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Jaina Ideologies of Kingship: Perceptions from Early Medieval Śvetāmbara Narratives

Christine Chojnacki

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Self-Representation
and Presentation of Others
in Indic Epigraphical Writing

Edited by
Dániel Balogh and Annette Schmiedchen

Asien- und Afrika-Studien 63
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Perceptions from Early Medieval Śvetāmbara Narratives**

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Jaina Ideologies of Kingship: Perceptions from Early Medieval Śvetāmbara Narratives

Christine Chojnacki

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1. Introduction

Studies on the Jaina ideologies of kingship in medieval India are still few and far between. Some of them have focused on the Digambara movement in the 9th century, mainly based on one work, Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, and point to a model of the renouncing king.¹ The others were devoted to the Śvetāmbara movement between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, based on a play, the *Moharāja-parājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla, evoking the conduct of King Kumārapāla,² and narrative works, including Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, dealing in part with the rulers of the Caulukya dynasty and highlighting an evolving model of the secular king.³ However, given the wide chronological gap in the texts analysed, it is questionable whether there is a model of royal Digambara ideology opposed to

-
- 1 Dundas (1991) examined the practical and theoretical models for the conduct of a king that appear in Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* (9th century). More recently, Taylor (2021) has argued that in this same work, worldly kingship and spiritual kingship were intertwined into a system presenting renunciation not only as superior to temporal power, but also as being a politically feasible option.
 - 2 Leclère (2013, 285–302) has suggested how plays could contribute to the legitimisation of royal power at the same time as they offered a model for political conduct.
 - 3 Taking into account various narrative sources from the 12th to the 14th century (Hemacandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, mid-twelfth century; Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 1160–1172; Somaprabha's *Kumārapālapratibodha*, 1184; Arisimha's *Sukṛtasamkīrtana*, c. 1229; Prabhācandra's *Prabhāvakaacarita*, 1278; Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 1305; Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, 1333; Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa*, 1349), Cort (1998) has shown how the portraits of four historical (Mūlarāja, Jayasimha Siddharāja, Kumārapāla) or semi-legendary (Vaṇarāja) rulers reflect a variety of royal ideologies ranging from a lack of support for Jaina monks to a conversion to Jainism.

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a Śvetāmbara model during the medieval period,⁴ or whether the positions of the two Jaina groups rather depend on different socio-political contexts.⁵ I therefore propose to examine whether Śvetāmbara works composed between the 8th and 10th centuries in Northwest India reveal an ideology of kingship distinct from the Digambara model analysed by Paul Dundas and Sarah Pierce Taylor in Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*. To this end, I shall analyse data from four lengthy narrative Śvetāmbara works: Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā* (8th century), Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* (779), Śīlāṅka's *Caṅgannamahāpurisacaria* (868) and Vijayasimhasūri's *Bhuvanāsumdarī*. These works have been chosen because several characteristics make them likely to provide information about a royal ideology. Thus, like the *Purāṇas* or "Universal Histories,"⁶ they propose a vision of the world in its entirety through the journey of specific souls from birth to deliverance. Moreover, while they do not use historical figures as heroes, as the *Prabandhas* do,⁷ they do include stories about the lives of royal characters.⁸ Finally, they use the refined style of *kāvya* to address an aristocratic elite, and their inclusion of themes of love and war, and of technical passages, for example on horses, alchemy, and subsoils, are also indicative of an audience beyond the scholarly monks.⁹

4 Cf. Taylor (2020, 487).

5 I thank here Prof. von Hinüber for drawing my attention to a talk given by John Strong in Seoul in 2017, and I thank Prof. Strong for providing me with a copy of his unpublished paper. Strong shows that the Aśoka legends reflect several understandings of kingship. They do not only exemplify a model of an ideal Buddhist ruler, but they also warn about the potential dangers of kings who do not act in Buddhist ways. Besides, although they generally show Aśoka as a righteous ruler, they also show him acting in a ruthless manner. In addition, at times Aśoka appears as a reformer of the community, and at times as responsible for the spread of the *dharmā* out of India. Thus, there is more ambiguity about kingship than is often admitted (Strong 2017, 4–5).

6 On the *Purāṇas* and the insertion of a royal ideology, see Inden (1990, 228–44; 2000b). On the composition and development of the Jaina universal history, see Bruhn (1954, 114–31).

7 On the *Prabandha* genre, see Deleu (1981).

8 In the *Kuvalayamālā*, the hero is Prince Kuvalayacandra; in the *Samarāiccakahā*, the main soul incarnates as a prince in six of nine existences: Guṇasena (1), Simha (2), Jaya (5), Sena (7), Guṇacandra (8), Samarāditya (9). In the *Bhuvanāsumdarī*, the two main heroes are the princes Harivikrama and Virasena.

9 See for instance Lienhard (1984, 31–34); Smith (1985, 55–102).

2. The Jinasena model

In his study, Dundas (1991) first points out how Jinasena's work is relevant for studying the Jaina perception of kingship insofar as it is probably addressed to King Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa, who seems to have favoured Jainism while remaining in the Hindu-Brahmanical tradition. Dundas then demonstrates the existence of three essential characteristics of the royal ideology presented by Jinasena. The first is the model of a Jainised king, exemplified by Bharata presented as a righteous king who conquers the four directions for the most part through his qualities of energy and calmness, without using violence. The second characteristic is the superiority of the model of spiritual kingship represented by Bāhubali over the model of temporal kingship represented by Bharata. Indeed, despite his qualities, Bharata reveals his imperfection when he is confronted with his half-brother Bāhubali. Twice he manifests the flaw of anger and its fatal consequences. The first time, anger leads Bharata into battle when Bāhubali refuses to acknowledge Bharata's authority on the sole ground that Bharata is the elder; the second time, fury leads Bharata to break his promise not to use weapons and to throw his magic discus against Bāhubali. Conversely, Bāhubali masters his passions, renounces the world, and becomes the first being in this world to attain deliverance. Thus, a hierarchy is clearly established between the two characters: while Bharata illustrates a temporal kingship that remains imperfect, Bāhubali manifests the triumph of spiritual kingship.¹⁰ The third characteristic is the presence of an exposition of royal *dharma* marked by Jaina values in chapter 42 of the *Ādipurāṇa*. According to this, the doctrine for distinguishing the true from the false is that enunciated by the Tīrthāṅkaras; the king is encouraged to renounce the world to protect his soul whereas in Hinduism kings are not required to renounce; and the subjects to be protected are not the Brāhmaṇas who rejoice in violence and meat-eating, but the Jainas, who are worthy of honour on account of their qualities rather than their birth.

3. Praising the path of royal renunciation

Against the theoretical and practical royal ideology contained in Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* for the Digambaras, what do we find in the contemporary or slightly later Śvetāmbara works composed by Haribhadra, Uddyotana, Śīlāṅka and

¹⁰ Bharata is a perfectible being since a year later he pays homage to Bāhubali. Nevertheless, a hierarchy is clearly established between the two characters (in a manner reminiscent of the opposition between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi in the universal history).

Vijayasimha? In the long narrative works selected, renunciation is — for kings as well as for other members of society — the successful outcome of a spiritual path of a being who experiences the upheaval provoked by the discourse of a master (*saṃvegin*), or of one who is provoked to awakening by the sight of an external event (*pratyekabuddha*).¹¹ Thus, in the *Samarāiccakahā*, when King Sena¹² and the merchant Bandhudeva go to pay homage to a superior nun who has just obtained omniscience,¹³ they are so impressed by the venerable nun’s speech that they become monks:

Immediately afterwards, the assembly was distressed. The king and Bandhudeva spoke up, “Venerable one, it is as you have indicated. By abandoning the refuge of our house, we shall adopt the *dharma* taught by the Tīrthaṅkaras.” The Venerable One replied, “It is at your pleasure, Majesty (beloved of the gods), do not delay.”¹⁴

In the same work, as King Simha¹⁵ prepares to do battle with an enemy king, he is awakened by a scene that leads him to adopt the monastic path:

As the king walked in that direction, what did he not see! An osprey was devouring an old snake with a large body, very black skin, which was dazzling with the flames of poison shooting from its protruding eyes. The snake itself was swallowing a bullfrog, whose head was frightening to see, so distorted was it by terror, and whose body was shaking with accelerated convulsions. And the osprey itself was being swallowed by a python with a body as wide as the trunk of a celestial elephant and terrifying red eyes. As the python devoured the osprey, the osprey swallowed the old snake, which in turn devoured the bullfrog.¹⁶

11 In the progression of a soul towards deliverance, the two types of awakening can occur alternately during the existences.

12 King Sena is the seventh existence of the main protagonist soul, of which nine existences are narrated in detail in the *Samarāiccakahā*.

13 She is called either *pravartinī* or *gaṇinī*.

14 *Samarāiccakahā* p. 574, ll. 8–10: *etthaṃtarammi saṃviggā sabhā. bhaṇiyam rāya-bandhudevehiṃ: bhayavaī evam eyam jaṇ taē āṇattam ti. paḍivajjāmo amhe gihāsama-pariccāeṇa titthayara-bhāsiyam dhammam. bhayavaīe bhaṇiyam: ahāsuham devāṇuppiyā, mā paḍi-baṇdham kareha.*

15 He is the second existence of the main soul.

16 *Samarāiccakahā* p. 145, ll. 6–10: *gao tam ceva bhūmi-bhāgam rāyā jāva diṭṭho teṇa mahā-kāo aikasiṇa-deha-chavī viṇimta-nayaṇa-visa-jālā-bhāsure gahiya-rasamta-maṇḍukka-gāso bhayāṇaya-viyariyāṇa-duppeccho duyayara-pavelliraṅgo mahayā kurareṇa gasijjamaṇo juṇṇa-bhuyamaṅgamo, kuraro vi dig-gaya-karoru-kāeṇa rattaccha-bībhacchaṇa ayagareṇa. jahā jahā ya*

Finally, King Guṇacandra¹⁷ contemplates a scene that made him think about the difference between life in the world where all expansion (of territory and wealth), even if aimed at service, leads to violence, and the life of a renunciant who abandons all violent action and possession:

He saw a river filled with water mixed with pieces of wood and blades of grass, which overflowed on all sides. It washed away the banks, destroyed the shelters, dirtied itself, teemed with cruel water creatures, lacked (pure) water suitable for wise people, was beset by eddies, knew no boundaries, and frightened people, starting with children, with all its frightening whirlpools. After watching this spectacle for a while, the king entered the city. Some time elapsed. In the autumn, as he went to the racetrack to run the horses, the king saw the same river. It was again in its natural state, filled with pure water, devoid of the cruel water creatures, and could serve for the consumption of the most refined beings. Seeing it thus, the king remembered his past experience and, by virtue of the maturation of the *karman* of this nature, he was very distressed. [...]

Even if this (conduct) allows one to provide for some people, it is no less cruel; indeed, it is not possible to achieve this highest goal without causing torment to others. What is more, the essential thing is the service rendered to the being. And this service cannot happen at all without abandoning all aggression and possession. In human life, this must be given. What good is something else that has no purpose?¹⁸

ayagaro kuraram gasai tahā tahā so vi juṇṇa-bhuyamgamam, juṇṇa-bhuyamgamo vi ya rasamta-maṇḍukkayam ti.

17 The 8th existence of the main soul.

18 *Samarāiccakahā* p. 773, l. 11 – p. 775, l. 11: *diṭṭhā sariyā kaṭṭha-taṇa-kalileṇa pūriyā jalohēṇa vittharamti savvao, nivāḍayamti kūlāṇi, viṇāsayaṇti ārāme, kalasayaṇti appānayaṇ, saṅgayā kūra-jalayarehiṇ, rahiya buha-jaṇa-sevaṇijjeṇa jaleṇa, ahitṭhiyā kallehiṇ, vajjiyā majjāyāe, accamta-bhisaṇeṇam mahāvatta-saṅghāeṇam bālāi-bhaya-jaṇaṇi tti. tam ca kamci velam pulaiya pavitṭho nayariṇ rāyā. aikkaṇtā kaii diyahā. saraya-samae āsa-parivāhaṇa-nimittam vāhiyāliṇ gacchamāṇeṇa puṇo payai-bhāva-tṭhiyā, saṅgayā sacchodaṇa, vajjiyā kūra-jalayarehiṇ, viṭṭha-jaṇovabhoya-saṅpāyaṇa-samatthā sa cceva diṭṭha tti. tam ca daṭṭhūṇa sumariya-puvva-vuttamtaṇṭassa rāiṇo tahā-kamma-pariṇai-vaseṇa samuppanno samveo. [...] tahā jāi vi kesimci davvovayāra-saṅpāyaṇa-samattham eyam, tahāvittaro; tao na anna-piḍāe viṇā paramatthao so vi sambhavaī. pahāṇo ya bhāvovayāro na yāparicattārambha-pariggaho savvahā tam saṅpāḍei. juttam ca maṇuya-bhāve tassa saṅpāyaṇam kim anneṇa niratthaṇam ti.*

This example clearly shows the hierarchy established by the monk-writer between the monastic path and the worldly path, in accordance with the parable of the two roads in the canonical tradition and repeated in the *Samarāiccakahā*.¹⁹

Several other indications suggest that the secular path is an intermediate stage of spiritual evolution. First, the hero himself, like King Purandaradatta in the *Kuvalayamālā*, recognises that he does not yet have the strength to take the monk's vows, and wishes to first abide by the vows of the Jaina layman:

The Venerable One said, "Then, Great King Purandaradatta, has some decision imposed itself on your heart?" At this, the king thought to himself, "The Venerable One surely knows then that I was here before." As he thought, he said, "Venerable One, everything is surely as you taught, but I am not yet ready to abandon the *kākoḍumbarī* figs of Kuḍaṅga Island.²⁰ Therefore, I ask you, Venerable One, to prescribe for me some form of embarkation more appropriate to myself by which I might cross this ocean that is the cycle of existences." The Venerable One said, "If such be your will, take, then, those five jewels that are the Lesser Vows, and the three Reinforcing Vows as well as the four Disciplinary Vows and observe thereby that *dharma* of the lay follower made of these twelve vows and founded in right belief."²¹

On the other hand, the master refuses ordination when a prince does not yet fulfil the conditions for adopting the monastic way of life, for example in the exchange of words between Prince Kuvalayacandra and the master Sāgaradatta:

"O you who have affection for all the souls of the universe, you granted me a great favour by arranging to have me carried away and by giving to me right

19 The parable of the two roads is referred to in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* vv. 904–906, and subsequently developed in the exegetical commentaries (*Āvaśyakacūrṇi* of Jinadāsa, *Āvaśyakavṛtti* of Haribhadra, *Āvaśyakavṛtti* of Malayagiri) and in the *Samarāiccakahā* p. 442, l. 1 – p. 445, l. 9; see Mette (2010, 127–30, translation; 334–36, commentary). Two roads can lead to deliverance: a road that is full of pitfalls (the monastic path), but straight and fast, and a comfortable road (the secular path), but with detours and therefore much longer.

20 This is an allusion to the parable dealt with elsewhere in the *Kuvalayamālā* (p. 88, l. 26 – p. 90, l. 20): see Chojnacki (2008, 282–86).

21 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 91, ll. 18–22: *bhaṇiyam ca bhagavayā, "bho bho mahārāya purandaradatta, kiṃ tuha valaggaṃ kiṃci hiyayammi?" tao rāṇā cintiyam, "ṇissamsayam jāṇio bhagavayā ihāgao" ti. ciṃtayaṃteṇa bhaṇiyam ca ṇeṇa, "bhagavam, jārisam tae samāiṭṭham tārisam savvam paḍivaṇṇam. kiṃtu ime kuḍaṅga-kāumbari-phalāṇi mottum ṇa cāemi. tā iha-tṭhiyassa ceya desu bhagavam, kiṃci saṃsāra-sāgara-taraṃḍayam" ti. bhagavayā bhaṇiyam, "jāi evam, tā geṇha imāim paṃcāṇuvvaya-rayañāim, tiṇṇi guṇa-vvayāim, cattāri sikkhā-vayāim, sammatta-mūlaṃ ca imam duvālasa-vihaṃ sāvaya-dhammaṃ aṇupālesu" ti.*

belief. Grant me, I pray you, one further favour and allow to me that embarkation across the great ocean that is the cycle of existences, I mean ordination according to the *dharma* of the Jinās.” The monk replied, “Prince, do not try to hurry matters so! For the present, what you must do is experience with happiness a *karman* whose fruit is pleasure. Once you have worn away this *karman*, you will be able to take ordination and lead the homeless life of a monk. But for the present, you must follow rather the *dharma* of the lay follower.”²²

Finally, the texts suggest that the only true kingship is spiritual kingship, insofar as the acquisition of *dharma* by a king or prince does not segue into the description of a temporal Jaina kingship, but rather into that of the progress of a Jaina layman who controls his passions in all the occasions of existence. Thus, in the *Bhuvanaśūndarī*, Prince Vīrasena goes to a temple to pay homage to the Jina before meeting the princess with whom he had fallen in love and from whom he had been separated when he set out to fight against King Narasiṃha, who had killed his father:

With his body quivering after the praise of the qualities of the goddess and intense contemplation, and with his face bathed in tears of joy, Vīrasena prostrated himself again. Then he said to his friend, “Bandhudatta, let me see Candraśrī! Would you be troubled by mistakenly believing that I am very unhappy?”²³

Much later in the romance, a courtesan falls in love with Prince Vīrasena, whom she sees in the temple of Vāsupūjya. Consequently, she decides to give a dance show in the temple in order to attract the prince. But, while Vīrasena praises her performance, he is not sensible to her charms, for that is not proper:

22 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 111, ll. 1–4: “bhayavaṃ savva-jaga-jīva-vacchala, mahānto esa me aṇuggaho kao, jeṇa avahārāvīūṇa sammattaṃ maha diṇṇaṃ ti. tā desu me mahā-saṃsāra-sāyara-taraṃḍayaṃ jiṇa-dhamma-dikkhāṇuggahaṃ” ti. muṇiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ, “kumāra, mā tāva tūrasu. aṇṇa vi tuha atthi muha-veyaṇijjaṃ bhoya-phalaṃ kammaṃ. to taṃ nijjariya aṇagāriyaṃ dikkhaṃ geṇhahiha tti. saṃpayāṃ puṇa sāvaya-dhammaṃ parivālesu” tti.

23 *Bhuvanaśūndarī* vv. 2160–2161: *iya devīe guṇatthū-mahattha-paribhāvaṇā-pulāiyāṅgo| āṇanda-bāha-pakkhāliyaṇaṇo paṇavaī puṇo vi|| to bhaṇaī vīraseṇo “dāvāsu maha bamdhudatta caṃdasirīṃ| aīdukkhio tti kāuṃ muhāe kiṃ mitta velavasi?||*.

The association of respectable beings with venal women is not suitable. My handsome friend, even when they feel love, courtesans are devoid of the fragrance of qualities.²⁴

A second time, after his marriage to Candraśrī, Virasena is separated from her because of royal matters he has to settle, and when he comes back, he does not indulge in the pleasure of reunion with his wife, whom he has not seen for a long time (vv. 6410–6415), and, on the advice of his friend Bandhudatta, does not delay in acting according to his duty:

There, after paying homage to the Jina, he applied the rule of self-control and fell asleep on the ground keeping the vow of chastity.²⁵

In contrast, kingship without the virtues of Jainism is prone to excesses. In the *Samarāiccakahā*, before his awakening by a Jaina monk, Prince Guṇasena (the hero's first birth) mocks the ugliness of the chaplain's son, Agniśarman, and torments him in various ways, driving him to despair and triggering his decision to leave the world:

To amuse himself, Prince Guṇasena made him dance among the townspeople to the sound of a great number of instruments — various drums, flutes, and cymbals — while the prince laughed and clapped his hands; he also made him ride a donkey at full speed many times up and down the royal road to a great fanfare accompanied by rousing drumbeat, carrying lotuses made of rags and being hailed with the titles of a great king while surrounded by a flock of jeering children. While being humiliated in this way every day by the prince as if by Yama incarnate, Agniśarman became detached.²⁶

24 *Bhuvanaśumdarī* vv. 5370cd-5371ab: *pannaṅgaṇāi-saṅgo garuyāṇaṃ aṅucio hoi|| aṅurattāu vi sumdara guṇa-gaṇḍha-vivajjiyāo vesāo|*.

25 *Bhuvanaśumdarī* v. 6419: *tattha vi jiṇa-pūyā-puvvam eva nivattiūṇa niyama-vihim| so bambhacera-dhārī pāsutto bhūmi-sayaṇammi||*.

26 *Samarāiccakahā* p. 11, l. 11 – p. 12, l. 4: *taṃ ca kouhalleṇa kumāra-guṇaseṇo pahaya-paḍu-paḍaha-muiṅga-vaṇsa-kaṃsālaya-ppahāṇeṇa mahayā tūreṇa nayara-jaṇa-majjhe sahattha-tālaṃ hasaṃto naccāvei, rāsahammi āroviyaṃ, pahatṭha-bahu-ḍim̐bha-vim̐da-parivāriyaṃ, chittaramaya-dhariya-poṇḍariyaṃ, maṇaharuttāla-vajjanta-ḍim̐dim̐aṃ, āroviya-mahārāya-saddaṃ, bahuso rāya-magge su-turiya-turiyaṃ him̐ḍāvei| evaṃ ca paḍiṇaṃ kayam̐teṇeva teṇa kayatthijjantaṃ tassa veragga-bhāvaṇā jāyā.*

In the same work, Haribhadra describes at length a prison, which appears, as in the Buddhist sources,²⁷ to symbolise the violent rule of King Ānanda who had cast his father Sīmha there:

The prison was full of an overwhelming smell of excrement, with reptiles sleeping on its dilapidated walls; with swarms of buzzing flies and mosquitoes; with a quantity of rats issuing from the openings of cavities and holes, with creepers of serpents hanging from above; with a canopy formed of cobwebs; it was like the abode of the age of evil, the pleasure ground of a lack of piety, the brother of the Sīmantaka hell, the assembly hall of the multitude of all miseries, the paternal home of all torments, the resting place of death, and the field of success of the god of death.²⁸

Other works also give various examples of bad kings who were violent, proud, and immoral. In the *Bhuvanāsumdarī*, in an attempt to expand his kingdom, King Narasīmha kills Śūrasena, the King of Campā, and usurps his place:

In time, the child was born (to Śūrasena), and only three days after his birth, the city of Campā was surrounded by kings in all directions. Śūra(sena) gave the name Vīrasena to his son and engaged in battle. Then, in spite of his victory in battle, he was killed dishonestly. Then Narasīmha became the king of the city of Campā, whose territory Śūra himself had rendered free from insurgency.²⁹

The text implies the unworthiness of this king in several ways: he did not respect the ten-day period allowed for the giving of the name; he killed his enemy dishonourably and replaced a king who had been able to get rid of potential enemies.

27 See Strong (2017, 4).

28 *Samarāiccakahā* p. 151, ll. 1–4: *taṃ ca accarīta-nimmahamāṇa-purīsa-kalamala-gaṇḍharī phañḍiya-bhitti-pasutta-sirīsvaṇi, bhīṇibhīṇāyamāṇa-masaya-makkhiyā-jālaṇi dari-vivara-muhaviṇiggaya-mūsa-ukkerāṇi uvari-vilaṇbamāṇoraya-nimmoyaṇi lūya-taṇtu-viraīya-viyāṇayaṇi vāsaharaṇi piva dussamāe, līlā-bhūmiṇi piva adhammassa, sahoayaṇi piva sīmaṇtayassa, sahā viva savva-dukkha-samudayaṇaṇi, kulaharaṇi piva savva-jāyaṇāṇaṇi, vissāma-bhūmiṇi piva maccuṇo, siddhi-khettaṇi piva kayaṇtassa tti.*

29 *Bhuvanāsumdarī* vv. 1788–1790: *jāo kāla-kameṇaṇi taiya-diṇe tammi jāya-mettammi| nīsesa-disārāehiṇi veḍhiyā caṇpā-vara-nayaṇi|| siri-vīrasena-nāmaṇi kāuṇi puttassa kuṇai saṇgāmaṇi| vijie vi hu saṇgāme akkhatteṇaṇi hao sūro|| to sūreṇa sayāṇi ciya nikkāṇṭi-kaya-dharā-yalucchaṇge| naraśiḥo saṇjāo rāyā caṇpāe nayaṇi||.*

In the same work, King Narasiṃha is angry with his astrologer who announces the arrival of his enemy in the city instead of indicating to him the right moment for the departure of his army:

Then not trusting the word of his astrologer and full of pride, King Narasiṃha, in anger and with forehead red with fury, cried out:
 “Ah, you astrologer, you know nothing, how could this being cause me harm? How could the mightiest of fireflies suppress the splendour of the sun? Its arrival is not possible! In short, you were wrong in your prediction. How could an inhabitant of the earth have arrived here since he does not fly?”³⁰

In each case, remorse and the adoption of the monastic path begins to redeem the faults of the hero as he progresses through his subsequent existences.

Among the faults associated with the royal *dharma*, a delicate point is the use of violence, which has been reflected in various ways in literary works. Thus, as Peterson (2003, 136) has observed, in the early centuries CE, Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita* presents Siddhārtha rejecting the warrior *dharma* and adopting the *dharma* of Buddhist renunciation leading to deliverance, while later works echo the debates over royal *dharma* and offer alternative points of view, such as Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīya* (c. 5th cent.), which reflects diverse religious attitudes. While Indra in the *Kirātārjunīya* presents the ideal of the renunciant and the *dharma* of the cessation of all action (and thus condemns the warrior *dharma* in terms reminiscent of the Buddhist and Jaina positions), Arjuna gives him a response that represents the solution of the Brahmanic social system and aims to show the legitimacy of the violence of the royal *dharma* (Peterson 2003, 133). In the *Kapphiṇābhūdaya* (9th century),³¹ as noted by Hahn (2019, 121–22), Śivaśvāmin insists that the violence of war must only be a last resort and imagines a miracle of the Buddha averting deaths on the battlefield.³²

30 *Bhuvanaśumdarī* vv. 5210–5212: *to bhaṇāi sa-kova-maṇo narasiho rosa-tambira-niḍālo/ nemittiyassa vayanam asaddahanto sa-gavvo ya// re joisiya ayāṇaya! teṇa vi maha kaha ṇu kīrai aṇattho?/ balio vi hu khajjoo kaha teo haṇāi sūrasa?// sambhavaī na āgamaṇam gaṇamāṇo savvahā tumam bhullo/ kaham ettha so pahutto bhūcārī jaṇ na so khayaro//*

31 For an edition of the text and a partial translation, see Hahn (2007; 2013).

32 See also Hahn (2019, 124), “The remarkable thing is the fact that the poem is entitled *King Kapphiṇa’s Triumph*, that a military defeat is declared a success. This makes the message of the poem clear: More important than success or failure or what has been undertaken is what one has gained from it spiritually. King Kapphiṇa’s triumph is the fact that he met the Buddha and that he understood and internalized his doctrine.”

In the eight-to-tenth-century narrative works under consideration, the Śvetāmbara monk-writers clearly reject the use of violence. Indeed, kings who provoke fierce battles and kill human beings suffer the consequences in a miserable fate. Thus, in the *Caüppannamahāpurisacariya*, which gives one of the versions of the universal history of the Śvetāmbara tradition, several kings go to hell for cutting off the heads of their enemies, such as the *cakravartin* Subhūma:

Once Subhūma had killed Paraśurāma because of his anger towards him, he deprived the land of Brāhmaṇas twenty-one times.

Then, after ruling the land of Bharata consisting of six parts and increasing his prestige, Subhūma came to the end of his life and obtained an infernal destiny.³³

In addition, the authors devise various narrative stratagems for the avoidance of violence. To begin with, fight scenes are few and far between in the *Samarāiccakahā*, as well as in the *Kuvalayamālā* and the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria*.³⁴ Second, when further developing the battle scenes, the writer-monks are careful to circumscribe them in several ways. In the one developed scene of the *Samarāiccakahā*, the description of the march of a majestic army is longer than that of the fight.³⁵ In the *Bhuvanāsumdarī*, the sometimes lengthy war scenes depict single combat that mostly ends without violence (except a rogue Vidyādhara).³⁶ Thirdly, in the struggle between two kings, several devices are used to

33 *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 167, ll. 21–22: *paḍiyamma parasurāmammi to subhūmeṇa tassa roseṇa| vārāo ekka-vīsaṃ kayā mahī bambhaṇa-vihūṇā|| bhottūṇa bharaḥa-vāsaṃ chakkhamḍaṃ vaḍḍhiṇṇa ya payāvaṃ| āyua-khayamma patto aho-gaiṃ taha subhūmo tti||*

34 There are three such passages in the *Samarāiccakahā*: a battle between King Sanatkumāra and King Vidyādhara Anaṅgarati (p. 427, ll. 1–5), Anaṅgarati's troops (p. 431, ll. 1–5), and the clash of the armies of Sena and Muktāpīṭha (pp. 636–642, vv. 604–644); in the *Kuvalayamālā* three passages: the battle fought by General Suṣeṇa (p. 10, ll. 3–11), a duel between Prince Kuvalayacandra and Prince Darpariḥa (p. 136, ll. 8–29), and the fight between Prince Vajragupta and a Vidyāsiddha (p. 252, ll. 1–30); in the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* several battle scenes: between the kings Puruṣasimha and Niśumbha (p. 136, ll. 8–24); between the kings Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha (p. 188, l. 8 – p. 189, l. 2); between the kings Brahma-datta and Dīrgha (p. 241, l. 23 – p. 242, l. 12); and the battle in the imagination of the royal ascetic Prasannacandra against his ministers plotting to usurp the throne he had left to his young son (p. 308, ll. 1–10).

35 The advance of the armies is described in verses 592 to 622, the battle in verses 623 to 644.

36 The *Bhuvanāsumdarī* describes the fights between Harivikrama and the *kṣetrapāla* Khaṇḍakapāla (vv. 264–268, 296–310), between Vīrasena and King Narasimha (vv. 1998–2005, 5655–5668, 5678–5690, 5704–5714), between Vīrasena and the Rākṣasa (vv. 2775–2783), between Vīrasena and the Vidyādhara Aśoka (vv. 3240–3283), between Vīrasena

emphasise non-violence. A recurring motif is the hero's compassion for his enemy. In the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria*, Prince Brahmadata fights against Dīrgha — a king who is a friend of Brahmadata's late father and has become his mother's lover to ensure that Brahmadata will no longer be a threat to the extension of his power – but when Brahmadata triumphs, he forgives Dīrgha for his sinful action in the name of his father's friendship with him.³⁷ In the *Bhuvanāsumdarī*, the hero-king Vīrasimha saves the lives of several of his enemies, including King Narasimha (v. 2019) and the Vidyādhara Aśoka (v. 3216). Another motif is the enemy's recognition of the heroic king's merit. For example, in the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra, King Muktāpīṭha attacks the territory of King Sena. The latter defeats him in single combat but spares his life. Muktāpīṭha then acknowledges Sena's victory, while Sena in turn dismisses Muktāpīṭha back to his own kingdom without taking advantage of his position. (p. 642, l. 11 – p. 643, l. 3). An even more frequent motif is the enemy's utterance of the formula of homage to the five supreme entities, which makes the hero-king recognise a co-religionist. Thus, in the *Kuvalayamālā*, the prince confronts the leader of the Bhillas who have assailed the caravan, but at the decisive moment when he is about to triumph, he hears the Bhilla chieftain pronounce the formula of homage. Thereupon, the enemy becomes a friend, and the irreparable action is not committed.³⁸ In the *Bhuvanāsumdarī*, the author presents a long battle scene between Prince Aśoka and a Vidyādhara, ending with a climactic moment when Aśoka pronounces homage to the five supreme entities (vv. 3240–3283). Similarly, at the apogee of a long battle between Bandhudatta and the Vidyādharas (vv. 3668–3831), the situation turns around and violence gives way to forgiveness when the Vidyādhara king Śekhara pronounces the formula of homage (vv. 3832–3833).

Thus, the long narrative works of the 8th-10th centuries clearly show the supremacy of royal renunciation and the rejection of violence from the *dharma* of a ruler in a Śvetāmbara context before the turn of the first millennium. Moreover, as will now be seen, they are even more conservative than the Digambara *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, since they do not know of a secular royal *dharma*, and in the biography of Bharata and Bāhubali they give each of the heroes traits that

and some Rākṣasī sent by King Narasimha (vv. 5473–5491), between Vīrasena and the *yogin* (vv. 5740–5746), between Vīrasena, the goddess and the *yogin* (vv. 5766–5795), between Vīrasena and a Vidyādhara (vv. 7202–7207), between Harivikrama and King Mahābala (vv. 8282–8289).

37 *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 242, ll. 15–17.

38 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 137, ll. 8–9.

illustrate the primacy of the path of renunciation more clearly than in the Digambara version.

4. The conservatism of the Śvetāmbara sources

In the *Kuvalayamālā* there is, in addition to the examples in the narrative, a long dialogical passage which clearly shows royal renunciation as the goal of kingship and the non-existence of a secular royal *dharma*.³⁹ Indeed, while referring to a *dharma* passed on by rulers from generation to generation and mentioning the medium of a copper tablet on which royal edicts are inscribed, Uddyotana does not seek to define a royal *dharma* marked by Jaina values, but unequivocally substitutes it with the monastic *dharma*, as both the context and the content show. The context presents an ageing king, Dṛḍhavarman. He tells his son Kuvalayacandra that he now wishes to live religiously but does not know which *dharma* to adopt to proceed towards deliverance. The prince's stratagem is not to impose on his father the Jaina path that he himself has adopted, but to invite him to consult their tutelary deity so that she can give him the *dharma* that has been in force in their family for generations. The king could thus adopt it confidently since many kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty (to which the Jina Ṛṣabha and other holy figures of Jainism belong) have obtained deliverance through it. The king complies and prays to the family goddess Lakṣmī to grant him this favour. On the second watch of the second night, the goddess gives him a golden tablet with the family *dharma* that was once the Ikṣvākus'.

Moreover, the content of the *dharma* presented in the *Kuvalayamālā* has features similar in part to that enunciated in the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena.⁴⁰ Indeed, in the royal *dharma* which King Dṛḍhavarman receives, Uddyotana mentions three of the five areas in which a king's protection must be exercised: the three jewels of the doctrine —

39 *Kuvalayamālā* pp. 201, l. 32–202, l. 30.

40 See Dundas (1991, 182): “According to the *Ādipurāṇa* (42.3–4), the *kṣatriyas* were enjoined by Ṛṣabha to protect and the objects of their protection are five: religious community (*kula*) (i.e. those who are suitable for ordination), doctrine, self, subjects and equality.”

The purity of faith, the acquisition of right knowledge and the support of right conduct are the agents of deliverance and the source of all forms of happiness.⁴¹

the king's subjects —

When such is the supreme reality, how is it that one can fight against the soul in the body? Only beings prey to delusion would fight against a soul which is, in fact, no different from their own selves.⁴²

and the *ātman* —

Show benevolence towards souls, show respect towards those who possess good qualities, o you who are firm of character, show charity towards the unfortunate, and show indifference to the prideful.⁴³

Nonetheless, the royal *dharma* of the *Kuvalayamālā* is essentially about the king renouncing the world and adopting the monastic life to undertake a spiritual conquest leading to deliverance. Thus, the imperfection of temporal power is explicitly denounced:

Know you, o king, that every soul that you see in this world has made itself drunk with the intoxicating liquor of power and of glory, and this fate too was my own.⁴⁴

Moreover, the five vows to be adopted are clearly those of the monk and not of the layman, since they include the rejection of the world —

O king, it is this *dharma* that you must adopt, which involves the detachment of the world.⁴⁵

Finally, the conduct of discipline recommended for the king is unequivocally characteristic of the renunciant's way of life. Not only must the king achieve a spiritual conquest by becoming a monk and dominating his senses —

41 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 201, l. 33: *daṁsaṇa-visuddhi-ṇāṇassa saṁpayā caraṇa-dhāraṇaṁ ceya| mokkhassa sādheyāiṁ sayala-suhāṇaṁ ca mūlāiṁ||*.

42 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 9: *iya evaṁ paramatthe kaha paharijjaü jiyassa dehammi| attāṇa-ṇivvisese mūḍhā paharaṁti jiyammi||*.

43 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 12: *jīesu kuṇasu mettīṁ guṇavaṁte kuṇasu āyaraṁ dhīra| kuṇasu dayam dīṇa-maṇe kuṇasu uvekkhaṁ ca gavviyāe||*.

44 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 11: *jaṁ jaṁ jayammi jīvaṁ peccasi siri-vihavamaya-maümmattam| tam tam maṇṇasu ṇaravara erisao āsi ahayaṁ pi||*.

45 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 3: *tam ṇaravara geṇha tumam dhammam aha hoi jattha veraggo|*.

Practice austerity in such a manner as to be completely pure! Cause to cease, without fear, that enemy that the senses represent! When angry, pacify yourself! Be mindful that, in love, there is always lust as well!

Against pride be humble! When there is an opportunity for deception, display uprightness! Vanquish greed through disinterestedness and delusion with the weapon of knowledge!⁴⁶

but he must also wander in search of one's alms and eat according to the monastic rule —

Do not cook your food! Seek your alms and eat according to the rule! Do not act unreflectingly and immerse yourself in study!⁴⁷

Moreover, in the treatment of the biography of Bharata and Bāhubali, unlike the *Ādipurāṇa*'s exposition of two royal paths — that of the lay king protecting the Jaina devotees, and that of the renouncing king whose asceticism leads him to deliverance — the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* advocates a Śvetāmbara path by which Bharata achieves a limited exercise of power and Bāhubali an unsuccessful royal renouncement. Indeed, unlike the Digambara version of Jinasena, the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* gives little importance to Bharata's role as representing temporal royalty. Thus, once he has been consecrated in the royal function by his father Ṛṣabha, who had renounced the world (40.8), Bharata is involved in only two episodes. The first is the famous one in which he fights a battle to enlarge his territory and uses a magical discus to ensure his triumph against Bāhubali, and the second is one in which, while leading the life of a king, he realises the futility of the beautiful appearance conferred on him by his royal finery. While the former illustrates the violence associated with royal *dharma* and the perfidy involved in the appetite for conquest,⁴⁸ the latter only briefly alludes to his activity as a ruling king:

Bharata suitably protected the royal fortune, enjoyed pleasures, had shrines built with the likenesses of all the Tīrthaṅkaras on the Aṣṭāpada, had eight

46 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 15–16: *kuṇasu tavaṃ su-visuddho irṇḍiya-sattum nīrumbha bhaya-rahio| kovammi kuṇaha khamtiṃ asuiṃ cīṃtesu kāmammi|| māṇammi hosu paṇao māyā-ṭhāṇammi ajjavaṃ kuṇasu| lohaṃ ca aloheṇaṃ jiṇa mohaṃ ṇāṇa-pahaṇāhiṃ||*

47 *Kuvalayamālā* p. 202, l. 18: *mā kuṇasu pāga-kiriyaṃ bhikkhaṃ bhamiūṇa bhumiṃjasu vihiē| mā acchasa ṇicciṃto sajjhāe hosu vakkhitto||*

48 Similarly, Strong (2017, 14) observes that the ambiguity of Aśoka's kingship is inherent in his character and not erased with his conversion to Buddhism in one version of the story of the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā.

paces cut into Mount Aṣṭāpada, and instituted a great festival for Indra's thumb.⁴⁹

This clearly attests to the fact that temporal kingship is of no interest to the monastic author Śīlāṅka, especially when viewed in contrast with the way he develops in two stages the defects of the royal life, which prevent renunciation and hinder the spiritual progress leading to deliverance. First, he presents Bharata's reaction to the news of the deliverance of his father — the first Jina Ṛṣabha — not as that of a devout king, but of a frivolous king seeking oblivion from grief in the pleasures of royal life. Secondly, he emphasises Bharata's realisation that without his royal ornaments his body looks poor:

One day, to entertain his heart, upset because he had learned of the Lord Ṛṣabha's deliverance, he went to bathe in the company of the women of his harem. Having played various games in the water, he left the vicinity of the pool, entered the hall of mirrors to examine all his limbs, and then began to inspect them. As he was slowly examining himself, he noticed that the jewel on his toe had slipped off. Seeing that toe without its gleam, he asked himself, "Why does it not shine like the other limb?" After this thought, he understood that it was because it had no ornament. Immediately afterwards, the darkness of delusion disappeared and the cloud of *karman* dissipated. Then he said to himself, "We must think of a purification for this cursed body filled with defilements such as flesh, blood, marrow, faecal matter, urine, and excrement, which naturally feeds on all sorts of essentially impure things; it shines when enhanced by the beauty of adventitious and artificial ornaments, and not otherwise."⁵⁰

Śīlāṅka expands on the above narrative with a group of eight verses (p. 50, ll. 9–16) presenting Bharata's reflections condemning the body and the trappings of

49 *Caūppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 50, ll. 1–2: *io ya bharaho pāliūṇa jahociyaṃ rāya-siriṃ, bhunjiūṇa bhoe, kāūṇa atthāvae savva-titthayara-sa-rūva-saṇṇihāiṃ ceiyāiṃ, nimmaviūṇa atthapaya-paricchiṇṇaṃ atthāvayaṃ, parūviya-sakkaṅguli-mahimḍusavo.*

50 *Caūppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 50, ll. 2–8: *aṇṇayā usabha-sāmi-nivvāṇa-gamaṇāyaṇṇa-jāya-saṃvega-hiyaya-viṇoyañatthaṃ saha aṇṇeuriyā-jaṇṇaṃ majjiuṃ payatto. tao majjiūṇa vivihakilāhiṃ, mottūṇa sara-varucchaṅgaṃ, savvāvayava-nirūvaṇatthaṃ āyaṃsa-haraṃ pavitṭho samāṇo nirūvium āḍhatto sarirāvayave. saṇiyāṃ ca nirūvaṃtassa viyaliyaṃgutthala-rayāṇo samavaloio aṅgutṭhao. tao taṃ asobhamāṇaṃ pecchiūṇa cimtīyaṃ: "kim esa avarāvayavo va ṇa sohai?" tti. cimtīyaṃteṇa vavagayāharaṇo tti viṇṇāyaṃ, tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca viyaliyaṃ mohamaḍhayāraṃ, vihaḍiyaṃ kamma-vaḍalaṃ. tao cimtīuṃ āḍhatto "eyassa haya-sarirassa payatīe savvāsui-pahāṇāhārassa maṃsa-soṇiya-majjāmejjha-mutta-purisāi-mala-bhariyassa cintījāṃtaṃ kiṃci sohaṇaṃ ti, āgaṃtuga-kittimāharaṇa-sohālaṃkio esa chajjai, ṇa aṇṇaha" tti.*

royal fortune. The passage concludes with the effects of awareness, which quickly lead to his successful royal renunciation:

At these thoughts he experienced detachment, reviled the body, renounced royal glory, and began to slowly remove all his other adornments. Seeing that the more he removed the ornaments from the limbs of his body, the less he shone, he became ever more detached. As awareness grew in him, he gradually acquired supernatural knowledge, his remaining *karman* became reduced to the auspicious maturation of what he had accumulated during other existences, and thus he reached the stage of unprecedented purity, the scale of the annihilation of *karman*, and then omniscience.⁵¹

The way Śīlānka treats Bharata's temporal kingship makes it clear that at best it is a stepping stone to the monastic path, but not a political path as it is for Jināsena.

As for Bāhubali, he is not the glorified hero that he is in the *Ādipurāṇa*. To be sure, both Jināsena and Śīlānka present Bāhubali as a king who prefers royal renunciation culminating in an ascetic life and deliverance to the victory of the king-warrior. But while their treatment of the battle and its outcome is similar,⁵² that of the ascetic life is very different. In the *Ādipurāṇa*, Jināsena praises in 70 verses the practice of difficult asceticism and self-control that gives Bāhubali supernatural powers.⁵³ On the other hand, the faults that prevent Bāhubali from

51 *Caiṣṣannamahāpurisacaria* p. 50, ll. 17–21: *evam-āi veragga-bhāviya-maṇo ṇimdiūṇa sarīraṃ, parihariūṇa rāya-sirīṃ, saṇiyam sesālamkāraṃ moiūm āḍhatto. jao jao sarīrāvayavāo avaneī bhūsaṇaṃ so so ṇa tahā chajjāi tti suṭṭhuyaraṃ veraggam oṇṇo. tao pavaḍḍhamāṇa-sarīvegassa paī-samayaṃ uttarottarāsāiya-jjhāṇāisayassa bhavantarabbhāsāsāiya-suha-pariṇāmāvesiya-kamma-rāsiṇo apuvva-karaṇaṃ, khavaga-seḍhī, samuppaṇṇaṃ kevala-ṇāṇaṃ*. From the eighth stage (*apūrva-karaṇa*), two scales are possible, that of the appeasement of *karman* (*upaśama-sreṇi*) and that of the annihilation of *karman* (*kṣapaka-sreṇi*). While the former enables a being to go up to the eleventh stage of spiritual qualification, the latter enables him to climb all fourteen stages and attain omniscience and deliverance (von Glasenapp 1984, 195–99; 1942, 72–74).

52 Contrast *Ādipurāṇa* 36.1–104 (from battle to renunciation), v. 102 (Bharata's remorse) with *Caiṣṣannamahāpurisacaria* p. 47, l. 21 – p. 48, l. 8 (from battle to renunciation), p. 48, ll. 8–17 (Bharata's remorse) and p. 48, ll. 18–19 (Bharata's rule).

53 Thus, the royal monk has his body emaciated by his harsh asceticism (vv. 112, 150–151); he is equanimous and suffers all sorrows (vv. 115–116); he is not influenced by the senses (v. 117); he keeps away from women (v. 120); he is indifferent (v. 121) and silent (v. 122); he controls all his passions (vv. 129–131), he is pure (vv. 137, 147); he gains extraordinary powers (vv. 146, 153, 155), he practices pure meditation and contemplations (vv. 159–160, 184) and has a calming influence on all animals and other creatures (vv. 164–183).

attaining omniscience are his conduct towards his elder brother Bharata (whose deceit in their battle had been prompted by Bāhubali's refusal to relinquish his part of their territory), and the fact that they have not reconciled since. But in this case only Bharata, and not Bāhubali, was responsible for the lack of reconciliation, and for this reason Bāhubali suffered only from a small impediment to the rise of his omniscience.

In contrast, in the *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria*, Śīlānka devotes very few lines to asceticism and, what is more, he mentions this asceticism not to praise Bāhubali's patience, but to give his sisters Brāhmī and Sundarī an opportunity to express surprise that he had not attained omniscience earlier.

Elsewhere, while Bāhubali had spent a year practising difficult mortification of the body, Brāhmī and Sundarī, very much affected, said to the Venerable Ṛṣabha, friend of the three worlds and progenitor of the universe, when they had the opportunity to speak: "Venerable One, Bāhubali has spent many days practising difficult asceticism, yet because of the destruction coming from the darkness of delusion and because of the formation of obscuring and obstructive *karman*, omniscience does not occur for him. So, Venerable One, please tell us, what is the cause of this obstructive *karman* even today?"⁵⁴

Moreover, the defect obstructing Bāhubali's omniscience is not his relationship with Bharata, but his own pride, which prevented him from coming to prostrate before Ṛṣabha and his brothers younger than him. Ultimately, he is unable to remedy this himself, he must be awakened by his sisters, which is a way of emphasising an important impediment to omniscience.

The Venerable One said, Bāhubali has destroyed many *karmans*, but he is under the influence of a fraction of the *karman* of delusion, and while he is under its influence, omniscience does not occur; he is under the influence of pride, which is a fraction of the *karman* of delusion, and immediately after your words he will experience the appeasement of that *karman*, so go quickly to Bāhubali. At the behest of the Venerable One (Ṛṣabha), the two sisters went to Bāhubali and said to him, "Venerable One, for you who have understood the true nature of the cycle of existences, who consider equally blades of grass and jewels or clay and gold, who have given up all attachments, it is not

54 *Caüppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 48, ll. 20–22: *io ya saṁvaccharaṁ jāva dukkaraṁ kāya-kilesam aṇuhavaṁtassa bāhubaliṇo taccamta-piḍiyāhiṁ baṁbhi-suṁdarīhiṁ bhaṇṇo kahāvasare telokka-baṁdhū jaga-piyāmahō bhagavaṁ usabha-sāmi jahā: bhayavaṁ bahūṇi divasāṇi bāhubaliṇo dukkaraṁ tava-caraṇaṁ caraṁtassa, na ya se mohāṁdhayāra-khaṇṇam āvaraṇaṁtarāya-vihaḍaṇṇaṁ kevala-ṇāṇaṁ samuppajjai, tā sāheu bhayavaṁ kim ajja vi puṇam aṁtarāya-kāraṇaṁ? ti.*

appropriate to ride on the beautiful elephant. Representing this to yourself, please get off the elephant!”⁵⁵

This hindrance takes on special significance when we compare the biographies of Bāhubali. Indeed, while in the Śvetāmbara version of Śīlāṅka, pride appears at the time of asceticism, in Jinasena’s work it appears as a recurrent trait of the royal character before ordination,⁵⁶ which causes him to wage war against Bharata and provoke that hero’s misconduct. But there, this defect disappears, and only his good qualities remain, once Bāhubali has adopted royal renunciation. By insisting on the persistence of Bāhubali’s defect into monastic life, the Śvetāmbara sources suggest not only that temporal kingship is a source of heavy impediments to liberation, but that it is all the more necessary to adopt the Jaina virtues for the royal dharma even before becoming a monk. Moreover, in Śīlāṅka’s work (*Caūppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 48, l. 20 – p. 49, l. 13), the very structure of the episode emphasises that the mention of pride in the ascetic life is not an anecdotal detail. Indeed, the reflections on the evils of pride occupy more than half of the passage, and so they contrast even more with the brevity of the narrative that follows once the hero remedies this defect:

After these reflections, he again said to himself, “What is the use of following this path taken by unwise beings? I will go to the Venerable One (Ṛṣabha), I will see my brothers who have obtained pure eminent knowledge.⁵⁷ I have long had a great desire to speak to these eternal beings.” So, as the towering mountain of pride disappeared and the cloud of delusion dissipated, Bāhubali pushed back a multitude of creepers⁵⁸ along with the creeper of deceit and went to the Venerable One (Ṛṣabha). Thereupon — as the net of his misguidance due to heavy *karman* was unravelling and as he had only been prevented from supernatural knowledge by pride — he gradually attained on the scale

55 *Caūppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 48, ll. 23–27: *bhayavayā bhaṇiyam: khīṇa-bahu-kammo bāhubalī, kiṃtu mohaṇiyāvayavodae vaṭṭai, ṇa ya tassodaye vaṭṭamāṇassa kevala-ṇāṇam uppajjai, tassa mohaṇiyāvayavamāṇodao vaṭṭai, so ya tumha vayaṇāṇamītarā evovasamaṇ gacchai tti, tā siggham vaccaha bāhubali-samīvaṇ. tao tāo bhagavayāsesaṇam gayāo bāhubali-samīvaṇ. bhaṇio ya tāhirī bāhubalī: bhayavaṇ, vīya-saṃsāra-sahāvassa sama-taṇa-maṇi-leṭṭhu-kamcaṇassa catta-sayala-saṃgassa ṇa juttamī gaya-varārohaṇam ti, tā sayam eva viyappiṇa hatthīo oyaraha tubbhe.*

56 35, v. 1 *dodarpa*; v. 4 *durgarvita*; v. 8 *mānadhana*; v. 9 *mānoddhata*; v. 10 *durmadin*.

57 The expressions ‘eminent knowledge’ (*jñānātīśaya*) and ‘supernatural knowledge’ (*divyajñāna*) may refer more generally to the three types of suprasensory knowledge (*atīndriyajñāna*) including clairvoyance and telepathy, but the author uses them here in the restricted sense of omniscience.

58 While Bāhubali has meditated, immobile, for one year, vines have grown around him, as is also represented in the gigantic statue at Śravaṇa Belgōla.

of *karman* annihilation the divine omniscience which enables one to recognise the categories of the past, future and present. Having arrived at the Lord (Ṛṣabha), he sat in the assembly of the omniscient.⁵⁹

5. Conclusion

While the fourteenth-century *Prabandhas* make it clear that the Śvetāmbaras did adopt the model of a secular king by the middle of the twelfth century, the long Śvetāmbara narrative works composed before the end of the first millennium are far from showing the figure of a Jaina king as opposed to a Digambara model of a royal renunciant. As a matter of fact, they are more conservative than the Digambara sources, insofar as they do not present a Jainised lay king like the Bharata of the ninth-century *Ādipurāṇa* and, what is more, they disparage the royal figure even after he has undertaken the monastic path. Thus, they reveal a Śvetāmbara path that retains a clear opposition between a temporal kingship associated with vices and passions, and a spiritual kingship that noble souls embrace as soon as possible. In this regard the Śvetāmbara sources of the 8th to 10th centuries are also more conservative than the Buddhist *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* of Śivasvāmin (9th century). Indeed, like the Śvetāmbara sources, the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* does not present an image of a temporal kingship; but unlike them, and like the Digambara sources, it valorises the figure of the royal ascetic. In the story of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, King Praseṇajit attains worldly victory through the power of a miracle of the Buddha. The real triumph, however, goes to the eponymous Kapphiṇa, who suffers a worldly defeat but wins the spiritual battle. As a matter of fact, the Buddha manifests himself to him, recognises him as an *arhant* and as capable of adopting the monastic path once he has carried out his royal duties. The respective positions of each religious school would be in accordance with the political situation, where Śvetāmbaras and Buddhists lacked royal support in the North, while Digambaras were in favour with kings in Karnataka.

59 *Caūppannamahāpurisacaria* p. 49, ll. 9–13: *evaṃ ciṃtiūṇa puṇar avi ciṃtiyaṃ: “kim aṇeṇābuhajaṇāiṇṇeṇa maggeṇa? tti tā gacchāmi bhagavao samīvaṃ, peccāmi ya vimaluppaṇṇa-ṇāṇāisae ṇiyaya-bhāuṇo, aṇāi-ṇihāṇāṇ jaṃtūṇaṃ kāla-bhūya-mahallaya-vivakkha” tti. vibhāvīūṇa viyaliya-guru-māṇa-pavvaeṇa vavagaya-moha-paḍaleṇaṃ avañiūṇa māya-vallīe saha valli-viyāṇaṃ samuccalio bhagavao samīvaṃ. etthaṃtarammi viyaliya-mahā-kamma-moha-jālassa māṇa-mettāvāriya-divva-ṇāṇassa khavaga-seḍhīe kameṇuppaṇṇaṃ tiyāṇāgaya-saṃpaya-payatthubbhāsagaṃ divvaṃ kevalaṃ ṇāṇaṃ. gaṃtūṇa sāmi-samīve kevali-parisāe āsiṇo tti.*

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See page xvi about references to primary sources.

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