The Auspicious Dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*: Turning the Pāṇḍavas into Quasi-*Mahāpuruṣas*?

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Introduction

In their canonical texts and narrative literature, Jains have portrayed dreams as auspicious omens heralding the future birth of a tīrthaṅkara.[1] When the *jīva* ('soul') of a jina-to-be descends into the womb, the mother-to-be dreams about several objects, each of which represents a particular virtue her son will possess. These auspicious dreams that precede a jina's conception are one of the five life events that define the spiritual career of a tīrthaṅkara.[2] These auspicious dreams have become a beloved part of Jain culture: Jain manuscripts feature ornate illustrations of these dreams, and Jain temples, old and new, depict these dreams in paintings and sculptures (Jaini 1979: 6–7, 196–197).

Oneiric omens like these, however, are not exclusive to the mothers of jinas: these auspicious dreams also came to herald the birth of men other than the jinas, i.e. the twelve *cakravartin*s, and the nine triads of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. The *cakravartin*, or universal emperor as it is often translated into English, is not exclusive to Jainism as concept. A *baladeva* is born as the elder half-brother of a *vāsudeva*, and both are locked in a mortal struggle with the *prativāsudeva*, literally the anti-*vāsudeva*. Each *vāsudeva* is destined to kill the *prativāsudeva*, earning himself a rebirth in hell for this violent act, whereas the more gentle *baladeva* is rewarded with *mokṣa* or a rebirth in heaven for his restraint (Wiley 2004: 49, 171, 228). Together with the twenty-four jinas, the twelve *cakravartins* and nine triads of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and

prativāsudeva all belong to the set of great or illustrious beings Jains call the *śalākāpuruṣa*s/*mahāpuruṣa*s.[3]

Jain narrative literature reimagined characters from the Sanskrit epics, such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Jarāsaṃdha from the *Mahābhārata*, as *baladeva*s, *vāsude-va*s, and *prativāsudeva*s respectively.[4] In this way, the Jains incorporated the narratives of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in their cosmological account of history (Cort 1995: 474–478). To indicate their status as *śalākāpuruṣa*s, Jain adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* regularly depict the auspicious dreams announcing the births of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, and Bālarāma (De Clercq 2009a: 50–51).

By contrast, since Jain narrative literature did not include the Pāṇḍavas among the *śalākāpuruṣas/mahāpuruṣa*s, Jain authors generally did not include any auspicious dreams announcing the births of the Pāṇḍavas. That is, until Devaprabhasūri's Jain adaptation of the *Mahābhārata,* the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE). In this chapter, I explore how the Śvetāmbara monk Devaprabhasūri is the first Jain author to extensively depict the auspicious dreams the mothers of the Pāṇḍavas, Kuntī and Mādrī, have before they conceive the Pāṇḍavas in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE). I will argue that Devaprabhasūri included these dreams to elevate the Pāṇḍavas to the level of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s in an attempt to create a true 'Jain' *Mahābhārata*.

First, I will discuss the general trope of auspicious dreams as it initially appeared in Jain narrative texts and how the trope soon after came to be associated with the "epic characters" of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa in the earliest Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moving on to the so-called Jain universal histories, the first Jain texts to include entire *Mahābhārata* narratives, I will demonstrate how these texts only depict the auspicious dreams of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s' mothers; Kuntī and Mādrī do not have dreams in these texts.

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[3] Initially, Jain authors did not always include the *prativāsudeva*s, literally the anti-*vāsudeva*s, among among the *śalākāpuruṣa*s. The Digambaras were earlier to include the *prativāsudeva*s, settling on the number of sixty-three by the eighth century. The Śvetāmbaras, by contrast, seem to have included the *prativāsudeva*s sometime after the ninth century (Geen 2009: 87-91). Indeed, the very title of the Śvetāmbara poets Śīlāṅka's Jain Universal History suggests this: *Caüppannamahāpurisacariya* (CE 867), literally 'the Deeds of the fifty-four Great Men'.

[4] To avoid confusion between a particular type of *śalākāpuruṣa* and the elder half-brother of Kṛṣṇa, I will use the term *baladeva* to refer to the former and the name Balarāma to refer to the latter. However, in many Jain narrative texts, *baladeva*, *balarāma*, and *balabhadra* are often used interchangeably for the type of *śalākāpuruṣa* as well for the individual character.

Secondly, I will discuss Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* in its historical context, the birth of the Pāṇḍavas as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*, and then Devaprabhasūri's inclusion of the auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* and transformation of the Pāṇḍavas into quasi-*śalākāpuruṣa*s/*mahāpuruṣa*s.

Auspicious Dreams in Jain Narratives

In all likelihood, the *Kalpasūtra*, famous for its richly illustrated manuscripts, is the earliest Jain text to describe the fourteen auspicious dreams in detail. Already a few lines into the text do we find a description of the auspicious dreams as Mahāvīra's *jīva* descends into the womb of the Brahmin lady Devānandā. The mother-to-be dreams about fourteen distinct objects before waking: an elephant, an ox, a lion, ointment, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a jar, a lotus lake, an ocean, a celestial *vimāna* ('chariot'), a heap of jewels, and a burning flame.[5] When Indra, king among the gods, learns that the soul of the jina has descended into the womb of a Brahmin woman rather than into the womb of a kshatriya woman, orders the deity Harinegameṣī to transfer Mahāvīra's embryo into the womb of the kshatriya queen Triśalā, who then dreams about the exact same fourteen objects (1.33–46).[6]

After waking up, queen Triśalā goes to her husband Siddhārtha and tells him all about her dreams. Hopeful that his child will become a great kshatriya following in his footsteps, the king interprets the fourteen objects very much in this light. When he has astrologers summoned for a more accurate prognostication, they slightly correct the king's interpretation:

> Oh beloved of the gods! When the embryo of an *arhat* or a *cakravartin* enters into the womb, the mothers of the *arhat*s and *cakravartin*s wakes up on seeing fourteen out of these thirty great dreams. They are: an elephant, etc. When the embryo of a

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[5] *Devānandā […] maṃgalle sassirīe codda mahāsumiṇe pāsittā ṇaṃ paḍibuddhā ||
taṃ jahā: gaya vasaha sīha abhiseya dāma, sasi diṇayaraṃ jhayaṃ kumbhaṃ |
paümasara sāgara vimāṇabhavaṇa rayaṇuccaya sihiṃ ca || KS. 1.4*

[6] The *Kalpasūtra* describes how Indra explicitly states that *jinas*, *cakravartins*, *baladevas*, and *vāsudevas* can only be born in the wombs of "high families" (*uggakulesu*), "noble families" (*bhogakulesu*), "royal families" (*rāïṇṇakulesu*), "Ikṣvāku families" (*ikkhāvagukulesu*), "kshatriya families" (*khattiyakulesu*), and 'families of Hari's lineage' (*harivaṃsakulesu*) (KS 1.17-18). The god speculates that some karmic happenstance is reponsible for this descent into a Brahmin woman's womb. (KS 1.19). See KS 1.32. The idea of Mahāvīra's embryo transfer is exclusive to Śvetāmbara Jainism; Digambara Jains believe that Mahāvīra's *jīva* immediately descended into Triśalā's womb and remained there until birth (De Clercq 2009: 47-51).

vāsudeva enters into the womb, they wake up seeing any seven out of these fourteen great dreams. When the embryo of a *baladeva* enters into the womb, the mothers of wake up seeing any four out of these fourteen great dreams. When the embryo of a *māṇḍalika* enters into the womb, the mothers of the *māṇḍalika*s wake up on seeing any one of these fourteen great dreams (KS 1.72–77, trans. Lalwani).[7]

Triśalā just had the fourteen dreams that predict the birth of future jina or of a future *cakravartin* (universal emperor)![8] Nine months later, Mahāvīra is born under the name of Vardhamāna and all is well in the world.

The *Kalpasūtra*, traditionally attributed to Bhadrabāhu and composed somewhere between the second century BCE and the third century CE, provided this narrative pattern found throughout later Jain texts: the mother-to-be sees a number of objects in her dreams and tells her husband about them.[9] The husband then interprets the meaning of these dreams. Sometimes, he is mistaken about the dreams' true meaning. In that case, either astrologers clarify what the dreams actually augur, or deities come down to explain the dreams to the expectant couple.

This narrative pattern evidently proved popular and proliferated throughout Jain narrative literature. It appears several times in the earliest Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: Vimalasūri's *Paümacariya*. In this Maharashtri Prakrit text, likely composed between the third century CE and fifth century CE, the auspicious dreams announcing conception of jinas, *cakravartins*, *baladeva*s, *vāsudeva*s, and *prativāsudeva*s are described (Kulkarni 1990: 51–59; 80–82).

Here, Marudevī, the mother of the first jina Ṛṣabha, dreams about fourteen objects: a bull, an elephant, a lion, Lakṣmī, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a jar, a lotus pond, the ocean, a *vimāna,* a heap of jewels, fire. After she has told her husband about these fourteen dreams, he correctly predicts that they will have a *tīrthaṅkara* as a son.[10]

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[7] Interestingly enough, the dream interpreters here in the *Kalpasūtra* do not explain the meaning of each individual object seen in the dreams; instead, they interpret the dreams as collectively heralding the birth of a *jina* or a *cakravartin*.

[8] While the Śvetāmbara tradition claims that the mother of a jina has fourteen auspicious dreams, later Digambara texts generally mention sixteen auspicious dreams for the mother of a jina. De Clercq noted a similar difference concerning *vāsudevas* and *baladevas*: unlike the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Digambara tradition gives no fixed number of dreams for the *vāsudeva* and *baladeva* (De Clercq 2009a: 50-52).

[9] There seem to have been three distinct individuals called Bhadrabāhu in Jain tradition, but they as well as their achievements have often been conflated. Jain tradition generally identifies the earliest Bhadrabāhu, the last *ācārya* before the Jaina tradition split between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara branches, as the author of the *Kalpasūtra*. However, there have been scholars who argue that a later Bhadrabāhu was the author of the *Kalpasūtra*. See Wiley (2004: 50-52).

Similarly, since Vimalasūri also considers Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa to be *śalākāpuruṣa*s, as a *baladeva*, a *vāsudeva*, and a *prativāsudeva* respectively, he portrays the auspicious dreams of their mothers. Rāma's mother, called Aparājita in the *Paümacariya*, dreams of a lion, the sun and the moon, while Lakṣmaṇa's mother Sumitrā dreams about Lakṣmī holding a lotus in her hand, the moon, the sun and Sumitrā herself gazing upon the ocean from the vantage point of a mountain.[11] Rāvaṇa's mother is also visited by dreams before she conceives the future *prativāsudeva:* she dreams of a lion entering her womb and having the sun and moon in her lap.[12]

Later Jain adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such as Raviṣeṇa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* (7th c.) and Svayaṃbhūdeva's Apabhramsha *Paümacariu* (9th c.), both of which draw on Vimalasūri's work, also regularly depict the auspicious dreams of these expectant mothers (De Clercq 2009b: 317–318).

Likewise, the Jain-specific genre often called Jain universal history by Western scholars, is structured around the biographies of the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣas* or *mahāpuruṣas*.[13] As such, texts belonging to this genre regularly depict auspicious dreams. It is in these Jain Universal Histories that we find the Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. However, unlike

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10   *aha annayā kayāi sayaṇijje maharihe suhapasuttā |*
    pecchaï pasatthasumiṇe marudevī pacchime jāme ||
    vasaha, gaya, sīha, varasiri, dāmaṃ, sasi, ravi, jhayaṃ ca kalasaṃ ca |
    sara, sāyaraṃ, vimāṇaṃvarabhavaṇaṃ, rayaṇakūḍa'aggī || [...]
    kayokouyapariyammā nābhisayāsaṃ gayā harisiyacchī |
    rayaṇāsaṇovaviṭṭhā, kahaï ya païṇo vare sumiṇe ||
    nāūṇa ya suviṇatthaṃ nābhi to bhaṇaï sundari tujjhaṃ |
    gabbhami ya saṃbhūo hohī titthaṃkaro putto || VPC 3.61-62;65

11   *aha annayā kayāi devī avarāiyā suhapasuttā |*
    pecchaï ya pavarasumiṇe rayaṇīe picchame jāme ||
    varakusumakundavaṇṇam sīhaṃ, sūraṃ taheva rayaṇiyaraṃ |
    daṭṭhuṇa aha vibuddhā païṇo sumiṇe parikahei ||
    soūṇa pavarasumiṇe satthatthavisārao naravindo |
    bhaṇaï ime varapurasiṃ sundari! puttaṃ niveenti ||
    tayantaraṃ sumittā pecchaï sumiṇe nivāsasāṇammi |
    lacchī kamalavihatthā sasisūre kiraṇapajjalie ||
    attāṇaṃ aïtuṅge girivarasihare avaṭṭhiyā santī |
    sāyaravaraperantaṃ pecchaï puhaïṃ ciya pasatthaṃ || VPC 22.1-5

12   *sā annayā kayāi sayaṇijje maharihe suhapasuttā |*
    pecchaï pasatthasumiṇe paḍibuddhā maṅgalaraveṇa ||
    īsuggayammi sūre savvālaṅkārabhūsiyasarīrā |
    gantūṇa samabbhāsaṃ païṇo sumiṇe parikahei ||
    uyarammi samallīṇo sīho daḍhakaḍhiṇakesarāruṇio |
    anne vi candasūra ucchaṅge dhāriya navaraṃ || VPC 7.76-78

13   For an in-depth discussion of the genre and the origin of the term "Jain universal history", see Cort (1995: 473-478)

Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* adaptations, which mainly focus on the story of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa, these Jain *Mahābhārata* narratives in Jain Universal Histories are generally subnarratives within subnarratives. One of the major subnarratives within these Jain universal histories is the Nemi-biography which follows four *śalākāpuruṣa*s: the twenty-second jina Nemi, his cousins Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, and their mutual enemy Jarāsaṃdha.

Since the Jains hold that the Pāṇḍavas are cousins of Nemi, Balarāma, and Kṛṣṇa, a *Mahābhārata* narrative is included as a subnarrative within the biography of Nemi, albeit rather concise and spread out in bits and pieces. The war between the Pāṇḍavas and their Kaurava-cousins, the main conflict in the *Mahābhārata*, is only a part of the larger conflict between Nemi, Balarāma, and Kṛṣṇa's war against Jarāsaṃdha (Bai & Zydenbos 1991: 254–259). Besides Jain universal histories, there are also some Jain literary works such as the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* that mainly focus on the Nemi-biography; these also include a *Mahābhārata* subnarrative.

The most well-known Jain narrative works that include a *Mahābhārata*-narrative are, in chronological order: the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (783 CE) by Jinasena Punnāṭa; the *Uttarapurāṇa* (9th c. CE) by Guṇabhadra; the *Caüpannamahāpurisacariya* (867 CE) by Śīlāṅka; the *Riṭṭhaṇemi-cariu* (9th –10th c.) by Svayambhūdeva; the *Mahāpurāṇu* (965 CE) by Puṣpadanta; the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (1160–1172 CE) by Hemacandra (De Clercq 2008: 400–412).[14]

The works listed above often depict the auspicious dreams announcing the births of the *śalākāpuruṣas* Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Nemi. However, they do not include any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī, the mothers of the Pāṇḍavas. I will give a brief rundown below.

In Jinasena Punnāṭa's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, the first Jain universal history with an entire *Mahābhārata* narrative, the mothers of the *salākāpuruṣas* coeval with the Pāṇḍavas are visited by auspicious dreams: Rohiṇī, mother of Balarāma, has four dreams. Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa has

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[14] Guṇabhadra composed his *Uttarapurāṇa* as a "sequel" to the *Ādipurāṇa* composed by his preceptor Jinasena, — not to be confused with Jinasena Punnāṭa of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. With the *Ādipurāṇa*, Jinasena composed a biography of the first jina Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata, but due to his demise, his pupil Guṇabhadra took it up on himself to write the biographies of the other *śalākāpuruṣas* (De Clercq 2008: 405).

Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu*, a work composed in Apabhramsha is, as its title suggests, a biography of Nemi, but is unusual due to its extensive treatment of the Mahābhārata narrative. The Nemi biography is still the frame narrative though (De Clercq 2008: 408-409).

Just like Svayambhūdeva's aforementioned work, Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* is another Apabhramsha work.

seven dreams. Śivā, mother of Nemi, has sixteen dreams.[15] However, Kuntī and Mādrī give birth to the five Pāṇḍavas without any mention of dreams whatsoever.[16]

In Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, out of the mothers of the *śalākāpuruṣas*, only Śivā is described as having an unspecified number auspicious dreams before conceiving the jina Nemi.[17] The *Uttarapurāṇa* does not mention any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī before they become pregnant.[18]

Similarly, Śīlāṅka's *Caüpannamahāpurisacariya* (867 CE) does not mention any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī; the narrative just states that Kuntī gives birth to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna, and that Mādrī gives birth to Nakula and Sahadeva.[19]

While Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* features a much more extensive *Mahābhārata* narrative than any of the aforementioned texts, Svayambhūdeva's text also does not attribute any auspicious dreams to Kuntī and Mādrī.[20] Simarily, there is no mention of Kuntī or Mādrī having any dreams in Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (965 CE).[21]

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[15] *atha sā Rohiṇī bhartrā vicitre śayane'nyadā | prasuptā caturaḥ svapnān dadarśa śubhasūcinaḥ* || JVHP 32.1
athaikadā candrasite niśānte niśāntakānte śayane śayānā | dadarśa saptodayaśaṃsinaḥ sā padārthakān svapna imān niśānte || JVHP 35.11
sametya patyātiśapradarśanādatīva saṃhṛṣṭamatiḥ Śivānyadā |dadarśa sā suptamimān niśāntare praśaṃsitān svapnavarān hi ṣoḍaśa || JVHP 37.5.
Jinasena describes each dream of Nemi's mother in lurid detail. (37.6-23)

[16] *pāṇḍoḥ kuntyāṃ samutpannaḥ karṇa kanyāprasaṃgataḥ | yudhiṣṭhiro'rjuno bhīma ūḍhāyām abhavaṃs trayaḥ ||*
nakulaḥ sahadevaś ca kulasya sutau | madryām adristhitau jātau pañca te pāṇḍunandanāḥ ||
JHVP 45.37-38

[17] *rājñaḥ kāśyapagotrasya harivaṃśaśikhāmaṇeḥ | samudravijayākhyasya Śivadevī manoramā || devatopāsyamānāṅghrir vasudhārābhinanditā | ṣaṇmāsāvasitau māse kārtike śuklapakṣage || ṣaṣṭhyām athottarāṣāḍhe niśānte svapnamālikām | ālokatānuvaktrābjaṃ praviṣṭañ ca gajādhipam* || UP 71.30-32

[18] *prājāpatyena saṃbandho vivāhenābhavat punaḥ | kuntyām ajani dharmiṣṭho dharmaputro dharādhipaḥ | bhīmaseno 'nupārthaś ca trayo vargatrayopamāḥ | mādryām ca nakulo jyeṣṭho sahadevas tato 'nvabhūt* || UP 70.115-116

[19] *Tao duve vi kuruvaṃsasaṃbhavassa paṃdussa diṇṇāo| Tāṇa ya Juhuṭṭhila-Bhīmaseṇa-Ajjuṇāhihāṇā tiṇṇi puttā samupaṇṇā, Maddie Ṇaülo Sahadevo ya ||* Prose CMP, page 182.

[20] *paṃduhe rajju karaṃtāho dhammu mueviṇu aṇṇu ṇa ruccaï |*
dhammadivase uppaṇṇu kira tavasau dhammaputtu teṃ vuccaī || RC 14.9.10
jāu Juhiṭṭhilu jayajayasaddeṃ vahaladhavalamaṃgalakalaṇaḍḍeṃ | RC 14.10.1
moṭṭiyāru ṇaṃ ghaḍiyaü vajje vuccaï pavaṇaputtu teṃ kajjeṃ |
ettahe dūsāsaṇu uppaṇṇaü kuruvahaṃ kalahu nāiṃ avaïṇṇaü |
iṃdamahocchaü jāu valattaṇu iṃdaputtu teṃ vuccaï ajjuṇu |
kuṃtihe ṇandaṇa tiṇṇi jaṇa maddihe viṇṇī ṇarāhivanārihe |
suya saü dujjohaṇa dūsala eka dhīya gaṇḍhārihe || RC 14.12.5-8

Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (1160–1172 CE), one of the direct inspirations for Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* as I will discuss later, describes the auspicious dreams of Rohiṇī, Devakī, and Śivā in detail. Before conceiving Balarāma, Rohinī dreams of an elephant, the ocean, a lion, and the moon; before conceiving Kṛṣṇa, Devakī dreams of a lion, the sun, fire, an elephant, a banner, a *vimāna*, and a lotus pool.[22] Nemi's mother Śivā has the fourteen great dreams announcing the birth of a jina; she dreams of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the goddess Śrī, a garland, the moon, the sun, a banner, a lotus pool, the ocean, a *vimāna*, a heap of jewels, and fire.[23]

Thus far the extant edited Jain texts with a *Mahābhārata* narrative composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha. None of them depict any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī.

However, there is arguably one exception in Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* (10th century), the first Kannada adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*. Besides his literary accomplishment of adapting the *Mahābhārata* into Kannada, Pampa as a Jain author is also known for adapting Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa,* a biography of the first jina Ṛṣabha, into Kannada. In his *Vikramārjunavijaya*, Pampa depicts Kuntī's dreams before she conceives Arjuna.[24] None of the other Pāṇḍavas are connected with dreams though; only Arjuna is singled out. Moreover, the *Vikramārjunavijaya* can hardly be considered a true 'Jain *Mahābhārata*', since the text is not

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21 *so koṃti maddi beṇṇi vi jaṇiu pariṇāviu paṃḍu pīṇathaṇiu |*
    daīyahu āliṅgaṇu deṃtiyai koṃtīi tīi kīlaṃtiyaï |
    suu jaṇiu juhuṭṭhilu bhīmu ṇaru ṇaggoharohapārohakaru |
    maddīi ṇaülu sayaṇuddharaṇu aṇṇu vi sahaevu dīṇasaraṇu | MP 82.5.

22 *tataś ca lalitajīvo mahāśukāt paricyutaḥ | vasudevasya bhāryāyā rohiṇyā udare'bhavat ||*
    gajabindusiṃhaśaśino viśato rohiṇīmukhe | svapne'paśynn niśāśeṣe halabhṛjjanmasūcakān || TSCP 8.5.25-26
    atha devakyṛtusnātā siṃhārkāgnigajadhvajān | vimānapadmasarasī niśānte svapnam aikṣata|| TSCP 8.5.98

23 *itaś ca sriśauryapure samudravijayapriyā | śivāpaśyan niśāśeṣe mahāsvapnāṃś caturdaśa śriyam ||*
    gajokṣasiṃhaśrīdāmacandrārkadhvajavārghaṭaiḥ | padmasarobdhivimānaratnapuñjāgnyas tu te || TSCP 8.5.180-181

24 The lines in question, verse as well as prose, are:
    kuḍivuadanēḷmaṃbuyumaṃ kulaśailakuḷaṃgaḷaṃ taguḷḍaḍarvudanoṃdu bāḷa ravi tannaya sōgila mēge rāgadiṃ | poḍarvudanaṃte dikkarigaḷaṃbujapatra puṭāṃbuviṃ beḍaṃ gaḍasire majjanaṃbugipuraṃ sati kaṃḍoseḍaḷ niśāṃtadoḷ ||
    Aṃtu kaṃḍu munikumārarōḍuva vēdaninādadiṃ vigata nidreyāgi pāṇḍurājaṃgamalliya munijanaṃgaḷga maḷipiḍavarā kanasugaḷge saṃtōṣaṃbaṭṭu VV 1.19.140. I thank Hampa Nagarajaiah for pointing out Kuntī's auspicious dreams in Pampa's work.

embedded within Jain cosmology and hence does not include Nemi as a character (Bai & Zydenbos 1991: 264–265).

Rather than being motivated by a desire to "Jainify" his Kannada adaptation, Pampa's inclusion of Kuntī's dreams announcing Arjuna's birth, I would argue, is instead motivated by Pampa's identification of Arjuna with his patron, the Vemulavāḍa Cāḷukya king Arikesari II. One of Pampa's goals in composing the *Vikramārjunavijaya* is praising king Arikesari II by elevating Arjuna.[25] I see Pampa's inclusion of Kuntī's dream in this text as a way to elevate Arjuna above the other Paṇḍavas by borrowing a trope from Jain narrative literature.

By contrast, Devaprabhasūri depicts both Kuntī and Mādrī having auspicious dreams *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE) with a distinct goal: to suggest a strong similarity between the Pāṇḍavas and the *śalākāpuruṣas*.

Devaprabhasūri and the Pāṇḍavacarita

The *Pāṇḍavacarita* represents something of a watershed moment when it comes to Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. While Jain authors were early to compose full-length adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, they usually only adapted the *Mahābhārata* narrative as an embedded sub-narrative in the biography of Nemi. Even Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemi-cariu* with its heavy focus on *Mahābhārata* narrative still has the biography of Nemi as the frame narrative. Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, by contrast, inverts the relationship: the story of the Pāṇḍavas is the frame narrative and the Nemi-narrative is an embedded narrative.

Devaprabhasūri was a Śvetāmbara monk belonging to the *Harṣapurīya Gaccha* and was affiliated with the Caulukya and Vāghelā court, who were based in what is now Gujarat.[26] Relatively little is known about Devaprabhasūri's life as an individual compared to the famous Hemacandra who graced the Caulukya court under king

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[25] Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* was very much composed as part of a larger project of literarisation of Kannada rather than as a Jain work with a Jain message. Interestingly, not long after Pampa's *Mahābhārata* adaption, one of the other great luminaries of Kannada literature, Ranna, also a Jain, composed the *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*, alternatively titled *Gadāyuddha*, in which he focused on the Pāṇḍava Bhīma, explicitly comparing the hero with his patron Satyāśraya of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas. For a detailed discussion of Pampa and Ranna's engagement with the literarisation of Kannada and their *Mahābhārata*-narratives, see Pollock (2006: 356-362).

[26] The *Vastupālacarita* (1442) by Jinaharṣa and the *Prabandhakośa* (1348 CE) by Rājaśekhara both recount an anecdote in which Devaprabhasūri gives a sermon to Vīradhavala, a Vāghelā vassal to the Caulukyas (Sandesara 1953: 73).

Kumārapāla (r. 1142–1172 CE), or compared to his own contemporaries Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla, the famous Jain ministers. What is certain though is that Devaprabhasūri was one among several Jain authors affiliated with the Caulukyas and Vāghelās of thirteenth-century Gujarat who showed considerable interest in adapting material from the *Mahābhārata*. Besides Devaprabhasūri, the Jain monk Amaracandrasūri as well as the famous Vastupāla both composed works that were inspired by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bālabhārata* and the *Naranārāyaṇānanda* (Chojnacki 2018: 168–169).

Whereas previous Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations, broad-strokes adaptations spread in bits and pieces throughout the biographies of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, were adaptations of the causal plot more or less recognisable as a *Mahābhārata* narrative, Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* is something different altogether. The *Pāṇḍavacarita* is an adaptation of *specific* texts: it is a deliberate attempt to fuse the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata* with Hemacandra's biographies of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi from the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*.[27]

Rather drawing than on the general familiarity an inhabitant of thirteenth-century Northwest India probably would have had with the epic's narrative, Devaprabhasūri must have either perused manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, or used oral performances of the epic. Over the course of more than 9,000 verses divided over eighteen *sarga*s — the number is an obvious nod to the *Mahābhārata's* eighteen *parvans*, Devaprabhasūri regularly reimagines well-known as well as lesser known episodes from the *Mahābhārata* with a remarkable eye for detail.

This is not to say Devaprabhasūri is only slavishly reproducing the text of Vyāsa's epic. He regularly incorporates narrative material from Jain texts. The *Pāṇḍavacarita* is noticeably invested in reimagining important characters as exemplars of Jain virtue and adding common tropes from Jain narrative literature. Devaprabhasūri depicting the auspicious dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī before they conceive the Pāṇḍavas is one such an instance. Before moving on to Devaprabhasūri's inclusion of Kuntī and Mādrī's dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, I will discuss how the births of the Pāṇḍavas are depicted in the *Mahābhārata* with reference to one of the epic's major themes, that is, succession crisis.

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[27] Devaprabhasūri himself even explicitly mentions how he drew on Hemacandra's text (*triṣaṣṭicaritra*) and the sixth aṅga of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts (*ṣaṣṭhāṅgopaniṣat*) in one of the concluding verses of the *Pāṇḍavacarita*:
*ṣaṣṭhāṅgopaniṣattriṣaṣṭicaritā*dyālokya kautūhalād
etat kandalayāṃ cakāra caritaṃ pāṇḍoḥ sutānām aham |
aham tatrājñānatamastiraskṛtivaśād utsūtram utsūtrayaṃ
yat kiṃcit kila mayy anugrahadhiyā śodhyaṃ tad etad budhaiḥ || PC 18.280

The Births of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*

Questions of primogeniture and succession claims lie at the heart of the central conflict in the *Mahābhārata*, the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas over the throne of Hastināpura, the capital of the Kuru kingdom. The epic problematises the issue of generational succession crises over and over, which usually are peacefully resolved until Pāṇḍava-Kaurava war. Two generations before the Pāṇḍavas, Hastināpura is beset by troubles when King Vicitravīrya died before he could beget heirs upon his widows Ambikā and Ambālikā. Satyavatī, mother of Vicitravīrya and queen mother of Hastināpura, gets Vyāsa, eldest son born out of wedlock, to impregnate Vicitravīrya's widows.[28] (MBh. I.99–100).

Unfortunately, the matter of succession was not wholly solved: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the elder nominal son of king Vicitravīrya, was born blind and therefore not fit to rule.[29] Hence, the throne was given to the younger nominal son Pāṇḍu. This decision, however, sowed the seeds of the future conflict. Pāṇḍu's first son Yudhiṣṭhira was born before Dhṛtarāṣṭra's first son Duryodhana. As the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who first in the line of succession but passed over on account of his disability, Duryodhana felt that he should be next in line for succession rather than his elder cousin Yudhiṣṭhira.

The order of birth arguably being the most important reason for the main conflict in the epic, the births of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas are discussed several times in the *Ādiparvan*, the first book of *Mahābhārata*. The first time is in a catalogue of the Pāṇḍavas' ancestors as told by Vaiśampāyana, the main narrator of the epic, to Janamejaya, great-grandson of Arjuna (MBh I.90.60–75). Several *adhyāyanas* further, the same events are retold, this time in more detail. Note that the epic does not relate the births of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas in chronological order here: although Yudhiṣṭhira is born before Duryodhana and the Kauravas, the narrative first describes the births of Duryodhana and the other Kauravas (MBh I.107–108) and then, in an instance of analepsis, goes back to the birth of the Pāṇḍavas (MBh I.109–115). Below I will give a chronological overview concerning the Pāṇḍavas' births:

Dhṛtarāṣṭra married Gāndhārī; Pāṇḍu married Kuntī and Mādrī. Not long after his marriage, Pāṇḍu was cursed by a sage: if Pāṇḍu were to

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[28] This Vyāsa is the very same person to whom, according to tradition, the authorship of the epic is attributed (MBh. I.99-100).

[29] The epic occasionally refers to Dhṛtarāṣṭra with the patronym 'Vaicitravīrya'. For example, MBh I.191.18, II.57.20, II.66.6

sexually approach either of his wives, he would instantly die. In order to secure offspring, Pāṇḍu urged his senior wife Kuntī to beget children with another man. Fortunately, Kuntī had received a boon from a sage that allowed her to call down any god to sire children upon her; she had already tried out the boon by calling down the god Sūrya, who sired Kuntī's illegitimate firstborn son Karṇa upon her.[30] Pāṇḍu asked her to call down and lay with the god Dharma, so the firstborn son would be righteous:

> She mated with Dharma, who had taken form with a yogic body. The fine lady got a son, who was to be the best among all living beings. On the eighth *muhūrta Abhijita*, on the eighth day in the second half of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, when the sun had risen to noon, on an auspicious and honoured moment, Kuntī gave birth to a son rich in fame. Her son was scarcely born when an incorporeal voice spoke, "He will be the best among those who support Dharma; no doubt about it! Pāṇḍu has a firstborn son called Yudhiṣṭhira.[31]

Soon after Yudhiṣṭhira's birth, Pāṇḍu again asked Kuntī to use the spell, this time to beget a strong son:

> Thus addressed by her husband, she summoned Vāyu, the god of the Wind. From him, strong-armed, boisterous Bhīma was born. O Bhārata, about this strong and solid child the voice said, "He is born to be strongest among all the strong"[32]

Bhīma was born on the same day as Duryodhana, the firstborn son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī. The child indeed proved strong, for when baby Bhīma fell from Kuntī's lap, he shattered the very rock he landed

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[30] Kuntī soon abandoned Karṇa on account of his being born out of wedlock. After being found and raised by his adoptive father Adhiratha, Karṇa developed an intense friendship with Duryodhana and, as a result, later fought with the Kauravas against his Pāṇḍava half-brothers. The story of Kuntī giving birth to and abandoning Karṇa is told several times in the *Mahābhārata*, most notably in *Ādiparvan* (I.104) *Āraṇyakaparvan (*II.284-294)*, and *Uydogaparvan* (V.138-144)

[31] *saṃgamya sā tu dharmeṇa yogamūrtidhareṇa vai |*
lebhe putraṃ varārohā sarvaprāṇabhṛtāṃ varam ||
aindre candrasamāyukte muhūrte 'bhijite 'ṣṭame |
divā madhyagate sūrye tithau puṇye 'bhipūjite ||
samṛddhayaśasaṃ kuntī suṣāva samaye sutam |
jātamātre sute tasmin vāg uvācāśarīriṇī ||
eṣa dharmabhṛtāṃ śreṣṭho bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ |
Yudhiṣṭhira iti khyātaḥ pāṇḍoḥ prathamajaḥ sutaḥ ||
From this point onward, all translations from Sanskrit are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[32] *tatas tathoktā patyā tu vāyum evājuhāva sā |*
tasmāj jajñe mahābāhur bhimo bhīmaparākramaḥ ||
tam apy atibalaṃ jātaṃ vāg abhyavadad acyutam |
sarveṣāṃ balināṃ śreṣṭho jāto'yam iti bhārata || MBh I.114.9-10.

on (MBh I.114.10–14). Soon, Pāṇḍu desired yet another son and had Indra in mind as the begetter, upon which Kuntī called down Indra:

> Thus instructed, that illustrious lady summoned Śakra, upon which the king of gods came and begot Arjuna. As soon as the prince was born, an incorporeal voice, sonorous and deep, resounded throughout the sky.[33]

Still not sated in his desire for offspring, Pāṇḍu again suggested 'divine impregnation' to Kuntī. This time, however, she refused, arguing that her having any more sons with anyone other than her husband would be indecent. Pāṇḍu then turned to his other wife Mādrī, who used Kuntī's boon to call down the Aśvins:

> Mādrī turned her mind to the two Aśvins. They both came and begot two sons on her, Nakula and Sahadeva, who were in beauty on earth. Just as before, an incorporeal voice spoke forth about the twins.[34]

So far the births of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*. Note how after each birth, a disembodied voice announces the child's future greatness.

The auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*

Now we return to Devaprabhasūri's thirteenth-century Jain adaptation, the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. I will mainly focus on Devaprabhasūri's innovative inclusion of the auspicious dreams, occasionally showing how the Jain author deliberately includes details from the *Mahābhārata*. Devaprabhasūri spreads out the births of Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas over two chapters: the beginning of the second *sarga* portrays Yudhiṣṭhira's birth and conception, after which an embedded narrative of more than 400 verses about the Yādava clan, that is takes up the rest of the *sarga*; the third *sarga* then depicts the birth of Bhīma, Duryodhana, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, and the hundred other Kauravas, in that chronological order.

Before I discuss the individual births accompanied by the auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, I want to briefly address a common adaptational choice throughout Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*:

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[33] *evam uktā tataḥ śakram ājuhāva yaśasvinī |*
athājagāma devendro janayām āsa cārjunam ||
jātamātre kumāre tu vāg uvācāśarīriṇī |
mahāgambhīranirghoṣā nabho nādayatī tadā || MBh 114.27.28.

[34] *tato mādrī vicāryaiva jagāma manasāśvinau |*
tāv āgamya sutau tasyāṃ janayām āsatur yamau ||
nakulaṃ sahadevaṃ ca rūpeṇāpratimau bhuvi |
tathaiva tāv api yamau vāg uvācāśarīriṇī | MBh I. 115.16-18a

replacing the instances of divine conception and questionable parentage from *Mahābhārata* with more socially acceptable as well as less super-natural instances of conception.[35] Devaprabhasūri, too, does away with the less-than-ideal parentages of some of the *Mahābhārata*'s characters: Vicitravīrya lives long enough to sire the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the pale Pāṇḍu on Ambikā and Ambālikā; there is no Vyāsa, born out of wedlock as the son of Satyavatī, who "gets the job done". Even Vidura, the "bastard son" sired by Vyāsa on the unwilling servant girl, is Vicitravīrya's son sired upon Ambā.

In a similar way, Devaprabhasūri removes the reproductive chal-lenges faced by Pāṇḍu. Pāṇḍu is the biological father of Karṇa, who is the result of a premarital romance[36] with Kuntī, and the Pāṇḍavas in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Similar to her portrayal in the *Mahābhārata*, Devaprabhasūri portrays Kuntī as born in the Yādava family, albeit as the biological daughter of Yādava king Andhakavṛṣṇi rather than the biological daughter of Śūrasena. As such, she is sister to Samudravijaya, the future father of the jina Nemi, and sister to Vasudeva, the future father of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Where the first *sarga* of the *Pāṇḍavacarita* ends with the marriage of Pāṇḍu to Kuntī and Mādrī, and the marriage of Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Gāndhārī, the second *sarga* begins with Gāndhārī becoming pregnant with Duryodhana. Soon, Gāndhārī starts to behave badly due to her improper *dohadas* or pregnancy cravings. Contrary to the mother-to-be of the Kauravas, Kuntī remains steadfast and devoted to Jain virtues. Soon, Kuntī is visited by auspicious dreams:

> One day, after she had had five dreams about the ocean, Mount Meru, the Sun, the Moon and the Goddess Śrī, she informed the king. He replied: my queen, you will

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[35] Some later Jain authors such as Śubhacandra and Vādicandra composed Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations that explicity criticised the dominant Hindu view of the *Mahābhārata* for scandalous acts such as the practice of *niyoga*, sexual intercourse with the gods, and polyandry. The two authors went even a step further and al-leged that some Hindu retellings of these episodes contained bestiality and incest, presenting their Jain adaptations as a corrective to such indecency. For an in-depth discussion of Śubhacandra and Vādicandra's changes to these episodes, see Jaini (1984: 108-114).

[36] At first, Pāṇḍu's request for Kuntī's hand in marriage is refused by her parents on account of Pāṇḍu's paleness in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Upon obtaining a magical ring that grants the power of invisibility among other powers, Pāṇḍu visits Kuntī in secret and gets her pregnant. She is forced to abandon the baby as soon as it is born. When her parents find out what happened, they allow her to marry Pāṇḍu (PC 1.461-565). A similar story of this premarital romance between Pāṇḍu and Kuntī is also depicted in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (70), Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* (14.8-7), and Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (82.3-5).

have a son who will possess the tree worlds together and who will have profundity along with great deal of other virtues.[37]

Here we clearly recognise the familiar Jain narrative pattern of the auspicious dreams: the expectant mother dreams about several objects, informs her husband, who then interprets the dreams. Three out the four of the objects Kuntī dreams about, i.e. the ocean, sun, and moon, are mentioned regularly in the fourteen dreams.

There are only two unusual aspects about Kuntī's dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, namely the inclusion of Meru and the number of dreams. Meru is rarely included into the standard list of auspicious dreams, but in the very rare instance the mountain does appear in the auspicious dreams, the mountain seems to suggest cakravartinhood (De Clercq 2009a). In Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, Meru is mentioned among the six items Yaśasvatī dreams of before the *jīva* of the first *cakravartin* Bharata enters her womb. When her husband Ṛṣabha explains the meaning of the dreams to Yaśasvatī, he tells his wife that seeing Meru means that she will have a *cakravartin* as son.[38]

As for the number of dreams, Kuntī dreams about five objects, which contrasts with other Śvetāmbara depictions of dreams, which are usually rather rigid when it comes to the number of objects: fourteen for a tīrthaṅkara or cakravartin; seven for a Vāsudeva, and four for a Baladeva. In Digambara texts, the mother-to-be of a cakravartin usually dreams of six objects (De Clercq 2009a: 51–52). Hence, the *Pāṇḍavacarita* being a Śvetāmbara text, Kuntī's dreams are nine short of a *cakravartin* compared to most Śvetāmbara texts, and one short of the usual six in Digambara texts. Yet the inclusion of Meru in Kuntī's dreams, Yudhiṣṭhira's birth, and Yudhiṣṭhira's later *digvijaya* in the narrative (PC 6.1–70) all seem to suggest cakravartinhood. The *Pāṇḍavacarita*'s depiction of Yudhiṣṭhira narrative in particular makes the the association explicit:

> Then, when the moon was in the sixth mansion on the day with the name *Maṅgala*, and the grahas at their apex were in the auspicious sign of Scorpio, that very moment, a son was born in that place where indomitably clever *world sovereigns* [*cakriṇaḥ*] are born.[39]

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[37] *anyedyuḥ sāgaraṃ meruṃ sūryaṃ candramasaṃ śriyam |*
dṛṣṭvā svapnān imān pañca sātha rājñe vyajijñapat ||
gāmbhīryādiguṇastomasaṃdānitajagattrayaḥ |
sutas te bhavitā devi tasmai so 'py evam abhyadhāt || PC 2.17-18.

[38] *athānyadā mahādevī saudhe suptā yaśasvati |*
svapne'paśyan mahīṃ grastāṃ meruṃ sūryaṃ ca soḍupam || ĀP 15.100.
tvaṃ devi putram āptāsi girīndrāc cakravarttinam |
tasya pratāpitāmarkaḥ śāstīnduḥ kāntisaṃpadam || ĀP 15.123.

[39] *atha jyeṣṭhāyute candre vāre maṅgalanāmani |*

The whole palace is overjoyed at the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira, and, just like in the *Mahābhārata*, disembodied voice speaks forth:

> As soon as this son, equal in radiance to the newly risen sun, was born, an incorporeal voice in the sky loudly proclaimed, "[…] He will be a king who delights in the bounds of dharma and who will r*ule the whole earth*. After reaching old age, he will attain *nirvāṇa*."[40]

Pāṇḍu's first born is soon named Yudhiṣṭhira and receives the epithets Tapaḥsūnu and Dharmasūnu — these epithets also appear in the *Mahābhārata* — by virtue of Kuntī's aptitude for *tapas* and *dharma*. A grand festival is held to celebrate Yudhiṣṭhira's birth.

Koraka, an emissary of the Yādavas, who appeared as character in the first *sarga*, also arrives to join the festivities. Eager to hear about the fortunes of her relatives after she had moved in with her in-laws, Kuntī asks Koraka to tell her how her family has been doing. In an embedded narrative that occupies almost the entirety of the *Pāṇḍavacarita's* second *sarga* (2.46–479), Koraka tells Kuntī about her family's fortunes. It is here, in Koraka's narration, that Devaprabhasūri embeds the Jain account of the enmity between the Yādavas and their foes Jarāsaṃdha and Kaṃsa, the births of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, the Yādavas fleeing Mathurā, and the founding of Dvāravatī. Devaprabhasūri obviously draws on Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* for most of these episodes. Using Koraka as an embedded narrator, Devaprabhasūri depicts the auspicious dreams announcing the births of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Nemi of Balarāma. For instance, this is how the *Pāṇḍavacarita* depicts the auspicious dreams of Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa:

> One day queen Devakī had the seven great dreams that predict a noble and unusual child. The next morning the lotus-faced lady told her husband about the dreams. He said to her, "our son will become an *ardhacakravartin*."[41]

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    vṛścikākhye śubhe rāśāv uccastheṣu graheṣv api ||
    ajāyata sutas tasya muhūrte tatra kutracit |
    ākrāntacaturāśāntā jāyante yatra cakriṇaḥ || PC 2.26-27

[40] *jātamātre sute tasmin bālārkasamatejasi* |
    uccacāra viyaty uccair aśarīrā sarasvatī || […]
    dharmabaddharatir bhūpaḥ sārvabhaumo bhaviṣyati |
    vārddhake vratam ādāya nirvāṇaṃ ca gamiṣyati || PC.2.31;33.
    Note that the first three words describing the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira, i.e. *jātamātre sute tasmin* also appear verbatim in the *śloka*s that describe Yudhiṣṭhira's birth in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh. I.114.5). Small correspondences like these between verses from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pāṇḍavacarita* appear again and again.

[41] *dadhau saptamahāsvapnasūcitaṃ niścitodayam* |
    udāram anyadā devī devakī garbham adbhutam ||
    patyuḥ śaśaṃsa sā svapnān prātas tāmarasānanā |
    bharatārdhapatiḥ putro bhāvīty ākhyat sa tatphalam || PC 2.178-179.

Regarding the auspicious dreams of Nemi's mother Śivā, the *Pāṇḍavacarita* mentions the exact astrological moment, but not the content of her dreams:

> At that time, blessed Queen Śivā was staying in the town of Śauryapura, when one night of the twelfth day of the Kṛṣṇapakṣa in the month Kārttika, she saw **fourteen** great dreams which predicted the descent into the womb. Upon the moon reaching the twelfth lunar mansion, she woke from her slumber.[42]

What follows is a scene taken from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (8.5.274–282), in which a sage called Kroṣṭuki and an unnamed flying ascetic (*cāraṇaśramaṇa*) explain to Samudravijaya and Śivā that the dreams announce the birth of a future *tīrthaṅkara* (PC 2.237–240). The *Pāṇḍavacarita* then goes to describe Nemi's birth in great details.

  After Koraka finishes his account of the Yādava fortunes with the founding of Dvāravatī, the second *sarga* ends with Kuntī thanking Koraka for his story. The third *sarga* begins with Kuntī becoming pregnant again. Again, Devaprabhasūri describes the dream that accompanies Kuntī pregnancy:

> In her dream, a tree-flattening storm ripped the wishing tree from the Nandana grove and threw it in her lap.[43]

Pāṇḍu explains the meaning of the dreams as following:

> You will have a wonderful son, who will resemble the god of the wind! He will be a powerful, unique crest jewel, given as a consolation to the world.[44]

Here, the dream and its explanation serve a different purpose than the dreams hitherto discussed. Whereas the dreams announcing Yudhiṣṭhira's birth are clearly like the ones presaging the birth of a *śalākāpuruṣa*, Kuntī's dream in this case serves to sanitise and rationalise the various epithets of Bhīma. In the *Mahābhārata*, these epithets stem from the fact Bhīma was fathered by Vāyu, the god of the wind. However, since Pāṇḍu is Bhīma's biological father in Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata,* epithets such as *marutsuta*, *vāyuputra*, and patronymics that refer to the god of the Wind feel somewhat out of place. Yet, rather than jettisoning

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[42] *itaś ca śrī śivādevī sthitā śauryapure pure |*
ekadā kārtike kṛṣṇadvādaśyāṃ kṣaṇadātyaye ||
garbhāvatārapiśunān mahāsvapnāṃś caturdaśa |
dṛṣṭvā citrāgate candre nidrāmudrāṃ vyamuñcata || PC. 2.235-236.

[43] *tasyāḥ svapne kṣipadvṛkṣabhañjano 'tha prabhañjanaḥ |*
ānīya nandanodyānādaṅke kalpamahīruham || PC 3.5.

[44] *pavamānopamānas te baliṣṭhaikaśiromaṇiḥ |*
pradattajagadāśvāso bhavitā tanayo 'dbhutaḥ || PC 3.7

the panoply of patronymics, Devaprabhasūri, in all likelihood motivated by metrical purposes and elegant variation, prefers to keep a large array of sobriquets at his disposal, and thus uses the motif of a dream to rationalise the epithets.

   Once again, a disembodied voice speaks at the child's birth, announcing the child's future strength (PC 3.42). The narrative then goes on to explicitly mention that Bhīma receives the nickname "son of the wind" because of Kuntī's dream.[45] When Kuntī becomes pregnant with Arjuna, she is also visited by a similar dream:

> One night, the very charming Pṛthā saw great Indra mounted on the elephant mate of Abhramū in a dream during the last part of the night. The next morning, she excitedly told her husband about the dream. He then explained to her that she would have a son like Śakra.[46]

When Arjuna is born, an incorporeal voice again sings the praises of the child (PC 3.106–107), and Pāṇḍu gives the child the name 'Arjuna' for his brilliant qualities. Just like Bhīma before him, Arjuna also receives the nickname 'Indra's son' because of the dream (PC 3.111). In the *Mahābhārata* (I.114.27–64), Arjuna's birth receives the most fanfare: the incorporeal voice announces his future feats, and the celestial inhabitants in Indra's heaven are described in a catalogue as they celebrate Arjuna's birth. Devaprabhasūri seems to briefly reference a small part of that catalogue by mentioning how the *apsaras*es, the celestial nymphs, dance upon Arjuna's birth in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Compare the extensive description in the *Mahābhārata,*

> Likewise did the blessed *apsaras*es, wide-eyed and adorned with all their regalia, dance and sing. Anūnā, Anavadya, Priyamukhā, Guṇāvarā, Adrikā, Sācī, Miśrakeśī, Alambuṣā, [all names of *apsaras*es] [...].[47]

With the *Pāṇḍavacarita,*

> Immediately after [Arjuna's birth], a song broke forth in heaven and Rambhā, Urvaśī and the other *apsaras*es began to dance.[48]

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[45] *bhīmasyāto 'bhavan nāma maruttanaya ity api |*
     svapne kalpadrumavyājādyato 'sau mārutātmajaḥ || PC 3.46.

[46] *abhramūvallabhārūḍhaṃ niśāśeṣe kadācana |*
     svapne mahendram adrākṣīt pṛthā pṛthumanorathā ||
     sā svapnaṃ kathayāmāsa patyuḥ prātaḥ pramodinī |
     tasyai so 'pi samācakhyau śakrābhaṃ bhāvinaṃ sutam || PC 3.99-100.

[47] *tathaivāpsaraso hṛṣṭāḥ sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitāḥ |*
     nanṛtur vai mahābhāgā jaguś cāyatalocanāḥ ||
     anūnā cānavadyā ca priyamukhyā guṇāvarā |
     adrikā ca tathā sācī miśrakeśī alambusā || MBh I.114.49-50

[48] *tad anantaram ākāśe saṃgītam udajṛmbhata |*
     rambhorvaśīprabhṛtayo nṛtyam apsaraso vyadhuḥ || PC 3.99-100.

Last, and, unfortunately, in this case actually least, are Nakula and Sa-hadeva. Devaprabhasūri wants to be brief here and does not even bother with the dreams' contents or explaining away an epithet like *āśvineya*:

> Then the daughter of the Madra king gave birth to twins, who were full of majesty and announced by a most praiseworthy dream. A celestial voice announced that they, too, would be possessed of pure heroism, attain final liberation and be devoted to their elders. Their parents gave those two prudent, handsome sons the names Nakula and Sahadeva, by which they attained renown.[49]

Conclusions

Over the course of this chapter, I have illustrated how Devaprabhasūri directly draws from the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata*. His repeated inclusions of the incorporeal voice prophesying the greatness of each individual Pāṇḍava is a clear and deliberate example of directly referencing the *Mahābhārata*. To invoke Ramanujan's aphorism about the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*[50], which, admittedly, has become somewhat of a cliché: we do not know when Devaprabhasūri heard the story of the *Mahābhārata* for the first time, but when he wrote the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, he consciously worked from the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata*.[51]

At the same time, the Jain author draws from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. By depicting the auspicious dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī, Devaprabhasūri seems to suggest some similarity between the Pāṇḍavas and the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣa*s. At the very least, Devap-rabhasūri wants to associate Yudhiṣṭhira with *cakravartin*-hood through Kuntī's auspicious dreams, which are similar enough to those of a *cakravartin*'s mother, as well as through references to *cakravartin*s.

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49 *atha ślāghyatamasvapnasūcitau nicitau śriyā |*
   yamalau janayāṃcakre madrarājasutā sutau ||
   tāv apy ākāśabhāratyā kathitau yad bhaviṣyataḥ |
   sattvaśauryayutau siddhigāminau guruvatsalau ||
   pradattayā pitṛbhyāṃ tau vinītau nayaśālinau |
   Nakulaḥ Sahadevaś cety ākhyayā khyātim īyatuḥ || PC 3.112-114.
50 "In India and in Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabhara-ta* for the first time. The stories are there, "always already."" (Ramanujan 1991: 46)
51 While a close reading of the births of the Pāṇḍavas suggests some level of familiarity with the actual text of the *Mahābhārata* on Devaprabhasūri's part, some episodes in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* even lift verbatim phrases and excerpt from the *Mahābhāra-ta*. A good example is the catalogue of the Kauravas' names in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (3.117-130), which consists of verbatim phrases found in the C.E. as well as verbatim phrases mainly found in northern manuscripts.

Yet at some level, there remains this fundamental impossibility of turning all five Pāṇḍavas into *śalākāpuruṣa*s, which are very much a closed set. To be a *śalākāpuruṣa* is to either be a jina, a *cakravartin*, or part of the triad of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. In the Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations, most of these roles are already occupied: Nemi is the jina, Balarāma is the *baladeva*, Kṛṣṇa is the *vāsudeva*, Jarāsaṃdha is the *prativāsudeva*.

What I find interesting is how some of the most central characters from the *Mahābhārata* arguably could have lent themselves even better to the Jain triad of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva* than one of the most famous triads in Jain narrative literature. i.e. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa. To illustrate my point, strictly narratively speaking in terms of character and the role they play in the plot, the two eldest Pāṇḍavas and the eldest Kaurava Duryodhana can be slotted into the triad with relative ease: Yudhiṣṭhira is the gentle elder brother of greater spiritual merit, an ideal character for a *baladeva*, whereas Bhīma is the more violent younger brother of lesser spiritual merit, and is the one who kills Duryodhana. This is in stark contrast to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa: Jain authors from Vimalasūri onwards have to depict Lakṣmaṇa as the one killing the *prativāsudeva* in order to fit the pattern, since the *baladeva* attains liberation or goes to heaven, whereas the *vāsudeva* goes to hell for their violent actions.

Of course, the hypothetical example I have given above runs counter to how the very concept of this triad must have historically developed. The very names *baladeva* and *vāsudeva* at some level presuppose the characters of Baladeva/Balarāma/Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva. To cite Jonathan Geen:

> The Jainas [...] incorporated Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva (and their rival, Jarāsandha) into their mythology, [...] and expanded them into recurring character types to be numbered among the other *śalākāpuruṣas* [...]. These new categories of *baladevas*, *vāsudevas*, and *prativāsudevas* also allowed the Jainas to neatly incorporate the Rāmāyaṇa's heroes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and their rival Rāvaṇa, into their Universal History (2011: 70).

The point I want to make above is one about the choices or restraints Jain authors faced in their endeavours of literary transcreation. Devaprabhasūri clearly wanted to create something new with his *Pāṇḍavacarita*, new in the sense that there were no prior Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata* in Sanskrit that truly focused on the Pāṇḍavas. It had to be Jain, capital J. To imbue the Paṇḍavas with some of the trappings and sheen of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s by means of auspicious dreams makes perfect sense in that context.

Yet fully incorporating the Pāṇḍavas into the set of *śalākāpuruṣa*s is not an option; Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Duryodhana cannot become a *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. Devaprabhasūri feels beholden to Jain cosmology and to the Jain authors who came before him. While Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Jarāsaṃdha are not the main focus in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, they are still present as the *baladeva*, the *vāsudeva*, and the *prativāsudeva*. It is not Bhīma who kills Jarāsaṃdha with his bare hands as in the *Mahābhārata*[52], but Kṛṣṇa who slays Jarāsaṃdha in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*:

> Realising that, according to the secrets of the scriptures, *prativiṣṇus* [synonym for *prativāsudeva*] should only be killed with one's cakra and not in any other way, Keśava [Kṛṣṇa] quickly sliced off his head as he threw the cakra, that shining ring, with ease.[53]

Abbreviations

AP= *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena. See Jinasena and Pannalal Jain 2003.

CMP = *Caüppannamahāpurisacariya* of Śīlāṅka See Śīlāṅka and Amṛtalal Mohanalal Bhojak 1961.

HVP = *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena. See Jinasena and Pannalal Jain 2003.

KS = *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. See Bhadrabāhu and Lalwani 1999.

MBh = *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa. See Vyāsa and Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar & Franklin Edgerton & Sushil Kumar De 1940, 1942 and 1944.

MP = *Mahāpurāṇu* of Puṣpadanta. See Puṣpadanta and P.L. Vaidya 2003.

PC = *The Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri. See Devaprabhasūri and Kedāranātha Śāstrī & Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara 1911.

RC = *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* of Svayaṃbhūdeva. See Svayaṃbhūdeva and Ram Tomar 1993.

TSCP = *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra. See Hemacandra and Ramaṇīkavijaya Gaṇi & Puṇyavijaya & Vijayaśīlacandrasūri 2006.

UP = *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. See Guṇabhadra and Pannalal Jain 2007.

VPC = *Paümacariyam* of Vimalasūri. See Vimalasūri and Ācārya Puṇyavijaya & Hermann Jacobi 1962.

VV = *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa. See Pampa and Venkatanaranappa 1990.

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[52] *evam uktas tadā bhīmo jarāsaṃdham ariṃdamaḥ |*
utkṣipya bhrāmayad rājan balavantaṃ mahābalaḥ ||
bhrāmayitvā śataguṇaṃ bhujābhyāṃ bharatarṣabha |
babhañja pṛṣṭhe saṃkṣipya niṣpiṣya vinanāda ca || MBh II.22.5-6

[53] *svacakreṇaiva netavyāḥ prāṇāntaṃ prativiṣṇavaḥ |*
ity āgamarahasyāni nānyatheti vicintayan ||
śīrṣacchedyasya tasyāśu śiraś ciccheda keśavaḥ |
prasṛtvaraprabhācakraṃ cakraṃ cikṣepa līlayā || PC 14.216-217

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