

MANUSCRIPT ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE  
UTTARĀDHYAYANA SŪTRA

REPRODUCED AND DESCRIBED

BY

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WITH 150 FIGURES ON 46 PLATES

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## PREFACE

The materials for this study were collected by me while in India during the academic year 1934-35, at which time I visited many Jain libraries and had the opportunity to examine much source material. The present work, with the works I have published on the Story of Kālaka and the Miniature Paintings of the Kalpasūtra, completes, as far as I know, the exploitation of the series of illustrations appearing repeatedly in manuscripts of Jain works before the end of the 16th century.

The opportunity to go to India for collecting this and other material was made possible through the generosity of the American Council of Learned Societies, acting through its Committee on Grants in Aid of Research, the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia Museum of Arts, which together contributed the necessary funds. The University itself generously gave me leave of absence for the journey.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Rose Valley, Moylan, Pennsylvania,  
June 12, 1940

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## INTRODUCTION

The "Early Western Indian" school of painting is known in manuscript illustrations from the year 1127 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and in temple decoration from about 1170 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It has been described in a fair amount of literature and needs no exposition here, short of the briefest.<sup>3</sup> From its beginning until about 1400 A. D., that is for approximately three centuries, the book illustrations appear on palm leaf, which is the material for writing; after 1400 books in western India are generally made of paper, and the makers of book illustrations had from that time a larger surface at their disposal for the application of their art. The miniatures become larger, fuller of detail, and more decorative, with an increase of gold as a pigment at the expense of yellow, which it displaces; but the style of drawing remains essentially the same. The best examples of the art were executed during the 14th century and early part of the 15th.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the 16th century the Early Western Indian style is giving way in Gujarat to the newly formed Rajput, which is a blend of the Early Western Indian and Persian, and there exists at least one manuscript with a precise date, Samvat 1647 = A.D. 1590/91, which shows the transition. This is the manuscript JP treated in this work, and all its paintings are reproduced among the illustrations.<sup>5</sup>

The Early Western Indian style is chiefly employed by the Jains to illustrate their texts, although an examination of the works cited in the bibliographical notes will show that a few Vaishnava, Shaiva, and secular works also use it. With the Jains, the subject matter of the paintings falls into two general classes. One is that of Tirthankaras (Saviors), monks, nuns, deities, and lay patrons of the manuscripts, who have little, if anything, to do specifically with the content of the works to which the paintings are attached but when represented suggest a more general edifying connotation for the observer. The other class, which comprises by far the greater number of specimens of the art, consists of illustrations directly connected with events narrated in the texts. Of the second class the most frequent series of illustrations are those attached to the so-called Kalpa Sūtra (see BrKS), and the next most frequent are those adorning the story of Kālaka (see BrKK). One other work, the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, was reported to me as long ago as 1928, by the

<sup>1</sup> BrKK, pp. 13 ff. (For abbreviations see below in this Introduction.)

<sup>2</sup> See Stella Kramrisch, "A Painted Ceiling," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1939, pp. 175-182.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography in BrKK, p. 13. Of new titles add especially Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, *Jaina Citra Kalpadruma* (a work in Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1936; W. Norman Brown, "Stylistic Varieties of Early Western Indian Miniature Painting about 1400 A.D.," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, pp. 2-12; W. Norman Brown, "A Jain Manuscript from Gujarat illustrated in Early Western Indian and Persian Styles," *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 4, 1937, pp. 154-173; Stella Kramrisch, article cited in note above.

<sup>4</sup> See W. Norman Brown, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, pp. 2-12. For the rarity of paper manuscripts before 1400 and of palm-leaf manuscripts after that date, see BrKK, p. 15, and also C. D. Dalal and L. B. Gandhi, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 76), pp. 34 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Brown, *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 4, pp. 164, 170-172 for mention of this manuscript.

late Professor Ernst Leumann, to be represented by an illustrated manuscript belonging to the library of the University of Strasbourg,<sup>6</sup> and when I was in India in 1934-35 I found in Jain collections four other illustrated manuscripts of this same work. These last four I photographed, and their illustrations are the material on which this monograph is based. The illustrations of the Strasbourg manuscript were also to be photographed for me, through the courtesy of Dr. Boris Unbegaun, the librarian, but the outbreak of war at the end of August, 1939, made the photographing impossible. It is a fair assumption that the illustrations of the four manuscripts used include most, if not all, of the scenes likely to appear in any other manuscripts of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, and this study should serve as a guide in identifying their scenes, especially in the case of manuscripts using the Early Western Indian style of painting.

The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (Uttarajjhayana Sutta) is well known as part of the Svetāmbara Jain canon, belonging to the section known as *Mūlasūtra* "root or basic sermons," a somewhat puzzling term taken by Charpentier to mean the very words of Mahāvīra himself, the founder of Jainism.<sup>7</sup> It consists of 36 chapters, varying in length and most of them metrical, and "its intention," according to Jacobi, "is to instruct a young monk in his principal duties, to commend as ascetic life by precepts and examples, to warn him against the dangers in his spiritual career, and to give some theoretical information." The age of the work is not earlier than around 300 B.C. nor later than 526 A.D., and it is a compilation, with the different parts being of unequal age. It is considered that the sermons were spoken by Mahāvīra in answer to unasked questions, as distinguished from the asked questions which are frequently the starting point of many discourses among both Buddhists and Jains. The most interesting chapters to us are likely to be those which recite legends, and some of these, as Charpentier points out, have Buddhist parallels.

The four manuscripts used for this study are of paper, not palm leaf, and come from the 15th and 16th centuries, that is, from the second of the two periods of the Early Western Indian style of miniature painting, which extended from about 1400 A.D. to 1600 A.D.<sup>8</sup> The study is almost exclusively iconographic, and the validity of such a treatment lies in the fact that the scenes are largely clichés, being repeated with only minor variations in the different manuscripts, as is the case also with the illustrations of the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakācāryakathā. Again, with the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, as with those other works, the subject of the illustration is not always explicitly indicated in the text, but is rather to be found in the commentaries. The commentaries accessible to me are the Sanskrit of Kamala-samyama published by Jayanta Vijaya (see below) and the Jaina Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛta of

<sup>6</sup> See BrKK, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> This paper manuscript has a date equivalent to A.D. 1473. It contains 97 folios, with 36 illustrations, that is, one for each chapter of the text. Its library number is 4385. [This information is from Dr. Unbegaun.]

<sup>8</sup> The longest treatments of this work are in the Introductory discussions in Charpentier and in Jacobi (see below for bibliographical indications of these works). See also in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (2nd edition; English translation), vol. 2, pp. 466-470; W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* (*Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie*, 3 band, 7 Heft, Berlin und Leipzig, 1935), p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> See BrKK, pp. 15, 20-24.

Devendra, finished in 1073 A. D., of which selections have been published in scattered places, while notes drawn from it are included in Charpentier's notes. The text and the commentaries serve to elucidate almost every point in the paintings.

The materials on which this monograph is based are chiefly as follows:

- DV Manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra belonging to the Daya Vimalji Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Ahmadabad. 120 folios, elaborately ornamented with marginal decorations as well as paintings, the text written in gold ink on a red background. It is possible that this manuscript is dated, but I failed to get a photograph of the final folio. The date should be the latter part of the 15th century.
- HV Manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra belonging to the Haṃsa Vijaya Jñāna Mandira, Baroda. About 120 folios (exact number not noted). No date, but probably early part of 16th century. Compositions of paintings very much like those of paintings in manuscript JM.
- JM Manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra belonging to the Śrī Mukti Kamala Jaina Mohana Jñāna Mandir, Baroda. 108 folios. Dated *saṃvat 1639 mārga-śiṛṣa sudi 11 dine* (A. D. 1583). In the latter part of this manuscript the paintings are all misplaced. The paintings of this manuscript are much like those of HV, and the two manuscripts may be closely related.
- JP Manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra belonging to the Jainānanda Pustakālaya (in possession of Mr. S. M. Nawab when I photographed it). 146 folios, of which folios 1-24 are no longer preserved. Dated *saṃvat 1647 varṣe bhādravā sudi terasi* (A. D. 1591). This manuscript is the most fully illustrated of the four, having 45 illustrations in 25 chapters, and has the greatest amount of originality in treating the scenes.
- Charpentier J. Charpentier, *The Uttarādhyayanasūtra*. Edited with an introduction, critical notes and a commentary. (Archives d'Etudes Orientales publiées par J.-A. Lundell, vol. 18: 1, 2.) Upsala, Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1921, 1922.
- Jacobi H. Jacobi, *Gaina Sūtras Translated*. . . . Part 2: *The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, the Sūtrakritāṅga Sūtra*. Sacred Books of the East, vol. 45. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895.
- Jayanta Muni Jayanta Vijaya, *Uttarādhyayanasūtram*, with commentary of Kamala-saṃyama. 4 vols. Agra, Lakṣmīcandra Jaina Library, 1923; Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jñāna Mandira, 1925, 1927, 1933. Only 3 volumes accessible to me, in spite of general inquiries throughout the United States, nor has it been possible to get the fourth volume from India.
- Jo Helen M. Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. Vol. I, *Ādiśvaracaritra*, translated into English. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 51.) Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1931. (Translation of the first sarga of the celebrated work by the Jain monk Hemacandra.)

- BrKK W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*. (Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies, No. 1.) Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1933.
- BrKS W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*. (Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies, No. 2.) Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934.
- BrEA W. Norman Brown, "Early Vaishnava Miniature Painting from Western India," *Eastern Art*, vol. 2, 1930, pp. 167-206.
- PSM *Pāīa-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*, by Pandit Har Govind Das T. Sheth. 4 vols. Calcutta, 1923-28. A Prakrit-Hindi dictionary.

Each chapter of the text with its paintings constitutes a section in my treatment, but no effort is made to give any more of the text or of its contents than is needed to clarify the illustrations.

## 1. THE DISCIPLINE OF MONKS

The first chapter of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra takes us without introduction into the subjects of religion, and deals with the discipline of monks. They should be subordinate, meek, open to correction when deserved, should anticipate a superior's wishes, keep silent until addressed, be truthful, bear indifferently both the pleasant and the unpleasant, practise asceticism, show perfect attention to the teacher and be fully considerate of him, regulate their conversation. Many specific rules of conduct are cited dealing with begging, eating, studying, and other duties. A monk who observes all faithfully, "honored by gods, gandharvas, and men, when he leaves this stained and impure body, will become either an eternally perfected soul in bliss or a god with only petty defilement and with great power" (vs. 48).

The three manuscripts which contain this part of the text have four illustrations, JM containing two. It would not be an unfair presumption that the first in JM (fig. 1) and those of DV (fig. 3) and HV (fig. 2) are meant to be introductory to the whole work as well as to the chapter itself; for of those three that of JM (fig. 1) and that of DV (fig. 3) are precisely like those used to introduce other illustrated texts, for example, the Kalpasūtra or the life of Neminātha (see BrKS figs. 2, 87, 101, 116; BrKK fig. 39). In them we see the Tīrthamkara Mahāvīra seated gloriously, as in heaven before his descent to earth for final birth. He is crowned and bejewelled, with a royal parasol over his head, seated on a throne, while six attendants flank him, some of whom are musicians and some bearers of flywhisks. Above him are the auspicious heavenly elephants with trunks upraised as though to sprinkle him with the water of consecration; below the throne are lions as supporters or lions and elephants (JM, fig. 1), in each case with a sun symbol centered between them. Although these two paintings correspond with those in other works mentioned above in showing a Tīrthamkara before his descent from heaven for his final birth, it may be that the identification should be different. If we look at the painting of HV (fig. 2), we see that in it the Tīrthamkara Mahāvīra appears in the center of the upper part of the illustration, quite obviously preaching in his Samavasaraṇa (cf. BrKS figs. 80, 99, 113, 126), yet presented exactly as in DV (fig. 3) and JM (fig. 1) but for the lack of attendants and the supporters of his throne. The Samavasaraṇa is one of the most important episodes in a Tīrthamkara's career. Whenever a Jina (Tīrthamkara) obtains perfect knowledge, the gods appear, cleanse the earth for a space of a yojana round about, scent it, and ornament it. They build three walls, the innermost of jewels, the middle of gold, and the outer of silver, and each wall has four jewelled gates facing the cardinal directions. In the center is a pedestal with a tree, and under the tree are four lion thrones. The Jina sits on the throne facing the east, and reproductions of him sit on the others. There the Tīrthamkara preaches to gods, men, and animals, who have joyously assembled to hear his initial discourse on the great Truth which he has acquired. The walls of the Samavasaraṇa may be round, as in this figure, or may be square (see BrKS fig. 99; for description of the subject cf. BrKS p. 38; Bhandarkar in *Indian Antiquary* 40. 125-130, 153-161; Jo 190-194). The ornamented and royal aspect of the Jina may at first seem astonishing in view of the fact that at this time he was a monk and therefore should have worn no jewels and have

had only his robes as clothing; but the modern Jains explain the costume as being purely symbolic. The Jina, they say, is in this case, as also when in the region of the perfected souls after death, incorporeal and therefore every sort of material form is inapplicable to him. But to give some kind of apprehendable representation for human beings he is shown in the form of a glorious king.<sup>1</sup> The significance of the Samavasaraṇa scene in these paintings seems to be that the Uttarādhyayana itself is considered to have been preached by Mahāvīra. Since the painting of HV (fig. 2) is incontestably that of a Samavasaraṇa, and since the figure of Mahāvīra in it corresponds with the figures in DV (fig. 3) and JM (fig. 1), I believe that all three represent Mahāvīra at that time; the difference between them is that in DV and JM the omission of the walls of the Samavasaraṇa leaves the artist room to show Mahāvīra's throne in detail and to add the attendants.

The folio of DV (fig. 3) is fully ornamented around the margins, and in this, the first of the manuscript, shows on the sides four heavenly musicians, of the type which is human from the waist up but of bird's form from the waist down.<sup>2</sup> Those in the upper corners are blowing trumpets, that in the lower right is playing a flute, and that in the lower left seems to be singing.

The second painting of JM (fig. 4) for this chapter and the lower register of the painting in HV (fig. 2) contain other subjects. The upper register of the JM illustration (fig. 4) shows Mahāvīra in monk's garb seated full face in his shrine (*vimāna*), left hand lying in his lap turned up and the right hand holding a rosary before him. This is a characteristic manner of showing a Jain monk as leader of a school (cf. BrKS figs. 130-132). He is flanked by two attendant monks in postures of reverence. In the lower register of the same illustration Mahāvīra is seated as a monk, this time with the spire of his shrine shown small and tilted back (cf. BrKK 128) while he preaches to a disciple, presumably Sudharman, who was his first. Between the two is the *sthāpanācārya*, representation of a monk's absent spiritual master (cf. BrKK 128). It may be assumed that the subject of Mahāvīra's discourse is the first chapter of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.

The lower part of the HV painting (fig. 2) illustrates verses 4-6 of the chapter: "As a bitch with running ears is driven away from everywhere, so a disobedient, subversive, talkative [disciple] is driven away. A pig will leave a milk porridge to eat faeces; so a disobedient [disciple] will leave virtue to savor the false. Hearing a man compared to a dog and a pig, one who wishes his own welfare will devote himself to discipline." In the painting a man dressed in loin cloth is flourishing two sticks with which he is driving away a dog; behind the man is a razor-backed hog, presumably eating faeces. Two monks stand watching. Although it might be expected that the dog would be running off with its tail between its legs, it actually is trotting along in the jauntiest fashion; the explanation is that this pose is a cliché for a dog, no matter what the circumstances (cf. BrKS fig. 75b).

<sup>1</sup> The Buddha is also frequently represented as crowned; see P. Mus, "Le Buddha paré: son origine indienne," BEFEO, vol. 28, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> In Hindu iconography such hybrid heavenly musicians are sometimes called *kinīpuruṣa* or *kinīnara* or *bhāruṇḍa*; see G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, Tome II, *Iconographie* (Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome 27), translated by A. C. Martin, *Iconography of Southern India* (Paris, P. Geuthner, 1937), p. 110; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Grund. d. indo-iran. Phil. III. I. B, 1915), p. 20; W. N. Brown, *A Pillared Hall from Madura* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 61.



Fig. 1. JM: Mahāvīra's Samavasaraṇa



Fig. 2. HV: Mahāvīra's Samavasaraṇa; Parables of the Bitch and the Pig



Fig. 3. DV: Mahāvīra's Samavasaraṇa





Fig. 4. JM: Mahāvīra as Leader of a Community; Mahāvīra Preaching



Fig. 5. HV: Hardships

Fig. 6. DV: Hardships



## 2. HARSHIPS

The second chapter is devoted to the Hardships (*parisaha*) which a monk must endure. These are twenty-two: hunger, thirst, cold, heat, insect bites, nakedness, discontent, women, the discomforts of wandering, the discomforts of resting places, bad lodging, abuse, bodily pain, ignominy of begging, refusal of alms, illness, the pricking of grass, dirt, hospitable and respectful treatment, knowledge, ignorance, righteousness.

HV (fig. 5) illustrates the chapter by showing a monk standing upright in the body-abandonment (*kāyotsarga*) posture, absorbed in meditation, his eyes fixed on the tip of his nose, his arms hanging down, while two birds, two dogs, a deer, a bull, two men, and two tigers (or lions) attack him but fail to shake his concentration. The painting may be considered an allusion to the various hardships experienced by Mahāvīra and illustrated in Kalpasūtra paintings, described elsewhere by me (see BrKS 35 ff. and figs. 75-78). Here Mahāvīra wears a tiara and body ornaments, which should not usually be shown with any representation of him while a monk on earth.

The painting of DV (fig. 6) is in two registers, each showing a monk standing and meditating in the *kāyotsarga* posture, while two other monks are beside him. The attitudes of the other monks seem significant, and in the lower register one of the monks appears to be wielding a whip, but I find no story in the commentary that seems to contain incidents which these scenes would describe.

By some mischance I failed to get a photograph of any painting for this chapter in JM.

## 3. THE FOUR REQUISITES

The first verse of this chapter says that a living being must obtain a conjunction of four things, very hard to obtain, if he is to follow the holy life that leads to salvation: these are birth as a human being, an opportunity to hear the Law preached, capacity to believe in it, and strenuous application in self-control. The commentaries contain ten stories to point the moral of how difficult it is to obtain human birth and how important to make the best possible use of such birth, once it is obtained.

The first of these stories is illustrated in the upper part of the painting in HV (fig. 8). The universal emperor (*cakravartin*) Brahmadata, early in his career before becoming established, had had to flee for his life through a forest. There an ascetic had befriended him. At a later time, when Brahmadata had attained his preëminence, the ascetic came to the king's capitol. The king recognized him, dismounted from his elephant, and asked the ascetic to name his desire. The ascetic said that he must first ask his female companion. She, feeling that if he acquired wealth or high position, he would cease to be attached to her, counseled him to ask the privilege of begging at every house in India, from the emperor's down, with the assurance of receiving food and two *dīnāras* at each. The king was disappointed at this request, thinking the ascetic a light-minded person, but nevertheless agreed. The story is told to illustrate the case of a person who neglects a great opportunity for the sake of mere food. The painting (fig. 8) shows the ascetic standing before the king, who is seated on his throne. Behind the king is another male figure, either in an architectural setting or in a palanquin, holding an object in his left hand that looks like a

conch shell; but nothing in the story would explain the object. Nor is there any explanation for the two bulls and the horse at the bottom of the picture.<sup>1</sup>

In comment on the ninth verse, which remarks upon the frequency with which hearers stray from the true Law, the commentaries tell the stories of the seven (or, eight) schisms of the Jain church.<sup>2</sup> The painting of DV (fig. 7) seems to refer to the third schism. The monk Āsāḍha died in the early morning when the other monks were asleep, and was reborn as a god. He saw his own dead body lying on earth and animated it. Then he called to the monks to arise, afterwards apologizing for letting them salute him, when he had become only a god and was therefore on a plane spiritually lower than that of a monk. Doubt then arose in the monk's minds about the means of distinguishing between a genuine monk and a god in a monk's appearance, and they ceased giving the monk's reverential salutation to a superior. Some time later they went to the city of King Balabhadra. He had them brought before him as though they were false ascetics. They maintained that they were monks, but he replied that according to their own statement it was impossible to tell whether they were monks or not. Thereupon they saw their error. In the upper register is Āsāḍha risen from the dead, seated and addressing his disciples. In the lower register is King Balabhadra with the monks.

The painting of JM (fig. 9) refers to the seventh schism. The pontiff Āryarakṣita, when about to die, saw that there were three rival claimants to the succession: Goṣṭhāmāhila, Phalgurakṣita, and Durvalikāpuṣpa[mitra]. He called them before him and told a parable of three pots, filled respectively with grain, oil, and butter. All three were broken on the ground. All the grain fell out, and all the oil except a few drops, but much of the butter remained. Durvalikāpuṣpa he compared to the pot full of grain, Phalgurakṣita to that full of oil, and Goṣṭhāmāhila to that full of butter. The preference, therefore, went to the last. Later Goṣṭhāmāhila became the founder of the sixth schism. The painting shows Āryarakṣita addressing the three disciples, who squat before him with their hands upraised reverently.

#### 4. THE PAST CANNOT BE REASSEMBLED

The teaching of this chapter is that a step once taken can never be retraced; a fault once committed must be followed by its effect: therefore, a monk must ever practise the law diligently.

DV has two illustrations, of which the first (fig. 10) is a cliché representation of Mahāvīra seated on his spired throne in an architectural setting preaching to a layman and a monk, who, of course, represent the lay and religious communities. The other painting in DV (fig. 12) shows two scenes. In the upper are three fighters (wrestlers), two engaged in conflict, the third sitting and watching. The reference appears to be to the first verse of the chapter, which states that life cannot be reconstituted; when old age approaches there is no help. In the commentary is a story of the wrestler Atṭana, who in his youth had been invincible. Later he had been conquered by a fisherman especially trained for the purpose;

<sup>1</sup> The identification is very unsatisfactory and problematic, but I cannot find any other which does better.

<sup>2</sup> For the schisms see E. Leumann, in *Indische Studien*, vol. 17, pp. 91-135.



Fig. 7. DV: Āsādha and the Monks



Fig. 8. HV: King Brahmadatta and the Ascetic



Fig. 9. JM: Āryarākṣita names his Successor



Fig. 10. DV: Mahāvira Preaching



Fig. 11. HV: Robber Caught in Wall; Robber's Wife and Child in Well



Fig. 12. DV: Story of Attana; Story of Agadadatta



Fig. 13. JM: Story of Attana

and still later he trained a farmer to be his own champion. When the fisherman and the farmer finally met, they fought two days without a decision, but on the third Atṭana's protégé smashed his opponent's head. Atṭana then went into retirement for his old age, but his relatives, despising him for his loss of strength, mistreated him until at last he secretly left his own city of Avanti for the city of Kauśāmbī. There he took an elixir of youth and reestablished himself as a wrestler, killing the royal champion; but the king was angry and did not praise him, saying that he had won only by accident, nor did the folk. Then Atṭana revealed himself, and was honored. Hereupon his family, hearing of his renewed strength and prosperity, came to share his wealth; but he realized that once he lost his strength again, they would again despise him. Considering all the weaknesses of old age, and the woes accompanying it, he decided to have nothing more to do with his relatives, and he entered the religious life. The moment shown in the illustration must be that when the rival wrestlers, the fisherman and the farmer, were in conflict, while Atṭana sits watching.

The lower register of DV's second painting (fig. 12) shows two men, well dressed, fighting with swords, which they hold as though they were daggers. The identification of the scene is not certain, but the subject is possibly an incident in the story of Agaḍadatta (or, Agaladatta), cited in Devendra's commentary à propos of verse 6, which advises man to stay awake, though others sleep.<sup>1</sup> The young hero sets out to catch a thief who has been terrorizing a city. He meets him one night, and joins with him in committing a robbery. As they leave with the swag, the thief tries to get Agaḍadatta to go to sleep, but the boy is too clever and slips away in the dark. The thief follows and the boy, hidden behind a tree, strikes with his sword; according to one version, he cuts the thief's shoulder; according to the other, he cuts off his legs below the knee. As the thief dies, he sends the boy to his sister, who in her turn tries to kill him by operating a mechanical device that drops a stone on his bed. But the boy is again on guard, being especially aware that women are deceitful, and escapes. The painting shows Agaḍadatta fighting with the thief, the tree perhaps being that behind which Agaḍadatta stood. The bundle on the ground may be the booty.

The painting of JM (fig. 13) illustrates the story of the wrestler Atṭana (see above) more fully than the painting of DV (fig. 12). Six fighters appear in two registers of three each, bearing round weapons in their hands, presumably to give more violence to their blows.

In HV (fig. 11) a painting illustrates brief stories told in the commentary to verses 2 and 3. Verse 2 says: "Those men who accumulate wealth by evil deeds and through adherence to false principles will be caught in their own snares, bound by their own hatred, and will go to hell." In the lower register of the picture we have the story of the robber who had a deep well in which he concealed his plunder. He would marry a wife, but when she conceived he would kill her and throw her body down the well. But once he allowed a very beautiful and dear wife to live, and she bore him a son. When the boy was eight, the robber determined to kill both the mother and the child, and he threw them down the well; but the child's cries were heard by the folk, who passed the word on to the

<sup>1</sup> Devendra's text is published in H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 73 ff., and translated in J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales* (London, 1909), p. 238 ff. The story is a variant of that of Agaladatta: text in Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.; translation in Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 229 ff.

king, who in his turn had an investigation made. All was discovered, and the robber was slain. The painting shows a cave (or well) in a hill, identifiable as such by the peaks, in which are the mother and the child. Outside is a man, presumably the robber, seated on an impaling spike. On one of the mountain peaks is a parrot, which is a conventional accompaniment to an out-of-doors scene.

The painting in the upper register illustrates a story that illuminates stanza 3: "Like a robber caught in the hole he himself has made, the sinner perishes through his own work; so . . ." A robber, having made a hole, felt the wall fall in upon him, and knew he was caught. The houseowner pulled at his legs from inside the house, and the robber's companion pulled his head and arm from outside, but he perished through the weight of the wall. The painting illustrates the story precisely.

##### 5. DEATH AGAINST ONE'S WILL

In this chapter Mahāvīra preaches that people should avoid the worldly life that ends in unwelcome death, leading to rebirth, which again terminates in unwelcome death, always followed by renewed life in whatever state one's deeds determine. Death-bed repentance is of no avail in escaping from this cycle. Rather, people should follow the pious law, whether they are laymen or monks, and then death will not be unendurable but actually a stepping-stone to a happier state. The moral is contained in the last two verses (31-32): "When the time has come a believer,<sup>1</sup> in the presence [of his teacher], should suppress all such emotion (of fear or joy) and wait for the dissolution of his body. When the time has come to dissolve the body, the sage dies 'the death with one's will' in some one of the three ways." The three ways for a sage to die<sup>2</sup> are listed in the commentaries: *bhattapariṇā* (*bhaktapariṇā*), that is, rejection of food in consequence of obtaining knowledge, but permitting others to move his body for him; *ingiṇi*, according to which he steps into a circumscribed place, not to emerge again, and making all bodily movements himself; *pāvogamaṇa*, taken by Jacobi and Charpentier to be Skt. *prāyopagamaṇa* "(motionless) going to death by fasting"; the Jain commentators consider it to be Skt. *pādapopagamaṇa* "resorting to a tree (to await death)," where the monk stands unmoving like a tree.<sup>3</sup>

The illustration in JM (fig. 14) shows the deathbed scenes of a layman and a monk. The layman lies on an elaborate bed and is himself dressed in rich raiment, while a woman is in attendance. Beside him are vessels. The monk is alone, lying on an outspread cloth, which is probably his outer robe, for he is wearing only his under garments. In HV (fig. 15) the scenes are similar, although the monk is on a mountain in a jungle, with deer playing about and tree-rats (Indian squirrels), which are quite out of proportion, climbing the tree trunks.

In DV (fig. 16) the corresponding illustration is wrongly attached to chapter 6. It

<sup>1</sup> *saddhi*, Skt. *śraddhin*, a word to which PSM gives the meaning "lay disciple"; Jacobi translates it "faithful (monk)."

<sup>2</sup> The Jains recognize altogether seventeen kinds of death; see in Charpentier, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> On these words see Charpentier's references to the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (ed. Leumann) 137, and to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 1. 8. 8. 1 ff. (see Jacobi in SBE 22. 74 ff.). He also mentions J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 101, note 1.



Fig. 14. JM:  
Death according  
to One's Will



Fig. 15. HV:  
Death according  
to One's Will



Fig. 16. DV:  
Death according  
to One's Will





Fig. 17. JM: The Farmer and the Master of Magic



Fig. 18. HV: The Farmer and the Master of Magic

shows the dying monk lying on his outspread cloth, while the dying layman is attended this time by a monk.

It might be assumed that the death of the layman is that against one's will and that of the monk is according to one's will; but I am inclined to believe that both represent death according to one's will. The advisability for a layman to die in this latter way is stressed throughout the chapter, and it is very easy to explain the monk who attends the laymen in the DV painting (fig. 16) as the teacher whose presence is hinted in stanza 31 (see the translation given above).

#### 6. THE FALSE ASCETIC

This chapter teaches that ascetics, if they are to profit from their asceticism, must be followers of the Jain dogma. The manuscript illustrations concern a story which the commentaries attach to the first verse: "All men ignorant of the Truth are subject to pains; erring they suffer in many ways in the endless Samsāra." The tale is of a villager, who suffered acute and unmitigated misfortunes. Whatever he did, however hard he worked at his farming, he got no gain; and at last he left home. One night in a temple he saw a man with a beautifully decorated jar in his hand, who cleared and purified a spot, and then worshipped the vessel with sweets, flowers, food, and other offerings of the traditional Jain sort. After the worship, the man asked the pot for a mansion, which straightway appeared, and all night long the man enjoyed bathing, food, drink, and beautiful full-breasted young women. In the morning he took the pot on his shoulder and went on his way. The astonished rustic followed, and started to serve this master of magic, and in due time won his favor. He then asked, as a boon, for happiness like that of the magician, and the latter gave him the Magic Art (*vidyā*) and the pot. In elation the farmer returned to his village, and thinking, "Of what use is good fortune which is enjoyed with strangers, which is not enjoyed with one's friends, which no one else sees, not even one's enemies," he entertained all his friends through the grace of the wishing-pot and gave up plowing. One day, intoxicated with rum, he put the pot on his shoulder and started to dance, singing "How happy am I!" Just then he stumbled; the pot broke and fell; and the Magic Art escaped. He could never get the pot together again and reclaim the Magic Art, and without the Magic Art he returned to his life of poverty, becoming a servant, poor and miserable. So, says the story, are living beings made wretched when they are without the knowledge (*vidyā*) of the Truth.

The paintings in JM (fig. 17) and HV (fig. 18) are essentially alike.<sup>1</sup> In the upper register sits the magician on a spired throne (in HV with a royal parasol above him), while before him stands the humble and eager farmer just having received the pot as a gift. In JM the farmer is poorly dressed to fit his calling and wears a long beard, but in HV he appears as a man of wealth and dignity. In the lower register is the Jain auspicious vase, a painted pot, festooned with garland and scarf, while foliage comes out of its mouth, and the eyes of an anthropomorphic face gaze out from beside the neck. This full jar is one of the Jain eight lucky symbols (see BrKS 12), and the face is possibly that of the sun.

<sup>1</sup> I have no photograph of any painting for this chapter in DV.

## 7. THE PARABLE OF THE RAM

The theme of the chapter is contained in its first four verses: "As some one might raise a ram to provide for a guest, give it rice porridge and gram, and rear it in his yard—then, when it is grown up, big, fat, with a large belly, plump, full-bodied, and ready for a guest, as long as a guest has not arrived, the poor creature is kept alive; but when a guest arrives, its head is cut off, and it is eaten. As this ram enjoys good treatment for the sake of a guest, so a fool, a great sinner, longs (as it were) for life in hell."

The commentary has a story of a calf which enviously complained to its mother that it was fed only on dry grass, while a ram nearby, which was of no use to anyone, got all sorts of delicacies. But the cow told the calf to be content; the ram, she said, was eating "the food of death." Later, when the calf saw the ram slaughtered, it became satisfied with its own inferior diet.

All the manuscripts (figs. 19, 20, 21) have in their upper register a picture of the ram's death, its throat being cut by a man with a long sword. In HV's painting (fig. 21) the cow and the calf stand watching the scene.

The lower scene in the three paintings (figs. 19, 20, 21) appears to illustrate stanza 11, which refers to a king who lost his realm and his life through eating a mango, although his physician had strictly forbidden against it. The commentary tells the story. When the king received his warning, he realized that he was so excessively fond of mangoes that he could not trust himself near one, and he had every mango tree in his kingdom uprooted. One day he and a minister were riding, and their horses ran away, stopping at last in a remote region under a mango tree that was in full fruit. The minister had to seek water for their overpowering thirst, but before going he admonished the king to beware of the fruit. The king exercised self-control, but presently a wind blew some mangoes down and they fell at his feet. Unable to restrain himself completely he picked them up, felt them, looked at them, sniffed them, and at last took a taste. The juice ran over his face. For a time he went no further; but, seeing the minister returning, he quickly gobbled the mangoes down. The minister ran up to stop him, but the king died.

In the lower register of the painting in HV (fig. 21) the king is sitting at the left with a mango in his hand, and two in the air beside his mouth and hand, presumably to indicate the greedy haste with which he was devouring them. Kneeling before him is the minister, who holds his hands over the pile of mangoes to prevent the king from taking any more.

The illustration in DV (fig. 19) shows in the lower register two men seated facing each other, who may be taken for the king and the minister, presumably shown at the moment when the minister warns the king not to eat the mangoes. In JM (fig. 20) two men, probably the king and the minister again, stand separated by a column. We may suppose that the painting intends to show the time when the minister was absent and the king was being subjected to temptation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> None of the other stories in the commentaries seem to explain the paintings of DV and JM.



Fig. 19. DV: Parable of the Ram; The King and the Fatal Mangoes



Fig. 20. JM: Parable of the Ram; The King and the Fatal Mangoes



Fig. 21. HV: Parable of the Ram; The King and the Fatal Mangoes

Fig. 22. HV: Kapila before King Prasenajit; Kapila's Enlightenment; Kapila Dancing for the Robbers



सर्वकोश  
अहम  
प्रीयते  
होद  
वसु  
अ  
मी  
तेक  
देव  
मिण  
तानाण  
मयानं  
प्रासजित



दिव्यवि  
क्रवाव  
क्षितगव  
विलोवि  
दनेदिउ  
इस्यदः  
नःपसु  
लयःना  
यिउमप  
उशत्राः

Fig. 23. JM: Kapila before King Prasenajit; Kapila's Enlightenment

Fig. 24. DV: Kapila before King Prasenajit; Kapila's Enlightenment



सारंमिडरकपत्रणकिंतामज्ज्वत्तकंमयंडि  
णाहंदागइनाश्चिञ्चा॥विज्जहिउउवसंजा  
गंनसिणादंकदंविक्खिञ्चाअसिणादसिणे  
दकारहिंदासपत्रासदिंसुवणसिरक्काशता  
नाणदंमणममायादियनिस्ससापसवजीवा  
णं॥तसिंविमास्सकण्डाएसासईसुणिवरावि  
गतिमादा॥वसंजंगंकेलदंविण्डादत  
दाविदंनिरक्कासविसुकामजाएसुपासनाणा  
नलपतीताई॥धत्तामिसादासविमान्दि

## 8. KAPILA

This chapter consists of verses ascribed to the sage Kapila. His story is told in the commentaries, and Jacobi summarizes it in his translation of the text (p. 31 f.). In the city of Kausāmbī king Jitaśatru had a chaplain named Kāśyapa. When Kāśyapa died the king appointed another chaplain, and Kāśyapa's widow and her son fell into poverty. To get the boy an education the widow sent him to the city of Śrāvastī, where lived Indradatta, a friend of Kāśyapa. Indradatta was willing enough to let the boy study with him, but he was too poor to lodge and feed him. However, he got a merchant named Śālibhadra to take him. There Kapila fell in love with a servant girl who waited on him, and she with him, and he neglected his studies. One day he found her in tears. He questioned her, and found that her caste of servants was having a festival, but she could not attend because she had no money with which to buy the betel, garland, garment, and ornaments needed for the celebration. She asked Kapila to go for the money to a rich merchant named Dhana, who gave two pieces of gold every morning to the first man who greeted him. Kapila stayed awake all night and set out while it was dark for Dhana's house; but in the darkness the city police took him for a thief, arrested him, and in the morning brought him before king Prasenajit. The king saw at once that the boy was no thief, and asked for his story, which the boy told promptly and frankly. The king was pleased, and offered Kapila a boon, and Kapila went outside in a grove to reflect. Although his first thought had been for two pieces of gold, he quickly saw that a hundred would be better; then he saw use for a thousand, then a lakh (a hundred thousand), a crore (ten million), ten crores, a hundred crores. Just at that point his good karma ripened, and he recognized that desires starting from very little quickly become limitless. He himself was neglecting his opportunity for study by running after a servant girl, and even a mountain of gold would not satisfy him. He tore out his hair, becoming a Self-Enlightened (*svayāmsambuddha*), and the gods provided him with a monk's garments. Then he preached to the king on the text of stanza 17: "The more one gets, the more he wants; desires grows with acquisition. Two māṣas would be enough, yet a crore does not satisfy." The king offered him as many crores as he might wish, but he renounced all, preached to the king, gave him a blessing, and set out on austerities, eventually obtaining omniscience. He saw that in a forest eighteen yojanas from Rājagrha a band of five hundred robbers was ready for conversion. He went there, and they caught and bound him, and took him to their leader. The leader had him loosened, and commanded him to dance. He said that he had no drummer to beat time. But the robbers clapped their hands to mark the rhythm, and he began to dance. As he danced he sang the verses of this chapter, and with each stanza some of the robbers were converted, until at last all five hundred had seen the light and become his disciples.

HV (fig. 22) shows three scenes from this story. In the top register Kapila, his hands bound, is brought by a policeman before the king; but the artist has blundered strangely, and instead of presenting Prasenajit has drawn a monk: the artist was perhaps not a Jain, and made a slip here. In the middle scene Kapila is in the garden getting enlightenment.

He has put on the garments brought by the gods, two of whom flank him in reverent posture. In the bottom register he is dancing, while four of the robbers keep time.

In DV (fig. 24) two scenes are shown. In the upper Kapila, dressed as a well-to-do layman instead of a poor Brahman youth, stands before king Prasenajit, who is seated holding his scepter. Kapila has been unbound, and he holds in his hand an object which I cannot identify. In the lower register Kapila is in the garden pulling out his hair in the traditional manner of Jain monks when being initiated into the order, while beside him is a god stretching out his hands to receive it; cf. the scenes in the Kalpasūtra paintings of Mahāvīra tearing out his hair (BrKS figs. 73, 74).

In JM (fig. 23) Kapila stands before king Prasenajit, holding out a water-pot in his two hands.<sup>1</sup> In the lower scene he is plucking out his hair. No gods are present, but on each side of him, under a tree, is a peacock preening itself, this last being a conventional touch in forest scenes.

#### 9. NAMI'S ENTRY INTO MONKHOOD

For the early part of king Nami's story we must turn to the commentaries. He was king of the celebrated city Mithilā, where many other worthies had lived. The commentaries have an elaborate introduction, which gives the history of Nami's father, mother, uncle, and elder brother and ends with his conversion.<sup>2</sup> That event came about in consequence of a six-months fever that afflicted the king and would not yield to the royal physician. To make a cooling paste for his body, the queens rubbed sandal, and as they rubbed their bracelets jangled, filling the palace with the noise and disturbing the king. They thought to spare him by removing the bracelets, and they took them off one at a time, but he got no relief until each queen had only a single bracelet left. The king asked why the bracelets had stopped clinking. When he was told, he reflected, "The fault exists when there are many, not in a single one." This was the case not only with bracelets, but also with mankind; and he vowed, if he should recover, to become a monk, living in solitude. Because he was enlightened (*buddha*) by a single incident (*pratyeka*) he was a Pratyekabuddha.

The Uttarādhyayana text professes to carry on the story from this point, but there is a discrepancy between the early part of the chapter and the last. At the beginning the text states that king Nami, remembering his former birth, left the city and his palace and retired from the world to the forest. At that time an uproar arose, and the god Śakra, the deus ex machina of Jain holy legend, came to him disguised as an elderly Brahman.<sup>3</sup> The two had a long conversation, in which Śakra said, "Your palace is on fire. Why do you not look after your harem?" Nami replied with the famous verse, "Happy we dwell, happy

<sup>1</sup> This scene is very much like that of the Farmer and the Master of Magic attached to chapter 6 (see figs. 17, 18).

<sup>2</sup> Text published by Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī*, pp. 41-48; translation in J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 147-169.

<sup>3</sup> For Śakra in similar disguise, when he appeared before the sūri Kālaka, see BrKK 69 et passim, and fig. 19.

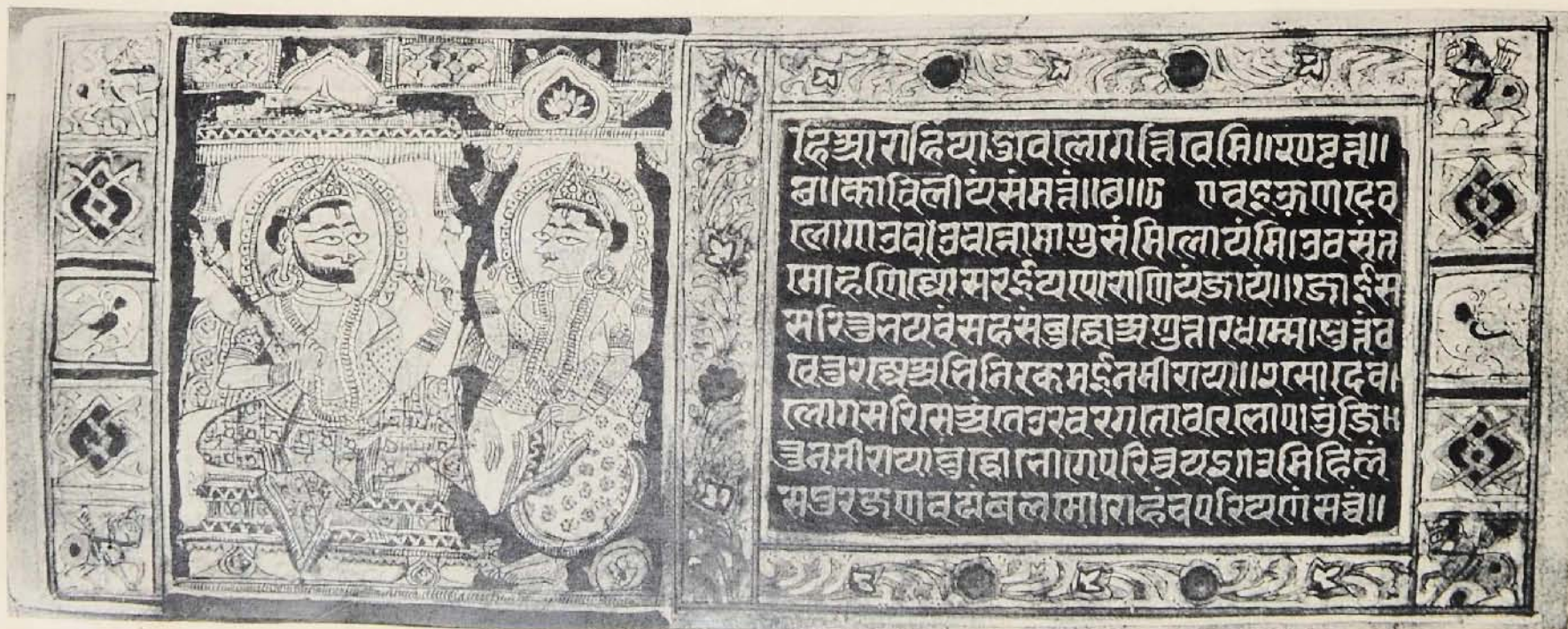


Fig. 25. HV: Nami with Sakra Disguised, Nami's Enlightenment



Fig. 26. JM: Sakra Extolling Nami

Fig. 27. DV: Nami and Sakra in Conversation



दिआराहियाडावालागत्रितमि।शुवृत्ता।  
 वाकाविलीयंसमन्ता।ता। एवइकणादव  
 लागात्रवात्रवानामाशुसंसिलायंमि।शुवसंत  
 माहणाद्यासरइयाणराणियंजायं।।डाईस  
 मरिउतयवंसहसंब्राह्मअणुत्तरधाम्माशुत्तव  
 त्रिउगखअतिनिरकमईतमीगया।।गमादव  
 लागसरिमअंतरवरगतावरलाणाउडि।  
 उतमीगयाब्राह्मनाणपरिउयडावमिदिल  
 मउरइणवदबलामाराहंवपरियणंसंब्रा।





Fig. 28. JP: Mahāvira and Gotama



Fig. 29. HV: Mahāvira with Nuns and Monks



Fig. 30. DV: Gotama (?) and a King



Fig. 31. JM: Mahāvira and Two Disciples

we live, who own nothing. When Mithilā burns, nothing of mine is burned." After much other edifying conversation Śakra revealed himself and extolled Nami. Then the text, contradicting the statement at its beginning, says that at this time Nami left his house and became a monk.<sup>3</sup>

The paintings reflect the discrepancy of the text. HV (fig. 25) shows two scenes: at the bottom is Nami on his fevered bed, while one of his queens, representing the entire number, stands near his feet grinding sandal with a curry-stone. In the upper scene, however, is Nami in layman's dress and evidently still acting as a king, faced by an elderly Brahman, who is the god Śakra in disguise.

In DV (fig. 27) there is only a single scene, which shows king Nami on his throne, scepter in hand, while Śakra stands before him in conversation, clothed in his true godly fashion and recognizable by his four arms. The four corners of this page of the exuberantly adorned manuscript show caparisoned and bridled, but riderless, horses.

In JM (fig. 26) Śakra and Nami are again represented, again with the god in his true form, but this time with Nami as a monk. Śakra has his hands upraised and is singing a song of praise (*śakrastava*) to Nami.

#### 10. THE LEAF OF THE TREE

Mahāvīra gave this sermon to Gotama, his eldest disciple, in circumstances which the commentaries relate at length as an introductory story. Gotama (Gautama) converted a number of persons, who quickly obtained omniscience, although he himself could not reach it and did not reach it until the night of Mahāvīra's death (cf. BrKS 39, figs. 82, 83). But at this time Gotama lamented his failure, and Mahāvīra preached him this sermon.

Various episodes from the long chain of events leading up to the sermon are illustrated in the manuscript paintings. In DV (fig. 30), where we see a king seated on his throne before a monk who is preaching, we probably have Gotama making a conversion, although certainty seems impossible. The commentaries tell of Mahāvīra converting king Śāla of Pṛṣṭicampā and his younger brother Mahāśāla. Later Gotama converted Śāla's sister Yaśomatī and her husband Piṭhara, king of Kāmpilya, and their son Gāgali. The subject of the painting could be Mahāvīra preaching to Śāla or Gotama preaching to Piṭhara or Gāgali. Since the point of the story concerns Gotama, it seems likely that the painting also is of him. Overhead is a tree, perhaps because Gotama was preaching in a grove.

In JP (fig. 28), of which the preserved folios start here,<sup>1</sup> we see Mahāvīra enthroned as a Siddha (cf. BrKS figs. 81, 83), with a monk seated beside him holding his hands before him in reverence. The subject must be Gotama listening to the Master.

JM (fig. 31) shows Mahāvīra seated as in JP (fig. 28), with two monks standing beside him and listening, placed one above the other. These may be taken to represent Gotama and some other disciple.

The painting in HV (fig. 29) has, in the upper register, Mahāvīra seated again in

<sup>3</sup> This discrepancy perhaps indicates two different literary strata in the chapter.

<sup>1</sup> See in the Introduction, under the description of the manuscript.

the same fashion and flanked by two adoring disciples, who wear their robes over their heads and are presumably nuns (cf. BrKS 2). In the lower register are four monks: three carry staffs, and of these two hold manuscripts in the right hand and are preaching, while the third has his hands joined before him in a reverential gesture. The fourth monk has no staff; he holds his hands before him in reverence. The identification of these two nuns and four monks is difficult; they may be the various kings and the queen mentioned above—although why two nuns?—or they may simply represent Mahāvira's entourage.

#### 11. THE VERY LEARNED

This chapter recounts the duties of a monk and the excellence of him who has mastered them all. In verses 16-31 the very learned monk is compared successively to a Kamboja steed, which never takes fright and excels all others in speed, to a valiant hero seated on a trained horse, an elephant of sixty years, which is then in its prime, a bullock that is leader of its herd, a lion, superior to all other animals, the god Vāsudeva (Vishnu incarnate as Krishna), who is irresistible, a universal emperor (*cakravartin*) with his fourteen jewels, the god Śakra (lord of the Jain heavens and deus ex machina in Jain legend), the rising sun dispelling darkness, the full moon, a storehouse full of grain, the jambu tree Sudarśanā, which is the abode of the deity Aṅgādhīya, the great river Śītā, mount Mandara, the inexhaustible ocean on which reclines the self-existent god Nārāyaṇa.

The illustrations of DV (fig. 34), HV (fig. 32), and JM (fig. 35) are quite uninteresting, and show Mahāvira seated preaching to a monk (DV, HV) or to two monks (JM); but in JP (fig. 33) there are shown fourteen of the fifteen objects of comparison cited above. The painting has four registers. In the uppermost is a seated (very learned) monk; facing him are a prancing Kamboja horse and the sixty-year old elephant with upraised trunk, its body painted and adorned for state ceremonial. In the second register are the valiant hero—but he is seated under a tree instead of on a charger—the bullock, and the lion. In the third register is Krishna, fourarmed, holding discus, conch, and mace; beside him are the universal emperor carrying a flower and a club, and then the god Śakra, also four-armed, with his *vajra* (thunder-bolt) and elephant goad. In the bottom register are the jambu tree Sudarśanā, the river Śītā, mount Mandara, the inexhaustible ocean (shown exactly like the river Śītā), the moon, and below it the sun. Of the objects mentioned in the text only the storehouse of grain is missing.

#### 12. HARIKEŚA

The long story of Harikeśa is only partly told in the Uttarādhyayana text; all the former part must be supplied from the commentaries. Harikeśa had in previous existences been born of good family and with desirable physical characteristics, and in consequence he had experienced great pride; the result was that he had now been reborn with the name Bāla in a Śvapāka (Cāṇḍāla, Untouchable) family, ugly, ridiculous to his fellows, and repulsive. One day, at a festival, the other Cāṇḍāla boys were giving a pantomime (*nrtya*), but they refused to let Harikeśa take part. As he stood watching a poisonous serpent came

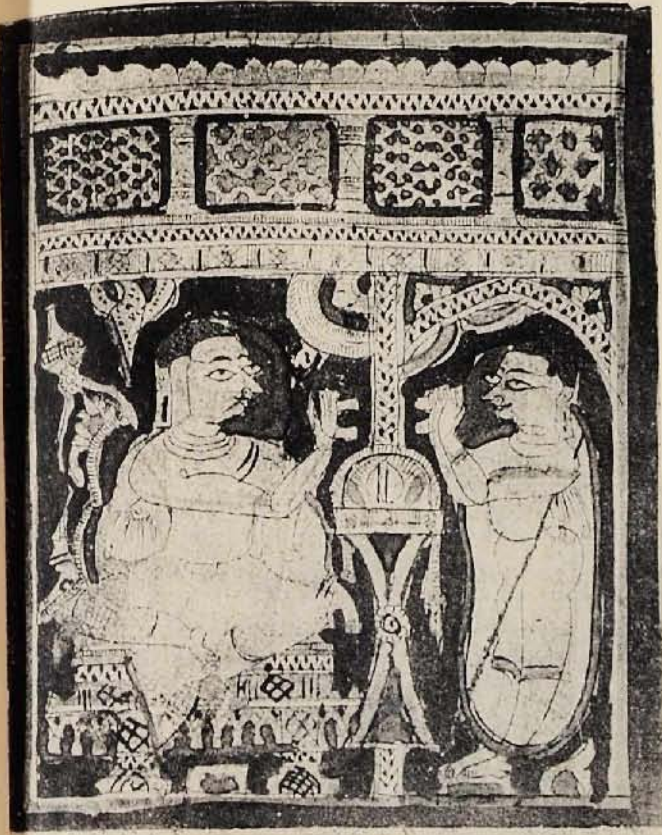


Fig. 32. HV: Mahāvira Preaching



Fig. 33. JP: Comparisons of the very Learned Monk



Fig. 34. DV: Mahāvira Preaching



Fig. 35. JM: Mahāvira Preaching



Fig. 36. DV: Harikeśa's Conversion

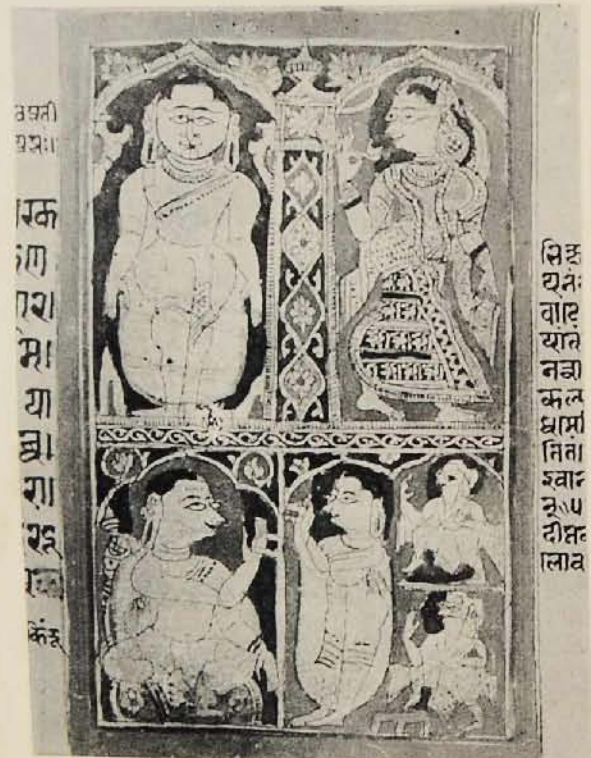


Fig. 37. JM: Harikeśa refuses Bhadrā; Harikeśa preaches to the Brahmins



Fig. 38. HV: Harikeśa refuses Bhadrā; Harikeśa and the Brahmins

to the boys, who immediately killed it. Presently a harmless watersnake came along, and this they spared. The sight of this discrimination made Bāla reflect that good and evil fortune come to living beings according to their virtues and faults. This enlightening thought brought him disgust with the world, and he took initiation as a Jain monk with the name Harikeśa. Once in his wanderings he came to a grove of tinduka trees outside Benares, where a yakṣa (vegetation spirit) presided; and there he engaged in austerities of such impressive character that the yakṣa became his follower. One day a princess named Bhadrā came to the grove to worship the yakṣa. There she saw Bāla, and found his dirt, emaciation, age, and evil smell so repellent that she reviled him. The yakṣa became angry and took possession of her, nor could all the physicians and soothsayers drive him out. At last he himself spoke from within her body to say that he would leave only if she were offered in marriage to the holy man whom she had despised. The king agreed; the yakṣa left; and Bhadrā arrayed as a bride went to the repulsive ascetic. But Bāla refused her. Then the king's chaplain, named Rudradeva, claimed her for himself, on the ground that she had been abandoned by one sage and therefore should be given to another. The king consented, and Bhadrā became the chaplain's wife and mistress of his sacrifices. On one occasion Rudradeva was conducting a sacrifice outside the city, and many Brahmans, masters of two or three Vedas, were present from distant lands vying with one another in the rite. Just then Harikeśa came to the sacrificial house, ready to break his fast after a month's abstinence from food.

At this point the Uttarādhyayana text takes up the story. When the Brahmans saw Harikeśa they mocked him sarcastically and told him to leave. The monk himself made no reply, but the yakṣa spoke for him from a nearby tinduka tree, asking alms and explaining that the true Brāhmaṇa is one who lives by (Jain) piety, not necessarily one born in the Brahman caste. Angered the Brahmans present cried out, "Are there here no Kṣattriyas (members of the warrior caste, who are traditional protectors of the Brahmans' sacrifices), or fire priests (who counter evil with religio-magic rites), or teachers with their disciples to strike this fellow with a stick or a plank, to take him by the neck and drive him off?" On hearing these words, a number of boys who were present started to beat him. Then Bhadrā reproved the boys, recalling Bāla's abstinence in refusing her and warning them that he could consume them with the power of his spiritual fire. At this point the yakṣa of the tinduka tree and his fellows appeared and beat the people. Thereupon Bhadrā said, "You might as well dig at rocks with your nails or bite iron with your teeth or stamp fire with your feet as to treat a monk with contumely." When the Brahmans saw the boys beaten down, they asked pardon of the monk, honored him, and offered him food. The gods now rained down flowers, perfumed water, and heavenly treasures, and sounded drums. In conclusion Harikeśa preached a sermon on true Brahmanhood and true sacrifice, which consist in living the holy life as taught by the Jain faith.

The paintings of the various manuscripts illustrate a number of scenes from Harikeśa's story, beginning with his conversion. DV (fig. 36) puts this episode in two registers. In the lower, at the left, is a snake rearing its head, while a boy seated beside it has his arm raised to strike. Another boy sits under a tree watching and is presumably Harikeśa. In

the upper register three boys stand before another rearing serpent with the right hand held out in the gesture of harmlessness. In this case the boys are sparing the water snake. In the illustrations the youths are dressed in splendid garments, wear diadems, and have the aureole, as would befit boys of wealthy family rather than the lowly untouchables. In the upper register the boy nearest the serpent carries the curved stick which belongs to cowherds (cf BrEA, *passim*).

In JM (fig. 37) the top register shows Harikeśa in the *kāyotsarga* (body-abandonment) posture for meditation, while Bhadrā turns away after he has refused her as his wife. At the bottom, on the left, is Harikeśa seated preaching; before him is a monk to represent his body of disciples, and behind the monk are two Brahmans, known by their beards and matted hair. The scene must be the concluding sermon of the chapter.

In HV (fig. 38) the upper scene shows Bhadrā offering herself to Harikeśa, with some object, perhaps the jewels of her dowry, extended in her right hand; but Harikeśa merely continues absorbed in his meditation. At the bottom the Brahman Rudradeva sits before his sacrificial fire, while Harikeśa stands before him and two boys attack him with sticks.

JP has three paintings (figs. 39, 40, 41) illustrating a number of incidents. In the first (fig. 39), at the bottom, Harikeśa is standing in meditation in the tinduka grove, while Bhadrā kneels at his feet offering herself as his wife; at the top, Harikeśa is speaking, and two boys are beating him with clubs. In the second painting (fig. 40) we see at the bottom three boys lying on the ground after the yakṣas have struck them down. Just above is Harikeśa with two Brahmans, who are now addressing him politely, and just above these, but meant to be part of the scene, are the blazing fire and the various vessels that are part of the sacrificial equipment. At the very top is a four-armed god in his flying palace (*vimāna*) meant to be raining down flowers, perfumed water, and heavenly treasure. He is flanked by two attendants. The third painting (fig. 41) has a layman and five monks, with one of whom he is in conversation. The four other monks are walking away, as though they had received something, perhaps alms. The layman may possibly be the Brahman chaplain; for in this manuscript Brahmans seem frequently to wear lay costume (note in the previous painting).

### 13. CITRA AND SAMBHŪTA

This chapter is a conversation between king Brahmadata and a Jain monk. The souls of these two had been associated through many existences, and the commentaries tell their story from the time when they were two herd-boys, who ministered to a hungry and thirsty monk lost in the forest and were converted by him to asceticism. On dying they went to heaven, whence they fell to birth as twin slave boys, who died from the poisonous bite of the same snake. The two were reborn as twin fawns, who were both killed by the same arrow. They became twin swans, which a fisherman caught together in his net. Then they were born in the city of Benares as twin Cāṇḍāla (Untouchable) boys, named Citra (Citta) and Sambhūta (Saṃbhūya). Their father, a Cāṇḍāla chief, saved



Fig. 39. JPa: Harikeśa refuses Bhadrā; Harikeśa beaten by the Youths



Fig. 40. JPb: The Youths Beaten by the Yakṣas; Harikeśa Honored by the Brahmans; The Gods rain down Flowers



Fig. 41. JPc: Harikeśa receives Alms from the King's Chaplain





Fig. 42. DV: The Monk Citra and King Brahmadatta



Fig. 43. HV: The Monk Citra and King Brahmadatta



Fig. 44. JM: The Monk Citra and King Brahmadatta; Pleasures of the Palace

from death a minister who had fallen in disgrace with his king, and hid him in an underground cave, where he taught the two boys all the traditional arts (*kalā*). This minister seduced the chief's wife, was discovered, but was helped to escape by the two boys. These boys used to delight the city folk of Benares by their singing and dancing until the Brahmans had them, as Untouchables, refused entry inside the city walls. But one day they thoughtlessly entered, and there heard singing, which because of their own exquisite taste they thought despicable, and they themselves began to sing. Everyone was charmed until they recognized the lowly caste of the two; then the boys were driven out. This experience was repeated, and the two boys left the city, determined to die; but at this moment they met a Jain monk, who led them to religion, and they took the vows. In due time they became highly proficient in the practices of the faith, and obtained supernatural powers. Once when Sambhūta entered a city, the minister who had seduced his mother saw and recognized him, and, fearful that he might betray him to his present master, sent his men to attack him. The monk, using his supernatural power, emitted fire from his mouth to burn up the men. The monarch, who was the universal emperor Sanatkumāra, came to appease him; but Sambhūta would not be mollified until his brother Citra besought him. About the time that Sambhūta was to die Sanatkumāra's queen came to adore him, and the touch of the tips of her hair on his feet so inflamed his sensual passions that he conceived the dying wish (*nidāna*) for his accumulated spiritual attainments to bring him rebirth as a universal emperor so that he too might enjoy such superlative women.<sup>1</sup> He was therefore in due time, after residence in a heaven, reborn as Brahmadata, last of the universal emperors, and Citra again became a monk. Brahmadata had a long career of sensual excess, while Citra perfected the spiritual life. The two knew a common stanza recollected from a previous existence—a common Jain story motif—and in fairy tale fashion it finally brought them together. Citra then preached to Brahmadata the sermon of the Uttarādhyayana chapter, but to no avail; instead Brahmadata tempted him to forsake the good life for that of the palace with the delights of women and music. Brahmadata's own nemesis came about through a Brahman whom he had disgraced. The latter, seeking revenge, engaged a goatherd, who was a deadshot with a pellet bow, to shoot out the king's eyes. Brahmadata gave orders to his minister that the eyes of the Brahman, his relatives, and other Brahmans should be torn out and put in a dish that he might have the pleasure of crushing them with his fingers. But the minister, realizing that Brahmadata was experiencing the working out of his evil karma, substituted the fruit of the śakhoṭaka tree. Nevertheless, Brahmadata accumulated so much bad karma that he was reborn in the seventh hell, to remain there for 33 sāgaras.<sup>2</sup>

The painting in HV (fig. 43) shows Citra sitting and preaching to Brahmadata (the former Sambhūta), who faces him. DV (fig. 42) has a similar scene, but Citra is standing. The moment is that when Citra tries to win Brahmadata from his life of royal sensuality,

<sup>1</sup> For the efficacy of such dying wishes, see F. Edgerton, "The Hour of Death," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. 8, part 3, 1927, pp. 219-249.

<sup>2</sup> Devendra's text of the Brahmadata story is published in Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtri*, pp. 1-20; translation in J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 3-62.

while Brahmadata endeavors to seduce Citra to these pleasures. In JM (fig. 44) the upper part of the painting shows Citra and Sambhūta in conversation, while the lower part shows a female dancer and a male drummer and a flutist, who typify the sensual life which Brahmadata offers to the monk.

The JP manuscript has two paintings. The first (fig. 45) shows various existences of the two souls, although not in the story's chronological order. Starting at the upper left we have the birth as twin slave boys, who died from the bite of the same snake, which is shown at their heads. Just below is the birth as the two Cāṇḍālas Citra and Sambhūta, who are seated singing. Below that birth is that as two fawns, and below that is a swan beside a river—one swan representing the pair. At the top right are the two as monks, and below them are a man and woman seated in an architectural setting, who may be taken to be Sanatkumāra and his peerless queen. At the very bottom the monk Citra is expostulating with King Brahmadata.

The second painting of JP (fig. 46) again shows, at the top, king Brahmadata and the monk Citra in conversation. At the bottom is a forest scene, as is evident from the trees, located in mountainous country. A tank, with steps leading down on all four sides, occupies the main point of interest in the painting, and in the tank is an elephant. The subject is verse 30 of the text, which Citra speaks to Brahmadata as an argument for the good life: "As an elephant sunk in a quagmire sees the firm ground but cannot reach the bank, so do we, greedy for pleasures of the senses, fail to follow the path of monks."



Fig. 45. JPa: Existences of Citra and Sambhūta



Fig. 46. JPb: The Monk Citra and King  
Brahmadatta; The Elephant in  
the Quagmire



Fig. 47. HV: Isukāra and Associated Characters



Fig. 48. JP: Isukāra and Associated Characters



Fig. 49. DV: Isukāra and Associated Characters



Fig. 50. JM: Isukāra and Associated Characters

#### 14. IṢUKĀRA

The story is contained partly in the introductory section of the commentaries and partly in the Uttarādhyayana chapter itself. Six souls, who had been herdboys, were reborn as king Iṣukāra, his wife Kamalavatī, the royal chaplain Bhṛgu and his wife Yaśā, and finally the latter couple's two sons. The chaplain and his wife had been childless, until the souls of the third pair of former herdboys, then living in a heaven, took form as monks and promised the chaplain a pair of sons if he would agree not to interfere with any desire they might happen to express for religious life. When he agreed, they took form as embryos in Yaśā's womb. Once, when they were boys, they saw some Jain ascetics, and from a tree watched them eating, a sight which awakened them to the life of holiness. In their turn they awakened their parents; and when the queen Kamalavatī heard what had happened she too took to religion and induced the king to do so as well. In this way all six entered the ascetic life, and reached omniscience and release from rebirth. In the Uttarādhyayana text the chief subject of interest is the substance of the various arguments with which the characters are awakened.

The paintings of JM (fig. 50) and HV (fig. 47) have six persons in three registers, clearly representing the six characters of the story. At the top are the king and the queen; below are the chaplain and his wife; and at the bottom are the latter couple's two sons shown as monks. DV (fig. 49) has the six characters in two registers of three each, all dressed as lay folk—the king, queen, and one boy in the upper register; the chaplain, his wife, and the other boy in the lower register. The painting of JP (fig. 48) is not so easy to understand. It shows, on the left-hand side of the scene, two monks seated one above the other, that at the bottom being the larger and the more important. Facing them are seven lay folk. At the top is a layman; below him in two pairs are four men, presumably the king, the chaplain, and the two boys; and at the bottom are two women, one being a nun and the other a lay woman. The monks may be those whom the two boys saw when they were hiding in the banyan tree; the two women may be the chaplain's wife as a nun—she being the first of the women to be converted—and the queen. The layman at the top I cannot identify.

## 15. THE TRUE MONK

A short chapter of 16 verses describes the characteristics of the true monk: he is a solitary mendicant, chaste, learned, enduring everything, bearing discomfort, heat, cold, insect bites, not expecting respectful treatment, practising austerity, not resorting to omens and divination or medicine, not fawning upon the wealthy and prominent, taking only what is given him, unmoved by any emotion, not even by that of compassion, not despising loathsome food, unawed by any sound, whether natural or supernatural, possessing all the religious virtues, living solitary and sinless.

The illustration in DV (fig. 53) shows Mahāvīra seated preaching, while before him stands a monk listening respectfully. In JM (fig. 51) three monks listen to Mahāvīra, two squatting and one standing. For HV I have no illustration. In JP (fig. 52) there are three panels. In the topmost a monk stands absorbed in meditation; on one side is a layman striking at him with an axe, and on the other side is another layman making a hostile gesture and evidently reviling him. In the middle panel is again a monk concentrated in meditation, but this time there is a layman at each side honoring him. But the monk is no more aware of the adoration than he was of the attack above. In the bottom panel is a monk receiving alms from a layman. Many pots of food and drink are at hand behind the layman, but the monk holds out only his small begging bowl, and is content with the little it can contain.



Fig. 51. JM: Mahāvīra Preaching about the True Monk



Fig. 52. JP: The True Monk under Test

Fig. 53. DV: Mahāvīra Preaching about the True Monk







Fig. 54. JM: Sudharman Preaching



Fig. 55. HV: Sudharman Preaching

Fig. 56. DV: Mahāvīra in the Puspottara Heaven



## 16. THE CONDITIONS OF PERFECT CHASTITY

This chapter is represented as being preached by Sudharman, who stated that he heard it from Mahāvīra. The conditions of perfect chastity for a monk are ten: (1) never to sleep or rest in places frequented by women, cattle, or eunuchs; (2) not to converse with women [alone]; (3) not to sit on the same seat with women; (4) not to gaze upon the charms and beauties of women, nor to reflect upon them; (5) not to listen to women behind a screen or a curtain or a wall; (6) not to recall to memory past pleasures with women; (7) not to eat well dressed (spiced and tasty) foods; (8) not to eat or drink more than is necessary; (9) not to wear ornaments; (10) not to care for sound, form, taste, smell, touch.

The painting in DV (fig. 56) shows Mahāvīra as seated in the Puṣpottara heaven before descent to earth for his ultimate birth (cf. the same MS's illustration to chapter 1; our figure 1 and accompanying discussion). JM (fig. 54) and HV (fig. 55) show Sudharman, Mahāvīra's chief disciple, preaching the sermon. He is clearly distinguishable by his headdress, the lotus under his throne in JM, and his pose holding the rosary before him (cf. BrKS 39 and fig. 82).

JP has a painting at the beginning of this chapter, but it is there by mistake and actually has a scene belonging to chapter 17, where it is presented (fig. 59).

## 17. THE BAD MONK

Breaches of the monk's discipline are the subject of this chapter, and the paintings, with the exception of that in DV (fig. 61), illustrate some of those mentioned in the text. HV (fig. 57) shows in the upper of its two panels a seated monk giving instruction, while another monk stands before him, also in the attitude of preaching, and holding in his hand a circular object that looks like the handle to a begging pot, and in fact a pot is just behind the handle, if such it is. The explanation of the scene is perhaps that it depicts the monk who eats such delicacies as milk, curds, and other dairy products (reprehended in stanza 15), and engages in argument with his superior (stanza 12). In the lower panel a monk reclines on his bed, and another sits beside him, admonishing him or studying. The reference is to stanza 2, concerning the monk who says he has a good bed, why should he study.

In JM (fig. 58) the painting is in three registers. The topmost is like that in the upper panel of HV (fig. 57), but behind the standing monk is another, who holds his broom carelessly and is perhaps the kind of monk who "throws down his broom at random" (stanza 9). In the central panel is the lazy monk asleep, and at the bottom are two monks engaged in argument, showing the kind of monk who practises altercation with his elders and is ill-behaved (stanza 12). A third monk is in the scene, sitting behind the other seated monk, and perhaps lamenting the deplorable conduct of the disputatious junior.

JP has two paintings. The first (fig. 59), wrongly placed at the beginning of the preceding chapter, shows a seated monk, with his *sthāpanācārya* (emblem of the absent guru) before him, beyond which stands another monk with his staff upraised as though in angry argument (stanza 12). At the bottom is a seated monk, again probably the superior, and another monk is walking away from him. Between the two is a jar, which may be thought to hold milk or some other forbidden food (stanza 15). The other painting (fig. 60) has three scenes. At the top is the lazy monk lying on his bed (stanza 2); in the middle a seated monk remonstrates with another, who has his back turned and is devoting himself to several vessels of food, into one of which he dips his hand, thus offering a symbol of the greedy monk who eats what is forbidden (stanza 15) or eats at improper times (stanza 16) or eats and drinks as much as he likes (stanza 3) or does not share his food (stanza 11). At the bottom two monks sit facing each other, both talking, that is, engaged in argument (stanzas 11, 12).

The painting in DV (fig. 61) has a seated teacher and a reverently listening disciple standing before him. These are presumably Mahāvīra and Sudharman.



Fig. 57. HV: The Argumentative Monk;  
The Lazy Monk



Fig. 58. JM: The Greedy Monk; The Lazy Monk;  
The Argumentative Monk



Fig. 59. JPa: The Argumentative Monk;  
The Greedy Monk



Fig. 60. JPh: The Lazy Monk; The Greedy  
Monk; The Argumentative Monk

Fig. 61.  
DV:  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching

३॥ अत्रायत्रियत्रवश्राएहि सुयं विणा  
 द्विपाताववशिवंसई बालपावसमाण  
 ३॥ अत्रायत्रियत्रवश्रायाणंसंमंतापडित  
 अण्डिस्रयणशइपावसमाणत्रिबुव  
 मद्रमाणपाणाणिबीयाणिदरियाणि  
 संकयमत्रमाणपावसमाणत्रिबुवती  
 वारंफलेगंपीठेतिस्त्रंपायकंबल  
 यमासहतीपावसमाणत्रिबुवती॥ ग  
 वस्मवरतीएमतीयाअतिरकणं॥ ३॥

यवगा  
 त्रिबुव  
 षती॥  
 ३॥ अ  
 ॥ ६ स  
 यमधि  
 दवद  
 षणा



Fig. 62.  
DV:  
King Sañjaya  
shoots the  
Deer

३॥ अत्रायत्रियत्रवश्राएहि सुयं विणा  
 द्विपाताववशिवंसई बालपावसमाण  
 ३॥ अत्रायत्रियत्रवश्रायाणंसंमंतापडित  
 अण्डिस्रयणशइपावसमाणत्रिबुव  
 मद्रमाणपाणाणिबीयाणिदरियाणि  
 संकयमत्रमाणपावसमाणत्रिबुवती  
 वारंफलेगंपीठेतिस्त्रंपायकंबल  
 यमासहतीपावसमाणत्रिबुवती॥ ग  
 वस्मवरतीएमतीयाअतिरकणं॥ ३॥

गदं  
 ववह  
 षिंडु  
 चवादे  
 पंक्क  
 मअयं  
 एरु  
 मसुव  
 वषड



## 18. SAÑJAYA

The story of king Sañjaya is told in the Uttarādhyayana text. Once when the king was out hunting on horseback he pursued a deer to a grove where the venerable monk Gardabhāli was engaged in meditation. The deer sought protection of the monk, but Sañjaya did not see the holy man and shot. At once, on discovering Gardabhāli, he was aghast, for he might have shot him instead of the deer, and he begged forgiveness. The monk, lost in meditation, did not hear him. Again the king besought him, "for a monk by his wrath might reduce millions of men to ashes." This time the monk replied, "Be without fear, O king, and give immunity to other creatures. In this transient world of living beings why do you practice cruelty?" The monk preached a sermon, and Sañjaya was converted, himself entering the order. Later Sañjaya preached a long sermon to a kṣatriya who had taken the vows, and this sermon occupies a large part of the text but has no relation to any of the paintings.

The illustrations all set the scene in the grove where Gardabhāli was meditating. In DV (fig. 62) the monk stands at the left, but in the posture of teaching rather than that of meditation. Above his head is the deer, shown here as an antelope or "black buck," bounding on all four feet, as is characteristic of this animal when in full flight. The king appears at the right with drawn bow; his horse is not shown.

The scene in HV (fig. 63) is closely similar to that of DV (fig. 62), but the deer this time is between the two at the bottom of the painting. The number of trees is three, including a plantain, and there is a peacock in the lower righthand corner beside the deer.

In JM (fig. 64) the king is on foot at the upper right; below him is the horse. The painting gives the impression, perhaps false, that the artist did not know how to show the king actually in the saddle. At the bottom center is the deer and pursuing it is a hunting dog.

In the first (fig. 65) of JP's two paintings, a vigorous and well composed work, the king is mounted and has the arrow drawn to its head in the bow. A herd of deer flee before him; beside him runs the hound. Mountains at the bottom show the setting, and a tree at the left bending above the king, completes the composition. The whole is much like that of Persian hunting scenes, and there can be no doubt of Persian influence. JP's other painting (fig. 66) shows Gardabhāli, in the upper panel, preaching to Sañjaya, who is seated with hands upraised reverently. Behind Gardabhāli is an attendant monk, with a fly-whisk or chowrie (*camara*). In the lower panel a groom leads away the king's horse.



Fig. 63. HV: King Sañjaya shoots the Deer



Fig. 64. JM: King Sañjaya shoots the Deer



Fig. 65. JPa: King Sañjaya Hunting



Fig. 66. JPb: King Sañjaya's Conversion





Fig. 67. DV: Mrgāputra's Tonsure



Fig. 68. JM: Mrgāputra asks his Parents' Permission to become a Monk

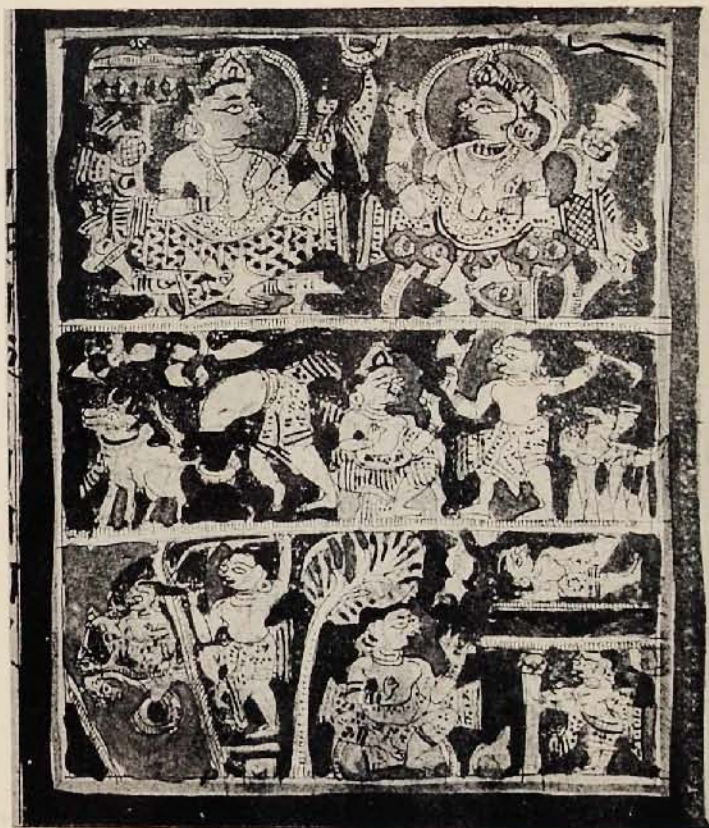


Fig. 69. HV: Mrgāputra asks his Parents' Permission to become a Monk; Mrgāputra's Hell Punishments in Previous Existences

## 19. MRGĀPUTRA

The conversion of Mrgāputra is the subject of this chapter. In the city of Sugrīva reigned king Balabhadra and his chief queen Mrgā, who had a son named Balaśrī, but generally known by his metronymic Mrgāputra. He lived in ease with his wives until one day he chanced to see from a palace window a Jain monk passing by. The sight aroused his remembrance of former births, and he recalled that he had himself once been a monk; whereupon he became disgusted with the world of the senses and went to his parents to ask permission, in the prescribed Jain manner, to enter the order of monks. In stanzas 10-23 of the text he states his reasons; his parents reply in stanzas 24-43, describing the suffering and difficulties of a monk's life. But he is not dissuaded, and in stanzas 44-74 he recalls the many sufferings of his previous existences as a human being, a hell dweller, an animal, a tree, a metal; and especially he elaborates on the favorite Jain theme of the tortures experienced in hell. At last his parents consent, and he goes to wander alone like a wild animal, having no property and no personal attachments, giving up his friends, wives, sons, and relations, faithfully observing all the duties of a monk.

The simplest illustration of this story is that in DV (fig. 67), where king Balabhadra is seated on his throne, sword in right hand, royal parasol above him, his body fully ornamented, with Mrgāputra at the right under a tree, pulling out his hair in the traditional manner of initiation as a Jain monk.

In JM (fig. 68) the upper register has king Balabhadra and queen Mrgā seated facing each other, presumably when Mrgāputra asks leave to become a monk. In the lower register are three monks, two with begging bowls on the ground before them.

The painting of HV (fig. 69) shows, in the top panel, the king and queen seated in conversation. In the middle panel are illustrations of some of Mrgāputra's sufferings in previous existences, as catalogued in stanzas 44-74. At the left he is bent over with his head being crushed in a sugar press, which a bullock is turning (stanza 53); in the center he is seated while a man attacks him with an axe and perhaps a javelin to hack and pierce him (stanza 55); at the right he lies upon a fire being roasted (stanza 49). In the bottom register he is yoked to a car full of red hot fuel, being driven on with goad and whip (stanza 56), his hair apparently serving as reins. In the center he is seated under a tree talking; perhaps this illustration shows him as he describes the punishments to his father and mother, who are seen in the top panel. At the right he is tied down over a fire, being roasted like a buffalo (stanza 57); and underneath that scene he stands in a portico with outstretched hands, but I cannot identify the subject.

JP carries four illustrations. The first (fig. 70) is the scene of Mrgāputra's awakening, and shows him seated at a balcony looking at the monk, who is passing by on the street below. In the top part of the second illustration (fig. 71) this same scene is repeated; in the lower part he is shown seated on the ground talking to his mother, who sits on a raised seat. In the third painting (fig. 72) the hell punishments are illustrated. In the top register he is being burned over a fire (stanza 49) and his head is being crushed in a sugar press, which here has driver as well as bullock (stanza 53). In the middle register he lies under a tree, from which fall leaves as sharp as daggers that cut off his arms and legs (stanza 60), and at the right is being roasted in an oven like a buffalo (stanza 57). At the bottom he is, first, on an impaling stake (stanza 52), then has his head buried in a pot while a bird with a bill of iron tears him (stanza 58) and a man strikes him with a cudgel (stanza 61).<sup>1</sup> In the fourth painting (fig. 73) the king and queen sit in conversation; and below them, very small, is Mrgāputra saying farewell to his friends and relatives, represented by four of their number who face him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our fig. 146 (to Chapter 36).



Fig. 70. JPa: Mrgāputra's Awakening



Fig. 71. JPb: Mrgāputra's Awakening; Mrgāputra asks his Mother's Permission to become a Monk



Fig. 72. JPc: Mrgāputra's Hell Punishments in Previous Existences



Fig. 73. JPd: Mrgāputra becomes a Monk



Fig. 74. JPa: King Srenika and the Ascetic



Fig. 75. JPb: King Srenika and the Ascetic



Fig. 76. DV: King Srenika and the Ascetic



Fig. 77. JM: King Srenika and the Ascetic

## 20. THE GREAT DUTY OF JAIN MONKS

The story is told in this chapter of king Śreṇika of Magadha, who once went to the Maṇḍikukṣi caitya pleasure grove, and there saw a Jain monk, whose body showed at once that he was of noble lineage. The king approached respectfully and asked the ascetic why he had left his life of ease. The monk answered that it was because he was without a protector. The king said that he was a protector; but the ascetic then replied that the king himself was without a protector; how, then, could he protect anyone else. When the king showed astonishment at being considered incapable of giving protection, the monk told his own story. He had been born in a wealthy family of Kauśāmbī. Once, when young, he got a severe pain in his eyes accompanied by a burning fever with aches all over his body. Physicians could not help him; nor father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife. Thinking how hard it is to endure pains in the endless round of existence (*saṃsāra*), he vowed that, if he should recover from his illness, he would become a houseless monk. He fell asleep and awoke cured; whereupon he became a monk and so his own protector, maker of his own suffering and of his own salvation as well. Then follow sixteen verses, which both Jacobi and Charpentier consider to be an interpolation, describing the principal duties of Jain monks—their vows and rules of conduct—and emphasizing the unhappy fate of those who are lax. At the end king Śreṇika acknowledges the truth of the ascetic's idea of protection, and with all his wives, servants, and relatives is converted to the Jain faith. After this, bowing in reverence, he departs, and the monk goes on his way, too, untrammelled, free of delusion.

In JP two paintings are attached to this chapter. In the lower scene of the first (fig. 74) king Śreṇika is going on horseback to the grove, which is indicated by branches of trees extending inward from the sides. Before him strides a retainer with a sword over his right shoulder. At the top the monk sits under a canopy preaching, and the king is in front with his hands joined before him in the usual gesture of reverence. The second painting (fig. 75) has an architectural setting with the monk on his high-backed seat preaching and the king kneeling before him.<sup>1</sup>

The painting of DV (fig. 76) has the monk seated preaching, again on his spired throne, with the king before him on a noble seat. All the appurtenances, such as the architectural setting, the style of the seats, the decorations, and the costumes are of the usual sort. In JM (fig. 77) the ascetic stands under a tree in meditation. Beside him with hands joined and uplifted stands the king, and behind the king is a fly-whisk bearer, made small in size to suit his lesser importance. The royal umbrella appears behind the king, but with no one to support it.

I have no illustration for HV, perhaps having failed to photograph one that should be attached to the chapter.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of this chapter JP has a third painting, which really illustrates the story of Rathanemi in Chapter 22, and is reproduced and described below (fig. 87). A note in the margin beside the painting says *atra nirarthakarūpakam idam, citrakāradūṣaṇam na tu leṣakasya, agretanam* "here this is a meaningless illustration; the painter's fault, not the copyist's; further on."

## 21. THE STORY OF SAMUDRAPĀLA

The chapter tells first of the merchant Pālita, a pious Jain layman, who once went by boat from his native city Campā to Pihunḍa. There another merchant gave him a daughter to wife. When she was big with child, Pālita sailed for home with her, and while they were on the ocean (*samudra*) she gave birth. The child was named Samudrapāla. The boy grew up in Campā, surrounded with all luxury, and in proper time mastered the seventy-two polite accomplishments (*kalā*), learned worldly wisdom (*nīti*), and duly married a charming wife, with whom he amused himself like a god. One day from his mansion window he saw a man clothed in the garments of death and being led to execution. Agitated by the sight, Samudrapāla said, "This is the bad event of evil actions!" He then became enlightened and left the world to be a monk. The remainder of the chapter is a sermon on the duties of monks.

The painting of JM (fig. 78) shows two scenes. At the top is the birth. The mother, elaborately clothed, is lying on a bed, one of her legs stretched out, the other with knee bent, holding the infant in the hollow of her right arm.<sup>1</sup> All around is the ocean, shown by the conventional chevron pattern used for water. In the lower scene is a king, umbrella over his head, lotus in his left hand, seated on his throne giving judgment. Before him is the criminal, his hands bound and held back by the executioner with his left hand, who stands behind the condemned man and grasps his hair with his other hand.<sup>2</sup> An umbrella, smaller than the king's, appears over the victim's head, suggesting that he also is a king. The commentary offers no light on this point, but if the condemned man is a king the story would have an enhanced moral; for the descent from royal power to ignominious death would emphasize the impermanence of good fortune under the effect of wicked conduct.

HV (fig. 79) has the same two subjects in its painting, although in the birth scene there are no cross-hatched lines to represent water, and in the condemnation scene the victim has no umbrella over his head.

DV (fig. 80) gives only the birth scene. The mother sits in a reclining posture, rather than lies down. Water is round about, indicated in the conventional manner, this time with fish swimming in it and at the lower left hand corner is what appears to be some kind of sea monster with an elephant-like head. To fill out an empty corner the artist has improved upon ocean scenery by adding a tree. In the side margins of the page are four male figures with hands lifted in reverence.

JP has two paintings (figs. 81, 82), each with two scenes, but the sequence of the four is jumbled.<sup>3</sup> The top of the second painting (fig. 82) shows the birth scene. On an ocean—no crossed lines—where swim fish that are indicated in outline, moves the boat with sail set and pennant flying, its entire interior occupied by the mother, who lies out straight, not in the posture characteristic of the early western Indian style. In the upper

<sup>1</sup> Cliché birth scene; cf. BrKS figs. 58, 59, 90, 91, 103, 104, 118, 119.

<sup>2</sup> Cliché scene; cf. BrKK figs. 17, 24.

<sup>3</sup> The illustrator of this manuscript was not very careful about presenting his paintings in strict logical sequence; see the note to Chapter 20.



Fig. 78. JM: Samudrapāla's Birth; Samudrapāla's Awakening



Fig. 79. HV: Samudrapāla's Birth; Samudrapāla's Awakening

Fig. 80. DV: Samudrapāla's Birth







Fig. 81. JPa: Samudrapāla's Awakening



Fig. 82. JPb: Samudrapāla's Birth; Samudrapāla's Tonsure



Fig. 83. HV: Ariṣṭanemi's Awakening; Rājimatī's Tonsure



Fig. 84. JM: Ariṣṭanemi's Awakening; Rājimatī's Tonsure

register of the first painting (fig. 81) Samudrapāla sits in a balcony, beside which flows a river, and looks down upon the lower scene, which shows the condemned man being led along by the executioner. The victim is stripped of his ornaments and upper garment, his hands are bound and his hair undone; and the executioner has a sword and a small round shield like that of a Rajput soldier. The lower register of the second painting (fig. 82) has a monk standing before a layman, who sits on the ground pulling out his hair, and is evidently Samudrapāla renouncing the world and taking initiation in the traditional manner of Jains.

## 22. THE STORY OF RATHANEMI

This chapter deals with the story of Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha), the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara,<sup>1</sup> and the story of his elder brother Rathanemi. Prince Ariṣṭanemi of Śauryapura was betrothed to Rājimatī, and when the time came to claim the bride he went for her on his elephant. On his way he saw a number of animals in pens, frightened and miserable, on the point of being slaughtered for the wedding feast. The sight filled him with pity for all creatures, and at once he gave his ornaments to his charioteer (!)<sup>2</sup> and forsook the world to become a Jain monk, going to mount Raivataka (Girnar) to practice austerities. When Rājimatī heard of this, she in her turn became a nun, and also set out for mount Raivataka. While she was on her way a heavy rain fell and drenched her, and she entered a cave, where she removed all her clothes to dry. While she was there naked Ariṣṭanemi's elder brother named Rathanemi chanced to find her, and begged her to accept him as her lover. He had previously sought her love, but she had replied by vomiting up a sweet drink which she had just had and offering it to him. He refused it in disgust. She then pointed out that she had as good as been vomited by Ariṣṭanemi, yet Rathanemi wanted her. Thus she had converted him to monkhood. Now, when he again asked her love, she went on to preach him a sermon, which was so effective that he was re-established in his monk's duties, and in time both Rājimatī and he obtained full enlightenment and reached the state of blessedness.

HV (fig. 83) has, in the upper register, Ariṣṭanemi in his chariot being awakened to the religious life by the sight of the penned animals, which appear in four tiers at the lefthand side of the scene. In the lower register Rājimatī sits under a tree plucking out her hair, which the god Śakra (Indra) receives in two of his four arms.

The painting of JM (fig. 84) is in three registers. At the top Rājimatī is seated in the marriage pavilion waiting for Ariṣṭanemi, who is approaching in his chariot. In the middle register Ariṣṭanemi is driving away from the penned animals. In the bottom register Rājimatī is plucking out her hair, which Śakra is receiving.

JP has three paintings, one of which (fig. 87) is incorrectly placed in the manuscript with Chapter 20.<sup>3</sup> In the first (fig. 85) there is a walled enclosure containing the animals, with a cowherd at the gate holding a crook. Ariṣṭanemi, by the use of the artistic device

<sup>1</sup> This story is frequently illustrated in the Kalpasūtra MSS; see BrKS figs. 108, 109, 110.

<sup>2</sup> The confusion between elephant driver and charioteer is common in this story; see BrKS 47.

<sup>3</sup> See note to Chapter 20.

"continuous narration," appears twice in his chariot: at the bottom he is approaching the pen; at the top he has turned around and is leaving. His charioteer is none other than his cousin Krishna, the god Vishnu in avatāra, whose four arms with disk and conch in two of them make his identity certain. In the second painting (fig. 86) is Ariṣṭanemi shown as when in heaven before his descent to earth for his final birth, although this kind of representation is also sometimes used for the preaching of the first sermon (*samavasaraṇa*) and even for his release as a perfected being (*siddha*).<sup>4</sup> In the lower part of that same scene Krishna, recognizable by his four arms and attributes, is speaking to two women, not unreasonably to be taken for Rājimatī and an attendant, perhaps announcing to them that Ariṣṭanemi has left the world and so causing Rājimatī's awakening. The third painting (fig. 87, which is wrongly placed in the manuscript with Chapter 20) shows the peaks of mount Raivataka, on top of which stands Ariṣṭanemi in meditation. In the cave, which is represented with a partition, are Rājimatī and Rathanemi in conversation. The painting shows her as a laywoman and him as a monk, but at this time both had taken the vows. She is not shown naked, as the story relates, but merely at the moment of removing her scarf; the explanation is probably that the painter did not wish to show so holy a person in a state of nudity.

The painting of DV (fig. 88) shows Ariṣṭanemi seeing the penned animals. In the lower register a monk stands at the left in meditation; he might be Ariṣṭanemi on mount Raivataka, which would then be shown in outline around him, although the scene might be in a cave. At the right is a monk plucking out his hair, and in the center is another monk preaching, as though to the monk at the left. Comparison with the subjects of the paintings in the other manuscripts suggests that the artist may have made errors in this part of the painting, and that Rājimatī should have been represented. In that case, the tonsure should have been of her, and it should have been she, not a monk, who stood in the center preaching to Rathanemi, who would have been shown in the cave, as she should also have been.

<sup>4</sup> See remarks above in connection with the paintings of Chapter 1.



Fig. 85. JPa: Arīṣṭanemi's Awakening



Fig. 86. JPb: Arīṣṭanemi as a Perfected Being; Rājimatī's Awakening



Fig. 87. JPe: Arīṣṭanemi in Meditation; Rājimatī and Rathanemi



Fig. 88. DV: Arīṣṭanemi's Awakening; Rājimatī's Tonsure (?); Rājimatī and Rathanemi (?)



Fig. 89. HV:  
Kesi and Gautama  
in Conference



Fig. 90. JM:  
Kesi and Gautama  
in Conference

Fig. 91. DV:  
Kesi and Gautama  
in Conference



### 23. KEŚI AND GAUTAMA

This chapter tells of the union between the followers of Pārśva, the twenty-third Jain Tirthaṅkara, and Mahāvīra's order. Pārśva, who is assumed to have lived in the 8th century B.C., about 250 years before Mahāvīra, enjoined four vows upon his monks: not to injure living creatures, not to lie, not to take what was not given, not to possess property, but to wear two garments, an upper and a lower. Mahāvīra added the vow of complete chastity and interpreted the vow of not having possessions to exclude the wearing of any clothes whatever. At the time when Mahāvīra was preaching, a young but highly accomplished follower of Pārśva, by name Keśi, once arrived at a park in Śrāvastī, and at the same time a venerable monk named Gautama, who was a disciple of Mahāvīra, also came to Śrāvastī and took up his residence there. Both leaders lived in purity, and the disciples of the two were puzzled as to which professed the superior law. Knowing their disciples' thoughts, Keśi and Gautama decided to meet, and Gautama, although the elder, in deference to the greater age of Pārśva's order, went to Keśi. Besides the followers of the two teachers, the audience contained heretics, gods, and all sorts of non-human beings. Keśi opened the conference by asking Gautama about the discrepancy in the number of vows. Gautama replied in terms to show that Mahāvīra's fifth vow, that of chastity, was implicit in Pārśva's teaching, although the earlier teacher had not felt it necessary to specify the restriction. Keśi accepted the explanation, and then asked about the difference in the rule concerning clothing. Gautama answered that the outward marks of holy men served only to make people recognize them as such, but the fundamentals of religion, leading to emancipation, were knowledge, faith, and right conduct, not those outward symbols. Again Keśi accepted the explanation, and the matter of clothing seemed to be left optional. With these points settled, the two continued in a long discussion of the Jain doctrine, referring to specific tenets by cliché catch terms, and finding agreement on every point. The two orders were thereupon united. The question of Mahāvīra's fifth vow, that concerning chastity, never again disturbed the order, but the difference about clothing was only superficially obliterated, and in the end the Jain community split into the White-clothed (*śvetāmbara*) and Sky-clothed (*digambara*) sects, which remain separate to this day.

The paintings which illustrate this chapter are not especially interesting. HV (fig. 89) shows the two monks seated in a grove engaged in discussion; above and between them is the fan-like lotus (cf. our fig. 119) which frequently accompanies representations of Gautama (cf. BrKS fig. 82), and seems to point to the left-hand figure in this painting as that of this disciple of Mahāvīra. DV (fig. 91) has a closely similar illustration, but the setting is architectural. JM (fig. 90) again has the two monks in conference, but below them squat three males listening and holding up their hands reverently. These may be laymen or gods.

JP has two paintings. The first (fig. 92) is of a monk as a perfected being (*siddha*). The pointed decoration behind his head and the rosary which he holds before him distinguish him from a Tīrthamkara, and he is probably Gautama (cf. BrKS 39, 54, and figs. 82, 130-132). Below him is the plate of gold, like an inverted umbrella, above the mountains at the top of the universe, which marks off the abode of the released (cf. Chapter 28). In JP's second painting (fig. 93) Gautama and Keśi are seated beside a pool, with fish shown swimming around. In the lower register are three monks.



Fig. 92. JPa: Gautama as a Siddha



Fig. 93. JPb: Keśi and Gautama in Conference





Fig. 94. HV: Monks in Discussion; Observance of the Three Guptis

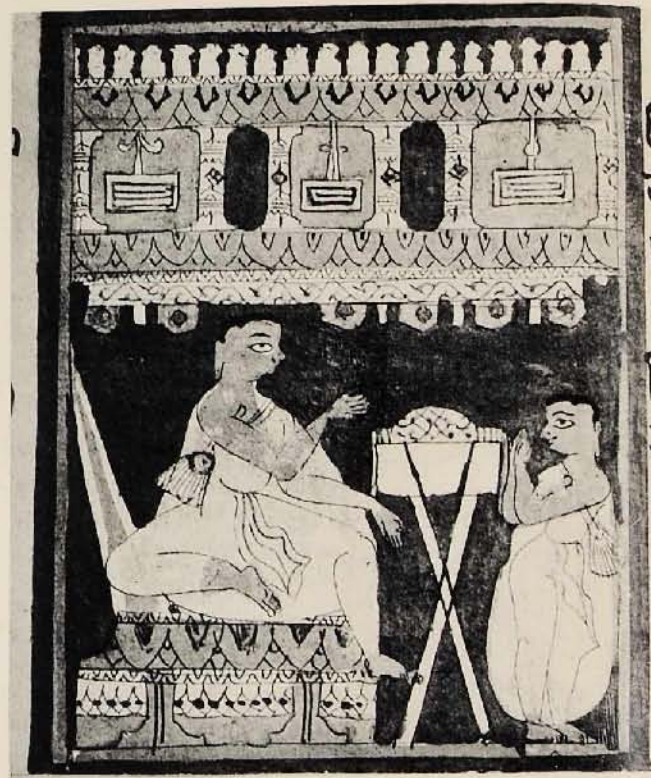


Fig. 95. JP: Mahāvīra Preaching on the Samitis(?)



Fig. 96. JM: Monks in Discussion; Observance of the Three Guptis



Fig. 97. DV: Mahāvīra Preaching on the Samitis(?)

#### 24. THE SAMITIS; OR, THE ARTICLES (MOTHERS) OF THE DOCTRINE

This chapter is devoted to an exposition of the eight articles, punningly mothers (*māyā* = Skt *mātrā* and *mātā*), of the creed, namely the five samitis and the three guptis. The five samitis are the regulations for monks concerning walking, speaking, receiving alms, getting and receiving paraphernalia, and the manner of disposing of refuse (excreta, garbage, etc.). The three guptis are the ward that must be kept over mind, speech, and body.

HV (fig. 94) and JM (fig. 96; painting misplaced in manuscript as heading to Chapter 25) illustrate with almost identical paintings. In an upper register are two monks seated in discussion, much as in the case of the paintings to Chapter 23. Below are three monks observing the three guptis: the monk at the left is keeping watch over his mind; the monk in the center has his right hand raised with manuscript or mouth cloth, and is exercising proper watch while speaking; the third monk is brushing the ground with his broom to remove small creatures from his path, and is thus exercising watch over his body.

JP (fig. 95) has a monk seated and preaching to another, made much smaller than the first, who stands with hands reverently folded, and his body strangely contorted.

DV (fig. 97) has a painting at the head of this chapter, which clearly belongs to the next chapter and is described there in my discussion. It seems likely that the painting which the manuscript has at the head of Chapter 25 really belongs here. In it a monk is seated preaching, and before are two others, one in a squatting posture with his hands joined before him, the other on a seat, with left hand raised breast high and right hand above the level of his head. The scene is probably Mahāvīra preaching the chapter.

## 25. THE TRUE SACRIFICE

Once a Jain monk named Jayaghoṣa, after a month's fast, came for alms to a sacrificial enclosure in Benares, where a learned Brahman named Vijayaghoṣa was performing a sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> When Jayaghoṣa made his request, Vijayaghoṣa refused on the ground that only those were deserving of alms who were versed in the Vedas, observed chastity at the time of performing Vedic ceremonies, understood astrology, and had mastered the Vedic sacrificial ritual. This insistence upon Brahmanic orthodoxy did not anger Jayaghoṣa, nor did he leave, although his purpose in remaining was not to obtain alms. Rather he knew that the time had come for the salvation of Vijayaghoṣa and his attendants, and he told them that they did not know the true sacrifice. Vijayaghoṣa modestly asked him to explain, and Jayaghoṣa did so, pointing out that real Brahmanhood lies not in ritual observance but in living the good life of detachment from the world of desires and in practising the Jain holy law. Vijayaghoṣa was converted, and ultimately both he and Jayaghoṣa reached the highest perfection.

HV (fig. 98) and JM (fig. 99; painting wrongly placed in manuscript with Chapter 26) have essentially the same sort of illustration. Each has an upper panel containing a sacrificial enclosure in which sit two long-haired and bearded Brahmans with the sacrificial fire between them. These are Vijayaghoṣa and an assistant, manipulating the sacrifice. Outside the circle is Jayaghoṣa carrying his pot in his right hand and raising his left hand as he addresses Vijayaghoṣa. In the lower panel are shown Jayaghoṣa, and Vijayaghoṣa, with the latter apparently bestowing alms. HV (fig. 98) shows balls of food falling from his outstretched hand into Jayaghoṣa's pot, and JM (fig. 99) shows him using the sacrificial ladle to make the gift. Just above the ladle is the sacrificial water vessel, slightly tilted although not held by any hand, with the spout over the mouth of a jar into which it seems to be pouring water.

DV (fig. 101) has only the upper scene of the two shown in HV and JM. Under trees, which indicate a grove, are two Brahmans, elaborately dressed like laymen, rather than anchorites, their coiled and matted coiffures very large. Between and below them is the fire, and between and above them, giving balance, is the lotus motif that was used with Gautama in fig. 89. Outside the sacrificial enclosure stands Jayaghoṣa preaching.

JP (fig. 100), as usual, is more original than the others. It shows the river Ganges cutting across the bottom of the picture, with a city wall and gate beside it and inside it a temple with banners. On the right-hand side of the picture the sacrificial circle is shown twice, and in each case it contains both Vijayaghoṣa and Jayaghoṣa, a rather surprising scene, for a Jain monk should not have entered such an enclosure. The Brahman priest, as is frequent in this manuscript, is dressed like a layman (see the remark in Chapter 12).

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentarial story Jayaghoṣa and Vijayaghoṣa were brothers. Jayaghoṣa, on going one day to bathe in the Ganges, saw a frog being swallowed by a serpent, which in turn was being eaten by a mongoose (variantly, an osprey). The sight awakened him to the true religious life, and he crossed the river to take the vows under a Jain monk, who was preaching there.



Fig. 98. HV:  
Jayaghosa and  
Vijayaghosa



Fig. 100. JP:  
Jayaghosa and  
Vijayaghosa



Fig. 99. JM:  
Jayaghosa and  
Vijayaghosa



Fig. 101. DV:  
Jayaghosa and  
Vijayaghosa



Fig. 102. JM: Mahāvīra Preaching the Rules of Conduct



Fig. 103. JPa: The Rules of Begging



Fig. 104. JPb: The Rules of Confession

The two scenes perhaps mark Jayaghoṣa's first request for alms and the awakening of Vijayaghoṣa after Jayaghoṣa had expounded true Brahmanhood. Between the two circles lies a figure in lay dress, whom I cannot identify; possibly it is one of Vijayaghoṣa's assistants, possibly the patron of the sacrifice which Vijayaghoṣa was performing, possibly something entirely different.

#### 26. CORRECT BEHAVIOR

This chapter outlines the proper behavior (*sāmācāri*) of a monk in various circumstances: leaving a room to engage in his duties, entering a room, asking permission of his superior for himself, asking permission for another, putting his things at the disposal of other monks, performing his wish, confessing his sins, promising, serving with respect, putting himself under another teacher. The text goes on to explain the proper employment of day and night, correct manner of inspecting garments, when and how to beg for food, when and how to excrete, when to practice body-motionless meditation, when to confess sins and obtain absolution, and when to practise austerities.

The illustrations of HV (fig. 105) and JM (fig. 102, wrongly placed in manuscript at the beginning of Chapter 28) merely show a monk, probably Mahāvīra, seated preaching, with two monks facing him, one placed above the other, both with hands respectfully joined.

JP has two illustrations. In the upper register of the first (fig. 103) a monk is seated giving instruction, and at his left is a junior monk facing a layman who holds a bowl in his hand which he has apparently just filled with alms and is going to give to the young monk. At the bottom three monks are walking, staff in hand, and presumably observing the rules of going the rounds for alms, as given in stanza 36. The subject of the painting may, therefore, be taken as the manner of begging. The second painting (fig. 104) has two scenes, one above the other, each of a superior monk seated, with a junior monk standing before him with hands joined. The subject here seems to be confession, which must be made twice a day, that is, morning (stanzas 41-42) and evening (stanzas 49-50).

DV (fig. 106) has, in its upper register, a monk seated, toward who bows a standing monk, with a third monk at the right walking away. The subject is probably a junior monk first asking his superior what he is to do (stanza 9) and then turning away to do it (stanza 10). In the lower register the superior is seated at the left, inspecting a bowl and a broom—probably also the pot on the ground—while a junior leans over to watch. The subject is inspection of monk's articles (stanza 23). A third monk squats as though in confession (stanzas 41-42, 49-50).



Fig. 105. HV: Mahāvīra Preaching the Rules of Conduct



Fig. 106. DV: Asking and Performing Orders; Rules of Inspecting Monk's Possessions; Rules of Confession (?)





Fig. 107. HV: The Balky Bullocks

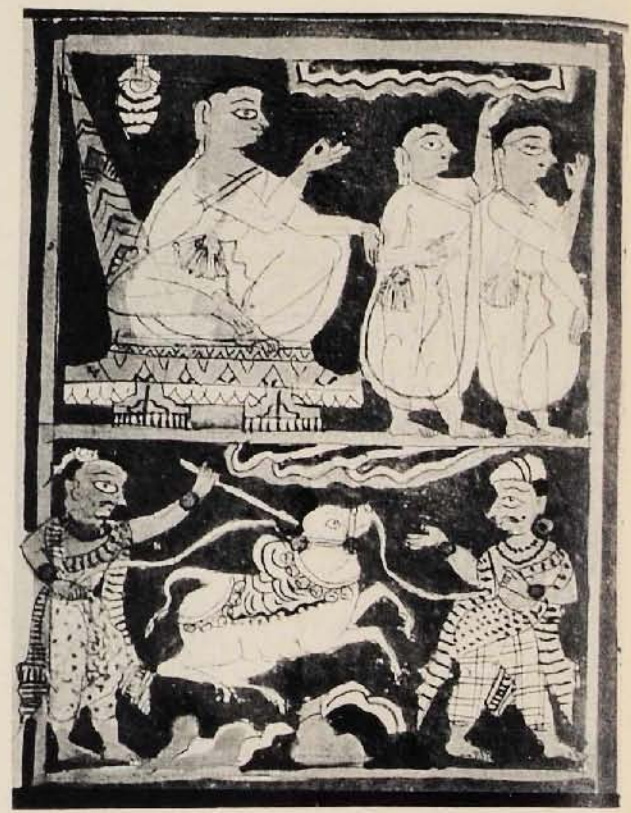


Fig. 108. JP: The Balky Bullocks



Fig. 109. DV: The Balky Bullocks



Fig. 110. JM: The Balky Bullocks

## 27. THE BALKY BULLOCKS

The learned monk Garga, leader of a school (*gaṇadhara*), once reflected: "He who is drawn in a cart crosses a jungle; he who is drawn in [the cart of] spiritual discipline crosses the Samsāra. But he who yokes balky bullocks to his cart is worn out with beating them. He gets no peace of mind; his goad<sup>1</sup> is broken. He bites one in the tail, and strikes the other time after time. One smashes the yoke pin; the other dashes off the road. One falls on its side, sits down, lies down; [the other] leaps up, bucks, guilefully makes for a heifer. [One] trickily charges head down in anger, then retreats; [the other] full of wile stands still, then runs at full speed. [One,] after a female, snaps the driving rope and, unmanageable, smashes the yoke; [the other,] snorting and jerking, dashes away. Just as balky bullocks are when yoked, so bad disciples are when yoked to the cart of the Law: they break it through their lack of mental discipline." He then remarks that some are vainglorious, sybaritic, sulky, lazy, sensitive, argumentative, disobedient, overbearing, unreliable. Finally, since he himself had balky disciples, he left them and went his own way to practise austerities.<sup>2</sup>

The artists of the manuscripts obviously indulged their sense of the amusing in illustrating this chapter. JM (fig. 110; misplaced in the manuscript at Chapter 29) shows in the upper register a monk preaching and another listening. In the lower register is a two-wheeled cart with a pair of bullocks. A well-dressed layman is riding in the body of the cart, and the driver sits at the near end of the shaft, flourishing a long double whip in his left hand and prodding with his goad in his right hand, while the bullocks toss their heads back snorting. The left-hand bullock is bending its legs to sit down, while the other is just ready to make a breakaway. HV (fig. 107) has an almost identical scene, although the subjects of the two registers are reversed. The cart is much more elaborate than in JM, and behind it stands a layman with one hand held up as though deploring the bullock's balkiness. Over the passenger's head is a parasol, as though he were a king. DV (fig. 109) shows approximately the same scene as HV, but without the third man and the parasol.

JP (fig. 108) shows, in its lower register, two men trying to control an unmanageable bullock; there is no cart. One man is in front of the animal, holding one end of the driving rope, which, as is usual, passes through the bullock's nose, and he is trying to cajole it. The other man, who is behind the bullock, holds the other end of the driving rope, and is prodding the animal just behind the head. The bullock is leaping with all four feet clear of the ground, which we can see is rough and hilly. Overhead is a cloud. In the upper register a monk is trying to persuade two disciples, but they have rudely turned their backs on him and are walking away without listening.

<sup>1</sup> A bullock-driver's goad has a whip attached to it. When the whip is worn away or broken off, the driver has only the goad left. When all other forms of encouragement fail, it is no uncommon resource of a desperate driver to grasp a bullock's tail and bite it. The result is generally sudden, and sometimes alarming.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the conduct of Kālaka with his disciples in BrKK p. 65.

## 28. THE ROAD TO SALVATION

The road to salvation (*mokṣa*) taught by the Jinas, says this chapter, depends on four causes and has right knowledge and doctrine (faith) as its characteristics. The four causes are Right Knowledge, Doctrine (Faith), Conduct, and Austerity. Each of these is analyzed in the text in considerable detail, and this chapter and those following it constitute an epitome of Jain metaphysics and practice.

Salvation, that is, deliverance (*mokṣa*) from the bonds of Karma (works), is attained in life; at death Nirvāṇa is the result. The souls of the perfected reside at the top of the universe. Just below the top of the universe is the place called *Īśāṭprāgbhāra*, made of pure gold, shaped like an inverted umbrella, 4,500,000 yojanas long and as many broad, somewhat more than three times as many in circumference, eight yojanas thick in the middle and tapering toward the edge, which is thinner than a fly's wing. Immediately above *Īśāṭprāgbhāra* is a place *Śītā*, white, and a yojana from there is the end of the universe. Perfected souls penetrate to the last krośa of this yojana, and there they abide (*Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 36, 58-64).

The illustrations of HV (fig. 111) and JM (fig. 112; wrongly placed in the manuscript with chapter 30) are essentially alike, each showing five Siddhas (perfected being) in *Śītā*. They are fully ornamented and gloriously seated like kings; above each is a parasol, fully shown in JM (fig. 112), but only outlined in HV (fig. 111). This royal appearance, rather than that of a monk, is the usual Jain iconography of incorporeal souls, which, of course, can only be symbolized, never actually depicted.<sup>1</sup> In the lower register of each painting are two monks engaged in conversation. In DV (fig. 114) only three monks are shown, who are seated under a common umbrella. There is no lower register, but under *Īśāṭprāgbhāra* are the mountain peaks of the *Sarvārtha Vimāna* (heaven); similar scenes appear in BrKS figs. 81, 92, 114, 128.

JP (fig. 113) has in the upper register a monk preaching to a layman. In the lower register is a curious scene of a layman, ornamented and seated on a throne, apparently preaching to another layman, both using attitudes common in representations of monks. I cannot explain the scene.

<sup>1</sup> See remarks on the illustrations to Chapter 1 (above).

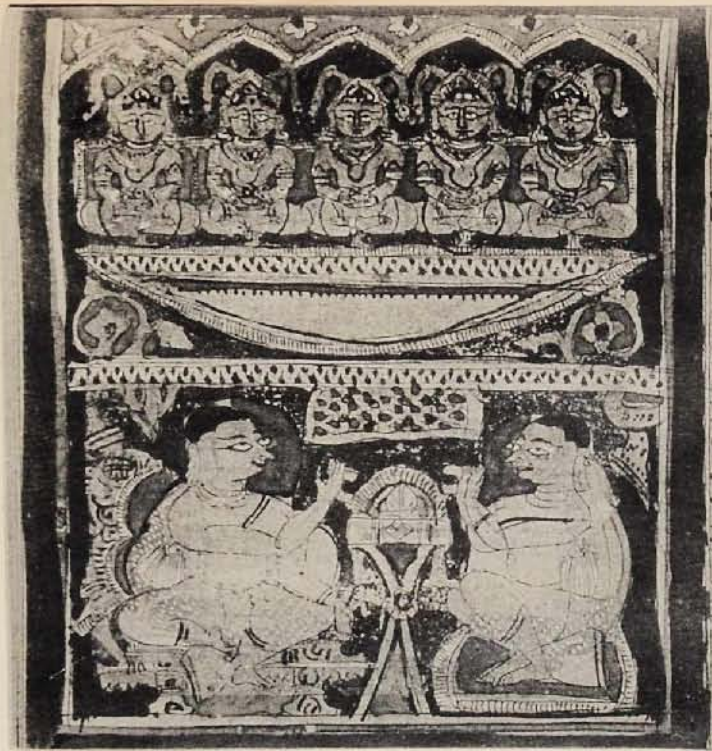


Fig. 111. HV:  
Perfected Beings;  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching



Fig. 113. JP:  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching;  
Layman  
Preaching (?)



Fig. 112.  
JM:  
Perfected  
Beings;  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching



Fig. 114. DV:  
Perfected  
Beings



Fig. 115. HV: Rebirth as a God (?)



Fig. 116. JP: Reverencing the Jinas; Reverencing One's Guru

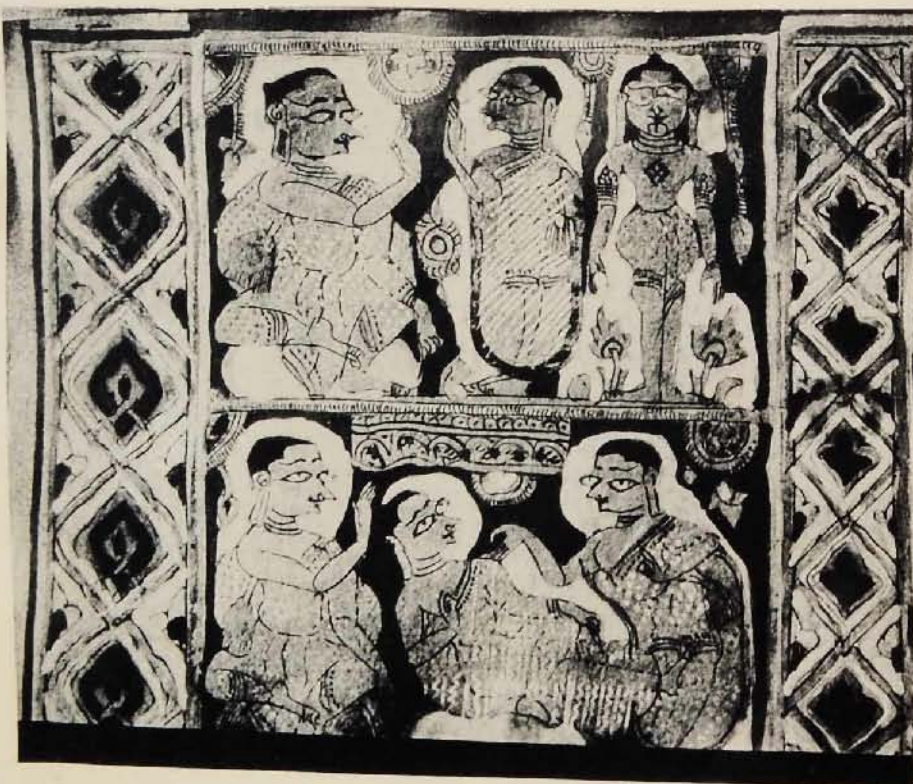


Fig. 117. DV: Practice of Austerity; Happy Death of a Perfected Monk



Fig. 118. JM: Rebirth as a God(?)

## 29. EXERTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS

In this chapter are enumerated 73 topics of Jain teaching and practice, and the benefits they produce, culminating in final deliverance.

HV (fig. 115) and JM (fig. 118; misplaced in the manuscript with Chapter 31) show a god enthroned in some heaven, fully ornamented and attended, with sky elephants above sprinkling him. This is a common iconographic type for Tirthamkaras before they descend from heaven to earth for the final existence (cf. BrKS figs. 2, 87, 101, 102, 116). Here the reference may be to sections 4 and 14 of the text, which state that obedience to the guru and to one's fellow religionists or the use of praises and hymns brings rebirth as a god. In these evil times, when the world is steadily on the down grade, that is the maximum good one may hope for at death, and the ordinary Jain euphemism today is that he (the one dead) has gone to heaven.

DV (fig. 117) has in its upper panel a seated monk preaching to a standing monk, with another monk beside the second, standing in the body-abandonment posture for meditation, which rids one of past and present transgressions (section 12). In the lower panel is shown the happy death of a perfected monk, which is mentioned in section 72 as coming with the annihilation of one's last Karma. The dying monk is lying on the ground, while another ministers to him, and still another sits by his head preaching.

JP (fig. 116) shows at the top a laywoman adoring a Tirthamkara, who is shown like the perfected beings in the illustrations to Chapter 28. The text says (section 9) that adoration of the twenty-four Jinas brings purity of faith. In the lower part of the painting a monk is preaching to three laywomen, who are adoring him. This may well be a reference to section 10 of the text, which points out the benefits that come from reverencing one's guru.

Bad Karma, the text states, is destroyed by austerities. By not taking life, not lying, not taking anything not given, abstaining from all sexual activity, having no property, not eating at night, the influx of Karma is checked. By possessing the five samitis and the three guptis (see Chapter 25), by freedom from the passions, by conquering the senses, by being free of pride, by avoiding sins, a being checks the influx of Karma. But if, in the absence of those virtues, a monk has acquired Karma, through love and hatred, he can destroy it by means of austerities. Austerities are external and internal, and the text gives the six divisions of the two with their various subdivisions. The external are abstinence from food, gradual reduction of the amount taken and then gradual increase back to normal, abstinence from tasty food, mortification of the flesh, lodging and sleeping in lonesome and unfrequented places, where there are neither women nor cattle. Internal austerities are expiation of sins, conformity to discipline, service of the guru, study, meditation, abandoning the body, that is, remaining motionless when lying, sitting, or standing. Three of the manuscripts—JM (fig. 120 misplaced in the manuscript at Chapter 32), HV (fig. 119), DV (fig. 121)—concentrate on illustrating stanzas 5 and 6, which say: "Just as a large lake, when its inflow of water is stopped up, in due time becomes dry through use and evaporation, so the Karma of a monk acquired in tens of millions of existences is dissipated through austerity (*tava*, Skt. *tapas* = "heat, austerity") if no new Karma comes in." In DV (fig. 121) a monk is seated between two trees, apparently preaching, and above his head is shown the lake mentioned in the parable. (The side margins of the folio containing this painting have four adoring male lay figures.) In HV (fig. 119) the lake is more elaborate, having a wall and four gates, with a lotus in the center and three haṃsas swimming around it. Behind the tree trunks are peacocks, with tails like banana leaves, but the peacocks' bodies are almost entirely concealed, and we have the strange result of a mango and an aśoka tree apparently with banana fronds growing on their trunks. On each tree is a bird, perhaps a parrot, and in each upper corner of the painting is a haṃsa. In JM (fig. 120) the illustration is almost identical with that of HV (fig. 119), but the peacocks are beside the trees instead of behind them; the lake has no lotus or haṃsas.



Fig. 119. HV:  
Parable of the  
Evaporating Lake



Fig. 120. JM:  
Parable of the  
Evaporating Lake

Fig. 121. DV:  
Parable of the  
Evaporating Lake







Fig. 122. JPa: Parable of the Evaporating Lake;  
Austerity of Meditating in Difficult Postures;  
Service of the Guru



Fig. 123. JPb: Austerity of Begging; Fasting unto  
Death (?)

JP, always the most original of the manuscripts, has two illustrations. The first (fig. 122) has three registers. At the top is the lake with the lotus, and beside it two monks standing in meditation. In the middle register a monk sits at the left under a tree, with a peculiar object above his head which I cannot recognize; perhaps it is a weight or a disk; a layman watches him. At the right another monk is seated upside down, cross-legged, his head on a cushion, practising a difficult posture (*vīrāsana*) for meditation. At the bottom a monk sits on his wooden seat, and another monk rubs his feet. This last scene appears to be a variety of internal austerity consisting of service to the guru. In the second painting of JP (fig. 123) the upper register has two monks standing before a layman, and they may be assumed to be begging. The text (stanza 19) refers to the austerity of following different routes in begging. At the bottom of this painting a monk lies on a heap of blankets or mattresses, with another monk standing at his head and a third sitting at his feet holding a bowl full of something which is perhaps a cluster of flowers. This scene appears to illustrate the fast unto death (stanza 12), which is one of the external austerities.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or it might be the internal austerity known as service of the guru when sick (stanza 33; see Jacobi's note, p. 179, where sickness is listed as one of the ten conditions for rendering service of the guru).

### 31. RULES OF CONDUCT

This chapter lists rules of monks' conduct under a numerical classification. For example, under the number one come the one thing to desist from, which is neglect of self-control, and the one thing to practise, which is self-control; under the number two are mentioned the two things which produce bad Karma, namely love and hatred, and these should be avoided; under the number three a monk should remember to avoid the triad of hurtful, conceited, and delusive acts, each of which divisions is itself triply subdivided. The highest number in the whole system of classification is thirty-three. A wise monk who is always successful in regard to these points (*ṭhāṇa*) will quickly get release from the cycle of existence. This custom of grouping points of religion under numerical heads is a common mnemonic device in India, especially well developed by the Jains, who for many centuries transmitted their texts orally without reliance upon written records. The most characteristic work of theirs following this procedure is the canonical text *Ṭhāṇaṅga Sutta* (*Sthānāṅga Sūtra*).

The manuscripts HV (fig. 124) and JM (fig. 125; with painting misplaced in the manuscript at head of Chapter 33) show only an uninteresting scene of Mahāvīra seated and preaching to two monks who stand before him reverently listening.

In JP (fig. 126) the upper panel has a monk seated alone eating, with two bowls before him on a stand, from one of which he is taking food. His water jar hangs from the ceiling and also two pairs of small pots in nets. The subject is the proper method of eating, which is one of the six regular functions (stanza 8). In the lower panel two monks are receiving alms from a layman, who has filled a begging bowl and is holding it out to one of the holy men. The subject here is the seven rules of accepting alms (stanza 9).

DV (fig. 127) has in the upper register a monk preaching, while another monk listens, and to the right stands a third monk motionless in meditation, who is practising the life of self-control mentioned in stanza 2. In the lower register a monk sits at the right commenting upon the action shown in the other side of the scene. This consists of a layman with drawn bow aiming at a monk who faces him quietly expostulating. The subject seems to be the statement of stanza 5: "A monk who bears and overcomes the trials inflicted by the three, namely gods, animals, and men, is not within the cycle of rebirth." Stories of such trials are very common, even of trials instituted by gods (cf. BrKS 32, 35-37).



Fig. 124. HV: Mahāvira Preaching the Rules of Conduct

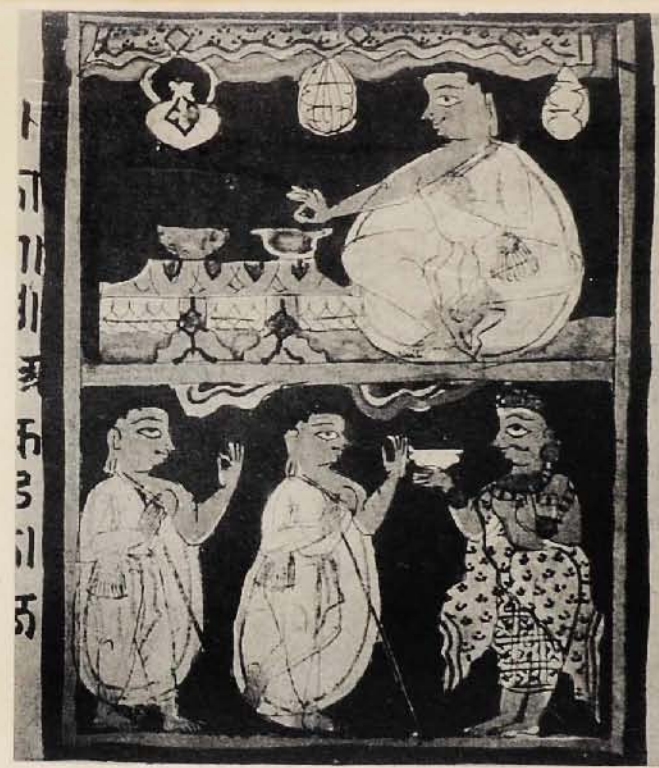


Fig. 126. JP: Rules of Eating; Rules of Begging



Fig. 125. JM: Mahāvira Preaching the Rules of Conduct



Fig. 127. DV: Practice of Self-control; Enduring of Trials



Fig. 128. HV:  
Parable of the  
Chicken and the  
Egg



Fig. 129. JM:  
Parable of the  
Chicken and the  
Egg

Fig. 130. DV:  
Parable of the  
Chicken and the  
Egg



### 32. THE CAUSES OF CARELESSNESS

Mahāvīra preaches on the fault of carelessness (*pramāda*), which leads monks to neglect the pious observances. A monk should live alone, or else associate with an equal in virtue or a superior; he should own no property and so destroy desire, love, hatred, delusion and delusion is the origin of desire." This old Indian simile of the interaction beware of the senses, which are treated in order, each with a simile: form, operating on the sight, brings destruction as a flame to a moth which it attracts; sound lures to death, as a song does a deer; smell is fatal, as when it entices a snake from its hole; the taste of bait is the ruin of a fish; the cool touch of water lures a buffalo into a pool, where a crocodile seizes him; the feeling of carnal desire for the female seduces the bull elephant and he is entrapped.

The three illustrations in HV (fig. 128), JM (fig. 129; misplaced, as usual, by two chapters), and DV (fig. 130) deal with stanza 6 of the text: "Just as the crane is produced from the egg and the egg is produced from the crane, so, they say, desire is the origin of delusion and delusion is the origin of desire." This old Indian simile of the interaction between desire and delusion is illustrated with a chicken taking the place of the crane, and might serve to fit the English puzzler of which came first, the hen or the egg. Each of these three manuscripts has a hen and number of eggs, while Mahāvīra is seated on his throne preaching. HV has a monk listening, and JM has two monks.

JP has three illustrations to this chapter, none of which is absolutely clear, while the first two are very doubtful. Unfortunately, I have no commentary on this chapter to help explain the paintings. In the first two paintings are altogether five subjects, three being in the first (fig. 131) and two in the second (fig. 132). In the first (fig. 131) the top shows a monk preaching, and another monk and a layman walking away, their backs turned on him, as though failing deliberately to take advantage of his exposition. At the lower right are the same monk and layman walking, although this time the monk has his staff, which was missing in the upper part of the picture. At the left are two monks asleep, each with three mattresses or blankets below him, an unusual number for a monk and presumably indicating a lapse from the ascetic life into a care for creature comforts. In the second illustration (fig. 132) a monk on an honorific seat and another monk, on a cushion, are engaged in conversation. Below, two monks are violently attacking each other with their brooms, the very line of their robes drawn with an angry swirl. Since the number of scenes in these two paintings is five, it is possible that they are meant to illustrate the five kinds of carelessness (*pramāda*), which are: strong drink (*madya*), the senses (*viṣaya*), the four stains (*kaṣāya*; namely, *krodha* "anger," *māna* "pride," *māyā* "illusion," *lobhā* "greed"), sleep (*nidrā*), and unprofitable conversation (*vikathā*), that is, conversation about women, politics, country, food. The five scenes are not especially apt illustrations of these five kinds of carelessness; but if they are, the lower left in fig. 131 would illustrate sleep and the lower scene in fig. 132 would illustrate anger, as typifying the four stains, perhaps from taking strong drink (note the vessels behind one of the monks). The upper scene in fig. 132 would perhaps be unprofitable conversation. The upper scene of fig. 131 might illustrate yielding to the seductions of the senses, while that of the lower right of the same painting would perhaps continue the subject. All told, this series of identifications is only partly satisfactory.

The third painting of JP (fig. 133) has in the center a lake with a lotus floating in the center. On the left-hand side of the lake is a tree in blossom. Above and on the right-hand side of the lake are a snake, a hawk (or possibly a parrot; see the birds in fig. 134), a deer, and a scorpion. Below the lake is a mountainous scene, with a woman's figure contained in one of the peaks, as though she were in a cave. Certain parts of this painting seem clear. The lake with the lotus must refer to vs. 34: "A man indifferent to forms ("colors") is without sorrow; though still in the midst of the round of existence, he is not touched by that sequence of pains, just as the lotus leaf (is not touched) by water." The tree at the left of the lake may well refer to verse 20: "Just as the kimpāka fruit, when eaten, is delightful in taste and color, but when digested destroys life, so in their result are pleasures." The snake and the deer are probably those mentioned in the first paragraph of the treatment of this chapter (see above) as lured to their destruction by the senses of hearing and smell. The hawk (or, parrot) and the scorpion I cannot explain; for the text nowhere mentions them. The woman at the bottom of the scene may refer to the series of admonitions (vss. 14-18) against the female sex: a monk should not watch a woman, or think of her; no matter how complete his virtue, he should not risk association with a woman; one who overcomes the desire for woman will find no other difficulty comparable to her. The lonely and wild mountainous scene I cannot explain.



Fig. 131. JPa: Kinds of Carelessness (?)



Fig. 132. JPb: Kinds of Carelessness (?)



Fig. 133. JPc: Parables concerning Carelessness





Fig. 134. JPa:  
Mahāvira  
Preaching on  
Karma



Fig. 135. JPb:  
Monk Preaching,  
Danseuse,  
Musician



Fig. 136. JM:  
Mahāvira  
Preaching on  
Karma



Fig. 137. DV:  
Mahāvira  
Preaching on  
Karma

### 33. THE NATURE OF KARMA

In this chapter are explained the eight divisions of Karma, with their subdivisions. These eight, and the number of their subdivisions are as follows:

<i>jñānavaraṇīya</i> , acts leading to obstruction of right knowledge,	5 kinds
<i>darśanāvaraṇīya</i> , acts leading to obstruction of right faith	9 “
<i>vedanīya</i> , acts leading to experience of pain or pleasure	2 “
<i>mohanīya</i> , acts leading to delusion	26 “ or 28
<i>āyuska</i> , acts determining the length of life	4 “
<i>nāma</i> , determining name, or individuality (with 103 subdivisions)	2 “
<i>gotra</i> , acts determining the family of gotra	16 “
<i>antarāya</i> , acts preventing entry upon path of salvation	5 “

The text then tells of the mass (number of atoms), place, time, and development of Karma.

The illustration of JM (fig. 136, misplaced in the manuscript with Chapter 35) is the familiar subject of Mahāvira preaching, this time to three monks. DV (fig. 137) shows a Tirthaṅkara ornamented and attended, in the manner which is variously used to indicate him before his descent from heaven to earth in his final birth, or at the time of his first sermon after enlightenment (*samavasaraṇa*), or as a perfected being in *Śītā*.<sup>1</sup> I have no photograph for HV.

JP has two paintings with this chapter. The first (fig. 134), placed at the beginning of the chapter shows a monk preaching, presumably Mahāvira delivering the sermon that constitutes this discussion of Karma. He is seated in a pleasant grove, where birds are plentiful and trees are in blossom.

The second painting of JP (fig. 135) has two registers, in both of which sits a monk preaching, while a woman dances before him. In the top register a drummer accompanies her, while in the lower register the accompanist seems to be keeping time with cymbals or triangles. The text offers no clue to this scene, and it may illustrate some story which would appear in a commentary if I had one for this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> See in connection with illustrations to Chapters 1 and 28.

### 34. THE LEŚYĀS

This chapter deals with the six *leśyās*. These are external appearances cast upon the soul by the individual's Karma. The soul is, of course, not itself affected, but the *leśyās* are like a shadow or a reflection. They have names, colors, tastes, smells, touches, degrees, character, variety, duration, result, and life; but they are commonly distinguished by color, and are named black, blue, grey, red, yellow, and white. The first three of these are bad and the last three are good. The chapter characterizes the various qualities of the six *leśyās*, describes the men who possess the different kinds, and admonishes wise men to avoid the bad *leśyās* and cultivate the good.

The subject of the *leśyās* is common Jain iconography, and is generally represented by a rose-apple (*jambu*) tree, from which six men are trying to get the fruit. These men are often shown by the colors of their respective *leśyās*. The black has an axe and endeavors to cut the tree down at its base. The blue is cutting off the branches. The gray is cutting off only the twigs with the fruit, or the bunches. The red climbs the tree to pluck the fruit. The yellow pulls off what he can reach as he walks around. The white collects only what has fallen to the ground.

The traditional type of illustration appears in JM (fig. 139 wrongly put in the manuscript at the beginning of Chapter 36): the black is at the bottom left; the blue at the right top; the gray at the left top, but without an axe; the red is climbing the tree; the yellow is at the right middle; and the white is at the bottom right. JP's illustration (fig. 140) is quite unconventional: no one holds an axe, and the men are all at the right of the tree; their colors are indicated. DV (fig. 138) gives almost no prominence to the tree, which is obscurely placed at the right hand side of the upper panel. The six men are arranged in two registers, but not clearly differentiated.



Fig. 138. DV: Parable of the Leśyās



Fig. 139. JM: Parable of the Leśyās



Fig. 140. JP: Parable of the Leśyās



Fig. 141. DV: Mahāvīra Preaching on the Houseless Monk



Fig. 142. HV: Mahāvīra Preaching on the Houseless Monk



Fig. 143. JP: Mahāvīra Preaching on the Houseless Monk

### 35. THE HOUSELESS MONK

This chapter contains remarks on the necessity for complete freedom from desire; thus the houseless monk may obtain absolute knowledge and reach final bliss. The illustrations are of the most cliché sort. In HV (fig. 142) Mahāvīra preaches to two monks, in JP (fig. 143) to two laymen; in DV (fig. 141) there are two registers, in each of which two monks sit facing each other and engaged in conversation. JM has no illustration, since that which comes at the head of this chapter (fig. 136) belongs with Chapter 33 (see above).

### 36. LIVING CREATURES AND THINGS WITHOUT LIFE

In this chapter Mahāvīra deals with living beings and those without life, classifying them for the edification of the Jain community. Jacobi (SBE 45. 206-207, note) analyses the chapter clearly, and I reproduce his analysis. The numbers in parentheses are to the stanzas.

- Things without Life (3-48)
  - Without form (5-9)
  - With form (10-48)
- Living Beings (48-246)
  - Perfected souls (50-68)
  - Mundane beings (69-246)
    - Immoveable beings (71-106)
      - Earth lives (71-84)
      - Water lives (85-92)
      - Plants (93-106)
    - Moveable beings (108-246)
      - Fire lives (109-117)
      - Wind lives (118-126)
      - Beings with an organic body (127-246)
        - With two organs of sense (128-136)
        - With three organs of sense (137-145)
        - With four organs of sense (146-155)
        - With five organs of sense (156-246)
          - Denizens of hell (157-170)
          - Animals, vertebrate (171-193)
            - Aquatic (171-178)
            - Terrestrial (179-186)
            - Aerial (187-193)
          - Men (194-202)
          - Gods (203-246)
            - Bhavanavāsin (205, 218)
            - Vyantara (206, 219)
            - Jyotiṣka (207, 220)
            - Vaimānika (208, 221-246)
              - Living in Kalpas (209, 210, 221-232)
              - Living above the Kalpas (211)
                - Graiveyakas (212, 213, 233-241)
                - Anuttaras (214-217, 242, 243)
- Appendix (247-267)



Fig. 144. JP:  
Hell Denizens,  
Human Beings,  
Animals, Gods



Fig. 145. HV:  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching to  
his Fourfold  
Congregation

Fig. 146. DV:  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching on  
Living Creatures  
and Lifeless  
Objects



Fig. 147. JP:  
Mahāvīra  
Preaching to  
his Fourfold  
Congregation





Fig. 148. JM: Mahāvira Preaching to his Fourfold Congregation



Fig. 149. DV: Mahāvira Preaching to his Fourfold Congregation



Fig. 150. DV: Mahāvira Preaching

Only two manuscripts have illustrations that refer to passages in the chapter. DV (fig. 146) has Mahāvīra preaching to a monk. JP (fig. 144) has a painting which shows the four kinds of beings with five senses, namely, hell denizens, animals, and gods (stanza 156). In the lower panel, at the right, are two hell denizens leaning over with their heads in pots. This is a cliché representation of creatures in hell, occurring in numerous manuscripts of the Saṃgrahaṇī Sūtra, and in other manuscripts and on manuscript covers.<sup>1</sup> In the same panel sits a human being, evidently a king; for he holds a scepter in his right hand; the object in the other hand I cannot identify. Above him, in the upper panel, are an elephant and a horse to represent the animal kingdom, and beside them is a four-armed god on his throne, faced by a male in reverent attitude. The god has an elephant goad in his upper left hand, and is therefore Śakra (Indra) used to typify the whole class.

The illustration in JM (fig. 139) at the beginning of this chapter belongs with Chapter 34 (see above); and the illustration in HV (fig. 145) really deals with a colophon subject (see below).

#### COLOPHON

The manuscripts contain cliché colophon scenes, of which a common one is Mahāvīra preaching to his four-fold congregation. DV (fig. 149) has as audience a monk, to represent both monks and nuns, and four laymen, to represent both laymen and lay women. HV (fig. 145), which has the illustration at the beginning of Chapter 36, has Mahāvīra in the upper register, and facing him a nun; in the middle register are four laymen, and in the bottom register four lay women. JP (fig. 147) has facing Mahāvīra, in three sets, a monk and a layman, two laymen, and two nuns. Above Mahāvīra, as though in the air, are two creatures with tiaras, who may be taken for gods come to listen. JM (fig. 148) has two laymen and a monk as audience. This type of scene may be found elsewhere; cf. BrKS figs. 150, 151. In its final picture DV (fig. 150) again has Mahāvīra preaching, this time with a male standing before him while holding out an offering; above, as though sitting in the air, is another male figure, perhaps a god.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also our figs. 69, 72 (to Chapter 19).

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