāmcaritmānas* (see Lutgendorf 1991), Viṣṇudās' epics (see Bangha 2014), or Jinadāsa's *Pāṇḍavcarit* (see Clines 2018) all share this suggestion of orality in their poetry. I leave a discussion of what the *bhaṇitā* as a song-like feature means to the medium of the text for the next section. Here, I would like to

[103] Hawley writes 'Only rarely does a verb of "authoring" appear in connection with the poet's name. Among the poets we have been considering, it is only Kabīr who gives such a verb with any frequency [...]' (1988: 277). I would like to point out, as a way of nuancing this, that we do find the combination of an author's name with a form of *kah-* excessively in Haridās' Aṣṭādaśa Siddhānta (see Rosenstein 1997), as well as frequently in Mīrābāī's Padāvalī (see Snell 1991), and Dādū's Padas and Sākhīs (see Thiel-Horstmann 1983).

[104] The 'resonance' becomes even more pertinent when we remind ourselves of the fact that Manohardās has translated (or at least closely paraphrased) the words by Amitagati. This makes the question of authorship as irrelevant (at least if we seek for the historical author) as in the devotional poems analysed by Hawley (1988).

highlight the use of the *bhaṇitā* as a stylistic feature, by which Manohardās inscribes his text in the vernacular *kathā* tradition.

3.2.2.2   Repetition and direct address

The poetic signature is not the only indication of song or lyricism in this Braj version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. At some points in the text we find words or stanzas that are repeated with a certain sequence, as would be the refrain of a song. For example, in the beginning of the text, during the exposition of *muni* Jinamati to Manovega, the words *lobhī guru ko sei kari*[105] are repeated over eight verses.[106] These verses, as the 'refrain' (*ṭeka*) suggests ('If one serves a greedy/faulty guru'), warn the listener of the perils of adhering to a bad teacher.[107] The 'song' itself indicates that it contains an instruction for who is listening (*sīṣa suno tuma eha*), which concurrently expresses the oral character of this instruction. The verses switch between *dohā* and *sorathā*. I would argue that these few verses were meant to be vocalised and sung.[108] The repetition of the same words, as well as the content, suggest such a conclusion.

Repetition similar to the one just discussed, is that of just a single word *lobha*, in the passage that introduces the *setubandha* story of the Rāmāyaṇa (cf. Appendix 1, p. 404). Manohardās repeats this word ten times within one *chappay*.[109] Here, not only the

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[105] The manuscript Arrah G-26 (and BORI 616) use the word *lobhī*, the manuscript from the State Library in Berlin renders *mithyā* instead.

[106] Arrah ms. G-26, v. 200-208):

lobhī guru ko seī kari, mānata hai mana moda, so nara saṃkala dṛdha jaḍyau, caḍhai pāpa kī goda.

lobhī guru ko sei kari, mana vāchai suṣa sāra, te nara amṛta sarpa mukha, cāhai mūḍha gavāra.

lobhī guru ko sei karī, karai dharma kī āsa, vyoma viṣai te vāpaḍā, cāhai phula suvāsa.

lobhī guru ne sei kari, karai dharma kī cīṃti, so dharma śīgharī vina saje, vālū kīsī bhīti.

sorathā

jā nara ke ghara vāra, lobhī guru ke paga paḍe, gayo jamāro hāra, ve nara bhāī bāpaḍe.

lobhī guru aru cora, e dūno samajāni jyo, karai parāyo bhora, jñāna dhyāna dhari lūṭakai.

sīṣa suno tuma eha, ghaṇī ghaṇī kahanī kahā, tina ke mastaka ṣeha, neha karai lobhī gurāṃ.

lobhī guru aru rāhu e dūno sama jāni jyo, karai karai jo dāha, sata puruṣa śaśi nirmalo.

dohā

eka vāta tuma se kahu jāno mana vaca kāī, lobhī guru ne sevatā, jñāna gāṃṭi ko jāi.

[107] His character is described in the preceding lines.

[108] I use the word 'vocalised' and only hypothesise about it being sung, because no manuscript attests to *ragas* that would be applied to certain verses, which has been the case for other similar texts (e.g. the *Sītācarit* by Rāmcand Bālak, see Plau 2019b; or the *Pārśva Purāṇa* by Bhūdhardās including the famous hymn 'Bārah Bhāvnā', see Cort 2009b). However, if you read these verses by Manohardās out loud, you notice how fragile the boundary between song and poem is, and that the only missing parameter is melody.

If we do take this as a 'song', we can also hypothesise how it existed independently before Manohardās composed his work.

[109] Arrah ms. G-24 v. 1645:

repetitiveness of a word, but in my opinion also the specific metre indicates the song-like character of the verses. The *chappay* metre does not occur frequently within Manohardās' text (cf. infra, p. 193). Because of that, I read its use as suggesting 'something different' or 'something included' (such as a song), within the continuing narrative. It is interesting to note that the *chappay* metre occurs infrequently in another Jain purāṇic *kathā*, namely the *Sītacarit*, and that Plau has argued this metre to be associated with 'devotional ardour' and hymns (Plau 2018: 148; 2019b: 194). I would argue that a relatively similar connection with the *chappay* metre exists in Manohardās' text. The passage here does not praise or benedict, but instead does the contrary. It exclaims the evils that have come from greed, and in that way reverts the hymnic use of the *chappay* in the *Sītacarit*. We might hypothesise how such an association became typical in similar Jain compositions, but without proof from more sources it is difficult to ascertain this. Overall, the metre together with the repetition and the content suggest that these verses on *lobha* were meant to be voiced, perhaps sung, as such fortifying the instruction that is implied in them.

As a matter of completeness, I would like to indicate three more instances of repetition. After the story of Yajña and Yajñā, Manohardās points out the blame in women just like Amitagati and elaborates on this topic in four *savaiyās* that repeat the words *ceta aceta* in the middle of every verse. Further in the text, after finishing the stories of the ten fools and in an attack on Viṣṇu, Manohardās questions why the Hindu god in his several incarnations had hidden his divine nature. He does so by comparing Viṣṇu's covering up with several low castes who hide their *jāti* ('caste'), in two verses of which each pāda starts with the word *jāti* (v. 1011-1012). Towards the end of the narrative there is also repetition in the comparison of a good versus a bad person. Manohardās repeats first the words *vihvala buddhi nivāra* ('Remove the perturbed mind') and then *tina kai mastaka dhūli* ('His mind is full of dust') (Arrah ms. G-24 v. 1978-1979). In each of these three cases, the repetitiveness of a word or group of words draws the attention of the audience, who (ideally) is listening to the text. It calls for their mindfulness and thus stimulates the instructive power of the verses.

The lyricism of Manohardās' composition makes the text independent from its Sanskrit 'original' but embeds it in the Hindi *kathā* genre whose literary style draws from other genres, like devotional songs, in forming its own expression. The examples above illustrate well how orality is implied in this *Dharmaparīkṣā*. This is another feature common with Old Hindi narratives. The following example will add to this oral dimension, next to exemplifying pace and directness.

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lobha vaṃdhyo gajarāja lobha phuni keśari pakaryo, lobha bhramara duḥkha sahai lobha juṣa dhī varaja karyau, lobha rāma dukha sahyo kanaka mṛga pāchai dhāyo, lobha viṃṭavyo kānha nṛpati valajā cana āyo, yo lobha rāvarāṇa gaye, lobha daśanana ṣaṃḍiyo, mati karo lobha manohara kahai, lobha sakala jaga ḍaḍiyo.

When Manohardās, in the opening to the main plot, finishes the introduction of Manovega, he proceeds to Pavanavega's background with the words *suno kathā jo dūjī bhaī* ('Listen to the story that is about the other brother!').[110] We may imagine how this sentence would have been effective in drawing the attention of the audience. As we are still within the frame narrative of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* the only dialogic partner of the one who expresses these words is the reader or the listener of the text. The word *suno* ('Listen!'), as well as the full meaning of the sentence implies a performative context of the text. The words are meant to be heard rather than read, and we could imagine how these instructive stories were recited in sermonic contexts. Secondly, the signposting function of this phrase that introduces the next story (in combination with the closing previous phrase: *yaha to kathā ihāṃ hī rahī* ('This is then the story that remains here') is characteristic of oral/performative contexts, where signposts are necessary to keep the attention of the audience.

Further in the text we find other similar uses of the verb *sun-* ('to hear'), for example, at the end of the story of the fool who suffered from bile-disease (Arrah ms. G-24 v. 688). However here, because of the plot setting there is some duality in the purposed audience. The plot presents us a dialogue between Manovega and the Brahmins. As such, in the preceding verse Manovega asks the Brahmins if there are none like the 'bilious' fool. In the verse that follows we read:

> Take [now] this story of the mango. It was told and I have listened to it like to a beloved. For who listens there is wisdom, so listen and lend your ears.[111]

When we consider the plot setting, we should understand these sentences as uttered by Manovega to the Brahmins. However, because of the directness in speech and the simplicity in which we move from the previous story to this one, the verse gives the impression to address the audience of the text. It is important here to point out the equivalent verse in the text by Amitagati. The Sanskrit author also asks to listen to the story of the mango, but his request is directed in a different way:

> To you honourable men, [the story of] the bile-sick [fool] whose mind is contrary, was told. Now [the story of the] the mango tree will be told. Listen attentively![112]

The similarity between the verses by the two authors is obvious, and in Amitagati's verse too we can wonder whether 'the honourable men' are the Brahmins of the narrative, or

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[110] The full verse is (ms. Arrah G-24 v. 68):

yaha to kathā ihāṃ hī rahī, suno kathā jo dūjī bhaī, priyāpurī ika nagarī vasai, dujī iṃdrapurī jima lasai.

[111] *kathā āṃva kī loi, kahau sunī mai prema jyoṃ, tāhi sunata vudha hoī, tātai sunīyo kāna de.*

[112] DP$_A$ 7.28:

viparītāśayo 'vāci bhavatāṃ pittadūṣitaḥ, adhunā bhaṇyate cūtaḥ sāvadhānairniśamyatām.

the erudite audience of Amitagati's text. Nevertheless, whereas Amitagati's formulation keeps a certain distance – as is characteristic for a Sanskrit text – Manohardās' way of addressing is much more pressing and would have had a more direct impact on his audience. The personal creativity and distinct style of the text, as well as the widespread circulation of manuscripts, independently from manuscripts of Amitagati's text, evidences the independent existence and use of the *bhāṣā* text. As such, leaving aside how the author meant the above verse to be understood, we cannot omit the possibility that the audience understood it as if Manohardās is stepping out of the narrative to express his own voice. Such an interpretation would accord with the common use of the narrative genre to address the audience directly.

Indeed, within North Indian vernacular texts there are ample examples of verbs that refer to listening or sentences that remind of the dialogue between the author/reciter and the audience when a text is told or performed (see e.g. Busch 2015). The manner in which Manohardās interpolates such connections with the audience shows how he creates a version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that is vernacular both in language and in literary style.[113]

3.2.2.3   Metre

I have already referred to the metres that occur in this text several times but have not yet presented them in a comprehensive way.[114] Therefore, in what follows, I will discuss the metrical character of the text.

Overall, the most frequently used metre in this *Dharmaparīkṣā* is the *caupaī* alternated with the *dohā*.[115] To a lesser extent the *sorathā* and the *savaīyā ikatīsā* alternate with either of both these metres.[116] These metres are known to be common in early Hindi literature. Indeed, Bangha has argued that the *caupaī/caupāī* is 'the most important metrical form used in early Hindi poetry', as it is prevalent in Sufi romances, historical narratives, and even in Kabir's compositions.[117] Bangha considers this metre to be especially

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[113] Similar instances where the verb *sun-* is used to address the audience both inside as outside of the narrative are found in the Arrah ms. G-24 v. 871, v. 593, v 1771.

[114] I here mostly intend to present the variety of metres used in Manohardās' text. I leave a more in-depth analysis for later research.

[115] Note that Manohardās uses the *caupaī*, which is the fifteen-mātra variant of the more common *caupāī*. Interestingly, Plau has noted the same for Rāmcand Bālak's *Sītācarit* (2018: 98).

[116] Whereas Lutgendorf (1991) has recognised a structured alternation between *caupaī* and *dohā* or *soraṭhā* in Tulsidās' *Rāmcaritmānas* (which he calls a stanza), the variation between the *caupaī* metre and other metres does not follow any set of rules in Manohardās' text.

[117] See also Nagasaki's discussion of the origin and development of Hindi metre (2012: 107-130). Also interesting are the extensive samples of Hindi metre in the same volume (2012: 293-328).

characteristic for epic-purāṇic narratives in the region he calls Madhyadeśa (2015: 391). Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* is yet another text that falls under this characterisation.

Next to these recurrent metres, Manohardās uses a few metres with less regularity. These are the beforementioned *chappay chand* (2), the *aḍilla chand* (5), the *ṣaṭapada chand* (7), the *kuṇḍaliya* (2), the *kavitta* (5), the *jāti chand* (1), and the *gītā chand* (1). Next to these metres, we also encounter the *kavitta chappay* (1) and the *doharā* form (6).[118] Whereas I have suggested above that the *chappay* is a metre associated with instruction in a song-like form, it is difficult for the other metres to forward any kind of association with their content. It may be noted, however, that the *gītā chand* indicates the influence of song ('*gīta*'), and that the *kavitta* along with the *savaiyā* were very prominent in *rīti* poetry and were also sung (see Busch 2015: 253; McGregor 118). The variety of metres which Manohardās uses demonstrates his prosodic knowledge and skills. He exemplifies his familiarity with Braj narrative principles by abundantly using the *caupaī*, and expresses his creativity within the genre by experimenting with new poetic forms such as the *kuṇḍaliya*.[119] His composition concatenates a wide variety of vernacular metres in a loose structure, that reminds of other Jain narratives, like the *Sītācarit* by Rāmcand Bālak.[120]

The preceding discussion sketches an image of the text as bearing its own character, different from the Sanskrit text it aims to mirror, though one that is highly embedded in the literary practice of the time. The literary genre that I identify as genric frame for Manohardās' composition, is the Hindi *kathā* genre, that exhibited its own distinct identity by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Orsini 2015). This is, of course, demonstrated by its existence as a retelling of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, that is itself a frame story heavily dependent on epic and purāṇic themes. Indeed, Orsini has argued that most of the vernacular *kathās* of this period are characterised by epic-purāṇic frames and references (2015: 330). Manohardās' text is also shown to be highly influenced by other literary genres of the time, such as devotional songs, which is yet another characteristic of *kathās* in that period. It further plays with typical early Hindi metres as well as newly evolved ones and alludes to an orality that strengthens the text's connection to the genre of which it makes part and suggests its performative potential.

All of these features prove the text to be markedly vernacular, both in the sense that it is different from Amitagati's version, as in the sense that it is embedded within vernacular literary culture.

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[118] The numbers in brackets denote how many occurrences I counted.
The names of these metres are mentioned in the manuscripts. I transcribed them from ms. Arrah G-24.

[119] Bangha writes about the *kundaliya*, *jhulna*, and *nisani*, that they were new poetic forms 'that seem to emerge in Hindi literature around this time [i.e. the second half of the sixteenth century]' (2015: 360).

[120] The loose structure also appears from the fact that the text is not divided into sections or chapters.

3.2.3 Language – word choice

So far, I have devoted my discussion to the multiple ways in which Manohardās creates a composition independent from the work he emulates. Since his composition defines itself as a *bhāṣā*, it is explicitly dependent on Amitagati's original. Not only does Manohardās follow closely the plot laid out by Amitagati (see Appendix 2), the text contains several occasions (of sentences or fragments) that can be treated as 'translation' in the more typical sense, meaning transfers of written text from one language into another, that focus on equivalence (Shuttleword and Cowie 1997: 181). In what follows, I will illustrate several types of equivalence in how Manohardās 'translates' the Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*. These will include nearly literal translations, next to renditions that are rather bound by sense. This continuum of equivalence suggests we may also think of *bhāṣā* in terms of 'translation'. As such, this discussion is essential in assessing the semantics of *bhāsā*.

That Manohardās created his *bhāṣā* in an attempt of equating the work he acknowledges to emulate, is what appears from the very first verse of the narrative (after the *maṅgalācaraṇa*).[121]

Amitagati 1.1	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v. 11
Śrīmān nabhasvat-traya-tuṅga-śālaṃ jagad-gṛhaṃ bodhamaya-pradīpaḥ,	*Śrīmāna pavana tīna prakāra virājamāna jagata svarūpī ghara baiṭhī rahyau tina syau,*
Samantato dyotayate yadīyo bhavantu te tīrthaṃkarāḥ śriye naḥ.	*aise ghara māṃhi jinabodha dīpa vyāpi rahyo tina ko pratāpa hai anaṃta guṇo dina syoṃ,*
	anaṃta catuṣṭaya guṇa pūrṇa virājai tā mai arihaṃta siddha rāga doṣa gayo jina syoṃ,
	dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā bālaka subuddhi hetu buddhi sāru kahūṃ tātai vīnatī hai ina syau.
Let these *tīrthaṅkaras* serve our prosperity; whose splendid light full of knowledge shines all around on the house of the world	Let the glorious light of the Jinas' knowledge pervade in this house that is the world, splendid with its three atmospheres. Their splendour has endless qualities like the day, and shines endlessly in this [world] in the four directions, full of virtues, because of the

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[121] This is not to say that my final evaluation of this *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* is as 'translation'.

that has three atmospheric enclosures.[122] accomplished Jinas who are free from the sins of passion. I narrate this *Dharmaparīkṣā Bhāṣā*, the essence of intelligence, for the proper understanding of the ignorant.[123] So humbly I bow to those [Jinas].

Manohardās opens with the Sanskritic word *śrīmāna* that also in Amitagati's text announces the beginning of the text. Syntactically, he uses the same structure as his literary predecessor, rendering first the adjectives and appositions that qualify the object (*ghara*; *gṛham* in Sanskrit) before giving the words that form the main clause (object *ghara*, subject *dīpa*, verb *vyāpi rahyo*). This kind of structure is not common in the rest of the text which makes it likely that Manohardās draws directly on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati to open his narrative.

The similarity in the opening verse is evident, but there are even 'higher' levels of equivalence to be found within the text. The following verse serves as an example of what I would evaluate as the closest type of transferring Sanskrit into Brajbhāṣā used by Manohardās.

Amitagati 1.35	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v. 46
candraḥ kalaṅkī tapano 'titāpī jaḍaḥ payodhiḥ kaṭhinaḥ surādriḥ, yato 'marendro 'jani gotrabhedī tato na te yasya samā babhuvuḥ.	*Śaśi kalaṃka dinapati tapai, jara payodha sahi toṣa, meru kaṭhina ripu gotra ko, iṃdu nirapati niradoṣa.*
As the moon is soiled, the sun burns, the ocean is cold, Mount Meru is tough, [and] Indra was born as destroyer of the cowsheds [of the sky], not even these [divine beings] are equal to him.	The moon is black, the sun is burning, the cold ocean enduring with pleasure, Mount Meru is tough, Indra is the enemy to the cowsheds [of the sky], [but] this king is faultless.

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[122] *nabhasvat-traya* refers to the three types of atmospheric layers (*vāta-valaya*) in Jain cosmology, namely *ghanodadhi* ('humid'), *ghana* ('thick') and *tanu* ('thick') (see Varni 2002: 532; Jaini 1948: 11).

[123] An alternative translation for *bālaka subuddhi hetu* is 'for the sake of the ignorant and the wise'.

The equivalence in the vocabulary of these two verses is striking. Manohardās uses mostly *tatsama* words (direct borrowings from Sanskrit) where he also could have chosen a more Braj vocabulary, and places them in almost the same order.[124]

In the example below, we can notice as well that Manohardās has used the same set of vocabulary as in Amitagati's text. However, the type of vocabulary here, is of a different order than before, in the sense that it is simpler. Thus, the choice for *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words might here be motivated by the lesser availability of synonyms in the vernacular language.

Amitagati 11.8	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v. 1002
aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo na ca tapo yataḥ, *tataḥ putra-mukhaṃ dṛṣṭvā śreyase kriyate tapaḥ.*	*Aputrīka koṃ gati nahī, svarga nahī tisa vīra, prathama putra mukha dekhī kai, phira tapa lījai dhīra.*
Whereas for a sonless person neither heaven nor asceticism is a prospect, once one has seen the face of one's son, one can commit to asceticism for bliss.	For a sonless person there is no prospect, there is no heaven for this man. But once he has seen the face of his first son, then he can take up asceticism with steadfastness.

This verse, in contrast to the previous one, can be said to be quasi a 'literal translation' of the Sanskrit text, because it renders a 'word-for-word translation [that] make[s] changes in conformity with T[arget]L[anguage] grammar' (Catford 1965: 25).[125] Manohardās tries to stay as close to the original as possible and only transposes the verse to a Braj metre and adds rhyme. Both verses illustrate how understanding the category of *bhāṣā* as 'translation' is not incorrect, at least for certain instances in the text. They further evidence that Manohardās in the process of creating his 'retelling' made use of manuscripts of the text by Amitagati. Let us look at yet another example where Manohardās remains relatively close to Amitagati's text.

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[124] The word *payodha*, for example, does not even occur in Callewaert's Dictionary of Bhakti.

Because the relation between the cosmic elements and King Jitaśatru is different in the Braj verse from the Sanskrit verse, the translation of this verse is not 'perfect'.

[125] This definition of 'literal translation' is different from the understanding by Cicero, Horace, and John Dryden, that has a longer tradition and sees 'literal translation' as word-by-word rendering that does not take into account the grammatical structure of the target language (Baker 1998: 125).

Amitagati 2.30	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v. 126
sundarāḥ subhagāḥ saumyāḥ kulīnāḥ śīla-śālinaḥ, bhavanti dharmato dakṣāḥ śaśāṅka-yaśasaḥ sthirāḥ.	*suṃdara subhaga kulīna deṣi, śīlavaṃta jasaṣāni, samadiṣṭi vāṇi madhura, punna udai te jāni.*
The handsome, the fortunate, the gentle, the well-born, the virtuous, those who are splendid like the moon, clever and firm, they are so because of *dharma*.	Look at the handsome, the fortunate, the well-born, the virtuous, mines of splendour. They know that from the sweet words of correct insight virtue arises.

In terms of meaning, these two verses are very much the same. Manohardās has chosen to replace *dharma* by *samadiṣṭi* (*samyakdṛṣṭi*), which can be seen as a more precise connotation for what Amitagati actually refers to (i.e. 'correct *dharma*'),[126] and uses a more direct style of phrasing. The reference by Manohardās to Amitagati's text is mostly expressed through the use of the words that refer to types of people. These words here function as a kind of designation, which I believe may have motivated Manohardās to transpose the same vocabulary here, signalling them as names. We can notice that our author has left out one 'auspicious' kind of person, namely the gentle person (*saumya*). This may be explained by the metrical limitations of the *dohā* in which the verse was composed.

Continuing along the continuum of equivalence, the next example demonstrates a combination of closeness and distance with Amitagati's text in terms of vocabulary and sense.

Amitagati 6.11	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v.565
snehaśākhī gato vṛddhiṃ rati-manmathayor iva, siktaḥ sāṃgatyato yena tayor iṣṭa-phala-pradaḥ.	*Sneha-vṛkṣa ativṛdhati kiyo saṃga toi karikai sīciyau, parasa parasa hita phūla apāra, dūṃyoṃ vāṃchita phala dātāra.*
The tree of love between the two grew, like that of Kāma and Rati. Their union watered it so bestowing enjoyable fruits.	The tree of love was made to grow. Their union sprinkled it with water. Touch upon affectionate touch, boundless flowers grew,

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126 This is termed a 'particularizing translation' in Translation Studies (see Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 123).

bestowing enjoyable fruits upon those two.

The equivalence of Manohardās' verse with the verse by Amitagati is strongest in the first and final *pāda*. They embrace the middle *pādas* where Manohardās takes more freedom with Amitagati's original (e.g. he does not include the simile about Kāma and Rati). These *pādas* mirror the Sanskrit verse mostly through their word order: in the first *pāda* both authors use the order 'love-tree-grows' and in the final *pāda* they write words meaning 'both-wished-fruits-given'. Further, the use of the word *sneha* immediately at the opening of the verse signals similarity.

All the above examples exist as comparisons of precise verses with precise verses. The mere fact that such comparisons are possible, evidences that the process of creating this Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā* involved textual translation of sentences. While in some cases Manohardās transposed the Sanskrit sentence almost word-by-word into a Brajbhāṣā sentence, in other cases he rather transmitted the meaning or sense of a sentence. However, the textual units that our author transposed (or translated) from the Sanskrit source text to his own Brajbhāṣā version are not limited to sentences. Boundaries of transposed meaning can enclose multiple sentences and are in fact mostly defined by the unit of a substory.

Before, however, illustrating how Manohardās 'translates' one substory, I will give an example of one sentence that is translated by two sentences, in order to illustrate in detail this loosening of boundaries.

Amitagati 6.54	Manohardās Arrah G-24 v. 610-11
brahmacārī śucir dakṣo vinītaḥ śāstra-pāragaḥ, dṛśyate tvādṛśo yajña kulīno baṭukaḥ kutaḥ.	*Ājñākārī paṃḍita rāi, sucī vinīta catura sukha dāi, śāstra samudra bhayo tari pāri, janama pāra brahmacārī sāra.* *Aho kṛtāṃta kahā tuma kahū, aiso vaṭuka kahā ava lahuṃ [...].*
Such a pure and clever student, modest and skilled in the *śāstras*, where is such an eminent lad such as you found, O Yajña? (54)	The commanding Paṇḍit-king [said]: 'He was pure, modest, clever, and joy-giving, a ship that crossed the ocean of *śāstras*, the essential student, [now] at the end of this birth. Ah, what fate, I tell you! Where do I find now such a lad?

This example again clearly bears traces of the textual source that Manohardās used in making his *bhāṣā*, but here he does not remain within the same textual unit as his source text (i.e. one verse). Further, when we compare the larger textual unit of a substory, the connection to the textual source becomes less substantial, though not non-existent. The following comparison of the story of the third fool among four fools, will illustrate the way in which, in my opinion, most of the Sanskrit text is transposed into Brajbhāṣā. I have chosen this particular example because it illustrates the point I want to make in a relatively short way.

Amitagati 9.43-55[127]	Manohardās v 930-942[128]
When the second [fool] had ended telling his story, the third fool started to tell his enthusiastically:	The third fool [then] spoke: 'Please, listen to this case, O lords! There is no fool like me. Listen to what I have done, dear people.

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[127] DP$_A$ 9.43-49:

nigadyeti nijāṃ vārtāṃ dvitīye virate sati, tṛtīyo bāliśo diṣṭyā bhāṣituṃ tāṃ pracakrame. 43
svakīyam adhunā paurā mūrkhatvaṃ kathayāmi vaḥ, sāvadhānaṃ manaḥ kṛtvā yuṣmābhir avadhāryatām. 44
ekadā śvāśuraṃ gatvā mayānītā manaḥpriyā, ajalpantī niśi proktā śayanīyam upeyuṣī. 45
yo jalpatyāvayoḥ pūrvaṃ hāryante tena niścitam, kṛśodari daśāpūpāḥ sarpir-guḍa-viloḍitāḥ. 46
tato vallabhayā proktam evam astu visaṃśayam, kulīnābhir vaco bhartur na kvāpi pratikūlyate. 47
āvayoḥ sthitayor evaṃ pratijñā rūḍhayoḥ satoḥ, praviśya sakalaṃ dravyaṃ caureṇāhāri mandiram. 48
na tena kiṃcana tyaktaṃ gṛhṇatā draviṇaṃ gṛhe, chidre hi jāra-caurāṇāṃ jāyate prabhaviṣṇutā. 49
priyāyāḥ kraṣṭum ārabdhe stenena paridhānake, jalpitaṃ re durācāra tvaṃ kim adyāpy upekṣase. 50
ākṛṣṭe me 'ntarīye 'pi tvaṃ jīvasi kathaṃ śaṭha, jīvitavyaṃ kulīnānāṃ bhāryā-paribhavāvadhi. 51
tadīyaṃ vacanaṃ śrutvā vihasya bhaṇitaṃ mayā, hāritaṃ hāritaṃ kānte prathamaṃ bhāṣitaṃ tvayā. 52
guḍena sarpiṣā miśrāḥ pratijñātāḥ svayaṃ tvayā, paṅkajākṣi daśāpūpā dīyatāṃ mama sāṃpratam. 53
idaṃ paśyata mūrkhatvaṃ madīyaṃ yena hāritam, sarvaṃ pūrvārjitaṃ dravyaṃ durāpaṃ dharma-śarmadam. 54
tadā boḍam iti khyātaṃ mama nāma janaiḥ kṛtam, viḍambanāṃ na kām eti prāṇī mithyābhimānataḥ. 55

[128] DP$_M$ Arrah ms. G-246 v. 930-42:

tritīya mūrakha bole eva, vinatī eka suno ho deva, mujha samāna mūrakha nahi koi, mere kāma sunau tuma loi. 930
gayo sāsurai ekadā, prāṇa piyārī laina, jāi triyā niśi bhogavī, mahā madana sukha daina. 931
bahuta dinau ke mile taiṃ, kahī paraspara bāta. rasakārī sukha vardhinī, tātai upajai dhāta. 932
dū bolyo bāteṃ karata. doi pahara ko khana hūvā. pahilai bolai kāminī, hārai sodaśa hī puvā. 933
ghṛta gula lolita tājā kiyā. hārai so de ḍhīla na triyā, yahai hoha aho bharatāra, śīlavaṃta nahi lopai kāra. 934
aśubha yoga ika kāraṇa bhayo, tihi thānaka taskara ika thayo, tihī pāpī sagalau dhana liyo, dono madhi koi na boliyo. 935
sava dhana līyo so dhikai, bhayo manohara kāja, jāra cora koṃ prītamāṃ, nirabhai thānaka rāja. 936
phuni tasakara triya koṃ paradhāna, ṣeca na lāgyo vasana ayāna, java kāminī bolī risa bharī, are mugadha tohi āī marī. 937
dhika paro tā jīva tavi, tā triya kau apamāna, deṣa taho tā puruṣa soṃ, mana vaca bhalo masāna. 938
prāṇa prīyā ko vacana sunei, hasi kari mūrakha uttara dei, hārī hārī mana me joi, prathama pratijñā kīnī soi. 939
ghṛta gula lolita hālikai, dehu na kījai ḍhīla, vārija naina daśa pūvā, rāṣyā cāho śīla. 940
pitā upārjita dāma, dharma kāma tākai viṣai, mūrakha tākai kāṃm, karikai ṣoyo prītamā. 941
aiso mana mai jānī, vacana ṭeka kījai nahī, tātai jasa dhana hānī, hoi manohara kahata hai. 942

'Dear citizens, I will now tell you of my own stupidity. Focus your attention and think about it.

Once, I went to my father-in-law and I brought along my beloved. In the night when she had gone to bed, without speaking, I told her:

'O thin-waisted one, whoever of us two speaks first, he or she must send for ten *pupa* cakes rolled in ghee and molasses.'

Then the lovely girl said: 'So be it! The words of a husband are never opposed by women of good birth.'

While we were staying there and had come to this agreement, a thief entered the house and took all our belongings.

He took all our possessions in the house and left nothing. In such opportunity, thieves overpower lovers.

When the thief began to steal the undergarments of my beloved, she said [to me]: 'You brute, how can you disregard this now, even when my undergarment is pulled off?! How can you live [with yourself]?! You cheat! For men of good birth, life is worth living until their wife is humiliated.'

Having heard her words, I laughed and said: 'You lost, you lost! O love, you spoke first!

You must now give me the promised ten *pupa* cakes mixed

Once, I went to my father-in-law and I brought along my beloved. Having gone there, my wife made me enjoy the night, giving me great passion and joy.

While together for many days, we said words to each other that stimulated our love and increased our happiness. Because of this, my semen arose.

The two of us had been exchanging words, while two strokes [of the night] had gone by. "Whoever speaks first, my love, should send for ten *puvā* cakes", [I said].

My wife vowed for freshly made ones rolled in ghee and molasses, not neglecting [my proposal]: "Thus it will be, my husband! A virtuous woman does not run away from her task."

Then something happened that caused misfortune. A thief arrived there, and that scoundrel took all our belongings. But neither of us two said a word.

He took everything; curse him! What a breath-taking affair was that. A lover is the darling of a thief, the fearless king of that place.

Then, the thief pulled off my beloved's garments, [so that] she did not have any clothes on, O fool! Then my love spoke, filled with rage: "You idiot, are you sick?!

with ghee and molasses, O lotus-eyed one.'

See this stupidity of me, which allowed all the wealth that I earned earlier, that was difficult to attain and full of prosperity and righteousness, to be taken away.

Then the people gave me the name Boda. What ridicule does a man out of false pride not come to?

Curse you! Now your soul has fallen, now there is dishonour for your wife. Because of that man, look indeed at the cremation ground in mind and speech."

Listening to the words of my beloved, this fool laughed and answered: "You lost, you lost the agreement that we made earlier in our heart!

As you are defeated, give the cakes, rolled in ghee and molasses! Do not be lazy, O lotus-eyed one! Ten *pūvā* cakes and your virtue is safe."

Our fathers consider earned wealth, dharma and love, for worldly pleasure. But a fool [like me] considers [only] desire. Acting thus, I lost my beloved.

Understand this in your mind: and let my words not be made a refrain. Because of this, I lost my good name and wealth.' So it is, says Manohara.

The above comparison is very illustrative of the character or identity of Manohardās' text as *bhāṣā*. We can recognise how throughout these few verses, Manohardās in his 'translation' intermittently moves closer to and further away from the source text by Amitagati's hand. Though both versions use approximately the same amount of verses to tell this substory, verses of each text do not exactly accord with each other (as would be in sentence-to-sentence translation). For example, the exchange of sweet words between the lovers in DP$_M$ v. 932 is not told in Amitagati's text. I also want to point out how Manohardās (as above) resonates with Amitagati in his choice of vocabulary, for two verses: v. 936 (*jara-caura*) and v. 939 (*hārita hārita*). Our Braj author is clearly inspired by the text of his literary predecessor, but he feels free to capture the story in his own creative way.

I would call this fragment, from the perspective of traditional Translation Studies, a paraphrase. This term is best known in John Dryden's definition, who describes it as one of the three methods of translating, next to metaphrase and imitation (dated 1680; in Baker 1998: 166):

'The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered.'

This definition is in the line of 'sense-by-sense translation' foregrounded by Jerome (fourth century) to counter the Ciceronian/Horatian tradition of word-by-word translation (Baker 1998: 166).[129] I prefer Dryden's definition here, because it gives recognition to both the original author and the translator, and because it leaves room for intermittent freedom by the translator. I have mentioned already how Manohardās gives credit to Amitagati, by using certain vocabulary that is also in Amitagati's version.[130] Furthermore, our Braj author indeed adds to the narrative by Amitagati without altering the story. The verse that refers to the fool's father versus himself is an example of this if we compare it to the mere mention of 'earlier earned wealth' in DP$_A$ 6.54. However, amplification in the sense that it explains Amitagati's words – as we see for example with the modern Hindi paraphrase in the edition of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* – is not applicable to this fragment.

As I have suggested above, I argue that this way of 'translation', namely as a paraphrase, is the 'dominant' method practiced by Manohardās in transposing Amitagati's text into Braj, especially when you analyse the text according to substories as textual units. Within these units then, one can recognise the different ways of translation as was demonstrated in the verse examples. Our author at some points stays very close to the source text, but for others he deals with the text more freely. As such, the idea of 'translation' within the *bhāṣā* in itself contains a variety of (types of) 'translations'. This complicates taking the angle of translation (as a singular concept) towards the whole text. Moreover, the extensive 'deviations' by Manohardās from Amitagati's version described in the previous sections, complicate the picture further. What then is my sense of *bhāṣā* for this text, will be elucidated in the concluding section of this chapter.

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[129] Some scholars working within a postcolonial framework might suggest using the Indian term *bhāvānuvāda* to refer to sense-by-sense translation. This term, however, in its historical meaning does not cover the exactness of Dryden's definition of paraphrase and is thus not meaningful here (see Hatcher 2017). The same difficulty seems to be the case with the distinction we find in modern Indian editions and in some early modern manuscripts between *śabdārth* ('word-meaning', 'gloss') and *bhāvārth* ('sense-meaning').

[130] Next to crediting hem in the *praśasti* of course. Though this is not applicable to the fragment in itself.

3.3   The audience

In this section I examine the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās in relation to its audience. This involves questioning in which form (or medium) the text was transmitted to the audience, and, related to that, in which modes the audience engaged with the text? This dual discussion is important because although the concept 'medium' implies independent existence, it is not disconnected from the audience (nor the author) but 'includes and constitutes them' (see Hutcheon 2006: 34). Moreover, there is no one-on-one relationship between the two, as one medium can involve several modes of engagement, or one mode of engagement can be implied in a range of media (cf. Introduction, p. 20). I have shown for Amitagati that his text was mostly meant to be 'told' (either to others or through self-reading).[131] Part of evaluating the text by Manohardās as an adaptation properly, is to assess whether the Braj version kept or changed this mode of engagement with the audience. To that purpose, my analysis of the medial aspects (or engagement-modes) of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās will be based upon an examination of the two sources we have at hand, namely the text as narrative and the manuscripts in which the text came down to us. The 'mediality' of the Braj narrative through manuscripts seems quite straightforward as they evidence the use of the text in written form. The modes of engagement connected to that medium are less evident, since manuscripts could be used for different purposes (cf. supra). Moreover, the different types of materiality of manuscripts that are available to us, suggest that the medium of the Braj narrative was not limited to the written form. I will deal with aspects that are specific to the medium of manuscripts below. I first focus on the text by Manohardās itself. What are the textual clues through which we can evaluate the form (or hypothetical medium) in which this adaptation was transmitted, and what do these textual clues tell us about the modes in which the audience engaged with the text?

3.3.1   Modes of engagement and textuality

Let me begin my discussion here by looking at how the text itself reflects upon its relationship with the audience in the *praśasti* (DP$_M$ Arrah G-24, v. 2085):

> The *Dharmaparīkṣā* that is the essence of intelligence was made vernacular in Dhāmpur for the sake of friendship, for the support of the lonely, not for any glory, not for any pain, nor desire for wealth, [it was made] to my best as a *paṇḍit*

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131 I am using here Linda Hutcheon's differentiation of modes of engagement into the telling, the showing and interactive mode.

accumulating *rasa* ('aesthetic experience'), verse by verse. Upon reading or hearing [it], intellect arises and there is prosperity and purity which bears happiness. This Manohardās says, with emotion in his mind, for the fortune of the entire community.[132]

This verse clearly states that the work could not only be 'read' (*paḍhai*), but that it was also meant to be 'heard' (*sunai*). It implies the different possible uses of the medium of a manuscript we know from other sources as well, namely, to be kept and read for personal use, or to be read out in a community (e.g. in a sermon). Whereas the first mode to engage with the text is clearly the telling mode, the second manner of listening suggests a mode of engagement that is somewhat different. When someone listens to a narrative, he listens to a mediator who has his own interpretation, intonation, and facial expressions. Such an engagement with the text draws more from performance as it adds sensorial elements to the text's reception. Attention to this nuance has been recently highlighted in Orsini's and Schofield's volume on *Texts and Tellings* (2015), and my analysis will support that claim. There are several possible ways of listening to a story that can be closer to either a 'telling' mode or to a 'performative' mode. On the one hand, the text could be read out for a small circle of people in a narrative way, just like a mother would tell a fairy-tale to her children. On the other hand, the text could be 'staged' rather than just read out, in a monologue form, like we know from bardic culture. In such a case, it would express the performing or showing mode of engagement. Because the verse above, unfortunately, is not clear about how exactly it understands 'listening', it is necessary to look beyond the self-descriptive verses, and refer to other textual clues that are more comprehensive or add to our understanding of the modes by which the audience engaged with the Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In the discussion of these textual clues I argue that Manohardās' version lies in between a text to be read and a performance.

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* in general is a frame narrative. The narration is composed in such a way that the text itself contains all the elements for the audience to be able to follow the plot. This suggests that the prominent mode of engagement of the text is the telling mode. On the other hand, I have pointed out above how Manohardās' text contains several oral aspects that suggest an engagement that is not limited to pure telling. I return to these elements now.

Whereas in the *praśasti* we find both the verbs 'to read' and 'to listen', within the text the audience is mostly reminded that it should listen to the stories told by Manohardās, because indeed 'For who listens there is wisdom' (cf. supra, p. 191). The way in which the audience is requested to listen, is direct and meant to draw their attention. This attention

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[132] *nagara dhāmpura māṃhi karī bhāṣā budhi-sāru, dharmaparīkṣā mitra artha vijana dhari vāru, nā kachu kīrati na kachu ārata dhana vaṃcha na, yathāṃ sakati paṃḍita raci padapada rasa saṃcana, paḍhai sunai upajai subuddhi hvai kalyāṇa śubha sukha dharaṇa, manarasi manohara ima kahai sakala saṃgha maṃgala karaṇa.*

is also called upon in the verses that have a repetitive nature. As I have argued above, repetition is not just a strategy of didactics, it is also typical for songs that often exist of stanzas intermitted by refrains (cf. supra, p. 189). Further song-like features are the use of specific metres (cf. supra, p. 193) and the interpolation of *bhaṇitās* (cf. supra, p. 188). These poet signatures do not only refer to a performed and lyric dimension, but also, as D'Hubert has pointed out, structure the narrative sequence of the poem, thus helping the audience to follow the plot (2015: 432). This is especially relevant in a performance where the plot would be more elusive than when reading a text. In other words, these oral elements that I am re-mentioning here are not merely oral (as in 'read out'). I argue that they clearly suggest that Manohardās' composition was mediated through performance, next to being read (or read out).[133] Such a performance should not be thought of in the way we think of a play, but rather as the voicing of a text with an important role for physical expression. This is how 'listening' to the *Dharmaparīkṣā* goes beyond the telling mode of engagement. As a whole, the performance of the narrative would use the telling mode for several of its parts but would occasionally shift to the performative mode. In such a mode, the narrative acquires certain physiological features, as the audience sees the gestures of the performer and hears his changes in intonation. This involves a different 'mental act' from the audience than the telling mode (see Hutcheon 2006: 130). By receiving more sensorial impulses, the audience itself reacts more physically to the narrative, the text does not only work on the mind but also on the body. In the performed Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā* the aural aspects are also different. We can imagine how a larger group of Jains would listen together to the narrative. Such a group experience would give stronger auditory impulses (e.g. the atmosphere is louder) and help to harmonise the response of the audience.[134] The textual clues I have called 'song-like features' further evidence musical aspects in the aural setting of experiencing the text. Music and melody can function as 'emulsifiers' that allow to take in the message of the narrative, or 'can assist the imagination of the listener' (see Hutcheon 2006: 41-42). Moreover, I argue that these song-insertions indicate how the audience engaged with the text in an interactive mode. When the performer of the Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā* would burst out into song in those parts of the text that have repetition or use specific metres, the audience could start singing along, which is made possible by the 'refrains'. In this way, the audience responds to what is told, it agrees and makes the words of the text its own. This (interactive) participation allows a more immediate kind of immersion which creates an 'intensity of engagement' (King 2002: 63 in Hutcheon 2005: 51).

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[133] These performances themselves were supported by the manuscripts. This means that the text was mediated to the performer through a manuscript, and to the audience through a performance.

[134] This is actually an important aid in the didactic function of the text.

3.3.2 Modes of engagement and materiality

The perspective that looks at the modes of engagement pertaining to Manohardās' version through the medium handed down to us, namely manuscripts, adds or nuances the conclusions we drew from the textual clues. The medium also suggests a combination of literacy and orality in the engagement with the text and further demonstrates its specifically religious use. In this subsection, I will discuss what the manuscripts tell us about the use of the text. This discussion will not restrict itself to the materiality but will also treat textual elements that are specific to a manuscript and not part of the narrative text. First, let me start with materiality.

I have mentioned in the Introduction (p. 46) that manuscripts of Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* were numerous and well-circulated. This in itself demonstrates that the written form was important in the circulation of the narrative. If we look at the form of the manuscripts that are preserved we can discern between the manuscripts that have a *pothī* form and those that are called *guṭakā*.[135] *Guṭakā* manuscripts are known to have functioned as a type of notebooks for either laymen during sermons or for performers.[136] They are recognised by their 'portrait' format and their mostly less-polished handwriting. *Guṭakās* also often contain different handwritings in one manuscript (as is the case in the mentioned manuscript), which evidences that they were written down by more than one person. Further, *guṭakās* often combine several texts in one manuscript. As such, Kāslīvāl lists a *guṭakā* that contains both Banārsīdās' *Samayasāra Nāṭaka* as well as the *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* by a certain Manoharlāl, whom I believe to be our Manohardās (1962: 170).[137] The existence of this type of materiality of Manohardās' text, namely as *guṭakā*, evidences the direct role the Braj *Dharmaparīkṣā* played in religious practice. Firstly, as *guṭakās* are known to be notebooks we can say that the text was not just written down by professional scribes to be stored, but by laymen to study the text or by performing laymen to recite the text for the teaching of an audience. In this way, the engagement with the text is more 'intense' than when reading a manuscript prepared by a professional scribe. Similarly, the relatively unpolished style of writing demonstrates that the importance did

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[135] Novetzke (2008) has an illustrative chapter on orality and literacy in the performance of the songs of Namdev. He argues 'the *pothī* serves what we might call "private" or elite memory, the literate, perhaps courtly archive, against public memory, an open, lightly mediated, and often nonliterate archive – the domain of the *bada*' (2008: 101).
I have collected one *guṭakā* manuscript of Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā*: ms. Da-021-28 from the Arrah Jain Siddhānt Bhavan.

[136] Tyler Williams' dissertation on the history of writing in Hindi (Williams 2014) excellently analyses what the materiality of *guṭakā* manuscripts can tell about the social context and use of the texts they contain. It is especially insightful regarding the combination of literacy and orality.

[137] Since I have not found any other attestation of a *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* by a certain Manoharlāl, it seems probable that the name Manoharlāl was a typo for Manohardās.

not lie in the material, but in the words of the text themselves. This, in my opinion, again suggests either that the text was meant to be read out, performed, or used for personal study. The fact that the manuscript contains several different styles of handwritings demonstrates how the *guṭakā* travelled between several individuals. We can imagine how perhaps a *paṇḍita* (a lay specialist of Jainism) would write down one part of the text for a sermon, to then pass it on to another specialist for another sermon.[138] Although we do not know this for certain, we can conclude that the text was engaged with socially as it brought together several people. Thirdly, the collection of the *Dharmaparīkṣā Bhāṣā* together with the *Samayasāra Nāṭaka* is also telling in terms of audience engagement. Cort writes that the composition by Banārsīdās 'became a textbook for seminars in Agra' and quotes the editor of the 1644 *Banarsī vilās*, Jagjivan who 'mentioned a "circle of scholars" (*jñānīn kī maṇḍalī*) that engaged in the study (*vicāra*) of Banārsīdās' text' (2015: 74). The combination of Manohardās' text with one by Banārsīdās therefore suggests that the two texts might have been part of the same curriculum. At the same time, Cort points out how the vernacular rendering of the *Samayasāra* was metrified and clearly bears the imprint of a poet (2015: 83). These poetical qualities of the *Samayasāra Nāṭaka* illustrate its use as poetry, which was mainly oral.

Next to reading the material itself for clues about how the audience used or engaged with Manohardās' composition, there are also clues – though textual – that are characteristic for the composition as mediated in a manuscript. Metre, as I have explained above, is one them. Another characteristic is the indication of 'chapters' or 'parts' in the text.

At five points in the manuscripts we find words that indicate the end of a part. This is the case in all manuscripts, which evidences the fact that these sentences were not put there by the decision of one specific copyist.[139] I refer here to the manuscripts, because this kind of sentence is not one we commonly encounter in a Braj Bhāṣā composition, except for in the colophons that would be ascribed to scribes. These are mostly '*iti*'-sentences and thus they are similar to the way '*iti*' can be used in a Sanskrit or Prakrit text.[140] Noticeably, they do not appear at every 'ending', by which I mean the end of a logical part in the plot such as a substory or a discussion with the Brahmins.[141] To better illustrate this, let me quote the indications given in one exemplary manuscript:

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[138] In the manuscript I have collected, the changes of handwriting indeed occur in the shift from one substory to another, which is a logical division of narrative portions. This could, however, also be explained as a logical point to have a pause in copying down a text.

[139] Within the manuscripts I was able to collect, I would suggest discerning (at least) two copying traditions. All manuscripts from BORI have the same variants, in contrast to the manuscript from Pāṭan and from Berlin, which are similar to each other.

[140] Indeed, Amitagati closes every *pariccheda* in such a way. Hariṣeṇa also closes his *saṃdhis* by '*iti*'.

[141] They also do not occur at every 'ending' as Amitagati divides the text. This has been shown above to not necessarily accord with a pause in the plot.

1) *iti śrī dharmaparīkṣābhāṣā manoharadāsa sāṃgānerī ṣaṃḍelavāla kṛta prathama adhikāraḥ saṃdhi.*[142]

2) *iti saṭha kathā samāptaṃ. chaṭhī saṃdhī saṃpūrṇa.*[143]

3) *iti śrī dharmaparīkṣābhāṣā manoharadāsa sāṃgānerī ṣaṃḍelavāla kṛta caturdaśamaḥa, pariccheda, 14, samāptaṃ.*[144]

4) *iti śrī dharmaparīkṣābhāṣā manoharadāsa sāṃgānerī ṣaṃḍelavāla kṛta saṃdhi solahamī samāptaṃ.*[145]

After the first 'chapter'-ending, we have to wait until the sixth *sandhi* to get another closing sentence. Between the first and the sixth, it is not clear where a section would be closed, as the verse numbering continues throughout the text. Also noticeable is how the fourteenth part is called a *pariccheda* whereas the others are called *sandhi.* Neither of the two denominations are specific to Braj literature: the word *pariccheda* is used by Amitagati, and thus might be informed by the fact that the Braj text is a *bhāṣā*, whereas the word *sandhi* is characteristic of Apabhraṃśa literature. Because of this inconsistency in the use of these sentences, we can wonder why they are put there, or who has composed them? Any answer to this will remain hypothetical, although I believe that these sentences are specific to the handwritten medium of the text. A possible answer might be in the fact that all manuscripts use the same limited amount of this type of sentences. This can mean either that all manuscripts were copied from the same older manuscript (possibly with other manuscripts in between), of which the scribe had inserted the phrase '*iti śrī ...*',[146] or that our author Manohardās had initially composed his text as such that closing sentences were only (quasi randomly) included at some occasions.[147] What I see as the significance of these sentences, is that they provide a break in the narrative for the one who reads out or performs the text. In comparison, Lutgendorf explains that the Rāmcaritmānas is often recited with a fixed number of verses per day (e.g. thirty-six) to make its recitation coverable (1991: 54) and that in the ritualised recitation *sampuṭs* ('wrappers') are inserted to serve as 'an enclosure or frame for each unit of recitation' (1991: 69). As such, the insertion of 'endings' of a part (or *sandhi*) in the text by Manohardās might have served a similar goal of aiding the performer and would not be uttered themselves. They are thus specific to the manuscript and not to the text-narrative.

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[142] Arrah ms. G-24 after v. 103 (folio 10).

[143] Arrah ms. G-24 after v. 759 (folio 56).

[144] Arrah ms. G-24 after v. 1527 (folio 125).

[145] Arrah ms. G-24 after v. 1840 (folio 150).

[146] I believe this to be the most likely explanation.

[147] Analysing the content in relation to these divisions does not seem to help in clarifying this.

3.3.3 New modes of engagement?

The relationship between Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the audience of this text comprises of a combination of literacy and orality. In the words of the text itself: it could 'read' (*paḍhai*) and it could be 'heard' (*sunai*). Whereas the first two terms ('literacy'/'orality') refer to the medium of the text, the second pair of words refers to the modes of engagement with the text. For both defining concepts of the relationship between the audience and the text, I have shown that they existed in multiple ways. Without doubt the reception of Manohardās' composition was dependent on the written medium. This is evidenced by the existence of many manuscripts spread over North India. This medium of the manuscript in itself hinted at its identification of an 'in-between-medium'. It connected people through its production (cf. the *guṭakā*) and through its practical use. As such, the *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* is essentially a text to be socially engaged with. The 'in-between-medium' of the manuscript, I argue, is a prerequisite for the text to exist in its oral medium, as a performance. This form of the text did not just engage the audience in a 'telling mode' but stimulated the people by several sensorial impulses so that we can speak of a 'performative mode'. In the same way as Allison Busch has stated about *rīti* texts, I argue that although at first glance, 'the performative dimensions of these [...] texts are less obvious than of their *bhakti* ("devotional") counterparts [...] it is possible to reconstruct some of the aural landscape of' this early-modern version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (see Busch 2015: 249-250). Through metre, narrative pauses, and several song-like textual clues we can 'hear' the music in the text that would resound in several of its parts. The medium of the performance, in my opinion, did not only draw in the audience in a sensorial mode, it also required the audience to interact, to embody the words of Manohardās. Though this is a different kind of interaction than meant by Hutcheon (2006),[148] it does invite the audience to be deeply immersed in the verses of the text and to creatively engage with the verses. This is where the adaptation becomes medially different from the original. Amitagati's text was also orally transmitted, namely in recitation (cf. supra), but, I argue, it did not involve the same kind of sensorial impulses nor does it invite the audience to participate in the text in the same way.[149]

   As a final nuance, I would like to remind the reader of the fact that the text could also be studied.[150] This demonstrates the varied ways in which the *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* was engaged with; between orality and literacy, reflecting the liveliness of the intellectual culture of the Jain community in the seventeenth century.

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[148] She uses the example of the video game to show how an adaptation can engage the audience to shape the narrative through the interactive mode.

[149] Other evidence of the orality of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* comes from Manohardās who states that it was spoken (*kahī* cf. supra) a thousand times before.

[150] This is evidenced by the existence of *guṭakā* ('notebook') manuscripts of this text (cf. supra, p. 62).

3.4 Conclusion

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās has in the course of this chapter been shown to be a rich adaptation of the popular narrative of Manovega and Pavanavega. It is a richness that is telling of the time in which it was composed. Manohardās' seventeenth century was a culmination of processes that originated in the 'long' fifteenth century (see Orsini and Sheikh 2014) and which knew a flourishing and new literary culture. This culture was one in which the vernacular language took centre stage and therefore it engendered many vernacular versions (*bhāṣās*) of texts that were originally part of the standard Sanskrit corpus. The Jains were especially prolific in producing such *bhāṣās*, as the biography of Banārsīdās has shown. This knowledge provides a first part of the answer to the question why Manohardās would have adapted the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. His work formed part of the project of intellectual Jains to make important texts – as forms of knowledge – available to a wider audience and to enhance discussions and explorations of them. In this insight lies also the suggestion of the second part of the answer to the former question, namely why has he adapted exactly the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Manohardās' adaptation itself proves the fact that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was known and studied, and that it was particularly the version by Amitagati which interested lay Jains at the time. Connecting several elements from the above discussion, I would like to add that Amitagati's version was particularly cherished because it was written in Sanskrit, by an author who demonstrated his knowledge of Jain doctrine and took inspiration from the central figure of the Mūlasaṃgha (and in Manohardās' time of the *adhyātma* movement), Kundakunda.[151] The *bhāṣā* project was not just one of translation from a classical language into a vernacular language. Although the latter section of this chapter has analysed specific translatory practices, my main argument has been that Manohardās has vernacularised the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in a contextual sense. In my opinion, one of the most (if not thé most) characterising features of Manohardās' adaptation is that it is embedded into a local culture, that bears the characteristics of contemporary Digambara movements as well as of typically vernacular literary trends at that time. In comparison to Amitagati, I would say that while the Sanskrit author indeed addresses a lay audience by telling popular stories, his stories seem to endorse a more generic or cosmopolitan appropriability. His language being Sanskrit endorses such cosmopolitanism and appeal to high culture. Manohardās, on the other hand, makes the stories tangible. He interlaces the stories with elements that are better known to an audience of the seventeenth century and, at times truly makes the narratives come alive by triggering people's auditory and visual senses.

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[151] An important fact supporting this argument is the appearance of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in a *guṭakā* together with the *Samayasāra Nāṭaka,* which is a *bhāṣā* of Kundakunda's work.

These tangible elements draw from various localised sources including religious practice, oral culture, and urban lifestyle, as well as from North Indian literature. Taking Manohardās' *Dharmaparīkṣā* as an example, I would argue that the *bhāṣās* of the early-modern period were concerned almost as much with adapting a text to a 'vernacular religion' and 'vernacular literary culture' as with language. It is for that reason that I suggest to translate the word *bhāṣā* as 'vernacularisation', including the connotation it has in sociological studies (cf. supra, p. 170; see Primiano 1995). However, there is some extent to which vernacularisation in the current sense transcends the focus on the 'individual' or 'local' in the strictly sociological sense (see Primiano 1995). The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās, in its transposition from classical to vernacular, embeds itself within the North Indian Brajbhāṣā literary culture that by the seventeenth century had become a 'Culture' (with a capital 'C') stretching over a vast area of the northern part of the subcontinent. It is part of a trans-local literature and therefore gives the vernacularised narrative a trans-local appeal. This play between the 'great' and 'little' tradition is also expressed in the balancing act Manohardās displays between retaining some intellectual elements from Amitagati and inserting elements that rather belong to devotional spheres. The variety of characteristics that come together in the *Dharmaparīkṣā bhāṣā* render an appeal to this version by Manohardās that could speak to many different audiences. It could be studied by those who wanted to learn about the narrative as it was made famous in Sanskrit, and it could be indulged in by those seeking religious inspiration in a light-hearted way. These factors composed the strength of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* vernacularisation and made the text to be so well circulated and reproduced over northern India.

Chapter 4   Creating a regional(ising) *Dharmaparīkṣā*: the adaptation by Vṛttavilāsa

In the previous two chapters I have discussed in detail the two most widely spread *Dharmaparīkṣās* in terms of material remains. Starting with this chapter, I turn to other versions that have defined the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition and have done so in a way that adds to my exploration of adaptive practices in Jain literature. Although these versions will be treated in less detail, my discussions will explain the most significant adaptive aspects in them. First of all, I turn the reader's attention to the South-Indian adaptation in Kannada by the Jain author, Vṛttavilāsa. The last chapter before the Conclusion will discuss in a more concise way versions that are characterised by condensation.

The *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa is, in my opinion, one of the more important adaptations to understand the *Dharmaparīkṣā* textual tradition.[1] It is the third oldest extant *Dharmaparīkṣā* and it differs distinctively from the authoritative adaptation by Amitagati (especially in comparison to other later texts), because of its unique embeddedness into southern Indian literary culture. Further, in view of the popularity of this text in Kannada literary histories (cf. infra), I estimate that there must have been a relatively large number of manuscripts made of this particular version in the Kannada regions; much more than the three manuscripts I could find in the catalogues I accessed.[2] In what follows, I argue that Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation is indeed the regionalising version that the title of this chapter indicates, on the basis that it uses a synthetic literary register that identifies itself emphatically with a certain region and its culture, while applying 'the

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[1] The title of Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation is *Dharmaparīkṣe* because in Kannada the *e*-ending is the nominative feminine singular ending, corresponding with the *ā*-ending in Sanskrit.

[2] Overall, most of the consulted catalogues, reports, etc. focus on libraries in the northern part of the subcontinent. The dissertation by Rao (1986) mentions seven manuscripts that were consulted to make his edition of Vṛttavilāsa's text, these were all different from the ones I was able to trace and concern university and private collections.

full spectrum of expressive qualities of the [...] cosmopolitan code' (Pollock 2006: 322). But before I come to that, I will discuss the author, his region, and its culture.

4.1   The author and his context

Next to Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati, Vṛttavilāsa is the third author whose name has been associated with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition from the earliest studies on this narrative. This is most likely due to the mentioning of his name in the relatively early studies on Kannada texts by Kittel (1875: xlv) and Rice (1921: 37). Indeed, Vṛttavilāsa is included among the well-known authors of Kannada literature canonised in overviews of Kannada literature like Rice's *History of Kannada Literature* (vol. 2, 1921) and the *Samagra Kannaḍa Sāhitya Caritre* (1978) published in ten volumes by Bangalore University. The only detailed study about this author and his work, is the beforementioned dissertation submitted by Raghavendra Rao and published by Mysore University in 1986. Based on his dissertation research, Rao has also published an edition of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Vṛttavilāsa (1982). These two published works are my main sources for discussing the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa as an adaptation in comparison to other *Dharmaparīkṣās*.[3]

As it is the case with most authors of a *Dharmaparīkṣā*, we know very little about Vṛttavilāsa. In fact, the name Vṛttavilāsa is only referred to in three primary sources. The first is the *Dharmaparīkṣe* itself, the second is the *Prākkāvyamālika* which refers to Vṛttavilāsa as author of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and of a work titled *Śāstrasāra* which is now lost (Rao 1982: 2), and the third source is the nineteenth century *Rājavali Katte* by Devacandra which places Vṛttavilāsa at the time of King Ballala (Rao 1986: 4).[4] Moreover,

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[3] I thank Prof. Chinnapa Gowda from Mangalore University who patiently read through the thesis in modern Kannada by Rao (1986) with me. These readings provided the basis of my discussion of Vṛttavilāsa's text and were supplemented by our selected readings of the edited text (1982).

[4] In his 'Essay on Canarese Literature' which prefaces his *Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody* Kittel writes the following: 'To this period [around 1193–1199] may further belong two well-known Jaina Canarese treatises: the Sâstrasâra, and the Dharmaparîkshê (by Vṛittavilâsa), copies of both which are met with at Mûḍabidar' (1875: xlv). This means that the *Śāstrasāra* was an actual existing text and that it was also most likely written by Vṛttavilāsa. Supporting their similarity Kittel adds a footnote stating the following: 'They are archaic in style and language; the following śloka, used against Brahmanical antagonists, occurs in both: [...]' (1875: xlv, 4). The manuscripts described by Kittel are as such not necessarily lost (cf. Rao about the *Śāstrasāra*, supra), but from my own experience it seems that the collection at Moodbidri is not well organised or preserved. The current Bhaṭṭāraka Cārukīrti has stated the intention and concrete plans of cataloguing and organising the collection (personal communication, September 2018). It would be interesting to check whether the indexed manuscripts of Vṛttavilasa's text still exist.

the name Vṛttavilāsa does not seem to be a 'proper' name but might have been an 'epithet' which the author has given to himself to showcase his skilfulness in writing poetry.[5] For these reasons, scholarly works referring to him do not all accord. Edward Rice (1921: 37) and Upadhye (1942: 594), for example, put his date around 1160, while K. J. Pathak estimates his date in the thirteenth century (Rao 1982: 2). More recent scholars like Rao himself suggest that he must have lived around 1360 (Rao 1982: 3).

To have a better grasp on this, we need to go back to the *Dharmaparīkṣe* text itself. There, Vṛttavilāsa does not mention any date or place, but he has included some stanzas in honour of his spiritual predecessors (i.e. his *guruparamparā*). As such, in the closing stanza (*gadya*) of each chapter he writes a variation on the following stanza from the first chapter:

> This is the [first] *āśvāsa* (chapter), namely the narration of [the origin of Manōvēga and Pavanavēga], in the *Dharmaparīkṣe* written by Vṛttavilāsa, who is with his head bent down like a bee at the lotusfeet of the famous lord of ascetics Śrīmad Amarakīrti, a receptacle of nectar who shines with heaps of flowers, rays of light and pearls, and is liberated by the words of the Jina and thrives in wisdom.[6]

From this we know that his immediate guru was Amarakīrti. The stanzas before this *gadya* of the first chapter (1.16-32) praise the rest of the lineage preceding him in an ornamented manner. Vṛttavilāsa was part of the Balātkāra Gaṇa of the Mūlasaṃgha and praises the following *gurus* in this order: Keśavendravrati, Cārukīrti, Abhayukīrti, Vasaṃtakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Bhaṭṭāraka Kumudacaṃdra, Māghanaṃdi, Śubhakīrti, Dharmabhūṣa, Amarakīrti, Bhānukīrti, Hemadeva, Abhayasūri, and Cikkahemadeva. It is on the basis of this *guruparamparā* that Rao (1986) following Veṅkaṭasubayya (1931: 521) and Narasiṃhācārya (2005: 491-492), has estimated the time of Vṛttavilāsa to be around 1360.[7] Rao departs from comparing the names in the *guruparamparā* given in the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa with inscription n. 274 at Śravana Belagola. In that inscription the following lineage is found: '[...] *Dēvēṃdra-Viśālakīrttidēvāḥ tat-sishyāḥ bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Subhakīrtti dēvāḥ tat-sishyāḥ Kalikāla-sarvvajña-bhaṭṭāraka Dharmabhūshaṇa*

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dēvāḥ tat-sishyā śrī-Amarakīrtti-āchāryyāḥ [...]' (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 1973: 243-244; see also Johrapurkara 1958: 42, n. 95).[8] This inscription seems to register the setting up of an epitaph to Dharmabhūṣaṇa and is dated the seventh of April 1372 CE (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 1973: 243-244). Since Amarakīrti, the direct *guru* of Vṛttavilāsa was the disciple of this Dharmabhūṣaṇa, and since Dharmabhūṣaṇa died around 1372 CE it seems likely that Vṛttavilāsa was a disciple of Amarakīrti around that time, i.e. in the second half of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, Rao also refers to another inscription, found in Hampi, in which Amarakīrti and Dharmabhūṣaṇa are both mentioned together. This inscription would date from around 1350 CE (1986: 3). This is most likely the inscription detailed by Johrapurkara (1958: 42, n. 96), who mentions the date as 1307 *Śaka* era, *phālguṇa* month, 2 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* (i.e. 1386 CE) (1958: 46). Other less convincing arguments by Rao are, firstly, that in the tenth chapter of Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* stanzas 50, 51, and 52 completely agree with some verses of the *Jīvasaṃbodhana* by Bandhuvarma, a Kannada work on Jain morality written around 1200 (see Rice 1921: 44). Based on that, Rao believes that Vṛttavilāsa copied these verses from the *Jīvasaṃbodhana* and must have lived after Bandhuvarma (1986: 5). Another argument is that the earliest manuscripts of Vṛttavilāsa's text Rao was able to collect date from 1402 and 1420 and that the *Dharmaparīkṣe* itself could not have been much earlier (1986: 6). These arguments are unconvincing because the 'copied' verses might have occurred in other (earlier) works as well, as is common in Indian literature. Secondly, extant manuscripts of a text can be of a much later date than its composition (as Amitagati's case shows; see De Jonckheere 2019a). Nevertheless, the first argument stands quite strong and therefore I agree with Rao (as well as Veṅkaṭasubbayya and Narasiṃhācārya) and consider that Vṛttavilāsa probably lived around the second half of the fourteenth century.[9] Other than Vṛttavilāsa's approximate date and his *guruparamparā* there is little we know about him. In order to have an idea of what processes must have influenced his writing, the following section will treat the context in which this author lived.

4.1.1   Contesting ideals of Kannada literature

The literary and socio-religious environment of Vṛttavilāsa was to an important extent influenced by the development of a distinct Kannada culture. Kannada language was one

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[8] Rao gives as first guru the name Vasaṃtakīrti (1986: 7). I have chosen to render here the information given in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, but it is possible that what is rendered as '*takīrti*' in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* is preceded by '*Vasaṃ*' in the original inscription, so that it becomes '*Vasaṃtakīrti*'.

[9] Other scholars often date Vṛttavilāsa around the twelfth century (see e.g. Rice 1921). This is probably because of the similarity in topic of the *Dharmaparīkṣe* with the satirical-polemical works by Brahmaśiva and Nayasena (cf. infra).

of the first vernaculars to establish its own distinct literary culture. Jain literati had a very important role in this establishment, and the Jain authors Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna (all tenth century) are perceived as the most prominent authors during the beginning period of Kannada literature.[10] They elevated the *campū* genre to its glory so that it became the dominant genre of Kannada literature until the twelfth or thirteenth century (Nagaraj 2003: 344).[11] From those centuries onwards Kannada literature was influenced by the new religious movements of the Liṅgāyats or Vīraśaivas and by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the latter only really influencing Kannada literary culture from the fifteenth century onwards (Rice 1921: 42).[12] As far as literature is concerned, these Vīraśaivas 'exploded the continuum of history' (Nagaraj 2003: 336), using a new literary form and literary style, namely that of *vacanas* ('simple prose'), with new images (e.g. contesting material power embodied in the temple and the king; cf. Nagaraj 2003: 350-351, 354-356).[13] The aesthetic challenges posed by the *vacanakāras* did not go unnoticed by other authors, and even the Jains, who were mostly reluctant to these innovations, felt they had to respond. Within Jain circles we can perceive from the thirteenth century a wariness about the old aesthetic mode in their *laukika kāvyas* ('worldly poetry'), described by Nagaraj (2003: 344) as allegorical mode; see also Pollock (2006: 344). Especially the writings of Nemicandra are exemplary, because with him the production of this type of poetry ended (Nagaraj 2003: 354-355).[14]

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[10] Pollock discusses the emergence of Kannada vernacular literary culture in detail, as the exemplary case for his theory of vernacularisation in South-Asia (2006: 330-379; cf. infra, p. 29). He presents Pampa mostly as a 'secular' (*laukika*) author based upon his readings of Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijayam* (a Kannada rendering of Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*) (2006: 356-362). As Pierce-Taylor has noted, Pampa's expressively Jain (*jināgama*) *Ādipurāṇa* is relegated 'to a mere footnote' by Pollock (2016: 145). She has argued against Pollock that Pampa saw his '*laukika*' *Vikramārjunavijayam* and his '*jināgama*' *Ādipurāṇa* as 'poetic twins with distinct subject matters equally valid for the purposes of *kāvya*' (2016: 145).

[11] I discuss the *campū* genre in relation to Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* below.

[12] Since the Śrīvaiṣṇavas did not influence literary conventions until after the fifteenth century – so after Vṛttavilāsa's life, I will not discuss their literary novelties further. They were present in literary circles as authors of 'mainstream' literature (cf. infra).

Vīraśaivas and Liṅgāyats are historically seen as synonyms referring to the same tradition, especially in discussing *vacana* literature (see e.g. Venkatesan 2018; Brückner 2016; Blake 2018). With regards to the modern-day religious communities, however, there is the tendency to distinguish the two from each other on the base of caste distinction (see e.g. Bradford 1985).

[13] Ramanujan (1973) has compiled an excellent anthology with an English translation of the most important authors among the *vacanakāras*.

For an introduction to Vīraśaivism, see Michael (2018). The work of Ben-Herut (2020) is insightful to understand the religious community within its literature and is especially interesting to comprehend the relation between Vīraśaivas and Jains in Karnataka.

[14] Although there were influential Vīraśaiva writers from the twelfth century (e.g. Basavaṇṇa around 1160 was linked to the court), Kannada literature remained dominated by the mixed prose-verse literary form called *campū* until the twelfth or thirteenth century (Nagaraj 2003: 344). There also seem to be no responses to these innovations contemporary to the upcoming *vacanakāras* (Nagaraj 2003: 354). This might be due to the isolation of literary high culture at the court.

The literary conflict between the old *campū* model of the Jains and the new *vacana* ideal of the Vīraśaivas went hand in hand with the religious enmity between the two traditions (Nagaraj 2003: 336).[15] In fact, the rivalry of the Jains with the Brahmanical authors in terms of identity was common already in the early period of Kannada literature. In the tenth century we can notice an internal revalidation of the identity of Jainism. This appeared most clearly in the emergence of the reformist movement of the Yāpanīyas.[16] Next to intense self-interrogation, this movement was strongly defined by a fear of infiltration of Brahmanical values (Nagaraj 2003: 359). The same concern is expressed in the Jain polemical texts of Nayasena, author of the *Dharmāmṛta*, and Brahmaśiva, author of the *Samayaparīkṣe*, who both wrote in the twelfth century.[17] By that time, the tension between the Brahmanical and the Jain belief system had become an important factor of the socio-religious and literary spheres of life, and was increasing because of the rise of the new religious movements (cf. infra). Moreover, these developments confronted Jain authors with the uncertainty of finding political patronage, which was essential to procure means for publishing their ideology and poetry. It is thus not surprising that in such a context authors like Nayasena and Brahmaśiva voiced their anxiety about influences coming from other religions through criticising these others. These two authors are mostly quoted together with Vṛttavilāsa and their texts reckoned as similar Jain polemical texts.[18] The similarity between the three works is obvious as they are all written in a satirical style with a clear critique on Brahmanical practices. However, since Vṛttavilāsa's work was composed in a later period, his text is probably influenced by slightly different and perhaps even stronger tensions.

After the literary conventions had been thoroughly provoked through the introduction of a new style by the *vacanakāras*, the literary intelligentsia experienced a sort of crisis during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although they did not recognise the *vacanas* as literature, in their anthologies, these intelligentsia experienced a crisis in defining both the nature of literary language as well as of literature itself and expressed this in certain excessive practices (Nagajara 2003: 364-365). On the Jain side, the works of the thirteenth-century poet Āṇḍaiah illustrate this search for a 'redefined' literature. Whereas up to the twelfth century, within high literary circles (of non-

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[15] Vṛttavilāsa's composition confirms this connection (cf. infra).

[16] Knowledge about this branch of Jainism is still clouded and for several authors of the time there are discussions about whether they were Yāpanīya or Digambara. The Yāpanīyas did not stand the test of time (see Dundas 2002: 48-49).

[17] On the *Samamyaparīkṣe* by Brahmaśiva, see Zydenbos (1985).

[18] Often Vṛttavilāsa is mentioned also as a twelfth century author, because of this similarity, but I have shown above that the fourteenth century is a more probable period for his writing. Nagaraj (2003: 335) puts Nayasena in the tenth century and Brahmaśiva in the eleventh century. I have chosen to follow Lewis Rice (1883) and Edward Rice (1921) who consider them as from the twelfth century, because this is supported by other sources based on epigraphic material (Desai 1957: 136).

vacanakāras), the ideal of writing in a Sanskritic style and language (*samasaṃskṛta*) was the rule, Āṇḍaiah vowed to write only in 'pure Kannada [...] without flashy Sanskrit' (Nagaraj 2003: 366). His writings only used *tadbhava* and *deśi* vocabulary, and were written in the allegorical mode, leaving behind the old mode of public poetry. The use of this mode was a way for Āṇḍaiah to try to reconcile in his literature a celebration of religiosity with a purely poetic mode. This meant that, in his time again, 'mythological tales were made to convey the recently intensified conflict between Vīraśaivas and Jains' (Nagaraj 2003: 366). Vṛttavilāsa too uses the allegorical mode – though not in 'pure Kannada' – and might thus be influenced by Āṇḍaiah's reinstalment of this kind of mythologically-infused literature.

However, the expression of a new mitigating style by Āṇḍaiah, did not put an end to the crisis felt by the literary intelligentsia and especially by Jain authors. Although Jains in the Kannada region kept producing important literary works during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they had to compete more and more with the Vīraśaivas who were becoming the new dominant literary intelligentsia along with the uprising Vaiṣṇava poets. This was importantly influenced by changes in patronage patterns. With the rise of the Vijayanagara rule (c. 1340–1565) the production of Kannada literature in their political centres waned. Instead, sponsorship became centred around religious centres (Nagaraj 2003: 368). To go back to the time in which Vṛttavilāsa wrote, the threat from the Vīraśaivas or other Śaivite groups, and growing Vaiṣṇava literati did play a role on the political level. This period saw the end of the Hoysaḷa dynasty and the rise of the Vijayanagara empire. The Hoysaḷas did not limit themselves to patronising only one religion. For example, the rulers Narasiṃha and Ballāla II (thirteenth century) were known both as patrons of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The Jains were also influential, especially in the earlier decades of the dynasty, but overall, the Hoysaḷas 'kept pace with the liberalising movements of their time' (mostly Vīraśaivas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas) (Diwakar 1968: 442). This competitive religious environment is evidenced both in inscriptions (see Sangave 1981: 44-46) as well as through temple constructions (Banerji 2019). With regard to the latter, Banerji has reported that Śiva temples from that period are greatest in number (2019: 28). Also, in the literary works themselves there is evidence of this rivalry, since Rice mentions that the author Rāghavāṅka in his *Somanāthacaritra* boasts that he had crushed the Jains and compelled them to install a Śiva image in a Jain temple (Rice 1921: 60).

To sum up, the literary and socio-religious background against which Vṛttavilāsa has written his *Dharmaparīkṣe* was dominated by tensions in which religion, literature, and sometimes politics were linked. They were tensions that were fervently expressed through literary composition. It seems therefore logical that Vṛttavilāsa's writing also participated in some way in this competitive environment. In what will follow, I hope to illustrate that Vṛttavilāsa was indeed a child of his time. To take up the narrative of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is in se illustrative of the need to react against literary and religious forces that challenged the status quo. I hope to demonstrate as well that our author did not go

along with, nor reformulated these progressive developments. Vṛttavilāsa can be said to be a more conservative author. To support my argument, I will now turn to an analysis of the *Dharmaparīkṣe*'s content and will thereafter discuss some aspects of the style of the text.

4.2   Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* as an adaptive product

As I have done in previous chapters, I will here examine the *Dharmaparīkṣe* as an adaptive product, meaning that I will analyse the content of Vṛttavilāsa's text from the perspective of adaptation studies. This perspective enables to show how Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* is both an integral part of the textual tradition as well as definitely unique, and to highlight certain adaptive processes that have influenced this uniqueness as a *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In my discussion I will highlight the characterising features of Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation in comparison to the earlier extant versions by Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati.

Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* is probably the version which departs the furthest from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as we know it in its 'model' form (cf. Introduction, p. 50-78).[19] His Kannada *Dharmaparīkṣe* tells the story of Manovega and Pavanavega and their encounters with the Brahmins at Pāṭalīputra in ten *āśvāsas* ('chapters').[20] These are divided according to the different disguises or transformations of the two *vidyādhāras* before entering the city from the park on its outskirts. In contrast to the almost equal way in which the frame narrative unfolds, the substories within that narrative undergo considerable changes. Most of the stories included in the texts by Amitagati and Hariṣeṇa are also told by Vṛttavilāsa, but they occur in a different order. Most notably, the stories of the 'ten fools' are not told one after the other, but are scattered throughout the text, more or less according with a new argument Manovega makes against the beliefs of the Brahmins. Another major point of departure by Vṛttavilāsa is the fact that the main plot ends with the conversion of the Brahmins to Jainism at Pāṭalīputra. Vṛttavilāsa further adds narratives, adds details to existent narratives or changes some details in the narratives for reasons of language and regionality, or without any clear reason.

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[19] Together with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra, which is an abridged version of the same plot (cf. Chapter 5).

[20] The transcription of the Kannada names of the two *vidyādharas* is Manōvēga and Pavanavēga, but in this chapter I use the Sanskrit forms of their names for convenience sake.

In the subsections below I discuss some of these additions or changes in the Kannada text that argue for the fact that processes of regionalisation lie at the base of this adaptation.

4.2.1 The narrative plot

The start of Vṛttavilāsa's frame narrative, as I have mentioned above, is similar to other versions. Nevertheless, in order to point out the minor differences in this opening, I will briefly describe how Vṛttavilāsa opens the *Dharmaparīkṣā* plot. After introducing the geographical situation from a broad perspective (on Jambudvīpa in Bharatakṣetra), he zooms in on Mount Vijayārdha with its fifty cities on the southern flank, of which one is the splendorous city of Vaijayantī (see Appendix for the complete summary). There is a break in the narrative continuation here, as Vṛttavilāsa, in accordance with the Kannada *campū* style of the composition, first lists the fifty cities and then goes on to describe the splendorous characteristics of Vaijayantī (cf. infra). At this point, just like in other versions, the main characters of the narrative are introduced. The *vidyādhara* King Jitaripu and his wife Vāyuvege have a son Manovega, whose best friend is Pavanavega the son of King Prabhāśaṅka – this name is not mentioned in other versions – king of Vijayapura. Except for minor differences in this characterisation – the city where Pavanavega resides bears the same name as in Hariṣeṇa's version but differs from the name Priyāpurī in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, and the two friends are said to have studied with Puṣpadanta, a famous Jain scholar – the narrative continues along the same lines. Because Manovega worries about the diverging practices of his dear friend he goes wandering around and suddenly sees a *muni*, whom is called distinctively, Vāsupūjya. This name could be seen as to refer to the twelfth *tīrthaṅkara*, whereas the name Jinamati (found in other versions) seems to be a generic name for someone who is devoted to Jainism. Returning back home with the advice of the *muni* to take his friend to Pāṭalīputra, Manovega meets Pavanavega and tells him that he has visited the city of Pāṭalīputra and saw many wonderous things. Here, we find a peculiar description that is exclusive to Vṛttavilāsa's version. Manovega describes that he saw *ekadaṇḍi*, *dvidaṇḍi*, *tridaṇḍi*, *haṃsa*, *paramahaṃsa*, and *bhūtikā* and others like them. These denominations refer to orders of ascetics that one can find, e.g. in the *Mahābhārata* (see Klostermaier 2007: 300). Some of these terms are still used today. An *ekadaṇḍi* (or just *daṇḍi*) ascetic is a Śaiva ascetic, recognised by carrying a single staff, and today is known as a type of monk of the Daśanāmi affiliation, founded by the Advaita Vedānta philosopher, Śaṅkara. He is contrasted to a Vaiṣṇava *tridaṇḍi* who carries a triple staff. A *paramahaṃsa* ascetic is, according to the *Yatidharmaprakāśa*, the highest type of ascetic in the Brahmin tradition who has abandoned all objects and a Haṃsa is, one step below him on the ascetic ladder (Dazey 2020). However, one should be careful in equating categorisations from distinct

historical periods, and discussions on the use of *ekadaṇḍi* in Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* show how these ascetic categories were sometimes blurred in pre-modern India (see Basham 1951: 166-174).[21] Furthermore, I did not find a clear reference for Dvidaṇḍi and Bhūtikā, but I would assume that the denomination of Dvidaṇḍi is added because of the numeric logic of *eka-*, *dvi*, and *tridaṇḍi*. For these reasons, I believe that in the *Dharmaparīkṣe* all denominations represent different types of Brahmanical ascetics, that are not further defined, merely with the function of speaking to the imagination of 'improper' religious ascetics. Additionally, Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* mentions that the Ekadaṇḍins and Tridaṇḍins are among the first heretical renouncers that had first followed Jina Ṛṣabha, but then founded corrupted paths because they were unable to keep up the hardship of a true Jain ascetic (Jinasena 18.51-60; see also Jaini 1933: 233). It is likely that Vṛttavilāsa's mention of these ascetics is a reference to Jinasena's text, since Vṛttavilāsa refers to him in the opening of his *Dharmaparīkṣe* and presumably as well later in the narrative (DP$_V$ 7.34).[22]

Triggered by the description of Pāṭalīputra, Pavanavega wishes to see it and the two depart for the city in their *vimāna*. After parking the carriage in the bushes outside of the city, the *vidyādharas* enter for the first time and commence their discussions with the Brahmins. The text then moves from the frame narrative to the first substory about Madhukara, which closely parallels the earlier *Dharmaparīkṣās*. After this story, Vṛttavilāsa's writing starts to genuinely diverge. Whereas Amitagati, at this point, introduces a new didactic frame within the frame narrative, namely the ten types of fools, Vṛttavilāsa chooses to completely drop this frame and to use a different structure for the substories (cf. supra). Instead of portraying the ten fools one after the other, Vṛttavilāsa narrates only one foolish story and immediately links it to purāṇic precedents. For example, the story of the 'lover' (of Kuraṅgī and Sundarī) is followed by pointing out the

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[21]In arguing why the term *ājīvika* (denoting followers of an extinct religio-philosophical tradition) is not synonymous with *ekadaṇḍi* as the tenth-century scholar Utpala suggests in his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* by Varāhamihira, Basham describes how the distinction between the term s*ekadaṇḍi*, *tridaṇḍi* and also *maskari* ('carrying a staff') has been blurred in pre-modern Indian literature (1951: 166-174). He suggests that *ekadaṇḍi* was a term that 'embraced a large class of mendicants' characterised by carrying a staff (1951: 171).
With regards to considering the Daśanāmis at the time of Vṛttavilāsa (fourteenth century), Dazey (2020) writes that although the founding of the order could be placed in the ninth century CE, after the life of its supposed founder Śaṅkara (780-822 CE), the actual 'organization of the Daśanāmī order began to coalesce centuries later and may not have attained its contemporary organizational structure until the 16th or 17th century'.

[22] Vṛttavilāsa writes that Manovega told the narrative of Karṇa's birth as it was told in the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Whereas this could refer to the Jain Purāṇas in general, I take it to refer to Jinasena's text (or rather Guṇabhadra's addition, the *Uttarapurāṇa*) because of the earlier invocation to Jinasena and the fact that this specific story of Karṇa's birth (following from Pāṇḍu's seduction of Kuntī by means of a ring; *Uttarapurāṇa* 70.104-111),) is indeed told there.

contradictions in the different stories associated with Viṣṇu (DP$_V$ 2.66-68).[23] The same refutation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu is also present in Amitagati's text, but happens at a different stage of the plot and is developed in more length (DP$_A$ 10.11-45).[24] What is important to add here is that at the end of this refutation, in the Kannada text, the defeated Brahmins grant Manovega a *jayapatra* as recognition of his debating superiority. This *jayapatra* is a type of written document, mostly associated with issues of law at the royal court (see Davis 2017: 182-183), but they are also mentioned in Jain literature as a certificate of victory in contexts of debate between different religious affiliates (see e.g. Cort 2009a: 24). When he makes this reference to a *jayapatra*, Vṛttavilāsa sets the discussions between the *vidyādharas* and the Brahmins within the context of religious debate, possibly reflecting those that might have occurred at the royal courts in Karṇāṭaka.

After this victory, the two friends go outside of the city to return again in a different dress-up, namely that of hunters. The frame narrative further unfolds with repeated stories or new stories introduced by Vṛttavilāsa. Among these, there are some interesting adaptive trends to be noticed, which I will discuss in the following subsections. The narrative ends with the remarkable conversion of the Brahmin discussants to Jainism. This plot element exclusive to Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation, first of all, suggests that Manovega's argumentation is so overcoming that he can convince ascetics from other traditions (*ekadaṇḍis*, *tridaṇḍis*, *paramahaṃsas*, etc.) to change their affiliation. It would have left a stronger impression on Jain lay audiences. Secondly, the plot element suggests that interreligious conversions effectuated by such narrative argumentation were possible also outside of the narrative. In my interpretation, we can read this adaptation of Vṛttavilāsa as evidence that his text indeed – more than others – had the purpose of converting Brahmanical affiliates to Jainism. These were not necessarily the ascetics, portrayed in the *Dharmaparīkṣe*, themselves, but rather their followers, or even more importantly previous Jain converts to Hindu religion.[25]

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[23] Viṣṇu, the lover of Siri (Lakṣmī), is believed to be the caretaker of the world (as part of the *trimūrti*). On the other hand, the Purāṇas also describe him as a child of Nandana, a charioteer to Nara (Arjuna) and a messenger to the Kauravas. Equally, Viṣṇu is seen as eternal, beyond birth and death, but at the same time as incarnated in ten *avaṭāras*. For the Jain author, both contradictions (Viṣṇu as caretaker vs. child or servant, and Viṣṇu as eternal vs. born) prove the inconsistency of the Purāṇas.

[24] This restructuring brings the purāṇic element in Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation more to the fore.

[25] See Dundas (2002: 129) for a short description of the decline of Jainism in Karṇāṭaka with many Jains converting to Hinduism, Ben-Herut (2018: 199-230; 2012; 2020) who talks about Śaiva narratives of violence against Jains and their conversion, or Hegewald (2015) who studied the conversion of Jains to Śaiva temples in Karṇāṭaka. Comparable narratives on conversion away from Jainism in the Tamil region have been studied by Peterson (1998) and Monius (2020).

However, before treating these trends, I here include a scheme of the structure of the *Dharmaparīkṣe* plot so that the reader of this dissertation can follow my discussion easily.[26]

Invocation
Cosmological situation
Vāsupūjya's teaching
First encounter with the Brahmins
 Story of Madhukara
 Story of Sundarī and Kuraṅgī
  Arguments against Viṣṇuu
Return to the park
 Explanation of Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas
Entering the city dressed as hunters with a cat
 Story of the frog in the well
 Story of Kanda and Vaṅka (Skanda and Vakra)
 Story of Bhūtamati
 Story of Chāyā
Return home
Re-entering the city dressed as hunters with a cat
 Story of selling their bow for 12,000 golden coins[27]
 Story of Guḍabhūti
 Story of Candavega and the god Baḷāri
 Story of Śatabali
Return to the park
Entering the city as ascetics
 Story of the minister, the king and the singing monkeys
 Story of King Durdara and his son
 Story of the waterpot and the elephant
  Story of Brahma
  Story of Rasātala
 Story of Candraśekhara of Kauśāṃbi
 Story of Kāpila
 Story of King Pāpi
 Story on the origin of Śivaliṅga
 Story on the origin of the Ganges
 Story of Viṣṇu and Brahmā competing over Śivaliṅga
Return to the park

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[26] For more detailed content I refer to my comparative appendix. This appendix, it should be noticed, follows the order of Amitagati's version in order to make a story by story comparison. However, I have pointed out how the substories in Vṛttavilāsa's text truly follow each other.

[27] The underlined substories do not occur in Amitagati's text, or in other *Dharmaparīkṣās* except for the one by Rāmacandra (cf. Chapter 5).

Re-entering the city as ascetics

    Story of the mango-fool

    Story of Dhanadatta and the baby who stayed in the womb for twelve years

        <u>Story of the birth of Bhāgiratha</u>

        <u>Story of the birth of Duryodhana, etc. from Gandhārī</u>

    Story of muni Maya and Mandodari

        On the birth of Indrajit, Vyāsa, and Karṇa

Return to the park

    <u>More about the birth of Karṇa</u>

Entering the city dressed up as Buddhists

    Story of the milky fool *

    Story of the agarwood *

    Story of the two Buddhist sons

        Story of the *Setubandha* episode from *Rāmāyaṇa*

Return home

Entering the city dressed up as Śvetāmbaras

    Story of the king cured by sandalwood

    Story of the four fools

    Story of the two brothers and the fruit tree

        Story of chopping off Rāvaṇa's heads

        Story of Dadhimukha

        Story of Dundubhi

Explanation of the Jain teachings

    Story of Nāgaśrī and Śrīdhara on the vow of not eating after sunset

Further explanation of the Jain vows and conversion of the Brahmins

4.2.2 Śaiva rivalry

I have above referred to the rivalry that existed between the Jains and Śaiva sects – the Liṅgāyats and Vīraśaivas – most importantly in the field of literature. The influence of this rivalry is the first trend I discern in Vṛttavilāsa's text. I will discuss how this opposition becomes apparent by means of several substories that are unique to the *Dhamaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa.

    A first story tells of the origin of the river Gaṅgā and occurs in a series of stories that seem to focus on the god Śiva. It is narrated in the following way (DP$_V$ 6.18-23):[28]

> '"You know", said Manovega, "after the end of the endless time at the origin of the
> world when there were no objects yet, an enormous egg grew without any support

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[28] My quotations from the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa are paraphrases on the base of Rao's (1986) paraphrase in modern Kannada.

and split into two. From the upper part of it the heavens arose and from the lower part the earth, the mountains, the seas, etc. In the middle of the two pieces Śiva (Sadāśiva) was born. Upon his birth, he looked into eight directions but could not see anyone. After fighting for a while, he looked at his right arm. There Brahmā was born. He then looked at his left arm and saw Viṣṇu being born"' (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 71).

The story refers to the causation of the universe out of the cosmic egg as is known already from the Rigveda (10.121). Here it is told in a Śaiva interpretation with Śiva (as Sadāśiva) as primary god above all other gods. I have not been able to trace the story as told by Vṛttavilāsa to other sources, but the primacy of Śiva is clear, since the two other gods of the traditional *trimūrti* are in this narrative born from him. The story is reminiscent of some passages of the Skanda Purāṇa (e.g. 7.19.49-50).

The story continues with the actual creation of Gaṅgā (DP$_V$ 6.23-6.25).

> Because the three gods were longing for a woman, Viṣṇu drew the picture of a woman and had Brahmā give life to her, while Śiva gave her clothes. All three of them lusted for her and began to fight amongst each other. Eventually, they decided that Viṣṇu, who 'conceived' her, would become her father, Brahmā, who gave 'birth' to her, her mother, and Śiva, who gave her clothes, her husband. Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not stand this and tried to grab her, tearing off her clothes. Out of shame she melted and became the river Gaṅgā (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 71).

This is another story that I could not find anywhere else, but the idea of Gaṅgā as manifested by the grace of the three gods is intrinsically linked to her 'orthodox' birth-story (see Alley 2020).[29] Here again, Śiva appears as superior to the two other gods, since he wins the desired price, the love of Gaṅgā. Although these two episodes seem to praise the yogic god, it would be wrong to read them as such. The explicit critique against Śiva follows later in the text, but in this episode of Gaṅgā, it is already implicit that just like any ordinary human, Śiva, as well as Viṣṇu and Brahmā, falls victim to the human urge of 'lust'. That this critique is, in my opinion, mostly directed against him, and not the two other gods, follows from the fact that he is the main god in these stories. Śiva is the primary god and for that reason his imperfections are evaluated as being graver.

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[29] One of the tales about Gaṅgā's birth explains how Brahmā upon Bhagīratha's request to let her descend to earth and purify the burning coals of his ancestors, pours Gaṅgā out of his jug and onto the locks of Śiva. From there she descends down the Himalayas and across the plains of northern India following Bhagīratha. Another story from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* narrates how Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as a dwarf, in three steps encompasses the whole world. In one of his strides he scratches the cosmic egg which contains the world and from the crack in the egg Gaṅgā flows over Viṣṇu's foot and onto Śiva's head (Alley 2020).

The story is immediately followed by another story about the three gods, which does occur in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (17.80), but is here told in full. This substory goes as follows (6.26-37):

> Brahmā and Viṣṇu were once fighting over which one of them is superior to the other. Śiva decided to intervene by testing their abilities. He told Brahmā to try to reach the top of him, and Viṣṇu to try to reach the bottom. Viṣṇu courageously started his endeavour but soon realised he was unable to do it, so he returned defeated. Brahmā, while climbing up to Śiva's top, meets Ketake.[30] They become friends and return to Śiva. Brahmā lies to him that he has reached the top and mentions Ketake as his witness. However, Śiva knows the truth and curses him to live as a beggar and be without worshippers (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 71-72).

This story is also known from the *Mahābhārata*, where it ends with Śiva cutting off Brahmā's head and Brahmā cursing Śiva in return (Mani 1975: 387), or from the Brāhmaṇḍa Purāṇa, where the body of Śiva has the *liṅga* form (Doniger 2009: 385). As such, we can again conclude that this story is meant to put Śiva forward as supreme god of the three. This makes the critique that comes immediately after this story and finally frames this passage of Śiva episodes, all the more critical of him. Manovega questions how we could call Śiva a god, or omniscient, if he does not know beforehand the abilities of those who were born from him. As such, this critique on the last story refers back to the first story and thus defines the three stories as a unit. What these three stories show, is that Vṛttavilāsa adapts the narrative (or subnarratives) of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to his regional audience. This relatively lengthy treatment of Śaiva purāṇic episodes is unique to Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation and should be interpreted as an adaptive choice influenced by the author's immediate environment. As I have explained above, the dominant religious strand seems to have been that of Śaivism. Therefore, it would be logical for our Jain author to want to draw boundaries especially with the Śaiva affiliates and to tackle the rise of this religion in order to defend the interests of his own Jainism. Furthermore, since Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* is written in a classical and more high-culture form, he might have meant to reach court audiences which were increasingly turning away from new Jain literary achievements. It is for these reasons, I believe, that Vṛttavilāsa tells purāṇic stories in such a way that they are centred on the primary god of his immediate opponents, namely Śiva.

With this motivation Vṛttavilāsa has included more stories about Śiva. The following one about the *liṅga* is even more explicit and more farcical in its critique of the ascetic god.

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[30] Keṭake is here the personified Pandanus fascicularis flower that Brahmā finds on his way up to Śiva's top and that testifies that Brahmā has indeed reached the top (Mani 1975: 407).

Śiva had fallen in love with the young wife of an ascetic and visited her daily. The ascetic was suspicious and came up with a plan. He told his wife that he was going out to take his bath but stayed in the house hidden. As expected, there came Śiva to enjoy his wife. The ascetic then came out of his hiding place and in anger cursed Śiva that his *liṅga* may fall off. When that had happened, Śiva was furious and cursed the ascetic that his *liṅga* would stick to the ascetic's forehead. The ascetic excused himself and begged Śiva to remove the *liṅga*. Śiva agreed but under the condition that he would first travel to his home on Mount Kailāsa. This he did and arriving there Pārvatī loudly laughed at him. The ascetic pleaded to have the *liṅga* removed, Śiva complied and from then onwards the *liṅga* became an aspect of worship (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 71).

This narrative without doubt is meant to ridicule *Śivaliṅga* worship. The *liṅga* object of worship, first of all, is associated clearly with the male organ of Śiva, that part of his body that is essential in the transgression towards the ascetic's wife. This association was common for some worshippers of Śiva, but it was also problematic for others, mostly worshippers of other gods (see Doniger 2011). Vṛttavilāsa seems to play on the 'shamefulness' of this association of the *liṅga* with the male sex organ. The 'entirely glorious' sexual body of Śiva is easily chopped off and becomes a mark of shame and foolishness for the ascetic. The fact that this exact mark eventually becomes an object of worship is, as Vṛttavilāsa would suggest, remarkable and rather nonsensical. Such a reading requires to take the specific perspective of one who opposes the Śaiva tradition, such as our Jain author. Read from the perspective of a Śaiva, we must entertain the possibility that the *liṅga* may still be accepted as a devotional object. This realisation might have consequences for conclusions with regard to the purposed audience of Vṛttavilāsa's text, to which I will return later.

A less evident critique on the Śaiva traditions is, in my reading, contained in the story of Kāpila (DP$_V$ 6.10-12). This is the story of a man named Kāpila who as a child once sneezed in the proximity of the king of his region, Kālakarāla of the Mālavā country.

The king who was horse riding was startled because of the sneeze and in his anger chopped of the nose of the poor child. As a consequence, the child grew up without a nose. One day, he went to a mirror shop together with a friend. When the shopkeeper showed him his own reflection in one of the mirrors, Kāpila became angry and he smashed the mirror into pieces. The shopkeeper filed a complaint and Kāpila was summoned by the court to justify himself. Questioned by the judge about his actions, Kāpila told him that the mirror was defect because it showed his face without a nose. The judge laughed and decided that Kāpila should pay for the broken mirror. This is how one does not recognise his own faults (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 70).

At first-hand this narrative has nothing to do with Śaiva practices or beliefs, but I believe that the names of the characters in the story might have been meant to play with

Śaiva denominations. The king's name Kālakarāla can be translated as 'the black dreadful one', which is an image that is linked to Śiva in his terrifying aspect (as the god Bhairava). Moreover, splitting up this name into Kāla and Karāla, we have two names of the traditional twelve teachers of the Śaiva Kapālika sect (see White 1996: 98).[31] In addition to the king's name, the name of the child without a nose, namely Kāpila, is similar to Kapālika, which would thus support the suggested reference to the yogic Kapālika Śaivas.[32] We might even go as far as to see the image of a face without a nose as to refer to the skull which Kapālikas traditionally carried with them.

Another strategy by Vṛttavilāsa to oppose Śaiva believers is appropriation. Next to appropriating and adapting purāṇic stories to criticise Hinduism, as the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in general does, Vṛttavilāsa also appropriates Śaiva characteristics onto the Jina. In the tenth *āśvāsa* of the *Dharmaparīkṣe*, Vṛttavilāsa describes the Jina as omniscient.

> He is one that is worshipped by all the beings in the three worlds, he distances himself from old age, affliction, death, infatuation, hunger, thirst, birth, arrogance, worry, disease, joy, sweat, pity, sex, impatience, intoxication, sleep, fear, etc. He is an abode of good qualities and therefore we call him the Arihant (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 82).

These are quite standard descriptions of the Jina, but in the following sentence Vṛttavilāsa presents a less standard characterisation.

> The Jina can visualise the reality of all objects in the three worlds by means of his third eye, called *kevalajñāna*. Because of that he is called Trinetra (DP$_V$ 10.32).

The third eye is normally associated with Śiva and his destruction of desire (Flood 1996: 150). As such, it seems that Vṛttavilāsa is appropriating this 'power' of the popular Hindu god. Such appropriation was not alien to the Jain tradition. Jaini mentions that Jains used several epithets of Hindu gods for their *jinas* and especially for Ṛṣabha. One of the epithets he enlists is *trinetra* (2001: 124). In fact, Vṛttavilāsa does not limit himself to using only the epithet *trinetra*. After this one, he also mentions *smaravijaya, tripurahara, kamalāsana,* and *tīrthaṃkara paramadeva* (DP$_V$ 10.32). These epithets are less obviously influenced by Hindu sources, but we can notice how *kamalāsana* is also linked to Viṣṇu. The use of these epithets, with the one referring to Śiva in the vanguard, demonstrate Vṛttavilāsa's knowledge of his surrounding religious culture and his involvement with it.

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[31] White (1996) mentions these two teachers in a list from the Śabara Tantra, which is a relatively recent *tantra* text, that is quoted in the *Gorakṣa Siddhānta Saṃgraha.* The list would contain names that go back to older Śaiva orders.

[32] In terms of morphologic similarity, we can also think of Kapila, the legendary founder of the Sāṃkhya tradition.

Appropriation of elements from the Hindu tradition also appears in verses 6.38-40 of the *Dharmaparīkṣe*. There, Manovega argues against the Brahmins that the Jina is described in several ways in their *śāstra*s. To prove this, he cites the following verse, which according to him comes from the *Yajurveda* and demonstrates that the Jina is known in the Vedas.

> *arhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhanvārhan-niṣkaṃ yajataṃ viśvarūpaṃ,*
> *arhann-idaṃ dayase viśvam-abhvaṃ na vā ōjiyō rudra tvadann.* 6.39

This *vedavākyam* (as it is categorised in the *Dharmaparīkṣe*) indeed is found in the *Maitrāyaṇī saṃhitā* 4.9.3, in the *Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka* 2.7.92, and the *Vaikhanāsa-Mantrapraśna* 8.1.160.4 of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. The same hymn is also found in the *Ṛgveda* 2.33.10. It is translated by Jamison and Brereton (2014: 449) as follows:

> Worthily you bear the arrows and the bow and worthily the sacrificial neck ornament of all forms.
> Worthily you parcel out the whole formless void. Surely there exists nothing more powerful than you, Rudra.

The association between the Jina and this specific verse is made possible because of the repetition of the word *arhan,* which is the nominative or vocative form of *arhat* one of the most common titles for the Jina (Arhat or Arihant). If we retranslate the Vedic verse within such a Jain perspective, we get the following:

> You, the Arihant, bear the arrows and the bow and [you], O Arihant, [bear] the adorable neck ornament of all forms.
> You, O Arihant, protect this extensive world. Surely there exists nothing more powerful than you, O dreadful one.[33]

Other than the word *arhan,* the association of the Jain omniscient being with this verse that depicts a 'combative superior being', also follows from the common association of the Jina, the 'conqueror', with warrior properties. Especially in the Karnāṭaka region, martial valour came to be installed in the image of the fully committed Jain ascetic, who was the true warrior. This would have followed from the fact that Jainism (at least until the tenth century) was sponsored by kings and warrior aristocrats (Dundas 2002: 118; also,

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[33] I changed the translation of *yajatam* because the Jina would not wear a sacrificial ornament since sacrifices are refuted in the Jain tradition. My translation of *idam dayase viśvaṃ abhvaṃ* is based on MacDonnell's note on how Sāyaṇa interprets this verse (1917: 64). The interpretation by Jamison and Brereton (2014) does not fit a Jain context because it suggests the creation (or at least ordering) of the universe by a god, which Jains would refute. Since Sāyaṇa was a Vedic scholar of the Vijayanagara Empire who supposedly was a contemporary of Vṛttavilāsa, he might have well provided the inspiration or interpretation of this Vedic verse to Vṛttavilāsa's understanding.

Dundas 1991). The strategy which Vṛttavilāsa exerts in this specific case is similar to the Buddhist strategy of absorbing the popular Hindu deities by interpreting them as emanations of the Buddha (Qvarnström 1998: 36). In fact, if we would translate *rudra* ('O dreadful one') as Rudra, a name of Śiva, this verse would exactly demonstrate such a strategy. In summary, the strategy which Vṛttavilāsa here applies is that of quoting a verse from the Veda and smartly playing with the meaning of its words, in order to convince the Brahmins that their authoritative Vedas are actually praises to the Jina.

4.2.3 Adapted Jainism

The adaptation by Vṛttavilāsa of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* does not merely present a Jain tradition that is most fervently opposed to Śaivism, it also presents a Jain tradition that in terms of its 'teachings' has a subtle emphasis on meditation, in comparison to the versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that came before. In the tenth *āśvāsa*, after the Brahmins have asked Manovega to explain his religious teachings (*śāstra*), first, Manovega briefly explains what is wrong in the Brahmin's tradition and then goes on to tell them about the Jain teachings. Manovega explains that there are two types of souls: *bhavya* souls, which can reach liberation, and *abhavya* souls, which cannot reach liberation. He also explains that there are three types of stupidity: *lokamūḍha* (foolishness with regards to popular customs), *devamūḍha* (misconceptions of the nature of divinity), and *samayamūḍha* (foolishness with regards to which doctrines to follow). This division of foolishness is also found in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* (Handiqui 1949: 257),[34] and would be exclusive to the Digambara tradition – although it accords with how Śvetāmbaras criticise other religions for their *kuguru*, *kudeva*, and *kuśāstra* (Williams 1963: 49). After this, Vṛttavilāsa goes on to explain the different types of *dhyāna* (meditation or concentration) (DP$_V$ 10.36-39). These are *ārtadhyāna*, *raudradhyāna*, *dharmadhyāna*, and *śukladhyāna*. The categorisation of meditation into these types does not occur in the earlier *Dharmaparīkṣās*. The different meditations were systematised in the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti (Qvarnström 1998: 38).[35] Vṛttavilāsa explains that one should first understand *ārtadhyāna* (meditation on something painful) and *raudradhyāna* (meditation on something cruel), which are inauspicious types of meditation because they lead to an influx of inauspicious *karma* (see Johnson 1995: 198; also, Williams 1963: 239). Only after understanding these, should one take up *dharmyadhyāna* (virtuous meditation). And it is through *dharmyadhyāna* that one is able to attain *śukladhyāna* (pure meditation). These two types cause the destruction of

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[34] The three types of foolishness are part of the twenty-five hindrances to *samyaktva* according to Somadeva (Handiqui 1949: 257).

[35] Qvarnström mentions that the four types are introduced in the *Sthānāṅgasūtra*, but since the Digambaras do not accept the *Aṅgas*, I am here referring primarily to the *Tattvārthasūtra*.

karma (Johnson 1995: 198), and are normally only accessible to mendicants, *śukladhyāna* being only for those who have reached a very high state of spirituality (Williams 1963: 241). That the final type of meditation leads to liberation is also mentioned by Vṛttavilāsa, who says that through *śukladhyāna* one can reach omniscience (DP$_V$ 10.39). It is difficult to ascertain what motivated Vṛttavilāsa to include this differentiation of meditation in his adaptation. First of all, it might be motivated by the fact that *dhyāna* as a subcategory of *tapas* ('ascetic practice'; TS 9.27) is one of the four elements of the lay *dharma*, understood as rules of conduct to put the soul in the place of salvation (Williams 1963: 34-35). Since Vṛttavilāsa's goal is here to explain *dharma*, it would not be illogical to start by specifying aspects that are traditionally included in *dharma*. However, we might further question the reason for Vṛttavilāsa to start with *dhyāna*. Qvarnström explains by referring to Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* that 'during the medieval period, meditation appears not only to have held a more prominent position within the soteriological scheme of Jainism, but was also subjected to Śaiva influence at the close of the eleventh century' (1998: 38).[36] Furthermore, the Jain story literature, directed towards the laity, also appears to demonstrate the gradual assimilation of ritualist mysticism, since we find an explanation of the fourfold *dhyāna* system in the *Yaśastilaka* by Somadeva (Handiqui 1949: 272). It seems therefore that Vṛttavilāsa complies to a Jainism that foregrounds practices of meditation, as was suitable to his time.[37]

There is another, narrative element that demonstrates possible yogic-tantric influences in the Jain tradition as it had developed by Vṛttavilāsa's time. This is the confirmation of the centrality and power of the *pañcanamaskāra mantra*. The *mantra* is mentioned in the story about the virtuous behaviour of the princess Nāgaśrī in contrast to her co-wife. This story is told as an aftermath of the story I will tell below. Nāgaśrī finds a dog at her doorstep that is about to die and sings the *pañcanamaskāra mantra* to him. The dog dies and is, thanks to the *mantra* reborn as *vyantara deva*.[38] The attribution of salvific (or other) powers to the *mantra* was not original, but gradually evolved probably first

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[36] Dundas adds that Hemacandra seems to have been indebted to Śubhacandra's *Jñānārṇava* ('Ocean of Knowledge'), which 'was situated very much within the Digambara mystical tradition, stressing the goal as being penetration to the innermost soul, while at the same time insisting on the necessity of faith in basic Jain tenets' (2002: 168). The Kashmirian context of Śubhacandra, where Śaiva mystic ritualists held an influential position, is likely to have had an impact on his expansion of the scheme of meditation (2002: 169).
Since Vṛttavilāsa also followed the mystical tradition of Kundakunda, similar concerns might also pertain to his *Dharmaparīkṣe*.

[37] I would like to note that the *Dharmaparīkṣe* is directed to lay Jains or to Hindus who could be converted. The fact that Vṛttavilāsa mentions all four types of *dhyāna*, including those that are associated with mendicants, might be read as suggesting an emphasis on a more ascetic path for lay Jains.

[38] A *vyantara-deva* is one of the three lower types of gods who dwell in the celestial realm of the Jain cosmos (Jaini 1979: 129).

within the Digambara tradition (see Dundas 1999: 34-36).[39] The most illustrative instance of the 'mantricisation' is Śubhacandra's supposedly tenth-century *Jñānārṇava*. This work confirms Jain acceptance of 'the generalized Indian attitude that the careful manipulation of sanctified sound in a ritual or meditative context could ensure accelerated advancement towards a variety of goals' (Dundas 1999: 35). Vṛttavilāsa's use of such a narrative element therefore is not illustrative of his particular time and location. The reason why I am pointing this out is that it is an adaptive element that demonstrates Vṛttavilāsa's embeddedness in a certain Jainism, not present and therefore perhaps not applicable to Amitagati's Jainism.[40]

Another noteworthy aspect of Vṛttavilāsa's explanation of Jainism, is that he mentions a specific vow, called *hōsavrata*. In the *Dharmaparīkṣe*, Manovega explains to the Brahmins that the mendicant-teacher has initiated him into the twelve vows of Jainism. These are the five *aṇuvratas*, the three *guṇavratas*, and four *śīkṣāvratas*, as well as the additional *hōsavrata*. The name of this vow can be translated as 'fasting vow'. The Kannada word *hōsa* comes from *posa* (h<p), which comes from the Sanskrit word for this vow: *poṣadha*. As such, the *hōsavrata* is the Kannada term for the prohibition of eating after sunset.[41] Indeed, Manovega, repeating Vāsupūja, explains this vow by means of the following story (DP$_V$ 10.63-72):

> There was a city called Citrakūṭa, ruled by King Cārunareśvara, who had a wife, Dhanavati. One day at night a Caṇḍāla (outcast) woman came to their palace to beg for rice. That night the son of Dhanavati insisted to have his dinner, but Dhanavati did not serve him food. So, the Caṇḍāla woman asked her why she did not want to serve food to her son. Dhanavati replied that Jains are not supposed to eat at night. The outcast wife asked, 'What is wrong with that?' Then Dhanavati said, 'If Jains eat at night, they will go to hell, they will have a short span of life, they will become deformed, crippled and be reborn into a low family'. So, the Caṇḍāla woman asked, 'What can one obtain by performing this *hōsavrata*?' To this, Dhanavati replied, 'Those who perform this *vrata* can become a supreme god (*varasura*) in the realm of gods (*suraloka*). He will be born in this world as a *kṣatriya* of a great lineage and enjoy all pleasures. Then by doing *tapas* one can attain the state of [an] all-knowing one'. The outcast woman was gladdened by this and accepted the *hōsavrata* and returned home. That night her husband invited her for food, but she said that she had

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[39] Already in the *Bhāgavatī Ārādhanā*, a Digambara text from about the beginning of the common era, there is an episode in which a thief is reborn as a god by reciting this *mantra* impaled upon a stake (Dundas 2002: 82).
A famous example in the development of a mantric culture in Jainism is Jinasena's delineation of a selection of '*mantras* to be utilized in the sixteen main life-cycle rituals of what he calls "Jain brahmans" and also in fire-rituals (*havanapuja*)' (Dundas 1999: 35).

[40] On Jain *mantras* see the work by Ellen Gough (2020a, 2020b). Also Michael Slouber has been working on this topic.

[41] I would like to thank Prof. Hamapana Nagarajaiah who explained this name to me.

accepted *hōsavrata* today and so would not eat her meal. Her husband stabbed her and killed her because she had not followed his order. Since that woman had accepted the vow, after her death she was born as the daughter of Dhanavati. She was given the name Nāgaśrī and grew in the palace. The outcast husband killed himself with the same sword and was born from the womb of the wife of a night-watcher of the ministers (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 83).

This story is not only interesting for the details it provides on city life and professions one could have at court (e.g. the night-watcher), it also details a popular Jain view on the prohibition to eat at night. In Vṛttavilāsa's substory, the vow is obviously framed within popular thinking. In Amitagati's version eating at night is also seen as something associated with animals and not with an honourable person. Vṛttavilāsa stipulates even more clearly what the benefits and bad consequences are of following or not following this vow. One who neglects the vow goes to hell, one who follows it goes to 'heaven'. Only after that, one can prepare himself to obtain the even higher status of an omniscient being. The way in which this narrative introduces the prohibition of eating at night, in my opinion, suggests an audience of non-Jains – which is in fact so in the frame narrative. It narrates in terms understandable to followers of Hindu traditions, and thus supports my argument that Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, more than others, is meant to convert (or re-convert) non-Jain laity (cf. infra). Further, it is interesting that Vṛttavilāsa clearly sees this rule as a *vrata* but sets this one apart from the regular *aṇuvratas.* By doing so, he seems to follow the view that the Digambara writers Cāmuṇḍarāya and Amṛtacandra have on this prohibition (Williams 1963: 108).[42] We might also wonder why Vṛttavilāsa includes a substory on this specific vow, and not on the others. First of all, such an elaboration supports the idea that this *vrata* stands apart from the conventional vows. Another motivation to include an explanatory story, perhaps, was that the nature of this vow stimulated elaboration. The vow of not eating at night is 'hands on' – it is easily practiced – and is therefore an easy step into following the Jain tradition (for possible Brahmin converts). It is also specific to the Jain tradition (in contrast to e.g. *dāna*) and would thus need some explanation for those not familiar with this vow.

4.2.4   Folk infusions

To finish this section on Vṛttavilāsa's text as an adaptive product – of a 'model' *Dharmaparīkṣā* – in terms of content, I would like to discuss some of the added substories

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[42] Others place it under different categories. For example, Amitagati (in his *Śrāvakācāra* and *Āradhanā*) places it under the *mūlaguṇas* (Williams 1963:108).

we find in it. These narratives mostly demonstrate Vṛttavilāsa's creativity in writing his adaptation and give the 'local flavour' of the popular stories that circulated in Karṇāṭaka (or beyond). In general, in comparison to the narratives in Amitagati's text, Vṛttavilāsa's substories are slightly more detailed and intuitively involve a more urban setting. This might reflect the audience to whom Vṛttavilāsa's text was addressed. The particular episodes discussed in this subsection, rather illustrate Vṛttavilāsa's engagement with the local vernacular culture.[43]

The first substory I would like to include here, is unique to Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation but completely follows the trend of Jain narratives in general, as it tells about a king, a trader, and some other townsmen (DPV 6.13-14).

> There was a king called Pāpi in the town of Kauśika. He had a minister Duṣṭamati and a swordsman Bhūtadroha. Once, a thief came into town and stole from the house of a trader. However, a wall of the house fell down upon the thief which killed him. The king heard about this and summoned the trader to punish him for causing the death of someone. At the court, the trader explained that he had paid a builder to build this wall and that this one should be punished. So, the king summoned the builder. But the builder replied that while he was building the wall, a prostitute passed by and distracted him. Then the king summoned the prostitute. She then explained that she had had the time to wander around because a goldsmith did not finish her golden jewels in time. So, the king summoned the goldsmith to ask him why he had not finished the jewels in time. The goldsmith replied that a thief had stolen the jewels when he went to a village market. When the king's swordsman could not catch the thief that had stolen the jewels, the king went for advice to his minister. He advised the king to punish all the people involved, as this would be as good as punishing the thief. The king followed his advice (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 70).

This story, first of all, tells us about the different professions in the town of Kauśika. The trader is the rich man, who has a big house and money to contract a mason to build and repair his house. This wealth attracts thieves who also roam the streets of the town. Another category of professionals are prostitutes. They use the services of goldsmiths to make themselves more attractive. Finally, in the service of the king himself are both soldiers, or guards, as well as the men who are involved in making policies, the ministers. This story, further, can be categorised as a 'cumulative tale' (within 'formula tales' of Thompson's Motif Index; Thompson 1885-1976: Z20). This type of tale is one that repeats over and over the same action or dialogue and is being built up because of that. It is a type

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[43] This counters Nagaraj's opinion that 'there is very little Jain folk literature' (2003: 338). Although the case of Vṛttavilāsa confirms that Jain stories 'remain within the confines of high literary culture' (Nagaraj 2003: 338), in the sense that they are framed within a high literary form, the existence of folk Jain stories, as the ones I will discuss, in itself proves that (oral) Jain folk literature existed.

of tale characteristic of folk traditions – or especially of oral narrative traditions – and thus its inclusion illustrates Vṛttavilāsa's familiarity with narrative traditions and his creative-adaptive motivation to mix these up in the original *Dharmaparīkṣā* frame story.

Next to stories about human life, such as the one just told, newly added stories also treat the divine realms of the world and are thus linked to the (local) purāṇic corpus. The following narrative of Caṇḍavega (DP$_V$: 4.11-15) is an example of such a local purāṇic-like story:

> In Ujjayinī there was a poor fellow named Caṇḍavega. As he was performing *tapas*, the god Baḷāri appeared before him. The god granted Caṇḍadeva a victory-bell, that when rung bestows him with everything he wishes, but gives half of that to his neighbour. Caṇḍadeva rung the bell eagerly wishing for money and gold. Indeed, he got a house full of gold and money, but the house of his neighbour was also half filled with money and gold. Caṇḍadeva became jealous and because of that, finally, he lost not only all of his wealth but also his eyes and legs (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 66).

Although my rendering of this story lacks details, it is possible to notice how this substory may be seen as particularly regional. The god with whom Caṇḍadeva has to deal is called Baḷāri. This is an alternative name for Indra ('enemy of Bala': *bala-ari*) that is not necessarily specific to the Kannada region, but that in its specific narrative context may be understood as localising the *Dharmaparīkṣā*.[44] The name of the god reminds of the district Baḷḷāri (Bellary) in Karṇāṭaka, whose etymology, according to local tradition as well as an account in a manuscript of the Mackenzie collection, would be 'corrupted from Bala-Hári, meaning the defeat of Bala' which refers to the demon Bala who would have lived there and was slain by Indra (Francis 1904: 2). In this district there is a village today called Ujjini (or Ujjayinī). This village is an important pilgrimage centre for Śaivites, as it is one of the five seats of the Vīraśaiva tradition that holds an annual unique festival called 'Śikhara Thailabhiśeka' at the Marulasiddheśvara temple which was supposedly built in the twelfth century. Because of this, it is possible to read Ujjayinī in this substory as to refer to this village and not to Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh, which is otherwise an important city in Jain literature. Since Ujjini is a place of Śiva worship, we may hypothesise that in this case the god Baḷāri might be associated with Śiva instead of Indra. Furthermore, the relationship between the god and a specific place, also in denominative terms, is similar to narrative motifs in regional Purāṇas.[45] As such, the addition of this story by Vṛttavilāsa, may be an example of localised popular Jainism, that mixes a narrative centred on a lay person and wealth with regional cults.

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[44] Monier-Williams refers to the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* by Śūdraka and *Bhāminīvilāsa* by Jagannātha, next to the lexicographies by Halāyudha, Amarasiṃha, and Hemacandra.

[45] This is not the same as a *sthalapurāṇa* ('Purāṇa of Place').

Another story that renders a localised purāṇic episode is the following (DP$_V$ 4.16-22):

There was a demon king named Śatabali who sucked out the blood of the gods. He handed his power over to his son Sahasrabali and took *tapas* himself. The gods, when they heard about this, decided to kill Sahasrabali before he became too powerful. On their way, the gods first saw Śatabali doing *tapas*, and they decided to first kill him, before killing his son. However, as he was an ascetic, it would be a sin to kill him with any weapon. So, they created a cow with a tongue as strong as a *vajra* (thunderbolt) and made the cow lick Śatabali. After Śatabali's death, Indra created a weapon out of half of his skull, the other half became a *cakra* (disc) for Viṣṇu. Half of the bone of his buttocks became Śiva's weapon, the other half became the bow of Varuṇa. This bow was given to Agni who gave it to Arjuna. With the rest of his skeleton thirty-three crores of gods were created.

With the help of his bow (*pināka*) Śiva was able to win the war between the gods and the demons. Arjuna burned down Devendra's grove and chopped off the heads of Śalya and Saindhava by use of his bow. To safeguard the sacrifice of his eldest brother, Arjuna brought back his bow from Laṅkā and defeated Vāsuki, the Naga king. Afterwards he married the Naga girls. Arjuna also defeated Śiva at the Indrakīla-battle, defeated the demon Kāla and, married the Brahmin girl, Somanī. When he was about to cut through the wings of Garuḍa with his arrows, the god Nārāyaṇa intervened. Then Arjuna tied up Nārāyaṇa with the help of his bow and kept him in an underground cellar for seven days. For his mother's *nompi* (fasting ritual for Jains), he constructed a cage of arrows to constrain Airavata, the elephant of Devendra. This is how powerful Arjuna is. Nevertheless, he lost everything in the hands of a hunter (paraphrase of Rao 1986: 66).

Here we have another episode about the gods and demons not known from the more dominant purāṇic tradition. The name of Śatabali is commonly associated with one of Sugrīva's chief monkeys who was sent to the North in order to find Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, but here denominates a completely unrelated demon. His story that treats a common motif of a demon doing *tapas*, is associated with the famous weapons of the gods and heroes from the purāṇic-epic corpus. I did not find another reference to this exact story, but the idea of the weapons of the gods made of the bones of someone does occur in the purāṇic narratives, namely in the story about the ascetic, Dadhīci. In one of the stories in the *Mahābhārata*, Dadhīci offers his body to Indra so that the god could make a weapon, the *vajra*, out of his bones (Mani 1975: 191). Several popular sources on the internet mention that Śiva's *Pināka* (bow) and Arjuna's *Gāṇḍīva* (bow) were also created from Dadhīci's bones.[46] This demonstrates that in popular (oral) traditions a narrative in which several of the god's weapons were created from the *ṛṣis* bones must have circulated.

It would thus not be surprising that in an alternative version the motif of the creation of the weapons of the gods was retained but extended to the weapon of Viṣṇu and the thirty-three crores of gods and associated with a demon. In the same episode, within the added references to stories about Arjuna, we can also recognise features that seem to be specific to Vṛttavilāsa's locale. These include Arjuna's attack on Garuḍa and his following encounter with Nārāyaṇa. Also, the reference to the *nompi* ritual of Kuntī seems to be specific to southern-Indian Jainism. It can thus be said that Vṛttavilāsa in this substory draws on localised versions of the purāṇic corpus that must have existed mainly in oral traditions. The infusion of these tales into a classical Kannada *campū* work makes the *Dharmaparīkṣe*, in my opinion, a truly regionalised piece of literature. It is both local in terms of content as well as written in a high literate form that is pan-regional.

4.2.5 Language and style of a regional world

4.2.5.1 Committing to the ascetic intellectual ideal

Vṛttavilāsa opens his composition similarly to Amitagati with the standardised invocation to the *jinas* (*vardhamānā*), the *siddhas*, the *ācāryas*, the *upādhyāyas*, and the *sādhus* (DP$_V$. 1.1-5). These are the five supreme beings (*pañca-parameṣṭhin*) in Jainism that are also praised in the famous *pañcanamaskāra mantra*. Also, he standardised his invocation of Sarasvatī (*vāgvanite*), the goddess of poetry (1.9). But whereas Amitagati merely mentions her as goddess of *śāstras*, Vṛttavilāsa seems to hint at the fact that with his writing he has further ambitions than just adapting a religious narrative. He wants to create a composition that is beautified by words (*vacana*), with a variety of metres (*chaṃda*), and with rhetorical adornments (*alaṃkara*).[47] In this way, verse 1.9 anticipates 1.37 where Vṛttavilāsa commits to writing poetically according to *campū* conventions (cf. infra). Continuing the formulaic opening of the text, the Kannada author praises his intellectual predecessors – masters of famous Jain literature – in a similar way as Hariṣeṇa does. These are Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Gṛdhrapiṃcha, Balākapiṃcha, Mayūrapiṃcha, Akalaṅka, Pūjyapāda, Vīrasena, and Jinasena, who are all philosophers of Digambara Jainism (1.11-15). Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda (both from the sixth century) and Akalaṅka (eighth century) are perceived as having played an important part in

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[47] DP$_V$ 1.9 (*kaṃda*):

ghanaguṇa samudayuda suva-
rṇa-nicayudiṃdakhila vacana maṇigaṇadiṃ ne-
ṭṭane chaṃdadoḷayiṃ vā-
gvanitey-alaṃkarisugemma kṛtikāminiyaṃ.

spreading Digambara Jainism in the Deccan (Glasenapp 1999: 61).[48] Vīrasena and Jinasena (both from the ninth century) are famous for their commentaries on two central texts of Digambara Jainism, which supposedly contain parts of the extinct *Pūrvas*, namely, Vīrasena's *Dhavalā* on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and Jinasena's *Jayadhavalā* on the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta* (Jaini 1979: 50). The names Gṛdhrapiṃcha, Balākapiṃcha, and Mayūrapiṃcha are not exactly known as names of *ācāryas* or authors of texts, but they appear in a certain number of epigraphies in Śravaṇa Belagola (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 1973).[49] My hypothesis is that they are fictional names representing different types of bearers of whisks (*piṃcha*) that could be used by Digambara monks in the past, rather than of historical *ācāryas*.[50]

In comparison to the authors discussed in the previous chapters, Vṛttavilāsa emplots himself in yet a different manner. Similar to Amitagati, he places himself in the ascetic lineage of the exemplary five supreme beings. He views himself first and foremost as one whose ambition is to follow the ascetic path and perhaps reach liberation. However, in addition to Amitagati's invocation Vṛttavilāsa also praises exemplary authors. These are not exactly the same as the ones praised by Hariṣeṇa and they definitely bear a different connotation. Whereas Hariṣeṇa praised famous authors of Apabhraṃśa literature, thus emphasising these author's literary aura, Vṛttavilāsa praises famous authors for their religio-philosophical achievements. From this self-emplotment, I would infer that Vṛttavilāsa viewed himself first as an author, and secondly, that he aimed at creating a work that embodies the true Jain teachings as laid out by these praised *ācāryas*. What he wants to achieve with this *Dharmaparīkṣe* is not merely laughing at Brahmanical stories to point out the faults of Brahminism, but to compete in an ethical and religio-philosophical sense with other Indian thought-systems. Such competition is further highlighted in the verses that mention Vṛttavilāsa's *guruparaṃparā*. There, the Jain teachings, from the mouth of Dharmabhūṣa and Abhayasūri, are explicitly contrasted with Sāṃkhya, Cārvaka, the tradition of Bhaṭṭa (i.e. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā), and Nyāya (see DP$_v$ 1.24 and 1.29). This is, in my opinion, how Vṛttavilāsa emphasises his religio-philosophical and argumentative ambition. Our author, however, also stresses his authorial ambition and poetic motivation. I will now turn to how this is expressed in the opening stanzas of his *Dharmaparīkṣe*.

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[48] For the dating of Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda I refer to Balcerowicz's (2016) relative chronology of the two authors (together with Dharmakīrti).

[49] They occur, for example, on pages 38, 221, 233, 235, 377, 381, 405, 413, 425, 476, 482, and 484.
The name Gṛdhrapiṃcha has been understood as an epithet for Kundakunda, but this idea has been rejected by Upadhye on the basis of epigraphic records (Soni 2002: 26). The mention in Vṛttavilāsa's text supports Upadhye's opinion.

[50] The exact verse in which they are mentioned in Vṛttavilāsa's text is 1.12:
namage karuṇasuge matiyaṃ samantabhardrar sugṛdhrapiṃchācāryar kramadiṃ balākapiṃchākhya maṇigaḷeseve mayurapiṃchācāryar.

4.2.5.2 Linguistic and poetic motivations

Probably the most noticeable feature of this adaptation by Vṛttavilāsa is its language, namely Kannada, the vernacular language of the South-Indian region we now identify as Karṇāṭaka. Especially when we take into consideration that it took two centuries for another vernacular version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to be composed (by Jinadāsa in Old Hindi), it becomes crucial to share a few words on the choice to transpose this text into Kannada and its relation to the general development of vernacular literature in the Kannada region. Much of the following exploration of this choice will refer to Pollock (2006), but I will first expose Vṛttavilāsa's own words on the why and how of his vernacular composition. In 1.37 he writes the following:

> *munnina cāru-saṃskṛtada dharmaparīkṣayan-ôdaballanuṃ*
> *kannaḍḍadiṃdal-arthavisaballavan-illadoḍ-āgadeṃdadaṃ*
> *sannutamāgi-yellararivaṃtire campuv-enippa baṃḍhadiṃ*
> *kannaḍadiṃde pêḷden-idanôduge kêḷuge kūrtu sajjanar.*

> It should not be that there is no one able to read or understand by means of Kannada the *Dharmaparīkse* [which was composed] earlier in classical Sanskrit. So, to make all people understand that [work], I have composed this in Kannada in an appropriate way, in the *campū* style, [so that] good people can read and hear it affectionately.[51]

From this verse we learn several interesting aspects about the considerations that went into Vṛttavilāsa's writing. What catches the eye first of all is the fact that Vṛttavilāsa made use of an older *Dharmaparīkṣā* written in Sanskrit to make his own version. This explicit acknowledgement would at first-hand make us expect to read a 'translation' of a Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*, but my above description should evidence that, as for the other *Dharmaparīkṣās*, the term 'adaptation' is more effective.

A second interesting statement in this quote is that Vṛttavilāsa explicates his motivation behind rendering the text into Kannada. Our author – or the person who sponsored him – finds it important that all people would be able to understand the *Dharmaparīkṣe*. This statement suggests that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in Sanskrit was known in southern India (at least within Jain circles) and that it had some authority. The statement also suggests a situation in which the literate audience in Karṇāṭaka was not sufficiently trained anymore in reading Sanskrit and thus was only able to grasp the content of the *Dharmaparīkṣe* through Kannada language. This motivation is similar to why Prakrit texts were translated into Sanskrit (cf. Chapter 2) and why later Braj adaptations have been created. To this, however, a critical note must be made based upon a preliminary analysis

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[51] This translation was made with the help of an anonymous expert of classical Kannada literature from Udupi.

of the actual language of the text (cf. infra). The language of Vṛttavilāsa's work is paradoxically loaded with Sanskrit words. This was common in Old-Kannada literature – the style which Vṛttavilāsa aspires to mimic – and seems to have been modelled on the rules of Prakrit writing (see Ollett 2017: 164), but it makes one wonder how people unfamiliar with Sanskrit could have understood a work full of Sanskritisms.[52]

Thirdly, Vṛttavilāsa speaks of 'the appropriate way' in which he has written his composition, which is the *campū* style. With this statement we come closer to Pollock's (2006) argument about the conscious establishment of a vernacular literary culture.[53] The choice for Kannada here seems to be not only motivated by the fact that people would understand the text better, but also by the fact that it is appropriate to create a version in the regional language, and according to regional poetical conventions. As such, the statement suggests that by the fourteenth century, Kannada literature had fully developed into a 'grown-up' literary culture.

Indeed, Pollock writes, in accordance with others, that the late ninth century marked a dramatic change in the literary culture of the Kannada country. This was the time which truly inaugurated the emergence of a 'new cultural practice and consciousness' of vernacular language aesthetics (Pollock 2006: 338). This emergence was characterised by similar processes as those that had made Sanskrit the cosmopolitan language. Firstly, Pollock recognises a gulf between literisation and literarisation. Secondly, he finds a correlation between language innovation and a re-configuration of the culture-power order. The Gaṅga and later Hoysaḷa dynasties played an important role in the rise of Kannada as a literary language by advancing it as the language of the public domain as well. Thirdly, the creation of a Kannada literary culture was from its ninth-century beginning directed to become a wider regional-language literary culture. It was a culture of the court, which is recognised by the co-conception of *praśasti* and *kāvya* in the regional Kannada language (Pollock 2006: 336-337). The 'game-changing' work, according to Pollock, was the *Kavirājamārgam*, which 'may have been the first text in world culture to theorize a vernacular poetics' (2006: 338). This text claimed itself to be a new venture, to seek to establish a new literary model based on 'scraps' of earlier Kannada works, but aspiring to an aesthetics to which Sanskrit and Prakrit had paved the way. It wanted to establish a pan-regional language that was fit for courtly contexts. This was exactly the

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[52] Ollett explains that the Jain grammarian, Keśava described how in 'pure Kannada', which reflects Vṛttavilāsa's 'appropriate Kannada', Sanskrit words could be mixed into Kannada sentences by following strict rules. As such, by constituting Kannada as 'a language categorically distinct from Sanskrit, but at the same time capable of absorbing its lexical resources, Keśava theorized it in exactly the same way that earlier scholars had theorized Prakrit' (2017: 164).

[53] I prefer to use the term 'vernacular' in relation to Vṛttavilāsa's text as little as possible, because of the way I use the term in a not exclusively linguistic sense in the foregoing chapter, which I do not find as suitable to Vṛttavilāsa's version. Instead, I prefer the term 'regional'.

path that Pampa followed, the *ādikavi* whose work excelled in the political *laukika* genre – which illustrates the shaping role of political agents – as well as in the religious genre based in Jain moral narratives (Pollock 2006: 357).[54] As such, Pampa became a model poet of Kannada. Although Pollock stresses his importance to the aesthetics and the political level of the processes that establish a regional language culture, I would want to emphasise the importance of the fact that he, as well as other early Kannada poets, was Jain. As significant as his legacy was in general to Kannada literary culture, we can imagine that his model function was even more prominent for succeeding Jain authors.

It is this 'cultural heritage' that is implied in Vṛttavilāsa's statement concerning his will to create a Kannada poem in the appropriate way, in *campū* style. Transforming a Sanskrit Jain polemical work into a truly Kannada literary work, appealing to Kannada literary-cultured people, meant for him to write in the classical Kannada style of *campū*, as it was exemplified by the earlier great Jain Kannada poets like Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna. I also interpret his statement as suggesting a critique on those who prefer to write in the *vacana* style.[55] Since this type of literature is mostly associated with Śaiva authors, such an interpretation would accord with my claim that one of the most noticeable adapted choices by Vṛttavilāsa was to direct his narrative criticisms more towards Śaiva purāṇic views. In order to fully explain the relation of this statement to the text itself, I will here extend my analysis to a discussion on the *campū* genre, noticing how Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* falls under this category.

In basic terms, a *campū* is a *kāvya* in mixed prose and verse, that became extremely popular after the tenth century (Warder 1972: 185). Deshpande (1957) has looked at several Sanskrit literary theorists (including Bhoja, Daṇḍin, Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa, and Someśvara) in order to further delineate the *campū* genre. These littérateurs have characterised a *campū* as a poetic composition, in Sanskrit, in mixed prose and verse, divided into *ucchvāsas*, dealing with topics from the *gadyakāvyas* and *mahākāvyas* and possibly marked by a watchword which might be the poet's name (Deshpande 1957: 8). Compared with the actual practice of *campū* production, there are several issues with this definition. First of all, the restriction of using Sanskrit language, did not apply to the regions where *campū* became overtly popular in their local languages, namely in Malayāḷam, Kannada, and Telugu. Indeed, the above-mentioned Pampa was one of the early authors to write fully developed *campūs*, illustrating thus the pre-eminence of the

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[54] The same could be said about the authors Ponna and Ranna (Pollock 2006: 357).
See also Pierce-Taylor (2016: 240-308) on Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa* as the pinnacle of Jain courtly literature (and supra, p. 5, fn.10).

[55] I hereby do not mean to express that his choice for *campū* is a rare choice at the time. Gil Ben-Herut has pointed out to me in a personal communication, by email (December 10th, 2019), that in the period between 1150 to 1400, according to Mugaḷi (1968), twenty works of *campū* have been composed, with Vṛttavilāsa's towards the end of that period.

Kannada region. As I have also mentioned above, I believe that Vṛttavilāsa wanted to step into the footsteps of earlier Kannada *campū* authors. Deshpande calls the specific mix of prose and verse a peculiarity of *campū* because they do not have separate spheres of use of their own (1957: 14). This indeed can be said about Vṛttavilāsa's text. His shift from verse to prose is not necessarily marked by a shift in content or sentiment (*rasa*). Often the narrative progresses slightly quicker in the prose sections, but the verses can equally contain ordinary narrative. He also mentions that not all *campū* works are divided into *ucchvāsas*. Other chapter designations have been *lambas*, *kāṇḍas*, or *āśvāsas* as in the *Yaśastilaka* by Somadeva, and in our *Dharmaparīkṣe*. The two last characteristics are also traceable in the text under discussion. The *campū* genre has in common with the *mahākāvyas* that it conventionally contains descriptions of eighteen types (Deshpande 1957: 15-16). Indeed, Vṛttavilāsa's text contains elaborate descriptions of, for example, the region of the Vidyādharas, of the city Vaijayanti, of the pleasure garden with its creepers and ponds and a fort nearby, and of the Māyā-bird (DP$_V$ 1.42-65). Further, also the reddish evening (DP$_V$ 2.7), the stars (DP$_V$ 2.12), a female dancer (DP$_V$ 2.24), the cock's crow (DP$_V$ 2.29), the different species of food typical to Karṇāṭaka (DP$_V$ 2.54-59), an old man (DP$_V$ 3.26), and, sunrise (DP$_V$ 5.32) and sunset (DP$_V$ 8.29) are elaborately described (Rao 1986: 117-136). With the *gadyakāvya*, it has in common the emphasis on narration, and the fact that it heavily draws on purāṇic-epic material. Lastly, what Deshpande calls being marked with a watchword is more or less present in our Kannada adaptation. At the end of every chapter, Vṛttavilāsa mentions his own name. However, he does not do this in a 'hidden' manner, as for example, Manohardās or even Amitagati do, but instead repeats the same verse in a variated way as an end to a chapter (cf. supra). Another interesting aspect of Vṛttavilāsa's *campū*, is that the poet uses several *alaṃkāras* in his work – *upamā*, *rūpaka*, and *dṛṣṭānta* are mentioned by Rao (1986: 117-136). Similarly, Rao discusses the mixture of *desī* and Sanskritic prosody (Rao 1986: 136). Vṛttavilāsa mostly uses *vṛttas* specific to Dravidian languages or coming from Sanskrit literature, and *kaṇḍas*, which are derived from the Prakrit *skandhaka* (Ollett 2017: 166),[56] but also includes verses in the Dravidian *lalita-ragaḷe* (DP$_V$ 3.34) and *daddhakkara* (or *addhakara daṇḍaka*) (DP$_V$ 10.25). With this information, it is clear that Vṛttavilāsa can indeed righteously call his *Dharmaparīkṣe*, a *campū* composition. By adapting the narrative to this genre, he marks his adaptation as a separate work – literary independent from other *Dharmaparīkṣās*, and as one that complies with what he deems as the correct model of high Kannada literature. In that sense the decision to make his Kannada adaptation, follows the logic of further building, or working, within the pan-regional Kannada literary culture.

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[56] Ollett sees the use of the *kaṇḍa* in Kannada literature as illustrative of 'Prakritization', which he defines as 'the transformation of a textual tradition through the language, versification, and aesthetics of Prakrit literature' (2017: 166, 98). The use of this type of versification, therefore, demonstrates how the Kannada *campū* posits itself as regional after the Prakrit model of regional literature (*desī*; see Ollett 2017: 17).

Before coming back to the last undiscussed aspect of verse 1.37, namely the question of a Sanskrit predecessor, let me here guide the reader back to verse 1.36 where Vṛttavilāsa introduces the importance of poetic writing, which thus relates directly to what I have just discussed. The verse reads,

> *duruḷar durjanar-eggugeyva bhayaḍiṃ satkāvyamaṃ peḷadaṃ*
> *jiraveḍaṃjade peḷvud-ākhu-bhayaḍiṃdāvāsamaṃ māḍadi-*
> *rpare mīnemjaligaṃji nīr-doṭevarē mēṇ makṣikā śaṃkegu-*
> *ṇṇare dhūmakke samaṃtu berci pacana-vyāpāramaṃ māṇbarē.*

> There are evil, bad people who disrespect [poetry]. In spite of fear from them, one should not hesitate to create good poetry. Out of fear for a mouse will one not live in a house; out of fear of the saliva of a fish will one discard water; out of doubt for flies will one not eat; or out of fear for smoke rightly will people stop using fire?[57]

This verse, with its beautifying metaphors, reaffirms (or pre-affirms) that Vṛttavilāsa's motivation was indeed one of making poetry. Opposed to this view on literature were the *durjana* who are suggested to reject poetry. Again, I interpret this verse as to react to the literary context in which Vṛttavilāsa lived, namely one that was increasingly influenced by the *vacana* writers who indeed discarded ornamented poetic writing. Moreover, this exclamation stands out when we read it in relation to the other *Dharmaparīkṣās*, because they only refer to their own faults in writing – a common motif in Jain literature. Although Vṛttavilāsa's style appears not to be as complex as that of the early *campū* authors (Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna), his literary endeavour was one of a higher literary culture – probably in line with the developments of the *campū* genre under the influence of authors like Nayasena and Āṇḍaiah.[58] As such, by means of verses 1.36 and 1.37, Vṛttavilāsa affirms the existent division between the literati who followed the imperial model of *campū* and those who preferred writing in *deśī* forms of literature (see Nagaraj 2003). This is, in my interpretation, mostly a division of style and literary models, instead of one defined by politics.

Now to return to verse 1.37, I would like to discuss here the reference made by Vṛttavilāsa to an earlier Sanskrit version. He himself does not mention which Sanskrit text he knew or had before him, in making his adaptation. From my analysis of manuscripts in the introduction, it seems probable that Vṛttavilāsa's text was an adaptation based upon Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, since I could only find manuscripts of Amitagati's version, along with Vṛttavilāsa's work, in southern India. However, other scholars who have written on this make different suggestions. Jayacandra, for example

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[57] I thank an anonymous referee for the help in making this translation.

[58] These two authors are known for avoiding the use of *tatsama* Sanskrit words (cf. supra). Vṛttavilāsa uses Sanskrit vocabulary and prosody, but he seems to do so to a lesser extent than the early poets.

believes, that Vṛttavilāsa used a Sanskrit text which is now lost (1978: 7). Rao instead believes that Vṛttavilāsa used multiple sources in making his adaptation, namely the earlier versions by Amitagati, Hariṣeṇa, and perhaps the lost text by Jayarāma (1986: 91). To evidence the connection of Vṛttavilāsa's text with Hariṣeṇa, Rao points out the equality between several verses in the *Dharmaparīkṣe* and the *Dhammaparikkhā* (1986: 102). Although I could not trace back all the parallel verses he mentions, I could find the similarity for two sets of verses.[59] Firstly, the first half of Vṛttavilāsa's 3.25 accords with Hariṣeṇa's 4.7(.16). This verse states the following:

> *aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo naiva ca naiva ca, tasmāt purtramukhaṃ dṛṣṭvā paścād bhavati bhikṣukaḥ.*

> For a sonless person heaven is in no way a prospect. Therefore, only after seeing the face of a son, should one become a mendicant.

In Amitagati we find a similar, though slightly different verse (DP_A 11.8; cf. Chapter 3, p. 196):

> *aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo na ca tapo yataḥ, tataḥ purtramukhaṃ dṛṣṭvā śreyase kriyate tapaḥ.*

> Whereas for a sonless, neither heaven nor asceticism is a prospect, once one has seen the face of one's son one can commit to asceticism for bliss.

This verse is a *subhāṣita* that is included in Sternbach's *Mahāsubhāṣita-saṃgraha* (v. 2090; 1976: 468). The verse reads,

> *aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo naiva ca naiva ca, tasmāt putramukhaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhavet paścāddhi tāpasaḥ.*

> There is no help (no going to heaven) for a man who has no son; paradise is never, never for him. Therefore, only after seeing his son's face should a man become an ascetic. (Edgerton's translation in Sternbach 1976: 469).[60]

From this we can conclude that the first half of the *śloka* as given by Vṛttavilāsa and Hariṣeṇa seems to be common. The second verse that is equal in both versions is DP_V 5.7

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[59] Reasons for this might be a mistake by Rao, or differences in the sources used. I have looked at the *Dhammaparikkhā* edition by Bhāskar which appears to contain mistakes. For the first mention by Rao (DP_V 3.25) the *kaḍāvaka* number accords, but the verse number does not. I am quoting the verse number of the edition. I was unable to trace back in Hariṣeṇa's text the second case mentioned by Rao (DP_V 3.62). Rao refers to DP_H 4.9(.24), but even in its vicinity I have not found the same words. I have also checked manuscript 483 from the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār.

[60] Note that Edgerton translates this verse more freely than I do.

with DP$_H$ 5.10.1. Again, Amitagati's version contains a verse that in the first half is almost the same. The former two authors cite, '*aśraddheyaṃ na vaktavyaṃ pratyakṣam api yad bhavet, yathā vānarasaṃgītaṃ tathaiva plavate śilā*' ('One should not say something that is incredible, even if it has happened before one's eyes, such as the singing of monkeys or also that a stone floats in the water'). In Amitagati's version, the words *yad bhavet* are replaced by *vīkṣitam*, and the second stanza is completely different. Just like the former verse, this verse is collected by Sternbach (v. 3528; 1976: 782), where he cites Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* next to the Javanese *Tantrī-Kāmandaka*.[61] In all of these texts this *subhāṣita* occurs at the end of the story of the singing monkeys and floating stone (see Appendix 2). This similarity between the South East Asian Pañcatantra and the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is interesting in itself, but what is noticeable indeed for our purpose here is that within the variances that exist in both quoted verses, Hariṣeṇa and Vṛttavilāsa accord, while Amitagati differs. Taking this into account, Rao might have been correct in saying that Vṛttavilāsa used both Amitagati's Sanskrit version and Hariṣeṇa's Apabhraṃśa *Dhammaparikkhā*. In this perspective, he would have referred to Amitagati in mentioning a Sanskrit work, and had Hariṣeṇa's manuscript 'by his side' when making his own adaptation.[62] On the other hand, the option raised by Jayacandra (1978: 7), namely that a lost Sanskrit version was used by Vṛttavilāsa, might still be possible on the basis of the mention in the *Jinaratnakośa* that Vṛttavilāsa's text is a *ṭīkā* of Devasena's *Dharmaparīkṣā/Dharmasaṃgraha* (1942: 190).[63] An option that has not yet been put forward is that Vṛttavilāsa only used the work of Amitagati in making his adaptation, but that he quoted the *subhāṣitas* (as those above) in the variant form that he knew from other literature. This hypothesis is first of all supported by material evidence, since we find manuscripts of Amitagati's text in South India where also Vṛttavilāsa's text is kept (e.g. Moodbidri). Secondly, it is supported by the fact that the variant of the *subhāṣitas* which he and Hariṣeṇa quote seem to have been most widespread. This makes it very likely that the *subhāṣitas* in these forms also circulated beyond the texts I have mentioned here. This

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[61] Sternbach refers to an article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 7* (1931) in which Veṅkaṭasubayya discusses two stories from the *Tantri* and their similarity with the *Dharmaparīkṣās* by both Vṛttavilāsa and Amitagati, as well as with a Laotian *Pañcatantra*. For a more detailed study of the *Tantri*, see Hooykaas (1929).

It is interesting that Sternbach quotes the verse as it is in Hariṣeṇa and Vṛttavilāsa whereas the article by Veṅkaṭasubayya quotes it as it is in Amitagati's adaptation.

[62] Note that the agreeing verses between Vṛttavilāsa's text and Hariṣeṇa's text are all Sanskrit verses.

[63] The *Jinaratnakośa* cites the Kannada section of the Jain Siddhānt Bhavan in Arrah, the Śrī Haṃsavijayajī Maharāj private library managed by the Kāntivijaya Bhaṇḍār in Baroda and the Vimala Gaccha Upāsraya in Ahmedabad for Devasena's text. For Vṛttavilāsa's text he mentions the Jain Siddhānt Bhavan in Arrah. Since I did not have access to the cited libraries, I was unfortunately unable to check this.

hypothesis is further supported by the fact that Vṛttavilāsa mentions a Sanskrit work and that Amitagati's version has clearly been the authoritative one.[64]

Before closing this chapter, I would like to shortly indicate what my foregoing discussion elucidates about the ways in which the audience engaged with Vṛttavilāsa's text. In the first quote I have given in this section, our author states himself how he supposes audiences to engage with his text: they can read or hear this *Dharmaparīkṣe*. These are the same engagements we have already encountered in the previous two chapters. In fact, I believe that the exact ways of reading and hearing Vṛttavilāsa's text are very similar to those of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Vṛttavilāsa's *campū* was directed to an audience able to appreciate this high literary style of literature. This was mostly an elite audience, familiar with Sanskrit and appreciative of *subhāṣitās*. They would read the text to study it, to understand its relation to a Sanskrit predecessor, or to unfold the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative in their Kannada literary style. At other occasions, audiences would taste the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by listening to it. The text would be, I believe, orated by mixing recitation and singing within intellectual circles at religious centres, with the purpose of providing both didacticism and poetic delight.

4.3   Conclusion

In conclusion of this discussion on Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe*, I would like to bring the attention back on the title of this chapter, 'Creating a Regional(ising) *Dharmaparīkṣe*'. Over the length of this chapter I have pointed out several elements that can be called 'regional'. I use the idea of 'regional' or 'regionalising' in a literary context to refer to textual elements which express the distinctiveness of a regional locale, but which have quasi-cosmopolitan appeal. A literary object made up of such elements can be said to be regionalising because it strengthens the authority of the regional idiom. It is meant to speak to an audience belonging to the Kannada world that sees this world as their relevant context of authority.

First in my discussion, I have pointed out how Vṛttavilāsa interacts with his literary and socio-religious context. This author is definitely a child of his time. This means not only that he interacts with contemporary developments, but also that he is indebted to earlier periods. Vṛttavilāsa must have experienced his time, the fourteenth century, as a period in which everything was uncertain: the identity and power of Jain religion, the

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[64] On the other hand, this hypothesis is complicated by the existence of the abridged Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra, which bears clear similarities to Vṛttavilāsa's 'southern' adaptation (cf. Chapter 5).

authority of the classical poetry, the relation between court and literary circles, etc. It thus seems plausible that our Kannada author reacted, as did other poets, to this uncertainty through his writing. However, whereas Āṇḍaiah reacted innovatively, Vṛttavilāsa could be called a 'conservative author'. In fact, many (if not most) Jain authors kept writing in the imperial *campū*-style and the Jain compositions from the thirteenth until the fifteenth/sixteenth century generally have Jain purāṇic themes (and style) (Rice 1921: 42). With his *Dharmaparīkṣe*, Vṛttavilāsa thus did not break any new ground and the text fitted perfectly in the Jain literary context of his time. Next to arguing against purāṇic religions, our author illustrated the literary tensions of that time by exclaiming why he followed the 'old ways'. This argumentation is found in one of the discussed opening sentences to his work, where he states that he has chosen to compose his text in Kannada in an appropriate way in the *campū* style. By choosing this style he affirms the continuation of the earlier (Jain) Kannada poetry. His indebtedness to earlier literary times lies also in the choice for using satirical poetry. Most obviously, his work is an adaptation of a Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Secondly, I believe that a certain intertextuality with Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛta* and Brahmaśiva's *Samayaparīkṣe* has influenced his adaptation. These two works were also critical of non-Jain authors and Nayasena explicitly exclaimed his motivation to write in pure Kannada. Both texts were, like Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe*, written in a satirical style with a clear intention of propagating the Jain religion, and with a clear criticism of other religions. Next to influencing Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation, these texts might also have inspired the creation of the adaptation itself from a Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* into a Kannada *Dharmaparīkṣe*.

Another part of demonstrating Vṛttavilāsa's historical embeddedness, has been to show how our Jain author reacted to challenges posed by other religious groups, most importantly Śaiva affiliates. Vṛttavilāsa's oppositional reaction was directed both to the literary side of these challenges as well as to their religious threat. In terms of literary discussions, I have pointed out how his explicit commitment to 'proper Kannada' can be read as a critique on the *vacana* form of literature in which Śaiva authors took the forefront. In terms of religious critique, I have tried to establish that the choices Vṛttavilāsa makes in adding or diverting subnarratives in his adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* illustrates his concern for the rising influence of local Śaivism. In contrast, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* 'in general' rather expresses a concern with purāṇic Hinduism at large. The strategy Vṛttavilāsa uses in these criticisms is that of narrative argumentation. By putting Śiva at the centre of relatively more stories that refer to the purāṇic myths, he first raises this god to the highest position. By thenceforth ridiculing the subnarratives, he pushes Śiva off of his pedestal. He evirates the yogic god by means of laughter. In parenthesis, such a strategy of attacking the religious other is less aggressive than the method used by that religious other, who explicitly calls for physical violence against Jains in his texts (see Ben-Herut 2020). For Vṛttavilāsa, sticking to the strategy of ridicule seems to be a way of staying 'true' to the Jain interiorisation of non-violence. Further,

this southern *Dharmaparīkṣe* also interacts with its context in a socio-geographical sense. The added substories I have discussed, clearly suggest that Vṛttavilāsa was involved with narrative traditions at the local level. It shows how Vṛttavilāsa was concerned with creating a literature that engaged local audiences through speaking to their local narrative knowledge.

Next to this contextually engaged content, Vṛttavilāsa poured his version of Manovega and Pavanavega's story into a classical typically Kannada literary form, that of the *campū*. By doing so, he turns this work that is infused with local – though not exclusively – popular tradition, into a piece of literature that belongs to high culture. His work participates in the tradition of classical Kannada literature which speaks to a high literary audience which, in turn, associates itself with the Kannada region as a space of cultural belonging. It is because of this 'high' cultural ambition, that Vṛttavilāsa's work as a vernacular text differs from Manohardās' vernacularisation. Although his composition is indeed in the vernacular, it does not speak in the same way to the local-practical and aural spheres of socio-religious life. Instead, this Kannada work claims bigger grounds than just being used for communal religious practice and aims at acquiring a place into the Kannada literary corpus. Indeed, this *Dharmaparīkṣe* can be called the southern *Dharmaparīkṣe*.

Chapter 5   Further explorations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*: three condensed adaptations

Up to this point, the reader of this dissertation should have an informed idea of what the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is and how its most significant adaptations have shaped the tradition. In the present and final chapter, I want to look at further adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that in my evaluation were minor projects of the tradition, but that nevertheless are significant to it.[1] The goal of this chapter is in the first place to broaden the spectrum of possible forms, strategies, and motivations, and intended audiences linked to a specific *Dharmaparīkṣā* adaptation. This should further inform about the possible functions of the narrative and about the variety of Jain adaptive practices in general. In the second place, this chapter will open up texts that have hereto remained unstudied. Although these texts are adaptations, I will demonstrate that each of them adds to our knowledge of Jain literary history, by highlighting how the adaptations are different in their sameness. The texts discussed in this chapter are the *Dharmaparīkṣās* by Padmasāgara, Saubhāgyasāgara, and Rāmacandra. They have in common that they are written in Sanskrit and include features of condensation. The three texts are also illustrative of the important status the *Dharmaparīkṣā* had acquired within the Jain community over the centuries. In what follows, I will first discuss the texts by Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara together as two examples of Śvetāmbara adaptations, and then I will analyse the summarising version by the Digambara Rāmacandra.

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[1] Manuscript evidence suggests these texts have been copied less frequently and circulated in less widespread circles than Amitagati's, Manohardās', and Hariṣeṇa's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Their internal properties, namely that they are condensed adaptations, suggest that they did not have the same literary scope as those versions as well as the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa.

5.1   The *Dharmaparīkṣās* by Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative was not kept exclusively within Digambara circles. In the sixteenth century the presumably first Śvetāmbara version of the 'Examination of Religion' was composed by Saubhāgyasāgara. In the same century, another Śvetāmbara Sanskrit version was written by Padmasāgara in 1588/1589 CE (1645 VS). These two narrations of the story are important because they demonstrate how certain narrative objects circulated from Digambara to Śvetāmbara circles (and perhaps vice versa), and, perhaps even more interesting, because they prove the circulation and adaptive use of Digambara texts by Śvetāmbara authors. Both the texts by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara are, as I will show, undoubtedly based upon the authoritative Digambara version by Amitagati. Since they were also written in the same century, are both in Sanskrit, and come from Śvetāmbara circles, I am treating them here together. My discussion will elucidate some of the adaptive strategies these Śvetāmbara authors used, next to further disclosing the richness of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition. Before highlighting a few of their adaptive choices, I will first introduce the two authors and share general remarks on their texts.

5.1.1   The two Śvetāmbara authors

Our two sixteenth-century authors were both initiated into the Tapā Gaccha branch of Śvetāmbara Jainism and have not left us with much material to inform current readers about their respective lives.

Saubhāgyasāgara gives us his full lineage in the *praśasti* to his *Dharmaparīkṣā*. He was an immediate student of Labdhisāgara Sūri.[2] The teachers who came before this Labdhisāgara were Vijayenda Sūri, Kṣemakīrtī, Kamanīyakīrti, Abhayakeśarī, Jayapundra Sūri, Śrī Ratnasiṃha, Surīndra Udayavallabha, Śrī Jñānajjalarāśi Sūri, Sūrīndra Udayasāgara, Śrī Labdhipayodhi Sūri, and Śrī Dhanaratna Sūri (DP$_S$ 16.65-75). Although Velaṅkar (1944: 190) gives an exact date for the composition of Saubhāgyasāgara's work (i.e. 1571 VS, i.e. 1514/1515 CE), the *pothī* edition (1941/42) nor the manuscript from the LD Institute of Indology library in Ahmedabad – the only manuscript I have consulted – contain the date of the work.[3] However, since the text contains a verse that seems originally to have included a date (DP$_S$ 16.72), and since Velaṅkar had access to a different

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[2] Saubhāgyasāgara praises his teacher both in the opening invocation of his work (1.3) and in the *praśasti* (16.72).

[3] On the basis of catalogues and databases (cf. Bibliography) I could ascertain the existence of two manuscripts of Saubhāgyasāgara's *Dharmaparīkṣā* and three manuscripts of Padmasāgara's adaptation, next to a *pothī* edition of both texts (cf. Bibliography).

manuscript, it could be that Velaṅkar's mention is correctly based upon manuscript evidence.[4] Furthermore, of Labdhisāgara, it is said that he has written the *Dhvajakumāracaupāī* in 1556 VS (i.e. 1499/1500 CE) and the *Śrīpālacaritra* (or *Śrīpālakathā*) in 1557 VS (i.e. 1500/1501 CE) (Śivprasād 2000: 235; Caudhuri 1973: 294). In contrast to these sources, there is also a mention of a Labdhisāgara, pupil of Dharmasāgara, who consecrated an image of Hīravijaya in 1604 CE (Laughlin 1999: 243).[5] This must have been a different person than Saubhāgyasāgara's teacher, because Saubhāgyasāgara does not mention Dharmasāgara, who was a prominent figure in the Tapā Gaccha lineage (see Dundas 2007: 31).[6] The lineage to which Saubhāgyasāgara claims to belong was one of the two branches that supposedly split up after Jagaccandrasūri (thirteenth century). According to Tapā Gaccha lineage histories, this one's pupils, Vijayacandrasūri and Devendrasūri, were the preceptors of two different lineages, respectively the 'Big Hallers' (*vṛddhaśālika* or *bṛhatpośālika*) and the 'Little Hallers' (*laghuśālika*).[7] In the authoritative lineage history by Dharmasāgara (the *Tapāgacchapaṭṭāvalīsūtra*), only Devendrasūri was the rightful successor of Jagaccandrasūri. Nayasundara in his alternative history states that both preceptors had rightful claims to lead the *gaccha*. It is in the lineage of Vijayacandra that the scholar Kṣemakīrti, and after him the *ācāryas* Ratnasiṃha, Udayavallabha, Udayasāgara and Dhanaratna, who are mentioned by Saubhāgyasāgara, followed (see Śivprasād 2000: 219).[8] Saubhāgyasāgara was the student of Labdhisāgara together with Dhanaratna, from whom the *Bṛhatpośālika* lineage further descended until it gradually disappeared in the eighteenth century VS (Śivprasād 2000: 221, 242). In his history of the Tapāgaccha, Śivprasād mentions five Jina images that were consecrated by Saubhāgyasāgara between 1576 VS (i.e. 1519 CE) and 1579 VS (i.e. 1522 CE). He also mentions two Jina images that bear the names of both Saubhāgyasāgara and Dhanaratna, dated to 1576 VS and 1584 VS (1527 CE) (2000: 235-37). This makes that the date of 1571 VS is indeed a possible date for the composition of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In his *praśasti*,

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[4] The final folio of the LD Institute of Indology manuscript is a copy in biro of a folio that had probably become illegible or was lost. It seems likely that the date, which might have been in a lighter (red) ink or was often written less clearly, had become completely illegible. The editors of the *pothī* edition have left space where the date would have come. The full verse reads, *śrīlabhdisāgara-guroḥ śiṣyaḥ saubhāgyasāgaraḥ, bhūmi-sādhu-tithau [SPACE] varṣe'karṣīddharmaparīkṣakām.*

[5] Hīravijaya Sūri is the most celebrated historical leader in late medieval Śvetāmbara Jainism. He lived between 1527 and 1596 CE. One of the most important legends around this figure is that he would have propounded Jainism to the Mughal emperor Akbar (see Dundas 2007: 53-72).

[6] Dundas mentions Dharmasāgara's initiation in 1538 CE and his death in 1596 CE (2007: 31-32).

[7] These histories are the *Guruparvakramavarṇana* (*praśasti* to the *Kriyāratnasamuccaya*) by Guṇaratnasūri, the *Gurvāvalī* by Munisundarasūri, the *Tapāgacchapaṭṭāvalīsūtram* by Dharmasāgara, and the *Bṛhatposālikapaṭṭāvalī* by Nayasundara (see Dundas 2007: 26-52).

[8] Śivprasād describes the main lineage as Kṣemakīrti, Ratnākara, Jayatilaka, Ratnasiṃha, Jinaratna, Udayavallabha, Jñānasāgara, Udayasāgara, Dhanaratna, Devaratna, Devasundara, Nayasundara, etc. (2000: 219). He details this lineage further in pages 219 to 221.

Saubhāgyasāgara also claims to belong to the Candragaccha of Śvetāmbara Jainism. This, however, is rather an association based upon what was deemed as 'orthodox' instead of a true lineage affiliation, since the Candragaccha is said to have been one of the four *gacchas* ('sects') that were established by the pupils of Vajrasena, who supposedly was the last teacher to be familiar with any of the *Pūrvas* (the supposed lost Jain canonical texts; see Dundas 2002: 138-139). Further, we know of one other work that might be composed by the same Saubhāgyasāgara, namely the *Bṛhadvṛttiḍhuṇḍhikā* which was written in 1592 VS (i.e. 1535/1536 CE) (Shah 1993: 34).

Padmasāgara is less elaborate in mentioning his affiliation. He himself had the title of *paṇḍita gaṇi* – a rank of ascetics – in the Tapā Gaccha lineage and, according to the *praśasti* of his *Dharmaparīkṣā*, he was the student of *mahopādhyāya* Dharmasāgara, who succeeded Vijayasena (DP$_P$ v. 1482-1483), as well as a pupil of *paṇḍita gaṇi* Vimalasāgara (DP$_P$ closing sentence).[9] In his *praśasti* he also mentions the famous Hīravijaya – 'who converted the lord of Delhi to Jainism' (i.e. Akbar) – as his predecessor (before Vijayasena; DP$_P$, v.1481).[10] These ascetics were part of what was before called the 'Little Hallers' and thus Padmasāgara belonged to the authoritative lineage of the Tapā Gaccha. Padmasāgara expressed his praise for Hīravijaya also by composing a eulogy about the famous monk, the *Jagadgurukāvya*, which he presented to him in the town of Mangrol (Gujarat) in 1646 VS (i.e. 1589/90 CE) (upon this one's return from the court of Akbar (Deśāī 2006: 353, fn. 485; see also Truschke 2016: 181-182, 195-197).[11] Another indication of Padmasāgara's involvement with the circle around Hīravijayasūri is that he would have studied the *Tarkabhāṣā Vārttika* by Śubhavijaya (1663 VS; i.e. 1606/1607 CE) who was a direct disciple of Hīravijaya (Deśāī 2006: 389). His association with Dharmasāgara is made more explicit in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. There he states that after Dharmasāgara had composed the *Pravacanaparīkṣā*, his student (Padmasāgara himself) composed this work (v. 6).[12] With this statement, Padmasāgara gives us insight into the motivation of his composition. I will come back to this issue below (cf. p. 266).[13] Supposed other works by this author are the *Uttarādhyāyana Kathā*, the *Naya Prakāśa* (1633 VS), the *Śīla Prakāśa* (or

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[9] Tripuṭī mentions that Padmasāgara was initiated by Dharmasāgara in 1617 VS in Jalor (1983: 744).

[10] Cf. supra, fn. 3.

[11] Truschke calls the *Jagadgurukāvya* 'the earliest Sanskrit text on Jain relations with Akbar's court' (2016: 181). According to Tripuṭī, Hīravijaya promoted Padmasāgara to the rank of *paṇḍita* (1983: 828).

[12] *cakre śrīmat-pravacanaparīkṣā dharmmasāgaraih, vācakendrais tatas teṣāṃ śiṣyeṇaiṣā vidhīyate.*

[13] The fact that Padmasāgara both associated himself with Hīravijaya and followed Dharmasāgara is noticeable, since the latter was a controversial figure who had created difficulties for himself with the Tapā Gaccha authorities lead by Hīravijaya, His *Pravacanaparīkṣā* added to the controversy and he was forced to write an autocommentary to it (Balbir 1999: 6) See Dundas 2007 and Balbir 1999 for more information on this topic. With this in mind, we might wonder whether Dharmasāgara's status also affected the status of Padmasāgara. Considering fn. 11 above, it seems that this association did not immediately affect his mendicant rank.

Sthūlibhadra Caritra, 1645 VS), the *Uttarādhyāyana Kathā* (1647 VS), the *Yukti Prakāśa,* the *Pramāṇa Prakāśa,* the *Tilakamañjarī Vṛtti* and the Yaśodhacaritra (Deśāī 2006: 383).

5.1.2 The Śvetāmbara texts

Whereas the different lineages of the two authors show internal discussions within the Tapā Gaccha monastic community, their adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* remain preoccupied with external religious opposition, i.e. criticising the Brahmins. The adaptations by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara are each unique, but they display certain similar strategies in adapting the original *Dharmaparīkṣā.* Most obvious is the fact that both versions were written in Sanskrit – I will come back to this language choice below (p. 264). In line with what one might expect, they have both marked their versions as Śvetāmbara at certain points. Further, the two authors created an adaptation of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* that exhibits condensation strategies and that seems not necessarily to have ambitioned the creation of a new piece of Literature (with a capital 'L') that would strike the aesthetical chord with its audience.

In what follows I will first elaborate on these condensation features in the two adaptive products, before discussing certain narrative elements which mark their writings as Śvetāmbara versus Digambara texts'. My reading of both the texts is primarily based upon the *pothī* editions (Padmasāgara 1913; Saubhāgyasāgara 1942/42).

5.1.2.1 Condensing Amitagati

The fact that the Śvetāmbara adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* are based upon Amitagati's authoritative version is most obvious in the text by Padmasāgara. His *Dharmaparīkṣā,* which is not divided into chapters, exists for the most part out of verses copied verbatim from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati. Mukhtār (1917), whose revision of Padmasāgara's text serves as the starting point of my own discussion, has counted that out of a total of 1468 verses 1260 are literal quotes from Amitagati.[14] Among the non-copied verses twenty describe the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the *praśasti,* so that 214 verses are Padmasāgara's own writing. Within these newly created verses, several are based upon Amitagati's text, but were changed in order to make them fit the *anuṣṭubh* metre in which almost the whole text is written (1917: 315).[15] In assembling the verses originally by Amitagati, Padmasāgara has used a strategy of condensation. He has retained the purely narrative verses and has removed many of the *subhāṣita* verses which characterise Amitagati's

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[14] In comparison, Amitagati's text contains 1941 verses (including the *praśasti).*

[15] Amitagati's text is predominantly written in *anuṣṭubh* with metre variance occuring at the end of each chapter. Padmasāgara uses some metre variance at the very end of his text.

writing. This condensation has resulted in certain renderings of plot elements that are in Mukhtār's words: *vilakṣaṇa* ('bizarre') and *doṣapūrṇa* ('defective') (1917: 317).

Mukhtār gives the example of the story of Vakra and Skanda (cf. Introduction, p. 53). In condensing this narrative Padmasāgara has adapted verses 5.88-90 of Amitagati's text into two verses (v. 283-284), but he has done this in such a way that verses 5.88 and 5.90 (DP$_A$) were almost literally copied while verse 5.89 (DP$_A$) was dropped from the text. As a result, Padmasāgara's verse 284, indeed, does not follow completely smoothly after verse 283 (Mukhtār 1917: 317). In Padmasāgara's rendering, Vakra asks his son upon his death to fulfil his wish to debase his enemy Skanda by going to wait for Skanda's arrival 'there' (*asmin*), so that the people would think Skanda has killed Vakra. This rendering omits the plot element in which Vakra's son is asked to drag Vakra's dead body to the field of Skanda and destroy all of Skanda's crops, which would clarify 'there'.[16] A similar plot incongruity is found in the narrative of Kharī and R̥kṣī (see 'The story of Kuṇṭahaṃsagati' in the Introduction, p. 58; see Mukhtār 1917: 219), and the story of Yajñā and Yajña (see 'The story of the stupid-minded' in the Introduction, p 54; see Mukhtār 1917: 219). However, with regards to the latter I do not follow Mukhtār's evaluation. In Padmasāgara's adaptation of verse 6.44 from the DP$_A$, the second half of the verse (DP$_P$ v. 315) is changed. Instead of writing 'This enamoured [boy] (Yajña) followed her (Yajñā) words completely. Indeed, in such affairs lovers do not misunderstand', Padmasāgara writes, 'This enamoured [boy] (Yajña) followed her (Yajñā) words completely. He did not have any doubts, indeed, lovers have difficulties to think straight.'[17] Whereas I do not see any contradiction in Padmasāgara's verse, Mukhtār argues that it would be strange if Yajña would be sure about the orders of Yajñā and have no doubts, when he is unable to think about them (1917: 219).

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[16] I have checked the manuscripts of BORI n. 1178(1887-91) and n. 729(1892-95). They contain the same verses by Padmasāgara as the *pothī* edition.

Compare DP$_A$ 5.88-90:

eṣa yathā kṣayameti samūlaṃ kiṃcana karmaṃ tathā kuru vatsa, yena vasāmi sukhaṃ suraloke hr̥ṣṭamanāḥ kamanīya-śarīraḥ. 88

kṣetram amuṣya vinīya mr̥taṃ māṃ yaṣṭi-niṣaṇṇa-tanuṃ suta kr̥tvā, go-mahiṣī-haya-vr̥ndam aśeṣaṃ sasya-samūha-vināśi vimuñca. 89

vr̥kṣa-tr̥ṇāntarito mama tīre tiṣṭha nirīkṣitum āgatimasya, kopa-pareṇa kr̥te mama ghāte pūtkuru sarvajana-śravaṇāya. 90

with DP$_P$ 283-284:

samūlaṃ kṣayametyeṣa yathā karmma tathā kuru, vasāmi yat-sphurad dehaḥ svarge dhr̥ṣṭamanāḥ sukham. 283

vr̥kṣād yan taritas tiṣṭha tvam asyāgatim īkṣitum, āyāte'smin mr̥taṃ hatvā māṃ pūtkuru janaśruti. 284

[17] My translations of DP$_A$ 6.44:

prapede sa vacastasyā niḥśeṣaṃ hr̥ṣṭamānasaḥ, jāyante nedr̥śe kārye duḥprabodhā hi kāminaḥ. 44

and of DP$_P$:

prapede sa vacas tasyā niḥśeṣaṃ hr̥ṣṭamānasaḥ, na jātā tasya śaṃkāpi duṣprabodhā hi kāminaḥ. 315

Except for certain adaptive choices that might be related to Digambara-Śvetāmbara topics of difference – and which are discussed below – Padmasāgara follows this method of condensed copying, as I have just illustrated, up to Amitagati's twentieth *pariccheda*.

Saubhāgyasāgara uses a slightly different strategy of condensing Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Instead of copying the Digambara author's text verse by verse, he has opted for paraphrasing Amitagati's verses. To give just one example, I compare here DP$_A$ 4.32 with DP$_S$ 3.33. It shows how Saubhāgyasāgara paraphrases the verse by Amitagati into Sanskrit synonyms.

> DP$_A$ 4.32:
> *mamāpi nirvicārāṇāṃ madhye 'tra vadato yataḥ, īdṛśo jāyate doṣo na vadāmi tataḥ sphuṭam.*
>
> When this becomes [perceived as] a fault of me, because I am speaking in the midst of inconsiderate [people], then I will not speak openly. (32)
>
> DP$_S$ 3.33:
> *mamāpi jalpato yasmān madhye'sminn avicāriṇām, dūṣaṇaṃ jāyate tādṛg mayā nāto nigadyate.*
>
> When this becomes [perceived] as a fault of me, because I am speaking in the midst of inconsiderate [people], then I will not speak in this way. (33)

Similar to Padmasāgara, Saubhāgyasāgara does not paraphrase every verse from Amitagati's text. He elides several verses – mostly *subhāṣitas* – that are not essential to the narrative plot, so that his complete text is composed in sixteen *paricchedas* each having 70 to 100 verses. His verses are mostly written in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, with metre variance – just like in Amitagati's text (cf. Chapter 2, p. 121)– at the end of a chapter. In contrast to Padmasāgara, who seems to have been more rigid in his method of condensation, Saubhāgyasāgara has taken the liberty to display, in a few isolated cases, some poetical freedom. As such, he introduces the following new verse in criticising the man who is blindly in love (DP$_S$ 3.77):

> *nūnaṃ hi te kavivarā viparīta-bodhā ye nityam āhur abalā iti kāminīnām, yābhir vilolatara-tāraka-dṛṣṭi-pātair indrādayo'pi vijitā abalāḥ kathaṃ tāḥ.*

Today there are these excellent poets with their contradictory thinking, who always call women feeble. If even Indra, etc. are defeated by them (the women) with striking glances of their moving eyes, how would they be feeble? (77)[18]

Another feature of novelty in the text by Saubhāgyasāgara are quotes from the Śvetāmbara canonical texts. As such, he quotes Prakrit *gāthās* from the *sūtra* (15.39), the *siddhānta* (15.82-83), and the *āgama* (16.43-44).[19] These citations can be seen as marking his text as Śvetāmbara, since they refer to texts whose authority is not accepted in Digambara Jainism. I will point out other features that mark Śvetāmbara affiliation in the following section.

Saubhāgyasāgara continues his condensed paraphrase of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati more or less up to the eighteenth *pariccheda* of Amitagati's text, corresponding with the fifteenth *pariccheda* of Saubhāgyasāgara. Already at the end of that chapter, but especially in the final sixteenth *pariccheda*, the similarity of Saubhāgyasāgara's text with Amitagati's version fades. He shortly introduces the different types of *vratas*, to then end with Pavanavega's commitment to the correct Jain vows, after which he becomes a *samyaktvadhārin* (16.60-61).[20]

5.1.2.2   Śvetāmbara vs. Digambara accounts

Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras have different views with regards to certain aspects of doctrine, and account certain episodes of the Jain Universal History in a different way. Therefore, we could expect to also find differences in terms of content between a Śvetāmbara and a Digambara adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati contains explicit references to Digambara monks and tells episodes from the Jain Purāṇas according to the Digambara tradition. We might therefore wonder how the Śvetāmbara authors dealt with this sectarian difference in their adaptation. This question also occupied Mukhtār (1917) in his discussion of Padmasāgara's text. In fact, the largest part of his article is devoted to 'unmasking' Padmasāgara's adaptation as a flawed Śvetāmbara 'theft' (*curāne kā sāhas*; 1917: 324; cf. Introduction, p. 7). In the following paragraphs I will discuss the elements of content adaptation pointed out by Mukhtār. I will refer to these elements both in Padmasāgara's text and in Saubhāgyasāgara's text and will start with those that have a purāṇic theme.

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[18] Amitagati includes verses that also refer to the flirtatious destructiveness of women (e.g. 12.19), but the critique by Saubhāgyasāgara on poets is unique.

[19] He announces this with the words *yad uktaṃ sūtre* (15.39), *yad uktaṃ siddhānte* (15.82), and *āgame proktam evaṃ* (16.42).

I was able to trace verse 15.39 in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (cf. infra) but I have not been able to trace the other two verses to any canonical texts.

[20] I plan a detailed analysis of the end of this text and its relation to Śvetāmbara-Digambara differences in terms of *śrāvaka dharma* for future research.

A first narrative to discuss is the marriage of Draupadī to the Pāṇḍavas. In the Digambara tradition, Draupadī, a virtuous wife, is not married to all five Pāṇḍavas but only to Arjuna, whereas in the Śvetāmbara tradition, she does commit polyandry (see Geen 2001: 122-164).[21] The critical view of the Digambaras with regards to Draupadī's polyandry is noticeable in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, when he in DP$_A$ 15.48-49 states that, 'never has anyone seen the relationship of one woman to five men.'[22] Padmasāgara has left these two verses out of his adaptation and this is judged by Mukhtār as demonstrating that Padmasāgara follows the Śvetāmbara version of the episode (1917: 318). Mukhtār, however, expresses his wonder about why then would have Padmasāgara retained verse DP$_A$ 14.37 (DP$_P$ v. 979), where Draupadī's marriage to five husbands is compared to the marriage of a woman to two husbands in one of Manovega's substories (1917: 318; cf. Introduction, p. 68).[23] The critique on polyandry within this verse by Amitagati, however, relies on its ironic reading. Whereas Mukhtār might have a point that Padmasāgara was not careful in adapting his version to Śvetāmbara Jainism, it could also have been the case that Padmasāgara did not read this verse as ironic.[24]

In Saubhāgyasāgara's *Dharmaparīkṣā* these verses that are critical of Draupadī's polyandry are also not included. Instead, Saubhāgyasāgara moves directly from a critique on the god's intercourse with common women (as in DP$_A$ 15.1-17), to mentioning Duryodhana, etc. (DP$_A$ 15.50-57). This deletion of purāṇic elements might have been a random strategy of condensation, or it might indeed be related to Śvetāmbara views on particular epic episodes. At the same point in the plot, not only is the mention of Draupadī's marriage excluded, but another story, present in Padmasāgara's text, has been left out by Saubhāgyasāgara. This is the story of Pāṇḍu and the *kāmamudrikā*. This story is told by Amitagati in the fifteenth *pariccheda* (15.19-15.42) and by Padmasāgara in verse 1061-1084. The story is stated as the following:

> Once, Pāṇḍu was enjoying himself in a grove when he saw a Vidyādhara-girl named Kāmamudrikā ('love-seal'). Right at the moment he had taken her into his hands as a ring, a Vidyādhara named Citrāṅga arrived there looking for her. Selflessly, Pāṇḍu

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[21] Geen reads in three of his Digambara *Harivaṃśa* case texts (by Jinasena, by Śubhacandra, and by Vādicandra) a critique on the Śvetāmbara belief in Draupadī's polyandry. The version by Guṇabhadra seems to conflate elements of the narrative in which Draupadī does marry the five Pāṇḍavas with elements in which she does not (2001: 164).

[22] DP$_A$ 15.48: [...] *bhartṝṇāṃ kvāpi pañcānāṃ naikayā bhāryayā punaḥ*.

[23] The verse reads, *draupadyāḥ pañca bhartāraḥ kathyante yatra pāṇḍavāḥ, jananyāstava ko doṣas tatra bhartṛ-dvaye sati. 37*

'When of Draupadi the five Pandavas are told as husbands, then what fault is there of your mother in having two husbands.' (37)

[24] Another possibility would be that Padmasāgara removed the beforementioned verses (DPA 15.48-49) not out of sectarian concerns, but for other reasons, such as redundancy, and that he, as such, did not stress a Śvetāmbara version of Draupadī's marriage(s).

gave her back to him, but looked sad. The Vidyādhara asked him why he was so sad and Pāṇḍu replied that he wanted to marry the daughter of King Andhakavṛṣṭi, Kuntī, but that she was unreachable for him. Therefore, the Vidyādhara gave him Kāmamudrikā so that he, by her power, could become Kāma for a moment, and thus seduce Kuntī. Pāṇḍu indeed courted Kuntī, spent nights of lovemaking with her and impregnated her. When Kuntī's mother found out about the child, she made her daughter give birth in secret and put the child in the Ganges in a casket. The child was found by King Āditya of Campāpura who named him Karṇa. Because King Āditya had no sons himself, Karṇa became his son and successor.

In the Digambara tradition the episode is narrated in the *Uttarapurāṇa* by Guṇabhadra (70.104-111), in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (see Kantawala 1990: 66-67), and in Vāḍicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (3.33-63).[25] It is also known in the Śvetāmbara tradition, but in a variant form. Mukhtār describes the version from the *Pāṇḍavacarita* by Devavijaya Gaṇi, written in 1604 CE (Winternitz 1933: 497), as follows (Mukhtār 1917: 323):[26]

> Once, Pāṇḍu meets a Vidyādhara called Viśālākṣa who was pinned to a tree by his enemy. Pāṇḍu frees him and heals his wounds with sandal paste. Gratefully, the Vidyādhara gives him a ring by which he can obtain what he desires. Pāṇḍu heavily longs for Kuntī who, in despair that she cannot marry Pāṇḍu, has tied a noose around her neck to hang herself from an *aśokatree*. Pāṇḍu finds her just in time and saves her. They make love and Kuntī becomes pregnant. When Kuntī's mother discovers this, she makes Kuntī give birth in secret and puts the child on the Ganges. The child is found by a charioteer who names him Karṇa. The charioteer's wife is visited by Sūrya in a dream who tells her that she has received an excellent son. As of that moment Karṇa is also known by the name Sūryaputra, 'The son of Sūrya.'

There is indeed a clear difference between the two versions of the story of Pāṇḍu and Kuntī, and we could question why the versions of Padmasāgara and Devavijaya do not accord, especially since the latter lived around the same time and claimed to follow the same teacher (i.e. Hīravijaya).[27] The same question can be posed about the reference to the Pāṇḍavas' death in both Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās*. Amitagati, following the Digambara tradition of for example, Guṇabhadra (see Geen 2001: 387), writes that the sons

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[25] In Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, Pāṇḍu becomes invisible instead of taking on the form of Kāma.

[26] Winternitz mentions that Devavijaya's text is a prose rendering of Devaprabha Sūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, with many verses 'literally taken from Devaprabha's work, whilst many others belong to the gnomic poetry and are known from other sources' (1933: 497). Devaprabha wrote his *Pāṇḍavacarita* in 1214 CE (De Clercq 2008: 413). Indeed, Devavijaya's telling of the story seems to accord with how Devaprabha tells the story (*Pāṇḍavacarita* 1.477-1.553).

[27] In fact, in one of the manuscripts of Devavijaya's *Rāmacarita* it is attested that Padmasāgara has 'corrected' (*suśodhitam*) Devavijaya's work (Tripāṭhī 1975: 261).

In view of the previous footnote, we can also question why Padmasāgara has, unlike Devavijaya, not followed Devaprabha Sūri's version of the story of Pāṇḍu and the ring.

of Kuntī reach liberation (*mokṣa*), whereas the sons of Mādrī (i.e. Nakula and Sahadeva) attain the realm of *Sarvārthasiddhi* (DP$_A$ 15.55). Padmasāgara copies these verses and thus follows the Digambara account of the Pāṇḍavas' end. The authoritative Śvetāmbara versions (e.g. the canonical *Nāyādhammakahao* or Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*), however, state that all five Pāṇḍavas attain *mokṣa* (Mukhtar 1917: 320; see also Geen 2001 59).

If we look at how Saubhāgyasāgara narrates this episode, we find something even more remarkable. He writes that the Pāṇḍavas were born from the womb of Kuntī (in contrast to Duryodhana etc., being born from Gandhārī), and that all the sons of Kuntī reach liberation. There is no mention that two of the Pāṇḍavas were born from Mādrī. It might be the case that this *Mahābhārata* episode did not have such prominence in Saubhāgyasāgara's circles, or that he just looked over mentioning Madrī. Mukhtār's evaluation of these differences with the Śvetāmbara versions in Padmasāgara's text is quite ruthless, since he is convinced that it is a sign of the lack of knowledge Padmasāgara had with regards to his own tradition. For him, it shows that 'He [Padmasāgara] wanted to become a famous scholar in the Śvetāmbara tradition; and therefore, he has spread his composition, composed by making another's work into his own, across the naive society' (1917: 323-324). I think such an evaluation may be based on a misunderstanding of Jain literary practices at the time. Whereas we could expect Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras to be quite strict with regards to certain (narrative) perspectives, we can also expect them to be less so with others. Firstly, Geen's beforementioned analysis (2001) has proven that there have been discussions about 'correct' versions of epic episodes and that we could thus suppose that there were not always clear answers to this within the two main Jain communities. Secondly, the deletion by Saubhāgyasāgara of the narrative of Pāṇḍu in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* suggests that the story was not one of the central stories from the *Mahābhārata* corpus among Jains. Something similar would have been the case with the birth of the five Pāṇḍavas. Therefore, it is more than probable that variations of different epic episodes coexisted unproblematically within the two communities of Jainism.

From a different realm of the purāṇic-epic corpus, there is another adapted story that shows similar strategies by Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara as we have encountered with the story of Pāṇḍu and the *kāmamudrikā*. This is the story of Śambhu and Brāhmaṇī:

> Śambhu was born from Princess Jyeṣṭhā and Prince Sātyaki. He became a great ascetic and therefore acquired 500 major and 700 minor *vidyās* (powers in the form of women). However, after meeting eight royal Vidyādhara-girls, he abandonded his *tapas*, and married all eight. These girls could not bear the intercourse with Śambhu and died. Gaurī (Pārvatī), on the other hand, could endure his sexual power and so she married Śambhu. She, once when they were making love, took the *vidyā* of Śambhu's trident and left. He then strived for another *vidyā*, Brāhmaṇī, and acquired her by reciting prayers. During his meditation, Brāhmaṇī became a beautiful woman, dancing in front of him, etc. But once, when Śambhu looked up,

he saw instead a four-faced man on whose head the head of a donkey had grown. Śambhu cut off the donkey head, but unfortunately it stuck to his hand. Then, when in the evening he saw Mahāvīra meditating in the cremation grounds, he bowed down to his feet and venerated him. Because of that, the head fell from his hand.

The story is copied in Padmasāgara's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (v.782-799) from the composition by Amitagati (12-35-52). This story is so far unknown in other Śvetāmbara narratives. In fact, also within the Digambara story collections, I have not found any other source that tells it in exactly the same way.[28] The Apabhraṃśa *Kahākosu* by Śrīcandra (around 1070; Dundas 2020: 749) tells the narrative of Rudra, son of Jyeṣṭhā and Sātyaki, marrying eight Vidyādhara princesses. As they cannot bear intercourse with him, Rudra takes Umā as a wife and as a result the Vidyādhara princesses attempt to cut off his head (see Hardy 1993: 168). Since the same theme and motifs exist in this other Digambara collection of narratives, it is likely that a variant of the story finds its roots in the rich narrative tradition of the Jains, which may go back several centuries. Padmasāgara's inclusion of this story should therefore not be problematised, as Mukhtār does (1917: 322).[29] It demonstrates how Śvetāmbara audiences could also enjoy the complex of (anti-Brahmanical) stories that existed in Jain literature. Saubhāgyasāgara, like he did for the story of Pāṇḍu, drops this episode from the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Even more so, although he includes a list, similar to the one by Amitagati, of gods submissive to women, Saubhāgyasāgara does not make mention of Śambhu (or Rudra) and Brāhmaṇī. This, for one part, probably has to do with his strategy of condensation, i.e. the substory is not necessary to understand the critique on the gods' faults. For another part, his exclusion confirms exactly the fact that the story was not known in Śvetāmbara circles. Padmasāgara could thus be said to enrich the Śvetāmbara 'story-ocean'.

Next to the pan-Indian purāṇic theme, there are also narratives in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that belong particularly to the Jain Purāṇas. I will mention here one element from the biography of Ṛṣabha that has pressed our Śvetāmbara authors to make an adaptive choice. In order to introduce the origination of heretic creeds in the current era, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tells the main life events of Jina Ṛṣabha, after whom these creeds arose (DP$_A$ 18.23-66, DP$_H$ 10.1-11). Ṛṣabha was born as the son of King Nābhi and Marudevī and married two girls. In the Digambara tradition – as we can read in Amitagati's and Hariṣeṇa's versions (DP$_A$ 18.24; DP$_H$ 10.2.9) – these are called Nandā and Sunandā, the

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[28] The story is told in the same way in the *Dhammaparikkhā* by Hariṣeṇa in 5.7.

[29] Mukhtār compares Padmasāgara's rendition with a fragment from Ātmarāmjī's (1837–1896) summary of Jain doctrinal material, the *Tattvādarśa*. In Chapter 12, Ātmarāmjī describes that Śambhu is the son of Peḍhāl, who has intercourse with a Brahmin girl named Jyeṣṭhā in order to acquire his *vidyās*. Their son Śambhu is called Sātyaki. About Sātyaki it is said he was a follower of Mahāvir, who eventually was ordinated (1917: 321; Ātmarāmjī 1936: 445-446).

daughters of the king of Kacch.[30] In the Śvetāmbara tradition, however, they are called Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā, the first being Ṛṣabha's twin sister and the second a widow. The difference in this part of the Jina's biography did not go unnoticed by both Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣā* authors. Padmasāgara, while retaining literarily the surrounding verses on Ṛṣabha's life from Amitagati's text, changes verse 1347 so that it would mention indeed Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā.[31] Saubhāgyasāgara, similarly, paraphrases Amitagati's words on Ṛṣabha's birth and then mentions his marriage to Sumaṅgalā and Nandā/Ānandā (15.15).[32] The adaptation in this case shows that with regards to the biography of the Jina, sectarian accuracy existed and was important.

Sectarian boundaries also necessitated to transform sentences that reveal the superiority of naked monks, the most important element of identification that defines Digambaras as different from Śvetāmbaras. Mukhtār mentions that Padmasāgara changes Amitagati's verse which states that the 'true ascetic' (*sādhu mata*) is one who is 'naked' (*jātarūpadhara*), into a verse that honours the ascetic who has 'crossed the ocean of existence' (*sādhu-bhāvāmbhonidhitāraka*; v. 1376) (1917: 13).[33] The same discord must have motivated Padmasāgara to exclude from his adaptation verses where Amitagati names the Digambaras and explains how some of them, after Ṛṣabha's death, started behaving in a way unfit to a Digambara by taking their own food.[34] It is noteworthy that Saubhāgyasāgara has kept this reference. In fact, he has – with the exception of a few words – copied these and further verses from Amitagati (DP$_S$ 15.31-38). I would hypothesise that Saubhāgyasāgara interpreted the verses in such a way that they tell us that the Digambaras are exactly those who started behaving wrongly and who cannot attain liberation.[35] This hypothesis leads us to interpret Saubhāgyasāgara's copying as a

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[30] In fact, not all Digambara writers agree on this. Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* names Ṛṣabha's wives Sunandā and Yaśasvatī (see e.g. 16.5-6), as does Vāḍicandra in his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (6.265). Svayambhū in his *Paümacariu* names Sunandā and Nandā (2.12.7).

[31] DP$_P$ v. 1347: *sumaṅgala-sunandākhye kanye sahaḥ purandaraḥ, jinena yojayām āsa nītikīrttī ivāmale.*

[32] Note that the name of Ṛṣabha's second wife is slightly different in Saubhāgyasāgara's account.

DP$_S$ 15.15: *kramāt tasya jineśasya saṃjāte yauvanodaye, kanye sumaṅgalānande purandareṇa yojite.*

[33] DP$_A$ 18.76: *tyakta-bāhyāntara-grantho niḥkaṣāyo jitendriyaḥ, parīṣahasaḥ sādhur jātarūpadharo mataḥ.*

DP$_P$ v. 1376: *tyakta-bāhyāntaro grantho niṣkrayo vijitendriyaḥ, parīṣahasaḥ sādhur bhavāmbhonidhi-tārakaḥ.*

[34] DP$_A$ 18. 47-49:

phalānyattuṃ pravṛttāste payaḥ pātuṃ digambarāḥ, tannāsti kriyate yanna bubhukṣākṣīṇa-kukṣibhiḥ.

tato devatayā proktā bho bho bhūpā na yujyate, vidhātum īdṛśaṃ karma liṅgenānena ninditam.

gṛhītvā svayam āhāraṃ bhuñjate ye digambarāḥ, nottāro vidyate teṣāṃ nīcānāṃ bhavavāridheḥ.

They (the corrupted kings), [though] dressed in air, started to eat fruits and drink water. By those whose bellies rumble with hunger there is nothing that would not be done. Then, some god told them: 'Hey hey, you kings! Such [a] forbidden act is not proper for someone with that mark (i.e. being a naked ascetic). Lowly naked ascetics (*digambaras*) who take food for themselves and eat it, they do not cross the ocean of existence.'

[35] Such a reading would not go far from the traditional Śvetāmbara account of how Digambara Jainism arose because of a corrupt ascetic, Śivabhūti, who initiated himself by throwing off his clothes, in correspondence with the early followers of the *jinas*, and started his own sect (see Dundas 2002: 46).

strategy to criticise Digambara Jainism: by copying the words from a Digambara text he proves exactly that they are refutable and concurrently proves the defect in this text. What is interesting is that Saubhāgyasāgara ends the passage about these heretic kings with a quote from the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.12.1), which denominates the four heretical creeds that arose in Mahāvīra's time: *kriyāvāda*, *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavāda*, and *vinayavāda*.[36] Because these four creeds are accepted by both Jain traditions and are opposed to Jainism as a whole, it contrasts with the possible critique to Digambaras that would lie in the foregoing verses. Another option would therefore be that Saubhāgyasāgara is not critical against Digambaras per se, but only accepts that early followers of the Jina were naked.

5.1.2.3   The continuation of Sanskrit

At a time when Vṛttavilāsa's southern vernacularisation was already 200 years old and Jinadāsa's Old Hindi adaptation dated from the previous century, both Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara continued to write in Sanskrit. I have already discussed in the chapter about Amitgati's version how Sanskrit became the foremost language, also for Jain writings, but I will here elaborate on the relevance of Sanskrit when these two Śvetāmbara authors chose to rewrite the *Dharmaparīkṣā* into the same language (Sanskrit), and in a period in which vernacular languages – most likely Gujarati and Madhyadeśī for their case – were becoming more important for literary writing (and especially translation). First of all, let me restate the importance Sanskrit had acquired at the turn of the first of millennium. Sanskrit was the language with the strongest political cachet, a sphere in which Jain authors were also involved. For example, the famous twelfth-century Śvetāmbara author, Hemacandra wrote his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* at the Caulukya courts in western India. However, not all Sanskrit writing was connected to courtly environments and thus we find a rich literature of Sanskrit *prabandhas* by Gujarati Śvetāmbara authors around the thirteenth century (Dundas 2020: 746). Jain poets in northern India did not shift to the vernacular as quickly as their southern colleagues did.[37] In fact, according to Dundas, 'the high-water mark for Sanskrit literature among Śvetāmbaras was the Mughal period, which saw the production into the seventeenth century of eleven large-scale poetic compositions belonging to the courtly *mahākāvya* genre' (2020: 746). As such, Śvetāmbara Jain authors seem to have played an important role in the renaissance of the *mahākāvya* genre centuries after its 'end', marked by Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. Padmasāgara might have played a role in this renaissance with his writing of the *Jagadgurukāvya*, but also Saubhāgyasāgara can be said to have written

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[36] *asiyasayaṃ kiriyāṇaṃ akiriyaṃ vāīṇa hoi culasī, annāṇiya sattaṭṭhī veṇaīyāṇaṃ ca battīsam.*
These four are also accepted by Digambaras, as is mentioned in the *Darśanasāra* by Devasena (v. 5).

[37] In general, the shift to vernacular language literary writing in North India happened later than in South India (see Busch 2011b; see Chapter 3).

at a time when Sanskrit was the prominent language for Jain compositions. Especially in Tapā Gaccha circles, Sanskrit seems to have acquired the elevated status which traditionally Prakrit had held, since Hīravijayasūri – the above-mentioned celebrated Tapā Gaccha monk – claimed that the lost *pūrvas* (traditionally the oldest canonical works) had been composed in Sanskrit (Dundas 2020: 244). Nevertheless, these Sanskrit compositions were not accessible to all audiences. Although Sanskrit indeed was a 'cosmopolitan' language, its intelligibility was restricted to certain elite audiences. The rise of vernacular translations shows that, especially by the sixteenth century, the accessibility of Sanskrit became more limited. We might even suggest that the strategy of condensation, with particular elimination of the stylised *subhāṣitas*, in the two Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās* illustrates the evolution in intelligibility and aesthetic appreciation of Sanskrit. In view of these processes in literary language perception, the choice for Sanskrit by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara seems to have been the obvious one for writing a religious narrative text. Without regards to who their intended audience was, the choice for Sanskrit was a choice for continuing the tradition.[38] Further, it is also important to understand that the choice for Sanskrit demonstrates that the two Śvetāmbara authors did not intend to make a translation of Amitagati's original work. Their motivation of adapting the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati clearly stems from internal textual aspects and not external textualities. They were not concerned with the language of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* nor with the form or style. Since the two texts are still relatively long and have retained some of the difficulties from Amitagati's original, I would argue that the main concern in their adaptation is the content, next to transposing the authority of the narrative.

5.1.3   Adapting the *Dharmaparīkṣā* across sectarian divisions

I have thus far described how the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, a narrative that was originally textualised within Digambara monastic communities, was embraced by Śvetāmbara authors. In my concluding thoughts on the two Śvetāmbara versions, I want to question

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[38] I have various ideas on their possible intended audiences. Firstly the Śvetāmbara authors might have intended to reach a Jain lay audience that was educated in Sanskrit. They might have meant to mediate their text through oral recitation or in the written form. Another possibility is that the text was solely directed towards co-monks. My hypothesis below that these *Dharmaparīkṣās* have an underlying theme of argumentation (against Amitagati's version) supports such a view. With regards to this view, I would like to stress that, in my opinion, the two adaptations are written endeavours, both in the way they were composed as in the way they should circulate. In this respect, we might also consider that the mere production of these texts for their co-monks contributed to the creation of a sort of mendicant version of the royal court, where literary production reflected and contributed to the power of the mendicant group (see Cort 2009a). As such, as secondary audience we may consider lay patrons attracted by the high textual production of these mendicant groups.

what the relevance of this sectarian divide is to the adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition. Should we distinguish between Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*? And if we would make such a distinction, do the differences tell us something about the relation between the two communities?

Before tackling these questions as such, let me recapitulate what my preliminary analysis has revealed. Within the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, we know of two adaptations written by Śvetāmbara authors in the sixteenth century. These were both monks within the Tapā Gaccha, but associated with separate lineages that, at the time, were critical of each other's claims of belonging to the Tapā Gaccha.[39] We do not know whether they knew each other's work (or whether Padmasāgara knew the work of Saubhāgyasāgara) and can therefore not presume that the existence of two versions demonstrates some sort of internal strife within the Tapā Gaccha. What we can deduce is that both authors had the same text before them in writing their version, namely the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, and that they made similar adaptive choices. On a general level, the two authors chose to stay very close to the text by Amitagati – with Saubhāgyasāgara paraphrasing and Padmasāgara copying his verses – and to condense the text by Amitagati, giving most weight to narrative in contrast to teachings or wise sayings. On the level of specific content elements, the two Śvetāmbara authors have demonstrated the necessity to adapt (as in change) elements of the content which do not accord with accounts that are orthodox to the Śvetāmbara tradition. In contrast, the absence of certain adaptations in purāṇic substories has demonstrated that variance of these episodes exists across sectarian boundaries. As such, the analysis of certain content elements partly answers our question with regard to distinguishing a Digambara versus a Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Indeed, because of differences between the two traditions that are unnegotiable, a Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣā* will necessarily contain parts that depart from the Digambara version. However, such a conclusion does not tell us anything about the motivation of a Śvetāmbara author to write his own *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

An important source in trying to answer that question should involve the author's own statements about making their adaptation. As mentioned above, Padmasāgara claims that his stimulus to create this *Dharmaparīkṣā* was Dharmasāgara's *Pravacanaparīkṣā* (cf. p. 254). Dharmasāgara played a key role in the formation of the Tapā Gaccha self-understanding of its origins. His *Pravacanaparīkṣā* ('Examination of the Doctrine') is one of the works in which he delineates the true lineage and, correct beliefs and behaviour of the true *tīrtha* ('Jain community'). The *Pravacanaparīkṣā*, that is also known by the name 'Sun in the Eyes of Owlish Heretics' (*Kupakṣakauśikāditya*), criticises the Digambara affiliates with 'time-

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[39] At least the side of Padmasāgara's lineage was critical of the lineage of Saubhāgyasāgara.

honoured Śvetāmbara arguments' and refutes the followers of Loṅkā (Dundas 2002: 143).[40] However, the greatest ire is kept for the Kharatara Gaccha leaders Jinavallabha (eleventh century) and Jinadatta (1075–1154).[41] These are argued, through an analysis of textual sources, to have made illegitimate lineage claims (Dundas 2002: 143). In the same text Dharmasāgara also describes the establishment of the Tapā community by Jagaccandrasūri, who in 1228 abandoned his former group of monks because they had been showing laxity in their behaviour, most importantly with regards to taking food and lodging from laypeople (Dundas 2007: 2). This and other works by Dharmasāgara, as well as by authors such as Munisundarasūri (cf. supra, fn. 4), are indicative of the fact that in the 'long' sixteenth century, identity and community building influenced intellectual thought to an important extent. In my opinion, Padmasāgara wrote his *Dharmaparīkṣā* in order to participate in these intellectual discussions. Whereas Dharmasāgara focused on intra-Jain community boundaries, Padmasāgara complementarily highlighted the opposition with Brahmanical faiths, something that Munisundarasūri had also done a century before in his *Bharaṭadvātrimsikā* (see Dundas 1996: 153). I suspect that Padmasāgara has explicitly referred to this particular work by Dharmasāgara in order to associate himself with this monk who was the central figure of the time, treating themes of identity boundaries, and because this particular text was also a *parīkṣā*. These insights inform us of the motivation for Padmasāgara to pick up the theme and motifs of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. They do not however tell us exactly why Padmasāgara chose to adapt this narrative and particularly the text by Amitagati. Since the same question can be asked for Saubhāgyasāgara, I will first share what this author writes about his motivation to compose the text.

Saubhāgyasāgara's decision to create the *Dharmaparīkṣā* seems to be less directly influenced by his predecessor. Although he also honours his teacher Labdhisāgara in the opening verses of his text, his reason for composing it, depends rather on the audience he wants to reach with this *Dharmaparīkṣā*, namely 'good people' (*santas*). With a spirit that is similar to Amitagati (and other Jain authors), Saubhāgyasāgara explains how even good people start internalising wrong utterances and how wise ascetics should overcome this. Therefore, he has made his 'book' (*grantha*) that establishes the true Jain *dharma* (DP$_S$ 1.4-7). To this he adds the following verses (DP$_S$ 1.8-10):[42]

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[40] Loṅkā or Loṅkā Śāh is the '"mysterious individual" [...] from whom the two main Śvetāmbara aniconic subsects, the Sthānakvāsīs and the Terāpanthīs, ultimately derive their inspiration, although they do not trace their pupillary descent directly back to him' (Dundas 2002: 246).

[41] The Śvetāmbara Kharatara Gaccha branched off for purificatory reasons supposedly by the monk Vardhamāna. Its most representative leaders are Jinavallabha and Jinadatta. Especially the former monk emphasised the importance of the literal words of the scripture (Dundas 2002: 140-142).

[42] *viśve samasta-vastūnāṃ parīkṣā gaditā budhaiḥ, tāṃ vinā ko'pi bhūmispṛk na saṃgṛhnāti kiñcana. (8)*
viśeṣatas tathā dharmaḥ parīkṣyaḥ suparīkṣyakaiḥ, yataḥ śuddho gṛhītaḥ sanmokṣa-saukhyāya jāyate. (9)
tasyāvadāta-dharmasya śrīgurūṇāṃ sakāśataḥ, parīkṣā nānyataḥ prāpyā yathā śāstre niveditam. (10)

> The examination of abridged plots is told in the world by the wise. Without it no
> man can grasp anything. (8)
> *Dharma* is to be examined by the good examiners by means of distinction, so that
> when the pure [*dharma*] is being grasped, it transforms into the joy of liberation. (9)
> The examination of that blameless *dharma* must be acquired through the presence
> of the honourable *gurus*, and in no other way. As such it is told in the *śāstra*. (10)

In a first reading, Saubhāgyasāgara here exclaims the need for an examination of what
is good versus what is faulty, which will result in the affirmation that Jainism is the
correct way of life. Moreover, this examination should be done on the base of
discrimination – something also Amitagati has emphasised – and should be guided by
righteous teachers. In this way, Saubhāgyasāgara gives expression to the idea that
underlies all *Dharmaparīkṣās*, namely that certain Jain followers are wandering on the
wrong paths and need to be taught about the pure form of Jain *dharma.* However, another
reading of the quoted verses is also possible. In verse eight my translation of *samasta-
vastūnām* ('abridged plots'), suggests that Saubhāgyasāgara is referring to the particular
'Examination' that is the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as it existed before. But, says Saubhāgyasāgara,
an 'Examination of Dharma' should only be done by *suparīkṣyakas* ('good examiners').
Reading *suparīkṣyaka* as emphasised, we might suppose that it stands in contrast to
duḥparīkṣyakas ('bad examiners'), who might have earlier created a wrong version of this
'Examination'. In verse ten Saubhāgyasāgara states what is necessary to establish a
correct examination, which will lead to pure *dharma.* This is the presence of the correct
[lineage of] *gurus.* It should be clear that with this second reading I suggest that, possibly,
Saubhāgyasāgara is making an argument against other 'Examinations of Religion', thus
motivating his own composition as a correction of wrong 'Examinations'. Since
Saubhāgyasāgara has clearly based his work on the text by Amitagati, the above verses
could be read as arguing that Saubhāgyasāgara has written a *Dharmaparīkṣā* to ameliorate
the version by Amitagati.

The hypothesis I am making here is similar to the one made by Clines (2016) in reaction
to the conviction by Jaini – and I would add Mukhtār – that copying or paraphrasing
verses from an earlier text, without naming it, is a form of plagiarism. Indeed, next to
seeing the repetition of a text as a way to appropriate a popular text for one's own
community or person, repeating a text can also be a form of argument.[43] By refurbishing
another author's words, our two Śvetāmbara authors can be said to argue for a different
rendering of the story of Manovega and Pavanavega, one that accords in its details with
Śvetāmbara claims. This should not necessarily entail the complete refutation of

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[43] This is related to the fact that in Indian literature quoting fragments literally was common and served for the
pleasure of literary recognition or as to support an argument (see Dandhekar 1954; Shulman and Narayan Rao
1998).

Amitagati's work. Instead, our Śvetāmbara authors engaged with this author, brought attention to his *Dharmaparīkṣā*, and made it 'better'. I should note that neither Padmasāgara nor Saubhāgyasāgara mentions Amitagati in their works and that thus the engagement with the Digambara author might be lost to some of their audiences. However, we can suppose that the immediate (monastic) circle of the two Śvetāmbara authors would have been familiar with the work. This probably is different from the case that Clines discusses, the *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa* by Śrībhūṣaṇa after Śubhacandra. This text, or at least its story, was probably known by wider audiences, so that the reference by Śrībhūṣaṇa to Śubhacandra would have been more obvious. Moreover, the fact that both authors are Digambara makes it more likely that the audience understood this intra-sectarian re-use of Śubhacandra's verses. Another difference is that the *Purāṇa* originally is believed to account a true history coming from the authoritative mouth of Indrabhūti Gautama. Since the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is not put in the mouth of an authoritative person, Saubhāgyasāgara or Padmasāgara could not claim that they made a better version of a 'true account''. Nevertheless, as Saubhāgyasāgara himself states, his *Dharmaparīkṣā* did involve making a better examination, and therefore can equally be seen as having an argumentative motivation.

Whereas I believe this hypothesis is convincing for Saubhāgyasāgara's paraphrase of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, I think that for Padmasāgara's text it is necessary to also keep other interpretations open. The difficulty with adopting the same hypothesis to his text lies in the fact that it exists mostly of copied verses from Amitagati. If Padmasāgara's adaptation is indeed a way of arguing for a better *Dharmaparīkṣā*, his version can be said to be a rather inelegant correction of his Digambara counterpart. Such a 'pastiche' style of correction would not adhere to the principles of literature (see Devadhar 1954: 212), but it may have been a practice of religious writing. Perhaps, the combination of copying and correcting Amitagati's verses was a 'witty' way of arguing. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Padmasāgara aspired to follow the example of Dharmasāgara, a monk who was especially skilled in argumentation. It might also have been the way in which Caturasāgara, who followed directly in the line of Padmasāgara, interpreted the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, since he writes in his *Madanakumārano Rās* (1772 VS) that Padmasāgara had defeated a Digambara *ācārya*.[44] Further, we may also sport the idea that Padmasāgara copied verses from Amitagati in full respect for the Digambara monk as a literary person, but changed certain sections because of its incompatibility with his Śvetāmbara

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[44] The *praśasti* of the *Madanakumārano Rās* reads *'sisa padmasāgara vibudha budharāje, jityā digambara pratiṃ sūrī harāyā re'* (Deśāī 1988: 289). Caturasāgara gives his lineage as Dharmasāgara, Padmasāgara, Kuśalasāgara, Uttamasāgara, Caturasāgara (Deśāī 1988: 288-290).

convictions.[45] On the opposite side of the interpretative spectrum, is the option that Padmasāgara used Amitagati's text, without referring to him, indeed out of a purely appropriative motivation.[46] However, such motivation would require that the text of Amitagati itself was not well-known to the intended audience, who otherwise would have little to enjoy in Padmasāgara's adaptation.[47] A final option worth considering is that Padmasāgara used Amitagati's text not to argue against the Digambara *Dharmaparīkṣā*, but instead against the earlier version by Saubhāgyasāgara who belonged to the rivalling Tapā Gaccha sect.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to forward any of these hypotheses as more probable. In consequence, it is also difficult to suggest that the creation itself of these Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās* purposely sought to oppose Digambara Jainism. What the facts can lead to conclude is that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati as a written text received attention by Śvetāmbara monks and that therefore there must have been material text transmissions between the two communities. This confirms what we already knew from Jain library collections but adds that monks not only preserved but also 'handled' extra-sectarian texts.[48] It would be interesting to know whether such transmissions were instigated on the level of the mendicants or whether Jain laypeople brought texts across sectarian boundaries. Another conclusion to be drawn is that within this cross-sectarian transmission, even if the creation itself was not meant to oppose, the choice to adapt a text necessitated to make a certain argument, or at least to adapt the text, along the lines of Śvetāmbarism.

It is for that reason that I think the adaptations by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara can be specifically denominated as Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās*.

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[45] This is more than probable from the perspective of the author. If we consider also that Padmasāgara considered his audience, this hypothesis presupposes the knowledge of Amitagati's text with this audience. Evidence for this could be the fact that manuscripts of the two texts were preserved together. However, actual manuscript evidence is too limited to establish this (both manuscripts are kept in the LD Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune).

[46] This is the perspective of Mukhtār (1917).

[47] I would like to note here Hutcheon's argument that audiences enjoy repetition, but that this is repetition without replication, in combination with difference (2006: 7, 114-116). My argument here is that if the audience would know Amitagati's text, then they would focus upon and enjoy how Padmasāgara's version is different. Since the differences are mostly explained by sectarian differences, it becomes almost inevitable to see some sort of sectarian debate in this enjoyment.

[48] The Śvetāmbara Hemacandra bhaṇḍār in Pāṭan, for example, contains texts from Digambara, Śvetāmbara, and non-Jain authors.

5.2   The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra

Among the *Dharmaparīkṣā* texts I have collected, the adaptation discussed in this section is interesting for its relatively unpoetical form, its brevity, and its content. Although I attribute this adaptation to a mendicant named Rāmacandra, there was, however, some confusion in previous scholarly work about the authorship of this particular text. The edition of Amitagati's version by Śāstri (1978) contains an unedited transcription (with word division) of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* attributed to Pārśvakīrti. However, I have collected the same text from the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭan (n. 1762) where it is catalogued as composed by Rāmacandra. Another manuscript held in the BORI manuscript library mentions on the back of its last folio that it was composed by Devacandra ('*Devacandra kṛtā*'). Following Upadhye (1942: 593), I read the *praśasti* of these several manuscripts as testifying that *muni* Rāmacandra has composed this *Dharmaparīkṣā* upon the request of Devacandra, a pupil of Padmanandi.[49] A second difficulty in historically identifying this text, lies in the fact that neither the *maṅgalācaraṇa* nor the *praśasti* give the date of this work.[50] Bhāskar (1990: iii) along with Caudhuri (1973: 275) place it in the seventeenth century, but do not give arguments for this dating. The *puṣpikā* from a manuscript at the Baḍā Mandir in Jaipur testifies that it must have been composed before 1721 CE.[51] The only certain information that might lead to dating and locating Rāmacandra, is his relation to Padmanandi and Devacandra and their supposed descent in the lineage of Pūjyapāda, the famous Digambara philosopher who is also referred to by Hariṣeṇa and Vṛttavilāsa.[52] I could not find a decisive reference to this exact lineage. However, I did find a reference to Rāmacandra Mumukṣu, author of the *Puṇyāśravakathākośa* and a grammar pupil of Padmanandi. This one would have belonged to the Kannada region and his date is estimated between the tenth and fourteenth century (Upadhye, Jain, and

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[49] From Bhāskar (1990):

iti śrīrāmacandreṇa muninā guṇaśālinā, khyātā dharmaparīkṣā sā kṛtākṛtariyaṃ tataḥ. śrī pūjyapāda sadvaṃśe jato 'sau munipuṃgavaḥ, padmanandīti khyāto bhavyavyūha pravanditaḥ. tācchiṣyo devacandrākhyo bhadraścāruguṇānvitaḥ, veditā sarvaśāstrāṇāṃ khyāto dharmaratāśayaḥ.

[50] These are the sections of a text that normally contain details about the author and the text. Also, I did not encounter a date anywhere else in the text.

[51] The manuscript states to have been copied in 1721 CE (Kāslīvāl 1954: 322).

[52] This is stated in the text's *praśasti* (cf. Śāstri 1978: 378).

Note that Padmanandi and Devacandra did not necessarily claim to descend directly in the lineage of disciples of Pūjyapāda. Rather, their descent should be interpreted as an intellectual or spiritual descent.

Siddhāntaśāstri 1964: 30-32).[53] Although this work by Rāmacandra Mumukṣu is also concerned with *śrāvakācāra* and purāṇic themes, the fact that only Padmanandi is named as predecessor in both works makes it difficult to ascertain the equivalence between our Rāmacandra and Mumukṣu. However, the region put forward by this reference is probably indeed the correct part of India to which our author belonged. I will disclose below how Rāmacandra's adaptation, in terms of content, expresses a southern Indian identity. Furthermore, in the *praśasti* of the manuscript at the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār in Pāṭaṇ (n. 1762), we find mention of *lāṭī* and *karṇāṭī*, terms associated with regional literary languages or styles, respectively southern Gujarat and Karṇāṭaka. These could be taken as personal regional markers, or markers of the regions to which the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition – to Rāmacandra's knowledge – extended.[54] On the other hand, the material evidence of this text has remained in northern India. The extant manuscripts I have been able to trace, come from Jaipur, Pāṭaṇ, Baroda, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. Nevertheless, this kind of evidence is problematic because manuscripts often travelled and because of the bias that most of the catalogued collections are situated in northern India.

5.2.1 Plot adaptation

Upon first glance, Rāmacandra's adaptation stands out because of its brevity. Not only are the manuscripts of this text thinner than of other *Dharmaparīkṣās* – making his work financially more interesting to have copied, the condensation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is also noticeable in the content of the text.[55] Overall, Rāmacandra's adaptation contains all of

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[53] Kāslīvāl takes this Rāmacandra Mumukṣu to be the author of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (1954: 322). The *praśasti* of the *Puṇyāśravakathākośa* is quite different from the *praśasti* of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. It indeed includes a reference to a Padmanandi, but there is no mention of Devacandra or Pūjyapāda.

The dating of Rāmacandra Mumukṣu by Upadhye, Jain, and Siddhāntaśāstri depends on their conviction that the Kannada *campū* by Nāgarāj, from 1331 CE, is based upon the Sanskrit text by Rāmacandra Mumukṣu. However, this Nāgarāj (just like Vṛttavilāsa) does not mention a specific author, but only an earlier Sanskrit work (Upadhye et al. 1964: 29).

Note that if their dating is correct and if our Rāmacandra is indeed this person, then this version would be older than the text by Vṛttavilāsa, thus being the third oldest extant text. If this is correct, then Rāmacandra's text could be the Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* on which Vṛttavilāsa based his own adaptation. In my discussion, I will not follow this hypothesis.

[54] Compare with the quote above from Bhāskar (1990):

iti śrīrāmacandreṇa muninā guṇaśālinā khyātā dharmmaparīkṣā hi suptajyā bhuvi kovidaiḥ karṇāṭī tanvato vīkṣa lāṭiṃ ca bhuvi suṃdarī; kathā dharmmaparīkṣāṃ tā kṛtā kṛtiriyaṃ tātaḥ.

Notice that Rāmacandra seems to suggest that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative was left unnoticed for a while, until he brought it back from its 'sleep' (*suptajyā*).

[55] The consulted manuscripts of Rāmacandra's *Dharmaparīkṣā* range from 13 to 25 folios in contrast to manuscripts of Amitagati's text ranging from 30 to 116 folios (cf. Bibliography).

the stories and substories of the 'model' *Dharmaparīkṣā* but in condensed forms. I will discuss below the relevance of condensation as the stylistic character of this adaptation. Here, I will elaborate on the exact contents of the abridged Sanskrit *Dharmaparīkṣā*, pointing out specifically two trends that characterise this adaptation.

5.2.1.1   Reframing the frame narrative

To begin from the start, Rāmacandra jumps into the story with only a five-word invocation to the Jina and the mere mention of the title of this work. Immediately, he opens the frame narrative at Mount Vipula where Mahāvīra is giving his *samavasaraṇa* and where Indrabhūti Gautama is telling the story to King Śreṇika. This same story (by Gautama) is told by the narrator of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* (*mayā*) according to the tradition of *ācāryas* in a concise form.[56] At that point, Rāmacandra opens the actual narrative of the two *vidyādharas.* The framing of our *Dharmaparīkṣā* frame narrative within this exact dialogue is unique to Rāmacandra's version. The dialogue between Indrabhūti Gautama, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, and King Śreṇika, the main ruler to attend Mahāvīra's *samavasaraṇa*, is the standard opening to the Jain Purāṇas, which tell the lives of one or all sixty-three heroes in the Jain Universal History (cf. Introduction, p. 27). The frame dialogue goes back to the oldest of such texts, the *Paümacariya* by Vimalasūri, and was repeated in most of the later famous Jain Purāṇas by Raviṣeṇa, Jinasena, and Svayambhū, etc. The fact that Rāmacandra frames the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in the exact same frame as that of the Jain Purāṇas is telling of his understanding of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and of the possible functions he grants to the Jain mythic history. I have explained in my introductory chapter how the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative is closely connected to the Jain Purāṇas (cf. p. 27). It uses the purāṇic material in a specifically Jain way, that is to argue for a 'true' mythological history, a correct cosmology that explicitly denounces the Brahmin mythic knowledge.[57] However, whereas the emphasis of the Jain Purāṇas lies on rendering the correct mythological history, the emphasis of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* lies on refuting the Brahmins, both in their beliefs (which includes their perspective on cosmology) as well as in their practices. Rāmacandra's super-framing of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* has as a consequence that it seals the connection of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* to the Purāṇas, and is illustrative of the fact that for Rāmacandra, the narrative could not be understood or even exist without the context of the Jain Universal History. As such, in Rāmacandra's

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[56] Ms. n. 1762 from Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār Pāṭaṇ:

vipula girau vīranātha samavasaraṇe indrabhūti-gaṇinā yathā, śreṇikāya kathitā, tathācārya-paramparayāgatā saṃkṣepeṇa mayā nigadyate.

'In the same way as the disciple Indrabhūti had told [the account] to Śreṇika on Mount Vipula during the *samavasaraṇa* of Mahāvīra, in that way I will tell in a condensed form that which has come down through the succession of teachers.'

[57] That is the history of the sixty-three illustrious men.

adaptation of the 'Examination of Religion', the focus shifts from true and correct practice towards a true and correct sense of mythological history.[58] Furthermore, putting the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative in the mouth of Mahāvīra's first disciple, Gautama, gives it more authority.[59] It also brings about that the dialogue between Śreṇika and Indrabhūti can lend itself not only to telling the history of the illustrative men in Jain history, but also to telling that of minor figures, such as our two *vidyādharas*, who are in this way included in Jain mythology.[60] The connection to the Jain Universal History is repeated further in the text, when Rāmacandra mentions the different types of *śalākāpuruṣas*. The enumeration of the 'great men' occurs in other *Dharmaparīkṣās* (e.g. Amitagati) as well, but in Rāmacandra's adaptation all of the sixty-three are named per category. Again, Rāmacandra reconfirms the centrality of the Jain Universal History. To sum up, I suggest that the shift of focus and the reframing of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* within the dialogue of Śreṇika and Indrabhūti, Gautama conveys epistemological authority to the narrative in a way that is different from earlier *Dharmaparīkṣās.* Whereas for example Amitagati seeks confrontation with the Brahmins in proving their ideas to be wrong, Rāmacandra claims legitimacy more based upon the historicity of what he tells.

5.2.1.2   A southern condensation

The second important content characteristic of this adaptation that I would like to mention, is Rāmacandra's plot order. Our supposedly early-modern Sanskrit author uses exactly the same narrative sequence as Vṛttavilāsa. This fact nuances my argument about the overpowering authoritativeness of Amitagati's version and introduces extra question marks to the questions asked in my discussion of Vṛttavilāsa's version. Rāmacandra starts the frame narrative equally to other versions by sketching the cosmological situation and introducing Manovega and Pavanavega. Already at this point the similarity with Vṛttavilāsa's version becomes apparent, since Rāmacandra uses the same names for the kingly fathers of Manovega and Pavanavega, respectively Jitaripu and Prabhāśaṅka. His narration continues with Manovega roaming the world in search for help for his friend and meeting *muni* Vāsupūjya, who explains to him the realities of happiness and suffering by means of the parable of the traveller and the elephant. After telling this in less than two sides of a folio (ms. Pāṭan n. 1762), Rāmacandra opens up the discussion between the *vidyādharas* and the Brahmins with the narrative of Madhukara (*sodaśamuṣṭa*) and in pursuit tells the story of Sundarī and Kuraṅgī. These episodes, narrated in only a few

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[58] Such a shift could suggest that the role of this type of knowledge became increasingly important grounds for religious debate.

[59] Similar authoritative claims are expressed by the repetitive use of *tadyathā* or *tathā* throughout the text.

[60] Note that the *vidyādharas* as such are already part of the Jain Universal History as descendants of Nami and Vinami, grandsons of Ṛṣabha.

sentences, are – equally to Vṛttavilāsa's version – followed by arguments against Viṣṇu. With the exception of a few stories not included by Rāmacandra and some details introduced by Rāmacandra himself, the narrative plot of this Sanskrit author follows quite strictly the plot used by Vṛttavilāsa. These plot elements, or substories, can be listed in the following way:[61]

Cosmological situation
Vāsupūjya's teaching
First encounter with the Brahmins
    Story of Madhukara
    Story of Sundarī and Kuraṅgī
        Arguments against Viṣṇu (reference to the *Harivaṃśa*)
Re-entering the city dressed as hunters with a cat
    Story of the frog in the well
    Story of Skanda and Vakra
    Story of Bhūtamati
    Story of Chāyā
    Story of Śatabali
    Story of Śiva in the Dāruka forest
Re-entering the city as ascetics
    Story of the minister, the king, and the singing monkeys
        Story of Yuddhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* and Arjuna going to *rasatala*
        Story of Brahma in Viṣṇu's belly
    Story of King Durdara and his son (the bilious fool)
    Story of Dhanadatta and the baby who stayed in the womb for twelve years
        Reference to the birth of Bhāgiratha
        Reference to the of Duryodhana etc.
        Reference to Abhimanyu in Subhadrā's womb
    Story of muni Maya and Mandodari
        Reference to the births of Parāśara, Karṇa, and Uddālaka
    Story of Pāṇḍu and the *kāmamudrikā*
Re-entering the city dressed up as Buddhists
    Story of the milky fool (Sāgaradatta and the Tomara lord)
    Story of the agarwood
    Story of the two Buddhist sons
        Story of *Setubandha* episode from *Rāmāyaṇa*
Return from the city
    Explanation of the time cycles, the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣas* and the *vānara*
and *rākṣasa* families to Pavanavega; (reference to the *Padmacarita*)
Re-entering the city dressed up as Śvetāmbaras

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[61] The reader will notice that his is an adapted version of the plot scheme by Vṛttavilāsa, included above.

Story of the king cured by sandalwood
Story of the four fools
    Story of the burned eyes
    Story of Khari and Ṛṣi
    Story of the rice-disease
    Story of the silence wager[62]
Story of the two brothers and the fruit tree
    Reference to Śiva chopping off Rāvaṇa's heads
    Story of Dadhimukha
    Story of Jarāsandha's birth
    Story about the gods stopping the lovemaking between Śiva and Gaurī
    Story of Ṣaṇmukha
    Reference to the belief of feeding Brahmins to honour the forefathers
Refutation of the Brahmin caste, and *jāti* in general with reference to *smṛtis* and Jain Purāṇas
Explanation of the Jain vows upon request by Pavanavega
    Story of Nāgaśrī and Śrīdhara
Pavanavega takes up the Jain vows; the two greet Vāsupūjya and return home.

The plot similarity between Rāmacandra and Vṛttavilāsa should be clear from this schematic narrative structure. Just like the Kannada author, Rāmacandra does not narrate the stories of the ten fools one after the other, and equally he does include the final substory about Nāgaśrī and Śrīdhara. In contrast to the Kannada version, some substories found in Vṛttavilāsa's text (e.g. the stories of the god Baḷāri, of King Pāpi, and the story of Kāpila) are not found in Rāmacandra's version. These, therefore, could be reckoned as particular to Vṛttavilāsa's regionalising a Kannada adaptation. On the other hand, the inclusion of the story of Śatabali also in Rāmacandra's adaptation prompts a reconsideration of my categorisation of it as 'localising' (cf. supra). A first reconsideration involves recognising that the narrative is not particular to Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, in contrast to the just-mentioned substories such as that of Baḷāri. This means that the story of Śatabali does not exclusively belong to the spatial, temporal and social context of Vṛttavilāsa, but that it also rang a bell for differently educated audiences over various time periods.[63] Nevertheless, since Śatabali's story does not occur elsewhere and thus retains its limitation to certain spheres, perhaps a redefinition of the word 'localising would be appropriate here. This word might either be reinterpreted as regional, in the sense that this story belongs to a wider region than to the purely local, or it could be redefined as belonging to a distinct – perhaps southern – transmission tradition of *Dharmaparīkṣās*. In consequence, Rāmacandra's adaptation is close to Vṛttavilāsa's version

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[62] The last two stories of the four fools have switched in order, in comparison to Vṛttavilāsa and Amitagati.

[63] That the story should not be new to Rāmacandra's audiences is argued on the base of its condensed narration.

either because of a regional relation to it, or because it would stem from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* transmission to which also Vṛttavilāsa's work belongs (cf. infra, p. 282).

Another story that incites similar questions is an alternative version of the story of Śiva's *liṅga* which is cursed by an ascetic (cf. Chapter 4, p. 227). In Rāmacandra's version, the story tells how Śiva once entered the Dāruka forest dancing and was noticed by the many wives of the ascetics who lived there. They immediately fell in love with him and enjoyed themselves in love games with the god. The ascetics came to know about it and cursed the *liṅga* of Śiva to fall off. Śiva cursed them in return by fixing his *liṅga* to each of their foreheads and told them to come to Mount Kailāsa to be released from the curse. Equal to Vṛttavilāsa's narration, the ascetics arrived there, laughed at by Gaurī, and Śiva released them from the *liṅga* under the precondition that they henceforth worship the *liṅga* standing within the *yoni*. Whereas the similarity with Vṛttavilāsa's adaptation prompts the same reconsiderations as for the beforementioned case, the fact that Rāmacandra refigures this narrative within the Dāruka forest inspires to new ideas. Śiva's seduction of the ascetics' wives is a common motif from the 'Śiva cycle' that knows many variants, but is normatively set in the Dāruka forest (see Doniger 1973: 32-33).[64] This is especially true of the southern purāṇic corpus, containin similar stories about Śiva as Bhikṣāṭana (his begging aspect), in which the *liṅga*, contrary to the above adaptation, does not attach itself to the foreheads of the ascetics (e.g. in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, see Donaldson 1986: 51-52). This relation between our Jain *Dharmaparīkṣā* and the southern Purāṇas indicates the importance of the regional to both Vṛttavilāsa's and Rāmacandra's texts.

Next to similarities with other *Dharmaparīkṣās*, we can notice also a few new elements in this abridged adaptation. Firstly, Rāmacandra narrates two stories related to Śiva which I have not encountered in the other *Dharmaparīkṣās*. These are the story of Śiva and Gaurī interrupted by the gods in their lovemaking, and the story of Ṣaṇmukha. Both of these stories are part of what Doniger calls the 'Śaiva cycle' and thus seem to belong to a sort of semi-orthodox set of narrative motifs related to the erotic ascetic god (see Doniger 1973: 30-32).[65] The first states the following (paraphrase from DP$_R$):

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[64] Doniger (1973) devotes a complete chapter to the events of Śiva in the Dāruka forest. She exposes some of the variants of this narrative and analyses the meaning or functions of the different motifs in this myth, namely Śiva's nakedness, his seduction, the role of the ascetics, his self-castration and the importance of Pārvatī (Gaurī). Interesting is that the castration of Śiva's *liṅga* can be both seen as a punishment of the ascetics, or seen as a failed power of the ascetics, since actually Śiva himself lets his *liṅga* fall off. The exact mythological meaning of this story for a Jaina context is unclear, but I suggest that especially the final element of the story serves the purpose of ridiculing the Hindus in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. In it, the ascetics are ridiculed by keeping the *liṅga* on their forehead (which could refer to the three ash stripes marking (*liṅga*) the foreheads of the Śaiva devotees), and the god is ridiculed by having his powerful mark reduced to an awkward forehead-decoration.

[65] In Doniger's unitarian Śaiva cycle other stories which we encounter in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* also have a place. An example is the story of Viṣṇu and Brahmā fighting over the extremities of Śiva's *liṅga*.

When Śiva and Gaurī are making love, the gods are convinced that their child would become a great demon. In order to prevent that, they ask Agni to interrupt the two in their lovemaking, because they believe that as soon as Gaurī will notice Agni she will be ashamed and flee. Agni agrees to their request and surprises Śiva and Gaurī during their intercourse. Gaurī runs off and Śiva becomes very angry. He threatens Agni, orders him to open his mouth and pours his semen into his mouth.

The same story is found in for example, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Skanda Purāṇa*, and *Vāmana Purāṇa*, where it is closely linked to the Kṛttikās (cf. its continuation below) (see also Doniger 2009: 240). In Rāmacandra's version, I would say, this narrative is only meant to debase the Hindu gods, and especially Agni, the god of the Vedic oblation ritual, which fits the Jain critical purpose of the text. The narrative continues with the interference of Gaṅgā resulting in the birth of Ṣaṇmukha (paraphrase from DP$_R$):

> After Agni was overpowered by Śiva, in a certain village, six Brahmin girls (i.e. the Kṛttikās in other versions), being Gaṅgā, etc., were worshipping the god of fire. Upon seeing these girls, [Agni] penetrated their body. From them six parts were born. These parts were thrown away in the forest and were put together by a certain person. Thus, Ṣaṇmukha came into existence.

This story seems to be linked to a tradition of narratives of the six-headed god going back to Mahābhārata (see Doniger 1973: 104), where Ṣaṇmukha is a representation of the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, differently known as Murugan, Kārtikeya, or Skanda. Stories about his birth, such as this one, seem to have been particularly appreciated in South India, which fortifies the notion that Rāmacandra's adaptation had a certain relation with the southern parts of the subcontinent.

Besides these narratives, further novelties we can discern in Rāmacandra's *Dharmaparīkṣā* are a short expansion on *muni* Vāsupūjya's life story, a relatively lengthy refutation of the Brahmin *jāti*,[66] a relative emphasis on the purāṇic substories of the *Dharmaparīkṣās*,[67] and explicit references to the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Padmacarita*. These two last novelties can be linked to Rāmacandra's decision to frame the whole narrative within the dialogue of Gautama and King Śreṇika. In comparison to the other *Dharmaparīkṣās*, Rāmacandra can definitely be said to foreground the purāṇic identity of this 'Examination of Religion'. The fact that he devotes more *akṣaras* to the stories from the Purāṇas, whereas the moral stories are treated with almost fleeting brevity, added to the explicit mention of the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Padmacarita* as authoritative sources, shifts the

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[66] The refutation takes on a similar form as in Amitagati, namely it refutes the superiority of those named *brāhmaṇa* over others.

[67] These seem to be told in more detail and at more length than the non-purāṇic stories.

'Examination of Religion' from comparing religious systems in terms of knowledge, beliefs, and practices, to comparing belief systems in terms of mythic-historical truths.

5.2.2   Language and style

In terms of style, I have mentioned above already that one of the first features to notice about Rāmacandra's *Dharmaparīkṣā* is its brevity. Indeed, Rāmacandra can be said to have made a condensed adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, since it contains all of the episodes told in the 'model' (or perhaps rather 'southern') *Dharmaparīkṣā* but is much more concise. Condensation exists in the stories themselves, in the lack of moral reflections, and in the language as well. Rāmacandra especially shortens the 'plainly' moral stories by only mentioning that which is truly necessary to understand their plot. This suggests that Rāmacandra supposed his audience to already know these particular stories.[68] The fact that he does not include lengthy moral reflections, as Amitagati does, suggests that Rāmacandra wanted the story of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* itself to be known, and that he cared less about its didactic elaborations. In terms of language, this text uses a simple Sanskrit composed in short paratactic sentences whose word order follow a logic syntactical structure.[69] The simplicity of his language is also expressed in the limited variety in vocabulary and a choice of words that are rather easy. These condensing characteristics are perhaps most demonstrative of the addressed audience of Rāmacandra's text. His language seems to be almost meant for an audience that was seeking a sort of introduction into Sanskrit, or for an audience that was not too well educated in the literary depths and complexities of the classical language. I would add to this that also the story itself, in this abridged form, seems to have rather served an audience seeking an introduction into some of the main Jain narratives, instead of an audience listening to and studying Jain sermons as a way to practice their communal religion.

In Jain literary history there are multiple examples of abridgement or condensation (see e.g. Chojnacki 2018; Bangha 2014; De Clercq 2014; Clines 2019).[70] It seems to have been

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[68] Since the stories drawn directly from the Purāṇas are told with more words, the moral stories are also suggested to be of lesser importance (cf. supra). It might also be that the purāṇic stories were supposed to be less well-known, but I do not believe such a reason to motivate the difference in detail between the two types of stories.

[69] Rāmacandra's Sanskrit has a relatively simple grammar with only a few perfectives, some optatives, the usual absolutives and past passive participles, and a couple of perfect participles. The use of *bahuvṛhis* is not extensive and all compounds are relatively short.

[70] All these studies discuss condensations of Jain purāṇic texts, a category to which also the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra belongs, on the basis of his adaptive reframing (cf. supra).

Abridgements and summaries were, however, not exclusive to Jain literature. The edition on adaptive re-use by Maas and Freschi (2017) contains several references to abridging re-use in Indian literary works. An example using this technique is Mammaṭa's *kāvyaprakāśa* (Cuneo 2017: 237).

a common practice signalling the importance of a text or illustrating the rich production of texts in Jain communities. Clines (2018) in his dissertation on Jinadāsa (who also wrote a *Dharmaparīkṣā Rās*) discusses several of Jinadāsa's methods of condensing Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacarita.* Clines evaluates Jinadāsa's condensation that is characterised by omitting narrative details and by simplifying the syntactical structure, as to 'pace up' the narrative and to be to the point. These aspects he sees as defining Jinadāsa's work as an *ākhyāna* (in contrast to Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya*) (2018: 97-136; see also Clines 2019). The *Dharmaparīkṣā* under discussion expresses similar characteristics and therefore similarly leans towards being a 'telling' (*ākhyāna* or *kathā*) in contrast to the *kāvyic* works by Amitagati and Vṛttavilāsa. From those evaluations, Clines deduces a hypothesis about the intended audience, which he sees as a group of learned temple dwelling Digambaras, not involved in court culture and therefore not interested in poetically softened didactics (2018: 135). In my opinion, the comparison with Rāmacandra's work should here be nuanced. Whereas Rāmacandra's write-up might well be meant for a strictly Jain audience,[71] I hypothesise that especially anthological and instructional motivations played a role in the production of this text. Perhaps, the text by Rāmacandra even provided an entry to the other more elaborate *Dharmaparīkṣās.*[72] I see this motivated by the fact that Rāmacandra himself calls his text *saṃkṣepaṇa* ('abridged', 'condensed'), by which he reminds the audience of other (more elaborate) texts and refrains from ambitioning the creation of something new or something literary.[73] We can hypothesise that processes described by Cort (2015; cf. Chapter 3, p. 150) which increasingly urged towards heightened textual production, stimulated Jain mendicants in Rāmacandra's context to seek further production and piling up of summaries of important texts, that would serve the novice mendicants for their instruction of a Jain literary canon.[74] Furthermore, Chojnacki argues that the popularity of narrative epitomes is at least partly accounted for by the emergence of

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[71] This is suggested by the fact that Rāmacandra's adaptation was requested by a monk called Devacandra and that Rāmacandra himself was a *muni*, so that the text remains (though not definitively) within mendicant circles.

[72] This hypothesis suggests Rāmacandra's work to be an adaptation of an earlier southern *Dharmaparīkṣā*, perhaps the text by Vṛttavilāsa.

[73] Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār Pāṭaṇ ms. n. 1762 (cf. supra, p. 275, fn. 52):

tathācārya paramparayāgatā saṃkṣepeṇa mayā nigadyate.

On the term *saṃkṣepa*, Chojnacki notes that authors would have chosen this term 'while modestly referring to the preservation of their models', meaning that they would refer to this written model explicitly and follow its example quite closely in contrast to a *sāra* (2018a: 1194). Since this is not the case for the text by Rāmacandra, her suggestion on the term *saṃkṣepa* cannot be generalised.

[74] The idea that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was part of a Jain literary canon is, in fact, expressed in Rāmacandra's first line:

praṇipatya jinaṃ bhaktyā syādvāda-vara-nāyakam, kathāṃ dharmaparīkṣākhyām abhidhāsye yathāgamam. 4

'Having bowed with devotion to the Jina who is the excellent leader of *syādvāda*, I will tell the story named *Dharmaparīkṣā* as it was [told] in the *āgama*' ('canon'; i.e. not the Śvetāmbara corpus of *āgama* texts, but the idea of a canon).

paper as a mode of knowledge transmission for mendicants (2018: 1207-1208). Indeed, I find it probable that Rāmacandra's adaptive project is one that finds itself on this balance between oral and written (cf. infra).

The previous paragraph already connected aspects of Rāmacandra's adaptation as a product with the type of audience engagement with his adaptation (namely instructional). Another stylistic element that defines the audience of this adaptation is its language, Sanskrit. Since we do not know the date nor place of this condensed *Dharmaparīkṣā*, it is difficult or even problematic to try to assess the relevance of Sanskrit for this text. Nevertheless, the choice for Sanskrit is still an adaptive choice, and therefore I will discuss briefly its relevance in adaptive terms. Moreover, the choice for Sanskrit is in itself relevant to estimate a possible date for Rāmacandra's work. As I have explained in Chapter 2 (cf. p. 133), Sanskrit only became an appropriate language for Jain writing from about the sixth century, and it took several centuries more for it to become the primary language. Rāmacandra's Sanskrit is simple and unembellished prose – with the exception of a few quotational *ślokas* in Sanskrit or Prakrit, it is plain Sanskrit exempt from any poetical ambitions or character. His language is a Sanskrit that has become bereft of its political or cultural (cosmopolitan) connotations and only functions as language of widest comprehension or as language associated with the religio-literary 'past'. For that reason, I believe that Rāmacandra wrote his abridgement when Sanskrit had become a standard language to convey a short *kathā* in, and thus belongs to several centuries later than the compositions by Hariṣeṇa and Amitagati.[75] The neutrality of Rāmacandra's Sanskrit makes his version 'quasi-timeless'. However, we may wonder if this timelessness is instead not characteristic of its historicity. Indeed, Rāmacandra's neutrality, his simplicity in language, and the lack of oral (and aural) aspects, seem to suggest a date for this text, in which other (vernacular) languages were gaining ground. Rāmacandra's language and his choice for Sanskrit, in my opinion, are motivated by his audience and a conception of what the language of a religious narrative, meant for a mendicant environment, should be. A tradition of religious narratives in Sanskrit set the example for our author whose audience might not have been educated enough (yet) to understand the lengthier Sanskrit texts from this tradition. It is for that reason that Rāmacandra chose to write his introductory *Dharmaparīkṣā* in the language of the 'tradition'.

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[75] I refer to my discussion in Chapter 2 (p. 133-139) to make the reader understand why this work would not belong to the ninth–twelfth centuries.

5.2.3   Concluding thoughts on Rāmacandra's abridgement

My final words here on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra hope to characterise his adaptation as being different from the others hereto discussed. My short overview has demonstrated that Rāmacandra's version is a condensed adaptation of one or even, multiple *Dharmaparīkṣās*. The content of his work shows a definite closeness to the Kannada adaptation by Vṛttavilāsa. Among the different possible forms that the relationship between the two works could take, I have already made at least one suggestion. I leave that one for last and here point out first the possibility that Rāmacandra has made an adaptation directly based upon Vṛttavilāsa's work. Although there is no immediate reason to discharge this option completely, I would rather follow another direction of thought. My motivation for this mostly stems from the fact that Rāmacandra has not retained extra-narrative elements from Vṛttavilāsa's text, as we can for example find in the translation by Manohardās of Amitagati's work.[76] Neither has Rāmacandra mentioned Vṛttavilāsa or another earlier author, but this was also the case for the two above discussed Śvetāmbara authors. An important intra-narrative argument is the fact that in Rāmacandra's adaptation, in contrast to the narration by Vṛttavilāsa, the Brahmins do not explicitly take up the Jain vows. Another option is the reverse, namely that Vṛttavilāsa has based his *campū* upon Rāmacandra's text. This option could be supported by the identity of our Rāmacandra with Rāmacandra Mumukṣu, and by the fact that Vṛttavilāsa mentions an earlier Sanskrit work. However, I judge the above given arguments and the fact that Rāmacandra's version is a condensed version as countering this hypothesis. My hypothesis about the relation between the two *Dharmaparīkṣās* is the option referred to before (p. 277). This is that we can speak of a certain southern tradition of transmission of *Dharmaparīkṣās*, to which both works separately belong. In that view, the texts by Vṛttavilāsa and Rāmacandra would have been inspired by (an)other work(s) which we do not know.

As a final remark, I would like to return to the question of the audience. In my discussion I have tried to argue how the fact that this adaptation is an abridgement suggests that this text was meant as introductory or instructive and anthological. It would have allowed audiences, probably less skilled in high literary language, to get familiar with the important narrative that is the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Next to the purpose of this text to the audience, there is also the question of how the audience engaged with this text. In this respect, Rāmacandra says in his introductory verses that he 'tells' (*nigadyate*) this story after it came to him through the succession of teachers (cf. supra, p. 273, fn. 52.). He suggests a context of oral (or mixed) transmission of the story, that is moreover mirrored to the 'original' transmission of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Indrabhūti Gautama to Śreṇika. It is

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[76] For example, Manohardās retains certain poetic images from Amitagati (cf. Chapter 3, p. 196-199).

possible that this appellation on orality reflects Rāmacandra's own encounter with the narrative, but I believe that the engagement of the audience with his text was not exclusively oral. I imagine that the text could indeed be narrated – with possible elaborations – by mendicants to learning audiences, but that, on the base of its condensed form, it is even more probable that Rāmacandra's *Dharmaparīkṣā* was a text to be read, perhaps to be remembered, and to serve as an entry into other forms of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has put a variety of adaptive processes on display and did so by discussing three cases that have been less impactful, but nevertheless important in understanding the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition. The common denominator of these texts has been their language, namely Sanskrit. This in itself is notable considering that they are dated to a period when texts were frequently being written in vernacular languages which according to Pollock contributed 'substantially to drawing an outer limit to the existence of a vital Sanskrit literary culture' (2004: 64). The *Dharmaparīkṣās* discussed in this chapter serve as additional examples to the argument made as well by other Jain scholars that Jain literature at least to some degree disproves Pollock's theory of vernacularisation (cf. p. 264). Further, the choice for Sanskrit also means that the texts in this chapter, in contrast to the two foregoing chapters, are not directly involved in translation but instead demonstrate how adaptations can change the character of the language. All three cases are characterised by condensation. Rāmacandra's text includes almost exclusively the narratively 'necessary' and is the shortest in length. His Sanskrit is simple and straightforward. Saubhāgyasāgara paraphrases the authoritative *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati, and in doing so – although he expresses some creativity – focuses on the narration. The third example, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Padmasāgara is a semi-copy of Amitagati's text but has retained in the copying process, those verses that mostly uphold the narrative plot. Therefore, we could say that, in these cases, Sanskrit becomes a narrative language, that has lost its poetical and śāstric nature (cf. Chapter 2; see also Pollock 2006: 3). Sanskrit functions as language of widest transmissibility and as language of religious authority.

The adaptive choice of condensation in all three cases also has consequences in evaluating the function of the texts. None of the texts seems to have been motivated by poetical or creative concerns. The focus lies on rendering the narrative as such. For that reason, I would argue that another common feature of the three discussed texts is an

underlying anthological motivation.[77] The Śvetāmbara authors Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara wanted to claim the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as part of the literary corpus of their own affiliation. In mediating this claim they argued against the Digambara version of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Rāmacandra summarised the narrative in order to transmit the authoritative account of Gautama to Śrenika, to his own audiences. His text was meant to pass on and instruct this important piece of the Jain narrative canon. Based upon my argument concerning the anthological motivation, I further hypothesise that the engagement with the texts was mostly a mendicant affair in which manuscripts took an important place. For the two Śvetāmbara authors, handling the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was definitely a written engagement. They must have had a manuscript of the text by Amitagati before them. Their project was in my opinion confined to a written form and to mendicant circles. Saubhāgyasāgara's reference to his text as *grantha* and the lack of *puṣpikās* referring to laity supports this. Such mendicancy confinement would also pertain to Rāmacandra's adaptation. The abridged *Dharmaparīkṣā* had an instructive purpose for novice mendicants. This is at least attested by one of the manuscript *puṣpikās* in which a Haritilaka Gaṇi writes that he has copied the text for his own studying purposes.[78]

Put together, my conclusions in this chapter suggest the consolidation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as an essential part of the Jain religious-narrative canon.

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[77] A similar argument is made by Chojnacki who sees the creation of epitomes as part of the glorification of a congregation. She further suggests them to play a role in the contest between different Jain sects (2018a: 1202). This is indeed a process I have suggested to underly the creation of the two Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās* (cf. supra).

[78] ms. BORI n. 1270(1891-95):

āgamagaccha paṃ. haritilaka-gaṇibhiḥ svavācanārthaṃ [emended from *'svavācanārdhaṃ'*] *lakhitam.*

Note that this is a mendicant from a Śvetāmbara *gaccha*. The text, therefore, seems also to have served the instruction of Śvetāmbara mendicants.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Processes of change in a frame of continuation

After reflecting upon the different adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, I here turn to reflect upon its 'last adaptation', namely my own 'examination' of the narrative. This is an analytical 'examination' that perceives the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition of textual adaptations, and thus tries to unfold the intricacies in the transmission of the Jain narrative. With my reflection in these concluding pages, I hope to bring out the golden threads in this transmission, that also run through this thesis.

The idea of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition focuses upon the continuation of a text or narrative, but does not exclude a sense of multiplicity, negotiation, or reaction. This is because a tradition involves acts of 'handing down' (*tradere*), which necessarily involve an agent and a recipient who each negotiate that which is handed down. Such a tripartite structure to approach a set of texts is also implied in the second conceptual frame I have used throughout this thesis. By referring to adaptation theory (Hutcheon 2006), I have foregrounded a specific text as embedded in a set of texts, with its own properties, influenced by contextual processes and engaged with by its audiences in certain ways. As such, approaching the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition focuses upon the continuation of the narrative – albeit through different mediators, whereas taking the perspective of adaptation studies highlights its single reworkings. When connected to the notion of history, tradition frames how the past works into the present, whereas adaptation foregrounds how the present deals with the past. By combining both, therefore, I have tried to present the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition as the creative frame that influences, but also results from, different *Dharmaparīkṣā* adaptations.

My reflection here aims to review by which processual choices this creative frame was moulded, but also by which pillars it was held up. In this conclusion, I also want to move beyond the textual tradition 'an sich' and suggest what it can tell us about adaptation and translation practices in Jain communities, about narrative negotiations with non-Jains, and about Jain literary history in general.

6.1 Multiple functions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*

Within South Asian Studies, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* has been appreciated for its satirical-polemical character and seen as an example of the narratives that were conceived, especially in the medieval period, to purify lay strata of the Jain tradition (cf. Introduction). These functional explanations mainly categorised the narrative as a *dharmakathā*, meant to provoke the interiorisation of Jain values in a lay audience. Although such purposes can be read in each of the versions I have discussed, my overview has also shown that with every adaptation the precise function of the narrative changes. The present section brings together the different functions the *Dharmaparīkṣā* has had with regards to its audience as well as with regards to those it wants to exclude.

6.1.1 Functional nuances of genre

The first layer of functional changes or nuances are engendered by varied emphases on, or interpretations of, the different aspects present in the 'model' *Dharmaparīkṣā* (cf. Introduction, p. 24-37). Since these aspects are related to genre, the way in which each adaptation emphasises a certain aspect causes it to relate more to one genre than the other. As such, Amitagati can be said to particularly envisage the *parīkṣā* element of the narrative. He repeatedly points to the importance of *vicāra* ('consideration'), which is closely connected to the definition of *parīkṣā*, and includes more systematic arguments in his text. At the other end of my thesis, the adaptation by Rāmacandra foregrounds the purāṇic character of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by framing the narrative within the typical setting of the Jain Purāṇas, namely the dialogue between Gautama, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, and King Śreṇika. This makes his adaptation acquire a function similar to the biographical-legendary Purāṇas, which is to inspire correct behaviour after the example of legendary figures, rather than to teach or argue for correct behaviour. Concerning the text by Manohardās, I have argued that his *Dharmaparīkṣā* is distinctively vernacular, in the sense that the text is grounded in a local atmosphere and seems to be more entangled with the popular level. His version is, as a Brajbhāṣā text, marked by oral features, by references to vernacular religion, and has a lighter and faster pace. Because of this, the critique in the narrative becomes more focused on certain devotional practices and works through aural and emotive stimuli. The two condensed Śvetāmbara versions are in my opinion the closest to a plain *dharmakathā*, whereas the *Dharmaparīkṣe* by Vṛttavilāsa ambitions to be a true poem of the story. Its mix of metres, and sometimes elaborate images aim at convincing the Jain audience through aesthetics, next to narrative argumentation.

6.1.2 'Othering' others

The 'nuances' related to the varied nature of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* involve changes in the functional relation of the text towards its audience. Throughout the adaptations, however, the tradition also changes its relation towards the 'non-audience'. In the course of my dissertation, I have described how every adaptation reacts to its own particular environment. Since the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is a narrative that primarily criticises its religious others, who differ within different contexts, the text's polemical function is adapted with every new version. This ensures the pertinence of the narrative over several centuries as well as the possibility itself for the tradition to be continued. Within the text by Amitagati, first and foremost, the Mīmāṃsakas are confronted. By arguing explicitly in his seventeenth *pariccheda* against their argumentation of valid knowledge that is based upon the authorlessness of their authoritative Vedas, against the ideal of sacrifice and against the superiority of the Brahmin caste on the basis of only birth, Amitagati presents the Mīmāṃsakas as the main representatives of the Brahmin opponents in the narrative. In consequence, we may interpret Amitagati's argument concerning the rest of the narrative to be the following: since the Mīmāṃsaka arguments are not based upon the authority of an omniscient being or upon the logic of good conduct, their vision of good behaviour and their devotion to gods is also invalid. Furthermore, Amitagati's reference to the doctrines of the Cārvākas, Yogikas, and Buddhists, as well as his repetitive mentioning of śāstric knowledge, suggests that he envisages mostly a philosopher-other, who is imagined by means of the audience's knowledge of the different doxographical arguments. As such, Amitagati's text functions also as a sort of narrative doxography.

The version by Manohardās, although repeating much of Amitagati's content, others a different type of opponent. Manohardās' sketch of the multireligious city of Pāṭaliputra involves vivid images of devotional practices that different strands of Hinduism would perform. His translation of Amitagati's argumentation against the Mīmāṃsakas and others is much shorter and does not include reference to the Cārvākas and Buddhists. Instead Manohardās refutes devotional sects like the Sants and Nirañjanis who were important composers of Braj literature in his time and focuses upon their practices. As such, Manohardās translates the scholastic Brahmin other of Amitagati into a Hindu Saint or devotional Brahmin. This would be a more relevant opponent for an early-modern audience of Braj literature.

The other to Vṛttavilāsa is, similarly to Manohardās, constructed in part by literary developments. His *Dharmaparīkṣe* explicitly reacts against the literary innovations of the *vacanakāras* who mostly belonged to Śaiva groups and vouches for the more conservative form of *campū* Kannada literature. He supports this criticism by including more episodes that play on the faults of the forms of Śiva and by restructuring the narrative in such a way that the *Purāṇas* truly become the centre of religious identity. Therefore, Vṛttavilāsa

others an opponent who is defined predominantly by his belief in Hindu *Purāṇas* and who more likely belonged to a Śaiva affiliation.

Rāmacandra's version, supposedly also from South India, has this focus upon the *Purāṇas* as well. The critique inherent in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* is directed against those who would be devoted to the gods whose despicable behaviour is put on show in the *Purāṇas*, in contrast to the exemplary behaviour of the Jinas and other illustrious men, whose lives we know from the truthful Jain *Purāṇas*.

The versions by our two Śvetāmbara authors, have in the first place as opponent those who are refuted in what I have called the 'model' *Dharmaparīkṣā*. These could be said to be condensed opponents, in the sense that the Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣās* others a 'stock' Hindu Brahmin, characterised by his faith in the Veda and the *Purāṇas*, without the argumentative details given by Amitagati, or the devotional particularities as we find it in Manohardās' version. Secondarily, I have also interpreted certain elements in these two texts, such as the copying of Amitagati's verses by Padmasāgara or the claim for a correct *parīkṣā* by Saubhāgyasāgara as critical of the Digambara *Dharmaparīkṣās* (most importantly Amitagati's text). In this way the Śvetāmbara *Dharmaparīkṣā* did not only other Vaidikas, but also Digambara Jains.

6.1.3 Different types of conversion

A final reflection upon the function of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, involves a reassessment of its conversion purposes. As discussed in my Introduction (pp. 24-27), conversion can have many different connotations. It can involve the individual development of a lay Jain who follows the lay vows more strictly, or even commits to mendicancy, or it can refer to the conversion from one religion to another. I have also explained there that the former type of conversion is indeed applicable to the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, since Pavanavega, to whom a lay audience should mirror itself, evolves from one who has left the true path to becoming a devoted layman (cf. Introduction, p. 27). However, this type of conversion only pertains to the 'model' *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative. My chapters about Amitagati's and Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣās* suggested that the different adaptations could interpret this converting function differently. This is the most obvious in Vṛttavilāsa's text. The Kannada author adapts the narrative so that the Brahmins, who are otherwise only refuted, become convinced of the Jain *dharma* and take up the Jain vows. The fact that he includes this in his narrative suggests that he hoped to effectuate inter-religious conversion with his text, or at least that such a result could follow from (other) narrative apologetics. As such, the *Dharmaparīkṣe* would not only convert lay Jains to stricter paths, but it also intended to convince lay Hindus, and specifically previously Jain families that converted to Hinduism, of the superiority of Jainism.

In my chapter about Amitagati's version, I have pointed out that conversions between religions were indeed happening in his time and that this is valuable in evaluating the function of his *Dharmaparīkṣā*. I indeed interpret Amitagati's engagement in multireligious debates and elite culture as suggesting that his text also had the function of convincing religious others to commit to Jainism. It is not unimaginable that cultured men who would come into contact with different religious opinions would be inspired by several of them, and perhaps choose – against their own heritage – to follow Jainism.

As for the other adaptations I have discussed, I believe that they were rather meant to be consumed internally and thus did not really have this inter-religious conversion function – although inter-sectarian concerns might have played a role. For example, Manohardās' sometimes biting but humorous references to Jain merchant communities suggest that his text was meant to make lay Jains within such circles to follow Jain principles more strictly and his allusions to *adhyātma* interpretations of Jainism had the purpose to convince lay Jains to turn towards this movement within the Digambara tradition. The Śvetāmbara adaptations by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara, in my opinion, envisaged a Śvetāmbara audience that was supposed to adhere more strictly to a specifically Śvetāmbara view on the purāṇic legends. For each of their adaptations, internal Tapā Gaccha discussions may also have been relevant. Lastly, I argue that Rāmacandra's text is not decisively concerned with conversion, because it was meant as introductory and pedagogical of the Jain literary corpus.

My analysis of conversion through the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in its different adaptations has not only shown the varied functional interpretations of the 'Examination of Religion' but is also revealing with regards to a social history of inter-religious polemics and conversions. Indeed, my readings suggest that whereas in the late medieval period, inter-religious conversions from Hindu traditions to Jainism were current or fought for, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries polemics had become more internally directed, and focused either upon purifying Jains within a certain community, or convincing Jains between communities.[1] Further, when accepting that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in the medieval period indeed was meant to convert religious others, we can also acknowledge that their strategy to do so was not always as 'soft' or lenient as has been suggested by Qvarnström (1998). Whereas he comes to the conclusion that Jains 'had to respond skilfully to the religious heritage of potential converts, or at least not ideologically offend or humiliate people of other faiths' (1998: 35), I would say that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* illustrates a strategy that is quite the contrary. Little sympathy is left for those who worship the Hindu gods and it is by carrying this point to a hilarious extreme that the potential convert might be

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[1] Note that several authors have recently written about caste conversions from Hindu to Jain affiliation in the early modern period (see Babb 1996; 2004; Granoff 1989; Laidlaw 1995: 83-119; Meister 1991). Motivations for these conversions are strongly related to social identity and authoritative ascetics. See also p. 26, fn. 53. in my Introduction.

able to accept the Jain opinion. To understand precisely this potentially offensive strategy in the Jain texts, necessitates an understanding of the role of humour in Jain conversion – which I will study in the future, as well as the interplay between popular religion and elite spheres.

6.2   The *Dharmaparīkṣā* and popular religion

The fact that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is grounded in popular culture is unmistakable. My rendering of the plot (cf. Introduction) and the quotations and paraphrases throughout my chapters, predominantly from Manohardās' and Vṛttavilāsa's adaptations, made clear that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* exhibits elements that come directly from folkloristic tales. The clearest example is the inclusion of the popular tales of fools, which themselves include trickster stories, but also stylistic elements such as exaggerations, the plot's formulaic structure, and the inclusion of magical creatures (e.g. the *vidyādharas*, the flying jackals) firmly establishes the *Dharmaparīkṣā* into folklore. On the other hand, in several chapters of this dissertation I have argued that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* involved elite settings, whose culture seems to represent the opposite of popular. As noted in my Introduction (cf. p. 32), however, this dichotomy is false and many examples exist of the interaction between popular and elite culture, both in India (e.g. the *pañcatantra*; see Ali 2010: 24) as in Europe (see Burke 1979: 58-64; 2008: 27-29). The *Dharmaparīkṣā* should be understood as another such example.

My overview of adaptations has shown additionally that not every *Dharmaparīkṣā* involved these elite engagements with the popular to the same extent. Although each *Dharmaparīkṣā* engaged audiences of mostly educated men, there are differences with respect to the ideal reader they aimed to address.[2] I will leave a discussion of the ideal audience in each adaptation for further on in this conclusion, and will here relate the contrast between popular and elite culture within the religious setting of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, by referring to the idea of popular versus elite or normative forms of religion. Although popular religion has been problematised on the basis that it would be ahistorical or arbitrary (see e.g. Braünlein 2014: 79), and also the dichotomy between popular or folk and normative or official has been contested (see e.g. Yoder 1974; Primiano 1995), I believe that a differentiation along those lines is useful to understand

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[2] These differences or nuances support my use of popular versus elite, which some scholars have argued to be ineffective (see Burke 2008: 29). Without these two categories, seen as two sides of a continuum, it would be difficult to highlight certain social differences between the adaptations.

how different *Dharmaparīkṣās* speak to differing paradigms of religiosity. In fact, in consideration of the critiques on the ambiguity of popular religion, in my third chapter, I have favoured the term 'vernacular religion', because it implies more directly the idea of local embeddedness, flexibility, and a focus on practice (see Primiano 1995; Valk and Bowman 2012). The term also fitted that chapter particularly well, since its subject is the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās in the North-Indian vernacular language. Perceiving the different *Dharmaparīkṣās* now within a spectrum of religious paradigms defined by the above described differentiation, I indeed see Manohardās' text as leaning the most towards a vernacular interpretation of religion. His adaptation embodies the most an individual, experiential and localised 'Examination of Religion'. It localises the narrative by referring to tricks in merchant society or to an imagined world that is typical for Braj literature, it alludes to a lived religion, for example, by connecting cast identity to the downward cycle in Jain cosmology, and draws in individual religiosity by repeating the importance of purifying 'mind, speech and body', and referring to mystical tendencies in Jainism (*adhyātma*). Localisation of the narrative is also characteristic for Vṛttavilāsa's version, who – in comparison to what I have called the model *Dharmaparīkṣā* – inserts subnarratives that can be seen as a reaction to his context of Śaiva rivalry, or that appear to come from Kannada folklore. Furthermore, the inclusion of a story such as that of Nāgaśrī illustrates a role for women in Jain religiosity that is not evident in more normative religious accounts (or in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*). On the other hand, Vṛttavilāsa's restructuring of the narrative that advances its purāṇic entanglement, together with its *campū* form, suggests that he appeals to a normative paradigm that suits elite audiences. The same 'normativity', framed by the exemplarity of Jain Purāṇas rather than exhortations on Jain doctrine, is found in Rāmacandra's text. His text, moreover, elevates the status of the *Dharmaparīkṣa* to that of the authoritative Jain Purāṇas by putting it in the mouth of the first disciple, Indrabhūti Gautama. Amitagati's text is, in my opinion, the most elite *Dharmaparīkṣā*. His moralising subtales and critiques on Hindu Purāṇas are used to convince considerate men of following a set schema of *śrāvaka* vows, that make one progress on the path to liberation. Though his stories are funny and entertaining, Amitagati keeps the audience from really connecting with them, by constantly reminding them of his argument to discriminate *mithyātva* ('wrong view') from *samyaktva* ('right view'). As such, his text represents an elite paradigm of religiosity that plays with popular culture. Finally, the texts by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara present a popular form of religiosity by focusing on the *kathā* identity of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and enabling easy access into lay vows and other basic Jain views. Nevertheless, they were probably mediated by mendicants, to whom the texts had the additional meaning of closing the ranks of their own *gacchas*. Therefore, they again demonstrate the interaction between two types of religious cultures.

The shifts that I have here discussed, between religious paradigms that are more elite versus popular, or vernacular versus normative, show that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* could speak

to varied religious imaginations, and that the perspective of adaptions is able to elucidate that.

6.3 Language choice and translation

6.3.1 An unstraightforward evolution of language choice

An important part of my evaluation of the adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* involved discussing their new or unchanging choice of language. Indeed, my table of existing *Dharmaparīkṣās* (cf. Introduction, p. 40) illustrates the variety of languages in which versions of the narrative were written, and furthermore suggests that no clear historical line can be drawn between the choice for a classical versus a vernacular language. With this, my study of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* becomes entangled with the discussions about evolutions in literary language and language order which has in the last two decades taken centre stage in South Asian literature research, most importantly in the works of Pollock (2003; 2006; 2011) and reactions to his works (relevant to the present study are e.g. Ollett 2017; Bangha 2014; 2018; Busch 2011a; Orsini and Sheikh 2014). My analyses in this dissertation support the idea of a Sanskrit cosmopolis (cf. Chapter 2) and of 'quasi-cosmopolitan' ambitions in vernacular writing (cf. Chapter 4), as forwarded by Pollock (2006). But they have also aligned with nuances to Pollock's vernacularisation theory that draw attention to non-political spaces of influence (Orsini and Sheikh 2014; Bangha 2014; Dundas 2020) and to multiple models of literature (Orsini and Sheikh 2014) (cf. Chapter 3). As such, the authoritativeness of Amitagati's version was partly related to its language, and the continuation of adaptations in Sanskrit by the authors Saubhāgyasāgara, Padmasāgara (both sixteenth century), and Rāmacandra reconfirmed the authority and power Sanskrit had, also to Jain authors. With regards to vernacularisation, my chapter on Manohardās illustrated how Jains were involved in invigorating a vernacular literary culture that had its own literary model by producing many translations, and the introductory verses of Vṛttavilāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe* were shown to illustrate a conservative Jain voice in debates about the 'quasi-cosmopolitan' (or pan-regional) model of Kannada literature. In this way, my overview of adaptations has presented Jain interpretations of literary language use in a historical perspective, though limited to one narrative tradition. It has shown that Jain authors (i.e. Amitagati) by the beginning of the second millennium were shifting to Sanskrit instead of Prakrit and that they engaged in an elite Sanskrit literary model that could be overtly religious (see also Dundas 2020). It has also shown that in some Jain communities, the use of Sanskrit as language of religious debate became overruled by newly established vernacular literary models and that a shift in

language could be employed for the purpose of religious debate, so that opposing views on literature went hand in hand with opposing views on religion (cf. Vṛttavilāsa). Other Jain composers, on the other hand, continued to write in Sanskrit when vernacular literature was already well available. An important trend within Jain ascetic communities (after the twelfth century) was the creation of abridgements that not only provided relatively easy Sanskrit summaries of Prakrit works (see Ollett 2017: 262), but also of earlier Sanskrit works (cf. Rāmacandra, also Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara). These seem to suggest the continued authority of Sanskrit within renunciatory circles. North-Indian vernacular texts (cf. Manohardās), perhaps modelled after Apabhraṃśa literature (see Bangha 2014: 401; Ollett 2017: 161-162) – which remained in vogue in Jain communities beyond the fifteenth century (see De Clercq 2014) – became the preferred literature of intellectual lay Jains in the early-modern period (with its height in the seventeenth century). They were understood as indebted to a Sanskrit original but expressed an independent literary style that suited the taste of their audience. Admittedly, the missing piece in this chronology is the (just referred to) Apabhraṃśa adaptations from both the tenth and fifteenth century. These illustrate Jain purāṇic engagements with the Apabhraṃśa model at its height as well as in its typically Jain continuation (see De Clercq 2009; 2014) but should be further studied to be appreciated correctly.

6.3.2   An unstraightforward definition of translation

Many of the linguistic choices in making a *Dharmaparīkṣā* adaptation, were choices of translation. Hariṣeṇa's and Amitagati's version – though the latter did not make this explicit – were adaptations of a Prakrit text, and Manohardās' and Vṛttavilāsa's texts were explicitly renderings of a Sanskrit original. However, none of these texts explain how they 'translate' the text that inspired them. We are left to question how they thought about transposing a text into a new language. The closest term comparable to 'translation' is Manohardās' mention of *bhāṣā*, which I have translated as 'vernacularisation'. There, I have also mentioned that this word is related to *bhāṣya* ('commentary') and was often used in the sense of explaining the meaning of a text, which is seen as 'the most important aspect of translation' (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Thelen 2010: 9). In some way, we could indeed say that Manohardās made the meaning of Amitagati's text clear to an audience less versed in the conventions of Sanskrit literature. In a similar way, Vṛttavilāsa suggests that he wants to make sure that his Kannada audience knows the contents of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. However, what seems to have been more pertinent than explaining the exact meaning – whether in its cognitive, functional, or another understanding, was 'trans-modelling' or adapting the *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative to a purposed audience or to a linguistic paradigm that to a certain extent, defined that audience. In fact, we could even

argue that the non-'translating' adaptations, being abridgements, were more concerned with transmitting meaning than the 'translating' ones. It thus seems that, although the necessity was felt to render a text into another language, for the purpose of preservation or circulation, the process was guided by different principles than what the present word 'translation' implies. What this process did not imply were fidelity concerns, or a strict appraisal of a previous author. Connecting to the past was instead based upon a model of spiritual and literary predecessors. A change can be perceived in the reference by Manohardās to Amitagati, but this recognition did not limit him to adapt the text according to his own creativity. What this process of translation also did not involve was transcultural transmittance.[3] Similar to, for example, Latin to Italian translations in Dante's Italy, the trans-linguistic adaptations of my authors did not import something foreign but involved a shift of register or social environment (see Cornish 2011: 4). Different from the Italian *volgarizzamento*, however, is that this shift is not per se one towards the illiterate or uneducated, but can also be one towards the more educated.[4] Furthermore, we need to take into account that a definite part of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*'s audiences were multilingual, so that the language order in specific communities also plays an important role in the translation processes.

How this process, then, can be explained by means of a perspective that views the different 'translations' of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* together, is that the practice of 'translation' seems to have been one that aimed at continuing a specific text (i.e. narrative) in different social environments, with various literary expectations with regards to both form and engagement, and that these expectations were entangled with a language order that was shaped differently in different Jain communities.

6.4   A reception history of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*

My analyses of the different *Dharmaparīkṣās* focus upon particular authors within various contexts and how these authors created their specific adaptation. Viewing these now, stringed together, as a tradition of adaptations implies, in fact, a turn towards the reader

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[3] This is not to say that there is a fixed Indian culture, but we can suppose cultural intelligability over time and places.

[4] This contrast is actually a paradox, because I am comparing one period of time in Italy with different periods in India. Narrowed down to one period, the case of Manohardās seems to be very comparable to the Italian early-modern period. I aim to study this further in the future, but in this dissertation prefer to take a perspective that views the different historical practices of translation, as exemplified by my adaptations, as dependent upon each other and part of some sort of translational or adaptational culture.

and reception. Indeed, as Patel (2014) has also pointed out with regards to the *Naiṣadhīya* (cf. Introduction, p. 2), every new engagement with a certain literary object involves the evaluation of a reader who responds to this object or text and becomes an author. In this way, the perspective of a tradition of adaptations is able to combine both the author and reader and to thus overcome Barthes' maxim that 'the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the Author' (1977: 148). At the same time, since every adaptive creation relies on a former text and is informed by contextual processes, such a perspective accommodates Barthes' critique that every text draws from 'innumerable centres of culture' (1977: 146). Therefore, reading the different adaptations together as personal and historically embedded interpretations of our *Dharmaparīkṣā* narrative, leads me to form a reception history of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition.

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* initially, in my opinion, was read as a didactic story. When sung, as Hariṣeṇa's version was, it could move the Jain audience to become morally more responsible and to feel ascertained in its Jain identity. For Amitagati, this narrative had the potency to involve elite multireligious circles and to convince them of the superiority of the Jain tradition. He reads the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as an argumentation set within a narrative. Vṛttavilāsa also found the *Dharmaparīkṣā* fit for elite audiences but thought they would rather appreciate the story of Manovega and Pavanavega in the form of a poem that expresses a regional identity. These three adaptations of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, in my interpretation, represent a first period of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition during which the narrative grew in importance and became established as authoritative in the composition by Amitagati, and taking a 'southern' path with Vṛttavilāsa's work. To be sure, Vṛttavilāsa made a Kannada adaptation of an earlier work, whose identity is uncertain, but his adaptation displays regional poetics that would have the symbolic capital to be authoritative to its audience.

The adaptations of the sixteenth century and onwards then confirm this authoritativeness, by continuing the prestige of these earlier works.[5] Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara clearly used the text by Amitagati and interpreted it within their own sectarian affiliation. They established the popular text from the Digambara tradition as part of their own Śvetāmbara literary canon, and in doing so interpreted the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a classical didactic story. Rāmacandra's adaptation also illustrates that by his time the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was perceived as one of the classical stories of the Jain tradition. His abridged version would serve as an introduction into the 'southern' variant of the famous *Dharmaparīkṣā* and would hypothetically be used for pedagogical purposes for mendicants. The vernacularisation by Manohardās of Amitagati's text is the most explicit evidence of the authoritativeness of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Although he transposed in definite respects Amitagati's interpretation of the narrative, his reading of

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[5] The undiscussed texts by Jinadāsa and Śrutakīrti presumably also confirm this authority.

the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is yet different and influenced by his historical-literary context. For Manohardās the narrative is closely related to folk narrations and is especially relevant to everyday practice of one's beliefs.

Reception does not only involve interpretation but also a specific engagement with a narrative by means of a certain medium. With regards to all the *Dharmaparīkṣā* adaptations, I believe that the creation and re-creation of the narrative was predominantly a written engagement. My hypothesis is that the 'original' *Dharmaparīkṣā* supposedly by Jayarāma was composed on palm-leaf based on a mixed auditive and written reception of moral stories, purāṇic stories, and typical frames in Jain tales. All versions after him would be based upon a written form and committed to the written form. I argue that Amitagati's text would have been based upon a written *Dharmaparīkṣā* partly because of the similarities in certain sentences between Hariṣeṇa's and his version (see Upadhye 1942: 599-600), and because he seemed to have been an 'adapter' of Prākrit texts into Sanskrit in a context in which writing was a prominent part of literary culture. In a similar way, I believe Hariṣeṇa's engagement with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was a written one. For Vṛttavilāsa's text we cannot trace textual similarities to a written *Dharmaparīkṣā*, but his reference to an earlier Sanskrit text as well as the importance of manuscripts to *kāvyic* (*campū*) culture, may suggest such a conclusion. Perhaps it is even more difficult to ascertain a written base for the other 'southern' *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Rāmacandra. His summarising way of telling the narrative refers to the 'coming down' of the narrative through the lineage of ascetics and could therefore indeed have been a write-up of how he has heard the narrative from his predecessors. This is the first suggestion of the fact that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* was also engaged with in oral form, a point I will come back to below. In contrast, the remaining versions of the narrative are quite convincingly composed by means of a written source text. Both Padmasāgara and Saubhāgyasāgara must have had a manuscript of Amitagati's version at hand in writing down their own adaptation. This I argue because it is unlikely that the two Śvetāmbara authors had memorised the Digambara text of Amitagati from which Padmasāgara copied 1260 verses and from which Saubhāgyasāgara took some verses while paraphrasing many others. Also Manohardās' adaptation was, in my opinion, based upon a manuscript of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, firstly because he mentions the date of the composition by Amitagati and secondly because manuscript culture was at its height during the time in which he lived.

After establishing a reception history of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by reading the adaptations as evidence of the receptive practices by the authors identified as readers, I want to turn around again the author-reader relationship and seek for the intended or 'ideal' reception history in the adaptations. This involves questions to which I have mostly responded within the chapters of this dissertation, namely, what was the identity of the intended audience of each version? and how did the audience engage with the text? My summary here will overlap with what I have explained in the previous subsections but focuses on the literary side. Throughout the chapters of this dissertation it has become clear that the

audience of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* exists in between ascetic and lay, and in between elite and educated non-elite – the first category of the latter bifurcation being more entangled with court culture whereas the second category would presumably exist of relatively affluent merchants. The texts by Amitagati and Vṛttavilāsa exert a literary character that was mostly appreciated in courtly contexts. Amitagati's text addressed self-cultivating men, typically found at court, by means of abundant *subhāṣitas* and Vṛttavilāsa's lengthy poetic descriptions had been the classical courtly style. Manohardās' adaptation, just like Hariṣeṇa's, used a more vivid style that would please the ears of interested laymen who would be familiar with such sung literary compositions. His Braj audience existed of merchants who had formed intellectual groups to cultivate themselves as Jain lay specialists, and who would learn about and discuss the literary heritage of the Jain tradition, including the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. This early-modern text might have been an adaptation that solely circulated among laymen, whereas the versions by Amitagati and Vṛttavilāsa would have had an audience of monks who themselves recited to an audience of laymen. The texts by Padmasāgara, Saubhāgyasāgara, and perhaps Rāmacandra, were probably initially rather meant to reach an ascetic audience, who appreciated the adaptations with the knowledge of them being adaptations. The reception of the two Śvetāmbara versions may indeed have involved the appreciation of the contrast itself with the Digambara 'source' text, whereas the reception of the abridged version by Rāmacandra would have led to also studying another (earlier) *Dharmaparīkṣā*. I should note that the intention of reaching monks did not limit non-ascetic audiences to also read or hear these manuscripts.[6]

These last few words point to another important dimension of adaptations, namely the way in which they are engaged with, and how these modes of engagement change from one adaptation to another. In that same sentence I have also made the connection between a medium and a mode of engagement (namely manuscript and reading), but this connection is not fixed. To be sure, all the *Dharmaparīkṣās* to which I had access, exist (and existed) in manuscript form, but the audience did not engage with those manuscript mediatised texts merely in the reading (or reading out) mode. The impossible differentiation in media among my *Dharmaparīkṣā* adaptations can, therefore, not lead to assessing the various effects different adaptations had on the audience. To that purpose, there are textual clues that hint at written versus oral, visual or auditive aspects in the relation between the text and the audience. Further, the communicative context in a certain period should also be considered in order to fully understand how *Dharmaparīkṣā* audiences engaged with the narrative's adaptations. These contexts tell us something about cultures of public versus individual reading or listening, recited versus sung

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[6] The existence of a *pothī* edition of the texts by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara illustrate that laymen of the twentieth century actively engaged with their *Dharmaparīkṣās*.

literature, entertainment versus study etc. However, the relevance of the historical context should also not be overemphasised, because different adaptations could exist next to each other and be brought to the same audience. This has the double consequence that the author of a *Dharmaparīkṣā* had a definite say in how his intended audience engaged with the text, but also that this intended engagement could be nuanced in the face of changing contexts.

The mode of engagement with all *Dharmaparīkṣās* involve some sort of telling. Hariṣeṇa's *Dhammaparikkhā* in the *sandhibandha* format would have been a sung narration. The format's characteristics including *mātrā* metres, rhyming *padas*, and the subdivision into *kaḍavakas* with closing verses, together with the fact that marginal references to musical performance can be found in Svayambhū's Apabhraṃśa *sandhibandha Paümacariu*, suggests a performative context (see De Clercq 2014: 342). A similar mode of engagement applies to the text by Manohardās. The Braj metres, rhyming *padas*, and repeated phrases indeed suggest that his vernacularisation was meant to be performed. The mode of these two adaptations suggest a specific effect on their audiences, who would be drawn into the narrative through a 'quasi-physiological' immersion (e.g. by singing along). Performance not only suggests acting out (in the showing mode), but also public staging which speaks to the 'aurality' of the text. Listening to the performance of the Braj and Apabhraṃśa *Dharmaparīkṣā* would involve stronger social connections, more sensorial impulses by fellow attenders, and possibilities to interact with the story, so that the audience – in a way – experiences the message of the narrative. This is relatively different from the contemplative effect read or recited versions would engender.[7] Such an effect followed from the *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati. Recited with the necessary pauses and variated intonation, it would trigger the minds of the audience to think about their ethics. Especially the *subhāṣitas* in the text would serve as breaks in the narrative to convince the audience of a certain moral behaviour. The versions by the two Śvetāmbara authors were also meant to moralise in a telling mode. Their verse metre (mostly *anuṣṭubh*) suggests that the texts could be recited. However, since these texts importantly existed as written works, I suggest they would have been engaged with as 'readings' or acts of reading out, primarily for an ascetic community.[8] The telling mode is also dominant for Rāmacandra's abridged adaptation. His version is a fast-paced prose narration of the story of Manovega

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[7] With regards to reading, note that all of the *Dharmaparīkṣās* were read initially. For a text to be performed or sung there must be a person mediating the performance to a 'second-level' audience by reading and memorising the text. Secondly, many of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* versions were, at some point in time, read or read out for the purpose of studying them, to get acquainted with a version in a certain language, or to appreciate their existence as Jain heritage (see also Kelting 2001: 167)

[8] I argue this because Saubhāgyasāgara calls his work a *grantha* and because both texts relied heavily on Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*. We can think about how their versions existed as quasi-artifacts for the Śvetāmbara literary heritage and how their material existence was an argument against the view of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as part of Digambara heritage.

and Pavanavega that flows along the imagination of the audience and would easily be remembered. Nevertheless, just like all other versions, some active reflection by the audience is required when basic Brahmin 'faults' and the Jain vows are explained. Vṛttavilāsa's *campū* work might have positioned itself somewhere in between two variances of the telling mode of engagement. The *campū* form in itself, with its mix of prose and verse, and Vṛttavilāsa's inclusion of typically sung Kannada metres suggests such an interplay between telling and performing. However, in contrast to the immersive and experiential effect of song in the Apabhraṃśa and Braj versions, I believe that his stylised use of melody in the Kannada *Dharmaparīkṣe* was less interactive and worked mostly through aesthetical awe.

This hypothetical reconstruction of the varied engagements historical audiences had with different versions of the same narrative shows how the *Dharmaparīkṣā* – inherently a telling – could work in different modes on the audience, and how these modes were effectuated by the choices of the author in response to both his interpretation of the text and, to his environment that would decide the expectations of the audience. In prospect, moving beyond assessing the product, this understanding makes us question the transformative result of such nuanced effects upon the audience.

6.5   Final thoughts and future directions

The continuation of the story of the religious examination by Manovega for the sake of his friend Pavanavega has constituted a textual tradition rich in languages, forms, intertextuality, registers, and modes of engagement. My dissertation has taken the perspective of adaptation studies in trying to disclose this richness of the tradition. This perspective, as conceptualised by Hutcheon (2006), has led me to broadcast the creative engagements of the authors with the narrative and their environments in making these 'palimpsestuous' texts. These Jain authors were shown to be fully aware of their historical multireligious contexts, their literary contexts, and sometimes socially diverse immediate audiences, and to read and understand the *Dharmaparīkṣā* accordingly. The perspective of adaptation studies has also led me to unfold the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a powerful literary object, that has inhabited many meanings and applicabilities to the historical Jain community. These involved 'purifying' or conversion, literary education, religious debate, and even entertainment, and could draw in mendicant or lay, elite or non-elite, courtly or proto-bourgeoisie audiences.

My picture of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, although definitely extensive, is, however, not a complete picture. Perhaps the most obvious gap is constituted by the versions which

I have not been able to discuss in this dissertation. Most important is the text by Hariṣeṇa, but also the texts by Śrutakīrti, Sumatikīrti, Jinadāsa, Daśaratha Nigotia, and Nemavijaya are worthwhile to study. The last four in this list would contribute to a survey of North-Indian vernacular engagements with the *Dharmaparīkṣā* and, comparisons with the former two Apabhraṃśa versions would enable an assessment to what extent the literary model of early-modern North-Indian vernacular languages is indeed indebted to the Apabhraṃśa literary model. Trying to answer these questions within a corpus of adaptations of the same literary object would lead to especially valuable insights, because variance would not be related to generic content differences. Another aspect of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* left for future analysis is the presentation of the code of lay behaviour (*śrāvakācāra*) in different adaptations. I have pointed out, in my chapter on Amitagati's text, the fact that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* is concerned with a code of lay behaviour. However, questions about whether this code of conduct changed throughout the different adaptations, the entanglement of the *śrāvakācāra* and the narrative, and if this relationship between the narrative and *śrāvakācāra* evolved, are still to be answered. Research into this could demonstrate different connotations given to the idea of a set of lay vows or could show how the *Dharmaparīkṣā* legacy was or was not built upon its entanglement with presenting such a code of lay vows. Another topic which my study has introduced, but around which many questions can be probed, is popular culture in medieval Jainism. Some of the substories in certain adaptations are clearly related to regional folklore. We could therefore question where these stories come from (in terms of place or tradition), and if they stretch beyond a narrative tradition. Could these stories also be related to certain popular practices or events? Would they be narrated unframed in Jain contexts or retain their polemical function in settings unmediated by a religious expert? Is it even possible to speak of a purely popular Jain community exclusive from other traditions? Related to popular culture, but by the Jains explicitly excluded from this category, are the Jain Purāṇas, which are in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* contrasted with the popular ('*laukika*') Hindu Purāṇas. A question I would like to examine in the future is on what basis exactly Jain authors distinguish between their Purāṇas and the *laukika* ones, and whether parallels could be drawn with how modern scholars have distinguished myth from legend. Further, the *Dharmaparīkṣā* – especially in the adaptation by Rāmacandra – also provokes thoughts about the delimitation of the genre of Jain Purāṇas. Should the category be limited to the legendary deeds of exemplary heroes, or could it also include other declamations by Gautama to Śreṇika, and would Gautama only tell true accounts, or might we distinguish between historical and fictitious but informative tellings coming from the mouth of this authoritative figure? An element of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* that has been recognised 'by all', but truly dealt with by none, is its humorous nature. Although Osier has discussed 'la raillerie et le ridicule' as a remarkable trait of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, so far nobody has discussed the mockery in this work as an emotive element that could be at odds but is in fact intricately linked with Jain religion.

This topic defines my immediate path of future research. Finally, the path that I had planned to tread, but from which my texts have led me to wander – perhaps like Pavanavega, is paved by the theme of 'othering'. Although discussed in this conclusion, there definitely is space to further analyse parts of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition through the perspective of 'othering'. This could lead to additional insights into Jain identity-building and religio-intellectual debates in the Jain community.

The purpose of this dissertation has been to open up the *Dharmaparīkṣā* as a tradition and to convince that there is much more of interest to disclose. My conclusions indeed evidenced that the *Dharmaparīkṣā* represents an important part of Jain literary history, and the ensuing list of open questions, which my reader could surely expand, confirms the importance of my study. The key to this purpose was the perspective of a tradition of adaptations. This key has proven to unlock several research doors tagged with 'Jain literary history', 'Jain religiosity', 'language use in Jain literature', but also 'translation in pre-modern India' or 'narrative polemics in South-Asia'. Its perfect fit resulted from the many cuts shaped by the concept of adaptation, and by the notion of time inherent in it. It is this key that I now present – shining in expectation – to my reader, with the hope of not only passing on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* tradition, but also the key to many more textual traditions.

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Appendix 1: The seventeenth *pariccheda* of Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā.*

niruttarāṃs-tathālokya kheṭa-putrau dvijanmanaḥ,
nirgatya kānanaṃ yātau bhūri-bhūruha-bhūṣitam. 1

āsīnau pādapasyādho muktvā śvetāmbarākṛtim,
sajjanasyeva namnasya vicitra-phala-śālinaḥ. 2

ūce pavanavegas taṃ jighṛkṣur jinaśāsanam,
mitra dvijādi-śāstrāṇāṃ viśeṣaṃ mama sūcaya. 3

tam uvāca manovego vedaśāstraṃ divjanmanām,
pramāṇaṃ mitra dharmādāv akṛtrimam adūṣaṇam. 4

hiṃsā nivedyate yena janmorvīruha-vardhinī,
pramāṇī kriyate nātra ṭhakaśāstram ivottamaiḥ. 5

vede nigaditā hiṃsā jāyate dharma-kāraṇam,
na punaṣ-ṭhakaśāstreṇa na viśeṣo 'tra dṛśyate 6

nāpauruṣeyatā hetur vede dharma-nivedane,
tasyā vicāryamāṇāyāḥ sarvathānupa-pattitaḥ. 7

akṛtrimaḥ kathaṃ vedaḥ kṛtas tālvādi-kāraṇaiḥ,
prāsādo 'kṛtrimo noktas takṣa-vyāpāra-nirmitaḥ. 8

tālvādi-kāraṇaṃ tasya vyañjakaṃ na tu kārakam,
nātrāvalokyate hetuḥ ko 'pi niścaya-kāraṇam. 9

yathā kumbhādayo vyañjyā dīpakair vyañjakair vinā,
vijñāyante tathā śabdā vinā tālvādibhir na kim. 10

kṛtrimebho na śāstrebhyo viśeṣaḥ ko 'pi dṛśyate,
apauruṣeyatā tasya vaidikaiḥ kathyate katham. 11

vyajyante vyāpakā varṇāḥ sarve tālvādibhir na kim,
vyañjakair ekadā kumbhā dīpakair iva sarvathā. 12

sarvajñena vinā tasya kenārthaḥ kathyate sphuṭam,
na svayaṃ bhāṣate svārthaṃ visaṃvādopalabdhitaḥ. 13

aidaṃyugīna-gotrarṣi-śakhādīni sahasraśaḥ,
anādi-nidhano vedaḥ kathaṃ sūcayituṃ kṣamaḥ. 14

pāraṃparyeṇa sa jñeyo nedṛśaṃ sundaraṃ vacaḥ,
sarvajñena vinā mūle pāraṃparyaṃ kutas tanam. 15

samastair apy-asarvajñair vedo jñātuṃ na śakyate,
sarve vicakṣuṣo mārgaṃ kutaḥ paśyanti kāṅkṣitam. 16

kālenānādinā naṣṭaṃ kaḥ prakāśayate punaḥ,
asarvajñeṣu sarveṣu vyavahāram ivādimam. 17

nāpauruṣeyatā sādhvī sarvatrāpi matā satām,
panthā hi jāra-caurāṇāṃ manyate kair akṛtrimaḥ. 18

adhvaryubhiḥ kṛtā yoge hiṃsā saṃsāra-kāriṇī,
pāpardhikair ivāraṇye prāṇi-pīḍākarī yataḥ. 19

hanyamānā haṭhāj jīvā yājñikaiḥ khaṭṭikair iva,
svargaṃ yāntīti bho citraṃ saṃkleśa-vyākulī-kṛtāḥ. 20

yā dharma-niyama-dhyāna saṃgataiḥ sādhyate 'ṅgibhiḥ,
kathaṃ svarga-gati sādhyā nahyamānair asau haṭhāt. 21

vaidikānāṃ vaco grāhyaṃ na hiṃsāsādhi sādhubhiḥ,
khaṭṭikānāṃ kuto vākyaṃ dhārmikaiḥ kriyate hṛdi. 22

na jāti-mātrato dharmo labhyate deha-dhāribhiḥ,

satya-śauca-tapaḥ-śīla-dhyāna-svādhyāya-varjitaiḥ. 23

ācāra-mātra-bhedena jātīnāṃ bheda-kalpanam,
na jāti-brahmaṇīyāsti niyatā kvāpi tāttvikī. 24

brāhmaṇa-kṣatriyādīnāṃ caturṇām api tattvataḥ,
ekaiva mānuṣī jātir ācāreṇa vibhidyate. 25

bhede jāyeta viprāyāṃ kṣatriyo na kathaṃcana,
śālijātau mayā dṛṣṭaḥ ko dravasya na saṃbhavaḥ. 26

brāhmaṇo 'vāci vipreṇa pavitrācāra-dhāriṇā,
viprāyāṃ śuddha-śīlāyāṃ janito nedam uttaram. 27.

na viprāviprayor asti sarvadā śuddha-śīlatā,
kālenānādinā gotre skhalanaṃ kva na jāyate. 28

saṃyamo niyamaḥ śīlaṃ tapo dānaṃ damo dayā,
vidyante tāttvikā yasyāṃ sā jātir mahitā satām. 29

dṛṣṭvā yojana-gandhādi-prasūtānaṃ tapasvinām,
vyāsādīnāṃ mahāpūjāṃ tapasi kriyatāṃ matiḥ. 30

śīlavanto gatāḥ svargaṃ nīca-jāti-bhavā api,
kulīnā narakaṃ prāptāḥ śīla-saṃyama-nāśinaḥ. 31

guṇaiḥ saṃpadyate jātir guṇa-dhvaṃse vipadyate,
yatas tato budhaiḥ kāryo guṇeṣv evādaraḥ paraḥ. 32

jāti-mātram adaḥ kāryo na nīcatva-praveśakaḥ,
uccatva-dāyakaḥ sadbhiḥ kāryaḥ śīla-samādaraḥ. 33

manyante snānataḥ śaucaṃ śīla-satyādibhir vinā,
ye tebhyo na pare santi pāpa-pādapa-vardhakāḥ. 34

śukra-śoṇita-niṣpannaṃ mātur udgāla-vardhitam,
payasā śodhyate gātram āścarya kim ataḥ param. 35

malo viśodhyate bāhyo jaleneti nigadyatām,
pāpaṃ nihanyate tena kasyedaṃ hṛdi vartate. 36

mithyātvāsaṃyamājñānaiḥ kalmaṣaṃ prāṇinārjitam,
samyaktva-saṃyama-jñānair hanyate nānyathā sphuṭam. 37

kaṣāyair arjitaṃ pāpaṃ salilena nivāryate,
etaj jaḍātmano brūte nānyo mīmāṃsako dhruvam. 38

yadi śodhayituṃ śaktaṃ śarīram api no jalam,
antaḥsthitaṃ mano duṣṭaṃ kathaṃ tena viśodhyate. 39

garbhādi-mṛtyu-paryantaṃ caturbhūta-bhavo bhavī,
nāparo vidyate yeṣāṃ tair ātmā vañcyate dhruvam. 40

yathā ādimena cittena madhyaṃ janyate sadā,
madyhamena yathā cāntyam antimena agrimaṃ tathā. 41

madhyamaṃ jāyate cittaṃ yathā na prathamaṃ vinā,
tathā na prathamaṃ cittaṃ jāyate pūrvakaṃ vinā. 42

śarīre dṛśyamāne 'pi na caitanyaṃ vilokyate,
śarīraṃ na ca caitanyaṃ yato bhedas tayos tataḥ. 43

cakṣuṣā vīkṣate gātraṃ caitanyaṃ saṃvidā yataḥ,
bhinna-jñānopalambhena tato bhedas tayoḥ sphuṭam. 44

pratyakṣam īkṣamāṇeṣu sarva-bhūteṣu vastuṣu,
abhāvaḥ paralokasya kathaṃ mūḍhair vidhīyate. 45

dugdhāmbhasor yathā bhedo vidhānena vidhīyate,
tathātma-dehayoḥ prājñair ātma-tattva-vicakṣaṇaiḥ. 46

bandha-mokṣādi-tattvānām abhāvaḥ kriyate yakaiḥ,
a-viśva-dṛśvabhiḥ sadbhis tebhyo dhṛṣṭo 'sti kaḥ paraḥ. 47

karmabhir badhyate nātmā sarvathā yadi sarvadā,
saṃsāra-sāgare ghore baṃdha-bhramīti tadā katham. 48

sadā nityasya śuddhasya jñāninaḥ paramātmanaḥ,
vyavasthitih kuto dehe durgandhāmedhyamandire. 49

sukha-duḥkhādi-saṃvittir yadi dehasya jāyate,
nirjīvasya tadā nūnaṃ bhavantī kena vāryate. 50

ātmā pravartamāno 'pi yatra tatra na badhyate,
bandha-buddhima-kurvāṇo nedaṃ vacanam-añcitam. 51

kathaṃ nirbuddhiko jīvo yatra tatra pravartate,
pravṛttir na mayā dṛṣṭā parvatānāṃ kadācana. 52

mṛtyu-buddhima-kurvāṇo vartamāno mahā-viṣe,
jāyate tarasā kiṃ na prāṇī prāṇa-vivarjitaḥ 53

yady ātmā sarvathā śuddho dhyānābhyāsena kiṃ tadā,
śuddhe pravartate ko 'pi śodhanāya na kāñcane. 54

nātmanaḥ sādhyate śuddhir jñānenaiva kadācana,
na bhaiṣajyāvabodhena vyādhiḥ kvāpi nihanyate. 55

dhyānaṃ śvāsa-nirodhena durdhiyaḥ sādhayanti ye,
ākāśa-kusumair nūnaṃ śekharaṃ racayanti te.

dehe 'vatiṣṭhamāno 'pi nātmā mūḍhair avāpyate,
prayogeṇa vinā kāṣṭhe citra-bhānur iva sphuṭam. 57

jñāna-samyaktva-cāritrair ātmano hanyate malaḥ,
dadāty aneka-duḥkhāni tribhir vyādhir ivorjitaḥ. 58

anādi-kāla-saṃsiddhiṃ saṃbandhaṃ jīva-karmaṇoḥ,
ratnatrayaṃ vinā nānyo nūnaṃ dhvaṃsayituṃ kṣamaḥ. 59

na dīkṣā-mātrataḥ kvāpi jāyate kalila-kṣayaḥ,
śatravo na palāyante rājyāvasthiti-mātrataḥ. 60

ye dīkṣaṇena kurvanti pāpa-dhvaṃsaṃ vibuddhayaḥ,
ākāśa-maṇḍalāgreṇa te chindanti ripoḥ śiraḥ. 61

mithyātva-vratakopādi-yogaiḥ karmaṃ yad arjyate,
kathaṃ tac chakyate hantuṃ tad abhāvaṃ vināṅgibhiḥ. 62

phalaṃ nirvrata-dīkṣāyāṃ nirvāṇaṃ varṇayanti ye,
ākāśa-vallarī-puṣpa-saurabhyaṃ varṇayantu te. 63

sūrīṇāṃ yadi vākyena puṃsāṃ papaṃ palāyate,
kṣīyante vairiṇo rājñāṃ bandhūnāṃ vacasā tadā. 64

nāśyante dīkṣayā rāgā yayā neha śarīriṇām,
na sā nāśayituṃ śaktā karma-bandhaṃ purātanam. 65

gurūṇāṃ vacasā jñātvā ratna-tritaya-sevanam,
kurvataḥ kṣīyate pāpam iti satyaṃ vacaḥ punaḥ. 66

ātmanā vihitaṃ papaṃ kaṣāya-vaśa-vartinā
dīkṣayā kṣīyate kṣipraṃ kenedaṃ pratipadyate. 67

sakaṣāye yadi dhyāne śāśvataṃ labhyate padam,
vandhyā-tanūja-saubhāgya-varṇane draviṇaṃ tadā. 68

nendriyāṇaṃ jayo yeṣāṃ na kaṣāya-vinigrahaḥ,
na teṣāṃ vacanaṃ tathyaṃ viṭānām iva vidyate. 69

ūrdhvādhodvāra-niryāto bhaviṣyāmi jugupsitaḥ,
iti jñātvā vidāry-āṅgaṃ jananyā yo vinirgataḥ. 70

māṃsasya bhakṣaṇe gṛddho doṣābhāvaṃ jagāda yaḥ,
buddhasya tasya mūḍhasya kīdṛśī vidyate kṛpā. 71

kāyaṃ kṛmi-kulākīrṇaṃ vyāghra-bhāryānane kudhīḥ,
yo nicikṣepa jānānaḥ saṃyamas tasya kīdṛśaḥ. 72

sarva-śūnyatva-nairātmya-kṣaṇikatvāni bhāṣate,
yaḥ pratyakṣa-viruddhāni tasya jñānaṃ kutastanam. 73

kalpite sarva-śūnyatve yatra buddho na vidyate,
bandha-mokṣādi-tattvānāṃ kutas tatra vyavasthitiḥ. 74

svargāpavarga-saukhyādi-bhāginaḥ sphuṭam ātmanaḥ,
abhāve sakalaṃ vṛttaṃ kriyamāṇam anarthakam. 75

kṣaṇike hantṛ-hantavya-dātṛ-deyādayo 'khilāḥ,

bhāvā yatra virudhyante tad gṛhnanti na dhīdhanāḥ. 76

pramāṇa-bādhitaḥ pakṣaḥ sarvo yasyeti sarvathā,
sārvajñyaṃ vidyate tasya na buddhasya durātmanaḥ. 77

vāṇārasī-nivāsatya brahmā putraḥ prajāpateḥ,
upendro vasudevasya sātyake-yogino haraḥ. 78

sṛṣṭi-sthiti-vināśānāṃ kathyante hetavaḥ katham,
ete nisarga-siddhasya jagato hata-cetanaiḥ. 79

yadi sarva-vidām eṣāṃ mūrtir ekāsti tattvataḥ,
tadā brahma-murāribhyāṃ liṅgāntaḥ kiṃ na vīkṣyate. 80

sarvajñasya virāgasya śuddhasya parameṣṭhinaḥ,
kiṃcij jñārāgino 'śuddhā jāyante 'vayavāḥ katham. 81

pralaya-sthiti-sargāṇāṃ vidhātuh pārvatī-pateḥ,
liṅga-ccheda-karas-tāpas tāpasair dīyate katham. 82

ye yacchanti mahāśāpaṃ dhūrjaṭer api tāpasāḥ,
nirbhinnās te kathaṃ vāṇair manmathena nirantaraiḥ. 83

straṣṭāro jagato devā ye gīrvāṇa-namaskṛtāḥ,
prākṛtā iva kāmena kiṃ te tripuruṣā jitāḥ. 84

kāmena yena nirjitya sarve devā viḍambitāḥ,
sa kathaṃ śambhunā dagdhas tṛtīyākṣi-kṛśānunā.85

ye rāga-dveṣa-mohādi-mahādoṣa-vaśī-kṛtāḥ,
te vadanti kathaṃ devā dharmaṃ dharmārthināṃ hitam. 86

na devā liṅgino dharmā dṛśyante 'nyatra nirmalāḥ,
te yān niṣevya jīvena prāpyate śāśvataṃ padam. 87

devo rāgī yatiḥ saṃgī dharmo hiṃsā-niṣevitaḥ,
kurvanti kāṅkṣitāṃ lakṣmīṃ jīvānām atidurlabhām. 88

īdṛśīṃ hṛdi kurvāṇā dhiṣaṇāṃ sukha-siddhaye,
īdṛśīṃ kiṃ na kurvanti nirākṛta-vicetanāḥ. 89

vandhyā-stanaṃdhayo rājā śilāputro mahattaraḥ,
mṛga-tṛṣṇā-jale snātaḥ kurvate sevitāḥ śriyam. 90

dveṣa-rāga-mada-moha-vidviṣo nirjitākhila-narāmareśvarāḥ,
kurvate vapuṣi yasya nāspadaṃ bhāskarasya timirotkarā iva. 91

kevalena galitākhilainasā yo 'vagacchati carācara-sthitim,
taṃ triloka-matam āptam uttamāḥ siddhi-sādhakam upāsate jinam. 92

viddha-sarva-nara-khecarāmarair ye manobhava-śarair na tāḍitāḥ,
te bhavanti yatayo jitendriyā janma-pādapa-nikartanāśayāḥ. 93

prāṇi-pāla-dṛḍha-mūla-bandhanaḥ satya-śauca-śama-śīla-pallavaḥ,
iṣṭa-śarma-phala-jālam ulbaṇaṃ peśalam phalati dharma-pādapaḥ. 94

bandha-mokṣa-vidhayaḥ sakāraṇā yuktitaḥ sakala-bādha-varjitāḥ,
yena siddhi-patha-darśanoditāḥ śāstram etad avayanti paṇḍitāḥ. 95

madya-māṃsa-vanitāṅga-saṃgino dhārmikā yadi bhavanti rāgiṇaḥ,
śauṇḍi-khaṭṭika-viṭās tadā sphuṭaṃ yānti nāka-vasatiṃ nirākulāḥ. 96

krodha-lobha-bhaya-moha-marditāḥ putra-dāra-dhana-mandirādarāḥ,
dharma-saṃyama-damair apākṛtāḥ pātayanti yatayo bhavāmbudhau. 97

devatā vividha-doṣa-dūṣitāḥ saṃga-bhaṅga-kalitās tapodhanāḥ,
prāṇi-hiṃsana-parāyaṇo vṛṣaḥ sevitā laghu nayanti saṃsṛtim. 98

janma-mṛtyu-bahu-mārga-saṃkule dveṣa-rāga-mada-matsarākule,
durlabhaḥ śivapatho jane yatas tvaṃ sadā bhava parīkṣa-kas tataḥ. 99

bhavāntaka-jarojjhitās tridaśa-vanditā devatā,
nirākṛta-parigraha-smara-hṛṣīka-darpo yatiḥ,
vṛṣo 'kapaṭa-saṃkaṭaḥ sakala-jīva-rakṣāparo,
vasantu mama mānase 'mitagatiḥ śivāyāniśam. 100

Appendix 2: A comparison of the narrative plot between the *Dharmaparīkṣās* by Amitagati, Manohardās and Vṛttavilāsa

In this Appendix, I compare the narrative plots of three versions of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, namely those by Amitagati, Manohardās and Vṛttavilāsa. I chose to render only the narrative elements and not to include elaborations e.g. on the nature of women or friendship (cf. Chapter 2). I have further chosen to put all the names of characters (human, divine or other) and places in bold, when they occur for the first time within a certain narrative. Text that is underlined shows where there are differences between the different adaptations.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
Introduction	Invocation to the *tīrthaṅkaras* (1.1), the *muktās* (1.2), the *sūrīs* (1.3), the *adhyāpakas* (1.4), and the *sādhus* (1.5). Praise to Sarasvatī (1.6)	Invocation to Pārśvanātha and all other *tīrthaṅkaras* (1) Biographical information. (8-10)	Invocation of the *jinas,* the *siddhas,* the *ācāryas,* the *upādhyāyas* and the *sādhus* (1.1-1.6). Praise to Sarasvatī (1.9).
	Purpose to examine dharma (1.16).	The virtues of the text (v. 11-29).	Praise to Kundakunda, Samantabhadra and Mayurapiñca Ācārya, Akalaṅka, Pūjyapāda, Jinasena and Vīrasena (1.10-14).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			Praise to Vṛttavilāsa's *guruparaṃparā* (1.15-1.33). Recognition of an earlier Sanskrit composition and motivation for writing in Kannada (1.37).
Cosmological setting	On **Jambūdvīpa**, in **Bharatakṣetra**, there is a mountain **Vijayārdha**, with 60 cities on its Northern and 50 cities on its Southern flank, inhabited by *vidyādharas*. There lies the city **Vaijayantī** (1.17-28).	On **Jambūdvīpa**, in **Bharatakṣetra**, there is a mountain **Vijayārdha**, inhabited by *vidyādharas*, with 60 cities on its northern and 50 cities on its southern flank. There is the city of **Vaijayantī** (30-37).	On **Jambūdvīpa**, in **Bharatakṣetra** is the mountain **Vijayārdha** (1.41), with 50 cities on the Southern flank. There lies the splendorous city **Vaijayantī** (1.43).
Introducing the protagonists	The king of Vaijayantī is **Jitaśatru** (1.32) He had a wife **Vāyuvega** (1.37) and they had a son **Manovega** (1.43) The son of the King of **Priyāpurī**, named **Pavanavega**, was his best friend. (1.48)	The king of that city is **Jitaśatru** (42). He had a wife **Vāyuvega** (48) and they had a son **Manovega**. (57). The son of the king of **Priyāpurī**, named **Pavanavega**, was his best friend. (68-72)	The *vidyādhara* king of that city is **Jitaripu**. He had a wife **Vāyuvega** and they had a son **Manovega**. The son of king **Prabhāśaṅka** of **Vijayapura**, named **Pavanavega**, was his best friend. They both had studied under **Puṣpadanta** and were skilled in all *śāstras* and *vidyās*.
Problem that initiates the narrative	Pavanavega was touched by the venom of *mithyātva* (1.50). So, Manovega ponders in his mind (day and night) how to help his friend to turn towards Jainism, and wanders	Pavanavega was touched by *mithyātva* (73). So, Manovega ponders in his mind (day and night) how to help his friend and decides to leave the city in search for a solution (74-84)	Prince Manovega was a devoted Jain, but Pavanavega was lost in faith (1.77). So, Manovega leaves the city in his *vimāna* in order to help his friend.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	around the earth in his *vimāna* (heavenly carriage) in search for a solution (1.51-54) Suddenly, his *vimāna* is halted, and he asks himself if this is due to an ascetic, a friend or an enemy (1.56). Looking around to see the cause of this obstruction, his gaze is caught by the beautiful city of **Ujjain**, lying in the middle of the **Mālava** region (1.57-58).	Upon his path, his *vimāna* is suddenly halted, and he asks himself if this is due to a muni, friend or an enemy (85) Looking around to see the cause of this obstruction, his gaze is caught by the beautiful city of **Ujjain**, lying in the middle of the **Mālava** region (86-87).	Suddenly, Manovega's *vimāna* is halted. He gets out of his carriage and, looking down upon the earth, he sees the splendorous city of **Ujjain**.
The monk's preaching.	In the North of the city there is a park (1.64). In that park Manovega sees a monk (1.66). He descends from heaven and bows down at the feet of the monk (1.69-70), whose name is **Jinamati** (2.1) Manovega asks Jinamati to explain the concept of *saṃsāra*, if there is a god and how much suffering and happiness there is (2.2) Jinamati replies that happiness and suffering are inseparable in *saṃsāra* and explains this with a parable (2.3):	In the North of the city there is a park (94). In that park Manovega finds an ascetic (95). He descends from heaven and bows down at the feet of the monk (96-99). Manovega asks **Jinamati** to explain the concept of *saṃsāra*, if there is a god and the difference of suffering and happiness (101-4) Jinamati replies that happiness and suffering are inseparable in *saṃsāra* and explains this with a parable:	In a park in that city he sees a monk, named **Vāsupūjya**, sitting and teaching. Manovega, full of devotion, sits next to the muni and listens to his preaching about *saṃsāra*, and about the suffering and happiness of the soul.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
The parable of the traveller and the elephant	A traveller falls into a pit, he is threatened by snakes. He looks up and sees a honeycomb, full of bees that start flying around him. When a drop of honey falls down from the honeycomb in the tree that is shaken by the elephant, the traveller forgets his pains and is happy (2.5-21).	A traveller falls into a pit, he is threatened by snakes. He looks up and sees a honeycomb, full of bees that start flying around him. When a drop of honey falls down from the honeycomb in the tree that is shaken by the elephant, the traveller forgets his pains and is happy (106-17).	
The monk's advice	Jinamati continues his explanation of *saṃsāra* and *dharma* (2.22-52). When Jinamati has finished, Manovega bows to his feet (2.82) and asks how he can help his friend out of *mithyātva*, to turn to the path of the Jina (2.85) Jinamati replies that Manovega should take his friend to **Pāṭalīputra**. (2.90).	Jinamati continues his explanation of *saṃsāra* and *dharma* and extends this into a lengthy explanation of non-Jain beliefs (118-222). When the monk is finished, Manovega bows to his feet and asks how he can help his friend out of *mithyātva*, to turn to the path of the Jina (225-28). The monk replies that Manovega should take his friend to **Pāṭalīputra** (Pāṭaṇa) (232).	Manovega asks Vāsupūjya how he can help his friend who is does not follow the Jain path, does not meditate and is bound to *karma*. Vāsupūjya replies that Manovega should take his friend to **Pāṭalīputra**, because in that city he will find followers of another religion. By discussing with them, Pavanavega will find *samyakdṛṣṭi*.
The two *vidyādharas* go to Pāṭalīputra	Returning from Ujjain, Manovega meets Pavanavega, who approaches him (3.2) and asked: Where have you been for so long, without me (3.3)? How could I stay without you (3.4)? I	Returning from Ujjain, Manovega meets Pavanavega, who asks: Where have you been (238)? How could I stay without you (239)?	Returning from Ujjain, Manovega meets Pavanavega. The two friends embrace each other and Pavanavega asks him where he has been (2.1-2.3).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	have searched everywhere, but I could not find you (3.5-8).

Elaboration on friendship (3.10-15)

Manovega replies that while he was wandering around the human world to praise the Jina (3.16), he saw the city of Pāṭalīputra. (3.20), and that this city is inhabited by many Brahmins, knowledgeable of the Vedas, the epics and *Purāṇas* etc. (3.23-32).
Pavanavega asks to go there (3.39)
The two friends go back to their palaces (3.42) and the next morning they set out for Pāṭalīputra in their *vimāna*. (3. 4-45), and halt in a beautiful grove outside of the city (3.46). | I have searched everywhere, but I could not find you (240-41).

Elaboration on friendship (242-52).

Manovega replies that while he was wandering to praise the Jina (254), he saw the city of Pāṭalīputra. (256), and that this city is inhabited by many Brahmins, knowledgeable of the Vedas, the epics and *Purāṇas* etc. (259-61). He suggests to go there (263).
He further tells what various kind of practices he has witnessed in that city (271-281).
The two friends go back to Vaijayantī (288), have some food, do worship to the Jina, and go to sleep (289). The next morning, they go in their *vimāna* to Patna (290) and halt in a beautiful grove (292). | Manovega replies that he had been to Pāṭalīputra to do worship, and that there, he met Ekadaṇḍi, Dvidaṇḍi, Tridaṇḍi, Haṃsa, Paramahaṃsa, Bhūtika and others like them, and heard recitations of the Vedas by the Brahmins and saw many temples. Pavanavega urges his friend to take him there.

The two friends return to their palaces to bathe and do *pūjā*. After participating in the evening assembly at the court, they go to sleep and the next morning they leave for Pāṭalīputra. Upon arrival they hide their *vimāna* in a grove outside the city. |
| First entry into Pāṭalīputra | They enter the city dressed up with many ornaments and carrying wood and grass (3.53). The people of the | They enter the city dressed as traders of wood, with piles of wood on their heads (297). The people of the city | They enter the city dressed up with many ornaments and carrying wood and grass. |

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	city, curiously observe them and ask among each other who they would be (3.55-65). The two *vidyādharas* sit on a golden throne and beat the kettle drum. (3.66) Some Brahmins approach them to argue and ask them who they are, saying that they should not beat the drum if they have not won a debate. (3.67-88). One Brahmin says that he has never seen grass and wood sellers adorned with such jewels (4.1) Manovega answers that such types also occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (4.3) The Brahmins again question Manovega's words and so he tells them a story:	curiously observe them and ask among each other who they would be. (298-310) The two *vidyādhara*s sit on a golden throne and beat the kettle drum. (311) Some Brahmins approach them curiously and ask them who they are (314-30) One Brahmin says that they should not tell such lies (336-39) Manovega answers that such types as them also occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (341). The Brahmins again question Manovega's words and so he tells them a story:	Arrived at the "house of Brahmins" they unload their headload, sit on the throne and start beating the drum. Some Brahmins approach them to argue and ask them who they are, saying that they should not beat the drum if they have not won a debate. The Brahmins ask them why they are carrying wood and grass. Manovega responds that he was afraid to tell the truth. As the Brahmins insist, Manovega tells them a story:
The story of Madhukara	"In the region of **Mālayadeśa**[1] there was a villager's son named **Madhukara**. One day, after a fight	In the country of **Mālava** (346) there was a villager's son named Madhukara. One day, after a fight	'In the region of **Mālayadeśa**, in the town **Śṛṅgāla** there was a merchant named **Bhramara** (2.38). He had a son

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[1] The different manuscripts have mostly Mālaya, but also Mālava and Valaya and Vājava.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	with his father, Madhukara left the house. (4.9) Wandering around, he arrived at **Ābhīradeśa** and saw huge piles of <u>chickpeas</u> (4.10). A Karaṇa (person of mixed caste) asked him if he had ever seen something so wonderful. (4.12). Madhukara replied that in his country there were piles of pepper just as big as these piles of chickpeas (4.13) The Karaṇa angrily claimed he was lying (4.17) and urged the peasants to arrest him (4.18). One of them said that Madhukara should be punished by receiving 8 blows (*vārtula*) on his head (4.19-20). After this, Madhukara went back to his own town and repeated there what he had seen in the previous village. Again, he got beaten (4.23-25). That is why he is known as "*muṣṭiṣoḍaśaka*" (4.26)."	with his father, Madhukara left the house. (346-47). Wandering around, he arrived at **Abhiradeśa** and saw huge piles of <u>peppers</u>. A Karaṇa asked him where he had ever seen something so astonishing. (349). Madhukara, replied: Madhukara replied that in his country there were piles of chickpeas just as big as these piles of peppers. (350) The Karaṇa angrily claimed he was lying (351), and that he should be arrested. One of the villagers, said that Madhukara should be punished by beating up <u>his body</u> with eight punches (355-256). After this Madhukara went back to his own town repeated what he had seen in the previous village. Again, he got beaten (359-60). That is why he is known as "*ṣoḍaśamuṭhī*" (361)."	**Madhukaragati**. One day, after a quarrel with his father, Madhukara left his house and region and arrived at the town **Ābhīra**. There he saw huge piles of <u>chickpeas</u>. When he told the people of that place, boastfully, that in his region there were piles of red chilis just as big, they got angry. They punished him by giving him eight punches. After that he had to leave the town. After wandering around for a while, Madhukara eventually went back to his own town. There, he repeated what he had seen in the town of Ābhīra. But again, the people punished him with eight punches (2.41).'
	Manovega addresses the Brahmins again and says: 'If I am amongst such	Manovega addresses the Brahmins again and says: 'If I am amongst such	Manovega addresses the Brahmins and asks them if there are people amongst them, who would not believe

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	foolish people, then I will not tell more." (4.32) A Brahmin replies that Manovega is among wise people, and that he should not be afraid of telling more (4.34-38)	foolish people, then I will not tell more." (367) A Brahmin replies that Manovega is among wise people, and that he should not be afraid of telling more (369-271).	someone who tells what he has truly seen. The Brahmins deny this and insist that Manovega speaks freely.
The ten fools	Manovega continues, explaining that there are ten types of fools: the lover, the hater, the stupid-minded, the stubborn, the bilious, the mango-fool, the milk-fool, the aloe-fool, the sandalwood-fool, and the childish fool (4.40). Again, he says he is afraid of telling more if there are such fools among the Brahmins (4.41). The Brahmins urge him to tell more (4.46).	Manovega continues, explaining that there are ten types of fools: the lover, the hater, the stupid-minded, the stubborn, the bilious, the mango-fool, the aloe-fool, the pierced fool, the sandalwood-fool, the milk-fool (373). Again, he says he is afraid of telling more if there are such fools among the Brahmins. The Brahmins urge him to tell more (380).	Manovega continues:
The first fool: The lover	'On the southern bank of the Reva River lies the city of **Sāmanta**, where a village chief **Bahudhanyaka** lives (4.47). He had two wives, **Sundarī** and **Kuraṅgī**. As Kuraṅgī was the youngest Bahudhanyaka lived with her. He told Sundarī to live in another house together with her son, and gave her	'On the southern bank of the Reva River lies the city of **Sāmanta**, where **Bahudhanika** lived (380-81). He had two wives, **Sundarī** and **Kuraṅgī**. As Kuraṅgī was the youngest Bahudhanika lived with her. He told Sundarī to live in another house together with her son, and gave her	'In the village of **Sāmanta** there was a person named **Bahudhani**. He had two wives, **Sundarī** and **Kuraṅgī** (2.45). As Kuraṅgī was the youngest he loved her the most and lived with her, telling Sundarī to live in another house.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	eight bulls and ten cows, two ploughmen and two servants (4.49-52). Bahudhanyaka was completely overcome with love (4.53-59). One day, Bahudhanyaka was summoned by the king to come to his palace (4.60). He left for the king's abode, leaving behind his two wives (4.72). But while Bahudhanyaka was gone, Kuraṅgī fooled around with some playboys and loaded them with food, money, and clothes (4.78-79). By the time her husband came back, she was bereft of all the possessions in the house (4.84). A messenger sent forth by Bahudhanyaka arrived at her place and told her she should prepare a feast meal for her husband (4.88). Kuraṅgī told him that he should address his request to Sundarī, as she was the eldest wife and would be offended if not asked first (4.89). Sundarī, indeed, prepared the meal. (4.93). When Bahudhanyaka arrived back home, he first went to the house of Kuraṅgī (5.1) and asked for food	eight bulls and ten cows, two ploughmen and two servants (382-85). Bahudhanika was completely overcome with love (386- 94). One day, Bahudhanika was summoned by the king to come to his palace (395). He left for the king's abode, leaving behind his two wives (400-401). But while Bahudhanika was gone, Kuraṅgī fooled around with some playboys giving away all food, richness and clothes (417). By the time her husband was coming back, she was bereft of all the possessions in the house (423). A messenger sent forth by Bahudhanika arrived there, to tell her she should prepare food for her husband (426). Kuraṅgī told him that he should address his request to Sundarī, as she is the eldest wife who would be offended if not asked first (429). And so Sundarī did (432). When Bahudhanika arrived, he first went to the house of Kuraṅgī (434) and blinded by love, asked her for food (444). But Kuraṅgī faked being	One day, he was summoned by the king to come to his court. So Bahudhani went there. But while Bahudhani was gone, Kuraṅgī fell in love with another man and she wasted all Bahudhani's possessions on him. When Bahudhani returned from the king's court, Kuraṅgī skilfully sent him to Sundarī to give him food. Sundarī had prepared a grand feast meal for her husband, but Bahudhanika did not like the food, blinded by his love for Kuraṅgī. He insisted on eating the food by his younger wife. When Kuraṅgī eventually served him the most gruesome food, he gladly ate it all. After that, when he was told that Kuraṅgī had cheated on him and had completely deceived hem, Bahudhani did not want to believe it.'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	(5.13). Kuraṅgī faked being angry and said that he should go to his elder wife. (5.15). So Bahudhanyaka did. Sundarī served him all types of delicious dishes (5.30), but Bahudhanika[2] did not like them (5.31).	that he should go to his elder wife (446) So Bahudhanyaka did. Sundarī served him all types of delicious dishes (462-65), but Bahudhanika did not like them (468).	
	Sundarī asked him what was wrong (5.38) and he replied that he only wanted the food by his younger wife (5.39). Sundarī went to the house of Kuraṅgī and told her to prepare food for their husband (5.40). Kuraṅgī had an idea: she would give him cow dung as a meal, and he, liking whatever she gave, would definitely be happy (5.42). As such, Kuraṅgī gave cow dung to Sundarī for their husband to eat (5.44). Bahudhanika gladly ate up the cow dung prepared by Kuraṅgī (5.45). After eating it all, he asked a Brahmin why his wife Kuraṅgī was angry (5.49).	Sundarī asked him why he did not like the food and he replied (474) that he only wanted the food by his younger wife (475). Sundarī went to the house of Kuraṅgī (476) and told her to prepare food for their husband (477). The wicked woman had an idea: if she would give him cow dung as a meal, then he, liking whatever she gave, would definitely be happy (479). As such, Kuraṅgī gave cow dung to Sundarī for their husband to eat (480). Bahudhanika gladly ate up the cow dung prepared by Kuraṅgī (481). At home, he called for a Brahmin (485) and asked to explain what he has done to make Kuraṅgī angry (486).	

[2] In the text both the variants Bahudhanyaka and Bahudhanika occur.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	The Brahmin explained to him the bad nature of women (5.51-57) and revealed to Bahudhanika that Kuraṅgī had given away all his belongings to some playboys (5.64). Then Bahudhanika confronted Kuraṅgī (5.69). Kuraṅgī replied that the Brahmin had bad intentions and was lying (5.70). Therefore, Bahudhanika decided to banish the Brahmin (5.72).'	The Brahmin explained the bad nature of women (487-502), and revealed to Bahudhanika that Kuraṅgī had given away all his belongings. Then Bahudhanika confronted Kuraṅgī and (505-6). Kuraṅgī replied that the Brahmin had bad intentions and was lying (507).'	
	Manovega addresses again directly the Brahmins at Pāṭalīputra, warning them of the danger of undiscriminating people." (5.73) He continues with the story of the hater (5.76).	Manovega addresses again directly the Brahmins at Pāṭalīputra, asking them if there are such fools among them. Then, he continues with another story.	Manovega addresses again directly the Brahmins at Pāṭalīputra, asking them if there are such fools among them. Then, he continues with another story.[3]
The second fool: The hater	'In the town of **Kūṭa** there were two village-chiefs. The first was called **Skanda**, the second was **Vakra**. Vakra was called that way, because he was crooked-minded (5.77). The two were	In the town of **Kūṭai** there were two village chiefs. The first was called **Skandha**, the second was **Vakra**. The two were enemies, because they were jealous for each other's wealth (516).	'There was a place in Saurāṣṭra called **Koḍigrāma** where two villagers, named **Kanda** and **Vaṅka**, lived (3.11).[4] The two could not stand each other. At some point, Vaṅka had a terminal

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[3] In DP_V this story is followed by arguments against Viṣṇu (see p. 363 of this appendix).

[4] The following story comes later in the DP_V, namely after the story of the frog in the well (see p. 367 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	enemies because they were jealous for each other's wealth (5.78). At a certain time, Vakra had a terminal illness (5.81). His son came to him and said: "Father, you should do something virtuous so that you would become void of sin (5.82). Why don't you give your wealth to ascetics and Brahmins? (5.85)." But Vakra replied that Skanda never did any good and asked his son for a favour: (5.88) "Take my body to the field of Skanda, release all his animals and destroy the crops (5.89). Hide somewhere on the side and watch him arrive. He will then certainly become angry and want to kill me. Then tell the people that he indeed killed me, so that the king will punish him and take all his wealth." (5.90-91). The son followed his father's words and did all this (5.92).'	At a certain time, Vakra had a fever and about to die. His son came to his bed and said: "Father, you have done many sins, you will be reborn as a human being, now do something good so that your second birth will be prosperous (520). Give your wealth to your family and to Brahmins, because *dāna* (donation) will better your religious merit (523)." But Vakra replied that Skanda got everything for nothing and asked his son for a favour: "Take my dead body to the field of Skandha, destroy all the crops and release the animals. Then stand there hidden so that no one sees you (531) When Skandha comes he will become angry and want to kill me. When you then tell the king Skandha has killed me, the king will punish him by taking all his wealth (533)." The son followed his father's words and did all this (534). After that, Vakra died and went to hell (536).' Manovega explains that this is how bad people are (537-52).	illness and called his son to his side. The son asked what he could do to make to assure his father's next life. Vaṅka told his son his final request: "After I have died, take my corpse, dress it and stick in on pole with a stick in my hands. Then put it on Kanda's field and drive our cattle on his field. When Kanda then tries to chase away our cows, he will beat my corpse and it will fall down. At that point you should run out of your hiding place and go complain to the king that Kanda has killed me. The king will then arrest him and take away all his wealth. That would be my salvation."'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega tells the Brahmins that he does not want there to be people like Vakra among them (5.95) and narrates the next story:	Manovega tells the Brahmins that he is afraid that there are people like Vakra among them (554) and narrates the next story:	Manovega tells the Brahmins that he is afraid that there are people like Vakra among them. He continues with the next story:
The third fool: The stupid-minded	'In the city **Kaṇṭhoṣṭha**, like a city of gods, there was a Brahmin called **Bhūtamati**, much respected by other Brahmins (6.3) because he was well-thought in the Vedas. His family made him marry a girl **Yajñā** (6.5), and he became a teacher (6.6). At some point, a boy named **Yajña** came by to study the Vedas (6.8-9). While he stayed at their house, Yajñā was totally shaken by his presence (6.10). Bhūtamati was called by the other Brahmins to go perform a *puṇḍarīka* sacrifice (6.23). He told Yajñā to take care of the house and said that she should sleep inside, while the boy should rest at the door (6.24). As soon as Bhūtamati had left, the two youngsters fell into each other's arms, enjoying sexual pleasures (6.25-35).	' In a city that was like the city of gods, there was a Brahmin called **Bhūtamati**, much respected by other Brahmins (556), because he was well-thought in the Vedas. His family made him marry a girl **Yajñā** (558), and he became a teacher (559). A boy came to study the Vedas (562). While he stayed at their house, Yajñā could not keep her eyes off of him, shaken by his presence (564). Bhūtamati was called by the other Brahmins to go perform a *puṇḍarīka* sacrifice (576). He told Yajñā to take care of the house and said that she should sleep inside, while the boy should rest at the door (577). As soon as Bhūtamati had left the two youngsters fell into each other's arms, enjoying sexual pleasure (578-87). When four months had past, and Bhūtamati was about to come back	'In the city of **Kāṣṭhoṣṭha** there was a Brahmin called **Bhūtamati** (3.13). He had studied the Vedas for many years and then married a girl named **Yajñe**. He enjoyed all pleasures of life with her, until the king of **Paudanapura** summoned him to attend the ritual of the fire-sacrifice (*yāga*). Before leaving the house Bhūtamati asked his disciple **Yajña** to take care of the house and of his wife. But as soon as Bhūtamati had left, Yajñe and Yajña fell in love with each other and enjoyed each other. The people of the town came to know about it. When the day of Bhūtamati's return was approaching, Yajñe was worried and came up with a plan. She had the bodies of two dead persons brought to the house and set fire to the house. Together with Yajñe she eloped.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	When four months had past, and Bhūtamati was about to come back Yajña asked Yajñā what to do. (6.38-39). She said: "Let us take all the belongings and go somewhere else (6.41). You should bring two dead bodies and I will make sure we can leave unseen (6.43)." Yajña followed her words (6.44). After half a night, he brought two corpses (6.45), one of was put inside the house, the other at the gate. Then she lit everything on fire (6.46) and they both fled. The people found the house completely burned down with only ashes and bones [supposedly of the two lovers] inside and grieved (6.48-50). When Bhūtamati came back, he started to cry and asked what happened (6.52-64). A Brahmacārin came to him and asked why he would despair (6.65), explaining what had really happened. He continued his speech on the foulness of women (6.66-79). Bhūtamati angrily replied that he did not believe him (6.60-61)	Yajña asked Yajñā what to do. (589-92). She said: "Let us take all the belongings and go somewhere where no one knows us (594). You should bring two dead bodies and I will make sure no one sees us (597)." Yajña followed her words (598). After half a night, he brought two corpses, one of was put inside the house, the other at the gate. Then she lit everything on fire (599) and they both fled. The people found the house burned down with only ashes and bones [supposedly of the two lovers] inside and grieved. They called for Bhūtamati (601-6). He despaired and asked how this could have happened (607-19). A Brahmācarin came to him and asked why he would despair explaining what had really happened (620-21). He continued his speech on the foulness of women (622-33). Bhūtamati angrily replied that he did not believe him (635) and instead put the bones and ashes in a pot and left to go to the Ganges (644). There he	When Bhūtamati arrived back at the house he saw that everything was burned down and started lamenting for his two beloved ones. He collected the remains of the two and went to the Ganges for the rites. On his way he came across Yajñe and Yajña. Bhūtamati asked them who they were, to which his disciple said: "I am your disciple Yajña and this is your wife. Don't you recognize us?" Bhūtamati replied that he has the remains of his student and wife with him and that he is an imposter.'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	and instead put the bones and ashes from the house in a bottle gourd and left to go to the Ganges (6.86). There, he came across his student Yajña who cried out "O lord, forgive me!" (6.87). But Bhūtamati did not recognize him and said that he is a rogue and should leave him (6.89). Then he met his wife. She also asked him to forgive her, but he again did not believe her when she told him she was his wife (6.90-92). Thinking that all people in the city were cheats, Bhūtamati left for another place (6.93).'	came across his student Yajña who cried out: "O lord, forgive me!" (645). But Bhūtamati did not recognize him and said that he is a rogue and should leave him (646-649). Then he met Yajñā (650). She also asked him to forgive her, but he did not recognize her and laughingly thought that all people in the city were cheats (651-53). Bhūtamati left for another city and Yajña and Yajñā lived on happily (656).'	
	Manovega explains to the Brahmins that this story demonstrates one who does not think and tells another story.	Manovega explains to the Brahmins that this story demonstrates one who does not think and tells another story.	Manovega explains to the Brahmins that he is worried if there would be someone like this stupid one among them. And he tells another story.
The fourth fool: The stubborn-minded	'Once there was a king called **Durdhara** in **Nanduradvāri**. He had a son Jātyandha who was blind by birth and who gave away all sorts of ornaments to beggars (7.3). A	'Once there was a king called **Duddha** in **Rāmanagara**. He had a son who was blind by birth, and who gave away all sorts of ornaments to beggars (662). A minister saw this and the king about	Once there was a king called **Durdara** in **Nandurabāri** (5.8).[5] He had a son Jātyandha, who used to give away all sorts of ornaments to whomever would ask him. Because the king

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[5] In the DP$_V$ this story follows the story of the minister, the king and the singing monkeys (see p. 378 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	minister of the king saw this and told the king about it, fearing that his wealth would be depleted (7.4). The king told the minister to do as he sees fit (7.5-6). So, the minister had an ornament made of metal and gave it to the prince. He told the prince: "These jewels are your kingly inheritance. Keep them safe. If anyone would come up to you telling that they are made of iron, then do not give them away, but beat him up."(7.7-10). The prince did as he was told and struck those who said his jewels were made of iron (7.12). This is how a stubborn-minded (*vyudgrāhin*) acts, like one who never changes his mind (7.13-18).'	it (663). The king told the minister to do as he sees fit. (665)). So, the minister had an ornament made of metal and gave it to the prince. He told the prince: "These jewels are your kingly inheritance. Keep them safe (668). If anyone would come up to you telling that they are made of iron, then do not give them away, but beat this one up." (670-71). The prince did as he was told and struck those who said his jewels were made of iron (674). This is how a stubborn one (*haṭhagrāhī*) acts, like one who never changes his mind (675-82).'	wanted to prevent his son from giving away more of the royal decorations, he decided to give his son fake ornaments, made of metal. He added the following message: "Dear prince, these jewels belong to our family deity and are given to me with affection. So please, do not give them to anyone else." To the people the king ordered not to tell his son that they were made of metal. If someone would tell the prince they were made of metal, they would be punished.'
	Then Manovega announces to tell the Brahmins about one who suffered from gall-disease (7.19).	Then Manovega announces to tell the Brahmins about one who suffered from gall-disease	
The fifth fool: The bilious	'There was a man who was afflicted by fever to his gall. To fight the disease, he was given milk mixed with sugar (7.21). The fool drank this concoction believing that it was *nimba* juice	'There was a man who was afflicted by fever to his gall. To fight the disease, he was given milk mixed with sugar (684). The fool drank this concoction believing that it was nimba juice	/

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	(7.22). This is how one with the bilious disease of ignorance and false belief is indiscriminate of right and wrong (7.23).'	(686). This is how one with the bilious disease of ignorance and false belief thinks sinful words are words of dharma (686).'	
	Then Manovega explained the sixth fool (7.28).	After this, Manovega repeats that he is afraid to tell more if there are such Brahmins in his presence. He then explains the sixth fool.	After this, Manovega repeats that he is afraid to tell more if there are such Brahmins in his presence. He continues when they deny this.
The sixth fool: The mango fool	'In the country of Aṅga there was a city **Campā**, where a king **Nṛpaśekhara** lived (7.29-30). He received the fruit of the mango from the king of Bengal 7.33) and praised its beneficial characteristics (7.35-36). Because the king wanted to yield many fruits, he ordered the forester to plant it in the forest so a tree would grow out of it (7.36-37). The forester did this and the tree grew very big (7.39). When a bird had picked up a snake, its drop of poison fell on the fruit (7.40).	'In the country of Aṅga there was a city **Campā**, where a king **Nṛpaśekhara** lived (689-90). He received the fruit of the mango from the king of Bengal and praised its beneficial characteristics of mangos (694-99). Because the king wanted to yield many fruits, he ordered the forester to plant it in the forest so a tree would grow out of it (699-100). The forester did this and the tree grew very big (702), beautiful and with many fruits (703-6). When a kite-bird had picked up a snake, a drop of	'In the city **Campā**, there was a king **Nṛpaśekhara** (7.4). [6] One day a merchant presented hem the seed of the amṛta-tree,[7] and told the king: "My dear king, if you plant this seed it will grow into a big tree. By eating its fruits, a hundred diseases can be cured. So, the king summoned his gardener and ordered him to plant the seed. The gardener did this and took good care of the plant. Then, an eagle flew over the tree with a snake in his beak. A drop of poison fell from the snake onto the fruit of the tree. As

[6] In DP_V this story comes at the beginning of the seventh āśvāsa (see page 393 of this appendix).

[7] The amṛta can be different types of plants among which the Phyllantus Emblica. I did not find 'mango' among possible plants.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	This fruit ripened into a very nice mango filled with poison (7.41). The forester happily saw the mango and took it to the king (7.43). This one then gave it to the prince to eat (7.44). Because of the poison in the mango, the prince died (7.45). Finding his son dead, the king in rage ordered to cut down the tree (7.47). Immediately the people became depressed and sick, as they could no longer benefit from the healthy mangoes (7.48). When they heard about the poison in the mango tree, they all started eating the fruits, longing for liberation from life (7.49). However, they all healed again by eating some mango. When the king heard about this he was perplexed and felt very bad about what he had done, regretting his thoughtless action (7.51-55).'	poison fell on the fruit (710). This fruit ripened into a very nice mango, however filled with poison (711). The forester happily saw the mango and took it to the king (712). The king observed it with joy and awarded the forester with wealth (714-15). Then he gave the mango to the first queen who gave it to her eldest son. Unfortunately, the prince died because of the poison (716). The king in rage ordered to cut down the tree (717). Immediately the people became depressed and sick, as they could no longer benefit from the healthy mangoes (720). When they heard about the poison in the mango tree, they all started eating the fruits (720). However, after eating the mangoes all the people became healthy and happy again. When the king heard this, he was perplexed and asked the forester to explain it. When this one did, the king felt very bad about what he had done, regretting his thoughtless action (724-26).'	a result, the fruit ripened and fell on the ground. The gardener took this to the king who gave it to his son. But when the son ate the fruit he died. Furiously the king took away all the belongings of the merchant. The crippled and sick people, having heard about the lethal fruits, plucked the fruits from the tree because they wanted to die. But instead of dying they were cured. When the king heard of it, he became sorrowful and wanted to repent. So, he summoned the merchant and begged him to pardon him.'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega addresses the Brahmins warning them for thoughtless actions and continues with the next story (7.56-62).	Manovega addresses the Brahmins warning them for thoughtless actions and compares it to **Rāvaṇa**, **Rāma** and **Sītā**, **Brahmā** and **Tilottama** and **Hari** and **Gaurī**. Then, he continues with the next story (727-28).	Manovega addresses the Brahmins telling them he is afraid such people would also be among them. Then, he continues with the next story.
The seventh fool: The milk-fool	In the **Chohāra** region there was a trader named **Sāgaradatta** who travelled the sea and knew every of its movements (7.63). Once, he went to the island of Caula (7.64), taking a cow with him which was like a praise to the Jina, giving happiness (7.65). Having arrived at the island of Caula, the merchant saw a <u>Tomara lord</u> and presented a gift of curd to this lord. The next day too, Sāgaradatta offered the lord delicious curd (7.67). And the day after, he did the same (7.68). The Tomara lord who enjoyed the dairy food a lot, asked the trader: "Where have you found such divine food?" The trader replied: "I have obtained it	In the country of **Chohārā** there was a trader named **Sāgaradatta** (734). Once, he went to the island of Cola (735), taking a cow with him that was like wishing cow, as drinking her milk would give joy (736). Her milk would thicken into curd and all types of milk products would become available from her. Sāgaradatta presented this curd to <u>the king of the island Cola</u> (737). This king enjoyed the delicious food and became satisfied in his whole body (738). The next day the trader gave him rice pudding (739). The king rejoiced by eating it and asked the trader: "Where have you found such delicious food that gives	A merchant called **Sāgaradatta** went to the island of **Nālikera** with his cow for business.[8] The king of that place had never seen such cow before and asked what she was. The trader replied: "This cow produces sweet milk upon request", and thus he fed the king with good milk, curds, ghee, butter milk etc. The king felt happy and took the cow to his palace. Before taking his meal, he put a vessel under the cow and begged the cow to give sweet milk. But what could dumb animals give? In the same way the king asked the cow for dairy for three days and not getting it, he punished it. (8.6-8)

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[8] This follows after the *vidyādharas* have entered Pāṭalīputra as Buddhists (see p. 404 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	from my family deity." (7.71) Then, the lord asked to give him the family deity. The trader agreed, but only if the lord would give me what he desired. This the king did (7.72-73). The following day, the king took a bowl to the cow and requested her to give him the same kind of food she had given to the trader. However, she remained mute (7.75-76). The next day, the king went back to the cow, worshipped her and asked again for food (7.77). Again, the cow did not give anything. Because of this, the king got rid of the cow (7.82-85).'	pleasure to all five senses (742).?" The trader replied: "My family deity gives this to me." (743) The king Then, the lord asked to give him the family deity in return for anything he wishes (744). So, the trader gave the cow to the king. The next morning the king requested the cow to give him the same food to (749), but the cow remained mute (750). The following day the king went back to the cow, and asked for the same (751). But the cow did not give anything. Because of that the king got rid of the cow (754).'	
	Manovega explains that this is how fools are, they give away what is precious because they do not see that they should do something themselves, to obtain wealth (7.83-96). After that he continues his stories of fools.	Manovega explains that this is how fools are, they give away what is precious, because they do not know what to do with it (757-72). After that he continues his stories of fools.	Manovega explains that there is nothing to expect from one who does not understand the good qualities of others, and asks if there are any such people among the Brahmins. They deny this and Manovega continues (8.9-11)
The story of the eighth fool: The agarwood fool	'In the **Magadha** region there was a king named **Gajaratha**. Once he went out of palace, accompanied by his	'In the **Magadha** region, in **Bhāgulapura** there was a king named **Aṅgaratha**. Once, he went out of the	'The king of the town **Rājagṛha** had a servant **Hari**. Once, the king went out for a ride, but he was given a bad

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	second minister (8.3). Seeing a servant, he asked his minister who the man was. The minister replied that the servant was a ploughman (8.5), who had been working for the king for twelve years (8.6). For this, the king rewarded the ploughman with a central village surrounded by 500 villages (=*maṭamba*). The ploughman asked how he could take care of 500 villages (8.12), and asked to receive only one field to plough (8.22). The king thought that the ploughman did not understand the value of 500 villages, but still wanted to reward him with something more special. So, he told the minister to give him a field of agarwood. When the minister showed the ploughman the field, this one was not happy, thinking that the king gave him a field that was overgrown with useless trees. But he accepted (8.25-28). Then the ploughman cut down all the aloe trees (8.29). He went to the king to show what he made of the field (8.34).	palace, accompanied by his minister (774). Seeing someone on foot, he asked his minister who this servant was. His minister replied that this was the son of a ploughman, who had been working for the king for twelve years (776). For this, the king rewarded the ploughman with 500 villages (780). The ploughman asked how he could take care of 500 villages and asked to receive only one field to plough (792) The king still wanted to reward him with something more special and told the minister to give him a field of agarwood. When the minister showed the ploughman the field, this one was not happy, thinking that the king gave him a field that was overgrown with useless trees. (801). Then the ploughman went to work and cut down all of the aloe trees (805). He went to the king to show what he made of the field (808). The king laughed and gave him a remaining piece of a tree and told him to sell it in the market (812) The	horse. The horse ran very fast and far and stopped in the middle of the Vindhyā-forest. <u>Hari came running after the horse and took control over the horse. For this the king was extremely happy and decided to give him 15 villages as a gift</u>. But because of a promise given to his mother Hari requested the king to give him only <u>two villages.</u> The king gave him an <u>agarwood</u> forest. As he did not know the value of agarwood, Hari burned down the whole forest. When the king came to know about this, he summoned him and asked him why he did that. He also gave him one piece of wood from that grove and told him to take it to the market. The servant took what was left from the burned wood and sold it in the market. When he received a high price for it, he despaired.' (8.12-17)

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	The king was in shock and gave a remaining piece of a tree to the ploughman and told him to sell it in the market. The ploughman went to the market and acquired five *dināras* for his piece of wood (8.39). Only then the ploughman realized how stupid he had been to cut down the agarwood trees (8.43).'	ploughman went to the market and acquired five *dinarās* for his piece of wood (813). Only then the ploughman realized how stupid he had been to cut down the agarwood trees (817).'	
	Manovega finished the story and went on to the next one.	Manovega finished the story and went on to the next one.	Manovega asked the Brahmins if they were such fools and then continued.
The story of the ninth fool: The sandalwood fool	'In **Madhyadeśa** in the city **Mathurā** there was a king named **Śāntamanā** (8.50). Once, the king was heavily sick (8.51). He was treated with some medicine by Ayurvedic doctors, but nothing helped much (8.54). Therefore, his minister made a public announcement that whomever could heal the king from his fever, would be given one hundred villages, many jewels and clothes worn by the king himself (8.55-57). A trader who had gone out of the city to find sandalwood, met a washerman who was holding on to a piece of	'In the region of **Magadha** in the city **Mathurā** there was a king **Śāntamanā** (825). Once, the king had a fever (826). He was treated with some medicine by those trained in *aṣṭadhā vaidyā cikitsā* but nothing helped much (826). Therefore, his minister made a public announcement that whomever could heal the king from his fever, would be given one hundred villages (827). A trader who had gone out of the city to find sandalwood, met a washerman who was holding on to a piece of sandalwood (830-31). The trader thought it would be good to grind it,	'There was a king **Śānta** in a Jain town. Once he was suffering from greed-fever. None of the healers could cure his fever. The king then made a public announcement that the one who could cure his fever would get a high position in his court. A trader, believing he could cure the king's fever by the means of sandalwood, came to the place were washermen wash the clothes on the riverbank. There, a washerman was cutting a piece of sandalwood that floated by on the river to have firewood. The trader exchanged the washerman's

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	sandalwood. The trader asked where the washerman had found this piece of "*nimba*-wood" (8.58-59). The washerman replied he had found it floating in the river. The trader then asked him to give it to him in return for a big pile of wood. The washerman agreed (8.61). After this, the trader immediately went to the king's palace, grinded the sandalwood and smeared it on the body of the king (8.62). The king's fever went away completely (8.63) and the trader was rewarded with what he deserved (8.64). When the washerman heard about the reward for the trader he cried out of sorrow (8.65). How could he have been deceived so falsely by the trader (8.66-69).'	and then asked the washerman to give him the wood. This, the washerman did (832-39). After this, the trader immediately went to the king's palace, smeared some sandalwood on the body of the king. The king's fever went away completely (840) and the trader was rewarded with what he deserved. When the washerman heard about the reward for the trader he cried out of sorrow. How could he have been deceived so falsely by the trader (848).'	sandalwood for a pile of firewood and went to the king. He smeared the sandal paste on the king's body. As a result, the fever subsided. In return the king offered him a high position (9.5-10).'
	Manovega tells the Brahmins again that he is afraid to tell more if there are such fools among them.	Manovega tells the Brahmins again that he is afraid to tell more if there are such fools among them	Manovega tells the Brahmins again that he is afraid to tell more if there are such fools among them.
The story of the four fools	Four fools were going about playfully when they came across a (Jain) ascetic (8.74), named **Vīranātha** (8.75-78). He was very strong and could defeat	There were four fools going about when they came across a great ascetic (864) named **Vīravādha.** He was very strong and could conquer **Hari,**	'A mendicant was on his way when he crossed four men. They saluted because he was a venerable mendicant. The guru blessed them,

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	Śaṅkara, Murāri, Brahmā and Purandara (8.82). The four fools bowed to the ascetic (8.87-88). When the ascetic had left them, they started to quarrel about who of the four had been blessed by him (8.89). After a while they decided to ask the ascetic himself (8.91). They went to him and asked to whom he had given his blessing? (8.92). The ascetic replied that he had given his blessing to the most stupid one among them (8.93). He added that they should go to the city and ask the wise people there to judge who is the biggest fool (8.94). In the city, the fools asked the citizens to listen to each of their stories and decide who is the most foolish of them (9.1-2).	Brahmā, Viṣṇu and excellent men (865-70). The four fools bowed to the ascetic (872-74). When the ascetic had left them, they started to quarrel about who of the four had been blessed by him (877). After a while they decided to ask the ascetic himself (880). They went to him and asked to whom he had given his blessing? (883) The ascetic replied that he had given his blessing to the most stupid one among them (885). Upon this they started to quarrel who was the most foolish one, and to decide this they went to the city so that the people there could judge (887-88).	but the four were confused about who the guru had actually blessed. Each of them believed the mendicant had blessed him, and so they began to quarrel. They consulted the guru and asked him who exactly he had blessed of the four. The guru thought: "These are fools, if I say I have blessed one of them, the other three will be angry." Thinking thus he said: my blessing goes to him who is the most stupid amongst you." The four men began to quarrel about this. Then they entered the *sabhā* and asked the people there to judge who is the most stupid among them.
The story of 'Defect-Eye'	The first fool started: "I was indulging in pleasure with two fat women (9.5-6). Once, I was sleeping with them both, one on each side in bed (8.7). For fun, they had put an oil lamp on my head (9.9). Then, a mouse pushed the wick of the lamp. It	The first fool started to tell (890): "I was indulging in pleasure with two women (891-93). Once, I was sleeping with them both (894). For fun, they had put an oil lamp on my head (895-96). Then, a mouse pushed the wick of the lamp so that it fell on my eye,	The first fool started: "I have two wives and was equally fulfilling their wishes. One night both of my wives were sleeping with me, lying on my arms. A rat came there holding a lamp in his mouth. Because the lamp started to burn its mouth,

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	fell on my eye and my eye was burned (9.10). I woke up because of the burning feeling and thought that if I would push away the wick with my right hand, then the woman on my right would be annoyed, but if I would push away the wick with my left hand, then the woman on my left will be disturbed (9.12-13). I did nothing and my eye was completely scorched. Since then, I am called Viṣamekṣana (**defect-eye**) (9.16)."	which was immediately burned (897). I could not do anything in fear of waking up the two women with one of my hands (898). I did nothing and my eye was completely scorched (900)."	the rat threw it on my eyes. I could not throw it off, because if I would have done so it would have disturbed my wives in their sleep. Hence, I kept quiet and my eyes got burned and my eye sockets became empty. Therefore, I became known as **Empty-Eyes**. This the story of my stupidity (9.16-17)."
The story of the cripple	"I had two wives with long black shanks. Once, one of them was washing my left foot, the other the right foot (9.24). They were called Ṛkṣī (female bear) and **Kharī** (female donkey) (9.25). After **Ṛkṣī** had washed my foot, she laid it on top of my other foot. Kharī then took a pestle and broke my foot. Ṛkṣī shouted out to Kharī: "You whore, why have you done this?! (9.28) In this way the two women were fighting (9.32). Then the second wife took a pestle and broke the second foot (9.33). And I, in fear	"I had two wives. One of them would wash my left foot, the other the right foot and so we spent many days (906). Then once, one wife put her foot upon my other foot. The second wife took a pestle and broke it (908). So, the first shouted out: "You whore, why have you done this?! (911)" The second one replied: "As if you yourself never do anything bad! (913). In this way the two women were fighting (916). Then the second wife took a pestle and broke the second foot (917).	"I have two wives, Kharī and Rikhī. Every day one of them would rub my feet. One day both of them began to rub my feet. My eldest wife **Kharī** after rubbing my right leg went to bring hot water. The younger wife, **Rikhī**, washed the left leg, placed my left leg on the right which Kharī had already washed and went to bring hot water. Kharī returned and saw the left leg lying on top of the right leg which she had washed. She became furious, fetched a pestle and began to pound on my legs. By the time Rikhī

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	between the two, remained silent. You see how stupid I am, by remaining silent my feet were broken and I was called Kuṇṭahaṃsagati (one with the gait of a cripple swan) (9.35).		returned, she became angry and began to pound my right leg until it broke. Hence, I came to be known as Kuṭṭa (the Cripple). This is the story of my stupidity (9.17).
The story of Simpleton.	"Once, I had gone to the house of my father-in-law to sleep with my beautiful wife. In bed, we agreed to say nothing, and the first one who would speak, would have to give ten *apūpa* cakes to the other (9.46). We took the game seriously and said nothing. Even when a thief entered the house and took all the belongings, we kept quiet (9.49). Then the thief started to pull off the clothes of my beloved, but I did nothing. She shouted out: "How could you remain silent!" (9.50-51) All I said was: "You spoke first, so you have to give me the ten cakes!" (9.53). You see how because of my stupidity I let all the wealth to be taken. Since then the people call me Boḍa ("simpleton") (9.55)."	Once, I had gone to the house of my father-in-law to sleep with my beautiful wife. In bed, we agreed to say nothing, and the first one who would speak, would have to give ten *apūpa* cakes to the other (933). We took the game serious and said nothing. Even when a thief entered the house and took all belongings, we kept quiet (935). Then the thief started to pull off the clothes of my beloved. She reacted: "You fool, how could you disrespect your beloved in that way, by just looking at what happened?!" (9 38). Then I laughingly said: "You spoke first, so you have to give me the ten cakes." (940)." The fool compared his foolishness over words to the five Pāṇḍavas who had to leave their country, to King	I was lying in bed with my wife. One day we made a bet that the one who could not remain silent until the next dawn would have to give twelve pairs of sweet dishes, made of ghee, milk and sugar to the other. But then a thief broke into the house. We remained silent while the thief snatched away everything, enjoyed the sweet dishes and took away all our clothes even those we were wearing. As he was about to take away the earrings of my wife, she said, please take them away but do not hurt me. So, I told her that she had broken silence, lost the bet and thus had to give twelve sweet dishes. I did not worry for the gold and other belongings stolen by the thief, but thought the bet was more important. That was my stupidity (9.18-21)."

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		Hariścandra who had to bring water to a low caste, to Rāma who had to go live in a forest and to how Rāvaṇa's whole family was destroyed (943).	
The story of "tumour in the cheeks"	"Once I had gone to the house of my in-laws to sleep with my wife (9.60). Her mother gave plenty of delicious food items, but I did not eat them, ashamed as I was (9.61). On the third day, feeling sick in my belly, I saw a large vessel filled with rice under the bed, shining like the rays of the moon (9.66). As I was so hungry, I filled my mouth with rice. Upon that moment my beloved came in (9.68). She was worried and brought me to her mother to find out what was wrong with me (9.69). Soon all the women of the village came by to look at me, speculating what could have happened and in which way I was sick (9.73-76). Then a healer came by, convincing my mother in law that he would heal me (9.77). I was shown to him and he squeezed my cheeks, feeling the food inside. When he then	"Once I had gone to the house of my in-laws to sleep with my wife (950). There were many types of food at the house, but I could not eat. Three days like this passed by. My stomach was sick of hunger (952). Then I saw a large vessel filled with rice under the bed (954). As I was so hungry, I filled my mouth with rice. Upon that moment my girlfriend entered (956). She was worried and brought me to her mother to find out what was wrong with me (957). Soon all the women of the village came by to look at me, speculating what could have happened and in which way I was sick (960-64)). The healer came by to try to heal me (965). I was shown to him and he squeezed my cheeks, feeling the food inside. When he then noticed the bowl of rice under the bed, he said: "I will heal him from this	"My father was like a king. He had me marry with a girl from a rich family. Once when I was about to leave to my father-in-law's house to bring my wife as she was there, my parents said: "Dear son you are a greedy man. You have the habit of eating five-six times a day, if you do so in your in-laws' house, they will make fun of you, so eat humbly there. Unless they make a special request do not ask to eat." Thus, my parents advised me. I went to my father-in-law's house. Although they urged me to eat my meal, I did not eat, even at night I refused food. So, they told my wife to cook food for me when I am hungry Placing the rice-to-be-cooked under my bed, they all went to rest. The next morning my hunger arose, my wife had just gone out of our room, I could not bear my hunger and began to

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	also noticed the bowl of rice under the bed he said: "I will heal him from this difficult disease, but it will cost some money (9.81)." The healer opened my cheeks and showed the women my mouth filled with worms that were the rice (9.83). He took it out and left with his reward. I stood there, foolishly but healed (9.85). As of then the people called me laughingly *gallasphoṭika* ("tumour in the cheeks") (9.85).	difficult disease, <u>but I want fifty rupees and one buffalo</u> (974). The healer opened my cheeks and showed the women my mouth filled with worms (975). He took it out and left with his reward. I stood there foolishly."	swallow the uncooked rice. My wife returned to our room and started chatting. Because my mouth was full of rice, I could not open my mouth to talk. She was astonished and thought that her husband was suffering from disease and so she woke up the others. My mother- and father-in-law were worried and had me treated by a healer. The healer examined me and found out that I did not have any disease and but that I had eaten the rice. The healer said: "If I do not treat him with medicine immediately, he will die. The people at the house were frightened and gave the healer <u>100 gadyānas</u>. Using an instrument, the healer opened my mouth, showed them the rice in my mouth and told them that I had a rice-disease. The healer sent everyone out and covered me with a blanket. I swallowed all the rice and onwards I came to be called as "mischievous cheeks" (*galla-poṭa*)."

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	After each of the four fools had told their stories, the citizens told them they were all fools (9.89).'		After each of the four fools had told their stories, the citizens told them they were all fools (9.22-28).
	Manovega explains the Brahmins that these were ten types of fools. The Brahmins assure him they are not like them (10.1-8). Manovega tells them about Viṣṇu.	Manovega explains the Brahmins that these were ten types of fools. The Brahmins assure him they are not like them. Manovega tells them about Viṣṇu.	Manovega explains the Brahmins that these were ten types of fools. The Brahmins assure him they are not like them. Manovega tells them about Viṣṇu. [9]
Stories of Viṣṇu	'Viṣṇu is seen as the creator, maintainer and destroyer of the world, has a disc, club, conch-shell and bow, and killed the **Dānavas**, etc. (10.12-16). How can he be the upper god (10.17), when he has stayed in the cowherd of **Nanda** to protect cows, when he was fooling around with farmgirls, when he gave the message to **Duryodhana** under the order of the **Pāṇḍavas** as a charioteer of **Arjuna** (10.20-23). Why would he make a request to **Bali**, like a beggar? If he is upholding the whole	'Viṣṇu is seen as the creator, maintainer and destroyer of the world, has a disc, club, conch-shell and bow, and killed the **Dānavas** etc. (998-1000) How can he be the upper god, when he has stayed in the cowherd of **Nanda** to protect cows, when he was fooling around with farmgirls, when he gave the message to **Duryodhana** under the order of the **Pāṇḍavas** as a charioteer of **Arjuna**, fighting in war as a servant to a king (1003-9) Why would he make a request to **Bali**, like a beggar? If he is upholding the whole world, why then	'Viṣṇu, the lover of Siri, is known as caretaker of the world, but also as cattle herder being a child of **Nandana,** as charioteer to **Nara** (i.e. Arjuna), as messenger to a **Kaurava** king. How can he be eternal, beyond death and birth, while existing in different incarnations, being Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nārasiṃha, Vāmana, Rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalkī, This means that he has undergone birth and death, and thus he is subject to _karma_ (2.66-68)!'

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[9] This part is told at the end of the second _āśvāsa_ (DP$_V$ 2.68; see Appendix, p. 26)

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	world, why then would he be burned by the separation from **Sītā** (10. 25)? If **Murāri** (Viṣṇu) can play in all such acts, then why could we not be wood-sellers? If the incarnations of Viṣṇu are full of passion, then how can he be without passion (10.35)? If he carries the world in his belly, then how could Sītā be abducted outside of it (10.36)? If this god pervades everything, then how could he have been pained by separation from his beloved (10.37). Why did he take on the form of a fish, a turtle, a boar, a lion, a dwarf and three times Rāma (10.40)? Why did he first create the Dānavas and then kill them?'	would he be burned by the separation from **Sītā** (1021), etc. If **Murāri** (Viṣṇu) can twist himself in all such acts, then why could we not be wood-sellers (1027)? If Viṣṇu is full passion, then how can anyone be without passion? If he carries the world in his belly, then how could Sītā be abducted outside of it (1032). If this god pervades everything, then how could he have been pained by separation from his beloved (1033). Why did he take on the form of a fish, turtle, a boar, a lion, a dwarf and three times Rāma (1035)? Why did he first create the Dānavas and then kill them? (1043).'	
	The Brahmins reply that Manovega has convinced them about this god (10.46-49).	The Brahmins reply that Manovega has convinced them about this god (1044).	<u>The Brahmins recognize their superior in this argument and give Manovega a *jayapatra* as certificate of his victory.</u>
First explanation in the park outside the city	The two *vidyādharas* go to the park outside of the city.	The two *vidyādharas* go to the park outside of the city.	The two *vidyādharas* go to the park outside of the city.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega tells Pavanavega about the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* (10.54), being the 12 *cakravartins*, the 24 *arhats*, 9 like Rāma (*baladevas*), 9 like Kṛṣṇa (*vāsudevas*) and 9 like Śatri (*prativāsudevas*) (10.55). 'The Brahmins call Viṣṇu Parameṣṭhin, but in fact he is the last of the *vāsudevas* (10.57). They call him bodiless and later worship him in 10 *avatāras* (10.60). They say that to bind the bad Brahmin Bali, Viṣṇu became a dwarf and bound Bali in three steps (10.65). This is how their *Purāṇas* are corrupted.'	Manovega tells Pavanavega about the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas*, being the 12 *cakravartins*, the 24 *arhats*, 9 like Rāma (*baladevas*), 9 like Kṛṣṇa (*vāsudevas*) and 9 like Śatri (*prativāsudevas*) (1051). 'The Brahmins call Viṣṇu Parameṣṭhin, but in fact he is the last of the *vāsudevas* (1053-54). They call him bodiless and later worship him in 10 *avatāras* (1056). These are all lies.'	Manovega tells Pavanavega about the *śalākāpuruṣas*, the nine *baladevas*, the nine *vāsudevas,* the nine *prativāsudevas* etc. (2.68).
Second entry into Pāṭalīputra	Manovega turns into a tribesman (a Pulinda) and Pavanavega into a black cat with reddened eyes (10.66-67). They enter Pāṭalīputra, approach the Brahmins, sit on a golden throne, and beat the drum. The Brahmins ask them who they are and what they come to do. Manovega replies that he wants to sell his cat (10.74). His cat has the ability to smell things twelve *yojanas*	Manovega turns into a tribesman (a Bhilla) and Pavanavega into a black cat with reddened eyes (1057-58). They enter Pāṭalīputra, approach the Brahmins, sit on a golden throne, and beat the drum. The Brahmins ask them who they are and what they come to do (1061). Manovega replies that he wants to sell his cat. His cat has the ability to smell things twelve *yojanas* away	Manovega and Pavanavega return to Pāṭalīputra disguised as hunters (*beḍara*) with bow and arrow. They also carry a cat in a basket. They enter the city through the northeastern gate, approach the Brahmins, sit on a golden throne, and beat the drum. The Brahmins ask them who they are and what the use of the cat is. Manovega tells the Brahmins that they want to sell the cat for a lot of

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	away (10.76). For that reason, he asks a price of <u>50 palas</u> (10.77). The Brahmins decide to give the price (10.80), but notice that its ears are mutilated (10.82). Manovega explains this: 'When we are tired, we usually sleep in a place that is full of mice (10.83). The mice have nibbled his ears (10.84). The Brahmins laugh and say that if the cat can smell mice from twelve *yojanas* far, why would he let mice nibble his ears. (10.86). Manovega explains that one fault does not take away all virtues, and tells the story of the frog in the well.	(1068). For that reason, he asks a price of <u>50 dināras</u>. The Brahmins decide to give the price (1071), but notice that its ears are mutilated (1074). Manovega explains this: 'When we are tired, we sleep in a place that is full of mice. The mice have nibbled his ears (1077). The Brahmins laugh and say that if the cat can smell mice from twelve *yojanas* far, why would he let mice nibble his ears. Manovega explains that one fault does not take away all virtues (1080), and tells the story of the frog in the well	money, because this cat can find rats within a distance of 14 yojanas in 8 directions. When the Brahmins, see his torn ear, they ask why his ear is torn off. Manovega replies that it got bitten off by a rat. The Brahmins start laughing. Manovega confronts them with the story of the frog (3.9).
The parable of the frog in the well	'Once a virtuous bird was asked by a frog how big the ocean was where he came from. The swan replied that the ocean was the greatest. The frog then asked how big the sea was. The swan replied: "It is very large." The frog finally asked: "Can it be bigger than my well?" (10.94-97).'	'Once great bird came to the well and was asked by the frog where he came from. The bird told he was a swan and that he came from the <u>Mānsara lake</u>. The frog asked then how big that lake was, if it is bigger or similar to this well? The swan replied that it was the greatest. But the frog could not believe it and said that nothing was bigger than his well (10.85-91).'	'Once, a swan flew down to a well where a frog lived. The frog asked the swan: "Where are you from?". The swan replied that he came from the ocean. The frog then asked: "Is the ocean just like this well here?" The swan replied that the ocean is much bigger than the well. The frog laughed and did not believe him.'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega explains that people who do not believe the truth are like the frog in the well.	Manovega expresses his fear that there are people among the Brahmins like this frog.	Manovega expresses his fear that there are people among the Brahmins like this frog.[10]
The story of Chāyā	'There was an ascetic called **Mandapa Kauśika**. Once, a group of ascetics came to sit and eat with him, but they immediately stood up again. (11.5). Mandapa Kauśika asked why they did so (11.6). The ascetics told him he is expelled from their group, because he became an ascetic without first having a son (11.7-8). Mandapa Kauśika went to his relatives to ask for a bride, but they could not give him one as he had gotten too old (11.9). He asked for advice to the ascetics who told him he should get a bride and be a householder (11.10-11). With this bride he got a beautiful daughter, called **Chāyā** (11.13-18). When she was eight years (as a *kanyā*) her parents wanted to go on	'There was an ascetic called **Mandapa Kauśika**. Once, a group of ascetics came to sit and eat with him, but they immediately stood up again. (1098). Mandapa Kauśika asked why they did so (1099). The ascetics told him he is expelled from their group, because he became an ascetic without first having a son (1101-2). Mandapa Kauśika went to his relatives to ask for a bride, but they could not give him one as he had gotten too old (1103). He asked for advice to the ascetics who told him he should get a bride and be a householder (1104). With this bride he got a beautiful daughter, called **Chāyā** (1108-10). When she was eight years (as a kanyā) her parents wanted to go on	'There was a Brahmin named **Māṇḍavya** who had a wife **Ḍiṇḍibe** and they had a daughter **Chāye** (3.101).[11] When she had reached the age of puberty, her parents decided to go on a pilgrimage. As they could not leave Chāyā on her own, they decided to find a worthy god to protect her. But this was difficult.

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[10] This story in DP$_V$ is followed by the story of Kaṇḍa and Vaṅka (see p. 345 of this appendix).

[11] In the DP$_V$ this story occurs right after the story of Bhūtamati (see p. 348 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	pilgrimage and had to find a trustworthy god to protect her while they were gone (11.18-21). But they feared none of them would not want to have intercourse with her (11.21). **Rudra (Śiva)** was always burned up by love. He left **Pārvatī** to be with **Gaṅgā** (11.25). **Hari (Viṣṇu)** was not even satisfied by 16000 *gopīs*. He left **Padmā** and enjoyed the milk maids (11.27). **Brahmā** when he saw the dance [of Tilottama] he let go of his discipline. Once, he was performing such strong asceticism that the seat of Indra became unstable. **Indra** went to **Bṛhaspati** for help. After being informed that it was Brahma's fault, Indra ordered Bṛhaspati to create a woman that would destroy Brahma's asceticism (11.33). Bṛhaspati then made a woman out of tiny bits of goddesses, and he sent forth this **Tilottama** (11.34-35). She revealed to Brahmā her erotic body (11.36-38). Brahmā's eyes ran all over her body	pilgrimage and had to find a trustworthy god to protect her while they were gone (1111-13). But they feared none of them would not want to have intercourse with her (1115). **Mahādeva (Śiva)** left **Pārvatī** and kept **Gaṅgā** in his matted locks (1117). **Nārāyaṇa** had a thousand lovers. He discarded his own wife Padmā and loved those of others (1122). **Brahmā** when he saw the dance [of Tilottama] he let go of his discipline (1126) Once, he was performing such strong asceticism that the seat of Indra became unstable. **Indra** went to **Bṛhaspati** for help. After being informed that it was because of Brahmā's asceticism that enabled to convince <u>earnest kings, noble lustre, beautiful splendour, rows of good people, all *vidyās*, all knowledge, the god's *vimānas*, the highest abode, 8 *siddhis* and 9 *nidhis*, many prosperities, omniscience, and Śiva's abode.</u> So, Indra ordered Bṛhaspati to	**Parameśvara (Śiva)** could not be trusted, because without **Pārvatī's** notice he kept **Gaṅgā** in his matted locks. <u>And after Pārvatī's death he also married **Dākṣāyaṇī**.</u> **Brahmā** was neither an option, <u>because he had married his own daughter **Śāradā**.</u> **Candra** could not be trusted, because <u>he had several wives like **Rohiṇī**, and had spoiled the chastity of **Ṭāre**, the wife of his own guru.</u>

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	(11.39) and he formed a new head to see her better (11.43). This was the head of a donkey (11.45). Tilottama then left Brahmā. When the gods came to see him, he angrily attacked them (11.49). **Śiva** then cut off that fifth donkey head (11.51). Brahmā in anger cursed him that the donkey head would never fall of Śiva's hand (11.52). Only by the blood of Viṣṇu it could fall off (11.54). Upon these words, Śiva became a Kapālī and went to Viṣṇu to remove his sin. Brahmā in the meantime entered a dense forest (11.57) and had sex with a female <u>bear</u>. To him even a female donkey would look like an *apsaras*. The bear brought forth a son called **Jāmbava** (11.59).	create a woman that would destroy Brahma's asceticism (1133). Bṛhaspati then made a woman out of tiny bits of goddesses, and he sent forth this **Tilottama** (1134-36). She revealed to Brahmā her erotic body (1137-38). Brahmā's eyes ran all over her body and he formed a new head to see her better (1142). This was the head of a donkey (11.45). Tilottama then left Brahmā. When the gods came to see him, he angrily attacked them (1150). **Śiva** then cut off that fifth donkey head (1155). Brahmā in anger cursed him that the donkey head would never fall of Śiva's hand (1159). Only by the blood of Viṣṇu it could fall off (11.54). Upon these words, Śiva became a Kapālī and went to Viṣṇu to remove his sin. Brahmā in the meantime entered a dense forest (11.57) and had sex with a female <u>donkey</u>. They brought forth a son called **Jāmbava** (1165).	**Devendra** was equally unsuitable because he attracted the wife of Āhalya, Āhalye. <u>**Sūrya** as well was unfit, as he had intercourse with Kuntī before she had reached puberty.</u>

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Indra was aroused when he saw **Gautama**'s wife **Ahalyā**, and was cursed by him to have thousand vulvas (11.61-62). The gods were merciful to him and they were changed into thousand eyes (11.63). One god was pure and just, **Yama**. (11.65). So Mandapa Kauśika gave his daughter to him. (11.66). Yama immediately fell in love with the girl (11.68) and out of fear to lose her, he swallowed her so that she would stay in his belly (11.69). Every day he took her out and had sex with her (11.70). At a certain time, **Vāyu** told **Agni** (11.73) about the beautiful girl of Yama. Agni asked how he could get her (11.76). Vāyu explained that Yama keeps her in his belly, but that he takes her out every night, when he does _aghamarṣaṇa_ (11.79). Agni went to Yama's place and when Yama had taken her out, Agni got into the Ganges and took her (11.83). Chāyā also desired for Agni and they consumed their desire. Then Chāyā	**Indra** was aroused when he saw **Gautama**'s wife and was cursed by him to have thousand vulvas (1169). The gods were merciful and so Nārāyaṇa changed them into thousand eyes (1174). One god was pure and just, **Yama**. So Mandapa Kauśika gave his daughter to him (1179) Yama immediately fell in love with the girl (1181). and out of fear to lose her, he swallowed her so that she would stay in his belly. Every day he would enjoy with her and then put her back inside his belly (1182). At a certain time, **Vāyu** told **Agni** (1185) about the beautiful girl of Yama. Agni asked how he could get her (1187). Vāyu explained that Yama keeps her in his belly, but that he takes her out every night in the Ganges, closes the eyes and takes some water into his cupped hands (1189). Then, Agni went to the riverbank and when Yama had taken her out, Agni got into the Ganges (1193), and he took her Chāyā	One god was pure and just, **Yama**. So, they left their daughter with him and went on pilgrimage. Yama immediately fell in love with the girl and out of fear that others would talk badly about him (as he was a _brahmacārin_), every day he swallowed her so she stayed inside his belly. During the night he would take her out and have sex with her. One day, Yama went to the Ganges. He put

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	warned him to go, because Yama was about to come back (11.85). But Agni could not be separated from her. She swallowed him so that he would be inside of her belly (11.89). Yama came back and he put Chāyā inside his own belly (11.90).

Because of this Agni (fire) disappeared from the world (11.91). Indra requested Vāyu to search for him. He had a plan (11.92-93). Vāyu prepared a meal and invited all the gods. He gave each god one seat to sit on, and Yama he gave three seats (11.94). Each god got one portion and Yama got three (11.95).

Seeing the three portions, Yama asked why he got thrice as much (12.1). Then he spat out Chāyā, and Vāyū told her to spit out Agni. This she did (12.5). Yama felt betrayed and angrily he chased Agni with his *daṇḍa* (12.6) Agni (i.e. fire) fled into stone and wood. He is now never seen without it (12.10).' | also desired for Agni and they consumed their desire (1197). Then Chāyā warned him to go, because Yama was about to come back. But Agni could not be separated from her. She swallowed him so that he would be inside of her belly (1203).

Because of this Agni (fire) disappeared from the world (1207-10). Indra requested Vāyu to search for him. He had a plan. Vāyu prepared a meal and invited all the gods. He gave each god one seat to sit on, and Yama he gave three seats (1216).

So, Yama asked, why he got three seats (1217). Vāyu told him to take out Chāyā. Yama did this and Vāyū told her to take out Agni (1220). So Chāyā did. Yama felt betrayed and angrily he chased Agni with his *daṇḍa* (1223). Agni fled into trees and stones (1225).' | Chāye in a *maṇḍapa* of creepers before getting himself in the water. **Agni** saw the beautiful girl and was determined to obtain her. So, he went to **Vāyu** to ask for help. Vāyu indeed helped Agni to seduce Chāye. By the time Yama came back from his meditation in the Ganges Chāyā swallowed Agni so he would not be seen. And, as usual, Yama swallowed Chāyā.

Because of this there was a huge scarcity of *agni* (fire) in the world. Eventually the gods entrusted Vāyu to find Agni. He organised a grand feast and invited all the gods. Vāyu washed the feet of all them and allotted specific seats to them. But to Yama he gave three seats.

When this one asked the reason for his three seats, Vāyu responded that he knew about Chāyā inside his belly, but that Yama should spit her out to see that there is also another in his belly. Yama did this and told Chāyā to spit out Agni. After Agni came out of |

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			Chāyā, Yama angrily chased after Agni. Agni fled away.'
	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this story is in their *Purāṇas* (12.11). He explains that just like Agni kept his qualities, his cat also kept its qualities. The Brahmins agree that their *Purāṇas* are invalid. Manovega adds that women pierce the minds of men and that the gods also succumb to this (12.19-25).	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this story is in their *Purāṇas* (1227). He explains that just like Agni kept his qualities, his cat also kept its qualities. (1233) The Brahmins agree. Manovega adds that women pierce the minds of men and that the gods also succumb to this (1240-50).	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this story is in their <u>*Vedas*</u> (12.11). He explains that although Yama is omniscient, he did not know about Agni in his belly. Just like Yama's godliness is not affected by this, his cat's qualities are not affected by its nibbled ear. As such, Manovega won the debate and received a *jayapatra* from the Brahmins.
Second explanation in the park outside the city	The two *vidyādharas* go to the park outside of the city. Manovega explains to Pavanavega that all gods are characterized by eight *guṇas* (*aṇiman* etc.) (12.29). There is not a single god, worshipped by men, who is not corrupted by love (12.33). Manovega tells about the decapitation of the donkey head of Brahmā:	The two *vidyādharas* go to the park outside of the city. Manovega tells about the decapitation of the donkey head of Brahmā (1251):	After this discussion, the two *vidyādharas* went out of the city where Manovega instructed Pavanavega about the faults in the *Purāṇas*. Evening came and they went to bed after doing their worship.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
The decapitation of Brahma's donkey head	When **Śiva**, the son of **Jyeṣṭhā** and **Sātyaki**, had done extreme asceticism, he became upper god of the *vidyās* (embodied powers). He acquired 500 great *vidyās* and 700 small ones. But by looking at the beautiful *vidyās* he broke his ascetic practice. He married 8 pretty *vidyādhara* girls, but none of them could bear intercourse with him (12.38). Once when he had sex with his *triśulā vidyā*, she fled away (12.41). He was eager to obtain another *vidyā*, namely **Brāhmaṇī** (12.42). He installed her image before him and started to pray so that she would become a woman (12.43). She started dancing and playing music and he watched her carefully (12.44). Looking at her, he noticed her husband Brahmā (12.45). When he noticed the head of a donkey on top of Brahmā's head, he cut it off (12.46). But the head stuck to	When **Śiva**, the son of **Jyeṣṭhā** and **Sātyaki**, had done extreme asceticism, he acquired 5 great *vidyās* and no little *vidyās*. By looking at 8 beautiful *vidyādhara* girls he broke his asceticism. However, none of them could bear having sex with him (1256). Only **Gaurī** could. Once when he had sex with his *triśulā vidyā*, she fled away (1257). Then Śiva saw **Brāhmaṇī** (v. 58). He sat before her and did his prayers and mantras (1260). She started dancing and playing music and he watched her carefully (1261). Looking at her, he saw her husband (1262). Upon looking closer he saw the head of a donkey on top of the head of a man. He immediately cut off the donkey head, but it stuck to his hand (1263-64). Brāhmaṇī as a consequence ran away from this god, now that he has become useless (1266). Then, Śiva saw	Manovega and Pavanavega entered the city again dressed up as hunters. (3.1-2).[12] The Brahmins approach an ask what their purpose is in the city. They tell them that they wanted to sell their club and bow for 12000 golden coins. The bow is able to shoot an arrow as far as 100 *yojanas* away and the club is able to make a whole mountain explode. The Brahmins ask what material their weapons are made of. Manovega replies that they are made of the bones of dead rats from the forest. He adds that their names are Koṭi and Bhaṭṭa. The Brahmins reply that they are not properly dressed to have such powerful weapons. Manovega explains that they were plundered by thieves on the way to the city. The Brahmins start to laugh loudly. Manovega then tells them the story of Guḍabhūti.

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[12] This part of the plot immediately follows the story of Yama and Chāyā in DP$_V$. This part is completely different from DP$_A$.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	his hand (12.47). Brāhmaṇī as a consequence ran away from this useless god (12.48). Śiva then saw the image of a Jina on the cremation ground. He bowed before it and touched its feet. Because of this gesture, the head fell from his hand (12.51).	a Jina. He sat before him in a yogic posture (1267). He touched the Jina's feet and the donkey head fell from his hand (1268).	
The story of Guḍabhūti	/	/	'In the country of Āhīra, there was a town Māhūra. A fool lived there called Guḍabhūti (4.9).[13] He was very strong, tall and heroic. One day, this fool was chewing jaggery, but he bit his tongue and broke off all his teeth on it. Therefore, he took an oath in god's name that he would never chew jaggery again.'
	/	/	Manovega asks the Brahmins if they are foolish like Guḍabhūti and then continues with **the story of Caṇḍavega** (4.11).
	/	/	'In Ujjayinī there was a poor fellow named Caṇḍavega. While he was

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			performing asceticism, the god Baḷāri appeared before him. The god granted Caṇḍadeva a victory-bell. When this bell is rung it bestows one with everything he wishes and gives half of it to his neighbour. Caṇḍadeva rung the bell wishing for money and gold. Indeed, he got a house full of gold and money, but his neighbour also got half his house filled with money and gold. Caṇḍadeva was jealous and because of that, in the end, he lost not only all of his wealth but also his eyes and legs.'
	/	/	Manovega asks the Brahmins if there are such fools among them and then continues with the story of *Śatabali*.
	/	/	'There was a demon king named **Śatabali** who sucked out the blood of the gods (4.16). He handed his power over to his son **Sahasrabali** and became an ascetic. The gods decided to kill Sahasrabali before he became too powerful. But the gods decided to first kill Śatabali before killing his son. However, since he was an ascetic,

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			it would be a sin to kill him with any weapon. So, they created a cow with a tongue strong as a thunderbolt and made the cow lick Śatabali. After his destruction, **Indra** created a weapon out of half of Śatabali's skull, the other half became the *cakra* (disc) of **Viṣṇu**. Half of the bone of his buttocks became Śiva's weapon, the other half became a bow of **Varuṇa**. This bow was given to **Agni** who gave it to **Arjuna**. With the rest of his skeleton thirty-three crores of gods were created. With the help of his bow (*pināka*) **Śiva** was able to win the war between gods and demons. Arjuna burned down **Devendra's** grove and chopped off the heads of **Śalya** and **Saindhava** by use of his bow. To safeguard the *yaga*-sacrifice of his eldest brother, Arjuna brought back his bow from Laṅkā and defeated **Vāsuki**, the Nāga-king. Afterwards he married the Nāga-girls. Arjuna also defeated Śiva at the **Indrakīla-battle**, and defeated the

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			demon **Kāla** and married the Brahmingirl **Somani**. When he was about to cut through the wings of **Garuḍa** with his arrows, the god **Nārāyaṇa** came in between. Then Arjuna tied up Nārāyaṇa with the help of his bow and kept him in an underground cellar for seven days. For his mother's *nompi* (fasting ritual for Jains), he constructed a cage of arrows to keep **Airavata**, the elephant of **Devendr**a. This is how powerful Arjuna is. Nevertheless, he lost everything in the hands of a hunter.'
	/	/	Again, Manovega asks if these stories are not in the Purāṇas of the Brahmins. They agree and accept that Manovega has won the debate. They give him a *jayapatra*. Manovega and Pavanavega return to the garden, do their worship and go to sleep.
Third entry into Pāṭalīputra	Manovega and Pavanavega take the form of an ascetic (*ṛṣi*) (12.53) and go through the western gate to enter Pāṭalīputra (12.54). Seated on a	Manovega and Pavanavega take the form of an ascetic (*ṛṣi*) and go through the western gate to enter Pāṭalīputra (1271). Seated on a golden throne	Manovega and Pavanavega take the form of an ascetic (*ṛṣi*) and go through the western gate to enter Pāṭalīputra (5.2). Seated on a golden throne they

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	golden throne they beat the *bheri*-drum The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are and who their guru is (12.55-60). Manovega replies he does not have a guru. To illustrate why the Brahmins should believe him, he tells a story. (12.62):	they beat the *bheri*-drum The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are and who their guru is (1272-76). Manovega replies he does not have a guru. To illustrate why the Brahmins should believe him, he tells a story. (1277).	beat the *bheri*-drum The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are and who their guru is. To illustrate why the Brahmins should believe him, he tells a story.
The story of the king, the minister and the singing monkeys	'There was a minister named **Hari** in **Campā**. Once, he saw a rock floating in the water (12.63). The king did not believe him and imprisoned his minister (12.64). The minister withdrew his words and told the king he had indeed lied, so that he would be released (12.66). Then, the minister taught some monkeys to sing a song and showed this to the king (12.68). When the king, charmed by the monkeys, wanted to show them to his lords, the monkeys stopped singing (12.69). The minister convinced the lords that the king must be mad and should be locked up (12.70). When the minister had had his laugh at the king, he let him go (12.71) and added: "You see, in the same way as I saw a	'In the city of **Campā** there was a prime minister named **Hari**. Once when he was <u>on the riverbank of the Ganges</u>, he saw a rock floating in the water (1278). He went to the king and told what he had seen. But the king told him he was lying and imprisoned him (1279). The minister withdrew his words and told the king he had made things up, so that he would be released (1280). Then, the minister taught some monkeys to sing a song and showed this to the king (1281); When the king told this to his lords, they did not believe him and thought the king was mad, so they locked him up (1264). Immediately after, the minister released the king and added: "O king, when I told you what I had	In the city of Campā there was a king named **Guṇavarma**. His prime minister was called **Hari** (5.3). Once, the minister saw a stone floating on the surface of a pond and reported this to the king. The king did not believe him and put him in jail. After the minister got free by the help of **Brahmarākṣasa** he wanted to teach the king a lesson. He arranged that some monkeys in the palace gardens would sing and play instruments. One day, the king went to the garden and saw these monkeys playing and singing and jumping in the trees. He told his minister about these marvels. The minister, however, did not believe the king. And he told him that he must be struck by demons (*piśāci*).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	stone floating in the water, you saw monkeys sing a song." (12.72).'	seen, you did not believe me, but just as you saw the monkeys dance, I saw a stone floating in the water." (1265).'	So, he advised the king not to tell what he had seen to anyone else. Because, just as he had seen the floating stone, the king had seen the dancing monkeys.
	The Brahmins assert that they will believe Manovega. Manovega tells them about his life (12.75-76).	The Brahmins assert that they will believe Manovega. Manovega tells them about his life (1287-88).	The Brahmins assert that they will believe Manovega. Manovega tells them about his life.
The story of the elephant in the waterpot	'My father was a disciple of **Munidatta** in the city of **Śrīpura** and he ordered me to study with him (12.77). One day, I went to go fetch some water for him (12.78). When I came back, the other students told me the teacher was angry with me (12.79). I decided to go study with another teacher in another city (12.80). I came across an elephant who appeared to be intoxicated (12.81). Trembling in fear I noticed the waterpot in my hands, and jumped right in it (12.83-84). However, the elephant followed me. (12.85). Finding all my energy I	'In the city of **Śrīpura** there was a **Munidatta** with whom I was studying. (1289). One day, I went to go fetch some water for him. When I came back the other students told me the teacher was angry with me (1290). I decided to go study with another teacher somewhere else. I came across an elephant who appeared to be intoxicated and he came towards me as if to kill me (1292). Trembling in fear, I realized I had a waterpot, so I jumped into it (1294). However, the elephant followed me. (1295-96). In an instant I jumped back out of it. The	'We are the sons of **Samudradatta of Ayodhya** (5.11).[14] One day our teacher told us to fetch a vessel of water because he wanted to clean the toilet. While on our way to get the water, we were chased by an elephant from the palace that in a craze had broken its chain stuck to a pillar and was now running after us. Outside of the city we came across a Koggitree. We hung the waterpot to a branch of the tree and hid ourselves inside the waterpot. But we forgot to close the opening and so the elephant also jumped inside. For six long months we were

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[14] In the DP$_V$ the story of the elephant in the waterpot follows the story of the stubborn-minded (See appendix p. 349).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	jumped back out of the waterpot (12.86). The elephant wanted to do the same, but he could not because his tail got stuck in the opening of the waterpot (12.87). Freed from the terrifying elephant, I saw a temple of the Jina. I praised to the Jina and from exhaustion, completely naked from the fight, I fell asleep on the threshold of the temple (12.89). When I thought about who could give me some clothes, I figured that no one there could give them, since they were all naked. So, I decided to go into their community and become an ascetic (12.90). Then I started wandering around and arrived in this city (12.91).'	elephant, however, could not follow me out of the waterpot because the hair of his tail got stuck (1298). Freed from the terrifying elephant I arrived <u>at a temple of Jagannāth. I went inside and started to praise (*vaṃdana*)</u> (1306). It became night and completely exhausted I fell asleep naked (1307 When I thought about who could give me some clothes, I figured it would not suit to ask them (1308) So I went into their community and became a Jain ascetic (1311). Then I started wandering around the country and came upon this city (1314).'	wandering around inside the waterpot and then somehow managed to get out of it again. We closed the opening. The elephant tried to come after us, but after getting his whole body through the spout of the waterpot he got stuck by one of the hairs of his tail. Finally, we were free. <u>As we were still running onwards through the forest, our clothes and our hairs got torn off by clinging to the thorns of the bushes.</u> That is why we decided to become ascetics.
	The Brahmins laugh and say Manovega lies (12.92-95). Manovega agrees but says such lies are also in their *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins critically ask him to explain this.	The Brahmins laugh and say Manovega lies (1317-20). Manovega agrees but says such lies are also in their *āgamas* (1321). The Brahmins critically ask him to explain this.	The Brahmins laugh and say Manovega lies. Manovega agrees but says such lies are also in their *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins critically ask him to explain this.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega defends his statement by referring to how **Arjuna** brought the serpents together with the seven ascetics from the Rasātala (13.7-8). 'Arjuna pointed his bow at the earth and pierced it with his arrows (13.9). Together with his army of ten crore, he went down and took the serpent king (13.10). If the snake king and an army of ten crore can pass through a hole made by an arrow, then also elephant through the opening of a waterpot (13.11-12)', says Manovega. He also refers to how **Agastya** drank the whole ocean, and argues that if Agastya's belly can contain the ocean, then his waterpot can contain an elephant (13.18-19).	Manovega defends his statement by referring to how Arjuna brought the serpents together with the seven ascetics from the Rasātala-hell. 'Arjuna pointed his bow at the earth and pierced it with his arrows (1335). Together with his army of ten crore, he went down and took the serpent king (1336). If the snake king and an army of ten crore can pass through a hole made by an arrow, then also elephant through the opening of a waterpot (1339-40)', says Manovega. He also refers to how Agastya drank the whole ocean, and argues that if Agastya's belly can contain the ocean, then his waterpot can contain an elephant (1344-48).	
Brahmā as the lotus-seated	'Brahmā was searching for his lost creation and met Agastya siting under a tree (13.20-21). The ascetic **Agastya** asked why he was wandering around (13.22). Brahmā told him that he was looking for his creation (13.23). Agastya advised him to go	'Brahmā was searching for his lost creation and met Agastya siting under a tree (1351). The ascetic **Agastya** asked why he was wandering around (1352). Brahmā told him he was looking for his creation. Agastya advised him to go into his waterpot	'Brahmā created the universe and told **Viṣṇu** to protect it. When **Rudra** came begging, Viṣṇu swallowed the earth and went to **Agastya** to save himself from Hara. Agastya told him: to enter his waterpot which is hanging on a branch. Viṣṇu entered it

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	into his waterpot (13.24). There, Brahmā saw Viṣṇu lying on the leaf of a fig tree (13.25). Brahmā asked the god why his belly was so round. **Viṣṇu** told him that when he saw how Brahmā's creation was destroyed in an ocean, he put it inside his belly as to protect it (13.27). Brahmā entered his belly (13.31) and found his creation there (13.32). After a while he came back out through Viṣṇu' s lotus-navel (13.33), but a hair of <u>his scrotum</u> got stuck in the narrow navel (13.34). From then onwards Brahmā is famous in the world as the lotus-seated (13.36)	(1353). There, lying on a leaf of a fig tree Brahmā saw Viṣṇu (1354). Brahmā asked the god why his belly was shaking (1356). Viṣṇu told him that when he saw how the world was being destroyed, he put it inside his belly (1357). Brahmā thanked him, and entered Viṣṇu' s belly (1357). There, he found his creation (1360). After a while he wanted to get out of Viṣṇu' s belly, but Viṣṇu kept his mouth closed, and looked like a cheat. Brahmā thought that everyone would laugh at him coming out of Viṣṇu (1361-63). But then he came out. However, a hair of his <u>scrotum</u> got stuck, so that Brahmā was fixed to Viṣṇu, who laughed (1366). Since then Brahmā is known as the lotus-seated (1366).	and saw there the seven seas. In the centre of one of the seas he saw a huge Vata tree with a wide of twelve *yojanas*. Inside of two leaves Viṣṇu went to sleep. Then, Brahmā came there as he could not find Viṣṇu. Brahmā asked Agastya were Viṣṇu was. Agastya smiled and told him to search him in his waterpot. Brahmā searched him for six months, leaf by leaf. At last he saw Viṣṇu sleeping inside two leaves. Thinking that he had swallowed the earth, but did not know how to enter Viṣṇu' s belly, he was worried. But Viṣṇu <u>yawned</u> and so Brahmā entered his belly through his mouth and saw the whole universe. He tried to bring the universe as well as himself through Viṣṇu' s navel<u>, but the edge of his waistcloth got stuck in the middle the lotus-navel</u>. Hence, Brahmā is called the lotus-seated.
	Manovega asks whether this is said in the *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins agree (13.37-38).	Manovega asks whether this is said in the *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins agree (1366-67).	Manovega asks whether this is said in the *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins agree.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	So Manovega concludes that if that story is true then also his story must be true (13.39-43). He adds that if Brahmā is able to pull all men out of hell, then he must also be able to pull his own scrotum-hair out of Viṣṇu's navel, and that if Viṣṇu can save the whole world, he must also be able to save Sītā (13.45-46). 'If all misfortunes can be stopped by reciting to Viṣṇu, then why can't he stop his separation from Sītā? If he has explained his ten births to Nārada, why did he have to ask the lord of snakes about his wife?' (13.48-49).	So Manovega concludes that if that story is true then also his story must be true (1369-70). He adds that if Brahmā is able to pull all men out of hell, then he must also be able to pull his own scrotum-hair out of Viṣṇu's navel, and that if Viṣṇu can save the whole world, he must also be able to save Sītā (1375-76). 'If all misfortunes can be stopped by reciting to Viṣṇu, then why can't he stop his separation from Sītā? If he has explained his ten births to Nārada, why did he have to ask the lord of snakes about his wife?' (1377-78).	Manovega further argues with the following story:[15] 'Once **Yudhiṣṭhira** decided to conduct a *yāga* (sacrifice) and consulted the **Nayimitikas** (priests). These suggested to invite an ascetic called **Nāṭhadeva** with **Dharinindra** from the underworld. But that was a challenging task. Arjuna said that he would take care of it. He shot an arrow to the Rasātala (one of the seven hells) and made a hole through which he fought against the king hells, **Nāgendra**. Nāgendra lost his chariot. Then, for his heroism, he granted Arjuna his daughter and they married. Arjuna accompanied by Nāgendra, Nāṭhadeva and **Śatakoṭibala** (army of 100 crores) went back through the same whole.

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[15] The story is also told in DP$_A$ and DP$_M$ (see p. 381 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			Manovega again asks whether this is told in the *Purāṇas,* and says that his story must be true if theirs is true. The Brahmins agree and see that Manovega has won the debate. They give him a *jayapatra*
	/	/	The next day the two friends take the form of ascetics (*ṛṣis*) again and enter Pāṭalīputra. They sit on the throne and beat the drum. The Brahmins arrive and ask them who they are and why they became ascetics (6.1-4). Manovega tells them about their lives:[16]
The sons of king Candraśekhara	/	/	'We are the elder sons of king **Candraśekhara** of **Kauśāmbi** in the country of **Vatsa** (6.5). One day our father lost his mind while he was looking at the clouds. He enthroned our younger brother. We felt sad about this and approached the ascetic **Yamadhara** to receive initiation and to learn the *śāstras*. We then

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[16] The following stories are not underlined because it should be clear that they not occur in the DP$_A$ and DP$_M$.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			wandered across many regions to argue against the Vedas and finally came to your city because we heard about its greatness.'
	/	/	The Brahmins ask to debate about the trinity of gods, being Hari, Hara and Brahmā, because they believe they are omniscient, while Manovega and Pavanavega believe the Jina is omniscient. Manovega wants to explain this, but only if there are no people among the Brahmins like Kāpila (6.10).
The story of Kāpila	/	/	'There was a place called **Madhurā** in the country of **Mālavā** where king **Kālakarāla** ruled. One day, while he was horse-riding, he heard a child named **Kāpila** sneeze. The king became angry and chopped of the nose of the child. As such, the child grew up without a nose. Once, he went to a mirror shop together with his friend. When the shopkeeper showed him his image in a mirror Kāpila became angry and smashed the mirror to the ground, shouting that

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			the mirror was defected. The shopkeeper filed a complaint against him at the court of justice for breaking his mirror. Kāpila was summoned to court. When the judge asked him why he had broken the mirror, he replied that the mirror showed him a face without a nose and must thus be defected. To this, the judge laughed and decided he should pay for the broken mirror.'
	/	/	The Brahmins assured that they were not like Kāpila.
The story of king Pāpi.	/	/	'There was a king called **Pāpi** in the town of **Kauśika**. He had a minister **Duṣṭamati** and a swordsman **Bhūtadroha** (6.13). Once, a thief came into town and stole from the house of a trader. However, a wall of the house fell down upon the thief and killed him. The king heard about this and summoned the trader to punish him for causing the death of someone. At the court, the trader explained that he had paid a constructor to build this wall and that he should be punished.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			So, the king summoned the constructor. But the constructor said that while he was building the wall, a prostitute passed by and distracted him. Then the king summoned the prostitute. She explained that she had had the time to wander around because a goldsmith did not finish her golden jewels in time. So, the king summoned the goldsmith to ask him why he had not finished the jewels in time. The goldsmith replied that a thief had stolen the jewels when he went to a village market. When the king's swordsman could not catch the thief that had stolen the jewels, the king went for advice to his minister. He advised the king to punish all the people involved, as this would be as good as punishing the thief. The king followed his advice.'
	/	/	The Brahmins assured Manovega that they were not like king Pāpi. Manovega continued:
On the origin of Śiva *liṅga* worship.	/	/	'Śiva fell in love with the wife of an ascetic and strolled around with her

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			daily. Her husband, the ascetic, felt offended and came up with a plan. Once, he told his wife he was going to take a bath, but instead hid himself inside the house. Indeed, Śiva came by to be with the young wife. The ascetic angrily came out of his hiding place and cursed Śiva that his *liṅga* would fall off. When that happened, Śiva was furious. He cursed the ascetic so that his *liṅga* would stick to the forehead of the ascetic. This one realising that he was dealing with the god Śiva, immediately requested to pardon him and begged to remove the *liṅga* from his forehead. Śiva agreed, but only if the ascetic would come to **Kailāsa**. The ascetic agreed and travelled with the *liṅga* on his forehead all the way to mount Kailāsa. **Pārvatī** saw this and laughed loudly. All the ascetics then pleaded to Śiva to remove it. Śiva did this and from then on the *liṅga* became an aspect of worship.'
On the origin of the Ganges	/	/	'After the end of endless time, at the origin of the world when there were

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			no objects yet, an enormous egg grew without any support and split into two. From the upper part of it the heavens arose and from the lower part the earth, the mountains, the seas etc. In the middle of the two pieces Śiva (**Sadāśiva**) was born. Upon his birth, he looked into eight directions but could not see anyone. After fighting for a while, he looked at his right arm. There **Brahmā** was born. He then looked at his left arm, and saw **Viṣṇu** being born. These three gods suffered by their longing for a wife. To solve this problem, Viṣṇu drew a picture of a woman. Then Brahmā gave her life and Śiva gave her clothes. As they all lusted for her, they started fighting amongst each other, The goddesses came to interfere in the fight. They decided that he who had drawn the woman's picture is her father, he who gave her life is her mother, and he who gave her clothes is her husband. Therefore, Śiva became her husband. However,

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			as Śiva was enjoying her, Brahmā and Viṣṇu became jealous and pulled her about. Out of shame she melted down into a stream and became the river Gaṅgā.'
Brahmā and Viṣṇu try to reach Śiva's extremities	/	/	Manovega tells another event about the three gods: Brahmā and Viṣṇu were once fighting about who was the superior of them two. Śiva decided to test their abilities and ordered Brahmā to go to the top of his head and come back, and ordered Viṣṇu to go see his feet and come back. Viṣṇu started on this endeavour, but on his way, he started thinking he was not able to reach Śiva's feet and came back. After his return Śiva granted him a boon to be worshipped by the whole world and to be the lord of the earth. Brahmā set out for Śiva's head. He met Ketake (*ketaki* flower) on the way and they became friends. Then he returned and lied to Śiva that he had seen his head and that Ketake was his witness. Śiva, however, knew the truth and

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	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
			cursed Brahmā to live as a beggar and to remain unworshipped.'
	/	/	Manovega argues that if a god does not know the actions of those born from his body, like Śiva, or if gods lie, like Viṣṇu, then there must be no difference between them and humans. The Brahmins in reply argue that the Vedas do not tell about the Jina, but they do tell about the gods. Manovega recites a verse from the Yajurveda (*arhan bibharṣi [...]*) to prove it speaks of the Jina (6.39).
Continuation of Manovega's arguments	Manovega explains that people are subject to eighteen worldly faults that cause suffering (anger, thirst, fear, hatred, passion, delusion, craze, disease, thought, birth, old age, death, sadness, perplexity, sexual pleasure, exhaustion, heat, and sleep) (13.52-53). He explains how they work (13.54-71).	Manovega explains that people are subject to eighteen worldly faults that cause suffering (anger, thirst, fear, hatred, passion, delusion, craze, disease, thought, birth, old age, death, sadness, perplexity, sexual pleasure, exhaustion, heat, and sleep) (1382). He explains how they work (1384-95). He illustrates that also the gods suffer from this: 'Śiva had a skull disease, Viṣṇu was sick in his head, the Sun suffers from	/

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	He illustrates that also the gods suffer from this:[17] 'Śiva had a skull disease, Viṣṇu was sick in his head, the Sun suffers from jaundice, the Moon from leprosy. Viṣṇu was afflicted by fatigue, Agni by hunger, Śiva by pleasure and Brahmā by passion (13.75) This proves that the *Purāṇas* are full of illogical things (13.77-86).'	jaundice, the Moon from leprosy. Viṣṇu was afflicted by fatigue, Agni by hunger, Śiva by pleasure and Brahmā by passion (1396-97). This proves that the *Purāṇas* are full of illogical things (1410).'	
Third explanation in the park outside the city	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the park (13.88) Manovega argues that they should not follow the trinity of gods (13.90-96). They should instead examine *dharma* on the base of compassion, tamas, truthfulness and restraint (13.99-101).	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the park (1412) Manovega argues that they should not follow the trinity of gods (1414-20). They should instead examine *dharma* on the base of compassion, tamas, truthfulness and restraint (13223-26).	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the park, where Manovega <u>explains what is said in the Vedas about Jain</u> <u>*dharma.*</u>
Fourth entry into Pāṭalīputra	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the city, dressed as ascetics (*tāpasā*) and enter through the northern gate (14.1-2). They sit on a golden throne, beat the drum and the Brahmins	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the city, dressed as ascetics (*tāpasā*) and enter through the northern gate (1428). They sit on a golden throne, beat the drum and the Brahmins	Manovega and Pavanavega go back to the city, dressed as ascetics (*tāpasā*). They sit on a golden throne, beat the drum and the Brahmins come to ask about them. Manovega says he is

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[17] The argument is similar to that of Vṛttavilāsa, namely to show that gods are not different from human beings, but uses different examples.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	come to ask about them (14.3-4). Manovega says he comes from a village and is afraid to tell his story, because the Brahmins might not believe him (14.5-7). Then he tells them:	come to ask about them (1429). Manovega says he comes from a village and is afraid to tell his story, because the Brahmins might not believe him (1431). Then he tells them: [18]	afraid to tell his story, because the Brahmins might not believe him. Then he tells them about the mango fool.
The child who stayed in his mother's womb for twelve years.	'My mother lived in **Ujjain**. She was a princess. When she married my father, an elephant became excited by the sound of the trumpets and caused an uproar at the wedding. He destroyed the pole he was tied to and everyone fled (14.12-13). While the groom was fleeing, he pushed my helpless mother to the ground with his body (14.14). One and a half months later, it became clear that my mother was pregnant. She thought she was pregnant by the elephant. (14.17). Some ascetics came by our house, and told my grandmother that they were going where there was enough food, as there was to be a	'My mother lived in **Ujjain**. She was a princess. When she married my father, an elephant became excited by the sound of the trumpets and caused an uproar at the wedding. He destroyed the pole he was tied to and everyone fled (1435-36). While the groom was fleeing, he pushed my helpless mother to the ground with his body (1437). One and a half months later, it became clear that my mother was pregnant. She thought she was pregnant by the elephant. (1438). Some ascetics came by our house, and told my grandmother that they were going where there was enough food, as there was to be a	'In **Ayodhy**a there was a trader named **Dhanadatta** who had a daughter **Devadatte**. She was married to **Vasudatta**. At the wedding, while they were standing at the wedding altar, an elephant from the temple (/palace) broke loose and madly rushed towards the wedding party. Everyone fled away in fear. So also did the two who would marry. But in their flight, the hand of Vasudatta touched Devadatte. Because of that she became pregnant. After nine months some ascetics passed by Dhanadatta's house and predicted a draught to terrorise the country in the coming twelve years. I, being

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[18] Here, the DP$_V$ tells the story of the mangotree (see page 351 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	famine of twelve years (14.18-19). When I, inside the womb, heard this, I decided to stay in the womb for twelve years, so I should not experience famine (14.21-23). My mother travelled with the ascetics for twelve years, until they said that they will go back to our country where food is abundant. I heard this and wanted to leave my mother's body (14.26). On my birth, I fell into the ashes of the fireplace and stood up holding a vessel, asking my mother for food (14.27-28). Amazed, my grandmother exclaimed: "Dear ascetics, have you ever seen anyone who started begging upon birth?" (14.29) The ascetics replied that my birth would cause the destruction of the house (14.30). So, my mother ordered me to leave and go to the temple of Yama (14.31). I went away, my body covered with ashes and performed difficult asceticism (14.34). At some point, I went to the city of Saketa and heard that my mother was	famine of twelve years (1442-43). When I, inside the womb, heard this, I decided to stay in the womb for twelve years, so I should not experience famine (1445-46). My mother travelled with the ascetics for twelve years, until they said that they will go back to our country where food is abundant. I heard this and wanted to leave my mother's body (14.26). On my birth, I fell into the ashes of the fireplace and stood up holding a vessel, asking my mother for food. Amazed, my grandmother exclaimed: "Dear ascetics, have you ever seen anyone who started begging upon birth?" (1450) The ascetics replied that my birth would cause the destruction of the house. So, my mother ordered me to leave. (1453). I went away, my body covered with ashes and performed difficult asceticism (1454-55). At some point, I went to the city of Saketa and heard that my mother was marrying another man. I asked the Brahmins if	inside my mother's womb, overheard this and decided not to come out for twelve years. After the drought was over, I finally was born out of my mother's mouth. Immediately after my birth I asked my mother for food. She took me for a demon and ran away. The villagers enquired me and then expelled me from the village. After some time, I acquired matted hair. When I heard about my mother's new wedding, I went to the wedding ceremony with some friends. That is why I became an ascetic.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	marrying another man (14.35). I asked the Brahmins if this was not sinful of her. They replied that just like Draupadī married the five Pāṇḍavas, my mother could marry another man. "A wife whose husband has died and who has not been pregnant, she may marry again (14.38). A woman who has given birth and whose husband is gone, she must wait eight years, when she has not given birth only four" (14.39). That was said by Vyāsa (14.40). After that, I stayed with the ascetics and then went on a pilgrimage and arrived here (14.41-42).	this was not sinful of her. They replied that just like Draupadī married the five Pāṇḍavas, my mother could marry another man. "A wife whose husband has died and who has not been pregnant, she may marry again. A woman who has given birth and whose husband is gone, she must wait eight years, when she has not given birth only four". That was said by Vyāsa (1458-61). After that, I stayed with the ascetics and then went on a pilgrimage and arrived here (1463)	
	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega (14.43).	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega (1464), and claim that in the whole world, from Bengal, to Rūm-Syām, Khandahar and Khurasana, and from the mountains in the North to the South with Gujarat and Bijapur, they have seen no one like Manovega and Pavanavega. Manovega replies that such things are also said in the *Purāṇas*, like the	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega replies that such things are also said in the *Purāṇas*, like the murder of Brahmā (1448). The Brahmins ask to argue for this statement (14.52-54). Manovega explains: '**Bhāgīrati**, while sleeping next to another woman, was impregnated just because of the touch of that woman. (14.56) **Gāndhārī** was promised to **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**, and while bathing her womb became enlarged from the embrace with a Panasa-tree (14.59). After she was married, she bore a hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (14.61).' Isn't this all in your Purāṇas?' (14.62) The Brahmins admit this is true.	murder of Brahmā (1466-68). The Brahmins ask to argue for this statement (1470-72). '**Bhāgīrathi**, while sleeping next to another woman, was impregnated just because of the touch of that woman. (1473-74) **Gāndhārī** was promised to **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**, and while bathing her womb became enlarged from the embrace with a tree (1477). After she was married, she bore a hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (1479). Isn't this all in your *Purāṇas*?' The Brahmins admit this is true (1482-83).	Manovega argues with an example from the *Purāṇas*: 'There was a king called **Tṛtīyaratha** in **Ayodhyapura**. He had two sisters. When they had finished their fourth bad (after menstruation) they laid down in bed. The arm of one of them touched the other and she became pregnant. She gave birth to **Bhāgiratha** (7.10-11). **Gāndhārī** was the wife of **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**. One day she took her fourth bath and went out for stroll in the park. There she saw a jackfruit tree loaded of fruits. She reminisced Dhṛtarāṣṭra and embraced that tree. She became pregnant, and after nine months gave birth to jackfruits. That is why her other hundred children including Duryodhana were born. **Kṛṣṇa** brought his sister **Subhadre** to his palace to give birth there. One day

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega added that if **Abhimanyu** heard about the *cakravyūha* inside the womb of his mother, then his story should also be true (14.67).[19]	Manovega added that if **Abhimanyu** heard about the *cakravyūha* inside the womb of his mother, then his story should also be true (1484-85).	at night in order to remove her fatigue, he was narrating her the episode of the *cakravyūha*. Listening to it, she fell asleep, but the child in her womb was responding to the story. If this is true then also what I have said should be trace.' (7.12-15). The Brahmins still ask how a child could stay twelve years in the womb. Manovega explains:
The story of Mandodari	'Once, **Muni Maya** was washing his loincloth when drops of his semen fell in the water and was drank by a frog that became pregnant (14.68). She gave birth to a beautiful daughter (14.69) and put the girl on a lotus petal (14.70). When the ascetic came back to the lake and saw the girl, he recognised her as his daughter and decided to raise her (14.71-72). When the girl had reached her puberty and	'Once, **Muni Maya** was washing his loincloth when **Kāmadeva** harassed him, and his semen fell in the water. A frog drank it and she became pregnant. She gave birth to a beautiful daughter and put the girl on a lotus petal (1487-89). When the ascetic came back to the lake and saw the girl, he recognised her as his daughter and decided to raise her (1490-91). He named her **Udakayā**.	'There was an ascetic called **Maya** living in a forest. Once, he washing his loincloth when drops of his semen fell in the water and were drank by a frog that became pregnant. She gave birth to a beautiful daughter and put the girl on a lotus petal. Muni Maya raised her as his daughter and called her **Mandodari**. (7.18-20). When she had reached puberty, she became pregnant. The ascetic using

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[19] This refers to the *cakravyūha* episode of the *Mahābhārata* (Droṇa Parva). Droṇa, forms a particular army formation on ground (*cakravyūha*) for the Kaurava army, in which Abhimanyu gets trapped and is killed.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	was menstruating, she was once washing the loincloth of Muni Maya (14.73) and became pregnant. The ascetic realized it was from his own semen and suppressed her womb for seven thousand years (14.74-75). After that, she was married to **Rāvaṇa** and gave birth to a son named **Indrajita** (14.77).'	When she had reached her puberty (1493), she was once washing the loincloth of Muni Maya and became pregnant (1494). The ascetic realized it was from his own semen and suppressed her womb for seven thousand years (1495). After that, she was married to **Rāvaṇa** and gave birth to a son named **Indrajita**.'	his special vision of knowledge restrained the birth for <u>seven hundred</u> years. Later **Rāvaṇa** married her. Her womb further developed and she gave birth to **Indrajita** and others.
	Manovega argues that if Indrajita could stay inside the belly of his mother for seven thousand years, then his narrative should also be true (14.78). The Brahmins agree but question how his mother could be a virgin (*kanyā*) again (14.79-80). Manovega told them:	Manovega argues that if Indrajita could stay inside the belly of his mother for seven thousand years, then his narrative should also be true (1497-99). The Brahmins agree but question how his mother could be a virgin (*kanyā*) again (1500). Manovega told them:	Manovega argues that if Indrajita could stay inside the belly of his mother for seven hundred years, then his narrative should also be true. The Brahmins agree but question how he could be born out of his mother's mouth. Manovega replies that **Kuntī's** eldest son was born from ears and came to be known as **Karṇa**. (7.22). The Brahmins ask on about how he could have asked for food upon his birth.
The story of Vyāsa's birth	'There was an ascetic named **Pārāśara**, honoured by all ascetics (14.81) Once, he crossed the Ganges in a boat steered by a fisherman girl (14.82). Pierced by the arrows of	'There was an ascetic named Pārāsura, honoured by all ascetics (1501). Once he sat in a boat on the Ganges steered by a fisherman girl.	The ascetic **Pārāśara** had intercourse with **Yojanagandhi** in the middle of the Ganges river. As they reached the shore, Yojanagandhi gave birth to **Vyāsa** who was born with dreadlocks

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Kāma, he started to enjoy her (14.83). The child, afraid of being cursed, went along in his embrace (14.84). Immediately after their intercourse a son was born named **Vyāsa** (14.85-86). He immediately asked what to do, upon which Pārāśara told him to do asceticism (14.87). Pārāśara himself after endowing the girl with the name **Yojanagandhā** became a hermit (14.88).'	Seeing her beauty, he was aroused and took her in his embrace (1502). She became pregnant and a son was born named **Vyāsa** (1504). He immediately asked what to do, upon which Pārāsura told him to do asceticism (1505-6). Pārāśara himself did the same after endowing the girl with the name **Yojanagandhā** (1507).'	and a loincloth. As soon as he was born, he went to his father and asked: "O father how can I live?" Then his father replied: "Live like an ascetic." and he went away.'
	Manovega argues that if Vyāsa could become an ascetic immediately after birth, then he could also (14.89). And if the girl after having a son, could remain a "girl", then also his mother could (14.90). 'In the same way **Kuntī** could remain a "girl" even after her union with **Āditya**.'	Manovega argues that if the fisherman girl could remain a "girl", even after having a son, also his mother could, and if Vyāsa could become an ascetic immediately after birth, then also he could. (1508-9). 'In the same way **Kuntī** could remain a "girl" even after her union with **Sūrya**.'	Manovega argues that if Vyāsa could become an ascetic immediately after birth, then also he could. 'Similarly, though **Karṇa** was born to **Kuntī** and **Āditya**, Kuntī remained a virgin.'
The story of Uddālaka	'The ascetic **Uddālaka** once had his sperm trickle out in the Ganges in a dream standing on a lotus petal (14.92). The daughter of the king then came to the Ganges and while smelling that lotus his semen entered	'**Uddālaka** was once on the banks of the Ganges when his sperm trickled out standing on a lotus petal (1511). **Candramati**, the daughter of the king then came to the Ganges and while smelling that lotus his semen entered	'**Tṛṇabindu** was born to **Uddālaka** and **Candramati**, but Candramati remained a virgin.'

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	her belly (14.94). When her mother saw her pregnancy, she told the king who sent her to the woods (14.95). There the princess gave birth to a son, who looked like a snake, in the abode of the ascetic **Tṛṇabindu**. The princess took her child in a basket and put it in the Ganges hoping that it would find his father (14.97). Uddālaka, luckily saw the basket and recognised his son (14.98). **Candramati** then also arrived there and saw both Uddālaka and her son. She requested the ascetic to ask for her hand to the king (14.100). This is what Uddālaka did and Candramati became his wife. (14.101).'	her belly (1512-13). When her mother saw her pregnancy, she told the king who sent her away to the abode of the ascetic **Tṛṇabindu** (1515). Nine months passed until she gave birth to a son. The princess took her child in a basket and put it in the Ganges hoping that it would find his father (1517). Uddālaka, luckily saw the basket and recognised his son (1518-19). Candramati then also arrived there and saw both Uddālaka and her son. She requested the ascetic to ask for her hand to the king (1520-22). This is what Uddālaka did and Candramati became his wife (1523-24).'	
	Because of these stories the Brahmins admit that Manovega's stories must be true.	Because of these stories the Brahmins admit that Manovega's stories must be true.	Because of these stories the Brahmins admit that Manovega's stories must be true. They grant him with a *jayapatra*
Fourth explanation in the park outside the city	Outside of the city, Manovega explains to Pavanavega that only those who are full of *mithyātva* would accept the *Purāṇas* without thinking (15.3).	Outside of the city, Manovega explains to Pavanavega that only those who are full of *mithyātva* would accept the *Purāṇas* without thinking (1530).	Outside of the city, Manovega tells Pavanavega about the birth Karṇa.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	He also explains the faultiness of gods to have sex with women (12-16). Then he tells about the birth Karṇa.	He also explains the faultiness of gods to have sex with women (1531-1542). Then he tells about the birth Karṇa.	
The birth of Karṇa	'King **Vyāsa** had three sons: **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**, **Pāṇḍu**, and **Vidura** (15.18). One day **Pāṇḍu** was enjoying himself in the woods when he found a seal of love of a *vidyādhara* (15.19). The moment he put the seal around his finger, the *vidyādhara* **Citrāṅga** arrived there, searching for it (15.20). Pāṇḍu, gave it back to him (15.21). The *vidyādhara* therefore and asked how he could help him (15.24). Pāṇḍu explained that he was in love with **Kuntī**, the daughter of king **Andhakavṛṣṭi** of **Sūryapura** (15.25-26). She would never be married to him, because of his illness (15.27). Citrāṅgada consoled him: "If you take this ring, Kuntī will fall in love with you (15.30) and sleep with you. When she is then pregnant, the king will definitely give her to you, as no honourable man would leave a spoiled girl in his house (15.31)."	'King **Vyāsa** had three sons: **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**, **Pāṇḍu**, and **Vidura** (1545). One day **Pāṇḍu** was enjoying himself in the woods when he found a ring of love of a *vidyādhara* (1546). The moment he put the seal around his finger, the *vidyādhara* **Citrāṅga** arrived there, searching for it. Pāṇḍu, gave it back to him (1547-50). The *vidyādhara* therefore and asked how he could help him (1553-54). Pāṇḍu explained that he was in love with **Kuntī**, the daughter of king **Andhakavṛṣṭi** of **Soripura** (1557-58). She would never be married to him, because of his illness (1559). Citrāṅgada consoled him: "If you take this ring, Kuntī will fall in love with you and sleep with you (1562-63). When she is then pregnant, she will be given to you. Pāṇḍu went to Kuntī with the ring and, in the form of Kāma, made love to her. She became	King **Vyāsa** had three sons: **Dhṛtarāṣṭra**, **Pāṇḍu**, and **Vidura**. (7.34) One day Pāṇḍu was enjoying himself in the woods when he found a seal of love of a *vidyādhara*. Because of it, Pāṇḍu was able to obtain **Kuntī**. She begot a son. This was **Karṇa** of **Campāpura**. (7.34-42).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Pāṇḍu went to Kuntī with the ring and, in the form of Kāma, made love to her (15.33). She became pregnant and had to give birth to the child in secret (15.36). She put her son in a basket on the Deva river (15.37). King **Āditya** of **Campāpuri** found the basket with the child in it (15.38) and when he opened it, <u>the child grabbed his ear.</u> Therefore, the king named him **Karṇa** (15.40). After the king had passed away, Karṇa became the king (15.42). After Andhakavṛṣṭi had understood what had happened to his daughter, he married her to Pandu, like **Gāndhārī** to Dhṛtarāṣṭra (15.45). This is how Vyāsa told it.'	pregnant and <u>the king mad her put her son in a basket</u> on the Deva river (1569). King **Sūraja** of **Campāpuri** found the basket with the child in it (1570-71). After the king had passed away, Karṇa became the king (1574). After Andhakavṛṣṭi had understood what had happened to his daughter, he married her to Pāṇḍu, <u>who also married Madrī</u> (1576).'	
Critique on Draupadī's polyandry.		<u>Manovega further explains that one of the ten sons of **Andhakavṛṣṭi** was **Samudravijaya**. He also praises to **Neminath** and **Kṛṣṇa**,[20] and tells that the mother (Kuntī) had three sons</u> (1579). The first one was **Yudhiṣṭhira**,	/

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[20] Neminath is said to be the son of Samudravijaya (in *Nemināthacaritra* of *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣa*), and Kṛṣṇa the son of Vāsudeva, brohter of Samudravijaya.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
		the second **Bhīma** and the third **Arjuna**. Manovega criticizes the marriage of one woman to five men in front of Pavanavega. Similarly, Brahmins would have outcast women, *Dom*-women, bastards, etc. (1584).	
Jain versions of stories from the *Mahābhārata*	'Vyāsa was the son of **Yojanagandhā** and King **Pārāśara**, who is different from the ascetic Pārāśara (15.50-51). **Duryodhana** was the son of **Gāndhārī** and **Dhṛtarāṣṭra** (15.52). The **Pāṇḍavas** are the sons of **Kuntī** and **Madrī**. **Karṇa** served the sons of Gāndhārī, the Pāṇḍavas were helped by **Jarāsandha** and **Keśava** (15.53). **Vāsudeva** killed Jarāsandha in battle and became king (15.54). The sons of Kuntī reached liberation, the two sons of Madrī reached Perfection (15.55). **Duryodhana** and his brothers followed the teachings of the Jina and went to the third heaven (15.56).'	'Vyāsa was the son of **Yojanagandhā** and King **Pārāśara**, who is different from the ascetic Pārāśara (1587-88). **Duryodhana** was the son of **Gāndhārī** and **Dhṛtarāṣṭra** (1589). The **Pāṇḍavas** are the sons of **Kuntī** and **Madrī**. **Karṇa** served the sons of Gāndhārī, the Pāṇḍavas were helped by **Jarāsandha** and **Keśava** (1591). **Vāsudeva** killed Jarāsandha in battle and became king (1592). The sons of Kuntī reached liberation, the two sons of Madrī reached Perfection (1593). **Duryodhana** and his brothers followed the teachings of the Jina and went to the third heaven (1594).'	/

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega tells Pavanavega that Vyāsa told the *Purāṇas* differently, <u>because he wanted to make a useless, but widespread *śāstra*</u> (15.59).'Vyāsa buried his pot on the banks of the Ganges and put a pile of sand on top of it [to find it] (15.60). All people seeing that pile of sand started building piles themselves (15.61). When he had taken his bath, he did not recognise where he had put his pot (15.62). He realised that people follow what they see without reflection and thus decided to make his corrupted *śāstra* (15.64-66).'	Manovega tells Pavanavega that Vyāsa told the *Purāṇas* differently (1595). 'The Brahmin [Vyāsa] buried his pot on the banks of the Ganges and put a pile of sand on top of it [to find it]. All people seeing that pile of sand started building piles themselves. When he had taken his bath, he did not recognise where he had put his pot. He realised that people follow what they see without reflection and thus decided to make his corrupted *śāstra* (1596-600).'	
Fifth entry into Pāṭalīputra	The two *vidyādharas* enter Pāṭalīputra dressed as two Buddhists. They beat the kettle drum and the Brahmins approach. These ask them who they are. Manovega tells them:	The two *vidyādharas* enter Pāṭalīputra dressed as two Buddhists. They beat the kettle drum and the Brahmins approach. These ask them who they are. Manovega tells them:	The two *vidyādharas* enter Pāṭalīputra dressed as two Buddhists, through the fifth gate. They beat the kettle drum and the Brahmins approach. These ask them who they are. Manovega tells them:[21]
The story of the two Buddhists	'We are the sons of Buddhist laymen (15.75).	'We are followers of a Buddhist guru. Once we had to protect the clothes of	'There was <u>a trader **Matibandhura** at **Karmapura**</u>. He was a Buddhist. We

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[21] Here, in the DP$_V$, first the stories of the milk- and the agarwood fool are told (see p. 351 and p. 352 of this appendix).

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Once, we were protecting clothes of Buddhist monks lying outside to dry (15.76), when two jackals approached and frightened us (15.77). We climbed upon a *stūpa*, but the two jackals picked it up and flew with it into the sky (15.78). Hearing our cries, the monks came outside and the jackals flew twelve *yojanas* further (12.79). They dropped the stūpa and stood ready to devour us. But then hunters with dogs and weapons arrived there (15.80). The two jackals fled away (15.81). Then we went along with the hunters and arrived in some city far away from our own city without any travel provisions (15.82-83). We decided to become Buddhist ascetics (15.84). Wandering around we arrived here (15.87).'	monks lying outside to dry (1610), when two jackals approached and frightened them (1611). We climbed upon <u>a huge pile of sand</u>, but the two jackals picked it up and flew with it into the sky, twelve *yojanas* far (1612). As the jackals were ready to devour us, <u>kites and falcons</u> came there. The two jackals fled away (1613). We found ourselves in some region far away from our own region without any belongings (1615). We decided to become Buddhist ascetics.'	are his children. We were studying staying with a Buddhist ascetic (8.18). One day there was a very heavy rain. <u>The rainwater</u> poured down from the sky day and night and so the roof of the house of our teacher began to leak and his clothes got wet. To dry the clothes, we went to the <u>top of a mountain</u>. There, two jackals came by, they took up the mountain and carried it for a distance of twelve *yojanas*. As the clothes of that Buddhist ascetic remained with us, <u>we are now in his dress-up</u>. That is the reason for our ascetic life.'
	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega. Manovega compares his story to the *Purāṇas* (15.94).	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega. Manovega compares his story to the *Purāṇas* (1636).	The Brahmins do not believe Manovega. Manovega compares his story to the following story:

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
The story of building the bridge to Laṅkā.	'When **Rāma**, who had killed **Trīśuras**, **Khara** etc. stayed in the forest with **Lakṣmaṇa** and **Sītā**, **Rāvaṇa** appeared there in the form of a golden deer, and took Sītā (15.95-96). After Rāma was together with King **Sugrīva**, the latter sent **Hanumān** to find news about Sītā. (15.97). Hanumān went to Laṅkā and saw Sītā with the Rākṣasas. So Rāma ordered the monkeys to build a bridge in the water of the ocean (15.98). All the monkeys picked up huge rocks, as if it were a game, and build the bridge. This is how it is told by Vālmīki.'	**Rāmacandra** who killed **Khara**, **Dūṣaṇa** etc., a great warrior <u>who cuts of the heads of his enemies, who drinks and devours blood and skin with yoginis</u> (1639-40). Rāvaṇa came along in the form of a golden deer and he took Sītā (1642-43). When Rāma could not find Sītā, he went to **Sugrīva** and the other monkeys for help. **Hanumān** went to Laṅkā and saw Sītā with Rāvaṇa. When Hanumān told this to Rāma, he ordered the monkeys to build a bridge in the water of the ocean (1644-48). With Hanumān in charge, the monkeys picked up huge rocks, as if it were a game, and build the bridge (1649-52). This is how it is told by Vālmīki.'	'When **Rāvaṇa** had abducted **Sītā**, **Rāma** decided to go to **Laṅkā** and take his wife back (8.21). Rāma however was worried about how to cross the ocean. So, the monkey leaders suggested him that they would construct a bridge to cross the ocean. All the monkeys together lifted up the mountains, carrying several mountains on their heads one on top of the other and constructed the bridge.'
	The Brahmins agree and admit that their *Purāṇas* contain faults (16.3-7).	The Brahmins agree and admit that their *Purāṇas* contain faults (1654-60)	The Brahmins admit they have lost the debate and give Manovega a *jayapatra*.
Fourth explanation in the park outside of the city.	The two *vidyādharas* leave the city and go to the park. Pavanavega asks Manovega about the monkeys and Rāvaṇa (16.7-16).	The two *vidyādharas* leave the city and go to the park. <u>They dress as Śvetāmbaras.</u>	The two *vidyādharas* leave the city and go to the park.

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	Manovega replies that the monkeys like Sugrīva, or the Rākṣasas like Rāvaṇa. are all humans (16.17-18), but are called monkeys because they have monkey characteristics, and are called Rākṣasas because they have those characteristics (16.19). This was told by Gautama to Śreṇika (16.20)	Pavanavega asks Manovega about the monkeys and Rāvaṇa (1664-67). Manovega replies that the monkeys like Sugrīva, or the Rākṣasas like Rāvaṇa. are all humans, but are called monkeys because they have monkey characteristics, and are called Rākṣasas because they have those characteristics. This was told by Gautama to Śreṇika (1664-67).	Manovega explains to Pavanavega how the monkeys and Rāvaṇa really are.
	Dressed as Śvetāmbaras the two go back to the city through the sixth gate, they play the drum, sit on the throne. The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are. Manovega explains:	The two go back to the city through the sixth gate, they play the drum, sit on the throne. The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are. Manovega explains:	In the morning, dressed as Śvetāmbaras the two go back to the city through the Southeastern gate, they play the drum, sit on the throne. The Brahmins approach them and ask them who they are. Manovega explains:
The story of the two brothers and the wood-apple tree.	'We are two brothers, sons of a prosperous sheep owner, who come from **Vṛkṣagrāma** in the **Ābhīra** region. Once, because a shepherd had caught a fever, our father sent us to the forest to let the sheep graze (16.29). There, we saw a wood apple tree full of big fruits. My mind became obsessed with eating those fruits	'We are two brothers. Once, we went to a field to let the sheep graze (1677-78). There, we saw a wood apple tree full of big fruits. My mind became obsessed with eating those fruits (1679-80). But I was too hungry to climb the tree. I cut off my head and threw it to the top of the tree. Then my head came back down and	There is town called **Vaṃśagrāma** in the **Gurjara** region where a **Gauda**-family lived (9.30). We are the sons of that Gauda-family and had many sheep. In order to feed them, we once went to a forest. We were tired and paused at a Belavala tree that was full of fruits. Both of us wanted to eat that fruit. Because we could not climb the

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	(16.30-31). But I was too hungry to climb the tree. I cut off my head and threw it to the top of the tree (16.32-35). After I had filled my belly with the fruits, my head came back down and reattached to my body. (16.36). I went back to the sheep and found my brother asleep (16.37). I asked him where the sheep had gone. He did not know. Because our father would be angry when we returned home, we went to another region (16.40). We changed into the garb of Śvetāmbaras, because our father was a follower of that tradition (16.41-42). Then we arrived here. (16.43).'	reattached to my body. (1682). I went back to the sheep and found my brother asleep (1683). I asked him where the sheep had gone. He did not know. Because our father would be angry when we returned home, we went to another region. We changed into the garb of Śvetāmbaras, because our father was a follower of that tradition (1684-86). Then we arrived here. (1687).'	tree, we chopped off our heads with the knife in our hands threw them up in the tree. Our heads flew from one branch to another, satiated our hunger, ate fruits until our bellies were full, and came down from the tree to fix themselves again to our bodies. By that time our sheep had gone away somewhere. We were afraid to go home to our father without our sheep because he would be angry, therefore we wandered passed many places until we arrived here to behold the beauty of this town. (9.30-35).
	The Brahmins do not believe the story of Manovega. He defends himself with the following story:	The Brahmins do not believe the story of Manovega. He defends himself with the following story:	The Brahmins do not believe the story of Manovega. He defends himself with the following story (9.39):
	'Rāvaṇa with his ten faces worshipped Śiva by cutting off nine of his heads and asked for a boon (16.47-49). He made a Ravanahatha lute out of his own arm and started singing a song that enchanted the gods and the Gandharvas. This convinced Śiva to	'Rāvaṇa with his ten faces worshipped Śiva to ask for a boon. But Śiva did not give him one. So, he cut off nine of his heads (1692-94). He then cut off a vein and made it into a string which he struck with his hand like a *vīṇā* (1694). This convinced Śiva	'When the demon Rāvaṇa was returning from his Digvijaya (great victory) he saw mount Kailāsa and asked his minister which mountain this was. Then the minister said: "This is the great mountain called Kailāsa on which the god Īśvara lives." "Is

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
	give Rāvaṇa the boon he desired. As such, the blood of all the heads that were cut off poured onto the earth.' (16.53)	to give Rāvaṇa the boon he desired (1695).'	there any god greater than me?" exclaimed Rāvaṇa. Angry he got down from his *puṣpaka vimāna* and shook mount Kailāsa with his twenty hands. **Girije** (Pārvatī), out of fear, embraced Hara (**Śiva**) who calmed her down and pressed the mountain down with his toe. Rāvaṇa was astonished. Rāvaṇa cut off his ten heads and offered them to Shiva. In return he received the sword Candrahāsa.
	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this is not in their *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins admit this.	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this is not in their *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins admit this. Manovega adds: 'When **Śiva** becomes very powerful, the three worlds are in misfortune, the *liṅga* of everyone awakens in the world, the ascetics wander around loosely, and the senses burn. Then the ascetics think: "We are immersed in Śiva's stream of poison; the five senses do not give us peace. In this way we do penitence: when you grasp the *liṅga* you should cut it." In their minds the idea emerges that death	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this is not in their *Purāṇas*, if these do not speak of how the heads got back on his neck after seven days. The Brahmins admit this. Manovega adds that also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the monkeys **Bali** and **Sugrīva** are brothers. '**Aṅgada**, the son of Vali, seeking the permission of **Rāma** went to Laṅkā in search of **Sītā**. He entered **Rāvaṇa**'s palace, grabbed the hair of his mother **Kaikesī** and insulted her in that way. Rāvaṇa in his anger, sliced Aṅgada into two pieces. Then **Hanumān** joined the two pieces

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
		brings joy. They meditate to stop the senses and discern thoughts in the mind. They cut Śiva's *liṅga* to remain steadfast. But Śiva did not show any passion on his face. [...] Until Śiva *liṅga* is in the throat, he is tied and wanders. (1701-10).'	back together and brought them to Rāma. Rāma fixed them back together and asked someone to bring the medicine called *sandhibandha,* he crushed the medicine and so Aṅgada got his life back. Is that not a story in your Purana?'
The story of Dadhimukha	There was a Brahmin woman **Śrīkaṇṭha** who had a son called **Dadhimukha**, who was born with only a head. Once he met the ascetic **Agastya** and invited him to his home (16.60-61). But Agastya asked him where he should come as Dadhimukha did not have a house of himself. Dadhimukha did not understand as he lived in the house of his father. Agastya explained to him that to be a "householder" he should have a house and a wife of himself (16.64). Thus, Dadhimukha went to his parents and asked to arrange a marriage (16.65-66). His parents got him a poor girl in exchange for a lot of money (16.67). After the marriage, Dadhimukha wanted to go elsewhere.	There was a farmer who had much wealth. He had a son who only had a head (1711). When he asked his father if his house was not that of him. His father replied that he needed a wife and a house to be a householder. So **Dadhimukha** asked to arrange a marriage for him (1715). They got him a poor girl and spend a lot of money on the dowry (1716). After the marriage, Dadhimukha wanted to go somewhere where they had no friend, nor enemy (1722). She took a basket on her head, placed Dadhimukha in it and carried him from house to house begging for alms (1726). The people admired her for this devotion to her husband (1728). When they arrived in the city of	'A woman became pregnant after listening to a male voice. After she had completed nine months, she gave birth to a head. That head kept on wandering in the village entering houses and kept on flying from one attic to another, constantly eating and drinking milk, curd and ghee. Hence, the head came to be known as **Dadhimukha**. One day, **Agastya** met Dadhimukha on his path of pilgrimage. Dadhimukha said to Agastya: "Where are you from, where are you heading to? Today you should be our guest." Then the ascetic said: "You do not have a wife, you live in the house of others, you eat what they serve, so how can you give me hospitality? First you should marry

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	His wife put him in a basket and off they went (16.70). Travelling from place to place the people admired how well the woman took care of her husband and revered her (16.71-72). When they arrived at the city of Ujjain, they went to a gambling house. She left Dadhimukha there and went into the city to beg for money. There, two gamblers started fighting and one cut off the head of the other (16.73-74). Because during the fight the basket of Dadhimukha was also cut through, his head became attached to the headless body of the gambler (16.75-76).'	Ujjain, she left her husband in the forest and went into the city herself. Some gamblers came into the forest and started fighting (1731-34). One cut off the head of the other and the headless body became attached to the head of Dadhimukha (1735).'	and become a householder, then I will come to your home." Saying thus he left. Dadhimukha went to ask his mother to arrange his marriage. She did, but after the marriage she said to Dadhimukha: "The money I have earned is spent on your marriage. From now on I cannot take care of you." So Dadhimukha decided to leave with his wife. She carried him in a hanging basket and reached a town. There she saw some people gambling in a temple. She hung the basket to the ceiling of the temple and went to wash her clothes. The gamblers started fighting because of some misunderstanding. One person cut the other's head by a sword. When he lifted the sword, it touched the basket and the head of Dadhimukha got attached to the body of the gambler. When his wife returned and saw Dadhimukha standing, she was most happy. Then the wife of the gambler came and she began to quarrel arguing that Dadhimukha was her

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			husband. To solve the quarrel, they went to the judges. They decided that among the organs of the body, the head is important, so they give the verdict that the 'body with Dadhimukha's head would be the husband of Dadhimukha's wife. (9.44-51).'
	Manovega asks the Brahmins if these are not the words of **Vālmīki**? The Brahmins agree. He continues:	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this story is not true. The Brahmins agree.	Manovega asks the Brahmins if this is not in the *Purāṇas*. The Brahmins agree.
Stories of half-gods	'When **Rāvaṇa** killed **Aṅgada** with his sword, **Hanumān** put his body back together (16.80). **Dānavendra** worshipped the gods in order to receive a boon to get a son. Half of the boon he gave to one wife and half to another wife. In this way, they each gave birth to half a son. Then **Jarā** came to them and she united the halves. Thus, **Jarāsandha** was born (16.81-84). The god Skanda who consisted of six parts, could become one. So why	'When **Rāvaṇa** killed **Aṅgada** with his sword, **Hanumān** put his body back together (1741). **Dānavendra** worshipped the gods in order to receive a boon to get a son. Half of the boon he gave to one wife and half to another wife. In this way, they each gave birth to half a son. Then someone came to them and united the halves. Thus, **Jarāsandha** was born (1745). The god Kārttig (Kārtikeya=Skanda) joined his six heads.'	'Once there was a fight between **Dundubhi and Śiva**. Śiva cut of Dundubhi's head, gave it to **Garuḍa** and said: "This can never become old, it cannot be eaten away, even if one eats it daily, but do not place it on the floor. Garuḍa followed this. **Hiḍimbe** however ate the body of Dundubhi and so became pregnant. She gave birth to the headless **Muṇḍa**. Seeing Muṇḍa she felt disgusted and threw him in the forest. Garuḍa found Muṇḍa and threw the head which he was holding in his hand upon his

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	could my two parts not become one (16.87)?'		body. The body got up and started walking. Seeing this, Garuda was surprised. He went to Īśvara and told what had happened. Then the body went near Hiḍimbe and said: I am your son. She named him: Ghatotkaca. (9.51-55). There was a person called Ādikṣatriya. He pleased Mahādeva and therefore he got *divyapiṇḍa*. He distributed it among his two wives. They became pregnant and after the ninth month they gave birth to Ardhāṅga. They felt disgusted and threw it away. A demon called Jare came and joined the two Adhāṅga's, and this came to be known as Jarāsandha.' (9.56-58).
	The Brahmins are not convinced and ask how Manovega's belly could be filled. Manovega replies:	The Brahmins are not convinced and ask how Manovega's belly could be filled. Manovega replies:	The Brahmins are not convinced and ask how Manovega's belly could be filled. Manovega replies:
The *śraddhā* ritual	'When Brahmins eat, fathers and grandfathers are pleased. This is what you believe. Vyāsa and others have taught us things that are lies, such as the idea	'When Brahmins eat, fathers and grandfathers are pleased.' Manovega tells them the story of the origin of the *śraddhā* ritual, which narrates about a merchant sitting in	'When Brahmins eat, the ancestors are pleased. This is what you believe.'

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	that **Rāvaṇa** would have buried **Vālin** under mount **Kailāsa**, and would have defeated **Indra** (16.100-102). How could the great god **Viṣṇu** have become a charioteer to **Arjuna**? What is the use of popular discourse that spreads blindness?'	the royal hall and getting a dream, and continues with a parable of a swan and a crow. (1754-96).	
	The two *vidyādharas* go back to the park. Pavanavega asks Manovega to explain him the difference between Jain *dharma* and that of others (17.1-3).	The two *vidyādharas* go back to the park, where also the ascetic Jinamati sits under a tree. Pavanavega asks to explain him about the correct *dharma* (1820).	The Brahmins acknowledge that Manovega has won the debate. The two *vidyādharas* then leave their Śvetāmbara form and reveal their *vidyādhara* nature. Manovega tells them who he is:
	/	/	'My teacher is **Vāsupūjya** and I follow the pure Jain *dharma*. I am the son of the *Vidyādhara* **Ripujita** of **Vaijayantī**. Pavanavega is my friend (9.71-72). Because my teacher advised me to preach about reality to my friend, I have taken different forms and told these false stories, comparing them to *Vedas*, *Śāstras* and *Purāṇas*. This is how I have won the debates.' Then the Brahmins ask him to explain his *śāstra*.

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			Manovega tells them that his *śāstra* is like a gooseberry in the palm of his hand (10.2), and that it can only be understood by wise people (10.3). 'Some people, though righteous, have wrong practices, some people follow the wrong path of religion. Some do animal sacrifices (10.7)' He continues about how people can be inconsiderate and follow the wrong practices, adding that the human mind can be divided into fourteen categories and four *rītis*. (10.20)
Critique on the Mīmāṃsakas: the Vedas	Manovega explains that the Veda is not an authoritative means of knowledge, because it is not uncreated and is filled with violence (17.7-20).	Jinamati explains that the Veda is wrong because it is filled with violence, and not uncreated (1822-23).	
Critique on the Mīmāṃsakas: the Brahmin caste	'Merely descent does not establish one's *jāti*, only good conduct decides this. Having a Brahmin mother does not decide whether one is a Brahmin (17.23-32).' Manovega further criticises the belief that one can purify oneself from sins by bathing (17.33-39).	'*Jātis* should be distinguished based upon good conduct (1828-30).' Jinamati further criticises those who belief that bathing, burning fire, smearing oneself with oil, shaving the head, smearing oneself with ashes, keeping dreadlocks, remaining silent	

	Amitagati	Manohardās	Vṛttavilāsa
		or reciting the Vedas will lead to liberation (1831-40).[22]	
Critique on the Cārvākas	Manovega also criticises the perspective that there is only matter (body) and no separate consciousness (soul) (17.40-53).	Jinamati also criticises the perspective that there is only matter (body) and no separate consciousness (soul) (1841-45).	
Critique on the Yogikas	Manovega explains that thinking that concentration comes from controlling one's breathing is also false (17.56). 'Only the three jewels of Jainism can destroy the connection between the soul and *karma* (17.59).'	Jinamati explains that thinking that concentration comes from controlling one's breathing is also false (1848). 'Only the three jewels of Jainism can destroy the connection between the soul and *karma* (1851).'	
Critique on false ascetics	'Only correct renunciation and the three jewels can lead to liberation (17.60-69).'	'Only correct renunciation and the three jewels can lead to liberation (1852-58). One who chants or does ascetic practice, who is naked and puts smoke on his body, one who goes on a pilgrimage, who puts his body under stress, who stays silent, bears the cold, one who recites the Veda, one	

[22] Manohardās' critique is directed not only to the Mīmāṃsakas, but towards different religious practices, amongst which also yogic practices.

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		who worships Nirañjana, etc. does not attain liberation (1859-63).'	
Critique on the Buddha	Manovega criticises the Buddha because he broke the body of his mother, because he eats meat, and because he put his own body inside the mouth of a tigress, which shows his lack of self-control. He also criticises the idea that there is no soul or that everything is only momentary (17.70-77).	/	/
Critique on the Hindu gods	'Brahmā who lives in Varanasi and is the son of Prajāpati, or Upendra the son of Vasudeva or Śiva the son of the yogin Sātyaki (17.78), they cannot be the cause of creation, maintenance and destruction. They cannot have one nature (17.79-80). These gods are all subdued by love (17.79). Only those who overcome their senses can attain liberation (17.93-100).'	'Brahmā who lives in Varanasi and is the son of Prajāpati, or Upendra the son of Vasudeva or Śiva the son of the yogin Sātyaki (1867), they cannot be the cause of creation, maintenance and destruction (1869). These gods are all subdued by love and drink alcohol (1870-75).'	

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The Jain view: **The origin of heretic views.**	Pavanavega asks about the origin of heretic views. Manovega explains (18.1-3) that in **Bharata** there is the upward and downward cycle of time. 'They are both divided into six periods. Of the downward cycle the first period is measured by four crores-of-crores of oceans, the second by three crores-of-crores and the third by two crores-of-crores (18.4-8). In these three periods the height of the body is measured sequentially by three-two-one *krosas*, and eating food by three-two-one days (18.9), food is measured by the jujube, gooseberry, and bastard myrobalan fruit (18.10). In those periods there is no scarcity and abundance, no restraint or vows. People can enjoy everything, and are born as twins of a boy and a girl.	Then Jinamati told them: 'In Bharata there are six time-periods that constantly move. They are *sukhamasukhama, sukha, sukhadukha, dukhamasukhama, dukha* and *dukhamadukhama*. The happy [period] is said to be sequentially measured by four-three-two-one crores-of-crores of oceans (1879). In those three periods food of *karma* is known to be the fruits of black myrobalan. There is no sympathy or enmity, there is no restraint or rules of *dharma*, and couples enjoy each other. There is no separation, there is no fear of death, there are no calamities to suffer from (1880-84).	The Brahmins ask Manovega to tell them about his *dharma* (10.21).[23] Manovega explains: 'There are two types of souls: *bhavya* and *abhavya* The *abhavyas* are like stone and the *bhavyas* are like gold. Just like you would test gold, one should test *dharma* and exclude foolishness. The three types of foolishness are: *lokamūḍha* (worldly foolishness) *samayamūḍha* (religious stupidity), *devamūḍha* (godly stupidity). First one should clarify *artadhyāna* and *raudradhyāna* and then only *dharmadhyāna* is to be understood. One should realize *ātmadhyāna* through *dharmadhyāna*. If one overcomes destructive karma by means of *śukladhyāna* then he will attain omniscience. For such omniscient beings Kubera arranges a *samavasaraṇa*. The omnisicent one

[23] From here on there is only a very vague parallel with the text by Amitagati. For reasons of space I have decided to put what follows in Vṛttavilāsa's text next to the other two texts and to underline everything, so that it is clear that his version is different towards the end of the narrative.

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The Jina Ṛṣabha	There are ten types of enjoyments (18.10-16). At the end of the third period there were fourteen Patriarchs. **Ṛṣabha** [descendent of the last Patriarch], ruler of **Ayodhyā**, married the princesses of Kaccha, **Nandā** and **Sunandā**. They gave him a hundred sons. When the wishing trees perished, Ṛṣabha taught the people six professions.' 'When Ṛṣabha saw **Niramjasā**, an *apsaras* sent by Indra, he realized that in transmigration everything is evanescent; only the three jewels are true (18.28-36). Therefore, he decided to renounce the world (18.37). When he had reached liberation, he went to the **Śaṭakapark** and sat under a banyan tree (18.40). He pulled out five fists of hair as a sign of his renunciation (18.41). He convinced	At the end of the third period there were fourteen Patriarchs. One of them was **Nābhi**. **Kubera** created the city of **Ayodhyā** where King Nābhi's son, **Ṛṣabha** ruled. He married the princesses of Kaccha, **Nandā** and **Sunandā**. They gave him a hundred sons. One of them was Bahubali. When the wishing trees perished, Ṛṣabha taught the people four professions: swordsmanship, writing, agriculture and trade (1885-90). When Ṛṣabha saw that dancing girl, he realized that in transmigration everything is evanescent; only the three jewels are true (1891-1900). Therefore, he decided to renounce the world. When he had reached liberation, he went to the Śaṭakapark and sat under a banyan tree. He pulled out five fists of hair as a sign of his renunciation (1902). He convinced four thousand	will be worshipped by gods and goddesses and become the king of the three worlds. The words he utters are *siddhānta* ('canonical'). He keeps himself away from old age, affliction, death, infatuation, hunger, thirst, birth, arrogance, worry, disease, joy, sweat, pity, sex, impatience, intoxication, fear, sleep etc. The omniscient is an abode of good qualities. For that he is called Arihant. Since he has the third eye, called *kevalajñāna*, he can visualize the nature of objects in the three worlds. For that he is called Trinetra. Since he removes *karmas*, he is called Jina. Because he destroys *smaravikāra* (bad emotions), he is called *smaravijaya*. Because he destroys three stages (*tripura*) that are *jāti, jara* and *marana* (birht, old age, death), he is called Tripurahara. (10.32) Since he rests on a lotus of thousand petals, he is called *kamalāsana* (lotusseated). Since he is the creator of the *dharma-tīrtha*, he is called *tīrthaṅkara-paramadeva*. With

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	four thousand kings to become ascetics, but after six months they lost track of the right path. They chose to wear their own dress instead of remaining naked and started eating forbidden foods or went back to their houses (18.42-54). The kings of **Kaccha** and **Mahākaccha** thus took the dress of ascetics. And **Marīci** formed the **Sāṃkhya** philosophy for his student **Kapila.** 363 other heretic theories were formed by these kings, including the **Cārvāka** doctrine by **Śukra** and **Bṛhaspati** (18.58-59). Perceiving all this, the **Jina** started to form a path to help the people (18.62). King **Śreyāṃsa** had a beautiful dream and went to give food to the Jina (18.63). Because of **Bharata** some disciples became Brahmins (18.64). The *tīrthaṅkara* created the four legendary dynasties of **Ikṣvāku, Nātha, Bhoja** and **Ugra** (18.65). The student of **Pārśvanātha, Mauṅgalāyana,** became angry at **Mahāvīra** and created the **Buddhist**	kings to become ascetics, but after six months they lost track of the right path. They chose to wear their own dress instead of remaining naked and started eating forbidden foods or went back to their houses (1903-17). The kings of **Kaccha** and **Mahākaccha** ate roots and the son of **Bharatha,** prince **Marīci** formed the **Sāṃkhya** philosophy (1918). 363 other heretic theories were formed by these kings, including the **Cārvāka** doctrine by **Śukra** and **Bṛhaspati** (1919-20). Perceiving all this, the **Jina** started to form a path to help the people (1923). **Śreyāṃsnāth** had a beautiful dream and went to give food to the Jina. King **Bharatha** created the four *varṇas*: the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaṇijas and Śūdras (1929). The student of **Pārśvanātha, Maṅgalajāna,** became angry at **Mahāvīra** and created the **Buddhist** path. (1931). In the fourth time period, Kalikāl, there will be no discernment of *mithyātva*, there will be no pure behaviour, the Brahmins	these kinds of meaningful names the Jina shines. The one who absorbs all faults, is non-attached and who is a light for others, he is a god.' In this way Manovega explains the existence of *deva*. (10.33). '*Tapas* (asceticism) causes the removal of *māyā* (illusion), *moha* (blindness), *raga* (anger), *dveṣa* (hatred), *mada* (craze), and *matsara* (jealousy). *Tapas* means observing five *vratas* and ten *dharmas.* If one performs external and internal *tapas* without any defects, that is the real tapas.' (10.34).

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	path (18.68). In the fourth time period, the time of strife, all heretical views will be spread.	will become devoid of rationality, perversion will be the base of *dharma*. <u>The low castes, being the fishermen, the washermen, the *caṃḍālas*, the *kāchīs*, the butchers, the liquor-sellers, pickpockets, and robbers, the butchers, the oil-millers, the 'thirteenth caste, , the sellers of betel-leaf, the weavers, the bards, the Jāṭs, the sack makers, the sweepers, the shoemakers, the cane workers, the rice wine-distillers, the crop-sellers, the Muslims, who eat meat and drink liquor, the cotton-carders, and the goldsmiths, they will flourish.</u> Then, the guru will be praised (1935). There are no other jewels for liberation then the fourfold correct insight, knowledge, behaviour and ascetic practice.' (1938-42).	
	Then, the Jina will be praised (18.72-73). There are no other jewels for liberation then the fourfold correct insight, knowledge, behaviour and ascetic practice. (18.78).' (18.80-85).		

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	Pavanavega realises his wrong behaviour and is ready to take up the Jain lay vows (18.86-99). <u>The two mount their *vimāna* and go back to Ujjain.</u>	Pavanavega realises his wrong behaviour and is ready to take up the Jain lay vows (1943-50).	
Explanation of the lay vows	Arriving in the park of Ujjain, they meet **Jinamati** (19.1). He explains to them the lay vows of Jainism. 'There are five small vows (*aṇuvratas*), three subsidiary vows (*guṇavratas*), and four vows of instruction (*śikṣāvratas*) (19.7-12). The five *aṇuvratas* are non-violence, truth, not-stealing, chastity and non-attachment. They can be known by perception, action and being (19.13). **(1)** Living beings are divided into those that move about (*trasa*) and those that do not. There are four types of *trasas*: those who have two, three, four or five sense organs (19.17-18). **Violence** is of two types: *ārambha* and *anārambha* (19.19). One should not eat meat, alcohol, honey, five types of figs, bulbous	Manovega asks Jinamati to explain the vows of Jainism to him. Jinamati explains to them the lay vows (1952-53). 'There are five small vows (*aṇuvratas*), three subsidiary vows (*guṇavratas*), and four vows of instruction (*śikṣāvratas*). The five *aṇuvratas* are non-violence, truth, not-stealing, chastity and non-attachment (1963). **(1)** There are four types of *trasas*: those who have two, three, four or five sense organs (1964). The *sthāvaras* are of five kinds. One should not use **violence** (1966). We should discipline our food and drink. We cannot eat five types of figs or the three types of *makāra* (1967-68). **(2)** One should avoid passions. **(3)** One should speak the truth (1969).	Then Manovega explains that *dharma* is either for laity or for mendicants. <u>'Mendicant *dharma* is divided into ten types and lay *dharma* has four types. Those four are charity, devotion, chastity and fasting.'</u> (10.35) To remove *karma* and reach liberation one should follow the three jewels. <u>The Brahmins are convinced of the superiority of Jainism (10.44). They ask Manovega to explain the Jain vows. Manovega takes them in his *vimāṇa* and takes them to the ascetic Vāsupūja.</u> <u>Śrī Vāsupūja initiates the Brahmins</u> and explains the twelve vows, existing of five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*. <u>He also explains the *hosavrata* (10.63) by means of the following story:</u>
The five *aṇuvratas*			

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	roots or roots, fruits and flowers (19.29-45). (2) One should avoid passions. (3) One should speak the truth (19.47-48). (4) One should not take the belongings of another (19.49-50). (5) One should not enjoy the wives of others, but be content with one's own wife.	(4) One should not take the belongings of another (1970-71). (5) One should not enjoy the wives of others, but be content with one's own wife.	
The three *guṇavratas*	The three *guṇavratas* exist of restricting *dig* (direction), *deśa* (location) and *anarthadaṇḍa* (harmful activity) (19.73-82).	The three *guṇavratas* exist of restricting *dig* (direction), *deśa* (location) and *anarthadaṇḍa* (harmful activity) (1995-2004).	
The three *śikṣāvratas*	The *śikṣāvratas* are of four types: equanimity (*sāmāyika*), fasting (*upoṣita*), limiting consumption (*bhogopabhoga*) and sharing food with a guest (19.83-91). One should give alms to an ascetic in nine ways and with seven virtues (19.93). When one approaches death, he should do *sallekhanā*.'	The *śikṣāvratas* are of four types: equanimity (*sāmāyika*), fasting (*poṣa*), limiting consumption (*upabhoga*) and sharing food with a guest (2005-2016). One should give alms to an ascetic in nine ways and with seven virtues (2017-22). When one approaches death, he should do *sallekhanā*. <u>The vow of silences has seven types of silence (2030-31).</u>	

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Other vows / The stories of Dhanavatī and of Śrīdhara	Jinamati then explains that one should not eat at night (20.2-10), and that one who eats outside of the two allowed moments of the day, should do a twofold fast for one month (20.12). He explains the rules of fasting (20.13-19), and that *dāna* should be understood as fourfold: giving food, giving medicine, giving books and giving shelter (20.24-39). Then he explains that there are seven types of low conduct: drinking alcohol, eating meat, gambling, stealing, intercourse with the wife of another and intercourse with a prostitute. (20.41-51). 'These vows lead to liberation from *karma*. (20.52-64) In all the vows the most important aspect is truthfulness (20.65-66). Faith (*darśana*), conduct (*caritra*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) are the tree ways to prevent rebirth. He who is truthful	One should not eat at night and one who eats outside of the two allowed moments of the day, should do a twofold fast for one month (2033-39). There are four types of *dāna*: giving food, giving medicine, giving the necessary to produce books (*jñāna*) and giving shelter (2039-45).[24] There are seven types of low conduct that lead to suffering: drinking alcohol, eating meat, gambling, stealing, intercourse with the wife of another and intercourse with a prostitute (2048-52). One can think of Yudhiṣṭhira or Kīcaka 2053). He who follows these vows will find liberation (2054-63).	'There was a city called **Citrakūṭa**. Its king was **Cārunareśvara**, and his wife was **Dhanavatī**. One day at night the wife of an outcast came to their house to beg for rice. That night the son of Dhanavatī insisted to have his dinner. Dhanavatī did not serve him food. Then the wife of the outcast asked her why she did not want to serve food to her son. Dhanavatī replied that Jains are not supposed to eat at night. The outcast wife asked why. Dhanavatī explained that if Jains eat at night, they will go to hell, they will have a short span of life, they will become deformed, cripple, and wreck their family. The outcast wife asked what one will obtain by following the vow. Dhanavatī replied: "Those who perform that vow can become a god in the godly realm. He will be born in this world as a Kṣatriya of great lineage and enjoy all pleasures. Then,

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[24] *Jñāna dāna* includes gifting paper, pens, scribes as well as shelter for a mendicant to write and the facilities needed for public sermons.

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	in these three ways is most excellent. (20.67-80).		by doing tapas one can attain the state of omniscience." Then the outcast woman accepted the vow and returned home. That night her husband invited her for food, but she said that she had accepted not to eat at night. Her husband stabbed her and killed her because she had not followed his order. She was reborn as the daughter of Dhanavatī. She was given the name **Nāgaśrī**. The outcast husband killed himself with the same sword and was born from the womb of the wife of a night-watcher for. (10.63-72)
			In the same town there was a merchant called **Śrīdhara**, his wife was called **Śrīvadhu**. He was known for his charity. One day he went out for business. Before leaving he said to his wife to continue the charity he was doing. But she stopped giving donations and kept all wealth. Śrīdhara returned and came to know his wife's deceit. So Śrīdhara wrote a fake letter, had it sent through a

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			messenger and told him to tell her that the letter was written by her father. In the letter it was written that her father was ill and that she should visit him. The wife became sad, took the permission of her husband and went to her father. Śrīdhara in the meantime married Nāgaśrī and lived a happy life. Śrīdhara did not request his wife to come back, but Śrīvadhu returned herself. Her husband did not accept her. She requested her husband to forgive her. The husband let her live in a small separate house and went away for his naval business. Nāgaśrī did give charity. Śrīvadhu wanted to take part of that charity so that she could gain virtue. She expressed her desire to her co-wife. Ṇāgaśrī invited her to her house and let her give charity. On those days, there was nobody to invite Śrīvadhu, so Nāgaśrī sent a black dog to invite her. Śrīvadhu became angry and poured boiling oil on its head and sent it back. The dog returned and fell

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			down at the doorstep of the house. It was about to breathe its last breath, and so Nāgaśrī chanted the *pañcanamaskāra.* Hearing this the dog died. The dog was reborn as a *vyantara-deva* because it had heard the *pañcanamaskāra.* Then the merchant returned home with a lot of money. While travelling on the sea, he was caught in a storm. The *vyantara-deva* realized that Śrīdhara was in danger and wanted to help him because he was the master of his previous birth. He saved Śrīdhara who was caught in the storm and safely brought him to shore. The *vyantara-deva* bowed down before the merchant and remembered the elder wife of Śrīdhara who had caused his death and the younger wife who had helped him. He gifted the merchant with special jewels and ornaments and handed over a divine necklace that was meant to be given to Nāgaśrī. The merchant returned home and gave Nāgaśrī that special necklace.

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			The news of the divine necklace reached the king's ears. The king requested the merchant to give the necklace and gave it then to his own wife. As soon as she put on the necklace, she transformed into a serpent. The king then called the merchant and told him about the incident. The merchant explained him how he had gotten that necklace. The king did not believe him and punished him. But then the king repented and met **Yatideva**, an ascetic. He touched his feet and the ascetic said, "this is beyond my control you should go to the merchant." The king felt ashamed of his act and requested the merchant to forgive him. Then *vyantara-deva* also came and explained his previous birth. The king and his courtiers were happy and went to the Jain temple. They took up the Jain vows, ended foolishness and received truthfulness. The merchant patronized the building of a Jain

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			temple. All these people gave charity and worshipped the Jina without distractions. If one could achieve such unparalleled wealth by doing only by not eating at night, then what could a person not achieve by following the other vows. (10.95)
The end	Pavanavega is convinced by these teachings by Jinamati. Together with his friend Manovega he goes back to their mountain. There, the two *vidyādharas* are now completely engaged with following the fourfold lay *dharma* (20.81-89)	After these teachings, Manovega touches the feet of the ascetic. Then the two friends take off in their *vimāma* and then wander around as renouncers. Manovega decides to take *dīkṣā* and eventually attains perfection (2064-66).	The Brahmins were amazed by by his preaching, understood the righteous view of Jainism and accepted the lay vows.