THE STORY OF KĀLAKA

TEXTS, HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND MINIATURE PAINTINGS
OF THE SVETĀMBARA JAIN HAGIOGRAPHICAL WORK

THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ

(With 15 Plates)

BY

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PREFACE

One December morning in 1922 there appeared at my door in Benares a man asking if I would purchase a manuscript. He unwrapped a cloth and showed me a book of richly illuminated folios, written with gold ink on a specially prepared background of red, black, or blue, and enriched with seven primitive paintings of brilliant color and skillful draftsmanship. The purchase was completed as soon as the price was named, and this "jewel" became my possession.

It was the first illustrated Indian manuscript I had ever held in my hands, and its miniatures were the first of the Western Indian school I had ever seen. Its subject was the story of the Master Kālaka (the Kālakācāryakathā), and from that time dates my interest in Kālaka and in the Western Indian style of painting that precedes the Mughal-Rajput schools.

For a number of years that interest was not pursued very actively, but in 1928 the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, acting in cooperation with the University of Pennsylvania, generously made it possible for me to spend a year in Europe and India searching for materials dealing with the story of Kālaka as the subject of history, legend, and art, and it is therefore to that Foundation and to my own University that I must express my gratitude for the opportunity to work in this delightful field and the pleasure of making contacts with Jain monks and laymen.

The bulk of my material has come from manuscripts lying in Jain libraries in India, the remainder from manuscripts belonging to libraries and museums in America and Europe. These various institutions have without exception accorded me every privilege, either in permitting me to examine or photograph manuscripts in their collections, or in providing me with photographs or copies. Specific acknowledgment to them will appear in the following pages.

The individuals who have taken their time to help me are many. In Europe Prof. H. Jacobi, veteran Jain scholar, first to publish a version of the Kālaka legends, not only gave me introductions to Jains in India but also provided me with a photocopy of a valuable text and discussed points with me. Prof. Ernst Leumann, that other veteran Western student of Jainism, editor of two other versions of the Kālaka story, copied out for me the paragraph concerning Kālaka in Klatt's unpublished Jainic Onomasticon. Dr. A. Guérinot placed his wide learning in Jainism at my disposal and gave me many valuable references.

In India my helpers include, of laymen, Prof. H. D. Velankar, of the Wilson College, Bombay, who copied out many citations from the Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts which he is preparing, a work destined to be of the greatest usefulness; Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, who gave me access to all the materials under his control; Mr. F. B. P. Lory, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, who furnished me with introductions in Ahmedabad; most of all Mr. K. P. Mody, of Ahmedabad, who with generosity
inspired by devotion to his religion, forsook his business affairs for many days to introduce me to monks and to get me entrance to Jain libraries in Ahmedabad, Patan, and Cambay, and to borrow for me manuscripts from other cities.

Of Jain monks many have given me of their time and learning. In the order in which I met them, they are Sāgara Ānanda Sūri, Vijaya Vallabha Sūri, Muni Kānti Vijaya, Muni Hamsa Vijaya, Muni Catura Vijaya and his disciple Muni Pumya Vijaya, two profound scholars of Jain texts, who collected manuscripts for my inspection and photographing at Patan, and Vijaya Nemi Sūri, who opened for me his library in Cambay. It was not my good fortune to meet Vijaya Indra Sūri, successor to Vijaya Dharma Sūri, but my indebtedness to him is heavy. At his suggestion manuscripts were obtained for me from Agra and, more important, the institute at Shivpurī was thrown open to me. There I met two excellent scholars, Muni Vidyā Vijaya and Muni Jayanta Vijaya, with whom I read the version of the Kālaka legend beginning haya pduṇḍiṇya payāsvo.

It is perhaps permissible to record here my appreciation not merely of the courtesy and scholarship of Jain monks and laymen but also of their lofty ideals and noble lives. They are of the greatness that is India. There is a spirit of helpfulness, tolerance, and sacrifice coupled with their intelligence and religious devotion that marks them as one of the world's choice communities.

Further, I must acknowledge my obligation to the Darbars of the Baroda, Gwalior, and Cambay states, which gave me all aid and hospitality while I was within their borders engaged in study.¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 9, 1931.

W. NORMAN BROWN.

¹ My thanks are due also to the Freer Gallery of Art, and to its Curator, Mr. John Ellerton Lodge, for assuming the publication of this work, providing me with the facilities of the Gallery for my study, and giving valuable advice in the selection of illustrations. Joined with the Gallery is the editorial department of the Smithsonian Institution, headed by Mr. W. P. True, which has given me most valuable assistance in every technical phase of the production. [April 11, 1932.]

Since this study was made, Professor Leumann, whose scholarship and personal kindness both hold me under obligation, has died.
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Chapter 1

THE KÁLAKA STORY AS LEGEND AND HISTORY

Among the many non-canonical works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Gujarati, and other languages produced by the Śvetāmbara Jains are numerous accounts of the Ācārya Kālaka, or Kālīka.1 In the following pages 17 redactions of this cycle either in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit or Sanskrit will be mentioned and discussed at greater or less length,2 some of the texts appearing in edition, with or without an English translation. Still other redactions exist, mostly in modern languages, such as Gujarati,3 for the legend is well known and is considered important by the Śvetāmbaras.

The legend usually appears at the end of the Kalpasūtra (after the Paryuṣanākalpa)4 ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, now read by the Jain monks at the time of the Paryuṣanā festival to monks and laymen alike, although according to the Jain tradition it was until the year 510, or 523, of the Vikrama era (A. D. 453, or 466)4 read only to monks. The reason for the close connection between the Kālaka legends and the Kalpasūtra lies in the fact that tradition, as narrated in the legends themselves, makes Kālaka the sūfrī under whose authority the date of concluding the Paryuṣanā festival was advanced from the fifth to the fourth night of the light half of the month Bhādrapada.6 The legend of Kālaka is indeed sometimes mentioned as the ninth

1 The variation in spelling is similar to that appearing in the case of many other proper names, as Sālavāhana and Sālivāhana; in the older versions Kālaka, or a Prakrit equivalent, is the spelling usually appearing in the body of the text, Kālīka the spelling appearing in introductory stanzas or in colophons. The Kālaka legend has been treated from original materials as follows: Bhu Daji, Inroads of the Scythians and the story of Kālaka, Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc., vol. 9 (years 1867-70), pp. 139-146, 1872, who mentions a number of versions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marwari, and Gujarati; H. Jacob, Das Kālākāracyakathāhānakam, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, pp. 217-318, 1886, being text of our L-A.V. (see p. 36), edited from a single manuscript, with introduction, translation, and glossary; E. Leumann, Zwei weitere Kālaka-Legenden, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges. 37, pp. 403-520, 1885, being the versions of Bhādevasūrī (see our p. 87) and Dharma-prabhasūrī (see our p. 92), edited each from a single manuscript, with introduction and glossary; the text of the version beginning “Śītāraśākāśyānūnmatum” (see our p. 98), edited, but without exact critical notes, at the conclusion of the Kalpasūtra in the Śvet Devachand Lalbhāi Jain Pusta-kodhir Fund Series, no. 18, Bombay, 1914. There is also a very brief note by A. Weber on a modern version, the authorship of which he does not identify although his report makes it sound like that of Samayavandara (see our p. 34) in Abh. der berl. Akad. Wiss., 1877, p. 7, note. For citations of literature dealing originally with the miniatures illustrating the Kālaka legends, see chapter II, p. 13. The material provided by the scholars mentioned above has been utilized secondarily by numerous other scholars, many of whom will be quoted in this work.

2 See especially chapter III, pp. 25 ff.

3 See pp. 25, 34, 56.


6 For this festival see Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, pp. 76, 208, 250, Oxford, 1915; Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 433, Berlin, 1925.
lecture (*vyākhyaṇa or vācanā*) of the Kalpaśūtra, and is to be read with the Kalpaśūtra on the first night of the Paryānśaṇā.

A second, and subordinate, reason for the importance attached to the legend of Kālaka is its moral lesson that he who labors for the eminence of the Faith obtains imperishable glory. A causistic application is sometimes given this idea, to the end that if in so doing he should perform actions otherwise reprehensible, the purity of his purpose will nevertheless justify his conduct. Still another lesson taught by Kālaka's story is the value of having *labdhī* (magic power acquired by Yoga); for with its aid Kālaka punished Gardabhīla (see note 18 to this chapter). In many of the texts Kālaka has to expiate the wrathfulness and vengefulness of his dealings with King Gardabhīla, for these characteristics are sharply at variance with the ethics of Jainism.

At precisely what time the various anecdotes clustering about the name Kālaka were first gathered together in a single text it is impossible to say. The upper limit could not be before the second half of the tenth century A. D. This fact seems clear from the reference to Vairasinha (or Vairisinha) as the father of Kālaka, and ruler of Dhārā. This Vairasinha seems to be Vairisinha II of the Paramāra Rajput line that ruled Mālava for a number of centuries, and he is reputed to have changed the capital from Ujjain to Dhar. He could not possibly have been the father of any of the Kālakas mentioned in our legend and our stories cast no light upon him, yet for some reason unknown to me his name has been connected with that of Kālaka. The dates for Vairisinha II are not certain, but Bühlert makes it clear that he and his successor Harṣa Siyaka reigned probably during the years 920-974 (or 975) A. D., at the end of which time Vākpāti II (Munjia, Amoghaśavāra) came to the throne. The lower limit, on the other hand cannot be below the first half of the thirteenth century A. D., for Bhāvadevasūri, who flourished 1250 A. D., wrote a brief version. The Long Anonymous Version (L. A. V.) is undated, but the oldest manuscript of it that I have used was copied Vikrama Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279), and I saw at Patan another damaged manuscript that was dated a year earlier; the Prabhāvakacarita, which contains a short version, was written in Vikrama Saṃvat 1334 (A. D. 1277). The great Hemacandra (A. D. 1089-1172) mentions Kālaka in his Yogaśastrāvytī, which he composed at the request of his patron, King Kumārapāla (reigned Vikrama Saṃvat 1199-1229), and gives one anecdote of his story. The Kālaka cycle, therefore, may reasonably be considered as old as the twelfth century A. D., while evidence to show it earlier would not come to us with any surprise. It is not impossible that the Kālaka legend was first put into literary form during the reign of King Bhōja (c. 1018-1060)

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8 See, for example, Vīnayacandra's version (p. 20), stanza 2:
   avadyenaḥaḥ kuryāḥ jāna-pravacana-nātān
   sa sadhyati pratīkṛṣṇatāh sadhīḥ Kālaśāstrarvīvat.
9 For the chronology of the Paramāra Rajputas of Mālava see Bühler, Epigraphia Indica, vol. 1, pp. 222 ff. For the association of Vairisinha II with Dhar see in the same article, p. 237, and in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. 11, p. 203, 1908.
10 See p. 87.
11 See p. 25 and p. 36.
of Mālava, whose capital was Dhar, the celebrated patron of letters, but there is no direct evidence to prove the hypothesis.

The various recensions of the Kālaka legend have an amazingly unitarian character. With only a few minor points of exception they treat his career in four episodes.15 In the first we have Kālaka’s conversion and initiation under Guṇākara and the dealings with Gardabhillā, the wicked king of Ujjayini, whose overthrow Kālaka effects with the help of the Sāhis (Sanskritized as Śākhis). In the second we have the events at the city of Kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra, and the alteration of the date of the Paryuṣāṇā; in the third we read of Kālaka’s reproof to his vainglorious spiritual grandson Sāgaradatta; in the fourth Kālaka expounds the Nigoda doctrine, to Śakra. In one case episodes three and four are omitted,16 and in another a fifth episode is added.17 Minor details vary slightly in the different recensions, but not seriously. The variations are chiefly stylistic, and it is on this ground that I have ventured to publish in this volume a number of recensions.

Of the four episodes of the Kālaka legend it is probable that the one dealing with the change of the Paryuṣāṇā date was the last to be included in the cycle, for it is the only one that is never illustrated by paintings in the manuscripts (see p. 115). This fact might be in accordance with the comparatively late time at which the change of the Paryuṣāṇā date was effected (see p. 6).

It seems impossible to ascribe all the known versions of the Kālaka cycle to a single written source, whether that source should be one of these versions or some other lost original. A reconstructed original text, like that of the Pañcatantra so brilliantly set up by Edgerton,18 cannot in my opinion be constituted; the wording of the versions is too divergent. It is hardly likely that any ever existed. There was probably for many years a mass of floating legend around the name of Kālaka, which was well known throughout Śvetāmbara circles. This existed for the most part orally and the monks told it in long and short versions, each to some degree inventing his own phraseology. So, too, when it came to transcribing the legends, it was probably from oral sources that the monks drew quite as often as from literary, and the summary (samskṛtepatāḥ) versions, which are numerous, derived from each kind of tradition. The most that it seems possible to do is to indicate groups of versions, the separate members of each group being more closely allied to one another than to members of any other group.19

The various anecdotes connected with the name Kālaka are mentioned in the Śvetāmbara books outside the works dealing primarily with Kālaka. The learned

15 Jacobi, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, p. 299, considers the story to be in six episodes, dividing our first into two (first, conversion; second, uprooting of Gardabhillā) and our second into two (first, dealings with Balamitra and Bhānumitra; second, changing of the Paryuṣāṇā). The separation is logical; for the Kālaka converted by Guṇākara seems to have been the hero of our fourth episode; while, according to the usual Jain tradition, Balamitra and Bhānumitra lived many centuries before the Kālaka who altered the Paryuṣāṇā date. Nevertheless the texts seem to regard the episodes of the story otherwise.

16 See chapter III, subrecension 5a (p. 20).

17 See chapter III, recension 16 (p. 33). This is the episode also given by Hemacandra in the Yogaśāstra-vṛtti II. 60.


19 See chapter III, pp. 25 ff.
monk Sāgara Ānanda Sūri was kind enough to copy out for me a passage from the Daśācūrī, folio 45 of a MS. in his possession, which tells of the changing of the Paryuṣaṇā date.\(^{17}\) The learned monk Vijaya Nemi Sūri also had two passages copied for me from the Bhaktakalpācūrī, the first from the fourth Udāsaka, on folio 509 of MS. no. 1 in his library,\(^{18}\) where Kālaka's tale is mentioned as being well known, the second from the fourth Udāsaka, on folio 355 of MS. no. 6 in his library.\(^{19}\) Śakra's questioning of Kālaka about the Nigodas is mentioned, according to the learned Muni Jayanta Vijaya, in the Āvāyakācūrī by Jinaḍāsa (said to have lived in the tenth century of the Vīra era), on the gāthā devindavanichāhin in Part 1 (Āvāyakācūrī, gāthā 774); in the tiṅkā on the Uttarādhīyanasūtra, adhyāyana 2, by Śantisūri (died Vikrama Samvat 106; see Klaś, Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, p. 253) appears the incident of Sāgaraacandra's self-conceit, also in the Uttarādhīyanasūtra and in the Uttarādhīyanaacūrī (see Uttarādhīyana, pt. 1, being no. 32 in the Devchand Laibhai Jāin Pustakoddhara Fund Series, p. 127a, bottom, to vs. 119, which is printed as vs. 120). In the commentary by Devendra, assisted by Munibhadra, to Vimalacandraśūri's Praśottaramālā, commentary to stanza 25, brief mention is made of the Kālakācāryakāthā; this work, as I understand Weber, is from the year Vikrama Samvat 1420 (A.D. 1372), and the Devendra mentioned would not be the author of the tiṅkā on the Uttarādhīyanasūtra.\(^{20}\) In Somacandra's Kathāmahoddadi, composed in Vikrama Samvat 1504, the story of Kālaka is no. 31.\(^{21}\)

The most striking single incident of the Kālaka cycle, namely, the defense of a city by an ass magic, has a rather attenuated parallel in the Pāli Jātaka book, no. 434.


\(^{18}\) viṣa[
\(^{1}\)


the Ghatajataka (Fausboll's text 4, pp. 79 ff., especially pp. 82-83; Cambridge translation 4, pp. 50 ff., especially 52-53), which is a garbled version of the Krishna legend. There the city of Dvaravati was protected by a yaksha (Skt. yakaṣa; cf. the viṣṭā, or viḍyā, of Jain texts), which, when enemies approached, would take the form of an ass and bray. At once the city would by magic rise and fly to an island, where it would remain until the enemy had left; then it would return. This insipid legend must certainly be connected with that in our cycle, and establishes a decent antiquity for the motif of a city protected by ass magic, but, as far as I can see, has no further significance for us.

In a number of connections it is made evident that the stories assembled around the name Kālaka are not confined to a single person, but relate to three, who are separated from one another by appreciable periods of time. The texts themselves occasionally make this clear,22 and other sources confirm the general statement.23 It was Jacob's opinion, on making his investigation, that the tradition should be extended so as to increase the number of Kālakas from three to five,24 but Leumann felt that there was no reason to assume more than the three,25 I think correctly. These are differentiated in the traditions as follows:

Kālaka I. Also known as Sāmajja (Śyāmārīya), the author of the Prajñāpanāsūtra,26 successor of Guṇasundara (= Guṇākara in the Kālaka tales), according to the Daśapurūvin list in Merutunga and the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra, and to the Yugasradhānasvaruṇī, where he is number 12. In the Mahāgiri line of the Nandi- and Āvāṣyakasūtra he follows Śūi (Śvāti). According to the statement, presumably by Devarddhiwigin, in the introduction to the Prajñāpanāsūtra, and in the Kalpadruma and in Samayasundara's introduction to his version of the Kālakācāryakaṇṭha he was the twenty-third sthavira, but this position is obtained only by including the 11 ganadharas in the count.27 In the paṭṭāvali of the Kharataragaccha, in connection with the citation of the sthavira Vīra (980 Vīra era) the three Kālakas are mentioned and their dates given;28 in the paṭṭāvali of the Taqāgaccha, in connection with the citation of the ninth sthavira, is mentioned the alternative tradition of the Nandī- and Āvāṣyakasūtra.29 In Dharmasāgaragāna's Gurvāvajalīṣṭūtra he

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22 Dharmaprabhaśūrī's version, appended stanza (see p. 97); Samayasundara's late version (see p. 31).
23 Jacob, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, pp. 250 ff., gives traditions according to the Kalpadruma (a late commentary on the Kalpasūtra), the introduction (presumably by Devardhigāna) to the Prajñāpanāsūtra, the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra, the Nandi- and Āvāṣyakasūtra; Leumann, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, pp. 466 ff., considers the traditions according to Dharmaprabhaśūrī (see the preceding footnote), the Mahāgiri line, as given by Merutunga (the Nandi- and Āvāṣyaka tradition), the Suhastin line (the line according to the Kalpasūtra and Daśārutarakandha), the Daśapurūvin List according to Merutunga (the same as the line of the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra); Klati, Indian Antiquary, vol. 13, pp. 245 ff., giving the paṭṭāvali of the Kharataragaccha and Taqāgaccha; Klati, in Festgruss an Otto von Böhlitz, pp. 54 ff., Stuttgart, 1898, giving the apocryphal list of the Yugasradhānasvaruṇī, composed Vīrakrama Saṅvat 1685 (A. D. 1689); Weber, op. cit., no. 1960, a MS. of Dharmasāgaragāna's Gurvāvajalīṣṭūtra with commentary; Dharmasāgara was living 1573 A. D. (Winternitz, Geschichte ... vol. 2, p. 355.)
is mentioned as living at the time of the twelfth sthavira, Sihagiri, and alternative
dates of 376 and 386 Vira era are given.\(^{29}\) He lived as a householder 20 years,
as a monk 35, as sūri 41, as stated in an appended stanza to one manuscript of
Bhāvadeva's version of the Kālakācāryakathā\(^{28}\) and in the Yugapradhānasvarūpa. He
became sūri in 335 Vira era and died in 376, according to the usual tradition,
although there is a variant making the date 386, which is mentioned in the paṭṭāvalī
of the Tapāgaccha.\(^{31}\) Samayasyasundara mentions variant dates of 320 and 325 (should
the latter be 335, emending vīsa to āśa?), without giving them credence.\(^{32}\) This
Kālaka is credited with expounding the Nigoda doctrine to Śakra, as related in
the fourth episode of the Kālakācāryakathā (so the statements in Samayasya
tradition, in the paṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragaccha, in the Yugapradhānasvarūpa,
and in a stanza given as a gloss to Dharmaprabhasūri's version). The Kalpadruma
assigns this feat to the third Kālaka, but both tradition and probability are again
against this; for the Prajñāpanāsūtra, which is always ascribed to Kālaka I, discusses that
doctrine.\(^{33}\) The Yugapradhānasvarūpa and Dharmasāgara assign the change of the
Paryuṣaṇā date to the first Kālaka, thus countering the ordinary tradition.

Kālaka II. Brother of the nun Sarasvati, uprooter of Gardabhillā, according to
all authorities but one. Most versions make him the disciple of Guṇākara (= the
sthavira Guṇasundara), but this must be an error; for on chronological grounds it
must have been Kālaka I who was Guṇākara's disciple. The Kalpadruma and Sama-
yasyasundara add an alternative tradition stating that Kālaka II was the maternal unce
of the kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra of Jain tradition, thus agreeing with a few
versions of the Kālakācāryakathā, although most of them identify the Kālaka who
was the uncle of those kings with the Kālaka who changed the date of the Paryu-
ṣaṇā (Kālaka III, according to the general tradition). The year of Kālaka II is by
all authorities said to be 453 of the Vira era, in which year it is specifically stated
in a stanza appended to three MSS. of Dharmaprabhasūri's version that he took
(gahiya) Sarasvatī. Possibly the statement is slightly inaccurate, and the date refers
to his accession to the position of sūri, just as in other stanzas appended to MSS. of
the same version the year 335, which is the date of accession to the position of sūri,
is mentioned as that of Kālaka I. Dharmasāgara Gaṇaṇī assigns the deeds of Kālaka II
to Kālaka I.

Kālaka III. He advanced the time of concluding the Paryuṣaṇā festival from
the fifth night of the light half of the month Bhādrapada to the fourth, in the year
993 Vira era (523 Vikrama era, A. D. 466), according to all but a very few authori-
ties.\(^{34}\) In the Yugapradhānasvarūpa, where the change of the Paryuṣaṇā date is

\(^{29}\) Klatt, in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 55, note 5.
\(^{31}\) Klatt, Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, p. 225.
\(^{32}\) The year 325, if assumed to refer to the death of Kālaka I, would almost correspond with that of 386, if
understood in accord with the Jain chronology employed by Hemacandra (see Jacob, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadra-
bhūmī, p. 8; Charpentier, in Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, p. 175). In this chronology the death of Mahāvīra is
set 60 years later than in the usual Jain chronology (467 B. C. instead of 327), and 325, according to it, would
correspond with 385 in the usual chronology.
\(^{34}\) To the sources mentioned in note 23 of this chapter, add the references from the Sandehavijñānasūtra and other
commentaries on the Kalpasūtra reported in Jacob, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabhūmī, pp. 114-118.
ascribed to Kālaka I, it is stated that Kālaka III merely confirmed the change.\textsuperscript{35} Dharmasāgarāgāṇin also credits Kālaka I with the change.

Although the first, second, and fourth episodes of the Kālakācāryakathā are associated with Kālakas otherwise reported in Jain tradition, the third episode is left unrelated to any of them. This is the episode of Kālaka's reproof of his vairgolious spiritual grandson, with which is associated his use of the sand illustration to teach how the knowledge of the sacred lore has diminished steadily from the time of Mahāvīra. It would be idle for us to attempt a reference to any particular one of the three Kālakas, although one is tempted to think of Kālaka I, on the ground that he who used the sand illustration might also be the one who dealt with the Nigoda computations, which are kindred to it in so far as they all deal with innumerable minutaæ.

There is a Jain astronomer known from Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's Brhajjātaka, vol. 15, p. 1, whose name appears in western treatises as Kālakācārya.\textsuperscript{36} The name is regularly preceded by the syllable vam, for which no one offers an explanation. Possibly the astronomer's name was Vamkālakācārya. This might be a somewhat curious formation, being Prakrit vamkālaka (vukrālaka, "having curly curls") and the usual Sanskrit title acārya. Leumann suggests that this astronomer is the same as the Kālaka who changed the date of the Pārvaṣṭāṇā festival, since the change implies the making of astronomical calculations. If the astronomer is really one of our three Kālakas, he might perhaps more plausibly be identified with Kālaka I, author of the Prajñāpanāsūtra and expounder of the Nigoda, computer of large sums, reader of Śakra's palm, as narrated in the fourth episode of the Kālakācāryakathā. But he may be none of these, and, as I have suggested, not actually bear the name Kālaka.

There remain then, according to Jain tradition, three Kālakas: the first died Vira era 376; the second flourished (perhaps became sūri) Vira era 453; the third was living Vira era 993.

The tradition concerning Kālaka I, once the miraculous elements are excluded, is essentially credible. The claim that he composed the Prajñāpanāsūtra can be neither proved nor disproved, but it is entirely possible that he should have done so.

With Kālaka II the general tradition is acceptable. But he could not have been the disciple of Guṇākara, provided Guṇākara is the same as Guṇasundara, for dates are against that. He might have uprooted King Gardabhilla by bringing in invaders from the west. As the dates of this king in the usual Jain chronology are in the years 453-466 of the Vira era,\textsuperscript{37} he could not have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhānu-

\textsuperscript{35} Quoted by Klatt, in Festgriiss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 96: astāpyāt, na tu pravaritā; pravaritā tu dvitīdabamugaprayāttāhā Prakrit title Kālakācārya (as authority is cited the Kalpasaptatikā).


mitra (reigned 353-413) as is sometimes stated. The year of Kâlaka II is given as 453, meaning possibly the year of accession to the position of sūri.

But the situation is far from satisfactory with Kâlaka III, in whose case Jain tradition is made to contradict itself. He was a contemporary of Balamitra and Bhûmanitra, according to many versions of the Kâlakâcâryakathâ, and of Sâtavâhana (Sâlivâhana).29 Balamitra and Bhûmanitra figure in Jain chronology as reigning from 333 Vîra era to 413 (174-114 B.C.); yet the changing of the Paryusana festival date is put at 993 Vîra era. There is an obvious contradiction. The most consistent account is that of the Yugapradhânasvarûpa and of Dharmasâgaragañjin, according to which it was Kâlaka I who changed the date, not Kâlaka III, and the Yugapradhânasvarûpa explains the part of Kâlaka III as being merely confirmatory of the action taken 600 years earlier (see above). The explanation seems too pat to be credible; after being in force 600 years it is hardly likely that the changed date would still be regarded as an innovation requiring confirmation. The accepted tradition, which makes Kâlaka III the author of the change, seems more likely, and the minority report, as presented by the Yugapradhânasvarûpa and by Dharmasâgaragañjin seems to have originated to explain the very obvious chronological inconsistency. If we accept the year 993 Vîra era as that in which the change of the Paryusana festival date was effected,29 we must suppose that the story of Kâlaka III has become confused in the Kâlakâcâryakathâ with that of Kâlaka I, the only one of the three Kâlakas who could have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhûmanitra, consistently with the dates given these kings in Jain tradition (353-413 Vîra era). Most of the texts name Balamitra and Bhûmanitra as kings of Bhrgukaccha (Broach), but a few put them at Avanti (see chapter III, section IV, and note 17 of this chapter). The latter tradition seems to conform to the usual tradition, which implies, if it does not state categorically, that they ruled at Ujjayinî. It is tempting here to suggest that Kâlaka III actually had a disagreement with a king and his purohita at Broach, as described in the texts, and left there for the southland, where he instituted the change in the date of the Paryusana festival, and that when the confusion between Kâlaka III and Kâlaka I took place, the seat of Balamitra and Bhûmanitra’s government was in the stories transferred to Broach. The suggestion remains conjectural.

In addition to points of Jain church history raised by the Kâlaka tales, there are points of political history touched by them, especially in the doings of Kâlaka II. First of all, he is said to have brought the sāhis into western India, leading them from

29 Sâlivâhana’s capital was at Pratîşṭhâna, and he may be taken for some one of the Andhra (Sâtalâpa) kings, mentioned in the Purânas. They came into power about 220 B.C. and their dynasty is said to have endured 400 years (according to the Purânas) or until 236 A.D. For the dynasty see Pargiter, The Purâna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 33-41, 71, Oxford, 1913; Smith, The early history of India, pp. 182 ff. and table opposite p. 109, Oxford, 1914; Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 317-8, 529 ff., 598 ff., 608, 1922; Deb, in Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik, vol. 1, pp. 250-302, 1922.

29 The year of Kâlaka III, that is, 993 Vîra era, is sometimes confused with the year 980 Vîra era, a celebrated date in Svetâmbhara history, with which three other important events in church history are variously associated: (1) Council of Valabhi under presidency of Devardibhi; (2) Council of Mathurâ under presidency of Skandibhi; (3) public reading of Kalpasûtra before king Dhruvasena, since when it has been read before laymen as well as monks; see Kalpasûtra, Jîmâcârîra 148, in Jacob, The Kalpasûtra of Bhadradhâna, p. 67, with quotations from the commentaries giving the traditions on pp. 114-118, and in translation of the Kalpasûtra, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 22, p. 270 (cf. note 5 to this chapter).
across the Indus into Kach and Surat and then into Malwa, where they deposed the wicked King Gardabhila, otherwise known as Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa). Jain tradition makes the dates of this king 453-466 Vīra era (74-61 B. C.), and these dates are not at variance with that of Kālaka II (453 Vīra era). The name Gardabhila is presumably to be connected with the name of the Gardabhin (or Gardabhila) dynasty of Purāṇa tradition, 7 (or 10) in number, reigning 72 years; a period of time so much longer than that which Jain tradition allows Gardabhila that a connection between the two traditions must be considered extremely inexact, although they seem to correspond in setting both Gardabhila and the Gardabhin dynasty at approximately the same epoch (first century B. C.).

These sāhis came from Sājakula (Skt. Sakakūla), that is, the Saka bank (of the Indus) or region, otherwise named Pārasakula (Persian bank) or pościmapārśvakūla (western bank). In many texts it is said that these sāhis were called Sakas because they came from the Saka region, but in others it is definitely stated that they were Sakas, and we may therefore accept them as Sakas, and the region whence Kālaka brought them as possibly Seistan, or at least the western bank of the Indus.

Question at once arises as to whether or not it is possible to confirm the report of the Kālaka tales that the Sakas were in western India during the first century B. C. It must at once be admitted that it is not possible to do so beyond controversy. On the other hand, it is also impossible at present to prove the story wrong. As Professor Rapson says, the invasion of western India at that time by the Sakas and the capture of Ujjainī are possibilities which are “not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of Ujjainī at this period.” Very recently Prof. Sten Konow has published a long account of the history of the Sakas, assembling all the available information from outside India as well as within in masterly fashion, and I can here do no better than report from his findings. “It is evident,” he says, dealing with classical sources, that the old home of the Sakai was considered to be in the Pamir country, to the north of the Hindukush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana, and that Saka tribes were further considered to exist to the east of the Caspian Sea and beyond the Jaxartes. Later on Sakas are also mentioned in the present Seistan, the oldest source being here Isidor of Charax, who lived under the emperor Augustus” (p. xvii). Confirmation from Iranian sources is found. After examining the Chinese sources, he says, “We thus arrive at about the same localization as from the classical and Iranian sources” (p. xix). Considering their wanderings, he says, “It is . . .
probable that they settled in Seisťan as a consequence of the pressure which the Yüe-chi began to exercise shortly after 160 B. C. . . . In the first century B. C. we now find Sakas, or as the Indians call them Śakas, established in Sind and in the Panjāb, and the history of these Indian Sakas is of the utmost interest for our appreciation of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Several of them bear direct witness to the rule of Saka kings and chiefs, and they are themselves among the sources for our knowledge of the history of India in the Saka period. This history is little known. We cannot say for certain when the Sakas first made their appearance in India or whence they came” (pp. xxxv-xxvi). After referring to various sources, he states, “The inference which we can draw from these sources is, accordingly, to the effect that the stronghold of the Scythians, i. e., in this connexion the Sakas, was in the Indus country, and that the Saka conquest had been effected long before the second half of the first century A. D.” (p. xxvi). After this he goes on to say, “A similar result must be derived from the traditional accounts preserved by the Jainas. The most important one is contained in a work of unknown date, the Kālakācāryakathānaka” (p. xxvi). This he knew from Jacobi’s publication of a single MS. of L.A.V., and he expresses an opinion of the tradition as follows, “I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account, as is usually done, because most scholars are a priori disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore. Almost every detail can be verified from other sources. A Saka empire in the Indus country is, as we have seen, known from classical sources. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Saka power to Kāṭhīāvār, and the use of the imperial title ‘King of Kings’ among the Sakas is, as we shall see later on, attested by coins. And the Purāṇas speak of Saka kings as the successors of the Gardabihla dynasty” (p. xxvii). He then takes up the variant forms of the title “King of Kings” in Persian, Greek, and Indic forms, and shows that the Sakas and Kusāṇas used it; hence the title sāhānaśāhī of the Prakīrt texts is perfectly credible in its application. Finally, “The history of the first Saka empire in India can accordingly be reconstructed as follows: Shortly after the death of Mithra-dates II in 88 B. C. the Sakas of Seisťan made themselves independent of Parthia and started on a career of conquest, which took them to the Indus country. . . . Later on, about 60 B. C., the Sakas had extended their dominion to what the Kālakācāryakathānaka calls the Hindukadeśa, i. e. the lower Indus country, and thence to Kāṭhīāvār and Mālava, where they probably introduced their national era. In 57-56 B. C. they were here ousted by Vikramāditya, who celebrated his victory by establishing an era of his own, which we, about 70 years later, find used in Mathurā. The centre of gravity in the Saka empire was then transferred to the Panjāb and further to the east, and we find a Saka chief from the north-west, Maues, as bearer of the imperial title. . . .” (p. xxxvi).

This is an impressive array of evidence, and we may therefore accept the tradition of a Saka invasion of the lower Indus country, Kach, Surat, and Malwa, with capture of Ujjayini, until evidence is adduced to contradict it. The fact that the legend contains fairy-tale elements need not make us reject its kernel. And, similarly, for lack of evidence to the contrary, we may tentatively accept the tradition that
Kālaka II was instrumental in showing the Sakas the opportunity they had to oust Gardabhillā (Darpana). 48

After recounting the defeat of Gardabhillā and the establishment of the sāhis in Ujjayinī, a number of texts add as a digression (pāsangīyam) the statement that after a few years Vikrama (according to some other traditions the son of Gardabhilla) arose and overthrew the Sakas, founding his own era (57 B. C.). When 135 years of his era had passed, the Sakas regained the ascendancy and established their own era (78 A. D.). The texts making reference to these two eras include some of our most important, such as L.A.V., Bhāvadevastirī’s, Dharmaprabhasūrī’s, the Prabhāvacakarita, and nos. 2, 4, 5, and 9 in chapter III of this volume.

We are thus introduced to two vexatious questions, namely, the origin of those eras, which I shall not discuss here. In regard to the Vikrama era, opinion is now well divided between those who follow Marshall and Rapson in assigning its foundation to Azes, 49 and those who assign its foundation to an Indian king, either a Vikramādiya of Ujjayinī, 50 otherwise unrecorded, or some other Indian king. 51 Each opinion unfortunately can be opposed with argument; possibly that which favors an Indian monarch has the stronger support, in spite of the elusive character of the “Indian king.” 52

With the Śaka era, confusion is even worse confounded. Some would identify it with no known king; others with Kaniska; others with Wima Kadphises; others with still different kings. It is interesting to note that the era is especially connected with the Deccan and Gujarat. The latest opinion, that of Konow, strongly favors Wima Kadphises. 53

The newly examined versions of the Kālaka legends add nothing on these last points to the statements made in L.A.V. and long since utilized by scholars. It is, in my opinion, impossible to extract any solid information on these eras from our texts. They frankly touch upon them only in passing, and nothing in the legends themselves bears upon them.

NOTE

In an article published in the Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., vol. 16, pp. 227-316, 1930, published after I had written this book, K. P. Jayaswal takes serious issue with Professor Konow concerning the Sakas and the Śaka era. Without entering into the controversy itself, I should like to make a few remarks on the use Mr. Jayaswal makes of the Kālaka material. In the first place, he nowhere distinguishes between the three Kālakas. He takes seriously the statement of L.A.V.

48 Some of the Sakas wore pointed caps (Tīrakahāda), according to very old traditions; see Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 358, 564; Konow, op. cit., p. xviii. Interestingly, the sāhis in the illustrations of the Kālakāchārya manuscripts also wear pointed caps, like those of the modern Pathans.
50 As Konow, op. cit., p. lxxxv.
52 For summaries of the discussion concerning the foundation of this era, see Konow, loc. cit.; Edgerton, Vikrama’s adventures, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 26-27, pp. lvi-lxvi, 1926.
that Balamitra and Bhānumitra were contemporaries of the Sāhi who captured Ujjain (other versions of the Kalaka legends differ). In the third place he relies (pp. 233, 237) on the bad readings Saga'kula for Saga'kula and Parīvakula for paścimapārīvakula. He dates the migration of the Sakas, under Kālaka, about 123 B.C. and before 88 B.C. (p. 238). This would be Vīra era 404-439, which would be possible, according to the Jain tradition, only if the year of Kālaka II, which is Vīra 453, is taken to refer to his death, not the ascension to the position of sūri, as I have suggested.
CHAPTER II

MINIATURE PAINTING IN WESTERN INDIA, TWELFTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The presence of miniature paintings in many of the manuscripts of the Kālākācārya texts directs our attention to the school of painting which they exemplify.

Before the time of the miniature paintings in India of the Rajput and Mughal styles, that is, before the late sixteenth century, there have been found in that country only two styles of miniature painting. One of these flourished in Nepal and northern Bengal, with dated specimens starting in the eleventh century; the other in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana, and is now known to have been existing in the early part of the twelfth century. These two schools of painting seem to have had no direct relationship with each other, except as they both derive from an older common Indian tradition. That of Eastern India exists chiefly in Buddhist books; that of Western India mainly in Śvetāmbara Jain manuscripts, with a few interesting examples from its second period reported in secular and Hindu texts. The earliest known specimens, as well as the greatest number, appear among the Śvetāmbara Jains, and for this reason the style has been variously called "Jain" or "Śvetāmbara Jain," while one scholar has advocated the name "Gujarat." If a name based upon the apparent community of origin is desired, then "Śvetāmbara" would

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2 The following titles make a fairly complete bibliography of the works on this school of painting:
Brown, W. N. (1) in Indian Art and Letters, pp. 16 ff., 1928.
(2) in Eastern Art, pp. 167-206, 1938.
(3) in Parnassus, pp. 34-36, November, 1930.
(2) Cat. Indian Coll. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston, pt. 4, Jaina paintings and manuscripts, 1925.
(3) History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 119-121, 1927.
(5) in Eastern Art, pp. 236-40, 1930.
Gangoly, O. C. (1) in Ostasiatische Zeitschr., N. F. 2, 1923.
(3) in Indian Art and Letters N., pp. 104-115, 1930.
von Glasenapp, H., final plate in his Jainismus, 1925.
Nabar and M. Ghose, Epitome of Jainism, 1927.
Mehta, N. C. (1) in Rupam, 1925.
(2) in his Studies in Indian painting, 1927.
(4) in Rupal-Lekha, no. 3, pp. 3-8, July, 1930.
Shah, C. J., Jainism in North India, Broker, 1925, and 1926.

The numbers in parentheses in the following footnotes refer to the corresponding numbers in footnote 1, above.

2 Brown (1).
3 Brown (1), (2); Coomaraswamy (2), (3); Ghose; Mehta (2).
seem to be the choice; for the style does not appear among the Digambara Jains and therefore the designation "Jain" would be too inclusive. But we cannot be absolutely certain that the style originated among the Śvetāmbaras—although in the following pages I shall indicate reasons for thinking it did—and it might therefore be better to adopt a name after the geographical provenience of the style and call it "Western Indian," to which I can see no possible objection.

This "Western Indian" school is one of great importance in the history of Indian painting. For one thing it contains all the western Indian painting, whether of large or small dimensions, known to exist over a period of some centuries, continuing the sequence of the frescoes at Ajanta, Bagh, and Elura. For another it is the parent, on the Indian side, that in union with the Persian schools, on the other side, gave birth to the Rajput and Mughal styles, so prolifically cultivated and so well known. Important as this Western Indian miniature art is, and in spite of the few but easily accessible works that have been published on it, scholars are still found who seem unaware that it exists. As lately as in 1929, M. E. Blochet, of the Oriental department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, said: "... the oldest Hindu miniatures known do not go back beyond the second half of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Akbar." 6

One reason for ignorance may be the comparative paucity of specimens in Europe or even in India, except in the Jain bhanḍārs, where indeed the miniatures are numerous. A few exist in England, appearing on Jain manuscripts at the British Museum, the India Office library, the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian library, the Cambridge University library; in Germany at the Staats Bibliothek and the Museum für Völkerkunde, both in Berlin; in Austria at the library of the University of Vienna; and in France, I believe, at the library of the University of Strasbourg. It is possible also that some exist in Italy at Florence. In the United States, examples appear notably at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where there is the best assemblage outside of Jain libraries in India, 7 at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and the Art Museum in Detroit. There are also many privately owned paintings. Thus, it is evident that the materials, though not abundant in Western lands, are sufficient to remove any excuse for so sweeping a statement as that of M. Blochet, and the importance of the style is such that no account of painting in India can nowadays afford to ignore it.

The literature on the subject is not large. The first discussion was an account by Hüttemann of the Kalpasūtra manuscript owned by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, published in 1913, followed a year later by an article by Coomaraswamy, and a description in book form in 1924 of the specimens owned by that time by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. N. C. Mehta published examples from a secular manuscript in 1925 and 1927; and in 1928 (although dated 1927) Ajit Ghose published two important articles on the style of this art. In 1929 I myself published the oldest specimens of this style so far discovered, and in 1930 Doctor Coomaraswamy published a

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6 Cf. Stchoukine, La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols, 1928.
7 For descriptions of specimens acquired up to 1924, see Coomaraswamy (5).
manuscript newly acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and I another. A few other references or articles have appeared.\footnote{For titles by these authors, see bibliography in footnote 1 of this chapter.}

No one but myself has yet endeavored to outline, even tentatively, the history of this art, and even I have done so only briefly; but I feel that, with the materials now accessible in the combined articles published, manuscripts available but not published, and the photographs I made during the winter of 1928-29 in Jain bhandārs, it is possible to sketch in general lines and illustrate the course of development of the art, provisionally offering certain stages in the history, subject to the criticism of other students.

The time limitations of this medieval Western Indian miniature painting are from the beginning of the style—our earliest dated examples come from Vikrama Saṇvata 1184 (A. D. 1127)—to about the end of the sixteenth century or early part of the seventeenth, by which time the significant history of the style is over. Examples follow in the late seventeenth century, possibly even in the eighteenth, but western India in general, the Śvetāmbara Jains included, now uses styles seriously affected by the Rajput-Mughal complex, finally succumbing to the latter. At this time come the second and third periods of Jain painting, as recognized by Mr. Ghose,\footnote{Ghose: Comaraswamy (2).} which I should be inclined to call “Śvetāmbara Rajput.” My treatment here concerns only the period which he designates as the first, and it is within that period, extending roughly over about five centuries, that I wish briefly to indicate a development.

This style of miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, distinguished externally by the nature of the surface on which the painting is done, internally by the subject matter of the paintings and the character of the execution. During the first of these two periods the examples all appear on palm-leaf manuscripts; during the second on paper manuscripts, or on separate paper sheets or pieces of cotton as pictures independent of manuscripts, or on the prepared surface of manuscript covers, for which see Mr. Ghose’s account. The palm-leaf period runs from the time of our first dated specimens (A. D. 1127) to about the end of the fourteenth century; the paper period from the end of the fourteenth century to about the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century. The year 1400 might be taken as a convenient date to mark the line of division, although the two materials were doubtless used side by side for some years, and any precise date is bound to be inaccurate. Possibly the period of transition ran from about 1350 to 1400 or a little later.

During both these periods the paintings have many common features. The method of manufacturing the manuscript seems to have varied but slightly. Two persons were employed, the copyist of the text and the artist of the paintings. On the manuscript folios the copyist marked off rectangular spaces (ālekhyasthana) for the illustrations before he wrote down the text; this fact is clear from the minute examination of pages which show the writing running over the lines that bound the panels for the pictures. Sometimes he wrote in the margins legends to guide the artist, which the artist usually followed but not always. When the copyist had finished his
work, he turned over the manuscript to the artist, or sometimes did not, in which case the panels remained empty.  

In both periods the drawing is of great importance and is highly competent, although the art as a whole is in most of the surviving later examples one of craftsmanship and copying of previously constructed compositions rather than individual invention. As Mr. Ghose points out, the art is one with high decorative quality, both in design and color scheme, although I may add that this is less true in the palm-leaf period than in the paper. The colors contrast strongly and richly. The art always remains formal; there is seldom an attempt at portraiture; it is an art of idealized types.

One of the most striking of its external characteristics is the angular appearance of faces, both male and female, and with this goes a strange treatment of the eyes. In the older period faces are always represented in one of only two views, either that from the full front or that from about two-thirds, something just more than profile. In the latter case the farther eye is always drawn in full so that it protrudes beyond the line of the cheek into space. Mr. Ghose explains this phenomenon as due to the artist’s desire to show that he was not painting something flat, but rather that his aim was plastic. This suggestion, ingenious as it is, seems to me to imply more sophistication than the artist is likely to have had and to be less probable than the concrete explanation I have offered elsewhere, and will repeat here. In Śvetāmbara temples now in use all important images bear, over the eyes carved in the stone, additional glass eyes which are oval like eyes and are possibly added to give brilliance. These glass eyes extend before the natural eyes of the image to a distance of a half inch or more, and when the image is viewed from an angle the farther point protrudes into space beyond the line of the cheek, somewhat as do spectacles when a face is seen from an angle, giving precisely the result that appears in the miniature paintings. Since the earliest known specimens of this style of miniature painting appear in Jain manuscripts and are chiefly illustrations of Jinas, goddesses, and distinguished monks, such as are or might be figured sculpturally in Śvetāmbara temples, I have suggested that the western Indian style may have been hieratic in its inception, originating in the Jain milieu, and that the artists merely copied the style of temple images. It is difficult to illustrate the close similarity in appearance between the eyes of a Jain image and those of our paintings; for a three-quarters photograph of a Tirthankara in the rear of a dark temple cell is practically impossible for one who like myself is ceremonially ineligible to enter the cell. Yet the similarity is striking.

In comment upon my suggestion Doctor Coomaraswamy reminds us that there are secular and Vaishnava miniatures from Western Indian manuscripts that show the same peculiarity, and that it also exists in a less exaggerated form in the ceiling frescoes of the porch of the Kailāsaṁāṭha (Hindu) temple at Elura. The evidence of the miniatures he mentions does not seem important, for they are all on paper and are some centuries later than the oldest palm-leaf examples. The Elura paintings,

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10 Cf. Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.
11 Brown (1).
12 Coomaraswamy (4).
immediately is other their this. This in the paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Sittanavasal, the Jain (Digambara) caves at Ellura, and the Digambara structural temple at Conjeevaram, where there are two styles of ceiling painting, one painted on top of the other palimpsest fashion, of which the second is the only one so far reported in print. \(^{33}\) The Digambara Jains do not ornament their images with the additional glass eyes, and hence would have no established temple type to imitate, as did the Svetambaras. In a note to me Doctor Coomaraswamy calls my attention to a remark by Otto Fischer (Die Kunst Indiens, p. 59), "über den unriissvorspringende Auge" in the Burmese paintings at Pagan. I cannot presume to estimate the significance of the phenomenon there; I can only point out the difficulty of relating it to that in Western India. There is a wide extent of territory between the two places, and so far there have been reported in the geographically intervening styles of painting (the Pāla style in Bengal and the style in Orissa) no instances of the protruding eye, which might serve as connecting links between the styles of Gujarat and Pagan. It seems more likely that the origin of the phenomenon is in each place independent of the origin in the other. Last of all there has come to light a small engraved bronze vessel which shows a tendency in some figures, but not all, toward the protruding eye, most of them exhibiting only the protruding eyelash. This vessel Doctor Coomaraswamy (Ostasiatische Zeitschr., N. F., 6, Heft 5, 1930) considers on stylistic grounds to come from Western India and to be of late or immediately post-Gupta times, but it seems to me rather to come from Central Asia. \(^{34a}\) In style it shows some little similarity to Western Indian painting, but like so many other fine pieces it has no documentation and is not satisfactory to use as evidence in determining the origin of the protruding eye motif. It still seems to me, therefore, that this phenomenon is best explained as having its origin in the copying of images with their additional glass eyes as found in Svetambara temples.

For we may go still further, and say that the angular features of the human face as drawn by Svetambara Jain artists, and following them secular and Hindu artists in Western India, do not result from a desire to simplify the execution, as Mr. Ghose suggests, but rather from direct copying of medieval Jain Tirthankara images, which have faces that look exactly like those of the Tirthankaras and other unbearded figures in the miniature paintings. So, too, do the faces of modern images and of the wood carvings that appear in Svetambara temples and are probably in a tradition at least as old as medieval times. Last of all many of the figures, especially of Jinas, goddesses, gods, and monks, appear in cells or templelike pavilions, as though the originators of the style had copied the setting with the figure. The whole style seems, in short, to have originated in Svetambara temples, where the painting art has passed away, but some of its characteristics still continue in sculpture.

\(^{33}\) Coomaraswamy (3), p. 119.

The earliest known specimens of Western Indian miniatures are two paintings found in a palm-leaf manuscript of the Jñātāsūtra and next three Angas of the Śvetāmbara canon with commentary by Abhayadeva now in the Nagin Dās (also called Sāntinātha Temple) Bhanḍār of the Śvetāmbara Jains at Cambay. These are dated Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A.D. 1127). Following these are two paintings of Hemacandra and his celebrated patron, the famous King Kumārapāla, found in a palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra’s Mahāvīracaritā (not Bhadra-bhū’s Kalpasūtra, as has sometimes been stated) at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1204 (A.D. 1237). After these may come two other miniatures from Cambay. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns most of a palm-leaf manuscript of the Sāvage-pādikāmaṇasuttacūmpī (also called Samaṇśovāsagāpādikāmaṇasuttacūmpī) containing six miniatures, some badly rubbed, dated Vikrama Samvat 1317 (A.D. 1260), coming from near Udaipur in Mewar, Rajputana. Other palm-leaf miniatures which will be noted here are two from a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and a version of the Kālakācāryakathā, being No. 234 in the Sanghavīke-Pāḍāka Bhanḍār at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1335 (A.D. 1278); two from a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and a version of the Kālakācāryakathā in the Sanghakā Bhanḍār at Patan, being No. 42, dated Samvat 1336 (A.D. 1279). Many other palm-leaf miniatures exist in manuscripts both at Cambay and Patan, and probably in other libraries which I have not seen, as those at Jaisalmir. Just recently a number of miniatures have been published in color from a palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, illustrating traditional scenes heretofore known only in the paper manuscripts.

An examination of the miniatures of this period reproduced in this volume and in other literature cited in the notes above will show that the subjects of the paintings are as follows: Jinas (that is, Tirthankaras, “Saviors”), goddesses, gods, monks, patrons (male and female) of the manuscripts, a king, symbols. This is a limited list of subjects. So, too, the attitude or poses of these subjects are limited, being only three. One shows with bilateral symmetry a cross-legged figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of the Tirthankaras; a second is a standing pose with face turned to something less than full profile and

13 Box 6, bundle 2; see Brown (1); the first manuscript is listed in Peterson, Detailed report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, part I (extra number Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc. 1883). Appendix, p. 35. In the same library in box 18, bundle 1, is the second manuscript, which is of Hemacandra’s Nemināthacaritā, Parva 8 of the Trisāṭṣīśālkāpuraśācaritā, containing two paintings, and said to have been copied in Vikrama Samvat 1168 (A.D. 1141); see Brown (1). Although Hemacandra was active at that time, it is not likely that this date is correct. Hemacandra wrote the Trisāṭṣīśālkāpuraśācaritā at the request of King Kumārapāla, according to the Prakriti of that work, and Kumārapāla did not ascend the throne until Vikrama Samvat 1199. The date is probably an error; perhaps it should be Vikrama Samvat 1298 (A.D. 1242), which would conform to the stylistic qualities of the miniatures as well as the demands of literary history. See our figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.
14 See Nahar and Glose; also the learned Muni Chaturvijaya’s edition of the Moharājapājīya of Yālapāla (Gakwad’s Oriental Series, no. 9, 1918), frontispiece; and Shah, pl. 8.
15 Coomaraswamy (4), (5). See our figs. 5, 6.
16 See our figs. 7, 8, 9, 10.
17 See references in footnotes 15, 16.
usually with ankle and hip joints bent; the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile. The second and third poses are used with all subjects except Tirthankaras. The full front view used with Tirthankaras is the one possible view of a Tirthankara image as it sits at the rear of a cell in a modern Svetāmbara temple (hence my inability to get a photograph to show the effect of the protruding glass eyes mentioned above). Bodies have broad shoulders and narrow waists, as in sculpture from early times in India. With both men and women the breasts are full; but the distinction between male and female in this older period is usually quite clear: in the female both breasts are drawn in; in the male only the farther. The poses of the torso are reminiscent of the bent figures of sculpture and point to a tradition anterior to our earliest preserved specimens, during which these conventionalized types were adopted and adapted to painting. Similarly, the dress, ornamentation, marks on the Jinas, the attributes of attendant figures, and the very compositions (as, for example, the two elephants pouring water over a Jina) are of ancient Indian lineage.

Although the types in these paintings are of great plastic antiquity and constitute the culmination of a long development, the painting itself is "primitive." It is flat, lacks depth, and has a narrowly restricted palette, using only a brick-red, close to vermilion, yellow, blue, white, and rarely a green. The reproductions in Shah's work cited above indicate that gold is used. The art is at a far remove from that of Ajanta or Bagh, as though it were a folk art converted to the purposes of religion, on which point Mr. Ghose writes pertinently (loc. cit.). The great merit of the art is the vigor of its drawing, the nervous force of its line, its high decorative quality.

The background in these early miniatures is usually a brick-red, close to vermilion. This characteristic persists throughout the entire history of the art, although in the paper period two kinds of red are employed for the background in different manuscripts, the old brick-red or vermilion and a red containing more purple, and the red is often displaced in whole or in part by blue.

In some of the paintings the drapery, especially that of the female figures, looks like a representation of Gujarati patola work, a patterned silk textile. In the paintings executed in Gujarat the female figures wear closed bodices—it takes a careful examination to determine this in the case of the Cambay miniatures—; in those from Mewar they wear bodices open in the front. Here possibly are depicted local peculiarities of costume. There are also variations in the treatment of the monks' drapery. Hemacandra has the right shoulder bare; on the other hand, the monks in the Patan manuscript of 1278 A. D. are covered to the neck, and the monk in the Patan manuscript of 1287 A. D. seems to have the right shoulder bare but the arm covered. There seems to be a convention that one figure should not be placed before another (cf. in Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., 1925, p. 188), and this is observed in both the palm-leaf and paper periods, except as an end of drapery or a foot of one figure comes before some part of another figure.

18 Coomaraswamy (4).
In the margin of the palm leaf opposite the panels there sometimes appear thumb-nail sketches of the compositions done with black ink, and occasionally the titles appear beside the completed paintings.

The miniatures of the palm-leaf period are executed with wider stroke, less complicated composition, and fewer details than are those of the paper period. The brushes used seem to have been heavier than some of those employed later, making them better suited to the surface on which the earlier paintings appear; for the palm leaf is less adapted to fine and delicate workmanship than is paper.

**PAPER PERIOD (ABOUT 1400, OR EARLIER, TO ABOUT 1650)**

(Figs. 11-39)

The date at which paper came into use in Western India is not precisely ascertainable. I have seen a Śvetāmbara paper manuscript with illustrations dated Vikrama Śaṅvat 1204 (A. D. 1147), and I had tentatively accepted the date in spite of some misgivings. But there can be no doubt that the date is false, as the learned Acarya Sri Vijaya Indra Śūri has clearly pointed out to me in a letter. One of the texts mentioned in this manuscript was not composed until Vikrama Śaṅvat 1364 (A. D. 1307), and the date of the manuscript was forged, possibly to associate it with the celebrated Jinadatta Śūri, whose name appears as copyist, founder of the Kharatara Gaccha of the Śvetāmbara Jains, according to one tradition, who was actually living in 1147 A. D. The manuscript is to be considered as just what it appears to be aside from the date associated with it, namely, a typical late fourteenth or early sixteenth century example; and it is therefore no longer necessary to arrange a history of Western Indian miniature painting to conform to the disturbing appearance of specimens so advanced stylistically at such an early date. My previous opinions have therefore been modified in the present treatment.

At Patan I saw a paper manuscript without miniatures dated = A. D. 1278, possibly correctly. But in any case by the middle of the fourteenth century the use of paper seems to have been well established in Western India. In the catalogue of the Śvetāmbara Jain bhandārs at Limbā, entry no. 2869 is dated = A. D. 1353, entry no. 1564 is dated = A. D. 1391 (entry no. 2350 dated = A. D. 1191 seems to contain a misprint, since that seems to be the date of the composition of the work, not of the copying of the manuscript); none of these contains miniatures. The statement has been made by Mr. Kaye that the earliest dated paper manuscripts in India

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19 Brown (1).

20 Vijaya Indra Śūri’s letter dated December 6, 1920, said in part: “... I wish to bring to your notice one important fact. So far as I know I have not heard of any Jaina work in paper MSS. prior to the fourteenth century. The commentary Sandevasūtrābhāṣādhi on Kalpaśūtra was written by Jina-prabhasuri in the early part of the fourteenth century (circa 1308). The avachārini which is said to have been based on Jina-prabhasuri’s commentary must have been later. So the avachārini cannot be said to have been written in 1147. It is an impossibility. I think the mistake was committed by the copyist in the name of a great person to enhance the value of his manuscript by ante-dating it by nearly two centuries. So I cannot accept the date of the manuscript as 1147.”

For date of the Sandevasūtrābhāṣādhi, cf. also Jacobi, The Kalpaśūtra of Bhadradēva, p. 25. See also in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 4, pp. 149-50, 1909.


are of the years A. D. 1231 and 1343, but on what authority he makes that statement does not appear, correct though it may be.22

The paper manuscript which I saw at Patan dated == A. D. 1278 (Vikrama Samvat 1335) was on folios about 10 by 3 inches, that is, of about the same length as a small palm-leaf manuscript but of greater depth. The folios of the paper manuscripts become larger, running to a size of 11 by 4 1/2 inches in the fifteenth century, and reaching still greater dimensions in the seventeenth century, when the Mughal influence in painting crowds out the old Western Indian style, showing then a size of as much as 16 by 6 inches, and possibly even larger.

Paper as used for manuscripts seems to have come to India proper in Gujarat first, arriving from Persia, which country it appears to have reached from China brought in by conquering peoples from Central Asia.

The oldest dated illustrated Śvetāmbara paper manuscripts of which I know are one in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra dated Vikrama Samvat 1472 (A. D. 1415)23 and one of the Kālacakrāyakathā in the Limbā bhandārs (catalogue no. 577) of the same date. Following these is a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra dated Vikrama Samvat 1484 (A. D. 1427), now belonging to the India Office, London, of 113 folios, most of them colored black or red, with the text written in silver ink.24 Many more appear during the fifteenth century, often written with gold ink. We may fairly assume that illustrated paper manuscripts were being manufactured by A. D. 1400. The oldest manuscripts are usually done with gold or silver writing on a prepared red or black or blue, or sometimes an unprepared white, background. There is no proof that the writing with silver or gold ink on the colored surface is the oldest writing used with illustrated Śvetāmbara manuscripts, as Mr. Ghose suggests; for the earliest dated paper manuscripts without miniatures are written with black ink, like the palm-leaf manuscripts, on a plain background. The use of gold or silver ink and the colored surface indicate only an unusual outlay of money on the part of those laymen who gained merit by having the manuscript copied. The use of gold and silver ink on a specially prepared background persists to the time when the Śvetāmbaras executed their illustrations in the Mughal style, and I have seen at Patan a most elaborate Kalpasūtra from that period on large size folios done thus. A general principle, yet one which is by no means infallible, for estimating the age of undated paper manuscripts may perhaps be found in ascertaining the dimensions of the page: the nearer the measurements approach those of the palm-leaf folios, the more likely the manuscript is to be of the fifteenth century rather than of the sixteenth or seventeenth. For example, the manuscript in the

23 The art of paper making appears to have been practised by the Chinese at a very early date. From the Chinese the Muslims learnt the process in the eighth century and they introduced it into Europe and also India about the twelfth century. Among the earliest Muslim manuscripts now preserved, one was written in A. D. 866, others in 974, 980, 990, etc. The earliest Indian paper manuscripts known were written in A. D. 1231 and 1343. The earlier one measures 6 x 4 inches (ratio 1.5) and the other 13 3/4 x 5 (ratio 2.7). . . . About the middle of the fifteenth century the use of palm leaf as a writing material ceased in western India, but in eastern India it continued to be used side by side with paper until much later."24
India Office dated = A. D. 1428 has folios measuring 11½ by 3¾ inches. Also, the more blue there is in the background of the paintings, the more likely the manuscript is to come from the sixteenth century or later, although again this criterion is not absolutely certain; for blue is used in moderate degree in some of our oldest dated manuscripts. But the fact that the oldest paper specimens generally have a brick-red background makes it difficult to photograph them successfully without equipment for panchromatic work, and this I did not have in India; hence I have not been able to use in this volume some of the oldest miniatures I have photographed, as of manuscript no. 18.19 of the Wādi Pārśvanātha Bhaṇḍār at Patan, dated Śaṅvāt 1502 (A. D. 1445), the text of which I have employed in editing Dharmaprabhasūrī’s version.

The introduction of paper for a writing-surface produced a marked change in the character of the illustrations. In the first place the artist was able to get a larger working space than he had on the palm-leaf folios. In the case of the latter, the size of the picture was inevitably constricted by the natural width of the palm leaf: the miniatures from Cambay executed in the year A. D. 1127 measure 3½ by 2½ or 2¾ inches;⁵⁹ those from Mewar, now at Boston, are a little smaller.⁶⁰ But the paper miniatures are all larger. As time went on and the size of the folios was enlarged, the available surface for the paintings was correspondingly increased. So too the shape of the miniatures was generally different. In the palm-leaf specimens the greater dimension is the horizontal; in the paper it is usually the vertical.

Paper not only offered a larger area for the painting but also provided a surface susceptible to finer workmanship. The broad, simple lines of the earlier miniatures now give place to a more delicate, if often weaker, drawing and to an elaboration of the composition with minor elements and a multiplication of detail. The miniatures of the paper period are more elegant, more sophisticated, and more decorative.

A great change takes place in the color scheme. Gold is employed where yellow appears in the palm-leaf miniatures, although the yellow still persists in some examples. Gold is also sometimes used as ink for writing the text, as too is silver. Possibly the gold would not adhere to the palm leaf as well as it would to the paper. As time went on the use of gold increased; its ornamental value was appreciated, and we see it substituted for white in monks’ drapery, with the whiteness indicated by white dots, or, strangely, often by red dots. As much gold as possible was used in the paintings, adding brilliance to the color effect, and a technique was developed of applying first the gold, then the other colors.⁶⁷ Blue is more freely applied than in the palm-leaf period, thus giving a richer color scheme, and is often used to form backgrounds, even in the fifteenth century. An old rose is used, and very rarely an ochre. Green still remains rare. Both the brick-red or vermilion of the palm-leaf examples and a red containing some purple quality are used, usually not in the same miniature, although the two may appear on the same page in the case of those manu-

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⁵⁹ Brown (1).
⁶⁰ Coomaraswamy (4), (5).
⁶⁷ Ghose.
scripts which write the text with gold ink on a prepared red background. The background for the writing is never, to my observation, done with the brick-red or vermilion.

In the subject matter of the miniatures also there is change. The old balance of few narrative scenes to many of Tirthankaras, gods, and patrons, changes to a heavy preponderance for the illustration of narratives. In the new field it is confined among the Śvetāmbaras, so far as is now known, to the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakācārya- kathā,\(^\text{28}\) which, as noted in our first chapter, often appears as an appendage to the Kalpasūtra. The scenes depicted are fairly well stereotyped. Each artist reproduced those known to his predecessors and the depicting of new scenes was a rarity, although as time went on new ones were done, and the late manuscripts of the Kalpasūtra contain sometimes twice as many as the early paper manuscripts.\(^\text{29}\) The compositions are standardized and appear with only slight individual variation in different manuscripts. In the case of the Kālaka legends, which as we have seen in our second chapter appear in a number of different versions, scenes are sometimes illustrated in a manuscript where the actual text does not describe the scenes. For example, the incident of Kālaka getting the ball out of the well does not appear in the text of Bhāvadeva’s version, yet one of the manuscripts of that text which I have used illustrates it in a painting. Thus we see clearly that the artist was illustrating the body of legend clustering around the name of Kālaka rather than the actual text in which his miniatures were appearing.

The art also appears outside the Śvetāmbara milieu. A secular roll manuscript of a text called the Vasantavilāsa, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1508 (A. D. 1451) has been discovered and some of its scenes reproduced in black and white.\(^\text{30}\) Another manuscript outside the Śvetāmbara environment is partly preserved and is now owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is Vaishnava in subject, being devoted to the worship chiefly of Krishna, and on the preserved folios has 40 miniatures, all of which have been reproduced in black and white. The latter manuscript is not dated but seems to be from about the middle of the fifteenth century.\(^\text{31}\) In neither of these manuscripts do the illustrations seem to be clichés; rather they have the character of originals.

Additional elements appear in the compositions, particularly in the wider use of foliage decoration, a greater number of animals represented, the more profuse illustration of architectural settings, the picturing of domestic and other new types of scenes. The drawing becomes more delicate and refined, the compositions more complicated, new bodily poses appear.

Very suggestively there are present in the Kālakācāryakathā paintings a new type of face and with it a new facial pose. The face is decidedly Mongolian in shape, moustaches, and beard, and is used only for depicting the foreign Sāhis, Saka by

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\(^{28}\) Hüttmann; Coomaraswamy (2).

\(^{29}\) A descriptive catalogue of miniature paintings of the Kalpasūtra has been prepared by me, and, I hope, will shortly be published.

\(^{30}\) Gangovery (1); Melita (1), (2), (3).

\(^{31}\) Brown (2); Gangovery (2), (3). Although Gangovery’s article was published in an issue for 1930 the issue was not distributed until 1931; hence he had not seen my article in Eastern Art, nor had I seen his when I wrote. See our fig. 13.
nationality (see in chapter I), whom Kālaka has led from the western bank of the Indus to the eastern and into Kach, Gujarat, and Malwa. The very name of these Sāhis is Persian, being a Prakrit word for Shah, “king,” and their overlord is called Sāhānusāhi, Persian Shahan Shah. The face of the Sāhis is never shown in the slightly less than full profile pose with the protruding eye that is the invariable pose for the faces of Indians. Instead it is shown in something less than full front face and the eyes are always contained within the facial contour.31

The costume of the Sāhis is often different from that worn by any Indian figures. They are frequently dressed in long coats of overlapping links of mail, and on their heads they wear pointed helmets with long neck pieces. In some paintings they wear the turban wound around a pointed cap, like that at present in vogue among Pathans.32

Still more, the bodily poses are sometimes unlike any used with Indians. It may not be without point to draw attention to the fact that the Mongolian cast of countenance of the Sāhis, their costume, and their bodily poses, although foreign to the rest of this Western Indian style of painting, are similar to elements in Mongol-Persian painting.33

Possibly in these miniatures of the Kālakācāryakathā we should be justified in seeing the first small intrusion into Indian painting of Persian elements. As time went on the Persian encroached increasingly upon the native Indian style, until the combination of the two brought into existence the Rajput and Mughal schools. The Western Indian style was ultimately extinguished. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was about done; the few examples I have seen from after that time are degenerate and of no value aesthetically. Jain, Hindu, and lay artists alike employ Rajput styles.34

31 Brown (1).
32 The pointed cap reminds us of the fact that among the ancient Sakas there was a division known as the Tigrakhauda, “Pointed-Caps” (cf. note 48 to chapter I).
33 See illustrations in Blochet, op. cit., pis. 46, 62.
34 Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.
CHAPTER III
RECENSIONS OF THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ

The various recensions of the Kālakācāryakathā seem to be derived ultimately from a mass of floating tradition, some of which was probably written and some oral among the monks.1 From first to last a redactor could draw from both traditions, as is well illustrated in MS. a of Bhāvadeva’s version (edited below, pp. 87 to 92). On foilo 4 of that MS. is an illustration of an occurrence not described in the text. When Kālaka arrived at the land of the Sāhīs, he found a number of Sāhī boys (princes) sorrowfully gathered around a well, in which they had lost a ball. He offered to get it out, and called for bow and arrows. With the first arrow he pierced the ball, with the second arrow he pierced the first, with the third the second, and so on until he had made a chain of arrows, with which he lifted out the ball. The incident, omitted from Bhāvadeva’s text, is told in Samayasundara’s late version, composed Vikrama Samvat 1666.2

The persistence of the oral tradition beside the literary makes it unlikely that all the known recensions are derived from a common literary archetype. Most of them show a measure of independence from the others, yet in some cases so slight that virtually complete dependence is indicated. We may set up as the most authoritative and most widely used the Long Anonymous Version. It is possibly the oldest, although on this point it is impossible to speak with finality. The oldest manuscript of it that I have seen is dated Samvat 1335, a manuscript at Patan so badly injured that I was unable to use it; the oldest that I have used is dated Samvat 1336 (A. D. 1279). By that time the text already seems to have experienced several copyings, for the manuscript contains a number of bad readings. The version by Bhāvadeva-sūri, who flourished Samvat 1312, is therefore not likely to be older than the Long Anonymous Version. Nor is the anonymous Sanskrit version beginning Śrīvraśvā-

kyānamūtam, of which I have found only one palm-leaf manuscript. The lively version beginning Hayapadiniṣṭya may possibly have equal antiquity, especially in the subvariety represented in a single manuscript at Cambay (see below, p. 29), but the scarcity of palm-leaf manuscripts renders that unlikely.

1 In chapter I, pp. 1, allusion was made to versions or summaries of the Kālaka legends not edited or analyzed in this work. These are mostly in late Sanskrit or in vernaculars; one of them (Samayasundara’s) is mentioned as our No. 17 in this chapter. Some others are mentioned by Bhan Daji, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 9 (for years 1889-90, but published 1872), pp. 139-146. These are (1) a version in the Bharahesvaravṛti by Subbaṅkaranī (was living in 1463 A. D.; see Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur 2.326), which gives only the first episode of the Kālaka legend, and in his analysis sounds more like our version beginning haṃpadiniṣṭya (no. 14) than any other; (2) a Gujarati manuscript; (3) a Marawari manuscript; (4) a Marawari manuscript; (5) story in the Paryuṇāśatakā. He also analyzes a version of the Kālakācāryakathā, which he seems in points to have misunderstood; for example, he makes the Ass-Magic, after its disappearance, descend upon Kālaka instead of upon Gardabhilla. He also refers to the Prabhaśavakacīra.


25
The numerous Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Sanskrit versions of our cycle seem to me to fall naturally into five divisions, of which the group centering about the Long Anonymous Version is by far the most numerous. Again I would make clear that not all members of even this group are definitely and wholly derived from the central recension, for only some of them are clearly so. Others seem to have drawn coordinately from other sources as well, possibly oral, yet even they seem to have made use of the central recension.

I. LONG ANONYMOUS VERSION, AND ITS ADHERENTS

1. Long Anonymous Version (L.A.V.). Date unknown, but composed before Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (see above, pp. 2, 25). Edited and translated in this volume (pp. 36 to 70). Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, with a small amount of Sanskrit and some Apabhraṃśa. Mixed prose and verse (campu), chiefly in the Āryā meter. The longest, most artistic, and possibly oldest of all the versions of the Kālaka cycle that I have seen.

2. Anonymous Prakrit version in 153 (or 165) stanzas, chiefly Āryā, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhanḍār 6.2; palm-leaf, being folios 125-144 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; not dated, but of thirteenth or fourteenth century; 153 stanzas; (b) Śrivijayadharmalakṣmī Jñānamandira, Agra, \( \frac{5}{16} \); paper, being folios 70-81, once at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; bearing at the end additional statements written in by a later hand but now scratched out with a date of Saṃvat 1549, implying that the MS. was written before that time, a date which from the style of the manuscript and its illustrations might be acceptable, but cannot be taken as conclusive; illustrated (see reproduction in this volume, Fig. 22); 165 stanzas, containing stanzas not found in a, especially eight at the end.

This version is clearly secondary to L.A.V.

It begins:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jo kunai savasse</td>
<td>sanghassa samunnaṃ sayākālam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līlā sugair sukhaṃ</td>
<td>Kālayasūrī viva so lahai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tathā hi</td>
<td>nayare nayanēhīte nanvarīndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>athi ittha Dhārāvāse</td>
<td>devī Surasundari tassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāmēna Vayarasimho</td>
<td>putto tātaṃ ca Kālaya-kumāro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saiyalakā'gama'kusalo</td>
<td>vāheūm pādṛṇyatto jā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so annayā turange</td>
<td>tā picchī sajala-jalaya-vāpī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabhayāravan'ūjjape</td>
<td>nāmēna Guṇāyāraṃ sūriṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmakahaṃ kahanagam</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close adherence of these stanzas to the opening prose of L.A.V. is obvious; going further we find phrases lifted bodily from L.A.V. Many stanzas correspond exactly or almost exactly with stanzas in L.A.V.; for example:

Stanza 14 equals L.A.V. 21, but reading sidanti hi for viṣidanti.
Stanza 15 equals L.A.V. 22.
Stanza 17 equals L.A.V. 23.
Stanza 19

sangho vi jāva teṇaṃ
vihīyā tathā paṭimā

na manmio tāva garuyakovayaśā
sūrīhīṃ tao imā ghorā. (Cf. L.A.V. 27)
Stanza 20 equals L.A.V. 28, but reading tu for the first ya.
Then follow a line of prose and stanza 22, exactly equivalent to the line of prose after L.A.V. 29 and stanza L.A.V. 31.
Stanza 26 equals L.A.V. 33.
Throughout the rest of the text there is equally close correspondence.
This version does not call the Sāhis Śakas, although it says that their region was on the Sagakula. There is no mention of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, except in the supplementary stanzas at the end of MS. b.
The four episodes of the tale have the following stanza allotment: (1) stanzas 2-64 (669); (2) 65 (70)-100 (106); (3) 101 (107)-137 (142); (4) 138 (143)-153 (165). Śalavāhana is mentioned in stanza 79 (84).
3. Anonymous Prakrit version in 108 (or 109) stanzas, known to me from one manuscript: Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 58.2; palm-leaf; 21 folios, of which the last is broken, thus making the number of stanzas uncertain. Not dated, but the MS. seems to be of the fourteenth century.
Chiefly in Prakrit Āryā stanzas, but with some Sanskrit.
It begins:

uttun​a-Bhaddāśaḷaṇi
atthi iha Bharaha-khette
atth’ ittha vairasihō
sura-sundari’sama-ruvā
τάναṁ Kālaya-kumaro
so vāha-vahi’ili niggao annayā kaiyā 3
tatto a padūniyatto
sou kimiṇaṁ ti konga
tā nai Gaṇāyariyam
nami’ uvaṭṭho gurūpo.
yathā caurbihi kanakaṁ pariṣkyaṭe
nighaṁṣa-paṭheṇaśatāmāpyānālī
tathāva dharmo vīduṣa pariṣkyaṭe
śrutena śīloṇa tapodayāgupnāḥ. 6

The correspondences between this version and L.A.V. are close, extending to whole stanzas. For example:
Stanza 22 equals L.A.V. 22, but reading karmāṇi for karyāṇi.
Stanza 24 equals L.A.V. 25, but reading karesu for karehi, eim for tai, hohi for hoi.
Stanza 25 equals L.A.V. 26, but reading ia for evaṁ, nurindo for rāyā, cauvi-hasirisanghena for cauvihasanghena tao.

The Sāhis are not called Śaka, although they live in Sagakula. There is no mention of their line at Ujjayini as a Śaka line, nor are the Śaka and Vikrama eras mentioned.
The four episodes are allotted space in the text as follows: (1) 1-66; (2) 67-88, with mention of King Sālivāhana (1) in stanza 76; (3) 89-99; (4) 100-108 (109?).

4. Anonymous Prakrit version in 85 Āryā stanzas, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 2.2, being folios 130 to 151 of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, with folios 141 and 149 missing; palm-leaf; not dated, but presumably of the fourteenth century; (b) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17.2276, being folios 99-106 of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; paper, illustrated; not dated, probably sixteenth century.

It begins:

devindavindavanamiyān
nijjyaparamāyasaṃrayān
Rishāi'jjina-varāṇān
thūṇā ahaṃ vande
atthi Dharāvāsaṣapure
Surasundari pīya se;

sivañhilisaṃpati-paramasāsayaṃ
nandau siri-Virāsāsayaṃ. 1
pancaya-kallāŋgūm patte ya
Goyama-pamahē sūgāpahārī. 2
naraṅga Vayarasiṃhānāmo ti;
putto Kālaya-kumāro ya. 3

Verbal correspondence between the text of this version and that of L.A.V. are numerous. It is merely a summary (paramśkathāyā dīrmātṛaṃ).

The episodes are given the following allotment: (1) 3-42a; in stanza 37 we are told that because the kings came from the Śaka bank they were called Śaka kings; in stanza 38 Vikrama is mentioned; stanzas 40 and 41 equal L.A.V. 70 and 71; (2) 42b-63, with mention of Sālivāhana in stanza 51; (3) 64-74; (4) 75-85.

5. Anonymous Prakrit version in 132 (or 134) stanzas, known to me in two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 82.1, being folios 154 to 170 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, no date, but thirteenth or fourteenth century; (b) Patan, Sanghavike Pāḍākā Bhaṇḍār 221, being folios 139 to 152 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, no date, but thirteenth or fourteenth century; has two more verses than a.

It begins:
anusari'āgama-vayaṃṣān
paśjasavaṃcautihi
nāmena Dharāvāsaṃ
Vesanaṃpanaṃ nāśi;
siho vva Vayarasīmho
tan paśi narañāho,
Kālo nāmeva su
siya-pakāsasaharo iva

siri-Kālaya-sūri-jugapahāpehiṃ
jaha āyariyā taha suṣe. 1
atthi puranā jatthā savva-bhaya-vakke
kaya vva disanti dhaṇānivahā. 2
veri-mahākāri-bhaṇḍāja duppecho
devī Surasundari tassa. 3
tesiṃ bālatīvo vī gayaṃhiṃ
kali viseshehiṃ viṭṭhario. 4

The episodes are given the following allotment: (1) 2-76 (78); in stanza 72 (74) it is stated that because the Śāhis came from the Śaka bank they were called Śaka kings (Sagarkālo patta tī te ya Sagapatticā vā jayā); information about the rise of Vikrama and the establishment of the Vikrama and Śaka eras is given in stanzas 74 (76) to 76 (78); (2) 77 (78) to 94 (96); King Sālivāhana is mentioned in stanza 87 (89); (3) 95 (97) to 122 (124); (4) 123 (125) to 132 (134).
5a. A subrecension of the foregoing, known to me from a manuscript in the Nagin Dāś (Śāntinātha Temple) Bhadār, Cambay, 60(4), being folios 140 to 157 of a MS. of the Kalpaśūtra; palm-leaf, no date.

It begins:

| pāḍisiddhan āpi kuṇanto | āṣāe davaṃkhettakalassas 
| suṣiṣhai visuddhabhāvo | Kālayasūrī va bhaṇīyaṃ 1 
| aśparārthaṃ üşcād api vakṣyāno bhāvārthas tu kathānakena tāvād ucyate. 

It then follows the wording of version 5, with only minor variant readings, until stanza 76 (78) of version 5, at which point 5a becomes independent. Its allotment of stanzas to the episodes is as follows: (1) 2-77; (2) 78-91, the king’s name being Sālivāhaṇa; (3) and (4) are omitted, the interest of the text in Kālaka ceasing with the conclusion of the incident affecting the date of the Pāryuṣaṇā festival. It concludes:

| sanghevaṃ dihaṃ | Kālagasūriṇa saṃvihānānīraṇaṃ 
| vithhaaro pura n' eyaṃ | nīnāmaiyiṇa nīśhāo. 92. ch. 
| Kālikācāryakathā samāptā. ch. 

6. Vinayacandra’s version, Sanskrit sūkas, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 5.2, being folios 114-121, at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpaśūtra, with folio 115 missing; palm-leaf, no date, probably fourteenth century, 88 stanzas; (b) Ahmedabad, Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār 91.3.14, folios 1-5, paper, no date, but appears to be seventeenth century, 86 stanzas, very incorrect. The reverse of the folios of (a) is illegible in my photograph.

The text begins:

| utpattavigamadhrāvyam tripādiyāpatavistāpum | mahema śrīMahāvīraṇa nirastavrjaṇaṃ jīnau. 1 
| avadyenai yāḥ kuryā jānapravacana-matīn | sa śudhyati prati-kṛṇatāḥ śudhiḥ Kālikasūrīvat. 2 
| tathā hi | kṣetre trāvāstī Bharate Dhārāvāśābhīdhāṃ puram 
| Vātrisimha nṛpās tatra priyā śya Sarasundari. 3 | Vātrisimho nṛṣṇas tatra priyā 'śya Surasundari. 3 
| tayoḥsarvaṇaḥdāraḥ kumaro Kālikābhīdhaḥ | tayoḥ sarvaṇaḥdāraḥ kumaro Kālikābhīdhaḥ 
| nirjittraṇāśirīpā vasāh caśya Sarasvatī. 4 | nirjittraṇāśirīpāvasāh caśya Sarasvatī. 4 
| sa yuvane vāhikele vyāvṛtto 'dha vanasthitam | sa yuvane vāhikele vyāvṛtto 'dha vanasthitam 
| natvā guṇākaraṇam śūrim aśrausid dharmadesānāṃ. 5 | natvā guṇākaraṇam śūrim aśrausid dharmadesānāṃ. 5 

The substance of this version follows L.A.V. closely, although verbal correspondences are necessarily rare, the one being in Sanskrit and the other in Prakrit. As a sample, we may note stanzas 12 and 13, with which compare L.A.V. stanzas 27-30:

| tādā sanghasamakṣaṇaḥ sa pratijñāṇaḥ sūrīr agrahit | tādā sanghasamakṣaṇaḥ sa pratijñāṇaḥ sūrīr agrahit |
| nonmālayāmnena mūlaṃ rājyaṃ evaṃ nṛyādharmam. 12 | nonmālayāmnena mūlaṃ rājyaṃ evaṃ nṛyādharmam. 12 |
| sanghādipratyanikāṇaḥ gatiṃ pāpaṃ saṃvṛtiḥ ahaṃ; tādā | sanghādipratyanikāṇaḥ gatiṃ pāpaṃ saṃvṛtiḥ ahaṃ; tādā |
| gacche niyujyā gitārthaṃ sūrīr evam acintayat: 13 | gacche niyujyā gitārthaṃ sūrīr evam acintayat: 13 |

The allotment of episodes is as follows: (1) stanzas 3-45 (46); in stanza 22 it is said: yan pratityoṣa Śakakulam kulaṃ prāpa kramāt prabhūḥ; in stanza 44 (45)
it is said that the Sāhis were called Śaka because they came from the Śakakūla; there is no mention of Vikrama and his era and of the Śaka era; (2) stanzas 46 (47)-64 (63), with mention of King Sāttavāhana in stanza 57 (56); (3) 65 (64)-79 (77); (4) 80 (78)-87 (85).

Stanza 86 of (b)—not legible in my photograph of (a)—reads:

śrīRatnasinhasūrīṇāṁ antevāśi kāśanākāṁ (read kathānakaṁ ?)
cakre Vīnayacandrākhyāṁ saṁcīpta (read "ptam") rūcīhetave (read sūci" ?). 86

There is an additional statement in (a) in bad Sanskrit:

iti śrīKālikācāryakathā samāpta śrīmunicandraśūreḥ tatāsya munisundaravacanārthaṁ likhitāṁ ērīgītana dharmārthaṁ sādhuṁ ēraṁ. 2

7. Mahēśvarasūri's version, in 52 Sanskrit ślokas, known to me from a single manuscript, Nagin Dās (Sāntinātha Temple) Bhaṇḍārī, Cambay, 60(3), folios 156-163, at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, palm-leaf, dated Vikrama Samvat 1365. At the conclusion of the story is a long praśasti, on two folios (164-5) then follows the statement:

ūrṇavikramakālāśaṁsūnuṁ 1365 varṣe bhūdrapadadādānu (read "padānu") navasyāṁ tithōṁ śrīsa- 
apadāpānāṇḍale vairakaḥgraṁe kalōṣṭhikā likhitāṁ.

The text begins:

paṇcanyāṁ viditaṁ parva caturthiyoṁ yena nirnīmaṁ 
sannārāṇyaṁ tasyoccaṁ kathā sampratī kathya. 1

Dharāvāsapure 'patye Vārāsinīhasya bhūbhṛtaṁ 
ahiḥitaṁ Surasundāryāṇu Kāla(ka)ś ca Sarasvati. 2

At the conclusion of stanza 52 is the statement:

iti śrīpallivalagače śrīMahēśvarasūribhār viriciitā (read viraci) Kālikācāryakathā samāptaṁ.

The four episodes are distributed in the text as follows: (1) stanzas 2-27; Kālaka goes to śakakūla (stanza 1), where the nobles are śakhi and the king is śakhamūśakhi; in stanza 17 he converts a burning of bricks (iṣṭikāpāka) to gold; (2) stanzas 28-37; the king is Sālavāhana; (3) stanzas 38-45; (4) stanzas 46-52.

8. The account in 156 stanzas in Candraprabhāsūri's Sanskrit Prabhāvaka-carita, edited by Hiraṇanda M. Sharma Shastri (Bombay, Tukaram Īvaji, 1909), pp. 36-46. The edition is from four manuscripts, designated by the symbols P, H, J, D, of which P (from Patan) is said to be the best. The Prabhāvaka-carita was composed in the year Vikrama Samvat 1334 (A. D. 1277), according to stanza 22 of the praśasti (edition, p. 349):

vedānālāśikhiśāśitaravarse cātraaya dhavalasaptasyāṁ 
śukre puṇar vasudine sampūrṇaṁ pūrvarśitaratam.

This version begins:

śrīśīmamdharatirthēśadvidito 'namuto gaṇān 
kutaśiśi api so 'vyād vah kālakaḥ śrīkṛṣṇajaraḥ 1

pracyāṁ bahuṅrutair vyttāṇaṁ yaṇa paryuṣaṇāśrayam 
āḍṛtaṁ kīrtate kīṁ na śaṇāḥ śaṇaḥanugā. 2
THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

śrīdhārā (P "dharā)vāsam iti asti nagaraṇa nagarajayi (?)
dvijāhāsa (?) samudgirno yatra sādhuvaco "mṛtāḥ 3
āśāākaṇṭha balaṁ vādhya (?) (P āśāākāṇṭhavādhyaḥ) mahābhālābhārocchritā
kūriṇī pātālikā yasyākrāntavatvamagnāśrayā. 4

The episodes in this version are distributed as follows: (1) stanzas 3-93; the mention of the accession of Vikrama and establishment of his era and the establishment of the subsequent Śaka era are said to be related as a digression; (2) stanzas 94-128; King Satavahana is mentioned in stanza 113; (3) stanzas 129-152; (4) stanzas 153-154. Stanza 155 is exhortatory and 156 identifies the kālakākhyaṇaka as the fourth section of the Prabhāvakacarita (called here Purvarṣiṣṭaṇtra).

9. Anonymous Sanskrit version in 67 stanzas, with inner rimes, known to me from a single manuscript at Bhavnagar, paper, four leaves, no date, appears to be of seventeenth century. These were once at end of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, folios 79-82.

It begins:
śrīvārddhānānapadapadānurālādevam
śrīvārddhnānam abhināmya jīnendiradevam
kāṇḍcit kathāṁ ubhayāthā sanyāṭhābhaḥājaṁ
vaksanā ahāṁ sugurukālakāśūrīraṁ. 1
atraśva bhāti nagaraṇa bharate "lākāraṁ
dhārādevam iti pūnyaajayaptāsāhaṁ
śrīvārāśīryaṁ iti tatra nṛpaḥ surītiḥ
satyābhidhā 'syā dayātā surasandarī 'tī. 2

The episodes appear thus: (1) stanzas 2-41; the eras are mentioned incidentally; (2) stanzas 42-52; King Satavahana is mentioned in stanza 48; (3) stanzas 53-60; (4) stanzas 61-66.

Stanza 67 reads:

iṁtha kālakāśūrīraṁkaritam (?) samyaktvadāhyā mayā
vṛddhāhyā avaganyaranyanahinaṁ samkṣepato bhāṣitaṁ
ye kalpaṁavacāne savijayā vyākhyānti varṣam prati
śrīmanto vibuddhavrajā śilakataṁ labdhvā śivaṁ yantra te. 67

10. Anonymous Sanskrit version in 74 ślokas, known to me from a single manuscript, Sanghavike Pāḍākā Bhanḍar, Patan, no. 234, being folios 145-155 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, not dated, but apparently of thirteenth or fourteenth century.

It begins:

parvedam bhāḍrapaṇcayāṁ caturtyāṁ abhavad yataḥ
śrīmatkālakāśūrīraṁ teṣāṁ vaksya kathām ahāṁ. 1
iheva jambudvīpe 'sti dharāvāśāḥbhidhe purā
vārīśīmho nṛpaṣya (read nṛpas tasya) devi tu surasandarī. 2

The episodes appear as follows: (1) stanzas 2-37; the Śākhi were called Śaka, according to stanza 37, because they came from the Śakakūla; (2) stanzas 38-50; the king’s name is Śatavahana (45); (3) stanzas 51-68; (4) stanzas 69-74.
Both these versions seem to be related to L.A.V., yet less closely so than are the foregoing. They appear frequently; of the first I have used four manuscripts, of the second six manuscripts.

   It begins:
   
   athitha bhārāhavaṇaś iśālaś karmanānanti
   tīlayat bhūparanandhe dhāravāsant mahāparan. 1

   The episodes fill stanzas as follows: (1) stanzas 1-64; because the Sāhis came from the Śaka bank, they were called Śakas; (2) stanzas 65-83; King Sālivāhana is mentioned in stanza 71; (3) stanzas 84-90; (4) stanzas 91-99. The authorship of the version is stated following the last stanza.

12. Dharmaprabhasuri’s Prakrit version, in 57 stanzas, chiefly Aṛyā, composed in Vikrama Saṃvat 1389 (A. D. 1332), published by me in critical edition in this volume pp. 92 ff., and with translation in the forthcoming volume of studies to Sir George Grierson, which is being published by the Linguistic Society of India. It has many verbal correspondences with Bhavadevasūri’s version.
   It begins:
   
   nāyarammi dhāravāśe
   putto kālaya·kumaro

   The episodes appear as follows: (1) stanzas 1-32; (2) stanzas 33-45; (3) stanzas 46-50; (4) stanzas 51-56. The authorship and date of composition are indicated in stanza 57.

III. Śrīvīravākyaḥ VERSION

13. The most popular version of the Kalāka cycle is a Sanskrit version in 65 stanzas, edited in this volume from 11 manuscripts and a printed text. It shows affinities to the foregoing versions, but has a number of minor points of difference. Its age is indeterminable, but the chances are that it is younger than most of them, for I have found only one palm-leaf manuscript of it.
   It begins:
   
   śrīvīravākyaṁmatam suparva kṛtaṁ yathā pāryuṣānākhyam etat
   śrīkālikācāryavarena sanghe tathā caturthyaṁ śṛṣṭu puṣeṣāntaḥ. 1
   samagradesāgatavastusārāṁ purāṇaṁ dhāravāsaṁ ilāśi tāraṁ
   tattāriḥbhūpārakārindrasāṁho bhūvallabho bhūd bhūvi vajrasāṁhaḥ. 2

   The episodes appear thus: (1) stanzas 2-45; Balamitra and Bhānumitra, who regularly appear only in the second episode, here assist in the overthrow of Gardabhillā; (2) stanzas 46-56; King Sātāyana is mentioned in stanza 50; (3) stanzas 57, 58; (4) stanzas 59-65.
THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

IV. HAYAPADINIYAPAYAVO VERSIONS

The most popular Prakrit version appears here. This group is largely independent of all the foregoing, especially in giving Gardabhilla's name as Dappana (Darpa), and in two of them making Avanti the capital of Balamitra and Bhānumitra. The chief version is very lively. The dates are not known, and only the sub-variety appears in a palm-leaf manuscript; they may be fairly considered later than L.A.V.

14. Anonymous Prakrit version in 120 stanzas, with a few Sanskrit and one Old Gujarati stanza in that number, edited and published with translation in this volume, pp. 71 ff.

It begins:

hayapadiniyapayavo tiith'umairkāna kalānilao
jayau jay'ānandararao pure pur' āsi nivo vayarasiho
magahesu dharāvāse gujarjutto kālao putto.

The episodes are presented thus: (1) stanzas 2-83; in stanza 82 we are told that the Śaka dynasty arose in consequence of the Śāhi invasion; (2) stanzas 84-95; King Sālavāhana is mentioned in stanza 90; (3) stanzas 96-112; (4) stanzas 113-120.

15. Anonymous Prakrit version in 105 stanzas, known to me from a single manuscript in the Nagin Dās (Sāntinātha Temple) Bhanjār, Cambay, no. 5.2, palm-leaf, five folios, no date, apparently fourteenth century. It has many verbal correspondences with the preceding version although omitting much of the lively conversation, but in itself needs frequent manuscript. It also conforms often to L.A.V.

It begins:

hayapadiniio kāритth'umāmāi jayau Kālagā'suriyaṃ
viṭṭa'ṇḍarvīṣiṇa ya devind'hammā'kiti'dharo. 1
magahesu dharāvāsammā vairasihō nivo piyā tassa
surasaṃdārī tī putto ya kāla sarasarai dūhiyā. 2

The episodes are presented thus: (1) stanzas 2-45; in stanza 18 the name of Gardabhilla is given as Dappana, as in the preceding version, stanza 10; stanzas 20 and 22 are the same as L.A.V. stanzas 22 and 21; stanzas 26 and 31 are the same as the preceding version's stanzas 23 and 28; in stanza 44 it is stated that the Śāhi line was called Śāka because the Śāhūs came from the Śāka bank of the Indus; (2) stanzas 46-67; the seat of Balamitra and Bhānumitra's kingdom is at Avanti (as in the preceding version); King Sālavāhana is mentioned in stanza 54; (3) stanzas 68-93; stanza 69 is the same as the preceding version's 97; the name of Kālaka's spiritual grandson is Sāgaracandra, not Sāgaradatta (as in the preceding version); (4) stanzas 94-104.

It ends:

kappaviserakahā tali-pabhī'anusaraṇa iya mahā'sayā-kālayasūri evaŋdhā(?) vaddhā vi sānantu mūrṇi. 105 śrīkalākāryakathā.

16. Prose Version with some verses in Bhadreśvarasūri's Kathāvāli (see pp. 102-107). This version has a number of interesting variants, although it agrees essen-
tially with the others in this group. It gives King Gardabhilla the name Dappana (Darpana); Kālaka’s sister is named Śilamaṭi (Śilamati). In the second episode Balamitra and Bhānunmitra are established at Ujjayinī; the King of Pratiṣṭhāna is named Sālavāhana. In the third episode the spiritual grandson of Kālaka is called Sāgaracandra. This version adds a fifth episode, in which Kālaka’s nephew named Datta, a wicked prince who dethrones and exiles his father, has a disagreement with Kālaka, plans his death, but himself is humiliated and dies fearsomely. Altogether this last is a highly edifying addition.

The text of the version is printed in this volume with an English analysis, pp. 102 ff.

The last episode of this version is also found in Hemacandra’s Yogaśastravṛtti (ed. Vijaya Dharma Śārī, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1909), p. 260 (being commentary to stanza II, 60). The episode is given in 30 stanzas, beginning:

asti bhūramaṇi māulimaṇis tuṇamaṇi purī
yathādhvamānā tatraśaj jitāśatrur mahāpatiḥ.

The Sanskrit version of Hemacandra is very close to the Prakrit of Bhadresvara.

V. LATER ENCYCLOPEDIC VERSIONS

There exist a number of later compilations of the Kālaka tales, many of them in Gujarati, or in mixed Sanskrit and Gujarati. One I have used.

17. Samayasundara’s version in mixed prose and verse, mostly in Sanskrit, but with Prakrit and Gujarati, composed Vikrama Śamanvat 1666 (A. D. 1609). This is a long version that draws from all the foregoing versions and possibly also from oral sources. The expansion of the Gardabhilla episode is especially marked. I have used two manuscripts: (a) Agra, Śrī Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmatī Jñāna Mandira 325, paper, 14 leaves, the last leaf (no. 15) being missing, no date, but possibly seventeenth century; (b) copy of a manuscript in the Jain Library, Benares.

The text begins:

praṇamaḥ śrīgurum gadyāpyadyavārttābhir adbhutaṃ
kāḷikācāryasyaṃśanadhau vaśyaye haṃ śīyakhetave.
atra pūrṇaḥ sthāvīraṃ vākhyatā. tatra śrīkāḷikācāryo 'pi mahāprabhavakaḥ sthāvīra laṁ
bhūva. tena tasyāpi saṃbhodhaḥ kathaye.
tatra kāḷikācāryaḥ trayājaḥ sthāvīra jātaḥ, tamadhyya ekāḥ śṛṅkāḷikācāryaḥ śṛṅmahāvīrādeva-vai
vāntaḥ saṁ 376 varṣe śṛṅyāmācārīyarāmā śṛṅprajāpāṃśātraśidmaṣṭāḥ pūrṇa-viṣṇu saṁ vasā śṛṅsū
dharmavānāma arabhāḥ trayoṁvīṃśitaṁmaḥ puruṣo jātaḥ, yena bṛāhmaṇābhiḥāśāśādalmānendrāgre
gogadacārīḥ labhitaḥ. atra kecid vadanti:
sivāvīra-jijnāndā kośa śī saśvarīva-voliṃ
dkāḷasūri jāo sakko pādibhoj jīpanā. 1
iti gāthādarśanāt 320 varṣe gogadacārakāthakaḥ śṛṅkāḷikācāryo jātaḥ. kecid vadanti:
tiṇda tvāmaṇīva 1ndu causayatipannarsarasāi gahiā
navasayatifona vīrā caubhi pājjo kālagāyariya. 1 (metre?)
iti nirñāṇaprayāṇagāthādarśanāt 325 varṣe jātaḥ. kecid vadanti: caturthāḥ paryuṣanāparyarpavavart-
taka eva gogadacārakāhīyā, yathāsthitaḥ labhūsiraḥ vadantīti.

1 Read 110a (?).
dvitiyasya tu kalikācāryaḥ śrīvīrānirvānāt samā 453 varṣe sarasvatibhratā gardabhillocchedakaḥ, balamitrabhanumitrpantrapayos ca māttula jātāh. kutrāpi tu yaḥ caturthyāṁ paryuṣaṇāparvapravarttakaḥ kalikācāryaḥ sa tayoḥ māttulaḥ prokoṭi 'stī, yad asti tat pramāṇaḥ.

tritiyasya tu śrīkalikācāryaḥ śrīvīrānirvānāt 993 varṣe śrīvikramasaṁvatsarat sanā 523 varṣe jātāh, yena śrīvīravākyat paryuṣaṇāparva bhūdrapadaapaṇe camitaḥ caturthyām ānītam.

evaṁ śrīkalikācāryatrayaṁ pṛthakprthak jātaṁ paraṁ nāmasāḍhayaḥ dvayaḥ agre taṇayaḥ kalikācāryaṁ ekāḥḥutāva saṁlagnā kathā kathyaḥ. ato 'tra pūrvaḥ gardabhillocchedakaḥ śrīkalikācāryaṁ saṁbhandho vācyaṁ.

asmin jambudvīpe bharaṇaśatam dhūrāvāsaṁ nāma nagaram adhyāt, paraṁ taṁ nagaraṁ kāḍhaṁ asti.

At the end of the work it is stated that it was composed by Samayasundara in the year Vikrama Saṁvatsarastutaśrīgāra (1666) = A. D. 1609.
CHAPTER IV
LONG ANONYMOUS VERSION

Six manuscripts have been used in the preparation of this edition, which are clearly divided into two groups, here called A and B. Group A in turn possesses a subdivision between the three s manuscripts and the n manuscript, but the differences are in general not sufficient to justify making a separate category for n, and frequently n agrees with an s manuscript against the two other s manuscripts. The manuscripts and their description are as follows:

A

1 Sanghâlakâ Bhandâr, Patan, No. 47.2; being folios 85 verso to 109 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasûtra; palm-leaf; well preserved; no date, but presumably thirteenth or fourteenth century. Ends: kâlikâcâryakathânakaṇaṃ samâptaḥ, cha. grunthâgraṇaḥ kathânikâyâḥ, 460. udhâryaḥ grân 1749. cha. cha. . . .

2 Sanghâlakâ Bhandâr, Patan, No. 47.2; being folios 114 verso to 152 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasûtra; palm-leaf; well preserved; dated Vikrama Samvat 1336 (A. D. 1279).

Has two paintings.1 Ends: iti pañjusavayakappo samattato. cha. totsaṃjñāṇa ca samāptaṃ evam śrīkâlikâcâryâbhâyanakaṇaṃ. cha. samvat 1336 varse jjyeṣṭha su di 5 raĉâv śrîpattane sahâvijãhāvijâsya śrîcâryapadetasya vijñyâni râje śrînâtâryaṇapakakalo 'yam likhitah. cha. śrubhânu bhuravâ caturvâhâśriṃghabhaṭṭârayakasya. cha. . . . cha. cha. mangalâṇ, mohâśrîḥ, cha. There follows another line in later handwriting, which in my photograph is obscured and mostly illegible.

3 Sanghâlakâ Bhandâr, Patan, No. 47.2; being folios 112 verso to 141 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasûtra; palm-leaf; well preserved; dated Vikrama Samvat 1344. Has three paintings. The first folio (which would have been numbered 111) is missing. Ends: kâlikâcâryakathânakaṇaṃ samâptaḥ, grân 376. arhâṇy, ukekâvâya . . . samvat 1344 varse mārgga" sv di 2 raĉâv somasâlīna mohâśrîḥ.

B

1 MS. belonging to the India Office Library, London; paper; dated Vikrama Samvat 1485 (A. D. 1428). Ends: iti śrîkâlikâcâryakathânakaṇaṃ samâptaḥ. grân 360. samvat 1485 varse cûtra su di 5 raĉâvâne adyânaḥ śrînadâpyâbâllapattanavâstassya trâ śrîkaṭhâlokhâtendayat. Then follows the familiar stanza: yadāyaḥ pustake śrîsvaratā. etc.


2 MS. belonging to W. N. Brown; paper; 24 folios; no date but possibly about 1450 A. D.; written with gold ink on colored background. Ends: iti śrîkâlikâcâryakutha samâptaḥ(!). cha. mantrisonānâ likhitān. cha. śrî.

Instances of the difference between recensions A and B are fairly numerous. As examples, see stanza 23, to which B adds a doḥa, thus giving a typical Apabhramśa Radâla stanza; stanza 104, which A does not quote in full, but assumes is well known by the readers and indicates by giving the first few words followed by iccāi.

1 See Figures 9, 10.
THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

arhaṃ

1

atthi hi eva Jambudīvē dīve Bhārāhe vāse Dhārāvasanā nama nayaraṃ. tattha vaiṛi-vārasun-
darī-vehavāva-dikkhāgarūr Vairarasena nama rāyā. tassa ya sayalanteur-pañhāna Surasundarī nama
devī. tīse ya sayalakalā-kalāvapāragā Kālaya-kumāra nama putto. so ya amanāt kāya āsā-
vāhanijāca padāniyatto sahāyāva-van'ūjjāne sajala-jalabarāśva-gumbhirā-mahurā-nigghosanā-an-
nīna lounge sa taniṟuvā-adhalo paviṭhā. tattha jāva pecchā susiḥura-jaḍa-parīvāryam bahur-
janaviṇo jāparanatam dhemanā-diikkhamāṇo bhaya-vansto Gāyārayāryam, vanḍuṇa ya
uvaṭṭhāno tātpuruṣo. bhava-yāya vi samādhatāt kumārān-uṭdhisīna vīsesaṇa dhāmann-desanā, api ca:

2

yathā caturbhīḥ kanakān parikṣayate

3

nīghaṁ sapaccadhatunatāpatiṇdaniḥ

tathāvā dhammo viduṣā parikṣayate

4

śrutena śleṣa tapodāyāyuniḥ. (1) (jagati)

5

tathā

6

jivo apāriñhano

7

pāvena sayā duhio

8

dhammo caritta dhammo

9

kasan'cēya tāva suddho

10

pañuravāhiyānumā

11

jhūṃ'ajjayaśāānumā

12

vajjhaśuṭṭhātenumā

13

sambhava-vai pariṣuddhaḥ

14

cēhipo supariṣuddho

15

cēhipo jo na suddho

16

so tāriso dhammo

17

eso ya uttamo jaṃ

18

vancījja sayalesaṃ

19

ettha ya avancto na hi

20

sammanā pariṣkhyayavo

21

iya guruvayayaṃsānāṃ

22

sanjījya cāraya bhīvāno

23

dhūcchatta mohiho 'ham

24

parībhavāno mahāyaśa

25

to bhavyavo tadbhūvaṃ

26

so vi tayaṇ padāvājīya

27

padāvājīya

1

s' omi

2

s' jamvuo; n "dive; ev dhāna" 

3

s' varisabho; s' pahāṇā; n supāri

4

i sa; s' se; s' omi ya after so; s' kāyāni, uśā kāyā

5

s' vāhiyā, uśā "hanijā; s' vaṇujā; n vaṇojjā; 

6

i sayala (for sajala); n kyaqūma

7

s' kongageṇa; i tam (for tan); i pecchā tu sāhu

8

s' bhagā 

9

i 'nīghaṃsaṃ (j corrects, p. 218)

10

b dhamma

11

i omi

12

n sambutto

13

n sabhīto; B puṇa

14

i sayamūna (j emenda); s' vi (for ya)

15

n ccheya, i ttheya (j emenda); n suddhe; s' cīya; B

16

vindeo, n vīdeo

17

s' pāni; s' vahāti, s' bahāti (j bhāhā); i parishebo

18

s' fūb jīhāo; n i (for ya)

19

i bajjā; s' taya

20

s' sambhaivāvā (omitting ya)

21

s' sudham (for bhava); s' tāvo (for tāvo)

22

i 'suddha (j 'dho); s' parisuddho; B uveti

23

n omits vi; n suddha (for suṭṭha); j tiva (but j in Glossar nīvā)

24

25

s' phalaṃ visenmula

26

B u (for ya); s' vanmū do; n vanmū

27

s' itha; s' ya mancio; s' jesa tese

28

s' pariṣkhyayavo; A vihehiṃ, J bhūhehi

29

B rūvadhamma

30

i tā; s' aśāi

31

s' yo (for so); i ya (for vi); s' yantam; n padāvājīa
38

FREER GALLERY OF ART, ORIENTAL STUDIES, NO. I

aha mahāya kaṭṭhegam
bahurāyaputta sahio
3 aha gahiyavuṃhāsikkho
tā gurunā niyāya'pe
pañcaaya'saḥurparivāra parivuo bhaviya-kamala'vanya'saṇṭe
4 24 jādiśhibhūto kamāso
nayarasa uttaradasī
āvāsio mahapā
9 tam nāmaṇa logo
pañamattu sūrīpā
to Kālayasārīhīṁ
dhammo jina'panatto
12 tam soṇaṃ pariśa
vanmaṇi sūrī'gūne

15 evaṃ ca bhaviya'kamala'padībhava'parāṇāṃ jāva volei mai vi diyaḥ tāva bhaviyavvaya niyega samagaya tattha sāhuṃ. tāṇu ca na jajīhe Sarasāri vva pothiyavanga'haththā na ya ‘kaλnī, Gori vva mahāy'anniyā na ya bhavā'urattacittā, saraya'kalānarī vva sačcha'sayā na ya kuggāh'asamjittā, Laccchī vva kamāla'layā na ya sakāmā, candā'leha vva sayala'janānandarāriṇī na ya vankā, kiṃ bahunā gucchhiṇā ruveya ca samathbhā-nāri-jāpa'pahāna sāhuṃ'kīriyā kalāv'ujjaya Kālayasārīlahayābhagī Sarasāri nāma sāhuṃ. vīyā'lhūmī niyega samanī diṭṭhā Ujjēnī-

21 nayarīśāminī Gaddabhīllavārāṇā jāhovavamnena ya hā suguraḥ hā sāboyara
aranā'hanāṃ hiraṃtā

24 ico'ī vilavanti anjechanāni balā谴责he chūḍhā anteure. tan ca sūrīhiṃ nānuḥ bhājio jaḥā; mahārya prāmāṇāni prāmānasthāi rāksanāyāni yatnatah;
viṣṭadanti pramāṇāni prāmānasthārī visamsthulaiḥ. (21) (ībloka)

27 kim ca rāya'rakkhiyāni tavo'vanāni honti, yataḥ, nareśvarabhubhajchāyān āśīryā śramiṇāḥ sukham nīrbhāyā dharmakāryāni kurvate svāny anantaraṃ. (22) (ībloka)

30 tā visajjehi eyam, mū niyā-kuḷaka'kalanamurpāṣkhē, yata uktam, gottu ganjīdu malīda cārittu suhādattāna hāravīdu
ayasa'pādhāu jāgi sayali bhāmidu
masīkuceu dinnu kūli
jena keṇa parādāru hiṃsudī. (23) (paṇca'padī)

[J 261]

17 sī janani janaya; sī śie
21 sī rayānā; sī 'vanno, sī 'vanno, nīl 'vanno
24 nāravatoś
25 sī vilavaṃṇī; sī 'bālayamođhe, i būdhā; sī'sī omit jaḥā
26 viṣṇa
28 sī 'tāvfaṇo; i humṇī
29 sī kuvissī
30 sī niyābhavakalābdhō; sī uppāṭhām
31 a gotu, i gottu; i ganjīdu 2, sī 'jīnu, sī'sī omit jaḥā
32 'jīyado, sī malū; n cāritu; sī vārātman, i vāri (J. enenda)
33 sī hāravī, sī'sī vīn, i hāravīdu
39 sī bhāminī, sī bhāminī
41 sī diṇu
45 sī parādāru, b pārēdāru, sī'sī hinśu, sī jhinī (B odhī a dhā, thū making a typical Aśokarama Budhā sāmāja: the dhū a os tālāvaca: amunīṁsi
47 śaṭṭhatama ye itīlaṃ kārenti (b karīnī) tāhā (? read talaṃ) samgāmi mahābhādada (? read 'ham) karathakkā na vaḥantī)
THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

39
tā mahārāya uccīṣṭha kāya-piṣyaṇāṃ va viruddham-eyam. tao kāmā'ūrattana'o vivariya maitta'pao ya na kicci padivannam rāmā. yataḥ,

drṣyaṃ vastu paraṃ na paśyati jagaty andhaḥ puro 'vasthitam
rāgāndhas tu yad asi tat pariḥaran yam nāsti tat paśyati
kundadīvratapūrṇāndrakalaśāśīrmaḥaha-pallaṅvā

nārōpā śucirāśiṣu priyatanāgātreyu yam modate. (24) (śāradāvārik Śīla)

tā munca rāya eyam
tai anna'ya-pavatte
ta evam bhāja rāya
cauviha-saṅgreṇa rāva
tsanghi vo sva tena
kova'vamsa'uvavagyehiṃ
je saṅgre-h'paccanāyā
toṣiṇa vacc'vā nai
ummaḷēmi na sahasā
tāyavvan ca eyam jao bhājyanarāgane:
tamhi sai sāmatthe
anuśhile ya ra āya-

tathā:
śiṣṇu ceiṇa ya
jina'pa'pavayapassa abhiyaṇ

24 padapyaṇā tūha avanuva'vāyaṇ ca
śastraṁnāma vācī. (31)

21 tao evam pāraṃna kānā cintītya sūriṇa jah': esa Gaddaballarāya mahālakṣa'parakkaṃ
24 gaddabīte mahāvijjē bālo, tā uvaśēṣa ummūlaṇyavvo tī sāmatthīṇa kao kava'jeṇa ummattayavvo-vesso
tiya-cauva'caccara mahāpāta'ṭṭhānesa ya imaṃ palavanto hiṃḍai: [J 262] yadi Gardabhiḷo rājā
taṭaḥ kim aṭaḥ paraṃ, yadi vā ramyaṃ antaḥparaṃ taṭaḥ kim aṭaḥ paraṃ, yadi vā janaḥ suvētas
taṭaḥ kim aṭaḥ paraṃ, yadi vā karomi bhikhūtaṇaṃ taṭaḥ kim aṭaḥ paraṃ, yadi vā śūnyagrīhē svapnaṃ
karomi taṭaḥ kim aṭaḥ paraṃ?
iya evam jāṃpanaṃ
ahara na juttaṃ ranma
mottiṇa niya'ya'gacchaṃ
sayal'pa'guṇaṃ nihiṃṇaṃ

sūriṇ daṭṭhūna bhaṇa' paralogo,
kayanj ajo bhāghir'kajammi (32)
hinḍai ummattao naya'ra'majjhe
kaṭṭhun'raḥo Kālāgāyario. (33)
govāla-vādala-laññ’ā-sayala-loya evam-āpiharusān
soñña nīdānāṇḍaṇa para
maññuṁ tao bhājio
muyasuvavassian ēya
kūṁ ca munṇa āvanthāṇ
so patṭarjala-samuddhe
taṇ mañti-vayaṇaṁ-ayāmīṇaṁ roṣena bhāqai naranāho
re re evaṁ sikklai
taṇ saʊn tūnihkā
kūṁ, keśa nisiddho

nāma
khaṇa, tatha je sāmanta te sāhiṇo bhāyaṇant, jo sāmanṭit’hāvā sayalavarravindravelchāmano so sāhānausāhi bhāqai. tao Kālayāsūrī tīhō egasa sāhiṇo samīve; āvajjio yo sa manta-tan’āliṁ. yo ya annayā kāyā tassa sāhīno sūri-samanatīyaesa harisa-bhāravibhārassā nāmāvīha-visoeśīṁ cīṭha-
māṇasa samāgā padīkāra, vinnatam ca teṇa jāḥ; sāmi sāhānausāhi-dūvā dāvāre cīṭhāi.

sāhīṇa bhāyaṇāṇ: kalūṁ pavesēhi. paveseyo yo vayaṇ’tantararohaṇaṇaṁ νίσανno yo dīn’nāsaṇo. tao dīĕra samappiyamanvayaṇaṇo. tao ca datāṭhā naṇavāpaśuśkāla-nabayaṇaṇaḥ andhāryaṇa

gao dūo. tao pucchéhi sūrinā: lanta sāmī-pasāve vi samāgā cṃim-vuviggo viya lakkhyāyaṇa. teṇa bhāyaṇāṇ: bhayāvana na pasāo kīn tu kovo samāgā jao anha pāḥi jassa rāśi tasa nāṃ’ānkuṇiyā

nuddiyaṇ nu dhiyahem pi ṣūṇhā. tao keṇa kārāṇaṇa amho ṭārīnu rūśūṇa piṣyā es cūryā. ye ēya

appā amhehi ghiyaṇvavo, uggadāndo ti kāṇṇa ā na tav-vayaṇe viyāraṇa kāavyā. sūrinā bhā-

niyaṇaṁ: kīna tūjha cewa rūṭha, uyāhu ammassa vi kassai. sāhīṇa bhāyaṇāṇ: mana vajjyaṇaṁ amneśāṁ pi pāncāṇaṭṭśārāṇaṇaṁ, jao disai channuimio imic satthiyāe aṅko tū. sūrīṇa jampiyāṁ: jai
evaṁ tā mā ampāṇṇa viṁśehi. teṇa bhāyaṇāṇ: na pahuṇa rūṭṭhena kulakkhaṇamāntaraṇaṇa cūṭṭṭjāi, maē puna maṇṇa saṃakalūsa khaṇṇaṇo bhavaṇi. sūrīṇa bhāyaṇāṇ: jai evaṁ tā kā vīhārano niya-

dāya-pesaṇeṇa pāncāṇaṇuṁ pi rāyāno jēga Hindugadesa-desaṇ vacchāmo. tao teṇa pucchéhi dūo jāḥ:

bhadda ke te anne pāṇcaṇau rūṇyo jēṣiṇu kuvio devo. teṇa vi savve niyeyā. tao dāyaṁ viṣajjūṇa

savvesepi pi pesiyā patteyyaṁ niya-dūyā jāḥ: samāgačeṭhala mama samīve, mā niya-jīvyyāṁ parice-

1  b bāḷa; z lalanāṭ; y resuces text (koḷā); x lōo;
2  a pāḷharasāṇ; z aḷparusāṇ
3  z mirāṇyan; j lassā
4  b kūpala ēyaṇ; z kheyaṇ (for ēyaṇ)
5  b mūya; y tavisśiṇi; i garō (j enda)
6  nh guṇaṇa; n to (for jō); x vimhito, x vimehito;
7  n kumāṇa
8  n t (for tama); x āyaṇaṁ
9  i inam
10  x nāsiddho; x sāmāṇa
11  x kuvio (for kōo); x sāpavavaran
12  x hannahati; x jā, xu jo ya, x so, b ko; i hivai;
13  xū vamda
14  xēn bhannant; x ēj, xu jo ya, x so, b ko; i hivai;
15  xēl vamda
16  xēn bhannant; xēl Kālaŋga; xēn ṭhīō; xu āvajį hijo; xē oṃits (after ēva’); x mūntā; x u, yō. b tao
17  i anuṣṭāy; x kayāś; n sanmāṇi; x νoivehi; i cēṭha
18  xō adds ya after sāmi; xō bārice; x cīṭhā
19  xē vayānanaṁ, i vayānenaṁ; i dinqasane, x di-
20  xēvīsālep
21  All MYY, sāhīṇa; i oṃits sūriṇaḥ; i hanṭi; i kāṇaṃ
22  for kīna ēyaṇ); xē ċārapaṇa; xē lakkhiya
23  n datāṭhaṇaṇa navajalaya; xē oṃits pi ya; n sāmanḍēmo
yaha: abha savattath bhalissi, tao te duparicca sayanatappto panaama savam samagga kanya aya jhadatti tassa samiva. te ya samagga datthiun teeti 'vi puuchiya sirino: bhaya kinn amhehi sampan samayava, sirihi bhanyiya: sabalavahan uttarinu Sindham vacchah Hindugavesan. tao samaruhiha jana vattu samagga Surattha visae. eth' antarami ya samaga pursamao; tao duggami magga ti kama Surattha visaya channa nuvibhagehi vibhanjina

6 thu ya thau

eth' antarami ya maharan vua rehira pujaari, garuya samara'arambh vansamao vua ullaanta bahujavo, garuva vua disanta sayi bhalako, munivi vua raya hanusasasavi, pahanapasa vua savava vijaya uttama saraya kalao, jatha ya suyana jachchita vithu vua sacchao mahanao, sukavavini vua nimmulao dislo, parama joga saripa v notify, vacchha. munino vua samaqho bhalinda sattacayey taruo, vara thavari nimm silenced deva kula panti vua sutarlo

8 rayantu ti, aviy

nippamara savvasasasi dhikkanti dariya vasahi

15 pisa pari parasari

18 padivajjanti puthiya

19 iya bahu jiyata syayare

jahti rango bhavacita tyava samagga putha vana

21 evavattham ca saraya kala samiravalo ojaya niva samihaya sidhi kame pana bhanyya te kalaya sirin jalh: bho kinn karan eva vatta sassy aha bhinn samhaha. tehini bhanyiya: abha samha kinn puna karano. surini bhanyya: gihaha Ujjenin, jao te padhihdo pabho Maha vadeso, tatha pavijte tuhama nivakho bhavissi, tehini bhanyiya: evam karane, pana n'athii sambalaya jama evamui dese amagha bhoyarama eva vaya. tao surini joga mumu saka ahatteya pakkheva suvanam kanya savam kumbhakativaha bhanyya: evam sambalaya gihaha. tao te tam vibhanjuna savva samagge paththiha. Ujjenin pad. antare ya ya ke vi Lada visavara yano te sathit patth Ujjeni visaya samdhipha. tao Goldhabhila tam pari balanagrachanta samgii mahabala samagge niggaa pattho ya visaya samdhien. tao donhua piti dappudhara senunam laggarao lukan, aviy ya:

30 nivadanta tilka saraya hasara sax vavala savala radulo

khampanta cakanappattisa:

asir parasru kantar lungs

bhada bukkara radulo

noggaranaryaya vibhaccho

saŋghaṭṭu jhantha sih phulingoho

raya cāyāvarūkara kara pasaro.

41 i pugo

42 i yana

43 i naieve

44 i yana

45 i yana

46 i yana

47 i yana

48 i yana

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121 i yana

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

41

4
1 s' pavaññë (for vaññë*)
2 s'e samam, n seamp, B simam; i vâhâhaya; s' vinjan; s'B ca
3 n âliñi, n 'ylâyam
4 s' ciñhe, b cetthai; B sajho; i balenam
5 B omits vi; B nariaam; B rôhîmann; s'xB tîhiyâ; B omit ya; s' x pîdipam; n hoyam
6 s' dhajyana; s' somamam; n kûtjë; s' tao tao
7 s' somamam, n supsa*; s' stë; s' omits ajja, b ajjeva; s' atthemhe
8 s' omits ya; s' niruvaha; s' kattai (for ka* vi); s' atthäle
9 s' thiyam; n gadd thâ*; n omits first ya; b omits second ya; s' omits sûrînam
10 s'e esadâbbâhamanta (s' matta)jâma, s'ën esadâbbâlamjâma, B esadâbbâli (i 'bhiê) gadoihâla'jâma; s'ë 'mahâyam; s'ë 'kálh, b kârëli; b karchë; B omits ca; B varibala
11 n dûpa*; n sâdham (for savanam); s' rûdhiran; i omits bhûmî, n canmi
12 s' dûpâyama; s' tittë, s' ghwâthñë, n ghetthûn; s'B mitum; n osahe
13 s' omits ca, s' 'thaar ba ca sayanam; s' sâdha*; A adds mahâjñanëmah (after sadda*); s'ën ëtha*; s'ë 'vëha; n laheva, b tabe (omits va); n omits ya
14 n atha maham; s' nîci
15 n nagebin; B bharî*; n vûka; B omits vi; s' saksiss*; n (for tâ) (46)
16 B apama*; s'ës'eyama*; s'ës' dûha atthar pûri*; B cetthi*, n cetthiha; s'ë teh; s'ë talu ceva, n tahâ ceva; n savam; s'ës' eyämä*; s' yadhiya, n aya*
17 i mulka; s' pûria*; s'ës' puma; s' vâgiye; s' tiri- rikke; n omits ya; s' eiyas, vît (J ca*); n vaein; s'ës' arasiyan, n ârasa; n folo mising gving lacona from (pud)âhaya through sam (attho), p. 46, lîne 6
18 i tassa (for ta* ceva); s' omits kûm; J jhati, s' jhati
19 s' jamhâ; s' gpiha, B gpiha; s'ës' adds eyam âfer san*; s'ëvya valam ti; s'B omits te
20 B Ujjeînîm; s'ës' jîvîrâhâto; b bandheî*, b band- dheî*; i omits ya
21 s' apaja; s' savâ (for sajja)
24 s' omits first ya
25 s' omits mohâ; s' sûhanîya
27 s' minna*; s' tûnâm (J nû*), s' omits
dî' ci (for ca*); s' ahâm; b theva; B jammâmî
THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

43

nara yā tirikkha kūnāpasa
jamraṇanta bhāve bhamihāsi
joi avamanmai sanghaṃ
so appaṇḍa bolai
siriṃ saṃāṇa sanghaśāyaṇāṃ pāvventi jāṃ dhānaṃ jīvā
tam sāhiṃ samattio
jeña mahantant pāvaṃ
saṃbhāsasā pariho
bahu pāvābhārākantantāṃ
ālingyanāṃ tuṃmuṇ pūṣṭaṃ karuṇāṃ puṇaṃ bhānaṃ.

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kudeva gaṇaṃ saṃkādāvādeo
tam puṇa viroṣana phalant hohi. (52)
pāvo thevaṃ pi māṇamaṃaṃaṭtto [J 466]
dukkharmanāhāsāgare bhīme. (53)
jaipara bhayaṃ jino hoi. (54)
kayam tae neya mannio sangho
amhitant jai vi re taha vi (55)
dhua jalaṇa kārāla jālā mūlāhīṃ

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duhā jalaṇa karāla jālāmūlāhīṃ
aloēṇa kūṇasā paccittaṃ
jen' aṭtā vi tarasi duhā jalaḥiṃ. (57)
ilo karuṇāti sāriṃ hitāṃ jampiyant saṇiyo Gaddābhilo so
āsāṇkiṭṭha kāmimo
dāmīvācitaṇāṃ naṃ
mukko sī ekāvāraṃ

tau sūri vayaṇāṃ rāyaṇiṃṇaṃ pūla'sārehiṃ so tehīṃ

19
desā duhādūnaṃ
bhāniṃ muo saṃniṃ
bhānhi mi anapta kālant

desā duhādūnaṃ
bhāniṃ muo saṃniṃ
bhānhi mi anapta kālant

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mukko duhiṃ parībhāmau. (60)
caha'ī saṃśāra sāyaṃ bhīme
tak-kamma vivāga dosepaṃ. (61)
śāhīṃ rāyāhīrayāmaraḥ rāum kūmā
śāmanta paśitthīyā sesā. (62)
kāla yāsū raṇaṃ
evaṃ Saŋgaraṇatī āñu
jīva'sāsaṃ unmai pariṇa tāya kālo suheṇa purīgaḷai [J 267]
sūri paya'paunagābbo
kāl'antareṇa kēnu
jāo Mālavatīyā
pulaṭe ekāvarī
duha'sāsaṃ unmai pariṇa tāya kālo suheṇa purīgaḷai [J 267]
sūri paya'paunagābbo
kāl'antareṇa kēnu
jāo Mālavatīyā
pulaṭe ekāvarī

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abhūtānīrāyā jākka rāya'sampattā vara'sāya vāseṇa
avagānya sattūṟittatamo
jeṇa payatūṭiyaṃ dāpanā (67)
raṇapurīhīnānam jāṇaṃ viheṇā

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sāya'sārya vāsa vāseṇa
avagānya sattūṟittatamo
jeṇa payatūṭiyaṃ dāpanā (67)
raṇapurīhīnānam jāṇaṃ viheṇā
vikkama'ccharam

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vikkama'ccharam
vikkama 'ccharam
vikkama 'ccharam

1 n bhmīrṛṇaṃ; s' adda ya afer mo; s'ēnu sāgare
2 dē paṇjāvā; s'ē paṇjāvāsā
3 i sukkhaṃ; n paṇṭhi
4 n rāyaṃ; s'ēnu uppamo
5 n bhuṇaṃ; s unnaya; n kolo
6 s' pahāvī; s'ū maha; s'ū kante; s'ū sāra (for bhūri), s'ū sūri, s bhūmi
7 i varaṃ (J emenda)
8 s'ē paṭṭapaṇavaṇaḥvāṇaṇaḥ; i tiyā
9 s'ē avīga
10 s'ē paṇḍavaṇa; n pasoṣāvī; s'ē vihīṃ
tata vi vāṃsa uppādīṇa jāo puno vi Saṅgaraṇa

267
Sagakāla jāpan'ārthaṁ
mūlakāḥsāmānkaladhāṁ
3
Kāyaśārīrīn'īn tao
āloya'paḍikanto

18
Rājaśāriṇīs vao
sā bhagī añjane puno thāviyā.

9
vinnattā sūrīno, avyaya:

12
Balamittā jāpanābāna
mahānto dharmāla

15
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

10
āloya'paḍikanto yā eva
vinnattā pava dharmāla

11
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

14
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

17
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

20
āloya'paḍikanto yā eva
vinnattā pava dharmāla

16
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

19
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

22
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

24
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

28
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

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kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

56
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

58
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

60
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ

62
kīṁ bahunā karunārāpa
kānām pava haraṁ
THE STORY OF KÂLAKA—BROWN

iya sūrīvayamānāya-ānāya-maṇḍuṣaṇa pariṇāma
so Balabhāṣu-kumāra
kara-koraya vīteṣu
sāmāṣa-cāraya
bhava-bhaya-bhīya-saṭa maṇḍu
diṣṭa jīnindava-dikkha
iya kumara-caṁca-cāra
rājśā parīsā va ya
maṇḍu niya-sād-dhamma kaṁma-karaṇa ājaya jayā
eva ca païdiyam
maraṇaṁ dāṭha-paṇa
savvo niyama
saccamaṇaṁ dhāhu

15 taa ca tārisaṁ purāṇaṁ kkalavado vāma accaṁ tāṇu pariṇāma ca bhauyaṁ rāya-purohitaṁ, jahā: deva, kiraṇe hi pinācuthe hi tāvaijī vāra-yāra-vanāra-virānaṁ ti. eva ca vayanto so sūrīṁ avar-gaavattāthāṁ jāhe niruttato kārī dhuttiṁcē ahañcama vayahehi

18 rānu vippaṁañi, avi ya
e ca māhātavasaś
surāṣṭra maṇya-mahāyā
tā deva jēpā ce
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
gurupaya akkamaṇeṇaṁ
duggaṅkāraṇa-bhūya

tau vippaṁañi cahe, avi ya
miṇgha-ghāvaṁ mahāsattā
suraśāra maṇya-mahāyā
pahena gacchanti, teṇa tūṁhānaṁ
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
mahe śāyāna jao hāva
a o vīsaṁhe paṇu gaṅgo

28 taa vippaṁañi cahe, avi ya
miṇgha-ghāvaṁ mahāsattā
suraśāra maṇya-mahāyā
pahena gacchanti, teṇa tūṁhānaṁ
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
mahe śāyāna jao hāva
a o vīsaṁhe paṇu gaṅgo

29 taa vippaṁañi cahe, avi ya
miṇgha-ghāvaṁ mahāsattā
suraśāra maṇya-mahāyā
pahena gacchanti, teṇa tūṁhānaṁ
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
mahe śāyāna jao hāva
a o vīsaṁhe paṇu gaṅgo

30 taa vippaṁañi cahe, avi ya
miṇgha-ghāvaṁ mahāsattā
suraśāra maṇya-mahāyā
pahena gacchanti, teṇa tūṁhānaṁ
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
mahe śāyāna jao hāva
a o vīsaṁhe paṇu gaṅgo

33 taa vippaṁañi cahe, avi ya
miṇgha-ghāvaṁ mahāsattā
suraśāra maṇya-mahāyā
pahena gacchanti, teṇa tūṁhānaṁ
juttaṁ na hō gamaṇaṁ,
mahe śāyāna jao hāva
a o vīsaṁhe paṇu gaṅgo
Sālīvāhaṇa rāyā saṅgahaṇaṃ nāṇa sa pariyaṇo cauvviha-sīri samasaṃ saṅgha-saṃmaṇno nīggaṃ abhiheṇuḥ, vandiyaṇa bhāva-saṅgahaṇaṃ sūraṇa. avi ya:

3 bhavya-kāmalī vahohaya mohahāνaḥ|miraṃ|paṣaṇa|bharasa|sūra
dappāṭha da|mṭha para]|vārī|kumhā|ni|dallāna-vana|sīla (87)
pauya|na|visara|pau|mauli|maṇa|māra|kīraṇa]|rāniya|sūpaṇa
6 janasa|san|unaila kalī|kāla|kalandakala|salīla (88)
kāla|ṭurīva|para|vaṭṭamāṇa|surya jahali|pāra|sampattā
sappanta|dappakandappaperkappa|rāṇa|parasa (89)
9 iya nīsa|saṇ|ṭiya|rāya kuruṇa|yara|para|una|caraṇa|rāṇa|tahiya
sugihāvamaṇa nīruttama

ēvaṇ ca paṇyaya namaṇaṇa|dino bhavya|vāya|dhamma|lābho. avi ya:

12 kalī|kāla|kalī|maralbhala|pāṭa|lā|pākhi|lāk|śi|la|sālī|lo|bho
sayala|ḍhū|ca|ka|kula|dalaṇa|ya|la|bala|sūya|ṭha|sa|māno (91)
cintamani|kappadūma|kāmīyagaha|kāma|dheṇa|nīnāna
15 jīya|ṭu|jīya|maṇhappo bhavya|vāma|tā]|rāṇo](92)
sagga|pavaga|dugana|naya|rgala|bla|hōga|ppara|samaṇo
16 tuhō|houn|dhamma|la|bho|nārī|ba|jo|ga|bhar|udīlī|bho (93)

ēvaṇ ca mahāviṣeṣedanaṇaṇa paviṭṭha|naiyare sūraṇo vandiyaṇaṃ samastha|cetiyaṃ āvāśiyā ya
carī jāna|jāgaṇaḥ aha|pāśūyaṃ vasaḥsui, tāo paṇidānaṇa sīri|saṅgaṇa|saṅghaṇa bhuṃvani|jīmaṇṭāṇaṇanī
dhāvaṇa|maraṇa|dheraṇa|saṇsuvāmaṇjaḥ|nīsena|jāgaṇaṇaṃ vandiyaṇaṃ|bhavya-kāmalā
dhādavaya|ṣudhācana|māṇī Indaṣsa|jāti bhavaṇa. tāo vinināṭa|sūraṇa rāṇi|jahā bhavaṇa pājjo-
svāṇaṇa|divise|loha|yuvatibh Inda|aṇu|ganta|vovo hoh. tāna|karaṇaṇa|vaḥtānta|ceṇyaṇaṃ pāya
24 bhavaṇ|āyaṇaṇa|กาย na pāhuppoṇo. tā mahāpaṣāṇaṇa|körpera|chaṭṭhī|pājjo|savaṇaṇaṃ. tāo
bhavaṇaya bhavaṇaya:

avi calai Merucūla sūro vū uggamejjya avaraṇe [J 271]
pājjo|savaṇaṇa|aimaṇ. (94)

jao bhavaṇya|rgame jahā naṇ bhagaṇa Mahāvīra vāsaṇa|sva|sīrā|e|māi|vakaṇe vāśi
vāṣaṇa pājjo|sai|vah, tā|naṇ ganaha|ra vi; jahā naṇ ganahāra, tā|naṇ ganahara|sīsa vi; jahā naṇ
ganahara|sīsa, tā|naṇ ana|ma|gura|ḥa|vō vi; jahā naṇ amha|gura|ṇ vi; jahā naṇ amhe vi vāśi|vāṣaṇa
pājjo|sai|vah, to na ṛaṇuṇi|a ḍēnaijya. rāṇa bhavaṇya: tāo evah, to cau|tī|bhava. sūrīṇi

1 sa|lavaṇo, b sāvahāho, i sāvahāho; sāvahāho; sāvahāhā; cauvvha|samaṇa
2 sā|mahām vanavajavajya vandiya
3 n kamaṇa; n omits pasaṇa
4 n corrects dappi to dappi; s|pārī; s|kumha; s|vāla (for vaṇa); s|bala
5 s|val (for pahu); s|muniya
6 n unap; s|unap n
8 n omits kandaṇa; s|omits sappo; b sappakaraṇa
9 b karunāpāra
10 s b nattama; i tuha
11 i paṇīṣa; s|payaṇas; s|transposes bhaya" and diu"; s|bhaya, s|corrects to bhaya"
12 i omits lahula; s|vahula; b paraddhāl; s|elka
13 s śaṇīya
14 i kappadūma, b "druṇa
15 sṭ śaṇīya; sṭ śaṇīya; sṭ śaṇīya; sṭ śaṇīya
16 sraṇa, sṇaṇa, sṇaṇa
17 s|laḥo; b udīlītho
18 B omits ca; i "oldena; s śūrīṇa; i regards vandi"
"sama" ce "as an interpolation"
19 sṭ jāṇa (for jālaṇa); n hāhā; sṭ omits hāhā; sṭ bhavapıṣmitījā"
bhanjyaṃ: evaṃ hou, n’atth’ ittha doso, jao bhanjyaṃ’āgame: ārenā ‘vi pājōsavaevavmātī. tao harisavas’uphulla’loyenā ēmamīyaṃ rānā: bhavanā mahāpāsāo mahanto ambānāmarūggaba, jao māma anteriyaṃṇaṃ pāv’ovvāsa-pārāhe sāhūnaṃ uttasa-pārānayaṃ bhavissai. tao gīhe gantaṃ saṃātthiṣo antēriyāyo: tumānaṃ amāvāse uvacāso hoha, pāraṇaṃ sāhūnaṃ uttasa-pārānayaṃ bhavissai. tā tatttha añhpaṭavatehīṃ bhatta-pāhehiṃ sāhuno paṭṭhehe, jao bhanjyaṃ’āgame:

6 pāha-santarāgilānanmi ya āgana’galahe ya loya’kayaya’dāne uttāpa’pārānapammi ya dāpan tu bahu’pphala bhanjyaṃ. (95)
pājōsavaṇīe aṭṭhamsaṃ ti kāṇha pādiyaev uttasa-pārānayaṃ bhavai. tāṃ ca daṭṭhiṣa tammi dine logo visāhūnaṃ tah’ eva pāyaṃ kām’udābaṭto. tap Sabhiṃi Maraḥṣha’vīśaṃ sāmāpāvālao nāma chaṇo pavauto. evaṃ ca karaṇāṃ Kālayāyārehiṃ cauṭṭhi pājōsavaṇīe pavatiyati, sammī-ṣaṃnhena ya amannyaṇi, tava-vasaṇa pākkhiyāliṃ vi cauḍḍaiše ayariyāni, annahaḥ āgaṃ’ūṭāni 12 pummiyā ti. III
evavvivaṇhaṃjutṭaṃ vi Kālagasūrīṇaṃ kāl’anataṇaṃ viharaṃṇaṇapani kamaṃ’oda’ya’vasenāṃ jaya duvvinīyaḥ sīṣa, tao coiyā sārihiṃ taḥā vi na kīṇ ci padāvaijanti. tao pūpo vi bhapiyā jāhā: bhau bhau mahā’niḥbhāva
Indaṭṭha vi duḷhaṇaṃ evamavāvijayaṃ dukkara tava ca ranam-riṇaṃ
yata uktam āgama: chaṭṭhi’atthama-dasama-duvalase hiṃ māsadhamāsakaṃ mahāṃjeyhiṃ akarintō guru-vanaṃ gurumāṇṭhi bhaṅgālo
taha vi hu patto narayaṇaṃ
gurū’gā avikramaṃ
taha vi na pāvai mokkhaṃ
evaṃ vi bhapiyā te na muncanti duvvinīyaṃ, na kareṇi guruvanaṃ, na vahanti padivaittipi, jaṃpaṇi ultuṇha’vayaṇaṃ, kuvanti seccha havaṇa, ayariṇi niyaṇḍhiṃṭiṣa saṃṭiṣi yati. tao guruṇaṃ cintityaṃ: tāriṣa mama sīśa u jāriṣa gali’gaddahā, gali’gaddahā caitta naṃ daḍāmaṇ tegotha saṃjanaṃ. (101) (iloṣa)
FREER GALLERY OF ART, ORIENTAL STUDIES, NO. 1

48

tathā:

chandepa gao chandeṣa āgao, citṭhae ya chandeṣa,
chande ya vaṭṭamāṇo siso chandeṣa mottavvo. (102)

tā pariḥārāmī eevavviniya-sisese. tao annammi dipe rayaṇe pasuttānanṃ sābhio sejjāyaressa
paramaṭṭho, jāla: amhe niya-sisassāsāsā Sāgaracandasurināṃ pīse vacāno. jai kalha vi anīṭhya
nibhandhēna pucchanti, tao lhaṃhā kharaṃṭiṃna bheseṭuṇa ya sahejjasu tī lhaṃṭiṇa niggayā paṭtā
yaya pavaṇaraṃ saharpaṃyaṇṇīhīṃ tathā paviṭṭhā. niṣṭhitāṃ kāṇṭha theru ko vi ajjau tī kāṇṭha avaṃnā:
apuvum ḍaṭṭhaṇāṃ
sabhoṇṭhaṇāṃ tu hoi kāyaṇvam,
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THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

49

iti cen nāsti kathā. aha parār dharmasādhārayaḥ sūryagatātvād evam ucyate, tarhī bhavantam pracheṇaḥ, parakṣoḥ bhūyaḥ sūryagatāḥ pramāṇaḥ apramāṇaḥ vā, yadi pramāṇaḥ siddhaḥ naḥ sadhyam: athāpramaṇaṃ tarhi sa eva dosah. yac caṃṭha pratyakṣadipramāṇaḡocarati kriyātvā
tad āpy asad, yataḥ kāryāvyabhāyaḥ ca satataṃ dharmah paritrāyate, dharmāḥ samyug upāsito bhavati hi svargāpavargapradesaḥ. (106) (śārdhakevīrdiṭa)

anyac ca

niyārav'bhānayaḥ bhāyārav'bhāmayaṇaṃ vyaṃ ke vi disanti, niyātavyātīyaḥ aneḥ prītiyaṃ sārīcchāḥ. (107)

parīnutiṣaḥ saṃsaraṃ saṃsaraṇiḥ saṃsaraṇaṃ viśhunāmā ke vi, anātānātīmaḥ chaḥmāḥ

sāmpataḥ tivaggaḥ-anāḥ

parīvajjyaḥ pañśattāḥ

dhāriyadhavaḥ'ayavattā

vaccanti gay'arūdhāḥ,

papāya-pāpyā'liṣaḥ

anā kālanīkāla

aṅavarayaṃ dīntāṇa vi

nāmaṃadintāṇaḥ vi

iya dhammaṁ'dhamma-yaphalaṃ

mottiṣampaḥ'ahamadavāmāyāṃ ayareṇa dhāmman ca yaye karesu. (113)


27 tao seṣiṣyāreṇa bhānu'bhāsuraṃ vayanāṃ kāṇḍa bhānyāḥ: are 're duttha'setā na kumaṇa guruṇa āṇaṃ, cojjuṇti vi na pāṭavajjha saṃsāvāvaraṇāṇaṃ: sāmṣā-virājiṣyaḥ āyariyassa mahaṇto doso, jāo bhaṇiyaṭ-rāgane:

30 jaha saṃsāraḥवuvaṃvāyaṇaṃ
evāṃ saṃsāyāyanam

jīhāo vi vihanto

dundesa vi tānto

jivāna nikkintac sīre joo

āyario asāra gaage. (114)

nābhaddaša sarāṇa joliṃ n'atbi;

sa bhaddaśa sarāṇa jatha. (115)

31 sā bhāyāyač

32 sā dharmāḥ; sa bhavyak; s' dhu śevito

33 sā bhāra

34 s'ē bhārya

35 s'ē manāla

36 isamaramanti (i sāmaramati)

37 Bu amānaḥ: s'ē cehanā, u chaṃpā, B cehanā (J cehoṇā); B caṇe

38 sē ege

39 B visarho (i 'hara)

40 sē uggahā; s'ē pāyaṃda

41 sē ugghe; s'ē dhavant tiṣe puro; sē tap (for se)

42 sē pāyaṇya, i paṇaṭāya; n bhāryā
30

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>m vaha koh gavam;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>iya acheraya-cario</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>anā-vadīcchā-balurissi-sa-parivuḍo viharai bhaya vam;</td>
</tr>
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<td>27.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>taratana;jogena honti mai-vibhava;</td>
</tr>
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<td>27.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ahanrakko panaṭjo ettha. (119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>gāmāgara-nagarā-manidhiya vasulaṃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 i sārāṇa; sāgurhiṃ, sāyāṇa
2 i pariṇa; n ma (for nāya); s vajjai, i vajjai; B ya (for ha)
3 n duviyāye avata; s after duvi' adds jaya; s kāpāṇa; sā pariṣe*, sā pariṣi*; s'add gurunā after pari*; s' to (for tā); s' ovoka, n pava: b ma (for mama)
4 s' amahā; s' sijja; s' kamañvāt, n khamācita, b khamāvētā
5 s' damshēli, i 'ha; s'ān gurunā; s' pasāheuṃ, s'ān pasēuṃ
6 n i jāvai; B cetṭhāma
7 n bahunā, s pahunā; s'ān karissāmo
8 i kahiyam; n sāhuvin (for sāhuva)*
9 n omits ko esa va*; i eso; nī Kālaya*
10 B adds ya after puchhio; B Kālaya*; i omits kim
11 s'āb amshēli, s'ān amhiṃ; i samayaghi* (J emends), s'ā samānyaj, s'ā samānij, s'ā ammanāi; n vindam
12 nī.add teṇa after Sāgarā*
13 b parao; s āgavai, i vith, b veth, s'ān vi etth; i mut- tūṇa; i ith; s' antaram
14 B adds ya after anta*; s'ān samāgao; n bāhirābhūniṃ; s'ā sūri

16 b cya; i adda ti after āyaṃ; s bhagavanto; I Kālaya* and adds tī; n adda tī; s'ā lajjāna
17 s'ā jhuriṃam; B bhaggio
18 s'ā omits kim to paṇyavado; s'ēpē amayā; n adds ya after amā; s'ā adds kayā; n bhattā for bhārā*; s'ē eththam for ca*; s'ō omits vi
19 n omits vi; s'ē sessāhū, i sessəhə
20 n puchhāyam; s'ē vujjh; i ra (for ra)
21 b bhālu; s'ā naḍippūeno; i taha; s'ā suhanumma*; n padippūeno; s'ē sānpa; n sāsayaṃ; i ra (ja ca)
22 s'ē avikkhāye, s'ē avikkhē; s'ē amāyā; n has folio missing (isayam ca ... hiva (ha taha) p. 31, line 7; s'ō omits appataṃ
23 s'ē ānaṃ u (for tāo), b jao, i evam ca; i bhaya vanto; B does not repeat bhayam*
24 s'ē tapa (for taha) guru*; s'ē sayasiū taha li*; i omits ti
25 s'ē bāvāyo; s'ō omits mā; s'ē uvahāsa
27 B savvaṇa
28 s'ē vaha ko vi; s'ē etthā
29 s'ē vadīsa; s'ē sīsā
bhūṣuṇa-sūndari palan-ta-vapamālo
pālaṁbeocchaiva-vaccha-valo (121)
bhuyā jina kuṇḍal-ullīhiya-gantō
kīrīda rehanta-sīrā-bhāgo. (122)
saya'ango vimala-vatthaparīhāno
tiṅham pariṃśa matjhammi (123)
anjā'hiṃja tala ya sattanham
'bhirakkha-sāmāniya-sūṟānum (124)
amesi vi locāpaḷamāraṇaṃ
Sākko silhasava-varānum (125)
varīṭha-tiyasi'hivatta-riddhič
viduṇam ohi-nāvaṇaṃ. (126)
sāmājīnaṃ samavasaṁraṃmājha'ṭham [J 276]
Puvapiṭhākmān pariśe. (127)
tatttha thīo ceva vandai bhayaṃvāni
to gao sāmi-mālaṃmi. (128)
uvavisum jā suṇi jina-vayānum
sāhaī jive nīgyo'akēkhe. (129)
vinhaya upphulla-loyano evaṃ
jaṃpāi parāmena viuena (130)
iya suhmannīgoya-vamanaṃ klāmu
niraisaś dāsanākkē. (131)
Kālāyārīgīngīyoga-vakkhaṇānum
jaha vakkhaṃyā māc tūma. (132)
koṭhallaṃ eptha āgantūṃ
vanditā pucchaśi sūrīṃ: (133)
pañpatā jīnehiṃ samayānum
āvā kōthalaṃ jamā. (134)
jalaraṃgāmbhibhāmuraṅgghoso:
sūnasa mahābhīgā uvanito. (135)
asamkhaṅgīgolāo bhājio
ānanta-jīvā mupeyaavā. (136)
vakkhāe sūrīngī sāhass'akkho
nimittamraśa pucchaśa puna vi (137)

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA—BROWN

IV
There was in this world in the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the land of Bhārata (India), a city called Dharavāsa. In it dwelt a king, a master to initiate into widowhood the wives of his foes, and his name was Vajrasimha. Preciniment among his entire harem was the queen by name Surasundari. She had a son, prince Kālaka, who had apprehended the collection of all the polite accomplishments.

Once upon a time when Kālaka was returning from horseback riding, in a mango grove he heard a sound sweet and deep like the rumble of rain-laden clouds and out of curiosity he went in to investigate it. And there he saw the reverend

TRANSLATION

Reverence

I

1 The king's name, Vajrasimha, contains in its Prakrit form, Vairāṣipha, the basis for a play on the Sanskrit vajra (Prakrit vajra) and the Sanskrit vīra- (Prakrit vi-) (Prakrit vi)
Gunākara Ācārya with his retinue of noble monks preaching to many folk the religion expounded by the Jinas, and after reverencing Gunākara he sat down before him.

The reverend Gunākara, with the prince in mind, began excellently to preach the religion, as follows:

“Just as one tests gold in four ways—by rubbing, cleaving, heating, and beating—so the wise man tests religion by doctrine, practice, and the virtues of austerity and compassion. (1)

“A jīva (soul, animate being), without beginning or end, continuously attended by Works (karman) that have no beginning, is ever kept in misery through sin, but attains bliss through religion. (2)

“Religion, according to the teaching of the Scripture, consists of the regulation of conduct. And so it must necessarily be recognized when purified, as is gold, by the touchstone, splitting, and heating. (3)

“The prohibition against causes of sin, such as the taking of life and others, and the ordinance regarding meditation, study, and the rest, that is the touchstone of religion. (4)

“The observance of (the prohibition against) killing, whence the Triad (control of mind, speech, and body; or right knowledge, perception, and conduct) is of necessity not injured but becomes purified, that is the cleaving of religion. (5)

“The doctrine concerning meditation upon existence and so forth, which gives freedom from the Binding (of karman) and so forth, is here the heating. Well purified by these religion really becomes religion. (6)

“Whatsoever religion is not purified by these, not well matured in some one of them, that religion by necessity disappoints in fruit. (7)

“Since this is man’s highest goal, he who is deceived in it is of necessity deceived in all good things; there is no doubt. (8)

“And he who is not deceived in it, is not deceived in them; therefore the wise must thoroughly test this for themselves with keen insight.” (9)

When the prince heard this sermon of the master’s, the weight of his karman diminished, a state of grace (leading to the taking of the Five Great Vows) arose in him, and he began to speak thus: (10)

“Deluded was I through Falsity (mithyāttva); through your exact exposition of the character of religion I have been brought to the light. O you of mighty fame, tell me what I must do!” (11)

Then the reverend master, recognizing his state, taught him the religion of monks. Kālaka, accepting the Triad,’ then went to the king. (12)

Then with great distress his father, mother, and the rest permitted him to go; and accompanied by many princes he became a monk, his sins subdued. (13)

Then he grasped the twofold instruction, and when he became a gītārtha (accomplished monk), perfected, the master (Gunākara) installed him in his own place as head of the sect (gaccha). (14)

Surrounded by a retinue of 500 monks, and arousing to the light the elect as though they were groups of lotus clusters, he arrived in time at the city of Ujjayinī. (15)

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4 The three Vows (cf. S.B.E., vol. 22, p. 63) or the three Guptis (restraint of mind, speech, and action).
The great-souled (master) took up his residence in a park situated to the north of the city, in a place suitable for monks, being free of animal life. (16)

When the folk learned this they came out quickly to offer worship; they bowed before the sūri’s feet, and sat down where the surface of the earth had been cleansed. (17)

Then with sonorous tones the sūri Kālaka preached the religion promulgated by the Jinas, which was like a fire in a thicket of the trees of misery. (18)

When the assembly heard it, they were all deeply moved, praised the sūri’s virtues, and went each to his own home. (19)

Some days passed while he was engaged in awakening the elect to the light like lotuses; then, quite naturally, nuns arrived there, being devoted to the pious. Among them was one, carrying a bundle of books in her hand like Sarasvatī (goddess of wisdom) yet not lacking in respectability (Sarasvatī is incestuously married to her father Brahma), endowed with great splendor like Gāurī (name of Pārvatī, consort of Śiva) yet with her heart not set upon Bhava (the world; Śiva), with pellucid mind (punningly, bed) like a stream in autumn yet without kūngāhas (perversity; water monsters), the abode of fortune (kamala also means lotus) like Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune, who carries a lotus in her hand) yet not lustful (na sakāmā), delighting all mankind like the crescent of the new moon yet not crooked (deceitful), in short, by reason of her virtues and beauty preëminent among all women, diligently observing all the duties of nuns—the younger sister of the sūri Kālaka, the nun Sarasvatī.

As the nun was going out to the latrine she was seen by the lord of the city of Ujjayinī, king Gardabhilla; and he, lecher, had her forcibly cast into the seraglio against her will, while she cried out:

"Alas, good master! Alas, brother! Alas, master of the faith, Kālaka, chief of monks! Save for me the treasure of righteous living, of which I am being robbed by the base king!" (20)

When the sūri learned this, he said, "Great king, place the rules must be diligently preserved by those who hold the rule; when those who hold the rule are unsteady, then the rules fall. (21)

"Further, the penance groves are to be protected by kings; for, Ascetics seeking the shelter of the king’s arm fearlessly practise their sacred duties in everlasting peace. (22)

"Therefore free this woman! Do not besmirch your good family. For it is said: The family is destroyed, the character is defiled, the reputation as a brave warrior is annihilated, a drum of his infancy is circulated throughout the entire world, a brush of black paint is applied to the family by him who violates the wife of another. (23)

"Therefore, great king, refrain! This is forbidden like flesh of the body!"

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5 For balāmda see Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, sec. 238, Strassburg, 1900.
6 The P MSS. add a dala thus making a typical Apabhramsa Rudd stanza, for which I offer the following translation, dependent upon a few small emendations: "Those who do such a despicable thing, their minds being addicted to other men’s wives,—of them, mighty warriors, in the battle (weapons) though lying in their hands do not kill."
Then the king, because he was infatuated with lust and his mind was deranged, was not in the least persuaded. For,

He who is blind completely misses a visible object though it is before him in the world; but he who is blinded by passion, overlooking that which is, sees that which is not: the jasmine, the blue lotus, the orb of the full moon, beauteous creepers and branches are not comparable with the body of his beloved, which is only a mass of impurities, yet he takes delight in it. (24)

"Therefore, king, free this nun! Do not commit a sin! If sin is committed by you, who else will observe righteousness?" (25)

When he had addressed the king thus but had in no degree persuaded him, the venerable Kālaka then had the fourfold Congregation (monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen) speak to him. (26)

When the king paid not the slightest attention even to the Congregation, the sāri was overcome with anger and took this awful oath: (27)

"Those who are foes of the Congregation, who violate the Doctrine, who make a practice of destroying the pious life, and cast contempt upon it— (28)

"May I fare like them, if I do not violently uproot from his kingdom this king Gardabhilla, breaker of bounds. (29)

"And this should be done, as it is said in the Scripture:

"'Therefore, in so far as it is possible, do not resort to one who trangresses the law; salutary instruction should be given to one who is favorable and friendly.' (30)

"Likewise,

"'Monks, temples, and especially the Jain faith, one should protect with all his might from hostility and contempt.'" (31)

After the sāri had taken this oath, he reflected, "This king Gardabhilla, powerful and bold, gets his strength from a mighty magic art 'The She-Ass'; therefore it will take a trick to uproot him." When he had pondered thus, he falsely clothed himself in madman's garb, and wandered around to road forks, cross roads, market places, and broad highways, raving thus: "If Gardabhilla is king, then what next? Or if the harem is charming, then what next? Or if the folk are well-clothed, then what next? Or if I get my living by begging, then what next? Or if I sleep in a desolate house, then what next?"

When the townsfolk saw the sāri speaking like this, they said: "Alas, alas, the king has not acted well, and in consequence the master Kālaka, the depository of all the virtues, on account of his sister, has left his sect and wanders about in the city demented. Woe, woe!" (32, 33)

The ministers, on hearing in the city, from cowherds, watchers, women of the town, and the rest of the people, this very harsh criticism of their lord's house (i.e., the king), said to the king, "Your majesty, do not act so! Set free this nun, on whose account there has arisen severe censure. (34, 35)
"Moreover, whatever person, led astray by illusion, does evil to monks, he casts himself into an ocean of trouble. This is certain."  

The king, after hearing this advice of his ministers, said in a rage, "Here you, go give advice like that to your fathers!"  

With this the ministers were silenced, and reflected in their hearts, "Who can hold back the ocean when it leaps across its boundary?"  

The sūri learned this from somewhere or other, left the city, and travelling steadily came to the bank (of the Indus) called Śakakūla. There the nobles were called sāhis and the overlord, the crest-jewel of all the supreme kings, was called sāhāṇusāhi. Then the sūri Kālaka stayed with a certain sāhi, whom he conciliated with charms and spells.

Then once upon a time when the sāhi, in company with the sūri, filled with happiness was engaged in many sorts of diversions, the door-keeper came up and announced, "My lord, there is a messenger from the sāhāṇusāhi at the door."

The sāhi said, "Bring him right in."

He was brought in at the word, and when a seat was offered him he sat down. Then the messenger presented the sāhi with a gift. When the sāhi saw it, his face grew dark as the sky when the rains break. Then the sūri thought, "Come, why do I see this unprecedented circumstance? For when servants see their lord's favor come to them they are filled with joy like peacocks at the sight of clouds, yet this one shows a dark face. So I shall ask the reason."

Just then the messenger had the sāhi's servant point out the latrine, and he went there. Then the sūri asked the sāhi, "How is it that when a mark of favor has come from your lord you seem to be terrified?"

He said, "Reverend sir, it is not favor that has come, but anger. For whenever my lord is angry with anyone he sends him a sword with his name stamped upon it; and so for some reason or other he has become angry with me and sent me this sword. And I must kill myself with it. There must be no hesitation at his command, for fear of a severe penalty."

The sūri asked, "Is he angry with you alone, or with anyone else?"

The sāhi said, "With 95 other kings besides me; for the number 96 appears on the sword."

The sūri said, "If that is so, then do not kill yourself."

The sāhi answered, "When the lord is angry he does not stop until he has destroyed the family; but with me dead there will be mercy for the rest of my family."

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9 Literally "Scythian shore," referring to the western bank of the Indus, whence the Scythian invaders came into India.

10 Sāhi and sāhāṇusāhi are obviously the Persian shah and shahānshah.

11 According to Samayasundara's account, when Kālaka came to this sāhi's realm, he chanced upon a group of boys looking down a well and crying. When he asked the reason, they said they had lost a ball down it. Kālaka, who was a famous Bowman, called for a bow, looked down the well (a modern Gujarati version adds that he threw a bunch of burning straw down to light it), located the ball, shot an arrow into it, followed up with another arrow which pierced the end of the first arrow, then a third piercing the end of the second, and so on until he had a chain of arrows which he could reach with his hand. Then he pulled out the ball. One of the boys was the sāhi's son. Thus Kālaka got an entrée to the court. See note on p. 25.

12 For the word ḍahāara, translated by Jacobi "Absteigquartier" see my note, p. 116.
The sūri said, "If that is so, then send your own messengers to the 95 kings and summon them, saying, 'Let us go to the land of Hinduka.'"

Then the sāhi asked the messenger, "Sir, who are the 95 other kings with whom his highness is angry?"

The messenger told him all. Then the sāhi dismissed the messenger and sent his own messengers to them all severally, to say, "Assemble with me! Do not give up your lives! I shall manage everything."

Then because they could not bear to part with their lives, they collected all their paraphernalia and came to him at once. When they had arrived, the sāhi looked upon them and asked the sūri, "Reverend sir, what must we do now?"

The sūri said, "Cross the Indus with troops and baggage-train and go to the land of Hinduka (lower Indus country?)."

Then they embarked upon boats and came to the region of Surāṣṭra (Surat). Just then the rains broke, and because they realized that the roads were impassable they divided the realm of Surāṣṭra into 96 parts and stayed right there.

Then came the autumn season with white lotuses, like a great king with a gleaming parasol; setting the cowherds to gamboling, like the instant when a battle commences which sets many protectors (warriors) into agitated motion; with many white herons in view, like the breaking of the rains when many white clouds can be seen; attended by royal swans, like a chief of ascetics attended by noble kings; with rutting elephants that have come to the end of their vigor, like a splendid palace with deserted pavilions (savyapayamānumattavāraṇa); and when the great streams run pure like the sentiments of good folk, and the quarters of the heavens are clear like the voices of good poets, and the sky is free of dust like the body of a perfect ascetic which is free of passion, and the Saptacahada trees are delightful with flowers like ascetics who are charming to men of good will, and the nights are clear-starred like rows of temples erected by master architects which are very bright. And further,

When the earth with all its grain crops ripened shines with great brilliance, and the lusty bulls among the happy cowherds bellow; (39)

When during the dark nights the stream of moonbeams, like a flood of nectar, everywhere brilliantly illuminates the earth's belly; (40)

When travellers beguiled by the sweet songs sung by the rustic maids who watch the rice fields stray from the road. (41)

And when the autumn had arrived, delighting many creatures thus, only the cakravāha bird (which spends the night unhappily separated from its mate) was at once wakeful and unhappy as though to fulfil its thoughts of love. (42)\(^{13}\)

When the sūri Kālaka saw such splendor of the autumn season, he was eager to accomplish his purpose and he said to them, "Here, why do you stay like this doing nothing?"

They said, "Tell us what next we must do."

The sūri said, "Take Ujjayini, for it is the key to the splendid land of Mālava. There you will get a living according to your desires."

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\(^{13}\) The somewhat rhetorical description of autumn, with its comparisons often expressed in punning phrases that have been resolved as far as I can do so in my translation, was well rendered by Jacobi, whom I have followed in general, although with some few variations and extensions.
They said, "Let us do so! But we have not supplies, for in this land we have barely enough to eat."

Then the sūri sprinkled a potter's burning (of bricks) with a mere pinch of magic powder and turned it all to gold, and said, "Take this as your supplies." 34

Thereupon they divided it, and set out for Ujjayinī with all their equipment. In the meantime the kings of Lāṭa (Kach) joined them, and together they arrived at the border of the country of Ujjayinī (Mālava). Then, when Gardabhilla heard that this enemy army was approaching, he went out with a powerful array and arrived at the border of his realm. Then the two armies, puffed up with pride, engaged in a battle, which was like this,

Dreadful with a rain of sharp arrows, jhasaras,15 lances, vāvallas, spears, fearful from the hurling of disks, triple-pointed javelins, maces, iron arrows, (43)

With a flood of fiery sparks rising from the clash of swords, axes, spears, and kungīs16 terrible with the shouts of warriors, the diffusion of the sun's rays obstructed by dust. (44)

As the fight went on in this sort of battle, the army of king Gardabhilla was suddenly put to flight like a mass of clouds driven by the wind. (45)

When the king saw it in flight, he turned about, entered his capital, and stayed there with his army prepared for a siege. (46)

His opponents invested the city so that there was no access to it, shutting it off with their army cast about in a circle, and remained there; and every day they offered battle. One day when they came up to offer battle, they saw that the citadel was deserted. Then they inquired of the sūri, "Reverend sir, why is the citadel deserted to-day?"

Then the sūri remembered, and he said, "To-day is the eighth (literally, eighth night), and on it Gardabhilla, after fasting, will conjure up the mighty magic art "She-Ass." Look, therefore, if anywhere on a tower a She-Ass appears."

They looked, saw it, and showed it to the sūri. The sūri said, "At the conclusion of Gardabhilla's spell this She-Ass will bray a mighty bray, and every biped or quadruped belonging to a hostile army that shall hear it will without fail fall down upon the ground vomiting blood from its mouth. Therefore take every living biped and quadruped and withdraw to a distance of two leagues, and leave with me a hundred and eight sharpshooters (literally, those who take aim by sound) bowmen."

They did everything precisely as he had said. And the sūri said to the sharpshooters, "When this She-Ass opens her mouth to bray, then you must fill her mouth with arrows before she makes a single sound. But if she makes a sound, you will not be able to shoot. Therefore stand alert with arrow drawn to the ear."

They did everything precisely as he had said. And then the beast, with its mouth filled full of arrows shot from bows drawn to the ear, was injured, and was not able to bray at all because its power was overcome. Then the magic art made urine and

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34 Fuller accounts of this episode appear in the version of Samayausdara, who says Kālaka converted a pile of bricks into gold, and in the anonymous version published elsewhere in this volume (see p. 81).

15 Paśa-Suddha-Mahannavo, Jātravīlaṇa.

16 The MSS. seem to indicate kungī, but I do not know the word.
ordure upon the conjuror himself, kicked him, and straightway left. Then the sūrī said, "Take him now, for his strength was only so great (as this magic art)."

Then they breached the wall and entered Ujjayini; and took Gardabhilla prisoner alive, bound him, and offered him at the sūrī's feet.

The sūrī then addressed him, "Here you, you most wicked, evil, shameless fellow, ready to do the basest deeds, (now) fallen from your royal state! (47)

"Because you violated a nun against her will and did not respect the Congregation, therefore I have done this. (48)

"Whatever man, with mind deluded by mighty delusion, destroys a nun's virtue, he lays a fire at the root of the profit arising from the enlightenment of the Jain religion. (49)

"Having annihilated the profit of enlightenment you must wander now in the Samsāra, ah, so full of interminable woe—why mention that which you will experience here in this life? (50)

"When you undergo the manifold pains arising from beating, bondage, and contumely—that will be the flowering of the tree of your contumely for the Congregation. (51)

"But when you shall wander in the endless round of existence experiencing the troubles of going the way of hell-beings, animals, low men, and demons—that will be its bitter fruit. (52)

"The wicked man who, defiled with pride and arrogance, dishonors the Congregation, though it be but a little, immerses himself in the great and fearful ocean of misery. (53)

"The woe which beings endure from insulting the Jain congregation, the Jina, the supreme lord of monks, is (alone) able to describe. (54)

"Although, fellow, you are not worthy that I should parley with you—for you have committed a great sin and have not heeded the Congregation—nevertheless, (55)

"Since I see you burdened with the weight of many sins, and encircled with rings of terrifying flames rising from the conflagration of misery, out of compassion I speak to you once again. (56)

"First confess your fault and guilt; then perform expiation, devoting yourself to the practice of painful austerities, so that even now you may cross the ocean of misery." (57)

Gardabhilla heard the sūrī speak thus in compassion, but he had a great deal of painful karma (aśamkilīṭṭhakamma) and was severely afflicted in mind (so that he could not see the advantageous opportunity offered him). (58)

The sūrī Kālaka recognized that he was afflicted in mind, and said then, "You are free on the spot. Go now, you, exiled from your land." (Punningly this also might mean, of course in an ironical sense: "You are saved on the spot. Go now, you, no longer attached to objects of sense.") (59)

The kings, on hearing the sūrī's remark, drove him out of the country, and he wandered about free (punningly, saved) and wretched. (60)
He shall wander, die, and wander an endless time in the frightful ocean of the fourfold saṃsāra (that is, consisting of hell-dwellers, animals, men, gods) through the misery of the ripening of that karma. (61)

The rest of the sdhis established as their overlord that sāhi to whom the sūri had resorted, and themselves enjoyed the pleasure of rulership. (62)

Because they came from the Śaka bank (western bank of the Indus) they were (called) Śaka (Scythian). Thus arose the line of the Śaka kings. (63)

The time passed happily for them as they devoted themselves to honoring the teaching of the Jinas, and sported like bees about the lotus-feet of the sūri. (64)

After some time there arose Vikramāditya,17 who uprooted the line of the Śakas and became king of Mālava. (65)

The one hero of the earth (also punningly, an allusion to Vishnu, the husband of the Earth), who subdued many kings by his valor, and had excellent fame won through the performance of marvellous deeds, (66)

Who propitiated the king of the Yakṣas (Kubera: the Yakṣas are supernatural custodians of wealth) by his courage and obtained from him a triple boon, by means of which he effected gifts, without reckoning whether to foe or friend, (67)

Who made folk free of debt by the bestowal of great wealth, and established his own era in the world (called the Vikrama, or Mālava, or Saṃvat era, reckoned at 58/7 B. C.). (68)

Afterwards there was born a Śaka king, who destroyed his line as well, before whose lotus-feet the vassal kings bowed in the capital Ujjayinī. (69)

Who, when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed, overthrew it (the era) and established his own era (the Śaka era, dated at 78 A. D.). (70)

This digression has been related to explain the Śaka era; now the original theme itself, relating to the main story, will be told. (71)

The sūri Kālaka then re-established his sister in the discipline. The sūri too made confession and expiation, and again took the leadership of his sect. (72)

II

There was then a city by the name of Bhrgukaccha (Broach) and there the brothers Balamitra and Bhānumitra, nephews of the sūri Kālaka on his sister’s side, were king and heir-apparent. They had a sister Bhānumāri, and she had a son by name prince Balabhānu. When Balamitra and Bhānumitra heard that the sūri had come from the farther (western) bank (of the Indus), they sent their mahant (high priest, abbot) named Matisāgara to Ujjayinī. He went there, besought the Śaka king

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17 In a story prefixed to several texts of the Vikramacarita there is an account of Vikrama’s miraculous birth. His father was a divinity named Gandharvasena, who had been cursed to wear the form of an ass. In this guise he won Madanarekhā, daughter of Tamraliptaśi, a king in Gujarāt land (Gujarat), but when in her company discovered his ass-covering and appeared as a beautiful young man. One day Madanarekhā’s mother discovered the ass-covering and hurst it, and at this the curse came to an end and Gandharvasena went to heaven. His wife was pregnant with Vikrama and a slave-woman with Bhartrhari. (See Edgerton, Vikrama’s Adventures, vol. 1, pp. 263 ff.) In other legends Gardabihilla is often mentioned as the father of Vikrama, and the legend associated with the Vikramacarita must bear some relationship with the other; possibly the figure of Gandharvasena is simply a folkloristic derivative from the other based on the meaning of the father’s nickname.
with great importunity to give the sūri leave to depart, and revered the sūri and petitioned him as follows:

"Reverend sir, Balamitra and Bhānumitra, with foreheads, hands, and knees touching the earth, their bodies filled with the weight of devotion, fall down before the lotus of your feet. (73)

"Placing on their heads a crest consisting of their lotus hands joined like buds, they petition you: 'Because, through the issuance of the mass of burning rays from the sun of your absence, suddenly (74)

"'Our bodies are severely burnt, therefore, lord, with the water of preaching descending from the cloud of your presence, drench us; (75)

"'In short, O ocean of the emotion of compassion, have compassion upon us, and let us worship the sin-destroying lotus of your feet.'" (76)

Then the sūri Kālaka reported the affair to the Saka king and went to Bhṛgu-kaccha, and there he was inducted into the city with great pomp and honored with the fullness of devotion by Balamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhānuṣrī, and Balabhānu. And the reverend teacher preached a sermon that inspired disgust with the round of existence, thus:

Like a heap of chaff rebirth has no worth;
Like a flash of lightning wealth's favor must waver;
Youth like a traveller who journeys but a little way passes away;
Lust and delight bring in their train piercing pain;
To mind and body wealth gives ill health;
The company of beloved friends in sorrow ends;
Life's green leaves pass away in certain decay.
Since this is so, ye elect, who have attained human station
that through family and such is suited to salvation,
From negligence detach yourselves; to nothing else attach yourselves;
The gods, both small and great, revere; your teacher's feet hold dear;
Give alms to worthy men; avoid the bond that brings us back to
life again:
The Five Adorations always observe; the Jain temples with honor
and worship serve;
The Twelve Meditations erect; discourtesies to the Faith reject;
Confess your sins before a good teacher; ask forgiveness of every
creature;
Repent and expiate your sin; hold no wicked thought within;
With all your might the ascetic's tortures undergo; conquer the
stubborn causes of woe;
Meditate on subjects of pleasurable worth, and thus cut through
the stalk of rebirth;
In short, conduct yourselves like this, and straightway
your shall be eternal bliss. 18

When prince Balabhānu heard this discourse by the sūri, a state of grace conducive to religion arose in him, the hair on all his body stood up in joy, (77)

18 The original of this passage is in clauses of mere or less rhythmical, although not metrical, prose, with inner word-rime. I have made an effort to give some idea of the effect of the original, although with some sacrifice of the literal meaning and stylistic skill of the author. The third clause is not clear to me.
And he set the flower-bud of his folded hands on his head, and then spoke these words: "O master, save me, a miserable creature, from the bondage of the Samsāra. (78)

"Terrified am I with the dangers of existence! Give me, O master, if I am worthy, that initiation taught by the prince of Jinas which is cherished by the noblest men. Do not delay!" (79)

The sūri, recognizing the prince’s determination, initiated him then on the spot, asking his relatives’ permission, according to regulation. (80)²⁹

The concourse, consisting of kings and others, did reverence to the sūri and went home, while the monks applied themselves to the prosecution of their duties according to the true religion. (81)

In just the same way the kings every day bent down to the lotus feet of the prince of monks, completely borne down by the burden of devotion. On seeing that, (82)

All the city folk as well became thoroughly addicted to the Jain religion. True is the saying: As the king, so are the subjects. (83)

When the royal chaplain saw such excitement in the city, through the excessive affliction of his mind (that prevented him from seeing the light), he said before the king in the presence of the sūri, "Your majesty, what have you to do with these heretics, who are addicted to practices that are without the Triad (the three Vedas)?" (84)

As he spoke in this strain he was answered by the sūri with many arguments, who so completely silenced him that the chaplain resorted to trickery and won over the king, using specious talk, as follows:

"This mighty ascetic, the abode of all the virtues, of mighty power, exalted by gods, demons, and men, should be respected by the entire three worlds. (84)

"Therefore, your majesty, it is not becoming that you should walk on the same road on which he walks, for that gives rise to treading upon his footprints. (85)

"And from treading upon a master’s footprints there occurs great disrespect, which becomes the cause of evil fate. Therefore, my lord, you must send the master away." (86)

Then the king’s mind was won over, and he said, "That is so! But how can I bring him to leave?"

Then the chaplain said, "Your majesty, let improper alms be given everywhere in the city; and, when this is done and proper food and drink are not proffered, he will leave of his own accord."²¹

The king then said, "Do so!"

²⁹ In another text published in this volume, we read that the sūri initiated the prince without asking permission of his relatives, probably considering that permission was unnecessary, since he was the boy’s great-uncle, and equally, if not more, qualified to give it than the boy’s uncles Balamitra and Bhūmamitra. The Prakrit phrase is dikkhai viñād vi parcin. See pp. 76, 83, 103, 106.

²⁰ Heretics (pāṣāyata), as despisers of the Vedas, are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see Hopkins, The great epic of India, p. 89). Here tarvajjha is for Skt. trayībāhya.

²¹ The rules concerning begging are very strict for Jain monks. Many sorts of food are forbidden, and those they are allowed must be prepared and proffered in certain specified ways. Another text (Samayasaṃgha’s) says that over-rich food was offered to the monks here on the shy chaplain’s advice.
Then the chaplain had it proclaimed everywhere in the city, "Gifts bestowed upon monks by preparing food for them of such and such a sort and by other ways result in great fruit."

The folk thereupon began to do precisely so. When the monks saw this occurrence, so unprecedented, they reported it to the master. He understood the king's intention perfectly, and without even waiting to observe the Paryuṣāṇa season, went to the city named Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan), the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. There the sūrī ordered, "We shall not observe the Paryuṣāṇa until we arrive."

There ruled King Śālivāhana, a devoted lay follower. When he learned that the sūrī was on the way, he was filled with joy, like a peacock longing for the coming of the rain clouds. And in due time the sūrī arrived there. Then King Śālivāhana, learning that the sūrī had arrived, came out to him with his retinue, accompanied by the fourfold Jain congregation and reverence the sūrī with the fullness of devotion, thus:

"Thou who awakenest the pious to the light like lotuses, a sun against the wide diffusion of the thick darkness of delusion, a lion in the forest to destroy the most arrogant, wicked heretics, as though they were elephants, (87)

"Whose auspicious feet shine with the rays from the diadems on the crests of kneeling kings who rule over multitudes of men, who art devoted to the exaltation of the Jinas' doctrine, who art water for (washing away) the dirt of the stains of the Kali age (the last and most degenerate of the four world ages, being that in which we now live), (88)

"Who hast crossed the ocean by doctrine transmitted from yore to suit the time, a stout battle-axe in the battle of the Kalpa against the serpentlike creeping enemies Pride and Lust, (89)

"Therefore, thou mine of all the virtues, compassionate, exalted in conduct, free of strife, whose name is auspiciously taken, without superior, reverence be to thee, lord of monks." (90)

As the king bowed down thus, the reverend sage gave him benediction (dharma-lābha), as follows:

"The acquisition of righteousness, which is the sole flood of water to cleanse the mass of filth caused by the stubborn stains of the Kali age, which is like the flaming weapon of Valasūdana (Indra) to destroy all the mountain ranges of woe, which surpasses and outdistances the power of the wish-gem, the wish-tree, the wish-bowl, the wish-cow, and other such, which is a ferry to bring one across the ocean of existence, which is like a hammer to smash the gate-bolts of that city so hard to win, namely, Heaven and Salvation—may it. O king, be yours, as taught by the Jinas and their Gaṇadharas (first disciples)." (91-93)

In this fashion the sūrī was inducted into the city with great pomp, all the Jina images were honored, and he was settled in quarters fit for the religious, as being free of animal life. Then as he was daily receiving great honor from the Jain congregation, was being shown distinction by King Śālivāhana, was being revered by all the people, and was awakening the elect to the light like lotuses, in due time the Paryu-

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87 The original of the second half of this verse has an assonance and an onomatopoeia which defy reproduction in translation.
Sanā season arrived. There in the land of Mahārāṣṭra, on the fifth of the bright half of the month Bhāḍrapada, a festival of Indra took place. Then the king made representation to the śīrī, "Reverend sir, on the day when the Paryuṣanā falls, there is to be, in accordance with the custom of the folk, a celebration by procession for Indra. For that reason there will be so much confusion that I shall not be able to worship, bathe, and otherwise honor the images (of the Jinas). Therefore be so very kind as to celebrate the Paryuṣanā on the sixth."

Then the reverend monk said:

"Though Meru's peak should waver, or the sun rise in the west, the Paryuṣanā may not come later than the night of the fifth. (94)

"For it is said in the Scripture: 'As the reverend Mahāvīra, when a month and 20 nights of the rains had passed, observed the Paryuṣanā (festival of the rainy season half), so too the Gaṇadharas (his chief disciples); as the Gaṇadharas, so too the Gaṇadharas' disciples; as the Gaṇadharas' disciples, so too our masters; as our masters, so too we observe the Paryuṣanā: it must not come later than that night.'"

The king said, "If that is so, then let it come on the fourth."

The śīrī answered, "So be it! There is no harm in that; for it is said in the Scripture: 'The Paryuṣanā must be observed first.'" 22

Then the king, with his eyes expanding through joy, said, "Reverend sir, your great kindness puts me under great obligation. Therefore, at the breaking of the (Paryuṣanā) festival fast, my wives shall give the monks their breakfast."

Then he went home and commanded his wives, "You must observe the new-moon fast, and at the time of breaking fast afterwards you shall give the monks breakfast. Therefore give the monks then alms consisting of food and drink that is ceremonially proper. For it is said in the Scripture:

"Alms given to one who is weary from travelling, or to one accomplished in the Scripture, or to one who has made the offering of his hair (i.e., just received initiation), or to one who is breaking a fast, is said to be exceedingly fruitful." (95)

Because they thought it was an eight-meal fast 23 that was made on the Paryuṣanā, the breakfast came on the day after the first day of the fortnight. When the folk saw this, they too on that day began to do honor to the monks in the same way. From that time on a festival has been observed in the land of Mahārāṣṭra called Śramaṇapūjālaya (abode of monk-worship).

It was thus with reason that the master Kālaka transferred the Paryuṣanā to the fourth, and the entire Congregation concurred; and for that reason the Pākṣika (mid-month) rites, etc., were fixed for the fourteenth, otherwise directed by the Scripture to be on the full-moon day.

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22 The word śēpa, "first," is possibly another form of śyaḍēpa, "zealously," which actually is the reading of one MS.

23 An eight-meal fast (ṣṭhāmā) is observed by omitting the evening meal of one day, both morning and evening meals of the second, third, and fourth days, and the morning meal of the fifth day. The passage here is not clear to me.
III

Although the śūri Kālaka wandered about, thus endowed with the virtues, in the course of time, as the result of his ripening karma his disciples became disobedient. Then the śūri admonished them; nevertheless they did not conform in the least. Then he spoke to them further:

"O you of great attainments, who have been born in the noblest families, who are great persons, even for Indra and the rest (of the gods) it is difficult to acquire immaculate monkhood. (96)

"Do not thus through disobedience neglect your master’s commands, my children, and render this painful asceticism profitless. (97)

"For it is said in the Scripture:

"Whoever disobeys his master’s commands in regard to the six-meal, eight-meal, ten-meal, twelve-meal, sp, half month, and month fasts, will wander endlessly in the samsāra. (98)

"Although the monk Kālakavāla performed painful penance in the forest, nevertheless, because he broke his master’s orders, he went to hell. (99)

"Even though one does penance submitting to the burning heat of the sun, if he does not do his master’s commands, he will nevertheless not attain salvation, although he might have been the lord of heaven himself in a previous existence." (100)

Although they were thus addressed they did not forsake their disobedience, nor do their master’s word, nor show respect. They spoke to him with rude remarks, did penance according to their will, practised their monk’s duties at their own pleasure. Then the master thought:

"Like stubborn asses are my disciples. One should leave stubborn asses and strenuously practise self-restraint." (101)

"As it is said:

"A disciple who goes at his own will, comes at his own will, stays at his own will, and acts at his own will, must be abandoned (by his master) at his (master’s) own will.’ (102)

"Therefore I shall leave these disobedient disciples."

Then the next day, at night, while they were asleep, he told the keeper of the monks' resthouse his intention, "I am going to my disciple’s disciple, the śūri Sāgaracandra. If ever they repent and beseech you with importunity, then scold them well and frighten them, and tell them.”

After he had said this he left, and with continuously easy stages arrived there, and entered. Sāgaracandra gave him the evening greeting, but thinking that the venerable sir was just a monk, failed to show him respect.

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26 A six-meal fast takes place during a four-day period and consists of abstaining from the second regular meal on the first day, both meals on the second and third days, and the first regular meal of the fourth day. An eight-meal fast extends similarly over five days, the ten-meal fast over six days, and the twelve-meal fast over seven days.

27 A stanza with almost exactly the same wording is found in the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra 27.16.

28 With punning irony this word also means "(spiritual) grandfather." Sāgaracandra, being a śūri, was of higher rank than a mere monk (suddha).
When one sees a monk he does not know, he should rise; in the case of a monk one knows, one should show him whatever is fitting according to his dignity. (103)

Forgetful of this rule of the Scripture, Sāgaracandra did not rise before him. At the end of the (regular) exposition of the Scripture, Sāgaracandra, because he had not succeeded in overcoming the hardship "conceit in one's own knowledge," asked, "Venerable sir, how have I given the exposition?"

The sūri Kālaka said, "Excellent!

Then the sūri Sāgaracandra said further, "Venerable sir, won't you ask me something?"

The sūri Kālaka said, "In that case expound Impermanence."

Sāgaracandra said, "Let me expound some other point, one which is difficult."

He said, "I do not understand a difficult point."

Then Sāgaracandra began to expound:

"Ought you not to take thought of the injunctions of Religion? Wealth, companions, kin, people fly away like a mass of clouds driven by the wind. Youth is like the fleet course of a river. Life is but a bubble in the water. The estate of man is as hard to get as a pearl fallen into the ocean. Listen, ye elect, listen, to the enduring religion taught by the highest Jinas!" (104)

At this the master Kālaka said, "Dharma (religion) does not exist; for it is beyond the field of operation of the Pramāṇas (means of acquiring knowledge), namely, direct sense apprehension, etc.—like an ass's horn. As it has been said:

"We consider that there can certainly be apprehension of an object through direct sense perception, and in the absence of perception through inference; that which is beyond that (inference) through authority." (105)

"But this (Dharma) is not apprehended through the Pramāṇas, which consist of direct sense apprehension, etc.; hence there is no need to concern oneself with that subject."

Sāgaracandra, thinking, "How now, here is someone, who takes after my (spiritual) grandfather, and is a captious (?) person," said, "In regard to the statement, 'Dharma does not exist,' there is clearly a contradiction between the two members of the proposition. If we say 'does not exist,' how can we also say 'Dharma?'; if we say 'Dharma,' how can we predicate of it 'does not exist'?" Now, if we say we speak thus of the word 'Dharma' on account of its common acceptance by others, then we ask you, sir, whether common acceptance by others is or is not for you a means of apprehending knowledge. If it is a means of apprehension, our contention is established; if it is not a means of apprehension, we have the same fallacy as before. If it is said that Dharma does not exist because it is beyond the field of operation of the means of obtaining knowledge, namely, direct sense perception, etc., (we reply that) this also is false; for both Dharma and Adharma are apprehended by direct sense apprehension through their effects. As it is said:

28 One of the 22 Hardships which Jain monks must overcome.
29 This Apabhramśa stanza, obviously familiar to monks, did not appear in full in the MS. J edited, and in his text is printed as prose.
30 That would seem to mean that no statement can be made about anything non-existent.
The Story of Kālaka—Brown

"... From Dharma come birth in good family, bodily perfection, good estate, long life, wealth; and just on account of Dharma there come unsullied reputation, knowledge, riches, and fortune. From the wilderness (or the Sanśāra) and the great peril Dharma ever saves. Dharma, faithfully followed, yields heaven and salvation." (106)

"And again:

"'There are some who seem able to charm the lord of the Vidyādharas, whom they surpass by their beauty; and other men with vile forms, like jackals. (107)

"'Some have mastered all the books of learning in full and seem like Brhaspati; others, covered with the darkness of ignorance, wander about as though blind. (108)

"'Some, who enjoy the three kinds of happiness, we see delighting the hearts of men; others, who have forsaken the objects of humankind, are to be avoided like snakes. (109)

"'Some, with white parasols held above them, their glory extolled by heralds, ride upon elephants; others run before them. (110)

"'Some, fulfilling the hopes of their friends, bear unsullied fame that fills the earth's surface to its circumference; others, besmirched, with difficulty fill only their bellies. (111)

"'Of some, although they bestow alms, wealth, like fame, increases; of others, although they never bestow alms, it is taken by kings and thieves. (112)

"'Since the fruit of Dharma and Adharma is so obviously seen, O monk, forsake Adharma, and assiduously practise Dharma alone.'"

Then at dawn those wicked disciples, not seeing the master, searched here and there, and went to the keeper of the resthouse, whom they asked, "Lay-disciple, where is the master?"

He said, "It is you who should know about your own master. What do I know?"

They said, "Do not behave like that! He would not have gone without telling you."

Then the keeper of the resthouse, with a frown on his face said, "You wicked novices, you! You do not do the master's command. Although he admonishes you, you do not carry out his reminders and prohibitions, etc. There is great harm in a master who imposes no reminders, etc. For it is said in the Scripture:

"'As the lightning cuts off the heads of those come to it for refuge (saranaṃ), so a worthless and rule-neglecting (asārao) master destroys the schools of monks who come to him for refuge (śāraṇīyāśaṃ)." (114)

"'Though he lick with the tongue, he is profitless if he imposes no reminders; though he beat with a stick, he is profitable if he imposes reminders. (115)

"'A school of monks that is without reminders, etc., is devoid of the group of choice virtues. When a school forsakes the regulations, then it must be forsaken (by its master) according to scriptural injunction.' (116)

"And you disobedient disciples the master has abandoned, because you would not submit to his command. Therefore, wicked ones, depart from my sight! Otherwise you will say, 'We were not told.'"

31 The intention of this stanza is punning.
Then they were frightened and conciliated the resthouse keeper, saying:

"Show us this once our master, so that to please him we may continue the rest of our lives with his commands and orders our chief care. (117)

"In short, we shall now perform the sūri's heart's desire. Therefore, be merciful to us, O lay-disciple, tell us where the master has gone." (118)

Then, aware that they were correctly disposed, he told them the truth, and sent them there. As the company of monks went their way, the folk asked them, "Who goes here?" They said, "The sūri Kālaka." 32

The report was passed from person to person, and Sāgaracandra heard that his spiritual grandfather was coming. He asked the sūri Kālaka, "Venerable sir, is my grandfather coming?"

The latter replied, "I too have heard so."

Then on the next day, when the company of monks in following the sūri arrived there, Sāgaracandra arose. They said, "Sit down! These are only the monks; but the master has come on ahead."

The teacher Sāgaracandra said, "No one has come here except a disputatious fellow."

At this moment the sūri Kālaka came in from the latrine, and the company of visiting monks arose before him. Sāgaracandra said, "Why this?"

The monks said, "This is the reverend sūri Kālaka."

Then he stood up embarrassed and asked pardon. And he began to reproach himself severely. The master said, "Do not be distressed! The fault is not one of your character (acquired from the actions of previous births) but of carelessness (lack of attention to desirable practices, attention to undesirable)."

Once he filled a measure with sand and poured it out somewhere in a heap. Again he filled the measure and again he poured it out. As he continued thus to fill and empty the measure, the measure was only partly full. Then the master said, "Have you understood anything?"

He (Sāgaracandra) said, "Nothing at all."

The master said, "Just as this measure of sand was full, so was Sudharman's (disciple of Mahāvīra) knowledge of the Scripture full and perfect; in comparison with that of Sudharman Jambusvāmin's (disciple of Sudharman) was a little less and was imperfect; that of Prabhavā was still less than his and more imperfect; then with the sixth (of the Śrutakevalins) the Exalted Ones too are said to be gone (i. e., no longer appear). Thus by degrees it became less and less until that which your teacher received from me was very slight, and that which you received from him still slighter. Further, scriptural knowledge has for the most part through the operation of the Duḥṣāmā age lost its excellence and become small. Therefore take no pride in such scriptural knowledge." 33 It is said:

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32 This is in conformity with the regular custom of naming a monk and his disciples with the name of the monk, even though, as here, the monk himself is not present.

33 The Jains believe that scriptural knowledge has steadily dwindled from the time of Mahāvīra. The Digambra Jains believe the entire canon to be lost; the Svetāmbaras that only a portion is preserved.
"The gradations of mental accomplishments (≡ matijñāna ?) go back by a succession of smaller and greater to omniscience. Let no one bear pride, thinking, I alone am wise here." (119)

Thus with marvellous conduct and attended by many disciples who were obedient to his command, the reverend sūri wandered about the earth, which was adorned with many villages and with cities. (120)

IV

Now once upon a time the king of the gods (Śakra), with shining body, wearing long garlands, the surface of his breast covered with strings of pearls, long and short, and necklaces of triple strands, his two arms stiff with beautiful armlets and bracelets, his cheeks scratched with earrings, his head shining with a crest that had a burst of radiance from the most brilliant gems—in short, his whole body bearing ornaments, clothed in spotless garments, in the court of the gods of the Sādharmā heaven (the highest of the heavens of the gods), in the midst of the three assemblies, of the seven armies, of the seven generals of the armies, of the Trāyāstrīṃśāka (33) gods, the Angābhirakṣa (body-guard) gods, the Sāmāṇika (noblemen) gods, and of the other gods dwelling in the Sādharmā heaven, namely the Lokapālas (world-protectors) and others, and among the goddesses, Śakra was seated on a splendid lion-throne, taking his pleasure in the power attending his rulership over the noblest gods, and by means of his mighty clairvoyant knowledge he surveyed a half of the world. (121-126)

Then he saw the Jina lord Simandhara,24 seated in the midst of his Samavasaraṇa 25 in Pūrva-videha, preaching a sermon to the assembly. (127)

Quickly then he arose and standing right there worshipped the exalted one; then by means of his magic power as chief of the gods he went to the lord’s presence. (128)

When he had worshipped the lord and had sat down in his own place and was listening to the Jina’s discourse, the Jina spoke on the subject of the Nigoda creatures.26 (129)

When the lord of the gods heard him, his eyes opened wide in wonder, he made an anjali of the hollow of his hands and put it to his head, while with the deepest veneration he spoke as follows: (130)

"O lord, is there at present in the land of India, in this degenerate Duḥṣamā age, anyone who knows how to give so precise an exposition of the Nigodas?" (131)

Then the Jina answered, "Lord of the gods, the sūri Kālaka in India even now knows how to expound the Nigodas just as I expounded them to you." (132)

When the Wielder of the Thunderbolt heard this, he came here (India) out of curiosity, assumed the appearance of a Brahman, worshipped the sūri and requested him: (133)

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24 A Tirthankara of another world, whose cult is popular among the Jains.
25 An elaborately fashioned hall erected by the gods for the Tirthankara’s preaching.
26 The Nigoda souls are the lowest of all and permeate all matter and space. They have none of the senses.
“Reverend sir, expound the Nigoda creatures which the Jinas have mentioned in their doctrine; for I am exceedingly curious.” (134)

Then the chief of the sages, with a sound deep and sweet like (the rumble of) rain-laden clouds,” said, “If you have great curiosity, listen attentively, O fortunate one. (135)

“The balls are innumerable; each ball is said to contain innumerable Nigodas; in each Nigoda we must know there are innumerable beings.” (136)

After a detailed exposition by the sūri along this and similar lines, the Thousand-eyed (Śakra), to test Kālaka’s unsurpassed knowledge, asked him further: (137)

“Reverend sir, on account of great age 44 I desire to end my life by starvation.” Therefore say how much life remains to me, if it is permitted to know.” (138)

Then as the teacher attentively made examination by means of his holy scriptural knowledge (śrutajñāna), there appeared days, fortnights, months, years, centuries, palyas. (139)

Then the sūri, recognizing that the duration of his life was two Ataras (“oceans,” an incredibly high number), by means of his unexcelled knowledge, knew that this was the Wielder of the Thunderbolt. (140)

When the sūri said, “You are Indra,” at that very instant Purandara took his own form, with shaking earrings. (141)

Touching the earth with forehead, hands, and knees, wearing, as it were, a coat of mail composed of the hairs of his body erect in joy, his entire body bent with the weight of devotion, he bowed to the sūri’s lotus feet. (142)

“Even in this fiercely afflicted Duḥṣamā age you preserve the doctrine of the Jinas, you who are adorned with the troop of virtues—so, reverence be to you, O lord of monks. (143)

“You whose wisdom shines spotless even in this degenerate age, astonishing the three worlds, reverence be to you, O lord. (144)

“You who by your wonder-inspiring conduct have brought eminence to the Jain faith and congregation—your foot lotus I adore.” (145)

When the lord of the gods had praised Kālaka thus, reciting the multitude of the sūri’s stainless virtues, he arose in the sky and arrived at the Sāudharmā heaven. (146)

And the sūri too in time, recognizing that the measure of his life was done, took the vow of noneating, and by exercising the rite of starvation went to heaven. (147)

Thus is completed the tale of the reverend Kālikācārya.

44 Cf. the description of Gaṅgākara’s preaching at the beginning of the story, p. 57, line 5, and p. 52.
45 Śakra had assumed the appearance of a Brahmā of great age, as the illustrations always make clear.
46 Starvation is the proper way for a Jain to meet death, but it must not be undertaken unless the time for death is seen to be at hand.
Chapter V

HAYA-PADINIYA-PAYAVO VERSION—EDITION AND TRANSLATION

The manuscripts on which this edition is based are seven used constantly (a', b', b', d', d', f, l) and two others (a', a') used only occasionally. Of the seven used constantly one group of three (b', d', f) shows common peculiarities and another group of three (a', b', l) shows common peculiarities. The remaining MS. (d') maintains a large degree of independence from these two groups. Nevertheless, the degree of overlapping between the two groups and the single other MS. is so great that I have thought it better not to classify my MSS. definitely into three divisions. The two MSS. which are quoted only occasionally (a', a') are definitely in the tradition of a' and I refer to them usually to support a' where it seems worth while to do so or again to contradict it. Here follows the description of the MSS.:

a'Sri Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmi Jānā Mandira Library, Agra. Paper, illustrated; seven folios, not dated, but probably fifteenth or sixteenth century. No library reference number was given me for this MS.

(a') Same library, no. 1622-65. Paper, 16 folios, possibly seventeenth century. Poor MS.

(a') Same library, number not given. No date, illustrated, probably seventeenth century.


Good MS. No date. Appears to be seventeenth or eighteenth century MS.

b'Same library. No. 373 of 1886-81. Paper, 13 folios, illustrated, no date, but perhaps early sixteenth century.

d'Delā Upāṣaya, Ahmedabad. No. 18.25. Paper, illustrated, 12 folios, the last two being later replacements of lost original sheets. No date, but appears to be early sixteenth century. Good MS.

d'Same library. No. 18.26. (MS. itself wrongly numbered 18.27.) Paper, four folios. No date but possibly seventeenth or eighteenth century. Fair MS.

f Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Paper, illustrated, being folios 112 verso to 124 verso, at end of a MS. of the Kalpaśūtra. No date, but possibly late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

l Lohar Pol Bhandār, Ahmedabad. No. 95.3.13. Paper, illustrated; 15 folios. No date, but probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

I. haya-padiniya-payavo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Titthunaukaara kalānilalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jaya</td>
<td>jugapavaro Kālagāyario 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magahesu</td>
<td>pure pur' āśi nivo Vayarasīho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasundarati bhajja,</td>
<td>gunajutto Kālao puto. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhīyā Sarassa; se</td>
<td>kalā-kalāvena Sarasasītūlla ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumaro surasamarīvo</td>
<td>kilai vivihāni kilāhīm. 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 a' umaya 2 b' Sarasundari; a' omita iti 3 f d' Sarasasītūlla; b' b' d' vivihāim
aha amanda'ene cumaro

vi^nigga^o vaharvaha^cana minitta map
gur'd'vacsana' maha^ip e^vam: 4

(jagati)

pava^vao Sarasa^i sanj^utta,
the^v^na vi ho i^v veragga^na.

padhjyasa su^to pava^vara-suri^pa
viha^ra iya bhasira dhama^ma.

sukham sam^pohka sarisa^ya n'at^thi;
na buhsan^a sila^parittala.

suri^varo guru^ya ga^ccha^ pari^yario
th^va^i dhama^ma m^ti bahu^loya.

Saras^a^ vi^a jai niyama^thine
Dappapa^bherera a^vaharya.

hirijjuti ya sa sai te^pa
harvapa^resu losu;

h^va pavayavyama^ga h^ga p^ma^nh^ga
pa^vepa^ va ri rakka^ruti.

anteura^sangaya^ kupa^i sama^n^ma.

jan^a^ k^ma^ndh^a na hu kupa^ta.

na pa^ya^i hi jaya^nda^h k^ma^ndh^a n^va^ pa^ya^i
na pa^ya^i ma^don^ma to^sa^m ar^thi na pa^ya^i.

14 (ilo^ka)

ganta^ma^ gur^u^ sa^ma

neta^ jaya^na^vama^i^m

tam' ciya karei evam

du^da^ ya va^la ra^e

taha sang^he^na vi bhan^o;

vi#te vi hu^ jala^ pa^re

tah^ratah n^ya^ttena^m

jan^ du^dha^p^a^o vi hu

du^dha^r^h^o vi k^o

taha n^o n^ya^tam a^va,

yatah,

du^dha^ma^ si^mc^u li^ma^da^o gh^na^ma^ ki^m gu^na

toi na cha^nd^a^ k^uju^na^ju jati^hti^ma^qi^m gu^na^.

avama^ni^r^ya sang^ha^m

n^u pa^ma^ma^ ima^mp kupa^i sur^fi:

pa^di^ya^ga^ma tao j^aan.

40^2 su^a; l'vacsan^, b' *et^a 5 b' nir^ga^sa^na; d' t^a^vira^va^m dhar^ma^ma^i^m; b'd'f' vi^caya^ m^sa 6 d' soa, b'la^ soa; b'd'f' pava^la, b'f' pava^la; d' Sarasa^i 7 d'f' s^tre^ho; b' bha^sa=i^m; d' dhama^ma; a'd' d^ma^ma^p pa^yasa^m 8 b'd' da^ (for su^a); d'b'a sa^na^to; b' sa^na^ya; a' for thi^na^na; yatah, n^st^ a^na^ma samo dhama^ma na sa^na^ma^sa sar^ma

sak^ha^m, na sa^ya^sa^na^na^ l^ta^ya^ma^na ma^ma^r^m (a' has th^sa^Skt. sth^ma as a^ gl^o on^ the Pkt:) 9 d' d' gura^la; b' o^mi^t ga^cha 10 b' Sarasa^i; d'd'd'a^ jai jaya, b' b' jai jaya ni^a^ 11 d'f' avaha^ri (for jaya ca^); d' u^ri^te cadi^ but al^te^r to c^; b'la^ a s^ sa (for ya s^ sa); d' te^a; f kara^ya; a' va^ha^va^; 12 h' hu^; b' hi^ra^ma^ 13 d'f' gah^na; b' al^ja^ma; d' jaya (for jan^); 15 f' d' gur^na, b' gu^na; f' nira^vaka^kha^i; d' raka^kha^i

16 l kasi (for kares)^; 17 d'd'a^d'a^b' tamh^a^; f' sang^ha^ (for lan^); 18 f mha^a^; a' mha^a^ so; l karol; b' ja

(for jan^); b'd'f' p^a^, a' p^a^; f p^a^m i vi; l^s^ma^ma^sa^m 19 met^ defectiv^e; f du^da^; d' n^tatt^a, a' a^tan^ (bu a' n^) 20 d' di^k^i^m; d' si^p^e, f si^c^u; b'la^ b'h^a^, d' limu^la; b'la^d'a^ g^ha^ma^, d' l^na^m, f g^na^m; b'la^d'a^ k^a^, a' k^u; f ka^tan^u^na; b' ka^da^p^u^na, d' *pa^a; d' jati^hti^ma^qi^m 21 b'd'f' avama^ni^na^na, b' avama^ma^na^na^i^m a sang^he; f n^na'; a'd' om^i^ i na^ma; d' gaya corrected by later hand to gain^u

72 FREER GALLERY OF ART, ORIENTAL STUDIES, NO. 1
the Story of Kālaka—Brown

yatâḥ,
jo pâyâvasya-padrũne
so pâraçya-pattâ
devâ-guru-sângahkajjâ
tuvio munî mahâpô
ejai kalâvi ino lojjiukâ
iya cinîyâ kariûne
jai nivai Gâddahihilo
iccâî jaupiî puri
aha muntihi vi bhâjujo:
pâgaii ranjanejân
pâlijji sâhrâjaño
so dûmio ya narâvara
sante viyamman no utvâriy-jâ
parâbhamai ânantâ-sañsâram. 22
munijjâ caâkâvattvî-sañnâma pî
pûlâyâ-laddihî sanpûnam. 23
to han-rvâyân raeni nirvâyân.
satto vi gûrû karaî evâñ: 24
abhû ca rooro tao ya kim loyâ.
bhamei gahihrvva hâ sûri. 25
niva pancamar-logarpâla suû sañnâm.
râyâ seso ya nâmennâ. 26
dânsanarâvaggo visesa jena
duhâ-dhâm daruñnañ dei. 27

devatâ-pratimaâbânge sâdhumâm ca vînaâsane
desâlha-ganî vijûnyâd durlihkâsadunanâsivâñá. 28 (iloka)

maudîjai vinâla-kalâñ
tanâh-gâya jivie hî vi
iya sou nivo ruttho
sikkhavaha niyayâtâe.
aha, pâlijji sañmanâ
kâñyavâsâ-sûrisoneyâ
aha cintai sûri-varo:
mahâi lajâ-hiye,
lañjîjiai jena loya-majjhammâni
tan na kulipâm kâyavvam. 29
bhaûni: are jâha mandirànam niyayañ
iya bhanûm te vi vâre. 30
sañjamañraiyâ sikuihûna niyâsîâ
vihiyēyâ tena amantthâ. 31
jûçe 'hâm jâmi tâya-pûsâmûni;
sû gânûnt kahâvî no dei. 32

je puña pîsâmâ te cacciyavâ-vâmahârkâcaddân karissanâ
tahâgahâyava øo jî muttâ Sarasaîm âgâo sa bhado. 33
to puipâsâ na jâmi'
vijjâ-kalâm tu jesiñ
vijjâ huîtu mitââ
vijjâ-lovo vi jhânâm
corehîn jâ na āhâîpâi
sà vijjâ maha vihâlâ;
aha sûri Sâgâ-kûle
bhanûmi sâhanu-sûlî
sûrî sahâi vaccai;
evan vâyâpâ-varsanâm
bhapai nivo: dhâmono 'hâm
sohài tai 'nuha rajjân;
aha jampâi sûrîvaro:
maggisannavarase 'hâm.
aha pesâh evachurhi savisarânya agâyannya pûharelle
vichchâya-muhô sâhi
pûthho gurunâ khâsi savain. 41

23 b 4 samman; f ñ pullû 24 b 4 karâhai, d 5 kalai 25 f nâmêna (for kim lok); a 6 ṣim; b 7 jam (omitting pîro);
b 8 so (for hâ); 26 f nanthim; d 9 pûna (for pûlâ); b 10 suñna (for sama); 27 b 11 sàhuno je 28 b "darâsî" 29 f ñ pullû 30 b 4 sikkhe, b 4 sikkhi; b 4 niûs; b 14 bhanûm 31 d 4 gîlijbâhe, b 4 jâha; b 5 niva
32 b 4 jena ñah pûnân te vackî; d 5 cîcê, a 5 vacê; b 7 tahâkasâhîyya; b 6 jîo; b 5 mutûmp; d 6 suhaddo 34 f ñ
te (for to); f noccîhî; b 8 vîjîkhavam 35 b 10 vîjîvâjî; f suñno; b 14 vajjé, l omits: l nanmînti; a 4 nira 36 f jîk; b 9 saggâm 37 a 5 bhat; l omits sañna after jàsim 38 f omits bhalî; 39 f dhûmî; f 12 suparîsô; f tûbe; b 12 tyamâila; f bûjîman; f bûjûman tem 40 b 12 maggersânm; f asassâmpla; a 6 duhaî; 41 d 10 æha; b 4 charîpî; f "ric; all MSS, sañrammòna (b 12) "min"; with that reading the meter is faulty in pûdas 2 and 3, and the reading pûha corrects only ñâda 2; my emendation is slight and assumes that the half-stanza is vipûlî; b 5 leho; b 4 vîthâmâ; b 4 gurunâ; b 14 kalâya
aha bhanai guri; naravara
kange"id'ana'vada taha
sa bhaqai; nisunasa supurisa
visamo sa bhimipalo,
shrithi jaan gaham taa
Samaththean s'm'ale ya ganjei aggana je. 44
amha'sama'viva'kakha
na bhijai raapaneni ko;
ittha na sandhi na vithio,
kajaa kena vi na sarai,
aah sirivaro jampai;
abala vi deva suhada
to suyana kahasu ko
suhada'vulesum ho.
cintasu taa niva'sir'ur'vakka'aam tu rajjaan pu'hathii uddhaare;
caurri dasana pesa
magganti neha'raahii
dahi kaha te rajjaan
calli na sohaape si,
tamhi rakkaabu jivaa
jamo Malava'deesan;
aha gurugrii tehnaam
aha tesu calantsem
Seso pakampio baahu
sis'attham-tegaya je
te taha tao paali:
uttaariun Sindhrumai
ute Dhanka'giri-samivite
aha piusuunami patte
sohai vijiau layaa
bappiha p'ya-p'ya-sari
kuralantri sarasa'gana,
sasi'sira piriya so'
savathaa jaha'pavaha
aha atthara'hae raya
tegaa vi sirii jaha; sami saapkaa'm samgayaan viyaa'amp;
jesi'q baqaa caiyaa
tise savve paalikii;
jam sihijj'avsare
ganmhilli tegaa ce;
kijjai manto vi ko vi appaanee,
kijjai jhaha deva jivijjai. 42
japaai tuman na amha'na'vicaariyaan,
ruththo pu'pa jesi thiih kalo. 43
kahavi na milhe guruya'gav'randhoo;
nananti eyassa vihaaniya-vaakh;i
bhanjai nmeasure bhadak-koojii. 45
ko vi uvao vi vijjaa neya;
viu siar'daagam marini savvaaam. 46
maraa'janumayaa na demu thaa amhhe;
appantii na margge sattth; 47
siaraam pi kinuru maggjiyaa pi appei.
uvalaasi appurhiini ya. 48
sūro vīro ya tāva dhimanto
taṇṭuṭullo riddhi-parihiṇo. 62
gayaṇe nāriṇaṁ nīṁ nava-rūvaṇaṁ. 63
dukkhaṁ mā dharaṣu niyāhiṇaṁ. 64
sārījā-vatthāṁ saṁāyayāṁ tujjha. 65
sileṣaṁ Saraisaim jāṇa; 66
tuhaṁ piṭṭhiṁ niṭṭhiṁ laggaṁ,
jayaṁ pattaṁ ceva tuhaṁ bhūh. 67
āyāmaṁ pākāṇaṁ kāremañi,
tuṁañ gurum n'eva milēti. 68
kaḷaṁkaḍe sa daṇḍaṇaṁ pataṁ,
devāṇaṁ d̄aṇḍaṇaṁ jena. 69
caya-lātāma ṣamaṁvāyāṁ gurumā. 70
Mālava-sāndhiṁ gāyā kāmasto. 71
ajja vi naraṇaṁ Saraisainī munca;
puṭṭhatā jaṁ deva abhiharyaco. 72
abhuddaṁ ničchānaṁ na huḥ ho;
jīyaṁ kiṁ kahaviṁ niva dhīṭhaṁ. 73
pancaṭṭaṁ parakalattāvancāha
kāmaṁ na taṇ ṭholu tiṣṭha. 74
jaṁpaj; ha dhūyā kiṁ baḥuṁ bhāṇaṁ;
jaṁ, to bhikkuṁ na bhāṇijja. 75
je nāṭṭhaṁ saṁṣayaṁ ihaṁ pataṁ
tāṇa bhāe ko nu bhīci. 76
Garuddaṁ sa sappā-sāṇcayaṁ viśaṁ
daha taṁḥa māhuṁ ṣūṇa-sāhuḍāḥ. 77
tukhāyāṁ sāraṇaṁ ṣāruhā. 78
bhaṇaṁ ya: sāraṇaṁ ṣuṇaṁ mahaṁ vayaṇaṁ.
gao tuṁañ ṣāruḥ sa hiṁ gurumṛṇaḥ,
tuhaṁ antaṁkaro ya so sīriṁ. 79
carlo Mālava-nivāyāṁ ya tāv-abhiṁvaṇaṁ
patto ruddho bhīṣaṁ tehiṇ. 80
ṭṭhamiṁ suṣaṁyāṁ saṁāyayāṁ viḷjaṁ,
rāsālī-rūvaṇaṁ bhāṇaṁ tehiṇ: 81
imā tasko naro va niṣuaṁ
dadeṁ pūthaṁvaṁ sa turiyam pi. 82
durokanaṁṭhaṁ sa rājapāτaṁ niimā. 83
bhāramuṇā sāṇaṁ sa lattarīṇi-dūgaṇaṁ
gigāhū Gaddhiṁlaṁvāṇo. 84
āśi so vantiṁ-saṁsāraṁ, sesā
tama pautto ya Sagavamso. 85

62 b' omits ya; a' omits jiva; l omits samīdha; b' parīḥaṇo 63 b' gāyāci; l omits niṇe; b' niṇaṁvaṇaṁ; b' l māraṇā (for s bhā); l dukkha 64 d' bhā saṇi; d' v sarisayam (for 'sain); 65 l laṁpa; b'ho 66 d' kārmāṇaṁ; l deviya ma, b' deviya ma tu; b' luṁpa, d' tūmaṇa; l guru; b'lu'lu' mīle 67 b'lu' lu' ekkī jāmpaṇaṁ samasamā (for cu' sama Karaka*); d' bhā jīva, d' jaya corrected to jīva; l omits entire stanza 68 b'la' aha (for tāc); d' vao; a' ādhipi; b' kamaṁ 69 d' b' Saraisai, l Saraisai; a' omits pluṇaṁ 70 l ki (for kiṁ); f navā (for niva); 71 b'lu'd' pauriṣaṁ; b' anasa 72 b' maggiṣtaṁ, a' maggiṣtaṁ; d' saṇaṁ; d' saṇaṁ; f pautto; b'lu' loha 74 b' bhā 75 l dūraṇeṣaṁ, b' dūraṇeṣaṁ; d' j (for sune); l omits gao; b'lu'lu' si (for sa); 76 d' tuṁha hiṁ (for taṁ harī), f hāṁ (for *ri); b'lu'lu' omit second sarabho; b'lu' si (for sa) hoi; f paha (for tuha); 77 a' omits dāc; b' nī (for tay) 78 b' sūṃra; d' tāṭhā; b'lu'lu' kuṭṭhā; b' lu 'lu' hāṁ; d' satthāmaṁ (for *an pi) 80 a' saddā; b' saṇaṁ; l tarantu (for bhā*); 82 b' lu' avan; f pautto (for pautto); a' u (for ya), f aś; f vao
II. कालागारशातिरित्त

cauitiihe paippusānā
dalūnita-Bhānumātī
tīrṇa-bhānjanā
dikāldā viṇā vai pucchaṁ;
taha dhanaum-khāṇprāṇam so
sā dhi guruganāyāttha

deva ime jāhiṁ gurūṇo
gurucala-kkāmanētā

sāṃkā tihiṁ to gurū
tāṁ nāṁ Pasitānē
paippusānā-samācē
dhaḥ iha maṇi viṇū na kuptai
caṭṭhāi tāo kīrā
bhanai gurū: nīva na ghāḍāi
tenān kāleśaṇā tāṃpan samaenaṁ samaeṇa bhayaṁ
dhāvāna Mahāvīre vāsānaṁ savisaṁrāce māhe viṅkate

vāsā vāsān paippusāve.
avi cauī Merucīla
nā yā paippuni rayanīṁ
to havau cauithē
tām uvantamanta vē vī ya
to sanghānūṇmeṇaṇaṁ
dvālī vīṇā Kālaga-gurūṇa;
ucātra ca sītra:
avaḷanpyīmūna kaj̄pūn
thora-vāranaḥ bhagvaguna

III. Ujjeniye kaiyā

caceṭa paṇāyasyattūn

coudasa pūvī hārāgaḥ ya maṇḍanaṇi vyaryāga ya
hunī paṇāyaparavasi
iya cōyā vī jā te
to so gurū vī cintai:
chandēṇa gao chandēṇa āgao cītāḍaḥ ya chandēṇa
cītāḍaḥ vātāmamño
to sūrī rayanī
sījājanassara kahumā
niya-sisāsirisā Śāgarataddarṣanīte sa thāi. aha teṇa
puṭṭho: ajo tumē
sa bhanai; kādhaṃ. puṇha so
sā ha; varāṃ. aha jampai;
sa kahai: anigaya maha
savannarañcan bhūvaṇe
guru bhanai; 'nāthi dhammo
soṃ iic'ārtakaṃ
aha te gase sīsa

pucehi: maha keriṣaṃ tu vakkhānaṃ.
pucchasu maṃ kiṃ pi visamaṃ taṃ. 102
piro parīvesa, aha bhanai so ya:
ikkhaṃ dhammaṃ viññuttaṃ. 103
pacekkha'panaṃ avayattractaṃ,
sa viññhu, iya dine janti. 104
sūrimi-adḍīnaṃ aulā jāya
taraṃnaṃ coiṣā evaṇi. 105

siyā hu sisena girīṃ pi bhinde
siyā hu siho kuvo na bhahkhe
siyā visap hālahaṇaṃ na māre
na yāvi mukkho guruhiṭaṇi. 106 (upendraevijā)

aha pucchāyाvarpaṇā
jāpa-puṭṭhā binti pāhe;
āghechantaṃ sūrim
pucehi sīva mīle;
tesi binti: itthu guruṇo
sa bhanai: ikkaṃ thanvaṇṭa
hasīna tehīṇ bhanjanaṃ;
anhehi ahamāyā
aha laajja guruṇ te
veluypaṭṭhaya †t e
mā valan koi gavaṇṭā
ā savannaraṇaṃ
taṇaṃ te pesiyā guruṣaṇāse;
ee Kālayaṃ guruṇa janti. 107
soṃ to Sāgaro gao bhāhmo
bhadda maha kahaha katha guru;
puviṇa pi samāgya na kiṃ muṇasi.

muṭṭaṇa iha ko vi no patto. 109
Sāgara samghādhi so ahbhaṇaṇa;
tac na nāyā niyaguruṇo. 110
vaṇḍitā suriṇaṃ ca bhānanti.
bohiya sīri bhanai evaṇi:
111 itthu jae pacho ahāna ceva.

tariana jogaṇa maḥīvāya. 112

amadāne diyāvaṇera vudhīṇa
niyaṛjye iya kahi: 113
asaṃkhānaṃ gāvo hava golo
añcata jivā mnaṇeyava: 114
nīyamāṇaṃ pucchehi bhanai sīri;
'si taṃ, diyā maṃ paṇvanesi. 115
pacekkha thanjiya bhanai; mai aja
ko vi nigoe māna Bhaḷarahe. 116
vutto palamu, taḥ itthu tiṭṭha-dugam
Vimalaṅgiri thāvaram ceva. 117
jaṃ to vutto gūruhiṇ: tā cīṭṭa
ghacchasā mahiṇiṇiṭaḥbhāya. 118
kāmo Sakkı gao sathānaṃni
nunjo vi sursamjana jāya. 119
divaṇ gaṇa guruguruga jagaṇpavara
havantu bhavvāṇa bhādhekarā. 120

iti sīrākaliṣāśaṅkaṭhā saṃśāpta.

102 b) pucchai maṃ maha; f inserts tenaṇṇa (after aha); a) pucchasa, l pachsa 103 b)di paro; d) sa (for so ya); f vivartam 104 meter irregulare in second half-stanza; b)di avidence; l after saṃkha repeats ihecq bhūvaṇe (from stanza 101); soṃ (stanza 101); f vimhima 105 f repeats gosā sīrām a; d) sīrām; f sukkhā; b)co (omitting iya evam). 106 b)di quote only first three words of this familiar stanza, a) omits entirely; d) for pada j read siya na bhandija va satiragama 107 a) di pāṣāya; a) Kāla; d) guru; a) janti 108 d) mīle; d) guru
109 d) puvi 110 d) teṇa (for tehīṇ); b)di amhaḥa (for amha); l ambeaḥi (for ahbahe); b) ambeaḥi hi
111 b) veṇa; d) patthayau 112 b) pai; b)di lah; b)di savanna, f savattu; b)di iema 113 f aṃ; b)di uddhe-
114 b)di have only first three words of this familiar stanza; b) "kheja"; b) "khejo" la; l niggo; b) niggo; a) ḍi,
b) "ṭhakmā ph. d) aṭ kā na a stanca: jaha ayagolo dhanno (a)dhato; jāo tattavānijjaṇaṃvāññako savva apaniṇi VAR, nigaya(a) niya(śa) jive tālā jāna. 115 b) d ṁyaṇa; b) aṭ; b) omi bhāna; b)di dugga; d) omi si; d) paṇcme
116 b) di and omi bhāna; b)di māni; b) paha; d) niggo 117 a) tuṇa; b) catto; d) tathā 118 b) bhanina; f nila
(for niyaṃya) 119 b) kāo; f tūḥa; b)di muṇa (for niyāṇi), b) omi 120 b) bhi guruguruga; d) guna (for goa), d) gaṇa; b) Kāla; d) di havantu Colophon d) "Kālikacārayakathā; d) "kathāsuka; d) sampīraṇa, f sampāṇaṇam
TRANSLATION

I

With power that slew its foes, bringing renown to the church, an abode of accomplishments—long live the master Kālaka, the delight of the world, the renowned of the age! (1)

In the Magadhas in the city of Dharāvāsa there was once a King Vajrasimha; his wife was Surasundari; his son, possessed of virtue, was Kālaka. His daughter was Sarasvati; with her cluster of accomplishments she was like the goddess Sarasvati. The prince, as beautiful as a god, took pleasure in many kinds of sport. (2-3)

Then one day the prince went out to exercise some horses, and in a mango grove he heard the teacher Gunamdhara preaching thus: (4)

“As one tests gold in four ways, by rubbing, cutting, heating, and beating, so the wise man tests religion here, by study, conduct, and the virtues of austerity and mercy.” (5)

When the prince had heard this and more, with Sarasvati he entered the holy life; for with those whose Karma is light it takes but little to arouse disgust with the world. (6)

Then accompanied by his train of virtues, learned in the Scripture, exalted to the distinguished rank of sāri (pontiff), he wandered among villages, towns, and cities, preaching the law thus: “No religion is there like mercy, no pleasure like contentment, no cleansing like truth, no ornament equal to virtuous conduct.” Then the sāri arrived at Ujjayini, surrounded by a mighty retinue; and staying in a grove outside the city he established many folk in the faith. (7-9)

One day when Sarasvati, after doing reverence to the sāri, was on the way to her own place, King Darpana, who controlled a magic art called “She-Ass,” kidnapped her. Snatched away by him, like a sparrow by an eagle, that holy woman wailed thus pitifully, while the folk could only cry, “Alas!” “Ah, brother, good master, learned in the Scripture! Ah, lord of the sacred Word, treasury of virtues! I am snatched away by this villain! O hero, save me!” (10-12)

Then the king, swayed by an evil star, put the nun in his harem. Assuredly there is no wickedness which those blind with lust will not do. For: “He who is blind from birth sees not; he who is blind with lust never sees; he who is intoxicated with passion sees not; the suitor sees no fault.” (13-14)

The master went to him and said, “Great King, free this nun! For the penance groves are said to be under the protection of kings. That you should act thus is surely fire bursting forth from water. If the leaders of the (caravan) drivers prove a gang of bandits, then, your majesty, danger has sprung from protection.” (15-16)

Then the Congregation also addressed him, “O King, this is not fitting for people like you: even though there be a mighty rising of the waters the ocean does not over- leap its boundary.” (17)

1 Samayasundara’s version states that these horses had been sent to Kālaka’s father by the King of Khorasan.
The more he was admonished the more by reason of his baseness he cast derision upon the Congregation. Even though a snake is given milk to drink, it still emits fierce poison. Just as a crow, though washed in milk, never loses any of its blackness, so the base, though he attains a high position, does not lose his baseness. For: "Let (the fruit) of a lime tree be sprinkled with milk and mixed in the frying-pan with raw sugar, still it does not lose its bitterness, such is the quality of its native characteristics." (18-20)

When the sīrī saw that the Congregation was scorned thus, he took this oath, "If I do not uproot this king, then may I go to the state of the enemies of the faith. For: 'Whoever, having the power, does not check the enemies of the Word, he undergoes the Pārāścita expiation and wanders about in the endless Sāṃsāra. In the service of god, teacher, or Congregation a mighty-souled sage, enraged, possessed of the magic power ‘Pulāka' could grind to powder even the army of a world emperor.' (Yet) if in any way this person can be made to see the light, then I shall employ a means that is without harm." With this thought the teacher, although having the power, out of mercy acted thus. "If Gardabhilla be king and I a poor man, then what, O people?" Saying such things, the sīrī wandered about the city, alas, like a madman. (21-25)

Then the ministers too spoke to the king, "O lord, the fifth protector of the world, listen well. In essence a king is such by reason of the pleasure he gives, the rest is a matter of name. All monks should be protected, and especially the order of philosophers, for when that order is burning with affliction, O King, it kindles a fierce fire of woe. 'In the breaking of images of the gods, and in the destruction of monks, one may perceive the ruin of his country, with want, strife, and ill fortune.' That which defiles an unstained family and shames it before the world should not be done by people of good family, even though life is in the throat (ready to leave the body)." (26-29)

When the king heard this, he was angry and said, "Here you, go home, and teach your own fathers!" With these words he checked them. (30)

Then Kālaka admonished his disciples who had gathered before him, gave them a new master (sīrī), and saying, 'Observe the 'restraints' well," sent them out to wander elsewhere. (31)

Then the sīrī thought, "I dare say I could go to my father, but there is a great shame in my heart, and it will in no way let me go. Slanderers there are who will throw a lot of contemptible muck, saying, 'That hero, who took a vow of such and such a sort, here he comes having deserted Sarasvati!" Therefore I shall not go to my father." After he had come to this decision he reflected again, "In the case of

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2 Expiation (prāyalitita) is of ten sorts, of which this is the tenth and most severe, consisting of exclusion from the order for 12 years. (C. Krause, An interpretation of Jain ethics, Bhavnagar, p. 20, 1909).


4 The name usually given to this wicked king, here mentioned for the first time in this text, and without any introduction. It is a kind of nickname, applied because of the king's mastery of the She-Ass (gardabhi) magic art.

5 Other versions relate how King Vajrasimha at the time of initiation had especially entrusted Sarasvati (Sarasvati) to Kālaka's care.
those whose strength comes from a magic art, there is no overcoming them. Friends come through the magic art; foes are conquered by means of the magic art. To those who have only a trifle of magic art all men bow down. That magic art which thieves cannot take away, which is valued in the houses of the virtuous, that art is fully mine; through it a foreign country becomes one's native country.” (32-36)

Then the sūri went to the Śaka bank to the court of a sāhi, where the king is called sāhansāhi and the rest sāhi. The sūri entered the court. Whatever he said pleased everyone. Thus by the flavor of his speech he charmed the king's nobility. (37-38)

The king said, “ Lucky am I that you, whose touch is a blessing, have come here; my kingdom shines through you. Ask for whatever you need!” (39)

The sūri said, “Through your affection I have got everything; I shall ask when occasion arises. It is on account of hunger that food gives pleasure.” (40)

Then there came a letter from the overlord to this effect, “Send your head with this sword.” His face gone pale, the king was questioned by the sūri, and he told him all. (41)

At this the master said, “O King, you must effect some plan for yourself. You must make gifts of gold and other things, your majesty, so that you may live.” (42)

He said, “Listen, noble person, you do not know the ways of our king; he is a harsh ruler; for those with whom he is angry there is death. Whatever spoil he seizes, that, blind with overweening arrogance, he never lets loose. By his might he subdues the border kings first of all. Hundreds of thousands of kings like me submit to him to guarantee their security. No one can meet him in battle; ten million warriors flee at his name. Here there is possible neither peace nor resistance; there is no means whatever; nothing that anyone can do will prevail. Unless I give my head, all (my family) will die.” (43-46)

Then the sūri said, “I shall not consent to your death. Brave soldiers, your majesty, when their weapons are demanded do not surrender (them), even though powerless. So tell me, good sir: Does anyone then on demand surrender his head? In warrior families self-destruction is a disgrace. Reflect on this: a kingdom which has a king as a head on its breast is in safety; when there is injury from biting in the bridal chamber—what love can exist in such unions? Those shameless fellows, devoid of love, who to-day demand the head, how shall one give the kingdom to them? This is to be learned from base people.” That step is not right. What befalls you

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6 Throughout this passage the word used is viśja (vidya) meaning both “knowledge” and “magic art.”
7 The Saga (Skt. ṣaka “Scythian”) bank is the west bank of the Indus.
8 Persian shah and shahanshah. There were altogether 96 vassal kings. Some other versions relate that when Kālaka reached this land, he found a number of princes weeping because a ball with which they had been playing had fallen into a well. Kālaka, who was a skilful archer, called for a bow and arrows. He pierced the ball with an arrow, then pierced the first arrow with a second, the second with a third, and so on until he was able to draw out the chain of arrows with the ball. The princes then took him to the court. (One version states that before shooting at the ball Kālaka had to throw a blazing bunch of grass into the well to see where the ball lay.) See p. 25.
9 The text here is obscurely brief; other versions tell us that a messenger came from the shahanshah bearing a metal bowl and a sword on which was inscribed the number 96. This meant that the king—with the other 95 fellow vassal kings—was to cut off his own head with the sword and send it in the bowl to the overlord. It is not stated why the overlord was angry. The penalty for failure to do this would be extirpation of the vassal king's entire family; but if the vassal king should be obedient the rest of his family would be spared.
10 Translation conjectural.
11 The word calī means a step in dancing.
to-day will befall your sons tomorrow. Therefore preserve your life, that living you may enjoy good fortune. Let us go to the land of Mālava; call together the 95 other sāhis." (47-52b)

Then at the master's word he summoned and assembled them all. And as they moved along the mountains rocked, the earth shook, Śeṣa (the serpent that supports the world) was violently agitated, the sun was obscured by the dust. Those mighty warrior kings, who had come there for the sake of their heads, fled then so that they could not be seen at all by sight. (52c-54)

They crossed the river Indus and in time came to the land of Sāurāśṭra (Surat). They stopped for some days at mount Dhanka 12 under a spell. (55)

Then when the rainy season arrived, the cloud thundering in its heavenly way shone with the lightning flash, which was, so to speak, a wet sword. Cātaka birds then sang "piya-piya"; peacock flocks danced; flocks of cranes went "kurala"; frogs bellowed loud. The streams resisted the sun and moon (which usually drink them up); snakes climbed the trees; everywhere watercourses flowed; the earth was full of mud. (56-58)

Then the king was informed by his entire train that the supplies were exhausted; he in turn told the sūri, "Sir, a dreadful difficulty has occurred. Those with whose army we have come as heroes traversing strange kingdoms, like suns, those 95 kings, all of them, have become disaffected. At this moment when they need help I have not the food which they ask for. Therefore they will go. There will remain my army alone." (59-61)

The sūri thought, "As long as a man has plenty, he is a hero, brave, wise; when his wealth is gone, he is no better than grass." (62)

Then in the middle of the night the sūri saw in the sky a woman with fresh beauty; and she said to the master, "O sage, have no uneasiness in your heart! I am your divine messenger, 13 come to you to bring help. Know that Sarasvati is in virtue like Sītā and Sulāśa. 14 By reason of Sarasvati's virtue you have got these kings and others; and by the power of her virtue the banner of victory shall be yours too. After the meal concluding a six-meal fast she now observes daily the ṛcāma ṛtibsntence. 15 Never has she abandoned the Jina as her god and you as her master." (63-66)

She put a powder in the lotus of his hand and then vanished; for a glimpse of the gods is as brief as a flash of lightning. (67)

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12 This, according to the learned sāhas Vidyāvijaya and Jayantavijaya, is one of the 108 names of the sacred mount Sāturjaya in Kathiawar.

13 ṛcāma or ṛcāmadv diced: distinguished personages in the Jain hierarchy have two attendants, one male (yukṣa) one female (ikṣamadevat or ikṣamadevati).

14 Sītā is the heroine of the epic Rāmāyana; Sulāśa was a celebrated female lay disciple of the Jina Mahāvira and is destined at some time to become a Jina.

15 Jains eat two meals daily. A six-meal fast means that the observer omits the second meal of the first day, both meals of the second and third days and the first meal of the fourth day. In the ṛcāma ṛtibsntence the observer eats only one meal a day and of the plainest food, such as grain cooked whole or cakes made of flour and water with no spices or even salt. All other food is forbidden. The only drink is boiled water. (The learned sāhas Vidyāvijaya and Jayantavijaya).
Then the master by the power of this powder converted a pile of bricks into gold and gave them (to the kings), and in the autumn sent them on, and in time they reached the border of Mālava. (68)

The master then sent a messenger, "King, release Sarasvatī at once! What is stretched too far breaks; what is filled too full, your majesty, bursts. Certain it is that prosperity never comes to those who resort to immorality. Is life ever seen, O King, in those who have swallowed noxious poison? If even Rāvaṇa "met death through lust for another’s wife, then how will you, with your lust for a nun, escape it?" (69-71)

Thereupon the king, blind with arrogance, said, "Ho messenger, why speak at length? If this sūri had any valor, he would not wander about in beggary. Those who took to flight when their heads were demanded and have now come here, a bunch of shaven pates—does anyone fear danger from them? As a mass of darkness before the sun, as a fearsome multitude of serpents before Garuḍa, so, messenger, the sage’s warriors can do nothing before me." (72-74)

Then the messenger angrily said, "Listen to my straight speech. If you are a tree, he is an elephant (to uproot you); if you are an elephant, he is a lion; if you are a lion, he is a sarabha; if you are a sarabha, he is a heavy cloud—why speak at length, since the sūri is fatal for you?" (75-76)

When the messenger had spoken thus he left; and the king of Mālava marched against them, was broken in battle, came to Ujjainī, and was strictly besieged by them. (77)

The king did an eight-meal fast 21 and then on the eighth day of the dark half of the month summoned his magic art. When the sūri saw it in the form of a She-Ass on the empty fort (wall), he said, "Whatever beast or man in an enemy’s army hears the bray of this She-Ass will immediately fall down upon the earth vomiting blood from his mouth. Therefore withdraw with the army a distance of two kraśas, 23 and to effect our safety let 108 bowmen who take aim by sound 24 fill the ass’s mouth with arrows before it can utter a sound." 24 (78-80)

The magic art, thus frustrated, with a kick did the two duties 25 upon the king and left; and then the sāhīs captured King Gardabhilla. 26 (81)

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16 Rāvaṇa is the villain of the Rāmāyaṇa. He kidnapped Sītā (mentioned in our stanza 61) and in return was destroyed by Rāma, Sītā’s husband, and his allies.
17 Play on doṣpa (Skt. doṣpa “arrogance”) and the king’s name Dappaṇa (Skt. doṣpaṇa).
18 Garuḍa is a mythical bird, vehicle of the god Viṣṇu and enemy of serpents.
19 A sarabha is a mythical eight-footed creature that fears only thunder.
20 The word guru means both “heavy” and “master,” a title of Kālaka.
21 A fast running through five days like the six-meal fast running through four days as described in note to stanza 66.
22 A kraśa, “calling distance,” is like a “countryman’s mile,” but is generally considered to be about two English miles.
23 An expression hardly meaning more than “most skilful.”
24 One version relates that only 107 bowmen could be found, but Kālaka, noted for his skill at archery took the place of the 108th. Thus in the paintings he is usually represented with drawn bow.
25 A euphemism of obvious meaning (niśādham, Skt. niśādham). In Gujarati the two duties are known as laghanā (little duty) and kaśānā (big duty).
26 Other versions relate that Kālaka lectured Gardabhilla and offered him the opportunity to repent and enter the monastic life, but the king’s bad Karmā made it impossible for him to see the light. He was then driven into exile, where he died miserably.
The sārī with whom Kālaka had stayed became the lord of Avanti; and the rest his vassals. Thus arose the Śaka dynasty. (82)

Then the master accompanied by Sarasvatī, who had been reestablished in the “restraints,” and followed by his retinue, enlightened people of many sorts and wandered about on a strenuous tour. (83)

II

I have related here the history of the sārī Kālaka, who brought renown to the church; now I shall tell how the Paryuṣaṇā was fixed on the fourth. (84)

Balamitra and Bhānumitra were king and heir apparent of Avanti; and because they were his nephews Kālaka then went there. (85)

Then he initiated into the order their nephew Balabhānū, son of Bhānuśrī, without asking permission; and they were therefore distressed. (86)

Then he banished in debate the royal chaplain Gāṅgādhara, a contenter of the (Jain) religion. That Brahman, to get the master to go away, craftily said to the king, “Your majesty, where this master wanders, there the people of the city wander, and in that they tread upon the footsteps of the master there occurs a basis for the sin of disrespect.” Then in anxiety the king caused the master to be given food in the city that was ritually impure so that he might leave. Recognizing this the master went to Pratisthāna and spent the four-months season. (87-89)

At the time of the Paryuṣaṇā King Śālavāhana said to the sārī, “My lord, here on the fifth day there is a festival of Indra which the folk will not observe without me. So celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth so that I may do Jina worship etc.” (90-91b)

The master said, “O King, that is impossible; for it is said in the Jain scriptures: ‘At that time, at that season, the Exalted One, Mahāvīra, when a month and 20 days of the rainy season half had passed, observed the rainy season Paryuṣaṇā.’ Sooner shall Meru’s peak tremble or the sun rise in the west than that the Paryuṣaṇā should come after the night of the fifth.” (91c-92)

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27 The region of which Ujjainī is the capital.
28 The Śaka dynasty is traditionally supposed to have been founded A. D. 78. In most versions it is stated that a few years after the expulsion of Gardāshāla the celebrated king Vikramaditya drove the Śakas out of Ujjainī and established the Vikrama era (57 B. C.).
29 The most celebrated of the Jain festivals, coming during the rainy season.
30 Before initiation the master must ask permission of the candidate’s parents or natural guardians. Kālaka, being Balabhānu’s great-uncle, seems to have assumed that he could act in loco parentis.
31 This would bring ill luck to the city.
32 In accordance with the epaṭa-savita (Regulation of Begging) an ascetic must make sure that the food he is offered is in conformity with the prescriptions of the Jinas, i.e., contains no living substance, such as unboiled water, uncooked or underdone vegetables, uncut and unprepared fruit, seeds capable of germination, etc., that it is free from forbidden substances, such as alcohol, honey, butter, meat, decomposed food, and that it has not been prepared expressly for him, etc. (C. Krause, An interpretation of Jain ethics, Bhavnagar, p. 11, 1929). Parallel versions show that the alms offered was richer than the regulations allow.
33 The period of the rainy season, when Jain monks must not wander lest they injure the small creatures which are peculiarly plentiful on the ground at that time.
34 This king’s era is traditionally supposed to begin A. D. 78; cf. our note on stanza 82.
35 The immovable mountain at the middle point of the Middle World.
“Then let it be on the fourth!” said the king. The master said, “That may be; as it is said: ‘The monks must observe the Paryuṣaṇā before.”’ (93)

Thus with the concordance of the congregation and agreeably to the scriptures the master Kālaka set the Paryuṣaṇā on the fourth. And the king decreed a great festival.” (94)

And it is said in the scripture: “Whatever course wise monks, with few faults and many virtues, cling to and observe, that is the standard for all.” (95)

III

Once upon a time at Ujjayini the master admonished his disciples thus, “Children, do not serve the enemy pramāḍa (carelessness),” which causes hundreds of thousands of sorrows. Though they know the 14 pūrvaṇa and have an ahāraka body, though they have acquired the manośāna knowledge and are devoid of passion, yet if they are in the power of pramāḍa, directly on account of that alone they must wander among the four kinds of creatures.” (96-97)

When like stubborn donkeys they would not trot along at all, in spite of being thus urged, the master thought, “These disciples must certainly be abandoned. ‘When a disciple goes at his own will, comes at his own will, stands still at his own will, always conducts himself according to his own will, then he must be abandoned (by his master) at the master’s will,’” (98-99)

And so at night, after telling the keeper of the monks’ rest hall that when the disciples pressed him he could send them on, he set out slowly for the land of Suvrata, and he stopped with his disciple’s disciple Sāgaradatta. Then Sāgaradatta asked him, “Sir, do you know the reverend Kālaka?” (100-101)

He said, “Yes.” He asked him again, “How is my exposition (of the scripture)?” He answered, “Excellent!” Then Sāgaradatta said, “Ask me something difficult.” Kālaka said, “First expound for me Impermanence.” Then he said, “Everything in the world is impermanent with the exception of Dharma (Religion) alone.” The master said, “There is no Dharma, since it does not enter the realm of

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56 Pan: antara means “before” and “with the heart.”
57 In other texts this is called the dākṣīṇapāta (monks’ honoring) festival.
58 The disciples had become undisciplined.
59 Prawada is of five kinds: madaya (strong drink), viśaya (the senses), kaṣaya (stains: namely, krodha “anger,” māna “pride,” maya “illusion,” lobha “greed”), niṣrū (sleep), vikasā (unprofitable conversation, namely, about women, politics, country, food).
60 These are the last 14 pūrvaṇa constituting the twelfth anug of the Jaina canon.
61 A body of pure substance appertaining to one who has achieved seven of the 14 gunasthānas (stages toward salvation). With it the ascetic can leave behind his physical body while he goes for a short time to other worlds to consider difficult questions of dogma with teachers there.
62 Knowledge by which one seizes without intermediary the thoughts of another.
63 Vitārāga is a quality usually mentioned only with the Jinas. But there are two kinds of vitārāga. One comes on attainment of the eleventh gunasthāna (apavāntanā), whence it is possible to fall; the other on attainment of the twelfth (kṣipranā), from which there is no falling. The first is meant here. (Sadhus Vidyāvijaya and Jayatavijaya.)
64 The four classes of beings are hell dwellers, lower animals, men, and gods.
65 A familiar stanza.
66 I do not know what region is meant.
67 In most versions the name is Sāgaracandra. He had apparently never seen his spiritual grandfather; hence his presumptuous manner.
perception by the senses." When Sāgaradatta heard this and further argument, he was astonished. Thus days passed. (102-104)

Then at dawn the disciples, missing the master, were in consternation, and asked news of him from the keeper of the rest hall. He instructed them thus, "It might be that one could smash a mountain with his head; it might be that an angry lion would not eat him; it might be that he could drink the deadly hālahala poison and not die; "yet he would not win salvation if he were disrespectful to his master." 46 (105-106)

Then, when the disciples were smitten with repentance, the rest hall keeper directed them to the master. When they were questioned on the way by folk, they said, "This is the master Kālaka going along." 49 (107)

And so Sāgara, when he heard that the sūri was coming, went to meet him; and he met the disciples and asked them, "Friends, tell me, where is the master?" (108)

They said, "The master came on here ahead. Don't you know it?" He said, "No one has come here except an old monk." They laughed and said, "Sāgara, you are in the same company with us: we have been disrespectful to our master; you have not recognized him." (109-110)

Then, ashamed, they humbled themselves before the master according to the correct discipline, and asked forgiveness. The sūri, using the "sand illustration," 48 enlightened them, saying, "Let no one feel pride, thinking, 'Here in this world it is I who am wise!' The gradations of intelligence go by a succession of smaller and greater back to omniscience." (111-112)

IV

One day when the monks had gone begging, an old Brahman asked the sūri Kālaka to tell him about the nigoda souls, and Kālaka said, "The balls are innumerable, and each ball possesses innumerable nigodas; in each nigoda we must know there are innumerable souls." 49 (113-114)

Again the Brahman questioned him, asking about the length of his life, looking forward to starving himself to death, 50 and the sūri said, "From the fact that it is to last two 'oceans' 51 you are Śakra. You are deceiving me (in appearing) as a Brahman." (115)

46 A variant reading gives for this clause, "It might be that the point of an arrow would not pierce him."
47 A familiar stanza.
48 The usual way of speaking of a master and his disciples, here used quite properly by Kālaka's disciples, even though Kālaka was not with them.
49 In this illustration the teacher fills a measure with sand. This he pours out somewhere in a pile. Then he puts it back in the measure, pours it out again, puts it back again, and continues to do so. Each time, of course, a few grains are lost, the quantity in the measure is ever less and less. The application is this. Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth Jina, poured the law into Śidharmān, the latter poured it into Jambuśvāmin, Jambuśvāmin into Prahlāda, and so on down. Each time knowledge grew less and less. (Cf. above, p. 68.)
50 The Jains believe there are innumerable small souls permeating space so that not the most minute volume is without them. This stanza refers to that doctrine. The nigoda, without reason or feeling, are the lowest form of these. Some MSS. add a stanza: A ball of iron on being heated becomes like a ball of gold that has been heated; everything is transformed by fire: know that nigoda souls are so.
51 Death by starvation appears frequently in Jain literature as the way for great souls to end life; even lesser folk may adopt it. But it must not be employed unless the appointed time for death is at hand.
52 An ayayā (Skt. *āstava) is a brain-staggering period of time; it is said to be 10 x 10,000,000 x 10,000,000 pariyopanuṣ of parinīlita of years. No Indra can have more than two of these.
When Hari heard this, he manifested himself and praising Kālaka said, "Reverend sir, I asked the lord Simandhara,55 'Is there anyone in India who understands the nirūdas?' Then the lord mentioned you, 'As well as myself.' Thus in this world there are two places of pilgrimage; you are said to be the moving, and Mount Vimala the fixed." 56 (116-117)

When the king of the gods had said this, the master asked him, "Won't you wait? The monks are out begging." He answered, "I must go lest I cause the monks a nidāna." 57 (118)

Sakra transposed the door of the house to another part of it, and went to his own place. When the monks knew of this affair, they became well established in the discipline. (119)

The glorious sūri Kālaka, who thus enlightened many folk, who has gone to heaven, possessed of mighty virtues, the renowned of his age—may he grant a blessing to the elect! (120)

Thus the story of the glorious sūri Kālaka is concluded.

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55 A Tirthakara living in the world of Mahāvīdeha, who is highly esteemed by the Jains.
56 Jains recognize two classes of pilgrimage points: the moving, here headed by Kālaka, and the fixed, here headed by mount Vimala, the sacred mount Śatrughnajaya in Kathiawar.
57 Nidāna, "fetter," a cause for existence, a meditation on the future, especially a wish. The motif enters into a number of Jain stories. A monk, lustfully aroused by the touch of the tips of a beautiful woman's hair, makes the wish that as the result of his asceticism he may be reborn as a universal monarch with innumerable fair women at his disposal. (Thus in the story of Bambhadatta in Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhrāshtri.) He gets his wish, but the final result of the wish is disaster. In the case of our story here, parallel texts make it clear that Sakra was afraid the monks, on seeing his beauty, might conceive the wish to be reborn with similar beauty. Cf. F. Edgerton, The hour of death, pp. 228 ff. in Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, pp. 219-249, 1927.
CHAPTER VI
VERSIONS OF BHĀVADEVASŪRĪ AND DHARMAPRABHASŪRĪ—
EDITION
BHĀVADEVASŪRĪ'S VERSION

Bhāva devasūrī floruit Sauvāvat 1312 (A.D. 1255). This version was edited from a single manuscript by Prof. E. Leumann in Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, pp. 493 ff. It is edited here from four manuscripts, as follows:


| c MS. 89 (8) in the Nagin Dās Bhandār, Cambay. Palm-leaf; no date, probably fourteenth century; 13 folios, folio 9 being missing. Very careless about distinguishing between s and m; b, v, and c; p, y, and e; tih and ckh. Largely independent from the three other MSS. |
| d MS. 18.20 in the Delā Upāśraya Library, Ahmedabad. Paper; illustrated; no date, probably sixteenth century; 11 folios. |
| a MS. 206 in the Daśa Osāvāla Bhandār, in the Ananta Nātha Temple, Bombay. Paper; illustrated; no date, fifteenth or sixteenth century; 9 folios. |

This version is by its own words a concise account. The text is presented in the following edition:

I

1 atti itha Bhārāha vāse kanālā keli-manālamā tilaṇaṁ bhū purandhī Dharāvāsām mahā puraṇaṁ 1 bahuhīm deva devāva gihehim dhāmēhi ya devāṇaṁ gujhabānana ca nayaṇāṁ jepa ujjīyam, 2 kulīṇa samanorāṇamā sacchāya diya'saṃkula jattha majhe jāna nicam bāhīṁ ujjānāṁ pāyavā. 3 tathā'āsi veri matte 'bha-kumbha-niddalane hari vahanto satthayaṁ nāma Verisīṣhho naresaro, 4 jaseṇa ya payaveṇa pūryī'āseṇa savvao sayā-viṭhāṇī āṅeṇa rāyahaṁsā viṭhiyī. 5 surpakkaṁ rāyahamsi vva candalehi vva nimnala dévi tasa gupaṭhānāṁ nāmeṇa Suraṇandāri. 6 tise kuchhe suttī motiyan ya mahā-guno saṃjho Kāla no nāma kumāro kułamāṇo-thāpam. 7 annuṁ piḍa maṅ'g ṣaṅdo sampitte jvavaṇaṁ navaṇaṁ jao dakkho duhā satthe duhā vayaṇaṁ nimmelo, 8 surgoṇ'āvajjīya jamna bhalā kuchhe ya devāya mutiṇa paramaṁ veran allīče nehamo bhāranaṁ. 9 annūya bārīr'ujjāne kīlāe kamuroma goa gambhiraṁ mahūraṁ saddaṁ socca pavisai tahiṇ. 10

1 c kanālākāli-kelimanālamā 2 c bahūhi; 3 c gujhabānaṁ 4 c suvama; 5 c sacchāya; 6 c jāna 4 c tatthasi; 7 c veresiṇhā, d sarvāśiṣṭha; 8 c naraśatro 5 c pūyaśeṇa; 9 c viṭhāṇī; 10 c viṣṇuvājasāṇā 6 c canda; 11 c nimnala; 12 c sayā; 13 c samanorāṇamā; 14 c deva devāva; 15 c mahā puraṇaṁ; 16 c bīhāṁ; 17 c duhā; 18 c vayaṇaṁ; 19 c gambhiraṁ mahūraṁ; 20 c hāranaṁ; 21 c glānibhārān; 22 c gambhiraṁ mahūraṁ; 23 c mahurasaddaṁ
to Sindhu-parakulammi. Saga-kulam gao munī.
tathā je hasti sāmanātā te bhanijjati sāhiṇo 32
rāyā sāhānuṣāhī. āha egasā sāhīṇo
ṭhā puramē, taṃ vijjā'hiṃ āvāja daṭṭhaṃ. 33
annāyā sāhāsinīsā du tu tathā' āgao. tayaṃ
curuṣēm ca saṃāṃ'ānakā daṭṭhaṃ daṭṭha va bhoinā
saṃjā jo jharti vichātā sāhī pariṣhā ya sūriṇā
kahi: sāmānī anha khuddā'āsē īmo maṃga 35
peṣī tāha annesinī pāncagāvī-sāhīnāṃ,
sūrī bhaṇḍā: mā tappa saṃvaṃ aṭṭhaṃ bhavissā.
ño ṭīṃ niṣṭiṣaṃ paṭṭitu egathagā mellitā saṃva-sāhīṇo
vaca Hindugā-desamē. tena saṃvaṃ taḥ kayaṃ. 37
jāv' uttarītu te Sindhuṃ paṭṭa Soraṭṭha-maṇḍalaṃ
tāva vāsā'gamo jāo; thiṃ jattā 'eva chāūṃ. 38
rāyāhamsa-kay'āṇande muṇī-ūllasa-kaṅrāc
bhāhussē same suddho'dae sap-purise īva 39
patte saraya-kulammi munīnā Mālavaṃ paī
periyā sambāla-bhāvaṃ kahantī. āha pī Degrees 40
sa hemuā cunna-juttī. taṃ vībhāgēna giihiṃnā
sāhiṇo cāṭya tato kumī paṭṭa va Mālavaṃ. 41
tān' āgānānādhiṃnēna bhūyaṅga vva' 'śkūrīkāo
purī'raṃjājī bīlāu vva Gaddabīhilī vinīgga 42
paṭṭa visaya-saṇḍhimī jattha ciṭṭhantī sāhiṇo,
kao ubṭa'yā-paṇḍhamī rāpa tuṃā maḥāravō. 43
ta'o duṇḍhām pī śiṃūnūṃ dapp'uddha'ra-bhaṛ'ulbhādu
jāo samara-saṃmaḍda raṇḍūdī asurāṇa vi. 44
sūraśa Sāga-saṃnasa kara'pāsara pīlīo
paṇīṇṭho sa-purini rāyā jahā giri'guhaṃ tamo. 45
nayaṃ dviṭhum tato thiṃ saṃvīe viva saṃva-sāhiṇo
dhyaṃ kūṇantī. jā suṇaṃ gāḍhaṃ pāsantī annāyā 46
to puchantī muṇīṃ, sa vi kahi jaha: atṭhamī
rāyā ajja maḥā-vījjaṃ gaddahīṃ nāma latthe vi
sāheī; ta nirūvehā. tehiṃ atṭhāke tao
nirūvantehiṃ sā vijjā diṭṭhaśiṭṭha ya sūrīnā. 48
ten' uttamā: gaddhaḥ saddāṃ taṃ kā hiṃ kaya-sāhāṇā
jaṃ soccā saṃva-saṃnāṃ pī bohi niccīṭṭha-ceyaṇaṃ. 49
to gūya'duḍaṇṭa tuñbe osarītūṇa ciṭṭhaha
saṃva saṃva pī gihīttā duṇḍhaṃ ca cauṇyaṃ. 50
saddavaṅhīna johāṇa atṭhi-ottara-saṇya puṇa
thaveha mama pāṃsumī. tehiṃ saṃva saṃvī teḥ kayaṃ. 51
aha jaya tīrīkkhiṇ dhūraṃ-vuḍḍhāviyaṃ muhaṃ
tic akyā-saddācē ceva johēhim tāva taṃ 52

32 d te (for to); r saṃva (L. 'hīno). 33 c ahegassa; c parum; r te vijjāda (corrected to 'jīle); L. tām vijjāhīṃ, d vijjāhīṃ, e vijjāhīṃ; a āvājīo 34 c tačchahim churiṃ (for tathā...'riyām); ad ka (for ca); c daṭṭhu boho; d bhōyanā 35 a jhantī; d vittāḥ; e mamā 36 L. panaṭṭha; r bhavissāi 37 c egathā; cd sūllumā 38 c uttari; a omith te; c simullā 39 r susse...; suppurisē (L. emends) 40 r saṃbālābhavanā; d kahantī; r āha (for aha) 41 ad gīhiṃ (L. gīhiṃ); d sāhīṇā 42 c vinīgga 43 c pāto; r tāra (for tāra) 44 r duṇḍhā; read va? ra vīdhamā 45 c reṇaṇa saṃsinassē; c pāllī; c sāyā (for rāyā) 46 d vādhihīṃ; c vēdhiyām; c ṭhiyā 47 r te (for to); c kāhi 48 c tehi; c sā vivajā diṭṭhe śūriṇo; rd siddhā (for sīṭṭha) 49 ar uṇmā (L. uttamā); s semeñā; r ničcīṭṭha 50 c tuñbe ubōbe; e osarītūṇa, e osarītūṇa; c pa (for pi); c ya (for ca) 51 c saddavañhāna; c atṭhīo; a atṭhutta; c mamā; e tehi 52 c saddā
sūri sikkhā tāpāṇaṃ va jāliti bāpehiṃ pūriyam. 
haya'atati tī sā nāṭṭhā viṭṭhaṃ kāmūṃ nīv'oṣari. 53 
eyassa ittiyaṃ ceva balaṇaṃ tī muni' akkhie 
tehiṃ bhaggā pūri ṣīvho gaddaḥilo ya bandhīyaṃ 54 
sūriṇaṃ appio. teṣaṃ sānlaṭato: pāva yō tae 
sāhuṇḍaśila-viḍḍhaṃśa rukkho rovīti sīncio 55 
saṅgh'avaṇṇāṃ niṛṇaṃ tassē eva kusuṃ'uggaṃ; 
phalam tu dh'aṃ sā niño-laṅka 'laṅkha'laṅkhaṇi pāvīhi. 56 
saṅgh'avaṇṇāṃ jaṃ pāvaṃ n'atthī tass' ovaṃā jae 
syārassa naḥsē eva jāneī ahāva jīṇo. 57 
thisvālāṃ pi jā savva'pāva'tavārya pāṇa'ūhaṇi 
suha'bindu vva tām dikkhaṃ gījha ajja vi tā tumaṇ. 58 
evāman hiṃ ṣam pi so vutto abhaṭṭvo dūnio dāḍhaṃ 
jaḥa mith'odae bhito kāṭa-nirassā pāyaro. 59 
tao niddhāṭho desā dukkhiṃ bhannā bhavān; 
chijjaṃ kīn sa mālā lāga bhābalā pāyavo. 60 
sūrīṇaṃ sāṃjame ajjā appā śāloṃ same 
ṭhavio; jāi syattam jalaṃ unhi-kayaṃ pi jaṃ. 61 
sūrīśāhī nivo tattthā jāo sesā ya rāpaya. 
āgāyā Saga-kūḷāo viṅkkaḥyā teṇa te Šaṇa. 62 
jāo chindittu tav-vāṇasā egaṃcchattatkarā nivo 
kālaṃ Viṅkkaṃśce, maḥī āṇi' urāṇi kāyā. 63 
pañṭatiś'hiṃ vāca'śac jāo puṇo Sago 
vacchuro anko jena. vuttaṃ pāṃsangiyam imaṃ. 64

II

ala bohitu Ujjen'jaṇaṃ Kālaga sūriṇa 
Bhuruyacchaṃ gayā. tathā sūriṇa bhaiṇī suya 65 
Balamittā-Bhāṇumittā. te rāya juvāraṇiṇa 
gurum vandanti bhattāc, niṭaṃ dhammaṃ supanti ya. 66 
tāṇaṃ ca bhaiṇī Bhāṇusiri. tīse ya nandaṇo 
Babrāhānpā bhav'āvatā viratā giṅhāe vayaṃ. 67 
rāya ppaḥāṇa'puriso ab'ego tattha duijaṇo 
meh'āgame javāo vva jhiṣjanta sālu rauṃsane. 68 
sūri niggaman'ovāve karei vivihe tao. 
saṅkilesa'karaṇaṃ thānaṃ ujjhīyaṃvam tī cintīṃ 69 
Marahaṭṭhā bhāhihe desa Puhāṭṭhāna pāṭaṇaṃ 
saṃpuṭṭaṃ sūriṇa. tathā rāya param'uvāsago 70 
maḥ'abbhuya'gum'āsvaṃ naṃmenām Sālivānā 
hbhavāṇam dhavaṃlaṇa'yīi jasenāṃ jassa ranjiṃyāṇa. 71 
āgāo saṃmuho tāṇa sīgghaṃ sa-bala vāhaṇo. 
patte ghan'āgame tāmni tassa rāyaṃ tak'khanā 72

53 c sikkhā; c kotī (for jhati); a bhoeb; ad hasaya; a nattā c cevalaṃ (for ceva balam); c bhāgā; c 
ghito gaddaḥilo 55 c viḍḍhaṃśa rukkho rovittuvrutu; adc saṃpico. 56 r saṅgh'avaṇṇāṃ (L *vāṇāna); d kusuṃ'uggano; r 
pāvāνi 57 c taśivanaṃ; c evo jvānī; c viṇo (for jino) 58 c thava; a pova; a ppaṇa'sa, r ppaḥāsini; a sunāṃ (for 
tumāṃ); 59 c dhūmīnu; d nīrava; r pūmayo 60 c chijjaī; c mālā; ardh rāga; c rvā 61 c sūrihi; c ṭhavio; c 
jāva (for jāa); rd kayaṃ (for pi jaṃ) 62 r sūrī; r rāyānu but corrected to rāyaṇa (but L rāyaṇo); c rāpīnu ya 
tena te 63 c jāṃ; c chindittu; r vasam; c cullātā; c viṅkkaṃśio 64 c egaṃcchattatkarā vāsaṇā; r vatsaro 65 d 
uijennī; c bhādaekchaṃ; r sūripā; c bhayaṇi 66 a juvāvāyaṇo; d te (for ya); c has folio (c) missing with 
laṃuṃ from vandanti through vandi (stana 74) 67 d babāḥānum; rd bhavovatā 68 d jhūjīja; ad damatau 69 a 
sūra 70 a puhāṭṭhaṇa, r puhāṭṭhaṇa; a pāṭaṭṭhe; d paraṃsuvagato. 71 d naṃmēna
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khitāṃ v'ūsasiyāṃ gattaṃ maṇḍeṣa moru vva naccīyaṃ
ānanda'jala-pūreṇa punnā diṭṭhi-tāliyā. 73
thodha vandiūṇa ca gurū teṇa pavesiyā
vichāḍenā puraṇ. te vi vandittā savva'cēcī 74
ṭhiyā pahasuyāṭhamāmi. aha tattha samāgaño
pajjosa'vama-pavvassa āsamo sanno. tāo 75
vinnavet gurūn rāyā : ittha īndāmaḥ ūsavo
ho bhaddavāca suddha-pacanmi; tayā mae 76
lo'yūnvittī kāyavvā. te pajośavāṇa-mahāṇaṃ
careha pahu chaṭṭhī. te phuṇaṃ bhaṇaṅ gurūñ; 77
Merū vi całe saṅho pacchimāme vi uggāṅ
pajjosa'vamavvaṃ tu n' āvikkamaṃ pacanmiṃ; 78
jao bhaṇaṃyā'gama: jahā naṃ Mahāvīre vāsāṇaṃ sārvasa'ī'cāe māsa vaikkaṃte vāsā'
vāsāṇaṃ pajośaveī, tahā naṃ gahaḥāra vi; jahā naṃ gahaḥāra, tahā naṃ gahaḥāra sīsā, tahā
naṃ amha gurūnu vi; jahā naṃ amha gurūnu, tahā naṃ amhe vi vāsāvāsāṇaṃ pajośavevamo,
no taṃ raṇaṇī śī kākamajī. (78a)
niven' uttaṃ: cauṭṭhīle hou. to bhaṇaṣṭ gurū:
evam hou na doso 'tha; jao bhaṇyaṃyā'gama; 79
jaṃ āreṇā 'vi pajośavevam vannā tao
tuṭṭhī bhapeci: guruc kāo maha āpuggaho; 80
mama antur'pakktī ovāśa'pāraṇāc jao
sīhūṭa phāsuyāṃ bhataṃ hohi uttaravārāpe. 81
evaṃ ceva cauṭṭhīle kayaṃ Kālaṃgūriṇa
pajjosa'vavavvaṃ; to savva-saṃghēṇa māṇiṇyaṃ. 82
sūrpaṇyā tao loo jūo tap-pabhī tao.
sūrpaṇyā tao nīma payaṭṭhā tattha ūsavā. 83
III

aha kāleṇa savve vi sīsā viṇaya-vajiyyā
dāya; vutta vi juttiṃ payaṭṭaṇi na sundaraṃ; 84
varanrego 'nda, mā kaṃma'kandho hou tī cintiṃ,
votthā saṭṭhaṇaṃ sīc sute muttutāna sūrīṇa 85
gāya sīsāna sīsasa pāse Sāgarasūrīṇo.
tepa no lakkāhyā viḷja-gavvīya bhaṇiya iṣamān; 86
thera pucchhau maṇiṃ ki p. gurūhiṃ pucchhī tao
dhāmaṃsa rivaṇ akkhaī Sāgaro vi sruvbbhadaṃ. 87
aha te duṭṭhāsīsā vi dūṇa sījaṭṭhā'antie
kicchena taddha-vuttaṭtha tatttha savve vi āgāya. 88

73 d khettaṃ 74 r pāvasaṇa (L 'siyā); a vichāḍdenaṃ, r viṭṭhadena; ard ceie (L ceie); c resumma text after missing folio tīt savva'cēcī 75 c pājo; c omits tao 76 c vinnave guruc; c omits itthā 77 a lo'yūnvattī; c pajo; d echaṭṭhīle; r bhaṇai 78 c viṃ; c sūpaṇchāmā 78a c omits māse; d viṃkamete; c omits vi after gurucno; d viṣāṭhāmaṃ, c vāsasvāsaṃ; c pajośavevamo; rd avakkamajī. 79 r nīsēn corrected to nīvēn, d nīvēna umam 80 a pajośavevam; cd add tao after pajo; d niśval tao, c niśvo (omitting tao); r bhaṇai gurucno 81 c pachchāva; d phāsya; c uchaṭṭhārāge 82 ard ca (for ceva), c (L ceva); d *sūrīṇa; c pavo; rd add a sthāna (is r written on margin); tāvāsenu maṃ'khiṃ 'hīṇaṃ cāmāsiyaṃ (c āyavaṃ pakāya'kkam)(āyavama (c omits) caṇḍāliśe (L cōḍha)'
(c omits samvattā) annamā pūna punaṃma; 83 c savve 84 c aḥā; c sūpatvam 85 d ego vīmā; c mhe; c cūm; ard sūrīṇa (L 'no) 86 c omits sīsāna; ad *sūrīṇa; ard vejjā; r gavvīya corrected to 'qā, c *no 87 ard pucchhī; c 'esu (L 'asu); r ujjhadaṃ 88 c kī bhaddabutantaṭṭha savve
Videhe annayā Sakko Sīnampādara jin’ēsaraṇ vandant’āth’āga jīva-vakkhāpāṇ suṇai. taO 91 puchchāl: bhavyavam ko vi Bhhare atti eriso viyāraṇo. jin’indēṇa kahio Kālagārīro. 92 taO tuṭṭhamānu Sakko tharrāvūvēṇa agao. sūrī nīgoyavakkhāpāṇ puchchāl kahai innai: 93 golā asaṇkhāh: asaṇkhāṁgū hoi golao jīvā amṇtā pannattā ekkekkamā nīgoya, 94 icc:ā. 95 taO puṇo puṭjo Sakkeṇa niyāmṛvayaṇ sammaṇ jāṇittu jaiṇpe: taṇi si Purrandaro. 95 taO divvaṇ niṇaṭ rūvaṇ paśyāttu jaiy’ājali jaiṇpe: phurai sāmi kālīkālāks’ovale 96 atulā jassa kalāpārēhā tass’ atthu te namo. evaṇa tūẖiyittu vandittā Sakko ṭhānau niṇaṭ gao. 97 īya vikkāhāyānaḥhappo vayaṇ pālittu nimmalaṇ patto Kālagāsūri vi vihiy’ānasano divām. 98 tāṇa Kālagasūrīṇa vaṃs’uppamnena nimmīyā sūrīṇa Bhāvadevena esā sāṃkhheva ko kahā. 99 iti śrībhāvadevasāvāviracitaṇa śrīkalikācāryakathānakaṇaṃ samāptaṃ.

DHARMAPRABHASCRI’S VERSION

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha’s text, I have used six MSS. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated A and B), yet all seem to come from a common source, for all seem to have common corruptions, namely, in stanza 9 of nomulemi for nommulemi; in stanza 20, where all read pata instead of patte; and in 46, where all read suttaṃ for mottum. For differences between A and B, see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, et passim.
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The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition:

A
l Lohur Pol Bhanḍār (Ahmedabad), no. 38.3.3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper MS. of the Kalpaśūtra. Dated Samvat 1513.

u Vijayanemisūri’s Bhanḍār (Cambay), no. 181/2, being folios 137 verso to 144 verso of an illustrated paper MS. of the Kalpaśūtra. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.

b Preuss. Staats-bibliothek (Berlin), Or. MSS., folio 1737, being an illustrated paper MS. of five folios. No date.

h Paper MS. belonging to the Heeramanek Galleries, New York City, being folios 154-162 of a MS. of the Kalpaśūtra. Illustrated; no date; sixteenth century.

B

i India Office Library (London), bundle 1530. No date. Two folios (Keith, India Office Catalogue 1530b). I have not examined this MS. but have relied entirely upon Leumann’s edition of it; see the following item.


arham

nayaraṃiṇi Dhārāvāse
putto Kālakā-kumaro
so putto kīkā
suniya Guṇāgara-guruno
thavio ya so gurūhiṃ
vihāranto Ujjeniṇi
saha sāhupiṅḫatthatha ya
bahī-vijāranta diṭṭhā
aha handheld maḥā-munī ya hā
mama śilā-maḥā-maṇī sa hā
iya vilavantu māya’uṛeṇā pāvena tena guhīṃṇaṃ
bilena bāḷa bāḷā
aha tāṇ nāṃṃ sūrī
caṇḍā aggi sūrā
tī rāya munca eyaṃ.

1 shines lascus (=va)se li or (s) 2 h putto 3 b slightly confused but intends °yarī 4 b Sarasaisastraī h sampānna 5 i °gave (L emends); b omits ha after °manim (L suppl.), b omits ha h but adds in correction; i hiranta (L emends); i rakkha (for raṅkha, L emends); nbh raṅkhaḥ 6 h iya; b gahīṃna; b baleṣa (L emends); b omits bāḷa but adds in correction; all MSS. khettā (Lh emend to khititā); i atho (L conjectures ato); 7 i nesā; sūrī (but L in vocabulary sūrī); L punctuates tamo ya; jai tā, hao loo; 8 n vinnatto; i jāya (L emends); w ca for va 9 I the original writing of the MS. seems to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which are reproduced parts of the text, as follows: to avagāniyavayalo sūri va... ima painnaṃ ita jai nōmissible aha to ha cīya sam... padikalo (a) ... vam... innama, vavijābhalukkada; then original writing is resumed. Only n reads avagāniyaya, others "ganja (L emends to avamanika); i karame (L emends); te pannaṃjītu; te jai mō"; all MSS. nomālemi, emendation here on basis of readings of other versions of Kālakākryakathā, which regularly show verb omnilenti
The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the first place I do not know the meter. It could conceivably be a very free loka (for such pādas see in Hopkins, Great epic of India, pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems probable. As chāyā I suggest:

śīrīraṃsurasūro sūro sosaraṃ sarasi raśa
sāśrāśaśsarāś sarimru sarasi saranaṃ.

1 This rendering (the conjectural) for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, sec. 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in L.A.V.; see in this work, p. 39, line 25.

1 A meter irregular; h tetra (for kaya) : all MSS. paimo (emendation following L's suggestion); b confused but intends vijā; i (see note to stanza 9); b ummutta; B pairitham (L divides pairīthanmo); L emenda vacāna. 10 meter irregular; h tetra (for kaya) : all MSS. paimo (emendation following L's suggestion); b confused but intends vijā; i (see note to stanza 9); b ummutta; B pairitham (L divides pairīthanmo); L emenda vacāna. 11 nīva sāmō; for atho L conjectures ato. 12 B dartāna; B piyao 13 n taṃ vataḥ; B sākhasaśa 15 i vīthāyaṃ (L emenda) ; b nava (for nivaṃ) 16 b omits phālo 17 i gaccha (L. melyya gaccha); b svvr; B Hindala (L emenda) 18 w patto; B thāyu (L emenda); A cēhāna, tē cēhāna (text here with L; Bhāvavetin's version, in sālo meter, has śīrīya tathā eva cātum 19 k caṇa varṣa); I starting with (sa)raṣi and continuing through tesa (for te mā) of stanza zo the original text is covered with a repair slip on which appears a fragmentary copying of the original: n saśiṃsu, i sīcāna rasa; n sarasi rāṣi; i su sāra; (for su sāra); i susapa (for su sāra), L susāra) 20 ali MSS. patto (text here with L; Bhāvavetin's version pāta saraya kāliṃni mūlaṃ Mālaṃvam pai periya); I sohīna 21 i kaṇagaṃ; B viṃghāha; meter irregular; b jāyaṃ 22 in niharīnaṃ; b mantu (for gantu); i tehī; s sāman.
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95

tan nayamit vedhas

gadhamroloiya sarin

ajj' atthamiti kattha vi
tan ca niyacchala tubhbe

sithha guruno. tena vi
succha saddha saiva

osaraha gauyadugam

atthasayanama pase
aha javagaddabhe
tie avihya sadade ceva joohehi b‘onehi

27
tu‘na va puryama tan

kaum vithhama nethha;
bhandhitu Gaddabhillo
gadham tajjya dikha

niddhido sadesha

thaivo, s‘ va li haujhi
aha te Sagatthi khyahi.

jiao Vikkamarrdo
tatto puga papanish
tep‘ i‘ankio ya samvatsarotti. p‘asangiya inam o.

28

II

siri-Kalahamasrich aha
Balamitta-Bhaunmitta
vandanti gur‘i dhamman

tie suo Balabha‘ni
aha tattha du‘sho vito
dhara‘i amas‘a‘i.im.

Marahath‘avisa‘yan‘andha

tatthi athhi Sali‘ warto

mahayah vechede‘pan

thohini vandihama

aha patto pajjusana‘

bhaddavaya-uda‘pan‘a‘pan

holi na dhammu‘kicama

ta‘chatthi‘i‘i’ipe kuvaha

ava yi caiali Meru, sir‘alo hoi aghi,
nuyai niyaya‘mena‘i s‘ayaro va kaya vi,
ava yi divas‘a‘i uggama puchimhate,
ava paramas‘aya‘pavan‘a‘pan‘ama‘i akdamei. 40 (malim)i

25 i vedhio (L emenda) ; b gadham; b omits but adds as correction; B chajjara, B ji‘ara but adds syllable ha as correction 26 b tehi 25 h s‘aha‘i, n s‘aha‘i; b saven; L sannam (for samnna‘m), b samnma‘; h avya‘pa

26 b usara‘lu; h i‘addavehi; b p‘ase; b tera‘ tha‘vela but corrected it‘ lu‘hi, b ‘he‘vehi; B tehi, b ‘ehi; b vikayama

27 b uppadiya (L emenda); B avihaya 28 hnbB satta (L emenda) 3 i kao (L emenda); i sahlih 29 b bandhantu

L emenda to s‘a‘ipa‘; i has lacuna begining with ya and ending with dikhama, due to a repair slip having been pasted over the original text 31 b childupa, i chet 32 i Saggo (L emenda); hi samvarchalo 33 i purah (for purama‘) (L emenda) 34 i vaddanti (L emenda); i guru (L guruma‘); h bhava 35 All MSS, kara‘, L emenda to karei, which is against meter; B a‘i (for shi‘, L a‘i) ; B niyama‘an 36 w s‘a‘vo, but corrects to ‘vo 37 B mahi‘yahi (L emenda); A vichaddha‘pama‘; B pase‘ 38 i bho (for to, L emenda); B vinnv哀tii (L emenda), b vinnva‘i, h vinnv‘ai; h bhaddavame

39 t‘o pajas‘ama‘ 40 t‘o avita ya before caia‘; n mero; w niyama‘an; i original text of portions (me)ce‘n ... n‘ha (bo) and (pariva)‘ana ... bhan‘a(i) (staza 41) covered by repair slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; i tha diva‘; w disava, but corrects

30

Bharuyaccha‘puran‘ gaya viharamana

siri‘pa‘ tamata bha‘n–sa‘i 33

s‘a‘asti. t‘a‘max ca bhai‘ri-Bhupasiri.

ghi‘h i‘ikham blava‘viratto. 34

puhio s‘ir‘inghama‘ove

diri‘i‘i vu tan‘i nune‘an

Pula‘ti i‘nannami pa‘thane pitthi.

nivai surssayavo paramo. 36

paveja‘i ta‘na te pura‘na niyayama

s‘a‘ntivay‘i ph‘a‘uev thana‘. 37

sa‘mo. to vinnv‘a‘i‘i‘i‘v ushri:


ja‘k‘juv‘iti‘i vavadda‘ s‘a‘ma‘.

pajas‘ama‘. to gur‘u bhan‘ai‘.

40 (malini)i

8 Bhāvadeva’s version, which is close to this, in two MSS, out of three reads auiti.

40 (malini)i

8 Bhāvadeva’s version, which is close to this, in two MSS, out of three reads auiti.
to bhānai nīvo: tamāhā

tam gurūṇā 'vapunāyam

ārenā 'vī hu pājjasīvīvam. to bhāpāi nīvo tuṭṭho:

bhāyavaṃ anuḥagio 'haṃ

pakku'va'vāsā'pārapa'

sāhūṃ 'uttara'vārpa'

pājjasīvānā'pavvaṃ

viḥyāṃ kāraṇa'vasao

jaṃ āśi śāhurpiyā'

jaṭ'pābilëś śāhurpiyā′


cauthe′divasammi kunāha pavvaṃ tu.

jaṃ bhānīyaṃ āgane pavaḍam: 41

jau maha anteuriṇaṃ tu 42

divasammi ya bhattam'esaṇa'suddhaṃ
divasammi bhavisse bhauyaṃ. 43

Kālagasurīhīṃ iya cautthe

sanghe'p amūnaniyaṃ tayā. 44

paro jaño tattha kira taṇya visae

nāma maho ajja vi pāsiddho. 45

III

aha kāleṇaṃ savve

niya'sisce viṇāya'avajjice nāuṃ

sute mottum sijjāyaraṃ ca jānāvishaṃ sūri 46

niya'sis'sis'sa'Sāgarasūrī'pāsē gao; na so teṇa

uvalakkhiyo va vutto:

ruiraṃ käyam na vaṭṭi ya.

aha te vi duṭṭha'sisā

tattha'āgaya u Sāgarasūrīṃ pucchanti jāvā, tā diṭṭhā

gurūṇa. vandīya khamanti pāya'laggā puṇa puṇa vi. 49

aha lajjiyo ya Sāgarasūra raya'punja'tiyya'диṭṭhantam

vutto gurūhiṃ bahuḥā

khāṃe puṇo puṇo pāsāo. 50

IV

Sakk'na'ya Videhe

Simandhara'jiṇa'vārā suya'nīgo

pucchai: Bharale bhāyaṃva

bhānīyaṃ jīneṇa: Kālagasurī atthi'tti. to tahiṃ gantuṃ

māhau rūvagha'hariṇā

nigoya'bhic guru'puṭṭho. 52

golā ya asanākhījā

icē'āi kahi. to niyāmānuṃ

putṭho jāniya sūri

jampe: Purandaro tam si. 53

to payaḍya niya'ruvaṃ

aisaya'nāneṇa teṇa tuṭṭha'mano

Sakko thupe Kālagasurīṁ nāpāvika'thuhiṃ. 54

gẖan'garjītan iva yasya vacaḥ

srutva bhavika'samājāḥ

nairnarti'hi śikhi va madā:

dhanyas tvam muni'rāja. 55

41 i covers original text (divasammi) ... jan with blank repair slip: i anuṣṭāyaṃ. 42 i areṇāvī (L emends); i anuṣṭāya'ham (L augments anuṣṭāya 'ham') 44 i 'siribhi: n a folio of MS, missing, starting with iya and extending through asthi in stanza 51 (numbering of folios does not indicate loss) 45 h pao (for para); This stanza does not appear in B, although i preserves the words ajja vi pāsiddho and in the numbering of its stanzas skips the number 50, making stanza 51 correspond in number with one 51; w numbers the last stanza of its text 56, where 55 would be the correct number, and the next to the last 55, thus omitting the number 55. It is possible that this confusion of the numbering indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our stanza. At the corresponding place in Bhāvadevasūri's version which is close to Dharmaprabhāṣaśī, there is a stanza corresponding in meaning to this. The text here is from l and b. It seems probable that the missing folio of n also had the stanza, for when the text of n is resumed the numbering of stanzas corresponds with that of the stanzas in our edition. 46 h suvvaṃ: All MSS. sūjant (emendation gives conformity in meaning with other versions); bī jānāvi (L emends) 47 h transfers gao to place following so; b eṣaṃ (for teṣa) 48 h viṣhūm 49 l tattha gayāko; b pucchanti; h gurūṇa; all MS. khamanti (L emends to khametai) ; b laggā ya puṇa puṇa vi 50 i guru'; l puṇo puṇo 0 (L conjectured pa' pu' guru'jo) 51 h b Sakkomaya; b Bharapo; h vitiḥ 53 b 'jñā icē'āi; b so 54 B pādiya (L emends); t ayaṇa; b treṇa a tu" 55 hau dhanyas tvam nhanyas tvam dhanyas tvam, bh dhanyas tvam dhanyas tvam, te dhanyas tvam dha.

* Is the meter of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the dolas?
iya thuniya sa tha nah paviio deva rovay. 
aha muniya niy aura catta bhatto muniindo
aisaya sayato cutto so vi patto surattum.
tiraja payada kiti deu sanghassu bhadana. 56 (maliini)
itri sri Kalkikacarya kathath samksepatu la krta
ankastayaksavarso 'sau sri Dharmaprabhabhavibhi. 57 (sloka)

56 n pathio (for paviio); n nimaum; n paya (for jaga). Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various
Kalkas appear in several of the MSS., namely i, which has four as stanzas 56-59; w, which has four stanzas
as glosses written on margins at appropriate parts of the text; l which has three; and b, which has one,
written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in text. They are as follows:

1. Found only in i, syllables in parentheses missing from MS., supplied by L; it seems highly improbable in its
statement (cf. Leumann, Z.D.M.G. 32.96).

2. Found in i

3. Found in i; was in l, but with exception of a few aksharas is now covered by a repair slip

4. Found in i

5. Found only in w (cf. commentary of the Sandehavisausadhi, in Jacobis, Kalpasutra, p. 115).

6. Found only in b, composed of the first parts of two stanzas

57 n ankastakayaksavarosesausri teith lacuna to bhii
b iti Kalkikacarya kathath samksepatu la krta
i iti sri Kalkikacarya kathath la krta sri Dharmaprabhabhavibhi
w iti sri Kalkikacarya kathath.
I as above, actually writing in pada c ankostusayaksavarso
h iti sri Kalkikacarya kathath samapta

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97
CHAPTER VII
ŚRIVĪRĀVĀKYĀNUMATĀM VERSION—EDITION

The most popular version of the Kālaka stories in Sanskrit is the anonymous version presented here. It has been edited from 11 manuscripts and a published text (see below). Since the language is Sanskrit and easier than the Prakrit and the number of errors in the 11 manuscripts many, I have given in my critical notes only those readings which have some interest.

T Text published in Sheth Devechand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series, vol. 18, Bombay, 1914. At least two MSS. seem to have been used in the preparation of this text, but no information is furnished about them. Some of the readings published in this text appear in none of the following MSS.

W Wāḍīpūrśvanāthakā Dhanḍār, Patan, no. 1: five folios, palm-leaf, injured at the edges; no date, but appears to be of about the fourteenth century; a good MS.; appears at end of Kalpasūtra. Largely independent from other MSS.

c Cambridge University Library, Or. 845,11: folios 145-156, obviously once attached to a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; illustrated; not dated, but from appearance might have been made about the beginning of the sixteenth century.

p Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, no. 337 of 1871-72: nine folios; the original numbering of folio 1 appears to have been erased and a new numbering substituted, which fact makes it appear that this MS. had once been part of a text of the Kalpasūtra; illustrated; no date, possibly of early sixteenth century.

m Mohanlalji Jain Library, Bombay, K 27: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated, possibly of sixteenth century; poor MS.

n Mohanlalji Jain Library, Bombay, M 37: six folios; illustrated; dated Samvat 1532.

b Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have used a copy furnished me by the library. MS. is not dated.

d1 Delā UPĀŚRAYA, Ahmedabad, 18.21: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated.

d2 Delā UPĀŚRAYA, Ahmedabad, 18.22: 10 folios; illustrated; dated Samvat 1550.

d3 Delā UPĀŚRAYA, Ahmedabad, 18.23: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated.

d4 Delā UPĀŚRAYA, Ahmedabad, 18.24: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated. There are two MSS. in this collection bearing exactly the same number, which I have here differentiated by the use of superior letters.

d5 Delā UPĀŚRAYA, Ahmedabad, 18.24: 11 folios; illustrated; dated Samvat 1682.

arhaṇ
srīVivrāvākāyānumataṁ suṣarpavṛṣṭaṁ yathā paryuṣāṇāḥ bhāyaṁ etat
sriKāliKācāravārpaṁ saṅglehe tathā caturthāyāṁ śṛṇu pañcamītaṁ. 1

I

samagreśāgataavastusāraṁ puraṇaṁ Dharāvācaṁ ihāstī tārāṁ;
tatrāthbhūṣhaṁkaracādrasyaṁ bhūtāvālaṁ bhuḥ bluvi Vajrasyāṁhaṁ. 2
lāvanyapālyupāvyutragtrāṇaṁ buddhamsapātrānanugatiṁ sādāva
tasāyānasi-tātvitiśitarūpaṁ rājāṁ ca nāmāṁ Surasūmārīti. 3

1 d‘d 2 "paryuṣāṇāḥ" 3 b‘d‘d2 "jāniṁthā"


4 snamtvā kālāka 5 dā T atho'nya ; 7 yataḥ (for yatāḥ) 7 b evam ca viśāyā 8 bcp m'sd'd'd'd'd adāt (our
text only notes wo and T) 10 c'd'g'g'g'g' gata ca ; d'd' harāko 11 d 'kālāka ; b kuravam, d kuruvaṇ; w kā (for h), h be, c'p'd'd' mā (for mā); pur'd' rakṣa 12 hp bhavagah; T nayam (for nṛpyam) 15 c'p developing
17 wp'p'd'p'k' adevaya tadā 18 T prajāto (for prajāto) 20 ṣp bhavasvādānāḥ; h 'otāla, m 'otāla 22 m'd'
napātrīśālām; at end of stanza 22 w adita yugaṇam, m'T tribhūr viśeṣakam 23 w 'mātyavārīṃ ceraṇayā; 11 jāta,
bcp m'd' jāte, T jāte(tam) na 25 w sadākāvā dāvajñā 26 ṣp omi stvāna : w sāsāhā
tam anyadā kṛṣṇamukhaḥ viśokyapuṇaraḥ sāhīṃ munipāḥ: kim etat. tenācacakṣe: mama yo 'ṣṭi rājā sāhīṃ sāhīṃ sa ca bhanyate 'tra. 27 tenātra lekhāḥ prahito mameti: svamastakam śīghrataḥ śīghram. pancelīhīdāya navater nrpāṃ manumūrūpāḥ chana eva bhartuḥ. 28 elatra sarve sabalaṃ mīlātvā Hindūkadeśaḥ ca laṭāsū yāyaṃ. gour nīdesād iti tālī prahṛṣṭār bhūpaḥ pratyāmānā hajāṭī pradattām. 29 uttṛyā Śrīnduṃ khaṭakaṃ Suraśtrādeśe samāgataṃ sukhena tasthū; sarve 'pi bhūpaḥ suguroṣ ca sevāṃ kurvantā baddhānaḥyā layāvīatiḥ. 30 varṣāvasane gurūṇā bābhāse: Advantideśaṃ calateti yāyaṃ; 

| 31 | nrpaṃ nrgrhita ca gardabhiḥ; | gṛhita rājaṃ pravibhajya śīghram. |
| 32 | abāpi tālī; | śambalam asti no na: kim kurnahe. \ Kālikasūrīr evam jātāvā ca tebhyaḥ subhacūrṇayogāḥ kṛtveṣṭīkāḥ svapamatār ātānu saḥ. 33 ċāhakkānāvadena kṛtpravāyāna upāpiḥ pracelur gurulāṭadeśaṃ. |
| 34 | taddakāntāḥ Balamitraśāhūnātātrā Bārītvītva 'gur Avantiśatām. 33śrūtvā 'gataś tān abhaṭaḥ svadeśānāmāṃ samāgacchad Advantināthāḥ. parasparaṃ kuntadhamurulatābhīr yuddhānu dvayoh niśānkatārmah bhhūvā. 34svaśānyam akāyo hatpatrāpanā naṃṣṭāvā gato bhūpatir Gardabhillāh. puruṇī viśālām sa yādā pravītās tātāya sa 'vṛṣṭi balāi riṣṇām. 35āthānyādā sahībhāṭārī aprēcchī: yuddhāṃ prabho nāvā bhavet kim adya. aḍyātāmi sūrīhīr uktam evam sa gardabhiṃ sādhyātītya vīyām. 36viśokayadhibhiḥ suhaṭṭārī ājasrām atāṭāya kvaṇī gata kariḥ sa dṛṣṭā, tadā sa kathitā gurūṇāṃ. tār evam uktam: dhvaninā 'pi tasyāḥ 37sānīyaṃ samagraṃ labhate vīnāṣaṃ. dhanurdhărāṇāṃ śatam āṣṭayaṃtām lātvā gataḥ sūrīvāro niśāṅgī kharāḥ samīpaṃ laghusūghravēdiḥ. 38yugmam yadeyam aṣyaṃ vīrvatāṃ karotī tadāvā sāstrāḥī pariṃprāṇīyam śrīśuvrīṅgā 'ḍīṣṭam. amāḥīr evam kṛte karhiḥ mūrdhāni mātvaviṣṭhe 39sā Gardabhilīṣaya viḍhāya nastī. bhrastaṃabhāvāḥ sa ca sahībhāṭāḥ baddhīvaḥ gṛhitāḥ, suguḥoḥ padānte nirikṣya keśūmaṭaṃ sa miṃḍāḥ. 40yugmam re duṣṭa pāpiṣṭha niṃḍṭābuddhiḥ kiṃ te kukarmaṇaṃtāṃ durātāṃ, mahāsatiśalaṅkaratṛīnaḥ g枘apadṛuṇāyvedām īḥasti pūṣpāṃ. 41vinmṛdavanāṃśarasaṃsudragatāḥ palaṁ bhavīṣyaṭi aparānaṃ sādāiva; adyaṭī cēn mokṣakaraṃ saudharmamārgaṃ śrayethī na vinaṣṭatā atra. 42na rocete tasya mūṇavīrāivyāṃ; vinmīceta bandhanato gato 'tha. Sarasvatī sīlapadālkapāṭrām cūtām atuṣyāvamāḥ āhaḥāra. 43yaṣyavasaṃ veṃnām Kālikāryo ṛājīḍārījaḥ sa bḥauvaḥ sāhīḥ; deṣaya khaṭḍeṣo ca tāṭṭhāvānsāḥ śeṣā nārendrāḥ. Sāgavāṃḍa eṣaḥ. 44śrī Kālikāryo nījagacchadādye gatvā prakṛṣṭramya samagraṃ etaḥ śrīnāṃghatīcitte vitarātprasodamāṃ gaṇasya bhāraṃ sa bābhārau sūrīḥ. 45

II
Bhṛgouḥ pūre yāu Balamitraśāhūnumātṛā gurūṃṣu atha bhūgineyau viṣjāpanaṃ pṛesya tāvo pragallbāṁ gataś catumāsaḥkabateva te. 46śrūtvā gurūṇām suvīṣuddhādharmānuvīṣuddhāvyāyīni urṣaḥ sābhāyāṃ abo sudharmo jīnāyākasyo śīro viḍhunvannā iti tān bābhāse. 47

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27 T tenucaekate (tenoktaṃ asmin) mama etc. 28 pē ṭaṇu, b ṭaṇa, Pē ṭaṇa, Tē ṭaṇa 29 tē sarvam; cd'ē hīndūkadeśe, d hīndūkadeśaṃ 31 b 'sāne ca gurur bābhāse; pē avantisdeśe; 32 ṭe śīghrām; nirgrhita ... gṛhita 32 būpe'mūddē'dī't abhātāhi; m'T nāl. (for na); c'd'ē 'yugam; bcpē'mūddē'dī'vārnamayī 33 nē ṭe śaṃśātāho 34 bpe'mūddē'svadeśaṃ siī 35 bpe'mūddē'asti, m'nāt 37 T āṭṭalac; c'd'ē dṛṣṭvā; cd'ē tādāyaṃ, soma tām tām 38 dē'ē nihāṣātī; cpe'mūddē'ām uṣṭa yugmam 39 bhu'mūddē'dī't yadevam, dē yadā āvam 40 bē'ē dē'ē bālīvī; cpe'mūddē'dī'vārnamayī 41 bō'ē'dī'pāpiṣṭa 42 tādā āvam te; b mūkṣakarī, bō'ē'dī'dī'vārnamayī bō'ē'dī'vārnamayī 44 cpe'mūddē'ē dveṣe; pmē 'čakṣuṇa; cd'ē'ē esa 45 T 'sābhāyādādye 46 cd'ē 'yugma 47 bpe'mūddē'dī't suvīṣuddhādharmānuvīṣuddhāvī
III

jineśvaraḥ Pūrvavidehabhavīcī Samīndharo bandhurāṅga-viśāla

nigodajīvān atisūkṣmakāyān sabhāsamaścāt sa samādideśa.

Sādhvanāthena savismayena pṛṣṭaṃ: jagannātha nigodajīvān
do py asti varṣe 'smin Bhārāte 'pi yo vetti vyākhyātum alaṃ ya evam.

samādideśa prabhum: asti Śakra śrīŚakāryāḥ śrutatattvāraśi.

śrutvetā Śakraḥ pravīdhāya rūpaṃ vṛdhasya vipraśya samāyāyaśaḥ.

vipro 'tha paparaccha nigodajīvān; śrīśīvaro 'bhāṣaṭa tān anāntāṃ:

asamkhya-vilāsa ca bhavanti teṣu nigodāsakhyāḥ gataśaṃkhyā-panāḥ.

śrutvetā vipro niḍam āyur evam paparaccha: me śaṃsa khyā pranāmām

astītī. śidhāntavilokanena, Śakra bhavīn, Kālikasūrīr āha. 63

krtyā svarupaṃ pranipatya sūṃṣa nivedya Simandharasaṃprāśaṃ

upāśrayadvārvaparyāyaṃ ca Śakro niṣṭaṃ dhūma jagāna kṛṣṇāḥ. 64

śrīmatā Śakāśrayaśa cirataraṃ cāturāṃ atyujvālapaṃ

sambāla pratiṣṭhaya cāntyasyamaye bhaktapratijāmāṃ mudā

śuddhātāṃvaitiḥ-dīlā-viśaṃsāt saṃgāpaṃ yede gatā
te kalāṇaṇaṃparmāṇaṃ śruti-dhāra yacchante satghe 'naghe. 65 (ādādāvibṛdīta)

itī śrīŚakākāryakathā samātā. 48

48 cm'ād'ād' ādāvibṛdī. bhu' ke. r' dhu (for 'pi) 50 T daksināvyam; T ca (for tha); cā śāṭyānāh 51 d'T

kule pa. 52 bhu'ād'ād' 'pūjādi (for 'pūjā hi) ; o 'pūjāvyuhaḥ bhāvanasya; o bhāvanasya (for bhavītri) 56 p' yado

yad ājāt, T yathayeṣa ājātā. 57 pāda śārīravāna 58 d' muniyāḥ, T munāyāḥ; cm'ād'ād'ād' 'āśyātā, o śāyaśātā

jīota* 60 all MSS. except b and c read pāda c as in text against meter, c asti bharate 'smin bhārāte 'pi, b asti varṣe

'pi ca bhārāte 'smin, T asti varṣe 'smin bhārāte 'pi (varṣe 'pi ca bhārāte 'smin). 61 cm'ād'ād'ād'ād' pūjādi (for pūjā)

62 cm'ād'ād'ād'ād' pūjādi (for pūjā) 63 cm'ād'ād'ād'ād' kālika* ; cm'ād'ād'ād'ād' āśyātā Colophon pāda'ād' 'āśyātā samātā, t'T samāpṇāḥ.
Chapter VIII

VERSION OF BHADRESVARA'S KATHAVALI—EDITION AND ANALYSIS

This version, different in many points from other accounts of Kālaka, is known to me from a palm-leaf manuscript, dated Śaṁvat 139 + (last figure broken off), indicating a date of A. D. ± 1338. A photostatic copy of the folios (285 recto-288 recto) was furnished me by Professor Jacobi.

In this version Kālaka’s sister is named Sīlāma(ī (Śīlamati = Śilavatī). There is no use of the name Saga (Saka, Śaka), and no mention that 96 Saka kings went to Mālava. The kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra are represented as ruling at Ujjayinī, not Bhrgukacchā.

The text follows, with an analysis:

Kāla-gāyāriya’kāhā bhaṅga. cha.

I

Avanti-visa (MS. "visa") Ujjēni-naya-ri Dappo-ṇo nāma rāyā. tassa ya kira keṇā ’vi joggenaṃ dinnā gaddahi nāma vijjā. sā ya jattha sīhaga niuttaṃ tara-samuhā hoṁ viuvviya-gaddabhi-rūvā nādei (MS. nāheī), ya yi tirio maṇuo vā rivu (MS. riva)-santio tarsaddaṃ suņīe so savvo ṛhaṃ vamanto bhayavihiṣho naṭṭha-satto (MS. saņno) nivādai. siddha hā vihi’saṅheṇaṃ Dappo-ṇamo gaddabhi-vijjā tī; Gaddahiilo nāma so pasidhiṃ gau. palabatavyātiṃ (? ) jauva-saṣṭāṇaṃ-Ujjēnī. tānu-majjihe pavayaṇa-puriso sūri-samānta Kāla-gāyāriya nāma, avi ya:

saṇvīgo majjhātho
ghāyātho kāḍa (MS. kavaḍa)-jogī
desanjiyā (MS. "yā") deo
nemittio ya sīo
brahmiṭṭha nava niṃṇo
upaśārīro suṇḍhaṇo
gamahi aṇuvattī
dusītho (MS. uṣīya) ṣuṇī sūriṇaṇaṃ

santo maṇu (MS. maṇou) rījī susanṛṣṭhī
dhāvaṃṇi laddhi-sampanṇo (1)
maṁṛaṃ vīṇṇaṅī kavi vāi
upajāri (MS. vayāri) ḍhāriṇī valu (2)
pio ya caussussarā tavonirao
vai ṣaṇḍhaṇo vokkha (3)
padivaṇṇa-palao thīro
uciya (MS. uviya) ṣuṇī susīnuṇaṃ
chattaṅgūṇa ma (l) honti. (4)

athī (MS. atthe) ya tatthi' eva Kāla-gāyāriya-bhaṅgiṇī Rūvaṇa va nīmmara-silī Sīlāma nāma tavassijī. sā ya kañī vaccaṇti vāhiṃ taṟpīsacca-gāminī diṭṭha Gaddabhiḷa-ranmi. ajihovavāṃsa (MS. ajo)(1) ya apiṣchanta vi vala niśīyā (MS. nevyā) anṭuraṇa. sāhiṇī sesa-taṃśiṇiḥ (MS. nehiṃ) Kāla-gāyāriṇaṃ vattā. tehi ya gantuṃ saṃyaṃ bhāṇu vāyā, jahā (2) na jatvā paṇhu-vīpaṭānaṃ erīsaṃ vavasīṇaṃ. tā muncaha (MS. sancaha) tavasīniṃ. rāṇaṃ ya kariṣa cinṭī tānaṃ niṃvattā (3)
sūriṇaṃ mellitu sāhiṇyaṃ taṃ sanghassa (MS. "samaṃ). tepā 'vi bahuḥ bhāṇu vāyā. na ya (MS. yā) kiṃ pi paḍivajjā. tao darisāṇa-kajj'ujjao ruttho ajja (MS. aī) Kāla-paṇṇaṃ karai, jahā: jai Gaddabhiḷaṃ rāyāṇaṃ rajjāo na unmuḷeni to pavayaṇa-saṃjānaṃ-vaghaṇa-gāyaṇaṃ taḍ-uvakkhaṇa ya gaiṃ gacchumi. tāhe Kāla-gājyo kavaḍeṇ'y unmuḷaṭṭha-hi ṭīgarācchauka (MS. caokka)-
caccara (MS. ccara)-maḥā-javaṭṭhaṇesu imaṃ pavanttu (MS. to) hinaṭi: jai Gaddabhiḷo rāyī to kiṃ, jai suṇvīthā purī to kiṃ, jai jaṇa suvesu to (MS. bho) kiṃ, jai hīdaṇo vayaṃ bhikkaṇaṃ jai sūma-daesa vassāni to kiṃ. evāṃ ca bahurpaṭāraṇa janaṃ bhāveṃ Kāla-gajyo (MS. Kālajyo) Pāraśarkulāma gao.

(1) I do not understand this sentence.

102
sahi'pamuna rā̄gehiṁ c 'hisito Ujieje(MS. Ujjo)" Kālagasuri-bhājejo(MS. bhājejo) Valamitto nāma rāyā, tak-kaṇhiṁbhaḷiyā yā Bāṇumitto (MS. matto) nāma 'hisito juvarāya, tesīm c bhagīnī Bāṇusiri nāma. tise putto Balabāṅhā (MS. Bālaṁbā) nāma. so ya paqaya- bhaddaya-viṇyayaṁ sāhu paṇjūvāsa. patto puna viharanto varisayālāsnaṁ-Ujiejin-Ujiejin Kālagasuri,bahummo yā jago ti vissau sāhu sūrīhīm Balabāṅhā (MS. bhāṅhā) dhāmano, taṁ ca souṁ saṅkuddho pavvaṁyo na. ya na pučhiyā Balamittā'Bāṇumitta ti tuṭṭhehiṁ tehiṁ paṇamamāṇto (meaning ?) nivissā Kālagajjo, so vi nattuyā (MS. nattayā) saṅkhepasam niggahattaṇa (MS. "haṁta") ya (MS. yaṁ) tesī vayanasaṭṭhanīna (read vayanam;avamanīna ?) tūḥ na ya paṭissanaman kūpa. Balamittā vi Bāṇusirīṁ kīn na ṣaṅha Dādahullī(reading)? "halla" vuttantaṇ, jēpā 'vamēgaṁ mālagaanmi (MS. mālānga) ti, bhāniyā pacchattāvīyā puno mānyassya kūpaṁ mahantam āyaraṁ abhūṭṭhānā (MS. e) paṅca sahiṁraṣakanto (MS. asa) Gangāharo (MS. Mangā) nāma punayo bhāṇaī: deva sūdhāpāsāndo eso veyārāhīro. evan ca ranṭo punu puno puno uḷaṇanto (MS. uḷaṇva) sūrīnā nipatīṣḥā (MS. "ṭhā) paśaṅga-vaṇaṇā (MS. "nā) kau. taṁhe kharayaam aṭvīṭha punoḥ na daṇḍenemiesin (read daṇḍena māṣaṁ ?) kīp c (MS. bluṛined) pūṇanatī cintoṭya rāyaṁ anurumavaṇaṁ (MS. rāyaṁanuṇmaṇavamaḥīṁ) vippaṁṇaṁ (MS. viģharī), jaḥā: ec riso māla bhaḷaḥā (MS. "bhāgā), tē jeva paeu te (MS. me) gacchante tesē eva jassa ranṭo jaṅo gacchina paṇyo v śakkame ti sāṣṭhā (MS. tassaseyam) mahantam havaì, tē visajjejantu niyaṁvīsayaṁ sūrīno, souṁ ce 'maṁ kamassesetha 'isūnyā (MS. "sūgīya) Balamittā'Bāṇumittā. karavīyā sūriṁsaṭṭhaṁ tehiṁ saṇvammi nagare bhaveta pūṇaṁpesaṇī. tāṁ ca nāmu paṭissanāpūrī (MS. "osi) cciya niggaya Ujiejo (MS. Oje)" Kālagasurino bahparīvantārā te ya na jahīntaṁvī sī nivahanti (MS. navva) tē paṭṭhīyā Paṭṭhīyāpaṇuṁ, jāvaṁvīyaṁ c 'naggayamveva tahān te cciya sanghassa: (read c 'naggan) eva teṇa sanghassa ?) jaṉa ṇaṇo ṇa gačcāmi (MS. hanmā) tāva tuddhehiṁ na kāyaṁva paṭissavaṇam.

tattha ya, Sālāvāhanā rāyā. so ya śaṅga ti Kālagajjan (MS. Kālajjan)entam souṁ niggāo (MS. "gauṁ) samuho samapasaṁsaṁgha yo, tao mahāvibhūte pavijītho Paṭṭhīnām Kālagajjo.bhāṇaṁ ca 'ṭeṇa: bhaddava-sūdha-paṇcāmi (MS. "mu) kīrau (MS. "ma) paṭissavaṇaṁ, paṇivano ca taṁ samapasaṁsṛtho. Sālāvāhanā ya rāyā paramaṁvī saṇa paṭissavaṁ 'ārā ṇaṁmaṁ-divaṁ visesa (MS. sao) jiravandersārko ca kūpaya. iyo ta tattha desa-rūdhie kirā bhaddavya-suča-paṇcāmi paṭhhamun Indamahālāmbo. taṁ ca jano na viṇā måvā (MS. niyāṇāvīṇa) kūpaya tē tassa na ho paṭissavaṇa (MS. "nu) dhammaṁ 'uṭṭhṇaṁ, tao Sālāvāhanēna bhajio
etthā' viṣṇu brahmaḥ tattvād evānāṃ iva, evaṃ ca satthā' atthā' viṣṇo ca citthaṃ te jaiva kaivyavāsaraṇī tāva saṃpattā tattha Kālagā-sīśā, te ya daśṭhiṇā abhūṭhīḥ Sāgaracandāsūrī. pucchho ya so tehiṃ: āgaya (MS. adda sa) khamā-samāṇā iha kei na va. souṃ sankiuṃ so bhaṇḍi; na jāgaṇā khamā samāṇa, ājau puṇa ekko āgā; ten' āgantu-kāṅō sīṭhio (MS. siddhio) sūrī.

etthi' antaraṃmi vi yāiāra-bhūmīo āgāo Kālagasūrī. abhūṭhiṃ ca pāhuṇaya-sāluhīṇa vandī bhūvā-sārāṇa sāṃjñyā-van vayatthiyāyāle Sāgaracande ... (MS. indicates brief lacuna) keṇa: ko eso. tehīṃ bhaṇiyo: Kālagā (MS. Kāla'-sūrī, tao sarāṇiḥbhaṃya pāyāvalaggo (MS. "latto") Sāgaracanda-sūrī: mīcchāmi dukkaṇāṃ jan mae āsāyaṇi ti bhaṇanto sammaṇa piyāmahe khāmē. bhaṇāi savīlakkhā: bhagaṃva jai vi mukhō (MS. su") haṃ tahā hā kē riṣaṇam vakhkhāmē. Kālagasūrīniṃ: vilidhāhāṃ kaṃ tu mā gavāṇā vihejāsū ti vottūṃ karāvio somaṃ (read sāmaṃ?) thāvīṇī' egāta (MS. egacchha) vāluyāye chulaijāṃ, tao vi uddhāriṃ pakkhihavio (MS. pakkheva") amātthā samāṭhāvī (MS. mumā") jātēṇa (MS. "no") kaṃ ci so evaṇā ca vāraṇē vāreṇā ṣūṭāyo ṣūṭatmo tīt saccāvāṇiṃ bhaṇi sūrtēhiṃ (MS. "haṃ") pottao (MS. "aṃ") : bhaddā vālūgā-pattihā sarīsanu sāyaṃ gaṇaharāhāṃ c' eva sampaṇnā, sēsāya puṇaṃ kama-kamaṇa parihāmaṇā, jao coddasapravādilārā vi bhagavānto cāṭṭhēna vaṇḍī kalēhiṃ kīt puṇa sēṣī. tā na jutto kānsyayā'ṇāṃ'nao (MS. uno). bhaṇiyo: ca:

cā vihāra ko gavāṇā
tā savanāpan (MS. savā") name
evaṇā ca suya-saṃjuddho Kālagasūrī Sakṣeka vandī etthā, bhaṇiyo: ca:
Simandharā-bhaṇaṇāo Kālagasūrī vi dadiāuṃ
taha kalū

IV
evaṇā ca suya-samāttha
cēcita-varaṇiḥṇi āgāma-paśiddho Kālagasūrī Sakṣeka vandī etthā, bhaṇiyo: ca:
Shaṅkha-bhaṇaṇāo Kālagasūrī vi dadiāuṃ
taha kalū

V

kīt ca. atthī' iha eva Bhāraṁe vāse Turamāṇī (MS. "umīṇi") nayari jīyasttā rāyā, tassa ya Kālagasūrībhagūsanī Bhaddabambhaṇe su Datto nāma olaggei (MS. uā'). teṣā ya savva-dosa mhnun vāṣhīrāy savve vi jyaṭatanaevagā. tao uvaṃśa rāyā. samāhiṭṭhiṇyan (MS. "ya") se rajajnā. mahāraja-lābhā' niṃmittaṃ ca paraddha maṇṇāvivahā jaṇo (read paraddha maṇṇā vīhā jaṇo?) anāyā ya vihāramāṇa anepa-sisā-pariṇāma samasaro se mānagō Kālāgaiko (MS. Kālapayko hi), paraddhaṃ ca 'peṇa vakhkhān. dhamma-saṭṭhā'kothālā'ya ya saṃpattā nāgarāyā. loja-parān- parāe (MS. evamparāe) bhānūo āgamaṇāṃ soṇu bhaṇi Datto Bhaddāē: vaccha tuha mālu lavi padivanta'sāruhīngō iha' āgāo (MS. ihague). tā taṃ gantuṃ pānmania (MS. "matu"), avi ya:

ekkaṃ (MS. ekko) so tuha mānu viyaṃ viuscheīn (MS. thiose") pūṇo (MS. puī") puṇo
taiyāṃ samābhiyāvvo tā puṭtaya manaṣu (MS. putta naya naṣu) tāt sāhuṃ.


8

ANALYSIS

In the city of Ujjayini was King Dappana (Darpana), nicknamed Gaddahilla (Gardabhilla) because a yogin had given him a magic art named Gadda (Gardabhi). This when summoned appeared as a she-ass and when she cried out every two-footed and four-footed enemy within hearing distance would fall down dead vomiting blood.

At that time the sūri Kālaka came to Ujjayini delighting the folk with his preaching. With him was his sister the nun Silamā (Silamat). Gardabhilla saw her and had her abducted for his harem. The protests of Kālaka and of the Saṅgha were unavailing. Kālaka swore an oath to uproot Gardabhilla. Then he dressed himself as a madman and went babbling about the city, then went to the Persian king (Pārasakāla).

There he went to the court of a sāhi, a feudatory of the sāhāvāsēhī. Once a message came from the sāhāvāsēhī with a sword and a bowl (?). The sāhi was in despair, for this was a message to kill himself. But at Kālaka's suggestion he went to take Gardabhilla's kingdom. He got as allies the kings of Lāḍa (Lāṭa, Cutch), who had been insulted by Gardabhilla, and besieged Ujjayini. Gardabhilla summoned the She-Ass magic, but Kālaka foiled it by stationing beside the city wall ro8 sharp-shooters, who stood there with drawn bows, and shot as soon as the She-Ass opened its mouth, thus filling the mouth with arrows before a sound could emerge. Thus he took Ujjayini, drove out Gardabhilla, reestablished his sister in the discipline and himself returned to his gaccha.

II

Balamitra, Kālaka's nephew, was established king of Ujjayini by the sāhi kings, and Balamitra's younger brother, Bhiḥumitra, was heir-apparent. They had a sister named Bhāṇurī, who had a son named Balabhānu. Once when Kālaka came to Ujjayini, Balabhānu heard him preach, was converted, and entered the order. Kālaka (presuming upon his relationship as great-uncle) did not ask the preliminary permission of the boy's guardians (the two brothers) and initiated him. The two brothers were angry, but Kālaka did not pay any attention to their discourtesies.

The royal chaplain Gauḍākara, jealous of Kālaka, slyly warned the king that disaster would befall the kingdom if the sūri remained there: for people would be bound to walk before him or tread upon his footprints, and thus great sin would result. The king then had the folk in the city give the monks improper food. Kālaka, recognizing the king's intention, left for Pratisthāna, where King Salāvihana reigned, a devoted lay disciple.

At this time the Paryuṣaṇa season arrived, and the festival was due on the fifth day of the light fortnight of the month Bhādrapada. On that day a festival to Indra was also being celebrated in Pratisthāna. The king asked Kālaka to celebrate the Paryuṣaṇa on the sixth. Kālaka explained
III

There was a sūri at Ujjayinī named Kālaka whose many disciples became disobedient. The sūri left them one night, having first told the keeper of the monks’ rest hall where he was going. He set out toward Suvarṇabhūmi, where lived his disciple’s disciple the sūri Sāgaracandra. The latter, never having seen Kālaka, did not recognize him and engaged in argument with him. Meanwhile the disciples repented and came to seek Kālaka. They came to Sāgaracandra’s residence, and he said he had not seen Kālaka. Just then Kālaka came in from the latrine. The disciples arose before him. Then Sāgaracandra was abashed, asked pardon, and was admonished by Kālaka with the parable of the heap of sand, to show him how knowledge has steadily diminished from the time of the Gānadharas, so that now it is very small. Sāgaracandra should not be vain of his knowledge.

IV

There was a sūri Kālaka who expounded the nigoda doctrine to Śakra and was adored by him.

V

In the city of Turamāni was King Jītaśatru, whose queen, Bhadrabrahma, was a sister of the sūri Kālaka. She had a son named Datta, a repository of all evils. He won over the king’s ministers and then drove the king out of the country, and himself took over the rulership, to the dissatisfaction of the people.

Once, when Kālaka came to the city, Bhadrabrahma urged Datta to go hear him. Datta asked Kālaka about the fruit of (animal) sacrifices. Kālaka answered, “From the killing of the five-sensed creatures there results hell-going as the fruit of sacrifices.” Again Datta asked. Kālaka replied, “Non-injury (ahimsā) is the essence of religion.” A third time Datta asked. Kālaka replied, “Hell and such like is the fruit of evil works.”

A fourth time Datta, now angered, said to Kālaka, “Here, what is the use of talking such idle stuff. If you know anything about it, tell me the fruit of sacrifices.” Kālaka answered, “In that case from eating flesh and taking life souls get life in hell. These results accompany sacrifices.”

Datta, angered, said, “How do you know that sacrifices have hell as their fruit?” Kālaka said, “From the perfection of my knowledge.”

“On the seventh day you will be cooked in a pot. Did you know that?”

The monk said, “And on that very same seventh day you shall be defiled with the first impurity (urine) and with a fire arising from faeces.”

He asked the monk if he knew when he would die and the monk said that when he had filled his time he would die and go to heaven. The king ordered the monk to be well guarded.

The king then had a drum sounded in the city to announce that no excrement was to be voided inside the city for seven days. On the seventh day a gardener, unable to restrain himself, voided excrement on the highway and put it in a flower basket. The king, when the seven days had passed, knowing nothing of this, on that very seventh day set out in a horse-conveyance (?) to kill the sūri, and while laughing he was defiled by the excrement splashed (?) by the horses’ hoofs. Then he thought it due to the sūri’s curse, became frightened, and turned back home. There his men-at-arms, thinking the king’s day was done, seized him, called back Jītaśatru and turned over Datta to him. Datta died a fearsome death and went to hell. Kālaka finished out his time and went to heaven.
CHAPTER IX

LEXICAL NOTES

In working through the various versions of the Kālacakrārya legend of the Svetāmbara Jains, I have noted a number of new or rare words in Sanskrit, Jāna Māhārāṣṭri, and Apabhraṃśa, new meanings for words already recorded, meanings hitherto recorded only from lexical sources, and new formations from bases already listed.

References to the texts are by italic numerals (1, 2, 3, etc.) which correspond with the numbers given in the versions in chapter III. "Recensions of the Kālacakrārya-kathā."

My notes are made with special reference to two works, which are cited with abbreviations:


The notes follow. The abbreviation " st." is for "stanza."

SANSKRIT

āpaka, m., rare word, "baking-oven, kiln" (6, st. 86).
āvāha, m. in īṣṭāvāha (see below); from Pkt. āvāha (see below), "kiln" (17).
īṣṭā, f., "brick" (15, st. 32).
īṣṭādāka, m., "a burning of bricks, brick-kiln" (7, st. 17).
īṣṭāvāha, m., idem (17).
uddāha, m., from Pkt. uḍḍāha (Skt. *uddāha), "calumny, censure," see in Schmidt's Nachträge... to try: ye pratuyukh jinaśasanasya, saṅghasya ye cāsuhvacarurvavacah, upekṣakodfāhakara dharjayam, teṣām abhim yāmi gatiṃ saddāva (13, st. 20).
chaṇa, m., from Pkt. chaṇa (Skt. kṣaṇa), "injury, destruction": paicsādikāyā nasuter upaṣāyā namānāraṇāḥ caṇa eva bhartiḥ (13, st. 28; variants caṇa, papa, pna, caṇa, caṇa).
jalla, m. (?), from Pkt. jalla (see in P.S.M.), "dirt from body, dried sweat": tapākhraṃ jallabhadityīrṣṇastraṃ vinuścātā mama svastram (13, st. 16).
piṭkṛ, see Schmidt's Nachträge, "tail": śrīkālacakrārya sahodara tvam, pāṭkvarvati hit jinaśasanāca (13, st. 11).
bahiriṃ, f., "go to latrine"; (Sarasvati) yonī bahiḥ (9, st. 6).
bahirbhāmi, f., "latrine": (6, st. 75); synonym of viyāra-bhāmi, which appears in several Pkt. versions.
bahirya, n. (?), "latrine, visiting the latrine": (Kālakāśirmin) āyantāṃ bahiryaḥ (10, st. 60).
bahyābhāmi, f., "latrine": sādāḥkṣametāḥ pī gataḥ tha bahyābhāmān naṃ naredreṇa nirikṣitā sat (13, st. 10).
bhāṅḍīrṇa, m., (cf. bhāṅḍīrṇa cited lexically in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary to mean "barber," involving bhāṇḍi "razor-case"; cf. Pkt. bhaṅḍīya below) "barber" (?); yatraścīt rājā svayam eva cāuṛo, bhāṅḍīrṇaḥ yatra purohitā ca, caṇam bhajedvam nam nāgṝṇa bho, yataḥ svaṇyāṃ bhayam atra jātaṃ (13, st. 15).
irāmin, adj. and m., "ascetic": nareśvarabhajacchayām āśritya śr amiṣaḥ sukham, nīrbhaya dharmabhāryāyām kusumate svatātī nānātaram (1, st. 22).
The Story of Kālaka—Brown

Prakrit

divojaj, adj., not in P.S.M., ai-ānāja (Skt. ai-anāya; cf. Jacobi, Z.D.M.G. 34.297), "most unworthy": sārīhiṃ tao bhāgīra re re pādīthā daūṭha nillajja aγjajā kajīja-amjana-vajja mahāraja-pabbhatīḥ (1, st. 47).

aṭṭārāga, m. (?), not in P.S.M., cf. Pkt. aṭṭārāga, "laya (Skt. aṭṭālaka), "watch tower" (16).

āṣūnīyavav, grdv, not in P.S.M., from Pkt. base āṣunjhu (corresponding to Skt. āṣunjavā, "must be conformed to"): āṣūnīyavavo pākevamokkāro (1, p. 44, line 25).

asuijehanta, pl., not in P.S.M., from a-suijehanta (pres. pl. of base sujih, passive from Skt. viṣṭhā), "inspire": tao purohīenta bhāvīyavā: deva kīraid savantthā nivāre aṣenayā, tē ya kāya asuijehante bhatti-vāpe sayam eva viharissanti (1, p. 45, line 16, J's MS. read asuija).

ahicavatta, n. (?), not in P.S.M., which with Jacobi takes the form to be ahićavatta, derived from Skt. ādhićavatya, although this would normally give āhiecaca (for the dubious character of the equation Pkt. āta= Skt. āta see Pischel 281) ; I suggest as derivation Pkt. āhipa ("ea"): Skt. ādhipatya, "suzerainty": svaśīttho lalamdu na viviti-hīvyāsā hivattarīddīle, udīya loy’addhaṃ viḍavaṇaḥ ohi dānyam (1, st. 126; j. st. 124).

āṭpā (in īṭāpā, āṭpā), m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. āṭpā (cf. Pkt. āṭpā), "a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln" (3, st. 49).

āṛa, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. āḍāra (see Leumann, Z.D.M.G. 37.515; Pischel 165), "attention, respect" (11, st. 86; 12, st. 35).

āḍivā (in īḍāvā), m., from Skt. āḍāka (not Skt. āḍīpa, as in P.S.M.), "a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln" (3, st. 49).

āḍīha (in īḍāhā), m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. āḍāka (for a few cases of Skt. ka becoming J.M. Pkt. ka see Pischel, 206), "a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln": āṣuṇy-vākṣīyā saarum kumbhakarārshāna (1, p. 41, line 26). Synonyms in other versions are Pkt. (āṭ-) āḍivā and (īṭ-) āḍāpā and Skt. āḍāka and āḍīha, for all of which see above.

āḍīyaṇā, f., in the B.MS. of 1, including Jacobi's MS, there appears in st. 54 the form āḍiṣṇā, which might be masculine, but the stem is clearly feminine in st. 86; Jacobi derives from Skt. āṣādana, P.S.M. from Skt. *āṣāṇā, which is perhaps preferable, "doing injury": siṣīṣvāvamāḥkaḍaṣṭāyāṃ pāvetti jaṅ dwānaḥ (1, st. 54); guryapavākṣavaṇṇeyam mahāḥ āḍiṣṇā jao havi (1, st. 86).

uddhara, adj., to meanings given in P.S.M. add "puffed up, elated": tao donhaṃ pi dapp' uḍḍharaṃ svāsyaṇāṃ apagam āḍhayaṃ (1, p. 41, line 29).

ūnmattala (in únmattalhī, āṭ), adj., not in P.S.M., from Skt. unmatṛi contaminated by Skt. grāhīla, "insane": tahe Kālaṅgajjī kavaḍeṝg unmatṭalhī ... hiyāli (16, p. 102).

ullīṣṭha, adj., wrong reading in B MSS. (including Jacobi's) of ι (J, p. 272) for ullīṣṭha; the word should be killed in P.S.M., which cites it from only this passage. See p. 47, line 27.

ūrā, adj., not in P.S.M., from Skt. un-ṛṇa (see Leumann, Z.D.M.G., vol. 37, pp. 494, 515), "free of debt": jao ... Viśkaṃścico mahi jey uṇḍī kāya (11, st. 63); jao Viśkaṃścaco pūtavi jey uṇḍī vīhyā (12, st. 31); cf. sa ... mediniṃ apīṇaṃ kṛtva 'čaśaravatasaṃ niyam (8, st. 91).

kaćcaḍā or "ḍā, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., possibly same as Pkt. kaccerā, "dirt, slander"; but perhaps used to mean "difficulty" (cf. kiccheṛa, p. 91, st. 88; and kṛchāṛa, "with difficulty," in Priyadarśika IV, 9): piṣṭā caicīyāvamahākaḍaṣṭāyāṃ karissanti (14, st. 33).


khetta, pt. pass. pl., not in P.S.M. for khetta, Skt. kṛŚPa, "cast, put" (12, st. 6).
cappu or cappā, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., related to Pkt. cappudi, cappudīya, “pinch, small quantity”; to jogacchara-cappūni mūtaṇa pabhakā (read “eay”) īḷaṭhāpānas (3, st. 40; in the word is cahusāyā, p. 41, line 25).

tanta, n., from Skt. tantrā; to meanings in P.S.M. add that of “spell, charm”: tao Kālayasārī tiṭo egasā sāhiṇo smātve đārjigō ya so maṇṭaṭiṇāhīn (1, p. 40, line 13).

nāraya, m.-f., for Pkt. nāraja (Skt. nāraḥ), “inhabitant of hell”: nārayatīrīkkha-kumārasa-kudauṣṭyā-maṇḍapa-kāraṇālo (1, st. 52). Possibly the first vowel is shortened metri causa. nānīḥ, verb, not in P.S.M., onomatopoeic, “to Bray”: jaya esa gaddhi nāṇiḥkāma tatyā mūtraḥ paśūrīḥ (10, p. 105).

nīraśaya, adj., from Skt. nīraśīya, means “degenerate” (Jacobi “kümmerlich”) not “sar-vāḍhika” as in P.S.M.: bhayavaya Bhāratharāṣṭā īya sāhunāvātakāmya kāmuṁ bhīṃ hūṇa-yī ko vi samprā nīraśae dīsāmālo (1, st. 131 J., st. 120); nīraśae ví hī köle nāpta vāpphara nāmmanāḥ jasā, viniḥśeṣya teṭokkaṁ tassā nāmo hon tuhā sūmi (1, st. 144; J., st. 142).

nīśiyā, verb, equivalent to Pkt. nīśādai, “dei”, causative of Skt. nīṭpāt (for Pkt. pāḍāi as causative of Skt. vīpāt, cf. Pischel 553). “to cause (jaw) to fall, open”: jaya iyaṃ rāsati sāddeva karajāṭhān mūtaḥ nīśiṣeyayā tāya akṣaya-saddde eevā eṣā tuubbhē narāchīn mūtraḥ bharejjhā (1, p. 42, line 14).

pairiccānaṁ (pairīṭhaṇaḥ), adv., not in P.S.M., from Skt. praśrīrthaṁ (both Pkt. forms admissible, see Pischel 280; for assimilation of vowels cf. Pischel 177), “along the highways”: bhamaicamatta-vesso pairiccānm (B MSS. “rittham” ima iti cauṣamāno (12, st. 10); for meaning note tiyacaukka-mahāhāṭhitāḥayasā ya imaṇ tātamaṁ hūṇai (1, p. 39, line 25).

pāmaṇi, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., equivalent to Pkt. pāmaṇ (or fem. pāmaṇi, “farmer”: sālīvarṇavākkhaṇī īṣyaya pāmaṇāgni jīvanā mahāraṇa-gīyaṁ (1, st. 41).

pārṣeṇti, verb, present of Pkt. pāru (Skt. pravṛttaḥ); P.S.M. records no present type except pāvō. See 1, p. 54.

bhāṇḍīya, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. bhāṇḍika (lexical citations only), “barber”; see above under Skt. bhāṇḍāsah, jāthā rāyā sayagā coro bhāṇḍīya ya purohito, dīsaṃ bhūkha nāgaravā yaṃjana sarpaṇaḥ bhayaṇ (5, st. 20).

bhātī, f., from Skt. bhāṭī; to meanings given in P.S.M. add “magic power”: Gaddhilleṇa ya swībhūmāḥ āṃṣaṁ suṃaṇīya gaddhīvaṃja (16, p. 103).

vīthā, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *vīṣṭha (from vīṣṭhā), with meaning of “resistance” (both derivation and meaning tentative): iṣtha na sandhi na vīṣṭhā ko vi neva vi vīṣṭhāe n' eya (14, st. 46).

vīḍāhaṇa, n., not in P.S.M., possibly from Skt. vīḍ-gṛha (ghara), parallel form to Pkt. vīṭṭhaṇa. There may be confusion between Skt. vīḍa, meaning a purgative salt, and vīḍ, a compositional form of vīḍ “excrement”; the salt vīḍa is commonly known as Vithaban or Bitnoben, and the Skt. vīḍavāpa is cited lexically. The word vīḍāḥaṇa would translate well as “latrine”: etthi arantarmin ya sahi-purasadāṃsiya-vīḍahare gao dho (1, p. 40, line 20). Jacobi renders “Absteigequartier” and derives questioningly from Skt. vīḍa-ghara (which I should think would mean “storehouse”) or Skt. pīḍa-ghara (storehouse)?’. Cf. also Pkt. ṣadha-tī for Skt. ṣadhiṭi.

vīṣajjāve-, causative stem of Pkt. vīṣajj (Skt. vīṣajj); P.S.M. records only vīṣajjī- for causative stem, but the gerund vīṣajjācitaṇāya appears in 1 (p. 44, line 8).

vēluṇa, adj., from Skt. vāluna; we seem to have a stem of Skt. ĉ in Pkt. by e, a correspondence which I do not find in Pischel, but cf. Pkt. deru for Pkt. dvāra (from Skt. dvāra), and see Pischel 112. The word velunā hardly seems to be the Pkt. velunā which is for Skt. vṛkṣa “bamboo pipe.” The meaning is “of sand”: vēluṇapathayaṇa te bāhiṇa sārī bhūpati evam (14, st. 111); cf. the corresponding point in the story anuvāya velunāye pathayaṇa bharadvādaya... (1, p. 50, line 18).

Sagabūla, Pārasakāla, paścamāṭiśavakāla, Saṃkakāla, n., “Saka-bank, Persian bank, western bank, Saka bank.” These Prakrit and Sanskrit words occur synonymously in the versions to indicate the place from which the sīhas came to Surat and Malwa. This group makes clear that the
Saka-bank is the western, Persian, bank of the Indus, rather than its delta, as is understood by Rapson (Cambridge History of India I, 532), and also that the element kāla is hardly likely to represent a "misunderstood foreign word," as is suggested by Konow (Kharoshthi Inscriptions, being volume 2, part 1 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. xxvii, 1929). The region seems to be the modern Seistan.

sami, m., "monk," derived in P.S.M. from Skt. sainin, but perhaps better taken from Skt. śramin, for which see above.

sambhāsi, stem appearing only in MS. of 1 (st. 55) published by Jacobi, and cited from his edition in P.S.M. All other MSS. show a stem sambhāsa, and the word sambhāsi should be killed.

sāraṇīya, adj. or m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. sāraṇika, "acong for protection": jaha sarāṇīyam uṣṇagīyam āthāya nikṣauta ārye jee, evaṃ sāraṇīyam ādyagī anātrō anātrō gacche (1, st. 114; J., st. 112).

Vśāh used with vijjaṃ means "effect, conjure up," and is derived from Skt. Viśāh; it is to be distinguished from Pkt. Vśāh derived from Skt. Viśā: Gaddabhīlo uveśāṃ kāna gaddabhīṃ mahāsāraṇīyaṃ sāhā (1, p. 42, line 8); notice at corresponding point of story in another version: sa gaddabhīṃ sahāvayāthā viśāhām (12, st. 44).

sīnolaya, adj. and m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. sīnolaya, "situated at the border, border-kings"; cf. Pkt. śīnolā: sīnolathēvam śīnolôc ganalô ippaṃ je (14, st. 44).

sīndhā, pf. pass. pcp.l., not in P.S.M., from Skt. śīndhā, "had a remainder" (1, p. 50, line 19; Jacobi’s MS. incorrectly reads sīndhā).

APABHRAŚA

ittelaya, demonstrative pronoun, not in P.S.M., from Apabhraśa and J.M. Pkt. ittiya (equivalent to ittiya, for derivation of which see Pischel 153 and Jacobi, Sanatkumaracaritam, Abh. Bayerischen Akad. Wiss. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, vol. 31, Abb. 2, p. 111, 1921) with infixed pejorative suffix -Ja (“ayat, *ayatya, *ayatiya, ittiya, ittiya, ippa, ittālya), "such a base thing": amatthi-ātu-āmāna jā ittālyam kareṇī taha (read taḥam?) sangamī mohabbhājaka (read "ham?"") karo-thākā sa vahantā (1, st. 23, at end, being lines found only in B MSS.).

nunna, pf. pass. pcp.l., not in P.S.M., from Skt. nuna (Vnum): dhaṇṇa paryeyam sayam vanaṇṇamāryagī ḍalalavibbham (1, st. 104; Jacobi had a corrupt MS. and printed this as prose).

naya, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. nāla, "river": tāruma nayya-balasamu (1, st. 104; Jacobi had a corrupt MS. and printed this as prose).
Chapter X

ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations are listed according to the chronological order of the manuscripts from which they have been taken, except for Plate 10. In the case of the undated manuscripts the chronological position I have assigned them is naturally not entirely certain.

FROM PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

Plate 1

Fig. 1. A Tirthakara.
   From MS. 6.2, the Jātāsūtra and the next three Āṅgas of the Svetāmbara canon, with
   the commentary of Abhayadeva Śāri, in the Sāntinātha temple (Nagin Dāś) Bhandār, Cambay. Dated Vikrama Śaṃvat 1184 (A. D. 1127).

Fig. 2. The goddess Sarasvatī (or Cakresvari ?).
   From the same MS. as Fig. 1.

Fig. 3. A Tirthakara (Nemi ?).

Fig. 4. The goddess Ambikā.
   From the same MS. as Fig. 3.

Plate 2

Fig. 5. Monk and disciple.
   From folio 2 recto, left-hand side of MS. of the Sāvagapāḍikammana-suttavacāpa, in

Fig. 6. The goddess Sarasvatī.
   From folio 2 recto, right-hand side of same MS. as Fig. 5.

Plate 3

Fig. 7. Two monks.

Fig. 8. Two laywomen.
   From same MS. as Fig. 7.

Fig. 9. The god Sakra.

Fig. 10. A goddess (Ambikā ?).
   From folio 152 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 9.

1 The illustrations are reproduced in the natural size of the originals.
Fig. 11. Tirthakara (Mahāvira ?) in hṛṅkāra symbol.
From folio 1 verso of MS. Sanskrit d. 102, a commentary on Hemacandra's Śāṇḍīvaśāsana, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Fig. 12. The goddess Sarasvati in oṃkāra symbol.
From folio 1 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 11.

Plate 5

Fig. 13. The god Vishnu on his throne.

Plate 6

Fig. 14. Kālaka receives his parents' permission to become a monk.
From folio 1 recto of a MS. of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to W. N. Brown. Not dated, probably first half of the fifteenth century.

Plate 7

Fig. 15. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold.
From folio 8 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

Fig. 16. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic.
From folio 9 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

Fig. 17. King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka.
From folio 11 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

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Plate 8

Fig. 19. Kālaka with Sakra disguised.
From folio 23 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

Fig. 20. Kālaka with Sakra revealed.
From folio 24 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

Fig. 21. Kālaka and the Śahi.
From folio 94 verso of MS. 38.3.3, Kalpaśūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Lohar Pol Bhandār, Ahmedabad. Dated Vikrama Śaṃvat 1513 (A. D. 1458).

Plate 9

Fig. 22. Kālaka and the Śahi.
From folio 70 verso of MS. 1632.75, the Kālakācāryakathā, in the Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jāna Mandira Library, Agra. Not dated but apparently earlier than Vikrama Śaṃvat 1540 (A. D. 1402).

Plate 10

Fig. 23. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka in the initiation palanquin.
Fig. 24. (1) King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka; (2) Kālaka leaves his disobedient disciples. From folio 76 of same MS. as Fig. 23.

Fig. 25. King Gardabhilla in court. From folio 100 recto of MS. 17.2276, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, probably fifteenth or sixteenth century.

PLATE 11

Fig. 26. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Gunākara preach. From folio 112 verso of the MS. of the Kalpaśutra and Kālakācāryakathā in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Not dated, probably second half of fifteenth century or early sixteenth.

Fig. 27. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī. From folio 114 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

Fig. 28. Kālaka and the Sāhi. From folio 116 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

Fig. 29. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. From folio 118 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

PLATE 12

Fig. 30. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic. From folio 120 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

PLATE 13

Fig. 31. Kālaka with Sakra disguised. From folio 123 verso of same MS. as Fig. 26.

Fig. 32. Kālaka with Sakra revealed. From folio 124 recto of same MS. as Fig. 26.

Fig. 33. (1) Kālaka and the Sāhi; (2) Kālaka recovers the princes' ball from the well. From folio 4 recto of MS. 206, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Daśa Osavala Bhandār in the Ananta Nātha temple, Bombay. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Fig. 34. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Gunākara preach. From folio 1 verso of MS. of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to the Heeramanec Gallerie, New York. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

PLATE 14

Fig. 35. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Gunākara preach. From folio 1 verso of MS. 18.20, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Dēlā Upāśraya Bhandār, Ahmedabad. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

Fig. 36. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī. From folio 3 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 35.

Fig. 37. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. From folio 5 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 35.

PLATE 15

Fig. 38. (1) Kālaka with Sakra disguised; (2) Kālaka with Sakra revealed. From folio 11 verso of MS. 18.24, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Dēlā Upāśraya Bhandār, Ahmedabad. The MS. has a pralastī, presumably contemporaneous with the MS. itself, dated Vikrama Sāṃvat 1682 (A. D. 1625).
Fig. 39. The Tirthakara Nemi in the Vimāna Aparājita heaven.

From the single folio of a MS. in the possession of the Heeramanek Galleri es, New York. The folio is not dated, but the MS. is presumably of the seventeenth century.

TYPES APPEARING IN PAINTINGS NOT ILLUSTRATING THE KĀLAKA LEGENDS

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF INCIDENTS IN THE KĀLAKA LEGEND

The following incidents from the Kālaka legend are illustrated in the paintings reproduced in this book. They are listed in the order of their occurrence in the legend. Of the four major episodes of the Kālaka legend only the second, which tells how the Paryuṣaṇā came to be changed from the fifth to the fourth of the light half of the month Bhadrapāda, is not represented.

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<td>Kālaka with Sakra revealed</td>
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Plate 1

Fig. 1. A Tirthakara. From palm-leaf MS. 6.2, the Jājñāsastra and next three Angas of the Svetāmbara canon, with the commentary of Abhayadeva, in the Sāntinātha temple (Nagin Dās) Bhavnār, Cambay. Dated Saṃvatsāra 1184 (A. D. 1127). Published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929. This and its companion piece, illustrated in our Figure 2, are the oldest examples of Western Indian miniature painting so far known.

The central figure is of a Jina, presumably Mahāvīra, seated on a pedestal like that common in Jain temples for the accommodation of Jina images. He is attended by two fly-whisk bearers, probably gods. The background is the natural palm leaf. The bodies are in yellow, with the Jina’s halo and the rectangular background for the Jina’s body in red. The attendant figures wear a kind of blue vest, scarf, and dhōtī (lower garment). Over the Jina’s head is an ornament of pendant leaves (cf. figs. 3, 39).

Fig. 2. The goddess Sarasvatī (or Cakresvari ?). From the same MS as Figure 1. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

The central figure is a four-armed goddess, bearing in her upper hands lotuses and in her lower hands a rosary and a manuscript. Before her is a swan. The attributes and the swan as vehicle are characteristic of Sarasvatī, who with the Jains is the ṇāmanadērt (tutelary divinity) of Mahāvīra (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, pl. 27, 1925), presumably illustrated in Figure 1. However, a Jaina monk identified the goddess for me as Cakresvari, who is the ṇāmanadērt of the first Tirthakara, Rāṣṭha (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 352). On each side of the goddess is a layman in an attitude of worship, the two probably depicting the patrons of the manuscript, that is, the persons who paid to have the manuscript copied. The goddess wears a blue bodice, the man on the left a green vest. The background is brick red. The other colors used are yellow and black. Two lotuses fill in the upper corners.

Fig. 3. A Tirthakara (Nemi ?). From palm-leaf MS. 18.1, Hemacandra’s Nemicaritira, being the eighth parvan of the Triṣṭiṣālālīkāparuṣaścāritra, in the Sāntinātha Temple (Nagin Dās) Bhavnār, Cambay. At Cambay I made a note that the date of this MS. was given as Saṃvat 1198 (A. D. 1141), but this seems clearly to be an error (cf. chapter II, footnote 14); possibly the date should be Saṃvat 1298 (A. D. 1241), which would suit the stylistic requirements of the paintings as well as the demands of literary history. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

The scene is a Jina enthroned, here probably Nemi, the twenty-second Tirthakara. On the center of the bottom part of the pedestal is a device which may be meant to represent a conch, which is Nemi’s cognizance. On each side of the Jina is a god as fly-whisk bearer (cf. fig. 1). Above him are two elephants in the posture of sprinkling water (gajalakṣmi or diggaja or dīdhaṅga motif). Behind his halo is an ornament of leaves (cf. fig. 1), which in later representations of Jinas merges with the headdress (cf. fig. 39).

Just as this type of representation of an enthroned Jina is an elaboration of that illustrated in Figure 1, so that illustrated in Figures 11 and 30 (and in the Kalpasūtra, for which see my forthcoming catalogue of illustrations of the Kalpasūtra) is an elaboration of this.

Fig. 4. The goddess Ambikā. From the same MS. as Figure 3. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

On a cushion sits a four-armed goddess, fully ornamented, dressed in dhōtī and scarf. In her upper hands she holds lotuses; in her lower right hand she carries a baby; in her lower left hand an object of uncertain character. Her waist is unusually narrow. Below her is crouched a lion, which is her vehicle. The iconography of the figure is close to that of an inscribed brass figure (Saṃvat 1250=A. D. 1290) marked Ambikā belonging to the Pennsylvania Museum of Art. Ambikā shows interesting iconographic correspondences with the Buddhist Hārītī and the Hindu Pārvatī. The goddesses of the older Jain miniatures frequently have a vertical mark on the forehead (cf. fig. 10), which usually belongs to laymen and gods (cf. figs. 9, 13, 14, etc.). The mark for women is regularly a dot (cf. fig. 2). For Ambikā, correctly identified in the Indra Sālbhā cave at Elura, where she is associated with Sakra, see J. Burgess, Report on the Elura Cave Temples, pp. 45-7; plate 40, London, 1883.
Plate 2


At the left is a miniature showing in an architectural setting two monks. One is seated on a monk's seat of the sort used to-day by elder monks, and is giving instruction to the other who is done smaller and sits on a cushion. The latter appears to be a disciple. The elder monk holds his broom in his right hand, and in his left his mouth cloth. The younger holds in his two hands a manuscript, which possibly the elder is expounding. Between the two is a stand of the sort used to-day by Śvetāmbara monks to bear the symbolic representation of the absent gura (spiritual master) which a monk must always have before him when engaged in meditation or preaching without his master being present. The disciple may be considered to be the author of the work exemplified by the manuscript, and the elder monk his gura. The seat of the elder monk seems to be a reduction of the ideal spired throne of Jain worthies as illustrated in Figures 17, 18, etc. The rounded board at the back is vestigial of the spire.

Fig. 6. The goddess Sarasvatī. From folio 2 recto of same MS. as Figure 5.

At the right in an architectural setting is the goddess Sarasvati (cf. under fig. 2) seated in the virasana posture. She wears a bodice open in the front, a dhōttī (lower garment), and a scarf. In her upper right hand is a book; in the upper left hand a lotus; with her two lower hands she carries her lute (śrīhā).
Plate 3

Fig. 7. Two monks. From palm-leaf MS. 234, Kalpasūtra and Kālakārṣyakathā, in the Sanghavīke pāḍāka Bhāṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (A. D. 1278).

Beneath a canopy sit two Svetāmbara monks preaching. Each has in his left hand the mouth cloth and in his right hand a flower. The robes cover the body fully, instead of leaving the right shoulder bare as is usually done (cf. fig. 5). The monk in front is probably the spiritual master of the one behind, who is done smaller.

Fig. 8. Two laywomen. From the same MS. as Figure 7. A companion piece to Figure 7, which is on the same side of the folio.

Two laywomen, richly dressed in bodice, dhotī, and scarf, sit facing the two monks of Figure 7, listening to their words, with hands raised in an attitude of reverence. The headdress is characteristic of laywomen in Western Indian miniature painting. These women are presumably the patrons of the manuscript.

Fig. 9. The god Sakra. From folio 151 verso of palm-leaf MS. 4.2, Kalpasūtra and Kālakārṣyakathā, in the Sanghākā Bhāṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279).

The god Sakra, bearded like a human king, is seated on a cushion. In his upper right hand he holds the elephant goad; in the upper left an umbrella; the lower hands are without attributes. He is dressed in dhotī and scarf. Below his right leg is his elephant. Flowers fill in the composition.

Fig. 10. A goddess (Ambikā?). From folio 152 recto of the same MS. as Figure 9.

A four-armed goddess, dressed in bodice, dhotī, and scarf, sits on a cushion. In her two upper hands she holds lotuses; her lower right possibly holds a rosary; in the lower left an object which I cannot identify. The iconography is close to that of Lākṣmī in the 14 significant dreams that come to the mothers of Tirthakaras, as shown in the Kalpasūtra illustrations (cf. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pt. 4, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, pl. 1, folio 34, and pl. 5, folio 13, 1924), but the association with Sakra makes one suspect it is meant to represent Ambikā (see under Fig. 4).
Fig. 11. A Tirthakara (Mahāvīra?) in the hrīṅkāra symbol. From folio 1 verso of paper MS. Sanskrit d.102, a commentary on Hemacandra’s Sabdāmūlasañana, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This miniature is at the left-hand side of the page, and is a companion piece to that of our Figure 12.

The setting is a temple of the familiar North Indian spire type, like those of the Jains on Mount Girnar, and shows the main spire and four subordinate spires. Attached to the main spire is a pole with a small rectangular wooden top ornamented with festoons and a banner (the whole called dhvaja), which is meant to be above the main image in the temple. These dhvajas are characteristically present on Svetāmbara temples. Two parrots appear above the spire, one having a sprig of some plant in its bill. Within the temple is seated a Jina inside the auspicious hrīṅkāra symbol (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 385), a drawing of the combination of the sounds h, r, i, ṣ, over which is a crescent with a dot to indicate the released soul in Iṣatprāghāra. For a similar temple setting cf. Coomaraswamy, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, pt. 9, folio 72; for the hrīṅkāra symbol cf. ibidem, plate 39. The Jina is possibly Mahāvīra.

Fig. 12. The goddess Sarasvatī in the omkāra symbol. From same MS. and same page as Figure 11, which this faces.

The setting is a temple similar to that in Figure 11. The goddess bears in her upper left hand the lute (vīṇā), in the upper right an object which I cannot identify; in the lower left a lotus, in the lower right a rosary. She is attended by a swan as vehicle, which appears twice. The attributes and vehicle are those of the goddess Sarasvatī. She sits in a frame, which looks like an angular drawing of the auspicious omkāra symbol (see Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 384), the combination of the letters o (a, u) and ṣ, a companion symbol of the hrīṅkāra symbol, which is illustrated in the companion painting (our fig. 11). Above the frame in which Sarasvatī sits is the crescent and dot, signifying a soul in the region of the blest, which appears with the omkāra symbol as well as with the hrīṅkāra. For illustrations of the two symbols see Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, plate 27. The goddess Sarasvatī is the attendant deity of the Tirthakara Mahāvīra (cf. under fig. 2).
Plate 5

Fig. 13. The god Vishnu on his throne. From folio 32 recto of a paper Vaishnava MS., the Māgha Purāṇa (?), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, probably about middle of the fifteenth century. Previously published by me in Eastern Art, vol. 2, pp. 167-206, 1930 (this painting being Fig. 21, discussed on p. 197).

Krishna, as Vishnu, four-armed, is seated on a throne. He carries in three of his hands mace, discus, and conch. His vehicle, the man-bird Garuḍa, kneels in front of the throne. Behind Vishnu is a female fly-whisk bearer. Above are two honorific parasols. Facing Vishnu at the right under a canopy is a male figure with a halo, who offers the god a garland. The body of Vishnu is blue. The male figure is perhaps that of the author, who is often represented in the series from which this illustration is taken, although usually with somewhat less splendid appearance than here.
The pages of this manuscript, as doubtless of other manuscripts, were manufactured in two parts, as is indicated by a close study of the relative position of the writing ink and the paint. (1) The copyist's part. On each page the spaces for the text were marked off with vertical red lines from the top edge to the bottom. On certain pages spaces were reserved for the miniature paintings. A colored background (red, blue, or black on different folios) for the text was then washed on. On this background gold lines were drawn from top to bottom to delimit the area for the text. A faint gold guiding line was drawn for the top line of writing. The text was then written on with golden ink. (2) The artist's part. The artist, after receiving the pages, first blocked off his space; then he drew in the scene; then he painted it. The gold seems to have been applied first, either as liquid or as leaf, next came the red, then the blue and the white. After this the artist put on the ornamental arabesque borders around the page, and finally the red dots in the center and on the reverse of the folio at the sides, using the same paint as that of the red in the miniatures, which is different from the red of the background. In the old palm-leaf MSS. the red dot in the center marked the place of the hole through which ran the string that kept the folios together; the dots on the sides carried the folio numbers, those at the left often having the number indicated by the use of letters, those at the right indicating the number by figures. In the paper MSS. the dots still appear, but they no longer serve any useful purpose and are only conventional and vestigial. The necessity for the use of string to hold the folios together has disappeared and the folio numbers are written at the lower right-hand corner of the reverse side of each folio.

The painting here shows Kālaka taking leave of his parents to be initiated into the order of Jain monks. Under a canopy sits King Vajrasimha on a throne, dressed in a lower garment (dhoti) and a scarf. In his hand is a sword, which is the regular attribute in Western Indian miniature painting of a king in official dress; above him is the parasol of royalty. Before him sits Queen Surasundari on a cushion, wearing bodice (coll), scarf, and lower garment (dhoti). The king and queen both wear jewellery and an elaborate headdress. Between them, facing his father, is Kālaka dressed in the monk's robes. The white robes of the Śvetámbaras are represented in varying ways: by red dots on a gold background as here, by white dots over gold (fig. 30), by white (fig. 22), or by a variety of dots and lines in designs (fig. 36).
PLATE 7

Fig. 15. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 29, 37. From folio 8 recto of the same MS. as Figure 14.

At the left is the potter's kiln with the pile of bricks. Kālaka faces the bricks, his left arm holding his broom, his right arm extended while he sprinkles over the bricks the magic powder which transmutes them into gold. Behind Kālaka stands a Saka dressed in a long garment and carrying a long heavy sword. At the bottom are four more Sakas, the one at the extreme left apparently bearing a shield, the next one carrying a load, possibly of the gold, the next one, who is mounted on horseback, being the king (sāhi), with a fourth Saka behind him holding the parasol of royalty.

In this entire series the background is red. The Sakas are represented with almost full face without having the farther eye protrude beyond the contour of the cheek, as it does in the representations of Indians.

Fig. 16. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic. Cf. Figure 30. From folio 9 verso of the same MS. as Figure 14.

At the left is the city wall of Ujjain with its towered gate in the center. Within it sits King Gardabhilla, before him a brazier with a fire which he has used in effecting the magic. The She-Ass magic is just above the fire at the gateway, its mouth wide open braying. Above King Gardabhilla is the nun Sarasvati, with a water pitcher before her. Outside the city wall are two Sakas, one being on horseback with drawn bow. Below them are Kālaka on horseback with drawn bow—he was a skilled archer—and a monk attendant upon him. Flowers fill in the composition. Kālaka's horse is excellently done.

Although the background of this painting is red, the background for the writing of the text is blue.

Fig. 17. King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka. Cf. Figure 24. From folio 11 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under an elaborate architectural cornice (or canopy) sits Kālaka on a spired throne. This is a temple spire with platform, open in the front so that the figure it covers in honor may be seen, and tilted back and reduced in relative size to the figure (cf. my remarks in Eastern Art, vol. 2, p. 177). Kālaka's broom is in the hollow of his right arm, and in his upheld right hand he holds the mouth cloth, while he preaches to Gardabhilla. The latter stands before Kālaka with his hands bound and his hair firmly grasped by a Saka, who stands at the extreme right of the picture.

Fig. 18. Kālaka forgives the vainglorious Sāgaracandra. From folio 21 recto of the same MS. as Figure 14.

Under the usual canopy (cf. fig. 17) sits Kālaka on the spired throne (cf. fig. 17), holding the broom in his left hand over the head of Sāgaracandra. The latter kneels before Kālaka to take the dust from his feet. Above Sāgaracandra in the picture is the stand bearing the symbolic representation of the absent spiritual master, usually consisting of five shells or pebbles wrapped in cloth which must always be present before a monk when he meditates or preaches without having the master present.
Fig. 19. Kālaka with Sakra disguised. Cf. Figures 31, 38. From folio 23 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under a canopy, on a spired throne sits the monk Kālaka holding a flower in his outstretched left hand. Before him stands the bent figure of Sakra disguised as an old Brahman, leaning upon a staff and extending his right hand to have his fortune told.

Fig. 20. Kālaka with Sakra revealed. Cf. Figures 32, 38. From folio 24 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under a canopy, which varies in detail from that of the companion scene (fig. 19), on a cushion (rather than the throne of fig. 19) in a spired seat is Kālaka holding his mouth cloth while he addresses Sakra, who now faces him in full regalia, having his four arms, two of which are upraised in a posture of worship. Between the two is the stand for the symbolic representation of Kālaka’s absent guru (spiritual master).


This is a characteristic page of a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century and early part of the sixteenth century. The page is plain, and the dots rubricating the dots of the string hole and dates of the palm-leaf manuscripts are simple.

The Sāhi sits on a lion throne in a room with painted walls, holding his sword in his right hand.

Three parasols are over him. Kālaka faces him, also in an architectural unit, and preaches. In front of Kālaka is the bowl which the overlord’s messenger has brought. Above Kālaka is a Saka with sword and shield, and below Kālaka are two more Sakas, standing with folded hands, who are perhaps meant to represent the messengers the Sāhi sent to his 95 fellows.
PLATE 9

Fig. 22. Kālaka and the Sāhi. Cf. Figures 21, 28, 33. From folio 70 verso of paper MS. 1632.75, Kālakācāryakathā (but obviously once of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā), in the Vijaya Dharma Lakṣṇī Jāna Mandire Library, Agra. The MS. itself is not dated, but at its conclusion is a subscription, now scratched out, dealing with the later history of the manuscript and containing a date Vikrama Saṃvat 1549 (A. D. 1492). The inference is that the MS. is at least that old. The style of the pages and the painting is such that it might be that old or even older.

At the left on a lion throne with a spired back sits the Sāhi dressed in an elaborately ornamented costume. The inside of the spire is ornamented with flowers, possibly to indicate wall painting. The Sāhi wears a pointed cap (cf. chapter 1, footnote 48), long coat and boots, common in the array of Sakas but not used in these paintings by Indians. His face is shown almost from the full front without the protruding eye that is characteristic of Indians in this art, and the face itself has a Mongoloid cast. Before the king sits Kālaka, also in an architectural setting, the broom under his left arm, the mouth cloth in his right hand while he preaches to the king. The ochre color of his body is peculiar. Two honorific parasols appear at the top of the picture. Above Kālaka is a cluster of crossed military standards. At the lower right, in the corner, is the messenger who has come from the Sāhi’s overlord, bringing the sword with which the Sāhi is to cut off his own head and the bowl in which he is to send it to the overlord.

This painting uses yellow instead of gold and depicts the white robe of Kālaka by a glistening substance like nacre.
Fig. 22
Plate 10


In the upper register is Kālaka mounted on the horse he is to exercise, and apparently he means to hunt; for he carries a spear and an antelope is running beside him. Before and behind him are two attendants armed with sword and shield.

In the lower register Kālaka is being carried in a palanquin (ābīka) to his initiation, as is the custom with all Jain monks at the time of initiation. Young men carry the palanquin; dancing girls surround it; and musicians accompany it, one blowing a horn and another ringing a bell, appearing as though on the roof, but the intention is to indicate that they are beside the palanquin.

Fig. 24. (1) King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka; (2) Kālaka leaves his disobedient disciples. Cf. Figure 17. From folio 76 of same MS. as Figure 23. Previously published by Coomaraswamy, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, p. 49, plate 10.

In the upper register is the captive Gardabhilla before Kālaka, the subject and treatment being close to those of Figure 17; here both Gardabhilla and the Saka who holds him are more elaborately dressed.

In the lower register we see at the right two of the disobedient disciples asleep. At the left is Kālaka going out of the door of the monks' resthouse, carrying in his hand the staff which monks are allowed to use for walking. The time is night. The reclining figures are really upright figures turned down (cf. Eastern Art, vol. 2, p. 199).

Fig. 25. King Gardabhilla in court. From folio 100 of paper MS. 17.2276, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Previously published by Coomaraswamy, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, p. 43, plate 3.

King Gardabhilla sits in his palace on a spired throne, the royal umbrella above him. He is elaborately dressed and carries the sword to indicate he is holding court. Before him sits a male figure, possibly one of his ministers expostulating with him for his treatment of the monk Kālaka when the latter came to protest the abduction of Sarasvatī. At the left-hand side of the picture is a section marked off into six sub-sections. In the bottom sub-section are horses; in the two above are soldiers armed with sword and shield; in the next soldiers armed only with sword; and in the next unarmed persons. In the uppermost sub-section is a small porch or pavilion.
Fig. 26. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 35. From folio 112 verso of the MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakārīyaśākthī in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Not dated, probably second half of fifteenth century or early part of sixteenth.

In the lower register is Kālaka leading his horse, which is well caparisoned. The figures are full of movement. Overhead are clouds.

In the upper register is Guṇākara on a spired throne preaching with mouth cloth in hand to the prince Kālaka (now with a beard!), who sits with hands upheld in a gesture of reverence. Between the two is the stand holding the symbolical representation of Guṇākara’s absent gura.

Fig. 27. The abduction of the nun Sarasvati. Cf. Figure 36. From folio 114 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

In the upper register are two nuns, one of them Sarasvati, their sex clearly indicated by the continuation of the robe behind the neck up the head. With nuns as with monks the outer robe is outlined and the outline of the under robes is clearly indicated. Riding up to them on a well-executed horse is the impressionable King Gardabhiṣka. In the lower register King Gardabhiṣka appears at the left, his horse now having entirely different trappings, while in front of him is one of his soldiers carrying away on his shoulder Sarasvati.

Fig. 28. Kālaka and the Sāhi. Cf. Figures 21, 22, 33. From 116 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The subject and treatment are close to those in Figures 21 and 22, but the quality of the miniature as a work of art is superior. The Sāhi sits in the spired throne with painted walls, which is the same as that used by gods, monks, and Indian kings, but with the Sāhis is presented from almost the full front instead of the side, just as their faces are viewed by the artist almost from the full front instead of from the side as is the case with the faces of Indians. Above are three parasols, on two of which stand peacocks. Kālaka faces the Sāhi. Above him is a compartment with a bow, a quiver of arrows, and some other objects which I cannot identify. In a compartment below him is the Sāhi messenger. The Sāhi’s crown is much like that of Šāhābūr I in the rock-carving at Naqšš-i-Rustam (see illustration facing p. 48 of E. D. Ross, The Persians, 1931).

Fig. 29. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 15, 37. From folio 118 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The subject and treatment are similar to those of Figure 15. Above Kālaka is sprinkling the magic powder on the bricks and a Saka carries away a brick on his head. Below is the Sāhi on horseback, with a Saka soldier before him carrying away a pile of the gold bricks on his head.
Plate 12

Fig. 30. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic. Cf. Figure 16. From folio 120 recto of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is close to that of Figure 16. The city wall of Ujjain appears with a towered gate. King Gardabhilla sits within weaving his spells before a brazier and the She-Ass magic appears before him standing upon one of the towers. Its mouth is wide open to bray. Above King Gardabhilla is the captive nun Sarasvati, who observes a fast that she may be kept safe from the advances of Gardabhilla. Before her are two vessels. Outside the city wall are the besiegers, three Saka bowmen on foot with drawn bows, and Kālaka on horseback, also with drawn bow. There is a cloud in the upper right-hand corner. At the bottom is a vegetation scroll to fill in the composition, and another appears on the upper part of the city wall.
Plate 13

Fig. 31. Kālaka with Sakra disguised. Cf. Figures 19, 38. From folio 123 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is almost the same as that in Figure 19. Under a canopy is Kālaka on a seat, his white robes represented by white dots on a gold background, a mouth cloth in his right hand, his broom under his right armpit. Before him is the aged bent Brahman, who is Sakra in disguise, holding out his hand to have his length of life foretold.

Fig. 32. Kālaka with Sakra revealed. Cf. Figures 20, 38. From folio 124 recto of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is approximately that of Figure 20. Kālaka appears as in the companion scene (Fig. 31). Sakra is in four-armed guise, heavily ornamented, with halo, his headdress elaborate, two of his hands in a gesture of reverence.

Fig. 33. (1) Kālaka and the Sāhi; (2) Kālaka recovers the princes' ball from the well. Cf. Figures 21, 22, 28. From folio 4 recto of paper MS. 206, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Daśa Oṭavāla Bhanḍār in the Ananta Nātha temple, Bombay. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

In the upper register is Kālaka with the Sāhi, as described in connection with Figures 21, 22, 28, but with many of the accessory elements omitted.

The incident illustrated in the lower register does not appear in the older versions of the Kālaka legend. It is as follows: When Kālaka fled from Ujjain and came to the land of the Sakas, he chanced upon a number of boys (princes) standing beside a well and weeping because they had lost a ball in it and could not get it out. Kālaka, who was an expert Bowman, called for a bow and arrows. With the first arrow he pierced the ball; with the second arrow he pierced the first; with the third he pierced the second. He continued so doing until he had a chain of arrows with which he drew out the ball. The boys were the son of the local Sāhi and his playmates. They reported the occurrence to the Sāhi, who thus was predisposed to welcome Kālaka. The top of the well is drawn full toward us, although we are shown also the vertical cross section of the well with water in it and the ball at the bottom. Two of the arrows can be seen inside the well. Outside is Kālaka with drawn bow, also three of the Saka boys with drawn bows. Cf. p. 25.

Fig. 34. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Gunākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 26, 35. From folio 1 verso of a manuscript of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to the Heeramanéck Galleries, New York. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

The style of page, with well ornamented dots, is likely to indicate lateness.

In the lower register is Kālaka, a halo behind his head, mounted on the horse. Facing him is a retainer mounted on an elephant.

In the upper register is Gunākara seated on a spired throne, preaching to Kālaka who sits facing him.
PLATE 14

Fig. 35. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 26, 34. From folio 1 verso of MS. 18.20, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Delā Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

The illustrations from this MS. are among the most decorative of the Western Indian style that I have seen. There is plentiful use of blue in the background; drawing and composition are very fine; and the detail is full. The dots of the palm-leaf manuscripts for hole and place numbers are here represented by lozenges with blue ornamental borders.

In the lower register is Kālaka with the horse, which he holds by the bridle. The horse bears trappings, including a cloth across the head, which is pierced for the eyes. An antelope crouches beside it. Clouds separate the lower part of the picture from the upper.

In the upper register is Guṇākara seated on a spired throne, his broom tucked under his right armpit, his mouth cloth in his right hand, which is held out before him while he preaches. Kālaka sits facing him with his hands joined in a gesture of reverence. Between them is the stand on which is the symbolic representation of Guṇākara’s absent guru (spiritual preceptor).

Fig. 36. The abduction of the nun Sarasvati. Cf. Figure 27. From folio 3 verso of the same MS. as Figure 35.

In the lower register is King Gardabhilla riding on his horse and seeing Sarasvati, who is attended by another nun. The indication of the white robes is by elaborate white patterns on a gold background.

In the upper register King Gardabhilla sits upon his horse, now fully caparisoned, and watches one of his soldiers carry away Sarasvati. The king holds a spear. His umbrella of royalty is just over the horse’s head, where the artist has put it to complete the composition.

Fig. 37. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 15, 29. From folio 5 verso of the same MS. as Figure 35.

In the upper part of the picture is Kālaka standing before the flaming brick kiln, his right hand outstretched to sprinkle upon it the magic powder that converts the bricks to gold. Behind him is a Saka, with Mongolian face, moustache, and chin-whiskers, but Indian dhoti, carrying away two bricks on his head. In the bottom part of the picture is the Sāhi, equally Mongolian in appearance, seated on his horse watching another Saka carry away two bricks. The armor of the Sāhi consists of a long coat of linked mail, much like that in Mongol-Persian paintings (cf. in Blochet, Muslim painting XIIth-XVIIth Century, pls. 56, 63). The Saka in front of the king has a curved sword with a straight guard at the hilt.
Fig. 38. (1) Kālaka with Sakra disguised; (2) Kālaka with Śakra revealed. Cf. Figures 19, 20, 31, 32. From folio 11 verso of MS. 18.24, Kālakārṇīya-kathā, in the Delā UPāsraya Bhanḍār, Ahmedabad. This folio bears an invocation of long life and prosperity dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1682 (A. D. 1625). The invocation is in smaller handwriting than that of the text, which was done by an expert calligraphist, and might, of course, be later, but it would on its face pertain to the donor of the money for the copying of the MS. and be contemporaneous with the copying. If it is, the date of the MS. would then be A. D. 1625, a date that is entirely probable in view of the style of the page, with its representation of the dots for the string hole and numbers by a square and two lozenges, festooned with blue ornamentation.

The paintings are discernible with comparative difficulty; for I made the photograph with imperfect equipment. The scenes are the same as those described in Figures 19, 20, 31, and 32.

Fig. 39. The Tirthakara Nemi in the Vīmāna Aparājīta heaven. From a single folio of a MS. belonging to the Heeramaneeck Galleries, New York. The folio does not give the name of the work, but the text shows that it was a history of the twenty-second Tirthakara, Ariṣṭanemi or Nemi. The folio also does not carry a date, but the style of the page and the painting shows that it is probably of the seventeenth century.

The painting illustrates the last stage of the Western Indian style. Faces are given in full profile, with only one eye showing, as is common in many schools of Rajput painting. Yet other features of the old style persist, as in the posturing, composition, ornamentation, color scheme, technique of drawing, and application of color.

The picture shows Nemi in the Vīmāna Aparājīta heaven, whence he was born on earth as the son of King Samudravijaya and QueenŚivā to become a Tirthakara. Elephants appear above him in the attitude of sprinkling water (cf. fig. 3), while gods attend him. He is fully ornamented. On the pedestal is his cognizance, the conch. Below are other creatures. This type of composition is used throughout the paper MSS. of the Kalpasūtra to illustrate the future Jinas in heaven before birth on earth.

In the text the first symbol (tv) is clearly the end of vasudeva, nominative form of the name of Vasudeva, father of Krishna. Vasudeva’s wives Rohini and Devaki are mentioned in stanza 2, and Duṣṭharaśīma (Duṣṭharaśīma = Balarāma) and Kesava (Keśava =Krishna). Samudravijaya and Śivā are mentioned in stanzas 3 and 4, and Ariṣṭanemi in stanza 4. So the story goes on.
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