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JAIN RĀMĀYAṆA NARRATIVES

MORAL VISION AND LITERARY INNOVATION

Gregory M. Clines

Jain Rāmāyaṇa Narratives

Jain Rāmāyaṇa Narratives: Moral Vision and Literary Innovation traces how and why Jain authors at different points in history rewrote the story of Rāma and situates these texts within larger frameworks of South Asian religious history and literature.

The book argues that the plot, characters, and the very history of Jain Rāma composition itself served as a continual font of inspiration for authors to create and express novel visions of moral personhood. In making this argument, the book examines three versions of the Rāma story composed by two authors, separated in time and space by over 800 years and thousands of miles. The first is Raviṣeṇa, who composed the Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* ("The Deeds of Padma"), and the second is Brahma Jinadāsa, author of both a Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* and a vernacular (*bhāṣā*) version of the story titled *Rām Rās* ("The Story of Rām"). While the three compositions narrate the same basic story and work to shape ethical subjects, they do so in different ways and with different visions of what a moral person actually is. A close comparative reading focused on the differences between these three texts reveals the diverse visions of moral personhood held by Jains in premodernity and demonstrates the innovative narrative strategies authors utilized in order to actualize those visions.

The book is thus a valuable contribution to the fields of Jain studies and religion and literature in premodern South Asia.

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For
Anne

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Note on Transliteration

I follow the standardized systems of transliterating Devanāgarī throughout the book, particularly for titles of Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* works, personal names and titles, premodern geographic areas, and key terms from passages. I include medial and final *a*-s for the titles of Sanskrit works and passages (e.g., *Padmapurāṇa*) and individuals (e.g., "Jinadāsa" instead of "Jindās"). For titles of *bhāṣā* works and passages from them, though, I do not include medial and final *a*-s (e.g., "*Rām Rās*" instead of "*Rāma Rāsa*"). Furthermore, as a general rule, I italicize Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* terms throughout the text, though I do not use diacritics or italicization for foreign-language words that have become well established in English parlance (e.g., "karma"). Similarly, I do not use diacritics for languages and place names that are well known, at least in scholarly discourse (e.g., "Apabhramsha" instead of "Apabhraṃśa"). I do include diacritics and italicize *bhāṣā* throughout the text.

Transliterated text of primary sources that I have translated is generally available in the endnotes. I provide exact transliterations of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*. For passages transliterated from Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*, though, I have done my best to break the morphological changes resulting from *sandhi*. This helps to clarify the text and accounts for scribal errors in the manuscripts. Similarly, passages of the *Rām Rās* from Rāṃvkā's monograph are provided verbatim, while I have separated words and clarified those passages taken from manuscripts of the work. On a few occasions, when deemed conducive to the argument, I have included short passages of transliterated text in the body of the text itself. All mistakes are, of course, my own.

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1 Introduction

Jains in *Rāmāyaṇa* Studies and *Rāmāyaṇa*s in Jain Studies

"For all the variations by locality and particular sect . . . the flower most universally venerated in India is the lotus" (Herbert, 2011, p. 5). It is difficult to disagree with Eugenia W. Herbert's characterization here; the lotus flower is omnipresent in the religious mythology, literature, art, and architecture of South Asia. Herbert continues:

> The baby Buddha took his first seven steps on lotus flowers. In later iconography he is often depicted emerging from a lotus. Each color of the lotus is sacred to one aspect of the Hindu trinity. . . . Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, sits on a lotus throne with a lotus footstool, holding a lotus flower in her hand. Some claim that Mount Meru itself, home of the gods . . . bears the elegant form of a lotus. Muslims in turn adopted the lotus as a common symbol of fertility. . . . The poet Rabindranath Tagore once likened Indian culture itself to a full-grown lotus. Appropriately, the lotus is now emblazoned on the national flag of India and adorns the rumps of innumerable trucks.
>
> (Herbert, 2011, p. 5)

Given the symbolic ubiquity of the lotus, it makes sense that Jain authors would use one of the many Sanskrit words for lotus, *padma* (*paüma* in Prakrit), as a name for one of the best-known characters in all of South Asian literature: Rāma, the epic prince of Ayodhyā.[1] The story of Rāma—whose wife, Sītā, is abducted by Rāvaṇa, against whom Rāma subsequently wages a war to get Sītā back—is not just any story. In South Asia, everyone knows the tale; it is, perhaps, the best-known South Asian narrative. To call it *a* story, or *a* narrative, though, is to do a disservice to the vast diversity of narratives that take as their focus Rāma, his wife and brother, and his nemesis, Rāvaṇa. From Vālmīki's classical Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, believed to be the first *kāvya* (high poetry, *belles lettres*), to Kampaṉ's Tamil *Irāmāvatāram*, to the famed Avadhi *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās, stories of the deeds of Rāma exist in nearly every language that populates the Indian subcontinent. The Rāma narrative cuts across religious boundaries; not only did Hindus recount the exploits of the prince, but so too did Buddhists, Muslims, and, as this book examines, Jains.[2] The life of Rāma has become entwined with South Asian politics, used for centuries as a source of political legitimation and as a

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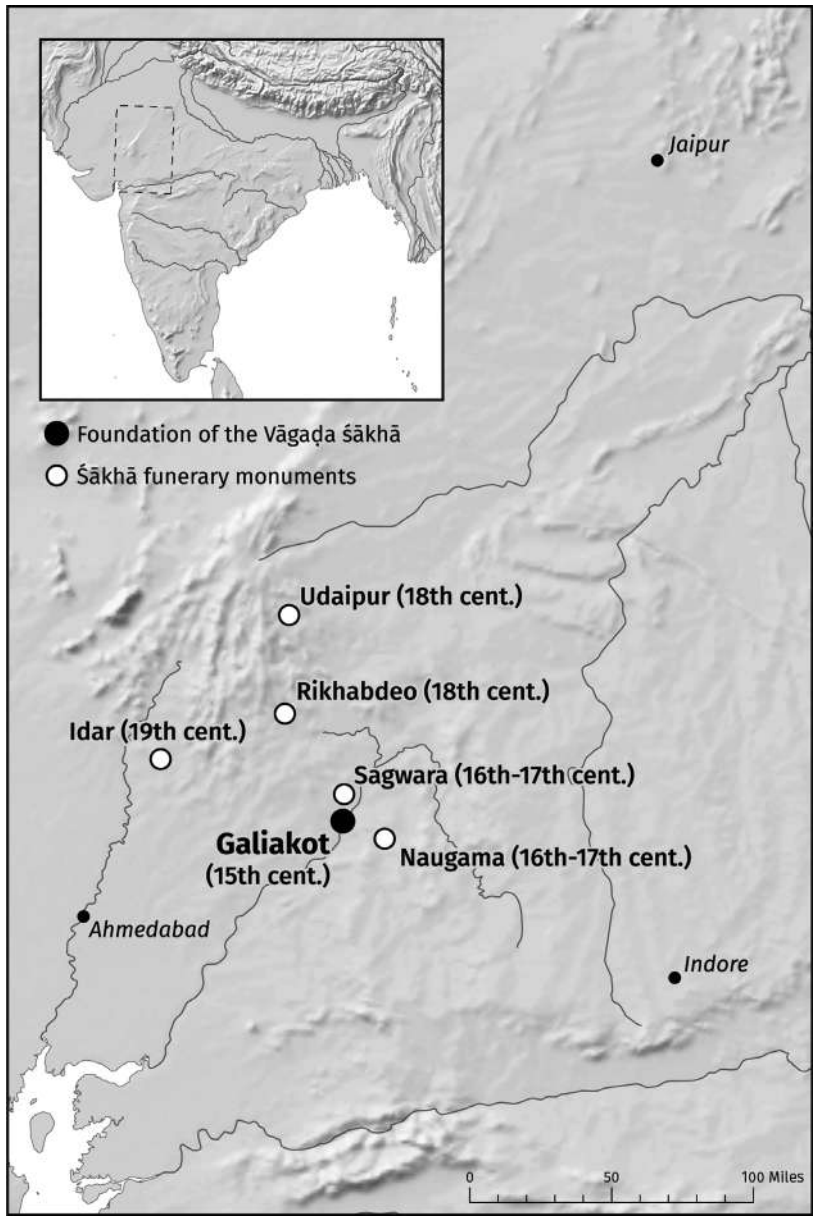
rallying cry for modern Hindu nationalists.[3] The story is not confined to India; the Rāma narrative is present throughout the entirety of South and Southeast Asia, including Tibet, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Java, and Indonesia.[4] And, indeed, the tale has accompanied South Asians throughout the diaspora. Both men and women tell stories about Rāma and Sītā, drawing on the characters' trials, tribulations, and triumphs to speak about and reflect on opportunities and struggles in their own lives.[5] There is, overall, an omnipresence to the Rāma story in South Asia; as A. K. Ramanujan points out: "In India and in Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the Ramayana or the Mahabharata for the first time. The stories are there, 'always already'" (1991, p. 46).

Contributing to the study of this vast narrative tradition, this book takes as its subject three *Rāmāyaṇa*s composed by two Digambara Jain authors separated by over 800 years.[6] The first is the seventh-century Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* ("The Deeds of Padma") by Raviṣeṇa; the second is another *Padmapurāṇa*, also in Sanskrit, composed in the fifteenth century by Brahmacārin Jinadāsa (henceforth, "Brahma Jinadāsa" or simply "Jinadāsa"). Jinadāsa was a member of the Digambara Balātkāra *gaṇa* (monastic community) who lived during the fifteenth century in the region of Vāgaḍ, which straddles the border of the modern-day Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujarat (see Map 1.1).[7] The final text is also by Jinadāsa; it is entitled *Rām Rās* ("The Story of Rām") and is composed in the vernacular language (*bhāṣā*) of northern Gujarat and southern Rajasthan.[8]

The tripartite comparative project of this book has a dual focus that is reflected in its title. First, the book emphasizes the literary innovation present in the process of recomposing the Rāma narrative. Breaking from the conventional approach of analyzing Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives that prioritizes similarity and consistency among various iterations of the story (discussed in more detail later), this book foregrounds textual difference as a starting point for understanding the unique motivations and socially constituted goals undergirding each work. Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* is based on an earlier Prakrit version of the Jain Rāma story by Vimalasūri. Why, the book asks, did he feel compelled to rewrite the narrative in Sanskrit? Jinadāsa, in turn, is clear in his *Padmapurāṇa* that he is rewriting Raviṣeṇa's work. What were the motivating factors in his decision to do this? What changes did Jinadāsa make to Raviṣeṇa's text and why did Jinadāsa see these changes as necessary? In turning to analyzing Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*, I question how the Rāma story changes in the move from writing in Sanskrit to composing in *bhāṣā*. Why did Jinadāsa feel compelled to write the same story in two languages, and, again, what differences do we see between his Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* texts?[9]

The second focus of the book emerges from the presumption that these authors were purposeful in their innovations, that the changes they made to the narrative are indicative of larger textual projects. Specifically, I argue that attention to narrative difference illuminates how texts construct and project novel ideas of moral personhood and how one ought to live an ethical life. This I term a text's "moral vision." Anand Pandian and Daud Ali have called attention to the need for studies of ethics in the South Asian context to "move away from an understanding of morality as a matter of rules and principles, texts and codes alone" (2010, p. 2). In



Map 1.1 Map of the Vāgaḍ region, with cities and towns important in the history of the Balātkāra gaṇa noted (Map by Richard Bohannon). Data from Detige, 2020, pg. 191.

Source: Natural Earth and ISCGM/Survey of India

Disclaimer: The map represented here is not to scale. For international borders, please refer to Govt. of India maps.

keeping with such an approach, this book argues that narrative, and, in particular, one specific story recomposed numerous times, presents myriad ways of conceptualizing the ethical life. Narrative has the capacity to speak beyond rules and principles and harnesses the power of emotion, affect, audience, and community to forge moral persons.

The rest of this chapter prepares the reader for thinking about the literary innovations and moral visions of Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. In the next two sections, I provide biographical information on the two authors. After that, I give an overview of the state of the field of the study of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s, foregrounding the questions that have already been asked of these stories and highlighting the new directions that this book takes. Subsequently, the chapter turns to the history of the study of Jain ethics, arguing that narrative remains a largely untapped resource for mapping how Jains have thought and written about what it means to live an ethical life. Finally, I provide an overview of the book's five substantive chapters.

1.1 Raviṣeṇa

The first major subject of the book is Raviṣeṇa, author of the *Padmapurāṇa*, which is the earliest extant Jain version of the Rāma narrative written in Sanskrit.[10] Attempting to place Raviṣeṇa and his *Padmapurāṇa* into a specific historical context is a difficult task. Raviṣeṇa provides little information about himself in the *Padmapurāṇa*. He mentions no specific *gaṇa* to which he belongs, though he does give us a list of his most immediate gurus in the 123rd *parva* (chapter) of the work. His immediate teacher's name was Lakṣmaṇasena, whose teacher was Arhanmuni, whose teacher was Divākara Yati, whose teacher was Indraguru.[11] The presence of the affix—*sena* attached to Raviṣeṇa's name led Pannālāl Jain to propose that he was a member of the *Sena saṅgha*, though Raviṣeṇa himself does not mention this (1958, p. 21). The fact that we have no evidence of specific, named Digambara monastic orders before the eighth century CE also works against Jain's assertion, as Raviṣeṇa is usually dated to the seventh century CE.[12] Indeed, Raviṣeṇa explains that he wrote the *Padmapurāṇa* 1,203 years and six months after Lord Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa*, which would place him some time around 677 CE. Other premodern authors also mention Raviṣeṇa in their texts, including Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamāla* ("The Garland of Blue Lotuses"), composed probably in the mid-to-late eighth century. Jaṭāsiṃhanandi, too, mentions Raviṣeṇa in his *Varāṅgacarita* ("The Deeds of Prince Varāṅga"). There is disagreement among scholars as to when Jaṭāsiṃhanandi lived, though he is usually placed between the sixth and ninth centuries CE. Finally, Punnāṭa Jinasena—not to be confused with the more famous Jinasena, author of the *Ādi Purāṇa* ("The Deeds of the First Jina")—mentions Raviṣeṇa in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* ("The Deeds of the Hari Clan"), completed in the late eighth century CE. This information therefore supports dating Raviṣeṇa to somewhere in the mid-to-late seventh century.

Raviṣeṇa does not mention where he composed his text, and looking at the other authors who mention Raviṣeṇa is unhelpful because they all wrote in different

regions.[13] Jyoti Prasad Jain argues that Raviṣeṇa was probably based in the north and traveled in the general region of Rajasthan and Gujarat, though he gives no evidence for this assessment (quoted in Śukla, 1974, pp. 11–12). Other scholars, such as A. N. Upadhye, Agarcand Nahta, and Paul Dundas, do not even hazard to guess where Raviṣeṇa wrote.[14] The *Padmapurāṇa* is also Raviṣeṇa's only surviving work, though tradition credits him with authoring additional texts, including a *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. With no surviving manuscripts of other texts, though, it is impossible to pinpoint Raviṣeṇa's provenance.[15]

Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* itself is just under 17,000 verses, divided into 123 chapters. The longest chapter, the 6th, is 571 verses long and tells the history of the *vānara* (monkey) clan of *vidyādharas*,[16] while the shortest chapter, the 87th, is only 18 verses and tells of the character Bharata's attainment of *nirvāṇa*. Chapter length follows no discernable pattern except for the fact that they tend to become shorter toward the end of the narrative. Even this, though, is a trend, and not a hard-and-fast rule.

Throughout the book, I consult the edition of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* published by Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha as part of the Moortidevi Jain Granthamala series, of which it is volumes 21, 25, and 26, published in 1958 and 1959. The text, edited and translated by Pannālāl Jain, is based on four manuscripts. Unfortunately, only one of these is dated, to 1718 CE. Jain also refers to a manuscript commentary on the work, which itself is dated to 1837 CE, but which mentions in its colophon that it was originally composed by one Śrīcandramuni, the student of Śrī Nandi Ācārya, during the reign of King Bhoja of Mālwā in 1030 CE. Finally, Jain consults an earlier version of Raviṣeṇa's text, published in 1928 and 1929. That volume was edited by Darbārilāla Koṭhiyā and published in Bombay by the Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamāla Samiti. Unfortunately, Koṭhiyā does not mention the manuscripts he consulted for the volume.

1.2 Brahma Jinadāsa

The second major figure of this book is Brahmacārin Jinadāsa.[17] The appellation "Brahmacārin" denotes Jinadāsa having taken the *brahmacārin* vow of lifelong celibacy. As with many premodern Indian authors, we know relatively little about the historical circumstances surrounding Jinadāsa's birth and early life. Much of the information we have stems from the *Sakalakīrtinu Rās* ("The Story of Sakalakīrti"), a biography of Jinadāsa's older brother and *guru*, Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti.[18] The text's author, Guṇarāja, explains that Sakalakīrti and Jinadāsa were born into a wealthy Digambara family in Pāṭan. Their father's name was Karamsingh and their mother's name was Śobhā, and while three other brothers are mentioned, Guṇarāja gives no more information about them. Sakalakīrti also refers to Jinadāsa as his younger brother in his *Mūlācāra Pradīpa* ("A Lamp for the Root of Good Conduct"), and the *praśasti*s (panegyrics) of Jinadāsa's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and *Jambūsvāmi Caritra* ("The Deeds of Jambūsvāmi") also cite Sakalakīrti as Jinadāsa's brother.[19]

Kāstūrcand Kāslīvāl argues that Jinadāsa was probably born sometime after 1388 CE, based on the fact that in the *Sakalakīrtinu Rās*, Sakalakīrti's birth is given as 1386

CE (1967, p. 23). There is disagreement among scholars, though, as to Sakalakīrti's actual date of birth. Paṇḍit Hīrālāl Śāstrī puts his birth date as 1380 CE, and Bihārī Lāl Jain, author of *Sakalakīrti's Life and Works*, puts his birth date as 1368 CE.[20] It is likely that Jinadāsa followed immediately in his older brother's footsteps when it came to religious asceticism and initiation. Premcand Rāṃvkā, in the only monograph-length examination of Jinadāsa and his many works, explains that despite their family's wealth, neither Sakalakīrti nor Jinadāsa showed interest in the ephemeral pleasures of the world and were from a young age attracted to the life of religious mendicancy.[21] Jinadāsa probably never married, remaining celibate his entire life. In fact, he was probably young when he took his vow of celibacy, perhaps around 13 years old. In all of his texts, Jinadāsa only mentions two men as being his *gurus*, his older brother Sakalakīrti and Sakalakīrti's eventual *bhaṭṭāraka* successor, Bhuvanakīrti.[22] Because of this, it is likely that Jinadāsa spent his formative student years being tutored in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Digambara theology by Sakalakīrti himself. In his literary compositions, Jinadāsa shows his older brother deep reverence and respect, referring to him as a "great poet," an "unattached king," a "bearer of correct character," and "excellent in asceticism."[23] Jinadāsa also became a teacher in his own right. He spent much of his career composing literary works, and hand-in-hand with that came the responsibility of tutoring pupils in Sanskrit and early Indian vernaculars.[24]

Literary composition (*sāhitya-sṛjan*) was Jinadāsa's primary activity, along with the general requirement of "religious promotion" (*dharma-pracār*) (Rāṃvkā, 1980, p. 23). Jinadāsa's literary floruit can be established as roughly between 1444 and 1464 CE, during which time he composed between 60 and 80 works.[25] Approximately three-quarters are in the local vernacular (*bhāṣā*), mostly in the *rās* genre, a type of vernacular performance genre that has its origins in Apabhramsha literature. Jinadāsa's Sanskrit works number to approximately 15 and are mostly *purāṇic* narratives of epic kings and heroes in Jain mythic history or *pūja* liturgies and exegetical material. One Prakrit text is attributed to Jinadāsa, entitled *Dharmapañcaviṃśatikā Gāthā* ("Twenty-Five Verses on Dharma"). To my knowledge though, no manuscript copies of this text have been found. It is possible that Jinadāsa did not write such a text and that Prakrit authorhood was later attributed to him.[26] It is interesting to point out that while both Jinadāsa and Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti were prolific authors, and that both composed works in both Sanskrit and *bhāṣā*, Jinadāsa chose to compose most of his works in the latter, while Sakalakīrti seemed to prefer the former. This may be evidence of a type of division of labor, or it could simply reflect personal preference on the part of both men. Kāslīvāl argues for the latter interpretation of this phenomenon, commenting that, "even though Jinadāsa was exceedingly skilled in both Sanskrit and *bhāṣā*, he seemed to have a particular affinity for the vernacular" (1967, p. 22).[27] Scholars of early modern South Asia have only recently begun to realize fully Jain authors' substantial contributions to the emergence and development of vernacular literature. In the words of one scholar:

> [T]he earliest vernacular literary tradition in north India preserved in manuscript is that of Old Gujarati, also called Maru-Gurjar, composed

> predominantly by Jains from its inception in the late twelfth century in Gujarat till its explosion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into a supra-regional vernacular also cultivated in the so-called Hindi belt. . . . Thus, Maru-Gurjar literature is where scholars may fruitfully look for an *ādikāl*, or "initial era," of "Hindi" literature. However, because this literature was produced by Jains, Hindi nationalist historiography has largely ignored it, relegating the scholarship on this early vernacular tradition to Gujarati and Jain scholars.
>
> (Bangha, 2018, p. 4)[28]

Similar to the dearth of evidence as to Jinadāsa's birth, we have almost no concrete information as to when Jinadāsa died. His final composition is thought to have been the *bhāṣā Harivaṃśapurāṇa Rās*, which he completed sometime in 1463 CE. We also know that Jñānabhūṣaṇa had ascended to Bhuvanakīrti's *bhaṭṭāraka* seat by 1474 CE, and since Jinadāsa never refers to Jñānabhūṣaṇa as a *guru*, it is likely that Jinadāsa died sometime between 1463 and 1474 CE.

While Jinadāsa is known to scholars, few have given him or his numerous literary works much serious attention. V. M. Kulkarni, for instance, in his *The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature*, does not include Jinadāsa's works in his list of "important" Jain texts on the life of Rāma. He does, though, mention Jinadāsa in his list of "other" Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* texts, noting his Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* and adding that, "the author follows Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* in his work" (Kulkarni, 1990, p. 13). It is this literary indebtedness that Kulkarni rightly points out that is probably why Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* is not deemed "important." Kulkarni does not mention Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā Rām Rās*, which is unsurprising given the fact that he is admittedly interested only in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha versions of the narrative.

One scholar who has commented favorably about Jinadāsa is Kastūrcand Kāslīvāl, referring to him as a "competent scholar" (*samarth vidvān*) who was "blessed with the grace of Sarasvatī" (*sarasvatī kī in par viśeṣ kṛpā thī*), the goddess of knowledge (Kāslīvāl, 1967, p. 22). Despite his glowing appraisal, Kāslīvāl never undertook a sustained treatment of Jinadāsa's works. Indeed, none of Jinadāsa's many literary works have been edited or published in full, though Rāṃvkā does publish excerpts from many of Jinadāsa's texts in his monograph. This project relies on three manuscripts of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*—also titled *Rāmacaritra* ("The Deeds of Rāma")—all collected from the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār, housed in the Jain Vidyā Saṃsthān in Jaipur in November 2015 (see Figure 1.1).[29] Two of the manuscripts are complete, whereas the third covers only the first seven-and-a-half chapters of the text and is therefore missing a final colophon that might help in its dating. Indeed, only one manuscript is dated; it was copied in 1855 CE, about 300 years after Jinadāsa's death.

With respect to the *Rām Rās*, in addition to the excerpts from Rāṃvkā's book, I rely on a manuscript housed in the Śrī Digambara Jain Bhaṭṭārakīya Śāstra Bhaṇḍār in Duṅgarpur (number 66). It is the same manuscript that Rāṃvkā worked from in preparing his monograph,[30] and dates to the dark half of the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa in 1736 CE.[31]

Figure 1.1 Folio 1, Jinadāsa's Padmapurāṇa. Dated to 1855 CE. From the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra, Jaipur. Veṣṭan number 4155.

Source: Photograph by the Author

1.3 Trends in the Study of Jain Rāmāyaṇa Literature

The study of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives, and Jain *purāṇic* literature more broadly, has been dominated—one might argue overly so—by three related trends over the past 30 years. The first is a focus on the earliest iterations of a story as paradigmatic of the entire narrative tradition. No doubt this fact is related to the larger issue in the history of religious studies of centering texts as the lynchpins for understanding religious traditions. As Philip Almond notes: "The major world religions have primarily been constructed in the West as textual traditions and the major mode of understanding them has been through critical analysis their texts" (Joy, 2001, p. 179). In the present case, this prioritization of texts goes one step further, to the prioritization of *early* texts, regarded specifically because of their temporal proximity to the founding of the tradition as the "purest," and thus best, exemplar of the tradition as a whole.[32] To take but one example of how this trend manifests in academic discourse, we need to look no further than A. K. Ramanujan's no doubt seminal "Three Hundred *Rāmāyaṇas*: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation." Ramanujan devotes an entire section to "Jaina Tellings" of the Rāma story. Given the plural "Tellings" in the section title, one might expect a discussion of the diversity of Rāma narratives in Jain literary history; however, what the reader encounters is a discussion only of Vimala's *Paümacariya*, which Ramanujan—intentionally or not—presents as *the paradigm* for Jain literary composition on the life of Rāma. Thus, even in a volume explicitly dedicated to the diversity of Rāma stories—Ramanujan's piece is included in Paula Richman's foundational *Many Rāmāyaṇas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia*—the discussion of Jain versions is boiled down to an examination of the genre's earliest iteration.

Ramanujan should not be unduly singled out for this; it is, after all, a dominant trend in the study of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s. Take, for instance, the title of V. M. Kulkarni's (1990) monograph on the subject: *The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature*. Worthy of note here is the singular "story" in the title; there is only one Jain story of Rāma. It may have many iterations, but each of those iterations is fundamentally *the same story*. Furthermore, John E. Cort examines only Vimala's *Paümacariya* in his discussion of "The Jaina Rāmāyaṇa," again, note the singular (1993, p. 190). Finally, in his discussion of Jain versions of the "Hindu epics," Dundas gestures toward the multiplicity of Jain versions of the story, saying that there was a "succession of Jain poets" who wrote their own Rāma texts, but explicitly discusses only two such tellings: Vimala's *Paümacariya* and Raviṣeṇa's subsequent *Padmapurāṇa* (2002, pp. 238–240).

On the one hand, this trend makes some sense. Theologically speaking, the (true) story of Rāma is said to have been taught by Lord Mahāvīra himself in the form of a sermon given to King Śreṇika. That sermon, given, after all, at the direction of the enlightened Jina Mahāvīra, *must* convey the singular correct version of the life of Rāma that one would expect subsequent authors to try and dutifully recreate. What is more, the main characters of the narrative itself—Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa—are not mere individuals but instead together constitute one iteration of the archetypal trio of *baladedeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prati-vāsudeva* within the larger Jain *śalākāpuruṣa* ("illustrious men") framework.[33] The paths of each of these three men are predetermined, and if that is true, what room is there for subsequent individual authors to innovate the story? On the other hand, though, later Jain authors of *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives are oftentimes clear about what they see as their generative creativity in purposefully changing inherited narratives. To ignore that is to ignore the historical reality of Jainism as a living and dynamic religious tradition. Thus, while the works of Paula Richman (1991a, 2000; Richman and Bharucha, 2021), Mandakranta Bose (2004), and others have convincingly demonstrated the folly of thinking about a singular "Hindu" *Rāmāyaṇa*, Jain studies have remained comfortable resting in its uncritical literary monism.

A second trend in analyses of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives has been to do so in explicit comparison to Brahminical or "Hindu" versions of the same stories. Epitomizing this trend is the following quote from V. R. Nagar: "The notable contribution of the Purāṇic compositions of the Jains is that, [*sic*] they retained various versions and recensions—differing in corresponding details, [*sic*] of the . . . Brāhmanic Purāṇas" (1975, p. 55). This trend also emerges from the persistent idea that Jains began to write *purāṇic* literature in the first place as a response to steady Brahminical encroachment and threat, most famously enumerated by Padmanabh S. Jaini:

> What made the Jaina writers view these Hindu Purāṇas with hostility was the Brahminic attempt to appropriate such worldly heroes as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, sanctify their secular lives, and set them up as divine incarnations of their god Viṣṇa. The devotional movements that grew up around these so-called avatars threatened to overwhelm the Jain laity, who mostly belonged to the

> affluent merchant castes, and there was the increasing danger that they might return to the Brahminic fold from which they had earlier been converted.
>
> (Jaini, 1993, p. 208)[34]

Vimala was almost certainly knowledgeable of Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the predominant view of Vimala's motivation for writing his *Paümacariya* is that it functioned as a Jain corrective response to the popular Brahminical *kāvya*:

> The author of Paüma-Cariya does not specifically mention the name of the poet and the name of the work which, according to him, is full of inconsistencies and lies and absurdities, and to replace which he himself undertakes to narrate the true life of Rāma. But the various points of doubt he has raised clearly point to the fact that he has in mind Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.
>
> (Kulkarni, 1990, p. 218)

Because of this seemingly intentional opposition (apposition?), much scholarly ink has been spilled in detailing both Vimala's indebtedness to Vālmīki and the differences, largely plot-based, between the two texts. As to the former, Kulkarni explains that Vimala "follows Vālmīki as far as the principal features of the story" (1990, 220f.). The narrative changes that Vimala does make within those "principal features" have two focuses. The first is to remove the story's demonstrably fantastical elements. How, Vimala asks, could Rāvaṇa's brother, Kumbhakarṇa, sleep for six months straight? How could Rāvaṇa have become so powerful as to capture and imprison Indra, king of the gods? How could a troupe of monkeys build a bridge across an ocean *and then* go on to defeat Rāvaṇa's massive armies? Indeed, Vimala's work and subsequent Jain Rāma narratives reject the assertion that Hanumān, Sugrīva, Vālin, etc. were actually monkeys. Jain authors argue that they were simply *vidyādhara*s who belonged to a specific clan that had adopted the monkey as its banner emblem. In time, dull-witted Brahmins had confused this emblem with the characters actually being monkeys! Thus, to Vimala, Valmīki's narrative is fantastical and demonstrably false, thus requiring correction.

Vimala's second focus is on creating what Kulkarni calls a "Jain atmosphere" for the narrative. This includes casting the main characters as devout Jains, including those often characterized as wicked or evil in other versions of the story. Rāvaṇa, for instance, is not a demon, but rather a good Jain *vidyādhara* king and devotee of the 16th Jina, Śāntinātha. Kaikeyī, Rāma's stepmother who is responsible for his exile to the forest, is portrayed by Vimala not as a greedy and power-hungry queen who only looks out for the fortunes of herself and her son Bharata, but rather as a mother concerned about losing her son to mendicancy. Bharata had taken an interest in renouncing the world and taking initiation as a monk, following in the footsteps of his father, Daśaratha. To stop him, Kaikeyī concocts the plan of making him king and investing in him the responsibilities of running a kingdom. Rāma's exile, then, does not stem from Kaikeyī's greed or avarice, but rather from knowing that Bharata would never accept the throne while Rāma was still present in the kingdom.

Vimala also peppers the narrative with monastic sermons on topics of Jain doctrine and provides ample descriptions of ideal Jain monks, laypersons, and Jain festivals. Hand-in-hand with his project of creating a Jain atmosphere for the text, Vimala also excises the pointedly Brahminical characteristics of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma is, for instance, no longer an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and Vedic sacrifices are obviously not performed (Kulkarni, 1990, 225f.).

Finally, third, scholarly engagement with Jain Rāma narratives has dutifully traced the different recensions of the story (see Figure 1.2).[35] While Raviṣeṇa, and thus Jinadāsa, follow the narrative as first laid out by Vimala, there are additional Jain authors who wrote *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives that were influenced by sources other than Vālmīki and that are thus substantively different, again largely in terms of plot, from Vimala's work. Scholars have constructed detailed "family trees" of such narratives, painstakingly classifying individual texts on the basis of recension. Two major recensions have been identified: the first and larger of the two follows from Vimala, and the second follows from Guṇabhadra's ninth-century Sanskrit *Uttarapurāṇa* ("The Latter Book").[36]

Despite this acknowledgment of the different Jain recensions of *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives, what emerges from these trends is a flat picture of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s, which are all thought to work on their reader in the same way, to *do the same work* of moral or ethical development. There may be different Jain tellings, but, given that each version is Jain, they all do the same thing: highlight and propagate a fixed and perpetual Jain *dharma*.[37] Thus, any differences among Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s are either left wholly unexamined or explained away as unimportant.[38] As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, scholars have treated Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* merely as an "embellished" version of Vimala's earlier text. Here, narrative difference is chalked up to Raviṣeṇa's individual penchant for literary ornamentation. In other cases, difference—and its possible importance—is explained away by employing the opposite argument; later Sanskrit authors of the Rāma story failed to reach the poetic beauty of their predecessors even if the bones of the story, and thus its singular, predetermined goal, remained the same. Kulkarni thus argues about later Jain authors of Rāma narratives, including those who wrote in *bhāṣā*: "These works . . . probably do not contain any new remarkable features but repeat in their own language what the older Jain writers have already said" (1990, p. 30). At the heart of this matter is the question of where scholars look for and expect to find literary ingenuity and innovation. As Allison Busch has argued, modern expectations for literary newness do not necessarily coincide with the innovative projects of early modern Indian authors:

> Newness—particularly its premodern manifestations—can exist in a range of subtle forms, in which case finely calibrated interpretive tools are needed to identify it. We will almost certainly fail to see alternative forms of newness if we adhere too closely to the paradigm of how change looks from the viewpoint of Western modernity.
>
> (Busch, 2004, p. 50)

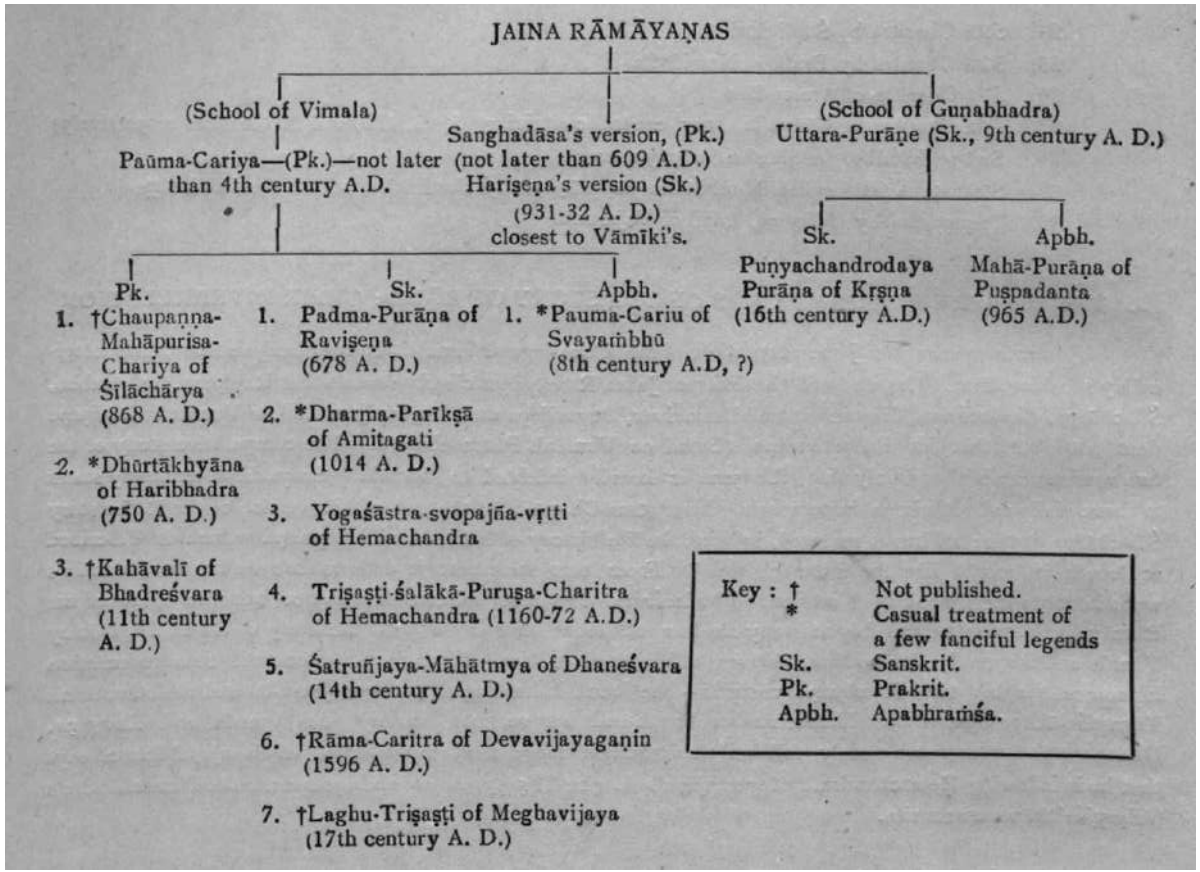


Figure 1.2 Recensions of Jaina Rāmāyaṇas.

Source: From Kulkarni (1990, p. 216)

Furthermore, Dominick LaCapra warns against allowing context to dictate textual meaning in literary analysis (1983). While he is concerned particularly with *historical* context, the trends outlined earlier have become what we might term "ideological contexts" for studying Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives, not only structuring the approaches we bring to and questions we ask of literary works but indeed anticipating the answers to those questions before analysis has even begun.[39]

1.4 Jain Ethics

This book takes as its starting point the belief that religious narratives aim to project visions of ethical personhood and train individuals to meet those visions. Studies of Jain ethics, though, have left largely unexamined and undertheorized the possible role of narrative in shaping ethical subjects. W. J. Johnson provides an enlightening summary of the dominant scholastic model of Jain ethics:

> It seems to me that, from the perspective of ethics, the standard picture of the Jain community has been drawn as follows. At one level we picture conformity to, or variance from, universal ethical demands that have clear soteriological consequences for ascetics and laypeople alike. The canonical texts and the mediaeval compendia of rules for lay people are both predicated on this picture. At another level, we picture that Jaina community as creating and existing in a moral or ethical "climate"—a generalised non-violent attitude towards the world, symbolised by various basic dietary practices and ritual behavior. This second level is largely expressive: the sense a community has of itself, and the picture it presents to others, rather than karmically (i.e. soteriologically) significant for the individuals concerned.
>
> (Johnson, 2006, p. 15)

It is worth unpacking this characterization in some detail. Johnson introduces two ways of thinking about Jain ethics, the first prescriptive and the second descriptive. Prescriptive Jain ethics is soteriologically oriented toward *mokṣa* and outlined in rules of conduct, stringent for monastics and laxer for laypeople. Ethical behavior, then, is defined by conformity to those rules, with conformity judged by an individual's taking and fulfilling vows. Ethical monastic behavior is thus structured primarily by conformity to the *mahāvrata*s ("Great Vows") of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *satya* (truth), *asteya* (non-stealing), *brahma* (celibacy), and *aparigraha* (non-possession), along with supplementary vows that limit one's actions.[40] Proper lay conduct is prescriptively described as conformity to the *anuvrata*s ("Lesser Vows"), which mirror the *mahāvrata*s but are less strict.[41] Of course, prescriptive accounts of ethics are rarely actualized in everyday life. Descriptive accounts of Jain ethics, stemming mostly from ethnographic accounts of Jain individuals and communities, have highlighted alternative values that structure conceptions of a life well lived. John E. Cort, for instance, highlights the range of values that together make up the umbrella concept of "well-being" (2001), and, similarly, M. Whitney Kelting has discussed how Jain women undertake fasts

(*vrat*, *tap*, or *upvās*) in the pursuit of "worldly" benefits, such as the well-being of a woman's family (2001). While occasionally in tension with the prescriptive rules of *mokṣa*-oriented ideology, the pursuit and fulfillment of well-being—for oneself, one's family, and one's larger community—still lies at the heart of many Jains' understanding of a successful and moral life.

We should further note the sources that Johnson points to as foundational for thinking about prescriptive Jain ethics: canonical texts and prescriptive sets of rules to be followed. Post-canonical narrative does not make the cut, a curious fact given that Jains have been consummate storytellers for millennia.[42] This sentiment is a common one. In the entry for "Jain Ethics" in the recently published *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*, for instance, narrative and story literature find no substantive mention.[43] This is a problematic oversight; for as Maria Heim points out in her discussion of Hindu ethics, narrative provides the opportunity "to test and challenge the limits" of prescriptive rules (2005, p. 346). Charles Hallisey and Anne Hansen have further pointed to the ethically productive possibilities of narrative:

> As is probably well known, both experientially and theoretically, to all readers, through narrative we are able to imagine ourselves in the place of another. It might also be said that when . . . we leave aside our own social location, with its constitutive cares and perspectives, and enter imaginatively into the experience of a character in a narrative, we cultivate capabilities that are necessary to all moral agency.
>
> (Hallisey and Hansen, 1996, p. 314)

The type of readerly positioning that Hallisey and Hansen describe, characterized by leaving aside one's own social situatedness and entering earnestly and unburdened into the alternative world of the text, has found little purchase among scholars of Jain narrative in recent decades. Indeed, to the extent that narrative has been discussed as a source of Jain ethical consideration, one sentiment consistently appears, that Jain narrative is didactic. Examinations of Jain literature—surely itself a vast and diverse landscape spanning myriad genres, languages, and anticipated audiences—are replete with mentions of "didactic story collections" without further analysis.[44] One scholar, for instance, writes:

> The Jains also told their own versions of the great Hindu epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They made changes, some subtle and some not so subtle, to the familiar stories to make them conform more strictly to the standards of Jain morality and to make them more suitable as *didactic tools* with which they might teach Jain doctrine.
>
> (Granoff, 1998, p. 4, emphasis added)

Even if the exact wording is missing, the sentiment of simplistic didacticism, specifically for the "edification of the laity," dominates conversations of Jain narrative.[45] As A. M. Ghatage writes about Jain *purāṇa*s: "Their chief function in this

life is to remove the darkness of ignorance and to preach the Jain religion for the benefit of people" (1934–1935, p. 27). Similarly, Savita Chhikara argues: "The Jaina Puranas were *caritas* written to provide role models for the Jaina laity to emulate" (2007, p. 183).

To label something as "didactic," though, is no more meaningful than saying it is meant to be instructive. Thus, what recourse to didacticism fails to consider, no less tries to account for, is the varied methods of ethical instruction that narrative might employ. As Tillo Detige has aptly pointed out: "Stories . . . often continue to be conceived of as tools or media for the dissemination of religious doctrines and beliefs, *mere containers* communicating preformed, theoretical contents from story-teller to listener" (2019, p. 96, emphasis added). The argument of didacticism might explain *what* Jain narrative tries to do—form ethical subjects—but it does not venture into the altogether more interesting question of *how* narratives may conceptualize and actualize that goal.

1.5 This Book

The chapters that follow aim to chart new ground in thinking about Jain Rāma narratives.[46] Three questions structure the book. First, what novel insights might emerge from examining Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s situated not against Brahminical versions of the story, but rather as a self-referential genealogy? The history of Jain re-composition of the Rāma story itself encourages such an inquiry: it is clear that Raviṣeṇa rewrote Vimala's earlier Prakrit narrative, and it is clear that Jinadāsa later rewrote Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* in Sanskrit and additionally wrote the story in *bhāṣā*. Second, what emerges when we foreground difference among Jain Rāma narratives, and how can we think and speak productively about the history of Jain narrative literature by taking textual difference seriously? As J. Z. Smith argues: "Comparison requires the postulations of difference as the grounds of its being interesting . . . and a methodical manipulation of difference, a playing across the 'gap' in the service of some useful end" (2000, p. 239). A purposeful attentiveness to textual difference across such vectors as poetics and language illuminates further differences in authorial motivation, audience expectations, and, most importantly, textual visions of ethical personhood.

With respect to the actual content of the comparisons that make up the substance of this book, though, I differ from Smith, who argues that "there exists no natural affiliation between the exempla chosen for comparison" (2000, p. 239). There is, I argue, a "natural affiliation" between Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇas*, on the one hand, and Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* and *Rām Rās*, on the other. First, as mentioned earlier and as I lay out in more detail in Chapter 3, Jinadāsa is explicit that he is working directly from a copy of Raviṣeṇa's earlier work when he composed his own, and he indeed *wants* his reader to know this fact. To compare Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* with Raviṣeṇa's is thus to follow the breadcrumbs that Jinadāsa intentionally leaves for his reader. This form of comparison Sheldon Pollock has termed "connective achronic comparison," which examines "two related texts at different times." When comparing Jinadāsa's Sanskrit and *bhāṣā*

works, I argue, we see a similar, intentional gesture on the part of the author for comparison; by nature of the fact that Jinadāsa composed both texts and used two different languages to tell what is purportedly the same story, he invites a comparison between the works. This Pollock calls a "connective synchronic comparison," which examines two related texts that exist at the same time (Pollock, 2010, p. 193).

Finally, and most broadly, at the heart of this study is the question: what might scholars learn from Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s—and Jain narrative more broadly—if we, in our methods of reading, momentarily bracket away the expectations of what we "should" find? What I highlight in the following chapters is that Jain authors wrote *about* moral topics beyond *ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *anekāntavāda* (the doctrine of many-sidedness), and *aparigraha* (non-possession) and that they wrote in ways that transcend the simplistic description of moral didacticism. In his *Padmapurāṇa*, Raviṣeṇa harnesses the emotionally motivating power of sophisticated *kāvya* (Sanskrit *belles lettres*) to encourage renunciation. Conversely, in his Sanskrit text, Jinadāsa employs a stark directness and literary simplicity to highlight the universal necessity of discipling one's passions. And in his *bhāṣā Rām Rās*, Jinadāsa uses a genre of public performance to speak of quotidian ethical concerns that transcend the seeming boundaries of religious identity. The three texts, united around a common plot and set of characters, present not only different strategies for becoming ethical, but different visions of what it is *to be* an ethical person.

Another way of characterizing the three questions that structure this book is through the vocabulary of framing. As John E. Cort explains, thinking in terms of framing "keeps the action and intention of the framer more clearly in the picture" and "acknowledges the agency of the interpreter" (2010, 14f.). Thus, the questions I bring to Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's Rāma narratives frame my reading of each text, and those aspects of the text that most directly address the questions I've posed come to the fore. To frame these texts with different questions would, invariably, reveal new facets of each work. I encourage future scholars to ask such questions.

1.6 Overview of Chapters

With these questions in mind, the five substantive chapters of the present study are divided into three parts. Part I—Chapter 2—focuses on Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*. It first documents the stylistic and rhetorical changes that Raviṣeṇa makes in his *Padmapurāṇa* to Vimala's fifth-century Prakrit *Paümacariya*. While previous scholarship has characterized these changes as mere embellishments, the chapter argues that Raviṣeṇa's strategies of poetic expansion are necessary for his project of writing a good *kāvya*. As Yigal Bronner has aptly pointed out, "A major literary project of *kāvya* is to revisit and retell the epic narratives in a manner that befits . . . the overall ethical and aesthetic high ground that Sanskrit literary culture claims for itself" (2010, p. 246). The chapter thus focuses on how Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* accomplishes just such a retelling and analyzes the work as a *kāvya* through the lens of Sanskrit *rasa* theory. Through a careful analysis of the work's

plot and style, the chapter demonstrates how Raviṣeṇa skillfully manipulates the emotional conditions of both the work's characters and its reader, particularly their shared experience of grief (*śoka*), to ultimately engender the peaceful sentiment (*śānta rasa*) in the reader. This, in turn, aims to inspire ascetic renunciation. To Raviṣeṇa, an ethical person is someone emotionally attuned not only to their own suffering but the universality of suffering, and who thus recognizes renunciation as its ultimate remedy.

Part II—Chapters 3 and 4—turns to analyzing Jinadāsa's moralizing project in his *Padmapurāṇa*. Chapter 3 establishes the fact that Jinadāsa possessed a copy of Raviṣeṇa's earlier work when he was composing his own and documents Jinadāsa's stated goal of wanting to make the *Padmapurāṇa* "clear." Through side-by-side reading of numerous episodes from both texts, it documents the strategies of narrative abridgement that Jinadāsa employs in order to achieve this stated goal of clarity. Chapter 4 demonstrates that this practice of creating narrative clarity goes hand-in-hand with Jinadāsa's vision of what makes an ethical person and the narrative methods of creating one. Jinadāsa's innovation of narrative clarity crystalizes and juxtaposes Rāma and Rāvaṇa as exemplars of individuals who have and have not, respectively, disciplined their passions (*kaṣāya*). Thus, the precise moral work of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* speaks to the importance of working to control the passions, even if it does not lead directly to renunciation.

Finally, Part III—Chapters 5 and 6—compares Jinadāsa's Sanskrit and vernacular Rāma stories, structured around the question of why a single author would compose the same story in two languages. Chapter 5 examines the differences between the two works—in frame structure, plot, mood, and musicality—to demonstrate the performance-oriented logic of the vernacular text. The chapter also situates the vernacular text within the history of premodern north Indian performance genres. Chapter 6 then theorizes the anticipated audience of such a performance and argues that performance of vernacular *rās* texts aims to build communities of ethical individuals independent of shared religious identity. Whether "Jain" or not—the chapter argues that thinking about religious identity in such concrete terms is oftentimes unhelpful in understanding communities of people in premodern South Asia—the ethical person as envisioned by the *rās* text is built through participation in its public performance.

This book thus aims to bring into relief not only the diversity of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition but also the full creative capabilities of Jain authors in thinking about ethics and moral personhood. Just as Jain literature should not be thought of as a mere repository of doctrine, neither should authors be conceptualized as rote, and oftentimes failing, copyists. As the following pages demonstrate, to allow authors and their works to speak for themselves provides insight into not only what it has historically meant to be Jain but also what it has meant to be human and, perhaps most importantly, what it has meant to strive to live a good life.

Notes

1 For a brief synopsis of the Rāma story, see pages 5–7 in Richman (1991b).

2 On Śrīvaiṣṇava interpretations of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, see Mumme (1991); Rao (2014). On Buddhist interpretations of the Rāma story, see Gombrich (1985); Reynolds (1991); Rooney (2017); Sanmugeswaran, Fedricks, and Henry (2019). On Muslim interaction with Rāma story, see Narayanan (2000); Sears (2004); Gandhi (2014); Keshavmurthy (2018); Nair (2020).

3 See Pollock (1993); Hawley (2006). For a response to Pollock, see Rao (2011).

4 For example, drawing on the work of Santosh Desai, Ramanujan explains that:

> Nothing else of Hindu origin has affected the tone of Thai life more than the Rama story. The bas-reliefs and paintings on the walls of their Buddhist temples, the plays enacted in town and village, their ballets—all of them rework the Rama story. In succession several kings with the name "King Rama" wrote *Ramayana* episodes in Thai: King Rama I composed a telling of the *Ramayana* in fifty thousand verses, Rama II composed new episodes for dance, and Rama VI added another set of episodes, most taken from Valmiki.
>
> (Ramanujan, 1991, p. 37)

See also Raghavan (1975).

5 See Narayana Rao (1991); Nilsson (2000); Bose and Bose (2013); Brockington and Brockington (2016).

6 "Digambara," literally meaning "sky-clad," that is, "naked," refers to the smaller of the two major sects of Jainism, the larger being the Śvetāmbara, literally "white-clad" sect. For an overview of the differences between the two sects, see Dundas (2002, pp. 45–59). There is a convenient and persistent characterization of these two communities as being separated from one another and occupying different geographical regions in India, both historically and in the present day. Śvetāmbaras are seen as the dominant community in the north, while Digambaras are prevalent in the south. This is true only to a limited degree, and one of the contributions of a study of an author like Jinadāsa is to highlight how Digambara communities in north India during the early modern period were not just extant, but indeed growing and flourishing.

7 To those conversant in Hindi, the *gaṇa*'s name, "Balātkāra," is likely surprising, given its meaning of "using violence" or "employing force." Padmanabh Jaini, though, argues that the original name was *balakāra*, derived from the Sanskrit *valaya-kāra*, which refers to a bangle-maker and seller, as there was a large community of Jain bangle-makers in Karnataka in the tenth century. *Muni*s from this community may have traveled north, retaining the title *balakāra*. The name later became "*balātkāra*" after a fourteenth-century debate between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, during which the Digambara monk Padmanandi used the powers (*balātkāra*) of *mantra* to make a stone statue of Sarasvatī speak. Thus, the group became known as the Balātkāra *gaṇa*, and, at least in the north, the original bangle-related meaning of the name disappeared. For more on this, see Jaini (2017).

8 Throughout the book, I refer to Jinadāsa's vernacular texts with either the term "vernacular," or with the native term *bhāṣā* (sometimes also written as *bhākhā*), which refers to the entirety of the vernacular language written, spoken, and performed throughout north India before the emergence of region-specific language names—Avadhi, Braj Bhāṣā, etc.—in the sixteenth century and onward. *Bhāṣā* is the term Jinadāsa uses to refer to his vernacular language, and as Orsini and Sheikh (2014, p. 15) rightly point out: "Modern regional linguistic categories . . . are not reflected in fifteenth-century sources." Therefore, in the following pages, I follow not only Orsini and Sheikh but also Jinadāsa himself as eschewing the use of these specific language names and instead using the (perhaps imprecise) term, *bhāṣā*. See also Chandan (2018, 307n1); Williams (2018, 83n3).

9 While it is not a main focus, this book contributes to ongoing conversations about literary production, in both Sanskrit and *bhāṣā*, and the state of religious communities

during the early modern period. On the emergence of the term "early modern" in western academy, see Starn (2002); Richards (1997) provides an overview of the defining characteristics of the period, and Chakrabarty (2011) offers the best criticism of use of the term as a marker for a distinct historical period. For more on the early modern period in South Asia, specifically, see Subrahmanyam (1998); Ganeri (2011); Pollock (2011); O'Hanlon and Washbrook (2011); Horstmann and Pauwels (2012); Williams, Malhotra, and Hawley (2018).

10 Raviṣeṇa's text is not the earliest extant of Jain story of Rāma. That honor belongs to Vimalasūri, an author usually dated to the fifth century who composed a Prakrit *Paümacariya* (*The Deeds of Padma*). Scholars agree that Raviṣeṇa based his own Sanskrit narrative on Vimala's earlier Prakrit text. Interestingly, few authors after Raviṣeṇa reference Vimala in their versions of the Rāma narrative; Raviṣeṇa is largely seen as the fountainhead of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. It is beyond the scope of this book to try and explain this phenomenon, but it is perhaps due to dwindling interest in and knowledge of Prakrit and the rise of Sanskrit as the major cosmopolitan language of Jains in the late-first millennium CE. For more information on Vimala and the relationship between his and Raviṣeṇa's texts, see Kulkarni (1990).

11 Raviṣeṇa 123.168.
jñātāśeṣakṛtāntasanmunimanaḥsopānaparvāvalī, pāramparyasamādhitaṃ suvacanaṃ sārārthamatyadbhutam | āsīdindragurordivākarayatiḥ śiṣyo 'sya cārhanmuniḥ, tasmāl lakṣmaṇasenasanmuniradaḥśiṣyo ravistu smṛtam ||

12 See Nandi (1973, pp. 48–50). Sarah Pierce Taylor (2016, 137ff.) argues that the Digambara monastic lineage moniker "Sēna *anvaya*" (lineage) dates to Guṇabhadra (ninth century) and subsequently replaced "Pañcastūpa *anvaya*," the earlier name of the lineage.

13 Udyotanasūri wrote the *Kuvalayamāla* in Jalor, in southeast Rajasthan. Jinasena composed his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* in Gujarat, not too far away from Jalor, but Jaṭāsiṃhanandi is thought to have composed the *Varāṅgacaritra* in Karnataka.

14 For the first two authors, see Śukla (1974, p. 11). For Dundas, see Dundas (2002 [1992], p. 239).

15 There may be some clues in the *Padmapurāṇa* itself; for instance, in 18.39, he describes the Vindhya mountain range as being "completely devoid of water." This depiction of the mountains is similar to that found in other South Indian poetry, and it is something that Jinadāsa changes, instead saying the mountains are indeed replete with water (Jinadāsa 15.41). We know that Jinadāsa is from north of the Vindhyas, so perhaps Raviṣeṇa's description of the mountain range did not make sense to him.

16 *Vidyādhara*s are super-human men who possess great magical power. For more on this, see Cort (1993).

17 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 13) explains that we have evidence of at least five men named "Jinadāsa" or "Jiṇadāsa" who lived from the fifteenth up until the late-eighteenth centuries. The focus of this book, Brahma Jinadāsa (though he also writes his name as "Jiṇadāsa") is the only one to use the affix "Brahma"; the other four all use a form of the affix "Paṇḍit."

18 *Bhaṭṭāraka* (literally, "noble man") was the highest rank conferred on Digambara renunciates in north India during the early modern period and were the heads of large monastic communities. For more on north-Indian *bhaṭṭāraka*s, including an important corrective to previous misunderstandings of the role and a discussion on how they differ from the semi-renunciates in south India that bear the same title, see Detige (2020). Cort has pointed out that Digambara scholarship on *bhaṭṭāraka*s and their role in Digambara history and society is highly politicized, as the appropriateness of the *bhaṭṭāraka* figure was a major point of contention in the split between the modern Bīspanth (literally, "Path of Twenty") and Terāpanth ("Path of Thirteen") sects, which dates back to the seventeenth century (2002, 71, n.7).

19 See Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 17).
20 This work is unpublished, and I quote from Rāṃkvā's use of the text (1980, p. 15).
21 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 17). There is no supporting historical evidence for these claims, and they strike this reader as pointedly hagiographical.
22 Tillo Detige (2020, p. 191) references two *bhaṭṭārakas*—Dharmakīrti and Vimalendrakīrti—that seem to have separated Sakalakīrti and Bhuvanakīrti. Jinadāsa does not mention these two individuals.
23 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 19).
24 Jinadāsa appears to have had at least seven pupils. In the *praśasti* of the *bhāṣā Harivaṃśapurāṇa Rās* ("The Story of the Deeds of the Hari Clan"), he mentions Brahma Manohara, Brahma Mallidāsa, and Brahma Guṇadāsa; in the *Paramahaṃs Rās* ("The Story of the Advanced Ascetic"), he mentions Brahma Nemidāsa; and in the *Jambuswāmi Carita*, he mentions Brahma Dharmadāsa. Guṇakīrti, the author of the *Rāmsītā Rās* ("The Story of Rām and Sītā"), and Brahma Śāntidas, the author of the *Cidrūp Bhās* ("A Light on Universal Wisdom"), were also his pupils. There is also evidence that Jinadāsa surrounded himself with a circle of friends. A poet named Padam (or Padma), who wrote a *Śrāvakācār Rās* ("A Story on Proper Lay Conduct") in 1459, refers to Jinadāsa as a friend, and Jinadāsa himself, in his Sanskrit *Jambūsvāmi Carita,* refers to the help of one Mahādeva, a friend of his pupil Dharmadāsa. See Kāslīvāl (1967, 23ff.); Rāṃvkā (1980, 21f.)
25 See Appendix for a complete list of works.
26 I am thankful to John E. Cort for pointing this out.
27 *yadyapi saṃskṛt evaṃ rājasthānī donoṁ bhāṣāoṃ par inkā samān adhikār thā, lekin rājasthānī se inheṃ viśeṣ anurāg thā* |
28 On the history of Jain *bhāṣā* composition, see Cort (2013, 2015); Clines (2020).
29 For more information on the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār, see Kragh (2013).
30 Rāṃvkā donated a copy of the manuscript to the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍār in Jaipur, which I, in turn, scanned.
31 Śrāvaṇa is the fifth month of the Indian lunar calendar, beginning in late July and ending in the third week of August. It thus falls within the boundaries of *caturmās*, when Jain mendicants halt their itinerant wanderings during the rainy season.
32 Such a sentiment has been shared with the scholarly tradition of assessing Sanskrit *kāvya*. As Bronner, Shulman, and Tubb argue, "The dominant, classicizing view holds that Sanskrit poetry reached its peak very early, and that everything that happened later—after the fifth century CE—belonged to a process of long decay" (2014, p. 2).
33 On the *śalākāpuruṣa*s in Jain *purāṇic* literature, see Cort (1993).
34 On the persistence of this characterization in later academic discourse, see, for instance, De Clercq and Vekemans, who citing Jaini, argue that: "Another argument to the rise if *purāṇic* Hinduism was the development of a Jain counter tradition of texts called *purāṇas*" (2021, p. 4). Cort tempers this idea in the same volume that Jaini's claims were first published:

> Neither [Vimala's or Vālmīki's] version has clear and logical priority over the other. The way in which the contents of the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and Mahābhāratas were thoroughly Jainized by Jaina authors suggests the extent to which the Hindu Rāmāyaṇas and Mahābhāratas were thoroughly Brahminized by their Hindu Brahmin authors and redactors.
>
> (Cort, 1993, p. 190)

35 This is part of a larger trend in Jain literary studies to try and discover vectors of influence from one text to another. Another such discussion involved whether Śīlāṅka's *Caupoaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* ("The Lives of the 54 Illustrious Men") was the source text for Hemacandra's later *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*. On this, see Bruhn (2006, pp. 9–27).
36 De Clercq (2001) argues that the distinction between the two recensions may not be as hard and fast as earlier thought.

37 Interestingly, De Clercq (2008) argues that the doctrinal passages in Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s (specifically those of Vimala, Raviṣeṇa, and Svayambhūdeva) are largely superfluous to the story itself.
38 An important exception to this is Colin M. Mayrhofer's (1985) "Tradition and Innovation in Jain Narratives: A Study of Two Apabhraṃśa Versions of the Story of Cārudatta," though unfortunately the work has not substantively influenced the trajectory of scholarship on Jain narrative. Following Mayrhofer, though, Nalini Balbir has examined a specific example of narrative innovation in Jain literature: "bowdlerization," which is "to expurgate from a work passages considered indecent or indelicate" (1986, 25).
39 Drawing on the work of Mieke Bal, Norman Bryson, and Norman Culler, John E. Cort highlights the importance of understanding context as itself requiring analysis and interpretation (2010, 13ff.).
40 See, for instance, Jaini's (1979, p. 247) discussion of the three *gupti*s (restraints) and five *samiti*s (rules of conduct), which monastics are expected to incorporate into their daily lives.
41 As Jaini (1979, p. 160, emphasis in original) notes: "Strictly speaking, then, the vows of the layman are really just a modified, relatively weak version of the *real* Jaina vows," those being the *mahāvrata*s of monastics.
42 Narrative is present in the Śvetāmbara scriptural cannon, specifically in the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh *aṅga*s. Of course, though Digambaras have historically studied the Śvetāmbara canon, they do not recognize it as authoritative. See Dundas (2002, 73f.); Jaini (1979, p. 54).
43 See Zydenbos (2020).
44 For example, see Granoff and Shinohara (1988); Granoff (1990, 1998); Esposito (2015).
45 See Jaini (1979, 54f.). For a critique of similar positions in discussions of Buddhist narrative and ethics, see Hallisey and Hansen (1996).
46 This book participates in ongoing scholarly work bringing new focus to Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. Eva De Clercq's ongoing translation of Svayambhūdeva's *Paümacariu* as part of the Murty Classical Library of India, for example, promises to open up avenues for productive future research, as does the work of Adrian Plau, who has written extensively on Rāmcand Bālak's *bhāṣā Sītācarit* ("The Deeds of Sītā"), and Seema Chauhan, who has examined depictions of Hinduism in Jain *purāṇa*s.

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Part I

2 Grief, Peace, and Moral Personhood in Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*

"O great king, long lived and beloved of the gods, listen diligently to my words, first spoken by the Lord Jina, which convey the truth in all its fullness!"[1] With these words, placed in the mouth of Mahāvīra's principal disciple, Gautama, Raviṣeṇa begins to narrate the story of Rāma in his *Padmapurāṇa*. This chapter provides one strategy of reading and making sense of the *Padmapurāṇa*, and the "truth" therein. Positioning the work's poetic and emotionally evocative strengths at the forefront of my analysis, I argue that the *Padmapurāṇa* aims to engender *śānta rasa*, or the peaceful sentiment, in the reader of the text. I explicate the importance of the universal experience of grief (*śoka*) in ultimately bringing about *śānta*, and end with a discussion of how the experience of *śānta* encourages the reader to renounce the world. The text projects the tranquil monastic as the paragon of moral personhood, and renunciation itself as the ultimate ethical action.

To do this, I first provide a corrective analysis of the relationship between Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* and Vimala's earlier *Paümacariya*. Whereas previous scholars have found little value in the "embellishments" that Raviṣeṇa adds to his predecessor's narrative, it is exactly these innovative additions that mark Raviṣeṇa's work as a *kāvya* and thus encourage analysis of the work as such. I also, therefore, provide an introduction to the basics of *rasa* theory as a way of understanding the literary and moral work of *kāvya*, with an emphasis on *śānta rasa*.

2.1 Formative Embellishment: Raviṣeṇa and Vimalasūri

To begin our examination of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, we should remember that we are *already* looking at a narrative re-composed. Raviṣeṇa worked from Vimalasūri's earlier Maharashtri Prakrit *Paümacariya* when composing his text. The evidence for this textual relationship is compelling, and instead of reproducing such arguments, here I refer the reader to the relevant discussions in Premī (1942, pp. 272–292) and Kulkarni (1990). The unanswered question at hand deals not with the historical fact of Vimala's influence on Raviṣeṇa but rather with what the latter author's act of re-composition means. What was Raviṣeṇa trying to do by rewriting Vimala's text in Sanskrit? What changes did he make, and how are we to understand the importance of his making those changes? Raviṣeṇa himself does not provide straightforward answers to these questions; he does not even

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acknowledge his indebtedness to Vimala. What I offer in the following pages, though, represents not just the belief that these questions are answerable but, further, that answering them adequately is important to understanding the moral vision of the *Padmapurāṇa*.

Kulkarni most succinctly articulates what I see as the predominant view of the relationship between Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's texts, that the latter is "merely a slightly extended recension of the *Paümacariya* in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points" (1990, p. 241).[2] Elsewhere Kulkarni simply states that the *Padmapurāṇa* is an "enlarged edition" of Vimala's text (1990, p. 102). Upendra Thakur takes a slightly contradictory approach to characterizing Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's textual relationship, describing the latter's *Padmapurāṇa* as both "a faithful Sanskrit version of the Prākṛta *Paümacariya*" and "not a mere translation, [but rather] a brilliant piece of poetical fervor" (1987, p. 51). Jaini, too, follows this characterization of Raviṣeṇa's composition vis-à-vis Vimala's:

> Vimala's Prakrit *Paümacariya* became the standard text for a great many Jaina compositions on the life of Rāma. Most noteworthy of these is the Sanskrit *Padma-Carita* in eighteen thousand *sloka*s, completed in 676 CE by the Digambara mendicant Raviṣeṇa. Raviṣeṇa's Sanskrit rendering *with added embellishments* inspired the composition of Sanskrit Purāṇa works by a large number of Jaina poets.
>
> (Jaini, 1993, p. 219, emphasis added)

A. K. Warder goes a step further than Kulkarni, Thakur, and Jaini, providing a particularly damning evaluation of Raviṣeṇa's work:

> As for Raviṣeṇa, he wrote a Sanskrit translation or paraphrase of Vimala's *Paümacariya*. . . . This *Padmacarita* is a work so devoid of originality, being unusually faithful to its source, that on wonders why Uddyotana bothered to mention it.
>
> (Warder, 1983, p. 163, emphasis added)

I disagree with Warder's characterization of the *Padmapurāṇa*, particularly because, as discussed in Chapter 1, Warder and I look for originality in different aspects of the text. He searches for originality in terms of plot and finds Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* wanting. I, in turn, look for originality in genre, style, and poetic sensibility, and read the originality of Raviṣeṇa's work in these respects as indicative of a meaningful and novel textual project.

Setting aside Warder's evaluation of Raviṣeṇa, it is true that even the most cursory of comparative glances toward Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* and Vimala's *Paümacariya* is enough to note that Raviṣeṇa's work is considerably longer than his predecessor's—indeed, about twice the length. One of the hallmarks of Raviṣeṇa's authorial style is that he consistently elaborates on Vimala's more pithy descriptions. What, though, does this project of "embellishment" actually look like, and what might be the importance or literary work of such narrative

expansion? To understand how Raviṣeṇa goes about expanding Vimala's work, we can undertake a small but revealing direct comparison of the two texts. To set the stage, the 34th chapter of each work is entitled "The Story of Vālikhilya."[3] It narrates the story of princess Kalyāṇamālinī, who happens one day upon Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sīta during their time in the forest. Kalyāṇamālinī is disguised as a prince named Kalyāṇamāla, exiled from her kingdom because a *mleccha* (barbarian) chieftain named Rudrabhūti has overthrown her father, Vālikhilya. She asks Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to help secure her father's release. The brothers agree, confront and defeat the *mleccha* army, and parley with Rudrabhūti to gain Vālikhilya's freedom. To understand how Raviṣeṇa elaborates on Vimala's earlier text, though, we can look to the beginning of each author's chapter. Provided first is Vimala's account:

> While they were resting in the garden, overwhelmed with thirst, Lakṣmaṇa quickly went to a beautiful lake for the sake of water. Just then, from the city, there came to that beautiful lake, the prince (of Kupavarda), Kalyāṇamāla by name, and began to sport along with his men. He saw Lakṣmaṇa of graceful form, standing on the bank of the lake; and his body being hit by the arrows of cupid, he sent a man to him. The man went (up to Lakṣmaṇa) and bowing down (to him) said, "Come with me, O Lord, without constraint; the prince, here, is anxious to have the pleasure of the festival of your sight." Having thought to himself, "What harm, indeed, is there," Lakṣmaṇa started (towards Kalyāṇamāla). Holding him by his delicate fingers the latter ushered him into his palace.[4]

Compare these verses with those of Raviṣeṇa:

> Once Rāma, the first-born son, was residing happily with Sītā in an enchantingly beautiful forest, its trees bowed low from the heavy burden of flowers and fruits, which resounded with masses of buzzing bees and the tender cries of *kokila* and *matta* (cuckoo) birds. Lakṣmaṇa, looking for water, went to a nearby lake, and just then a ruler of a nearby city named Kalyāṇamāla, handsome, a thief of darting eyes who alone occupies the hearts of the entire world, who was endowed with excellent conduct, who resembled a mountain with a beautiful cascading waterfall, mounted on a fine elephant and surrounded by beloved soldiers, reached that same beautiful lake, his mind set on sporting there. And having seen Lakṣmaṇa, endowed with beauty, dark-colored like a group of blue lotus flowers, going along the bank of that great lake, it was as if [Kalyāṇamāla] had been struck by the arrows of Kāmadeva! Befuddled, he commanded one of his men: "Bring that one to me!" And that astute messenger, having approached Lakṣmaṇa with his hands folded in supplication said, "Come near! By your kindness, the prince desires to meet with you!" The very curious Lakṣmaṇa, thinking—"What could be the problem?"—approached the man with charm and amusement. And the man, having descended from his elephant and having taken Lakṣmaṇa by the hand with his own lotus-like hands, entered into his tent.[5]

Immediately noticeable from this comparison is that Raviṣeṇa's account is about twice as long as Vimala's, and that the extended length emerges from descriptive saturation. For example, what is merely a garden in Vimala's text becomes "an enchantingly beautiful forest," replete with trees burdened by blooming flowers and succulent fruit. Raviṣeṇa transports his reader to the forest and encourages them to experience the aurality of buzzing bees and the "tender cries" of various fowl. Raviṣeṇa's Kalyāṇamāla is not merely a handsome prince; there is also a sense of playful impropriety to him: while embodying proper conduct, he is, simultaneously, a thief and an occupant. Rather than just being "graceful," Lakṣmaṇa is integrated into the landscape's natural beauty through his being compared with the delicate and enticing blue lotuses that the reader is meant to understand ornament the lake.

How, though, is this literary maneuver of expansion *generative* or *formative*? Pushpa Gupta argues that Raviṣeṇa's protracted descriptions are in service of his project of writing a *kāvya*, calling Raviṣeṇa "a master of Sanskrit poetry" and his work "the outcome of his mature poetic faculties" (1993, p. 2). It is Raviṣeṇa's descriptive prowess and the related aesthetic sentiments (*rasa*) that his descriptions help to engender, Gupta writes, that has led Raviṣeṇa's work to eclipse Vimala's in popularity. "The poet," Gupta writes of Raviṣeṇa, "is a master in the use of sentiments," and "[treats] all the sentiments befittingly" (1993, p. 4). I give here an overview of these sentiments, but for now suffice it to say that Raviṣeṇa's expanded poetic descriptions foster, not just in this case but throughout the narrative, the conditions under which the reader can "leave aside [their] own social location" and immerse themselves in the narrative.[6] This is a necessary component of Raviṣeṇa's ultimate goal: instantiating *śānta rasa*, the peaceful sentiment, as the predominant sentiment (*aṅgī rasa*) of the *Padmapurāṇa* as a whole.

2.2 Emotion, Aesthetics, and *Śānta Rasa*

Let me first introduce the theoretical scaffolding that will aid in explicating the moral vision of the *Padmapurāṇa*. This is the literary concept of *rasa* (literally "taste"), and specifically *śānta rasa*, the peaceful sentiment, and its relationship to *bhāva*, "emotion." Discussing *rasa* is a complicated task, in one way because, as Wallace Dace points out, there is no direct English equivalent of the term (1963, p. 249).[7] Further complicating the issue is the fact that *rasa* theory itself—questions of how and in whom *rasa* is engendered, or even exactly what the experience of *rasa* entails—has evolved and transformed over time.[8] Does *rasa* exist in the poet? In the text itself? Or is *rasa* engendered in the qualified reader of a piece of literature? Is *rasa* the experience of vivid or heightened emotion itself, or rather an experience of a sublime aesthetic delight *that stems from* recognizing and appreciating such emotion? Sanskrit literary theorists have answered these sorts of questions differently at different points in history. Even the seemingly central idea of *rasa* as the "soul of poetry" (*kāvyasya ātmā*) does not emerge until around the ninth century CE.[9]

What I will provide here, though, are some of the basics of *rasa* theory that seem more-or-less consistent throughout the centuries of debate and discussion. First, there are eight agreed-upon *rasa*s—the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the comic (*hāsya*), the pathetic (*karuṇa*), the furious (*raudra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the terrible (*bhayānaka*), the disgusting (*bībhatsa*), and the marvelous (*adbhuta*)—which are present in the earliest extant treatment of *rasa*, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* ("Treatise on Drama").[10] A ninth *rasa*, the peaceful (*śānta*), is generally regarded as a later addition, though as we will see here, Jains may have recognized *śānta* centuries earlier than other Sanskrit theorists.[11] Furthermore, discussions of *rasa* are consistent in that, wherever it resides or is engendered, *rasa* is a sort of transcendent experience, produced in individual experiences but somehow going beyond and subsuming them.

Second, *rasa*s come about because of the creation of stable emotions (*sthāyibhāva*), in turn brought about by the concomitance of transitory emotions (*vyabhicārībhāva*), environmental factors (*vibhāva*), and characters' physical expressions (*anubhāva*). These are emotions present in the text itself—or, originally, on the stage—felt and expressed by characters. Third, through the engendering of *rasa*, *kāvya* is meant to be both edificatory and pleasurable. In the words of the eleventh-century Sanskrit literary theorist Abhinavagupta, "poetry instructs us in the most effective way, after the fashion of a beloved woman, by so delighting us that we are scarcely aware of an underlying purpose."[12] Furthermore, it seems widely agreed upon that not just anyone—no mere casual observer or reader of a *kāvya*—is capable of experiencing and appreciating *rasa*. There is a deeply linked aesthetic and moral refinement necessary to awaken fully to the transcendent experience of *rasa*. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata is explicit in limiting this faculty to "well-disposed" and "cultured" individuals, comparing the connoisseur of literature to someone possessing a refined palate:

> [It] is said that just as well-disposed persons while eating food cooked with many kinds of spices enjoy (*āsvādayanti*) its tastes (*rasa*) and attain pleasure and satisfaction, so the cultured people taste Dominant States (*sthāyi-bhāva*) while they see them represented . . . and derive pleasure and satisfaction.[13]

These individuals, according to Bharata, are *sumanasa* (good-minded) and *budha* (wise). What is more, the relationship between Sanskrit *kāvya* and ethics is embedded into the earliest exemplar of the genre itself. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the entire impetus behind the story's telling is an ethical question posed by the author to the sage Nārada:

> Vālmīki, the ascetic, questioned the eloquent Nārada, bull among sages, always devoted to asceticism and study of the sacred texts. "Is there a man in the world today who is truly virtuous? Who is there who is mighty and yet knows what is right and how to act upon it? Who always speaks the truth and holds firmly to his vows?"[14]

As becomes quickly evident, poetry and grief are particularly linked. Later in the narrative, the reader comes to know that the form of the first *kāvya* itself, the *śloka* meter, owes its very existence to Vālmīki's emotional attunement to the experience of grief: "the utterance that I produced in this access of *śoka*, grief, shall be called *śloka*, poetry, and nothing else."[15] When the god Brahma then urges Vālmīki to compose the story of Rāma, the author chooses to do so in the *śloka* meter. *Śloka* is thus a medium for turning grief into positive action, a way not only of introducing the story of the supremely ethical Rāma into the world, but also of encouraging the reader to align themselves with Vālmīki's emotional attunement, that refined moral sensibility that allowed for the composition of the work in the first place.

Finally, fourth, from at least the ninth century onward, theorists posit that while a successful *kāvya* should develop many *rasa*s, one functions as the work's dominant sentiment. This is the *aṅgī rasa*.[16] According to the ninth-century Kashmiri theorist Ānandavardhana, the emotional mood on which a work ends dictates its predominant sentiment.[17] Scholars have previously pointed out Jain authors' affinity for prioritizing *śānta*. For example, Anne E. Monius argues that:

> Jain poetic narrative . . . results in something more important than a hero and heroine in eternally loving embrace, namely: the renunciation and liberation of the hero from worldly life, his escape from the eternal miseries of embodied rebirth and redeath, in the final scenes evocative of none other than *śāntarasa* . . . where all Jain narrative texts eventually end.
>
> (Monius, 2015, p. 162)

Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* follows this pattern, and, furthermore, there is evidence that Jains have acknowledged the existence of *śānta* as a *rasa* since at least the third century CE. The *Anuyogadvārasūtra* ("The Door to the Anuyoga"; Prakrit "Aṇuogaddārāim") lists the *rasa*—called *praśānta*—as one of the nine foundational sentiments in literature:

> *Śāntarasa* is to be known as characterized by an absence of (mental) perturbation; as arising from composure of the mind divested of all passions and as marked by tranquility.

Here is an example:

> Oh, (look) how the lotus-like face of the sage shines! It is full of beauty (of mental calm) and genuinely devoid of any contortions (due to the upsurge of passions), with its calm (devoid of all urge to look at beautiful objects) and gentle eyes unperturbed (by anger, lust, etc.).[18]

Thus, for the early Jain literary tradition, *śānta* was concretely identified with the tranquil, meditating sage. This is extent of the discussion of *śānta* in the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, and the early Jain canonical reference to *śānta*—or, indeed,

rasa more broadly—had little influence on subsequent centuries of Sanskrit literary theory.[19] It was not until many centuries later, with the advent of sustained engagement in literary theorization by Kashmiri authors beginning in the ninth century, that *śānta* came to be regarded as one of the primary moods of Sanskrit aesthetics.[20]

What, though, does *śānta* as a dominant mood actually *look* like?[21] How is it brought about, and what specific emotions are present in the characters of a work in its attempt to engender *śānta*? As with all *rasa*s, *śānta* arises out of the depiction of a *sthāyibhāva*, though theorists have disagreed as to what *sthāyibhāva* corresponds to the engendering of *śānta*.[22] For Ānandavardhana, it is *śama* (tranquility), which he defines as "pleasure that comes from the cessation of desire" (*tṛṣṇākṣayasukha*). Rudraṭa, though, in his ninth-century *Kāvyālaṅkāra* ("The Ornaments of Poetry"), argues that *samyagjñāna* (correct knowledge), embodied by a hero "whose passions are completely gone," is *śānta*'s *sthāyibhāva*.[23] Abhinavagupta (10th–11th c. CE) seems to agree with Rudraṭa in his *Abhinavabhāratī* ("Abhinava's Composition"), a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He explains that *śānta*'s *sthāyībhāva* is "knowledge of the true nature of reality" (*tattvajñāna*).[24]

Whatever *śānta*'s true *sthāyibhāva*, though, theorists generally agree that it is preceded by a character's experience of *nirveda*: "fundamental disillusionment, a psychological state of disregard directed against the entire phenomenal world."[25] More specifically, Abhinavagupta explains that *śānta* has as its *vibhāvas* "detachment from worldly pleasures" (*vairāgya*) and "fear of perpetual rebirth" (*saṃsārabhīru*). *Śānta's anubhāva* is "reflection (*cinta*) on the sacred texts (*śāstra*) that detail emancipation (*mokṣa*)," and its *vyabhicāribhāvas* are "disgust" (*nirveda*), "resolution of the mind" (*mati*), "retention or remembrance of what one has been taught about *mokṣa*" (*smṛti*), and "firmness in one's goal" (*dhṛti*).[26] As I demonstrate here, it is grief (*śoka*) that, in the *Padmapurāna*, engenders *nirveda*: Rāma becomes disillusioned with the physical world after the death of his brother, and this inspires him to become a renunciant, which in turn results in his eventual experience of *śama*.

2.3 Starting at the End: From *Śoka* to *Śama* in the *Padmapurāṇa*

For the sake of this analysis, I follow Ānandavardhana's argument that a work's conclusion dictates its *aṅgī rasa*. I will begin, then, with an analysis of how Raviṣeṇa uses grief as the inroad to Rāma's eventual experience of *śama*. Rāma indeed comes to experience *nirveda*—disillusionment with the physical world and the happiness that comes from the extinction of cravings—but it is an experience that emerges particularly out of the grief he feels upon the death of his brother Lakṣmaṇa. The story proceeds as follows:

> Two unwise gods, out of curiosity, became resolved to investigate the love between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa [Nārāyaṇa]. Completely intent on causing

> mischief, united by mutual affection, they, their minds set, approached, saying, "We will witness the love and devotion between these two. Lakṣmaṇa is uncomfortable with not seeing Rāma even for a day. How much, then, will he struggle upon hearing of the death of his elder brother! We will laugh watching the struggles of him who is overcome with grief; let us go, then, to the city of Kośalā [Ayodhyā]! His face will indeed become stricken by grief! At whom will he become angry? Where will he go and what will he say?" Having thus set their minds, the two gods, Ratnacūla and Mṛgacūla quickly covered the distance to the beautiful city of Ayodhyā. Reaching there, in the palace of Rāma, the two utilizing their powers of illusion caused all of the women in the inner apartments to begin to wail aloud.
>
> Gatekeepers, wise ministers, priests, and other leaders, their faces downcast, went to Lakṣmaṇa and told him of Rāma's death. Having heard the words, "Rāma is dead," Lakṣmaṇa's eyes became weak, like a blue lotus flower shaken by a hurricane. "Alas, what happened?" he said shakily, as his mind became dejected and he quickly began to shed tears. He felt as if a bolt of lightning had struck him and he fell back against a golden pillar. He went to his lion-throne and sat there, as if he were a statue made of clay. His eyes were not closed, and yet he was separated from everything going on around him. It was as if his body stood alive, but his mind was somewhere else. Seeing him, whose life had left his body, struck by the fire of the death of his brother, the two gods became perplexed and were unable to revive him. Thinking, "Such a death is certainly because of fate," the two, filled with surprise and dejection and disgusted, went back to the Saudharma heaven.[27]

Thus, Lakṣmaṇa's death comes about because of a trick played on him by two gods. Rāma is subsequently grief-stricken by the death of his brother:

> And once that hero, Lakṣmaṇa, had attained death, Rāma, the best of the age, entirely abandoned the world. And even though the soft, sweet-smelling body of Lakṣmaṇa had become abandoned of all life, still Rāma did not leave it. He embraced the body to his own, wiped away dust from the body, smelled it, kissed it, and held it longingly in his arms. He did not trust to release the body even for a moment, for he felt it to be as dear to him as a child holds dear the sweet nectar of a fruit. Rāma wailed, "O brother, is it proper that you have abandoned me and gone on alone? O mighty one, how could you not have known that I would be unable to bear the pain of separation from you? Did you desire this, having suddenly thrown me into the fire of sorrow? O brother, why have you done this cruel thing, that the journey to the next world has been undertaken without telling me? Beloved brother, give to me now just one nectar-like answer! On account of what fault do you not do this? Why are you, a bearer of goodness, angry with me? O heart-stealing one, you have never been one to be prideful with me, why do you appear so now? Tell me what I have done! Previously, having seen me even at a distance you would be respectful and rise from your seat. Having established Rāma on the

> lion-throne, you would sit on the floor. O Lakṣmaṇa, even now, when your foot, with its row of beautiful nails, is placed on my head, why are you angry and do not forgive me? O Lord, get up immediately! My two sons have gone to the forest! Before they have reached too far, we will fetch them back! Those women, seized in the grasp of your virtues, but abandoned by you, roll about uncontrollably on the earth, their voices like the songs made by pained *kurarī* birds. Their earrings, girdles, diadems, and necklaces are all broken and fallen away. Why do you not stop this sight of your beloveds, who are crying and bewildered? What do I do? Where do I go, now that you have abandoned me? I see nowhere where I will find happiness!"[28]

The piteousness of Rāma's reaction to his brother's death is palpable. Faced with Lakṣmaṇa's unmoving body, Rāma is in disbelief, thinking instead that his brother is angry with him and wondering what offense he has committed that would lead Lakṣmaṇa to ignore him so stoically. Simultaneously, though, there is some recognition that Lakṣmaṇa is truly gone. Rāma asks why his brother has "abandoned [him] and gone on alone" and chastises Lakṣmaṇa for not considering the suffering caused by the brothers' separation. Furthermore, Rāma's description of the women of Lakṣmaṇa's life crying like the *kurarī* bird is especially evocative and a common trope in Indian *kāvya* literature.[29] Rāma's lamentation—marked in the Sanskrit by the use of verbal roots *lap*, meaning "to wail, bemoan," and *lal*, meaning "to roll about," or "to be agitated"—as well as Rāma's repeated, unsuccessful questioning of Lakṣmaṇa, who of course cannot and will never respond, poignantly depicts the sorrowful nature of the scene. Later in the chapter, Rāma repeatedly commands his brother to wake up (*uttiṣṭha*) and leave his sleep aside (*nidrām muñcasva/muñca*),[30] unable to grasp the fact that his brother is dead.

Raviṣeṇa continues to describe Rāma's grief and lamentations over the death of his brother. In chapter 118, he gives Rāma's reaction to being urged to perform his brother's cremation and funeral ceremony.

> Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma's beloved brother and faithful companion in the fights against Rāvaṇa, was dead. Their trusted allies, Sugrīva and the others, declared, "King Rāma, let us now make a funeral pyre. Give us the body of Lakṣmaṇa, lord among men, so that we may cremate it properly." But Rāma was not in his right mind and he retorted, "May you all burn on that pyre, with your fathers and mothers and even your grandfathers too. And may all of your friends and relatives die with you, you men of evil heart. Come, get up, Lakṣmaṇa. Let us go somewhere else, where we will not have to hear such cruel words from scoundrels like these." Rāma then went to lift the body of his brother. The kings . . . in a flurry rushed to help him, grabbing the shoulders, back and other parts of the body. But Rāma did not trust them and so he carried Lakṣmaṇa's body all by himself and stole away from them, as a child might steal away with a poison fruit. Rāma's eyes overflowed with tears as he said, "O brother! Why are you still asleep? Get up! It's time. Come, come and take your bath." And with those words he placed the dead body on the throne that had been prepared for his own bath.[31]

Here, again, Rāma asks his brother to awaken from what he thinks is a deep slumber. Rāma's inability to admit that his brother is dead and the lengths he goes to in order to sustain his self-delusion—even giving his brother a bath in the hopes that it will revive him—hammer home the heartrending nature of scene.

The *Padmapurāṇa* does not end, though, with Rāma wallowing in grief. We see Rāma's sorrow give way to tranquil *śama* in chapter 118. His grief-fueled delusion lasts for a full six months, during which time he carries around Lakṣmaṇa's corpse alone. Eventually, Rāma's enemies—mostly Rāvaṇa's kin—get word of his condition and hatch a plan to conquer Ayodhyā. Upon learning of this, two gods, Kṛtāntavaktra and Jaṭāyu, go to Ayodhyā to assist Rāma.[32] Jaṭāyu first dispatches the *vidyādhara* army approaching the city, crushing Rāvaṇa's family members to such a degree that their shame in defeat leads many to become Jain ascetics. Then both gods approach Rāma and through their magical powers show him the futility of his sorrow. Kṛtāntavaktra attempts to water a long-dead tree, and Jaṭāyu yokes a pair of dead oxen to a plow. Kṛtāntavaktra then attempts to churn water into butter, while Jaṭāyu crushes sand as if it would yield oil.

Rāma notices the two gods performing such useless tasks, but it is not until Jaṭāyu appears in front of Rāma carrying a corpse—thus mirroring, of course, Rāma's own actions—that Rāma recognizes Lakṣmaṇa as truly dead and that his attempts to revive him are indeed futile.[33] Raviṣeṇa describes this awakening with evocative natural imagery, explaining that:

> Freed from the clouds of his delusion, King Rāma shone with the light of awakening, as the moon, freed from a host of rain clouds, shines with its radiant light. His mind was pure again, restored to its former clarity, like the autumn sky, restored to its pure state after the rain clouds have all gone.[34]

After this awakening, the two gods ask Rāma if he is happy, to which Rāma responds that only Jain ascetics, who have renounced the world, are truly happy.[35] It is here that Rāma's disillusionment with the physical world germinates and where *śama* begins to emerge. This realization does not come from study, reflection, or intellectual endeavor; rather, it emerges from Rāma having *felt* grief and having *experienced* the debilitating effects of that grief *in his own life*. This fact is driven home by the fact that earlier in the narrative Rāma had actually *mocked* Hanumān and others who had taken ascetic initiation (*dīkṣā*): "Having learned that Hanumān and the eight sons of Lakṣmaṇa had renounced the world, Rāma laughed and said, 'What pleasure can these cowards possibly enjoy?'"[36] Indeed, before encountering his own motivation for renunciation, Rāma had witnessed numerous other characters renounce worldly pleasures and take on the life of mendicancy: his father, Daśaratha; his brother Bharata; many of Rāvaṇa's relatives following the *vidyādhara*'s death; Hanumān; and his own wife, Sītā. Rāma had thus been exposed to the fact that life in the phenomenal world is something to abandon, but he failed to understand that fact because of his lack of emotional experience of it. It is thus *only* his confrontation with grief, the reader comes to understand, that motivates Rāma to give up a life of ephemeral pleasures and leads him to tranquility and ultimate release at the work's conclusion.

To return to the story, though, Rāma eventually takes leave of the two gods and finally cremates Lakṣmaṇa's body. He places his brother Śatrughna on the throne of Ayodhyā, explaining: "Now you must rule over the mortal kingdom. I am going to retire to the penance grove. There, with my mind free from all trace of desire, I shall strive to attain the place of the Jinas, Final Release."[37] Rāma, resolute in mind and firm in his goal, thus takes *dīkṣā* from the Jina Munisuvrata and commences with the life of a wandering ascetic. The tranquil happiness that Rāma experiences in this new life as a mendicant, unconcerned with the physical world, is evident in Raviṣeṇa's description:

> Lord [Rāma], in whom envy and sensual desire had been calmed, performed extremely difficult *tapas*, impossible for common people. With the sun blazing brightly in the middle of the sky, he, firm in performing fasts, including the *aṣṭama* fast, wandered the forest being worshipped by herdsmen, etc. He was knowledgeable of the timeless vows of the five rules of conduct (*samiti*) and the three rules of restraint (*gupti*). He had conquered his senses. He possessed great affection for *sādhu*s. He was dedicated to his study of sacred texts. He was fortunate and virtuous (*sukṛt*). He was one who attained many great attainments, and yet he remained unchanged [in his goal]. He was eager to overcome delusion and the worldly trials that function as its servant. Elephants and tigers, pacified by the power of his asceticism, regarded him without aggression, as did herds of deer, their necks outstretched and eyes wide. His heart set on attaining ultimate bliss, free from attachment and desire, he traversed a remote and exhaustive path into the middle of the forest. Sometimes standing on a slab of rock and at other times assuming the *paryaṅka* position of meditation, he entered into meditation as the sun enters into the clouds. Sometimes in a pleasant spot he stood upright in the *pratimāyoga* posture, his long arms hanging down, his mind immovable like the Mandara mountain. Other times he wandered, resplendent and peaceful, looking off towards the horizon, and he was worshipped by celestial women who inhabited the forest trees. And thus, in such a manner, he of peerless soul performed *tapas* which others in this degraded time cannot even contemplate.[38]

On the one hand, Rāma's asceticism is of the utmost strenuousness; Raviṣeṇa highlights this not only with references to specific ascetic postures (*paryaṅka*, *pratimā*) but also by explicating the fact that common people cannot even fathom the arduous extent of his practice. On the other hand, though, there is a simple peace in Rāma's performance of such austerities. Rāma qua mendicant is far removed from the emotional torment brought about by his brother's death. His detached, destination-less wandering signifies his tranquil existence in the forest, and he proceeds indifferent to the (no doubt enticing) attention of celestial women who reside in the woods. Senses controlled and desires conquered, Rāma is not only at peace himself—an inner peace that is reflected in his physicality—he also emanates peace to his surroundings. The trope of the tranquil monk effortlessly

creating an environment in which normally aggressive animals—elephants (particularly in rut) and lions—become pacified is common in Jain literature; indeed, Raviṣeṇa uses similar language to describe Mahāvīra in the second chapter of the *Padmapurāṇa*.

What is more, the happiness that stems from Rāma's disinterest in worldly affairs and dedication to the monastic life is evident in his diligent study and his eagerness (*samudyata*) to overcome the delusion that he now recognizes characterized his previous life as a householder. This is *śama* exemplified. Finally, the fact that *śāma* serves as the dominant emotional takeaway for the narrative becomes evident with Rāma's eventual attainment of omniscience and, ultimately, liberation from the world of *saṃsāra* at the end of the narrative:

> And at that time, ultimate knowledge arose in [Rāma], that great-souled one. And when his all-seeing, omniscient eye had come into being, he realized that everything, that which both belongs to the world and which is outside of it, is as worthless as a cow's footstep in mud.[39]

It is thus in Rāma's attainment of enlightenment and, eventually, *mokṣa*, that *śama* reaches its fulfillment.

2.4 Rāvaṇa, the Reader, and Novel Grief

Turning now away from how *śoka* is created and depicted in Rāma, Raviṣeṇa also skillfully creates a novel type of grief to be experienced *by the reader* of his work. Indeed, Lakṣmaṇa's death is not the reader's first encounter with palpable grief in the narrative. They experience it also when Rāvaṇa dies in battle at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. In the text itself, the sorrowful nature of the episode is best expressed in Raviṣeṇa's description of the lamentation of Rāvaṇa's wives after they learn of his death:

> In the meantime, the women's quarters became aware of the death of Rāvaṇa, and immediately became filled with a great wave of grief. And all the women, sprinkling the ground with their tears, staggering, immediately went to the battlefield. And having seen their handsome husband, who resembled the crest-jewel of the earth, unconscious on the ground, all the women fell down violently. Rambhā, Candrānanā, Candramaṇḍalā, Pravarā, Urvaśī, Mandodarī, Mahādevī, Sundarī, Kamalānanā, Rūpiṇī, Rukmaṇī, Śīlā, Ratnamālā, Tanūdarī, Śrīkāntā, Śrīmatī, Bhadrā, Kanakābhā, Mṛgāvatī, Śrīmālā, Mānavī, Lakṣmī, Ānāndā, Anaṅgasundarī, Vasundharā, Taḍinmālā, Padmā, Padmāvatī, Sukhā, Devī, Padmāvatī, Kānti, Prīti, Sandhyābalī, Śubhā, Prabhāvatī, Manovegā, Ratikāntā, Manovatī, and 18,000 more grief-stricken wives, having surrounded their husband, wept in agony. Some of the chaste women, sprinkled with sandalwood paste, fainted, as if they were lotuses whose stalks had been uprooted. Some, embracing their husband tightly, fainted, resembling a line of mountains of collyrium at twilight. Some who had regained consciousness were

> wearily beating their chests and resembled a garland of lightning intertwined in heavy rainclouds. One of the women, extremely distressed, having placed [Rāvaṇa's] head in her lap, touched his chest and immediately fainted.[40]

Rāvaṇa's wives' grief is clear. Upon seeing their husband dead on the ground, the women are unable to remain standing and instead fall limply to the ground. The list of names, presumably of only the 39 most important of Rāvaṇa's wives, draws in the reader, and the utter vastness, the all-encompassing nature of the scene's sorrow is driven home by the near off-handedness with which Raviṣeṇa adds 18,000 more wives, all "[weeping] in agony" (*cakruḥ ākrandaṃ sumahāśucā*). Raviṣeṇa's comparison of the women to lotuses that have been uprooted and are therefore limp, wasting away, and will inevitably die themselves, provides a devastating image of the women's misfortune.

On the one hand, the reader is meant to empathize with Rāvaṇa's wives' grief, so painfully articulated in the aforementioned passage. However, there is also a particular sorrow that *only* the reader experiences upon Rāvaṇa's death, because that death is in fact the culmination of a long, excruciating, and grotesque transformation of Rāvaṇa's character to which *only* the reader has borne witness. To demonstrate this, let me provide a brief description of how Raviṣeṇa characterizes Rāvaṇa in the first half of the *Padmapurāṇa*.[41] Rāvaṇa is the first major character introduced in the work, and the reader spends multiple chapters learning about Rāvaṇa independent of his eventual antagonistic relationship with Rāma, whose birth does not occur until chapter 25.[42] During the time that the reader spends exclusively with Rāvaṇa, Raviṣeṇa highlights three primary character traits. First, Rāvaṇa is a fair and righteous king who works toward the legitimate goal of reclaiming his ancestral homeland of Laṅkā, the throne of which had been usurped generations earlier by a rival *vidyādhara* named Indra. Rāvaṇa also has a reputation for protecting women in distress, and, in particular, takes great care to make sure that the wives of his conquered foes are treated respectfully. One example of this occurs in chapter 19; after Rāvaṇa defeats a rival *vidyādhara* named Varuṇa, he becomes aware that his brother Kumbakarṇa had abducted many women from the court. He chastises his brother:

> Alas, little boy! This is an excessively improper deed that you have performed, to lead the women of the family here, encaged and bound in your grasp. What fault have these innocent-minded, pitiable women committed that has led you to uselessly commence such abuse? . . . Having spoken thusly, Rāvaṇa immediately released the women, who went back to their quarters. The noble women were comforted by [Rāvaṇa's] words, and immediately their terror was alleviated.[43]

Second, Rāvaṇa is a sincere and devout Jain who supports mendicants and the restoration of Jina temples.[44] Take, for example, the events of chapter 11, in which Rāvaṇa saves the sage Nārada from being beaten to death by Brahmins. Nārada had just excoriated—in approximately 100 substantive verses—King Marutvān

about the sinful nature of the animal sacrifice that the king was sponsoring and, more broadly, about the fallibility of the Vedas. In response, the Brahmin priests of the sacrifice surround Nārada and, "with their hearts devoid of compassion" (*dayānirmuktamānasāḥ*), beat him mercilessly while King Marutvān looks on approvingly. Fortuitously for the sage, a messenger of Rāvaṇa witnesses the assault and the fact that Marutvān does nothing to stop it; he reports back to Rāvaṇa, who immediately dispatches his soldiers to liberate not only the sage, but the animals intended for sacrifice as well:

> Then, having heard all that the messenger had said, Rāvaṇa became angry and, quickly mounting his vehicle, he set out to go to where the sacrifice was being performed. His men, swords free of their scabbards and making a great roaring sound, set out as swift as the wind. In the blink of an eye, they reached the sacrificial place and, upon catching sight of the situation, full of mercy, they liberated Nārada from his cage of enemies. And in an instant, with a roar, they freed the various animals being guarded by those merciless men.[45]

In another episode, in chapter 8, Rāvaṇa makes sure to pay proper respect to the Jinas before his marriage to Mandodarī:

> Then, that good-natured one [Rāvaṇa] entered in the delightful sanctum [of the temple] and performed excellent *pūjā* to the Lords of Jinas there. And having recited various hymns of praise that caused his hair to stand on end with excitement, and having folded his hands and placed them on top of his head, which was adorned with a beautiful jewel, he bowed to the two pure feet of the Lords of Jinas for a long time, with both his knees and the diadem on his head touching the surface of the earth.[46]

Examples like this demonstrating the extent of Rāvaṇa's devotion to the Jinas are prevalent in Raviṣeṇa's text. Later in the chapter, after his marriage to Mandodarī and a few successful military campaigns against rival *vidyādhara* kings, the reader again witnesses Rāvaṇa's interest in Jina temples and their adoration:

> Then, once, [Rāvaṇa], having risen high into the sky, his body bowed and humble on account of his moral rectitude, asked [his grandfather] Sumāli, "O honorable one! Here, at the top of this mountain there is certainly no lake, but look, for still a forest of lotuses has arisen. This indeed is a marvelous thing! How is it that these dense, shade-granting clouds, have alighted on the earth and remain unmoving?" This having been said, bowing to the *siddhas*, Sumāli said to him, "O child, these are not rainclouds nor are they one-hundred-petal lotuses. These are Jina Temples, which rule over the top of the mountain, with their thousands of beautifully decorated archways and their abundant white flags by which shade is made! These were caused to be built by the great-souled Hariṣeṇa. Bow to these and you will become one whose mind is purified in an instant."[47]

Sumāli goes on to tell the story of Hariṣeṇa, the tenth *cakravartin* of the current world age.[48] The story greatly pleases Rāvaṇa, who again worships the Jinas before leaving the site.

Finally, and third, Rāvaṇa is especially disciplined and skilled in ascetic practice. At one point, Rāvaṇa and his brothers decide that they will work toward acquiring magical weapons by performing acts of asceticism. While undergoing these austerities, the brothers happen upon by a *yakṣa* named Anāvṛta. Originally delighted to see the men so dedicated to ascetic practice, Anāvṛta eventually becomes enraged when none of the brothers will break their practice to speak with him. In response, using his magical powers, Anāvṛta generates a horrific scene to shake the brothers' will and break their concentration. The scene is set in Puṣpāntaka, the city of the brothers' youth, and includes an army of *mlecchas* ransacking the city and tormenting the brothers' family members. The *mlecchas* cut off the hands of the brothers' lamenting parents; Rāvaṇa sees the heads of his two brothers being cut off and thrown at his feet, while the two brothers see the same scene with Rāvaṇa's head. At this, while Rāvaṇa remains unmoved, focused solely on his asceticism, the two brothers begin to falter. Here, the text shifts to focus specifically on the resoluteness of Rāvaṇa's ascetic *tapas*:

> But [Rāvaṇa] retained purity of mind. That extremely heroic one, splendorous, remained firm like the Mandara mountain. Having destroyed the influence of his sense organs, he made his mind, trembling like lightning, obedient like a servant. It was similar to how protection was done by Kaṇṭaka and Sambara, and so he, who was free from any blemish because of his concentration, continued to recite *mantras* uninterrupted.[49]

Rāvaṇa possesses a superhuman fortitude, an impressive ability to control his emotions and passions. As we will see, this trait disappears when he encounters Sītā. Rāvaṇa becomes, instead, beholden to his lustful desires, even though he rationally understands that they will lead to his downfall.

I provide the aforementioned descriptions to highlight the fact that the reader of the *Padmapurāṇa* is supposed to *like* Rāvaṇa in the early chapters of the work. Rāvaṇa is not faultless, but he is a good king and a good Jain. Furthermore, I have argued elsewhere that Raviṣeṇa is meticulous and nuanced in his characterization of Rāvaṇa, and that a major part of that characterization involves the manipulation and subtle undercutting of different *rasas*—primarily *śṛṅgāra*, the erotic sentiment, and *vīra*, the heroic sentiment—to create an oftentimes humorous undertone to Rāvaṇa qua heroic *vidyādhara* champion and stalwart Jain king (Clines, 2019). One of the effects of this humor, I argue, is that it works to endear and ingratiate Rāvaṇa to the reader, to humanize him:

> As [Conrad] Hyers notes: "To understand comedy is to understand humanity." Thus, seeing Rāvaṇa fail to live up to the paradigms of a hero or a lover reminds the reader of his or her own failures to meet societal expectations,

> and, further, of the fact that such failure is an inescapable, universal part of being human. . . . Raviṣeṇa's aim is to convince the reader to like Rāvaṇa not only *because* he is a successful king and pious Jain, but also because, even given those traits, he is, at his core, human.
>
> (Clines, 2019, p. 317, emphasis in original)

For all that Raviṣeṇa leads the reader to like, or empathize with, Rāvaṇa throughout the early parts of the *Padmapurāṇa*, it is, of course, his confrontation with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā in their forest hermitage that upends not only his life but also the reader's perception of him. Indeed, Rāvaṇa's transition from a sympathetic and likeable character to a pitiable one begins in the immediate lead-up to his abduction of Sītā. Rāvaṇa is led to the hermitage under false pretenses; his sister, Candranakhā, lies to him, claiming that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had sexually assaulted her.[50] Prepared to defend his sister's honor, it is at the hermitage that Rāvaṇa first lays eyes on Sītā. He immediately becomes enamored of her; as Raviṣeṇa explains: "[Rāvaṇa], his mind like that of a small child because of it being completely overtaken by passion, resolved to kidnap [Sītā], which is similar to death by poison."[51] This verse is a turning point in how Rāvaṇa is described throughout the rest of the narrative; it is the first time the reader sees any sort of description that portrays Rāvaṇa as "child-like." The reason for this shift in portrayal is the arising within Rāvaṇa of uncontrollable passion upon seeing Sītā for the first time. This seemingly inevitable arising of passions, against which Rāvaṇa is powerless, contradicts his earlier representation as being especially self-controlled.

Sītā's effect on Rāvaṇa is intense and immediate. Even before reaching Laṅkā after kidnapping her, Rāvaṇa professes his love for the woman, all but begging her to accept his affection:

> O virtuous woman! I have been struck by the extremely delicate flower-arrows of Kāmadeva. If I die, then you will be bound with the sin of killing a man. O beautiful woman, your lotus-like face shines even though it is angry, for the beauty of all beautiful things persists eternally. O goddess, cast your uncertain glance just once on my face, for by bathing in the sweet waters of your glance all my fatigue will melt away![52]

Sītā, of course, rebuffs Rāvaṇa's advances. Enraged by her response, Rāvaṇa deposits her in a beautiful garden and retires to his own quarters, where Mandodarī, his chief queen, attempts to console him. Her attempts are unsuccessful; Rāvaṇa continues to bemoan his unrequited love for Sītā and reiterates that he cannot live without her, reinforcing an increasingly pathetic image of himself:

> If she, Sītā, that unmatched creation of virtue who is nevertheless decorated only with sorrow, does not desire me to be her husband, certainly I will not remain alive! Having attained that singularly beautiful one, her charm, grace, youth, and the beauty of her limbs has become my only desire.[53]

The immediacy and utter completeness of Rāvaṇa's transformation from confident ruler to child-like, groveling suitor is shocking both to the reader and to Rāvaṇa's associates in the narrative. Mandodarī, for example, at one point tells him to snap out of it:

> Why have you adopted so much uncertainty? What is all this risk for? Why do you, who are so strong willed, cause so much distress both to yourself and us [your wives]? What have you lost? Your land is the same as it was before! Harness your mind, which is currently on an improper path! This desire of yours has surely become dangerous! Quickly restrain the horses that are your senses; you bear the reins of discrimination![54]

To make matters worse, the pitiful aspects of Rāvaṇa are accompanied by a newfound penchant for cruelty and wickedness. In chapter 46, Rāvaṇa again attempts to convince Sītā to accept him as her lover. He is, of course, again shunned, at which time Rāvaṇa loses self-control and magically creates terrifying environments meant to intimidate Sītā into taking refuge in him.

> Having been censured thusly, Rāvaṇa immediately began to create illusions. All the damsels became terrified and ran away, and everything was disturbed. And when this came about, the sun along with its circle of rays, set immediately, as if out of fear of Rāvaṇa's illusion. But Sītā, even though she was frightened by the masses of violent, deeply bellowing rutting elephants, did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. And even though she was frightened by tigers, soundless and unbeatable, their gaping mouths are full of sharp teeth, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. And even though she was frightened by lions, with their terrible hooked claws and their shaking manes, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. And even though she was frightened of great serpents, with their tongues twitching to and fro and whose eyes were frightening likes sparks of fire, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. And even though she was frightened by terrible monkeys, openmouthed and flying around up and down wildly, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. And even though she was frightened by black-colored ghosts, high up and bellowing loudly, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa. Thus, even though she was frightened by all these different kinds of terrible, fear-inducing disturbances, still Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa.[55]

The illusory animals that Rāvaṇa creates are obviously threatening. Rutting elephants threaten to trample Sītā; sharp tigers' teeth and lions' claws threaten to pierce her and tear her limb from limb. Rāvaṇa sees himself as being abused by Sītā, her rebuffs to his advances interpreted as unjustified insults. Rāvaṇa's production of magical dangers further shows a lack of self-control that comes about because of his unchecked desire for Sītā. Rāvaṇa is portrayed as tempestuous, and, indeed, it is Sītā in this passage who comes across as superlatively self-controlled. In the face of seemingly endless danger, Sītā remains calm. Though frightened,

she refuses to cower in front of Rāvaṇa. The continued repetition of the phrase "though frightened, Sītā did not take refuge with Rāvaṇa," reinforces this fact.

Thus, in a textual blink of an eye, Rāvaṇa becomes nearly unrecognizable; the transformation is immediate and irreversible. It serves, on the one hand, as a shocking reminder to the reader of the existential danger of unchecked lust and passion, but it also creates an affective response; the reader has suddenly lost someone that they have come to know and care about over many chapters. They witness this character, whom they like and respect, as he barrels headlong toward his own demise. Theirs is a personal grief over the loss of a friend.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, of course, do not share the reader's affective response to Rāvaṇa's death, and Raviṣeṇa's description of the brothers' interactions with Rāvaṇa's family is complicated. On the one hand, the brothers seem to share in Rāvaṇa's wives' grief, as Raviṣeṇa describes them as being "ready [to offer] their pity" (*karuṇodyukta*) and their eyes as being filled with tears (*vāṣpāpūritalocanau*).[56] The two also prevent Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣaṇa from committing suicide out of despair. Yet, at the same time, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa encourage Vibhīṣaṇa not to mourn his brother's death:

> O king, enough with this mourning! Abandon now your despair! Indeed, you know that was has transpired was determined by karma. On account of the authority of previously accrued karma, a man's pursuit of error will certainly lead to consequences. What, then, is the reason for this grief?[57]

There is a disjuncture here between Rāma's and Lakṣmaṇa's physical response and their words of consolation. They seem moved by the grieving women, sharing in their tears, and yet in their counsel to Vibhīṣaṇa, they attribute Rāvaṇa's entire predicament, the entirety of his transformation from righteous king to miserable, hapless, and cruel abductor, to the natural workings of karma. It is a mechanical explanation, one that strikes the reader as insufficient to assuage their own sorrow in seeing the death of a character they have grown to like. For the reader, this karma-based explanation does not ameliorate the sadness that emerges from Rāvaṇa's death. Instead, it rings hollow, accentuating the episode's emotional rawness. If we remember the description of Lakṣmaṇa's death, we will recognize a brief but similar sentiment expressed by the two gods who tricked Lakṣmaṇa. Unable to understand the consequences of their deceit, the gods relegate Lakṣmaṇa's death to the imprecise workings of fate (*vidhinā*).[58] The gods use this rationalization to alleviate any responsibility they might bear over Lakṣmaṇa's death, but certainly such an explanation does little to console Rāma's grief. Here, though, we see that the occasion of Lakṣmaṇa's death is not the first time an imprecise, nebulous account of *karma* or fate serves as an emotionally unconvincing explanation for death. This phenomenon is not limited to Raviṣeṇa, or even Jain literature. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty has pointed out that in many South Asian religious narratives the relationship between karma and fate (*vidhi*, *niyati*, and *daivam*) seems to modulate; the two "are sometimes conflated and sometimes explicitly contrasted" (1980, p. xxiii). In the *Padmapurāṇa* specifically there is no extensive discussion

of the difference between these two, and there does not seem to be a substantive difference between how Rāma speaks about karma to Vibhīṣaṇa and the two gods' offhanded remarks about fate. This, I think, is intentional; it serves as a testament to the fact that *any* discussion of the mechanistic workings of karma or fate will fall far short in addressing emotional turmoil.

Most important about the reader's grief over Rāvaṇa's death is the fact that it is not shared by Rāma and, because of this, it is never adequately resolved. There exists an emotional gap between the reader and the narrative's protagonist throughout the majority of the rest of the story. In a way, the reader waits for Rāma to "catch up" with their own emotional experience, to feel the grief of losing someone you care about. This of course happens when Lakṣmaṇa dies, and Rāma's subsequent renunciation of the world and experience of *śama* not only mollifies his own grief over the death of his brother but *also* points out how the reader might alleviate their own grief. In a final turn—and this is as close as I think we can come to defining *śānta rasa* with respect to Raviṣeṇa and the *Padmapurāṇa*—the reader is encouraged to realize that *nirveda* and renunciation are the cure not only for their *particular* grief over the death of Rāvaṇa but, of course, for the grief that stems from the very fact of existence in the physical world.[59] Thus, if we are to sum up how Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* constructs and projects a vision of moral personhood, we may do so thusly. The *Padmapurāṇa* envisions the tranquil Digambara renunciate as the paragon of the ethical individual, and thus promotes renunciation from worldly affairs as the ultimate ethical action. To encourage this of the qualified reader, the work constructs and manipulates *śoka*, grief, in both Rāma and the emotionally attuned reader, who is meant to equate their own emotional experience with that of the narrative's protagonist and thus awaken to the universality of grief in the world of *saṃsāra*. Rāma's experience of *śama*—the work's *sthāyībhāva*—aims to engender *śānta*—the work's *aṅgi rasa*—in the reader at the work's conclusion, and thus points them toward the path of alleviating their own suffering.

Notes

1 Raviṣeṇa 3.26.
śṛṇvāyuṣman mahīpāla devānāṃpriya yatnataḥ | mama vākyaṃ jinendroktaṃ tattvaśaṃsanatatparam ||

2 See also Shah (1983, p. 70). Kulkarni also argues that Raviṣeṇa removes particularly Śvetāmbara elements of the story from Vimala's narrative and replaces them with Digambara theological and philosophical ideas. The merits of this claim, though, have been questioned by other scholars. Chandra (1970, p. 4) argues that it is a challenge to label Vimala definitely as either a Śvetāmbara or Digambara:

> Vimalasūri . . . does not mention any particular sect to which he belonged. Evidences available in the work do not prove his bias for any particular sect because some elements support the Digambara tradition, some the Śvetāmbara tradition, some deviate from both the traditions.

Cort (1993, p. 190) agrees with Chandra.

3 In the *Paümacariya,* "*vālikhilla-uvakkhāṇo*." In the *Padmapurāṇa*, "*vālikhilyopākhyānam*."

4 Prakrit below and translation from Chandra (1970, pp. 34–35).
tāṇaṃ ciya ujjāṇe acchantāṇaṃ tisābhibhūyāṇaṃ |salilatthī tūranto somittī saravaraṃ patto || tāva cciya nayarā'o rāyamu'o āga'o saravaraṃ taṃ | kīla'i janeṇa samayaṃ nāmaṃ kallāṇamālo tti || peccha'i tīrāvatthaṃ sarassa so lakkhaṇaṃ laliyarūvaṃ | pese'i tassa purisaṃ vammahasaratāḍiyasarīro || gantūṇa paṇami'ūṇa ya bhana'i pahū eha aṇuvaroheṇaṃ | tahu darisaṇussavamuhaṃ narindaputto ihaṃ maha'i || paricinta'uṇa ko vi hu doso saṃpatthi'o ya somittī | komalakaraggagahi'o bhavaṇaṃ ciya pesi'o teṇaṃ ||

5 Raviṣeṇa 34.1–10.
parama sundare tatra phalapuṣpabharānate | guñjadbhramarasaṃghāte mattakokilanādite || kānane sītayā sākamagrajanmā sthitaḥ sukham | antikāṃ salilārthī tu lakṣmaṇaḥ sarasīṃ gataḥ || atrāntare surūpāḍhyo netrataskaravibhramaḥ | eko'pi sarvalokasya hṛdayeṣu samaṃ vasan || mahāvinayasaṃpannaḥ kāntinirjharaparvataḥ | varavāraṇ amārūḍhaścārupādātamadhyagaḥ || tāmeva sarasīṃ ramyāṃ krīḍanāhitamānasaḥ | prāptaḥ kalyāṇamālākhyo janastannagarādhipaḥ || mahataḥ sarasastasya dṛṣṭvā taṃ tīravartinam | nīlotpalacayaśyāmaṃ lakṣmaṇaṃ cārulakṣaṇam || tāḍitaḥ kāmabāṇena sa jano'tyantamākulaḥ | manuṣyamabravīdekamayamānīyatāmiti || gatvā kṛtvāñjalīrdakṣaḥ sa tamevamabhāṣata | ehyaṃ rājaputraste prasādāt saṃgamicchati || ko doṣa iti saṃcintya dadhānaḥ kautukaṃ param | jagāma līlayā cārvyā samīpaṃ tasya lakṣmaṇaḥ || uttīrya sa jano nāgāt padmatulyena pāṇinā | kare lakṣmaṇamālambya prāviśad gṛhamāmbaram ||

6 See the introduction and Hallisey and Hansen (1996, p. 314).

7 Monius (2015, p. 153) concurs, explaining that in English *rasa* "ranges in meaning from 'sap' or 'juice' to 'essence' but . . . is perhaps best left untranslated in this literary context."

8 See Pollock (2016) for a detailed history of the evolution of *rasa* theory. For an account of the qualified reader's experience of *rasa* according to Abhinavagupta, see Masson and Patwardhan (1985, pp. vii–viii).

9 See Monius (2015, p. 153).

10 Pollock dates Bharata only to the "early centuries CE" (2016, p. 7).

11 See Raghavan (1940). There would also be later controversy over the theoretical possibility—or not—of *bhakti* (devotion) being accepted as a tenth *rasa*. For more on this, see Bhaduri (1988).

12 Quoted in Tubb (1985, p. 142).

13 Translation from Bharata Muni (1950, 105f.).

14 1.1.1–2. Translation from Vālmīki (1984, p. 121).

15 1.2.17. Translation from Vālmīki (1984, p. 128).

16 Interestingly, while theorists after Ānandavardhana accept that *śānta* may sustain a long, non-dramatic *kāvya* as *aṅgī rasa*, they reserve only the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgāra*) and the heroic sentiment (*vīra*) as acceptable possibilities for dominance in dramas. See Tubb (1985, p. 145).

17 See McCrea (2013, 182f.).

18 *Anuyogadvārasūtra* 262.10. Translation and Prakrit in Masson and Patwardhan (1985, p. 37).
niddosamaṇasamāhāṇasambhavo jo pasantabhāveṇaṃ |
avikāralakkhaṇo so raso pasanto tti ṇāyavvo ||
pasanto raso jahā—
sabbhāvanivvigāraṃ uvasantapasantasomadiṭṭhī'aṃ |
hī jaha muṇiṇo soha'i muhukamalaṃ pīvarasirī'aṃ ||

19 This is borne out by the fact that the text also proposes a "shameful" (*vrīḍanaka*) *rasa* that replaces *bhayānaka*. Masson and Patwardhan who date the entirety of the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* to the fifth century, also express concern with the dating of this specific passage, implying that it could be a later interpolation:

> We cannot of course say for certain that the following passage is interpolated, and thus it could, in theory, be as old as the fifth century A.D. But the possibility of

> interpolation, especially in the case of a text that provides examples in numbered objects, is not unlikely. In any case, this could not possibly be the origin of [*śānta rasa*], especially since it is the only reference to *śāntarasa* in Jain literature before the tenth century A.D.
>
> (Masson and Patwardhan, 1985, p. 37)

20 McCrea (2013, p. 181) credits Udbhaṭa (ninth century) as the first to introduce the *rasa* into Kashmiri discussions of literary aesthetics. I understand that bringing into conversation the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, which (possibly) predates Raviṣeṇa, with Kashmiri literary theorists that postdate Raviṣeṇa may seem odd. I do this, though, because it is important to point out the fact that Jains had some *idea* of not only *rasa* generally speaking, but *śānta rasa* in particular before even Bharata. It is also a fact, though, that there is no sustained theory of what *rasa* is or how it works following the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*. That comes only later with the Kashmiri theorists. Thus, there is a substantive "reading back" of theory onto Raviṣeṇa. This is, though, how theory usually works. Authors do not write to conform to theory; rather, theorists theorize to make sense of literature. Furthermore, the fact that *śānta* became widely recognized as a possible dominant aesthetic mood in the ninth century does not mean that there was a large uptick in the actual *production* of works whose dominant mood was *śānta*.

21 According to Ānandavardhana in the *Dhvanyāloka,* the epic *Mahābhārata* is the paradigmatic work whose dominant mood is *śānta* (Masson and Patwardhan, 1985, p. 106). Unfortunately, scholars have pointed out that the *Mahābhārata* actually serves as an unhelpful paradigm in this respect. As McCrea argues: "The problem with this is that this particular emotional state [*tṛṣṇākṣayasukha*] is nowhere in evidence among the central characters of the epic, the Pāṇḍavas and, in particular, the oldest Pāṇḍava brother Yudhiṣṭhira. He remains throughout the story tied to the pursuit of worldly ends, with its consequent distasteful ending of suffering and despair" (2013, p. 184). Furthermore, Tubb explains that "what Yudhiṣṭhira seeks and finds is not the liberated state of one who has passed beyond attachment, but rather the engaging world of a warrior's paradise" (1985, p. 148). Thus, both Tubb and McCrea here point toward a real tension in Ānandavardhana's analysis of the *Mahābhārata* vis-à-vis *śānta rasa*: how can it be the dominant aesthetic mood of the narrative if the related *sthāyibhāva* is nowhere present? In dealing with this tension, both Tubb and McCrea agree that at least in the *Mahābhārata,* the actual site of experience of *śama*, the *sthāyibhāva* for *śānta rasa*, shifts away from the characters of the narrative itself to the reader or consumer of the work: "The 'happiness produced by the extinction of craving' (*tṛṣṇākṣayasukha*) to which Ānandhavardhana refers must exist outside the work" (Tubb, 1985, p. 158). It is the reader who experiences disillusionment with the ephemeral world and the subsequent pleasure of the extinction of craving, not the actual characters in the narrative.

22 See Tubb (1985, pp. 144–46) for a discussion of the controversy surrounding *śānta rasa* generally and, more specifically, on *śama* as a depictable *sthāyibhāva*.

23 See Masson and Patwardhan (1985, 93f.)

24 See Bhattacharya (1976, p. 52).

25 Tubb (1985, p. 146). Gupta (1993, p. 282) argues that Jain authors have depicted *śānta* via 11 specific contexts: 1) the loathsome nature of material pleasures, 2) the ultimate futility of material pleasures, 3) the transitory nature of material things, 4) the nature of the world, 5) the inevitability of death, 6) the praise of *dharma*, 7) recognition of the impure nature of the body, 8) the condemnation of the passions (*kaṣāya*s), 9) the steadfast performance of *tapas*, 10) detachment from worldly experiences, and 11) the recognition of the importance of liberation.

26 Bhattacharya (1976, p. 52).

27 Raviṣeṇa 115.2–15.
kutūhalatayā dvau tu vibudhau kṛtaniścayau | padmanārāyaṇasnehamīhamānau parīkṣitum || krīḍaikarasikātmānāvanyonyapremasaṅgatau | paśyāvaḥ prītimanayorityāgātāṃ pradhāraṇām || divasaṃ viśvasityekamapyasyādarśanaṃ na yaḥ | maraṇe pūrvajasyāsau hariḥ kinnu viceṣṭate || śokavihvalitasyāsya vīkṣamāṇau viceṣṭitam |

parihāsaṃ kṣaṇaṃ kurvo gacchāvaḥ kośalāṃ purīm || śokākulaṃ mukhaṃ viṣṇorjāyate kīdṛśaṃ tu tat | kasmai kupyati yāti kva karoti kimu bhāṣaṇam || kṛtvā pradhāraṇāmetāṃ ratnacūlo durīhitaḥ | nāmato mṛgacūlaśca vinītāṃ nagarīṃ gatau || tatraityākurutāṃ padmabhavane kranditadhvanim | samastāntaḥpurastrīṇāṃ divyamāyāsamudbhavam || pratīhārasuhṛnmantripurohitapurogamāḥ | adhomukhā yayurviṣṇuṃ jagośca balapañcatām || mṛto rāghava ityetadvākyaṃ śrutvā gadāyudhaḥ | mandaprabhañjanādhūtanīlotpalanibhekṣaṇaḥ || hā kimidaṃ samud bhūtamityarddhakṛtajalpanaḥ | manovitānatāṃ prāptaḥ sahasā 'śrūṇyamuñcata || tāḍito 'śaninevā 'sau kāñcanastambhasaṃśritaḥ | siṃhāsanagataḥ pustakarmanyasta iva sthitaḥ || animīlitanetro 'sau tathā 'vasthitavigrahaḥ | dadhāra jīvato rūpaṃ kvāpi prahitacetasaḥ || vīkṣya nirgatajīvaṃ taṃ bhrātṛmṛtyanalāhataṃ | tridaśau vyākulībhūtau jīvituṃ datumakṣamau || nūnamasyedṛśo mṛtyurvidhineti kṛtāśayau | viṣādavismayā ''pūrṇau saudharmamarucī gatau ||

28 Raviṣeṇa 116.1–15.
kāladharmaṃ pariprāpte rājan lakṣmaṇapuṅgave | tyaktaṃ yugapradhānena rāmeṇa vyākulaṃ jagat || svarūpamṛdu sadgandhaṃ svabhāvena harervapuḥ | jīvenā 'pi parityaktaṃ na padmābhastadā 'tyajat || āliṅgati nidhāyāṅke mārṣṭi jighrati niṅkṣati | niṣīdati samādhāya saspṛhaṃ bhujapañjare || avāpnoti na viśvāsaṃ kṣaṇamapyasya mocane || bālo 'mṛtaphalaṃ yadvat sa taṃ mene mahāpriyam || vilalāpa ca hā bhrātaḥ kimidaṃ yuktamīdṛśaṃ | yatparityajya māṃ gantuṃ matirekākinā kṛtā || nanu nā 'haṃ kimu jñātastavaḥ tvadvirahāsahaḥ | yanmāṃ nikṣipya duḥkhāgnāvakasmādidamīhase || hā tāta kimidaṃ krūraṃ paraṃ vyavasitaṃ tvayā | yadasaṃvādya me lokamanyaṃ dattaṃ prayāṇakam || prayaccha sakṛdapyāśu vatsa prativaco 'mṛtam | doṣād kiṃ nā 'si kiṃ kruddho mamāpi suvinītakaḥ || kṛtavānasi no jātu mānaṃ mayi manohara | anya evā 'si kiṃ jāto vada vā kiṃ mayā kṛtam || dūrādevānyadā dṛṣṭvā dattvā 'bhyutthānamādṛtaḥ | rāmaṃ siṃhāsane kṛtvā mahīprṣṭhaṃ nyasevayaḥ || adhunā me śirasyasminnindukānt anakhāvalau | pāde 'pi lakṣmaṇanyaste ruṣe mṛṣyati no kathaṃ || deva tvaritamuttiṣṭa mama putrau vanaṃ gatau | dūraṃ na gacchato yāvattāvattāvānayāmahe || tvayā virahitā etāḥ kṛtārtakurarīravāḥ | bhavadguṇagrahagrastā vilolanti mahītale || bhṛṣṭ ahāraśiroratnamekhalākuṇḍalādikaṃ | ākrandantaṃ priyālokaṃ vārayasyākulaṃ na kim | kiṃ karomi kva gacchāmi tvayā virahito 'dhunā | sthānaṃ tannānupaśyāmi jāyate yatra nirvṛtiḥ ||

29 The *kurarī* is mentioned in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (8.51) in a description of Gautamī and also in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (6.110.26) in a description of the reaction of Rāvaṇa's wives to his death. For more on this, see Dave (2005, pp. 348–49).

30 Raviṣeṇa 116.34, 37.
nidrāṃ rājendra muñcasva samatītā vibhāvarī | nivedayati sandhyeyaṃ pariprāptaṃ divākaram || uttiṣṭha mā ciraṃ svāpsīrmuñca nidrāṃ vicakṣaṇa | āśrayāvaḥ sabhāsthānaṃ tiṣṭha sāmantadarśane ||

31 Granoff (1998, 115f.).

32 On the character of Jaṭāyu in Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s, see De Clercq (2010).

33 Granoff (1998, pp. 118–22).

34 Granoff (1998, p. 122).

35 It is especially poignant that Jaṭāyu is one of the two gods who aids Rāma here, as Rāma had previously helped Jaṭāyu when he was a mortal vulture. Rāma set Jaṭāyu on the path of correct action by modeling proper charity to ascetics.

36 Raviṣeṇa 114.1.
pravrajyāmaṣṭavīrāṇāṃ jñātvā vāyusutasya ca | rāmo jahāsa kiṃ bhogo bhuktastaiḥ kātarairiti ||

37 Granoff (1998, p. 124).

38 Raviṣeṇa 122.1–10.
bhagavān baladevo 'sau praśāntaratimatsaraḥ | atyunnataṃ tapaścake sāmānyajanaduḥsaham||aṣṭamādyupavāsasthaḥsvamadhyasthevirocane|paryupāsyata gopādyairaraṇye gocaraṃ bhraman || vrataguptisamityādyasamayajño jitendriyaḥ |

sādhuvātsalyasampannaḥ svādhyāyaniratāḥ sukṛt || labdhānekamahālabbdhirapi nirvikriyaḥ paraḥ | parīṣahabhaṭaṃ mohaṃ parājetuṃ samudyataḥ || tapo 'nubhāvataḥ śāntairvyāghraiḥ siṃhaiśca vīkṣitaḥ | vistārilocanodgrīvairmṛgāṇāṃ ca kadambakaiḥ || niḥśreyasagatasvāntaḥ spṛhāsaktivivarjitaḥ | prayatnaparamaṃ mārgaṃ vijahāra vanāntare || śilātalasthito jātu paryaṅkāsanasaṃsthitaḥ | dhyānāntaraṃ viveśāsau bhānurmeghāntaraṃ yathā || manojñe kvaciduddeśe pralambitamahābhujaḥ | asthānmandaraniṣkampacittāḥ pratimayā prabhuḥ || yugāntavīkṣaṇaḥ śrīmān praśānto viharan kvacit | vanaspatinivāsābhiḥ surastrībhirapūjyata || evaṃ nirupamātmāsau tapaścake tathāvidham | kāle 'smin duḥṣame śakyaṃ dhyātumapyaparairnayat ||

39 Raviṣeṇa 122.67cd-68
yāme kevalamutpannaṃ jñānaṃ tasya mahātmanaḥ || sarva[dravyam]samudbhūte tasya kevalacakṣuṣi | lokālokadvayaṃ jātaṃ goṣpadapratimaṃ prabhoḥ ||

40 Raviṣeṇa 77.9–20.
etasminnantarejñātadaśānananipātanam|kṣubdhamantaḥpuraṃśokamahākallolasaṅkulam|| sarvāśca vanitā vāṣpadhārāsiktamahītalāḥ | raṇakṣoṇīṃ samājagmurmuhuḥpraskhali takramāḥ || taṃ cūḍāmaṇisaṅkāśaṃ kṣiterālokya sundaram | niścetanaṃ patiṃ nāryo nipeturativegataḥ || rambhā candrānanā candramaṇḍalā pravarorvaśī | mandodarī mahādevī sundarī kamalānanā ||rūpiṇī rukmaṇī śīlā ratnamālā tanūdarī | śrīkāntā śrīmatī bhadrā kanakābhā mṛgāvatī || śrīmālā mānavī lakṣmīrānandānaṅgasundarī | vasundharā taḍinmālā padmā padmāvatī sukhā || devī padmāvatī kāntiḥ prītiḥ sandhyāvalī śubhā | prabhāvatī manovegā ratikāntā manovatī || aṣṭādaśaivamādīnāṃ sahasrāṇi suyoṣitām | parivārya patiṃ cakrurākrandaṃ sumahāśucā || kāścinmohaṃ gatāḥ satyaḥ siktāścandanavāriṇā | samutplutamṛṇālānāṃ padminīnāṃ śriyaṃ dadhuḥ || āśliṣṭadayitāḥ kāścidgāḍhaṃ mūrcchāmupāgatāḥ | añjanādrisamāsakta sandhyārekhādyutiṃ dadhuḥ || nirvyūḍhamūrchanāḥ kāścidurastāḍanacañcalāḥ | ghanāghanasamāsaṅgitaḍinmālākṛtiṃ śritāḥ || vidhāya vadanāmbhojaṃ kācidaṅke suvihvalā | vakṣaḥsthalaparāmarśakāriṇī mūrchitā muhuḥ ||

41 For a more detailed account of Rāvaṇa's early life, see Clines (2019).

42 It was not only Raviṣeṇa, or even Jain authors, who reoriented the story of Rāma to give Rāvaṇa a more central place. See, for one example, McCrea's (2014) examination of Rājaśekhara's tenth-century drama, *Bālarāmāyaṇa* ('Young Rāmāyaṇa').

43 Raviṣeṇa 19.84–85, 87.
aho 'tyantamidaṃ bāla tvayā duścaritaṃ kṛtaṃ | kulanāryo yadānītā vandīgrahaṇapañjaram || doṣaḥ ko 'tra varākīṇāṃ nārīṇāṃ mugdhacetasām | khalīkāramimā yena tvayakā prāpitā mudhā || ityuktvā mocitāstena kṣipraṃ tā yayurālayam | āśvāsitā girā sādhvyaḥ sadyaḥ śithilasādhvasāḥ ||

44 See, for example, chapter 14, where Rāvaṇa requests that the recently enlightened mendicant Anantabala provide for him a discourse on proper *dharma*. For more on this episode see Clines (2018, pp. 102–15).

45 Raviṣeṇa, 11.264–267.
tamudantaṃ tataḥ śrutvā rāvaṇaḥ kopamāgataḥ | vitānadharaṇīṃ gantuṃ pravṛtto javivāhanaḥ || samīraraṃhasaścāsya puraḥ samprasthitā narāḥ | parivāravinirmuktakhaḍgāḥ sūtkārabhāsitāḥ || nimeṣeṇa mukhakṣoṇīṃ prāptā darśanamātrataḥ|vyamocayandayāyuktānāradaṃśatrupuñjarāt||nistriṃśanaravṛndaiśca rakṣitā paśusaṃhitaḥ | mocitā taiḥ sahuṃkāraṃ cakṣurnikṣepamātrataḥ ||

46 Raviṣeṇa 8.53–55.
tato garbhagṛhaṃ ramyaṃ praviṣṭo 'yaṃ subhāvaṇaḥ | cakāra mahatīṃ pūjāṃ jinendrāṇāṃ viśeṣataḥ || stavāṃśca vividhānuktvā romaharṣaṇakāriṇaḥ | mastake 'ñjalimāsthāya cūḍāmaṇivibhūṣite || spṛśaṃllalāṭapaṭṭena jānubhyāṃ ca mahītalam | pāvanau sa jinendrāṇām nanāma caraṇau ciram ||

47 Raviṣeṇa 8.272–277.
athāsāvanyadāpṛcchat sumālinamudadbhutaḥ | uccairgaganamārūḍho vinayānatavigrahaḥ || sarasīrahite 'muṣmin pūjyaparvatamūrddhanī | vanāni paśya padmānāṃ jātānyetanmahādbhutam || tiṣṭhanti niścalāḥ svāmin kathamatra mahītale | patitā

vividhacchāyāḥ sumahāntaḥ payomucaḥ || namaḥ siddhebhya ityuktvā sumālī tamathāgadat | nāmūni śatapattrāṇi na caite vatsa toyadāḥ || sitaketukṛtacchāyāḥ sahasrākāratoraṇāḥ | śṛṅgeṣu parvatasyāmī virājante jinālayāḥ || kāritā harişeṇena sajjanena mahātmanā | etān vatsa namasya tvam bhava pūtamanāḥ kṣaṇāt ||

48 The story of Harişeṇa proceeds as follows: Born to King Siṃhadhvaja and Queen Vaprā, Harişeṇa was a prince who left his home after once hearing his mother upset and crying. He wandered through the forest and eventually came upon an *āśrama* where he met a young princess in exile named Madanāvalī. The two immediately fall in love with each other, but Madanāvalī's mother disapproves of their union because it had been foretold that Madanāvalī would marry a *cakravartin*, and at this point, Harişeṇa appears to be anything but that. Harişeṇa is thus driven out of the *āśrama*, and he continues his wanderings in the forest, still enamored with Madanāvalī. Once, Harişeṇa stumbles upon the outskirts of a city and subdues an elephant, which causes many of the young women of the city to fall in love with him. He marries one hundred of those women, but is soon kidnapped by a woman named Vegavatī, who takes him to the home of the princess Jayacandrā. Jayacandrā had become enamored with Harişeṇa after seeing a drawing of him, and had ordered Vagavatī to find him and bring him to her so that she could marry him. That indeed happens, which causes Jayacandrā's uncles to become angry and wage a war against Harişeṇa and his new father-in-law, Śakradhanu. Harişeṇa easily dispatches the enemy army, and, with the spontanoues raining down of diamonds, is then pronounced to be a *cakravartin*. At this point, Harişeṇa decides to go back the *āśrama* from which he was previously exiled to marry Madanāvalī. With this done, he reunites with his mother, eventually takes renunciate *dīkṣā*, and attains omniscience. For a more detailed account of this, see Nagar (2008, pp. 147–53). In Raviṣeṇa's account, the story is in 8.278–401.

49 Raviṣeṇa 7.310–312.
daśagrīvastu bhāvasya dadhāno 'tyantaśuddhatām | mahāvīryo dadhatsthairyaṃ mandarasya mahāruciḥ || avabhajya hṛṣīkāṇāṃ prasāraṃ nijagocare | acirābhācalaṃ cittaṃ kṛtvā dāsamivāśravam || kaṇṭakena kṛtatrāṇaḥ sambareṇa samaṃ tataḥ | dhyānavaktavyātāhīno dadhyau mantraṃ prayantaḥ ||

50 Note the similarity in the effective causes of both Rāvaṇa's and Lakṣmaṇa's deaths. Both come about because of false information: Lakṣmaṇa is lied to about the death of Rāma and Rāvaṇa's sister lies to him about her assault. For more on Candraṇakhā, see De Clercq (2016).

51 Raviṣeṇa 44.77.
iti saṃcintya kāmārtaḥ śiśuvatsvalpamānasaḥ | viṣavanmaraṇopāyaṃ haraṇaṃ prati niścitaḥ ||

52 Raviṣeṇa 46.4–6.
mārasyātyantamṛdubhirhato 'haṃ kusumeṣubhiḥ | mriye yadi tataḥ sādhvi narahatyā bhavettava || vaktrāravindametatte sakopamapi sundari | rājate cārubhāvānāṃ sarvathaiva hi cārutā || prasīda devi bhṛtyāsye sakṛccakṣurvidhīyatām | tvaccakṣuḥkāntitoyena snātasyāpaitu me śramaḥ ||

53 Raviṣeṇa 46.48–49.
yadi sā vedhasaḥ srṣṭirapūrvā duḥkhavarṇanā | sītā patiṃ na māṃ vaṣṭi tato me nāsti jīvitam || lāvaṇyaṃ yauvanaṃ rūpaṃ mādhuryaṃ cāruceṣṭitam | prāpya tāṃ sundarīmekāṃ kṛtārthatvamupāgatam ||

54 Raviṣeṇa 73.49–51
kimarthaṃ saṃśayatulāmārūḍho 'sya tulāmimām |santāpayasi kasmātsvamasmāṃśca niravagrahaḥ || adyāpi kimatītaṃ te saiva bhūmiḥ purātanī | unmārgaprasthitaṃ cittaṃ kevalaṃ deva vāraya || manorathaḥ pravṛtto 'yaṃ nitāntaṃ tava saṅkaṭe | indriyāśvānniyacchā ''śu vivekadṛḍharaśmibhṛt ||

55 Raviṣeṇa 46.96–104.
evaṃ tiraskṛto māyāṃ kartuṃ pravavṛte drutam | neśurdevyaḥ paritrastāḥ saṃjātaṃ sarvamākulam || etasminnantare jāte bhānurmāyābhayādiva | samaṃ kiraṇacakreṇa praviveśāstagahvaram || pracaṇḍairvigaladgaṇḍaiḥ kiribhirghanavṛṃhitaiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || daṃṣṭrākarāladaśanairvyāghrairduḥsah aniḥsvanaiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || calatkesarasaṃghātaiḥ siṃhairugranakhāṅkuśaiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || jvalat sphuliṅghabhīmākṣairlasajjihvairmahoragaiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || vyāttānanaiḥ kṛtotpātapatanaiḥ krūravānaraiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || tamaḥpiṇḍāsitaistuṅgairvetālaiḥ kṛtahuṅkṛtaiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam || evaṃ nānāvidhairugrairupasargaiḥ kṣaṇoddhrataiḥ | bhīṣitāpyagamatsītā śaraṇaṃ na daśānanam ||

56 Raviṣeṇa 77.45–46.
atha padmābhasaumitrau sākaṃ khecarapuṅgavaiḥ | snehagarbhaṃ pariṣvajya vāṣpāpūritalocanau || ūcatuḥ karuṇodyuktau parisāntvanakovidau | vibhīṣaṇamidaṃ vākyaṃ lokavṛttānta paṇḍitau ||

57 Raviṣeṇa 77.47–48.
rājannalaṃ ruditvaiva viṣādaṃadhunā tyaja | jānāsyeva nanu vyaktaṃ karmaṇāmiti ceṣṭitam || pūrvakarmānubhāvena pramādaṃ bhajatāṃ nṛṇām | prāptavyaṃ jāyate 'vaśyaṃ tatra śokasya kaḥ kramaḥ ||

58 In chapter 117, Vibhīṣaṇa comes to Ayodhyā to try to console Rāma about his brother's death. He gives a sermon about the nature of *saṃsāra*, the frailness of the physical body, and the inevitability of death. He does not talk extensively of karma, though.

59 Furthermore, as discussed earlier, most Sanskrit literary theorists agree that the experience of *rasa* is a pleasurable one. Thus, the reader is left with a combination of pleasure and worldly aversion, a sentiment articulated as *saṃvega*:

> The Jain term for this combination of attraction and repulsion, of aesthetic beauty and spiritual angst, is *saṃvega*. It denotes simultaneously a fear of *saṃsāra*, the world of endless rebirth and re-death, and a joy at the perception and understanding of the salvific message of *dharma*, the Jain teaching of the path to liberation.
>
> (Cort, 2009, p. 44)

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Part II

3 Creating Clarity

Jinadāsa Rewrites Raviṣeṇa

We find ourselves now in the fifteenth century in the Vāgaḍ region of north India, an area that straddles the border of modern-day Rajasthan and Gujarat. A man named Jinadāsa sits down to write a story, or, more precisely, to rewrite one. That story is, of course, the life of Rāma. Jinadāsa is aware of the long history of both Jains and non-Jains composing and recomposing the story, but he has one particular version of the story that he feels needs to be rewritten, Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*. The previous chapter provided a novel reading of Raviṣeṇa's work, taking seriously the text as a *kāvya* with the goal of engendering *śānta rasa* in the reader. In this chapter we begin our comparative project in earnest by reading together Jinadāsa's and Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*s. What will become evident is that Jinadāsa had a concrete vision of how he wanted to change Raviṣeṇa's text and that he was remarkably consistent in implementing those changes. Far from being a mere epigone of Raviṣeṇa, Jinadāsa saw himself as updating the *Padmapurāṇa* to do moral work in a new way, with a new message, and for a new audience. The specifics of that moral project are the subject of the next chapter; here, we lay the groundwork for its understanding by investigating both Jinadāsa's motivations for undertaking such a substantial textual project and the practical, text-level changes he makes to his predecessor's text.

3.1 Jinadāsa's Literary Project

The first step in thinking about the nature of the relationship between Jinadāsa's and Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*s is to demonstrate that Jinadāsa was working directly from a copy of his predecessor's text when composing his own. The first piece of evidence that suggests this is that the opening two verses of the texts are identical:

> I bow to Mahāvīra, the auspiciousness of the three worlds; who is the ultimate cause of accomplishment; who is himself accomplished; who has fulfilled the most auspicious goal of life [which is liberation]; who teaches proper conduct, knowledge, and viewpoint; and whose lustrous feet, the rays of light emanating from which resemble radiant lotus filaments, are touched by the crown of Indra.[1]

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This is a relatively complex set of Sanskrit verses, and, as will be demonstrated in greater detail here, they are not representative of Jinadāsa's normal literary style. Jinadāsa's wholesale adoption of Raviṣeṇa's opening verses thus serves as a subtle nod to the fact that he wants the reader to understand his composition in relation to that of his predecessor. Importantly, the verses originate specifically with Raviṣeṇa, as Vimalasūri's Prakrit *Paümacariya* begins differently.

In case the reader, perhaps not well read in Jain Rāma literature, does not pick up on this nod, an even more compelling piece of evidence that Jinadāsa was working from a copy of Raviṣeṇa's earlier work is the fact that he explicitly references Raviṣeṇa twice in body of the text, at the beginning and at the end.[2] Most enlightening for our purposes is the reference to Raviṣeṇa in the introductory chapter of the work, where Jinadāsa provides a genealogy of the story of Rāma. The story originates, of course, with Mahāvīra and progresses to Jinadāsa's present. On the latter end of that genealogy Jinadāsa explains that Raviṣeṇa "made" or "created" (*cakre*) a physical text of the story. The use of this verb is important; according to Jinadāsa, Raviṣeṇa was the first person to actually write down the narrative. Before Raviṣeṇa, the mechanism by which the story had been passed down was specifically verbal: Mahāvīra narrated the story to Gautama, who told it to Sudharma in turn, and so on. Raviṣeṇa, though, at least in Jinadāsa's version of the textual lineage, is the first to create an *object* that tells the story of Rāma, and it is this object, this new text, that Jinadāsa specifically says he has at hand 800 years later. He writes: "And, having obtained the work consisting of [Raviṣeṇa's] words, I make this treatise clear, by means of a *kathā*, so that people may understand it."[3] Thus, Jinadāsa is explicit not only that he *has at hand* a copy of Raviṣeṇa's earlier text, but that he is rewriting the story of that text in a new way, making it "clear" (*sphuṭa*). The rest of this chapter and the next will examine not only how Jinadāsa, at the textual level, goes about creating clarity, but also how the changes he makes to Raviṣeṇa's earlier narrative transform the text's overall mode of ethical edification. Let me also be clear about the methodological implications here in taking seriously the fact that Jinadāsa possessed a copy of Raviṣeṇa's work: differences, both big and small, I read as intentional and meaningful.

Jinadāsa provides a clue as to what he means by "clear" in the very verse in which he introduces his project, with the term *kathāmukhena*, which translates to "by means of (*mukhena*) a story (*kathā*)."[4] Jinadāsa here situates his *Padmapurāṇa* within the specific literary genre of *kathā* or *ākhyāna*, narrative story. The tradition of Sanskrit poetics has long accepted the division of texts into three broad categories: *śāstra*, or prescriptive works; *ākhyāna*, story literature; and *kāvya*, *belles lettres* or high poetry.[5] Texts in all three of these categories are considered to be instructional in some way; they "necessarily provide instruction in at least one of the four major goals of human life (*puruṣārtha*)" (Tubb, 1985, p. 141). It is in the mechanism of edification that the differences between the three categories rest. In the last chapter we witnessed the moralizing strategy of *kāvya* in Raviṣeṇa's work: the reader's experience of *śānta rasa* at the work's conclusion encouraged renunciation of the physical world and its ephemeral pleasures. *Ākhyāna*, though,

teaches differently, "after the fashion of a helpful friend, by presenting interesting examples of what fruits befell the actions of others in the past."[6] Thus, in Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*, the potential beauty and emotionally evocative heart of the story take a backseat to the importance of the outcome of the narrative itself. Each episode is important insofar as it contributes to the narrative's eventual resolution. Thus, Jinadāsa's literary project—his vision of "clarity," as he puts it—is to transform Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya* into an *ākhyāna*, and, in doing so, to transform the narrative's mechanism of moral edification.

3.2 Narrative Abridgement and Clarity in Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*

This section will lay out the methods, at multiple textual levels, by which Jinadāsa works to transform the *kāvya* that he inherited into an instructional *ākhyāna*. Specifically, I provide three interrelated ways in which Jinadāsa condenses Raviṣeṇa's narrative in the pursuit of clarity.[7] First, Jinadāsa abridges his predecessor's text at the level of chapter, oftentimes combining multiple chapters of Raviṣeṇa's work into a single chapter in his own. In doing so, Jinadāsa eliminates a large number of verses. Second, at the level of verse itself, Jinadāsa consistently eliminates specific types of content from Raviṣeṇa's narrative: complicated poetic or technical passages. This simplifies and streamlines the narrative. Finally, Jinadāsa's narrative style is marked by parataxis; it is simple, consistent, and predictable. This differs from Raviṣeṇa's, which is marked by literary hypotaxis, the use of subordinating clauses and adjectival constructions that connect interrelated thoughts over multiple verses.

Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* is divided into 123 chapters, while Jinadāsa's is divided into 83. We can thus examine the ways in which Jinadāsa combines multiple of Raviṣeṇa's chapters into single chapters in his own work, in the process excising content from his predecessor's narrative. To do this, we will examine an illustrative example of this phenomenon, Jinadāsa's 12th chapter, titled "A Description of the Marriage of the Beautiful Añjanā" (*añjanāsundarīvivāha vyāvarṇanaḥ*). This chapter includes not only the story of Añjanā's (Hanumān's mother) marriage to Pavanañjaya (his father), but also the seemingly unrelated stories of the *vidyādhara* Indra's attainment of *nirvāṇa* and the sage Anantabala's discourse to Rāvaṇa on the proper performance of *dharma*. In Raviṣeṇa's text, each of these three episodes constitutes a single chapter, his 13th, 14th, and 15th. A brief description of the actual plot of these episodes will help in explicating how Jinadāsa works to abridge and streamline his predecessor's work.

Raviṣeṇa's 13th chapter is titled "A Description of the Nirvāṇa of Indra" (*indranirvāṇābhidhānam*). It picks up immediately after Rāvaṇa has conquered the *vidyādhara* Indra in battle and begins with Indra's father, Sahasrāra, approaching Rāvaṇa to ask for Indra's release. At first, Rāvaṇa explains that he will only release Indra if Sahasrāra agrees to clean Rāvaṇa's palace and city. Sahasrāra is shamed at the prospect of performing such lowly work, but, before he can answer, Rāvaṇa explains that he is only joking and agrees to release Indra. Sahasrāra and

his son return to their home on the Vijayārdha mountain, but Indra is incapable of enjoying his newfound freedom. He is ashamed at being defeated in battle and spends much of his time in the Jina temple located on the palace grounds. One day the sage Nirvāṇasaṅgama flies over the mountain and stops at the temple to worship the Jinas. There he meets Indra, who honors the sage and requests that he narrate Indra's past lives. Nirvāṇasaṅgama agrees, and hearing his past lives leaves Indra disaffected with worldly life and pleasures. He takes initiation as a monk along with some of his sons and other *vidyādhara*s. After performing harsh austerities for a long time, he eventually attains *nirvāṇa*.

Raviṣeṇa's next chapter, his 14th, is called "Anantabala's Discourse on Dharma" (*anantabaladharmābhidhānam*). It begins with Rāvaṇa returning to his capital city of Laṅkā from Mount Meru, where he had been dutifully worshipping the Jinas. Along the way he hears soft noises and notices the sky turning red. He asks his attendant, Marīca, about the cause of this, and Marīca responds that the sage Anantabala has just achieved omniscience on a nearby mountain. The noises that Rāvaṇa heard stemmed from the gods rushing down from heaven to honor Anantabala, and the sky reddened because of the sunlight reflecting off of the jewels embedded in the gods' crowns. Rāvaṇa recognizes the auspicious nature of the event that Marīca has just described and descends to the mountain, where he joins the gods in worshipping Anantabala. Eventually, he requests that Anantabala give a sermon on *dharma*. The sage agrees, explaining the nature of karma and the relationship between action and rebirth, the fruits and repercussions of different types of charitable giving (*dāna*), and the rewards for those who follow *dharma*. He ends the sermon with a discussion of the importance of taking and keeping vows. This disturbs Rāvaṇa, who is self-aware enough to know that he is incapable of fully keeping the prescribed householder vows (*anuvrata*). He decides to take a single vow, that he will never force himself upon a woman who is married to another man. The chapter then ends with Rāvaṇa's brother, Kumbhakarṇa, vowing to offer prayers to the Jinas every morning and not to take food before praising Digambara renunciates.

Finally, Raviṣeṇa's 15th chapter is titled "A Description of the Marriage of the Beautiful Añjanā" (*añjanāsundarīvivāhābhidhānam*). The chapter picks up immediately from the end of its predecessor, describing how Hanumān, who at this point in the narrative is Rāvaṇa's ally and a member of his retinue, also takes a vow in front of Anantabala. This is Hanumān's introduction in the narrative, and Gautama, Mahāvīra's primary disciple (*gaṇadhara*) who is narrating the *Padmapurāṇa* to King Śreṇika, takes a moment to narrate the story of Hanumān's lineage and birth, beginning with the unfortunate tale of the marriage of Hanumān's parents, Añjanā and Pavanañjaya. The story begins with Añjanā's father, Mahendra, worrying about finding a suitable husband for his daughter. After consulting with his ministers, two suitors rise to the fore: Vidyutprabha and Pavanañjaya. Given a tip that Vidyutprabha will soon take initiation as a monk, Mahendra decides that Pavanañjaya will make the best husband for his daughter. He consults Prahlāda, Pavanañjaya's father, about the arrangement and both agree that the wedding should take place at once.

As preparations for the ceremony progress, though, Pavanañjaya decides that he wants to see his bride-to-be before the actual wedding. Accompanied by his friend, Prahasita, he sneaks into Añjanā's compound, where he overhears one of Añjanā's attendants lament about the upcoming nuptials, arguing that Vidyutprabha would have made a better husband even if he were planning on soon accepting monastic vows. Pavanañjaya becomes enraged at this and threatens to kill both Añjanā and her attendant before Prahasita is able to calm him down. His pride still injured, though, Pavanañjaya decides not to go through with the wedding; the following morning he abandons his betrothed and the two families. Both Mahendra and Prahlāda pursue Pavanañjaya and eventually convince him to return and marry Añjanā. Pavanañjaya still holds a grudge, though, and while the chapter ends with a description of the wedding and the two families' joy, the following chapter reveals the extent to which Pavanañjaya is still angry about the perceived slight against him. Immediately following the wedding ceremony, he leaves Añjanā, causing her to fall into a deep depression.

In sum, 721 verses make up Raviṣeṇa's version of these three episodes. The chapters are 113, 381, and 227 verses, respectively. In contrast, Jinadāsa condenses these episodes into a single chapter consisting of only 400 verses, meaning Jinadāsa's treatment of the episodes is nearly 45% shorter than Raviṣeṇa's. As mentioned earlier, the title of Jinadāsa's single chapter is "A Description of the Marriage of the Beautiful Añjanā," and the majority of the 400 verses that make up the chapter focus on that aspect of the narrative. The other two episodes are subsumed within the larger framework of Añjanā's and Pavanañjaya's wedding and severely condensed. Jinadāsa spends only 94 verses on the story of Indra's *nirvāṇa*, as compared to Raviṣeṇa's 113-verse treatment. Similarly, Anantabala's discourse on *dharma* is dispensed within only 138 verses in Jinadāsa's version, as compared to the Raviṣeṇa's 381-verse corresponding chapter. This leaves 166 verses in Jinadāsa's chapter that focus on Añjanā's and Pavanañjaya's wedding, as opposed to Raviṣeṇa's 227 verses. Thus, each narrative episode is condensed, but it is Anantabala's discourse on *dharma* that is paired down the most. A comparative examination of the *content* of that sermon provides a first step in answering the question of why that is the case. In short, Jinadāsa eliminates much of the doctrinally technical elements of Anantabala's speech that are found in Raviṣeṇa's version of the text. To provide an example of this, first read the following from Raviṣeṇa's account of Anantabala's sermon:

> The soul wanders, its own power bound by the fetters that are the masses of the eight types of karma, uncreated and eternal. It perpetually takes birth in innumerable hundreds of thousands of wombs, experiencing pain and pleasure caused by the many sense organs. Sometimes beloved, other times hated, sometimes foolish, it spins around in the four-fold possibilities of existence, as if on a potter's wheel, because of the ripening of different karmas. On account of knowledge-occluding karma it does not understand what is beneficial for itself. This is true even when it attains human birth, which is incredibly difficult to attain. Creatures burdened with heavy loads of sin on account

> of past actions, overcome by the sense organs and the grasping out by means of touch and taste, having performed all sorts of despicable acts, fall into hell, which in turn delivers various methods of great suffering to beings. Indeed, such creatures fall [into hell] like stones fall into water. Some men, whose minds are completely wicked and overcome with the desire for the riches of others, kill their own mothers, fathers, brothers, children, wives, and friends! They kill those that are still in the womb, the young and the old, and women. Some who are extremely cruel kill men, birds, and deer. All of those people of small intellect, whose minds have deviated from *dharma*, having killed both terrestrial and aquatic beings, fall into the extremely frightful hell.[8]

The language that Raviṣeṇa employs in this excerpt is paradigmatic of the entire sermon. The sage begins with a diagnosis of the condition of most souls: they are weighed down by the negative karma that has accrued over innumerable lifetimes. Such souls wander from birth to birth in myriad bodies in different levels of the universe; they are ignorant of the rare opportunity that is human birth and squander it through acts of self-serving violence. Anantabala describes how one's karmic history can manifest in human birth. Whether a *jīva* is born into a rich or poor family, or why someone born a pauper might be beautiful while a rich person may be unattractive, these are all the intricate workings of karma. He then continues to discuss how one can take advantage of human birth, focusing on the auspicious life of a householder and one's duty to support renunciates. He explains that a proper recipient of support can be identified by one's actions, noting particularly that wicked people oftentimes endorse eating meat.

The fact that Raviṣeṇa's 142-verse account of *dharma* via the mouth of Anantabala is both articulate and exhaustive is highlighted when compared to Jinadāsa's description of the same episode in a mere 12 verses. Here is the sermon in its totality:

> Then the Lord Anantabala, an abode of tender compassion and dear to all, himself spoke this beneficial speech, imbued with truth. Because of the eightfold types of karma, the body, wandering through the forest of existence, perpetually finds sorrow in many hundreds-of-thousands births. Such foolish ones, covered by an obstruction to knowledge on account of his bewildered mind, spinning around like a potter's wheel, do not know what is beneficial for them. Even having attained human birth, which is very difficult, those who have been conquered by the sense organs fall into a narrow, crowded pit, according to one's wicked acts. With auspicious, good acts, one attains happiness, and with inauspicious, wicked acts, one attains sorrow. But the soul that has entirely abandoned both the auspicious and the inauspicious goes to the abode of bliss. Because, like a true friend, it instantly rescues a soul that has fallen into a bad rebirth, the wise thus call it "*dharma*." They, on account of *dharma*, go to the heavens, such as the Saudharma heaven, which are abodes of happiness, entirely covered with various chariots and palaces, and happily attended to by divine women! And anything that is thought to be delightful

> in the upper, lower, and middle worlds, which is held in high esteem and is desired by all, that is so only because of dharma. It cannot be otherwise, o king! He who is born as a king or something similar, a glorious provider and enjoyer of fine things, who is perpetually protected by servants, that is indeed the fruit born from the tree of *dharma*. Indra indeed enjoys happiness that is born from the mind, together with his wife Śacī, served by the forces of the gods. That indeed is the fruit born from the tree of *dharma*. Those who destroy the wrestler who is delusion (*moha*) via the glorious weapons of the three jewels attain *mokṣa*, which is the great fruit of pure *dharma*. Having achieved human birth and then having done appropriate *dharma*, one gains all the fruit that is born from heaven, etc., with living beings.[9]

Comparing Jinadāsa's and Raviṣeṇa's accounts of Anantabala's sermon sheds light on how Jinadāsa condenses his predecessor's narrative. The overall tenor of both versions is the same, but Jinadāsa oftentimes abridges Raviṣeṇa's descriptions, omitting comparisons that in Raviṣeṇa's text add emphasis to the point being made. For example, Raviṣeṇa includes a line that compares a wicked person's fall into hell with a stone falling into water; the action is quick, nearly instantaneous, and unavoidable. The image of the plummeting stone also highlights the heaviness of negative karma particles, which drag the soul downward into the hell realms. Jinadāsa excises this comparison, though he does make the same overall point as Raviṣeṇa that *jīva*s burdened by the karma accrued through wicked actions in the past fall into hellish rebirths. Most noticeably, though, Jinadāsa also omits Raviṣeṇa's entire discussion of the murderous man, a discussion that functions as a markedly negative diagnosis of how most people waste their rare human births. Raviṣeṇa dwells on—wallows in—describing *how* people act wickedly, providing a litany of victims—mothers, fathers, brothers, children, wives, and friends—whom people delight in tormenting on account of their own greed. Jinadāsa provides no similar discussion, giving instead a more subdued description of the common human condition. It is true, he acknowledges, that people who are controlled by their senses and desires are likely to end up in hell, but he also quickly moves on from the discussion, simply stating that positive repercussions and delightful rebirth stems from the performance of auspicious acts and that negative rebirth stems from the performance of wicked acts.

Returning to the larger question, though, of why it is Anantabala's sermon on *dharma* that Jinadāsa so drastically abridges, it is clear that, for Jinadāsa, such lengthy discussions on the intricacies of karma retard the steady progress of the narrative, and as an *ākhyāna* it is in that progress and the narrative's eventual conclusion that the importance of the story lies. The reader of an *ākhyāna* expects the repercussions of karma be *demonstrated* in the plot of the narrative, not theorized about by a minor character like Anantabala. The discourse on *dharma* is not essential for the plot and should thus be abridged.

Jinadāsa is consistent in this strategy of content abridgement; it is apparent in additional parts of the narrative. For example, in the middle of Raviṣeṇa's 23rd chapter, he provides a 78-verse description of Kaikeyī, Rāma's stepmother.

Raviṣeṇa goes into minute detail describing Kaikeyī's proficiency in the arts of dance, song, and music; speech and the arts of letters and poetic composition; painting, modeling, and engraving; garland making; perfumery; cooking; jewelry making and embroidery; and metal work. According to Raviṣeṇa, Kaikeyī is well versed in the care of both humans and animals and she understands the problems with false religious doctrines. She is knowledgeable of sports, dice games, and gambling. She understands the difference between those things that have souls (*jīva*) and inanimate objects (*ajīva*), and she is knowledgeable of geography and topography. Each of these subjects Raviṣeṇa further breaks down into subgroups, and Kaikeyī is of course an expert in them all. To give but one brief example of how this looks in the text itself, here is an excerpt from Raviṣeṇa's description that details the different types of sport or play in which Kaikeyī is proficient:

> Sport is of four types: "With Gesture" (*ceṣṭā*), "With Paraphernalia" (*upakaraṇa*), "With Speech" (*vānī*), and "With Profit" (*kalāvyatyasana*). That sport which is born from the body is called *ceṣṭā*. And that which involves a wooden ball and the like commonly known as *upakaraṇa*. Furthermore, that which involves various forms of elegant speaking is *vānī*. That which is played with various types of dice games and gambling is known as *kalāvyatyasana*. Thus [Kaikeyī] was exceedingly skilled in the many divisions of sport.[10]

Raviṣeṇa's specificity here is important; it is not enough to say that Kaikeyī was proficient at different sports and games. Instead, he catalogues the subgroups of the larger order of "sport." And what is more, he does the same for every order of art or proficiency that he describes, in the process creating an exhaustive list of courtly arts and their subgroups. This fact again is highlighted when one compares Raviṣeṇa's account of Kaikeyī's artistic proficiencies with Jinadāsa's account, which constitutes a mere five verses:

> The daughter named Kaikeyī was extremely beautiful, with splendid and auspicious features. She had perfected all of the arts. [She was] skilled in song, dance, etc.; practiced in the distinctions of figure drawing and verse composition; and was well versed in the manifold kinds of reasoning. She had knowledge of the nine *rasa*s and in the assessment of valuable things. O king, she was skilled in measurement and in the medicinal sciences. She was knowledgeable of the sciences of magic, medicinal herbs, and *mantra*. Thus, she who understood proper behavior also possessed knowledge of fine arts. Her fame, born from her virtue, beauty, and artistic proficiency, shined throughout the world, and her beauty surpassed even that of the goddess Śrī![11]

Similar to his treatment of Anantabala's discourse on *dharma*, Jinadāsa's description of Kaikeyī's artistic proficiencies differs from Raviṣeṇa's in terms of both content and style. Raviṣeṇa's list is extensive, indeed exhaustive; it encapsulates an impressive classificatory system of courtly arts within the poetic description of Kaikeyī's proficiency in those arts. In all, Raviṣeṇa's description is detailed and

technical. Jinadāsa summarily dispenses with this; his description is not so much a classification as a list of common areas of proficiency expected of any royal princess. By excising Raviṣeṇa's extended discussion of courtly decorum, Jinadāsa again prioritizes plot in this instance. Finally, it is revealing that these episodes of Kaikeyī's narrative introduction occur within another example of Jinadāsa condensing Raviṣeṇa's chapters. It occurs in Raviṣeṇa's 24th chapter, titled "The Granting of a Boon to Kaikeyī" (*kaikeyīvarapradāna*). Jinadāsa subsumes the events of this chapter and two others—Raviṣeṇa's 23rd chapter, telling the story of Kings Daśaratha and Janaka escaping from one of Rāvaṇa's assassins, and his 25th chapter, introducing Rāma and his brothers—into his 19th, titled "A Description of the Four Brothers, Beginning with Rāma."

In other places, a comparison of Raviṣeṇa and Jinadāsa highlights just how invested in creating poetic beauty Raviṣeṇa is and, conversely, how little interest Jinadāsa has in the same. We can, for instance, compare the two authors' descriptions of the mythical Mount Kailāśa. The following is Raviṣeṇa's description of the mountain; the first two verses are particularly unique, consisting of a complicated comparison of Mount Kailāśa to the fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar:

> [Mount Kailāśa] acquired a resemblance to grammar, for as grammar is comprised of various verbal roots, the mountain was strewn with various minerals, and as grammar is furnished with words that follow the same rules for derivation, the mountain was made up of thousands of troops of demi-gods. Whereas grammar is filled with good letters and sounds, so too the mountain was full of gold. And whereas grammar is loaded with different metrical constructions, so too the mountain was loaded with footsteps. Both grammar and the mountain possess natural, crude states, and both undergo consistent transformation. As grammar consists of different vowels, so too does the mountain consist of various noises.[12]

This part of Raviṣeṇa's description of Kailāśa is important for two reasons. First, the verses are poetically complex; Raviṣeṇa's literary hypotaxis is certainly on display. Each compound is a *śleṣa* (pun or double entendre) that when read one way describes the mountain and when read another way describes Sanskrit grammar. Take the first compound in the first verse: *nānādhātusamākīrṇaṃ*. The meanings of the first and last word remain the same in each sense of reading the compound: *nānā* means "various" or "manifold" and *samākīrṇa* mean "strewn with," "covered with," or "overspread with." It is upon the middle word in the compound, *dhātu*, that the *śleṣa* depends. Read with an eye toward the grammatical, *dhātu* refers to verbal roots, from which verbs are conjugated. Read with an eye toward a mountain topography, though, *dhātu* refers to the various mineral deposits that are common in description of mountains in Sanskrit literature. The entire compound, then, when taken together reads both as "[that thing which] is strewn with various verbal roots" and "[that thing which] is strewn with various minerals." Making the verses even more poetically intricate, though, is the fact that Raviṣeṇa does not tip his hand that this is a comparison the reader should even be making until the very end of this set of verses, when he finally explains

that Kailāśa has "acquired a resemblance to grammar" (*labdhavyākaraṇopama*). Because the mechanism of comparison is situated in the *śleṣa* compounds themselves, and therefore not marked by common comparative signifiers like *iva*, Raviṣeṇa is able to mask the comparison until the end of the verses, thus forcing the reader to go back and rework the compounds to understand the comparison itself. It is a sly poetic maneuver, one that highlights Raviṣeṇa's interest in producing good *kāvya*, poetry that simultaneously delights and challenges the qualified reader.

Raviṣeṇa's description of Kailāśa does not end with this comparison to Sanskrit grammar; in 12 additional verses the author favors a more standard *kāvya* description of place:

> It appeared to be breaking through the sky with its clusters of sharp peaks. And it appeared to be laughing because of its waterfalls and their heavy mists. Cuckoo birds and black bees were drunk off the wine of jasmine-flower honey. The mountain was dense with various types of trees, the tops of which filled the skies. [The mountain] was covered in heart-stealing flowers and foliage that grew in all seasons. In its valleys, thousands of animals delightfully wandered. It was filled with net-like tangles of snakes that were free from the fear of herbal medicine. With its heart-stealing fragrance the mountain seemed to be forever youthful. The broad rocks were like its chest. The trees were like massive arms. The deep caves were like a mouth. [Thus] the mountain resembled an extraordinary man. Dense with groups of slopes shaped like autumnal clouds, it was as if the entire world was washed with milk. Over here, lions slept without fear in the mouths of caves. Over there, trees rustled with breath from hissing of sleeping serpents. Over here, herds of antelope played on the edges [of the forest]. Over there, the upper parts of the mountain resounded joyfully with herds of rutting elephants. Over here there were multitudes of flowers; it was like the mountain was thrilled with delightful horripilation. Over there, the landscape was made terrible be the heavy masses of bears' matted fur. Over here, the mountain was filled with the faces of monkeys that resembled groups of lotuses. Over there, it was made fragrant from the oozing sap of trees, injured by rhinoceroses. Over here, the mountain was dense with clouds, entangled by forked lightning. Over there, the sky was brilliantly lit, as if the mountains peak were the sun. In some forested areas, it was as if the mountain was trying to outdo the Pāṇḍuka forest![13]

This description of Kailāśa balances on the edge between beautiful and dangerous. On the one hand, the mountain is intoxicating. It is sweet smelling, because of both flowers and the sap of trees. The bees that reside on the mountain are intoxicated with jasmine-flower honey, and the mountain is verdant and lush in all seasons. This is the pleasurable abode of the gods. On the other hand, though, beneath the sensual delights of the mountain lie dangers. It is a wild place. Lions, serpents, and bears populate it, and though it lacks the medicinal herbs necessary to cure

snakebites, poisonous snakes do reside there. The mountain smells so good in part because the trees have been stripped of their bark by rhinoceroses, and the faces of monkeys may be mistaken for lotuses. Even the weather is unpredictable, with dangerous lightning illuminating parts of the sky. This is a frightful mountain, one that is inaccessible to the common man and appropriate only for asceticism.

I quote Raviṣeṇa's verses at length here because their importance is underscored when compared to the episode as narrated by Jinadāsa:

> [Mount Kailāśa] was filled with various minerals, caves, and sounds. For weak-minded men, the mountain was inaccessible, in the same way that grammar is, being filled with various verbal roots, meters, and letters.[14]

This is the extent to which Jinadāsa describes Mount Kailāśa; the next verse narrates Rāvaṇa landing on the mountain and his confrontation with Vāli, the ascetic living there. Jinadāsa's indebtedness to Raviṣeṇa is marked by his use of similar vocabulary; he takes *vicitradhātu* and *svara* directly from his predecessor's text. But, true to form, Jinadāsa removes much of the Raviṣeṇa's poetic language; he leaves out all of the natural imagery, for instance, that Raviṣeṇa so meticulously constructs. Jinadāsa's mountain is not beautiful; rather, its primary characteristic is its inaccessibility. Even this characterization, though, lacks the descriptive power of Raviṣeṇa's verses. Jinadāsa provides no account, for instance, of the many predators that roam the mountain. Furthermore, his comparison between Kailāśa and Sanskrit grammar makes up only half of a verse, compared with two full verses in Raviṣeṇa's text. Jinadāsa does employ *śleṣa*, and the double meanings largely function in the same way as they do in Raviṣeṇa's work, though some of the meanings require creative interpretation on the part of the reader. *Gahana*, for instance, means "cave," which works with the mountainous aspect of the description but which has a less precise grammatical meaning. It is the name of a specific meter and could therefore be extrapolated to mean "meter" more broadly, but it is a clunky maneuver nonetheless. One way to remedy this is to think of *gahana* not as its own *śleṣa*, but rather as an adjective agreeing with both *vicitradhātusaṃkīrṇam* and *svarasaṃyuta*. In this case, *gahana* would simply mean "dense" or "thick," which would mean Kailāśa is densely replete with mineral deposits and noises in the same way that grammar is densely replete with both verbal roots and letters. This trajectory of analysis makes sense because it also helps to connect the two halves of the verse itself. *Gahana* can further mean "difficult to grasp or understand," which correlates nicely with *duṣprekṣya* in the second half of the verse, which means "difficult to see or look at." Ultimately, *gahana* here is probably working in all three ways, as an imprecise *śleṣa* itself, correlating with Raviṣeṇa's description of caves and derivative noun forms; as an adjective to both *vicitradhātusaṃkīrṇam* and *svarasaṃyuta*, and as a link between the two halves of the verse. Jinadāsa thus here demonstrates a willingness to sacrifice precision in an effort to abridge Raviṣeṇa's work.

Importantly, many of the episodes that Jinadāsa abridges are those that for Raviṣeṇa were central to the emotionally evocative work of his narrative. Take, for

instance, Jinadāsa's treatment of Rāvaṇa's wives reacting to his death. Raviṣeṇa, the reader will remember, uses the episode as an opportunity to provide a poignant demonstration of grief (*śoka*). His description of the event is as follows:

> In the meantime, the women's quarters became aware of the death of Rāvaṇa, and immediately became filled with a great wave of grief. And all the women, sprinkling the ground with their tears, staggering, immediately went to the battlefield. And having seen their handsome husband, who resembled the crest-jewel of the earth, unconscious on the ground, all the women fell down violently. Rambhā, Candrānanā, Candramaṇḍalā, Pravarā, Urvaśī, Mandodarī, Mahādevī, Sundarī, Kamalānanā, Rūpiṇī, Rukmaṇī, Śīlā, Ratnamālā, Tanūdarī, Śrīkāntā, Śrīmatī, Bhadrā, Kanakābhā, Mṛgāvatī, Śrīmālā, Mānavī, Lakṣmī, Ānāndā, Anaṅgasundarī, Vasundharā, Taḍinmālā, Padmā, Padmāvatī, Sukhā, Devī, Padmāvatī, Kānti, Prīti, Sandhyābalī, Śubhā, Prabhāvatī, Manovegā, Ratikāntā, Manovatī, and 18,000 more grief-stricken wives, having surrounded their husband, wept in agony. Some of the chaste women, sprinkled with sandalwood paste, fainted, as if they were lotuses whose stalks had been uprooted. Some, embracing their husband tightly, fainted, resembling a line of mountains of collyrium at twilight. Some who had regained consciousness were wearily beating their chests and resembled a garland of lightning intertwined in heavy rainclouds. One of the women, extremely distressed, having placed [Rāvaṇa's] head in her lap, touched his chest and immediately fainted.[15]

In contrast to the in-depth description provided by Raviṣeṇa, Jinadāsa leaves out *any* corresponding episode of the women's lamentations. Instead, he only describes Rāvaṇa's brother, Vibhīṣaṇa, and the description lacks the pathos embodied in Raviṣeṇa's verses. Jinadāsa's description is as follows:

> Then, having seen his brother, the Lord of the Rākṣasas, [fallen] on the surface of the earth, King Vibhīṣaṇa became overcome with great sorrow. He was incapable of overcoming his grief, and, intent on ending his own life, his hand quickly went to his dagger. But at the very instance he who was very agitated fainted and became powerless for some time. Assistants reached him, intent on his benefit. And having regained consciousness, Vibhīṣaṇa still bore immense sorrow and pain. And because of this pain, Rāma, who had descended from his chariot, grasped him with his hand. And Vibhīṣaṇa, who had thrown away his armor and weapons, again fainted on the ground, and, having again regained consciousness, wept with sounds of pity again and again. "O strong one! O wise one! O brother! O beautiful one! O you to whom dear ones come to for protection! How is it that you have reached such a cruel fate?"[16]

Vibhīṣaṇa continues in this vein for a few verses, asking the dead Rāvaṇa why he refused to heed his warnings not to go to war with Rāma and confusedly inquiring

why Rāvaṇa is sleeping on the ground, when he should be awake. All of this is also present in Raviṣeṇa's account of the aftermath of Rāvaṇa's death; Jinadāsa is not *adding* anything here. But immediately following Vibhīṣaṇa's lamentations comes—at least in Raviṣeṇa's version—the even more pitiful account of Rāvaṇa's wives. In Jinadāsa's account, though, the women of Rāvaṇa's house are nowhere to be found; they are completely removed from the episode. Instead, Jinadāsa moves directly into Rāma attempting to console Vibhīṣaṇa:

> And having seen Vibhīṣaṇa, weeping because of his extreme grief, Rāma, his eyes full of tears, said stammering, "O Vibhīṣaṇa, be fearless! O brother, do not weep! With your crying, all of us here will also attain sorrow. Pay attention and listen to my speech, which is helpful! Why do you, who are extremely wise and knowledgeable of the path of the Jinas, cry? Even the Cakravartin Sanatkumāra, who overcame his passion for beauty, attained the condition of death. How can it be otherwise?[17]

Again, Raviṣeṇa's version of the episode also includes Rāma counseling Vibhīṣaṇa, encouraging him not to be too despondent over the death of his brother. What is important here is that Jinadāsa—as we have seen in now multiple instances—removes from Raviṣeṇa's account some of the earlier author's most poetically and emotionally forceful verses.

We see a similar phenomenon when we compare Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's descriptions of Rāvaṇa's encounter with 6,000 maidens on Mount Meghavara.[18] Raviṣeṇa sets the stage thusly:

> Once, during his wanderings, Rāvaṇa happened upon the Meghavara mountain, and there he saw a beautiful lake filled with pure water. It was filled with white, blue, and other bright-colored lotuses and water lilies, and on its banks roamed cranes and swans, geese, partridges and other fowl. Blankets of soft grass covered its shores, and it was adorned with staircases leading down to the water. Overhead were clouds infused with the rays of the sun. On the banks were lofty trees, including the *arjuna* tree. Drops of water sprayed up because of darting schools of fish. The lake's breaking waves looked like a woman furrowing her brows. The sweet sounds of birds were like a woman's murmur. There, that son of Kekasī [Rāvaṇa] saw six thousand supremely resplendent young women playing in the water. Some delighted in its sprays; others wandered into secluded areas with friends, away from those who were playing too rough. One maiden, standing for a long time in a group of lotus blossoms, showing her teeth [in a smile] made doubt amongst her friends that perhaps she was in fact a lotus! Another, striking the palm of her hand made the sound of cymbals. Others sang lovely songs all together. Then, all of them, at the same time, having seen that son of Ratnaśravā, abandoned their watersports and instantly became as if they were paralyzed. Rāvaṇa went to stand in the middle of them with the desire

> to sport with them, and all of the girls simultaneously became intoxicated and intent on sporting with him.[19]

Jinadāsa includes the episode in his own text, but he shortens it and removes much of what makes Raviṣeṇa's description powerful. Jinadāsa's description is as follows:

> Then, [Rāvaṇa] saw a pure, oblong mountain lake, filled with sweet water and decorated with lotuses, so deep that it seemed to reach the seven underworlds, with the sun peeking through the trees like a lattice. The place resounded with the delicate sound of *cakora, sārasa*, and *haṃsa* birds. There were staircases made of crystals and jewels, and it was cool because of the shade of trees. And there, Rāvaṇa saw 6,000 young women sporting playfully and amorously. Some were playing with the water; others were singing sweet songs. Some were splashing in the water with pitchers and water lilies. And those girls, having seen that son of Kaikasī, the protector of the earth, became infatuated and, stopping their play, became desirous of him. And he, desirous of sporting with them, eagerly went to stand in the middle of them. And they too were eager and ready to sport with him.[20]

This is actually one of the more thorough descriptions in Jinadāsa's text, but it still lacks the poetic beauty and nuance of Raviṣeṇa's description. For example, Jinadāsa writes only that the lake is "decorated with lotus flowers" (*padmamaṇḍita*). The description is direct, utilitarian. Raviṣeṇa's, on the other hand, is more ornate in its description. He specifies the variety of lotuses and water lilies that populate the surface of the pond; there are variegated colors, blue and white (*kumuda* and *utpala*), and species (*padma* and *vārija*), all of which establish lushness to the scene that is lacking in Jinadāsa's version of the episode. There is a depth, a poetic saturation, in Raviṣeṇa's description that Jinadāsa chooses not to include. This is true, too, of the depictions of the women in the lake. Jinadāsa provides a brief, to the point description: some are playing in the water, others are singing, and some are splashing. He sets the stage but does not dwell in creating any sort of mood. Raviṣeṇa, on the other hand, wallows in his descriptions of the young women. It is not just that the women are playing in the water, it is that some thought the play to be too rough and moved into more secluded areas. It is not simply that the women are singing songs, it is that those songs are accompanied by the excited handclaps of other women. As addressed in the previous chapter, Raviṣeṇa strives not just to establish a setting, but to incorporate the reader into that setting, to place the reader alongside Rāvaṇa as he witnesses these women, and to experience the moment's eroticism.

Thus far we have examined the ways in which Jinadāsa, at the level of chapters and in terms of narrative content, condenses and abridges Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāna*. A final strategy for achieving this is more minute, located in the general style that Jinadāsa uses, his choice of vocabulary and how he constructs verses. Jinadāsa streamlines Raviṣeṇa's text. Raviṣeṇa revels in extending

thoughts or actions over more than one verse and does this through literary hypotaxis. One illustrative example of this is the very beginning of the text, translated earlier, where Raviṣeṇa describes Indra, the King of the Gods, bowing to Lord Mahāvīra. Another example of this is in the excerpt analyzed earlier from Raviṣeṇa's description of Anantabala's sermon to Rāvaṇa. Raviṣeṇa's 24th and 25th verses from the episode are as follows:

> Some men, whose minds are completely wicked and overcome with the desire for the riches of others, kill their own mothers, fathers, brothers, children, wives, and friends. They kill those who are still in the womb, the young and the old, and women. Some who are extremely cruel kill men, birds, and deer.

> *mātaraṃ pitaraṃ bhrātṝn sutāṃ patnīṃ suhṛjjanān |*
> *dhanādicoditāḥ kecid viśvaninditamānasāḥ ||*
> *garbhasthānarbhakān vṛddhāṃstaruṇān yoṣito narāḥ |*
> *ghnanti kecinmahākrūrā mānuṣān pakṣiṇo mṛgān ||*[21]

These verses are not particularly complicated, grammatically speaking; each line is a string of either nominative or accusative plural nouns with a single governing verb in the present, *ghnanti*, from the roo *han*, meaning "to kill." But the construction of the verses, the placement of each component, is intentional and intricate. In the first verse, the halves switch between describing objects of the verb and its subject; the first half is a list of objects (mothers, fathers, brothers, children, wives, and friends), whereas the second half provides only adjectival descriptions of an as-yet undisclosed subject (those whose minds are wicked and who are overcome with the desire for others' riches). The beginning of the second verse, though, switches back to listing objects of the verb (those in the womb, the young and old, and women), of which, of course, the reader is still unaware. The reader does not know what will happen to all of these objects listed, only that the wicked people *will act on them* in some way. Finally, in the second half of verse two, Raviṣeṇa provides both the concrete subject of the verses (men) and the verb (kill, *ghnanti*). By switching between objects and adjectival nominatives, Raviṣeṇa purposefully retards the progress of the thought, fostering a heightened tension in the reader, the resolution of which is simultaneously mundane and shocking because of his use of the common Sanskrit word for "man" (*nara*), followed immediately by the as-yet undisclosed verb "to kill." What does man do? According to Raviṣeṇa, man kills. The verse is not over, though, it continues to explain that some men are particularly cruel, killing not only other humans, but also birds and deer as well. The qualifier "some" (*kecid*) does not delineate between men who kill and men who do not, but rather the objects that each group kills. Some men kill their families and friends; others kill strangers and animals. The verses are powerful because of their construction, because the hypotaxic language keeps the reader on edge before driving home the ultimately discomforting point: men squander away their privileged human birth by committing wanton acts of violence, driven by greed.

If Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* is marked by literary hypotaxis, Jinadāsa's is marked by parataxis, or the use of short, simple sentences with predictable and consistent grammatical constructions. Take, for example, the following verse:

> Through auspicious, good acts, one attains happiness, and through inauspicious, wicked acts, one attains sorrow. But the soul that has entirely abandoned both auspicious and inauspicious goes to the abode of bliss.

> *śubhena karmaṇā saukhyaṃ | duḥkhaṃ cāsubhakarmaṇā |*
> *śubhāśubhavihīnastu | jīvo yāti śivālayaṃ ||*[22]

The first quarter of the verse establishes the paradigm for everything that follows: happiness (*saukhyam*) comes from the performance of good acts (*śubhena karmaṇā*). The second quarter is even simpler: and sorrow (*duḥkham*) comes from wicked acts (*aśubhakarmaṇā*). The relationship between the condition and its cause is the same as in the first quarter of the verse, but its expression is simplified by compounding *aśubha* and *karmaṇā*. The second half of the verse is perhaps the simplest because the reader is for the first time given a subject with a finite verb and direct object. The soul (*jīva*) goes (*yāti*) to the abode of bliss (*śivālaya*). The compound *śubhāśubhavihīnaḥ* (that which has entirely abandoned both good and wicked) is clearly marked as a nominative singular, meaning it agrees with *jīva*. In one verse, then, Jinadāsa communicates three related ideas, each of which both conceptually and grammatically builds off of what preceded it.

We can look at another example of Jinadāsa's parataxic language by examining the following verses:

> He who is a glorious provider and enjoyer of fine things, who is perpetually protected by servants, who is born a king or the like, that is indeed the fruit born from the tree of *dharma*. Indra indeed enjoys happiness in his heart, together with his wife Śācī, served by the forces of the gods. That indeed is the fruit born from the tree of *dharma*.

> *dātā yaśasvān bhoktā | ca yaḥ sadā bhṛtyarakṣitaḥ |*
> *nṛpatirjāyate vānyaḥ | taddharmadrumajaṃ phalaṃ ||*
> *bhanukti saukhyamindro'pi | surānīkaiśca sevitaḥ |*
> *śācyā saha manojātaṃ | taddharmadrumajaṃ phalaṃ ||*[23]

Here, Jinadāsa's parataxis centers on the repetition of the phrase *taddharmadrumajam phalam* (that is, the fruit that is born from the tree of *dharma*). The repetition of the phrase in the same place in both verses not only signals that it functions in the same way, but it also emphasizes the omnipotent universality of *dharma*, applying in the same way to terrestrial kings and the king of the gods, Indra.

We are thus left with three mechanisms by which Jinadāsa goes about abridging Raviṣeṇa's earlier narrative. First, Jinadāsa reformulates the structure of the text

as a whole by amending the content of individual chapters. Within these broader chapters, Jinadāsa consolidates his predecessor's text in two additional ways. He limits the amount of content he takes from Raviṣeṇa, oftentimes discarding anything seemingly too poetically or theologically complex or repetitive. At the level of style, finally, Jinadāsa consistently replaces the literary hypotaxis of Raviṣeṇa with simplified parataxis. That is, not only does Jinadāsa limit the actual amount of content that he draws from Raviṣeṇa, what content he does choose to include he presents in a grammatically and stylistically simpler way. All of this, again, is part of Jinadāsa's stated project to transform Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya* into an *ākhyāna* and, in doing so, make Raviṣeṇa's text "clear."

3.3 Clarity as a Literary Goal

If Jinadāsa is transparent about the fact that he wants to make Raviṣeṇa's text "clear" and the methods by which he goes about creating that clarity are consistent and identifiable, there remains the question of why Jinadāsa thought clarity was a valuable textual goal in the first place. Or, put otherwise, why did Raviṣeṇa's text need to be clarified at all? Here again, Jinadāsa provides a clue to the reader in the *Padmapurāṇa* itself and, perhaps surprisingly, it comes in the form of one of the few times that Jinadāsa is actually more verbose than his predecessor. In the first chapter of both Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*s, the authors lay out visions of the types of people who may hear the Rāma story and their response to such an auspicious occurrence. These visions take the form of metaphors comparing different types of listeners to different animals or natural phenomena. Raviṣeṇa's set of metaphors is as follows:

> In an aggregate of virtue and vice, noble men grasp virtue, just as the *haṃsa* bird drinks only milk, even when it is mixed with water. And in an aggregation of virtue and vice, contemptible people grasp vice. They are like crows that, having abandoned the pearls, eat only the meat from an elephant. Just as silly men see a text as containing faults, even though it is actually faultless, this is the same as an owl sees the form of the sun as being like a black-colored group of *tamāla* trees. Wicked people who are deprived of virtue always hold onto vice, which is like a net through which the water of a lake easily passes.[24]

Raviṣeṇa provides a fine set of verses here; his comparison between "silly men" (*khalāḥ*) and the owl is particularly clever, layered with meaning that relies on an understanding of both Sanskrit and botany. The *tamāla* tree (*Cinnamomum tamala*), has dark, almost black, bark and white leaves. When the owl looks at the unfamiliar sun—the owl is, after all, nocturnal—he thinks it to be like the *tamāla* tree, resplendent on the outside but with a dark interior, symbolizing the faults that a silly man sees in a story that is, in fact, faultless. Raviṣeṇa takes the comparison one step further, though, as *khala* is also another word for the *tamāla* tree. There is

a double metaphor here; silly men are both like an owl insofar as they misidentify the nature of a good story and also similar to the *tamāla* tree insofar as they, no matter how refined or resplendent on the outside, indeed embody dark, inward faults that are the very cause of their misidentification.

As we should expect, Jinadāsa includes Raviṣeṇa's four metaphors in his own *Padmapurāṇa* but, perhaps surprisingly, he actually expands that list. His version of the narrative episode is as follows:

> Some people are like the earth with the water of the teachings of the *guru*, going beyond the *guru*'s words, like a rock in the middle of a body of water. Some, whose ultimate aim is reflection on the *śāstra*s, are similar to *haṃsa* birds, which are capable of discerning the pure from the dirty. Others appear similar to the sun, removing the chaff and able to completely grasp the grain of truth with the winds of intelligence. Still others are like scorpions, grasping at faults. These ones are wicked; they delight in sin and lack even an atom of virtue. Some are like parrots that eat ripe, sweet fruit. Others are patient in their goal of grasping at faults. They are like cats. Other are like leeches that feed on the spoiled blood of dead carcasses. These people have abandoned the causes of virtue and create the influx of sin. Some are like mosquitoes, which annoy a speaker. Having been led towards fault since birth, they follow after it indiscriminately. Some are like snakes. Usually still upon hearing loud noises, their bodies spit and vacillate upon tasting the nectar that is the *guru*'s words. Some wicked people grasp after faults with great effort. They are like crows who, having abandoned pearls grasp at the meat. Some wicked people think that a story that is in reality faultless actually contains faults. These people are like owls, which regard the sun to be covered in darkness. Some people are known to be like water buckets that have been completely pierced with holes. At the very moment that they hear something, they forget it on account of being confused by sin. Some people are like dull-witted animals that are deprived of discrimination; they do not hold in their minds the story that is told by the *guru*, even though it is clear. And some are like nets going through the water of a pond. Having listened to something, they take only the mud that is the faults, while letting the water of virtue pass right through.[25]

Jinadāsa adds ten new types of listeners to the list of four that he inherited from Raviṣeṇa. On the one hand, we can again witness here Jinadāsa's desire to simplify Raviṣeṇa's work. Jinadāsa's incorporation of the owl metaphor demonstrates this fact, as he simplifies the metaphor in a profound way. First, the term he uses for the actual person being compared is *durjana*, a "wicked person," which is not only more commonplace, but carries with it a much more negative connotation than Raviṣeṇa's "silly" man. Jinadāsa also removes any reference to the *tamāla* tree, though in an intertextual gesture that shows him to be fully aware of the change he is making, he uses the word *tamas*—which constitutes the first two syllables of *tamāla*—for "darkness." Because of the removal of the *tamāla* tree as

a referent, though, the nature of the owl's (and, by extension, the wicked man's) mistake is different in Jinadāsa's verse than it is in Raviṣeṇa's. In Raviṣeṇa, the owl makes an inference about the sun that is based off of previous knowledge—the fact that with a *tamāla* tree there is darkness hidden under bright leaves, and he thus misidentifies the nature of the sun as necessarily being similar. There is a misapplication of knowledge, but that misapplication is not an inherent flaw of the owl itself. Jinadāsa's comparison is more difficult to parse; it revolves around the compound *tamomayīm*, which means "consisting or composed of or covered with darkness." The best explanation of this is that the owl, a nocturnal creature, mistakes the moon to be the sun and, in the same way, a wicked person mistakes a story that is faultless to actually have faults because he has never heard a faultless story before. What makes the wicked man wicked, then, is that there are not enough faultless stories circulating.

What is more important for our purposes, though, is not the literary qualities of Jinadāsa's text, but the very fact that he expands Raviṣeṇa's list of four metaphors so broadly. Why, we should ask, would Jinadāsa, whose hallmark as an author is abridgement and concision, choose here to expand on his predecessor's work? What appears evident is that Jinadāsa sees the types of possible listeners to a Rāma story as ill-served by Raviṣeṇa's fourfold schema. Society is more intricate; it is itself a fuller reflection of the diverse natural world. And for such a complex society, Jinadāsa is arguing here, clarity and precision become all the more important.

I want to be clear about my argument here: complicated does not mean worse. I am not arguing that Jinadāsa looked out over his community and found it to be worse than Raviṣeṇa's. Such an interpretation is not borne out by what Jinadāsa actually writes—he includes, after all, additional examples of both virtuous and wicked listeners—and he would have been perfectly capable of saying so if he thought that were the case. Furthermore, if we look at the development of the Balātkāra *gaṇa* from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, we see little reason to think that Jinadāsa would have seen himself as living in a fundamentally degraded time period.[26] The *gaṇa* traces its history back to the early thirteenth century CE to a monk named Vasantakīrti, who was the head of a monastic community in modern-day Mandalagarh in Rajasthan. Over the next 120 years, the leadership of the Uttara *śākhā*, as the group came to be known, moved from Mandalagarh to Ajmer, and then finally to Delhi during the Tughlaq dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate, which began in 1320 CE. Thus, *gaṇa* leadership moved continually closer to the center of Sultanate power during this 120-year period. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Balātkāra *gaṇa* founded no fewer than six new seats of *bhaṭṭāraka* power throughout modern-day Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh. Many of these seats remained active for centuries, and Jinadāsa's own Vāgaḍ branch thrived until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

What is even more, the *gaṇa* was successful in these expansion efforts despite the frenetic political developments that oftentimes surrounded it. Zafar Khan (later known as Muzaffar Shah I) declared independence from the Delhi Sultanate

in 1407, thereby establishing the Gujarat Sultanate. But even before this, from at least the late fourteenth century, there were constant skirmishes between the administrators of the Delhi Sultanate and local rulers and chieftains. There did not seem to be major fear, though, among Balātkāra Digambaras that the political finagling would spill over and affect them, and far from the picture normally painted of the degenerate influence of "Muslim Rule" on Jain communities throughout north India, it is apparent that Digambara communities actually expanded during the early modern period and did so within geographical areas where Islamicate polities were emergent. All of this, of course, is setting aside the very fact that the early modern period saw a truly massive amount of literary production and dissemination on the part of Jain authors; such large-scale literary projects would not have been possible under regimes that, as one unfortunate recent history of the period put it, "did not hesitate even a mite to shed the blood of non-Muslims and plunder their property."[27]

3.4 Looking Forward

Jinadāsa encouraged his reader to note the fact of his indebtedness to Raviṣeṇa as the textual source of his *Padmapurāṇa* and, contrary to most textual traditions in South Asia, was explicit about his goal of changing Raviṣeṇa's text, of transforming the text from a *kāvya* to a "clear" *ākhyāna*.[28] This chapter not only investigated Jinadāsa's motivations for doing so but also demonstrated exactly how he goes about accomplishing that. By consolidating chapters, removing poetic and technical content, and employing a general narrative strategy aimed at simplicity, Jinadāsa quickens the pace of the narrative and emphasizes following the choices that characters make, the actions they take, and the repercussions they experience. In the next chapter we will examine the changes that Jinadāsa makes to characterization in his version of the *Padmapurāṇa* before discussing how all of the strategies thus far discussed come together to form a morally instructive text. As we will see, it is not only that the textual mechanism of ethical instruction is different between Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's works, but that the moral message of the texts themselves are distinct.

Notes

1 Raviṣeṇa 1.1–2 and Jinadāsa 1.1–2.
siddhaṃ sampūrṇabhavyārthaṃ siddheḥ kāraṇamuttamam | praśastadarśanajñāna cāritrapratipādinam || surendramukuṭāśliṣṭapādapadmāṃśukeśaram | praṇamāmi mahāvīraṃ lokatritayamaṅgalam ||

2 For the reference to Raviṣeṇa at the end of the narrative, see Jinadāsa 83.189. For the reference at the beginning of the work, see Jinadāsa 1.64.

3 Jinadāsa 1.65.
tadvākyaracanāṃ prāpya | mayātra kriyate sphuṭam | granthaḥ kathāmukhenātra | vidanti manujā yathā ||

4 There is actually a double meaning of *kathāmukhena* here, as the term also refers to an introduction of a story. Indeed, immediately following this verse, Jinadāsa does provide an overview of the plot of the Rāma story.
5 See Tubb (1985).
6 Abhinavagupta's *Locana* to Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* ("The Splendor of Suggestion"), quoted in Tubb (1985, 141f.).
7 The fact that such literary condensation was a trend of later Jain versions of *purāṇic* classics has not gone unnoticed by scholars. For more on this, see De Clercq (2014); Chojnacki (2018a, 2018b). Furthermore, Bangha (2014) provides evidence that this trend in literary condensation was not limited to Jain authors.
8 Raviṣeṇa 14.18–26.
karmaṇāṣṭaprakāreṇa santatena nirādinā | baddhenāntarhitātmīyaśaktirbhrāmyati cetanaḥ || subhūrilakṣasaṃkhyāsu yoṇisvanubhavansadā | vedanīyaṃ yathopāttaṃ nānākaraṇasaṃbhavam || rakto diṣṭo 'thavā mūdho mandamadhyavipākataḥ | kulālac akravatprāptacaturgativivartanaḥ || budhyate svahitaṃ nāsau jñānāvaraṇakarmaṇā | manuṣyatāmapi prāpto 'tyantadurlabhasaṃgamām || rasasparśaparigrāhihṛṣīkav aśatām gatāḥ | kṛtvātininditaṃ karma pāpabhāragurūkṛtāḥ || anekopāyasambhūta mahāduḥkhavidhāyini | patanti narake jīvā grāvaṇa iva vāriṇi || mātaraṃ pitaraṃ bhrātṝn sutāṃ patnīṃ suhṛjjanān | dhanādicoditāḥ kecid viśvaninditamānasāḥ || garbhasthānarbhakān vṛddhāṃstaruṇān yoṣito narāḥ | ghnanti kecinmahākrūrā mānuṣān pakṣiṇo mṛgān || sthalajān jalajān dharmacyutacittāḥ kumedhasaḥ | mītvā patanti te sarve narake puruvedane ||
9 Jinadāsa 12.110–121.
svāmī tataḥ anantavīryaḥ karūṇākomalāśayaḥ | jagau tatvārthasammiśraṃ vacaḥ sarvapriyaṃhitam || karmaṇāṣṭavidhenāṃgī bhramyamāṇaḥ bhavāṭavīm | prāpnoti bhūrilakṣāsu duḥkhaṃ yoniṣu santatam || kulālacakravanmūḍhaḥ bhramannātmahitaṃ kvacit | jñānāvaraṇasaṃvītaḥ na vetti matimohataḥ || manuṣyatvamapi prāpya durlabhaṃ cākṣanirjitāḥ | pāpakarmavidhāyāṃ te patanti śvabhrasaṃkaṭe || śubhena karmaṇā saukhyaṃ duḥkhaṃ cāśubhakarmaṇā | śubhāśubhavihīnastu jīvaḥ yāti śivālayam || patantam durgatau jīvām yataḥ dhārayati kṣaṇāt | dharma ityucyate tasmāt vibudhaiḥ bāndhavopamaḥ || saudharmādidivaṃ yānti dharmataḥ sukhamandiram | nānāvimānasaṃchannaṃ divyanārīsukhānvitaṃ || sukhanāmāpi yannūnaṃ śrūyate sarvavallabham | ūrdhvādhomadhyaloke ca dharmattannānyathā nṛpa || dātā yaśasvān bhoktā ca yaḥ sadā bhṛtyarakṣitaḥ | nṛpatiḥ jāyate vānyaḥ taddharmadrumajaṃ phalam || bhanukti saukhyaṃ indraḥ api surānīkaiśca sevitaḥ | śacyā saha manojātaṃ taddharmadrumajaṃ phalaṃ || ye hatvā mohamallaṃ ca ratnatrayasitāyudhaiḥ | prāpnuvantīha yanmokṣam śuddhadharmaphalam mahat || mānuṣyameva prāpyātra dharmaṃ kṛtvā yathocitam | phalaṃ svargādijaṃ sarvaṃ labhyate prāṇadhāribhiḥ ||
10 Raviṣeṇa 24.67–69.
ceṣṭopakaraṇaṃ vāṇī kalāvyatyasanaṃ tathā | krīḍā caturvidhā proktā tatra ceṣṭā śarīrajā || kandukādi tu vijñeyaṃ tatropakaraṇaṃ bahu | vākkrīḍanaṃ punarnānā subhāṣitasamudbhavam || nānādurodaranyāsaḥ kalāvyatyasanaṃ smṛtam | krīḍāyāṃ bahubhedāyāmasyāṃ sātyantakovidā ||
11 Jinadāsa 19.73–77.
kanyā ca abhūt mahāramyā śubhalakṣaṇalakṣitā | kalānāṃ paramāpannā sarvasāṃ Kaikeyībhidhā|| nṛtyagītādikuśalā citravyavahṛtau tathā bhedānāṃ | buddhim āptānāṃ vividhānām pravedinī || kovidā rasavatyāṃ ca navāyāṃ parīkṣaṇe | vastūnāṃ mānakarme ca cikitsitavidhau nṛpa || mantrauṣadhādīndrajālakriyāyāṃ śāstradakṣiṇā |ityādyāḥ sā satkalāḥ ca dadhāra nayakovidā || kalārūpaguṇodbhūtā tasyāḥ kīrttiḥ mahītale | śuśubhe svena rūpeṇa jayanti śriyam api aho ||

12 Raviṣeṇa 9.112–113.
nānādhātusamākīrṇaṃ gaṇairyuktaṃ sahasraśaḥ | suvarṇaghaṭanāramyaṃ padapaṅktibhirācitam || prakṛtyanugatairyuktaṃ vikārairvilasaṃyutaṃ | svarairbahuvidhaiḥ pūrṇaṃ labdhavyākaraṇopamam ||

13 Raviṣeṇa 9.114–125.
tīkṣṇaiḥ śikharasaṅghātaiḥ khaṇḍayantamivāmbaram | utsarpacchīkaraiḥ spaṣṭaṃ hasantamiva nirjharaiḥ || makarandasurāmattamadhuvrataparaidhitam | śālaughavitatākāśaṃ nānānokahasaṃkulam|| sarvartujamanohārikusumādimirācitam | caratpramodavatsattvasahasrasaduptyakam || auṣadhatrāsadūrasthavyālajālasamākulam | manohareṇa gandhena dadhataṃ yauvanaṃ sadā || śilāvistīrṇahṛdayaṃ sthūlavṛkṣamahābhujam | guh āgambhīravadanamapūrvapuruṣākṛtim || śaratpayodharākārataṭasaṃghātasaṃkaṭam | kṣīreṇeva jagatsarvaṃ kṣālayantaṃ karotkaraiḥ || kvacidviśrabdhasaṃsuptamṛgādhipa darīmukham | kvacitsuptaśayuśvāsavātāghūrṇitapādapam || kvacitparisarakrīḍatkuraṅ gakakadambakam | kvacinmattadvipavrātakalitādhityakāvanam || kvacit pulakitākāraṃ prasūnaprakarācitam | kvavit ṛikṣasaṭābhāraiḥ uddhataiḥ bhīṣaṇākṛtim || kvacitpadmavaneneva yuktaṃ śākhāmṛgānanaiḥ | kvacitkhaḍgikṣatasyandisālādisurabhīkṛtam || kva cidvidyullatāśliṣṭasambhavadghanasaṃtatim | kvaciddivākarākāraśikharoddyotitāmba ram || pāṇḍukasyeva kurvāṇaṃ vijigīṣāṃ kvacidvanaiḥ | surabhiprasavottuṅgavistīrṇa ghanapādapaiḥ ||

14 Jinadāsa 10.95.
vicitradhātusaṃkīrṇaṃ gahanaṃ svarasaṃyutaṃ | adhīrāṇāṃ ca duḥprekṣyaṃ yadvadvyākaraṇaṃ nṛṇām ||

15 Raviṣeṇa 77.9–20.
etasminnantare jñātadaśānananipātanam | kṣubdhamantaḥpuraṃ śokamahākallolasaṅkulam || sarvāśca vanitā vāṣpadhārāsiktamahītalāḥ | raṇakṣoṇīṃ samājagmurmuhuḥpraskhali takramāḥ || taṃ cūḍāmaṇisaṅkāśaṃ kṣiterālokya sundaram | niścetanaṃ patiṃ nāryo nipeturativegataḥ || rambhā candrānanā candramaṇḍalā pravarorvaśī | mandodarī mahādevī sundarī kamalānanā ||rūpiṇī rukmaṇī śīlā ratnamālā tanūdarī | śrīkāntā śrīmatī bhadrā kanakābhā mṛgāvatī || śrīmālā mānavī lakṣmīrānandānaṅgasundarī | vasundharā taḍinmālā padmā padmāvatī sukhā || devī padmāvatī kāntiḥ prītiḥ sandhyāvalī śubhā | prabhāvatī manovegā ratikāntā manovatī || aṣṭādaśaivamādīnāṃ sahasrāṇi suyoṣitām | parivārya patiṃ cakrurākrandaṃ sumahāśucā || kāścinmohaṃ gatāḥ satyaḥ siktāścandanavāriṇā | samutplutamṛṇālānāṃ padminīnāṃ śriyaṃ dadhuḥ || āśliṣṭadayitāḥ kāścidgāḍhaṃ mūrcchāmupāgatāḥ | añjanādrisamāsakta sandhyārekhādyutiṃ dadhuḥ || nirvyūḍhamūrchanāḥ kāścidurastāḍanacañcalāḥ | ghanāghanasamāsaṅgitaḍinmālākṛtiṃ śritāḥ || vidhāya vadanāmbhojaṃ kācidaṅke suvihvalā | vakṣaḥsthalaparāmarśakāriṇī mūrchitā muhuḥ ||

16 Jinadāsa 49.1–6.
tataḥ bhūmītale vīkṣya | sodaraṃ rākṣaseśvaram | mahāduḥkhamharākrāntaḥ | jātaḥ rājan vibhīṣaṇaḥ || śokaṃ śoḍhuṃ vā asahaḥ ca | svātmaghātāya vāndhavaḥ | acīkarat karaṃ kṣipraṃ | kṣurikāyāṃ manoharam || tatkṣaṇāt eva niśceṣṭaḥ mūrchāṃ prāptaḥ ativihvalaḥ | kiyatkālaṃ ca upakārakarāṃ tasya hitāvahām || saṃjñāṃ prāpya jighāṃsuḥ svaṃ | śokaṃ tāpaṃ vahan bhṛśam | rathāt uttīrya rāmeṇa | dhṛtaḥ pāṇau ca kṛcchrataḥ || bhūpaḥ tyaktāstrannāhaḥ | kṣoṇyāṃ mūrchāṃ avāpa ca | labdhasaṃjñaḥ muhuḥ cakre vilāpaṃ karuṇaśvanam || hā śūra dhīra hā bhrāta | śaraṇāgatavatsala hā sundara etāṃ prāptaḥ asi | avasthām tvaṃ dāruṇām katham ||

17 Jinadāsa 49.13–16.
dṛṣṭvā iti vilapantaṃ taṃ | atiduḥkhāt vibhīṣaṇaṃ | padmanābhaḥ avadat bāṣpa [\] rudhanetraḥ sagadgadam || viśvastaḥ bhava bho bhrātaḥ | mā rodiṣi vibhīṣaṇa | tvadrodanena asmadādyāḥ | sarveduḥkham iha aśnute || bhūtvā ca sāvadhānaḥ

tvaṃ | śruṇu madvacanaṃ hitaṃ | kiṃ śocasi mahādhīra jinamārgaviśāradaḥ || cakrī sanatkumāraḥ api | rūpanirjitamanmathaḥ | saḥ api kālena bhūpīṭhe | prāptaḥ avasthāṃ kim anyataḥ ||

18 For more on this scene, see Clines (2019).

19 Raviṣeṇa 8.90–100.
evaṃ ca ramamāṇo 'sau nāmnā megharavaṃ girim | prāpattatra ca sadvāpīm apaśyat vimalāmbhasam || kumudairutpalaiḥ padmaiḥ svacchairanyaiśca vārijaiḥ | paryantasaṃcaratkrauñcahaṃsacakrāhvasārasām || mṛduśaspapaṭacchannataṭāṃ sopānamaṇḍitām | nabhaseva vilīnena pūritāṃ savituḥ karaiḥ || arjunādimahottuṅgapā dapavyāptarodhasam | prasphuracchapharīcakrasamucchalitasīkarām|| bhrūkṣepāniva kurvāṇāṃ taraṅgairatibhaṅguraiḥ | jalpantīmiva nādena pakṣiṇāṃ śrotrahāriṇāṃ|| tatra krīḍāprasaktānāṃ dadhatīnāṃ parāṃ śriyam | ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi kanyānāmapaśyat kekasīsutaḥ || kāścicchīkarajālena remire dūragāminā | paryaṭanti sma satkanyā dūraṃ sakhyā kṛtāgasaḥ || pradarśya radanaṃ kācitpadmaṣaṇḍe saśaivale | kurvantī paṅkajāśaṅkāṃ sakhīnāṃ suciraṃ sthitā || mṛdaṅganisvanaṃ kāciccakre karatalāhatam | kurvāṇā salilaṃ mandaṃ gāyantī ṣaṭpadaiḥ samam || tatastā yugapad dṛṣṭvā kanyā ratnaśravaḥsutam | kṣaṇaṃ tyaktajalakrīḍā babhūvuḥ stambhitā iva || madhyaṃ tāsāṃ daśagrīvo gataḥ ramaṇakāṅkṣayā | rantumetena sākaṃ tā vyāpāriṇyo 'bhavan mudā ||

20 Jinadāsa 9.49–54.
tatra apaśyat ca vimalāṃ dīrghikāṃ padmamaṇḍitām | saptabhūmiyutāṃ citragavākṣāṃ madhurāmbhasam || cakrasārahaṃsādyaiḥ kṛtamādhuryaniḥsvanām | ratnasphāṭikasopānāṃ dramachāyātiśītalām || krīḍantīnāṃ ca kanyānāṃ ṣaṭsahasrāṇi līlayā | tatra apaśyat daśasyaḥ asau nānāvibhramakāriṇīm || jalena krīdate kācit kalaṃ gāyati sundarī | ambhovighaṭanaṃ kācit karoti kuvakumbhataḥ || tataḥ tāḥ kaikasīsūnuṃ yugapadvīksya vismitāḥ | jalakrīḍātigā jātāḥ tadrūpekṣaṇalālasāḥ ||

21 Raviṣeṇa 14.24–25.

22 Jinadāsa 12.114.

23 Jinadāsa 12.118–119.

24 Raviṣeṇa 1.35–38.
guṇadośasamāhāre guṇān gṛhṇanti sādhavaḥ | kṣīravārismāhāre haṃsaḥ kṣīramivākhilam || guṇadośasamāhāre dośān gṛhṇantyasādhavaḥ | muktāphalāni saṃtyajya kākā māṃsamiva dvipāt || adoṣāmapi doṣāktāṃ paśyanti racanāṃ khalāḥ | ravimūrtimivolūkāstamāladalakālikām || sarojalāgamadvārajālakānaiva durjanāḥ | dhārayanti sadā doṣān guṇabandhanavarjitāḥ ||

25 Jinadāsa 1.30–42.
gurūpadeśatoyena mṛhvan kecid bhavanti hi | jalamadhyasthitāśmaḥ iva puruṣāḥ tadvacotigāḥ || kecidhaṃsanibhāḥ śāstravicāraṇaparāyaṇāḥ | nairmalyahetoḥ kāluṣyahetoḥ mahiṣavatpare || kecidsūrysamāḥvyaktādṛṣyante tuṣanāśakāḥ | guṇatandulasadgrāhadakṣāḥ sadbuddhivāyubhiḥ || cālinī sadṛśāḥ kecid doṣagrahaṇatatparāḥ | durjanāḥ pāpaniratāḥ guṇaleśavivarkitāḥ || śukopamāḥ kecid atra miṣṭapakvaphalāśinaḥ | mārjarasadṛśāḥ kecid doṣagrāhārtham ādṛtāḥ || jalaukapratimāḥ kecid viniṣṭarudhirāśanāḥ | guṇādikam parityajya pāpopārjanakāriṇaḥ || maśakābhāḥ vilokyante vaktṛvādhāvahāḥ pare | kecid doṣādikam nītvā utthāya yānti aviveknaḥ || kecid sarpopamānāḥ syuḥ nādaśravaṇamātrataḥ | sthirāḥ syuḥ ghūrṇamānāṅgāḥ guruvākyāmṛtāśanāt || asādhavaḥ kecidaho doṣān gṛhṇanti yatnataḥ | mauktikāni parityjya kākomāṃsacayam yathā || nirdoṣām api jānanti sadoṣām durjanāḥ kathām | bhāsvanmūrtim yatholūkāḥ dīptām api tamomayīm || sachidraghaṭavat kecid vidyante mānavā bhuvi | śrutvā api tatkṣaṇam pāpāt vismaranti vimohataḥ || kecid paśusamāḥ ca aho vivekavikalāḥ jaḍāḥ | na dhārayanti gurūktām kathām citte sphuṭām api || taḍāgatoyāgamanadvārajālāni vā khalāḥ | śrutāddoṣānnayanti sma guṇāmbugatidāyi

26 There is certainly evidence that *other* Jains have evaluated their present time as particularly deleterious or degraded. Dundas, for instance, discusses the eleventh-century Kharatara monk Jinavallabha who, in his *Saṅghapaṭṭaka*, "viewed the contemporary situation as so desperate that he could only it is as resulting from either a particularly freakish (*huṇḍa*) period of the Kaliyuga or some strange and malign planetary conjunction" (1987–1988, p. 181).
27 Jain (2010, p. 1131).
28 See Pollock (1989).

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4 Recognizing Enemies, Internal and External

Exemplarity and the Moral Vision of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*

In the previous chapter we began to answer how Jinadāsa goes about achieving his stated goal of creating narrative clarity from Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, settling on the idea that he, via concerted and consistent mechanisms of abridgement that sped up the pace of the narrative, reformulates the work as an *ākhyāna*. This genre of literature, we further discussed, teaches differently than does Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya*. Here, we pick up where the previous chapter left off and analyze how Jinadāsa's *ākhyāna* is ethically instructional. If, the reader will remember, *ākhyāna* teaches "by presenting interesting examples of what fruits befell the actions of others in the past,"[1] then we must look at both *what* consequences befall the work's primary characters and *why*, according to Jinadāsa, those specific consequences occur. In the following pages, we will examine Rāvaṇa, Rāma, and Lakṣmaṇa, and such an investigation requires tracing how Jinadāsa goes about constructing the three "illustrious men" (*śalākāpuruṣa*) as characters. To aid us in this, we can rely upon Barthes' analysis of the literary character as a more-or-less complex collection of persistent features (semes) organized around a specific, consistent name:

> When identical semes traverse the same proper name several times and appear to settle upon it, a character is created. Thus, the character is a product of combinations: the combination is relatively stable (denoted by the recurrence of the semes) and more or less complex (involving more or less congruent, more or less contradictory figures); this complexity determines the character's "personality," which is just as much a combination as the odor of a dish or the bouquet of wine.
>
> (Barthes, 1974, p. 67)

We will see in the following pages that Jinadāsa constructs both Rāvaṇa and Rāma as heroic, but that each character's additional primary semes are opposites. Rāvaṇa is prideful and arrogant, whereas Rāma is dispassionate and self-controlled. It is by constructing the two characters as exemplars of these opposing semes that Jinadāsa accounts for each's eventual circumstances. Lakṣmaṇa, consequently, poses a challenge for Jinadāsa because he, like Rāvaṇa, is reborn in hell upon his untimely death. On the one hand, Lakṣmana is quick to anger and violence, but, on the other, he is loyal to Rāma, and much of the violence that he does perform

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is done in the name of protecting his older brother and sister-in-law. Jinadāsa does not shy away from highlighting these traits in tension, and Lakṣmaṇa serves as an important cautionary tale that even conventionally condoned intimate bonds such as those of family have the power to inflame one's passions and must thus be regulated.

4.1 Prideful Rāvaṇa

Following the order in which the *Padmapurāṇa* introduces its main characters, we will first examine Rāvaṇa to understand the ultimate fruits of his actions and why he reaps the fruits that he does. First, as stated before, the changes that Jinadāsa makes to Raviṣeṇa's text are rarely to the plot of the narrative itself. This is true of Jinadāsa's portrayal of Rāvaṇa and the eventual end that he meets; Jinadāsa does not change the "facts" of Raviṣeṇa's story. Thus, after Sītā's abduction, Rāma pursues Rāvaṇa, accumulating allies along the way in preparation for a final battle during which Rāvaṇa is killed at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. Rāvaṇa's *jīva* is reborn in Bālukāprabhā, traditionally the third of the seven hell realms in Jain cosmology. There he will later be joined by Lakṣmaṇa's *jīva*, as both must suffer infernal punishment to burn away the negative karma accrued from their performance of violence in their previous lives. Sītā, reborn as a god and reminded of Lakṣmaṇa's earthly virtues, goes to hell to see him. There she finds Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa together, suffering at the hands of the *jīva* that had previously been Śambūka. Sītā attempts to save both Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa by physically lifting them out of hell and up to heaven. This, of course, fails; when Sītā attempts to grab hold of the pair, they "melt away like fresh butter in a fire" (*te vilīyante navanītam iva agninā*). All parties realize that Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa must remain in hell to burn away the karmic residue of their past misdeeds. Sītā, after showing them their past lives and, in the process, engendering in them *samyagdarśan* (correct view), leaves hell. At the narrative's conclusion, Rāma, who has renounced the world and attained omniscience, explains to Sītā the future interconnected births of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa, including the fact that Rāvaṇa's *jīva* will eventually become a Jina. Thus, while the narrative ends looking forward to the future, it still behooves us to investigate how and why, according to Jinadāsa, Rāvaṇa ends up where he does, suffering in hell. It is a more complicated answer than simply pointing out that Rāvaṇa committed violence in his life and therefore accrued negative karma. That answer is a given for Jinadāsa. Within the specific intertextual lens of examining the changes Jinadāsa makes to Raviṣeṇa's work, it becomes clear that Jinadāsa prioritizes and crystallizes a specific pair of semes that characterize Rāvaṇa: heroism and pride. The former, we shall see, Rāvaṇa shares with Rāma, and Jinadāsa thus highlights the latter as the explanatory mechanism behind his actions and their karmic consequences. In the process, Rāvaṇa becomes an exemplar of pride and thus, for the reader, a cautionary tale of the dangers in not policing such destructive human qualities.

To demonstrate how Jinadāsa makes Rāvaṇa into an exemplar of pride, we must trace how he actually describes the *vidyādhara*. We will begin by examining

his portrayal of the *vidyādhara* even before his birth and in his early childhood. The differences between Jinadāsa's and Raviṣeṇa's characterizations of Rāvaṇa first become apparent in the narration of Rāvaṇa's mother when she realizes she is pregnant. Kekasī witnesses three dreams—a lion, the sun, and a full moon—and goes to her husband, Ratnaśravā, to inquire as to their meaning. In Raviṣeṇa's version of the narrative, Ratnaśravā explains that she will have three wondrous and powerful sons. About Rāvaṇa specifically, Ratnaśravā explains:

> The first to be born will indeed be very advantageous in the world. He will devote himself completely to the fulfillment of his goal, and will be the moon for the lotuses that are his enemies. As soon as he arrives in battle, his body will become covered with thorn-like hairs standing on end because of excitement. He will become a storehouse of extremely difficult deeds, and in the case of whatever he assents to do, not even Indra would have the power to stop him.[2]

Compare this to Jinadāsa's version of Ratnaśravā's response:

> O blessed woman! You will bear three sons who will be immensely valorous, known throughout the three worlds, beautiful and deep oceans of victory! The first of those will be an extremely heroic warrior, arrogant, infallible in battle, the moon for the day-blooming lotuses that are his enemies, difficult to behold in the throes of war![3]

Certainly, Jinadāsa's description of Rāvaṇa resembles Raviṣeṇa's. He uses, for instance, the same metaphor of the moon causing the day-blooming lotuses to wilt as a comparison for Rāvaṇa destroying his enemies, though the wording is not identical.[4] There are also, however, major differences between the two authors' descriptions that are worth exploring in greater depth. First, Jinadāsa is unwilling to describe Rāvaṇa in terms of social benefit. Raviṣeṇa describes Rāvaṇa as being "beneficial for the world" (*jagate hita*), a sentiment that is markedly absent from Jinadāsa's account. Instead, Jinadāsa focuses on Rāvaṇa's martial prowess; Rāvaṇa's defining traits, at least at the moment immediately before his birth, are what will become his impressive skills in battle. Second, Jinadāsa is more explicit than Raviṣeṇa in labelling Rāvaṇa as heroic (*vīryavattāra*). While Raviṣeṇa alludes to this fact by discussing Rāvaṇa's thrilled response to entering battle and his successful performance of difficult deeds, Jinadāsa is clear and direct. This heroism will become one of the two primary semes by which the reader comes to understand Rāvaṇa.

An even more obvious contrast between Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's early descriptions of Rāvaṇa is Jinadāsa's use of the term *abhimānin*, or "arrogant." This is Rāvaṇa's second predominant character seme. Raviṣeṇa is never so blunt in describing Rāvaṇa as such, especially at this early stage in his description of the *vidyādhara*. As we saw in Chapter 2, Raviṣeṇa uses the chapters immediately following Rāvaṇa's birth to characterize him as both a righteous king and

devotee of the Jina. It is not until Rāvaṇa encounters Sītā later in the narrative that he is refashioned as an inherently desirous character. In contrast, Jinadāsa presents us with what he sees as Rāvaṇa's major character flaw in the first line of the character's description. The centrality of this seme is marked by Jinadāsa's choice of words in the passage; his use of the substantive *abhimānin*, instead of, perhaps, an adjectival compound, is important to note, as it lends weight to the idea that Rāvaṇa's arrogance is not *merely* one of many traits—and, therefore, perhaps something that can be overcome—but is, rather, deeply embedded in his being. When taken together, Jinadāsa's early characterization of Rāvaṇa, which foregrounds his arrogance against a backdrop of heroism and kingly power, establishes in the reader expectations for—and attitudes toward—Rāvaṇa that are substantively different than those created by Raviṣeṇa. Moving forward, then, we can examine how this characterization manifests throughout the rest of the Jinadāsa's narrative and how that changes the focus of, and larger message of, the text as a whole.

Jinadāsa continues to label Rāvaṇa as explicitly proud and arrogant throughout the narrative. In some instances, he actually manipulates Raviṣeṇa's version of an episode in order to highlight Rāvaṇa as proud. Such is the case, for instance, in the episode in which Rāvaṇa and his two younger brothers resolve to perform ascetic *tapas* in order to acquire the magical weapons that will aid them in retaking Laṅkā, their ancestral home. Again, to understand that changes that Jinadāsa makes, we will first examine the relevant passage in Raviṣeṇa's text:

> And having heard the depressed words of his mother, Vibhīṣaṇa, his hair standing on end like poison stalk and smiling with pride, said, "O mother, is he some sort of wealth-giver or some kind of god? What power of his have you seen that you are crying like this? You yourself are heroic, and you have borne heroic children. Your fame is known throughout the world. Why do you, who are so virtuous, speak as if you were some lowly woman? One whose chest bears the *śrīvatsa* mark, for whom, because of meditation, there is no delusion, whose actions are singularly focused on an extraordinary goal, who is very strong, capable of devouring the entire world like a fire covered with ashes, that Daśagrīva, why has he not come to your mind, mother? May he be victorious over this mind [of yours] with this path that has arisen out of disrespect [to us]; and may he break the slopes of that King of Mountains with a slap of his hand! You do not know that his two arms are like great, royal roads of majesty, like the columns of the house that is the earth, like the sprouts of the great musk tree." And when his brother, who was knowledgeable of virtue and the arts, had said this, Rāvaṇa became even more resplendent, like a fire being fed with ghee. And Rāvaṇa said, "O mother, what is the use of boasting about oneself? Listen, and I will tell the complete truth. If those arrogant *vidyādhara*s, armed with their magical weapons, were to meet me in battle, they would not be able to land even a single blow against me! Thus, we should embark on this course of action, namely the acquiring of magical weapons, which will be beneficial to the family. Thus, others will

> not disrespect the family. In the same way that *sādhu*s acquire *tapas* with great effort, so too must those who are born in the *vidyādhara* lineage acquire magical weapons." And having said this, his mind fixed on his desire, accompanied by his two younger brothers, he performed homage to the *siddha*s and was kissed goodbye on his forehead by his parents.[5]

There is much to unpack here. Raviṣeṇa's deployment of pride and its relationship to Rāvaṇa is of particular interest. Pride is obviously present in the passage; explicitly, Raviṣeṇa labels Vibhīṣaṇa as smiling with pride (*garvasmita*) and Rāvaṇa's *vidyādhara* enemies as puffed up, or overtaken, with pride (*garvita*). Thus, in explicit terms, pride is something that *surrounds* Rāvaṇa. Even if he is not explicitly labeled as being prideful himself, Rāvaṇa is connected with being prideful both by ties of family, with his brother, and by ties of race or species, with the *vidyādhara*s, even if they are his enemies. Obliquely, though, Raviṣeṇa in this passage also gestures toward Rāvaṇa as being prideful himself. In his own speech, Rāvaṇa tells his mother that there is no use for boasting about oneself before immediately going on to do just that by announcing that not a single *vidyādhara* would be able to land a blow against him on the field of battle. This is a statement about the enemy army that conquered Rāvaṇa's home city of Laṅkā and exiled his family. There is more than a little irony, then, in Rāvaṇa's confident statement about his own martial prowess, coming, as it does, immediately after an expression of seeming humility. Another veiled reference to Rāvaṇa's own sense of arrogance is in Raviṣeṇa's description of Rāvaṇa's arms as being "like saplings of the musk tree" (*aṅkurau darpavṛkṣasya*). While the exact species of tree Raviṣeṇa refers to here is unknown, it is evident that the author is making a comparison between Rāvaṇa's strong arms, which would give off a sexually arousing scent, especially when exerting effort, to a strong, physically substantial tree that emits a fragrant musk. The variant reading of the word *darpa*, though, as "pride," "arrogance," or "haughtiness," also gestures toward an understanding of Rāvaṇa as himself at least touched by, or tinged with, a sense of pride. The same can be said with Raviṣeṇa's employment of the phrase *dhārayan mānam*, meaning "holding an idea or desire" in one's mind. *Mānam* here can also be read as referring to pride or arrogance, gesturing again toward the fact that Rāvaṇa is indeed arrogant. Thus, it is not that Raviṣeṇa's description of Rāvaṇa lacks the trait of pride or arrogance. It is instead that Raviṣeṇa is nuanced, careful in how he presents this trait; it is one of a number of characteristics that define Rāvaṇa, and picking up on the trait requires careful and purposeful reading.

In contrast, when we examine Jinadāsa's version of this episode, we see a markedly different presentation of the relationship between Rāvaṇa and the character trait of pride. Jinadāsa's account of Rāvaṇa's and Vibhīṣaṇa's discussion with their mother is as follows:

> Then, right at daybreak, having heard his mother's pitiful words, Vibhīṣaṇa, laughing, said, "O mother, why do you grieve so? You indeed are one who has brought forth a great hero! Rāvaṇa is capable of burning away the forest

> that is his enemies, like fire covered with ashes." Then, having heard this spoken by his brother, Rāvaṇa who causes the three worlds to tremble on account of his great heroism, said this to his mother, "O mother, while self-praise is never appropriate, still listen to these words of mine! I alone am capable of defeating in battle these *vidyādhara*s, prideful because of their magical weapons!" And the two brothers thought, "Having received the grace of my parents, I must complete this familial duty." And that proud Rāvaṇa, accompanied by his brothers, having spoken thusly, focused on the acquisition of magical weapons for the sake of great powers, having bowed to his parents and to the Lord Jina, was wished well by his mother. And having left the city, flying through the sky, he quickly reached the terrifying Bhīṣma forest and entered it for the sake of accomplishing his goal.[6]

On the face of it these two descriptions are similar, and yet there are, again, subtle differences that illustrate Jinadāsa's attempt to reframe Rāvaṇa as particularly heroic and arrogant. First, Jinadāsa changes Vibhīṣaṇa's dialogue so that only Rāvaṇa is concretely labeled as heroic. Rāvaṇa is no longer one heroic brother out of many; he is the sole hero of the family. Thus, heroism as a character seme follows Rāvaṇa through this description.

Second, when compared to Raviṣeṇa's version of the episode, Jinadāsa is less nuanced in also describing Rāvaṇa as prideful.[7] We see this first in Jinadāsa's use of the term *mānavat*, meaning "one who possesses (*vat*) pride (*māna*)." Jinadāsa's use of this term coincides with Raviṣeṇa's use of the phrase *dhārayan mānam*, explained earlier as having two possible readings, the first expressing Rāvaṇa's resolve in completing his goal and the second gesturing toward his being arrogant. Jinadāsa's change here makes it clear which reading he thinks is more appropriate, and he removes the ambiguity of Raviṣeṇa's work by using the term *mānavat*. In this instance, we also have evidence that later readers of Jinadāsa's work interpreted his use of the term *mānavat* in this way. In the nineteenth-century manuscript of the work, written in another hand directly above the word *mānavat*, is the compound *abhimānayuktaḥ*, which literally means "joined/fastened to arrogance."

Jinadāsa also foregrounds Rāvaṇa's sense of arrogance by downplaying any similar sentiment in Vibhīṣaṇa. Compare Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's descriptions of Vibhīṣaṇa immediately before he addresses his mother. Raviṣeṇa explains that Vibhīṣaṇa literally makes a prideful smile (*garvasmita*). Jinadāsa does not include this in his description of the *vidyādhara*, saying instead that Vibhīṣaṇa simply laughs (*vihasya*). Thus, Raviṣeṇa and Jinadāsa seem to be engaged in diametrically opposed approaches to describing Rāvaṇa vis-à-vis his relationship to arrogance. Raviṣeṇa surrounds Rāvaṇa with other characters whom he is willing to label as explicitly possessed of, or subject to, arrogance or pride. This is one way in which Raviṣeṇa gestures toward pride as *also* being a characteristic of the *vidyādhara* king. Raviṣeṇa's is an oblique course, whereas Jinadāsa actually removes those explicit markers of pride from others, reserving them only for Rāvaṇa himself.

We turn now to perhaps the most important episode in the narrative, where the story pivots from one of intra-family turmoil and exile to one of abduction

and war. This is, of course, Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā. Jinadāsa's version of the events leading up to Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā is similar to Raviṣeṇa's account. Lakṣmaṇa is responsible for the death of Rāvaṇa's nephew, Śambūka, though he is unaware of the violence he has committed. Śambūka's mother, Candranakhā,[8] discovers that her son has been beheaded and then happens upon Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā in the forest, where she becomes infatuated with the two men. Rebuffed by the brothers, Candranakhā becomes jealous, and lies to her brother, Rāvaṇa, about the entire ordeal. In response, Rāvaṇa assembles his army and heads toward the forest where Rāma and his family are residing, intent on avenging the murder of his nephew.[9] Jinadāsa's account of what transpires immediately following Rāvaṇa's arrival on the scene is given here:

> [Rāvaṇa thought,] "Will I destroy my own fame because of the confusion of a woman? I cannot dwell on this question now, I will go [to the battlefield] for my own safety and prosperity." Thinking thusly, and minding the words of his sister, that extremely proud one, his eyes reddened with anger, made up his mind to go there. And having ascended onto his *puṣpaka* vehicle alone, that greatest possessor of heroism, having departed, went there and saw a woman, similar to Lakṣmī herself, standing there. Thin waisted, with lotus-like eyes and a face as a beautiful as the moon, wearing red clothes the color of an elephant's rut, her breasts full and heavy, it was the youthful, virtuous Sītā, who embodied proper conduct, intelligence, charm, and beauty, who, even with just a glance, ignited the suffering of passion.[10]

We see here again Jinadāsa explicitly reminding the reader of what he sees as Rāvaṇa's primary character trait, his pride. In calling Rāvaṇa "the extremely proud one" (*mahāmānin*), Jinadāsa connects this character flaw with his subsequent abduction of Sītā and the host of problems that will eventually arise from it, leading, of course, to Rāvaṇa's death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. What is important here is that as opposed to Raviṣeṇa's more nuanced characterization of Rāvaṇa, Jinadāsa's Rāvaṇa is more stagnant, marked consistently by this trait of pride. In this example, Jinadāsa also connects Rāvaṇa's arrogance with his anger, expressed via the description of Rāvaṇa's red eyes (*krodharaktekṣaṇa*). Thus, Jinadāsa's connection is clear: pride leads to anger, which clouds one's reasoning and leads to bad decision-making.

We should also notice in this passage, though, that the seme of heroism is still present in Rāvaṇa. Jinadāsa is just as explicit in labeling Rāvaṇa "the greatest possessor of heroism" (*vīryavattaraḥ*) as he is in labeling him extremely proud. Indeed, Rāvaṇa's motivation in going to confront Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the first place—to avenge his murdered nephew and defend his sister, whom he believes to have been the victim of assault—is a heroic one, and he has proven his heroism in previous episodes throughout the narrative.

If we read Jinadāsa's descriptions of Ravaṇa closely, we will also notice that the level of Rāvaṇa's pride, the degree to which he embodies arrogance, appears to increase in this episode. Previously Jinadāsa employed *abhimānin* and *mānavat*

as appellations that express Rāvaṇa's inherently prideful nature. Here, though, Jinadāsa uses *mahāmānin*, "that one who is *extremely* proud." Jinadāsa's use of the prefix *mahā* here, meaning "great" or simply "very" in this context, stems from the context in which Rāvaṇa finds himself: his nephew has just been murdered and his sister (he thinks) scorned and abused. The heightened emotional and physical responses to such a slight are perhaps understandable, but also, it seems, particularly dangerous. It is in this amplified affective state that Rāvaṇa first lays eyes on Sītā, suggesting that this contributes to his eventual compulsion to abduct her. Thus, by marking Rāvaṇa as inherently prideful and connecting his eventual demise to that very character flaw, Jinadāsa makes a compelling case for working toward controlling one's passions. For Jinadāsa, Rāvaṇa functions as a cautionary tale, indeed, an exemplum. The process of Rāvaṇa's demise functions as a specific example of a general truth: unchecked pride brings about ruin; it is therefore incumbent upon an individual to work toward suppressing pride and arrogance.

Unlike in Raviṣeṇa's text, in which Rāvaṇa's death and the grief that it engenders in the reader is of primary importance for the poetic logic of the rest of the narrative, Jinadāsa's Rāvaṇa reaches a zenith of importance in the act of abducting Sītā, thereby securing his eventual fate. The traits of pride and arrogance, though, continue to appear throughout the rest of the narrative. Up until this point, I have focused on the places in the text in which Jinadāsa is explicit in labeling Rāvaṇa as prideful or arrogant; this explicitness is one of the primary mechanisms by which Jinadāsa constructs Rāvaṇa as an exemplar, but as we shall now see, it is buttressed by episodes in which Jinadāsa is more oblique in depicting Rāvaṇa as prideful. One such example is the final battle between Rāvaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa. Before the battle Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa stand face-to-face, taunting one another. Jinadāsa's description of the conversation is as follows:

> Then, having seen the face of Vibhīṣaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa, holding the *cakra* weapon in his hand and resplendent with lustrous energy (*tejas*), said to Rāvaṇa: "O you who is revered by the *vidyādhara*s, respectfully, with these words of mine, return Sītā to Rāmadeva if you have any desire for prosperity! O king, if you want to live, then repeat these words: 'I live only because of the grace of Rāma!' O King, take this opportunity! For great people may still be successful, even after creating dishonor for the sake of enemies!" Then Rāvaṇa, smiling, said to Lakṣmaṇa, "O, you indeed are deprived of all reason! You are proud, and you are as worthless as a *śūdra*! I will make it so, and you, O vile one, will bear that difficulty today! For I am Rāvaṇa, and you are but a man!"[11]

There is an unmistakable irony in Rāvaṇa calling another character prideful, given the fact that Jinadāsa has been careful in his explicit labeling of Rāvaṇa as the embodiment of arrogance in numerous places before this episode. This is not to say that Lakṣmaṇa is *not* arrogant, but rather simply that Rāvaṇa's ability to identify the trait in others and not in himself is yet *another* example of his own condition. This attempt on the part of Rāvaṇa to label Lakṣmaṇa as the

arrogant character in the situation therefore backfires in the mind of the reader and reinforces the reader's conception of Rāvaṇa as blinded by his own arrogance. The content of the conversation itself lends credence to this interpretation. Lakṣmaṇa here is essentially giving Rāvaṇa a final chance to prevent his own death. Lakṣmaṇa stands in front of the *vidyādhara* king holding the weapon that will soon kill him. In return for his life, Lakṣmaṇa asks only two things of Rāvaṇa: first, that he return Sītā to her rightful husband, Rāma; and, second, that he admit that it is because of Rāma's grace that he will be spared. Rāvaṇa's response to these requests demonstrates how deeply and inescapably embodied his prideful nature is. To not only refuse, but to mock Lakṣamaṇa by comparing him to a *śūdra* cements in the mind of the reader the very trait that Jinadāsa has associated Rāvaṇa with so explicitly over the course of the entire narrative, that is, arrogance.

Raviṣeṇa *also* uses the word *garva*, meaning "prideful" or "arrogant," in his account of this episode. Indeed, Jinadāsa does not stray far from Raviṣeṇa's verbiage in composing his version of Rāvaṇa's response to Lakṣmaṇa. Raviṣeṇa says: "And Rāvaṇa, smiling, said to Lakṣmaṇa, 'O, you indeed are bereft of reason, you proud one! You are as useless as a *śūdra*!'"[12] I point this out because I want to be clear about what my argument in this chapter is. I am *not* arguing here that Jinadāsa *adds* to Rāvaṇa a new character trait of arrogance, something that was not present in Raviṣeṇa's narrative. Rāvaṇa is arrogant in Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*. I am also not arguing that Raviṣeṇa never uses terms "arrogant" or "prideful," even when describing Rāvaṇa. My argument is that Jinadāsa is consistently more explicit in labeling Rāvaṇa as arrogant, that his arrogance is not only more prominently and earlier portrayed in Jinadāsa's text, but that its significance is also enhanced. For Jinadāsa, the seme of arrogance is the primary and most consistent way to understand why Rāvaṇa—or really, his *jīva*—ends up in hell, and this understanding is established at the beginning of the narrative and continually reinforced.

Finally, there are places in the narrative where Jinadāsa gestures toward the consequences of Rāvaṇa's arrogance, though he does not directly mention the arrogance itself. One such place is Rāvaṇa's taming a mountain elephant. We can first examine an excerpt of Raviṣeṇa's text:

> Then Rāvaṇa, laughing, said, "O Prahasita, it is not proper to praise oneself, but let me say this: If I do not capture this elephant in an instant, I will cut off my two bangle-ornamented arms!"[13]

While not identical, Jinadāsa's text is similar to Raviṣeṇa's. He writes:

> And Rāvaṇa, laughing, said, "Wise men certainly do not praise themselves, but still, let me say this: If I do not tame this [elephant], I will cut off both my arms with my sword."[14]

Raviṣeṇa provides a general rule that Rāvaṇa goes on to break: people, in general, ought not to praise themselves. The fact that Rāvaṇa subsequently and effortlessly breaks that injunction *shows* his own arrogance without explicitly mentioning it.

Jinadāsa, though, adds to his verses a new concept, that of the wise or learned person (*paṇḍita*). If Jinadāsa has been grooming his reader to think of Rāvaṇa as primarily and inherently arrogant, he is building on the definition of arrogance in this episode. Thus, to Jinadāsa, arrogance is marked by the absence of wisdom, or, to be more specific, the unwillingness to implement one's *knowledge* of how wise people should conduct themselves. This episode is, of course, not the only place where the reader sees Rāvaṇa acknowledge the rule that boasting about oneself is inappropriate. As discussed earlier, Rāvaṇa uses almost the exact same language when explaining to his mother that he will defeat the family's *vidyādhara* enemies and win back Laṅkā. There, too, Rāvaṇa explicitly acknowledges the cultural dictum against self-praise, saying then that it is never appropriate, (*ātmapraśaṃsā na kriyate jātucit*) before immediately transgressing the very dictum. In that example, though, Jinadāsa also explicitly labels Rāvaṇa as prideful. Thus, in using similar language in the episode of Rāvaṇa's encounter with the elephant, the reader is reminded not only of Rāvaṇa's and Vibhīṣaṇa's conversation with their mother, but also of the character traits that were highlighted in that episode.

Given all of this, how might we go about answering the question, posed earlier, of *why* Rāvaṇa ends up in hell? It is clear that Jinadāsa sees Rāvaṇa's unchecked and undisciplined character traits of pride and egoism as the determining factor for the behavior that results in his abducting Sītā, dying at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa, and his rebirth in hell. The reader is meant to track both the explicit and more subtle ways in which Jinadāsa constitutes Rāvaṇa's pride as his dominant character seme, to the point that it eclipses even his heroism. In doing so, Jinadāsa establishes a direct relationship between Rāvaṇa's pride and his soul's rebirth in hell. Rāvaṇa becomes a warning to the reader about the *necessarily* deleterious effects of living a life dominated by pride.

4.2 Rāma as Conqueror of the Passions

Rāvaṇa, of course, does not exist in a narrative vacuum. He is emplotted into the narrative as the primary antagonist of Rāma himself and, given that, changing how the reader views Rāvaṇa will also affect how the reader understands Rāma. There is a domino effect that stems from so drastically changing Rāvaṇa's characterization; the reader, by first encountering Rāvaṇa as an exemplar of pride and egoism, is trained to expect Rāma to be an exemplar as well, a positive exemplar. As we will see, understanding Rāvaṇa as an exemplar of pride brings to the reader's attention the opposite qualities in Rāma, and it is those opposite qualities—introduced in the language of Rāma overcoming "internal enemies"—that become the primary explanatory factors for the divergence between Rāvaṇa's fate and Rāma's.

To explicate this, we should again begin with a discussion of what actually happens to Rāma, what end he meets at the narrative's conclusion. After Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā, Rāma vows to find whoever has taken her and to bring her back to Ayodhyā. In the city of Pātālaṅka, he meets the exiled Sugrīva and commits to helping the *vidyādhara* retake the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā from the usurper

Sahasgati. In return, Sugrīva agrees to help find Sītā. Hanumān is sent as messenger to Laṅkā but is unable to convince Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma, who thus prepares his armies to march on Laṅkā. After a protracted battle, Lakṣmaṇa eventually kills Rāvaṇa. Rāma and Sītā are reunited and remain in Laṅkā for six years before returning to Ayodhyā. Eventually, Bharata and Kaikeyī take vows of renunciation and Rāma is properly crowned as king. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa acquire the kingdom of Mathura for their brother Śatrughna and continue to subjugate many *vidyādhara* kings. Eventually, a rumor spreads throughout Ayodhyā questioning Sītā's purity, given that she spent so much time away from her husband in Rāvaṇa's home. Rāma exiles Sītā, and she gives birth to Lava and Aṅkuśa in exile. When the twin princes grow up, they decide to wage war against the father they have yet to meet; they surround Ayodhyā, and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are unable to break the siege. The two warring parties are only calmed when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa learn that their enemies are Rāma's own sons, and when peace is made, Rāma calls Sītā back to Ayodhyā. He makes her undergo the fire ritual, after which she decides to take ascetic initiation. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is not until Lakṣmaṇa's death that Rāma himself experiences *vairāgya* and decides to become a monastic. At the narrative's conclusion, Rāma achieves *kevalajñāna* and, upon death, *mokṣa*.

Given all of this, we are left with the second question of why, narratively, Rāma reaps these fruits. Previous analyses of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives have focused on the fact that Rāma, as a *baladeva*, refrains from committing acts of violence during his life and thus does not accrue the negative karma that pulls both Rāvaṇa's and Lakṣmaṇa's *jīva*s down to hell. This is true, but as we saw earlier in the case of Rāvaṇa, Jinadāsa is explicit about the character trait in Rāma that is responsible for his not committing violent acts. If the Rāvaṇa that Jinadāsa creates is marked primarily by the two semes of heroism and pride, Rāma is marked by the semes of heroism and dispassion. Again, in order to understand these dominant semes, we need to trace how Jinadāsa constructs Rāma as a character throughout the narrative. This begins in the 19th chapter and, similar to Rāvaṇa's introduction, Jinadāsa gives his first description of Rāma via the words of his father, Daśaratha, whose wife, Aparājitā, has witnessed magnificent dreams that she has asked her husband to explain. Daśaratha responds to his wife's request: "A great son will be born to you, O beloved one, who will possess utmost heroism. He will indeed destroy all of his enemies, both internal and external."[15] This description of Rāma is not dissimilar to Raviṣeṇa's account, which states: "O beautiful wife, a son will be born of you who will be the cause of great wonder. He will fell his enemies, both internal and external."[16] As we should by now come to expect, though, what is most interesting about comparing Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's first descriptions of Rāma are their differences. Take, for example, Raviṣeṇa's description of Rāma as being "the cause of great wonder"[17] (*paramāścaryahetu*). Jinadāsa replaces this with a description of Rāma as "possessing great heroism" (*paramavīryavān*). Marking the change by retaining the compound's first word, *parama*, Jinadāsa replaces an outward-looking adjective—that Rāma will perform wondrous events in the world for people to

witness—with an inward-looking description of character. Adding to the importance of Jinadāsa's change here is the fact that specifying Rāma's inward seme of heroism draws a direct connection to Rāvaṇa, whom Jinadāsa also describes as being greatly heroic (*vīryavat* and *mahāśūra*). Both characters are heroic, which by this point the reader understands to mean they are brave in facing external enemies, but of course they meet diametrically opposed ends. The reason for this is the additional seme that each character possesses: pride, in the case of Rāvaṇa, and self-control, in the case of Rāma, here articulated as the ability to overcome specifically "internal enemies."[18] These "internal enemies" that set Rāma apart from Rāvaṇa are undoubtedly the four *kaṣāya*s, or passions: anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*), pride (*māna*), and deceit (*māyā*). The history and importance of these passions can be traced back to the earliest strata of the Jain textual tradition.[19] The first-century CE *Kaṣāyapāhuḍa* by Guṇadhara, one of the oldest extant Digambara canonical works, deals extensively with the passions and their relation to karmic bondage. Umāsvāti's Sanskrit *Tattvārtha Sūtra*[20] explains that they are included among the causes of long-term karmic bondage (6.5 and 6.6), and *Tattvārtha Sūtra* 6.15 specifically identifies the arising of the passions (*kaṣāyodaya*) as being a determining factor in the influx of conduct-deluding (*cāritra-mohanīya*) karma.[21] In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, the *kaṣāya*s are indirectly responsible for the influx of karma; the passions encourage harmful behavior, which in turn causes the attraction of karmic matter to the *jīva*.[22] Thus, the literal translation of *kaṣāya* is "sticky." What is more, there are clear instructions for overcoming the four passions, modes of conduct that reduce or eliminate the passions' influence on human behavior. To combat anger, one must cultivate patience (*kṣama*). To combat greed, one must cultivate charity (*dāna*). Against ego one must cultivate humility (*mārdava*). And against deceit one must cultivate truthfulness (*satya*).

There is, to be clear, not as pronounced or precise a transformation in how Jinadāsa depicts Rāma as there is with Rāvaṇa. In part, this is because *everything* Rāma does could be considered an example of his embodying patience, charity, humility, or truthfulness. What is the case, though, is that because the reader of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* has been trained to see Rāvaṇa explicitly as prideful, the fact that Rāma embodies the opposite traits is heightened and highlighted. In general, Jinadāsa depicts Rāma throughout the *Padmapurāṇa* as someone who is naturally predisposed to resist the influence of the *kaṣāya*s; the reader does not often see Rāma *struggling* to behave correctly. There are exceptions to this general rule, though. Rāma is not perfect, which is to be expected given that it is only at the end of the narrative that he becomes a renunciant who fully and purposefully commits himself to the complete destruction of the *kaṣāya*s. In particular, there are certain episodes of heightened emotional tension in which Rāma lashes out in anger. For example, when Lakṣmaṇa repeatedly questions the soundness of Rāma's decision to banish Sītā, Rāma becomes angry: his heart hardens against the advice of his brother (*viraktahṛdaya*), he becomes "greatly enraged" (*atīva saṃkruddha*). This change in demeanor is written upon Rāma's displeased face (*aprasannamukha*).

Acknowledging, then, that Rāma is not completely immune to the arising of passions before he becomes a renunciant, there is still a concrete difference between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Whereas Rāma sometimes falls prey to the arising of passions, Rāvaṇa is indelibly marked by those passions: remember Jinadāsa's use of the possessive suffix *vat* when describing Rāvaṇa's egoism. Furthermore, this difference in the characterization of Rāma and Rāvaṇa should be recognizable from our own lived experiences; we understand the difference between a person who sometimes *gets* angry and a consistently, we might say characteristically, *angry person*. To return to Barthes's vocabulary of the beginning of this chapter, anger does not "settle upon" Rāma to such an extent that it becomes a consistent seme.

Patience, charity, humility, and truthfulness—Rāma's embodiment of these traits are characteristic of him in most versions of the Rāma story, Jain-authored or otherwise. It is still helpful, though, to examine a few instances in which Rāma's embodiment of these virtues is on display. Rāma's fulfillment of these traits is particularly pronounced in his interactions with forest ascetics during his exile. For instance, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are responsible for protecting the two ascetics, Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa, whose meditation is threatened by snakes and scorpions.[23] Because of the protective efforts of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the two ascetics are able to achieve *kevalajñāna*. Similarly, Rāma is delighted at the opportunity to serve the food—cooked by Sītā, of course—by which two other ascetics, Gupti and Sugupti, break their fasts. The merit of this charity is recognized by the immediate environment: celestial drums resound, a delightful fragrance fills the air, flower petals rain down, and the gods announce their approval with cries of "*sādhu sādhu*!"[24]

Of course, by the time Jinadāsa introduces Rāma in the *Padmapurāṇa*'s 19th chapter, the reader has spent the preceding pages following the story of Rāvaṇa, who, as demonstrated earlier, has been explicitly linked not with *all* of the passions but with one, in particular, the reader now realizes: *māna*. Thus, it is important to explore the ways in which Rāma, as Rāvaṇa's foil who is not susceptible to the deleterious effects of pride, demonstrates its opposite humility (*mārdava*). While the term has general connotations of gentleness, softness, and pliancy, more specific to the case at hand:

> Humility arises when pride about one's race, family, prosperity, intellect, knowledge, and other such attainments, is subdued. The SB describes humility as a lack of self-aggrandizement, and control and destruction of pride. Pride has eight varieties, determined by its object: (1) paternal superiority, (2) maternal superiority, (3) beauty, (4) fortune, (5) exceptional intellectual and creative power, (6) scriptural learning, (7) prosperity, and (8) power.
>
> (Umāsvāti, 2011, 221f.)

Thus, we can look to the ways in which Rāma in Jinadāsa's version of the *Padmapurāṇa* embodies specifically this quality of *mārdava*. Rāma's decision to exile Sītā to the forest could be interpreted as an expression of humility, as

he prioritizes concerns over familial and societal honor above his own happiness. A more concrete example of this humility, though, is on display in Rāma's response to his being exiled from Ayodhyā:

> And then Padma, naturally affectionate [towards his father], having heard this, his eyes cast down to the feet [of his father] filled with reverence said: "O father, maintain the truth! Abandon this worry for us! What is the use of the wealth even of Indra if fame leads to shame? O father, because of his very birth, a son should do for the masters of his house, his two parents, that by which they will never become sorrowful on the earth."[25]

Jinadāsa follows Raviṣeṇa's account of this episode closely, and neither author uses the term *mārdava* in describing Rāma here. They both, instead, choose the term *vinaya*—translated as "with reverence"—which has similar connotations of reverence, gentleness, and humility as *mārdava*. Furthermore, the episode demonstrates not just Rāma's ability, but his seemingly heartfelt desire, to give up the status and wealth traditionally accorded to him for the sake of alleviating a parent's grief. This humble quality is further substantiated as Rāma works to convince his younger brother Bharata to follow Daśaratha's wish and rule the kingdom:

> Then, O king, Rāma, looking lovingly at Bharata and having taken his brother's hand, said in words that were sweet like nectar, "O Brother, who else on earth can speak in such a way as our father? Indeed, the jewels found in the ocean cannot also be found in a pond! It is not appropriate for your youthful energy to be directed towards the performance of asceticism! Therefore, rule as king so that the renown of our father will not go to obscurity on the earth! And if your mother, whose body is currently burdened with grief, meets her end [because of that sorrow] while a son like you still lives, such a burden would not be appropriate!"[26]

We should note Rāma's concern for Kaikeyī, here, his lack of any sense of "maternal superiority." Furthermore, we should take special note of Rāma's bodily comportment. Jinadāsa describes him as looking lovingly at his brother, taking Bharata's hand into his own, and speaking with sweet and gentle words. In this, we see the softness associated with *mārdava* physically manifested, a marriage of the inward quality of humility and its physical expression.

Finally, Rāma's comportment and actions after Rāvaṇa's death further highlight his predominant character seme as being a conqueror of the passions. Rāma is not boastful of his—or really, Lakṣmaṇa's—accomplishment in killing the formidable Rāvaṇa. Instead, the first thing Rāma does after the battle is to prevent Vibhīṣaṇa, disconsolate over the death of his brother, from committing suicide. Rāma's explanation of Rāvaṇa's death as resulting from the inescapable ripening of the *vidyādhara* king's negative karma also strikes the reader differently here. Whereas in Raviṣeṇa's version of the episode Rāma's resorting

to the unknowable and unpredictable workings of karma struck the grieving reader as callous, in Jinadāsa's rendering Rāma seems purposefully to diminish the importance of his own work in the matter. Here, Rāma's asking Vibhīṣaṇa what the point of grieving Rāvaṇa's death is, since it was in fact dictated by the *vidyādhara*'s karma, prompts a further question: why praise Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa for being the mere tools of karmic fruition? Furthermore, the reader's attention is drawn to just how much Rāma *does* between the death of Rāvaṇa and his reunion with Sītā and the patience that this must require. Not only does Rāma save Vibhīṣaṇa from committing suicide, he also takes the lead in executing Rāvaṇa's cremation and funerary services, takes times to pay proper respects to and console Rāvaṇa's grieving wives, and ensures that the enemy *vidyādhara*s that were taken captive during the war are duly released. All of these actions are discussed in terms of duty, particularly *kṣatriya dharma*, but they still reveal an impressive level of patience.

Thus, we see our answer to the question previously posed of *why* Rāma meets the end that he does, and, furthermore, why that end is so different than Rāvaṇa's. By being someone who controls his passions, Rāma sets himself up to be able to take renunciation and eventually achieve *mokṣa*. This does not mean that he does not suffer; rather, it simply means that the traits he possesses allow him to endure and ultimately escape suffering.

4.3 The Challenge of Lakṣmaṇa

One issue that arises in thinking about Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* as an *ākhyāna* involves Lakṣmaṇa and, specifically, how the reader is supposed to understand and *feel about* Rāma's younger brother. Lakṣmaṇa is Rāma's devoted sidekick, preternaturally attracted to Rāma since birth. He also, to put it bluntly, does Rāma's dirty work throughout the narrative. In the traditional understanding of Jain *purāṇic* literature, Lakṣmaṇa is the *vāsudeva* to Rāma's *baladeva*. He is destined to kill his enemy, the *prati-vāsudeva* Rāvaṇa, and, more broadly, to perform the violent actions necessary to ensure society's continued safety and flourishing. Because of this self-sacrifice, the *vāsudeva* is destined to be reborn in hell, though eventually he too will become a Jina in a future birth. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, Raviṣeṇa utilizes Lakṣmaṇa as the crux for engendering *vairāgya* in Rāma in the narrative and, thus, to help engender *śānta rasa* in the reader of the *Padmapurāṇa* as a whole. In Jinadāsa's version of the narrative, though, it is unclear how the reader is supposed to orient themselves toward Lakṣmaṇa. On the one hand, the fact that he is loyal and helpful to Rāma should make him worthy of emulation and, more broadly, Lakṣmaṇa is certainly a heroic character. These qualities suggest that the reader should be attracted to Lakṣmaṇa. On the other hand, though, Lakṣmaṇa's *jīva* is eventually reborn in hell because of the violence he performs, oftentimes *on behalf* of Rāma. Thus, in thinking of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* as *ākhyāna*, the reader should not emulate Lakṣmaṇa, because the reader should not want to go to hell.

There is textual evidence of this tension in Jinadāsa's narrative; again, this emerges out of a careful comparative reading of Jinadāsa's work alongside Raviṣeṇa's. In introducing Lakṣmaṇa upon his birth, Raviṣeṇa writes the following:

> O beautiful woman! You will give birth to the most eminent son of this *yuga*, one of great splendor and excellent behavior. He will bring about the destruction of hosts of enemies![27]

Compare this description to Jinadāsa's corresponding verse:

> O beautiful queen! You will give birth to a son, one of great splendor who will destroy hosts of enemies![28]

As we should expect, there is some congruence between Jinadāsa's and Raviṣeṇa's verses. Both authors, in nearly verbatim language, point out that Lakṣmaṇa will work to destroy the multitude of enemies that he will eventually face. But there is also an obvious difference between the two descriptions of Lakṣmaṇa: Jinadāsa leaves out the part of Raviṣeṇa that describes Lakṣmaṇa's actions—the very actions *of* destroying enemies—as excellent (*citraceṣṭa*). The violent nature of those actions, which eventually result in Lakṣmaṇa's rebirth in hell, leaves Jinadāsa conflicted. How could these be thought of as excellent?

There are further difficulties with understanding Lakṣmaṇa that stem from the fact that Rāma is associated in Jinadāsa's work with *mārdava*, the gentle humility that works against the *kaṣāya* of *māna*. Lakṣmaṇa is neither particularly gentle nor humble. We examined earlier the fact that Rāvaṇa himself, immediately before his death, calls Lakṣmaṇa prideful, but Lakṣmaṇa is also consistently and predictably quick to anger and is generally more susceptible than Rāma to the throws of emotional turmoil. This is demonstrated in the episode in which Lakṣmaṇa hears of Rāma's banishment. The reader will remember how calmly Rāma takes the news, even agreeing that it would be best for all parties involved. In comparison, Lakṣmaṇa immediately becomes enraged—literally, his eyes become reddened with anger (*krudhāraktanayana*)—when he sees his elder brother leaving the city. This rage stems from the affection that Lakṣmaṇa holds for his brother; he is literally "abounding in love" (*snehanirbhara*). Lakṣmaṇa then questions whether or not he should interfere with Daśaratha's order and laments Kaikeyī's influence over his father. And though in this case Lakṣmaṇa successfully calms himself and ultimately expresses the hope that Rāma and Daśaratha know what is best for the kingdom, this is not always the case.[29] There are further episodes in which Lakṣmaṇa cannot control himself, where another character must counsel him against further violence. Such is the case when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa capture King Ativīrya, who had threatened to attack Bharata in Ayodhyā. Here, it is Sītā who intervenes on behalf of the king when Lakṣmaṇa is set to kill him.[30]

What becomes apparent in reading Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* is that he does not shy away from presenting Lakṣmaṇa as quick to anger, and in this regard, his

characterization does not stray far from Raviṣeṇa's presentation. In addition to the examples provided earlier, we see this in the episode in which Lakṣmaṇa becomes angry at Sugrīva for what he perceives as the *vidyādhara's* wasting time sporting with his own wives while Rāma is disconsolate over losing Sītā:

> Then [Lakṣmaṇa], his mind agitated and his eyes inflamed with rage, oriented himself and went to Sugrīva, his hand shining [by the brilliance] of the sharp sword he carried. Because of the anger in his gait, the entire city began to tremble and fear arose in the hearts of the all the people.[31]

Indeed, it is this anger, this seme of *krodha* and the violence that it leads Lakṣmaṇa to commit, that becomes the dominant seme for Lakṣmaṇa as a character, and he thus becomes a sort of tragic exemplar of the fact that the bonds of family and fraternal affection, though perhaps resonant with the reader as motivations for action, are still dangerous in the long run. Even the *krodha* that stems from protecting one's family opens one up to the accumulation of harmful karma and the repercussions that invariably generates.

4.4 *Ākhyāna* and the Formation of Moral Persons

We should here step back to take stock of the entire picture that has emerged regarding Jinadāsa's textual project and the strategies he employs for seeing that project to fruition. Over the past two chapters I have argued that Jinadāsa evaluated Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* to be an ineffective tool of moral cultivation. It was this evaluation that motivated Jinadāsa to embark on the project of rewriting the *Padmapurāṇa*; this was a project of, in Jinadāsa's own words, creating clarity out of an overly ornate *kāvya*. The morally formative potential of the bones of *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa posits, rests not in its ability to inspire the *sahṛdaya* to renounce the world. Rather, the potential of the Rāma story *qua ākhyāna* is broader: by constructing characters as exemplars of positive and negative moral traits and associating the characters' ultimate outcomes directly with those respective traits, the text can encourage its readers to emulate the positive and work to eradicate the negative traits in their own lives. Be like Rāma in your life, Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* says. Learn to identify and work to control the dangerous inner enemies that are your own passions. Do not be like Rāvaṇa. Wantonly disregarding these passions, allowing them to unduly influence your behavior leads only to ultimate ruin. Be careful, too, to avoid the pitfalls into which Lakṣmaṇa has fallen. Recognize the possibility that your emotional turmoil may be rooted in conventionally righteous, but no less dangerous, worldly bonds.

What becomes apparent in this is that the moralizing project of the *ākhyāna* is an intellectual endeavor. It involves not emotional attunement but a discerning eye, the ability to identify a character's paradigmatic virtue or vice, to trace that trait's development and continued emergence over the course of a narrative, and to connect each character's ultimate fate back to their dominant seme. As Timothy Hampton points out: "It is only through narrative . . . that the exemplar proves

his virtue."[32] This type of conscious tracing is a different kind of immersive narrative experience than that required of reading Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya*. Furthermore, *ākhyāna* requires the reader to leave the text behind and be attentive to their own lives. If Rāma has taught me the value of performing charity, where and how can I enact that in my own life? Under what circumstances can I practice patience? Or humility? Or truthfulness? What triggers my sense of pride, now that I have borne witness to its ultimate dangers?

We concluded the last chapter by foreshadowing the fact that between Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*s it was not merely the mechanism of moral instruction that differed, but also the two works' actual moral messages. Here we can finally see in true relief the differences between these moral imperatives. Like other Jain *kāvya*s, Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* encourages disillusion with worldly existence through the skillful manipulation of emotions, particularly grief. The ultimate goal is that this disillusion will spur the reader to renounce the world and undertake earnestly the actions necessary to escape the world of *saṃsāra*. Jinadāsa, however, highlights the importance of cultivating specific character traits—patience, truthfulness, charity, and, most importantly, humility—that subsequently work to structure and hopefully habituate proper action. By emulating Rāma and intentionally acting counter to Rāvaṇa and, even, Lakṣmaṇa, the reader of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* can reasonably expect to reap appropriate karmic rewards. This is not to say that everyone who reads Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* will, like Rāma, renounce the world and achieve *mokṣa*. We should keep in mind Jinadāsa's expanded list of *purāṇa* listeners, discussed in the previous chapter. Not everyone who hears and understands the story of Rāma will be able to combat the four *kaṣāya*s as perfectly as Rāma does. But any generally auspicious listener should be capable of identifying the importance of working to suppress the passions in his or her life, which, if enacted, cannot but ultimately lead to benefit.

Notes

1 Abhinavagupta's *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, quoted in Tubb (1985, p. 142).

2 Raviṣeṇa 7.192–194.
bhavitā prathamaḥ teṣāṃ nitāntaṃ jagate hitaḥ | sāhasaikarasāsaktaḥ śatrupadmakṣapākaraḥ || saṃgrāmagamanāt tasya bhaviṣyati samantataḥ | śarīraṃ nicitaṃ cāroḥ uccaromāṃcakaṇṭakaiḥ||nidhānaṃ karmaṇām eṣa dāruṇāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati | vastuni ūrī kṛte tasya na śakraḥ api nivartakaḥ ||

3 Jinadāsa 8.106–107.
devi putrāḥ bhaviṣyanti trayaḥ te vīryavattarāḥ | trijagadviditāḥ śreṣṭāḥ gāmbhīryajitasāgarāḥ || teṣāṃ ādyaḥ mahāśūraḥ abhimānī raṇadurdvaraḥ śatrupadmaśaśī yoddhā durvīkṣyaḥ raṇasaṃkaṭe ||

4 Jinadāsa uses *śaśin*, literally meaning "the hare," to refer to the moon, relying on a common Indian story that the spot on the moon resembles a rabbit. Raviṣeṇa uses the compound *kṣapākara*, meaning "night maker," to refer to the moon.

5 Raviṣeṇa 7.243–255.
māturdīnavacaḥ śrutvā kṛtvā garvasmitaṃ tataḥ | vibhīṣaṇaḥ babhāṇa idam udyatkrodhaviṣāṅkuraḥ || dhanadaḥ vā bhavati eṣa devaḥ vā kaḥ asya vīkṣitaḥ | prabhāvaḥ yena mātaḥ tvaṃ karoṣi paridevanam || vīraprasavinī vīrā vijñātahanaceṣṭitā | evaṃ vidhā

sati kasmāt vadasi tvaṃ yathā itarā || śrīvatsamaṇḍitoraḥ kaḥ dhyāyatātatavigrahaḥ | adbhutaikarasāsaktanityaceṣṭaḥ mahābalaḥ || bhasmacchannāgnivadbhasmīkartuṃ śaktaḥ akhilaṃ jagat | na manogocaram prāptaḥ dasagrīvaḥ kim amba te || gatyā jayet ayaṃ cittamanādarasamutthayā | taṭāni girirājasya pāṭayet ca capeṭayā || rājamārgau pratāpasya stambhau bhuvanaveśmanaḥ | aṅkurau darpavṛkṣasya na jñātāvasya te bhujau || evaṃ kṛtaḥ tavaḥ atha asau bhrātrā guṇakulāvidā | tejobahutaraṃ prāpa sarpiṣā iva tanūnapāt || jagāda ca iti kim mātarātmanaḥ ativikatthayā | vadāmi śṛṇu yat satyaṃ vākyam etad anuttaram || garvitāḥ api vidyābhiḥ sambhūya mama khecarāḥ | ekasya api na paryāptāḥ bhujasya raṇamūrdhani || kulocitaṃ tathā api idaṃ vidyārādhanasaṃjñakam | karma kartavyam asmābhiḥ tat kurvāṇaiḥ na laṅghyate || kurvanti ārādhanaṃ yatnāt sādhavaḥ tapasaḥ yathā | ārādhanaṃ tathā kṛtyaṃ vidhāyāḥ khagagotrajaiḥ|| iti uktvā dhārayan mānam anujābhyāṃ samanvitaḥ | pitṛbhyāṃ bumbitaḥ mūrdhani kṛtasiddhanamaskṛtiḥ ||

6 Jinadāsa 8.139–145.
śrutvā iti dīnaṃ vacanaṃ | mātuḥ īṣaduṣā avadat | vibhīṣaṇaḥ vihasya idaṃ | mātaḥ kiṃ kuruṣe śucaṃ || vīraprasavinī loke | tvam eva asi na saṃśayaḥ | bhasmacchannāgnivat dagdhuṃ | daśāsyaḥ arivanaṃ kṣamaḥ || ayaṃ mātaḥ mahāvīryāt | bhuvanatrayakampakṛt | bhrātuḥ uktaṃ idaṃ śrutvā | punar uce daśananaḥ || mātaḥ ātmapraśaṃsā na | kriyate jātucit svayaṃ | tathā api śṛṇu me vākyaṃ | ekaḥ ahaṃ khilān khagān || vidyayā garvitān nūnaṃ | jetuṃ śaktaḥ asmi saṅgare | prasādaṃ bhavatoḥ prāpya ca imau bāndhavasattamau || tathā api ayaṃ prakartavyaḥ | kulācāraḥ mayā adhunā | dhīratve mahatsiddhyai vidyārādhanalakṣaṇaḥ || uktaḥ iti mānavān sārdhaṃ | bhrātṛbhyāṃ jinanāyakaṃ | pitarau ca praṇamya āśu | mātrā vihitamaṅgalaḥ || gehāt nirgatya gaganaṃ | utpatya prāptavān kṣaṇāt | bhīmanāmavanaṃ bhīṣmaṃ "praviṣṭaḥ ca svasiddhaye ||

7 Similar to the situation in Raviṣeṇa's version of the episode, it is of course clear that Rāvaṇa is not the *only* arrogant character in the story; in fact, we see Jinadāsa, in language that is similar to Raviṣeṇa's, specifically call Rāvaṇa's *vidyādhara* enemies arrogant (*garvita*).

8 More commonly known as Śurpaṇakhā.

9 For a more detailed account of this episode, see the previous chapter.

10 Jinadāsa 34.65–69.
tataḥ svakīrtināśaṃ | kiṃ karomi strīvimohataḥ | pracchanaṃ tadi mā nītvā | gacchāmi nijaśarmaṇe || vimṛśya iti mahāmānī | sanmānya bhaginīvacaḥ | krodharaktekṣaṇaḥ tatra | gantuṃ cakre ca mānasam || ekākīyānm āruhya | puṣpakaṃ vīryavattaraḥ | niḥsṛtya āgāt apaśyat ca tāṃ | lakṣmiṃ iva saṃsthitām || tanūdarīṃ padmanetrāṃ | āraktadvijavāsasaṃ | candrābhavadanāramyāṃ | pṛthupīnaghanastanīm || sītāṃ sayauvanām | kāntilāvaṇyabudhivartinīṃ | kāmakṣarotpattikarāṃ | darśanāt eva sadguṇām ||

11 Jinadāsa 48.214–219.
atha saumitriṇā av[o]ci | rāvaṇaḥ pṛthutejasā | vibhīṣaṇānanaṃ vīkṣya | cakraratna[. . .]pāṇinā | adyāpi mama vākyena | khagasaṃpūjya sādaraṃ | jānakīṃ rāmadevāya | prayaccha hitakāmyayā || yadi vāñchasi bhūpa api | jīvitaṃ tarhi saṃśruṇu | rāmaprasādāt jīvāmi | nūnaṃ evaṃ vacaḥ vada || tataḥ lakṣmīḥ tādṛṣī ca | tava bhūpa avatiṣṭhate | mānabhaṅgaṃ areḥ kṛtvā kṛtārthāḥ syuḥ naraottamāḥ || atha av[o]ci daśāsyena | lakṣmaṇaḥ smitakāriṇā | aho te heturahitaḥ garvaḥ | kṣudrasya niḥphalaḥ || te avasthāṃ yāṃ karomi adya | tāṃ sahasva adhunā adhama | ahaṃ saḥ rāvaṇaḥ nūnaṃ | sa ca tvaṃ bhūmigocaraḥ ||

12 Raviṣeṇa 76.20.
rāvaṇena tataḥ avāci lakṣmaṇaḥ smitakāriṇā | aho kāraṇanirmuktaḥ garvaḥ kṣudrasya te mudhā ||

13 Raviṣeṇa 8.414–415.

14 Jinadāsa 9.280–281ab.
daśavaktraḥ prahasya atha proce na hi ātmaśaṃsanaṃ | kriyate paṇḍitaiḥ kiṃtu bravīmi etāvat eva hi || na ced vaśīkaromi enaṃ pātayāmi asinā bhujau |

15 Jinadāsa 19.135.
bhavitā te mahān putraḥ | priye paramavīryavān | bāhyāntarvartināṃ nāśaṃ | yaḥ vidhāsyati vidviṣām ||

16 Raviṣeṇa 25.8.
paramāścaryahetuḥ te kānte putraḥ bhaviṣyati | antarbahiḥ ca śatrūṇāṃ yaḥ kariṣyati śātanam ||

17 Implied here is "in the world," that is, Rāma will bring about or perform wondrous events in the world.

18 There are numerous instances where Rāma overcomes external enemies, though always in concert with Lakṣmaṇa. Rāvaṇa, of course, also has a long track record of subduing external enemies.

19 See Johnson (1995, pp. 34–36).

20 The text is usually dated to between the second and fourth centuries CE. The *Tattvārtha Sūtra* is novel insofar as it is held as authoritative by both Digambara and Śvetāmbaras.

21 See Umāsvāti (2011, 1994, pp. 152–58).

22 See Johnson (1995, p. 57).

23 See Raviṣeṇa 40 and Jinadāsa 31.

24 Jinadāsa 32.

25 Jinadāsa 24.146–148.
śrtuvā iti vinayaṃ [b]ibhrat | ūce padmaḥ idaṃ vacaḥ | svabhāvapremacittaḥ asau | caraṇanyastalocanaḥ || tāta pālaya satyaṃ svaṃ | cintām asmadgatāṃ tyaja | kim etayā indralakṣmyā api | mālinyaṃ yāti te yaṣaḥ || putraḥ utpattyā hi tatkāryaṃ | gṛhiṇāṃ yena kecana | gachataḥ pitarau duḥkhaṃ | na kiṃcit tāta bhūtale ||

26 Jinadāsa 24.176–179.
tato rāmo api taṃ haste | dhṛtvaivam avadat nṛpa | sasnehadṛṣṭyā paśyan | taṃ amṛtopamayā girā || bhrāta tātena yatproktaṃ | ko anya evaṃ vadedbhuvi | na ratnākararatnānāṃ | sambhavaḥ syāt taḍāgake || tapodhikārayogyaṃ na | te vayaḥ sāmprataṃ tataḥ || rājyaṃ kuru pituḥ | kīrttiḥ mālinyaṃ yātu mā bhuvi || iyaṃ ca śoka[k] arttā | yanmahadduḥkham īkṣyate |na ucitaṃ tanmahāvāho | tvādṛse tanaye sati||

27 Raviṣeṇa 25.17.
sūnuryugapradhānaste śatrucakrakṣayāvahaḥ | bhaviṣyati mahātejāścitraceṣṭo varānane ||

28 Jinadāsa 19.43.
śrutvā daśaratho avadīddevi te bhavitā sutaḥ mahātejāḥ śatrucakrakṣayakārī śubhānane |

29 See Jinadāsa 24.212–221 and Raviṣeṇa 31.192–201.

30 See Jinadāsa 29 and Raviṣeṇa 37.

31 Jinadāsa 37.17–18.
athāsau kopasaṃraktalocanaḥ sambhramānvitaḥ | addiśya yātaḥ sugrīvam tīkṣṇakhaṅgalasadbhujaḥ || tasyātha gachato roṣādbhūmikampena tatpuraṃ | sakalaṃ vyākulaṃ jātam utpātāśaṃkicetasam ||

32 Hampton (1990, p. 23).

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Part III

5 From Padma to Rām

Language and Performance in Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*

We now shift our focus away from the relationship between Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*s and toward that of Jinadāsa's Sanskrit text and his *bhāṣā* work, the *Rām Rās*. We do not know which text Jinadāsa composed first, only that the latter was written in 1451 CE. Though one of the most energizing projects in recent decades among scholars of South Asia has been the attempt to theorize and trace the emergence of vernacular literature on the subcontinent beginning in the second millennium CE, the scholarly conversation surrounding the emergence of such vernacular literature has thus far been framed in terms of authors making exclusive choices between *bhāṣā* and Sanskrit.[1] The truth of the matter, particularly for Jain communities, is that *bhāṣā* and Sanskrit text production continued alongside one another during the early modern period. The fact that Jinadāsa wrote in both languages is not the exception of Jain authors, but, rather, the rule.[2] Thus, the phenomenon we encounter here—diglossic text composition in both Sanskrit and *bhāṣā*—provides an opportunity to investigate the complementary possibilities of Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* literary production and dissemination.

In our case, and with an eye toward the next chapter, comparing Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* and his *bhāṣā Rām Rās* serves as an invitation to explore the relationships between language choice and moralizing strategies and vision. Thus, similar to Chapter 3, in this chapter I examine the differences between the *Padmapurāṇa* and the *Rām Rās*. The primary goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the fact that the *Rām Rās* is not a mere translation of the Sanskrit. Indeed, I argue that scholars should abandon the assumption that *bhāṣā* versions of *purāṇic* narratives are simple translations of Sanskrit predecessors and, following from this, that the purpose of any such translations were simply to educate the masses who were ignorant of Sanskrit. The moralizing goals of multilingual text composition in early modernity were much more nuanced and much further reaching. Thus, this chapter also looks ahead, as the differences between the two texts that I lay out here will form the basis for my examination in the next chapter of the moral work of the *Rām Rās*.

In the following pages I present three types of difference between Jinadāsa's Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* Rāma narratives. In the next section I explicate what I call the performance-oriented logic of the *Rām Rās*, demonstrating how different structural aspects of the work suggest that it was meant to be danced and

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sung in public. This is not to say that the Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* was never recited publicly; rather, I argue that the *type* of performance logic in Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* works is specific to *bhāṣā*. In Section 5.2 I focus on more concrete differences between the Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* works. I present one example of a substantive plot difference between the two before demonstrating how Jinadāsa emplots himself in and orients himself toward the Rāma story differently in the two works.

5.1 *Rās* as Performance Genre

Given Jainism's persistent reputation of austerity, one might be surprised to read that there is a long history of music and dance performance forming a part of Jain religious practice.[3] The *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra* ("The Questions of the King"), though admittedly a Śvetāmbara text whose authority Digambaras would question, gives an account of Mahāvīra witnessing a dance performance and provides technical details of musical performance.[4] In medieval temple architecture, as well, there is evidence that music and dance were important aspects of public religiosity. The Śvetāmbara temples at Mount Abu, for instance, include a "dance floor" (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*) in front of the innermost sanctum, and carvings of dancers and musicians adorn the walls throughout the temples. Julia A. B. Hegewald identifies the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* as a hallmark of the Māru-Gurjara style of Jain temple architecture that was popular in the areas of modern-day Rajasthan and Gujarat from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and spread east over the following centuries. These open areas were "designed to accommodate dance and dramatic performances as well as communal worship" (Hegewald, 2015, p. 118).

There existed in premodern north India a litany of vernacular genres all known as a variant of "*rās*." In addition to *rās* we see *rāso*, *rāsu*, *rāsaka*, and *rāsau*, and scholars have debated both the connections and distinctions among these genres. Yashascandra argues that: "The *rāso* is a long narrative poem, historical or devotional. The term was often used interchangeably with *prabandha* (narrative) by medieval Gujarati poets. *Rāso* is to be distinguished from *rās*, which is a short lyrical poem set to song and dance" (2003, p. 571, n. 9). Talbot states that the "*rāso* or *rāsau* literature of Rajasthan is a genre of poetry that is ostensibly biographical or historical in nature, and is typically pervaded with *vīra* rasa or heroic sentiment" (2016, p. 61). This is seemingly emblematic of a larger belief that the *rāso* specifically deals with narratives of kingship and martial exploits, with which McGregor agrees (1984, pp. 16–21). He further explains that *rāsau* works were not meant to be sung, but that the *rāsa* compositions from Rajasthan and Gujarat were (McGregor, 1984, p. 16, n. 21).

Mukherjee, in turn, provides definitions for *rāsaka*, a Prakrit-language dance tradition; a "Hindi" *rāso*; a "Gujarati" *rāsu*; and a "Rajasthani" *rāso* or *rāsau*. His "Hindi" *rāso*—"a kavya-form in Old Hindi or Dingal, which gives an account of some king, of his prowess in battle and of his romances"—seems to correspond

most closely to the "literature of Rajasthan" discussed by Talbot (Mukherjee, 1998, p. 327). Issues become even more complicated when attempting to place specific works into these imprecise genre categories. For instance, Mukherjee includes Vajrasenasūri's twelfth-century *Bharateśvarabāhubalighor* as an example of a "Rajasthani" *rāso* (1998, p. 327), whereas Yashascandra discusses the same text as the "earliest available literary text in the *Gujarati* language" (2003, p. 574, emphasis added). Finally, Bangha has recently argued that while *bhāṣā rās* composition was part of a larger explosion in vernacular literary production in all sorts of genres beginning in the late twelfth century, the *rās* genre itself emerged directly from earlier Apabhramsha literature (2018). What is more, Bangha includes *rās* among a list of *bhāṣā* genres "produced mostly for singing," further speaking to the genre's performance nature, a topic we turn to now in earnest.

Mansukhlal Jhaveri provides the best explanation of the *rās* genre to which Jinadāsa contributed. I quote him here at length:

> The period from Hemachandra to Narasimha Mehta is distinguished by the development of the form of Rasa or Raso, written mainly by Jain monks. Certain didactic metrical forms in Apabhramsha were known as "Rasa." In Hemachandra's time the "Rasa" or "Rasaka" was a musical Roopaka (theatrical performance). Vagbhatta describes "Rasaka" as a soft and vigorous musical Roopaka with a variety of Tala (beat or measure) and Laya (rhythm). It was played by many female dancers. The number of pairs participating in the performance could be upto [*sic*] 64.[5]
>
> These Rasa were sung and played in Jain temples on certain special occasions. There were two types of Rasa: *Tala Rasa* (the Rasa in which time is beat by clasps of hand); and *Lakuta Rasa* (the Rasa in which time is beat with wooden sticks in the hands of the players). Rasa is, thus, a form of literature designed to be played by pairs of women singing and dancing gracefully in a circle.
>
> Since Rasa was designed to be played by a number of pairs, it could not, by its very nature, afford to be lengthy. But with the passage of time the element of story entered it, and the Rasa became narrative and lengthy. This adversely affected the element of graceful movement associated with the form to such an extent that it is doubtful Rasas written in the 17th and the 18th centuries were ever actually played.
>
> The Rasas were written in a variety of metres like Duha, Chaupai, or Deshi; and they were divided into parts called "Bhasha", "Thavani" or "Kadavaka."
>
> The Rasa was originally designed to be a didactic composition. The early Rasas like *Buddhi Rasa* are, therefore, sheer words of advice. But later on, the elements of description narration, moral instruction and sectarian dogma, went on increasing, with the result that most of the Rasas composed during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries suffer from heaviness and artificiality.
>
> (Jhaveri, 1978, p. 242)

The performance nature of the *rās* is thus, I think, not in question. Early *rās* performance is presented as a large-scale, well-organized, and intricately choreographed dramatic spectacle, one that would have certainly drawn a large and rapt crowd in premodern India. Of interest, though, is the fact that Jinadāsa, writing in the fifteenth century, seems to inhabit a period of transition in the genre overall. His *bhāṣā* works resemble later *rās* compositions insofar as they are long narratives that are certainly more than "sheer words of advice." At the same time, the text retains some key markers of public performativity, as will be detailed here.

Scholars have also investigated *rās* performance in parallel with another form of premodern oral literary tradition: the *gāgarīa bhaṭ*, or *māṇ bhaṭ*, a popular vernacular bardic figure with roots in early modern Gujarat. Ernest Bender describes the *gāgarīa bhaṭ* as:

> the answer, in the early part of the fifteenth century, to the desire to hear the classics in Gujarātī verse on the part of an affluent class, ill-tutored in or ignorant of Sanskrit. These *bhaṭs* would wander about the villages and town reciting the tales, altered in language, structure and content in their transmission from teacher to apprentice, as each tailored them to suit his talent or the taste of his varying audiences and the occasion.
>
> (Bender, 1971, p. 223)

Bender specifically situates the corpus of Jain *rās* composition in this history of bardic-style performance, saying that it "continues the tradition of the *gāgarīa bhaṭ*, with its content turned to the didactic purposes of its Jain author" (1971, p. 223).

K. M. Munshi also discusses the *gāgarīa bhaṭ*, providing a colorful description of what his "typical" performance might look like:

> The neighborhood flocks to hear the kathā, as the Purāṇic recital is called; the public square in front and the windows of the surrounding houses are turned into an auditorium for the occasion. The bhaṭa recites an ākhyāna; explains many parts of it; adds a flourish here, a touch there, to move or tickle the audience; improvises new stories and introduces lively anecdotes. The audience sits, hour after hour, absorbed in the recital. The description of a Purāṇic incident or character, in the mouth of a competent bhaṭa, assumes a fresh form and contemporary colour. At an interesting point in the recital the bhaṭa stops, and wants to know who among his listeners will provide his next day's dinner; and, unless he is ignorant of the rudiments of his art, he is sure to receive invitations from more than one hospitable townsman. Having made sure of the morrow, he proceeds with the kathā till after midnight, sometimes till the early hours of the morning. The session continues for a month, sometimes, longer; its length, as a rule, depends on the bhaṭa's ability to attract a good audience, and upon the hospitable nature of the locality. After the session is over, the bhaṭa is feasted, carried in a procession through the town, and presented with a purse as a send-off.
>
> (Munshi, 1935, 117f.)

Munshi takes an ambivalent view of the *gāgarīa bhaṭ*. On the one hand, *bhaṭ*s "provided free entertainment and education, both religious and secular, and helped to preserve Purāṇic literature" in Gujarat during early modernity. On the other hand, Munshi believes that the *bhaṭ*s:

> were scarcely qualified to reproduce the spirit, the art, or the idealism of the original Purāṇas; and were mostly content with mechanical repetition of narrative verses handed down from teacher to disciple. Their range of emotion, sentiment and thought were limited; their language, suited to an illiterate audience, lacked refinement and expressiveness.
>
> (Munshi, 1935, p. 118)

We need not—indeed, should not—follow Munshi's conflicted portrayal of the *gāgarīa bhaṭ*, but his description of the performer is important when read alongside Bender's because they both highlight the fact that *bhāṣā* performances were built out of relationships between performer and audience, and that such relationships oftentimes spawned spontaneous improvisation. No matter the text on a manuscript page, no two *rās* performances would be exactly the same. We must look at these narratives, then, not as set pieces or preaching texts, but as starting points for performance, as outlines to be followed but always expanded upon. As Albert Lord explains, "An oral poem is not composed *for* but *in* performance" (2000, p. 13).[6]

In addition to what we know generally about both Jain and regional performance traditions, evidence that the *Rām Rās* was written for performance can be found in the text itself. Lord, drawing on Milman Parry, describes the ballad singer's use of poetic formulas, "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical condition to express a given essential idea" (2000, p. 30). Again, quoting Lord:

> The poetic grammar of oral epic is and must be based on the formula. It is a grammar of parataxis and of frequently used and useful phrases. Usefulness in composition carries no implication of opprobrium. Quite the contrary. Without this usefulness the style, and, more important, the whole practice would collapse or would never have been born. The singer's mode of composition is dictated by the demands of performance at high speed, and he depends upon inculcated habit and association of sounds, words, phrases, and lines. He does not shrink from the habitual; nor does he either require the fixed memorization or seek the unusual for its own sake.
>
> (Lord, 2000, p. 65)

Formulas are thus necessary utilitarian performance devices. We see Jinadāsa consistently employ poetic formulas throughout his *bhāṣā* compositions, particularly in his introductory descriptions of characters. Take, for instance, the following passages, which introduce a number of important female characters to the

narrative. The first is the introduction of Rāvaṇa's chief queen, Mandodarī, and her mother, Hemavantī.

> There was the great city of Suragītā, the very essence of a *vidyādhara* kingdom. There, Mayadaita reigned as king, and his wife's name was Hemavantī. In her womb arose the excellent princess Mandodarī. The princess had exceedingly good fortune and was gentle by nature; it was as if she were garlanded by virtue itself. In her arose delightful, youthful beauty and she was resplendent with large, doe-like eyes.[7]

These descriptions of Mandodarī as being both exceedingly beautiful and virtuous are not unexpected. Though the terse description certainly does not rise to the level of *kāvya*, it does draw on longstanding classical tropes of young women of high social status. What becomes clear, though, in comparing this description with those of other women in Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*, is that essentially *every* important woman in the story is introduced using similar—and sometimes verbatim—terminology. Compare the description of Mandodarī with the following passage, which introduces Pṛthvī and her daughter Kaikeyī, Daśaratha's eventual fourth wife:

> In the northern region, there is an exceedingly grand city named Kautīkamaṅgala. In that great city, Śubhamatī reigns as king. Śrī Pṛthvī is his virtuous queen, beautiful and a storehouse of good fortune! She resembled the nymphs Urvaśī and Rambhā, and her voice was very sweet. In her womb arose two children, Kaikeyī and Dronamegha. The two children were resplendent like rays of the moon, making her womb auspicious. The daughter was exceedingly virtuous, born with great festivities. She was given the name Kaikeyī. She had knowledge of all the arts and unparalleled this-worldly and other-worldly knowledge.[8] She was beautiful and possessed exceedingly good fortune; indeed, others desired to steal away her virtue. She was filled with the beauty of youth and was exceedingly pure. She was resplendent with large, doe-like eyes.[9]

Jinadāsa introduces both Pṛthvī and Kaikeyī in similar language as he did Mandodarī. We see, to return to Lord, the "association of sounds, words, phrases, and lines." All of the women are exceedingly virtuous (*guṇamālā* or *guṇavant*), beautiful (*rūp*), and possess good fortune (*sobhāg*). Furthermore, both Mandodarī and Kaikeyī are described as being "filled with the beauty of youth" (*jovaṇ/yovaṇ bharī*), and Jinadāsa uses the exact same term in his most direct physical description of the two women, the fact that they both possess doe-like eyes (*kuraṅganayan*).

There is further evidence of this formulaic practice of introducing characters. In his description of King Janaka's wife, Videhā, Jinadāsa writes: "King Janaka possessed great virtue. His wife's name was Videhā; she was beautiful, possessed good fortune, and indeed possessed great virtue."[10] Here, we see a similar description to which we as the reader (or audience member) have become accustomed. Just like Mandodarī, Pṛthvī, and Kaikeyī, Videhā is physically beautiful (*rūp*), and possesses good fortune (*sobhāg*). Like Mandodarī, she is gentle and morally

upright (*sīlavantī*). Later in the narrative, Jinadāsa gives a similar description of Videhā, one that is immediately followed by a description of her daughter, Sītā:

> In the city of Mathurā King Janaka reigned, and Videhā was his queen. She performed many auspicious acts. In her womb arose a daughter, who was extremely illustrious. She was given the beautiful name Sītā, and she was gentle, beautiful, and garlanded by virtue. I have seen her beauty,[11] and she resembles that immensely beautiful *apsara* Rambhā![12]

Here again, as in the other examples, Sītā is described in terms of her physical beauty (*rūp*), her naturally gentle disposition (*śītal*), and her virtue (*guṇamālā*).

This trend of stock introductions of characters—specifically for our purposes here, female characters—begins with the work's commencement, with Jinadāsa's description of King Śrenika's wife, Celaṇā:

> [In the city of Rājagṛha,] King Śrenika reigned, his kingdom undivided. His queen was named Celaṇā. In terms of beauty, she resembled Rambhā; she was good natured, pure and virtuous, and was a pillar for the teachings of the Jinas.[13]

In making sense of the descriptive commonality among all of these female characters, what is important is the fact that the introduction of these women, no matter their importance or role in the story, is formulaic. Jinadāsa provides a basic representation of womanhood that is applicable to all of the individual women in the text itself. That is to say, a woman in a *rās* narrative possesses virtue and good fortune, is beautiful and delicate. Thus, from a performance perspective, the use of such repetitive verbiage makes the text simpler to understand for an audience member and easier to remember for a performer or narrator.

This use of formulaic language exists throughout Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* works. At the fine-grained level of individual verse, for instance, we see the formulaic repetition of specific words and phrases. Such is the case in the following verse, the first actual content verse of the *Rām Rās*, after the benedictory verses.

> *jambuvadīp* ***maṃjhāri sār*** | *bharatakṣetra tahme* ***jāṇo*** | *magadh des* ***māhe*** *nayar* ***sār*** | *rājagrh* ***vakhāṇo*** ||[14]
>
> You know that land of Bharata, located on the excellent continent of Jambudvīpa. Here is a description of that excellent city of Rājagṛha, located in the land of Magadha.

Notice the similarities between this introductory verse and that of Jinadāsa's *Sukumāl Rās*:

> *jambūvīdiv* ***majhāri caṅg*** | *bharataṣetra* ***sujāṇo*** | *magadh deś* ***atiruvaḍo*** | *rājagrah* ***vaṣāṇo*** ||
>
> That land of Bharata, located in excellent Jambudvīpa, is well known. Here is a description of Rājagṛha, [in the] unmatched land of Magadha.[15]

And, finally, the introductory verse of his *Dhanpāl Rās* is as follows:

> *jambūdvīp* ***majhāri sār*** | *bharataṣetra jag* ***jāṇo*** | *malayaṣeṭ atiruvaḍo* | *nayar* ***vaṣāṇo*** ||
>
> The world knows that excellent land of Bharata, located on the continent of Jambudvīpa. Here is a description of the city, [in the] unmatched land of Magadha.[16]

While these three exempla are not identical, they show a formulaic consistency. Setting aside the scribal discrepancies, the repetitions of simple postpositions (*maṃjhāri*/*māhe*), the adjectives *sār* and *caṅg*, and the consistency of the rhyme scheme between *jāṇo* and *vakhāṇo*/*vaṣāṇo* locate the field of action for each story in a single verse.

In the corresponding section of Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*, the description of Jambudvīpa, Bharatakṣetra, Magadha, and Rājagṛha takes up a total of 11 verses.[17] Much of this space is taken up with adjectival descriptions of the different locations. Jambudvīpa, for instance, is "ornamented with prosperity" (*kṣitibhūṣaṇa*), and "surrounded by salt-filled oceans" (*lavaṇārṇavaveṣṭita*). The Sanskrit episode also provides a description of Mount Meru, which the *bhāṣā* version leaves out. A full verse is dedicated to describing the glory of Mount Meru as "ornamented with Jina temples" (*jinacaityaiḥ alaṅkṛta*) and "golden-colored" (*hemavarṇa*). In the *bhāṣā* text, all of these descriptions are replaced with the word *sār*, simply meaning "excellent," or *caṅg*, probably related to *caṅgā* and *caṅgī*, meaning "pure," "good," or "handsome." These rather unimaginative adjectives, though, should also be thought of as markers of improvisational potentiality. There is the possibility that a talented performer might expand upon the qualities of any particular location.

Finally, understanding the actual construction of Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* texts further suggests that the text was intended for performance. Jinadāsa divides the narrative into sections called *bhās*, undoubtedly the "bhasha" that Jhaveri discusses earlier.[18] Jinadāsa employes a number of meters throughout his *bhāṣā* texts. Some, including *dohā*, *vastu*, and *caupāī*, are popular throughout early modern north-Indian vernacular literature.[19] Jinadāsa uses *dohā* and *vastu* to cap narrative episodes and transition into subsequent events; the majority of the actual narrative is composed in *deśī* meters that, according to Rāṃvkā, have not been addressed in traditional examinations of prosody.[20] In total, he identifies 28 such meters. Generally, a narrative episode will employ a single meter, and, then, a change in meter also marks the beginning of a new episode.

Rāṃvkā also connects these *deśī* meters with the *rāga* and *rāginī* system of premodern Hindustani music, which in the medieval and early modern periods was integrated into devotional religious practices (1980, p. 221). We further know that Jains were aware of the *rāga*/*rāginī* system as early as the fourteenth century.[21] There also existed in the Vāgaḍ region in the fifteenth century, though, local (*deśī*), *rāg*s that were unrelated to the classical Sanskrit tradition.[22] Ernest

Bender's (1971) article, "An Old Gujarati Dramatic Presentation," remains the best treatment of *deśī* meter and *rāg* as it was actually performed. Bender specifically examines the seventeenth-century Śvetāmbara Jain author Matisāra's *Śālibhadra Rās*.[23] Bender explains that the text is divided into 29 *ḍhāl*s, with each *ḍhāl* written in *caupāi* and *dohā* meters. Most importantly, all but one of these *dhāl*s is associated with a specific *deśī rāg*, each of which is specified, with the accompanying moods or emotional states that each *rāg* is meant to elicit (Bender, 1971, p. 223). It is possible that Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* texts were set to these *deśī rāg*s, though we do not see the same strategy of specifying each *rāg's* mood in Jinadāsa's works as we do in Bender's description of the later *Śalibhadra Rās*.

As to the question of what the *deśī* meters in Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* works actually look like, there is no simple answer. Jinadāsa includes, for instance, *caupāī* in the category. *Caupāī*'s rhyme scheme is either AAAA or AABB, with Jinadāsa favoring the latter. It is a common verse form in early Hindi poetry; Tulsidāsa's famous *Rāmcaritmānas*, for example, is composed primarily in *caupāī-dohā*. Jinadāsa uses *caupāī* in the same way he uses other *deśī* meters, as a way of breaking up the narrative into discreet parts. For example, the entirety of the episode in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa assist King Janaka in fighting the *mlecchas* is told in *caupāī*.

While Rāṃvkā explains that all of the *deśī* meters used by Jinadāsa are *mātrika* based,[24] most seem to be marked primarily by the repetition of certain words, either in the middle or at the end of each line. Such is the case with the *naresūvā* meter. Probably related to the Sanskrit word *nareśvara*, meaning "Lord of Men," or simply "king," this meter is marked by the repetition of the word *naresūvā* in the middle of each verse line. The verse's four *pāda*s (quarters) have an ABAB rhyme scheme. The "A" of this scheme is, formulaically, a long vowel followed by "*e*," as in the following example, where the rhyme scheme is in bold:

> vimāṇe vaisī **karīe** naresūvā, āvyā mathurā **caṅg** |
> sajan sayal **ānandīyāe** naresūvā, hoī tihāṃ **abhinavāraṅg** ||[25]
>
> Having seated [themselves] in their vehicles, [the *vidyādhara*s] went to the beautiful city of Mathurā. All of the good people became joyful, and the city was very beautiful.

Part "B" of the rhyme scheme for *naresūvā* is open; besides the *-aṅg* ending seen earlier, second and fourth *pāda* rhymes include endings of *-ār*, *-āṇ*, *-āl*, and *-ant*, among others. *Naresūvā* may be topically associated with kingship and martial exploits. Jinadāsa uses the meter, for instance, in describing the episode in which Rāma successfully strings the bow at Sītā's *svayaṃvara*, thereby ensuring his marriage to her.[26]

There are more meters that are marked by the repetition of certain words somewhere in the verse. In *sahī chand*, for instance, the word "*sahīe*" is repeated at the conclusion of each verse. Jinadāsa seems to use *sahī chand* for auspicious episodes that are particularly noteworthy or important; for example, the birth of the four sons of Daśaratha, including the pregnancies of his queens, is told in

sahī chand. In his *Hanuvant Rās*, Jinadāsa uses the *sahī chand* to narrate one of the most popular and beloved episodes in the life of Hanumān, in which the baby *vidyādhara* falls from a chariot and shatters the rock on which he lands.[27]

While space precludes an exhaustive examination of all the *deśī* meters that Jinadāsa uses in his *Rām Rās*, we can ask how the use of varied and oftentimes *mātrā*-fluid meters contributes to the performance-oriented logic of the work. I will enumerate two examples here. The first is the story of the dreams Aparājitā (oftentimes called Kauśalyā) witnesses in her sleep upon Rāma's conception. The episode is composed in *sahī* meter.

> Aparājitā was exceedingly pure, a performer of puja to the Jinas and delightful to the mind. Sleeping on a bed, she was beautiful and resplendent like a burning fire, o friend! In the last half of the night, which was pleasing to the mind, that noble woman saw these dreams: an elephant, a lion, a moon, and a sun, all extremely pure, o friend! And she saw a wish-fulfilling tree, and a sea filled with water. Finally, she saw a fire burning extremely bright, o friend! These seven extraordinary dreams she saw, and they were beautiful and portended great virtue![28]

There are two possible ways to think about how the word *sahīe* might function in this set of verses. First, it could be associated with the modern Hindi word *sakhī*, which refers specifically to a woman's female friend. It is in this sense that I have translated *sahīe* in the earlier passages. Second, though, *sahīe*, and the entirety of *sahī* as a metrical construction, may also be related to the modern Hindi word *sahī*, meaning, "entirely true," or "exactly so." In this sense, the translation of the earlier opening verse would be: "Aparājitā was exceedingly pure, a performer of *pūjā* to the Jinas and delightful to the mind. Sleeping on a bed, she was beautiful and resplendent like a burning fire. Indeed, it is true!" Both possible translations exude a sense of excitement and energy, though in the latter translation, the specifically female-oriented nature of the verses is missing.

It is also possible that the entire first verse itself, the description of queen Aparājitā, serves as a refrain to be repeated after each subsequent verse. That is, it is not just *sahīe* that is repeated at the end of each verse. This strategy of reading the episode resembles the *ṭek* (refrain) in *bhāṣā pad*s. In this reading, the translation of Aparājitā witnessing seven dreams would look like this:

> Aparājitā was exceedingly pure, a performer of *pūjā* to the Jinas and delightful to the mind. Sleeping on a bed, she was beautiful and resplendent like a burning fire, o friend!
>
> In the last half of the night, which was pleasing to the mind, that noble woman saw these dreams: an elephant, a lion, a moon, and a sun, all extremely pure!
>
> Aparājitā was exceedingly pure, a performer of *pūjā* to the Jinas and delightful to the mind. Sleeping on a bed, she was beautiful and resplendent like a burning fire, o friend!

> And she saw a wish-fulfilling tree, and a sea filled with water. Finally, she saw a fire burning extremely bright!
>
> Aparājitā was exceedingly pure, a performer of *pūjā* to the Jinas and delightful to the mind. Sleeping on a bed, she was beautiful and resplendent like a burning fire, o friend!
>
> These seven extraordinary dreams she saw, and they were beautiful and portended great virtue!

This style of performance is similar to Philip Lutgendorf's description of modern folk *Rāmcaritmānas* singing; he explains that in such a setting:

> Each stanza . . . was treated as an independent "song," performed antiphonally to haunting melodies. Individual lines or half-lines were repeated many times with an emotional intensity that seemed to draw out their full meaning; they were also supplemented with words and phrases not found in the text, but which contributed to the richness of the interpretation.
>
> (Lutgendorf, 1991, 97f.)

We should also examine the lists of dreams that Kauśalyā witnesses. That a mother of an exceptionally virtuous person, especially a *śalākāpuruṣa* (illustrious person in Jain universal history), would witness auspicious dreams upon the child's conception is not surprising, and the list of dreams seen by Aparājitā are not novel.[29] An interesting aspect of these dreams, though, indeed one that speaks to the *bhāṣā* episode's orientation toward improvisational performance, becomes apparent when compared against the corresponding passages in Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*. In the Sanskrit, Aparājitā witnesses only four dreams, not seven: 1) a white elephant (*śubhramātaṅga*), 2) a lion (*siṃha*), 3) the sun (*sūrya*), and 4) the moon (*niśākara*).[30] This is in keeping with Raviṣeṇa's account of the same episode.[31] In thinking about the performance-oriented logic of the *rās*, it is not difficult to understand why Jinadāsa would want to expand the list of dreams that Rāma's mother sees; it provides the performer with fodder for descriptive improvisation. Not only are there more dreams to actually describe, but a skilled performer could go further and expand upon the description of each individual dream, again, using the written text not as a script, but rather as a starting point for public performance.

Our second example in thinking about the performance-oriented logic of the *Rām Rās* focuses on Añjanā, Hanumān's mother.[32] Through a complicated series of misunderstandings, Añjanā's husband, Pavanañjaya, refuses to speak with her from the moment of their marriage. Soon after the wedding, Pavanañjaya abandons her at home and joins Rāvaṇa in battle. The following episode sees Añjanā begging Pavanañjaya to set aside his anger and return to her. It is in a meter called *helī* or, occasionally, *hela*, which has a four-quarter structure marked by the repetition of the word *helī* at the end of each half-verse. The first and third quarters

of the verse usually have 11 *mātrā*s, while the second and fourth quarters contain anywhere between 13 and 17 *mātrās*. Suthār and Gahalot, in their *Rājasthāni-Hindī-Aṅgrejī Koś*, define *helī* as "the heroin[e] of a religious song," so topically, the meter may be associated with women's actions and concerns (1995, p. 352).

> The beautiful Añjanā bore in her mind immense sorrows. Having abandoned my body, o Lord, how do you not see my sorrow. Without you, my sorrow is unmatched; happiness has left me, as has my master. Help me, o Lord, for my husband has been gone for many days. The night is not resplendent without the moon; speech does not shine without *dharma*! So too am I without you. How can I exist without my husband? How can lightning exist without clouds? How can lotuses exist without the sun? I cannot exist without you, my husband. How can I shine as your wife?[33]

Jinadāsa skillfully captures the tragedy of Añjanā's predicament. Thinking further, and admittedly a bit creatively, about *helī/hela*, though, may add depth to this sense. One of the beauties of *bhāṣā*'s imprecision is that is opens up a range of possible meanings and secondary connotations. In this vein, Callewaert gives *hela* as a Rajasthani word meaning "sin" or "guilt" (2009, 2201). There is a sense, then, of Añjanā futilely struggling with an unknown guilt, unable to grasp her responsibility for her husband's callous actions while feeling at fault. Furthermore, Suthār and Gahalot define *helā* as a "call" (1995, p. 351), and Callewaert provides the same definition for *helā* (2009, 2201). Thus, Añjanā's lamentations are not directed only toward herself; she is actively calling out to her husband, begging him to alleviate her suffering, to assuage her unspecified guilt.

Finally, in this passage, too, there is space for improvisational expansion, centering on the formula of "without X, how can there be Y" (X *vīṇā jīm* Y). The formula's simple construction allows it to be repeated, limited only by the skilled performer's creativity. Furthermore, if present-day admiration for Añjanā is in any way indicative of past regard, it is likely that this episode would be a popular one in public performance. As Kelting explains, Añjanā's story serves as a resource for Jain women to make sense of challenges—a husband's rejection, infertility, accusations of infidelity, and affinal conflict—faced in their own lives (2009, pp. 63–64). Añjanā not only experiences these hardships, she overcomes them through her fidelity to her marriage vows. Thus, this passage encourages the reader not only to share in Añjanā's pain, but, indeed, to follow Añjanā in persisting in her attempt to rectify the situation.

5.2 Narrative Differences Between Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* and *Rām Rās*

The performance-oriented logic of the *Rām Rās*, which encourages audience participation and performer improvisation, is not the only way in which the *bhāṣā* work differs from Jinadāsa's Sanskrit text. There are concrete differences in the text as well, to which I will now turn. I will first present an example of a substantive

plot difference between the *Padmapurāṇa* and the *Rām Rās*, focusing on the differing conditions under which Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā. In the *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa follows Raviṣeṇa. Candranakhā tricks Rāvaṇa into confronting Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā by lying about being assaulted. It is not until Rāvaṇa arrives at the trio's forest hermitage and lays eyes on Sītā that he loses his self-control:

> Distressed at this, and minding the words of his sister, [Rāvaṇa], extremely proud and with eyes reddened by anger, made up his mind to go [to the camp]. Having ascended onto his *puṣpaka* vehicle alone, and having departed, that greatest possessor of heroism saw a woman standing there, resembling Lakṣmī herself. Thin waisted, with lotus eyes and a face as beautiful as the moon, wearing red clothes the color of elephant rut, her breasts full and heavy, it was the youthful, virtuous Sītā, who embodied proper conduct, intelligence, charm and beauty and who, even with just a glance, unleashes a cascade of passion.[34]

In the *Rām Rās*, however, Candranakhā spins a different yarn. She entices Rāvaṇa to follow her back to the forest by describing Sītā's beauty to him:

> That dear kinsman of Rāvaṇa, Candranakhā, a storehouse of sorrow, went to Laṅkā. She approached Rāvaṇa and told him her story, "My son was killed by two men who had come to the forest, [one] holding the Sūryahāsa sword in his hand. But with them was a young woman, beautiful and fortunate, her virtue unbroken. Indeed, she resembled Urvāśī and Rambhā! She was extremely charming, with a sweet and delightful voice. Such a woman should be associated only with you! Bring her to your house, where she will be a storehouse of happiness!"[35]

Rāvaṇa immediately becomes enamored with Candranakhā's description of Sītā. "In his mind," the text explains, arose "unparalleled delusion" (*tav rāvaṇ manī moh āpār*). It is this delusion that motivates Rāvaṇa to confront Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the forest and, of course, to see Sītā himself for the first time. In doing so, the text states, Rāvaṇa "destroys" (*hāṇ*) his performance of proper *dharma*.[36] We will examine this episode in more detail in the next chapter; suffice it for now to say that such examples of plot divergence between the two texts, which, again, I read as intentional and meaningful changes on the part of Jinadāsa, are clues to the moral vision of each work.

The differences, though, between Jinadāsa's Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* texts extend beyond the realm of plot. They also involve how he talks about himself; delineating the contours of these differences is important for understanding each text's novel textual project to create moral persons. In the *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa introduces both the narrative and himself thusly:

> I bow with all devotion to the lord, Munisuvrata, the great renouncer who is strict in observing religious vows. I bow continually to the ford-makers who illuminate the entirety [of knowledge] for the sake of the destruction of

> doubt, who are continuously praised by the entire universe. And I bow with devotion to the beautiful current *jina*s, beginning with Sīmandhara, who are presently elsewhere [in the universe]. I bow, my goal auspiciousness, to the *siddha*"*s"*, all of those who reside at the apex of the universe, who have abandoned completely the eight types of karmas and who teach the eight types of virtues. I always bow to the *ācārya*s, who themselves undertake the five great vows and cause others to as well, who are marked with the thirty-six virtuous *guṇa*s. I further bow to those fourteen *upādhyāya*s who themselves recite all of the eleven *aṅga*s and who further cause others to recite them as well. I bow to those who are desirous of liberation, who are prepared to carry out the three jewels, the *sādhu*s, who are honored as virtuous, who are attached to the means [of knowing] past, present and future.[37]

Jinadāsa then continues to explain that his composition is indebted to those who have come before him. He provides two lineages, the first being that of the Rāma narrative itself and the second being his own ascetic lineage. Jinadāsa's description of the former is as follows:

> The Lord of Jinas Śrī Mahāvīra recited [the story] to Gautama, the leader of the *gaṇa*s. And then Sudharma and Jambūsvāmi acquired the meaning [of the tale]. And then the *muni* Vidyuccara, that knower of all the *pūrva*s, spoke it; and the great-minded, knower of the *śrutas* Viṣṇu. Then the *muni* Nandi, unsurpassed and subdued, declared it with a voice that was sweet like *amrita*, awakening beings. And next in line came the knower of the *śruta*s Govardhana; he told that story which is composed by teachers, completely pure, which accomplishes dharma. And Bhadrabāhu, by whom wicked violence is conquered, who creates good fortune for beings, spoke this story of Rāma just as it actually happened, as he possessed the true meaning of *śruta*. And then five wise men who were holders of the knowledge of *śruta*s and who were resplendent like the sun, they indeed as well told the sayings of the *ṛṣi*s and *ācārya*s. And then there is he, who has conquered with his wisdom the bad planet *ravi*, who possesses the brightness of the sun, the poet and *ācārya* called Raviṣeṇa, who is dressed in the knowledge of the Jain *āgama*s. And having attained it, appropriately and directly down from the previous *ācārya*s, those beings possessing the knowledge of the *śruta*s, he wrote this story of the acts of Rāma. And having received his work, I now make it clear.[38]

In these verses, Jinadāsa establishes himself as one participant in a long line of authoritative authors and knowledge-keepers. He thus constructs his own authority to compose the Rāma story by drawing on tradition.[39] It is through his participation in an unbroken lineage beginning with Mahāvīra that Jinadāsa projects himself as a qualified expounder of the Rāma story. Importantly, this type of tradition-based emplotment is consistent throughout Jinadāsa's Sanskrit corpus. He provides, for example, a similar lineage to account for his reception of the story in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.[40]

After providing the narrative's genealogy, Jinadāsa continues by providing information on his own monastic lineage:

> Thus, having paid homage to Bhadrabāhu, I bow to the community of *yati*s and the *muni*s, beginning with Kundakundācārya, who embody the three jewels. And with devotion I bow to the *guru* Sakalakīrti, a great *muni* who is immersed in the ocean of the *śruta*s, and to Bhuvanakīrti, a treasury of austerities whose majesty is awe-inspiring. I bow to those additional unfettered ones who have followed in succession. They are pure in their conduct, speech, and thoughts; free from conflict; and have forever overcome love and hate. And I delightfully meditate with single-mindedness on Śrī Sarasvatī, a follower of Jain doctrine. She is to be worshipped by wise men striving for true virtue. Thus, this story of the deeds of Rāma, which gives delight to those beings who hear it, is recited in its totality by me, Jinadāsa.[41]

Jinadāsa intentionally emplots himself within, again, the unbroken history of his lineage. He references Ācārya Bhadrabāhu, who was the final leader of a united Jain *saṅgha* and whom Digambaras believe to be the last *śrutakevalin* in the present world age; Ācārya Kundakunda, arguably the most influential Digambara thinker and believed to be the founder of the Digambara Mūlasaṅgha; his own *guru*s, Sakalakīrti and Bhuvanakīrti; and, importantly, the *ācārya*s that bridge the gap between the past and Jinadāsa's present. Similar to his detailed account of the lineage of the Rāma story, Jinadāsa lays claim here to the fact that his own monastic lineage is unbroken. His further reference to Sarasvatī holds a dual purpose. She is, first, the goddess of knowledge and thus a divine patron of literary endeavors.[42] What is more, though, is the fact that Jinadāsa's Balātkāra *gaṇa* is also referred to as the Sarasvatī *gaccha*; this is also, then, a lineage reference. Important also to note in this passage is its actual grammar, particularly the fact that Jinadāsa speaks of the Rāma story in the nominative case and of himself in the instrumental. He is a conduit; the story itself is the focus.

We see a similar style of self-emplotment at the end of the *Padmapurāṇa* as well. There, Jinadāsa writes:

> [This account] was first spoken by Śrī Vardhamāna [Mahāvīra], that Lord of the Jinas who is praised by the three worlds. Then it was made known to the people by that Lord of the Gaṇas, the great one known as Gautama. And then in due time, this famous story of Raghu was obtained by that *ācārya* named Raviṣeṇa, who on this earth was a master of the Jain *āgama*s, in whom the delightful play of good poetry resides. Then there was that jewel in the line of Kundakunda *ācārya*, that knowledgeable Padmanandī, that Lord of Munis, who was learned like a lion with respect to the Lord of Elephants, who was extremely ascetic, and who was famous throughout the world. And then there was Sakalakīrti, who was brilliant like the sun and was like a beautiful lotus on [Padmanandī's] seat. He performed great asceticism, was the hero of all the *nirgrantha*s, skilled in all of the arts, including great poetry, a storehouse

> of *tapas*! And on his seat eventually arose that extremely virtuous one, the sage-like *muni* who was a storehouse of compassion, Bhuvanakīrti, who is adored by all beings and obeyed by various groups of *yatis*. May he be long-lived! Among men his fame was known throughout the world. He understood the ocean-waters of the *śruta*s, and broke asunder the arrogance of the god of love. He took refuge in pure virtue and escape from the snare of worldly existence. He was like a victorious king whose retinue was rows of *sādhu*s. And then there is that servant of the Jina, named Jinadāsa, who is the brother of Sakalakīrti. Knowledgeable of virtues, his mind is pure. He is victorious over love's-adversary (Śiva) and is famous throughout the earth. He has taken this auspicious and pure tale of Rāma from Raviṣeṇasūrī.[43]

Here, Jinadāsa pays homage again to many of the figures he mentioned at the work's beginning. We also see, for the first time, mention of Padmanandī, who was Sakalakīrti's *guru* and the head of the Uttara *śākhā* of the Digambara Balātkāra *gaṇa*. Thus, at the end of the work, Jinadāsa expands on his lineage history, confirming its importance in Jinadāsa's strategy of founding his own authority in that of tradition.

When we turn to the *Rām Rās*, we see that Jinadāsa envisions himself within a much smaller community, on that is primarily structured by local affiliation and personal, intimate relationships of *guru* and pupil. The introductory verses from the *Rās Rās* are as follows:

> I bow repeatedly to the feet of the heroic Jinas. I request that the goddess Sarasvatī grant me knowledge. I revere the learned *gaṇadhara*s, and I bow to the feet of my *guru*, Sakalakīrti. I bow to the feet of the *guru* Bhuvanakīrti, and I, the pure Jinadāsa, create this *rās* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which delights the mind.[44]

That is the extent of the biographical information Jinadāsa provides. He pays homage first to the Jinas and Sarasvatī, and goes on to pay reverence to the *gaṇadhara*s, again, as a group, before finally introducing and paying homage to his immediate *guru*s, Sakalakīrti and his successor Bhuvanakīrti.

As was the case with the *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa is consistent in this type of self-emplotment throughout his *bhāṣā* works. In his *Dhanpāl Rās*, for instance, Jinadāsa writes:

> I bow to the heroic *Jinas*, all twenty-four of the ford-makers. I ask that the goddess Śāradā,[45] who is the giver of many gifts, including the fruit of poetry, provide me with pure knowledge. Bowing to the feet of Śrī Sakalakīrti, and those of that savior of the world Bhuvanakīrti, I thus explain the fruits of proper giving. Brahma Jinadāsa [thus] tells all.[46]

Jinadāsa is thus consistent in how he establishes the world in which he is writing and how he positions himself in that world. Noteworthy is the fact that while Jinadāsa pays homage to the Jinas, the verses are not as expressive as corresponding verses in the *Padmapurāṇa*. There, Jinadāsa begins by paying homage

to Munisuvrata, describing him as "supreme lord" (*parameṣṭhin*), and as "an instructor in pious living" (*bhavyamāṅgalyadeśaka*). He continues by paying reverence to the remaining Jinas, including Sīmandhara, currently preaching on the continent of Mahāvideha. Jinadāsa calls these Jinas "illuminated by omniscience" (*kevalalocana*) and "eternally praised for the sake of destroying doubt" (*sandehanāśāya viśvavandita*). What is more, in the *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa goes on to praise the *ācārya*s, *upādhyāya*s, and *sādhu*s who, along with the Jinas, make up the central objects of veneration as expressed in the *Namaskāra Mantra*. This is missing from the *bhāṣā* texts. What is important here is the speed with which Jinadāsa pays proper obeisance to the Jinas, the fact that he does not linger on describing them or mention other important devotional figures.

In addition, we see in the introductory *bhāṣā* verses the prominent place Jinadāsa gives to his two immediate *guru*s, Sakalakīrti and Bhuvanakīrti. In place of an exhaustive monastic lineage, Jinadāsa nods to his place in the Sarasvatī *gaccha* but feels it necessary only to associate himself concretely with the leaders of his immediate temple complex, thereby highlighting the importance of his local situatedness and his relationship with what we can surmise would have been influential local religious leaders.

As is the case with the *Padmapurāṇa*, the benedictory verses of the *Rām Rās* is not the only place where Jinadāsa provides information about himself. We see a similar strategy of self-emplotment at the work's conclusion:

> The *śrīmūlasaṅgha* is extremely pure, and the *Sarasvatī gaccha* possesses great virtue. Śrī Sakalakīrti is well known as *guru*, a victor in the teaching of the Jinas. Śrī Bhuvanakīrti ascended to his seat, best in the virtues of a *muni* and possessing virtue; he is a resplendent storehouse of bright asceticism. Having bowed to their excellent feet, I, Brahma Jinadāsa, create this *rās*, the learning of which brings unparalleled auspiciousness. My delightful students, Brahma Mallidāsa and Brahma Guṇadāsa learn this themselves and teach it to many others, and in doing so their tongues become abodes of happiness. So that men might attain perfect knowledge of existence, I write this *rās* in its entirety. May it create many virtues and may it be a great storehouse of compassion.[47]

Here again, Jinadāsa associates himself with his *gaccha* in broad terms, and more concretely with the *gaccha* members who physically surround him. He again pays homage to his two immediate *guru*s, Sakalakīrti and Bhuvanakīrti, but also introduces Mallidāsa and Guṇadāsa, two of his own students charged not just with learning (*paḍha*) his composition, but also with teaching (*paḍhāva*) it to others. Again, at the conclusion of the *Dhanpāl Rās*, we see a similar strategy of self-emplotment; there he writes "I bow to my *guru*, Śrī Sakalakīrti, and that greatest of men Śrī Bhuvanakīrti. Brahmacārin Jinadāsa thus tells this explanation of the fruits of *dānā*."[48]

Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* texts thus do not share the interest in establishing proper lineage, either his own or the narrative's. Instead, Jinadāsa in the *bhāṣā* emplots himself in a much narrower and limited environment, one that draws primarily

on close relationships of *guru* and pupil. At the same time, Jinadāsa simultaneously establishes different relationships between himself and his texts depending on which language he is writing in. In the *bhāṣā*, Jinadāsa is direct in saying that he is the primary fashioner of a new work; again, examining the grammar of the passage shows Jinadāsa now the agent and the story itself the product that he puts out into the world. This relationship is further substantiated throughout the narrative when Jinadāsa repeatedly reminds the reader that he is the one creating and telling the story. Remember the *dūhā* verse examined earlier: "This story ends here, and *I will tell another* in its entirety." In the *bhāṣā*, Jinadāsa no longer relies on tradition as a source of authority, but rather on the intimate, locally recognized relationships he has with authority figures and his own personal mastery of the story itself. This is not charismatic authority *per se*, which Weber defines as, "resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person";[49] but rather a type of authority that is derived from Jinadāsa's physical presence in and among local communities of people.

5.3 Looking Forward

As the reader, I am sure, has now come to anticipate, I see the purpose of delineating the differences between Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* and *Rām Rās* as important not merely as a project in-and-of itself. The novelty of the *Rām Rās* as a text, with its own logic and stylistic expectations, is linked to what it anticipates a moral person to look like and how it goes about trying to shape that moral person. The characteristics of the *Rām Rās* discussed earlier—its performance nature, the fact that the plot of the narrative itself is different, and Jinadāsa's highlighting of his local embeddedness in the *bhāṣā*—will thus inform our discussion of that moralizing project in the next chapter. Before embarking on such an analysis, though, we must also recognize the extent of what we do not know about the lived performance tradition of the *Rām Rās*, or the *rās* genre as a whole. It does not seem to have substantively survived to the present day,[50] and thus we have little information about the performance realities of the genre. Ethnographic studies, though, have demonstrated that the contemporary world of vernacular oral performance in South Asia is nuanced and complicated.[51] Numerous genres of oral performance oftentimes coexist alongside one another, their participants constantly shifting along axes of religious identity, gender, marriage status, caste, and economic class, among others. Thus, the goal of the next chapter is not to recreate the full environment of a *rās* performance, but rather, and to a more modest degree, it is to use the clues that a text has left behind to try and hypothesize about its potential for moral edification through performance.

Notes

1 See, for instance, Busch (2004).
2 This has been noted by Yashaschandra (2003, pp. 576–80).
3 See, for instance, Restifo (2018, pp. 41–43).

4 See Miner (1994, p. 14).
5 Das (2005, 189f.) provides a similar description of *rās* in performance.
6 Miller, in discussing contemporary *Rāmcaritmānas* performance in Fiji, expresses a similar sentiment: "While the *Ramcaritmanas* is the seat of Hindu authority in Fiji, local interpreters and expounders mediate its meaning and didactic message *at the site of its performance*" (2015, p. 226, emphasis added).
7 *Rām Rās*, pg. 46, verses 17bc-19.
suragītā nayar bhaloy |su| raj vīdyādhar sār || mayadait tīhā raj karey |su| hemavantī tas nāri | teah behu kūṃṣ upaṇiy |su| kuṃvarī mandovarī sār || kūṃvarī sobhāgī agalīy |su| sīlavantī guṇamāl | yovaṇā bharī pache nīpaṇiy | su| kuraṅgaṇayanasavīśāl ||
8 The text specifies *jñāna* and *vijñāna* here.
9 *Rām Rās*, pg. 201, verses 2–7ab.
uttaradeś māhī rūvaḍoe | kautīkamaṅgal atīcaṅgato | śubhamatī rāj kare | tīṇe nayarī uttaṅgato || śrīpṛthavī rāṇi nīramalīe | rūp sobhāg nī khāṇito | jāṇe rambhā uravasīe | madhūrīy teh taṇi vānito || te behu kūṃṣe upaṇāe | dūi kuṃvar sujāṇato | kaikabhabroṇamegh suṇoe | jaisī śaśīkkar bhāṇato || teh puṭe valisendarīe | beṭī atīgūṇavantaṇtīto | lāikoi vadhāvīe | kegaī tas dīyo nāmato || kalā jāṇi te atīghaṇie | jñāṇ vijñāṇ apārato | rūp sobhāg āgalīe | guṇahaṇ lābhe pārato || jovaṇabharī pache huī nīramalīe | kūraṅganayaṇ vīsālato |
10 *Rām Rās*, pg. 218, verses 9b-d.
janak rājā guṇavant | vīdehā rāṇi tas taṇi ho | rūp sobhāgaī sīlavantī ||
11 Nārada is speaking here.
12 *Rām Rās,* pg. 237, verses 28–30ab.
mathurā nayar che rūvaḍoe | jaṇak kare tīhā rājato | vīdehā rāṇi tasu taṇie | karaī bahu pūṇy taṇo kājato || teh behū kūṃṣe upaṇie | beṭī atīsavīśālato | sītā name suhāvaṇie | sīyal rūp gūṇamālato || me dīṭi te sūndarīe | jaisī rambhā caṅgato ||
13 *Rām Rās*, pg. 1, verse 4.
seṇik rājā karai rāj | tīṇe nayarī abhaṅgo | celaṇā rāṇi tasū taṇi | rūpe jaisī rambh | sīlavantī guṇanīramalī | jīṇaśāsanī thambh ||
14 *Rām Rās*, pg. 1, verse 3.
15 Jinadāsa, *Sukumāl Rās,* pg. 1, verse 2.
16 Jinadāsa, *Dhanpāl Rās*, pg. 1, verse 1.
17 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa* 2.1–11.
18 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 221) explains that *bhās* is a synonym for the Sanskrit terms *sarga* and *sandhi*. He also explains that *ḍhāl* is another term for *bhās*, and Bender (1971, p. 223) equates the term *ḍhāl* with *kaḍvū*, derived from the Sanskrit *kaḍavaka*, which refers to a chapter or section of an Apabhramsha narrative. Bhayani and Nahta (1975, pp. 41–47) provide an excerpt from a Upadhyāy Vinayaprabha's fourteenth-century *Gautamsvāmi Rās* that is similarly divided into short sections titled *"bhās*."
19 Snell (1991, p. 20) calls *dohā* "the most common couplet metre, ubiquitous throughout early Hindi poetry." It is a *mātrika* meter, a couplet with each line broken into two feet (*caraṇa*). The first and third *caraṇa* consist of 13 *mātra*s, and the second and fourth consist of 11. Thus, there are a total of 24 *mātrā*s per line, and each line must end with a short (*laghu*) *mātrā*. Oftentimes, each quarter is a self-contained clause.
20 See also Bangha (2018).
21 As Miner (2015, p. 387) explains, it is in the *Saṅgītopaṇisatsāraddhāra* that the earliest portrayal of male and female *rāga* components can be found.
22 Gold (1992, p. 13) discusses the fact that in modern-day Rajasthan, there remains folk usages of the term *rāg* that are largely unrelated to the classical musical system.
23 Names given to the text in other manuscripts include: *Dhannaśālibhadra Rāsa, Śāllibhadracaritra, and Śālibhadracaritrarāsa*
24 Andrew Ollett (personal communication, 02/24/2021) concurs with this assessment.
25 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 359).

26 For this episode, see Rāṃvkā (1980, pp. 359–62).
27 Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 370).
28 Translated from Rāṃvkā (1980, p. 338), verses 1–4ab.
aparājitā ati niramalī, jinavar pūjī manaralī | sejyāh sūtī sundarī sohajjalīe, sahīe || pāchalī rāti suhāmaṇī, sapaṇ dekhe te bhāmīṇī | gaj siṃh candra sūrīj ati niramalāe, sahīe || kalpadrum ati rūvaḍo, samudra dīṭho jale bharyo | jhagamagati aganī dīthī ati ujalīe, sahīe || sāt sapaṇ e dīthā ujalā, rūpavant guṇo āgalā |
29 Mahāvīra's mother, Triśālā, witnesses dreams when she becomes pregnant with the future Jina, and many of those used in the descriptions of Rāma here—including an elephant, a lion, Lakṣmī, a moon and sun, an ocean, and a brilliant fire—are identical to those witnessed by Triśālā. Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras disagree as to the exact number of dreams that Triśālā witnesses. Śvetāmbara sources count 14 dreams; Digambara sources count 16.
30 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa*, 19.131.
31 Hemacandra, in the *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (7.4.175), also lists four dreams.
32 Añjanā is one of the most popular Jain *satī*s. Literally a "true woman," the title refers specifically to a woman who is particularly devoted to her husband. See Kelting (2006, 2009); Sethi (2009); Fohr (2015).
33 *Rām Rās*, pgs. 121–122, verses 1–4.
añjanā sundarī maṇ māhi | dūkh dhare te atighaṇo helī | kāy tajī hu nāth | kavaṇ dūkh na dīṭo maj taṇo helī || tahm vīṇ dūkh apār | sukh gayo svāmi mahj taṇo helī | sār karo have deva | kant dīvas gayā ghaṇo helī || candramā vī jīm rātī | vāt ṇa sohī dharm vīṇā helī | tīm huṃ tuhm vīṇ nāth | kī sohuṃ kanta vīṇa helī || megha vīṇā jīm bījalī | dīnkar vīṇ jīm kamal ṇi helī | tīm hu kant tahm vīṇ | kīm sobhu nārī tahm taṇi helī ||
34 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa,* 34.66–69.
vimṛśyeti mahāmānī | sanmānyabhāginīvacaḥ krodharaktekṣaṇaḥ tatra | gantuṃ cakre ca mānasaṃ||ekākīyānamāruhya|puṣpakaṃ vīryavattaraḥ|niḥsṛtyāgādapaśyccatāṃ|lakṣmīmiva saṃsthitāṃ || tanūdarīṃ padmanetrāṃ | āraktadvijavāsasaṃ | candrābhavadanāramyāṃ | pṛthupīnaghanastanīṃ||sītāṃ sayauvanāṃ kāntilāvaṇyābudhivarttinīṃ|kāmajharotpattikarāṃ darśanādeva sadguṇāṃ ||
35 Jinadāsa, *Rām Rās,* pg. 415, verses 52cd-55ab.
candranakhā gaī te jāṇ | laṅkā bandhav kanhe dūkhakhāṇ || rāvaṇ āgalī kahī tīṇe bāt | majh taṇo putra no kīyo te ghāt| dūi jaṇ āvyo che van māhī | suryahāse khaḍag che bāhī || teh kanhe bhāmīnī aticaṅg | rūp sobhāgaguṇ abhaṅg | jaisī urvasī rambhā jāṇ | sulalītamadhurī teh vāṇi || te nārī tahm jogya vakhāṇ | āṇo tuhmo gharī te sukhakhāṇi |
36 *Rām Rās*, pgs. 415–16, verse 56
vīmāṇ basi karī cālyo jāṇ | dharam taṇi kīdhī tīṇe hāṇ | ye kalo āvyo van majhārī | rām sahīt sītā dīṭī nārī ||
37 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa*, 1.3–9.
munisuvratatīrtheśaṃ suvrataṃ parameṣṭinam | praṇamāmi sadā bhaktyā bhavyamāṃgalyadeśakam || bhaktyā śeṣasatīrthaṃkarān kevalalocanān | vande sandehanāśāya satataṃ viśvavanditān ||sīmandharādikān bhaktyā tīrthakṛṛnvahāriṇaḥ | atītavarttamānā ca bhāvinaḥ praṇamāmi aham || guṇāṣṭakam ayān siddhan karmaṣṭakavivarjjitān || lokāgravāsinaḥ nityaṃ māṃgalyārthaṃ namāmi ahaṃ || ācāryaan paṃcadhācāram ācārantaḥ svayaṃ parān | cārayantaḥ sadā vande ṣaḍtriṃśadguṇamaṇḍitān || svayaṃ paṭhantyupādhyāyān pāṭhayantyaparān ca ye | ekādaśaṅgām pūrvān ca caturdaśa namāmi tān || trikālayogasaṃyuktān sādhūn sādhunamaskṛtān | triratnasādhanodyuktān vande ahaṃ muktilālasān ||
38 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa*, 1.57–65.
śrīvīrajinanāthaḥ uktaḥ gautamam gaṇanāyakaṃ | saḥ arthaḥ prāptaḥ sudharmam ca śrījambūsvāminaṃ tataḥ || vidyuccaramuniśreṣṭaḥ yathā uce sarvapūrvavit | tathaiva viṣṇunāmā ca śrutajñānī mahāmatiḥ || tataḥ nandimuniḥ prāha | sudhāmadhurayāgirā bhavyān pravodhayāmāsa saṃyamī ca aparājitaḥ || govardhanaḥ śrutajñānī tataḥ anukramataḥ agamat | tām kathām gaṇibhiḥ vaddhāṃ viśuddhāṃ dharmasādhinīm ||

bhadrabāhuḥ jitakṣudraḥ upadravaḥ bhadrakṛtsatāṃ | rāmāyaṇakathām ūce yathābhūtāṃ śrutārthavit || śrutajñānadharā dhīrāḥ pañcai te bhānubhāsurāḥ thativa punar ācakhutrācāryā ṛṣibhāṣitam || kugrahapratibhājetā yaḥ abhavat ravivat kaviḥ raviṣeṇābhidhā ācāryaḥ jainägamavidāmbaraḥ || samprāpya pūrvācāryāṇāṃ śrutajñānavatāṃ satāṃ anukrameṇa cakre ca tathā padmakathānakam | tadvākyaracanāṃ prāpya mayā atra kriyate sphuṭaṃ granthaḥ kathāmukhena atra vidanti manujā yathā ||

39 See Weber (1978).

40 Jinadāsa, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 1.1–13. Jinadāsa begins with a dedication to Mahāvīra, "the auspiciousness of the three worlds," (*lokatritayamaṅgala*) and Neminātha, who is "celebrated with devotion by the thirty kings" (*bhaktyā tridaśādhipavahita*). He then expands this to include all of the Jinas, who "delight in the sportive play that is liberation" (*muktiśrīlalanāsaṅgalālasān*). He bows to the goddess Bharatī, who is "praised throughout the three worlds" (*trijagannutā*). He pays respect to Ācārya Kundakunda and the other "Lords of Poets," (*kavīśvara*) as well as his own guru, Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti, the "leader of the *nirgranthas*," (*nirgranthanāyaka*) and the "giver of the true path" (*sanmārgadātṛ*) and "decorated with virtue" (*guṇabhūṣita*).

41 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa*, 1.66–70.
bhadrabāhuṃ praṇamyātha | yatisaṅghanamaskṛtaṃ | śrīkundakundācāryādīn | munīn ratnatrayānvitān || guruṃ sakalakīrttiṃ ca śrutāmbodhiṃ mahāmuniṃ | bhaktyā bhuvanakīrttiṃ ca | cañcatkīrttiṃ taponidhiṃ || nirgranthān śuddhacāritrānityādīn parānapi | anukramātsaṃgamuktān rāgadveṣātigān sadā || dyātvaikamanasā rādhyāmārhatīṃ śrīsarasvatīṃ | sukhabodhaṃ satāṃ prītyai | dhīmatāṃ sadguṇaiṣiṇāṃ || nigadyate samāsena jinadāsena tanmayā | śrīrāmacaritaṃ bhavyaśravaṇāhlādadāyakaṃ ||

42 M. Whitney Kelting (2001, p. 65) discusses the importance of Sarasvatī as a protector of Jain teachings: "[Sarasvatī] is called on to guarantee the Jain community a way and a chance to propagate their teachings. It is only through Sarasvatī's grace that a Jain can learn and perform rituals correctly."

43 Jinadāsa, *Padmapurāṇa,* 83.82–89ab.
śrīvarddhamānena jineśvareṇa | trailokyavandyena yad uktam ādau | tataḥ paraṃ gautamasaṃjñakena | gaṇedharena prathitaṃ janānām || tataḥ kramāt śrīraviṣeṇanāmnā | ācāryeṇa jainägamakovidena | satkāvyakelīsadanena pṛthvyām | nītaṃ prasiddhiṃ caritaṃ raghoḥ ca || śrīkundakundānvayabhūṣaṇena atha | babhūva vidvān kila padmanandī | munīśvara vādigajendrasiṃhaḥ | pratāpavān bhūvalaye prasiddhaḥ || tatpaṭṭapaṅkejavikāśabhāsvān | babhūva nirgranthavaraḥ pratāpī | mahākavitvādikalāpraviṇaḥ taponidhiḥ śrīsakalādikīrtiḥ || paṭṭe tadīye guṇavān munīḥ | kṣamānidhānam bhuvanādikīrtiḥ | jīyāt ciraṃ bhavyasamūhavandyaḥ | nānāyativrātaniṣevaṇīyaḥ | jagati bhuvanakīrtiḥ bhūtalakhyātakīrtiḥ | śrutajalanidhivettā anaṅgamānaprabhettā | vimalaguṇanivāsaḥ chinnasaṃsārapāśaḥ | saḥ jayati iti rājaḥ sādhurājīsamājaḥ || saḥ brahmacārī gurupūrvakaḥ asya | bhrātā guṇajñaḥ asti viśuddhacittaḥ | jinasya dāsaḥ jinadāsanāmā kāmārijetā vittaḥ dharitryām || tena praśastaṃ caritaṃ pavitraṃ | rāmasya natvā raviṣeṇasūreḥ |

44 *Rām Rās,* pg. 1, verse 1.
vīr jiṇavar vīr jiṇavar pāy praṇamesuṃ || sarasati svāmiṇī valī tavuṃ have buddhi sār huṃ vegi māṅgauṃ | gaṇadhar svāmi namaskarūṃ śrī sakalakīrati guru pāy vāndauṃ || muni bhuvan kīrati pāy praṇamine kari suṃ huṃ rās have caṅg | brahma jiṇadās bhaṇe niramalo rāmāyaṇ maṇi rang ||

45 Another name for Sarasvatī.

46 Jinadāsa, *Dhanpāl Rās*, pg. 1, verse 1.
vīr jinavar vīrjinavar namuṃ te sār | tīrthkaracivīsamo | kavitaphalabahudānadātār | sāradasāmin vīnavuṃ | buddhiniramal deutā | śrī sakalakīrtti pāy praṇamīneṃ | śrī bhuvanakīrti bhavatār | dān taṇ phal varaṇavuṃ | brahmajiṇadās kaheṃ sār ||

47 *Rām Rās*, pg. 942–943, verses 1–5.
śrīmulasaṅgha atīnīramalo | sarasatī gacha guṇavanta || śrīsakalakīratīgurū jāṇie | jiṇasāsaṇi jayavanta || tāsa pāṭī atīrūvaḍā | śrībhuvanakīratīī bhavatāra || guṇavanta

munīguṇe āgalā | tapateja taṇa saohe bhaṇḍāra || tīhu munivara pāye praṇamīṇe | kīyo me ya rāsa sāra || brahmajiṇadāsa bhaṇe rūvaḍā | paḍhatā puṇya āpāra || sīkhya manohara rūvaḍā | brahmamallidāsa brahmaguṇadāsa || paḍho paḍhāvo bahubhāvasuṃ | jībha hoī saukhynīvās ||bhaviyeṇa jīvasambodhīyā | kīyo me e rāsa ye sāra || aneka guṇe karī āgalo | dayā taṇo bahubhaṇḍāra ||

48 Jinadāsa, *Dhanpāl Rās*, pg. 14, verse 3.
śrī sakalakīrati guru praṇamīneṃ | śrī bh[u]vanakīrati bhavatār | dān taṇ phal varaṇavyā brahm jinadās kaheṃ sār||

49 Weber (1978, p. 213).

50 Krause (1999, p. 404) provide a single example of *rās* performance in the modern day, explaining that the Kharatara Gaccha monk Vinayaprabhasūrī's *Gautama Rās,* composed in 1355 CE, "is even now so popular that it forms part of the standing repertoire of recitation pieces of Śvetāmbara *Sādhus* and *Sādhvīs*." See also Bangha (2018, p. 9).

51 See, for instance, Flueckiger (1996).

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6 Performance, Audience, and Quotidian Ethics in the *Rām Rās*

This chapter examines how the *Rām Rās* aims to create ethical subjects, given the text's vision of being publicly performed. The chapter presents two possibilities for the formation of moral persons, each of which lies *in potentia* in the text of the *Rām Rās*. The fact of improvisation, as discussed in the previous chapter, means that the text in hand might spread in multiple directions during any individual performance. We are thus looking for signposts of moral vision, clues that point us toward the possibilities of moral instruction that would be further elucidated and explored beyond the words on the page. In pursuing this line of inquiry, we should keep in mind that performance may present texts differently than does the act of reading. This is particularly true of long narratives in performance, which, as Blackburn and Flueckiger rightly point out, is oftentimes episodic (1989, p. 11). Thus, while in the preceding chapters my analysis of the moral visions of Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*s relied upon a more-or-less linear reading of both texts, taking Blackburn and Flueckiger's insights seriously opens up possibilities for examining the *Rām Rās* as a text of almost limitless potential, with each of its constituent parts revealing possibilities for moral learning depending on how they are put together.

The chapter proceeds in three sections. In Section 6.1, I focus on the particularly Jain aspects of the *Rām Rās*. I examine how a performance could be structured around discussions of, among other topics, nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*), the benefits of Jina puja, or the efficacy of reciting the Namokar Mantra. In Section 6.2, I bracket the particularly Jain features of the *Rām Rās* and ask what moral lessons might be gleaned from the work beyond those discussed in Part I. I defend this move of decentering the Jain particularities of the work in two ways. First, drawing on recent scholarship on both premodern and modern South Asian religiosity, I highlight the murkiness of religious identity itself as a category for thinking about selfhood, positioning it as one option among many that individuals in South Asia have historically used to identify themselves and their communities. Second, I situate the *Rām Rās* in the diverse world of fifteenth-century Vāgaḍ in which it first circulated. Jains were far from an isolated social group during the period, and the literature produced by Jain authors at the time spoke to living a morally productive life within that diverse quotidian world. With this in mind, I then turn back to the text, reading an episode introduced

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in the previous chapter that details the lead-up to Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā. Focusing again on the differences between Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* and Sanskrit works, I explicate how this episode in the *Rām Rās* highlights the importance of keeping proper company—of surrounding yourself with good people—and the negative consequences of doing the opposite. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the moral work of the *Rām Rās* as a performance event. Drawing on Durkheim and others, I demonstrate that even independent of the content of the narrative, the very fact of its performance reiterates ties of belonging and inclusion among participants and reinforces communal bonds.

6.1 Jain Dharma in the *Rām Rās*

What scholars commonly identify as particularly "Jain" ideas and practices are, of course, not only present in Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*, but also serve as sites of possible ethical edification in particularly Jain veins. The text begins, as we have already seen, with Jinadāsa paying obeisance to the Jinas, and the basic story that Jinadāsa tells in *bhāṣā* is still based on the "classical" Jain version of the *Paümacariya* as first told by Vimala and subsequently re-told by the likes of Raviṣeṇa and others. What is more, references to a specific "Jain dharma" ornament the text. Indeed, they form the basis for a common textual formula about kingship; the good king "victoriously protects Jain dharma" in his kingdom (*jain dharam pāle jayavant*).[1] Such language is a near universal—indeed, a formulaic—description of the narrative's auspicious kings.

Thus, the *Rām Rās* can be read—and could have been performed—as a repository of Jain teachings to be expanded upon in performance. One could certainly learn about *ahiṃsā* from the *Rām Rās*, and, in fact, one does. The sage Nārada, for instance does not shy away from chastising wicked Brahmins who, following the dictums of the Vedas, believe that animal sacrifice will help them attain heaven. Nārada is clear: "O Brahmins, listen to me! You have been led astray by your killing! Violence toward living beings brings only stores of sin (*pāp*), and with that sin comes only unprecedented sorrow."[2] Later in the episode, Nārada encourages Rāvaṇa to work to protect Jain dharma from the deleterious effects of the false knowledge embodied by the Brahmins:

> Then, the *muni* Nārada said, "O Rāvaṇa, listen! You must protect the mercy that is Jain dharma! Destroy this [sacrifice] immediately! This fifth period of time is a great enemy of the people, and clearly false knowledge is unrivaled! Foolish people are widely respected; who is left knowledgeable of the beyond? Just as leprosy destroys youth and vitality, so too does false knowledge leave everything empty and meaningless."[3]

Indeed, throughout the story Jinadāsa includes references to specifically Jain ideas or practices. One of the main, and again, formulaic, activities of queens, for instance, is to perform puja—always with proper devotional spirit—at Jina temples. There are also explicit references to the Namokar Mantra,[4] the "most widely

known and used piece of sacred language within Jainism as a whole" (Dundas, 2002, p. 81). The brief hymn, accepted by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, praises the five categories of Jain supreme beings (*pañc parameṣṭhī*): 1) *arihant*s, the *jīva*s—including those of the Jinas—who have achieved omniscience (*kevalajñāna*); 2) *siddha*s, the *jīva*s who have escaped the world of rebirth and redeath and exist, unfettered by karma, in unlimited knowledge, bliss, and potential; 3) *ācārya*s, the heads of monastic orders; 4) *upadyāya*s, monastic teachers; and 5) *sādhu*s, the entirety of the monastic community.

The *Rām Rās* is also replete with episodes explicitly praising renunciation, the life of the peripatetic ascetic, and the ultimate fruits of such a life, including enlightenment and final liberation from the world of *saṃsāra*. Jinadāsa, for instance, narrates Rāma's enlightenment with excitement and appropriate reverence:

> Holding brilliant meditation in his mind, the Lord Rāma svami, undeterred, destroyed [the last of] his harming karma and the ignorance that they bring about. Thus, in that svami, omniscience arose. In heaven, the thrones of the virtuous gods began to shake, and using their clairvoyant knowledge they understood that Rāma had reached complete omniscience. Those virtuous gods joyfully descended to earth to pay obeisance to the great Rāma. Indras and Indrānis came, accompanied by various gods and goddesses. Touching the honorable feet of Rāma, Lord of Munis, they performed pure worship of him, their bodies bowed low, before being seated. Vidyādhars and mortal kings grasped the feet of Lord Rāma with devotion. The virtuous Sītendra, Rāma's former wife, came, accompanied by his queen.[5]

Jinadāsa's description of Rāma's enlightenment here draws on classical tropes in Jain literature. The shaking of thrones, for example, is a common sign to divine celestials that something monumental is afoot, impelling them to use their clairvoyant knowledge to decipher the omen and congregate to celebrate the event. In the life story of the Jina Pārśvanātha, for example, it is the trembling of his throne that alerts the protector deity Dharaṇendra to the fact that the wicked Meghamālin was threatening the ascetic's tranquil meditation. Dharaṇendra, accompanied by the goddess Padmāvatī, immediately goes to protect Pārśvanātha.[6] Similarly, the shaking of the Indras' thrones both portends the ultimate *nirvāṇa* of Ṛṣabhanātha and announces to the gods the birth of Mahāvīra.

Thinking in terms of public performance, again influenced by audience expectations, one could imagine nights of performance being dedicated to any one of these themes: the existential threat that is violence toward living beings, the importance and subsequent fruits of performing proper puja, the wondrous efficacy of the Namokar Mantra, or a celebration of enlightened siddhas.

6.2 Audience, Community, and Ethics

While the *Rām Rās* is inarguably a Jain work at its core, we can further ask if that is all that reading it can provide in terms of moral instruction. In this section

I argue that attention to both the text itself and the socio-historical conditions out of which it emerged and into which it first circulated opens up additional possibilities for thinking about its intended audience and, thus, the possibilities of its moral instruction. What emerges from a text like the *Rām Rās* when we acknowledge and then bracket off its "Jain-ness"? What new ethical dimensions of the text become evident when we read beyond its Jain particularities? Do, or did, the particular aspects of the text in performance that we would now identify as "Jain" either preclude others from listening to it, valuing it, and learning moral lessons from it, or, conversely, preclude Jains themselves from learning other types of moral lessons from the work?

To ask these questions is to acknowledge the possibility that Jain authors *could* think and write about moral issues beyond those usually discussed in treatises on Jain ethics. It also recognizes the trickiness, really, the imprecision, of talking about and giving priority to distinctively religious identities when discussing premodern South Asia. As Anne Murphy correctly writes: "It is generally understood that modern definitions of religious identities and communities do not map to pre-colonial religious formations, making any attempt to understand encounters between religious actors difficult to characterize in the terms we use today" (2020, p. 40).

Given current socio-political conditions on the subcontinent, Hindu and Muslim identities have been at the forefront of discussions about the historical crystallization of religious identity. Scholars have recently challenged the narrative that Romila Thapar sums up as "two monolithic religions, Hinduism and Islam, coming face to face in the second millennium A.D." (1989, p. 223).[7] Peter Gottschalk, in particular, argues that the crystallization of mutually exclusive, and oftentimes antagonistic, religious identities emerged in large part during the colonial period, motivated by and undertaken through a colonial obsession with "scientific" classification. What is more, the drive to create religious taxonomies emerged out of colonial assumptions about the nature of the Indian populace itself, particularly its "essentially religious character" (2013, p. 3). Jains, Gottschalk explains, posed a challenge for this project, particularly noticeable in discussions over the census:

> Was a Jain a Buddhist? A Hindu? Or should an additional category be provided for Jains alone? Under no circumstance could any one identity either fit under two categories or be left unaccounted for. We might entitle this "the platypus syndrome" after the categorically wily Australian animal that defied early European visitors to Australia. Sporting a duck's bill, a mammal's body, and a beaver's tail (while laying eggs to boot), the platypus appeared to belong to several taxa and, because of this, to none. Taxonomists argued for a century where to place it. Finally, they concocted an entirely new order—the monotreme—to accommodate it and its one cousin, the echidna.
>
> (Gottschalk, 2013, p. 198)

Thus, not only did the colonial administration prioritize religion itself as a marker of identity, it established and reified the boundaries and essential characteristics of belonging to one and only one religion. A few scholars focusing on Jains have

also commented on this fact. Paul Dundas has discussed the challenge of thinking about "discrete and mutually incompatible" religious identities in South Asian history (2002, pp. 3–6). James Laidlaw traces this knot back to Weber, whose biggest mistake in his description of Jainism, Laidlaw argues, was "to assume that the Jains are a bounded, and therefore easily identified social group, and to take this group's persistence through time as unproblematic" (1995, 83f.). Finally, Anne Vallely has written that:

> Despite an insistence upon the exclusivity of their religion, Jains have often displayed a degree of fluidity in religious identification (for example, until recently—and only after considerable campaigning by Jain leadership—it was common for Jains to record themselves as "Jain-Hindu" on Indian census enumerations). That Jains have, in certain contexts, defined themselves as a subsect of Hinduism, or have emphasized caste over Jain identity, demonstrates the complex nature of religious identity and has made the tradition difficult to pigeonhole.
>
> (Vallely, 2002, 195f.)

Indeed, members of the Jain community themselves have recognized the oftentimes blurry boundaries that separate their own religious commitments from those of others:

> It need not be said that besides *dharma-kathā*-s drawn from the Jaina narrative literature, many parables and inspiring stories from the great epics . . . and from many *Purāṇa*-s were freely utilized as illustrative of dharma. Stories based on avatāra-s of Viṣṇu and his interventions to save his devotees, and also the lives of great mystic saintly poets and religious leaders other than Jaina, provided material to illustrate bhakti. As a matter of fact, except for certain sectarian rituals, we were so integrated with the general religious Hindu practices and *saṃskāra*-s that it sometimes became hard to draw a dividing line between the Jaina living tradition and the ambivalent main current of the great Hindu civilisation.
>
> (Jain, 1985, p. 182)

Thus, while a (sorely needed) comprehensive analysis of how Jain religious identity emerged in response to colonialism is yet to be written, there are snippets of seeming recognition that Jain identity in premodernity did not necessarily match its modern, post-colonial iteration.[8] Indeed, the issue at hand extends beyond the study of religion in South Asia. As Corey L. Williams explains in his discussion of multiple religious belonging in present-day Nigeria: "Not only are boundaries of religions not always clear or mutually exclusive for religious practitioners, no scholarly conceptualization of religions is entirely coherent or without blurry boundaries" (2021, p. 245).

Another strategy for examining the malleability of religious identity in South Asia—one less rigorously pursued by scholars of Jainism—has emerged out of

contemporary ethnography. Joyce Flueckiger (2006) has demonstrated that individuals prioritize and express religious identity unequally across different social situations. Through the metaphor of the *caurāstā*—the crossroads—"a public social space uniquely created by the particular roads and travelers who cross through it," Flueckiger explores social situations in which self-conscious religious identity temporarily gives way to one based on larger community belonging (2006, pg. 15). While Flueckiger examines in particular the practices of Amma, a powerful local healer, she also explains the myriad conceptual *caurāstā*s that Indians frequently enter and exit:

> Healing sites are only one of several kinds of crossroads where Hindu and Muslim traditions have traditionally and still do intersect and/or share space. Other similar *caurāstās* include shared genres of music . . . traditionally Hindu dance genres such as Bharata Natyam performed by both Hindu and Muslim dancers, festivals during which members of different religious traditions invite each other to their homes or during which they participate on other levels, shared linguistic and literary traditions . . . marriage and other life-cycle ritual customs . . . shrines of Muslim saints where both Hindus and Muslims come to worship, and the relationships between living gurus and disciples of different religious identities.
>
> (Flueckiger, 2006, p. 15)

Central to these identity-conceptual crossroads—and true of literal ones, as well—is the temporary nature of one's place in it:

> Once axes of difference cross through the *caurāstā*, where they might be said to collapse or be overlooked in favor of the common "task" or performance at hand, they reassert themselves in different contexts . . . and help create boundaries of difference.
>
> (Flueckiger, 2006, p. 15)

It is my argument that the premodern public performance of a *bhāṣā* Rāma narrative could be just such a site where religious difference is at least temporarily set aside. This perhaps seems counterintuitive, given the politicization and weaponization of the Rāma story by right-wing Hindu nationalist and Hindutva groups over the past four decades.[9] There is, however, evidence that even in the modern period the reception of Rāma stories has crossed religious boundaries. The Doordarshan televised *Ramayan*, which ran for 78 episodes from January 1987 to July 1988, was an unprecedented television phenomenon in the subcontinent, watched by a large majority of India's populace independent of religious affiliation.[10] Furthermore, Danuta Stasik has recently argued that when the twentieth-century Śvetāmbara Terāpanth Ācārya Tulsī composed his *Agni Parīkṣā* ("The Fire Trial"), a Hindi poem in the tradition of Vimala's *Paümacariya* focusing on Rāma's banishment of Sītā, he did so with the intention of it finding readership beyond the Jain community (2020, p. 197).

Furthermore, looking again to ethnographic accounts of public performance offers another, perhaps jarringly simple, reason to think that premodern performance would have attracted widespread attention and participation: performances were entertaining. Ann Gold articulates a valuable insight into the role of public performance in rural India:

> Rajasthan's regional culture includes a rich and diverse body of living oral performance traditions. These enliven a daily existence that may be both monotonous and laborious. On the one hand, an urban westerner like myself . . . is overwhelmed by the abundance of festivals, rituals all-night singing sessions, storytelling, and other lesser and greater artistic and communicative events. . . . On the other hand, in 1979–81 the villagers had no TVs and few radios or tape recorders, while the nearest cinema was a costly three-hour journey distant. Any performance event punctuated the humdrum grind of labor-intensive agriculture.
>
> (Gold, 1992, p. 14)

Gold speaks here of what I am comfortable arguing is a basic human desire, that of entertainment, a break from the monotony of everyday life. And if public performance remained into the late 1970s and early 1980s the primary source of such entertainment, how much more would it have been valued in the fifteenth and following centuries?

What is more, Gold touches upon the circulation of religious narratives in everyday life and among, we might say, everyday people. Christian Novetzke (2016) has recently drawn attention to quotidian life in premodern South Asia, particularly in relation to the emergence of vernacular literature and religious discourse. Of particular interest is his decentering of the elite world of the court and his subsequent foregrounding of the quotidian world itself, a space, as he defines it, "in which elite and nonelite meet" (2016, p. 9). Furthermore, Novetzke points out that this space of quotidian life is "'common' among classes, castes, genders, and religions," a space where "varying degrees of difference are negotiated and adjusted" (2016, p. 10). The reader will note the similarities between Novetzke's discussion of such "negotiation" and "adjustment" and Flueckiger's metaphorical analysis of one's (temporary) inhabiting the *caurāstā*.[11]

While Novetzke's analysis of the quotidian world of early modern South Asia is helpful, there are two important ways in which I differ from his analysis. First, as with many scholars of South Asian vernacularization, Novetzke posits the emergence of Marathi literature as specifically opposed to literary production in Sanskrit. This book attempts to temper that relationship by highlighting the fact that for Jinadāsa, *bhāṣā* and Sanskrit narrative existed side-by-side. Second, Novetzke largely excludes the possibility of temple space being a part of the quotidian world, largely because of the economic relationships—no doubt true of twelfth-century Maharashtra—between courts, on the one hand, and temples or monasteries, on the other. As discussed in more detail here, Digambara Jain monastic complexes in the fifteenth century relied for their sustainability and growth not so much on

the patronage of royal courts, but rather on the relationships that they established with groups of merchants and traders. Thus, in the case at hand, the space of the temple itself, the space of *rās* performance on the *maṇḍapa*, need not be excluded from the domain of the quotidian.

To date, scholars of premodern Jainism have tended to focus on social and cultural spaces that foreground a specific Jain religious identity. This is, at least in part, due to the types of materials scholars have examined; work has focused on evidence of lay-monastic interactions as documented in lineage histories (*paṭṭāvalī*) and inscriptions. These accounts—all emerging from the perspective of monastic authors and thus a remnant of Jain studies historically giving precedence to monastic practices—provide evidence of close relationships between family (*gotra*) and caste groups and specific monastic *gaccha*s, the monks of which offered services to their lay patrons: "Monks of a given *gaccha* not only held the exclusive right to perform rituals for certain family groups in the lay community; they also served as their bards, writing and preserving clan and caste history" (Granoff, 1989, p. 197). However, while certainly both Digambara and Śvetāmbara families and caste communities cultivated relationships with specific ascetic lineages, it is also the case that much of the life of a Jain layman was spent outside of having a monk perform a ritual for himself and his family. It is also reasonable to think that an author like Jinadāsa could realize this, and that he could thus include in his texts moral lessons that spoke to this quotidian life.

Finally, beyond nuancing the idea of religious identity in premodernity, Gottschalk (2000, p. 4) has additionally pointed out the problems that emerge from scholars structuring their inquiries *solely* on religious identity and thus failing to address additional socio-cultural possibilities of identity and belonging:

> Perceiving the importance of religion in Indian society, many scholars erroneously conclude that this society can be described solely in terms of religious identity. Attempting to do so, these scholars overlook the nature of any individual as a conglomerate of various identities and fail to see the interests around which these identities form. By emphasizing only religious identity, scholars rarefy religions, removing them from the social milieu in which they develop. This environment involves economic, political, and other interests around which group identities form.

Gottschalk points here to the fact that religious identity exists as part of a larger identity nexus, and he continues by arguing that individuals "have interests which compete with and complement religious values" (2000, p. 7). Richard Cohen similarly warns against prioritizing religion as an all-encompassing identity, specifically when thinking about the sociological work of literature: "We need to begin to think about patronage of literature, not in terms of religion, but in terms of social contract and the perspective of the patron, the author, and the public consuming the literature" (2019, p. 92).

Looking at the social milieu of Jinadāsa and his *Rām Rās*, we see evidence of the multivalent possibilities of individual and community identity. *Bhaṭṭāraka*s

during the early modern period were associated not only with specific geographic regions, but also with particular caste communities.[12] In the case at hand, Jinadāsa and his associates were patronized by the Hūmbaḍ (also, Hummaḍa) *jāti*, a wealthy *baniyā* caste that was prevalent in the Vāgaḍ region during the period. Little is known of the history of the *jāti*, though Sangave (1959, p. 92) provides an account of the group's origin that goes back to the eleventh century and the famous Digambara *muni* Māṇatuṅga, who is said to have resolved an argument between two princes of the city of Pāṭaṇ, Bhūpatisiṃha and Bhavanāsiṃha. Impressed with Māṇatuṅga, Būpati gave up his claim to the throne and accepted initiation as an ascetic, saying, "*hūṃ baḍa hūṃ*," or, "I am a banyan tree." The statement is a metaphor; just as the banyan tree grows new trunks from aerial shoots, so too would Bhūpati form a new "trunk" for the faith from Māṇatuṅga. Thus, it is from Bhūpati's utterance that the name of the *jāti* derives. The story is almost certainly not factual, and it is not the only *jāti* origin story that Sangave provides. In a second account, the name *hūmbaḍ* is simply derived from the name of the renouncer who formed the group: Humaḍa.

There is ample evidence of a relationship between the Vāgaḍ *bhaṭṭāraka* seat and the Hūmbaḍ *jāti*.[13] Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti, Jinadāsa's older brother and guru, is said to have organized and led a *tīrthayātra* to Maṅgītuṅgī for members of the *jāti* (Kāslīvāl, 1967, p. 4). Inscriptional evidence is a further testament to the close relationship between the *bhaṭṭāraka* seat and the *jāti*. One such inscription, dating to 1476 CE, explains that one Vatsarāja, a member of the *jātī*, sponsored the installation of a Śāntināṭha icon, performed by Guru Vimalendrakīrti, who occupied the seat of Sakalakīrti.[14] Most important for the discussion at hand, though, is the possibility that members of the Hūmbaḍ *jātī* were not all Jain. Sangave explains that "[Hūmbaḍs] are found both in the Jainas and the Hindus, but they are mostly Jainas" (1959, p. 98).[15] More broadly, the phenomenon of caste affiliation spanning religious affiliation is not limited to the Hūmbaḍs. Sangave discusses five additional castes—Agravāls, Osvāls, Śrīmālīs, and Porvāḍs[16]—who drew at least some of their membership from the ranks of non-Jains (1959, pp. 86–98).[17] In the case of the Agravāls and the Osvālas, there are confirmed practices of intermarriage between Jain and Hindu members. About the Agravāl caste, which is majority Hindu with a substantial Digambara Jain minority, colonial administrator H. H. Risley observed in his 1891 *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* that "differences in religious belief do not operate as a bar to intermarriage, and when a marriage takes place between persons of different religions, the standard Hindu ritual is performed" (quoted in Sangave, 1959, p. 86). Furthermore, Babb writes about the Agravāls: "In this case, religious identity seems to be almost entirely trumped by caste identity in the sense that intermarriage occurs between the two religious groups while the caste itself is endogamous" (2004, p. 145). The Osvāls are the opposite, a majority Jain caste—Śvetāmbara, in this case—but with a Hindu minority and a history of intermarriage.[18]

What is more, it is inarguable that the Digambara community in the Vāgaḍ region during the fifteenth century existed among and participated in diverse and mobile larger social networks. Zafar Khan declared independence from the

weakened Delhi Sultanate in 1407 and installed himself as emperor of the new Gujarat Sultanate under the name Muzaffar Shah. As Samira Sheikh points out, while the Delhi sultans in the fourteenth century were responsible for the first wave of fort settlements in Gujarat, it was Muzaffar Shah's founding of the Gujarat Sultanate that first worked to establish "long-term economic and political stability in the region" (2010, p. 64). Sheikh paints a pointedly symbiotic relationship between the Sultanate and communities of traders, of which Jains—and, likely Hūmbaḍ Jains—would have been members:

> The Delhi governors and then the sultans had to maintain close contacts with merchants and carrier communities to remain informed and supplied with sufficient resources. Their survival over rival chieftains depended upon superior patronage and protection they could offer merchants, which set up a reciprocal system of dependence. The rulers needed arms, boats, horses, precious metals, and luxury goods, while in turn they could provide the merchants with security, a stable currency, and regular custom.
>
> (Sheikh, 2010, p. 65)

Over the next century and under the leadership of subsequent Sultans Ahmad Shah and Mahmud Begada, Gujarat, including Vāgaḍ, grew and developed.[19] Richard M. Eaton recounts in particular Begada's (r. 1458–1511) priorities in securing the region and driving economic prosperity:

> Several strategic objectives guided [Begada's] policies. The first was to protect and extend trade between the commercially active coastal cities and the agrarian hinterland. This he did by ensuring safe overland trade routes, imposing uniform and stable rates of taxation, establishing a standard silver coin, the *mahmudi*, and maintaining a formidable navy.
>
> (Eaton, 2020, 120f.)

In working to protect trade routes, Begada also ensured the safety of religious pilgrimage routes, which led to flourishing, mobile religious communities of all sorts and a sense of real "cultural pluralism," to use Eaton's term (2020, p. 122).

If we momentarily zoom out from examining fifteenth-century Vāgaḍ, it becomes clear that early modern Jains both participated in communities that included non-Jains and held interests that either competed or were sometimes in tension with what we might classify as traditional Jain teachings. Banārasīdās, for instance, in this biographical *Ardhakathānak* ("Half a Tale") describes being educated in boyhood by a Brahmin, from whom he learned "basic literacy and numeracy skills" (2009, p. 56). Such a pandit would have been supported not only by Jain merchants, but by a city or town's larger merchant community (Lath, 1981, p. xxiv). Banārasīdās also describes continuing his education with one Pandit Devadutt, whose religious identity is unclear.[20] With Devadutt, Banārasīdās read lexical works and studied poetics and astronomy. It is only Banārasīdās's final teacher, Bhānucandra, who is explicitly identified as Jain.

Banārasīdās is also forthright about his personal religious practices and the competing interests, mostly economic, that motivated them. Twice over the course of his life, Banārasīdās admits to being tricked by false religious charismatics. In the first case, a *saṃnyāsin* lied to Banārasīdās, promising that his saying a specific mantra every day for a year would yield economic prosperity. At the end of a year, when Banārasīdās recognized that his economic position had not and would not change, he recognized being played for a fool. In the second instance, Banārasīdās was again taken in by a "false *yogī*," who gave Banārasīdās a conch shell that was, the yogi claimed, the true form of the god Śiva. The *yogī* promised that if Banārasīdās worshipped the shell every morning, he would surely attain "Śiva's divine abode." Banārasīdās worshipped the shell in earnest for over a year, continuing his propitiation of the shell while on pilgrimage to Banaras to worship the Jina Pārśvanātha.[21] It was not until Banārasīdās suffered a head injury and realized that Śiva had not come to his aid that he "simply put the Siva-conch away" and stopped worshiping it (Lath, 1981, p. 40). Importantly, in ruminating on the failures of these religious practices, Banārasīdās does not rail against *other religious traditions*, per se. He speaks instead about fake *individuals*—false *yogī*s and fake *saṃnyāsin*—and also blames himself and his own greed. Of course, Banārasīdās did not reserve leveling accusations of debased religiosity only for members of other religious traditions. As the head of his local *adhyātma* (spiritual) community, he is historically best remembered for accusing local Digambara *bhaṭṭāraka*s of lax religious practice and an unhealthy fixation on rote ritual practice at the expense of inner moral cultivation.[22] What is important here, though, is that Banārasīdās never stops thinking of himself as Jain, even while performing what we would now call non-Jain practices. No matter his motivation, Banārasīdās exhibits an openness and willingness to engage with religious practices articulated as powerful and efficacious, even if they existed "outside" of his own religious identity.

Similarly, though historically later, François Mallison has discussed the century-long Jain—particularly Śvetāmbara Tapāgaccha—leadership of the Bhuj Brajbhāṣā Pāṭhśālā. Located in Kuch, the *pāṭhśāla* trained bards from varied social and religious backgrounds in Brajbhāṣā and Gujarati poetics and performance from the mid-eighteenth century until the mid-twentieth. As in other parts of Gujarat, Jains were major players in the Kuch economy (2011). What is more, in the nineteenth century most Śvetāmbara, *yati*s were born into non-Jain families and were either dedicated from birth to serve as "domesticated" temple attendants or were literally bought from poor non-Jain families to serve such a purpose.[23] Even in the modern period, some *gaccha* monastic curricula include works by non-Jains.[24]

This evidence substantiates the idea that religious identity in premodern South Asia was not only itself a complicated, sometimes downright murky category, but also one of any number of ways people thought about themselves and their inclusion in larger communities. Second, this discussion reiterates the fact that Jains lived among and participated in quotidian economic and cultural worlds that included non-Jains. These facts are not particularly new, but it is puzzling how

little they have influenced how scholars actually read literature written by Jain authors. Reading the vast majority of scholarship on Jain literature, one would be hard pressed to find evidence that Jain authors thought about how to live a productive, engaged, moral life among people who were simultaneously religious others and social confreres. This is due not only to the celebratory primacy given to religious identity by scholars of Jainism, but also, at least in part, to the fact that very little work has been done on Jain *bhāṣā* literature, texts for which the language of composition itself, I argue, encourages thinking about wider quotidian audiences than those of Sanskrit or Apabhramsha.

There is textual evidence in the *Rām Rās* itself that gestures toward the fact that Jinadāsa anticipated his work to be consumed by a wide array of individuals. The title of the work itself—the *Rām Rās*—is one such piece of evidence: Jinadāsa in the *bhāṣā* moves away from the convention of referring to his epic hero by his Jain-specific name of Padma, embracing instead the more ubiquitous proper name.[25] His use of Rām is not limited to the title of the work. He is consistent throughout the *Rām Rās* in eschewing use of Padma, and in the introductory verses of the text, Jinadāsa explicitly states that he is writing a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the form of a *rās*. Second, in keeping with the performance-oriented nature of the *Rām Rās*, it is only in the *bhāṣā* that Jinadāsa is explicit in saying that both men and women are capable of engagement with the text, explaining that "men and women who listen intently will overcome the world of rebirth."[26] This is different from the *Padmapurāṇa*, which in its very grammatical structure projects a male reader.[27] *Bhāṣā* is a medium of communication appropriate for both men and women; gender is not a barrier to engagement with—and benefit from—the narrative. All that is required of any listener is his or her attentiveness (*ek citt karī*).

Finally, remember from the last chapter how Jinadāsa emplots himself in the narrative, particularly at the beginning and end of the text. He aligns himself only with his immediate gurus, excising both his own and the Rāma's story's lengthy, Digambara lineage. In doing so, Jinadāsa highlights not the temporal and geographic universality of the narrative, but rather the local situatedness of himself, his teachers, and his *bhāṣā* work, thus gesturing toward an intended audience demarcated not necessarily by commitment to a specific Jain lineage—or even to a larger Jain community at all—but rather by shared geographic, linguistic, and cultural borders. Indeed, what I describe here is not dissimilar to the "cultural boundary" described by Sitamshu Yashaschandra in his examination of the emergence and evolution of Gujarati literature (2003, 572f.). By examining the colophons of *bhāṣā* works composed by the seventeenth-century Kharatara gaccha monk Samaysundar, Yashaschandra maps out a transregional geography of intelligibility for Samaysundar's *bhāṣā* that spans much of modern-day Gujarat, Rajasthan, Sindh, and parts of Punjab in Pakistan. And while Yashaschandra acknowledges that much of Samaysundar's travels would have been impelled by a desire "to preach to and guide people who belonged to his religious tradition," he also highlights the "shared cultural sensibility" of the entire population: "The works Samaysundar composed were not all sectarian; a good number were poems, which he must have performed before his followers *and others* in the different

towns . . . and also at other, smaller places on his route" (2003, p. 572, emphasis added). If scholars can acknowledge that individual *works* of Jain authors may or may not be sectarian, we should also be able to think about sectarianism as a possible aspect, or not, *of works themselves* in performance.

Given all of this, it is important to investigate the *Rām Rās* with an eye toward moral lessons that are not dependent upon Jain sectarian tenets. To demonstrate a single example of this, I want to revisit the comparison made briefly in the previous chapter focusing on the process of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā in both the *Rām Rās* and Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*. The reader will remember that in the Sanskrit, Rāvaṇa is overtaken by latent passions *upon seeing* Sītā in the forest hermitage that she shares with her husband and brother-in-law. It is this sudden loss of self-control, a trait with which Rāvaṇa had previously been so closely associated, that led to his eventual death. In the *bhāṣā* text, though, Rāvaṇa physically *goes* to abduct Sītā not after *seeing* her, but rather after listening to a description of her from his sister, Candranakhā. Again, the translation of the episode is as follows:

> That dear kinsman of Rāvaṇa, Candranakhā, a storehouse of sorrow, went to Laṅkā. She approached Rāvaṇa and told him her story, "My son was killed by two men who had come to the forest, [one] holding the Sūryahāsa sword in his hand. But with them was a young woman, beautiful and fortunate, her virtue unbroken. Indeed, she resembled Urvāśī and Rambhā! She was extremely charming, with a sweet and delightful voice. Such a woman should be associated only with you! Bring her to your house, where she will be a storehouse of happiness!" Then, Rāvaṇa's mind became full of unparalleled delusion and he became intent on going [to find her] alone. Having mounted his vehicle, he went, destroying dharma. Alone, he reached the forest, and there he saw the woman Sītā, wife of Rāma.[28]

This difference between the two texts—whether Rāvaṇa's delusion emerges from *hearing about* or *seeing* Sītā—is small but important. It occurs, after all, at a pivotal moment in the narrative; Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā fundamentally changes the trajectory of the story and every character in it. Furthermore, the very existence of such a difference, given that the works share an author, signals that it was an intentional choice on the part of Jinadāsa.

This is not to say, though, that the sequence of events in Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* narrative is completely novel. There is a Jain narrative precedent for the *bhāṣā* version of the story. In Hemacandra's twelfth-century Sanskrit *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* ("The Lives of the Sixty-Three Illustrious Men"), we find a similar set of events:

> With the fighting increasing and hoping to strengthen the rear flank of her brother's army, [Candranakhā] quickly went to Rāvaṇa and said: "Two men, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, have come to the Daṇḍaka forest! Foolishly, they led your nephew to the domain of Yama. Hearing of this, my husband, along with his younger brother and a large army, went there and are currently fighting against them. Proud, though, of both his own strength and that of his younger

> brother, Rāma stands apart, sporting playfully with his wife, Sītā. She is the greatest among women in terms of beauty, charm, and auspiciousness. She is not a goddess, nor a Nāga woman. She is not mortal, but something else entirely. Her beauty, renowned in the three worlds, puts all other women, even the gods and *asura*s, to shame. Indeed, it cannot be put into words! O you whose commands extend from sea to sea! You alone, brother, are entitled to any and all jewels on this earth! If you do not claim this woman, whose beauty stops eyes from blinking, then you are not Rāvaṇa!" Then, having ascended into his *puṣpaka* vehicle, Rāvaṇa commanded: "Lord of Vehicles, quickly go to where Sītā is!" The vehicle proceeded with great speed towards Sītā, as if attempting to catch up to Rāvaṇa's mind.[29]

In Hemacandra's version of the episode, as in Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* work, Candranakhā expounds Sītā's beauty, motivating Rāvaṇa to go and abduct her. Hemacandra, though, does not emphasize Rāvaṇa's delusion. Indeed, the Rāvaṇa of Hemacandra's tale seems just as convinced by Candranakhā's threatening his manhood and social status than he is by hearing of Sītā's beauty. Rāvaṇa is *focused* on kidnapping Sītā—his mind and his vehicle metaphorically compete to see who can reach her quickest—but Hemacandra does not recount this as a focus born from delusion.

Furthermore, an astute reader, one versed not only in Jain versions of the Rāma narrative but also their Brahminical counterparts, might immediately note that Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* description of the events that lead to Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā resembles those laid out by Vālmīki in the third book of his Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. There too, one of Rāvaṇa's female relatives, Śūrpaṇakhā, is spurned by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, though in Vālmīki's version of the story Rāma orders Lakṣmaṇa to punish the "misshapen slut, [the] potbellied, lustful *rākṣasa* woman."[30] Lakṣmaṇa obeys by cutting off Śūrpaṇakhā's nose and ears, leaving her horribly disfigured. In Vālmīki's version, Śūrpaṇakhā then goes to her brother Khara and requests that he kill Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Khara and his commanding general Dūṣaṇa amass an army and marches toward Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's forest settlement, but the brothers have little trouble dispatching the *rākṣasa* army and killing Khara. It is then that Śūrpaṇakhā approaches Rāvaṇa, still bent on revenge, though now both for her own treatment and for the death of her brother and the annihilation of the *rākṣasa* army.

Jinadāsa does not follow Vālmīki in the specifics of the episode, instead following the plot of previous Jain versions of the story. The similarities between Jinadāsa *bhāṣā* work and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, though, become clearest when examining the discussion that Śūrpaṇakhā has with Rāvaṇa. The following is the encounter:

> Rāma has a lawful wife named Sītā, princess of Videha. And what a glorious woman she is, with her large eyes, slender waist, and full hips. No goddess, no *gandharva* woman, no *yakṣa* or *kinnara* woman, no mortal woman so beautiful have I ever see before on the face of this earth. He who claims

> Sītā as a wife and receives her delighted embraces has more reason to live than anyone else in all the worlds, the breaker of fortresses, Indra himself, included. She is a woman of good character, with a form beyond all praise, a beauty unequaled on earth. She would make a perfect wife for you, and you a perfect husband for her. How broad her hips, how full and high her breasts, how lovely her face. Why, I all but brought her back to be your wife. The moment you saw Vaidahī's full-moon face, you would find yourself at the mercy of the arrows of Manmatha, god of love. If you have any interest in taking her to wife, put your best foot forward at once to win her.[31]

Setting aside Vālmīki's verbosity in comparison to Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* account of this episode, the similarities between the two exempla are worthy of analysis. In both versions, Candranakhā/Śūrpaṇakhā encourages Rāvaṇa to take Sītā as his own wife, despite the fact that she is already married. The women describe Sītā as being both extraordinarily beautiful and virtuous, a woman who would bring joy to the household of her husband. Both authors compare Sītā to beautiful divine women, *apsaras* in the case of Jinadāsa and *gandharvas* and *kinnaras* in the case of Vālmīki. Most importantly, though, in both cases, Rāvaṇa knows of Sītā's existence and her beauty before he goes to intervene on behalf of his sister. The concept of delusion is also present in both descriptions; in Jinadāsa's work, Candranakhā's description of Sītā engenders delusion in Rāvaṇa, whereas in Vālmīki, Śūrpaṇakhā promises that he will immediately fall under the delusional spell of Kubera, the god of love, upon seeing Sītā's face.

Despite these similarities, though, there still exist substantial differences between Jinadāsa's and Vālmīki's episodes. Of particular importance is the fact that while Vālmīki's Śurpaṇakhā promises that Rāvaṇa *will eventually* become enamored with Sītā, that delusion is not the driving force behind Rāvaṇa going to fight with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Śurpaṇakhā closes her argument in the *Rāmāyaṇa* by stressing Rāvaṇa's duty to avenge the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa: "Now that you have heard how the nightstalkers of Janasthāna were killed by the unerring arrows of Rāma, and how Khara and Dūṣaṇa were killed, you must act at once."[32] What is more, the text is clear that, far from having lost his mind at hearing of Sītā's beauty, Rāvaṇa is in fact quite deliberate in his decision to follow his sister's counsel:

> When Rāvaṇa had heard Śurpaṇakhā's horrifying tale, he dismissed his advisers and turned his thoughts to the question at hand. After pondering the question, examining it carefully, and weighing the pros and cons, the strengths and weaknesses, he decided exactly what to do, and firmly resolved made his way to the lovely carriage house.[33]

Rāvaṇa here is in complete control of his mental faculties and intentional in his decision-making process. This is a far cry from Jinadāsa's description of the event.

Thus, Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* description of the events leading up to Sītā's abduction exists in its own sort of literary *caurāstā*. It is different enough from the events

of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* to be noticeable and also shares elements not only with other Jain versions of the story, but with Vālmīki's version as well. In making sense of this, I argue that we think about what the moral work of this *bhāṣā* passage actually may be. In the *Rām Rās*, Jinadāsa makes a different argument than in the Sanskrit about where and how delusion manifests and to what that delusion leads. There is a concrete relationship in the *bhāṣā* between the delusion that plagues Rāvana and its source, his lying sister. Rāvaṇa's delusion no longer emerges from a fleeting, chance sighting of the beautiful Sītā, it is intentionally, calculatedly cultivated by Candranakhā. Sītā's beauty is the truthful aspect of Candranakhā's larger lie; she preys not only on Rāvaṇa's sense of loyalty to family, but also—perhaps, more so—on his known character flaws. Read this way, there is a social realism to the *bhāṣā* version that is not present in the corresponding Sanskrit. We do not lose our senses randomly; we do not fall prey to our baser instincts at mere coincidental happenings. Both our virtues and vices emerge out of the company we keep and the relationships we build with people that we trust.

Furthermore, there is in the *bhāṣā* both a temporal and geographic distance between the arising of Rāvaṇa's delusional attachment (*moh*) to Sītā and his actually abducting her. In that liminal time and space, while Rāvaṇa travels to perform the deed that everyone in the audience already knows will lead to his ultimate downfall, the text suggests that he has *decided* to give in to his destructive passions or, at least, he has chosen not to fight them. What is more, the text is explicit in saying that Rāvaṇa goes alone (*yekalo*, "*ekal*" in standard Hindi) to abduct Sītā. This fact—Rāvaṇa proceeding alone to Rāma's forest encampment—is also true in Jinadāsa's Sanskrit text, but the relationship between delusion and solitariness differs between the two narratives. In the Sanskrit, Rāvaṇa *being alone* provides a condition for the arising of his delusion: he sees Sītā when he is alone and then becomes enamored with her. In the *bhāṣā*, we see the opposite relationship. Rāvaṇa's delusion leads to his striking out on his own to go and abduct her. For the listener, the implication is clear: our delusions may be cultivated by the poor company that we keep, but those delusions, left unchecked, ultimately lead us to a more dangerous place outside of community all together.

In the context of episodic performance, we can think further about how this story might be paired with other episodes of the larger narrative to emphasize or build upon this moral message. An obvious choice would be to compare Rāvaṇa's situation with that of Lakṣmaṇa, who, of course, accompanies Rāma and Sītā during their time in the forest. Rāvaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa are bound together in the *śalākāpuruṣa* system, being one iteration of the archetypal *vāsudeva* and *prativāsudeva* antagonistic relationship. This bond is expressed not only teleologically—the *prativāsudeva* inevitably falls in battle to the *vāsudeva* and both at death are reincarnated in hell to atone for the negative karma accrued in their previous life—but also, to a degree, in their attitudes and comportment. If Rāvaṇa is quick to fall prey to delusion, Lakṣmaṇa can be quick to anger, particularly when he feels that Rāma or Sītā have been wronged. When the Brahmin Kapila rudely casts out Rāma and Sītā from his home while they are exiled in the forest, Lakṣmaṇa grabs him and holds him upside down, prepared to kill him for his lack

of respect. It is Rāma who calms him down, explaining that the Brahmin's conduct will reap its own reward and that killing him is not only unnecessary, but will also bring shame upon their family. Thus, where Candranakhā calls on Rāvaṇa to defend not only her own honor but that of the entire family, through violence and abduction, Rāma counsels Lakṣmaṇa *against* violence and encourages his brother to temper his baser instincts. Whereas Rāvaṇa is compelled to vice by his own sister, Lakṣmaṇa remains on the straight-and-narrow because he has Rāma and Sītā there to guide him.

6.3 Performance Event as Morally Constitutive

Thus far we have analyzed the possible moral messages that emerge from the text of the *Rām Rās* itself. However, we would be remiss not to explore also the morally formative possibilities of the very event of performance itself. In other words, we can examine the site of performance in terms of engendering social cohesion. Such an examination invariably draws on the work of Durkheim, who saw the reconstitution of social bonds and a social sense of belonging as the very definition of morality:

> We may say that what is moral is everything that is a source of solidarity, everything that forces man to take account of other people, to regulate his actions by something other than the promptings of his own egoism, and the more numerous and strong these ties are, the more solid is the morality.
>
> (Durkheim, 1997, p. 331)

Similarly, Blackburn and Flueckiger argue that "[O]ral epics in India have that special ability to tell a community's own story and thus help to create and maintain that community's self-identity" (1989, p. 11). Previous analyses of Rāma narratives authored by Jains have assumed that the community and its related self-identity must have always necessarily been Jain. I have argued here that *bhāṣā* performance does not necessitate such an assumption. Moral persons are developed in lived experience, and, in our case, the delight of a story is not merely in the words written on the page, but rather in their performance by and among members of a community. It is through this process of public performance that engaged, oftentimes participatory audience members not only learn, but, more importantly, reaffirm their ties of community, or, as Novetzke would argue, their participation in a "public," defined as "a social unit created through shared cultural phenomenon, and reinforced by demonstrations in public of these shared cultural phenomenon" (2008, p. 13). This process of reaffirming participatory membership in a public is a strategy for moral cultivation, as communities of individuals establish expectations for behavior, and communal participation sustains interpersonal relationships, responsibilities, and privileges.

Let me also be clear that this sense of public is not meant to be synonymous with a "laity," Jain or otherwise, that is distinct from renunciates. There is a persistent assumption among scholars of South Asian religious literature that *bhāṣā* was

a medium of communication exclusively for the edification of the laity, and that somehow mendicants would not benefit from engaging with *bhāṣā*. The reader may remember Ernest Bender's remark from the previous chapter, that *bhāṣā* texts were meant for an affluent lay audience that was ignorant of Sanskrit.[34] Certainly, such individuals could make up *part* of the audience of vernacular texts, but there is no reason, and really no evidence to support, not also thinking of *bhaṭṭārakas*, *paṇḍits*, and *brahmacārins* as part of an audience of *bhāṣā* material or as participating in the community that the public performance of *bhāṣā* texts creates and sustains. Jinadāsa was a lifelong resident of the area of northwest India in which the *bhāṣā* of the *Rām Rās* would have been understood, and there is no reason to think that mendicants had transcended the moral work of *bhāṣā* literature. If mendicants could write such literature, they could surely also listen to and learn from such literature.

Furthermore, while scholars have previously examined how participation in public Jain festivals helps to reaffirm a specific sense of Jain identity,[35] what I have demonstrated in the preceding pages is that when considering Rāma narratives, and, in particular, a version of the narrative that is as geographically and linguistically situated as the *Rām Rās*, we ought not to think purely along the lines of reified religious identity in conceptualizing who would have made up the community of performance attendees. Part of the malleable, improvisational nature of a text like the *Rām Rās* is that its specific markers of "Jain" authorship could be either emphasized or minimized, based on the needs or desires of any particular audience. Thus, the *Rām Rās* works to create moral subjects not only through instruction about right and wrong, but also as a text that helps to form and sustain diverse communities.

Notes

1 On Jain theories of kingship, see Cort (1998).
2 *Rām Rās* pg. 72, verse 7.
nārad kahe brāhmaṇ suṇoy | tuhme bhulāreg mārato | jīvahisā kīdhe pāpaghaṇoye | pāpeṃ hui dukh apārato ||
3 *Rām Rās*, pg.75f., verses 33–35ab
tav nārad muṇi bolīyoye | daśanan suṇo tahme caṅgato | jainadharamī dayā pālīye | kṣaṇi karo yahaṇo bhaṃgato || paṃcamakāl atīdohi loye | mīthyāt pragaṭ se āpārato | mūḍhalokī bahu adarīyoye | kavaṇ jānaï pārato || kuṣṭarog jīm navī phīṭaïye | tīm mīthyāt asārato ||
4 See, for instance, *Rām Rās*, pg. 651, verse 9.
5 *Rām Rās*, pg. 916, verses 1–5.
sukaladhyān man māhī dharī caṅg | rāmadev svāmī abhaṅg | ghātikaram kṣekarī anyān | upaṇo svāmī kevalajñān || āsaṇ kāpyā atīsāl | saragī dev taṇ guṇamāl | avadhījñān karī jāṇyo caṅg | upaṇo kevalajñān abhaṅg ||rāmadev ne atīsavīsāl | vandan cālyā bhavik guṇamāl | indra indrāṇi āvya jāṇ | dev devī sahīt guṇakhāṇ || pūjyā rāmamuniśvar pāy |nīramal kīdhī tīnho nījakāy | ṇamask karī baiṭā guṇavant | bhaviyaṇ dev devījayavant || bhumīgocarā vidyādhar rāy | bhāv sahīt lāgā munipāy | sītendra baiṭo guṇavant | indrāṇi sahīt jayavant ||
6 For a complete summary of this story, see Babb (1996, pp. 30–36).
7 See, for instance, Thapar (1989); Talbot (1995); Flood (2009); Gottschalk (2000, 2013); Dalmia and Faruqui (2014); Vose (forthcoming).

8 Orr (2009) provides an excellent account of the different depictions of Jains that emerged from colonial administrators in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay.
9 On this, see Lutgendorf (1995); van der Veer (1995); Devalle (1995); Davis (1996); Pollock (1993) compellingly argues for the existence premodern precedent in marrying Rāma narrative and imagery with expressions of political power.
10 See Lutgendorf (1990); Mankekar (1999, 2002); Farmer (1996), among others, points out that the Doordarshan serial, while perhaps watched by a wide swath of the Indian public, also successfully presented a hegemonic, largely Brahminical version of the Rāma narrative that has subsequently contributed to the rise in right-wing Hindutva fundamentalism in the subcontinent. Furthermore, as Mankekar discusses in the works cited earlier, just because some Muslims and Sikhs watched the televised series does not mean they interpreted it in the same way as Hindu viewers. Muslim and Sikh viewers, for instance, were "less likely to claim the *Ramayan* as their own cultural history" (Mankekar, 2002, p. 141).
11 This is a similarity that Novetzke (2016, 11f.) himself recognizes.
12 See Sangave (1981); Detige (2020).
13 For more on this, see Detige (2020, p. 194).
14 Yatīndrasūri (1951, p. 116), inscription number 174. The Hindi translation of the inscription (245f.) incorrectly says that the installation was of a Śreyāṃsanātha icon.
15 Enthoven (1922, p. 414) disagrees with Sangave, saying that Hūmbaḍs (which he calls Ummads) are entirely Jain.
16 Sangave also includes Khaṇḍelvāls in his list, though this is perhaps a mistake. According to Babb (2004, 116f, p. 145) Khaṇḍelvāl Jains are a completely separate caste from Khaṇḍelavāl Vaiśyas, who are all Hindu. At least, this is the case in the modern period; Babb does admit the possibility that the two castes "share a common past" (116).
17 See also Banks (1984), which draws our attention to the fact that contemporary Gujarati Jains (as of the early 1980s) are cognizant of, and have developed opinions about, internal divisions within "Hinduism":

> Most Jains see themselves as superior to Brahmans, simply because they believe Jainism to be a superior religion to Shivism. Vaisnavism is generally seen as a religion of equivalent worth, perhaps because the Jains have always had a very close association with Vaisnavites in this part of India, with several Jain castes having Vaisnavite members.
>
> (1984, p. 34)

18 Sangave (1959, pg. 88) says that while intermarriage between Hindu and Jain Osvāls has historically been permitted, contemporary marriages are arranged within religious communities.
19 See Asher and Talbot (2006, pp. 89–96); Eaton (2020, pp. 119–22).
20 Lath (1981, p. xxv) only says Devadutt was "maintained in some manner by the Jain community."
21 For more on the relationship between Pārśva and Varanasi, see Gough (2020).
22 For more on Banārasīdas and the *adhyātma* movement, see Cort (2002).
23 See Cort (2001a, pp. 43–46).
24 On one such Tapā Gaccha curriculum, see Cort (2001b).
25 Specifically, the manuscript used by Rāṃvkā and later provided to the Āmer Śāstra Bhaṇḍar gives the title of the work as *Rām Rās*. A second manuscript (dated to 1764 CE) from manuscript collection of the Śrī 1008 Candranāthasvāmī Balātkār Gaṇa Digambara Jain Mandir in Kārañja Lāḍa gives the title as *Rāmpurāṇ Rās*.
26 *Rām Rās*, pg. 941, verse 13.
paḍhe paḍhāve vāṇī je guṇavant | sulalīt bakhāṇe jayavant | ek citt karī sune je naranārī | teh jayavantā hoi saṃsār ||
27 Toward the end of the Sanskrit narrative, for instance, where Jinadāsa explains the possible fruits of one's engagement with the Rāma story, he uses male nouns and

adjectives, for example, *niḥsaṅkamānasaḥ* (he whose mind is unafraid), *dhīmān* (wise, learned, and intelligent), and *śrīmān* (glorious, fortunate, and prosperous).

28 *Rām Rās,* pg. 415, verses 52cd-56.
candranakhā gaī te jāṇ | laṅkā bandhav kanhe dūkhakhāṇ || rāvaṇ āgalī kahī tīṇe bāt | majh taṇo putra no kīyo te ghāt| dūi jaṇ āvyo che van māhī | suryahāse khaḍag che bāhī || teh kanhe bhāmīnī aticaṅg | rūp sobhāgaguṇ abhaṅg | jaisī urvasī rambhā jāṇ | sulalītamadhurī teh vāṇi || te nārī tahm jogya vakhāṇ | āṇo tuhmo gharī te sukhāṇi | tav rāvaṇ manī moh apār | yakalo cālyo tīṇe vārī || vīmāṇ baisī karī cālyo jāṇ | dharam taṇi kīdhī tīṇe hāṇ | yekalo āvyo vanah majhārī | rām sahīt sītā dīṭī nārī ||

29 *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* 7.5.416–425.

30 Vālmīki, *Rāmāyaṇa* III.17.20. This and all subsequent translations of Vālmīki are from Pollock's (1991) translation.

31 Valmīki, *Rāmāyaṇa* III.32.14–20.

32 Vālmīki, *Rāmāyaṇa* III.32.24.

33 Vālmīki, *Rāmāyaṇa*, III.33.1–3.

34 It is worth noting that Johannes Hertel (1922, p. 17) argues that knowledge of Sanskrit among lay Gujaratis was relatively widespread, given the shear amount of Sanskrit devotional material authored by Jain renunciates during the period. I find this argument unlikely and have seen little defense of the position from subsequent scholars.

35 See, for instance, Cort (2001a).

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7 Concluding Thoughts

In an interview on February 3, 1969, Frank Herbert quipped about finishing his novel, *Dune*, that "there is no real ending. It's just the place where you stop the story."[1] This quote is a comforting acknowledgment that to complete a project is, at its core, to establish and respect a more or less arbitrary boundary. In the case at hand, the boundary that I have established incorporates three specific texts as objects of inquiry and also a variety of precise questions and approaches to those texts. Bounded inquiries cannot, by their very nature, aim to exhaustiveness, and in the concluding pages of this book, I thus aim to both reiterate my central arguments and their scholarly implications and look forward toward the possible paths the study of Jain narrative might take in the future.

7.1 Takeaways and Contributions

In Chapter 1, I explained that this book has a dual focus in reading together Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. First, I foregrounded the innovative nature of the practice of purposeful literary re-composition and, second, directed the recognition of such innovation toward understanding the varied ways that Jain Rāma stories aim to create moral persons. In the preceding pages, I have argued that not only do the literary and narrative strategies for moral edification differ between Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa*, and Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*, but also that each text projects a novel vision of what it means to live a moral life. Chapter 1, then, explored how Raviṣeṇa encouraged the reader to realize that it is only through renunciation that the universal truth of grief and suffering in the world can be escaped. Raviṣeṇa projects the renunciant Rāma, freed from the tempestuous throws of grief and content in his experience of tranquil *śama*, as a figurehead of moral personhood and, subsequently, holds up renunciation as moral action *par excellence*. Far from being a merely "embellished" version of Vimalasūri's *Paümacariya*, then, Chapter 2 demonstrated Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* to be a work of sophisticated *kāvya*, an intricately constructed work of refined poetry that skillfully harnesses the reader's emotion in leading them to the morally transformative experience of *śānta rasa*.

In Chapters 3 and 4, we moved to comparative analysis of Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* as a deliberate re-writing of Raviṣeṇa's earlier narrative. Pushing

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back against claims that later authors like Jinadāsa simply lacked the literary and poetic skills of their forebearers, Chapter 3 presented the identifiably consistent ways in which Jinadāsa rewrote Raviṣeṇa's *kāvya* in the form of an *ākhyāna* or *kathā*. Aiming to make Raviṣeṇa's text "clear," Jinadāsa streamlines the narrative. He condenses chapters, excises content not necessary for the timely progression of the story, and writes in consistently and predictably simple Sanskrit. The chapter also examined Jinadāsa's rationale for wanting to clarify his predecessor's work in the first place, explaining that Jinadāsa saw himself as living in an altogether more complicated world than did Raviṣeṇa. By outlining the multiple types of possible listeners to a *purāṇic* narrative and each type of listener's response to hearing the auspicious story of the deeds of Rāma, Jinadāsa makes a claim not only for the morally instructive efficacy of his re-composition, but for its very necessity.

With Jinadāsa's literary project, rationale, and strategies for achievement laid out, Chapter 4 provided a reading of Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* that showed the moral work of the text as emerging from the fruition of Rāvaṇa's, Rāma's, Lakṣmaṇa's particular character semes. These semes, articulated through the idiom of the four *kaṣāya*s, the sticky passions that lead to the influx of karma, are particular character traits, explicitly reinforced throughout the progression of the story, that become the explanatory mechanism for the eventual fates of the narrative's three main characters. Thus, Rāvaṇa's predominant seme of egoism and pride (*māna*) and Lakṣmaṇa's predominant seme of impassioned anger (*krodha*) explain their *jīvas*' eventual rebirth in hell after their respective deaths. Rāma, on the other hand, is characterized by the seme of dispassion. He is constructed as an exemplar of the person who is disciplined against the deleterious effects of the *kaṣāya*s, and the reader comes to understand this fully by following how it enables his eventual renunciation of the world and attainment of *mokṣa*. Thus, the text's moral vision resolves in its explicitly demonstrating the inevitable fortunes of those who do and do not work to discipline the passions.

Finally, Chapters 5 and 6 turned to examining Jinadāsa's *Rām Rās*, centered on the novel possibilities of moral edification in the vernacular. Chapter 5 argued that the *Rām Rās* was not a mere translation of Jinadāsa's Sanskrit Rāma narrative, but rather an intentional re-composition of the story in a different language with different goals. Again, attention to the differences between Jinadāsa's Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* work revealed this. These differences—structural, in terms of Jinadāsa's use of *deśī* meters and formulaic language in the *bhāṣā*; plot-based; and in terms of authorial self-description—all speak to the performance-oriented logic of the work and Jinadāsa's vision of who actually constituted his *bhāṣā* audience. Through an improvisational elasticity that is coded into the text itself, the *Rām Rās* centers audience expectations and participation in dictating performance. This allows for performative manipulation of the work and its individual episodes, opening up myriad possibilities for making moral arguments in performance.

Thus, finally, Chapter 6 explicated the ways in which moral lessons might be presented in performance of the *Rām Rās*. Since individual performances themselves each emerge from relationships of performer and audience, no two

individual performances would necessarily be the same, and, thus, the moral messages that emerge from performance would vary as well. Consequently, the chapter presented different possibilities of morally edificatory performance. The first focused on the possibility of highlighting specifically Jain tenets in performance, arguing that a performance could, of course, be constructed around such ideas as *ahiṃsā*, the efficacy of *pūjā*, and the benefits not only of accepting renunciation oneself, but also of praising it when performed by others.

The second example demonstrated how the *Rām Rās* spoke to the quotidian ethical concerns of living in community in everyday life. Drawing on both historical and modern ethnographic accounts of religious identity in South Asia, I embraced the possibility that the *Rām Rās* could speak about ethics and moral personhood beyond Jain doctrine, that Jains in fifteenth-century north India not only participated in but also thought of themselves as forming communities that included non-Jains, and that, therefore, non-Jains may have helped constitute the audience of a *rās* performance. With this in mind, by reading carefully Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* account of Rāvaṇa in the leadup to his abduction of Sītā, the chapter emphasized the moral importance of keeping proper company, of surrounding yourself with honest, supportive, and upright people.

The positive arguments that this book puts forth concerning both the moral visions of different Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s and the innovative literary strategies that Jain authors employed in bringing those visions to fruition emerged from my staking out new orientations toward Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's works. In Chapter 1, I posed these new positions as questions, but I want to readdress them here as positive statements. First, there is more to understanding Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives than as in contradistinction to their Brahminical counterparts. There would be no need for the long history of Jain Rāma composition if the goal of such texts was simply to refute Brahminical claims of Rāma's divinity and the truth of Brahminical *dharma*. Second, Jain authors did not merely copy earlier versions of the Rāma story and certainly did not simply fail to live up to the artistic standards of their predecessors. What I have tried to model throughout the book is an approach to textual analysis structured not just by questions of poetic beauty or skill, but rather by authorial goals and the potential moral *work* of texts of various sorts. And third, we must stop thinking of Jain narrative literature as mere repositories of a persistent and identifiable Jain doctrine; to do so perpetuates the disservice done to Jain authors and their creativity. Jains can speak and write beyond doctrine, and when they do speak about tenets that have come to be identified as central to Jainism, they do so in specific ways and toward specific goals that ought to be investigated.

Finally, beyond what this book has explicated about the historical development and innate diversity of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives, I hope it might also serve as a model for productive comparison within the study of Jains. J. Z. Smith has characterized the comparative method as "an active, at times even playful, enterprise of deconstruction and reconstitution" (1990, p. 53). Similarly, Kimberley C. Patton and Benjamin C. Ray call comparison "an intellectually creative enterprise . . . an imaginative and critical act of mediation and redescription in the service of

knowledge" (2000, p. 4). The creativity and playfulness that comparison encourages from the scholar I think is sorely needed in the study of Jains, which seems oftentimes to reflect the cold severity of the asceticism that has been identified as the tradition's core.

7.2 The Future of Jain Narrative Studies

I am cognizant of the narrow scope of this book. Examining three concretely related Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives—what Bruce Lincoln would call a "weak comparison"—allows for precise comparison, but it also leaves out much, or, to put a more positive spin on the issue, leaves open much room for future work.[2] The question, for instance, of why Vimala's *Paümacariya* all but disappears from later genealogies of Jain Rāma narratives, has yet to be adequately answered. This book also does not examine Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives composed in Apabhramsha, and there are important, as-yet unanswered questions as to the role of Apabhramsha literary composition in premodernity and its influence on later *bhāṣā* composition.

What is more, I provide in the following text a table listing numerous *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives written by Jain authors that have received little or no scholarly attention.[3] There are 35 such works listed, and while the table is surely incomplete, it reflects centuries of Jain literary composition invested in retelling the story of Rāma. All of these texts dip into the same "pool of signifiers" that together make up the Rāma story,[4] but, surely, they each subsequently rearrange, reorient, and re-present the story of Rāma in new and exciting ways. Each author listed in the table was just as much convinced of the morally transformative potential of the Rāma story as were Raviṣeṇa and Jinadāsa, and just as much interested as the two authors examined in this book in harnessing that potential in concrete ways. To recognize these facts and to intentionally explore them do not, in my understanding, limit or sully our understanding of Jainism. Quite the opposite, I argue that it recognizes and celebrates the fullness of Jain thought and the historically central role of literary composition within it. To do such work is also an admission of trust on the part of the scholar and a recognition of the seriousness of purpose with which Jain authors approached their literary projects.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, though, the room for future work that this book leaves open is not limited to examinations of other Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. Additional questions can and should be asked of Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's works as well; new frames should be applied to these narratives to reveal new facets of their richness. The characterization of Sītā in Raviṣeṇa's and Jinadāsa's works, for instance, deserves a more thorough treatment than I have been able to provide here. So too does the question of the role and importance of Sītā's brother Bhāmaṇḍala, a question that to the best of my knowledge has never been addressed in scholarship. More broadly, one could ask how Jain authors like Jinadāsa participated in and contributed to trends in the composition of *bhāṣā* Rāma narratives in early modern northwest India. Devadutta S. Joshi, for instance, identifies no fewer than 15 Brahminical *bhāṣā* Rāma narratives composed in modern-day Gujarat between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries (1995); what literary similarities and

Table 7.1 Understudied Jain Rāmāyaṇa Narratives

Author	*Work*	*Date*
Saṅghadāsa	*Vasudevahiṇḍi*	Earlier than 609 CE
Svayambhūdeva	*Paümacariu*	8th c. CE
Śīlācārya	*Caüpannamahāpuriscariya*	868 CE
Guṇabhadra	*Uttarapurāṇa*	9th c. CE
Hariṣeṇa	*Bṛhatkathākośa*	931–932 CE
Puṣpadanta	*Mahāpurāṇa*	Begun 959 CE
Badhreśvara	*Kahāvalī*	11th c. CE
Dhaneśvara	*Śatruñjayamāhātmya*	14th c. CE
Kṛṣṇadāsa	*Puṇyacandraodarapurāṇa*	1528 CE
Devavijayagaṇi	*Rāmacarita*	1596 CE
Meghavijaya	*Laghutriṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*	17th c. CE
Bhuvanatuṅgasūri	*Sīyācariya*	14th c. CE
Bhuvanatuṅgasūri	*Rāmalakkhaṇacariya*	14th c. CE
Somasena	*Padmapurāṇa*	
Dharmakīrti	*Padmapurāṇa*	
Candrakīrti	*Padmapurāṇa*	
Candrasāgara	*Padmapurāṇa*	
Śrīcandra	*Padmapurāṇa*	
Pampa	*Padmapurāṇa*	10th c. CE
Cāmuṇḍarāya	*Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa*	10th c. CE
Mallisẹṇa	*Triṣaṣṭimahāpurāṇa*	
Candramuni	*Mahāpurāṇa*	
Vajrasena	*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*	
Āśādhara Paṇḍit	*Triṣaṣṭismṛti*	1236 CE
Dhanañjaya	*Dvisandhānakāvya*	9th–11th c. CE
Merutuṅga	*Mahāpuruṣacarita*	14th c. CE
Āmrasūri	*Mahāpuruṣacarita*	
Rāmacandra	*Raghuvilāsanāṭaka*	12th c. CE
Meghavijayagaṇi	*Saptasandhānamahākāvya*	1704 CE
Śāntisūri	*Sītācarita*	
Brahma Nemidatta	*Sītācarita*	16th c. CE
Amaradāsa	*Sītācarita*	
Hastimalla	*Sītānāṭaka*	13th c. CE
Hastimalla	*Añjanāpavanañjaya*	13th c. CE
Samaysundar	*Sītārāmcaupāī*	1631 CE

differences might emerge from a broad comparative study of *bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa*s, and what large-scale trends in style, characterization, and moral vision might be identified? Of course, the world of Jain narrative extends well beyond Rāma compositions. From the Śvetāmbara *prabandha*s, to the Jain *mahāpurāṇa*s and *mahākāvya*s, to the extensive corpus of Jain-authored dramas, there is more work to be done, more questions to be asked, in the pursuit of a complete vision of the centrality of narrative literature in Jain history.

By way of a conclusion, then, let me finish by saying that while John E. Cort was correct nearly 30 years ago when he wrote that "Jaina versions of the story of Rāma . . . constitute what is probably the most-studied area of Jaina literature

apart from the Āgamas" (1993, p. 190), I would caution scholars from thinking that our work is done in investigating and questioning these texts. As is the case throughout the landscape of South Asian religions, the sheer vastness of the corpus of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* literature speaks to the fact that Jain authors continually saw narrative composition as an opportunity for ethical inquiry and found in the story of Rāma tools that helped them both to make sense of the world they inhabited and to make arguments about how to live fully and meaningfully in that world. This is a phenomenon the surface of which scholars have only begun to scratch.

Notes

1 "Interview with Frank Herbert and Beverly Herbert by Willis E. McNelly," accessed August 5, 2021, www.sinanvural.com/seksek/inien/tvd/tvd2.htm.
2 Lincoln defines weak comparisons as "inquiries that are modest in scope, but intensive in scrutiny, treating a small number of examples in depth and detail, setting each in its full and proper context" (2018, p. 11).
3 The list largely follows that provided in Kulkarni (1990, 12ff.).
4 See Ramanujan (1991, p. 46).

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Appendix

Jinadāsa's Works

The following list largely follows Kāslīvāl (1967, 24ff.).

Sanskrit:	*Bhāṣā*	
1) *Jambūsvāmi Caritra*	1) *Ādināthpurāṇ*	28) *Dhanpāl Rās*
2) *Padmapurāṇa*	2) *Harivaṃśpurāṇ* (1463 CE)	29) *Bhaviśyadatt Rās*
3) *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*	3) *Rām Rās* (1451 CE)	30) *Karkaṇḍ Rās*
4) *Puṣpāñjali Vrat Kathā*	4) *Yaśodhar Rās*	31) *Subhaumcakravartī Rās*
5) *Jambūdvīpa Pūjā*	5) *Hanumat Rās*	32) *Aṭhāvīs Mūlguṇ Rās*
6) *Sārddhadvayadvīpapūjā*	6) *Nāgkumār Rās*	33) *Mithyādukkaḍ Vinatī*
7) *Saptarṣi Pūjā*	7) *Paramhaṃs Rās*	34) *Bārahavrat Gīt*
8) *Jyeṣṭhajinavara Pūjā*	8) *Ajitanāth Rās*	35) *Jīvaḍā Gīt*
9) *Solahakārṇa Pūjā*	9) *Holī Rās*	36) *Jiṇand Gīt*
10) *Guru Pūjā*	10) *Dharmparīkṣā Rās*	37) *Ādināth Stavan*
11) *Anantavrata Pūjā*	11) *Jyeṣṭhjinvar Rās*	38) *Ālocanā Jaymāl*
12) *Jalayātrā Vidhi*	12) *Śreṇik Rās*	39) *Guru Jaymāl*
	13) *Samkit Mithyātv Rās*	40) *Śāstr Pūjā*
	14) *Sudarśan Rās*	41) *Sarasvatī Pūjā*
	15) *Ambikā Rās*	42) *Guru Pūjā*
	16) *Nāgśrī Rās*	43) *Jambūdvīp Pūjā*
	17) *Śrīpāl Rās*	44) *Nirdoṣasaptamīvrat Pūjā*
	18) *Bhadrabāhu Rās*	45) *Ravivrat Kathā*
	19) *Karmvipāk Rās*	46) *Caruāsī Jāti Jaymāl*
	20) *Sukauśalsvāmī Rās*	47) *Bhaṭṭārak Vidyādhar Kathā*
	21) *Rohiṇī Rās*	48) *Aṣṭāṅg Samyaktv Kathā*
	22) *Solahakāraṇa Rās*	49) *Vrat Kathā Koś*
	23) *Daślakṣaṇ Rās*	50) *Pañcparmeṣṭhi Guṇ Varṇan*
	24) *Anantavrat Rās*	
	25) *Dhanyakumār Rās*	
	26) *Cārudatt Rās*	
	27) *Puṣpāñjali Rās*	

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Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate a figure or map on the corresponding page. Page numbers followed by "n" indicate a note.