A STUDY OF THE PERUNKATAI
an authentic version of the story of Udayana

Dr. R. VIJAYALAKSHMY
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Foreword

‘A study of the Perunkatai, an authentic version of the story of Udayana’ by Dr. Vijayalakshmy is a product of her research in this Institute. This book is on comparative study,

Comparative study of literature on the basis of the unity of theme in various languages is very essential to know the cultural identity reflected in those works. Here the author has attempted to trace out the story of Udayana in an authentic way from Perunkatai. The story aspect is compared with the various versions in different Indian languages like Pahaci, Sanskrit and Prakrit. The author deals the subject in the following headings i.e., the Perunkatai, the Brhatkatha and related works; the position of the Perunkatai in Tamil literature; the contribution of the Perunkatai to the reconstruction of the Udayana legends and its significance for Indian literature; a comparative study of the Naravana kantam of the Perunkatai and the other versions of the Brhatkatha; an analysis of the story of Udayanan in the Perunkatai from the historical and geographical points of view and the Mythological, Cosmological, Metaphysical, Ethical, Theological and Ritualistic ideas of Jainism as reflected in the Perunkatai. Her strenuous efforts to compare the content of Perunkatai with other versions in different Indian languages are seen in each heading and every page of this work. The author’s multi-lingual approach to this study kindled the spirit of multidimensional approach for the study of literature. I congratulate the author for her hard work and proper methodology of research. My best wishes for the author.

Madras
24—4—31

S. V. Subramanian
Abbreviations used

Bk. — Bṛhatkathā
Bkm. — Bṛhatkathāmaṇḍīṣṭhā
Bks. — Bṛhatkathāślokaśānegraha
Kss. — Kathāśāraśīrṣa
Pk. — Perukatai
Uc. — Uditodayacaritam
Ucc. — Udayapavarittiraccarukkam
Ukk. — Udayakumarakāvīyaṃ
Vh. — Vasudevahippī
Introduction

"No Single Literature stands complete"
— Henry Gifford, "Comparative Literature"

Behind every literature there stands an ampler tradition of different cultures. This is very true of Indian literature which shared and enjoyed the influence of diverse cultures which thus contributed to the nation's literary wealth. In the relatively long period ranging from the 3rd century A.D. to the 12th century A.D., most Indian literatures experienced the impact of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Today this tradition has become weakened to a great extent by various other sociological and historical forces. But a reader who wants to do justice to the comprehension of a literature of the past should travel back without any prejudice or preconceived ideas and with an open mind to absorb the actual facts. This is possible only when one acquaints oneself with the various traditions, sociological, historical and religious factors and other such phenomena which are involved in the creation of such literary works.

The contributions of Jain authors to Indian literature in general and to Tamil literature in particular are immense in their proportion and profound in their impact. Jainism, which, at one time, encompassed the entire sub-continent, acted as one of the unifying threads in the colourful web of our cultural heritage.

It was during my study of the Cīvakacānḍikā in the Oxford University that I became aware of the strong Jain influence on Tamil literature. My perception of this fact was deepened by my subsequent research studies. A close look at the story of Īvaka (Īvandhara) and his numerous 'marriages' soon led me on to the thematic resemblance between the story of īvaka and the Bhātakāthā. The Bhātakāthā, whose original text is now lost, exists only in the form of various versions. Its story contains two main streams, viz. the story of Udayana and the exploits of
his son, Naravāhānādattā. I was thus impelled towards a study of the Perunātaka which deals with the story of Udayana and is therefore known also as the Udayapāṭ Catē.

The mention made by Vajiypurisīlai in his work ‘Kāvīya kālam’ of a work called Vasudevahīddhi in connection with the Perunātaka made me curious to know the contents and nature of this work as well. My correspondences in this connection with the late Prof. L. Alsdorf of the University of Hamburg west Germany gave me a somewhat clear picture of the connection between the Perunātaka, the Vasudevahīddhi and the other versions of the Brhatkāthā. Prof. Alsdorf was glad to hear about my interest in the study of the Perunātaka and was willing to help me with the study of the Vasudevahīddhi which is in Prākrit. The award of an Alexandervon Humboldt fellowship provided me an opportunity to work with Prof. Alsdorf in the University of Hamburg. It was my good fortune that I could work with him and benefit from his profound insights into the Brhatkāthā problem.

The Perunātaka is a treasure house of information which cannot be obtained from any other known version of the Udayana story. From the maturity of its narrative style, its diction and its reflection of a society at a comparatively refined level one can see that the Cakrākārim literature and the works of Ḫatko and Cītalakolocātītūglī, viz. the Cilappattikāram and the Matīmātakalai had paved the way for its composition.

The present work is a comparative analysis of the Perunātaka with the other versions of the Brhatkāthā. This analysis has led to the somewhat surprising conclusion that, as far as the Udayana legends are concerned, the Perunātaka is the most exhaustive and authentic version of the original work that we have at present. It has also enabled me to clear up a few matters of textual interpretation of the Perunātaka, and to draw attention to some historical and geographical details connected with the narrative.

As mentioned earlier, as in the case of many other outstanding works in Tamil literature, the author of the Perunātaka
appears to have belonged to the Jaina religion. The only difference between him and many other Jaina authors is that, in his work we find no rude interruptions of the narrative for the sake of religious propaganda and no obscure passages having only a religious significance. Yet, the predominantly Jaina character of the work arises from the central fact that the main theme of the work is about the Vidyādhara and the conquest of the Vidyādhara empire by Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana. The concepts regarding the Vidyādhara as semi-divine beings who have acquired mastery over several ‘tris’ and about the law of Karma which preordains events such as the birth of an emperor the Vidyādhara constitute the very core of Jaina mythology and cosmography. It is this feature of the story, above all else, which determines the Jaina character of the Peruṣkatai.

I owe a debt of gratitude to many for helping me in different ways to bring out this work. In particular I wish to recall my association with the late Prof. ‘L. Alisof’ who introduced me to Prakrit and Pali and helped me to read the text of the Vasudevahūṣṇ. I am deeply indebted for his suggestions, corrections and invaluable remarks on my first draft of the earlier portions of this work. I am also thankful to the academic and library staff of the Seminar für Kultur and Geschichte Indiens of the University of Hamburg for the assistance rendered to me during my stay there. Above all, I should thank the Alexander-von Humboldt Stiftung for having financed my stay and travel in West Germany and for having made my academic and personal life pleasant during my stay in that country. I also thank Prof. K. Bruhn and Prof. C. Tripathi of the Seminar für Indische Philologie at the Freie Universität at West Berlin.

I owe much to Prof. S. V. Subramanian, Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, for enabling me to finish this work during the last sixteen months by providing me all the necessary facilities at this Institute. My special thanks are due to the staff of the Adyar Research Library and the U. V. Saminatha Iyer Library for their painstaking and patient help.
I thank Mr. C. Saravanakumar and the staff of Gomathi Accakam, Madras, for the neat execution of the job of printing this book in a short period.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my husband, other members of my family and friends without whose understanding and support it would have been virtually impossible to bring the present work to a successful conclusion.

It is hoped that this book will be of some value to those interested in the evolution of Indian narrative literature and in the interaction among different cultures of India.

In spite of my efforts, typographical errors and errors in the diacritical marks may be found in some places. I have tried to incorporate these in the correction list at the end. I would be thankful if suggestions for improvement or corrections, if any, are brought to my attention by the readers.

Madras, 23rd April. 1981

R. Vijayalakshmy
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CHAPTER I

The Perukkatalai, the Bhatkathai and related works.

The Perukkatalai (Pkt.), which deals with the story of king Utayanag (Udayana) and his son Naravendra (Naravahanadatta) is a celebrated Tamil work belonging to the middle Tamil period. We find numerous references to and quotations from it which occur in later commentaries and literary works. Prominent among them is the commentary to the Cilappatikaram by Aṭṭiyārkunallār which refers to this work as Utayanag Kutai (the story of Udayana), 'Perukkatalai' (the great story), or simply as 'Kutai' (the story). It is also referred to as 'Koṅkanāl Makkatāi' which means the 'great story written by the chieftain of the Koṅku country'.


2. Ibid. pp. 6, 8. We do not know how Udayana became Utayanag here. In the original manuscript of the Pkt. and in the Sanskrit books it remains Utayanag (Tamil Utayanag). U. V. Saminatha Iyer also found only Utayanag in the manuscript which he changed later into Utayanag. Perukkatalai ed. Saminatha Iyer. 4th ed. (Madras, 1968) p. xiii. We retain Utayanag throughout this study.

3. [Ibid. 1:5: 23-6 p. 23]

4. Ibid. 1:5: 1-6 p. 152


See also Commentary to Yappurukkalai, ed. by M. V. Venugopalapillai, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras, 1960) Ciftiram. 52,553
frequency and manner of these allusions leave no doubt that this work occupied a high position in Tamil literature.

The text of the Pk.

Until 1924, however, the text of the Pk. existed only in manuscript form. Even then the attention of scholars was directed to the importance of this work, especially as a version of the celebrated Byārakatāṭha (Sk.), by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. 7

In 1924, Saminatha Iyer brought out the first edition of the Pk. 8 on the basis of two palm leaf manuscripts which he had secured from the manuscript collection of Nellaiappapillai of Tirunelvely and Tirupparkainatha Kavirayar respectively. 9 Between the two the first one started with the eighty first leaf and ended with the three hundred and nineteenth leaf of which only one side had been written on. 10 The text was also damaged by insect bites and had been shuffled up. The second manuscript contained gaps in the text corresponding to the damaged portions of the first manuscript, thus revealing that it was a copy of the first manuscript. 11 Some damaged portions of the first manuscript could be found written properly in the second indicating that the copy had been made at a time when the original manuscript was in a slightly better condition. In spite of the extensive search made by U. V. Saminatha Iyer no other manuscripts could be found and no further attempt in this direction has been made so far after him.

10. Ibid. P. xxxvi
11. Ibid. P. xxxvii
12. Ibid. p. xxxvii
In editing the text Saminatha Iyer had adopted the following procedure. There were places in the text where the following groups of letters were indistinguishable because of the illegibility of the manuscript.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka}, \text{ ca}, \text{ ta} & \quad (\text{a}) \\
\text{pa}, \text{ ma}, \text{ ya}, \text{ la} & \quad (\text{b}) \\
\text{va}, \text{ la} & \quad (\text{c}) \\
\text{la}, \text{ ga} & \quad (\text{d})
\end{align*}
\]

The correct forms of these letters had been guessed by him, from the context (b) from the requirements of assonance and alliteration and (c) from the quotations found in other texts. Even after doing this he concluded that there might still be places where discontinuities in the lines, phrases and words occur. Some passages at the end of the text could have been wrongly juxtaposed, because the page numbers in the original manuscript had either become illegible or had been damaged. The number of lines missing in some places could not be ascertained. The numbering of the lines found in the present editions of the text has been made by Saminatha Iyer. More recently based on the same text, P. V. Somasundaranar has published another edition with some explanatory notes.

Unfortunately, the whole text of the Pk. is not available to us now. The available portions of the text are divided into five kāpālam (cants) and each kāpālam is further sub divided into kātāis. The following table shows the portions which are available and those which are lost.

13. Ibid. p. xliii.
14. Ibid. p. xlii. ff
15. Ibid. p. xlii - xliii
### Portions available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Kātai</td>
<td>32 - 58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ilavāṇakāṭāṃ</td>
<td>Kātai</td>
<td>1 - 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makatākāṭāṃ</td>
<td>Kātai</td>
<td>1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle of Kātai 10 - 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle of Kātai 12 - 16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle of Kātai 17 - 27</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naravākāṭāṃ ... Kātai 1 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle of Kātai 9</td>
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### Portions lost

- The first 31 kātais and the beginning of Kātai 32.
- Nil
- The whole of Kātai 11.
- The beginning of Kātai 12 and Kātai 17 and the latter parts of Kātai 10 and 16.
- Nil
- The latter part of Kātai 9 and the rest of the kāṭāṃ.

### The Author

About the author of the Fk. it has been presumed that he was a chieftain in the Koṭku country on the basis of the name Koṭkuvēl, which is found only in other texts ¹⁷ and not in the text of the Fk. The Koṭku country corresponds to the modern Coimbatore, North Tiruch, South Salem, and North Madurai districts¹⁸. The actual name of the author has not been mentioned anywhere. That he was a Jain is obvious from the work itself²⁰. All the other information that has been given by others is based on the following verse from a work called Koṭkumagāḻacaiakam²⁰.

---

19. See Chapter. VI
20. Kārminikāṭāṃvāṭa, Koṭkumagāḻacaiakam vv. 99

---
It is in Koṅkūmaṇḍalam that, koṅkuvēḷ made his slave maid answer the scholars of the Caṇḍakam, and thus put them to shame. It was also here that he took three births in Maṅkai (Vicaya-maṅkalam) in order to compose the famous story of Umayēntiraḷ (Umayāṇaṃ).

It has not been possible to interpret this verse satisfactorily so far and it has been the subject of much speculation. The reliability of the testimony of the Koṅkūmaṇḍalam itself is questionable. This is clearly illustrated by the case of Pavaṇānti, the author of Nāgūḷi. While the Koṅkūmaṇḍalam claims that he belonged to the Koṅkū country, another work called the Toṭṭai Toṭṭaiyaḷaṭacalam states that he lived in the Toṭṭai country.

In his introduction to the Pk. Saminatha Iyer has made some remarks about when the Pk. might have been written. From the fact that Aṭṭiyāṭkuṇallār, the commentator to the Ĉilappāṭikāram, mentions the Pk. before the (Citaka-) cintamaṇi, he infers that the Pk. was composed before the Cintamaṇi. But in the same passage the Maṅimēḷkai which is definitely earlier than the Cintamaṇi is mentioned by Aṭṭiyāṭkuṇallār after Cintamaṇi. The above inference is therefore not justified. Vaiyāpurippilai has also discussed the date of the Pk. His contention is that the Pk. must have been written after the Tirukkuṟṟai and Nāsiṭṭiyar from which the

22. Saminatha Iyer. op.cit. p. xlix
author of the Pk. appears to have borrowed some passages. While there is no unanimity among scholars about the date of the kāraṇi, fortunately the Nalaṭiyar has been dated, on the basis of the references to one Perumuttaraiyar in it, and also with other evidences at about 7th century A. D.\textsuperscript{40}. This furnishes an upper limit for the date of the Pk. as circa 600 A. D.

The lower limit can be fixed with the help of the numerous references to and quotations from the Pk. which occur in later commentaries. The Commentary to the Nāṭiyar by Mayilainithar (13th century A. D.)\textsuperscript{41} is one of them. We have already seen that Aiyākkkumalār (12th century A. D.)\textsuperscript{42} frequently mentions and cites from the Pk.\textsuperscript{43} Peraiyirar (12th century A. D.)\textsuperscript{44} refers to the work of Koṅkuvelir in his commentary to the Tolkāppiyam.\textsuperscript{45} The commentary to the Tukkakapparaṭṭi (later than 12th century A. D.)\textsuperscript{46} also quotes examples from the Pk.\textsuperscript{47} In a discussion about metres, Peruntēvāgār the

25. Ibid, p. 207
See also Vaiyāpuripillai, S. History of Tamil Language and Literature. (Madras, 1956), p. 128
27. Ibid. Mayilainithar commentary to cūṭiram 366
29. Aiyākkumalār, op. cit. pp. 7, 8, also, 1:4:27-34, 1:5:1-6, 1:8:24-6
30. Aravanathan, op. cit. p. 299
31. Peraiyirar, Commentary to the Tolkāppiyam. Published by Saiva Siddhanta works publishing society, (Madras, 1966), cūṭiram. 522.
commentator to the Viracōliyam (12th century A. D.) states that the Uṭayapāṇa Kātai is a work written in the Nilaṁapīla Ācāryaṇa. He further justifies the employment of obscure words and ideas in works like the Koṭapalakṣeṇi and the Uṭayapāṇa Kātai by pointing out that for authors of such extensive works (Akalakkavi) it is impossible to avoid such usages. He also says that in the period in which they were written, their meanings were perhaps clearer. From this passage we are led to think that the Pk. was written much earlier than the time when Perumēvāgar lived. This inference is corroborated by the reference made by Amitacākaraṛ who lived in the time of the Chola king Rājamā I (985-1013 A. D.). In his commentary to the Yapparukkalum he gives the Uṭayapāṇa Kātai as an example for Āntāri. We therefore conclude that the Pk. was composed before 1000 A. D.

The literary references do not enable us to determine precisely when in the period from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D., the author of the Pk. lived. But there is an interesting epigraphical record which is worth noting in this connection. This is a brief inscription in Tamil characters of about the 10th century A.D. which records the erection of a Tēvāram i.e. devagha, by a person called Vēḷi Koṭagaraiyar Pattra[iga] i.e. the Buddhist (or Jaina) monk called (Vēḷi) Koṭagaraiyar. This inscription was found near a figure of Gommaṭa on a hillock called Āṉiḍaḷai in the village Ćējavāṭiipura in the Tirukkōvāḷi Taluk of the South Arcot district. The names Koṭagaraiyar and Vēḷi Koṭagaraiyar are more or less synonymous. From the description of this person as a Jaina monk in this inscription we may surmise whether he is identical with the author of the Pk. If this is so,

36. Aravamuthan, op. cit. p. 296 Yapparukkalavirutti, ed. Venugopalampillai, Cštirams, 50 - 3
37. Annual report on South Indian epigraphy, 1936-7, pp. 60-1.
we may say that the Pā. was written in about the 10th century A. D. This point however needs further research and should not be considered as conclusive in the present state of our knowledge about this.

Byāhatkathā of Guptāṭāna:

Among the names Perukatai, Makkatai, Katai and Utuyapāg Katai, Utuyapāg Katai refers to its subject matter and the other terms refer to the class of literature to which it belongs. Perukatai and Makkatai being the translated forms of the term Byāhatkathā in Sanskrit, point to its close connection with the celebrated Byāhatkathā (Bk). The term 'Byāhatkathā' is understood, in Indian literary history, to refer only to the work bearing that name which was supposed to have been written by Guptāṭāna in the Pāṇḍāṭā language. However, when we examine the references to the Byāhatkathā which occur in the works of other authors, a doubt arises whether Byāhatkathā was the name given to a certain class of literature as a whole rather than to a particular work in a manner similar to the class of works called 'Mahākāvyas'. This point has already been discussed by Raghavan in his study of the Śrāgara Prakāsa of Bhōja. We thus notice the following statement by Bhōja in this work."

"lambhañkita adbhutasriha piśacabhaṣamayi mahābhāṣya
naravāhanañcādeva caritamāta byāhatkathā bhavati"

Here the term Byāhatkathā is said to apply to all works which are divided into lambhas, deal with fantastic themes, written in Pāṇḍāṭā language, and are extensive in scope. As an example the story of Naravāhanañcā i.e. the work of Guptāṭāna, is cited.

39. Ibid. p.829
Dupelin, in his Kavyadarsha, dismisses the distinction based on the division into lambhas as being of no consequence by saying

'bhedakesa dhrtao lambhadirucchvavo vatsu kim tatah'

(It does not matter much if a poet uses the name lambha to substitute ucchvasa).

He goes on to state that the Bhakatkatha is said to be a type of prose work written in the language of the goblins (Bhitabhasak in Paishachi) and dealing with marvellous stories.

"bhutabhagamayim prahuradhustham bhakatkatham"41

We also find Jinasena, the author of Adipuroga, claiming that his work dealing with the biographies of the sixty three great men of the Jaina religion, is the real Bhakatkatha42.

........................Katham dhammabhodhinitam |
Prastre..............................|| |
satam samsegajananim nirvedarasabypaṇhim |
adhusrthamman samiyam parawarihabybhakatkatham|
lambhatranakath sandhildham guptadyaih pūra ca sūruhih |

From the mention here of 'predecessors like Guptadya' one may infer that there had lived other authors like Guptadya who had composed similar works, all of which were called Bhakatkathas.

The Place of the Bhakatkatha in Sanskrit Literature:

However, since no other work of this kind by any author other than Guptadya has come to light so far, the work called Bhakatkatha is now taken to refer only to the work of Guptadya which was written in the Paishachi language. This is attested by

40. Dandin, Kavyadarsa, (Bibliotheca Indica. Fasciculus v, (Calcutta, 1863) i:27
41. Ibid. 1:38
42. Raghavan, Srngarasprakasa, op.cit. p. 831.
all the references to Guṇḍāṭya and the Byḥatkathā found in all later Sanskrit and Prakrit works. We collect together here all these references so as to facilitate further discussions.

1. Udyotanāśrī in his Kuvalayamālā (779 A.D.) refers to Pāṇḍaliśī, Häla and Chappannaya, and mentions the Byḥatkathā (Byḥatkathā) as an abode of all the arts and knowledge, a veritable mirror for poets, likened to the goddess of learning, and composed by Guṇḍāṭya, whom he hails as "Kamalāṣṇa". (Brahma)

"Sayala-kalagama-nilaya sikkhāviya-kaligagassa
muhayanda |
Kamalāṣṇa guṇḍāṭho sarasti jassas vaḍdakahajai"

2. Dhanapāla in his Tilakamāṇjari in the following lines mentions Byḥatkathā.

"Sathyam byḥatkathambodheribindum adaya sanskrītaḥ |
tenetarakah kanthah pratihāni tadgratāt sa

Here he speaks contemptuously of the authors who took their subject matter from the great work, Byḥatkathā and built up their reputations. Further he also says that the Sanskrit stories borrowed in little drops from the ocean of the Byḥatkathā simply look like patched-up garments.

3. Häla in his Saptāsatā salutes the author of the Byḥatkathā, classifying it with the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. He compares their eloquence with a river having three branches.

4. In the following lines of *Kadambari*, Bāqā (last quarter of the 7th century A. D) mentions the *Bṛhatkathā*.

“...........Mahābhārataapuraśāraṇyagamam-
ṛṣilaḥbṛhatkathakosalena...........
viṣitamara lokadhyutiravatīsūryajīvinā nāma nagari

In the above lines Bāqā praises the inhabitants of the city of Ujjayini and says that they were passionately fond of the *Mahābhārata*, the *purāṇas* and the *Ramayāṇa*, and he calls them at the same time intelligent lovers of the *Bṛhatkathā***.

5. Subandhu (earlier than Bāqā) in his *Vasavadatta* mentions the *Bṛhatkathā* in the following lines.

“asti sudhādvalairbṛhakathā lambhairiva
śalabhaṇsjātikopavrattairiva, samapavaka -
krīḍitaiḥ kariyāhairīrviva........”

(There is a city named Kusumapura, adorned with whitewashed houses that have (statues as the lambhas of the *Bṛhatkathā* have heroines.)

6. In the following lines of *Nalacampū* Guṇāḍhyā, the author of the *Bṛhatkathā*, is mentioned by its author Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa.

ṣaḍvīdaya pravādityena namatah karadharipa
dharmśeṣa guṇāḍhyāya nihitāpuruṣottara janaḥ]

47. Subandhu, *Vasavadatta*. edited by Fitzedward Hall, Bibliotheca Indica, (Calcutta, 1859), p. 110
7. Dhananjaya in his Dr̥tar̥ipa refers to the Bṛhadkathā as a work on a par with the Rāmāyana.

"itiyadeseṣaṁ hi vastubhedaśeṣatam
rāmāyāṇādī ca viśvārya bṛhatkathām ca
antarayet tadam netrāśayanuguṇyāc
citrāṁ kathamucitaśucaravacaḥ prapancaśaṁ āṁ

(After examining the entire body of divisions of the subject-matter here (presented) in these and the following (sections) as well as the Rāmāyana and the like, and the Bṛhatkathā, one should thereupon compose a story diversified with the appropriate selection of hero and sentiments, together with amplifications of appropriate and pleasing words).

8. The existence of Guṇḍāhya is proved by a śloka in a Cambodian inscription, which belongs to the ninth century A.D. In this, there is an unmistakable reference to Guṇḍāhya and to his work. This particular inscription is one of the five stoles of the Thnal Baray consecrated to the edology of king Yasovarman (Bergaigne Inc. sanscrites de campha et du cambodge, 2e fasc. Nos. LV - LX). In the following verse Guṇḍāhya is referred to as a person who hates Prākrit.

"Paradāḥ sitakalyaṁ gaṇḍāhyam prakṛti-priyāṁ
antar yyo vīcalakṣac ciśro nyakṛṭabhishakaiṁ"

(A Paradāḥ but of which the kālyāṇa subsists (willing to help but always happy) Guṇḍāhya who did not like the Prākṛti

(rich in virtue but not loving harshness), Viśālakaśa, a stranger to the nāti (with big eyes without the torments of exile) He was stūra having humbled Bātmaka "\textsuperscript{9}\textsuperscript{a}"

Laconic\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{b} in his work, [mentions another allusion which had been already pointed out by Barth.

\textit{gupātmanitas tiṇhata dūṣito pi sthanarppito yena punar gupādyāḥ}
\textit{gada py alatā cārvābhūmatiḥ}
\textit{haraprayāktaḥ kim utātmātācāḥ}

(It matters not of a virtuous man is even vilified; because he was really a virtuous man, Gupādhya was reinstated in his place; even the poison that is closely united with Siva serves sufficiently as a graceful as a graceful ornament; what to say of the moon?\textsuperscript{a}}

9. Bhūja in his \textit{Śrāgarāpakāra}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{b} gives various kinds of subjects for poems and dramas. He says that themes can be borrowed from itiḥāsas and kathās. While explaining the themes borrowed from Kāthās he mentions about a kāvya called \textit{Udayanodaya} (story of Vatsaraja) whose source was the Kathāmukhakambha of the Bhātakathā.

\textit{kathārayamānyena Byatkathādipratipamaprabhāya—}
\textit{todattamayakacaritavisayatamapi mahākavyadeḥ}
\textit{prabandhaya abhidhate}|

\textit{yathā byatkathayāt kathamukhacandra (lamba) pratipanne}
\textit{(ma) Vatsarajaracitam udayanadoyē}||

10. In a commentary to Hemacandra's\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{b} \textit{Kavyanuśasana} the author says that the Byātakathā which deals with the story of Naravākhandaṭtā is divided into lambhas.

53. \textit{Ibid.} p.15
54. \textit{Ibid.} p.15
55. \textit{Ibid.} p.15
“lambhatīgadbhutartha naravahamadstādi-carlūvad
byḥatikathā”

From all the above references we understand that there existed a celebrated work called Bṛhatkathā written by Gupāḍhya in Paścācā language which though not available now served as a source for later Kāvyas and narrative works. We also come to know that it was divided into lambas. Apart from the testimony from later authors that the Bk. of Gupāḍhya was written in Paścācā, we also find some passages in Paścācā, cited as examples by Hemacandra and by Bhoja in his Śrīgaraprabhā. The latter has been dealt with by Raghavan who concludes that the passage in question is from the Viṣṇuṣṭālī lambha. We shall discuss the question of the identification of the former passage in chapter three and show that there are reasonable grounds to think that this passage is from the Viśveśikā episode which is described in detail in the Bk.

The legend of Gupāḍhya:

Whatever information we get now about the Bk. and its author is only through the versions of the Bk. The most well known among them are the Kathasarit sagara (Kas.) of Somadeva, and the Bṛhatkāthāmahājari (Bkm) of Kṣemendra. From these works we come to know the following accounts regarding how Gupāḍhya came to compose the Bk.

Once, when Śiva was alone with Pārvati in Kailāsa she asked him to tell her some charming new tale. She is not satisfied with the attempts of Śiva to narrate the story of his own history in a former life and wants something better than such worn-out stories. Having ensured that the door was closed and ordered Nandin to prevent any one from entering the place, Śiva commenced his narration of a story of immense length and extraordinary charm. He stated, “The gods enjoy absolute happiness and men, endless misery; yet god-like men (Viśyāḍhāras) are apt to perform feats which rejoice the senses by their wonderful singularity; that is why I will relate to thee the history of the Viśyāḍhāras.”
In the meantime, Puspadanta, who was one of Siva’s gopas, made himself invisible by magical power entered and listened to the tale narrated by Siva. He then related it to his wife Jayā who repeated it in the presence of Pārvatī. Pārvatī guessing what had taken place, in a rage, cursed Puspadanta, as well as the gopā, Mālyvat, who interceded for him, to be born as men. She fixed however, a time limit to the punishment. When Puspadanta met in the Vindhyā forest a yakṣa called Supratikā who had become a piṭāca with the name of Kāpabhūti due to the curse of Kubera, and related the tale of the Bk to him, he would be released from the curse on him.

Puspadanta was born as Vararuci, (also known as Kātyāyana) in Kauśāmbi, while Mālyvat was born as Guṇḍāhya at Supraśīthita. Kṛṣṇendradeśī states that Guṇḍāhya was born at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvari while Somadeva mentions Supraśīthita, the capital city of the Pratiṣṭhāna. This is the city which is known to have been the capital of the Andhrabhūyas, who bore the patronymic name of Śātavāhana or Śālīvāhana.

Vararuci who became the minister of king Nanda met Kāpabhūti in the Vindhyā forest and narrated to him the history of the seven emperors of the Vidyādhāras and was released from his curse. Guṇḍāhya became the minister of the king Śātavāhana, who was a founding adopted by the king Dīpakarpi. Not knowing Sanskrit grammar the king made himself ridiculous before his queen by confusing ‘mādaka’ (no water) with ‘modaka’ (sweet meat). He therefore decided to learn Sanskrit grammar. Guṇḍāhya told him that he could teach him Sanskrit grammar in six years’ time while another minister by name Sarvavarman promised to accomplish this in six months. Guṇḍāhya then vowed that he would never use sanskrit or

58. Pratiṣṭhānapure jato mālyavandakṣapate |
guṇḍāhya iti yo loka visṛtu guṇagauravii || 1 : 1 : 71

Kṛṣṇendra, Byaktaḥkamānajī, edited by Pandit Śvadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, (Bombay, 1901). See also-1 : 111 : 12- Kṣa. 1 : 65; VI : 8, 24; VIII : 12
Prakrit or his own local dialect should Saravavarman succeed.
The latter wins the bet thanks to the revelation of the Kāṭantara
grammar and caused Guṇāḍhya to repair to the forest, condemned
thereafter to silence. Guṇāḍhya met the Paścas there and
Kāṭabhiṣṭi in particular who related to him the wonderful tale
narrated to him earlier by Vararuci. Guṇāḍhya wrote it down
in 700000 verses in the Paścāl language and sent it to
Sātavāhana. The king refused to have anything to do with a
work written in a barbaric language. Guṇāḍhya sadly recited
his work before the wild beasts of the forest and then consigned
it into the fire. The beasts were so charmed by it that they
forgot to eat and grew emaciated. The effect was soon felt in the
quality of food served to the king who then came to hear of the
wondrous work of Guṇāḍhya in the forest. He came to see him
in the forest in time to save just the seventh part of his work
which contained the history of Naravāhanadatta.

We have already seen58 from the Cambodian inscription
also that Guṇāḍhya disliked the Prakrit, and he was reinstated
in his place (by king Sātavāhana). We also come to know from
Bāna's60 following statement in the Harṣacarita that the Bk.
in its original form was a story narrated by Lord Siva to Pārvatī.

'Sumuddipita kandarpa krta-gowṛ pratadhana |
Haralileva no kasya vismayaya Bhaktakathā||

(In whom would the Bk., not cause marvel as the sportive
action if Siva does by which the cupid was burnt up and Gowrt
was pacified?)

Apart from this, Jagaddhara,63 one of the commentators
of the Vasavadatta refers to Guṇāḍhya in the following lines.

"gūṇāḍhyah .................. tena kila bhagavato
bhavanipater Mukhakamalad upaiśrtya Bhaktakathā

59. Infra. p. 13
60. Bāna, Harṣacarita ed. P. V. Kane, (Delhi, 1965)
Introduction v. 17
61. Hall, Vasavadatta, introduction. p. 24
nibaddhett varita.

("It is said that the Bk. was composed by Guṇḍāhya after
listening to it from the mouth of Lord Śiva")

These references show that the legend narrated above had
come down from an ancient source, and is not an interpolation
by an imaginative later day writer.

The above legend gives us some chronological and
biographical details about Guṇḍāhya and the Śātavahana (or
Śālavahana) dynasty of kings who ruled over the Kumta country
with Pratisthāna, the modern Paitan, as their capital city (See
map 1). It is generally accepted now that the Śātavahana king
referred to in the legend of Guṇḍāhya may be placed somewhere in
the first century A.D. **

A comparison of the text of the Pk. with that of the Bk. as
mentioned in the above legend shows clearly that it is not by
accidental coincidence that the same Perukātaśī is synonymous
with the term Bhaktakāta. The Pk. deals mainly with the story
of Udayana, the Vatsa king of the city of Kuśāmbi who is also
the father of Naravāhanadatta. According to the legend of
Guṇḍāhya, Naravāhanadatta is the main hero of the portion of the original Bk., which was not destroyed by fire.
Thus the Pk. deals with that portion of the Bk., which narrates
the life story of Udayana up to the birth, marriage and ascension
to the throne of the Vidyādhara by Naravāhanadatta.

Source of the Perukātaśī:

The next question to which we address ourselves concerns
the source of the Pk. i.e. whether the original Bk. of Guṇḍāhya
itself was the source of the Pk. or was it some other later work
based on the story of the Bk. Since the original Bk. of Guṇḍāhya
is now lost and is beyond recovery we cannot decide this question
except by reference to four versions of this work in Sanskrit and
Prākrit which are available now.

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62. Satyanarayana, K., A study of the History and
Culture of the Andhras, (Madras, 1975), p. 117 ff
(a) Kathāsaritgāra:

Of these the Ks. of Somadeva and the Bkm. of Kṣemendra have already been mentioned. The Ks. is divided into eight laments and contains 12589 ślokas. From the Praśasti of this work, where Somadeva mentions that he composed this poem to amuse pious Śrīyavatī who was the grand mother of Harṣa and the mother of king Kalatā of Kashmir, its date is fixed as somewhere between 1063-1064 A. D. and 1081-1082 A. D.

(b) Bhātakathāmaññjari:

The Bkm. which is written by Kṣemendra most probably had the same original as that of the Ks. in spite of the various readings. The author Kṣemendra is a contemporary of Ananta, Kalatā’s father. His Bhārataaṇāḍjari was written in A. D. 1037. Thus, both Somadeva and Kṣemendra were from Kashmir and lived in the 11th century A. D. They are therefore later than Konākūvējīr, the author of the Pk.

(c) The Bhātakathālokasaṅgroha:

A third version from Nepal called the Bhātakathāloka-saṅgroha (Bks.) written by Būdhavāmin was discovered in Nepal in 1893, and published by Lacote in 1908.

The contents of this work differ in the form, sequence, and details from that of the Kashmirian versions. Unfortunately this work is also not available to us in a complete form. This may be inferred from the following. It is said in the text that the hero Narāvāhanadatta marries twenty six wives; but the available portion contains only the marriages of eight wives. Lacote who has done an extensive study has said that if this

63. Lacote. op.cit. p. 109
64. Ibid. p. 11
65. Ibid. p. 109.
work were available in its full form it would contain nearly 25,000 ślokas and more than 100 sargas. Nothing is known for certain about the date of this text. Lacote thinks that it could belong to a period before 9th century A.D.\(^\text{67}\) Lacote has established that the Bksr. is a more authentic version of the original Bk. of Gūnāḍhyā than the two Kashmirian works.

A comparative study of the contents of the Bksr. with the text of the Ph. shows that while the former deals only with the stories about Naravāhanadatta, the latter mainly narrates the story of Udayana, the father of Naravāhanadatta (we deal with the poruṣas which are common to both the texts in chapter IV). Thus, the author of the Ph. could not have based his work on the Bksr.

(d) The Vasudevahīpīḷī:

The fourth version is a Jaina Mahāśāṣṭrī prose work called the Vasudevahīpīḷī (Vh.) whose relationship to the Bk. was first pointed out by Alsorf.\(^\text{68}\) This was written by a Jain called Sebhadīśagāpi and completed by Dharmasena gāpi. This work is referred as either 'Vesuvēvāhīḷī' or 'Vesuvēvāgar cintām' in Tamil literature.\(^\text{69}\) A work called 'Vesuvēvāgar cintām' has been mentioned in the commentary to Yeppaṛuṇakālam but it is not known for certain whether this had any relationship with the Vh. since it is not available to us now. The Vh. exploits the adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa and ascribes to him some of the adventures of Naravāhanadatta. However, this work again is closely similar to the Bksr. as regards its subject matter and is at

\(^{67}\) Lacote, op. cit. p. 114

\(^{68}\) Alsorf, L. Eine neue version der verlorenen Byakathā des Gopāghya XIX. Congresso International degli Orientalisti (Roma, 1933).

present being intensively studied in comparison with the Bhks. As such, this work also could not have been the source of the Pk.

c) Uditodayacaritam:

Apart from the above mentioned Sanskrit and Prakrit works there are also two other works which are of South Indian origin. One of them is the Uditodayacaritam (Uc.) which is a Sanskrit work which exists only in manuscript form now. A translation of this work into Tamil was secured by Saminatha Iyer from one Tyagarajapuram Narasimhacariyar. A copy of this translation was available to me in the library of the Seminar fur Kultur and Geschichte Indiens, University of Hamburg. Later it was possible to secure a photocopy copy of the original Sanskrit work itself from the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore. This is written in the Grantha script and there are gaps in the text in some places where the manuscript has been damaged. From the literary point of view it is not of a high standard and there are many grammatical errors. Some of these errors could have also been made by the copyist. This text which is divided into seven Paricchedas deals with the same story as that of the Pk, even though the name Uttarapar has been changed to Uditodaya. At the end of the text the author provides some autobiographical details. From this part of the text we learn that the name of


Mayrhofer C. M., Buddhavam's Bhaktaktha-lokasamagrahaha continued, Indo Iranian Journal, (Holland, 1975), p. 57 - 75.

71. I would like to thank Dr. S. A. Srinivasan of this seminar for bringing to my notice the availability of this translation in this library.

See also. Introduction to Perunnkai ed. Swaminatha Iyer op. cit. p. xxviii.
the author was Śikhāmapi and that he was born in the town called Śrīkālam as the son of one Vṛṣabha. He appears to have been the disciple of a monk called Sri Cārvuka. From the invocations addressed to Vṛṣabha, Śrīvra, Jinasena etc. at the beginning, from the reference to the work Kṣatracīdāmapi and from many passages in the work itself, we can easily see that the author was a Jaina.

The date of the Kṣatracīdāmapi of Vāḍībhasinī is known to be between the later part of the 10th century A. D.¹⁸ and the earlier part of the 11th century A. D. Therefore the Uc. must have been written after this period. About the date of the monk, Cārvukṣita, we obtain some information from an inscription in Dūpi in the Dharwar district of Karnatakā. It records a gift of a land into the hands of Cārvukṣita by a merchant named Soviseṭti for the maintenance of a Jaina temple in the year 1097 A. D. ¹⁹. We also learn that Cārvukṣita had founded a line of pontiffs at Śravūpabelgola in the beginning of the 12th century A. D.

I have also secured another manuscript of this text from the Muni Cārvukṣita Jaina Bhandar at Śravūpabelgola.²⁰ This manuscript also is very similar to the above mentioned manuscript.

72. Śikhāmapi sastry, Uditodayacaritaṃ, Ms. No. p 4882 of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, Pariccheda, 7, v v. 75, 77.
I acknowledge the help of Sri. K. S. Varadarachar of this institute in securing this manuscript without delay.
73. Vijayalakshmy. R. A study of the Cārvakacintamapi particularly from the point of view of the interaction of Tamil and Sanskrit, (L. D. Series, Ahmedabad, 1981), pp. 34, 35
74. The Annual Reports on South Indian epigraphy, 1927-28, Appendix E. No. 74
75. Desai, P. B., Jainism in south India, and Jaina Epigraphs, Ṣivarāja Granthamālā series, No. 6 (Sholapur, 1957), p. 125
76. I acknowledge the help of Dr. A. Sevarajan of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, in securing a microfilm of this manuscript.
from the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore. As the Uc. is composed sometime in the 12th century A.D., it cannot be the source for the Pk. On the other hand, one may state with some confidence that this Sanskrit prose work was based either on the Pk. itself or shared a common Jaina source with it.

(f) Utpayaankumara Kavya

The other South Indian work is called the Utpayaankumara Kavya (Ukk.) It is a work in Tamil dealing with the same story as that of the Pk. but in a much more condensed form. Unlike the Pk. it is complete. It is also a Jaina work consisting of 367 verses and is divided into six cantos. The names of the first five cantos are the same as those of the corresponding cantos of the Pk. The sixth canto bears the name Tushavukkaptam, (the chapter on renunciation). This was first published by U. V. Saminatha Iyer in 193577. As we do not know anything more about this work or its author, and its contents prove to be an abridged version of the Pk. it also cannot be the source of the Pk; instead it must almost certainly be an abridged version of the Pk.

(g) Vaccumattiya Vypiram

The commentator to the Viracaktyam cites as an example a verse from another work called VaccattoiVypiram (nine hundred verses sung on the king of the Vattas)78 U.V.Saminatha Iyer has given this stanza along with two others79. From the mention of the name Utpayaan in one of them it is clear that this work dealt with incidents from the story of Udayana. As the remaining verses of this work are not available we cannot come to any definite conclusion about this work.

Thus we can easily see that none of the works listed above could have served as the source for the Pk. Apart from the

78. Commentary to Viracaktyam, op.cit. Alankaram, 11
above works there are also Sanskrit dramas like the Pravatrityayuvagundharayana and the Swapnaprasavadatta of Bhāsa, the Ratnavali and the Priyadarshika of Śrī哈尔a, the Tapaśvatara-rajaratna of Anāgāhariya Mātratāja, the Vīpaśvatoddattā, the Abhijñājīka vācikāta of Vīśākhadeva, the Manoramāvataraṇa of Bhimaṇa, the Kosalika of Bhāṣaśri Bhavanātacārya, the Udayanacarita, Vatsarājya Caritra of Śrīdraka, the Unmada vasantada of Śakti Ilhadra, the Lalitaraṇamandala of Kṛṣṇendrala, the Vasavadatta and the Vasavadatta of Subhandu all of which deal with the story of Udayana. Purāṇas like the Mattyasparāgam, the Vīpaśvatācam, Srimat Bhagavatācāra, the Vatsaraṇam, Skandaśparāgam and Pāli works like the commentary to Dhammapada, Dharmapāla’s commentary to Petarātthu, Vinaya of Mūlasarvāstivādin, Divyavadana, Udayana-Vatsarājaparipṛchchha, Saṃhitākrtha of Nāgārjuna, Mūdasapātha, Buddhaśa’s Visuddhimagga and his commentaries, Prakrit works like Kāmapalapratibodha of Somaprabha Prabhupadakōja of Rājaśekharastūri, Triśaṭṭ-Salakapuran-caritā, Viridhatirikālpa of Jīnaprabha Sūri, Mṛgavacarita of Maladharidevaprabha and Vīgaśāstra of Hemascandra contain parts of Udayana story. A comparative study of all these works has been carried out by Niti Adaval. All these works deal with some part of the Udayana story. But none of them contains all the details of the story which are found in the text of the Pk. Hence none of them can be considered as the source of the Pk.

This leaves us with only the following two possibilities.

1. Kohkuvēḷir used the original Pk of Gaṇādhyya itself as his source work.

2. He had a different source work which is now not available.

To decide between the above two possibilities, we have to acquaint ourselves a little more on the probable form and contents

of the original Bk. to the extent to which it has been possible to reconstruct the same from comparative studies and later references which have come to light so far, of the original Bk. of Guṇḍāyha. It has already been stated that it was composed in the Paścācī language, which was distinct from Sanskrit and Prakrit, and was considered to be the language of the goblins. What, then, is the nature of this language and where was it spoken? Did it have any affinity to Tamil?

The Paścācī language.

All that has been said about Paścācī language by the earlier grammarians and the conclusions arrived at by earlier scholars like Lacote, Grierson, Konow, and others have been summarised by Upadhye81. We shall consider the main points of his analysis and also point out wherever affinities to Tamil are found.

Paścācī is one of the earlier Prākrit dialects to be grouped with Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and the inscriptionsal Prākritis. Though the word Paścācī means goblin, it should be taken to refer to a tribe of people here.

1. Vararuci, the earliest Prakrit grammarian known to us, in the 10th Chapter of his Prakrita Prakāsa set forth the following characteristics of Paścācī.

(a) The intervocalic (or non-initial and conjunct) third and fourth letters of each class in Sanskrit are substituted by the first and second respectively. eg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Paścācī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaganam</td>
<td>gokanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raja</td>
<td>raca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhavaḥ</td>
<td>Mārkava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) there is only n eg. taruṇī — lalwā


Note: the changes in the examples are from Sanskrit to Paścācī.
(c) The conjuncts ฤ, CrLf, and ฤunsafe are simplified by Anaptyxis as ฤ้า, CrLf, ฤia.

Ekaśam — Kaśanam
snanam — sānanam.

(d) ฤha, ฤya, ฤva becomes Ṣya.

eg. vijñatāḥ — vijñeto
sarvajñāḥ — sarvarjā
kanyā — kājā.

In Tamil also we observe the Sanskrit-soft letters being changed into the hard letters.

(e) The absolutive termination is tiṣṇam

dattva — datṣṇam
kṛtva — kāṣṭḥam

(f) 'iva' is represented by 'piva' and ḫṛdaya by hitaka.

The illustrations here are given by Bhāmaha in his commentary to Vararuci.

2. Caṇḍa gives the following points in his Prakṛta lakṣaṇa

(a) r and ṣ are changed to l and n.

(b) He also, like Vararuci, says that the third and fourth letter should be changed to the first and fourth letter.

giri — kṛi
raja — rācā
madanaḥ — matano
dhamodaraḥ — tamojarū.

3. Namisādhau (1068 A.D) in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kavyalāmkara 11.2 gives the following rules.

(a) there is only dental 'ṅ' in Pāñcarātra.
(b) ‘d’ changes to t (contrary to what is usual in Prakrit),
We observe that this change always takes place in Tamil.

The equivalent for ‘Vadānam’ (face) in Sanskrit, is ‘Vatanam’ in Tamil. We can notice the same change also in Paścāti.

(c) ‘r’ and ‘p’ do not change into d and v.
(d) intervocalic ka, ga, ca, ja, ta, da, pa, ya, va are elided leaving behind the vowel.
(e) the conjunct ju changes to h.
(f) ya in hṛdaya changes to pa.
   eg. hṛdayam — hṛtāpakam.
(g) to never undergoes any changes.
   eg. eti bimbam.

(b) various consonantal changes prescribed in Prakrit are not applicable to Paścāti.

4. Next we consider the conclusions of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmiṇidhara and Simharāja

Lakṣmiṇidhara, Trivikrama and Simharāja have acknowledged their indebtedness to Hemacandra and therefore Upadhye follows more of Hemacandra.

(a) t and d become t in Paścāti

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{damodaraḥ} & \text{tamotaro} \\
\text{madana—paravatāḥ} & \text{matana—paravaso}
\end{array}
\]

This change has been also pointed out by Namiśadhu (b) and we have also shown the affinity to Tamil under that point.

(b) there is only dental s (see Vararuci (b))

(c) l changes to l

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{eg. silam} & \text{silam} \\
\text{salilam paravatāḥ} & \text{salilam paravaso}
\end{array}
\]
(d) $s$ and $ß$ change into $s$

$\textit{sobhate} \quad -- \quad \textit{sobati}$

$\textit{sobhanam} \quad -- \quad \textit{sobhanam}$

$\textit{visama} \quad -- \quad \textit{visamo}$

(e) $\textit{nya}, \textit{sna}, \textit{sia}$ sometimes change into $\textit{ria/riya}, \textit{sina}$ and $\textit{naya} / \textit{sija}$

$\textit{bharya} \quad -- \quad \textit{bhraya/bharya}$

$\textit{sataam} \quad -- \quad \textit{sinatam}$

$\textit{kazam} \quad -- \quad \textit{kasitam}$

(f) $\textit{jna}, \textit{nya}$ and $\textit{nya}$ changes to $\textit{nya}$

$\textit{prajna} \quad -- \quad \textit{pana}$

$\textit{janam} \quad -- \quad \textit{nana}$

$\textit{vijaanam} \quad -- \quad \textit{virtham}$

$\textit{kanyaka} \quad -- \quad \textit{kanka}$

$\textit{manyka} \quad -- \quad \textit{mantha}$

$\textit{pujayakarna} \quad -- \quad \textit{puññakamman}$

(g) Instrumental singular form of $\textit{tad}$ and $\textit{idam}$ is $\textit{nena}$ in masculine and $\textit{næ}$ in the feminine.

$\textit{eg. tatra ca tena kṛta smānena-tathā ca nena kata śīnānena}$

Upadhye, after giving all the important rules pointed out by various grammarians for Paśācāl, also observes the common grammatical rules agreed on by all. These are:

1. Hard consonants take the place of soft ones (with some, the rule is universal, with others it is optional, and with some it is confined to intervocalic consonants only).

In Tamil it is always the case.
2. There is only dental $s$
3. There is only dental $n$
4. The conjuncts / añ gy, ny/ are reduced to añ and ran gives alternative forms.

5. The conjuncts like sm, st are simplified by anaptyxis.

6. The absolute termination is àya.

7. The word hitapaka is used for hi śaya.

Some of the characteristics we have seen in the Pāśāci language have a strong affinity with the Dravidian group of languages, in particular with Tamil. These are the following

(a) Pāśāci has / 
(b) Pāśāci prefers n 
(c) changes sonants into surds

eg. d̄modaraḥ — t̄m̄taraḥ
vadana — vatagam

Upadhye also points out that the / present in the Pāśāci can be also found in the Ādīc sanskrit and change of sonants into surd can be observed also in some places in the Niya Prākrit of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

*Where was Pāśāci spoken*

Now, arises the question where exactly this language was spoken. The verses we find in the grammar books to explain the sub-dialects of Pāśāci throw some light on the regions where it was spoken, although they do not agree on the number of sub-dialects of Pāśāci.

The grammarian Mārkāṇḍeya in his grammar text enumerates the following eleven regional dialects  of Pāśāci.

Kāṇcideśīyapāṇe ca pātcalam gauṣamagadham |
Vracaśam dukṣeṣṭyaṃ ca saṃraseṇam ca kalkayan ||
Shavaram draviṣam ca eva ekadasa pāṭacoṣ |

82. A. N. Upadhye, op. cit. p. 19.
Kach, Paḍhya, Piśācā, Gauda, Magadha, Vṛčaḍa, Dakṣaṇiṃya, Saurasena, Kukayam, Saharam and Drāvidam are the eleven countries mentioned in the above verse.

Lakṣṇaḍhara, following Hemacandra, and Trivikrama gives in the following verse the places where the Paṭācit was spoken.48

piṣacadeśaśiṇi yuddhakrutakṣaṃ -
paḍyā-kekaya-bāhlika-sīṅha-nāpali kunḍalāḥ |
sudheṣa-bhoja-ganḍhāra-hāva-kannojanastāhāḥ |
ete piṣacadeśaḥ syustadēṣyastadēṣaḥ bhavet |
piṣacajātamāhara paṭācācāryaṃcyante

The regions mentioned in the above verse are Paḍhya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sīṅha, Neṭrīla, Kunṭala, Sudheṣa, Bhoja, Gāndhāra, and Kauṇojā.

From the above references and also from what Rāmaśurmā says we come to know that Paḍhya country in the south is also one place where Paṭācit was used. Prakrit grammarians have treated Paṭācit as a pure literary language; but according to Upadhye46 it must have been a spoken language of some country or clan. Hoernle thought that Paṭācit was the lower Prakrit spoken by Dravidians and located its home somewhere south of the Vindhyas.47 Konow was of the opinion that Paṭācit described by Prakrit grammarians was based on a dialect spoken in and about the Vindhyas, and perhaps further to the south and east. He also points out a passage from Rājadekha’s Kavyamimansa to confirm this.48 Grierson was of the view that Paṭācit and Paḷī were languages of the North-West of India.49

83. Ibid. p. 19
84. Ibid. p. 21
85. Ibid. p. 23
But Keith raised objections to his theory and concluded that the home of the Pāṇḍāṭi was around Vindhyas. He also pointed out that the फ and न which are present in Pāṇḍāṭi are distinguished from other Prakrit dialects and they are present in Māvī which is to be placed near the Vindhyas.

Pāṇḍāṭi as a language spoken around the Vindhyas is also corroborated by the Kashmirian recensions of Bṛhatkathā according to which Gupṭāḍhya learnt Pāṇḍāṭi language in the Vindhyas forests. This is also supported by Gupṭāḍhya’s association with the court of Sātavāhana who was the patron of Prakrits as opposed to Sanskrit which was used by his Ksatrapa rivals.

In order to answer the question whether the author of the Pk. could have derived his work directly from the Pāṇḍāṭi Bk of Gupṭāḍhya we should examine the possibility of a contact between the people of the Tamil country and those of the Vindhya region where Gupṭāḍhya was supposed to have composed his work. Numismatic evidence dating from Vasishataputra Satakarni (AD. 130-150), the brother of Pulumūyi, shows that he issued bilingual coins with his portrait, a tradition followed by the western Ksatrapas. Two such bilingual coins have been discovered where Prakrit and Tamil are written in their respective scripts. On the obverse is the portrait head of the emperor in the centre with a legend running around in Brahmi letters of the 2nd century A.D. It says “Rajāvo vaṣṭhigātasa Sri Satakaṅnasa” i.e of king Sri Satakarni the son of Vasīkṣī. On the other side we find ‘Aracansa Vaṭṭiti makanasa tiru Catakaniṣa’ which means the same as on the obverse. The words “Aracansa, Makay, and Tiru” are Tamil ones. While the script on the obverse is in Brahmi that on the reverse is Damill, used in the caves of Tamilnad for writing Tamil. The language on

89. See infra. pp. 14, 15
90. Satyanarayana, op.cit. p. 115
the obverse is Prakrit and on the reverse is an interesting mixture of Tamil with Prakrit endings. The close connection between the Śrāvakāhana empire and the Tamil country is further corroborated by a reference to the work Śrāvakāhana in the commentary to Nāgūḷ by Mayilaināṭar. Here we are told that Śrāvakāhana is an example of a Tamil work named after the patron of the author. Vasīṭaputra yaṭīāṇi Śatākarṇi, a successor of Śatākarṇi, also issued his coins with both Tamil and Prakrit legend.

The recent researches of Hart also deserve consideration in this context. These concern the problem of the remarkable similarities between the poetic literature of early Tamil and classical Sanskrit literature dating from the time when there can be no question of a direct interaction between the two. In the words of Burrow, "the solution to the problem, according to Hart, is to be found in the lyric poetry of Maharāṣṭrī which grew up and flourished in the Northern Deccan during the early centuries of the Christian era in the time of the Śrāvakāhana, rulers". Hāla, (A.D. 19-24), also known a Śrīvāhana, was the compiler of the Gāthāsaptaśati, a collection of seven hundred erotic verses in Maharāṣṭrī Prakrit. These verses bear such a close similarity to the verses of Akānandī, the collection of four hundred verses in Tamil on the theme of love, that Mativaṇaṇa, who has rendered some selected saptasati verses

93. See also. Mayilaināṭar, Commentary to Nāgūḷ, ed. by U. V. Samināṭha Iyer, (Madras, 1918), Pāṇīram. v. 48.
into Tamil, has felt justified in calling his work by the name Antimanaṭṭum Akṣamāgāṇaṁ, i.e. the Akṣamāgāṇa of the Andhra country!

"The dominion of the Sālavāhanas were mixed in language and population, the basic Dravidian element being overlaid by Aryan settlement. This implies a bilingual situation in many areas which made possible the influence of Dravidic oral literature on Mahārāṣṭrī poetry. In its turn the lyric poetry in Mahārāṣṭrī of which the Sattasal is probably only a fragment had a powerful influence on Sanskrit literature thus providing an admirable solution to the problem of the relationship of Tamil and Sanskrit literature."

That Gupṭāya, the author of the Bk., may have had direct contact with or at least knowledge of the Tamil country can be inferred from the details of the town of Mathura of the Pandyas and the sea coast of that region found in the Bkas.-Lacote in discussing this passage, remarks that these details are of "a lively local colouring and of great geographical exactitude".

All the above considerations, compounded with the fact that the Paśṭa language itself is said to have flourished in the countries of Pāṇḍya and Kañcā, and shares some linguistic features with Tamil, make it probable that the story of the Bk. could have reached the people of the Tamil country at a relatively early date.

There still remains however the problem of tracing the course of development of the interaction of Tamil with the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Paśṭa literatures over the long and relatively unillumined period extending from about the 1st century A. D. to the 7th century A. D. or so. Sometime during this period, we may infer that the original Bk. became extinct, since otherwise we cannot understand why Dandin should be so circumspect in his reference to the contents of the Bk. It was

97. Bkas. XVIII. vv. 352, 353, 368, 390, 398, 399, 403, 408, 656. See also Lacote op. cit. p. 33
also during this period that many dramatic, poetic and prose works in Sanskrit which were based on the themes of the Bk. came to be written. Parallel to this was the development of an altogether different class of narrative literature, fostered mainly among the Jain authors who found the themes and the style of the Bk. very attractive. We have already noted that this factor gave rise to the composition of the Vh., probably before the end of the 3rd century A.D. In particular the idea of developing the narrative in the form of 'Lambhat' came to be adopted from the Bk. by the Jain authors. The term 'Lambha' is the Prakrīti modification of the Sanskrit word 'Labha' and denotes a chapter in which a conquest of the hero (i.e. his winning the hand of a maiden) is described. We find this technique of narration preserved only in the Vh. and the Bks., among the versions of the Bk. Besides the Vh. there exist however other Jain works which follow this technique. Another notable example of this is the Cīvakacintamani of Tiruttakkatēvar in Tamil which is a Jain text (Kāvyā) divided into Ilampakam (i.e. Lambaka or equivalent form of Lambha). The story of the hero’s marriage with a maiden named Gandharvavadātā through a musical contest has been specially popular among such authors and is to be found in the Cīvakacintamani of Jinaśena’s Hari-nāmpāpurāṇa, Gopāhūdra’s Uttarapurāṇa and so on, right up to the 12th century A. D., besides the Vh. the Bks., the Kes., and the Bcm. All this goes to clearly establish that the narrative traditions and contents of the Bk. were faithfully incorporated in the corpus of Jain narrative literature, most of which was originally in Prakrit, during the period under our consideration.

We now consider the Pk, with these facts in our mind. As we have already pointed out, even though the Pk., is not available in its complete form to us, it is unlikely it covered the

98. Jain J. C., op.cit p. 28,


100. Jain J. C. op. cit, p.39,
entire theme of the original Bk. As regards the portions of the Bk. story actually covered by it, we shall also see that it contains numerous additional details which are not found in any of the other versions. Besides, some of the names such as Piraccōtañjana, Udayāṇa appear to have originated from Prakrit rather than Sanskrit forms. Thus the probability of there having been a Jaina Prakrit original for Pk. dealing mainly with the Udayana stories cannot be ruled out.

Scholars have pointed to the epigraphical references to the Sanskrit version of the Vaḍḍakathā i.e. the Bk. by the Ganga king Durvinita (circa. 500 AD), though no such work has actually come to light so far. This king also appears to have

101. See chapter-3.


Tumkur plate. 23.

At Hebberu (Hebbiru hobli), on Copper plates in possession of the Hict-Matōda vadhār.

"........... sābdāvatāra - kārādāva - bhāratini-buddhābhras-paratah-kūrtakurunyē-panchā - dasa-sarga - tīkākkārā-Durvinita-nāma............"

p. 17.

Uttanur Plates of the Ganga king Durvinita. 20th year. Plate XII.

"........sābdāvatākārakāreṇa dāva - bhāratī - nībuddha-vāḍḍakathena kūrtakurunyē - pāṣadāna - sarga-
tīkākkāreṇa Durvinita-nāma dāhīṇa..........."

p. 35. lines. 25-26.

*note*: Vaḍḍ in old Kannada means ‘byḥat’ in Sanskrit and ‘peru’ in Tamil.

patronised the Jaina religion. Raghavan and Saminatha Iyer, have occurred in their identification of this work as the probable source of the \textit{P\k}. While this appears probable it has to remain as a conjecture in the absence of additional supporting evidence.

Raghavan has also pointed to the mention of a quotation from a \textit{kavya} called \textit{Udaymodaya} by Bhaja as an illustration of a \textit{Katha\textit{ray\textit{a-\textit{It\textit{y\textit{tra Mahakavya}}}}}} i.e. an epic based on narrative literature. This is supposed to have been based on the contents of the \textit{Kathamakha} of the \textit{Bk.} and it cannot be ruled out that such a work may also have served as the source of the \textit{P\k.} Having discussed the \textit{P\k.} and related works dealing with the same story, we now pass on to a discussion of the place of the \textit{P\k.} in Tamil literature.

103. Raghavan. \textit{V. op.cit} p. 829.
CHAPTER II

The Position of the Perukkataj in Tamil Literature

The earliest available literary works in Tamil are the Csákm works. Even though the Commentator, Aţiýarkkunallár1 speaks of ancient works such as Kali, Kuruku, Veşṭáli, etc. which served as the models in the composition of the Pkk, we are not in a position to say anything today about their probable form and literary contents. The E[ji]t[a] backlog and the Purappāliru collections, belonging to the Csákm age are in the form of ballads and lyric, which are mostly short poems dealing with themes of love (Akam), war and other incidents (Pugam). However the Purappāliru works may have set the pattern for the later Poom[ti]t[ar]nammucccy[ñu] (i.e. continuous long versed dealing with a single theme). These latter works came to be called by the name Káppiyam, apparently at a later stage. Aţiýarkkunallár emphasises this fact in his commentary by suggesting that it was the intention of Tolkáppiyar to include both ‘Gorovarnalir’ and ‘Poruţovarnalir’ verses under the catagory of Káppiyam2. The Cilappattikaram, the ‘Maśimkalal’ and the Perukkataj represent the early Káppiyam works in Tamil which were based mainly on Tamil literary traditions and were relatively free from the influence of the Sanskrit Maháckavya tradition which began to take root in Tamil literature with the advent of works like the Civakacintamañi.

Before analysing the basis of this classification it is important to acquaint ourselves with the fact that even by the time these works came to be written, a profound and intimate interaction had already taken place between the literary cultures of Northern and Southern India. This interaction was mainly the result of the migration of the Brahmans, the Jains and the Buddhists in different parts of the country. Some aspects of this interaction have already been discussed in chapter 1. The result of this

interaction was to create a condition of flux in which widely
disparate elements came to be fused together into a complex
organic framework of literary traditions.

According to Winternitz, even when there might have been
no such thing as Buddhistic or Jaina literature, there had existed
a ‘samaṇa’ (śramaṇa) literature besides the brahmanic literature.
Numerous traces of this samaṇa literature are to be found in the
epics and the purāṇas. The characteristic features of this
literature have been summed up by him as follows:

1. It disregards the system of Castes and Āśramas.

2. Its heroes are, as a rule, not gods and sages but kings or
merchants or even śūdras.

3. The themes are not brahmanic myths and legends but
popular tales, fairy tales, fables and parables.

4. It emphasises the misery and sufferings of worldly
existence and teaches a morality of compassion and non-violence
which is quite distinct from the brahminical ideals of sacrifices,
generosity towards priests etc.

Many stories occur both in Hindu epics and Jaina-cum-
Buddhist literature. Some of the conversations in the Mahabharata
may be traced to the Gāthās of Pāli. The Jains and Buddhists
attached great importance to popular tales and incorporated them
in their religious literature. We find a large number of stories in the
Jaina Angas, Commentaries, Niryaksis, Bhāgavas and Cūpis.
Apart from this they have also converted the stories of the
Ithihasas according to their religious doctrines.

4. Winternitz, M. The Jainas in the History of Indian
literature ed. Jina Vijaya Muni, Jaina sahitya
p. 5 ff.

5. Winternitz, M. History of Indian Literature, vol.-II,
(University of Calcutta, 1933), p. 489 ff.
When the Jains and Buddhists came to the Tamil country these stories became popular in the Tamil land. The monks carried out their religious propaganda through the medium of literature. Wherever they went, they made it a point to learn the language of that region and used it as the vehicle of their religious doctrines etc. It is against this backdrop of a mixed cultural milieu that we have to look at the evolution of the earlier epics in Tamil.

The common literary features of the three early epics, viz. the Clappatikaram, the Maqimikalai and the the Pk, have already been analysed in detail by the author elsewhere. The main points of this analysis with special reference to the Pk, are summarised below:

1. The didactic motivation:

All the three epics, the Clappatikaram the Maqimikalai and the Pk, arose in a period in which the Buddhists and the Jains were trying to establish themselves in the Tamil country. The Maqimikalai however differs from the other two works inasmuch as it is a work with an explicit religious motivation, dealing with the renunciation of the worldly life and adoption of the Buddhist religious faith by Maqimikalai. In contrast with this, in the Clappatikaram and the Pk, religious expositions and ideas occur only incidentally.

The 'Patikams' which occur at the beginning of the Clappatikaram and the Maqimikalai clearly set forth the 'raison d'être', for these two works. We thus find the following lines which occur in the Patikam of the Clappatikaram:

deserves worship from the great; The 61 (Karma) will always have its effect)

The author thus had a clearly didactic motive in composing this epic.

In the Mañimekala the motive of the author in writing the work is stated to be the narration of the story of "Mañimekala nipaI" (i.e. the renunciation of worldly life by Mañimekala). The rest of the story is only incidental, serving to make it interesting and agreeable to the readers.

It is thus clear that in both cases, the authors have attempted to make use of the literary form of a narrative poem (Pāññatālcceyyul) to expound concepts or incidents of a purely religious or didactic character. They are the products of centuries of growth and maturity which sameśa narrative literature had undergone.

The Mañimekala is closely related to the Cilappatikāram and its plot contains many details which bear a relationship to the story of the latter. In many instances, even a prior knowledge of the incidents of the story of the Cilappatikāram is assumed. This relationship has led later commentators like Atiyārikumallar to group the two works together to constitute a single Perukkāppiyam. His reason for doing so is the requirement that a Perukkāppiyam must deal with a story which sets forth the fourfold pursuits of life, viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, i.e. aṣām, poruḷ, āṣām and vītu. This is explicitly stated by Dandin in his Kavyādarsa in the phrase "Caturvargaṇapaligaram" in his definition of a Mahākavya. The author of Taṇṭiyalainkāram also stresses this point in the line,

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According to Atiyârkkunallâr, since there is no part of the Cilappattikâram which deals with the topic of renunciation i.e. viṭu, it has to be combined with the Mañimekalai which narrates incidents leading to the renunciation of the worldly life by Mañimekalai, and the two together would thus constitute a Perukkâppiyam. This idea is reinforced by the phrase,

"mañimekalai mañurippöṝya mañuṭ̣ya Cilappattikâram"

Which occurs in the Nīgkaṭṭurâl of the Cilappattikâram.

The elements of Jainism in the Pk. are treated separately in detail in chapter VI. We shall therefore deal only with the question whether the author of the Pk. also adopted the convention of illustrating the fourfold ends of life by his narrative. We draw a blank at the very outset since the portion at the beginning of the Pk. is not available to us and there is no part of the present text which corresponds to the Pañikam verses in the Cilappattikâram and the Mañimekalai. The work is also incomplete at the end; the text abruptly ends at the point where the vidyâdhara Mânsacavâka, forcibly carries away Mâsañamañcikâ, the bride of Narâvâgaya. The text of the Ukk. however is complete and takes the story up to the point of ‘Uttayañâgañûgava’ i.e. renunciation of worldly life by Udayana. In fact the Narâvâgâjakâṭam of the Pk. is followed by a sixth canto in the Ukk., which is called the Tugavakkâṭam. It thus appears probable that the Pk., which the Ukk. follows faithfully in all other respects, would also have contained a similar section, thus conforming to the tenet of describing all the four ends viz. Ājum, Pûruj, Ïpum, and Viṭu (i.e. dharma artha, kâma, and mokṣa) in his kâppiyam.

2. The supernatural element:

In the Cāḍakhā poetry, one rarely comes across supernatural beings, except for the references in the 'Aṣāmin' (love) poems to 'Apaṇku' 'Veṇiṣṭu' etc. which indicate the widespread belief among the people in evil spirits and their efforts to appease these spirits. In the earlier epics this situation changes drastically and the supernatural element gains prominence because of its obvious value for contributing a touch of the marvellous to the narrative.

Even though Cāṇaga (flying monks) and Vidyādhāras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Ramayana along with the Apsaras, Gandharvas etc. it is only in the Buddhist and Jaina literature that one finds these celestial beings being accorded a place of considerable importance. A striking example of this is the transformation of the monkeys and the demons in the Ramayana into Vidyādhāras in the Jaina work, Paumacariya. The Bhavavaktha, a veritable treasure-house of fantasies and intricate stories, dealing mainly with the story of Naravahanadatta, who became the emperor of the Vidyādhāras, appears to have captivated the minds of men of letters all over the country by the time the earlier epics of Tamil literature had come to be written.

Coming to the Pk, the Vidyādhāra motif occupies the central part in the story. We are told of the prediction that Naravāṇa will conquer the empire of the Vidyādhāras.

.accam 11  sēkāl or viccataar 11.ai 11.uruśṭum ene aṣintār uraṭṭa12.

(the prediction of wise people, that he will rule over the Vidyādhāras)

mekil viccataar malayakan tajit
aii ervētīt evayāt varūnī,...,...,....13

(come back to me after ruling in the Vidyādhāra mountain.....)

The elephant, Pattiṟṟaṟa (Bhadraśaṟa), with whose help Uṭayaṟaṇa carries away Vācavaṭṭuttai from Ujjayinī, is none other

15. Ibid. 5:3:186.
than a Vidyadhar maid who became a she-elephant upon being cursed by a sage.

**Vīncāi mūka arījai piṭyākṛti**

(the Vidyadhar lady who became a female elephant

*Uṭayāṇaṇa* is led by a celestial maiden**, who appears before him in a dream, to the court of Lord Kubera, who then presents him a gem which portends the birth of Naraśvanandita, the future emperor of the Vidyadharas. The elopement of Vācavatattai with Uṭayāṇaṇa from Ujjayini takes place in the tumult and confusion created by a water festival. This festival was ordered by the king, Piraccūtanaṇa (Pradyota), because of the utterances of Pākaraṇaṇa (Bhāgiraśikā), a sooth-sayer woman, who is supposed to have been possessed by a deity. A yakṣa named Nāicukāṇa helps Uṭayāṇaṇa to quench his thirst on a hot day in the woods where he has been hunting. He again appears before Uṭayāṇaṇa, when Vācavatattai develops the pregnancy wish to fly in the sky. He suggests that the king should invoke the assistance of Pātiśrpati for getting an aerial car made.

Mataṇamaṇicikā (Madanamaṇjukā), the bride of Naraṇaśvanandita, is finally kidnapped by the Vidyadhar prince, Mataṇacūkāna (Mānasaśe)[a]. All these incidents clearly reveal the important role played by the supernatural element in the development of the plot of the *Pākaraṇaṇa*.  

3. **Characterisation.**

A look at the chief characters in these early epics also clearly points to a period preceding the stage when the prototype hero of a Mahākāvyā had come to be accepted in Tamil literature, as, for instance, in the case of the *Civakacintāmani* or in the *Kamparanaṇa* in the *Cittappaktaram* and the *Maṇimukalai.*

the focus is only on the heroines, Kappaki and Maṇimekālai, and to a somewhat smaller extent, the courtesan, Mātavi. Kūvalai and Uṭayakumaraṇa serve only as foils to the strong characters of these heroines. In the Ph. we do have Uṭayapaṇaḥ as the hero but he is not the “catura udātta nāyaka” of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas or equivalently, the “ṭig ṣīkara ilaṭtulaśasvam” whose inclusion as the hero is considered to be an essential prerequisite of a Perūṅkāppiyam (Mahākāvyas). He is a prince who is well versed in and fond of music, archery, the other arts and sciences (e.g. the hasti-ālikṣā i.e. science of elephants) and a person who likes to be in the company of ladies; in other words, a dhira laśita type of hero, who is not suited for a Mahākāvyam according to the later day rhetoricians.

We also find somewhat elderly ladies predisposed towards religious and philosophical pursuits, serving as caretakers or fostermothers of the heroines in all the three early Tamil epics. Examples are Cutamati in the Maṇimekālai, Chākhiyattā in the Ph. and Tāvatirī in the Clappattikaram. They are brahmins by birth, who lead a wayward life to begin with and thereafter come into the fold of the Buddhist or the Jain religion. The introduction of such characters may either reflect what was a genuine social happening or may have been a technique employed by the non-vedic authors to condemn the brahminical practices and to extol the compassion with which such persons were sheltered by their own respective religions.

4. The plot

It may safely be stated that the Clappattikaram is chronologically the oldest of the three epics. Its plot may have been based on a legend which had been current among the people.
of the Tamil land at that time. As Valiyapuripillai has noted, the indifference of a chieftain called Pēkaṅ towards his queen named Kappak is the theme of many verses which occur in the Payangāl. Similarly the mention of a lady who lost one of her breasts is found in a verse in the Naṭṭiṣai. The story of the ‘Maṭimēkalai is but a sequel to that of the Cilappattikāram. This can be seen even in the details regarding the naming of Maṭimēkalai. We are told in the Cilappattikāram that Kēvalaṅ named his daughter after the goddess Maṭimēkalai who saved one of his forefathers during a voyage when his ship was wrecked at sea. The same account also occurs in the Maṭimēkalai. The deity, Maṭimēkalai, is said to roam in the sea just for the purpose of protecting seafarers, having been thus ordained by Indra. Now, this deity is of, Buddhist origin and references to her are also found in the Sagghe Jātaka and the Mahājana jātaka. According to Sylvan Levy the legend of the goddess Maṭimēkalai may have originated around the cities of Pulik and Kāti (There exists a temple dedicated to the goddess Annapūrṇā in Kancheepuram even now). This legend might have been incorporated at a later date into the Jātaka stories mentioned above. Thus the Cilappattikāram and the Maṭimēkalai have chosen as their theme, stories which were current at that time among the people of the Tamil land in one form or another, and added to it other features which may have had a northern origin, not necessarily Brahmanical.

27. Maṭimēkalai, 5.
29. Ibid, Mahājana Jātaka, Translated into English by Tawtein ko (Rangoon, 1888) story No. 599
The situation is totally different with regard to the Pk, which probably for the first time in Tamil literature adopted a story of the North, viz. that of the Byahkathā, as the theme. It deals extensively with the exploits of king Udayana of the city of Kauśāmbī. The incidents of the story takes place mostly in the cities of the Avanti, Vatsa, and Magadha countries and not in Pukkā, Matova, and Vaścē as in the case of the Cīlapattikālam. The character names, place names etc. have accordingly been modified to suit the Tamil language. For example, the foster mother of Vācavatātai is called Cañcīyatiyā (i.e. the mother who belonged to the Śākākyya sect). But we know from the Kathasaritsagama, the Priyadarśika and the Tāpasavataraṇya that her actual name was Sēkkryayansi. Similarly the king of the Liechavi dynasty is named as Elicevi. Other variations found are: Urumāṇgavā for Rumaṇvā, Viricikā for Viracikā (Viricikā), Piraccōṭitāya for Pradyota, Naravāṇa for Naravāhana (datta), Ilavāya for Lāvāyaka and so on. Many of these transformations may have taken place via the corresponding Prakrit terms. It must be mentioned here that this trend is already discernible in the Cīlapattikālam in which there occurs such names as Mānśīya for Mahāśāyaka, Mākuttavā for Mahāśārthavāha, Nūrīvar kāgar for Satakaṛī etc.

5. Sub-sections:

All the three earlier Tamil epics contain sections called ‘Kātai’s. In the Cīlapattikālam and the Pk. they serve as sub sections; in Maṣimēkākai Kātai is the name given for the various chapters. U. V. Saminatha Iyer in his preface to the Cīlapattikālam points out that the Kātai means ‘Ceylon’ according to the commentator of Nīlakācitārājya. The teachings of the Buddhist religion were mostly propagated in the form of Sūtras, Gāthās, Jātaka stories and other legends. On

33. Tāpasavataraṇa, Prelude to Act. III
these, gathas were supposed to be in the form of verses which were set to music. The literary style of the gathas literature points to an age prior to the development of prose. While some of the gathas might have arisen around the period of the early stages of development of the Itihāsas.

In addition to the division into ‘Kāraṇa’ the Cilappatikāram and the Pk. also adopt the division of the poem into Kāptsams as in the case of works like the Ramayana. In the case of the Cilappatikāram which was said to belong to all the three kings of the Tamil country (Muvaiṉe ṛṇgaṉ Mīravarkkum Uṟiyai), this division may have served the purpose of highlighting the fact that the events took place in the three capital cities of Tamilnadu viz. Pulaiy in the Cēḷa country, Maturai in the Pāḷaiy country and Vaṇci in the Ēbra territory. Cilappatikāram also contains the ‘Māvaiṇa Nāṟṟupetṭai (invocatory verse) Kālaiyai, Vaiṭuvaṇi, Aypiyarkurai, Tittirakēṭa tungsamai, Urdaiyai, Vaṇciyamalai, and Kugrakkurai. All these various types of sub-sections owe their origin to the basic fact that the Cilappatikāram is a dramatic epic (nāṭakakkāppiyam) which is in a form suitable for being acted on a stage. The Kāṇimēkalai has only ‘Kāraṇa’ and is characterised by the technique of narration involving stories within stories. The Pk. has the most straightforward style of narration in which it is always the author who is narrating the story to the reader.

How the characteristic features of Tamil literary tradition have been interwoven into the story the Pk.

We now proceed to consider the manner in which the author of the Pk. interweaves specific characteristics unique to the culture and literature of the Tamils, in the narration of a story of North Indian origin. As illustrations we take the following examples.

- Description of landscapes according to ‘āṇītpal’.

(i) After eloping from Uccayini, Utaṇaṇga and Vaiṣavaṇantai travel across different regions and countries, until they reach the
city of Cayanti (Jayanti). This affords an opportunity for the poet to describe various types of land and the fauna and flora peculiar to them in accordance with the well known classification of Mutil (the basic things) Karu (objects characteristic of the particular region) and Uripporul (the type of love peculiar to each region) belonging to the five types of land. We thus find whole chapters dealing with ‘marutanilankaṭantatstu (crossing the agricultural land) mullainilankaṭantatstu (crossing the forest land) kuṟṟiṟi nilankaṭantatstu (crossing the montaneous region) and pāllai nilankaṭantatstu (crossing the arid land). Only the ‘neytal land (coastal region) is left out, since it would be obviously inappropriate to include the coastal country in the description of a journey which takes place well inside the country and far away from the sea-coast.

The Patumāpati episode narrated according to Kajaviyal

While Utayaṇaṭi is being held captive in Uccayiṇī, his kingdom is invaded and occupied by the king Aṛupi. His ministers wish to strengthen the hands of Utayaṇaṭi by bringing about an alliance with Tarucakaṭa (Darśaka), the powerful king of the Makata (Magadha) country, accomplished through a marriage between him and Patumāpati, the sister of Tarucakaṭa. As a first step, Yikē causes a fire to break out in the palace and convinces every one including Utayaṇaṭi that his queen Vācavattaiṭi, is dead. Utayaṇaṭi is then taken by his friends to the Makata country at a time when a festival in honour of Kāman, the god of love, is to take place for a period of seven days. The princess, Patumāpati, arrives at the temple of Kāman (Kamā) and offers worship there. Utayaṇaṭi who stands reclining on the trunk of a Punnai (Mast wood/Caloophyllum Inophyllum) tree on her way, lost in his musings about Vācavattaiṭi, is seen by her at that time. Utayaṇaṭi also sees her and both of them fall in love with each other immediately. From this point onwards, upto their subsequent marriage with each other, all the incidents have been described by Kōṇkuvélir in accordance with the literary conventions of Kajaviyal.
(clandestine love) in Tamil. Thus Patumāpati who sees Utayaṇaṅ for the first time wonders whether he is Kāraṇaṇ himself.

\[\text{nan γakar kōjiŋ tāyγamεr ṣiŋjεŋγiŋ karuŋγuγicc celvāŋ vīrumpupu tōŋgił tāŋγalaŋ katum enγ kātiγy enγakat tiru niŋγy alaițal karuŋγiŋγu ōŋγu koŋ}^{28}\]

(Is it the one with a bow of sugar canoe who has come here in person in order to judge the firmness of my heart in the festival celebrated for him?)

The situation described here comes under the category of ‘niyam’ (doubt).\(^{37}\) Soon after their ‘encounter’ (kāṭci) with each other they develop the suspicion whether the other person is a celestial being or a mortal.

The fact that Utayaṇaṅ and Patumāpati have fallen in love is expressed by the phrase;

\[\text{Vëncīγa viŋalaiŋγu ōŋcucu māraŋi}^{28}\]

(Having changed hearts with the mighty young man).

After circumambulating the temple, Patumāpati donates gifts to all the brahmans. Then one of the maidens in her retinue prays to the god of love that Patumāpati may be blessed with a worthy husband like Utayaṇaṅ, the illustrious player of the vina, who belonged to a noble family. Patumāpati then hopes that the person whom she met on the way to the temple would possess such qualities and returns to the palace.

Utayaṇaṅ in the meantime approaches a hunchback attendant of Patumāpati named Aiyārāpati (Airāvaṭi) and finds out who Patumāpati is. In return when the lady asks him about his identity, he informs her that he is a brahmin named Māpakaṇ who is the son of one Cāṇṭilaiṇ belonging to the ruby island (Irṭiṅgaṭīvam) in the Kāntāra (Gāndhāra) country.

36. Ph. 3:6:67-70
38. Ph. 3:6:76.
Patumāpīti and Utayaṇaṇḍ spend the whole of that night restlessly, thinking about each other. The chapter which describes how they spent the night without sleep bears the name ‘Kaqāṇu kalakkam’. The same incidents are repeated for the next five days, and by then their pangs of love get intensified. The physical state of Patumāpīti is noticed by her mother and friends who grow worried. This corresponds to the stage of Ṭragyaṇuqartal in Kalavijali. At last on the seventh day Ayirāpīti discovers the cause of her emanation. Patumāpīti notices a ball in the hand of Utayaṇaṇḍ on that day and requests Ayirāpīti to fetch it for her. Ayirāpīti then venture to Utayaṇaṇḍ, who is then forced to reveal his mind to his friends who are with him. They tell him that his feelings for Patumāpīti cannot be true and not desirable in any case. The chapter describing the above events has the caption ‘Ṭāṅkaḥkuraḷittatu’. This makes it clear that the author’s intention is to describe the whole episode in accordance with the well established conventions of Kalavijali, in which ‘Ṭāṅkaḥkuraḷittatu’ (the hero narrating about his love for the heroine to his companions) is a distinct stage.

The story then moves on to the stage of Kācītalappaytal (wherein a rendezvous is fixed by the lovers and they meet each other at that spot). In this episode, the rendezvous is a park adjoining the temple of Kāman, where Utayaṇaṇḍ leaves a garland of flowers made by him and Patumāpīti takes it and wears it as if she did not know how it came there. This chapter is called ‘Kaqīṭatunatḗyatu’. This incident enables them both to confirm their mutual feelings. Utayaṇaṇḍ also suspends a garland, a banana leaf in which he has portrayed with his nails all the incidents since their meeting with each other in the temple of Kāman. Patumāpīti goes there for her bath and takes away the garland left by Utayaṇaṇḍ instead of her own. Vayaṇanteṇ picks up the garland left behind by her and gives it to Utayaṇaṇḍ.

The next chapter is on ‘Pugāṇuqalittatu’ in which the lovers finally decide to unite. Utayaṇaṇḍ expresses to his friends his wish to reach Patumāpīti’s palace somehow and is met by
their stout opposition to his plea. Finally he manages to persuade them to extend their assistance to him. They then approach the king Tarucağa and on the pretext of finding out hidden sources of water in his courtyard, hide themselves at different spots in the palace. On the last day of the festival, Patumāpati and her friends manage to spirit away Utayanağ from a hiding place in the temple, into the palaquin of Patumāpati and thence into her apartment. There Utayanağ reveals to her his mastery in playing the lute. These events may be said to correspond with the description of ‘Pakağkurf’ and ‘Utayangākh’ in kājaviyal.

After the above events, a war breaks out between the king Tarucağa and the confederation of enemy kings (Canka mağdar). Utayanağ then leaves Patumāpati with his friends and actively assists the king to secure victory in the war. This finally leads to the wedding of Utayanağ with Patumāpati with the blessings of the king. These incidents have also been described in the manner of Kājavu works wherein the hero would leave the heroine in order to fight on the king’s behalf (Vezarkuçuulip pirtial).

Viricikai episode and the reference to ‘Tamiljyal vaşakku’.

(iii) A clear reference is made by the author of the *Pkh.* to the special traditions of the Tamil people in matters of love. This reference occurs in the episode dealing with Utayanağ’s marriage with Viricikai. Utayanağ encounters Viricikai who is the daughter of a hermit in the Iḷavǎka forest. She is then a small girl who has never met any men other than the ascetics in the forest. On seeing Utayanağ she wonders whether he is the god of love (Kāman) about whom she has heard in stories. She then comes near him and asks him to make a garland for her, using the flowers which she holds in her hands. Utayanağ makes a garland for her and finding that she does not know how to wear it helps her to wear it and sends her away. This incident leaves a

deep impression in the mind of the little girl, who, when she grows up into a beautiful maiden, insists on marrying none other than Utayagan. By this time Utayagan has become the king of the Vatsa country. Viricikai's father approaches Utayagan with a request that he should marry her. Utayagan obtains consent from Vācavatattai for the proposed marriage and then sends for Viricikai. The people of the city who look at her on her way to the palace of Utayagan, converse among themselves and remark that their king had adopted the custom of the Tamil country in his marriage to Viricikai.

............... imin tirai vayaitt ayar peru makaŋ
    tamil' iyal valakkigen......

............... (The lord of the Eyars in this world has adopted the custom of the Tamilis...)

Here the term 'ayar peru makaŋ' refers to Utayagan who is the son of the Ḫīhaya family. This is a frequent reference which occurs in the Pē, as well as in the Bēṣa, in which the family of Naravāhana-datta, is referred to as that of the Haihayas by Rumanāyka (Rumānapūvā).44 The meaning of this reference becomes clear when we take note of the fact that Utayagan's maternal grandfather Cīrakan was the son of Kaka and Yaśomati of the Haihay clan.45

The reference to the 'Tamāl iyal valakk' which has been adopted by Utayagan in this passage, clearly pertains to the tradition of 'Kālava' i.e. of secret, clandestine meeting and union which is later followed by karpū i.e. legalised wedding and domestic life. Even though the gandharva form of marriage was recognised in Sanskrit tradition, the special reference to the customs of the Tamils here reveals the effort of the author to adapt the story to the traditions of the language in which he narrates it.

41. Ibid. 4:17, 16, 17.
42. 'kaṭhāyasaṃ kalam tīgam' Bēṣa, VII:64.
The description of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) inspired by caṇḍam literary tradition.

(iv) The description of the city of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) which occurs in the Makata kāśitaṃ again reveals a special technique which the author has borrowed from the caṇḍam literature, in particular, the Purīpātaṇa. In this description, the city is likened to a large lotus which has blossomed in a pond.

The area of the military barracks is compared to the pond. The other parts of the city are then compared with the different parts of the lotus. The description is as follows.

The king's palace is the innermost part of the flower viz. the pericarp (Koṭīsī, the ministers' residences the inner petals (allī), the brahmins' residences are the inner petals, the watch men's quarters the calyx and the courtesans' houses the outer calyx.

Each of these section are described with further details and on the whole the description seems to be an elaboration of the following description which occurs in the Purīpātaṇa44.

Mayaṅ koppīl malanītā tamaraṅp
puṇṇu puraṅvā citīr puṅvīn
itaś akat agaśya terum itaś akat
terum pokuṇ aqāṇṭey aqāṇ kōyil

(The city is comparable with the lotus which sprang from the navel of Lord Krishnā. The streets are like petals and the palace of the king is like the thalamus).

44. Pk. 3 s 3.

45. Purīpātaṇa, (Published by South India Saiva Siddhānta works publishing Society, Madras, 1969) Purīpaṭaṇa tīraṭṭa, v. 7.
We find the same idea also in the *Perumpāṇḍimarai* where the city is compared with the lotus which sprang from the navel of Lord Viṣṇu.

\[\text{\textit{nītiṣṭha rūpi neṭiṇyêt koppil}}\
\text{\textit{nāṃpukav ottvam poṭantā pal ilai}}\
\text{\textit{tāna-rai pokuṭṭa kāṇ varai tōṇṭīc}}\
\text{\textit{ṣeṭu maṇi ṭākkāṇa neṭu nukar}}\]

(The high walled city which is comparable with the thalamus of the lotus covered with many petals came from the navel of the Lord Viṣṇu).

**The metre**

The *Pk.* is written in the metre *Akaṇṭpā / Āciriyaippā* which mostly consists of feet made of two syllables, (Iṣṭiḍr / Āciriya urīḍr). The ṭaḷai (the link between the two feet) employed in this metre is mostly Āciriyaṭaḷai and Iṣṭiḍevaṭaḷai. Sometimes we also find Veṣaṭveṭaḷai and Kaliṭaḷai in places where feet made of three syllables (mīvacaḷicḍr) are found.

It should have a minimum of three lines and the maximum number of lines can be of any number depending on the wish of the poet. The penultimate line should have three feet (cintiṭi) whereas the other lines can be of four feet (aṭjavaṭi). The final syllable of the final foot will have to always end with one of the following sounds, ē, ō, eq, ì, ā, ky, or ai. This metre has a narrative tone (akavai ṭaḷai) which has been selected by Kōkkuvēḷir as the best suited for the narration of his long poem.

Toōkappiyar has divided the requirements of the Toṭarnālaic-veṭty into eight kinds called as vārapoḷ. Among them the *Pk.* falls in the category of the "Iṣṭipā." The *Pk.* fully satisfies the definition of *Iṣṭipā*, by having the word and subject of one kāṭai being continued in the kāṭai which follows it, i.e., the word which occurs at the end of the last line of one kāṭai is also used in the beginning of the next kāṭai. The subject matter is also

The salient literary features discussed above have contributed to the high rank occupied by the *P.* in Tamil literature. The frequent and numerous references to it by eminent literary commentators bear testimony to the esteem and authority it enjoyed among them. Since its rediscovery and publication in recent times its contents have received increasingly closer attention in the hands of the scholars. As such the inclusion of the *P.* along with the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Mappimākalai* as one of the three major earlier epics in Tamil appears to be fully justified; at any rate this scheme of classification seems to be more valid than the forced enumeration of unavailable works such as the *Ruṣṭakacī* and the *Vaṅgiyapati* as constituting the five major epics (aimperumākkippiyam) along with the *Cilappatikāram*, *Mappimākalai*, and the *Civukkacakirānumpi*.

In the next chapter we shall see that besides occupying an exalted position in the corpus of Tamil literature, the *P.* also has considerable significance in Indian literature as a whole. This is because it fills a major gap in the narrative of the original *P.* by furnishing an account of the Udaiyana stories as they were probably found in the original work. We shall in fact show that the *P.* is the only single source from which these details may be gathered.
CHAPTER III

The Contribution of the Peruṅkataś to the reconstruction of the Udayana legends and its significance for Indian literature.

The Prk as a detailed source work of the Udayana legends.

The position of the Prk in the history of Indian literature is of importance from the point of view of the contribution it can make to our knowledge about the Udayana stories which form the basic theme of many Prākrit, Sanskrit and Pāli works. The original fountain of this story would no doubt, have been the original Bk. Alsdorf¹ who compared the Prk, the Bksa, and the Kashmerian versions of the Bk. concluded that the Udayana stories formed an integral part of the original Bk. and were probably narrated in the Kashāpītha of that work.

Among the versions of the Bk. available now, except the Prk only the Ksr. and the Bks contain a somewhat detailed version of the Udayana story. Though the Bksr refers, here and there, to certain incidents relating to Udayana’s life⁴, it does not narrate the same in a continuous and detailed manner.

2. Bksa. I. 67, II. 41. — Pālaka refers to the training he had received in the hands of Udayana and in particular to the instruction he received in the science of elephants.

Bksa. V. 91-174. — Udayana’s early life.

Bksa. VII. 68. — The capture of Kaṇḍēmbī by the King Arūpi in the absence of Udayana.

Bksa. V. 286-296 — Udayana’s journey in the aerial chariot and how he greets Darlaka at Magadha and Mahikēna at Ujjayinī.

Bksa. V. 324 — The reference to the Bhadrāvati gate, i.e. the gate which was erected in the memory of the elephant, Bhadrāvati.
In his comparative study that has been referred to already, Lacote\(^3\) points out that the portion dealing with the Udayana story in the original Bk. may have contained approximately 30,000 out of a total of 1,00,000 verses. If this estimate is correct, it is obvious that the Udayana story must have been narrated in a detailed manner in the original Bk. This possibility is more or less confirmed by the contents of the Pk. It is the only text in Indian literature which contains such a detailed narration of the life story of Udayana. The name ‘\textit{Udayanāyaṇa kālī}’ by which the Pk. is referred also suggests that it was the intention of the author of the Pk. to confine himself only to the part of the original Bk. which dealt with the story of Udayana. In the words of Donald\(^4\) Nelson, ‘no version (of the Bk.) matches even remotely the vast and detailed Udayana story found in the Pk\(^+\).’

Except for a reference by Lacote in his essay\(^3\) the text of the Pk. has not been included till recently by scholars in their comparative studies of the versions of the Bk. For example, Niti Adaval\(^4\) who has attempted to reconstruct the Udayana story as gleaned from Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pāli sources, has left out the south Indian sources altogether. The main reason for the omission of the Pk. is that most scholars who are interested in problems connected with the Bk. do not know Tamil, while Tamil scholars usually lack a command of Sanskrit which could enable them to undertake such a study. Saminatha Iyer did make a beginning in this direction but was hampered by the lack of first hand knowledge of Sanskrit. It has come to our notice only

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6. Niti Adaval, \textit{Udayana story as gleaned from Sanskrit Prakrit and Pali sources}. 
recently that Donald Nelson of the University of Chicago has worked on these lines.

The main aim of this chapter is to give a brief summary of the story of Udayana as found in the Pk. with a discussion highlighting the important contributions made by the Pk. to the reconstruction of the Udayana story in its original form through a comparison with the references found in the Kks, the Bkm, and the Bks.

The missing portions at the beginning of the Pk.

As already mentioned in chapter one, the present text of the Pk. starts in the middle of Kāti 32 of the first canto. It is however possible to piece together the probable contents of the missing portion at the beginning of the Pk. from passages found in the later part of the Pk. itself, as well as from a comparison with the Ukk. and the Ud. For the sake of continuity we include these portions also in the discussion which follows.

1. Circumstances of Udayana's birth:

In the Chapter, "Avalanirṇātātau" (How Udayana got over his distress after the disappearance of Yuki) in the Ilavāpaṅkṣātam of the Pk. itself, an account is given of the circumstances of Udayana's birth. This account is as follows:


8. We have already dealt with this topic in detail in an article included in South Indian Studies II, under the title 'A study of the missing portion at the beginning of the Perukatati with special reference to its relationship to the Bhattacharya,' published by Society for Archeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research, (Madras, 1979) pp. 29-76.

The pregnant queen, Mirukāpatī (Mrgāvatī) of king Cāṅkikakā (Śrāṅkaka) of the Vattava (Vatta) country is sleeping on the upper terrace of the palace, covering herself with a red cloth. Thinking that she is a piece of meat, a powerful bird (cinpu) seizes her and brings her to a banyan forest near a mountain called Vipulam. There, her father, Cītakag (Cētaka), who was formerly the king of the Eyars (Ehayas), is dwelling in a hermitage. The bird finds her alive and drops her near the hermitage. Out of fright and fatigue, the queen gives birth to a boy at that very spot. She embraces the child and starts to cry over her helpless state. At that very moment, her father, Cītakag, happens to come that way, recognizes his daughter, consoles her and takes her to his hermitage along with the newborn baby. He names the boy as Udayanā because he was born at the time of sun-rise.

The accounts found in the Ukk. and the Uc. are very similar; in the latter, the name of the boy is given as Uditodaya instead of Udayanā. The Bhav. and the Krs. give the following account of Udayanā’s birth.10 During her pregnancy, Mrgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, experienced the ‘dohada’ (pregnancy wish) of bathing in a tank filled with blood. In order to fulfil her wish, her husband, Śrāṅkaka, arranged to have the water in a tank coloured red by means of dyes. When the queen was bathing in it, she was mistaken for a piece of meat by a monster-bird. The bird pounced at her and, snatching her between the claws, flew away with her to a far-off place on the Udasyaka. However, when the bird came to realise that she was a living being, it left her alone and flew away. The poor queen was so dejected that she wanted to die, but no wild beast would harm her. She was, however, rescued by a disciple of the sage, Jamadagni, who located her following the direction of her lamentations. She was led to a hermitage where, in due course of time, she gave birth to a son. A divine voice from the heavens named him as Udayana, forecasting a magnificent future for him.

10. Niti Adaval, op. cit. pp. 30-31
In the Bháṣya, the story is related by Udayana’s mother Mrgávati to her daughters in law, Vásavadattá and Padmávati. Her account runs as follows: 11.

“During my pregnancy, my husband Satánika enquired what my ‘dohada’ was. I confided to him my pregnancy longing with great difficulty. He with the help of his ministers, made arrangements for its fulfilment. Putting on red garments and red ornaments with a red umbrella shading me and surrounded by attendants who were also putting on red clothes and thus were giving the resemblance of a forest of red Ásoka trees, I went round the city riding in a red carriage. Because of the red hue, a monster-bird, taking me for a luscious piece of meat, flew away with me in front of the very eyes of my husband, Satánika. It dropped me at some unknown place but was checked from eating me by two disciples of sage Vasiṣṭha. They guided me to their hermitage where Vasiṣṭha calmed me down and gave me shelter. In the tenth month of my pregnancy I gave birth to your husband, under an auspicious conjunction of stars. Vasiṣṭha gave him the name ‘Udayana’ as he was born on the Udaya mountain

2. Events upto the time of Utayaṇa’s coronation:

Information about these incidents is also available from the same chapter of the Pk. cited above. 12.

In the hermitage of Cúṭaka there also lives another sage by name Piramascuntará (Brahmasundara). He has a wife called Piramascuntari (Brahmasundari) and a son named Yuki. Utayaṇa and Yuki grow up together as playmates. After sometime, the sage, Piramascuntarag, imparts to Utayaṇa a mantra to calm down wild elephants and presents a lute called Kúṭapati (Ghoṣavati). With the help of these Utayaṇa brings a celestial elephant under his control.

Vikkiraṇ, (Vikkiram in the Ukk.) the son of Cúṭaka comes one day to visit his father in the forest. He is sad on

11. Ibid. p. 32
account of the fact that he has no heirs. When he learns that Utayaṇa in his own sister's son, he decides to take him back with him and instal him as his successor to the kingdom. After obtaining the consent of Mirukāpata and Cīṭākāra for this he departs to his country accompanied by Utayaṇa.

King Cānākara of Kōmkī (Kauśambi) in the meantime approaches a soothsayer who informs him about the whereabouts of his missing queen and about the events which had taken place since her disappearance. He proceeds to meet his wife and son, while in theīk. we are told that Utayaṇa and Yākī grew up together as playmates in the hermitage of the forest, the Kṣ. and the Bkṣ. describe Yaṅgandharīyana as the son of a minister of Saivānaka by name Yoganātha. Similarly, Rumāyana is the son of a commander—in-chief named Supratīka (-pa) and Vasukiaka is the son of the court-jester. The Bkṣ. adds to this list a character named Rṣabha, whose son Gomukha becomes one of the companions of Naravāhanadatta later on. The Kashmirian works give the name of Gomukha's father as Iyaka, who is said to have been an attendant of Udayana. He is also known as Nityodita. Kṣemendra gives his name as Nityodyota.

The acquisition of the lute, Ghoṣawati (Skt. form of 'Kīṭa-patai in Tamil), by Udayana is described in the Kashmirian works in a fanciful way. Here it is said that Udayana encountered a hunter who had captured a snake and secured its release by offering him his bracelet as a reward. The Kṣ. then informs us that the snake who was none other than Vasunemi, the eldest brother of Vasuki, presented to Udayana the lute, Ghoṣawati, along with a secret formula for making unfading garlands and for decorating the forehead with indelible patterns. The Bkṣ. follows a slightly different tradition according to

15. Ibid. VI : 11.
17. Kṣ. 2 : 1 x 1 80-81.
18. Bkṣ., Kāthāmukhalambha, Guočha 1, vv. 58-60.
which the snake led Udayana to the nether-world where he met and married a maiden named Lalitā. She was the one who presented these articles to him. A third version occurs in the Bṛhaspati. Here we are told that Udayana met some boys on the bank of a pond and was taken to the nether-world below the water by them. There he was introduced to a person called Kambala. The sage who already knew about all these incidents by virtue of his extra-sensory perception, asked him to go back and obtain from his friends a bow named Ghosavati, with which he would be able to control wild elephants.

In the Kashmirian works, the hunter who secures the bracelet belonging to Udayana tries to sell it in Kaushambi and is apprehended and taken to the king, Satīkīka. It is thus that the latter gets to know about the whereabouts of his wife and his son who was born in his absence. This incident is not mentioned at all in the Bṛhaspati, and we are simply told that Udayana is taken back to his father by the disciple of Vaiśīṣṭya.

The birth of two more sons who were named as Puṣkālaṇa and Kāśakaṇ to Satīkīka and Mrgavatī after their reunion is not mentioned by any of the versions except the South Indian one.

3. Udayanapānē capture by Pracetānāṇa

The celestial elephant had laid down three conditions to be obeyed by Udayanapānē for it to stay with him. These conditions were that:

(i) no one other than Udayanapānē should get on its back.
(ii) no one should tie it with a strap of leather.
(iii) Udayanapānē should not eat before feeding it.

23. Ph. 2 : 11 + 118-119.
Once Utayaṇaṅg spends much time in watching plays and as a result forgets to feed the celestial elephant before his meal. The elephant therefore leaves him and he is plunged in grief. He orders his men to look for it all over the country. The incident of the loss of the celestial elephant is not described in any part of the available text of the Pk. but both the Uc. and Uk. agree in their accounts of this incident.

The episode of Utayaṇaṅg’s capture by Piraṇcōtaṅga (Pradyota) can be pieced together from several allusions to it occurring in the later part of the Pk. itself. These allusions are found in the following places in the Pk.

(i) The message sent by Piraṇcōtaṅga to Utayaṇaṅg in the Vattavakāṭṭam.
(ii) The encounter with the hunters during Utayaṇaṅg’s elopement with Vācavatattai.
(iii) In the conversation between Yūki and Ḫṣapakaṅg in the Ilāvāpakāṭṭam.

Adding up these references together we obtain the following picture of this incident from the available text of the Pk. itself. Piraṇcōtaṅga wishes to establish matrimonial connection with the family of the Kurus even though they are inimical to him, since there is no other family which is on par with his own family. To achieve this, he resorts to a stratagem, when he is informed by his spies that Utayaṇaṅg is listless on account of the loss of the celestial elephant. He devises an artificial elephant fashioned out of wax, thread, wood, cloth, leather, and animal hair. It contains a machine to propel it with great speed. One of the ministers of Piraṇcōtaṅga leads his soldiers who are stationed within the fake elephant and are well armed. This elephant is then made to roam about in the territory adjoining the Vattava country.

26. Ibid. 1: 55: 24-34.
27. Ibid. 2: 9: 36-38.
Utayaṇa comes to know of this, he goes in pursuit of it thinking that it may be the missing celestial elephant and is then suddenly confronted by the warriors of Piraccūṇaṇa, who capture him. On hearing that Utayaṇa had been captured though deceit by Piraccūṇaṇa, Yuki resolves to secure his release. With this end in view, he spreads a rumour among the people of Kocimpi that he is dead and sets out for Uccayīti (Ujjayini). There he goes into hiding and assumes the disguise of a possessed person. In the middle of the night he gets into the palace where the royal elephant is kept and causes it to run amuck in the streets by burning incense near it. The king who is at a loss to find some one who can control the elephant and save the city is advised to seek the help of Utayaṇa for this. Piraccūṇaṇa accordingly sends for Utayaṇa with the request that he should bring the wild elephant under control and protect the lives of the citizens of Uccayīti. Utayaṇa then goes into the streets of the city playing on his lute. The royal elephant is pacified and he ascends it. The king greets him from the Pulimukkamaṇṇaṣeṣyil (the entrance of the terrace with the emblem of a tiger’s face) as Utayaṇa comes there, surrounded by the people of the city who hail him.

In the kashmirian works viz. the Kas., and the Bkm., these events are described as follows. 28

"Utayaṇa, after becoming the king of the vatsa country, was engaged in hunting and playing on the lute, Ghaṣavati. The king of Ujjayini, Caṇḍamahāśena, who had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka, celebrated a festival in honour of god Indra and was blessed by him with a beautiful daughter whom he named as Vīṣavadātī. When she came of age, Mahāśena, wanted to marry her to Utayaṇa, but because of their mutual enmity, thought of securing his services as a music teacher for her so that they might come into contact and fall in love with each other. He therefore despatched a messenger to Utayaṇa asking him to come to Ujjayini and give lessons on the lute to the princess. Utayaṇa refused to do so and suggested that Vīṣavadātī might be sent to Kauśāmbi, if she was interested in learning music form him. Mahāśena who thought that it was not proper to send his daughter to Kauśāmbi, was then forced

to resort to the strategem of capturing Udayana with a fake elephant. When the latter was thus brought to Ujjayinī Mahasena asked him to commence music lessons for Vāsavadatta. It was while Udayana was thus engaged, that Yaugandharāyana and Vasanta came to Ujjayinī in disguise in order to set him free from captivity."

In the Ṛk., king Pracōṭīṭaṇa (Pradyota) is also referred to as ‘Mahāmācōṭītan’99. His motive in capturing Uṭayaṇa is found to be the same in both versions of the Ḍk. The motive of the missing celestial elephant is absent in the Kashmirian works. Instead we are simply told that Udayana was tempted to bring the fake elephant devised by the men of Pradyota under his control, since he thought that it would be a match for the elephant Nadagiri and its capture by him would impress king Pradyota and hence would pave the way for his offering the hand of Vāsavadatta in marriage to him. The entire episode of the taming of the elephant, Nadagiri, is not found in the Kashmirian works. But the Prākrit works the Kāmasūtrasapratibodha and the Pradyotakaśita mention the effort of Vāki to intoxicate Nadagiri, how it got loose from its pillar post and how Udayana ultimately brought it under his control100.

4. Uṭayaṇa's first meeting with Vāsavadatta and the commencement of late lessons.

The present text of the Ṛk. starts with the meeting between Uṭayaṇa and the king Pracōṭīṭaṇa. Pracōṭīṭaṇa who is pleased with Uṭayaṇa for having controlled the wild royal elephant and thus saved his citizens from devastation and deaths reflects that it must be on account of his meritorious acts (in previous births) that Uṭayaṇa has acquired such skills and knowledge at such an early age. He requests Uṭayaṇa to be the

instruct for his two sons. He then asks him what had caused the state elephant to run amuck all of a sudden.

During this conversation the daughter of Piraccōṭaṇa (Vācavatattai) is by the side of her father along with her attendants. Utayaṇaṇ and she exchange glances at each other. Even though they belong to countries which are far from each other, they have been brought together by the power of the karmas of earlier births. When Utayaṇaṇ lifts up his head to answer the king's question he meets the eyes of Vācavatattai and she becomes agitated by his direct gaze. Both of them immediately recognise their mutual feelings and develop a mutual affinity under the influence of love born of connections through several earlier births. Realising that they are both in the presence of the king, Utayaṇaṇ quickly regains his composure and, as though he had read the mind of the elephant, explains to him the cause of its wild behaviour. The courtiers, including the mahouts of the royal elephant, hear his exposition and applaud him. Piraccōṭaṇaṇ orders his officials to make ready a luxurious apartment in the Kuṅcaracērī (where the elephants are kept) for Utayaṇaṇ. Mounted on the elephant and cheered by the crowds, Utayaṇaṇ goes to his new residence and, after ordering the mahouts to tie up the elephant in its place, enters it. Having conducted a thorough scrutiny of all parts of the house he satisfies himself that no foul play is intended by the king against him and then decides to live there. In the night Vācavatattai and Utayaṇaṇ think of each other and spend a sleepless night, troubled by the pangs of love.

The next morning Piraccōṭaṇaṇ sends for Utayaṇaṇ. On his arrival Piraccōṭaṇaṇ offers him a seat saying that henceforth he should treat the royal palace as his own house. After this Piraccōṭaṇaṇ requests Utayaṇaṇ to remain there and goes inside the palace. From there he despatches a minister of his by name Cīvāṭaṇ with the following message to Utayaṇaṇ, 'one of my daughters wants to learn to play on the lute. Her mother and myself are anxious on this account. It is your duty to relieve us.

now. When Civitaṇṇa conveys this message to Utayaṇa, the latter wonders why such a request has been made to him by the king. He wonders whether the king wanted to test if he would respond in a manner suited to his noble birth or whether he wanted to humiliate him or else whether it was simply a whim of his. But then he decides that it might be good for him to comply with the wish of the king since it might enable him to meet Vācavatattā again. Though he is curious to know the exact person to whom he is going to give lute lessons, he is unable to ask Civitaṇṇa directly about this. Finally he thinks that in any event, an occasion might arise during his music lessons, for the girl (Vācavatattā) whom he had met the previous day to come there. He conveys his consent to the king’s proposal through Civitaṇṇa; the king selects Vācavatattā (among all his maidon daughters) to have lute lessons from Utayaṇa. The people in the palace whisper among themselves that Utayaṇa is lucky to be appointed as the teacher to Vācavatattā who is also fortunate to receive her instruction in music from him. Her foster mother decorates Vācavatattā and takes her to the stage where a curtain is hanging in between the teacher (Utayaṇa) and the student (Vācavatattā). Both of them are not aware of the identity of the person on the other side of the curtain till it is finally lifted up²³. Then the friends of Vācavatattā accompany her to the stage in order that she may pay her respects to her music teacher. Only then they both discover who the other person is.

As remarked earlier, according to the Kṣa. Udayana is kidnapped from Kauṣāmbi with the very purpose of being employed as the music teacher to Vācavatattā²⁴. Udayana who is now a prisoner in the hands of Pradyota (Mahāsena) gets furious when he hears the latter saying ‘Prince, teach music to this lady; in this way you will obtain the happy fruit of your adventure’. But then he sees Vācavatattā and immediately falls in love with her; his anger is therefore quickly quenched and agrees to obey

32. *Ibid.* 1 : 34 + 57-54
the king’s command. There is no mention here of the Nalagiri episode at all. We also do not find any allusions to the sons of Pradyota being left under the care of Udayana. In the Pk, we see the king Piraccōtaṅga addressing Utayapaṅga soon after the elephant Nalagiri (Nalagiri) has been tamed by him, as follows:

‘my paity peyarkkum alaiyai mampiyar
nik vaippapuke sa maṇḍaraṇ uraiyak

...’

(The king said, ‘Till you go back to your city, your brothers (Piraccōtaṅga’s sons), will be under your care.’)

Later on in the kātai ‘Vilākkoṭṭaṇa’46, there occurs a detailed description of how the sons of Piraccōtaṅga exhibited their skills, acquired during their apprenticeship under Utayapaṅga, in front of their royal father and his courtiers. The names of these princes are given as Pālakaṅ (also Pālikumaraṅ) and Kūppalaṅkaṅ in a passage which occurs, later in the Pk48. We find references to Pālakaṅ’s mastery over elephants both in the Pk48, and in the Bkṣa.49

We find no reference to the curtain which was hung between Udayana and Vāsavadatta during their musical sessions in the Kashmirian works. The Pālī, and Prākrit works agree with the Pk, in stating that there was a curtain between Udayana and Vāsavadatta49.

37. Ibid. 1:37.
38. Ibid. 4:11: 49.
40. Bkṣa. 1:67, II:41.
5. The Narumatai (Narmada) Episode.

The character Narumatai as well as the incidents connected with her do not occur in any other version of the Bhakarkasha. The music lessons take place daily and the commencement of the music lessons to Vācavatattai by Utayaṇaṇa attracts adverse publicity from the people of the city who complain that king Piracōtāṇaṇa has thoughtlessly left his daughter with an enemy king for lessons on the lute, and that in due course the king is bound to learn that this action would lead to only bad and not good results. Others, who are afraid that if such comments were to reach the ears of the king they are sure to be punished, keep their thoughts to themselves. In the meantime Vayantakaṇa, who has come to Ucayāṇi with Yuki, assumes the disguise of a brahmachāri (bachelor youth) becomes friends with Pilakunaraṇa, the son of Piracōtāṇaṇa, and his friends. One day on the instruction of Pilakunaraṇa, Vayantakaṇa carries garlands, sandal paste and fresh clothes to Utayaṇaṇa. Though Utayaṇaṇa at first exclaims that he has seen Vayantakaṇa somewhere already, the latter refuses it. But later they recognize each other even though they do not allow others to notice their reactions. At the request of Utayaṇaṇa, Vayantakaṇa is sent by the prince to him with flowers every day. This situation provides Utayaṇaṇa an opportunity to have Vayantakaṇa as a messenger between Yuki and his friends who are staying in the city and himself.

During this time Utayaṇaṇa is completely overpowered by the beauty of Vācavatattai, and this causes pallor (pacaṇa) to spread all over his body. Utayaṇaṇa fears that people who had known him earlier would detect the cause of the pallor of his body if they saw him now. To avoid any scandal which would then

42. Pk. 1 : 35.

Pallor of the body in love-born condition is a theme of frequent occurrence in Tamil literature. The word Payala (Pacaṇa) in line 55 of this kālī refers to the golden colour which appears on the skin. In Tolkappiyam, Porulikæram, Meppattiyal. Sutra-22, this appearance is counted among the twenty symptoms which occur before the union of lovers.
surround the name of Vīkavatattai, he thinks of a ruse in consultation with Vyanantakaṇṇ. He sends the latter to look out for a courtesan in the city, so that his present condition may appear to be due to his affair with her. So Vyanantakaṇṇ makes inquiries and finds out that there is a courtesan called Narumatai, among those having the honour of Talaikkōi\[12\] and who give dancing lessons in the city. Vyanantakaṇṇ with one hundred and one gold coins (Kaḷaṇcu) in hand goes to the courtesans quarter and asks for Narumatai. He tells the people in the neighbourhood that since the day on which Narumatai was seen on the street by Utayasagī the latter is pining for her. When he reaches the house of Narumatai, her mother receives him and offers him a seat. On hearing about the wish of Utayasagī, she says that it is really an honour to her daughter that Utayasagī has taken a liking for her. She adds that though she also would like very much to have Utayasagī as her son-in-law, he has not favoured them fully (as he has not come in person). Vyanantakaṇṇ impresses her by his conversation about the future benefits that she would have and about the good qualities of Utayasagī. Though the mother of Narumatai agrees to the proposal, Narumatai herself does not. She is in love with a weaver who has no education and little intelligence, who speaks false and harsh words, wears dirty clothes, and is generous to gamblers. Just when Vyanantakaṇṇ is engaged in conversation with the mother of Narumatai, the weaver arrives at the house of Narumatai. The moment she learns this, Narumatai runs to greet him disregarding her mother’s instruction to her to attend to the

43. The Cīlapatikāram gives a full account of the practice of awarding the Talaikkōi to courtesans. Cīlapatikāram 3:161.

According to Cittanamastuprakasapparatani[13], a treatise on Bharatadhyaka called Sudhanamadippakata quoted by Samanatha Iyer, Jayanta, the son of Indra and Urvast were cursed together for their amorous misconduct, by Agastya during a dance performance by Urvasti in the celestial court. Jayanta was reborn as a bamboo in the Vindhyas forest and Urvasti, as a dancing girl on the earth. Talaikkōi is a bamboo stick worshipped as a manifestation of Jayanta. See Cīlapatikāram. 3:114-128.
business for which the visitor (Vayastakṣaṇ) has come. Her friends also advise her saying that courtesans are not supposed to lead a conventional domestic life. They should leave off all attachments and should be like the goddess of wealth who leaves a person when his merits are exhausted. Narumati does not listen to any of these words and her mother asks Vayastakṣaṇ to carry her away by force. He in turn forces her to get into a carriage and drives through the bazaar towards the residence of Udayaṇa. She cries out to the people to witness the cruelty of the king of the Vattava country. Some people criticise Narumati and others speak ill of Udayaṇa; but the outcome of all this is that Udayaṇa succeeds in spreading a rumour about his passion for Narumati in order to divert the attention of the people from the real cause of the symptoms of love on his body. After keeping Narumati with him for the whole night Udayaṇa sends her back to her residence and thus accepts a blemish on his own character for the sake of Vācavatattai.

It is noteworthy that this episode is not found in other known versions of the story of Udayana. A similar incident occurs in the Vasastilaka, which is based on a well known Jaina tale. There is room to believe that like many other similar tales in Jaina narrative literature, this episode might have been inspired by an incident which was narrated in the Bhā.

6. Vācavatattai's love revealed to Udayaṇa by Cākākiyattamīṭti.

The information about the involvement of Udayaṇa with Narumati reaches the ears of Piraccūṇaṇ who simply chuckles.


45. Cākākiyattamīṭti means 'the Śākhyā mother'. In the Kashmirian versions we hear of one Śākṛtyāṇi who pacifies Vācavadattā when she is angry with Udayana about his affair with a maiden named Bandhumāti. Here she is referred to as a nun who had come from the household of Pradyotā. Krs. II : 6 : 71 - 74. The plays Priyadasādaśīka, Act IV and Tāpasaṭvārkarṇa-carita, Prelude to Act. III also contain references about Śākṛtyāṇi.
over it reflecting that it is just the way of youth. He sends many gifts to honour Narasattai and exempts her from taking part in festivals and from dance performances in the royal court.

In the mean time word about the attainments of Vācavatattai on the celebrated late Kṛṣṇapati spreads and many kings despatch messengers to Piracōṭṭastaṇḍ to seek her hand in marriage. Piracōṭṭastaṇḍ sends them back without committing himself.

The foster-mother of Vācavatattai, called Cākkiyanidīy informs her about all these happenings. On learning the same, Vācavatattai bursts into tears and confides to Cākkiyanidīy her feelings towards Utayaṇaṇ. In despair she tells her that if she is not able to secure him as her husband in this birth, she would accomplish the same through penance in a future birth. Cākkiyanidīy consoles her and goes to see Utayaṇaṇ in order to inform him about the princess' love for him.

She meets Utayaṇaṇ in a secluded spot, when he arrives as usual for the music lessons and introduces herself to him. Her narrative proceeds as follows:

Oh king, I am a brahmin lady from Kāśi, when I was young, I was tried once in the courts of your father for leading a wayward life during the absence of my husband. For this mistake the king (Cāṇḍākaṇ) decided to punish me by smearing brick powder over my body and drowning me in the river, Yamugai (Yamuna), with a pot of sand tied around my neck. The sound of the boat on which I was taken to be drowned and the shouts of the youngsters on the bank reached your ears from

46. Pk. 1 : 36 ;149 - 326.
47. Atiyārkkunālār states in his commentary to Cilappati. Kāram (14 : 146) that it was customary to make a criminal carry bricks and go round the city. In the Maṇimēkalai (18, 33) also Cittirappati, the grand mother of Maṇimēkalai swears that if she is not able to rescue her from being a Buddhist nun she would carry bricks and go round the city. The punishment described here appears to be similar to this practice.
a distance, as you were there to enjoy sporting in the river with your elephant. Having learnt what was going on, you ordered your men to instruct the boatmen to bring the boat back to the river bank. It was when the boat men rowed the boat fast to wards the bank, that this scar was made on my forehead by the tip of the ear.

A soothsayer called Kœcikañ, who was near you at that time said that I should observe penance henceforth as I had lost my virtue soon after my husband’s departure. But you silenced him and asked me what I would like to do. I replied that I wanted to perform penance in order to lead a better life in future. Hearing my words you honoured the soothsayer with flowers. The soothsayer further predicted that because I was then standing in the shade provided by the elephant, I would give up the life of penance and stay in the care of a king who had a huge army, as a caretaker for a princess.

Hearing her words Utayaşça remembers all the above incidents and that ever since he saw her (in the palace of Pradyota) he had a feeling that she was a lady of much merit and felt an affection for her which was inexplicable to him until then. Now he knows why he felt so.

CœAkiyastya then proceeds to narrate to Utayaşça all the incidents which took place in her life since her last meeting with him. “In order to continue the good course of life which started thanks to your intervention in my life, I decided to leave your country and went along the bank of the river Yamañai. I reached a country on the banks of the Ganges (Keikai) and from there proceeded with a group of diamond merchants towards north. On the way I met an ascetic who was well versed in Sœakhya philosophy and I became his follower. I lived in the Himalayas for two years as his disciple and obtained instruction from him in the six systems of philosophy. Later, when he travelled towards the South in order to bathe in the Cape Comarin I accompanied him. On our way we stayed in a monastery of the Kapliikas inside the Mahâkâla forest in Uccayînî. According to the wish of the king a philosophical debate took place there among the exponents of the six systems of philosophy. In the discussion
initiated by a monk called Pālakaṇṭha, my teacher established the superiority of the Śākhya system over the other five systems. Being pleased over this incident the king (Piraccottagaṇa) requested my teacher to stay in Ucayīgī. So the pilgrimage to Cape comarin had to be abandoned and we stayed in Ucayīgī where I was asked to take up service with the queen (i.e., the mother of Vācavatattai) who was interested in the Sāṅkhya philosophy which her forefathers had followed. Vācavatattai who was a small baby at that time thus came to be under my care since then. I have now decided to take up a life of penance soon after Vācavatattai is married”.

After narrating the story of her own life in these words, Cāṇḍīyaṭṭhāya tells Utayaṇaṇa that since he is reputed to be a man of firm character the fact that he is after a courtesan (Narumatai) is causing much perplexity to every one. Utayaṇaṇa, though hesitant to reveal the truth behind that incident to Cāṇḍīyaṭṭhāya, finally tells her the real cause of his affliction. Then Cāṇḍīyaṭṭhāya informs Utayaṇaṇa about Vācavatattai’s love for him and asks him to think of the steps for marrying her as soon as possible.

She then goes back to Vācavatattai and sends Kāṇḍanaṃkāli, a companion of the princess, with the message that Utayaṇaṇa might go back home as the time for the lessons for that day is over. Soon afterwards Utayaṇaṇa declares (to the king) that Vācavatattai has attained proficiency in playing on the lute and that the princes (Pālakaṇṭha and Kāmpakaṃpana) have also attained mastery over various skills like riding an elephant, driving a chariot, riding a horse, arranging an army, judicial affairs etc. He sends word to Vācavatattai to prepare herself to demonstrate her proficiency in playing on the lute before the king in the court.

7. Piraccottagaṇa decides to hold a festival to exhibit the talents of his sons in warfare and Vācavatattai in music.48

An announcement is made by Piraccottagaṇa that Utayaṇaṇa is going to demonstrate in public what the princes have learnt from

48. Pk. 1: 37.
him. At the appointed time the king arrives at the courtyard of his palace and sits beneath a canopy. Utayaṇaṇa makes the princes recite their lessons in metrical form and explain their meaning. Then he leads them into the practising ground.

After making the offerings to the deities who reside within the weapons, the princes bend their bows into a semicircular form like the crescent moon on the eighth day of a fortnight and demonstrate thirty-two types of defences and sixteen ways of wielding the bow. Then they display the various movements which a warrior has to make in a battle, the method of wearing the quiver, fencing, holding the shield and warding off the enemies, whirling the lance, reaching a secure spot in a difficult moment during a battle, attaching oneself to the enemy, attacking him and mixing among the enemies by deceit, the various arrays of the infantry, defensive and offensive tactics against weapons and the method of encircling soldiers either alone or with one's own army. They then demonstrate their mastery in riding a horse, driving a chariot and riding an elephant. While doing so, they also show their skill in archery, by arming their arrows at a target which is thin as a thread.

The courtiers are full of praise for Utayaṇaṇa and observe that the princes have now become unrivalled. The king feels happy and thinks that no reward given to Utayaṇaṇa, other than sending him back to his own country and arranging for his marriage there would be sufficient. After sending Utayaṇaṇa back to his residence the king goes to the harem and informs his queen that his sons have now become masters of all the disciplines. At that very moment there arrives a messenger from Utayaṇaṇa to inform the king that Vācavatattai has also completed her lessons on the lute and arrangements should be made to demonstrate her proficiency in the royal court. The king who agrees to the proposal sends for the dancers, singers and troops of actors belonging to the palace. The experts assemble at the courtyard of the palace, accompanied by specialists in the various
instrument such as the lute, the flute the Cirupārṇī (small drum) the tāṇamai, the mūlavu, and the Pāṭṭίḷi.**

Vikaravallī enters the stage after her foster-mother announces to the audience that Vikaravallī pays her respects to them all; she plays on her lute in all the five kinds of movements without fault. She displays her mastery of the four Pāps, and the seven Pāḷas with all their twenty one variations. Later she also sings, modulating her voice suitably without making any mistakes in the musical syllables and without changing the pitch. At the end she is applauded by every one including her father.

Pirarośaṇaṇa then goes to the royal court accompanied by Uṭayanaṇa and addresses his ministers as follows: "I have destroyed the glory of the family of Uṭayanaṇa in order to strengthen my own family. It is our duty now to find ways and means for installing him back in his kingdom." He also proclaims that henceforward the cities of Uccayiḷi and Kōcchampi will cease to be inimical to each other. At the same time he despatches the following message to the king Aṭraṇa who is now occupying Kōcchampi. "Eeventhough I had sought earlier to destroy Uṭayanaṇa, I now want to strengthen his hands by my support. If you wish to be on our side, you should pay tribute and leave (the city of Kōcchampi). Otherwise be prepared for a war in which our prince Pālakariṇa will accompany Uṭayanaṇa as his ally." He then orders that an army with commanders, soldiers, brahmans, elephants, horses, chariots, cows, bulls, dancing girls including Narumalai and led by Pālakariṇa should accompany Uṭayanaṇa to the Vatsa country on the very next day.

In the meantime Yōki decides within himself that if Uṭayanaṇa goes to Kōcchampi accompanied by Pālakariṇa and others

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49. Cirupārṇī, Taṇamai and Mūlavu are instruments made of leather which are used for keeping the time. See Aṭṭaiyakkamalikā, Commentary to Chappottikaram 1:3:27. Pāṭṭίḷi denotes a pair of cymbals; it appears to have got this name from its circular shape. For a similar enumeration of musical instruments. See Madalalepadaṇḍam. 1-11.

50. Ph. 1:43:5–74
as directed by the king the vow which he has made earlier that he will destroy Uccayi, bring back Utayaṇa, make Utayaṇa abduct Vaśvatattai without the knowledge of Piraccioṇaṇ and marry her, will go unfulfilled. In order to prevent this, he summons a soothsayer woman called Pākṛati (Bhūtisirhi). He asks her to pretend as if she is under the effect of a trance, create fear in the minds of the citizens and then demand that a water festival must be celebrated in the city.

Pākṛati accordingly appears in the city and proclaims as if she is possessed by an evil spirit. She announces to them that the god (deus) who caused havoc and bloodshed in the city by causing the state elephant Naṭākiri to run amuck as a punishment for their omission to hold a water festival during the last year, was residing within her. Another sooth sayer woman (Kaṭṭevinici) accompanied by other elderly women of the city asks Pākṛati the reason why the paddy grains on the winnowing fan did not show any auspicious omen. Pākṛati performs a ‘devil dance’ and replies that if they do not celebrate the water festival this year also, the god (deus) within her will go that very day and getting inside the state elephant, destroy the city. The citizens inform the king about this incident. By his command the commander-in-chief proclaims that a water festival will be held on the next day and the people in the city prepare for the festival. Soon the whole city wears a festive look.

The author of the Pk. devotes the next five Kātaśī for the description of the water festival. The preparations for the water festival, water-sports, the powders and scents used for bathing, the pastimes indulged in by the townsfolk, the various shops arranged on the banks of the pond are described in

51. Ukk. V. 66
Saminatha Iyer, Utayaṇa caritracaritracarukam, p. 12.
52. ‘Kaṭṭucceilai’ is to predict the future events. Soothsayer women use paddy grains on the winnowing fan to make such predictions see. also Naṭīpali, 1st edition (published by Aruna publications, Madras, 1966). v. 288:5-7.
53. Pk. 1: 38-42
detailed and exquisite manner. It is not an exaggeration to say that these sections are a treasure house of information about the customs relating to water festival in Ancient India. The king gives away twenty elephants, eight horses, fifty chariots and a large amount of gold as donation on this occasion. He also offers thousand golden lotuses to the temple of goddess Lakṣmi.

None of the incidents described in this section is found in any other work dealing with the Udayana legends. However, as we have already noticed, the training received by the sons of Pradyota at the hands of Udayana is alluded to in the Bhāṣa. There are certain points of similarity between the version of the Pk. and the account found in the Pratikāyāvyagandharayaṇa of Bhāṣa. These will be dealt with at the end of next section.

8. The elopement of Uṣasāṇa with Vācavatattai and their wedding.

The plan of Yuki for rendering the city of Uccayiṇi desolate and for diverting the attention of every one in the city at the time of the abduction of Vācavatattai materialises without any hitch. King Piracōṭāṇaṇ, who suspects nothing, also orders that none of his men except his bodyguards should carry any weapons during the water festival. Yuki has also employed some women to set fire to different parts of the city on receiving a signal from him. He wants Uṣasāṇa to flee from the city with Vācavatattai on the back of the elephant, Pāṭīrapati, unnoticed in the din of the festivities and the confusion caused by the sight of the fire in the city. He has also thought of the possibility that the elephant may die out of exhaustion during the long journey across the territory of Piracōṭāṇaṇ. By bribing the tribal people of the forests on the outskirts of the kingdom, he has already prepared them to offer Uṣasāṇa shelter and safe passage across the mountainous terrain, if the need for it arose.

All of a sudden, during the festivities a storm strikes. Just at that moment the city is set on fire by the women employed by

34. Infra. p. 56.
Yēki, while his men emerge, as if from nowhere, hailed Utayaṇaṇa. King Piracōciṇaṇaṇa who catches sight of the fire asks Utayaṇaṇa to conduct Vācavastātai to a place of safety on the back of the elephant, Pattiṇāpata. Yēki in the meantime conveys to Utayaṇaṇa his well laid out plan for the latter’s escape from Ucayyaṇī. Utayaṇaṇa accepts the proposal and leads the elephant away from the city. Seeing this, some of the warriors of Piracōciṇaṇaṇa offer battle to him at the last moment and are easily overpowered. Utayaṇaṇa escapes along with Vācavastātai, Kāṇḍaṇālaṇa and Vayantakaṇ.

Utayaṇaṇa who climbs on the back of the elephant Pattiṇāpata along with Vācavastātai, Kāṇḍaṇālaṇa and Vayantakaṇ (Vasantakaṇa) could travel only two ‘Kavaṭamas’ before sunset. The elephant then speeds across fields (marutam) over a distance of one hundred and twenty five ‘ellais’ before nearing the town called ‘Araṇṭam’ around dinner time. At this point Vayantakaṇ informs him about two alternative routes on either side of the town. He advises Utayaṇaṇa to take the road to the north of the town since the other one is not a good one. They then travel along this road, taking care to stay far enough from the town so that no one would hear the footsteps of the elephant. They cross a stretch of forest land (Mullai) of another one hundred and twenty five ellais well within the first part (Yāma) of the night. From there they have to journey through hilly tracts (Kūṭṭiga) for another one hundred and twenty five ellais and finally reach the river Narumatai (Narmadā) by midnight. Vayantakaṇ looks for a ford where they can cross the river and having crossed it, the party arrive at arid region (Pālai). Thinking that it would be best to cross the hot desert region during the cool night, Utayaṇaṇa speeds along for another one hundred and twenty five ellais. On the way, the celestial lute of Utayaṇaṇa, the Kōtaṇati is caught in the branch of a tree and falls off. He disregards it and travel on. But then the elephant, Pattiṇāpata is exhausted by the journey and dies in the middle of the desert tract. Utayaṇaṇa then asks Vayantakaṇ to go and fetch help from Itapakaṇ who is living in the near by city of Putpakaṇ (Pusapaka). Having sent him away, he is accosted by a horde of ‘Caparaṇa’ (Sataras) and Pulīnaṇa (Pulindas), hunters living in
the Vindhyā forests. They are on the point of killing him when Vayantarāṇu return with the warriors of Ītaṇḍa who chase the hunters away. They then rest there for a while and afterwards travel on to reach the city of Ėayānti. There Ururavatāpāṇi receives them. The wedding of Udayaṇa with Vācavatattāi is performed there with ceremonial rites.

We are now in a position to compare the contents of the text of the Pk, and other available versions of the Udayaṇa story since the time of his capture by Pradyota until his marriage with Vācavatattā. Eventhough according to both the Sanskrit tradition and the Pk., the idea of Udayaṇa taking revenge on Pradyota by abducting his daughter and marrying her is the same, the way this is carried out is described in a different manner. In particular, it must be said that we come to know a lot of details about all the events which took place in Ujjayāṇi during this time from the Pk. According to the Ks., Yaugandharāṇyaṇa, who is informed of his master’s capture by Mahākūṇa’s warriors, swears that he would avenge this act of the king of Ujjayāṇi. Handing over the charge of the state affairs to Rūmāyaṇa, he sets out with Vasantaṇa to Ujjayāṇi, disguising himself as an ugly looking hunch backed beggar. Vasantaṇa also transforms himself into an unseightly bustard. They manage to find out the whereabouts of Udayaṇa in Ujjayāṇi and establish connections with him by getting Vasantaṇa admitted into the apartment of Vācavatattā as a poor brähmin clown. Yaugandharāṇyaṇa resorts the magic arts in order to appear before Udayaṇa unobserved by others. He then bribes the keeper of the elephant Bhadrārati and work out the plan for the elopement of Udayaṇa with Vācavatattā. This is accordingly carried out and we hear nothing at all about the intoxicated wild behaviour of Nalagiri, exoraration of Udayaṇa, the Narmadā episode, the role of Śikhṛṣṭhyāṇi in the development of the love affair between Udayaṇa and Vācavatattā, the water festival and all subsequent events.

We do hear of the death of Bhadrārati on the way during the flight of Udayaṇa from Ujjayāṇi and about how Udayaṇa is saved by a hunter ally whose favours had already been won over by Yaugandharāṇyaṇa. By then Gopālaka arrives in the Vindhyā
forest where they were camping, conveys to Udayana and Vācavasītā the approval of Mahāsena for their marriage and actually gives away Vācavasītā in marriage to Udayana at Kauśāmbī.

There are many obvious differences between the above narrative and the details of the Pā. version. In the Pā., we are told that even though Piraccōṇāgaṇaḥ himself was already prepared to assist Utayaṇaḥ to get back his lost kingdom from Arupi, Yikī did not accept this situation as he was still smarting under the pain of humiliation inflicted on his master by Piraccōṇāgaṇaḥ and wanted to avenge the same. It is he who therefore causes the water festival to be arranged by Piraccōṇāgaṇaḥ and plans all the subsequent details of the kidnapping of Vācavasītātāi by Utayaṇaḥ and has them carried out, just as he had earlier got Utayaṇaḥ free from the prison by causing the elephant Nālakīri to become intoxicated. In all these details, except for the Narumatai episode and the role of Cākkiyantāyī, the Pā. version appears to agree more closely with the play Prajīghāyaugandharāyaṇa of Bhāsa than with the Kashmirian versions. This correspondence is of much significance since it reinforces our contention that the author of the Pā. has followed an ancient, relatively uncorrupted version of the Udayana story as found in the original Bā.

9. The marriage of Utayaṇaḥ with Vācavasītātāi and the stratagem of Yikī to divert him from the pursuit of pleasures

The second canto, called the Ilkāṇa kāṭām in the Pā, begins with the announcement of the proposed wedding of Utayaṇaḥ with Vācavasītātāi. The author devotes five Kātās to the detailed description of the arrangements made therefor and how the marriage itself was celebrated with religious rites and festivities. Some ritualistic aspects of these descriptions will be

touched upon in the chapter on Jainism*. Finally, Utayaṇaṇa accompanies Vācavatattai to the temple of the Arhat and then goes in procession along the streets of the city of Cayaṇa (Jayanti) where the citizens hail them both.

The author then switches over to a narration of what happened to Yuuki in the meantime. After the escape of Utayaṇaṇa from Uccaiyigī, he goes round the streets of the city in disguise and learns that king Piraccūgaṇṇa has actually been in favour of marrying Vācavatattai to Utayaṇaṇa and has therefore not reacted with his customary fury to the news of their elopement. He then summons all his followers from the various parts of the city to a monastery in the Mahākāla forest and orders them to go back to Kācāmpi. After spending the rest of that day at that spot he repairs to the house of a potter who is loyal to Utayaṇaṇa and is a resident of the city. There he meets Cākkhiyātyaṇḍī by prior appointment and asks her to follow Utayaṇaṇa and Vācavatattai. Thereafter he goes and meets a Yavana chieftain who is known to him and gets a chariot made by him for his journey. Mounted on that chariot he leaves Uccaiyigī and proceeds to the city of Puṭapakam where his friend, Itapakaṇḍa is staying. After travelling four hundred and forty Kaṭaṭams from Uccaiyigī, he finally arrives at the city of Puṭapakam and is received by Itapakaṇḍa. He informs Itapakaṇḍa of all the incidents which took place in Uccaiyigī after the capture of Utayaṇaṇa by Piraccūgaṇṇa. Itapakaṇḍa in turn relates how he rescued Utayaṇaṇa, Vācavatattai and others from the hunters in the desert after the death of the elephant, Pattrīpati. He then tells Yuuki that after his marriage with Vācavatattai, Utayaṇaṇa has been indulging in sensuous pleasures without any concern for any one else or for the serious political situation in the Vatsa kingdom which has been now usurped by the Pūṇḍarīka king, Aruṇī. Yuuki then decides that Utayaṇaṇa must be made to attend to the affairs of the state somehow. With this in view he sends for Cākkhiyātyaṇḍī and explains to her that in the interests of his own welfare it has become necessary to separate Utayaṇaṇa from Vācavatattai. He suggests a plan by which Utayaṇaṇa will be made to believe that Vācavatattai has died in a fire which will

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56. *Infra. chapter VI.*
be caused to break out in their residence and instructs her to conduct Vācavatattai to a place of safety through an underground passage. The foster-mother takes her instructions from Yūki and departs.

10. The ‘death’ of Yūki and the Viricikāl episode.57

After giving instructions to Cākkiyattāy, Yūki spreads a rumour that he himself has been choked to death while eating rice flakes and vanishes from the place with the connivance of Itapakaṇ. Cākkiyattāy discloses their plan to Vācavatattai and persuades her to agree to it in the interests of her husband. Afterwards Cākkiyattāy goes to Utayaṇaṇ to inform him about the ‘death’ of Yūki. She hands over to him a portrait of Utayaṇaṇ in which one eye is shown to be damaged.

On seeing it, Utayaṇaṇ realises that something has gone wrong with Yūki and learns from her that Yūki is not to be found and is suspected to be dead. Utayaṇaṇ is immersed in sorrow and laments the untimely death of his dear friend. To console him his companions suggest that they go to the forest next to Ilavāpakam (Lāvāpaka) to meet a sage there to ask about Yūki. So, all of them repair to Ilavāpakam where they encounter a sage who welcomes Utayaṇaṇ. He is offered a seat on the floor in the shade of an Asoka tree. A white flower which Utayaṇaṇ is holding in his hand falls down under his feet. The sage interprets the significance of this incident as follows: “As you are leaning on a green tree, it indicates that your friend is alive and will come back to you after some time. The falling of the white flower from your hand suggests that the luxurious life which you enjoy at present will be interrupted. But as the flower fell only under your feet it is certain that you will be able to lead the same kind of life again later on. As you are seated on the floor you will regain your kingdom”. The sage also predicts that in his old age Utayaṇaṇ will listen to the preachings of the Cakraṇas.

From the hermitage Utayaṇaṇ goes to reside in a camp house in the Ilavāpaka forest. During his stay in the camp Utayaṇaṇ

57. Pk. 2; 6-16.
arrives one day at a spot where there are many hermitages. He is accompanied by Vācavatattai, her attendant, Kālacakramālai, and Vayatanakāṇ. While he sits on the slope of a hill, a girl called Vīrāgakāṇ comes there. She is the daughter of one of the ascetics living there who was formerly a king. She has not been acquainted with any men other than the hermits until then. Struck by the handsome appearance of Utayaṇaṇ, she thinks that he is none other than the god of love, Kāmaṇ, of whom she has heard so much in stories. She casts aside her doll and other playthings such as the ball, and approaches him with wonderment. She holds in her hands different kinds of flowers which she has plucked from the trees in the forest and requests Utayaṇaṇ to make a garland for her with those flowers. Utayaṇaṇ, who at first wonders whether she is the goddess of fortune dwelling in the hermitages, concludes later that she must be the daughter of one of the ascetics and makes her a garland. She does not know how to wear it properly and winds it around her hair in a haphazard manner. Utayaṇaṇ then makes her wear the garland properly. Vācavatattai who returns and sees them both flies into a rage but is soon calmed down when, out of fright caused by a monkey jumping from one tree to another, she hugs Utayaṇaṇ.

When Utayaṇaṇ is living in Ilavāṇakam, Yūki constructs a tunnel from their palace in the city of Ilavāṇakam to the camp in the forest and informs Utvamāṇavā and Vayatakāṇ about this. Čākkiyatiṇī goes to Utayaṇaṇ and tells him that they should go to live in the palace at Ilvāṇakam as the place where they live at present is not free from the danger of wild animals. Listening to her suggestion Utayaṇaṇ goes and resides in the palace with Vācavatattai.

11. The fire in the palace at Ilāvāṇakam.

One day Vācavatattai asks Utayaṇaṇ to bring her a garland made of flowers and young tender stems, from the forest. To fulfil her wish, Utayaṇaṇ leaves for the forest. In the meantime the men employed by the ministers set fire to the palace.28 Utvamāṇavā pushes two murderers who are under imprisonment into the fire. Their charred bodies are then identified as those of Vācavatattai and Čākkiyatiṇī.

58. Pk. 2:17:55-84.
Cākṣīyiṣṭikī and Vācavatattai escape through the tunnel and are met by Yiśi who reassures Vācavatattai saying that every thing has been planned only for the good of Utayanaṇa and explains the political situation to her: “Listen, oh queen! When Utayanaṇa was captured by your father, his kingdom was occupied by Aruni, the king of Pāṇcala. His brothers, Pīṅkaliṇ and Kaṭakaṇaṇa, ran away out of fear. Utayanaṇa does not seem to mind all these things. He wants to spend all his time only with you. In order to help him regain his ancestral kingdom we have planned all this. Please cooperate with us in this matter.”

Vācavatattai who believes that Yiśi is no more, wonders who this person can be. Cākṣīyiṣṭikī explains to her that he is indeed none other than Yiśi and that the rumour which she has heard has been deliberately spread by their friends. Though Vācavatattai is sad about the fact that she will be separated from her husband, she addresses Yiśi in the following words: “Oh, the one who secured the release of Utayanaṇa from captivity! With your cleverness you may do whatever appears to be proper.”

Utayanaṇa who returns from the forest observes bad omens on his way. As his horse proceeds towards the palace at Ilāvākaṭaṭa he catches sight of a heavy cloud of smoke and gets worried. He sees Uruṇapappatī and Vayantakaṇa at the entrance of the palace looking worried along with Kāṭakaṭaṭa in great distress.

The moment he learns that his queen has been burnt to death he faints. His friends pick him up and console him, but he pays no heed to their words. The king insists on seeing the charred remains of Vācavatattai. Reluctantly his friends take him inside the harem and show him the charred bodies of the two murderers as well as the jewels belonging to Vācavatattai which have been already strewn by them near those bodies. Utayanaṇa is now convinced that Vācavatattai is dead and is plunged in deep sorrow.

Yiśi in the meantime goes to a hermitage where the father of Uruṇapappatī lives. He is accompanied by Cākṣīyiṣṭikī and Vācavatattai and stays there for fear of others identifying them.
When they go out they change their appearance with medicinal herbs which can bring about a change in the complexion. Urumapavā in the meantime discloses the real state of affairs to Kaṅcanāmalai and sends her also to Vacakavatattai so that she may attend upon her as usual. After a few days, thinking that they may be recognised by others, all of them leave for Cānpai (Campā) the capital city of king Viśayavaṇa (Viśayavara) who belongs to Ukkira kula (Ugra) Dynasty, and is a friend of the father of Urumapavā. There they dwell in a house of a merchant called Mitirakāma (Mitirakāma).

The Kashmirian versions deal with the Ṭāvāṣaka episode in a similar manner, though not in detail. We are informed that Udayana devotes himself solely to the pursuit of marital pleasures in the company of Vacakavadatī and his ministers, who want to retrieve the lost kingdom of the Vatsas, wish to secure the alliance of king Pradyota of Magadha for Udayana. Except the Kashmirian works, no other work gives the name of the king of Magadha as Pradyota and it is clear that the name given by the Pk is the correct one. To induce the Magadha king to offer the hand of his daughter (not sister as in the other works, or cousin-sister as in the Pk.), Padmāvatī to Udayana in marriage, it becomes necessary to remove Vacakavatitā from the scene. This necessitates the fire accident in Ṭāvāṣaka, a hamlet at the outskirts of the Vatsa kingdom and adjoining the Magadha country. We are told that the son of Mahāsenā, Gopālaka, also acts as an accomplice of Yaugandharāyaṇa and others in their plot to hide Vacakavatitā from the eyes of every one concerned. As is customary with the Kashmirian authors, the supernatural element is introduced, somewhat unnecessarily, by bringing in sage Vṛinda who predicts to Udayana before the outbreak of fire in Ṭāvāṣaka that his sufferings in the near future will ultimately end in happiness for him.

Yaugandharāyaṇa who spirits away Vacakavatitā from Ṭāvāṣaka, accompanied by Vasantaka, assumes the form of an old brahmin and transforms them both into a brahmin woman and a brahmin pupil respectively. He then takes them to the apartment of Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of Magadha.
and introduces Viśeśavatattā to her by the name Avantikā and Vasantiaka by the name Priyamvada. Having left them in her custody he goes back to Lāvāpaka where the fire is caused to break out immediately thereafter. Thus it is not given out in these works that Yaugandharāyaṇa himself, is "dead". Since the one impediment to the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī, i.e., Vāsavadatī, has been thus removed, the king of Magadha himself comes forward to offer his daughter as bride for Udayana.

There is no counterpart in the Kashmirian works or anywhere else to the Vīraścīki episode which took place during the sojourn of Udayana in the Lāvāpaka forest according to the Pk. But there are good grounds to believe that this episode was indeed found in the original Bh. We may infer this from a detailed comparison of the above episode occurring in the Pk. with some of the Pāśki passages quoted by Hemacandra, presumably taken out of the original Bh. We have dealt with this question in detail elsewhere.⁶⁰

Two plays of Bhāsa, viz. the Svapnavasavadatta and the Tapasvanatarajacarita, also deal with all the incidents mentioned above in the Pk. Here the name of the Magadha king is given as Darākha and Padmāvatī is said to be his sister. In both of these plays Yaugandharāyaṇa is also supposed to have been burnt up along with Vāsavadatī in the fire in Lāvānaka. It is thus clear that the versions of the plays of Bhāsa⁶⁰ are more in agreement with that of the Pk. than the versions of the Kashmirian works.

12. The encounter with Pataunipati.

As already noted in chapter one, in the Makatakṣṭam of the Pk. the later part of the tenth Kāṭali, the whole of the eleventh


kātai, the lines at the beginning of the twelfth kātai, the later part of the sixteenth kātai and the beginning of the seventeenth kātai are missing. The canto starts with a description of the sad plight of Uțayaṇa after the supposed death of his minister, Yūki, and later, of his queen Vāçavatattai, and the old nurse Čākīyatāyā, in the fire which took place in his palace at the Ilavāṭaka forest. This is however only a plot contrived by his friends who now want to drive away Aruṇī, the king of Pāñclā who has occupied Kōämpī in the absence of Uțayaṇa. For this purpose Urumaṇavā and others want that the cousin sister of king Tarucaṅ (Darāka) of Makatam (Magadha), Patumāpati by name, should be married to Uțayaṇa so that the alliance of Tarucaṅ, the powerful king of Makatam could be secured for him. They accordingly manage to take him to the city of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) by persuading the king that an ascetic named Kākatunāṇ who is there, might be able to bring the dead queen Vācavatattai back to life. They reach Irācakiri disguised as brahmans, along with a small army to help them in the event of an emergency.

The ascetic, Kākatunāṇ, has been already informed of what the ministers of Uțayaṇa have told the king. At their request he assures Uțayaṇa that he would indeed get back Vācavatattai in two months time if he would, in the meantime, observe a fast, without grieving over her loss. While Uțayaṇa awaits the good day, the festival of Kāma (Kama) is held in the outskirts of the city at the behest of king Tarucaṅ. Princess Patumāpati visits the Kāma temple on the first day of the festival. Uțayaṇa sees her on the way and they both fall in love with each other immediately.

At the temple, Patumāpati gets down from her carriage and offers donations to the poor people after her worship. She instructs the elderly watchmen guarding her not to obstruct any brahmans who may want to get inside the temple in order to receive gifts from her. In the meantime a lady sings a song wishing that Patumāpati may obtain a husband who is like the

61. Ph. 2 : 4 : 70 ff.
celebrated Utayaṇa. After finishing the rituals of the day Patumāpati leaves the temple and goes to her palace with her maids. After her departure some of the maids announce that there will be donations made by Patumāpati every day until the end of the festival. On hearing this Utayaṇa consoles himself thinking that he can see Patumāpati again. In the meantime there comes Ayirāpati (Ajāva), a friend of Patumāpati, whom Utayaṇa enquires about Patumāpati. She informs him that Patumāpati is the daughter of Uuyayiṣṭai, the wife of the king of Kāci (Kāśi) and the sister of Sivamati (Sīvamati), who is the queen of the Magadha country. In reply to her questions, he tells her that his name is Māgaka, and that he is the son of one Cāgīyaṇa, a brahmin belonging to Irantainapura (Rainapura) of the Kānüra (Gandhāra) country.

In the night both Utayaṇa and Patumāpati suffer from the pangs of love. In this way a few days pass and every day both of them see each other regularly. One day Patumāpati throws her arm around the shoulder of Ayirāvatī and stands on a terrace while Utayaṇa is watching her. On seeing this, Utayaṇa also throws his arm around the shoulder of his friend, Vayantakaṇ and with his other hand, plays with a ball of flowers. Having thus come to know that her feelings are reciprocated by him, Patumāpati finds out from Ayirāpati the details of his identity. She then asks her to go and obtain the flower ball from Utayaṇa. Ayirāpati gestures to Utayaṇa and communicates the wish of Patumāpati to him. Utayaṇa who is now convinced of the attitude of Patumāpati towards him informs his friends about the same but they do not believe him.

To convince them he says that he will make a garland of leaves (Kappi) and suspend it from the branch of a tree at a spot where Patumāpati can see it. If she took it, that would show her love for him. He does accordingly and Patumāpati who comes there after her bath takes it, wears it and also leaves another garland in its place for Utayaṇa to pick up.

62. See chapter II. Supra p. 50
In this manner Utayaṇaṇa convinces his friends about the goings-on between both of them. He dreams of Vācavatattai during the same night and she appears to be angry with him because of his love for Patumāpati. He wakes up and relates this also to his friends who suggest that Vācavatattai might be angry because of his love for Patumāpati. He is however undeterred in his desire for Patumāpati and consults them about the means by which he would be able to meet her. He suggests the plan of getting into the temple of Kāmaṇḍ, when she would arrive there for worship. His friends warn him that if he went there to meet her he would be caught by the guards. Utayaṇaṇa replies that the old guards who had walked a long distance carrying Patumāpati in the hot sun would not be able to see him. He then starts describing to his friends the noble qualities and the beauty of Patumāpati. Unfortunately at this point the available portion of the tenth kātai abruptly ends without giving the reader a chance to read the whole description. Following this, as we have stated earlier, the whole of the eleventh kātai and the beginning of the twelfth kātai are missing.

13. The reconstruction of the contents of the missing portions in the Mākataśāntam.

In an effort to reconstruct these portions we may examine the Ukk, and the Uc. In the Uc, the chapter on the marriage of Uditodaya with Padmā, the daughter of King Darśanika, is very brief. Upto his arrival in the outskirts of Rājaṇaṇa, the incidents described are the same as in the Pk. But there is no mention of the Kāma festival and we are simply told of the arrival of Padmā with her friends in the city garden where Udayana sees her and is struck by her beauty. He then persuades her to marry him according to the Gāndharva rites.

In the Ukk, also the narration of this episode is very brief. Upto the meeting of Utayaṇaṇa with Patumāpati on the way to the Kāmaṇḍ temple, the account is identical with the main incidents in the Pk, but brief. In both the Uc, and the Ukk.

the incident in the garden in which Utayaŋŋaráŋ and Patumáŋpatl exchange garlands does not occur.

We are thus left with no other alternative except to reconstruct the probable contents of the missing portions in the Pk. from subsequent allusions which occur in the text of the Pk. itself. We find one such reference in the kātaí, "Köyil Otunkiyatu"44, to the stragemon by which Utayaŋŋaráŋ is smuggled into the harem by Patumáŋpatl in collusion with Yáppiyáŋyi. We understand that this was already arranged between them. We are also told that Utayaŋŋaráŋ goes to the Káŋŋaráŋ temple and remains hidden there as before.45 Thus the portion of the text in which Utayaŋŋaráŋ meets Patumáŋpatl alone in the Káŋŋaráŋ temple for the first time secretly, must have occurred in the gap between the kātaí, ten and thirteen. In particular it is probable that this meeting formed the content of kātaí eleven, as the available portion of kātaí twleve tells us how the ministers of Utayaŋŋaráŋ get into the palace of Tarucaŋyág. This clandestine meeting took place perhaps with the knowledge and the help of Yáppiyáŋyi, the girl friend of Patumáŋpatl. She is introduced for the first time in kātaí ten where she teases Patumáŋpatl in the garden for her altered appearance after exchanging the garland with Utayaŋŋaráŋ in the garden. But in the thirteenth kātaí we find her actively assisting the young lovers in the stratagem to smuggle Utayaŋŋaráŋ into the harem. She sends away everyone else with the excuse that Patumáŋpatl who had been fasting all along has a fever and so should be left alone.46 She also instructs the palaŋquin bearers to bring the palaquin right near the entrance to the temple. Inside the apartment of Patumáŋpatl she also goes round the place and makes sure that no one is observing them before letting Patumáŋpatl and Utayaŋŋaráŋ get out of the palaquin.

64. Úkk. 3 : 157, 158, 159, 160. Pk. 3 : 13.

65. "..........................................................
muŋárap en tuppín mágýálná muŋ póll
muŋárap vakal máraŋ pukku maráŋ trútášíŋ
..........................................................
Pk. 3 : 13 : 3 - 4.

66. Ibid. 3 : 13 : 38 - 39
Our inference about the probable contents of kātau eleven is supported by the mention in the Ud. of the gandharva marriage between Uditotaya and Pudmā in the garden and not in the apartment of the latter. All these incidents are summarised in the following verse of the Ukk.67

Yāppiyāyiya ēnnum
āvāḷuṭi tiḷi cēnē
nap pukai māṇgyark kaṅṭu
nālam pīgam urituk kāṭiṅk
kappuṅāṅg pataumuṅ ḍīṅkā
kāṅtāṅg kulantu pongīṅ
Ciḻiṅk kaṅ cīvakkuk
ći māṅkaṅ nālam ṣaṅk

(fer (Patumāpati's) friend called Yāppiyāying went to the king (Utayaṇa) and brought them together. It was thus that he enjoyed Patumāpati whose eyes get reddened even if she put her golden comb in her hair).

We understand that this meeting took place in the Kāmaṇ temple from the following first line of the next verse:

elī pēng kāmaṅ kāṭiṅk
iyakēṅkē ngarntu vaṅk

(after uniting (with Patumāpati) in the beautiful temple of Kāmaṅ...).

A reference to this clandestine meeting occurs later in the Ph. itself in the chapter **“frava elunatav”**. Here Uruṃgṣūnuva tells Utayaṇa that king Tarucakaṇ might be persuaded to give Patumāpati in marriage to Utayaṇa if they told him of what had happened (between Utayaṇa and Patumāpati) in the garden. The reference here cannot be to the exchange of garlands between them in the garden; it must be a reference to a clandestine union.

67. Ukk. v. 158
68. Ibid. 159.
69. Ph. 3:17:96.
The above incidents are followed by kāsai twelve which has the title “Amkriyar Ojukkîyaḻu”, i.e. how the ministers went into hiding. The beginning of this kāsai is missing. From the available portion we understand that a person (who is not mentioned by his name) approaches the guard of the palace of the king Taruakag and asks him what would please the king most. The guard tells him that the king would be very happy if some one would help him in finding out the place where his father had buried his wealth. This person then meets the king and shows him the site of the treasure. The king who is much pleased, asks him to stay inside the palace and provides for his expenses. Later this person also identifies the spot where good water might be found in the premises of the palace.

The identity of the person referred to here is not clear from the text itself. U. V. Saminatha Iyer identifies this person as Utayagaṇṭ. When we refer to the Ut in this context we find it is stated that a sage predicts to king Darśaṅkha that the person destined to marry his daughter would come to him and help him to locate the buried treasure in his palace. Having come to know of this prediction, Kurumāṇya (Urumāṇṇuvā) under the order of Uditodaya, shows the king the treasure spot. He then honours Kurumāṇya and having come to know of the mutual love between Padmā and Uditodaya, gives her in marriage to him.

In the Ukk. We find that the sequence of the story is somewhat different from that in the Fk. After the clandestine meeting with Patumāpati in the Kāmaṇ temple Utayagaṇṭ informs his friends of his gāndhārva marriage with her. Having obtained their consent to his liaison with Patumāpati he gets into a palaquin and stealthily enters the apartment of Patumāpati with her. While he remains hidden there he shows Patumāpati his proficiency on the lute. Urumāṇṇuvā tells his colleagues that just as Vūki had

70. Ibid. 5:12.
72. Ut. 3rd Pariccheda. vi. 164-171, manuscript from Mysore Oriental Institute.
earlier released their king from captivity in Ujjain (Ujjayini) and returned home with the princess Vācavatasi, they should also secure the marriage of Parumāṭi with Utaryaṇa. He then makes arrangements for his three hundred warriors to enter the palace of Tarucakaṇṭha in disguise. Tarucakaṇṭha in the meantime is on the look out for a person who would unearth the treasure left by his father. Urugamgūva then meets the king and shows the treasure to him. He thus secures the friendship of the king, and remains in the palace.

(During the days when Urugamgūva spent his days happily in the company of the king of Magadha (Tarucakaṇṭha) by showing him the great treasure after promising him that he will show the king the spot where it lay hidden.)

Somasundaranar in his commentary to the above verse has been misled by the identification of U. V. Saminatha Iyer and says that it is Utaryaṇa who went to reveal the site of the treasure to king Tarucakaṇṭha even though the verse itself states clearly that it was Urugamgūva.

The situation here is clarified by subsequent allusions found in the text of the Pk. itself. For example, the lines,

73. Ukk. vv. 159 – 163.
74. Ibid. v. 163.
76. Pk. 3: 12: 11, 80–81
(In order to protect the king (Udayaṇa) without negligence, Urumaṇḍuva went and confined himself within the palace.)

tell us explicitly that the motive of Urumaṇḍuva in getting inside the palace of Tārakaṇa was to guard his master, Udayaṇa. The exact manner in which Urumaṇḍuva accomplished this would appear to be narrated in the lines immediately preceding this passage. He gains entry into the palace by winning the confidence of king Tārakaṇa with the act of spotting out the site of the buried treasure. This interpretation is not only in line with the versions of the Ut. and the Ukk., but also is in accord with the title of the chapter which is ‘Amaṭṭhīyur Oṃḍakṣipate’ i.e. how the ministers of Udayaṇa hid themselves (inside the palace). Soon after Urumaṇḍuva gained entry into the palace, we are also informed in the Pk. that Vayaṭṭakaṇa and Ḍācceṇa (a brahmin friend of Udayaṇa who accompanied him to Śrīcakiri) also got into the palace on the pretext of doing some job. The chapter then ends with the lines:

"..'ṇṇṭukaj aracagat ayappasamak kavaḻ purintaṭar kati maṭṭaik karante"' (Thus, they protected the king of flawless fame with great alertness by hiding themselves in the well guarded palace).

In the later chapter ‘Nalagārayccc’ again we find the following reference.

"..'tikaḷ maṭṭa morpaṇa aya nakar ouṭaṭa poraṇi pury amaṭṭacca pita nakar karappuḷṭa"' (While Udayaṇa confined himself in the inner apartment of Patumai his advisers hid themselves in the outskirts of the palace).

77. Pk. 3 : 12 : 82 ff.
78. Ibid. 3 : 14 : 11 – 12.
The foregoing analysis makes it clear that soon after the incident of the exchange of their garlands in the garden adjoining the Kānada temple, Utyaṇāṇaṇa and Purumāṇśu had a clandestine union which spurred him on to seek out ways of getting into the apartment of the princess by stealth. This necessitated his followers to adopt one way or the other to gain entry into the palace of Tarucakaṇṭa so that they might be at hand in case of any unforeseen emergency and danger to their master.


Having arranged that his followers have placed themselves in different parts of the palace, Utyaṇāṇaṇa proceeds to the Kānada temple as usual and remains hidden inside there. Purumāṇśu announces that since it was the last day of the festival she would be proceeding to the Kānada temple much earlier than usual and in order to enable her to proceed there unobserved in the day light, she summons her palanquin instead of her carriage. She reaches the temple and meets Utyaṇāṇaṇa there. After she has finished donating gifts to all the people who have assembled there, Yāppiyāṇaṇa asks all their companions to leave and orders the palanquin to be brought right at the entrance of the temple. They then let Utyaṇāṇaṇa also get into it along with Purumāṇśu and thus take him inside the quarters of the princess without any one observing them.

During his stay inside the apartment of Purumāṇśu, one day Utyaṇāṇaṇa asks Yāppiyāṇaṇa to draw him a sketch of the layout of the palace. In this manner he manages to carry out a reconnaissance of the entire palace and assures himself that if by chance king Tarucakaṇṭa were to be antagonistic towards him, it would be easy enough for him to take over the control of the palace by force.

The author then describes how Utyaṇāṇaṇa and Purumāṇśu enjoy themselves in each other’s company inside the apartment of

79. Ibid. 3 s 13 ff.
80. Ibid. 3 s 14 : 14 ff.
the princess. This is followed by a description of how Utayapan causes Patumapati to become angry with him by allowing himself to be distracted by a portrait engraved in the bedstead and how he later pacifies her, taking advantage of the fright caused in her by the hooting of an owl. Another morning, Yappiyayini goes to Utayapan in accordance with the instructions of Patumapati and tries to find out the various arts in which he is proficient. Utayapan jocularly tells her that, besides acquiring mastery over the Vedas and its various Angas, he has learnt to play on an instrument called Kutamulavu\(^{81}\) in order to please his consort and remove her distress; Yappiyayini then brings the lute belonging to Patumapati. Being unable to tune it, Patumapati suggests that Utayapan should do so. In spite of its nice external appearance, Utayapan immediately detects the flaws in its construction but refrains from saying anything to them, Yappiyayini however notices the expression on his face and realises that he is not a stranger to the art of music and to the art of playing on the lute. Upon their request Utayapan then sings a song simultaneously playing on the lute and thus entertains them with his melodious music. Later, they bring him a lute which he rejects saying that it was made of a piece of dead wood. When offered another instrument, he disdains its strings stating that they are overstrung by not being dried up properly. He rejects another set of strings also because they contained hair and sand and shows them that this was indeed the case by unwinding the strings. Finally he accepts another set of well made strings and plays on the lute. The princess and Yappiyayini thus realise that he is a composer of very high order in the matter of lutes and music.

15. The battles with the confederacy of kings who opposed king Tarukanat\(^{82}\).

During this time the king of the Kakuy country by the name Acemapperumakan arrives at Idrakdzir to ask for the hand of Patumapati in marriage to him. While king Tarukanat is

\(^{81}\) Ibid. 3:14:187.

Kutamulavu is a percussion instrument made of leather.

\(^{82}\) Pb. 3:17. 8.
engaged in receiving the Kâkaya king, some of his vassal kings decide to form a confederacy and overwhelm him in battle. Their names as given in the Pāṇḍ. are as follows:

1. Viricikā,  
2. Eliccevi, the king of Atīnpuram,  
3. Atavi, the king who protects the city of Vāraṇavācī,  
4. The king of Ayūti,  
5. Milāccana, the king of Pītaṇapuram,  
6. the king Cakkaraṇ of Tuvarāpat,  
7. Mallan, and  
8. the king, Vēcālī.

Seeing in this situation an opportunity to win the favour of the king, Utayaṇaṇ and his allies devise the following stratagem to overpower the enemy kings:

Urunappuvā climbs a hill adjoining the city called Cīraccōlaī and with a coded tune, summons the warriors who used to fight on the side of Utayaṇaṇ in all wars. Together they go into the camp of the enemies and introduce themselves as merchants who have a lot of merchandise to sell and who would now like to extend their support to them out of their displeasure with Tarucakaṇ. Having won the confidence of the enemy kings with this lie, they suddenly pounce upon the soldiers of one of these kings in the middle of the night, hailing the name of another one among them in the meantime. The resulting confusion scatters away all the enemies who think that one of them has betrayed the others. Urunappuvā and others finally return victorious to Irācakiri, hailing the name of Utayaṇaṇ, the king of Vass. This gives Utayaṇaṇ a chance to reveal his identity to Tarucakaṇ who welcomes him to his city with honours.

Soon afterwards the allied enemy kings who had retreated, take stock of the events which took place in their camp and by consultation among themselves, realise the deceitful behaviour of Utayaṇaṇ's men and their own folly in having readily accepted the merchants into their fold; they then come back with the renewed resolve to attack the Magadhan capital. Utayaṇaṇ sends word through Vayantakaṇ to Tarucakaṇ that he would
be willing to lead the Maṇḍahan army to victory against the foes in the battle, under the leadership of any one whom the king may depute as his own representative. According to the Kākṣaṇa king, also offers to fight on behalf of the king and Tarucakaṇṭtu accordingly sends forth his army with Utayaṇaṇḍu, deputing the Kākṣaṇa prince to represent him in the battle. The latter is killed in the gruesome fight that ensues; ultimately Utayaṇaṇḍu manages to vanquish the confederacy of the enemy kings.

The way is thus cleared for Tarucakaṇṭtu to offer the hand of Patumāpatsī in marriage to Utayaṇaṇḍu himself. The princess does however not realize that Utayaṇaṇḍu had actually assumed the name of Māṇakaṇṭtu and been with her all along! She therefore grieves that she is being forced to marry some one other than her lover, viz. Māṇakaṇṭtu. In the meantime Utayaṇaṇḍu seeks from Tarucakaṇṭtu a suitable bride for Icicicicī, and obtains his consent for the latter’s marriage with Yāppiyāyi, the companion of Pitumāpatsī. At the time of her wedding Yāppiyāyi, who sees Utayaṇaṇḍu, recognizes him and realizes that it was he who had come earlier in the guise of a brahmin named Māṇakaṇṭtu to the apartment of Patumāpatsī. She conveys this to Patumāpatsī, along with a portrait of Utayaṇaṇḍu drawn by himself and a message conveying an incident which had taken place when Patumāpatsī had been alone with Māṇakaṇṭtu. This convinces Patumāpatsī about the identity of Māṇakaṇṭtu and her wedding with Utayaṇaṇḍu takes place with pomp and ceremony.

16. The battle with Āruṇḍu and the Victory of Utayaṇaṇḍu.

In the battle with the enemy kings of Maṇḍaha, Urumaṇṇuvar is taken captive during an encounter with the king, Icicici. Earlier, the brother of Icicici has also been captured by Utayaṇaṇḍu. Soon after his wedding with Patumāpatsī, Utayaṇaṇḍu tells Tarucakaṇṭtu that Urumaṇṇuvar has to be freed from the

84. Ibid. 3 : 23 ff.
hands of the foes at the earliest opportunity. Tarucakaq then entrusts four of his ministers named Varutakaraq, Tatakari, Tarumatakari, and Catiyakaraq along with a large contingent of forces to Utabaqaq in order to assist him in recovering the lost territories of the Vata kingdom after vanquishing Arupi, the Pahkaq king, and to free Utabaqaq from captivity. The brothers of Utabaqaq, Pahkaq and Katakari, who have been biding their time, being unable to counter the onslaught of Arupi, also join Utabaqaq in his campaign against the Pahkaq king. At first, the minister named Varutakaraq advises Utabaqaq to lay siege to the fortress of Koscami and, after penetrating the fortress of Koscami, surround the palace of Arupi by surprise in the middle of the night. This idea is however rejected by Utabaqaq who is informed by his spies that Arupi has already come to know about his alliance with Tarumatakari and about his preparations for war against him. He is therefore well prepared to meet any surprise attack by Utabaqaq who therefore asks Varutakaraq to go and join the king Arupi, pretending to be an emissary from king Tarucaq, saying that the relations between Utabaqaq and the king of Makata have of late become strained. Accordingly, Varutakaraq gets introduced to Arupi through the son of one of his commanders. Arupi is taken in by this and sends four of his emissaries headed by one Cakuri Kaukari, to go and ascertain the situation regarding his foe, Utabaqaq, from Varutakaraq. Varutakaraq leads the four men to a cave and informs Utabaqaq of their movements through the minister named Tatakari. Utabaqaq despatches ten of his men headed by one Pahkaqchakramq to capture the four men from Arupi and bring them to him. On their arrival, Hapaqar orders them to be killed by being pushed into the fire. Then they all blow their trumpets, set their huts on fire and run away from that spot to take shelter in a mountain called Tavativalayant. Varutakaraq goes back feigning helplessness at the turn the events have taken and Arupi is informed of the mishap which has overtaken his men. Advised by Varutakaraq, Arupi then sets forth with some of his troops to offer battle to Utabaqaq, stationing a large contingent to protect the palace. He is accompanied by his commanders named Cayaq, Kukarakari, Chavaraq, Pipamakiraq and his minister called Pahqapiqarak. He is then, informed by some of Varutakaraq's
men that Utayaṇaḥ is hiding in the spot where the two rivers called Vaścakāntai and Kantavati join together, along with some hunters who owe their allegiance to Ṣhapakaṭa. Egged on by Varuṣṭakāraṇa, Āruṇi goes out to lay siege to Utayaṇaḥ’s hideout while information about all their planned movements is communicated by Varuṣṭakāraṇa to Utayaṇaḥ. Utayaṇaḥ stations his brothers, Kaṭakaṇaṭa and Pīkalaṭa with Ṣhapakaṭa and Tarumarattaṇa, in the mountainous route and instructs them to beat a retreat before the forces of Āruṇi till the latter reached the centre of the mountainous region, so that Varuṣṭakāraṇa may be able to block their retreat with his own men, once they had reached that spot. Utayaṇaḥ then takes some of his men to a different hideout and awaits the arrival of the enemy. Āruṇi who advances towards the army of Utayaṇaḥ on the back of his royal elephant called Mantaram, sees a number of evil portents and is warned by his minister, Puraṇapūṣṭaḷaṇa to choose a more auspicious moment for his march towards the battlefront. Varuṣṭakāraṇa intercedes and convinces Āruṇi that the evil portents bode evil only for their enemies. Āruṇi accordingly proceeds to offer fight to Utayaṇaḥ. In the fierce battle which ensues Kāṇṭāraṇa is slain by Kaṭakaṇaṭa and Pīkalaṭa. The king Āruṇi himself is then killed by Tarumarattaṇa. Utayaṇaḥ proclaims his victory in the battle and soon the news of his victory is announced in the streets of Kūḷāṁpi.

It is clear from the foregoing account of sections ten to fifteen that regarding the incidents leading to the marriage of Udayana with Padamavati, his serving as an ally to king Daraka of Magadha and his eventual victory over his enemy, Āruṇi, the PK. is probably the only work available today which contains so many details. There is no scope for comparison of these details with the accounts found in any other work, since no other work containing a similar narrative has come to our notice so far. The question then naturally arises whether all these details were taken by Konkanaḷa from the original Bk. or whether they were derived by him from some other source or whether it was all just a figment of the author’s imagination. In chapter five we shall attempt to show that there does exist a factual basis for this account, even though we are unable to determine whether or not
such an account occurred in the Bk. of Guṇḍīya. We are however inclined to believe that this was indeed the case.

17. The reign of Utayaṇaṇa as king of the Vattava country and the recovery of Kṛṣṇapati, the celestial lute which had been lost. 85

After ascending the throne of the Vattava kingdom, Utayaṇaṇa honours Varuṇakāraṇa, the minister of Tarucakaṇa. Konkuveḷiṃ devotes one kātai to describe the just rule of Utayaṇaṇa over his subjects. 86 Utayaṇaṇa then despatches some of his men to the spot where the elephant, Pattiripati, gave up her life while carrying him and Vāvaṭatattai at the time of their flight from Uccayī. He orders them to recover any remains of the elephant from that spot. He also gets a sculptured image of the elephant installed at that spot and arranges for its worship and for donations to wayfarers who arrive there.

In the meantime a brahmin by name Aruṅcukāṇa, who is well versed in the art of music and in playing on the lute, travels from Uccayī towards Kōcēṃpi. On the way he encounters a herd of elephants and in order to get out of their way, climbs up a tree. He sees the lute, Kṛṣṇapati, stuck between the branches of a Vēṅkai (Pterocarpus Marsupium) tree and sees that the herd of elephants remain spellbound by the melodious tunes emanating from the lute as the wind blew and the branches of the tree touched its strings. After the elephants have departed, he gets hold of the lute and brings it to Kōcēṃpi. There he plays the paṇ called 'cevaḷi' in his residence during an evening. The music attracts the attention of Utayaṇaṇa who is seated on the terrace of his palace. He immediately sends Vayaṇiakaṇa to find out from where the music emanated. The brahmin is summoned before the king to whom he relates the manner in which he came to possess the instrument. Upon the king's request, he leaves it with him. Utayaṇaṇa, in turn honours him with the gift of a village in his kingdom.

85. Ibid. 4:1-4.
86. Ibid. 4:2.
The sight of his beloved lute, Kāṭapai, makes Utayaṇaṇa pine for his sweetheart, Vācavatattai, who has vanished without a trace from his life. In the meantime, king Tarucakaṇṭa secures the release of Urumaṇgaṇvā from captivity in the hands of king Elicocevi, in return for the release of the younger brother of the latter by name Cīturidakaṇṭa. Yūki, who comes to know this, sends a messenger named Cātakaṇṭa to Urumaṇgaṇvā and informs him that since now all is well with their master, Utayaṇaṇa, it is time for the queen, Vācavatattai, to be reunited with him. He also informs him that subsequent to his departure, along with Vācavatattai, from the Dāvagaṇa forest, he had gone to the hermitage of an ascetic. From there they had set forth to the city of Cānpaṇ to live in the house of a merchant by name Mittiraṇkāmaṇa. Soon however they came to know that a spy of king Arupi, called Kājamaṇitaṇa, was living in the same city and bearing exposure in his hands, they had left that place and proceeded to the city of Puṇjaraṇa. A chief named Varuṭmaṇgaṇa had provided asylum for them in that town. But he himself was troubled by an elder brother of his by name Iraivaṭṭaṇa, who laid siege to his town. They had therefore finally gone to a hilly fort belonging to Varuṭmaṇgaṇa, where they are living at present. On receiving this message from Yūki, Urumaṇgaṇa repairs to their hiding place, meets them and goes from there to Kōçāmpī along with all of them. He leaves them in a garden called Matukāṃpiṇavaṇa on the outskirts of the city of Kōcāmpī and proceeds to meet king Utayaṇaṇa.

18. Reunion of Vācavatattai with Utayaṇaṇa.87

One day Patumāpāṇi asks Utayaṇaṇa to teach her to play on the lute. Kāṭapai, Utayaṇaṇa gives her no reply. He is preoccupied with thoughts of Vācavatattai. That day, in his dream, he sees a white lotus with a bull from the milky ocean presented to him by a celestial maiden. Utayaṇaṇa asks for an interpretation of this dream from a sage, who tells him that Vācavatattai is not actually dead but will soon come back to him and from her he will beget a son who will rule over the Vidyādhara world.

87. Ibid. 4 : 5 – 6.
While Udayānagha spends his days with the hope of getting back his queen, Vācavatattai, rekindled in his heart, Urumagūvā arrives from the Magadh country. Udayānagha is filled with joy on seeing Urumagūvā and asks him to narrate all the the incidents which had taken place since he was captured by Eliccevi.

After informing him about the same, Urumagūvā takes Vayanākagha aside and appraises him of the arrival of Yūki and Vācavatattai at the garden adjoining the city. Soon thereafter, Vayanākagha finds Udayānagha lamenting the loss of his queen Vācavatattai and asks him whether it was proper on his part to allow himself to be lost in thoughts about Vācavatattai all the time, and neglect Padumāpati after marrying her. Udayānagha replies that it was the resemblance between the latter and Vācavatattai that had induced him to fall in love with her and in any case, he is unable to control his sorrow in having lost his beloved Vācavatattai. Vayanākagha then tells him that the ascetic Kākaunupāgha, whom they had approached earlier with a request to bring her back to life, has now arrived at Kōśāmpī and may be in a position to reunite Udayānagha with Vācavatattai. He therefore advises Udayānagha to keep away from Padumāpati till the time when he would be able to meet Vācavatattai. Udayānagha accordingly excuses himself from the company of Padumāpati on the pretext of some urgent political business and enters his bed-chamber alone, leaving instructions for Vayanākagha to go and see how he can bring Vācavatattai to him.

While Udayānagha is asleep, the ministers allow Vācavatattai to enter his bed-chamber. Vācavatattai finds the lute, Kōṣampatī, in the chamber and starts to play on it. Udayānagha listens to her music in a semiconscious state and speaks to her, thinking that all this is a dream. He expresses to her the sorrow which he has been experiencing since the time when she was burnt to death in the fire accident. She keeps mum and listens to him. Udayānagha goes back to sleep and Vācavatattai slips out of the bed-chamber. The ministers ask her to come back the next day along with Yūki.

The next day Vayanākagha takes Udayānagha to Matukāmpra- vaṣaṇā on the pretext of meeting the sage Kākaunupāgha there.
There Vāyantakaṇṭha points out to him Yūkī who is sitting in a room in the park in the disguise of an ascetic. Recognising him, Udayana embraces Yūkī and finds that Vāsavadattā and Čākṣuyānī are also in an adjoining room. He gradually learns from them about all the incidents which had really taken place.

Udayana proclaims the arrival of Vāsavadattā in the city and the whole city wears a festive look. Parunāpati also comes and pays her respects to Vāsavadattā. Thus Udayana is finally reunited with Vāsavadattā.

We are now in a position to compare the foregoing narrative of the PK, with the corresponding versions found in the other works. We have already seen that according to Ksr.88 Yaugandharāyaṇa who accompanies Vāsavadattā in her stealthy journey from the Lāvāŋka forest, leaves her along with Vasantaka in the care of princess Padmāvatī herself. Padmāvatī takes great care of Vāsavadattā while Yaugandharāyaṇa returns to Lāvāŋka where Udayana is informed of the death of the queen in the fire accident. The spies of the king Pradyota of Magadha report those developments to him. Pradyota then sends a proposal for the marriage of his ‘daughter’, Padmāvatī, with Udayana. This news reaches the ears of Vāsavadattā who is staying in the apartment of Padmāvatī under the name of Avantikā and causes her much grief.

In due course the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī is celebrated with great pomp. But Udayana notices the celestial garland and decorative marks on the forehead which Vāsavadattā alone can make, on the person of Padmāvatī. He concludes that Vāsavadattā must be alive. After the marriage they all go back to Lāvāŋka. Udayana finds out from Padmāvatī who has made the garland and the ‘tilaka’ and meets Vāsavadattā again. This leads to the reunion of Udayana with Vāsavadattā. The king of Magadha who initially resents the deception to which he has been subjected, is finally pacified by Padmāvatī who assures him that she is being treated well by Udayana and Vāsavadattā.

The veracity of the account of the Pūkā is however vindicated by the narration of Bhāsa of these incidents which forms the subject matter of his play, *Svapnavasavadatta*98. Here we find Udayana confessing to Vasanta that in spite of the many good qualities of Padmāvatī he has not been able to erase the memory of Vāsavadattā. He then goes in search of Padmāvatī who is reported to be suffering from a severe head ache. Not finding her, he lies down in a pavilion, and falls asleep. Vasanta leaves his side in order to fetch a blanket for him. Vāsavadattā comes there just then and not suspecting that it is Udayana who is sleeping in the bed and taking the occupant of the bed to be Padmāvatī, lies down on the same bed. Udayana dreams of Vāsavadattā to realise the real situation. She answers his dreamy enquiries and then goes away. Just then a messenger from king Darśaka tells Udayana that Rummān is on his way to attack Aruṇi and Udayana prepares himself for the war.

In the next act, we find Udayana occupying the throne of the Vaita country but still grieving over the loss of Vāsavadattā and of his celestial lute, Ghoṣavatít. A goodwill message from king Pradyota is in the meantime received by him, along with the portraits of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. Padmāvatī who sees them is struck by the resemblance between Vāsavadattā and the so called sister of Yaugandharīyāya. Just then, Yaugandharīyāya arrives, still in disguise, and demands the return of his sister. Vāsavadattā is then brought in their presence and is immediately recognised. Yaugandharīyāya eventually discloses his identity and every thing is explained by him. Udayana is thus happily reunited with Vāsavadattā.

19. The marriage of Utayaṇa with Māṇīkakā100.

According to the Pūkā after the reunion of Utayaṇa with Vācavatātā, Piraccūyaśaṇa sends a messenger to him with many presents for all the courtiers of Utayaṇa. The messenger, Patumai, is honoured by Utayaṇa and sent back with gifts for

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90. *Pūkā*, 4:12-14
Piracitiyaña. He also groups the captured members of the harems of Aruqui into two and orders one group each to be in the service of Vēcavatattai and Patumāpati.

After this we find an account of how Utayaṣaṇa honoured his ministers, queens and those who had helped him when he was in trouble. Utayaṣaṇa gives the title ‘Śenkapati’ (commander-in-chief) to Uruṇamaṇṇavā and gives him the ring of an eqāti71 (enki mūtiram). He also presents him with a gift of many villages and gives Irācaṇa, a friend of Patumā, in marriage to him. He presents the country of Ceti (Cedi) to Ygī. Itapakaa obtains a town called Mugaiyār and fifty other tracts of forest land. Utayaṣaṇa then sends him to the city of Patpakam. He donates thirteen cities to Vayantaka, makes an allowance of a hundred gold pieces every day to him and asks him to stay by his side all the time. Itaicaṇa is also presented with many villages. Similarly he also honours all the soldiers who helped him viz. Cetiyaṇa, the potter, who gets the title “the great potter” (Perun-kuyavān, Ātityiyatarumān (Ādityadharna), the son of Catiyaṇkūna (Satyakāma) who lost his life in the war, and others, who also get various presents. Later he presents his mother a prosperous country, which would enable her to perform charity. He makes presents to his queens, Vēcavatattai and Pitiyāpati also, as described earlier.

Thus Utayaṣaṇa spends his time happily in his palace. Once when he is in his palace, Vayantaka comes there with the message that Patumāpati and Vēcavatattai are going to arrange a “ball game”72 (Panaṭṭi) along with their friends after dividing

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71. An ancient title conferred by a king on his minister
See also, Maṇimēkalai, 22.1.235.
Commentary to Itāiyāyār Akipporu; Kalavijāl
2. Itāiyāyār Akipporu; 5th edition. (Published by South
India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society,
72. Ibid. 4 : 12
themselves into two groups. Vyananakaṇṭa tells Utayaṇaṅga that they also could go there provided they disguised themselves as ladies. Utayaṇaṅga follows his suggestion and goes to witness the competition. The different types of balls and the materials of which they were made are described in detail here.29 The ladies, Ṛṣeṣṇaṇi, Kākṣaṇaṃaṇi, Ayiripati, Viṣcavaṭṭakai, Viśvaṭekai, Āriyai (Ārya) and the daughter of the king of Kōcalam (Kōcala country) take part in the sport and display their talents in hitting the ball in the air.

Utayaṇaṅga who watches the daughter of the king of Kōcalam falls in love with her and admires her talent in hitting the balls. He then leaves the place unobserved and returns after removing his disguise. Seeing the king all the maids go away. The king, after taking his seat, asks the two queens to parade all their attendants before him. Viṣcavatattai hides Māṇḍanti, the daughter of the Kōcala king and shows him all the other maids in her retinue. Utayaṇaṅga finds out the details of their family etc. from all the ladies, one by one. Having noticed that the girl who stole his fancy is not among them, he asks Viṣcavatattai why only one of her maids is not there. Viṣcavatattai gets angry and replies to him that if has anything to tell her he can always tell her when they were alone with each other. In reply Utayaṇaṅga says that he wants to see a particular maid viz. Māṇḍanti, because he has got the information that she knows a lot about the possessions of the enemy king, Āruṇi.

After this incident the text is interrupted30 and starts with the portion describing Māṇḍantikai appearing before Utayaṇaṅga. Māṇḍantikai comes and offers her respects to king Utayaṇaṅga who enquires where she is from. She informs him that she is the maid of Vacantari, the queen of the Kōcala country. She has been taken captive by the king of Pačcāla when he invaded their country and appointed as a maid-servant to perform make up to his queen. On hearing this Utayaṇaṅga asks her to do the same service to queen Viṣcavatattai.

93. Ibid. 4 : 12 : 41 ff.
94. Ibid. 4 : 13 : 25
Māgaṅikai decorates Vācavattai using all her skills as a beautician. Vācavattai goes to show the same to Uṭuyānaga. He being aware that Māgaṅikai can read the Yavana script, tells her that the decorative painting on her face does not match her beauty. He erases everything from her face and addresses a letter to Māgaṅikai by writing it on the face of Vācavattai using the Yavana script. He mixes the pollen of flowers and sandal paste and writes as follows:

"Oh, Māgaṅikai! I have seen you while you were playing with the balls. I have lost my mind to you. My mind is now with you and is taken up by your beauty. My life is in danger and you are the only medicine for my illness. I want to convey a lot to you, but there is no space here for me to write every thing that I want to say. Please show me your favour."

Uṭuyānaga then asks Vācavattai to go to Māgaṅikai who reads what is written on the face of Vācavattai and praises the decorative pattern made by the king. The next day she in reply writes a letter on a side of the forehead of Vācavattai in the form of a decorative pattern:

"Oh lord! I came to know about your love for me. But I feel that love between us under the circumstances is improper. Only ladies like Vācavattai deserve your love and not a humble maid like me. It is not proper for me to indulge in such affairs. Please forget your love for me."

When Vācavattai goes to Uṭuyānaga he reads the message from Māgaṅikai and sends back the message that if Māgaṅikai does not pay heed to his request within the end of the day he will die. The next day Māgaṅikai addresses a letter to Uṭuyānaga in the same manner, suggesting as a rendezvous a spot near the Kuṭumruktitīlai (Gurjara kuṭitīlai). The king then excuses

95. A house constructed in the style of Gujarāti architecture.
see also, Māpimēkalai. 18:11 145, 152.
himself from the company of Patumāpati and Vācavatattai and repairs to the place suggested by Māṇagūkai for their secret meeting at the appointed time.

Vācavatattai who grows suspicious by all these goings-on, sends her maid-sevant, Kāṇcaṇāmālai, to keep a watch over the activities of Utayaṇaṇ. She follows him and comes to know that he is meeting Māṇagūkai secretly in the Kuccarakkutikai. She reports this to Vācavatattai. When the king comes during the next morning to see her, Vācavatattai conceals her anger and says that she has had a dream in the previous night and saw that Utayaṇaṇ had cast her aside in order to enjoy himself in the company of another woman. Utayaṇaṇ tells her that she is imagining a lot of things unnecessarily and leaving her, waits for the evening to come, when he can meet Māṇagūkai again.

That evening, Vācavatattai goes with her companion to the Kuccarakkutikai, after confining Māṇagūkai inside a chamber. She awaits the king in the Kuccarakkutikai. When Utayaṇaṇ arrives there, she does not speak to him. Utayaṇaṇ mistakes her for Māṇagūkai and goes behind her. He calls out her name as Māṇagūkai and relates to her how Vācavatattai has had a dream about their relationship during the previous night. For all his words he gets no answer and therefore he attempts to seize her. Vācavatattai, who is now unable to restrain herself any longer, speaks out. Hearing her voice, the king runs away to a hall nearby where he stays, not knowing what to do.

The angry Vācavatattai wants to cut off the hair of Māṇagūkai as a punishment and asks for a pair of scissors. This is overheard by Vayāntakaṇṇ who runs to the king and informs him about what is happening to Māṇagūkai. The king complains to Vayāntakaṇṇ that it was all because of him (Vayāntakaṇṇ) who took him (Utayaṇaṇ) to witness the ball game. Vayāntakaṇṇ gets irritated and asks whether he asked the king to get involved with Māṇagūkai. Anyway, on the request of the king, he goes over to the palace of Vācavatattai and pretends to be looking for the king. The maids there tell him that the queen is in a very angry mood and advise him not to go near her. But Vayāntakaṇṇ,
pretending that he does not know anything about the affair between Utayapaṇa and Māṇgāṇikai, asks the maids why Māṇgāṇikai is in fetters. Vācavātattai in anger says to him: "you go and ask that rogue who is in the attire of a king". Having known that the queen is going to cut the hair of Māṇgāṇikai, Vayantaṅkāṅ tells the queen: "Oh lady, your hands which ought to be always engaged in blessing others should not do such mean things. I am good at such things. Please give the pair of scissors to me". Believing his words, the queen gives her pair of scissors to him. Vayantaṅkāṅ, whose whole motive is to delay the matter, starts measuring the pair of scissors and says after sometime that it will not do any harm to Māṇgāṇikai; instead it may bring only auspicious things to her. So he goes on to describe the nature, size and designs of various types of scissors and asks for another pair of scissors. In the meantime, on the request of Utayapaṇa, Yaḍī arrives there in the guise of a lunatic, dancing and prattling. His appearance and deeds cause all the maids to disperse in fear. So Vayantaṅkāṅ asks a maid to inform the king about the arrival of a mad man in the harem. The king goes to Patumāpati and requests her to help him out of this sorry predicament.

At the same time, some messengers from the country of Kōcalam arrive at the palace. They bring a message for Vācavātattai which she asks Patumāpati to read out. Patumāpati reads the message which runs as follows: "Oh, Vācavātattai, the king of Kōcalam writes the following message to you:

"My daughter, Vācavātattai, was taken as a prisoner when the king of Pāṇḍīra invaded my country. I hear that she is now with you after the victory of your husband in his battle against Arupi. She has told no one that she is the daughter of queen Vacanarte, your aunt or that her name is also Vācavātattai. She has given her name as Māṇgāṇikai. Please look after her well till I come there to fetch her back."

The attitude of Vācavātattai towards Māṇgāṇikai is now completely changed since she realises that she is her own aunt's daughter. She removes her fetters and apologises to her. She then
decorates Māṇagikai and asks Utauṣaṇa to marry her. Utauṣaṇa accordingly marries her in accordance with religious rites.

26. The marriage of Utauṣaṇa with Viricikai

At this point Kośkaṇṭhūr commences the narration of the sequel to the incident described in section ten viz. the encounter with Utauṣaṇa with Viricikai in the Ilaṅgka forest.

Viricikai grows up into a beautiful maiden and resolves that she would not accept a garland (in marriage) from any one other than Utauṣaṇa, who had made her wear his garland in the Ilaṅgka forest. Her father approaches in his palace at Kōcampi and introduces himself as the former king of Mandara, to whom Viricikai was born of his queen, the daughter of the king of Kʻai (Kai), Nīlakṣeṇi (Nīlakṣeṇa) by name. He then entreats the king to accept the hand of his daughter in marriage in front of the sacrificial fire. Utauṣaṇa informs Vācavattai about this and obtains her consent for the proposed marriage. Viricikai then arrives at the city, accompanied by her kinsfolk, who decorate her for the wedding. She is received by the maids of the household of Utauṣaṇa, headed by Cākīyattā. She is advised by her kinsfolk henceforth to consider Vācavattai, Pratunāpattā, and Māṇagikai as her mothers, and Utauṣaṇa as her father, and asked to go to the palace. Her father leaves on a pilgrimage and the people of the city flock to have a glimpse of her on the way to the palace. When she finally reaches the palace her marriage with Utauṣaṇa is performed with sacrificial rites in the presence of the other three queens.

We now turn to a discussion of whether the incidents connected with Māṇagikai and Viricikai as given in the PK, form a part of the original Bk. or not.

96. Pk. 4: 15-17
97. Supra. p.
While the character, Māgāṇikāi, occurs only in the Pr., the romance of Udayana with Virūḍhaka is mentioned also in the Kashmirian works and in the play, Svapnavāsavadattam. In these latter works she is called Virācītā or Viracītā. On the contrary, the affairs between Udayana and the following lady characters have been described in various Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pāli works: Bandhumati, Lalīka, Vasavadatt, Rajānikā, Kalāgaveśī, Kṛśnālikā, Manoramā, Śāmikā, Māgandīyā, Anupamā, Śrimati, and Gopālānītī. 99

Among these, the episode of Bandhumati as described in the Kṣr. appears to bear some resemblance to that of Māgāṇikāi in the Pr. The character, Rajānikā, occurring in the Bīm., is also somewhat similar to that of Māgāṇikāi. The plays, Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā, written by Śrīhara also contain similar accounts. In particular, these works talk about the relationship between Vāsavadattā and Ratnāvalī / Priyadarśikā on the maternal side, in a way similar to the Pr. The name ‘Kṛśnālikā’ given to the heroine of Bhavvanatācī’s lost play, of which an extract is now available, suggests that this work also had dealt with the connection between Udayana and a princess of the Kosalā country. The above similarities between the Māgāṇikāi episode and all the above works clearly establish that it did occur in some form, in the portion dealing with the romantic exploits of Udayana in the original Pr.

Regarding Virūḍhaka, the Kṣr. informs us that she was a maid servant in his palace to whom Udayana took a fancy before his marriage with Vāsavadattā. Even afterwards he continued having an affair with Virūḍhaka and is exposed by his ‘gotraskhalana’ i.e. by calling out the name of Virūḍhaka wrongly, while speaking to Vāsavadattā. However the Pr. is again the only source which gives the full details of this story.

The only remaining Kāptam of the available text of the Philastria (Philastria) with which we have to deal is the Naravāpakāptam. It is evident that this chapter describes the birth of a son named Naravāpata (Naravāparatatha) to Utayugajī and his adventures till he becomes the emperor of the Vidyādhārās. Since this part has a good deal in common with the text of the Bhasa, we devote the next chapter for a detailed discussion of this part of the story of the Philastria.
CHAPTER IV

A comparative study of the Naravâgakâptam of the Perumâtal and the other versions of the Bhatkâta

In composing a work based on a story of north Indian origin, in accordance with the literary tradition of Tamil, the author of the Pk. apparently has not sacrificed even minute details of his narrative, nor deviated from the sources available to him. This becomes evident whenever a comparison is made between portions of the Pk. and the corresponding passages in other authentic versions of the Bk. with which such a comparison may be made. Instances of this occur in the part of the text dealing with the circumstances of Naravâkandatta's birth. In what follows we discuss this part of the text of the Pk.

The longing for a child in the hearts of Utsayaanâ and Vâcavatatal.

We give below the text of the Pk. which deals with the circumstances under which an intense longing for a son is kindled in the hearts of Utsayaanâ and Vâcavatatal.

Varam ill ojukkig vâgikar itil
mucaiyâu cegtu muraimâylile pîlâyak
kâgaî tir cekkâg kâvalag icatitu
mucaiy itu kâjkâgnek kâspatu vîrumpi
urumajjuresvaîp perumakay pâpiya
vîravâc âgacakku vîrav eîr vâjanai
mîvâr avar oru makuâk oruîî kaq
mîvaraî tûgîya makkaî am mîvâru
âgâ cekâîyaq aeq neqî tirîyaq
mîgu tiqam pâtu vûrupipigaruvaaru
eîî tiruq mun mîqâlu ceqru vâli
ugu vilap poçatiaq oruvag vâjum
kâcayakatt iruqtu tagquâiyutan perukkip
pirvilag vâjum oruvag oruvag
ariya paqiam ešītīg āṣakkiy avai
uriya kelātu uṣata puṭaṃ matarum
tabarva misesar iṣarva koḻośi
polapāru tivēkkkuk kalantalaippeyorntejič
caī vaī culaṃšu al kavya aluṃntiṇa
alunqtiṇa ēṛpaṭu kēṣeśiy ak ṣa kavya ērnu
akṭoṭa luraṭu uṣaṃqati kalipppiti
tanuvaṭe cēṃu kavviti mēṭyaq
ceṇṇu uṇeṃtun caubairavting ēṣu
qolu caṇ saṭṭkaiy ēṃravuṇṭi ṣeṇe
ogrum uṇaṭu oruṇaṭk kāṇṭaṭu
venrē tāṇu vira vanta nīn
aṭi nišal aṣāntaṃal anu eṭi kūnāī ēṣu

In the above passage of the Pk. an incident is narrated
which takes place when Uṣayaṇa, after his successful campaign
against Āruṇa, the king of Pāṇḍāla, who had usurped his throne,
reigns over the Vāṭava kingdom. One day, he is approached by
two merchants who inform him that they are the 'last two of the
three sons of their parents. Each one of them, being of a different
disposition, had adopted a different way of life. The eldest of
them undertook voyages, carrying merchandise to far away
lands, the middle one stayed behind in the town, looking after
the family trade, while the youngest used to hoard up goods and
release them when they were in demand, thus conducting a
prosperous speculative business. Their eldest brother who had
recently gone off to the island where gold is obtained is reported
to have met with a shipwreck in the sea and has not returned
home. The two younger brothers had found their sister-in-law
completely over-whelmed by the sorrow of her bereavement and
she does not give any reply to their queries about how his property
should be disposed of. They want the king to intercede in the
matter and settle the issue.

The kinsmen of the eldest daughter-in-law in form the king
that while all this is true, the death of their eldest brother is yet
not confirmed, since no one who had survived the shipwreck

1. Pk. 5:1:6-32.
has so far come back home. In the meantime his wife is also expecting the birth of an heir to her husband’s fortune.

Urmasamvā (Rumaspā) who is directed by the king to give a verdict over the issue, proposes the following solution: he orders the money belonging to the missing merchant to be brought and sealed up by both of his younger brothers. He then leaves it in the custody of one of them for an year to come. In the meantime if their brother returns, it would go back to him. If a son is born to the pregnant lady, then also the two of them would have no claim over it. If, on the other hand, she gives birth to a daughter, the expenses for bringing her up, educating her and for her marriage should be provided for. The rest of the money may be divided up between them.

This verdict is accepted by the two merchants who then leave the court. In the heart of the king this incident causes an intense longing for a son. He goes to his palace where he sees his queen, Vācavatattai, eagerly observing a pigeon which is feeding her young ones. He realises that she too is worried like him over their childless state. The same incident occurs in the same context in the Bhāṣa in the following passage:

\[
\text{\textit{kadeci} \textit{asthanagam pīnapa vepakadākau} |}
\text{\textit{janaspītamhi pīpīsa saiy]napayātāmidum} |}
\text{\textit{devapavah pīta yataḥ sabhavam makhārayam} |}
\text{\textit{sahā tēna sa potena nagakam praveśita} |}
\text{\textit{jyatiśa taamastayā pītābhāktyai sahān} |}
\text{\textit{gātāstātraiva ca gataḥ soupi tataqatam gati} |}
\text{\textit{yo ca no dravāna tāram tadghňita prajavati |}
\text{\textit{sati na mṛgyāmādanaṇi baluṇtyāṇ prajaccha} |}
\text{\textit{tena desa yodi nāgyām pītydravāna avayāh |}
\text{\textit{bhraťjaya tataḥ sa nau ruchirā dapyatamit} |}
\text{\textit{aha rejasadaprahyam pratiḥarim yasodharām |}
\text{\textit{duśkaram kulamaribhiḥ rajasthānapraveśitam} |}
\]

3. \textit{Bhāṣa.} IV : 21 - 39
For comparison, the contents of the above passage are summarised below:

Once, when the king was seated in his assembly hall, the two sons of a merchant came to him. After paying their respects to him, they submit that their father found a watery grave when he had gone on a voyage in the sea. Their eldest brother also met the same fate. The family's wealth which now belongs to them, is not shown to them by their sister-in-law. They request the king to interfere in the matter and order the lady to hand
over to them their paternal wealth. The king then summons his chamber-maid called Yasodharā and asks her to go to the house of the shipwrecked merchant’s wife and find out the truth, since ladies belonging to good households are not supposed to come to the royal court under any circumstances. The chamber-maid is received by the sister-in-law of the plaintiffs with due respect. She concedes that all that was reported by her brothers—in-law is true. However she adds that while the ship has been known to have been wrecked at sea, it is not known for certain that her husband is dead. Many seafarers whose ships were wrecked at sea are known to have come back to their homes afterwards. Besides, she is also expecting a baby and this is the tenth month of her pregnancy. If she were to hand over the wealth to her brothers-in-law now, how would she get it back in the event of her giving birth to a son, or of her husband’s return home? The king to whom this reply of the merchant’s wife is communicated by the chamber maid, agrees with her line of argument and tells the two plaintiffs to come back to him afterwards if a son was not born to her and their eldest brother also did not return by that time.

While they were conversing thus, there is a disturbance and a woman arrives from the house of the merchants announcing the birth of a son to the sister-in-law of the two merchants. The king watches the effect this news has on the plaintiffs who rejoice at the birth of an heir to the family fortune in spite of their despondency due to the loss of their suit at the same time. He then starts musing what will happen to his vast kingdom and wealth if no son was born to him.

Even though there are differences between the above versions of the Pk. and the Bkzs. the similarities between them are apparent and striking. The same incident occurs also in the Ph. through in this case since there is no counterpart to Udayana in the story, it has been introduced in the story of Puspā. We give a summary of this incident below.

"Once it happened that a certain merchant had three sons. One of them went for trade by ship, the other two did business by keeping a shop.

After some time knowing about the ship-wreck, both the brothers went to their sister-in-law and asked her to show the wealth she had in her possession. But she did not like to show it; she just kept quiet.

The brothers went to the king’s court and requested king Puṇḍā, “O master! when our parents died, thinking that our elder brother was an authority, we did not worry about the wealth. He had gone by ship for trade, but there is no news about him. We asked his wife to show the wealth but she refuses. So kindly get us the money. You will thereby be doing us a great favour.”

The king asked the merchant Tārāga to look into the matter. The merchant accepted the royal command.

Tārāga deputed the appointed spies to the merchant’s house. Later the king asked Tārāga what happened in the matter. He replied: “O lord! even the unborn child protects the ancestral wealth.”

The king started reflecting, “O, the sons are exceedingly powerful, and I am without a son! I don’t know where the royal wealth will go.”

Thus, we see, the story of the merchants is employed in all the three texts before a wish for a son is created in the mind of the king (i.e. Udayana in the Pk. and the Bks. and Puṇḍā in the Vh).

The scene in which Vācavatattai is observing the pigeon feeding the young ones is also found both in the Bks., and the Vh4. In the Bks. this incident is described in the form of the queen’s reply to the king who asks her why she is observing the aśoka tree with despondency. Her reply is as follows:

maharaja kusala sako namapi tava ghyatanam
kimtu parevatinesam ca ca cacyua tagulam

(O king, where is the question of any one in your household experiencing sorrow? However, I am just looking at this female pigeon who is feeding into the beaks of her young ones pieces of lotus stalks with her beak).

The description of the same scene which occurs in the Vh, is much more closely similar to that occurring in the Pk. In the Pk. we have the following lines:

viri kojip pavalaattig virinta civaatik
kaliqip pukai nitea kaqakkun tavia
pai citajip pucham parintuati eti
ar vyag koja var iray umiitam
cen vay pappiikuc carnuvaat coritalig

(The pigeon with red feet like the spreading creeper of coral, and feathers which are black like the smoke of the aloe, lovingly feeds her young ones with red mouths, the food which she has brought in her mouth)

The corresponding passage of the Vh. is given below for comparison:

..............kalaguru dhivasamalam rattacalama
nyanam appajo chuan akqagamam patusshehena
tronena ucitipata poyagnahasu ukkitamamam...

Once, desirous of a son, the king visited his harem. There he noticed the queen looking intently at a pair of pigeons feeding their young one. “What are you looking for?” he inquired. “Oh

7. Pk. 5 : 1. 66-70.
I look at the pigeon, dark in colour like aromatic vapours of a black aloe wood, with reddish feet and eyes, not caring for his own hunger, with his mouth lifted upwards, out of affection how he is putting the picked up grain into the young one's mouth."

The dream which portends the birth of Naravāpa-tattāya.

In the following passage of the Pāk. we find the dream of Utayāpa: is described:

In the above passage we are told that when Utayaṅga and Vācavatattai are sleeping in their palace, a celestial maiden appears before him in a dream in the middle of the night and asks him to come with her since her lord wanted to bestow on him the supremacy over the seven worlds. On being asked who her lord was, she informs him that he was Kupṛaṅga (Kubera, the god of wealth). Utayaṅga who desires to bring Vācavatattai also along with him, wakes her up and the celestial maiden carries them both in the skies to the abode of Kubera. There they are accorded seats in front of the god of wealth who presents them with a white lotus flower in the inner petals of which lies a white bull. Just then the son (of Kubera) comes there holding the golden chain of a toy chariot with a painted Koiṭhiṭi. One of its wheels slips off and the top piece of a golden lily which is set at the centre of the wheels falls out. Kupṛaṅga asks for it. The goddess who fetches it, is asked by him to present it to Utayaṅga. After this incident she brings Utayaṅga back to Kōcāmpī where he and all his people admire the workmanship of the top piece. It is then given to Vācavatattai by Utayaṅga and she presses it to her bosom. Immediately it gets inside her, startling her. The king wakes up from his dream at this point.

A large portion of the account of this dream agrees with that described in the Bksa, in the same context. However, the passage in the Pk, which describes this dream is difficult to
understand without reference to the text of the Bhāṣa, 
P. V. Saminatha Iyer who has edited the Pāṇi did not refer to the 
Bhāṣa, and has interpreted this passage as follows, in his summary 
of Uṭayagṛha's life story.11

"In the palace of Kūptūraga Uṭayagṛha remained seated on a 
throne along with his queen. Then the celestial maiden brought 
a crown under the orders of Kūptūraga and presented it to him."12

Somasundaranar18 has also followed the interpretation of 
Saminatha Iyer and the difficulty which he has experienced in the 
process is obvious from his annotation to the passage which is 
translated below:

"After the attendants of Kūptūraga offered them both a seat 
which was supported by (sculptured) lions, they were given a 
white lotus flower by the god of wealth. Inside its petals lay a 
white bull. When Uṭayagṛha accepted it he found a child lying 
on the golden chain of a chariot which had a painted Kolīkā. 
Later they looked at the side of that flower and found a crown 
emerging from the centre of a wheel which rolled there. The 
celestial maiden exclaimed her surprise on seeing it and after 
presenting it to Uṭayagṛha, brought them back to the earth".

Next, we turn to examine the translation of the passage given 
by Donald Nelson,13 to see whether he is able to throw some 
light on the actual sequence of events described therein:

Still in dream, 
when nervously they entered 
the resplendent court of the Lord of Treasures.

11. Saminatha Iyer, U. V., Uṭayagṛha Caritavaccarukkam, 


13. Donald Nelson, Byakathā Studies: The Tamil 
they were shown to the Lion Throne,
where, with his queen who was lovely as Sri,
(Udayana) took his seat;
and there they sat in state
(Kuberu's) son appeared
with a broken toy cart upon a golden chain,
the cart's lotus-pole fashioned to hold
a white lotus' bloom in which,
midst its fine inner petals,
lay a white bull,
Then from amongst the bloom's
close-set petals of thick gold
bounced out a crown
and wobbled about like the great hub of a wobbling wheel,
like a (wobbly) young tusker.
"Bring it!" said the goddess
with earnest desire,
and, taking it, graciously bestowed it
upon Yata's king, whose fragrant garlands
the bees pull loose.
"I have kept you," she said,
"Rise now and go."
And she gave them leave to depart,
when back in flag-decked Kusamba,
amidst his own folk,
at length (Udayana) praised (the crown's) splendid craft,
fit compare to any of the crown jewels.
"Please, you must have it!"
he offered it to his chief-queen,
the lady of shining earrings.
But when she took it and pressed it between her breasts,
like the burning-rayed sun her body it
swiftly pierced and entered within.
And when that took place
the lady awoke with a start
and with her the king awoke too.
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We can see the above rendering is more intelligible and coherent than that by either Saminatha Iyer and Somasundarar. The portion of the translation reproduced here is however much more elaborate than the corresponding original passage which is just seventeen lines long, thus demonstrating how terse and obscure the latter is. And, as we shall show below, the interpretation given in the above translation would have been impossible to arrive at without a reference to the Bks. which is the only other work in which an identical situation has been described.

To facilitate further discussion we now reproduce the narration of the dream sequence as found in the Bks.14

14, Bks. v: 17 ff.
We now give a free translation of the contents of the above passage:

Udayana, who longed for the birth of a son, propitiated Lord Kubera, along with Visvavatati. Once the couple woke up with
a start from sleep, the king exclaiming: "Oh, my queen!" and the queen exclaiming "Ha, my husband (Aryaputra)!". The king then summoned his priest and explained to him what he saw in his dream as follows: "Today I saw a certain celestial female deity who told me that the god of wealth wanted to see me. I was then transported by her via the spots where Lord Siva bore the Ganges (in his matted hair) and married Pauravi, to the city of Alaka. She asked me to wait in front of the palace of Kubera, went in and came back with his permission to take me to audience. On the way, as I passed through six courtyards to get into the seventh where he was seated, I saw the apsara maidens whispering to each other, pointing to me and saying 'He is the one to whom he will be born as the son'. One of the sages in front was seen telling another 'He may take birth in the faultless race of the Bharatas so that not only this king will have the good fortune of begetting such a son but he will also be fortunate in having parents who are like Lord Idrā and Sachi, his consort'. When I bowed before the God of wealth he made me occupy a golden seat studded with gems, with my queen also in another seat nearby. The celestial maidens like Urvāsī, Menakā, Rambā, Chitrālekha started singing to time while Tilottamā danced. Just at that moment the prince, Nalakībara. (son of Kubera) came there playing and pulling a toy-cart. Then one of the wheels of that toy-cart got loosened and out of the collection of flowers made of gems which was engraved in it, a gem rolled out and fell on the floor which was embossed with lapiz lazuli. Lord Kubera asked Nalakībara to fetch that gem and held it in his hand, where it shone like the pollen of a lotus flower. It was surrounded by twenty-six flawless pearls and had eight facets. He gave it to me and I, in turn, gave it to my queen. When she placed it between her breasts, it was transformed into the cub of a lion which then pierced her left and entered inside her. Seeing that, I woke up crying out "Ha, my queen!"

It is obvious that the missing links in the explanation of the Pāśa passage are supplied by the passage from the Bkas. Thus, for instance, the term "Pataśrayā" in line ninety five of the Pāśa has been taken by Nelsos to refer to "Kubera's son". We see that this information is derived from the corresponding phrase in
the Bkss, viz. "Kamāro Nalakāharaḥ". Similarly the term "tre" has been translated as "toy-cart", an idea which can only be obtained from the corresponding term used in the Bkss, which is "kṛṣaṇa śakṣāṭākā".

The wrong interpretation by Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar of lines ninety two and ninety three as referring to the gift of a white lotus containing a white bull by Kubera to Udayana, has been set right by Donald Nelson who correctly takes it to mean "the figure of a lotus flower engraved in the kotihel (lotus-pole) of the toy-cart". This interpretation immediately makes it clear to us that the royal couple were engaged in looking at that flower which was painted in the toy-cart and then suddenly one of the wheels of the cart-slipped off. This detail has been missed by all the three commentators mentioned. While Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar have simply stated that a wheel rolled in front of them Nelson has taken the expression 'Prajñāta alīyin' to be just a simile which he has translated as "like the great hub of a wobbling wheel". The key to the understanding of this passage is provided again by the line in the Bkss:

"atha saktāacakṣuṣṭāyath kusumasaṃcaye".

Thus it was one of the wheels of the toy-cart which has slipped off and that wheel had a collection of flowers engraved in it. We do not understand Nelson's next line. 'like a (wobbly) young tucker" for which there exists no corresponding phrase in the original text either of the Pk. or the Bkss.

We are then told that a 'crown' emerged from the 'wheel' by Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar while Nelson states that the crown 'bounced out of the bloom's petals of thick gold" We think that there is again a misreading of the text here. The word 'muti' in the phrase "oru pongalliyag oru muti" need not, in our opinion, be taken to mean "a crown" but may simply be taken to represent, 'one of the top parts of the golden lily". In this way, the phrase "oru pongalliyag oru muti piṭala" would directly correspond with the line "Kamamakācaye upaḥaya
"patitaṁ retaṁ" i.e., "the ruby which fell out of the flower pattern engraved in the toy cart". The command "Karṣatvam" ("Bring it") presumably by Kubera to his son would correspond with the request he makes in the Bhagavad Gita, "mahiṣam etad dādaṁ". ("Give it to me"). When Udayana gives the ruby to Vācavatattāī she places it in her bosom. The phrase "tagyai navamācārttālam", is synonymous with the phrase "stamayavantares mānastām" occurring in the Bhagavad Gita.

It is said in the Bhagavad Gita, that the astrologer, Ādityaśarman, interpreted this dream as signifying the birth of a son who would acquire mastery over the eight arts and marry twenty six wives. This detail does not occur in the Pk. version of the dream.

The Pregnancy wish (dohāda) of Vācavatattāī

In accordance with the astrologer’s prediction, Vācavatattāī becomes pregnant. She then has a pregnancy wish which being unfulfilled causes her to grow pale and thin. In the Pk. we are told that Udayana notices it and enquires her what she wants14. He assures her that he would fulfill her desire, whatever it may be. As an example of the fact that the pregnancy wish of a wife was always fulfilled by the husband at any cost, he narrates an incident15.

………………………………………..
kārtiya kojanaṁ kojau kṣun mācaśakṣa
ustiyav ujasca uṣṇa taṇita tertiyaṁ
kaṇḍalaṁ kaṇṭuk kaṇṣitru māyā taṇīta
marṣyati perum pakaṁ maṇqaṁ paḷa
agnatayagam ikunag…………………..

("Like the king of faultless fame, who found out the wish of his noble queen to eat the fatty intestine of her husband (i.e. himself) and satisfied her desire by giving it to her.)"16

From this passage one is not able to know the identity of the king referred to but the author apparently assumes that the story is well known.

The following passage of the Bhagavad Gita gives a detailed explanation of this story.

Here we find queen Mrgavati, the mother of Udayana, trying to find out from Vaisavedatta what pregnancy wish she has. The latter replies to her that her wish is something impossible to obtain. In reply to this Mrgavati narrates the story of king Ugrasena of Mathura and his wife Manorama, to illustrate how nothing is impossible for resourceful kings. Here it is said that when queen Manorama was strolling in a garden a demon called Drumila, saw her and assuming the form of Ugrasena, united with her. As a result, the queen conceived a child and developed a pregnancy wish to eat the flesh and blood.

of Lord Viṣṇu. Hearing this, king Ugrasena devised an artificial image of Viṣṇu made of flour with the flesh of a ram in its belly and thus the longing of the queen was satisfied in the dim light of a burning lamp.

In the Vaṭṭiya we find the following story about Ugrasena.

"An ascetic who had a grudge against king Ugrasena (Ugrasena) for not being treated properly by him, with the desire of being able to destroy him in his next birth as a reward for his austerities and was conceived in the womb of Ugrasena’s wife. Three months after conception, she had a pregnancy longing to eat the flesh (balimaṇḍa) of the king’s stomach. In order to obtain the tasty flesh of the king, the ministers prepared a cloth having the colour of the flesh of the king, and keeping it within the sight of the queen, they covered the king’s stomach with it and cut a piece of flesh from the stomach. This was taken to the queen who ate the flesh and fulfilled her longing.

In this case we see that the passage of the Bhāsa, and the Phāsaka help us to understand the allusion made in the passage of the Phāsaka.

The fulfilment of Vācavatattal’s Pregnancy wish

After knowing the desire of his wife to travel in the sky like celestial beings, Udayaṇaṇa consults his ministers about the means by which it can be satisfied. According to the Phāsaka, Urumappuṇḍa then suggests that Udayaṇaṇa should think of Naṭṭciṇkaṇa the celestial being, who had earlier assured him of his help in any emergency. When Udayaṇaṇa thinks of Naṭṭciṇkaṇa he appears in front of him and Udayaṇaṇa tells him that he wants his help in accomplishing a task which was beyond his own capacity. He then tells about the pregnancy wish of Vācavatattal. Having listened to that, Naṭṭciṇkaṇa tells him the story of Pattiripatti (Bhadravatī) and her interest in his welfare. The story of Bhadravatī occurs both in the Phāsaka and the Bhāsa and

shows many closely similar features. The story of Pattiripati is narrated in the Naravasakapatham of the Pr. and a summary of this is given below.

"Pattiripati is one of the dancing girls in the court of Kubera who resides on the Mountain ‘Paruppatam’ which is situated on the bank of river ‘Narumatai’ (Narmada). Once, on the order of Kubera, she goes to the forest with her friends. There, in the forest ‘Khatkapan’ (banyan forest) she finds a male elephant with flowing rut being fanned and tended by a herd of female elephants with bundles of flowers, leaves, twigs, etc. The elephant then caresses with his trunk and sports with a young female elephant. Seeing this, Pattiripati thinks to herself: ‘Oh, it is desirable even to be born as an elephant’. With this thought in her mind she goes back to the court of Kubera after playing with her friends in the forest. Though a few subsequent lines are missing in the text, from the continuity of the context, we understand that Kubera comes to know what was passing in her mind by his Avidhya, and curses her to be born as a female elephant and sport with the male elephant in the human world. Pattiripati then appeals to him and asks him when she would be released from the curse. Kubera tells her that she would be among the she-elephants in the palace of king Piraccapatkana (Pradyota) and would be presented to Utayaapan by Piricchattan during the water festival in Uccayini. Later she would carry Utayaapan and Vcacavattai to Kccampi and die on the way due to the disease called Kalkatjam. At the moment of her death Utayaapan would whisper the Paarcanamakara in her ears and thus secure her release from the curse.

After Pattiripati is redeemed from her birth as a she-elephant at the end of her curse in this manner she returns back to the court of Kupera. She wants to repay her debt of gratitude to Utayaapan and pleads with Kubera to bless Utayaapan with an illustrious son. Agreeing to her request Kubera then appeals to Cauturarmanitra (Saadharmendra). Cauturarmanitra then summons Cidavag, a sage who had been performing penance.

in order to be born in the race of the Bharatas with a divine body and enjoy pleasures in the world and then obtain supremacy over the world of Vidyādhara. Caturumśtriṇaḥ tells him that in accordance with his wish, this was the destined hour when he should be conceived again in the womb of Vācavatattai and achieve the fruits of his penance and Nidāna (death wish). Caturumśtriṇaḥ also orders Cjivaṇaḥ to give Utayaṇaḥ in his dream a white lotus flower within which a white bull lay in order that Utayaṇaḥ might be able to know in advance about the birth of his son and his destiny as the future Vidyādhara emperor. Then, at the request of Cjivaṇaḥ, Pātirāpataḥ appears before Utayaṇaḥ in his dream and taking him to Kubera’s abode, presents him with a white lotus flower.

After informing Utayaṇaḥ about all this, Naśuṇaḥ directs him to seek the help of Pātirāpataḥ to accomplish the object of his queen’s desire. In the meantime, the ministers of Utayaṇaḥ send for all the carpenters in the kingdom and ask them to construct a machine which can be used to fly in the sky. All the carpenters express their inability to do so. Just then Pātirāpataḥ arrives there in the guise of a carpenter and constructs a machine. Utayaṇaḥ and Vācavatattai get into it and fly over the countries of Makarata (Magadha), Avanti and many other lands and return to Kṣīṁpī. Afterwards Utayaṇaḥ calls the carpenter in order to reward him suitably for constructing the flying machine. Then Pātirāpataḥ reveals her identity to him, narrates all the earlier incidents and returns to her place, after blessing him. Utayaṇaḥ names the entrance to his palace after Pātirāpataḥ and offers worship to her.

This story occurs in the same context in the Bkṣṣ. in a more condensed form with some minor changes**. For example Naśuṇaka does not appear in the Bkṣṣ. When the ministers of Utayaṇaḥ consult the carpenters about building a contrivance which can fly, they reply that only the Yavanas know such mechanisms. A brahmin who is present says that the carpenters must be forced to do the job and narrates the story of a carpenter-named Viśvīla.

Just then Bhadrā appears in the form of a stranger and builds a flying machine. The king gets into it and visits Magadha and Avanti with his queen, salutes Darśaka and Mahāśeṣa (Pradyota) and then returns home. The carpenter who is then summoned by him to accept a reward suddenly assumes the form of a celestial maiden and narrates her story. The main features of this story are the same as in the Pk. There are however the following minor differences—In the Bkss., Bhadrā who sees the male elephant in a pond in the forest among its consorts actually assumes the form of a she-elephant and sports there before returning to the abode of Kubera. Kubera is then struck by her absent-mindedness when she is fanning him with a cīmara and therefore she is cursed by him to be born as a she-elephant in the human world. Pṛṇḍabhāda who is present there intercedes on her behalf and is also cursed by Kubera to be born as the male elephant, Nalaṅgi, along with Bhadrā in Ujjayinī. Later during the flight of Udayana and Vāsavadatta from Ujjayinī on the back of the elephant, Bhadrāvati, the latter dies on the way and we are simply told that Udayana grieved over her loss as if his own wife was dead; This is said to be the reason for Bhadrā’s interest in his welfare.

The incident of the Pañcamaskāra as found in the Pk. does not occur in the Bkss. So also the incidents connected with the ascetic Çīṭavān, his Nidāna and his conception in the womb of Vācavatattā as Naravāyattattā under the order of Cautarumāṇstraṇa are not found in the Bkss.

We note in passing that the Bhadrāvati story does not occur in this context in the Kashmirian versions, but at the time of the death of the elephant Bhadrāvati. We are told that Udayana and Vāsavadatta hear a celestial voice which tells them that the elephant was originally a Vidyādhar named Māyāvati who was undergoing a curse. The voice also promises that she would help their son in future. This promise is also given by Bhadrā in the Bkss. But such an incident in which Bhadrāvati helps

Naravāhanadatta is not found in any of the versions. Further in the Kathasaritśāgara before the birth of Naravāhanadatta Siva appears before Vāsavadatta in a dream and predicts that she would give birth to a son who would be the future emperor of the Vidyādhāras. This only confirms Penzer's\(^{24}\) remark that the Kashmirian compilers have altered the name of the deity whom Udayana worshipped. It could have been only Kubera whom he worshipped because Naravāhanadatta means "given by Naravāhana", and Naravāhana is one of Kubera's and not Siva's titles. The Bhūṣṇa actually states that Udayana propitiated Kubera in order to be blessed with a son.

The foregoing analysis clearly establishes the close similarity between the Pā, the Bhūṣṇa and occasionally the Pā. Besides, the importance of a comparative analysis\(^{24}\) of all related works for a proper understanding of the text of the Pā has been illustrated.


26. A shorter analysis of this subject has already been published by the author under the title 'The birth of Naravāhanadatta—a comparative study of the accounts found in the Perukkutai and the Bhaktakathālokāsana-graha', Papers on Tamil studies, (International Institute of Tamil studies, Madras, 1980) pp. 114-129.
CHAPTER V

An analysis of the story of Uṭayāṇaṭa in the Perenakatal from the Historical and Geographical points of view

In the preceding chapter we have pointed out the close similarity between the Pk. and the Bksa, in those parts of the text where a rigorous comparative study can be carried out. Where such a comparison is not possible, it is still possible for us to discern agreement between the Pk. and one or more Sanskrit, Prākrit or Pāli works which were probably inspired by the Bk. of Guṇāḍhyāya. In addition to this, there are many parts of the story in which the Pk. serves as a valuable and unique source of detailed information which throws light on many cryptic and apparently unintelligible allusions which are found in the other works. These features have been discussed in detail in the third chapter. Hence we are led to concur with the following assessment made by Donald Nelson:

(i) The Pk. suggests that Uḍeyana was far more important in the Ur-Byahakathā than the other versions would show.

(ii) The Pk. is important for its corroboration of the Bksa, in the matter of the link episodes.

It is our aim to show in the course of this chapter that the narrative of the Pk. is authentic also from the “historical” and ‘geographical’ points of view.

Uṭayāṇaṭa as a historical personage

Apart from being the hero of a legend full of romance and colour, Uṭayāṇaṭa is celebrated as an illustrious king of that great period of ferment when Jainism and Buddhism were born. We

2. Ibid. p. 352.
know on the authority of the Pali works that he was a contemporary of Lord Buddha and therefore lived sometime in the later half of the sixth and the early half of the fifth centuries B.C. The tradition of the Jainas, who have preserved the complete itinerary of Lord Mahavira after he became a monk, also leads us to the same conclusion. We thus find that Sāṇānika (Sayāsya in Prakrit) who was the father of Udayana, king Śrīpika (Simbikā, Sayiya in Prakrit) of Magadhā and Praṣenajīti, (Pasenadi in Prakrit) the king of Kośala, belonged to the same generation. Kupikā (Ajītasatru, Kuṇika in Prakrit) of Magadhā, Vīdīdabhā, the son and successor of Praṣenajīti, and Pradyota, (Pājōya in Prakrit) the king of Avanti, belonged to the next generation. And Udayana, Pālaka, the son of Pradyota, and Dārśaka, the king of Magadhā, belonged to the third generation and were of the same order of age. A completely independent testimony is provided by the dynastic lists of the kings of the Kali age as found in many Purāṇas. They affirm that Sāṇānika and Udayana hailed from the family of the Pauravas, after Panakṣit II and Janameyajī III. Similarly the existence of a king named Dārśaka in the list of the kings of Magadhā, after Ajītasatru is also corroborated by the reference to him in the purāṇic lists. The Bhagavatī Śûtra, a Jain text, states that Udayana was the grandson of king Sahāradānīka of Kauśāmbarī, the son of king Sāṇānika and his queen Mṛkṣvati who was the daughter of king Cetaka.

3. For a discussion, see Lacoste, op. cit., pp. 173 ff. and Niti Ādaval, op. cit., pp. 3-6.
6. Ibid. p. 21.
7. Bhagavatī śūtra, (Published by Dhanapatisimha Bahadur, Banaras, 1938) Śataka 12, uddeśa 1, v. 986.
Of particular significance is the reference made in the Pāṇḍava... and other South Indian works following its tradition, that Udayana belonged to the royal Byar family. The explanation for this statement is to be found in the fact that he was the maternal grandson of king Cēṣka who had renounced his kingdom and become an ascetic performing penance in the hill called Vipulum at the time of the birth of Udayana. His name is given by Uc. as Cēṣka. The Jaina work in Apabhramsa called Mrágavatī Rāṣā also states that Mrágavatī, the mother of Udayana, was the daughter of king Cēṣka of the Vaiśali republic and the chief consort of king Sārhakṣa of Kauśambī. Chēṣka is a well known figure in Jaina literature. His sister, Tisālī, was the mother of Lord Mahāvīra. The Uttrasparṣṭa contains the following account of Cēṣka and his daughters.

In the city of Vaiśali was king Cēṣka whose wife was Subhādrā. They had ten sons with the names Dhanadatta, Dhanabhādra, Upendra, Sudatta, Syāmabhādra, Sukumbhoja, Akampaṇa, Patāgaka, Prabhājana and Prabhāsa. They also had seven daughters called Priyakārī, Mrágavatī, Suprabhā, Prabhavatī, Cellint, Jyeṣṭhā and Candanā. The Avayaka cūrṇī also contains a similar but slightly different list of the daughters of Cēṣka. It also states that, among them, Pabhavatī was married to Uddākṣaṇa of Vībhaya, Paumāvatī to Dadhivāhana of Campā, Mrégavatī to Sayāntya of Kṣambī, Śiva to Pañjūya of Ujjēpi and Jeṣṭha to Nandivaddhaṇa of Kupagāma. Sujeṣṭhā renounced the world and the youngest, Cēlāṇi, married Sejiya of Rāyagāha.

8. Niti Adaval. op. cit. p. 34.
The frequent reference to Udayana (Udayapag) in the *Pār* as ‘īyar Perumakaṇ‘ and the allusion to him in the *Bhās* 11 as ‘the lord of the Cedi and the Vatta countries’ can be understood only in the context of his relationship to Cetaka, who belonged to the Haihaya line of kings who were traditionally associated with the Cedi country. This also explains why Rumapāṇi praises the glory of the Haihaya family when talking to Naravahanadattā as ‘haihayānā kulaṃ tuhgan’12 in the *Bhās*. On the basis of the foregoing account of the matrimonial alliances which king Cetaka had with almost all the important monarchs of North India, we see that the story of Udayana is synonymous with the story of all the royal families of his time in Northern India.

The Romance between Udayapag and Vācavatattā

Perhaps the most celebrated romance in ancient Indian literature was that between Udayana and Vāsavadattā. It has been alluded to by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta13 in the following verse, occurring in the portion describing the city of Ujjainī.

Prudyotasya priyadattaraṃ vatsaragotraṃ jahre
haiṃaṇa tajā druma vanamahāduatra tasyaivaiva jñāḥ
aṇorobhṛtaṅ kila nālāgiriṃ sthambhaṅ upanaṣṭya darpa
ditya gamati rajñī jana yatra bandhānubhīhnaḥ

‘Where the people of the city entertain their visitors by showing them the spots where the king of the Vatasas kidnapped the beloved daughter of Prudyota, where the golden palm groves of that king stood, and where (the elephant), Nālāgiri, uprooted the pillar posts, out of wantonness’.

In Tamil literature belonging approximately to the 8th century A.D., we find allusions to the same episode. Thus the author of the Maṇimekālai14 talks of the reaction of the people.

in the streets of Ujjayini at the sight of Yuki, who roamed about in the disguise of a man afflicted by a dreadful disease, in order to secure the release of the king of the Vana country from imprisonment:

Koṭik kćampik kāmakāṇakiya
vatițtiri tana vattavāṇ raaṇi
vāhancetsyulī vāgaṭalī vītiya
Uccayīṭīṭīgīya Tikīṭ anīgaṭ
uruvukk oove ṣu ṣu nāy kāṭu
parīva ṭu maṭkaṭu……………

The people gathered around her (Manimakēlai) a crowd, much like the crowd which had collected around Yaugandhariyapa, when he assumed the disgusting disguise of a man suffering from disease, and entered the streets of Uccayini, for the purpose of releasing Udayana, his master, from the prison into which Piraccottagān (Pradyota the king, had thrown him.)

We also find Tirumāṅkai Alibaba referring to the public scorn which Vāsavatattāi faced when she went behind Udayana who was being led along the streets of Ujjayini with his feet fettered by an iron chain.15

Vārav vāgamulai vacavatattai yeer-
arasun collappavuvayavum tuṭ
pēravamelloi[vay] perus tōruvē
vārav tōtuṭi[s]alakkalappā ngā
ūr av kāṭiṭi[pappā]ṭi[e]…………

(Vāsavatattāi who followed Udayana, the captive king, in the streets of Ujjayini, leaving behind her retinue, became the object of public scorn.)

15. Tirumāṅkai Alibaba, Čitṛaratmahal, Nāṇyirati-
As we have already noticed, Pradyūna, the king of Avanti, was also known as Mahāśeṇa and references to him and in particular to his bad temper which earned him the title of Cāṇḍa Pradyota or Cāṇḍa Mahāśeṇa, occur in the Buddhist and Jain texts of this period. The Puranic lists of kings also mention him and his son Pālaka (or Bālaka) but curiously, they place him among the kings of Magadha and state that he proceeded Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of the Sārvasenāga dynasty by several generations. The Kashmerian works accordingly refer to Pradyota as the father of Padmāvati while the father of Vāsavadatā is called Mahāśeṇa! Lacote has already considered this point and has concluded that “apart from the Kashmerian edition, Pradyota of Magadha, does not exist at all.” This is again a point in which the version of the Pū. is in agreement with the historically more accurate testimony of the Bksa, and of the Prākrit and Pāli texts.

The route taken by Udayanāg on his escape from Ucasytīgā

Kathuvallī has devoted several sections to the description of the landscape along the route taken by Udayanāg and Vācavatattai when the former escaped from the city of Ucasytīgā on the back of the elephant (Bhadrawatī). We have already summarised this description in chapter three. The location of the city of Jayantī (Jayantī) which was the ultimate destination of Udayanāg during his escapade cannot be fixed with any certainty. We may infer that it was inside the Vatsa country, close to the border which it shared with the Magadha kingdom, from the following reference found in the Vattavākāṭan of the Pū.  

Here the author states that Udayaṇa installed Urumagavā in the city of Cayaṇa, and in the Ilavāśaka territory, which was situated among hilly slopes. We find the following reference to a city called Jayantī in Hemacandra’s Triṣaṭṭhaṭākāpuracarita\textsuperscript{21}.

“The Vaitāṭhya mountain which was four hundred miles long, touching the rivers, Gaṅga and Sindhu, on either side, was given as dominion to Nami and Vinami by Dharaṇendra, the protecting deity of the first Jaina Tīrthankara, Ādīnātha. Nami occupied the Southern Vaitāṭhya and founded fifty cities including Jayantī and Rathānīpuracakravāla\textsuperscript{22}.”

Regarding the location of the mountain called Vaitāṭhya\textsuperscript{23} we may anticipate the arguments given in the next chapter and surmise that, contrary to what has been held so far, it was identical with the Vindhyā range of mountains. We do not know whether the city of Jayantī mentioned here is identical with the town of the same name occurring in the \textit{Pāṇ}.

Still we may safely conclude that Udayaṇa had travelled eastwards from Ucayi. Till he crossed the Narumatai (Narmadā) river he is said to have travelled along the fields in the plains (Marutānālam), then through forest tracks into the hilly region of the Vindhyā mountains through which the river, Narumatai flowed. We know from the Meghadūta\textsuperscript{24} that the city of Ujjayinī was situated in a region through which several rivers flowed viz. Nirvindhyā, Sindhu, Sīpā, Gaṇḍhavāti, Gaṃbhīrā etc. This region would no doubt have been a fertile agricultural


\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Infra}, chapter VI.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Meghadūta}, Fürvamagha, vv. 29, 30, 32, 36, 43.
area. The transition from the plains to the steep Vindhya mountains would necessarily involve the presence of large forest tracts. The course of the elephant Bhadravati, as described in the *Pāṇi* is thus seen to have a factual basis. It is not as if the author wished to follow an established literary convention of describing the five different kinds of landscape and hence introduced these descriptions in his narrative. This is also the reason why a description of the Neytal country does not occur, since the route taken by Utyayasaṅga and Vācavataatāi was well away from the coastal area, being directed eastwards from Ujjayinī.

Soon after crossing the river, Narmadā, probably somewhere close to its source at Āmaraṅgaṇa, Utyayasaṅga had to travel through arid lands till he was confronted by the Šabarās and Pujindas. This again lends a touch of realism to the narrative since we know that the Šabarās and Pujindas were the hunting tribes who occupied the Vindhya forests from ancient times, as testified by the Brahmāgas and the Mahābhārata. The sites of the towns called Arasṭaṁ and Pūtpakam which are mentioned by Kaṅkṣeṣvarī as lying on the route between Uccayī and Čayānti cannot be identified by us. We are however informed in the Vattavakaṅgaṅita that Itapakaṅa received as a gift from Utayasaṅga, fifty townships in the Āṭavi territory and was asked to stay in charge of the city of Pūtpakam. The Āṭavas are the people of the Āṭavi territory are mentioned together with the Šabarās in the Puranic list. From this we may infer that Āṭavas were situated a little to the north east of Vindhya forests adjoining the Narmadā river.


Candha (Saṅgha) Maggava - the confederacy of kings who opposed king Tarucakak (Dārika).

Next we pass on to an examination of the names of the kings who formed a confederacy to confront the powerful king of Magadha. At least some of these names may be shown not to be fictitious. Thus ‘Elicocevi’ may be readily seen to be the rendering into Tamil of the term ‘Licchavi’. The name ‘Mallam’ refers to a member of the ‘Malla’ line of kings. The Licchavis and the Mallas are well known as the names of two prominent families in North Eastern India at the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. Together they formed, along with a few other kings, a powerful confederacy of kings which was known as ‘Vajjikā’.

‘Vēkāli’ is again the Tamil form of Vaiśāli, which was a town in North Eastern India. It is identical with Modern Besarh in the Murzaffarpur district of Bihar. ‘Atāli’ may also be identified with a kingdom in Central India adjoining the coast of Orissa. It thus becomes clear that the situation described in the Pā. is one in which a large number of subordinate kings belonging to different parts of Northern and Central India rose up against the supremacy of the Magadhan empire. It has already been mentioned that the predecessor of Dāraka (Tarucakan) was Aṭāla. He was a powerful emperor who brought a large part of the above areas under his control. Soon after the succession of Dāraka to the throne of the Magadhan empire, these kings perhaps invaded Rājagiri jointly in a bid to destroy the supremacy of the Magadhan empire.

The mention of the city of Rājagiri as the capital of the Magadha kingdom at this time is also in conformity with the known facts of history. This ancient city is believed to have

28. *Infra.* pp. 147, 149.
been founded by Jarkandha and was encircled by five hills, one of which is Vipulam mentioned in the Mahabhārata as well as in the Buddhist and Jaina works. According to the Pk. it was in a banyan grove on the slopes of this hill that Mrgavati gave birth to Udayana. In the Jaina Sutras, it is mentioned as a holy place where a number of monks practised penance and attained liberation.

The battle between Utayānṛ and Āruṇi

The ancestral home of Udayana has been unanimously said to have been the city of Kauṣāmbi which was situated on the banks of the river Yamuna. During the captivity of Utayānṛ in Ucayāni by king Pirucchāna, the Vatsa kingdom is said to have been seized by a king named Āruṇi of the Pāṇḍava country. We have already discussed the references to this event and the subsequent victory of Utayānṛ over him in chapter three. The Bhasa also refers to the occupation of Kauṣāmbi by Āruṇi in the absence of Udayana. The country of Pāṇḍava may be seen to adjoin the Vatsa kingdom which had Kauṣāmbi as its capital city from Map II. The name Āruṇi may also be traced to the post-Vedic literature in which the celebrated philosopher Uddālaka Āruṇi Pāṇḍala is mentioned. This term means that he belonged to the Pāṇḍava country and was the son of Āruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama. It appears probable that the name Āruṇi was a patronym which was held by the members of the Pāṇḍava clan who were descendants of Āruṇa.

In the Pk we find that a minister of king Tarucaṇa, by name Varuṣākara, plays a prominent role in assisting Utayānṛ in his onslaught against the Pāṇḍava king. We find that 'Vassakara'...
which is the Prakrit and Pali form of the Sanskrit term, ‘Varṣ-a-kâra’ and ‘Varuṣ-a-kâraṇ’ in Tamil, is the name of a historical figure who was reputed to have been the minister of king Ajâtaśatru of Magadhâ. The name is said to have the meaning ‘he who wins over’. According to the Buddhist tradition the Licchavi tribe and their confederacy with the Mallas kings were broken up from within, by a technique carefully described in the great book of Magadhan statecraft viz. the Arthasastra. A brahmin minister of Ajâtaśatru (Vassakâra) went over to the Licchavis in simulated disgrace. Though the Licchavis and the Mallas had no brahmans within their tribes and followed no Vedic practices, the guest’s status, prestige, and supposed knowledge of the Magadhan king’s intentions made him welcome. He utilised their trust to set one oligarch against another, to encourage each Licchavi to demand more than his allotted share, and to make the tribe neglect tribal meetings, the collective army drills and the tribal judicial assemblies. Having thus succeeded in sowing the seeds of dissension among his powerful antagonists through his minister, Vassakâra, Ajâtaśatru was able to ultimately destroy the powerful Licchavi kings.

These incidents have also been described in detail in several Jaina texts, in particular in the Bhagavatisûtra. Their account is summarised below:

Among the sixteen great states the most famous ones of north eastern India were Kâši, Kolsa, Vajji (Vijji) and Magadhas which flourished during the time of Lord Mahâvîra. The most important factor in the political condition of this period was the quadrangular struggle among these four states for

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establishing their political suzerainty. The military power of
the Vṛjñi confederation was growing under the leadership of king
Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, united together with his allies who were the
nine Mallakas (of the Mallā clan), nine Licchavis, Kāsi, Kośāla,
and their eighteen republican chiefs (gaṇajājas). On the other
side, the aggressive monarchy of Magadha under its ambitious
ruler, Vīdeghaputra king Kuṣāka (Aśākastra), was following a
policy of expansion and self-aggrandisement from his base at
Rājagṛha. It is said in the Nīrūvastya Sutra that the immediate
cause of a great conflict between these two powers was the gift of
a state elephant, ‘Selīgam’ (Sesaṇaka) i.e. sprinkler, and a
necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, made by king Seṇāya
(Bimbisāra) to his younger sons, Halla and Behalla. On his
ascendancy to royal power after the usurpation of his father’s
throne, king Kuṣāka demanded the surrender of these two gifts
from his younger brothers. They refused to give them up and
they immediately escaped with them to their maternal grandfather,
king Ceṭaka. Kuṣāka sent his ambassador thrice to the court of
Ceṭaka for demanding the peaceful extradition of the two gifts,
but king Ceṭaka refused to give them up. So Kuṣāka declared
war against Vaiśālī.

The Buddhist commentary, Śrīmadgalaśvākṣaṇa, however
states that the violation of an economic agreement on the part of
the Licchavis, regarding the condominium exercised by them and
king Kuṣāka over a mine of precious gems in the vicinity of a
port situated on the bank of the Ganges, led to the war. It is
said in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtrā that after resolving to root
out the Vaiṣțians, Aśākastra ordered the brahmin prime minister,
Vasatakṣa, to go to the Buddha and inform him of his decision.
The Buddha then assured the Licchavis that they could not be
conquered as long as they maintained internal concord in
assembly and administration, avoiding revolutionary laws and
measures, following old traditions, honouring the elders of the
community, old institutions and shrines, saints and women.
Kuṣāka fully realised that it was impossible to conquer the
Licchavis in a straight fight without disrupting and destroying the
strength of their inner unity. So he charged his prime minister,
Vasatakṣa, with the secret mission of sowing the seeds of dissension
and disunion among the Vaisālians. The mission was crowned with success after three years. Infected by the poison of hatred and jealousy spread by Vassakāra among them, the Licchavis of Vaisāli lost their social and national unity and efficiency. Kuśika availed himself of this opportunity to wage war against them. But Čeṣaka, on the apprehension of the impending war to be waged by Kuśika against Vaisāli, summoned the assembly of nine Mallakis, nine Licchavis, the rulers of Kāñ, Kūṣala and their eighteen republican chiefs also. Two fierce wars called Mahāśāla kaśṭaka saṅgrāma and Rathamula saṅgrāma were fought. In these wars Kuśika was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Vaiśajyan confederacy.

The account of the role played by Varuṣakāraṇa in the campaign of Udayana against Āruṇi as described in the Sk could well have been based on actual incidents which took place during the reign of king Darśaka who was the successor of Kuśika Aṅgaśānu to the throne of Magadha. It is also equally probable that Kośkuvējīc has followed here the narration of Guṇḍāhyas in the original Sk, in which the latter had introduced a well known legend connected with Vassakāra (Varuṣakāraṇa).

We now turn to a discussion of the location of the various places in which the action of the story took place.

**Kauśāmbī (Kūśānapī) and the Vatta (Vatāta) kingdom.**

The capital city of Udayana, Kauśāmbī has been identified as the village of Kosam, about thirty miles away from Allahabad across the fields. (See map II). It seems to have been on the northern bank of the river, Yamunā, at a point about four hundred miles by road from Ujjayānī and about two hundred and thirty miles up-stream from Benares.

Cunningham who tried to identify the geographical location of Kauśāmbī was hampered by the lack of direct evidence to show that the city was situated on the bank of the river Yamunā. He was therefore forced to rely on a local legend of one Bakkula for this purpose. This would have been

unnecessary if the Pk version of the Udayana story had been known at that time since there are at least two clear references in the text of the Pk, to the fact that the city of Köckmpi was situated on Yamunai. The first of these is in the passage in which Cākkiyattāy who was earlier living in Köckmpi explains the story of her early life to Utayāṇa. This passage reads as follows:

\[\text{Paitar pampaṭy ṭaṅkaṛerukki māṇaṛ kuyān puṭṭi māgir Yamunai īṭaṅkayatt aṭanta vitiya celvulip}\]

(When I was led towards the river Yamunai by the executioners of king Satākkaṇa in order to be drowned there (as a punishment for my infidelity), after being made to carry a pot of sand, as the drums were being sounded \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\).)

The fact that Cākkiyattāy was living in Köckmpi and that she was led to be drowned in the river Yamunai makes it obvious that Köckmpi was situated on the bank of Yamunai.

The second reference occurs in the Makatakāṭam, when Vaṣyantakāṭ announces the arrival of his brothers, Pītakalaṇ and Kaṭakaṇ to Utayāṇa.

\[\text{piṇṭapāṭik kumāraṇa pīṭakala kaukak ināk kaukiṣī ṭiti vanta parama yāyaṇ pāccalla rāyaṇ arumuraṇ aṣṭa nṛṣṭalī vṛṣamarmik aṭṭar wamatu nṛṣer aṭṭakum kuṭir mir yamunak kaukiṣī kaukam paga\ldots}\]

(when your younger brothers, Pītakalaṇ and Kaṭakaṇ, could not face the invading king of Pāhāla (who invaded the city of}

40. Pk. 1 : 36 : 159-161.
41. Pk. 3 : 24 : 51-56.
Kēcāmpī), they took refuge in the deep waters of the river, Yamugai, in which people performing penances perform ablutions).

Here the idea is that the young princes were driven into the river by the invader, who was prevented from giving chase to them any further by the tradition that one does not fight with an enemy who has got into a river.

The above references occurring in the Pk. clearly show that Kēcāmpī was situated on the bank of Yamugai.

The Cēdi kingdom

The Cēdi kingdom which is said to have been ruled by Ceṭaka, the maternal grandfather of Udayana, corresponds to the modern Bundeskhand district in Central India43. The Kalaśkri kings who ruled over Cēdi are known to have belonged to the Haihaya line and are mentioned in an inscription as late as A.D. 1181.44 In the period under our consideration the Haihaya line of kings traced their lineage from the illustrious Kārvāriya whose exploits are described in the purāṇas.45 Ś∆ṇupāla, a well known character in the Mahābhārata, also belonged to this royal family.

Vaiśāli and the Videha Kingdom.

The Jaina accounts of king Ceṭaka however place him at the head of the Vaiśāli Confederacy of kings and princes who dominated the political scene of this period in the north eastern part of India viz. the Videha country with its capital at Vaiśāli. We find Bhāsa referring to Udayana as 'Vaiśehī putra', a reference which can be understood only if we take Mrgāvatt to have come

42. Jain, J. C. Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons. (Bombay, 1927) p. 276
43. Vincent, A. Smith, op.cit. p. 409.
44. Pargiter, F. E., Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 265 ff.
45. Bhāsa, Svapnavāsavadattam, Act VI.
from the Videha kingdom to the Vatsa country. The U. also refers to Vaśišṭha as the capital city of Čēṣaka to which Udodaya was taken by his maternal uncle called Prabhājana in the days of his adolescence. We do not however know how the description of Čēṣaka as the head of the Vaijhis in north eastern India can be reconciled with his occupation of the Cedi kingdom in central India.

A clue to the situation is perhaps provided by the ancient historical tradition of the purānic and epic literature. We thus find the genealogy of the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas given by twelve purānas agreeing with each other generally. Among them Arjuna Kārtavīrya was a very famous monarch who is called both a Samuṣṭ and a Cakravarīta. He raised the Haihaya power to preeminence, captured Mīhiṃsātī from the Kārkotakas and made it his capital. His Conquest extended from the mouth of the river, Narmadā, to the Hīṁsāyas. Later he came into conflict with sage Jamadagnī and his son, Pāraśurāma, who killed him and slew many Haihayas. The Haihayas however continued to grow in power. At this time they comprised five leading groups: Vaiśhovānas, Śrīyūnas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tugḍikeras. During this period, they attacked and raised the whole of north India up to the kingdoms of Vaśīṣṭha and Videha. They were finally checked and destroyed by Pāṣaṇa. After his death, the overthrown dynasties appear to have generally recovered themselves. It was at this time that Četi, the son of Kaśīvarta founded the dynasty of Caidye kings in Cedi, the country lying along the south of the Yamunā river. King Čēṣaka, who belonged to this illustrious family, perhaps held sway over the Cedi country and in that capacity, came to be the chief of the Vaijhis whose centre of power was in the north-eastern city of Vaśīṣṭha.

**Ujjanī and the Avaṇṭhi kingdom**

The position of the city of Ujjanī which was ruled by Pradyota Mahāśena, the father of Vāsavadatta, hardly needs any identification, as the existence of the modern city of Ujjain

46. U. Parlochedas I, II.

47. Pargitar. F. E, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 103.
leaves no scope for speculation in this regard. It was the capital city of the Avanti kingdom which coincided with the present Malwa territory. The Pāṇḍara mentions the Kālavaṇgam i.e. the park adjoining the famous Mahākāl temple which has made the city of Ujjain an important religious centre down to this day. The poet, Kālidāsa, also talks of the Mahākāla temple in Ujjain in his Meghadūta48 and describes how the Vatta king stole away the beloved daughter of Pāṇḍarīṇa and the elephant, Nalagiri, ran amuck and uprooted the pāla trees in the city.

Rājagirī and the Magadha kingdom

After his marriage with Vīcavatattai in the city of Ceylanti, Utayāṇa is taken to the Lāvāṇa forest by his friends. Even though the position of this forest cannot be ascertained precisely, we are told that it was at the border of the Vatta and the Magadha kingdoms49. From there Utayāṇa and his companions left for the city of Rājagiri. Rājagiri corresponds to the modern Rajgir situated North latitude 25° 2' and East longitude 81° 26'. It is about north east from Gaya and South east from Patna50. Until the establishment of Kunumapura or Pataliputra as the capital city of the Magadha kingdom under the reign of the Maurya kings, Rājagirī was known to have been the capital of that kingdom.

Campā and the Aśoka kingdom

While Utayāṇa went to Rājagiri, Vīki, Vīcavatattai and Čākkyatatiyā repaired to the city of Cossipai i.e. Campbell. This city is well known as the headquarters of the Aśoka kingdom which was included first among the ten ancient capitals of India.48. It occupied territories in the east of the Magadha country and was separated from it by the river Campā, perhaps the modern Candumā river. The capital city of the Campā lay at the confluence of the Campā and the Ganges rivers and was

49. Nīti Adaval, op. cit. p. 103.
50. Vincent, A. Smith, op. cit. p. 32.
one of the most populous and ancient cities of ancient India. It may be identified with the modern village of Campānagar near Bhagalpur.

**The Pāṇāla country of Arupī**

This country came to be known as the kingdom of Kanauj in later days and may probably be identified with the doab between the Yamunā and the Ganges rivers, corresponding to the Farrukhabad district of the present Uttar Pradesh state†. Its contiguity to the Vatsa territory is therefore obvious and thus the invasion of Arupī over the city of Kauśāmbī in the absence of Udayana becomes plausible as an event caused by the traditional enmity between two neighbouring kings.

**The Malla and Licchavi kingdoms.**

Lastly we take note of the mention by Kośāvalī of the kings named Mallā, and Elīcevi among those who came to attack Rājagiri. From Buddhistic records we come to know that there were two branches of the Mallas; the Mallas of Kuśānara and the Mallas of Pāva. The Mahābhārata speaks of the Malla rāṣṭras and the Dakṣiṇa Mallas both of whom were defeated by Bhumasena. Kuśānara or Kuśavati has been located near Kasia, while Pāva has been taken to correspond to Fazilpur, 10 miles south east of Kasia‡.

It has already been pointed out that Elīcevi is probably the Tamil form of the term 'Licchavi'. Buddhist sources inform us that the Ganges formed the boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and the country of the Licchavi, both of whom claimed equal rights over the river in the time of Ajāñāstru.

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53. Sudama Misra, *op. cit* pp. 72, 75.
The traditional capital of the Licchavi kings was Vaishali but we know that the Licchavi kings were uprooted by Ajitastra. This probably is the reason why Kasthuvēśir refers to Elichewi as the king of Attigapuram i.e. Hastināpura.

It is thus clear that the narrative of the Pār. is not just a figment of the author’s imagination but was most probably based on incidents which took place in northern, central and eastern India during the life time of Udayana. It is quite conceivable that Guptāgṛhya had incorporated these incidents in the Bk. and his account of these events formed the source book for the author of the Pār.
CHAPTER VI

The Mythological, Cosmological, Metaphysical, Ethical, Theological and Ritualistic Ideas of Jainism as reflected in the Pernākatai.

Unlike the Maṇimekālai and the Čivakacintāmāni which contain explicit allusions to and ideas from Buddhism and Jainism respectively, the Ph. does not have the appearance of a text with a primarily religious motivation. However, it appears pretty certain that in the Ph. we have a south Indian Jaina version of the Udayana story as contained in the original Bk. This conclusion is strengthened by the existence of the Ukk. and the Ut. which are undoubtedly works written by Jain authors as explained in chapter I. We notice that the author’s main aim is to narrate the story as faithfully as was possible for one attempting a rendering into Tamil of a North Indian story. However in the course of this narrative we do find ideas peculiar to Jainism strewn here and there, in a manner which leads one to believe that the main characters of the story belong to that religion. We examine this particular aspect of the Ph. now, since a comprehension of this aspect is vital to the proper appreciation of the text itself. Ideas which are of a peculiarly Jaina character which occur in the text of the Ph. may be conveniently classified under the following heads:

i. Mythological and cosmological ideas.
ii. Metaphysical ideas— These treat the relationship between the soul (jiva) and the non-soul (ajiva), which are the two basic realities in Jaina religious thought.
iii. Ethical ideas and the doctrines which would enable the soul to attain liberation.
iv. Theological ideas— According to Jainism, the Universe has not been created by a supreme being or God. But godliness may be achieved by all beings by attaining liberation from the eight Karmas and reaching the alobha, i.e. that which is beyond the Universe. The theological ideas therefore deal with the relationships between the soul and the liberated souls (arhats).
v. Ritualistic ideas.
Mythological and Cosmological Ideas

The observation by Alsdorf⁷ that "what connects the Bk. with the mythology and cosmography of the Jains can be said in one word as the Vidyādhāras" applies equally well to the Pk. The central theme of the Bk. viz. the conquest of the empire of the Vidyādhāras by Naraśāhanadatta is not described in the available text of the Pk. Yet, there are many references in the text to this event. We discuss them below.

1. After the disappearance of Vācavatattai who was allegedly burnt in a fire in the palace, Udayaṇa (Udayana) reaches the Makata (Magadha) country and there falls in love with Parulāpati, the sister of king Tarucakṣa. Soon after his marriage with her, she asks him to play on the lute which he had used to give music lessons to Vācavatattai. This induces reminiscences in the mind of Udayaṇa of the happy days which he had spent in the company of Vācavatattai. He then has a dream which is interpreted by a sooth sayer as portending the birth of a son to him and Vācavatattai, who would achieve supremacy over the empire of the Vidyādhāras.

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viṇjup perum ciyagig viṇcaiyur ulakig
valukkil cakkaram vala vayig uykkum³.
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(In the land of Vidyādhāras he will (roll his Anjā cakra) have supremacy).

2. Later on, Udayaṇa who is reunited with Vācavatattai tells her of his dream and what it foretells, in order to explain the dream which she has also had in the meantime.

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2. Pk. 4 : 5. 84–122.
3. Ibid. 4 : 5 : 105–106.
4. Ibid. 5 : 1 : 161–163.
(you see that the unfailling statement that he, their future son, will roll the wheel (Āgācchakkaram, has been confirmed).

3. The same idea is also expressed by the Yakṣa, Naṅcukaṅ, who comes to the assistance of Utayaṅaṅ who invokes his help as advised by Urumāppura. Utayaṅaṅ tells Naṅcukaṅ that he would like to have an aerial car; built in order that his pregnant queen, Vācavatattāl, may satisfy her wish (dohada) of flying in the air. In reply, Naṅcukaṅ points out that the pregnancy wish of the queen is but the result of carrying in her womb the future emperor of the Vidyādhāras.

(The son who is in the womb of your wife is, one who desires the world where Vidyādhāras reside).

It is noteworthy that the reason for Vācavatattāl’s pregnancy-wish is stated to be the same in this passage of the Pk as well as in the Ks. and in the Bkm.

4. The events which paved the way for the birth of Naravāṇatattā (Naravāṇanadatta) are narrated in some detail in the Pk. The female elephant, Pattiṅpatri (Bhadrkāvati), who was none other than a courtesan in the court of Indra who had been born as a female elephant because of a curse, is freed from her curse and regains her former state thanks to Utayaṅaṅ who chants

5. Ibid. 5 : 3 : 45-48
6. Ks. 4 : II (XXII) 9 ff.
   Bkm. 4 : 45 ff.
the 'aimpatam' (Pañcanamaskāra mantra) in her ears at the moment of her death. In return she intercedes with Indra to bless Utsayanātha with an illustrious son. Indra orders Cūtarmēṇitrag (Saudharmanendra) to help. At the behest of the latter, an ascetic who is performing penance and has a death-wish (nidāna) to acquire sucrainity over the silver mountain. (i.e., the mountain of the Vidyādhāras) is reborn as the son of Utsayanātha. Cūtamanā orders the ascetic Cūtavaj to enter the womb of Vīcavatātā in the following words:

"........................................
pava nikkiya paratag pīcanā
āy perum toā kuēt tāgyi īppal
mačil viścaiyar maliy akant tājī
āly uruśtiṇy en vaiyiν varūum".  

(you come back to me after having been born in the famous and ancient family of Paratag (Bharata) who was free from sin and after exerting your power (Ajī-cakra i.e. Ājā cakra) on the mountain of the faultless Vidyādhāras).

Saudharmanendra is the lord of one of the twelve heavens which, according to Jain cosmology, are situated above the world of human beings. These are Saudharma, Igana Sunatikumara, Māhendras, Brahmaloka, Lankata, Sukra, Subhārāra, Aṃrata, Priyagata, Kṛṣṇa and Acyuta. Of these, the first two rest on dense water; the next three on (dense) wind; the next-three on dense water and dense wind; above these, the heavens rest on (empty) space.

It may be mentioned in passing that we find in the Bkas, a scene somewhat similar to this in the court of Kubera. When Udayana in his dream is transported by a celestial maiden into the presence of Kubera, one of the sages assembled there tells

another, pointing to him that the later should take birth as his son in the human world. But, the Pk. version is much more detailed and more in accordance with Jaina concepts of how human births are preordained by wishes and Karmas in former births.

Besides the above references, at the end of the present text of the Pk. we find that Naravāhanadatta’s bride, MataṅgaMaṇḍikai (MadanaMaṇḍukai) is forcibly carried away while asleep by the Vidyaśāk, Māṇasavēka (Māṇasaveka), thus ensuring a further encounter between Naravāpana and the Vidyaśākhas as in all the other versions of the Bk. We need not therefore have any doubt that the Pk. did contain an account of the conquest by Naravāhanadatta of the realm of the Vidyaśākhas. Before entering into further discussion about the Vidyaśākhas, we shall pass on to a discussion of some concepts peculiar to Jaina traditions and are connected with the mythological and cosmological ideas.

These deal with:

i. Pregnancy-wish (dohada. (Skt.) Vayā. (Tamil).

ii. Death-wish (Nidāna. (Skt) Nīdāna—(Tamil)

iii. Dreams and their significance

1. Pregnancy wish:

When Vācavatāttai has conceived Naravāpana, she has a longing to fly in the air. "This pregnancy wish is explained as being due to the fact that she has, in her womb, the future emperor of the Vidyaśākhas who have the capacity to fly through the air (khojara). Uṣyāṣṭy, who enquires Vācavatāttai what she wants, assures her that he would fulfill her desire, whatever it may be. As an example of the fact that the pregnancy-wish of a
wife should always be fulfilled by her husband at any cost, he narrates to her an incident.

(Like the king of faultless fame, who found out the wish of his noble queen to eat the fatty intestine of her husband (i.e. himself) and satisfied her desire by giving it to her).

The allusion here is to the episode of king Ugrasena of Mathura and his queen. In the Bker, this story is narrated in the same context, in the words of Mrdvatt, the mother of Udayana. Here it is said that when Ugrasena’s queen (Manoramā by name) was strolling in the garden of the palace, a demon called Drumilā saw her and, deceiving her by assuming the form of her husband, united with her. As a result, the queen became pregnant and developed a pregnancy-wish to eat the flesh and blood of Lord Viṣṇu. Hearing this, king Ugrasena devised an artificial image of Viṣṇu made of flour, with the flesh of a ram in its belly. Thus the longing of the queen was satisfied in the dim light of a burning lamp.

The Ph. which is the North Indian Jaina version of the Bk. also gives this story, but with slightly differing details which are as follows: “King Uggasena neglected to entertain an ascetic who therefore became insinical towards him. With the desire of getting a reward for his austerities the ascetic died with a wish to be reborn and cause the destruction of Uggasena and was conceived in the womb of Uggasena’s wife. Three months after

conception, she had a pregnancy-longing to eat the flesh (balli-
māṣa) of the king's stomach. In order to procure the tasty flesh of the king, the ministers prepared a cloth in the colour of flesh, and keeping it within sight of the queen, they covered the king's stomach with it and cut out a piece of flesh from the stomach. This was taken to the queen. She ate the flesh and fulfilled her longing.\textsuperscript{13}

It may be noted that according to this version Kapuṣa, the son of Ugrasena, was none other than an ascetic who had in his previous birth developed a feeling of enmity towards Ugrasena on account of his negligence in extending hospitality to him, and therefore gave up his life with a death-wish to cause the destruction of Ugrasena in his next birth. Thus, according to the Jaina belief, the pregnancy-wish of a woman is intimately connected with the nature of the offspring and the events of his previous birth. We find similar versions of the Ugrasena episode also in other Jaina works such as Harivamsa.\textsuperscript{14}

\section{Death wish:}

The doctrine of Karma which is basic to the Jaina religion has resulted in the closely related idea that the wish that a person has at the time of his death will determine the events and nature of his next birth. This idea occurs frequently in various Jaina texts such as the Uttarādhyāyana Sutra, and the Patāk\textsuperscript{15}. Thus, we find in the latter, one Nandīśeṇa who expressed a strong desire (niśkāma) at the time of his death, that if there was any reward for his penitential acts, he should be reborn handsome so that he

\begin{itemize}
\item[15.] Jain. J. C. op. cit. p. 551.
\end{itemize}
would be loved by women. He was thus reborn as the tenth son of king Andhugavaæhi, known as Vasudeva, and later won the hands of many beautiful women during his wanderings.

The details regarding the death-wish of a monk called Cārīnā at to be reborn as a Vidyàdhara king, and how he was ordered by Cautaramadīrī to be reborn as Narâvâgān, have already been discussed. These incidents which are described in the Pañcarāja bear the unmistakable stamp of the Jaina concept of nidānā.

iii. Dreams and their significance:

Closely related to the above two concepts is the belief in dreams and their significance as foretelling future events. We are thus told in Jaina texts that the mother of a future Tirthankara will dream of several auspicious things. For example, Śravaka’s mother dreamt of the following fourteen auspicious objects: a white bull, a royal elephant, a lion, a goddess on the lotus, a wreath made of flowers of different celestial trees which shone like the rainbow, the orb of a moon, the sun, a flag-staff, a pitcher of water, a large lotus pond, a milky ocean, a sacred dome (vimana), a large collection of gems and a smokeless fire.

We find in the same way, the birth of the future Cakravartin of the Vidyàdhara in the Pañcarāja being portended by the following dreams. In the first of these dreams, Utayañga sees a celestial maiden who holds in her hand a white lotus flower with fragrant

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18. Pañcarāja. 5: 3: 165 ff.
21. Hemacandra, Triṣṭiśaḥalākāpurūṣacarita, op. cit. p.528,
pollen which attract bees. In it lies a white bull whose body has
the lustre of the milky ocean where the snake Kâleśa lies and
radiates white rays like the moon and a white crystal. Its
mouth, eyes and hooves have the hue of a coral. It has a
ferocious look and wears a garland made of white flowers. The
celestial maiden presents the white flower to him.

Later we are told that when Udayapâ and Vaiśravaṇa are
sleeping in their palace a celestial maiden appeared before
him in the middle of the night and asked him to come with her
to meet her lord, Kubera, the god of wealth. Udayapâ who
desires to bring Vaiśravaṇa also along with him, wakes her up
and the celestial maiden carries them both in the skies to the
abode of Kubera. There they are accorded seats supported by
posts fashioned like lions, in the presence of Kubera. They
then notice a toy cart with a child on the golden chain of the cart
with a painted Koṭiśc. Then when they looked at it they see
a jewel slipping from the tip of a golden petal which is at the
centre of a wheel which is rolling. The celestial maiden fetches
it with an exclamation, under Kubera’s orders. He then gives
it to Udayapâ and sends them back to the earth. In the city
of Kubārpa Udayapâ has the jewel examined by jewellers and
then presents it to Vaiśravaṇa. She keeps it next to her breast
when it suddenly tears open her breasts and enters into her belly.
At that point Vaiśravaṇa gets up with a start. After witnessing
all these incidents in his dream Udayapâ also wakes up and
narrates his dream to an interpreter who predicts the birth of a
son to him who would become the emperor of the Vidyādhara.

After sometime Vaiśravaṇa also has a dream in which
she sees a white elephant which folds its trunk and enters her
mouth and goes into her stomach while the celestial beings sing
songs of praise and the trumpets are blown. Then she spits out
the elephant which flies away and stays on a white mountain
where it swallows the sun.

23. Ibid. 5:1:76-110.
24. Ibid. 5:1:140-155
Thus we find that both Utayaṇaṇa and Vīcavaṭṭatai in their dreams see a lion, a white elephant, the sun, jewels, a heavenly abode, a white bull, a wreath of flowers, a white lotus, a celestial goddess, and an ocean of milk.

In the explanation given by soothsayers to these dreams they clearly explain that the son who is going to be born to Vīcavaṭṭatai will be a Vidyādhara Cakravarīti. While interpreting the first dream Utayaṇaṇa had a soothsayer explain as follows:25 "The big white lotus is your wife, Vīcavaṭṭatai, and the bull which lay in the lotus is your son. The white milky ocean, the white bull, the white lotus all together indicate that your son is going to roll his Ānākāra (have the suzerainity) over the world of the Vidyādharaś.26 The dream in which a white elephant enters the mouth of Vīcavaṭṭatai is similar to the dream of Ruppiṣṭha, for example, in the Vh, who sees in his dream a lion entering her mouth and Kesava (Kṛṣṇa) tells her that this dream signifies the birth of a son to her.

We now turn to a discussion of the central theme of the Vidyādharaś, and try to show that the important role played by the Vidyādharaś is a feature which is peculiar to Jaina mythology. This question has already been discussed in detail by Alsdorf27 who has pointed out that the Vidyādharaś did not have so much importance in the earlier literature. Though they are mentioned often in the epics, they play an ordinary role similar to that of other semi-divine or supernatural beings. This is also true of the Puiśa literature. On the contrary, the role of the Vidyādharaś in Jaina literature is large. They often appear as heroes in their stories. Anyone possessing mastery in the magical arts or Vidyāś, can become a Vidyādhara, whether it is a human being or an animal. We find the coherent account of the origin of the Vidyādharaś only in Jaina texts such as the Vh. This account runs as follows:28

25. Ibid. 4 : 5 : 95-122.
Varunādevahāṣṭi. 163, 25-164-17.
When the first Tirthankara Rādhā divided his kingdom before giving up the world, the princes Nami and Vinami were abroad. On their return they requested Rādha for their share, but he, who in the meantime had turned away from all worldly things and was immersed in deep meditation, did not answer them. Nami and Vinami served him with continuous renewal of their request for a kingdom. One day Dharapendra, the lord of the Nagakumitras, came by and rewarded them with the two śreṇis of the Vaiśāḍhya, for having served Rādha so faithfully. Because one could not get there on foot he lent them 48,000 Vidyās to transport them and their future subjects to the Vaiṣāḍhya. Nami founded fifty cities on the south, and Vinami sixty cities on the northern śreṇi. The Vidyāḍharas were grouped into sixteen Nikāyas named after the chief Vidyāḍharas. Of these eight each were allotted to Nami and Vinami. This is the origin of the Vidyāḍharas.

The Kṣ, and the Bks, mention the Himālayas as the abode of the Vidyāḍharas. The Kailāsa mountain is said to divide their territory into a northern and a southern region. The Bks, mentions Vaiśāḍha, which is taken to be a synonym of Vedyardha. This name is supposedly derived from Vīṣṇudā, in Sanskrit which means 'a terrace'. aldorf has derived Veyaḍḍha from Vedyardha meaning 'the base of a mountain'. The word 'Vedyardha' becomes 'Vidyāḍha' in Prakrit. This mountain is also known as Vijayaḍhya or Vijayardha.

24. Jambudvipasamāna, p. 20; Jinasena, Harivarāṇapuruṣa, 24 : 81; Jain J. C. Vidyāḍharas in the Vasudevahipṣṭi, p. 120.
In Tamil, the Sanskrit term ‘Vidyādha’ (Vidyā + dhara) takes two forms: one Vittiyār and the other Vičārāṇaṅ. 

(1) Vidyā + dhara. (Skt) (The one who possess the knowledge of the arts)
Vittiyā + tarāṅ (Tam.)

(2) Vidyā + dhara
Vijjā (Pāli and Pkt) + dhara (Skt).
Vicā + tarāṅ (Tam.)

Apart from these two forms there is also another form in Tamil viz. Vīcaiyāṅ. We see this word being employed in the following examples.

1. nac il vicaiyār malaiyācum talil....
   (Having gone to the mountain where Vīcaiyārs (Vidyādharas) dwell).

2. mālaku cilappiū viciyār...
   (the Vidyādharas who is of great excellency)

3. viciyār tajgaru ..... (with the Vidyādharas).

4. vilak all vicaiyār vilumānūj eyti.....
   (The bright Vīcaiyār came with a mind filled with worry......)

5. vigal keju vicaiyār velly am peru malal....
   (The big silver mountain where the mighty Vidyādharas stay...)

How is this form to be derived? It may be argued that ‘Vīcai’ has become ‘Vicai’ and then came to be modified as ‘Vicai’. But we note that the term ‘Vicārāṇaṅ’ does not occur anywhere in Tamil but only ‘Vīcaiyāṅ’. Thus it is clear that the derivation of this term has nothing to do with the term ‘Vidyādha’.

On the other hand, we do come across the following examples in Tamil literature where ‘Vīcai’ refers to a place where a mountain is located.

34. Pk. 5 : 3 : 186.
37. Ibid. 17 : 52.
38. Pk. 5 i 9 : 67.
1. mahe ca el neju nara viricati avari...  
(the Viśca (Vindhyā) forest in the mountain surrounded by clouds.)

2. viricaiyam peru malai nehekaam pījantu...  
(Narmadā river) having pierced the chest of Viśca the great mountain...)

The same Viśca mountain is also referred as Vintum (Vindhyā) in some context. For eg. Viścattāṭāvi is referred to as also Viścattāṭevi.

ari viricatu yācai maruppum...  
Pk. 1 : 5s : 32-  
(the tusk of the elephant in the Vindhyā forest).

It appears probable that the mountain Vindhyā becomes 'Viyaha' in Pāḍkritis and hence 'Virca', 'Virca', and 'Viśca' in Tamil. Alternatively the form 'Vindhyā' itself may lead to 'Vintiyam' in Tamil. The name 'Viricaiyag' should therefore be understood to refer to the beings who belong to 'Viśca' i.e. the Vindhyā mountain.

The Vindhyā mountain has also been famous for its silver and its description occurring in Tamil literature often refers to this particular fact.

1. Viricaiyam peru malai viala asaj veliyum......  
(The silver which shone in the mountain Viśca).

.............Vicatarar ucai veliyum peru malai......  
(The silver mountain where the Vidyākharas dwell).

39. Pk. 5 : 3 : 52  
note. Vindhyāṭāvī has become Viricattāvī

40. Ibid. 1 : 51 : 8  
see also Cilappatikāram.  
viricaipatiyum viricati ariyam .....  
(The city Ujjasint and the forest in Vindhyā.....)

41. Ibid. 1 : 58 : 36.

42. Ibid. 3 : 3 : 118 - 119
Thus it appears probable that the Vidyādharas occupied the Vindhyas, rather than the Himalaya mountain. This supposition may accord well with the idea that the Vyasa mountain divided Bharatavarṣa into two halves.

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that the Pk. embodies the essential characteristics of the mythology and cosmography of the Jains and in particular, of the Vidyādharas. Besides, a careful analysis of the Tamil work may lead to additional insights into some of the less understood aspects of this fascinating subject.

The Metaphysical Ideas.

"The theory of karma is the corner stone of Jainism". It is believed that fine karmic matters are dispersed throughout the cosmos, and get assimilated (brañya) by the souls through their various good and bad activities. Once they get attached to the soul, they are transformed into eight kinds of Karmas. Among these eight, four are destructive karmas (ghatiya karmas) and the others are non destructive (aghatiya karmas). The four destructive karmas are:

1. Jñanavargaṇya Karma, which obscures the knowledge of the soul.
2. Darsanavargaṇya Karma, which obscures the connotation of the soul.
3. Mohatiya Karma which obscures the perception of the soul.
4. Antaraya Karma which prevents the progress of the soul.

The four non-destructive Karmas are:

1. Ayus Karma which determines the age.
2. Gatra Karma which determines the family.
3. Nama Karma which determines the factors of individuality such as the height, the weight, the complexion etc.
4. Vedantya Karma which determines the pleasures and pains experienced by the soul in life. All these eight Karmas together are called açya Karmas, and once the soul is free from all

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these eight karmas it enjoys its natural qualities of infinite perception (ananta darśana), infinite knowledge (ananta jñāna), infinite power (ananta virya) and infinite bliss (ananta sukhah).

In the Pk, the author compares the nature of the welcome given to Utpayaṇa by the citizens of Cayaṇi (Jayantı) when he entered the country on his return from the city of Piraccītana, to that extended to a person who has been liberated from all his karmas, by Indra.

ventiyat aruvitai viṣṭiṭiṇa aqallai
intir ułakam eīr koṇānku.....

(as a good man who has annihilated all his karmas which cause sorrow, is welcomed in the world of Indra).

In another instance the ghāṭṭiya karmas are mentioned. The author of the Pk. compares the way Utpayaṇa went to kill his enemy king Aruṇi to a person who obtained the true knowledge as a result of the annihilation of ghāṭṭiya karmas. It is believed that once the ghāṭṭiya karmas are annihilated the soul can easily attain salvation as the aḡhāṭiya karmas do not stand in the way of salvation.

kati rev vigai kaṇaiyagu kalai
pūti preṇa puṇṇiyag pōla...

44. Pk. 2 : 1 : 15.
45. Pk. 3 : 27 : 149 - 150, see also Cirasācitēmaṇi, v. 2713, 1240. P. V. Comacitaranār in his ‘Vijakka’ (explanation) to the above lines and especially to ‘Kattivev vigai’ says that they are the eight karmas called ṛhagāṇanapāya, darsānanapāya, redāniyam, mohaniyam, dugvum, namam, ḍīra, and antarāya. It is wrong to include here all the four aghāṭiya karmas also under the term ‘kāṭi’. ‘Kāṭi’ is the Tamil term for Sanskrit ghāṭi and kati revigai should be taken as the pain giving ghāṭṭiya karmas.

(Like the good soul who obtained the true perception at the end of the annihilation of ghātiya karmas (kātivevīgāl)).

After destroying all the ghātiya karmas, the soul attains four infinite qualities and surpasses the three lokas and the aloka and attains godliness.

The annihilation of ghātiya karmas is the most important step on the way to salvation. The shedding of karma’s (nirjara) and the prevention of the inflow of the karmic matter (sāmyāra) cannot be done at once. The various stages through which the soul has to advance towards liberation are called guṇasthānas.

There are fourteen guṇasthānas and they are as follows:

1. Mithya-dṛṣṭi (misbeliever)
2. Sasvadana-samyagdṛṣṭi (downfall)
3. Samyag-nityaydṛṣṭi (mixture of right and wrong belief)
4. Avirata-samyagdṛṣṭi (vowless right belief)
5. Deśavirata - samyagdṛṣṭi (partial vow)
6. Pramatta - samyata (imperfect vows)
7. Apranatta - samyata (perfect vows)
8. Apūrva - karaṇa (new thought activity)
9. Aniveṣṭi - bādara - sampareya (advanced thought activity - a stage in which gross passions still remain)
10. Sukṣma - saṃparāya (slightest delusion)
11. Upasānta kāpya - nītaraṇa - chodnāsita (delusionless)
12. Saṅgati - kevalin (omniscience with vibration)
13. Ayogi - kevalin (omniscience with out activity).

46. Four infinite qualities:— ananta-jhāna, ananta-dārśana, ananta-virya and ananta sukha.

47. Nāga loka, Bhūloka, Swarga loka
In the first five stages the soul will be in the householder’s stage and after that it takes up the ascetic life. Right belief (samyag darśana), Right knowledge (samyag jñāna) and Right conduct (samyag caṅitra) are the Ruta trayas or Guṇatrayas, (the three gems qualities) which help the soul on its way to salvation.

Right faith is the cause of right knowledge and right conduct. Right knowledge which helps the soul to see things exactly as they are, prevents the inflow of kārmic matters and helps to shed the karmas already acquired. This right knowledge is of five kinds:

matijñāna: which is acquired by the five senses.
strutijñāna: which comes by reading scriptures.
avadhitijñāna: is the transcendental knowledge of material things.
manahparyayajñāna: is the transcendental knowledge of the feelings and thoughts of others.
kevalajñāna: is the perfect knowledge which comes after getting rid of all the karmas.
avadhitijñāna in Tamil is called as ‘Bīl’.

In the story of Pātirāpati (Bhadrāvati) the thought which passes in the mind of Bhadrāvati is known by Indra through his ‘Bīl’ (Avadhitijñāna).

(Having seen her pain through his avadhitijñāna).

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50. Pk. 5 : 3 : 92.
Again when the yaksā Naścikāṇa speaks to Urmāṭaṭṭāvē, he tells him that he can call him anytime, because he would respond immediately to his call, through his Āvadāṭhājaṇa.

\[
\text{ellal illatu allya kalai} \\
\text{ôtīyīg nākkiy ugarntu yan varuvē}
\]

(when you think of me without derision I will come at once by perceiving with the help of my āvatiṭhāṇa).

There are two types of right faith:

1. the vyavahara-samyag-darśana—the right faith from practical point of view—i.e. to have faith in the Jaina fundamental principles.

2. the nīcayya-samyag-darśana the right faith from the real point of view i.e. the self realisation.

Faith in a true ideal is important to have right faith and Utayaṇaṇa is portrayed as one who has faith in Lord Jina. After his marriage with Vācavatattai there is a detailed description of the temple of Jina, and how Utayaṇaṇa went to offer worship there in the temple.

\[
\text{tāma muk kuṣai tāmuṣai karippa} \\
\text{ulaka vaḷḷat tāṣum pallaṇjīkk−} \\
\text{alakaiy akṣaya arautaṇak kīṭavaṇai} \\
\]

\[
\text{paravuk kaiyag kalṭīṇag Paintāgaṇa gastrointestinal.}
\]

He who wore a fresh garland (Utayaṇaṇa) worshipped the one (Jina) who has three umbrellas on top of each other decorated with garlands, and who is the end for all the souls who are submerged in this flood of existence.

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The three umbrellas referred to here are the candraditya, nilyairanoda, and sakalabhgesapa which indicates the suzerainty of the three worlds, the nāga loka (the nether world) the bhuloka (the earth) and the svarga loka (the celestial world).

The result of having right faith is the attainment of the suprasan. Puttrāpati (Bhadraśat) though cursed by Kuvera to be born as a female elephant hears the Pāthicānakassāra mantra at the time of her death and gets back her own form as a dancing girl in Kuvera’s court because of having right faith.

1. kāla kālam engum ven nōy
calavum peruka mēga mē nenakki
vīlakkuvārai nilattu ven pachi nōliya
viṇṭa kālai mēyavān at tulai
aṭtai nilamūri cēmattai ōki
aṭkat aimpatam niyai mati niyēga
enka aragīy irāpīgī tiriyētu
cintaly ou muṭṭintai kāraṇamakara
ugamai vīlakṣēti uṇamp araṇ gōjya
igamil sēkkai ṣṭa ṣv ṣv varai uṇu niy
māgaip pēroju peēvuru uyēi.......

........................................

53. (when you fall down afflicted by hunger and the spread of disease called Kālakūṭam, the person riding on your back (Udayapā) will come to your help and ask you to remember the pāthicānakmasāra without any fear in mind. Because at the time of your death you will remember the pāthicānakmasāra without fail you will come back here with a celestial body after discarding the body of an animal and retain your earlier form of a celestial woman).

The term ‘aimpatam’, which occurs in the passage above is the ‘Pāthicānakmasāra’ which is a prayer offered to the five souls, the siddha, the achat, the śrāvyati, the apidhyāya and the Sādhru who are together called Pāthicānaparamēṣṭin. This mantra is also called ‘Pāthicānaparamēṣṭina’.

53. Pk. 5 : 3 : 129 - 139.
When one has right faith and right knowledge then one will possess also right conduct. This forms the basis of most of the ethical ideas of Jains.

**Ethical Ideas:**

Right conduct and the ethical rules which lead to it pave the way for the salvation of a soul. These rules are enumerated for the life of a householder as well as that of an ascetic. In the earlier days the householder’s (*Śrāvaka*) stage was of minimal importance and it was considered as a state of preparation for the ascetic life. In the medieval period it gained more importance and a corpus of lay doctrine was included in the canons. In the *Pīṭha*, we find that only the rules pertaining to the householders are followed by Udayaprag as the later portions relating to his renunciation are not available.

Among the fourteen gupasthānas the first five gupasthānas belong to the householder’s life and serve as a preparatory stage for the ascetic life. To annihilate the various karmas it is said that the soul observes some vows (*vrata*). And these vrata are classified as *aguvrata* (partial vows) and *mahāvrata* (absolute vows). Aguvrata are meant for the householders and mahāvrata are for ascetics. There are also eleven spiritual stages (*Pratimās*) for a householder.

2. *Vrata* – starts to observe all the *āpu*, *guṇa* and *ṣīkṣāvrata*.
3. *Samayika* – performs *sāmāyika* three times a day.
5. *Sa-citta-vrata* – gives up eating all unripe things for the purpose of non killing.

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7. Brahmacarya - gives up all sexual indulgences.
8. Arodhanivrtti - gives up all worldly engagements and occupations
9. Paricista-parigrahavirata, Preparatory to the asetic life:
10. Anuvatt - virata
11. Uddita-yaga

One of the above pratimās is the Rātrabhakti virata, the stage in which the householder gives up eating at night, as taking food in the nights involve the destruction of minute living beings. We thus come across the description of Yuki (Yaugandharṣya) as undertaking such a vow.

........................................

kuṣaṇa kuṣṭi nājan eva talait tarak
kuṣāṇaṁ piṣaṇṭiṣṭaṁ vaijñāca ca rāṣṭrapānāṁ
mahop fūrṣaṇṇiṇā matam tava nenukti
apāp pit apabhiṣṭaṇā apākṣiyā yanakṣiṇaṁ
kal un kallakṣaṇaṁ kastiya varaṣṭiṇīgaṁ
al āpi niṣṭalīkā ambāya uṣabhīṇaṁ......
........................................

55. annam pānam khaḍanam lehyam naṁsāti yo
vibhāvyam |
sa ca rātrabhakti virataḥ satvapavanakampamāmanah
(He who, being mercifully inclined towards all living beings, does not take (any of the four kinds of food, namely) grains (or things made of grain), liquids, sweet meats and semi-liquids, after sunset: - such a one is called a rātrabhakti virata śrāvaka).

56. Ph. 4:7: 134 ff.
Yūki is now in the sixth pratimā in a householder’s life viz. the Rātriḥukhratva. This is understood from the phrase ‘aṭṭāg viṇṇalāg ahāyav uṣampiṣṭaḥ’ (emaciated body due to non-eating in nights).

Apart from the five aṣṭavratas the householder has to observe also three guṇavratas i.e. ādityaḥ, amatānanda-vratas, bhogopabhoja, parimāṇa - vratas which are concerned with the limitation of daily work, food and enjoyment, and four śīkuṣṭa vratas, i.e. āṭāvākāśika, saṃsāra, prajñāpaviaṇa and vaiśākṣātra which emphasise the inner purity of the heart. Among the śīkuṣṭa vratas sāllekhana vratatva is one. Sāllekhana is often confused with suicide and to avoid this confusion Jaina canonical texts say that it is a voluntary death without any rāga (affection) and it is done when the body becomes incapable of performing any vratas. As part of this vratatva there exists ‘niḍāna’ which is characterised by an expectation of prosperity in a future birth.

In the PK, we come across the niḍāna (death wish) of the sage Cīśvaṇa. In this episode (which has been already analysed in detail), on Pattiṣṭaṭha’s request to Naraviṇāha (Kubera) to bless Urayaṇaḥ with a son, Kubera asks the Saudharmendra to do it. He in turn orders Cīśvaṇa, an ascetic who gives up his life with a niḍāna for acquiring the overlordship of Viśnu (the silver mountain) to be reborn as the son of Urayaṇaḥ.

57. "su sālakahana pratipannaya rāgādayaḥ santi tato nāmāvadhoḍhoṣaḥ" —Pūrṇapāda on Tattvārthasūtra 7:22).

58. Niḍāna is one of the five sālakahana vratas. (1) Desire to live (Jīvitaśāmpā), (2) Desire to die (Maranaśaṃsāra), (3) Remembrance of friends (Mitraśūrīga), (4) Revival of past pleasure (Sukhānubandha), (5) Expectation of future prosperity (Niḍāna) Tattvārthasūtra, 7:32. Ibid. 141.

59. Supra, pp. 162, 163.
Viceal eyiti vejli am perumalai
accam il att koit aracu "itt iruttakkku
nacci ngayar or kaaccam il ka"un tavac
siṭavaṇṭ ennun iruṭṭu ulakattu
ṭeva yakkati oyu pākkin eytiya
niṭaṇṭa vakasiyinti nigānt iṇṭi irunṭan

(An ascetic by name Čiṭavaṇṭ who has observed rigorous penance has a death wish of being reborn with a celestial body as the sovereign, wielding the wheel of command (ajñānacakra) fearlessly over the silver mountain, after obtaining the knowledge of the several arts (Vidyā’s). i.e. of being reborn as the Emperor of the Vidyādhāras).

In the ascetic’s stage a monk observes twenty eight penances in order to annihilate all the karmas acquired by him and to check the inflow of the new karmas. These penances, the internal and the external ones, are very important. Among the penances the dhyāna (concentration of mind) is helpful to lead the soul towards liberation. It is classified as Ārta dhyāna (painful concentration) Rudra dhyāna (concentration on terrible things in order to achieve unrighteous gains), Dharma dhyāna (righteous concentration) and Sukla dhyāna (pure concentration). The first two do not in any way help for liberation while the other two lead the soul towards salvation. Dharma Dhyāna leads the soul to heavenly pleasures while by Sukla dhyāna the soul leaves its body and straightaway attains liberation.

After destroying all the ghātika and aghātika karmas, the soul attains four infinite qualities and surpasses the three lokas and the aloka and attains godhood. At this stage, the soul is called Siddha. This stage has been referred to in the Pk. in the following lines:

60. Pk. 513 : 177 = 182.
"tirup purulakam pervang pada...

When Itapakar (Kshabhaka) hears that Utayagha is alive even after his capture by Piraccita, he is very happy. His state is compared with that of the soul which has attained the immovable world, i.e., beyond aloka.

"peyarciy il ulakam pervang pada".48

Theological Ideas

When a soul attains Siddha-hood there is no other god higher than him. These gods can in no way assist any soul to shed its own karmas. But still Jains do offer prayers to Lord Arhat. This is done in order to awaken the latent potentialities of god-hood in them. The souls which are free from karmas can be of two kinds: one is Siddhas (disembodied souls) the other is the
Arkats or Jinas (the embodied souls). Between the two siddhas, if the siddhas had taught the Jaina doctrine in their embodied state they are called Tribhaskara siddhas whereas if they are just siddhas they are Samanya siddhas. The Arkats and Jinas have bodies and they are worshipped by Jains. Apart from Siddhas and Arkats, there are also other souls who are free from karmas and are worshipped and respected. They are the Acaryas, the Upadhyayas and Siddhas. The respect which is paid to all of them together is called Pakcemanaskara. This is translated into Tamil as 'aimpam'. When the Namenaskara is made to the Arkats, the Siddhas, the Acaryas, and the law of Jaina dharma, then it is Caturjara.

In the Pk. we find the description of the temple of Arkat and the prayers. In Tamil the temples are called as arukatagam. (Skt. arhat + sthāna. Pkt. sthāṇa (ṣāṇa) arantagam, arivar tagam and cēṭiyam. The following are some examples:

1. In the description of Udayapaga’s country we are told about the presence of a monastery and the temple of Arkat,

   "............ arun tavarp pailiyum arukat tagamum
   .............."

2. We find a long description of a temple of Jina in the description of the city of Cayantri just before the marriage of Udayapaga with Vaiocavattai. The description runs as follows:

   "The auspicious flags (mukhalap perukor) which are made of pieces of multi coloured cloth placed on top of each other and stiched at their edges with pearl chains, jewels and mirror works, were hoisted on posts made of thick bottomed flag staffs with golden chains to hoist and dehoist the flags and decorated with various jewels, which stood at the temple of Arkat. There was a water contrivance made of the inner leaf of palmryah which sprinkled water on the feet of Jina. There the three umbrellas

64. Pk. 4:2:12.
were functioning with the help of a yantra (machine). There arose the noise of the enlightened people who preached the Jaina faith and the people who came there to worship Jina.

3. There is a whole Kātaī named ‘teyacchīcappu’ in which after his marriage with Vīkañvatattai, Uṭayapaṇ visits the Jina temple and pays his respects to Arhat. The description of the temple, its architecture, the objects carved and painted on it have great relevance to the Jaina theological and mythological ideas. Most of them are either one of the eight auspicious things or the Lāñchanās (signs) of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras. Pots (water-jars), malai (garland), twined creeper, tiger, fish, pigeon (kappota), lotus, kalada, blue lily (kumuda), lion are some of the objects which are painted in the temple. Apart from this the eight auspicious things are also painted there. We find this expressed in the following lines:

‘eṣu vakaip perun cīcapp eṣa eṣai...........

The descriptions of the paintings of the gods, the female deities, Gandharvas, Vidyādhāras, Indras with their wives are in accordance with the Jain tradition.


66. Eight auspicious things are 1. mirror 2. tīvātra 3. mändyavatara 4. water jar 5. a fish couple 6. throne 7. powder flask 8. svatika.


68. Pk. 2: 6: 69.
The Arhat is seated on a seat and above him are the three umbrellas. Utayanaṇa with his wife goes and offers worship to Arhat and prays.

When Utayanaṇa takes his wife Vācasvatattai in an aerial car to fulfill her dohada he shows her the Jaina temple.⁶⁹ They also pay tribute to another Jaina temple.

\[
\text{tukatir peru mutants catiyant tojutu}
\]

(Having worshipped at the famous temple of the Jina).

There are also instances to show that there were many monasteries for monks who were practising penance.

"arunāṣaṁarp paṭ[i] . . . . . ."⁷¹
(The monastery where people perform penance)

"paṭivap paṭ[i] . . . . . ."⁷⁸
(the monastery of ascetics)

"mūtrai mūṭivap paṭ[i] . . . . . ."⁷⁸
(The monastery where the one who has a good knowledge of the past (i.e. scriptures) dwells).

⁶⁹. Pk. 5 : 4 : 151.
⁷⁰. Pk. 5 : 4 : 112.
⁷². Pk. 1 : 51 : 64.
Ritualistic Ideas.

The earlier canonical writings of the Jains do not give much importance to any kriyā, i.e. rituals. As explained earlier, the ascetic life is stressed upon and the entire life of a person was thought to be geared only towards salvation and as a preparation for the same in the most rigorous ways. But in course of time these ideas were relaxed and the householder's life came to be of some importance in its own right though it was still considered to be only a preparatory stage for the life of renunciation. During this period, rituals began to be observed by Jainas. For the first time such rituals were brought together in writing in the Adipārāga of Jinasena. Most of these rituals correspond to the Hindu Śānśākāras.

In the Pk. though all the rituals are not explicitly enumerated, some of them at least are described in the course of the narrative.

The birth of Naravāṃsatattān provides an opportunity for the author to describe the rituals of the Jātakarma and the Nāmakaraṇa karmas. The moment the birth of Naravāṃsatattān is announced, the astrologers get together and calculate the Jātaka (horoscope) and then perform the sixteen kinds of karmas. Afterwards the new born child is named.

A brief digression at this point on the name given to the son of Udayyān is necessary because of its significance. In our opinion, to the essentially Jain character of the Bhaktakāśī. The name Naravāṁsatattāṇ (Naravāhānadatta) signifies 'the child who was given by Kubera who had a man as his bearer'. Even though there are instances of persons who were named in this manner in epic and secular literatures also, the custom of naming a person after the deity by whose grace he or she was supposed to be born appears to be predominantly prevalent among the people belonging to the merchant community. They were mostly Jains (and sometimes Buddhists). Accordingly we find in Buddhist and Jaina literature the frequent occurrence of names carrying the suffixes 'datta', 'datta', 'dīgga' or 'dīppā',
e.g. Čāladatta, Rādbhadatta, Kuberadatta, Sāgaradatta, Vipādatta, Gangadatta, Viśavadatta, Rājatā, Gandhavatadatta, Samuddrādaśā, etc.

In the description of the marriage of Utayāṇṇa with Viśavatati, Kauthā Śrī describes the rituals connected with the wedding ceremony after the Jain customs.

To sum up, the stamp of Jainism which we see clearly in the Paśčāti is due to the basic fact that the story of the original Bhāvajñāna itself probably has a Jaina origin. In particular, the Vidyākharas constitute an integral part of Jaina mythology. The Jaina character of the work is however not the result of a deliberate intention of its author; but it appears that he has simply adhered faithfully to an original Jaina source.
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