

Kumārapāla's Wedding with Fair-Compassion: An Allegorical Story retold from Drama to Narratives

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As regards Jain practices of literary transcreation, the historical texts known as *prabandhas* that were written between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries are particularly worth studying. Not only did their authors gather information about recent times from a wide range of oral and written sources in various languages – Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha –,¹ but they also looked for the most appropriate style to retell the anecdotes, waving between the efficient simplicity of *kathā* tradition and the seductive sophistication of prose or versified *kāvya* genres,² and as a reflection of the multilingualism of their sources, they devised a new variety of Sanskrit interspersed with colloquial Middle Indic words and expressions (Sandesara 1953: 145–147; Sandesara and Thaker 1962). Besides, the earlier *prabandha* collections soon became themselves sources of information for later compilers: as demonstrated by Jozef Deleu (1981: 61, 63) in his often quoted “Note on Jain Prabandhas,” there exist many parallels between Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* (1348) and his predecessors' works, such as Prabhacandra's *Prabhāvākacārīta* (1278), Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1305), Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (1333), and the so-called *Puratānaprabandhasaṃgraha*, a later compilation which includes the oldest known specimen of the genre, Jinabhadra's *Prabandhāvalī* (1234).³ The writing methods of the *prabandha* authors are still to be studied, though.

¹ That the *prabandha* authors took the pain of diversifying and checking their sources of information is proven not only by explicit statements some of them made at the outset or at the end of their works (as Merutuṅga did, see Ali 2013: 240, 248), but also by the direct quotations they all interspersed their works with.

² On the influence of the various types of *kathā* on the *prabandha* genre, see Deleu 1981: 62; Ali 2013: 247–256.

³ In a similar way, Jayant P. Thaker analysed the relations of a small collection of anecdotes, the *Laghuprabandhasaṃgraha*, with other *prabandha* works (LPS introduction p. 37–81). I keep up Deleu's system of abbreviations for these works, respectively PCa, PCi, VTK, PK, PPS and PPS-P. As for the two other works dealt with in this article, which retrace the life of Kumārapāla like many other works written between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries (on these, see Velankar 1944: 92–93), I have

In this chapter, I would like to turn to a later text, Jinamaṇḍanaṅgi's *Kumārapālaprabandha*, which dates back to the first half of the fifteenth century (1435). The heterogeneous nature of this work filled with quotations from earlier sources, some preserved, some others lost, has been underlined as early as the end of the nineteenth century by Georg Bühler in his biography of Hemacandra (published in 1889 in the original German, translated into English in 1936). He presented the work as “a loose compilation” from the *Prabhāvakacarita*, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, the *Prabandhakośa* and several other similar works, either placing side-by-side contradictory accounts found in its sources or attempting “to bring them into accord by alterations” (Bühler 1936: 2–3).⁴ In Bühler's opinion, these repetitions have no great worth, except when they develop what has been reported too succinctly in earlier sources, or when they indirectly give an insight into hardly accessible works. As a significant example, Bühler mentioned the *Moharājaparājaya* or *Defeat of King Delusion* by the playwright Yaśaḥpāla (c. 1173–1175), which was not yet published when he wrote his book. The *editio princeps* prepared by Muni Chaturvijayaji was released thirty years later, in 1918, and among the appendices added by Chimanlal Dalal significantly figured two excerpts from the *Kumārapālaprabandha* under the rather misleading title “Summary of the plot of the play *The Defeat of Delusion*” (*moharājaya-rūpaka-vastu-saṃkṣepa*). Admittedly, Jinamaṇḍana did include in his account of Kumārapāla's life the king's marriage with Fair-Compassion (*kṛpāsundarī*) and victory over King Delusion which form the allegorical plot of the play. But the chronicler had also another version of the story at hand, composed seventy years earlier by the Jain poet Jayasiṃhasūri from the Kṛṣṇarṣi Gaccha as part of a *mahākāvya* retracing Kumārapāla's life, the *Kumārapālabhūpalacaritra* (1365), which fact Bühler could not be aware of since the text was not yet edited either.⁵

adopted my own system of abbreviations associating KC for *Kumārapālacarita* (even though some variations may appear in the actual titles) with the first letters of the name of the authors: thus KC-Jay for Jayasiṃha's *Kumārabhūpalacaritramahākāvya* and KC-Jin for Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālaprabandha*. All the dates are given in the common era, unless specified otherwise.

⁴ Among the main sources of Jinamaṇḍana can also be mentioned the *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha*, a *prabandha* collection compiled by an anonymous author between 1365 and 1407 that was not edited in Bühler's time (on this point, see Leclère forthcoming).

⁵ The text was published firstly in 1915 in Jamnagar, then in 1926 in Bombay (cf. Velankar 1944: 92). There also exists a story of the marriage of Kumārapāla with Non-Violence (*ahimsā*) which figures as an appendix in Jinavijaya Muni's edition of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. It has a lot in common with Jinamaṇḍana's version of the allegorical love story, but as it does not appear in the fourth section of the work

What I intend to do is to determine to which extent, and for what reasons, Jinamaṇḍana relied on either version; then I will consider which amount of creativity he displayed to create his own original rendering. My contention is that Jinamaṇḍana is not a mere compiler, but a genuine author who selects, rearranges and improves the materials he finds in his sources.

Two Major Sources of Inspiration

Literal quotations

As Bühler rightly guessed, Jinamaṇḍana had a good knowledge of the *Moharājaparājaya*: no less than sixteen verses from the play can be traced in his retelling of the allegorical story,⁶ and fragments of the prose passages alternating in Yaśaḥpāla's text as in any classical Sanskrit drama have also found their way into the *prabandha* account, either literally quoted or slightly reformulated.⁷ For instance, Jinamaṇḍana inserted at the end of his narrative not only the two last verses from the play, but also, between them, the sentence *tathāpīdam astu* that conventionally introduces the *bharataavākya* or final benediction (KC-Jin 142. 2). That Jinamaṇḍana probably had a copy of the play at hand or knew the text by heart is further proven by the fact that the verses, as well as the quotations or rewordings of prose passages, appear almost systematically in the same order in both texts.⁸

devoted to the reign of Kumārapāla, it is impossible to attribute it firmly to Merutuṅga and to determine whether it was composed before or after the *Kumārapālāprabandha*.

⁶ Interestingly enough, Jinamaṇḍana privileged verses following syllabic patterns, with a marked predilection for the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre (nine of the sixteen verses quoted), while the dominating metre in Yaśaḥpāla's play is a moraic one, the *āryā* (cf. Leclère 2013: 565).

⁷ Jinamaṇḍana also quoted thirteen verses among the sixty contained in the third act of the *Moharājaparājaya*, but as they are connected with the embedded story of the merchant Kubera and other non-allegorical characters, he inserted them in a further part of his own work, dealing with Kumārapāla's decision to abolish the right of appropriating childless men's wealth (cf. Leclère 2013: 205–209).

⁸ The same can be said about the quotations from the third act, except for the verses MRP III. 50, 53 and 55 which precede Kubera's story in Jinamaṇḍana's version (KC-Jin 163. 9–10, 12 and 164. 2–3) instead of splitting it into two halves (the story of his disappearance on one hand, and his miraculous return on the other hand).

Table 1. Quotations from the MRP in KC-Jin's retelling of the whole allegorical story

Verse	Metre	KC-Jin	MRP
<i>sā vāci sā ca hṛdi</i>	<i>vasantatilaka</i>	133. 2–3	III. 8
<i>iha bharaha-nivāo</i>	<i>mālinī</i>	134. 1–2	II. 43 / III. 6
<i>yas tvām prāk saparigrahaṃ</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	137. 8–9	V. 26
<i>pumskītaḥ kila ko'pi</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	139. 4–5	V. 47
<i>avātarad dharā-pīṭhe</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	139. 7	V. 48
<i>vajrāgnineva kṣapitā</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	139. 8	V. 49
<i>garjad-gajendra-bhramataḥ</i>	<i>upajāti</i>	139. 11	V. 58
<i>dantāgra-ghātair</i>	<i>upajāti</i>	139. 13	V. 59
<i>kṣudra-kṣmāpati-koṭi</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	140. 1–2	V. 62
<i>eṣo'haṃ bhuvanopakāra</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	140. 7–8	V. 64
<i>rāga-dveṣa-manobhava</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	140. 12–13	V. 68
<i>astram śighram are</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	140. 14–141. 1	V. 69
<i>dr̥ṣṭaḥ pūrvam ahaṃ</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	141. 2–3	V. 70
<i>tais taiḥ śastrair amoghaiḥ</i>	<i>sragdharā</i>	141. 8–9	V. 75
<i>nirvīra-dhanam ujjhitaṃ</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	141. 14–142. 1	V. 76
<i>śrī-śvetāmbara-hemacandra</i>	<i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	142. 3–4	V. 77

However, it must be noted that most of them come from the fifth and last act of the *Moharājaparājaya* and deal with the war between Kumārapāla and Delusion. As regards the love story between Kumārapāla and Fair-Compassion strictly speaking, Jinamaṇḍana quoted only two verses from the play. Admittedly, these are important verses, as one expresses Kumārapāla's growing love for Fair-Compassion (MRP III. 8 = KC-Jin 133. 2–3), and the other one the conditions which Fair-Compassion expects her suitor to fulfil before marrying her (MRP II. 42 / III. 6 = KC-Jin 134. 1–2). But they relate to the preliminary stages of the love story and not to the wedding itself, which, as a matter of fact, has not been dramatically treated by the playwright: it takes place offstage and is merely alluded to by Vivekacandra in the introductory scene to the fifth and last act.⁹ As a consequence, Jinamaṇḍana had to turn to Jayasimhasūri's work to find a full-fledged account of the event, and

⁹ *vivekacandra (sānandaṃ parikramya): aho niścinto'smi caulukya-kula-nabhas-talālaṃkāra-maṇinā sakala-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇḍalāvataṃsāyamāna-caraṇa-tāmarasena tribhuvana-śrī-kuca-kalaśa-muktā-latāyamāna-yaśaḥ-prasareṇa mahārajādhirāja śrī-kumārapāla-devena saha mama sūtāyāḥ kṛpāsundaryāḥ paṇi-grahaṇa-mahotsavena* | (MRP V. 1- [III. 3–6]).

he quoted four verses from the eighth *sarga* of this *mahākāvya* in his retelling of the love story:

Table 2. Quotations from the KC-Jay in KC-Jin's retelling of the allegorical love story

Verse	Metre	KC-Jin	KC-Jay
<i>kiṃcābhakṣyam ayaṃ tyaktvā</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	134. 4	VIII. 46
<i>jāmātre dedivān dharmāḥ evaṃ mahena saṃpūrṇo yā prāpe na purā</i>	<i>anuṣṭubh anuṣṭubh śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>	135. 4–7	VIII. 63–65

Besides, his retelling of Kumārapāla's war against Delusion also includes half a dozen verses quoted from Jayasimhasūri's text, though having Yaśaḥpāla's play as first source (KC-Jin 137. 11–14 = KC-Jay VIII. 96–99; KC-Jin 141. 5–6 = KC-Jay VIII. 135–136).

The narrative frame

Besides inserting in the account of the allegorical love story and wedding more verses from the *Kumārabhūpālacaritramāhākāvya* than from the *Moharājaparājaya*, Jinamaṇḍana also copied the narrative frame that he had found in Jayasimha's work. Occurring relatively late in both texts, after the extensive teachings of Hemacandra on Jain doctrine and ethics,¹⁰ the love story between Kumārapāla and Fair-Compassion also begins in almost identical terms: one day, Kumārapāla sees a beautiful young girl at the door of Hemacandra's hermitage and asks his spiritual teacher about her. Hemacandra then starts to tell him about her lineage, her morality, and so on (KC-Jay VIII. 1–7; KC-Jin 130. 12 to 131. 2).

¹⁰ There are ten cantos in the KC-Jay, and the allegorical story is narrated at the intersection of the seventh and eighth ones. In the first third of his work, Jayasimhasūri narrates the birth of Hemacandra and Kumārapāla, then Kumārapāla's accession to the throne and conquest of the directions (cantos I–IV, 2408 verses). Then come cantos focussed on didactic topics, law of karma, compassion, dharma of Jain laymen, which lead to Kumārapāla becoming a Jain layman (cantos V–VII, 2064 verses). The last third of the work opens with the allegorical story (last verses of canto VII and beginning of canto VIII) and further teachings of Hemacandra (most of canto VIII); Kumārapāla's pilgrimage to the holy mountains of Saurāṣṭra is then retold in canto IX, and the work concludes with canto X and the successive deaths of the monk and the king. In KC-Jin, the story is inserted in the second half of the biography, before the description of the great pilgrimage organised by Kumārapāla, a few anecdotes also known from the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, and the story of the end of the reign.

Table 3. Beginning of the allegorical love story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VIII. 1	KC-Jin 130. 12–13
<i>caulukya-bhū-dhavo'nyedur hemasūri-mathāgrataḥ kilantīm kāñcanotkrṣṭām kanīm dṛṣṭvā vimṛṣṭavān </i>	<i>athānyadā kṛta-prābhātika-kṛtyaḥ paṭṭa-gajādhi-rūḍhaḥ śrī-rājarṣiḥ śrī-guru-vandanārtham āyātaḥ śālā-dvāre kāñcana-kanīm deva-kanyām iva līlā-vilāsinīm dṛṣṭavān cintitavāms ceti</i>
<p>On another day, as he had seen a girl outstanding as if made out of gold playing in front of Hemasūri's monastery, the possessor of the earth thought:</p>	<p>Then, on another day, the royal sage who had come mounted on his royal elephant to worship his spiritual teacher after performing the morning rituals saw some girl gracefully playing like a celestial maiden at the door of the preaching hall, and he thought:</p>

The frame story remains perceptible throughout the subnarrative: in Jayasimhasūri's version, Hemacandra comes back to the present situation and Kumārapāla's vision of Fair-Compassion at the end of his speech (KC-Jay VIII. 24–25). In Jinamaṇḍana's amplified text, Kumārapāla even interrupts Hemacandra's speech to ask him for more details about the respective armies of Discrimination and Delusion (KC-Jin 132. 3–5), and once their presentation is over, he returns to his own place and becomes infatuated with Fair-Compassion. His minister Udayana and other courtiers report the fact to Hemacandra, who has them all come again to his preaching room and resumes the story (KC-Jin 132. 14 to 133. 5). Admittedly, the narrative nature of these two texts may explain their affinities, but Jinamaṇḍana could also have derived inspiration from the first act of Yaśaḥpāla's play, wherein the spy Mirror-of-Knowledge reports at length to Kumārapāla how King Discrimination has been expelled with his wife and daughter from his city Human-Volition by the armies of Delusion. At the mere mention of Fair-Compassion, the king is confused and expresses aside his desire for her (MRP I. 26), and later on, as another spy tells the king's minister in the introductory scene to the second act, he meets her as well as her parents in the ascetic grove of Hemacandra¹¹ – and not at the door of his hermitage as in the later biographies.

In a similar way, Jinamaṇḍana privileged Jayasimha's explanation of Delusion's hostility towards Kumārapāla. In the first act of the *Mo-*

¹¹ "I have brought him [Discrimination] with the queen [Peace, his wife] and their daughter [Fair-Compassion] to the capital city of the Caulukya king. He has settled in the ascetic grove of the illustrious Hemacandra, and I have managed to make him have an audience with the royal sage in the presence of his spiritual teacher" (*ānido so samam devīe taṇayāe ya cālukka-rāyahāṇim | ṭhido bhagavado siri-hemacandassa tavo-vaṇe | rāesiṇā saha kārīdo guru-samīve daṃsaṇaṇṇam |* (MRP II. 6+ [20. 17–19]).

harājaparājaya, Mirror-of-Knowledge is not done once he has told the king about Discrimination's piteous flight; he also informs him that while he was staying in the city of Human-Volition recently conquered by Delusion, he met a group of three people led by an extremely seductive woman (MRP I. 27). She turned out to be nobody else than Kumārapāla's own wife Garland-of-Glory (*kīrti-mañjari*), accompanied by her wet-nurse Series-of-Qualities (*guṇāvalī*) and her brother Splendour (*pratāpa*). As she explained to Mirror-of-Knowledge, she got tired of being neglected and even disgraced by her husband, and she decided to arouse Delusion's furore towards him.¹² At the end of the seventh *sarga* of his *mahākāvya*, just before turning to the allegorical story at the opening of the eighth *sarga*, Jayasiṃhasūri tells a similar yet different story. There again, a woman goes to Delusion's court to complain about Kumārapāla, but it is now Delusion's own daughter, Violence (*himsā* or *māri*), who has got angry "as if she had been a co-wife" at seeing Kumārapāla totally given up to the emotion of compassion because of Hemacandra's sermons.¹³ Delusion first does not recognise her, then promises to defeat their enemies and to restore his supremacy over the whole world (KC-Jay VIII. 723–730). Jinamaṇḍana follows this version, quoting and paraphrasing the end of the seventh *sarga* of Jayasiṃha's *mahākāvya* (KC-Jin 130. 3–10). Compare for instance the passage where Violence decides to go to Delusion's court as she does not find any longer a place to stay in the vicinity of Kumārapāla:¹⁴

Table 4. Preamble to the allegorical story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VII. 722	KC-Jin 130. 3–4
<i>nṛpasya hṛdaye gehe pure janapade bhuvi kvāpy anāpnuvatī vāsaṃ tāta-mohāntikam yāyau </i>	<i>evaṃ nṛpasya hṛdaye vadane gehe pure deśeṣu ca sthānam anāpnuvatī karuṇaṃ sapatnīm ivāśahantī sva-pitṛ-mohāntikam yayau māriḥ </i>
Being unable to find a residence in the heart, house, city, empire of the king, nor on the earth or anywhere else, she went to her daddy Delusion.	Being thus unable to find a place in the heart, mouth, house, city or countries of the king, and being unable to stand Compassion as if she were her co-wife, Slaughter went to her own father Delusion.

¹² *prāptā viśva-jayino moha-nṛpater nikaṭam | tais taiś ca vacana-prapañcāir dūraṃ grāhitas tad-upari saṃrambhaṃ moha-mahīpatiḥ |* (MRP I. 31+ [17. 27–28]).

¹³ *tataś caulukyam ālokyā karuṇā-rasa-lālasam | asūyām āsuṣī himsā sapatnīva sva-cetasi ||* (KC-Jay VII. 721).

¹⁴ In my comparative reading of these texts, I write in bold the words that they share, and I highlight in grey the words or expressions that are reformulated by Jinamaṇḍana.

The allegorical system

The way Jinamaṇḍana organised the allegorical system also clearly betrays Jayasiṃha's influence. When looking at the table, we can see immediately how the two narrative versions depart from the play. The most blatant example is the substitution of Moon-of-Discrimination (*viveka-candra*) in Yaśaḥpāla's play by Religion-of-the-Venerables (*arhad-dharma*), also abbreviated as Religion (*dharma*), in Jayasiṃha's and Jinamaṇḍana's works as the father of Fair-Compassion and opponent of King Delusion. As they were both Jain religious leaders, appointed to the positions of *sūri* and *gaṇin* respectively,¹⁵ Jayasiṃha and Jinamaṇḍana might have adopted a more orthodox standpoint than the layman Yaśaḥpāla. Indeed, the concept of *viveka* marked the affiliation of the *Moharājaparājaya* with the *vedāntic* model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*,¹⁶ while Religion, presented as the son of the Omniscient Jina, emphasises the Jain appropriation of the tale.

We can also see that in the narratives the respective cities, families, courts and armies of Religion and Delusion are organised in a much more symmetrical way.¹⁷ Let's consider for instance their wives: Peace (*śānti*) faces Ignorance (*avidyā*) in the *Moharājaparājaya*, while Abstinence (*virati*) is more obviously opposed to Non-Abstinence (*avirati*) in Jayasiṃha's and Jinamaṇḍana's texts.¹⁸

¹⁵ In the Śvetāmbara monastic lineages (*gaccha*), the teachers or *ācārya* could be given titles with honorific value or hierarchical significance. Initially equivalent with the title *gaṇadhara* ("leader of a troop") borne by the main disciples of a Jina, *gaṇin* came to designate one of the intermediate ranks in the hierarchy, while *sūri* was conferred on leaders or "pontiffs" of lineages. See Dundas 2002: 181; Dundas 2007: xi.

¹⁶ See my analysis of the first stanza of each play in Leclère 2013: 409.

¹⁷ This may be related to an important change in the enunciative situation from the play to the narratives. In the *Moharājaparājaya*, the allegorical tale is very fragmented, since the information about the war between Discrimination and Delusion in the first act and the presentation of Delusion's military camp and forces in the fifth act are given little by little by the spy Mirror-of-Knowledge to Kumārapāla. In both the narratives, it is Hemacandra himself who presents in a more didactic way the allegorical characters to Kumārapāla, and except for a few interruptions, this exposition consists in long coherent passages.

¹⁸ Here again, the prominent position given to Peace in the *Moharājaparājaya* may be explained by the fact that in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* she is instrumental together with her mother Faith (*śraddhā*) in making King Discrimination and Queen Upaṇiṣad reunite and procreate Knowledge (*vidyā*) and Moon-of-Wisdom (*prabodha-candra*) and thus in provoking King Delusion's ultimate defeat (cf. Pédraglio 1974: 32–33).

Table 5. *The good allegories in the three versions*

	MRP	KC-Jay	KC-Jin
The good king	Vivekacandra	Arhaddharma/ Dharma	Arhaddharma/ Dharma
His city	Janamanovṛtti	Vimalacitta	Vimalacitta
His wife	Śānti	Virati	Virati
His sons		Śama etc.	Śama, Dama etc.
His daughter	Kṛpāsundarī	Karuṇā/Kṛpā	Kṛpāsundarī
His minister(s)	Vimarśa and others	Siddhānta	Sadāgama
His general		Śubhadhyāna	Vivekacandra
His attendant			Śubhādhyavasāya
His champions	Kṣamā	Samyaktva etc.	Samyaktva, Yama, Niyama etc.

In a similar way, the first champions of their armies, Correct-Belief (*samyaktva*) on one side and False-Belief (*mithyātva*) on the other side, are perfectly symmetrical in the narratives, while in the play there is a disequilibrium between the four passions (*kaṣāya*) taking the lead of Delusion's soldiers – Fire-of-Wrath (*kopānala*), Mountain-of-Pride (*garva-parvata*), Concealed-by-Deceit (*dambha-gupta*), Ocean-of-Greed (*lobha-sāgara*) – and one virtue on Discrimination's side, Patience (*kṣamā*), who is sent against Fire-of-Wrath (MRP V. 30 and surrounding prose). Wrath and the other passions are presented as Delusion's sons in the narratives, and in the opposite camp Appeasement (*śama*) together with other qualities of self-control – Jinamaṇḍana explicitly mentions Self-Restraint (*dama*) as another member of the group – appear as Discrimination's sons.¹⁹

Table 6. *The bad allegories in the three versions*

	MRP	KC-Jay	KC-Jin
The evil king	Moha	Moha	Moha
His city	Janamanovṛtti	Samalacitta	Rājasacitta
His wife	Avidyā	Avirati	Avirati
His female servant	Himśā		
His sons	Rāgakeśarin, Dveṣagajendra	Kopa etc.	Kopa etc.

¹⁹ Patience appears in Jayasiṃha's version as Kumārapāla's sister (*bhaginī*), cf. below table 8.

His daughter	Asatyakandali	Hiṃsā/Māri	Hiṃsā/Māri
His son-in-law	Dyūtakumāra		
His minister	Pāpaketu	Mithyāśruta	Kadāgama
His general		Durdhyāna	Ajñānarāśi
His spy	Kadāgama		
His friends	Kalikandala, Kāma		
His champions	Kopānala, Garva-parvata, Dambh-agupta, Lobhasāgara	Mithyātva etc.	Mithyātva, Durad-hyavasāya

However, we can notice that Jinamaṇḍana did not follow Jayasiṃha's version in all its details, but also preserved concepts highlighted in Yaśaḥpāla's play. For instance, Moon-of-Discrimination reappears in his account as Religion's general, with Heap-of-Ignorance (*ajñāna-rāśi*) as evil counterpart, instead of Auspicious-Meditation (*śubha-dhyāna*) and Bad-Meditation (*dur-dhyāna*) in his narrative model.²⁰ Jinamaṇḍana also recasts as the ministers of Discrimination and Delusion respectively²¹ the allegories of Good-Sacred-Text (*sad-āgama*) and Wrong-Sacred-Text (*kad-āgama*) which already figure in Yaśaḥpāla's drama: Good-Sacred-Texts is the name of some hidden, carefully protected wells that learned and respectable men opened during the siege of Human-Volition, to counteract the blockage of the river Thought-of-Religion (*dharma-cintā*) by Delusion's army, as Mirror-of-Knowledge tells Kumārapāla in the first act;²² Wrong-Sacred-Text is one of Delusion's

²⁰ It is worth noting that Jinamaṇḍana did not totally get rid of the concepts of auspicious and bad meditations but assigned them to the positions of attendant (*paricāraka*) of Religion's general and champion (*bhaṭa*) of Delusion's army respectively, with the slightly modified names of Auspicious-Mental-Effort (*śubhādhyavasāya*) and Bad-Mental-Effort (*dur-adhyavasāya*) (KC-Jin 132. 8–9).

²¹ In Yaśaḥpāla's play, Delusion's minister Banner-of-Sins (*pāpa-ketu*) has a symmetrical counterpart in the character of Banner-of-Merits (*puṇya-ketu*), but the latter is Kumārapāla's minister and not Discrimination's. Examination (*vimarśa*) and the other, anonymous counsellors of Discrimination are merely evoked once in the first act, when Mirror-of-Knowledge reports to Kumārapāla the siege of Human-Volition (*balavad-avarodha-dausthyāc ca viveka-candreṇa rājñā vimarśa-pramukhair āmatyair saha sthāpitāḥ siddhantaḥ* | MRP I. 23+ [15. 2–3]). In Jayasiṃhasūri's narrative as well, there is a lack of symmetry between the names of the ministers, Jain-Canon (*siddhānta*) on one hand, False-Scripture (*mithyā-śruta*) on the other hand (KC-Jay VII. 10, 22).

²² *jñānadarpaṇaḥ – atha bahu-śrutair gurubhiḥ puruṣair udaghātyanta sad-āgamānāmāṇaḥ prayatna-paripālitaḥ gupta-kūpāḥ* | (MRP I. 23+ [14. 14]).

spies, who enters the stage in the fifth act and reports to the king and the minister Banner-of-Sins what has changed in the Caulukya kingdom.²³

If Jinamaṇḍana could easily transform Wrong-Sacred-Text from a spy into a minister, both being animate characters giving advices to Delusion, the gap between the minor role of Good-Sacred-Text in the play as an inanimate element of the setting and the function of minister the allegory is given in the narrative suggests that the chronicler also derived some inspiration from another allegorical work of the Jain tradition where Good-Sacred-Text was already allotted a prominent role: in Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā* (906), which was a model for Yaśaḥpāla himself on a par with Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*,²⁴ Good-Sacred-Text appears as early as the second book, at the beginning of the frame story,²⁵ as a wise man able to save people trusting him from the cruel caprices of the king Result-of-Act (*karma-pariṇāma*) and to make them escape to the town of Emancipation (*nirvṛti*), and he even becomes the tutor of Result-of-Act's own son, the prince Perfectible-Man (*bhavya-puruṣa*) (UBPK Contents: xl). Siddharṣi's influence can also be seen in the way Jinamaṇḍana slightly modified the name of the city of Delusion, from Stained-Consciousness (*samala-citta*) to Impassioned-Consciousness (*rājasa-citta*). Indeed, the only reason that could have led him to give up the perfect symmetry with Religion's city Stainless-Consciousness (*vimala-citta*) he had found in Jayasimha's account is the reference to the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā* where Impassioned-Consciousness is the capital of Great-Delusion's son Lion-of-Passion (*rāga-keśarin*), as Darkened-Consciousness (*tāmasa-citta*) is the capital of Great-Delusion's other son Elephant-of-Hatred (*dveṣa-gajendra*) (UBPK Contents: lxi, lii).

Even though he is indebted in many regards to both his sources on the allegorical story of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism, Jinamaṇḍana is thus not a mere compiler, he actually takes into account at least one other allegorical model and with all these narrative materials at hand, he

²³ *pratīhārī – jayadu jayadu devo | deva ko vi cara-puriso daṃsaṇam abhīlasadi | moharājaḥ – mantrin katamenāmūnā bhavitavyam | pāpaketuḥ – dhṛtas tāvat saṃsārakaḥ | kad-āgamenāmūnā bhavitavyam* (MRP V. 49+ [127.2–5]).

²⁴ For a few elements proving this influence, see Leclère 2013: 177–179. The story imagined by Siddharṣi was very well-known in the first half of the second millennium thanks to the diffusion of many copies of the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā* itself as well as the existence of several epitomes composed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Leclère 2013: 178 n. 905; Chojnacki 2018: 1195–1198).

²⁵ The first book of the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā* contains a presentation of the poetical project and the story of the beggar Meritless (*nihpunyaka*) which is actually an autobiography of Siddharṣi himself, including the context of composition and publication of the work (UBPK Preface: iii–iv, vi; Contents: xxxvi–xl).

tries to produce an enriched, improved and even original version of the episode.

An original synthesis

In search of a more coherent and readable narrative

Considering how heavily Jinamaṇḍana relied on Jayasiṃhasūri's poem to elaborate his own version of the story, one could wonder why he did not quote it literally more often but took instead the pain of reformulating it most of the time. It looks like the prose medium allowed him to get rid of some inconsistencies or complexities of expression Jayasiṃha had indulged in because of the constraining metric patterns. For instance, while Yaśaḥpāla systematically refers to the heroine Fair-Compassion with the same Sanskrit word, *krpā* (alone or in association with *sundarī*), it alternates in Jayasiṃha's poem with *karuṇā* in a quite erratic way.²⁶ Jinamaṇḍana consecrates *krpāsundarī* as the only name of the heroine, and as a matter of fact, after quoting in a row the three verses from Jayasiṃha's poem describing the end of the wedding ceremony, he suddenly shifts to prose paraphrase as the heroine is designated by the name *karuṇā* in the next verse.²⁷

²⁶ *karuṇā*: KC-Jay VIII. 12, 29, 38, 47, 57, 66 (and also, as a concept, VII. 721 cf. above n. 13); *krpā*: KC-Jay VIII. 18, 25, 49, 58. For the MRP, see Leclère 2013: 212–221 and n. 1069, 1089.

²⁷ As regards Delusion's daughter, Jinamaṇḍana also tries to improve Jayasiṃha's version, but he does not suppress all the ambiguity: in the first occurrence of the character, ahead of Kumārapāla's encounter with Compassion, Jayasiṃha refers to her with two names, Violence (*hiṃsā*: KC-Jay VII. 721, 729) and Slaughter (*māri*: KC-Jay VII. 724), whereas Jinamaṇḍana privileges the latter one by quoting the only verse where it appears and rewriting the rest of the passage (KC-Jin 130. 4, 9, cf. above table 4). Later on, however, Jinamaṇḍana follows Jayasiṃha in having Hemacandra tell Kumārapāla that Delusion and Non-Abstention's daughter is named Violence (KC-Jay VIII. 21; KC-Jin 131. 14). Even Yaśaḥpāla's account lacks clarity: in the fourth act of the play, Slaughter is presented by Kumārapāla as one of the four Vices (*vyasana*) he wants to banish from his realm, and then Prince Game (*dyūta-kumāra*) makes a passing reference to the mother of Venison (*jāṅgala*), Violence, as Delusion's female slave (*dāsī*) (and possible concubine). But when Slaughter enters the stage with her friend Butcher's-Shop (*śūnā*) and meets with the other Vices, including Venison, the terms of address they respectively make use of (*ambā* "mother" on one hand, *puttakā* "sons" on the other hand) may refer to actual familial relationships and conflate the two allegories (MRP IV. 2+ [83. 10], 13 + [89. 12–13], cf. Leclère 2013: 491 n. 185).

Table 7. End of the allegorical love story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VIII. 66	KC-Jin 135. 4–8
<i>tataḥ sva-sadanam prāpya tadaiva dharaṇī-dhavaḥ vidhinā karuṇā-devyāḥ paṭṭa-bhanda-vid- hiṃ vyadhāt </i>	<i>tataḥ śrī-kumāra-bhūpaḥ sva-sadanam prāpya vidhinā kṛpāsundarī-devyāḥ paṭṭa-bandham vyadhāt </i>
Then, once he had reached his own residence, the possessor of the earth duly performed at that very moment the crowning ceremony of the queen Compassion.	Then, once he had reached his own residence, the illustrious king Kumāra duly performed the crowning ceremony of the queen Fair-Compassion.

Jinamaṇḍana also shifts the agent of the verbal forms at the beginning of the sentence, substitutes the unusual compound *dharaṇī-dhava* with the more explicit *śrī-kumāra-bhūpaḥ* and gets rid of the superfluous words *tadaiva* and *vidhiṃ* Jayasiṃha probably uses to fill the *anuṣṭubh* metre (and also, in the case of *vidhiṃ*, to echo the sonorities of the other words of the second *pada*), thus making the whole much easier to read.

Even when he inserts literal quotations, Jinamaṇḍana makes some efforts to make them fit into his own narrative. For instance, the two quotations from the *Moharājapārajaya* appear in the *Kumārapālāpra-bandha* in the reverse order. In the play, Kumārapāla proclaims his love for Compassion when entering the stage in the third act (MRP III. 8), after their second encounter that has happened onstage in the previous act in the garden of Religion, a romantic setting completed by the presence of two traditional auxiliaries in love matters, the king's buffoon and the heroine's maid, Gentleness (*saumyatā*).²⁸ In the narrative, Kumārapāla has fallen in love by simply looking at the girl and hearing from Hemacandra who she is: when leaving his teacher, he already wonders when he will marry her (*kadā mayevaṃ pariṇetavyā*) – as he wonders, in Yaśaḥpāla's play, why his mind is melting like a moon-stone after having heard about that “moon in the sky of King Discrimination's lineage, Fair-Compassion” (*na jāne kuto'pi viveka-nṛpati-kula-nabhas-tala-śaśi-kalām kṛpasundarīm upaśrutyāpi kim api dravātīva me cetaś-candrakāntaḥ |* MRP I. 25+ [15. 25–26]) –, and back to his own palace, he recites the stanza again and again, totally possessed by the pain of being separated from Compassion (*iti paṭhan kṛpāsundarī-viraha-paravaśo'yaṃ bhūpa*, KC-Jin 133. 1, 4). Having thus condensed the phases of Kumārapāla's love that succeed each other in

²⁸ The first encounter told about in the introductory scene to the second act was not that favourable to the expression of sentiments as it happened in the presence of the king's spiritual teacher and the girl's parents (cf. above n. 11).

the first three acts of the play, Jinamaṇḍana inserts the Prakrit stanza expressing Compassion's conditions to her marriage. In the play, it is first reported by the heroine's maid to the king's domestic parrot Stoppage-of-the-Influx-of-Karmic-Matter (*saṃvara*) in the second act (MRP II. 43), then, in the introductory scene to the third act, Fierceness (*raudratā*), the maid of Queen Royal-Fortune (*rājyaśrī*) tells the buffoon that her mistress has heard these conditions from King Discrimination (MRP III. 6); in the narrative, the enunciative situation is simplified, King Religion transmitting in their original Prakrit wording his daughter's conditions to Kumārapāla's envoy Superiority-of-Mind (KC-Jin 134. 1–2). Then Superiority-of-Mind replies that Kumārapāla has already behaved to Compassion's satisfaction by uttering a verse the female messenger Good-Mind told Compassion in Jayasiṃha's poem (KC-Jin 134. 4 = KC-Jay VIII. 43).

Jinamaṇḍana's clear efforts to clarify and reorganise the information he got from Jayasiṃha's poem and his other sources do not mean that he resigned himself to producing an impoverished version of the allegorical love story deprived of any literary ambition. On the contrary, he displayed his own poetical abilities in many of his prose rewordings.

Jinamaṇḍana's innovations

The very beginning of the love story between Kumārapāla and Compassion shows Jinamaṇḍana's intention to develop in his own creative way what he has read in Jayasiṃha's poem: Fair-Compassion playing at the threshold of Hemacandra's place quoted above. Not only is Kumārapāla now styled a "royal sage" (*rājarṣi*) – as he frequently is in Yaśaḥpāla's play (cf. Leclère 2013: 106) – but we also learn that the king "had come" to the preaching hall in much more solemn way, "mounted on his royal elephant to worship his spiritual teacher after performing the morning rituals"; in parallel, Compassion is presented as "some girl gracefully playing like a celestial maiden" (*kāñcana kanīm deva-kanyām iva līlā-vilāsinīm*), with a remarkable play on the sonorities.²⁹

Jinamaṇḍana also modified to a great extent the episode where Kumārapāla sends an emissary to win Fair-Compassion's hand. In Jayasiṃhasūri's version, this emissary is a female messenger (*dutī*) named

²⁹ Cf. above table 3. I assume that Jayasiṃha's expression *kāñcanotkṛṣṭām* is a compound word (*kāñcana-utkṛṣṭām* "outstanding as if made out of gold") and not the combination by rule of sandhi of the indefinite adjective *kāñcana* and the past participle *utkṛṣṭām* as Jinamaṇḍana guessed or decided they were.

Good-Mind (*sumati*) who directly goes to Fair-Compassion to tell her about Kumārapāla's qualities, in keeping with the conventions of erotic literature. Though already attracted to Kumārapāla, as revealed by her physical reactions, Fair-Compassion nonetheless says that she would rather remain a virgin or embrace an ascetic life than be married to a king, because she should endure the pain of sharing him with other wives, and that she expects her future husband to give up various vices. She then learns that Kumārapāla is already endowed with all the required qualities and tacitly agrees to their wedding (KC-Jay VIII. 29–48). Possibly embarrassed by the gallantry of the episode, Jinamaṇḍana changed the female messenger into an eminent and trustworthy man (*pradhānāpta-puruṣa*) named Superiority-of-Mind (*matī-prakarṣa*) who is sent not to Fair-Compassion herself but, in a more official way, to her father Dharma. The king accedes to Kumārapāla's demand, and then has his wife and daughter informed of his decision (KC-Jin 133. 5–134. 7).

Even more conclusive is the depiction of the allegorical wedding: a comparison between the two versions reveals immediately how Jinamaṇḍana transformed the versified model into a refined specimen of prose *kāvya*, by recasting literal quotations into new, larger compound words, replacing some expressions with (sometimes clearer) synonyms and adding new information such as the date of the event (the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārga, in the year 1216 of the Vikrama Era, which corresponds to Saturday 14 November 1159). Jayasiṃha's style is already lengthy, with two sentences extending over a pair (*yugmam*) of *ślokas* (KC-Jay VIII. 55–56, 61–62) and a third one over four *ślokas* (*caturbhiḥ kalāpakam*, KC-Jay VIII. 50–53), but Jinamaṇḍana goes even further by transforming ten of the thirteen verses of the *mahākāvya* – including these three groups – into three long prose sentences.³⁰ He retains many picturesque details from his model in their original wording, like the facts that the bridegroom's hand is adorned with a ribbon (*kaṅkana-rociṣṇu*) or that his sister performs the ceremony of waving salt (*lavaṇottāraṇa*) over his head (cf. Sandesara and Thaker 1962: 33, 193). But he is also prone to make explicit the basic relation of possession expressed by the *bahuvrīhi* compounds in his source: he makes it clear that the ribbon is attached to Kumārapāla's right hand, and while the king is simply said to have the sandal paste of Good-Fame in Jayasiṃha's version, he has his body anointed with

³⁰ Jinamaṇḍana skips three verses wherein Kumārapāla congratulates his hand for being touched by the hand of Compassion (KC-Jay VIII. 58–60). I insert in Jinamaṇḍana's text a *daṇḍa* after *prasarpati*, which I understand as a present of narration, corresponding to the imperfect *aviśat* in Jayasiṃha's text.

the sandal paste of Good-Fame in Jinamaṇḍana's text.³¹ With respect to the didactic aspect of the story, Jinamaṇḍana also specifies whether the notions are divided into different types: he thus indicates that there is more than one resolution (*naikābhigraha*), and makes clear that there are several states of the soul (*bhāva*, cf. Glasenapp 1991: 40–43) by changing the singular *vāriṇā* of his model into the plural *vāribhis*; for some other notions, he even gives the appropriate number of subdivisions: thirteen breakings of vows (*trayodaśa...vrata-bhaṅga*), twelve vows (*dvādaśa-vrata*) for Jain laymen, and nine realities (*nava-tattva*) (cf. Chojnacki 2008: 293, 300, 309).

In a similar way, it is probably out of concern for religious ex-actitude that Jinamaṇḍana reorganises to some extent the allegorical discourse, substituting Patience with Faith as Kumārapāla's sister, having Partial-Absention and the Devotions singing the marriage songs (*dhavala-maṅgala*, cf. UBPK Alphabetical list of words: xxxi) instead of the Soteriological-Thoughts, which in turn replace the Realities as the ghee poured in the fire of Awakening, while the nine Realities become the nine constitutive parts of the altar set up for celebrating the wedding. Being also the author of the *Śrāddhaguṇaśreṇisaṃgraha* or *Compendium of the Series of Qualities of the Faithful* (1441), Jinamaṇḍana adds a subtle detail to the description of the altar: the series of water-pots does not consist any longer in the Qualities-of-the-Faithful, but in the Twelve-Vows set right (*pragūṇita*) by these Qualities (on these *śrāvaka-guṇa* in Jinamaṇḍana's exposition, see Williams 1963: 256–274).

Table 8. *The depiction of the allegorical wedding in KC-Jay and KC-Jin*

KC-Jay VIII. 50–57, 61–62	KC-Jin 134. 9 to 135. 3
<p><i>atha lagne śubhe bhāva-vāriṇā vīhitāplavaḥ </i> <i>abhigraha-kṛtānālpākālpāḥ sat-kīrti-can-</i> <i>danaḥ </i> <i>sad-ācāra-maya-cchatro hr̥di samyaktva-rat-</i> <i>na-bhṛt </i> <i>dāna-kaṅkana-rociṣṇuḥ saṃvega-gajam</i> <i>āśritaḥ </i> <i>vrata-bhaṅga-bhūyiṣṭha-janya-loka-pu-</i> <i>raḥkṛtaḥ </i></p>	<p><i>atha samprāpte śubha-lagne</i> <i>nirmala-bhāva-vāribhiḥ kṛta-maṅgala-</i> <i>majjanaḥ sat-kīrti-candanāvalipta-de-</i> <i>ho naikābhigrahollasad-bhūṣaṇālankṛto</i> <i>dāna-kaṅkana-rociṣṇu-dakṣiṇa-pāṇiḥ</i> <i>saṃvega-raṅgad-gajādhirūḍhaḥ sad-</i> <i>ācāra-chatropaśobhitaḥ śraddhā-saho-</i> <i>darayā kriyamāṇa-lavaṇottāraṇa-vid-</i> <i>hiḥ trayo-daśa-śata-koṭi-vrata-bhaṅga-</i></p>

³¹ Jinamaṇḍana also retains most of the allegorical description of the bride, with morality as her dress, the two auspicious meditations as her earrings, the nine dignities as her necklace, and the varieties of austerities as her seals, but he does not mention truth as her bodice, and adds that her dress is white. On the “nine dignities” (*nava-padī*), an alternative name of the “circle of perfections” (*siddha-cakra*), a magical diagram subsuming the five supreme beings and the four essentials of Jainism, see Pal 1995: 242–243.

<p><i>bhāvanādbhuta-nārībhiḥ kṛtoru-dhavaladhvaniḥ </i> <i>kṣamā-bhaginyā prārabdha-lavaṇottāraṇa-vidhiḥ </i> <i>nirgatya bhūpatir gehāt pauṣadhāgāram āgamat </i></p>	<p><i>subhaga-janya-loka-parivṛtaḥ śrī-deva-guru-bhakti-deśa-virati-jānanibhir</i> <i>giyamāna-dhavalā-maṅgalāḥ</i> <i>kramena prāptaḥ pauṣadhāgāra-dvāra-toraṇe pañca-vidhi-svādhyāya-vādyamānātodya-dhvani-pūre prasarpati </i></p>
<p>Then, at an auspicious moment, the king performed ablutions with the water of the States-of-Soul, and with many ornaments made out of Resolutions, with the sandal paste of Good-Fame, having a parasol made of Good-Behaviour, bearing on his heart the jewel of True-Belief, resplendent with the ribbon of Gift, installed on the elephant Inner-Turmoil, preceded as any bridegroom by most numerous companions, the Breakings-of-Vows, with the wide sounds of nuptial songs made by these wonderful women, the Soteriological-Thoughts, with the ritual of waving salt over his head undertaken by his sister Patience, he left his house and came to the hall of vows.</p>	<p>Then, as an auspicious moment had arrived, he took a solemn bath with the pure waters of the States-of-Soul, and having anointed his body with the sandal paste of Good-Fame, being adorned with the shining decorations of the multiple Resolutions, his right hand resplendent with the ribbon of Gift, mounted on the frolicking elephant Inner-Turmoil, ornamented with the parasol Good-Behaviour, with the ritual of waving salt over his head being done by his sister Faith, surrounded as any bridegroom by handsome companions, the thirteen thousand million Breakings-of-Vows, with the auspicious nuptial songs being sung by his illustrious mothers Devotion-for-Gods, Devotion-for-Teachers and Partial-Abstention, he progressively arrived at the entrance of the hall of vows marked by an archway filled with the sound of instruments played by the five kinds of Studies, and once there, he proceeds into it.</p>
<p><i>āgatya virati-śvaśrīvā kṛta-māṅgalika-sthitiḥ śamādyaiḥ śālakaiḥ prokta-saraṇir madhyamaviśāt </i> <i>snātām mārḍava-nīreṇa śīla-śrī-vara-cīvarām </i> <i>satya-kūrpāsaka-dharām dhyānadvitaya-kunḍalām </i> <i>sphuran-navapadī-hārām tapo-bhedoru-mudrikām </i> <i>ānāyayat sva-tanayām tatra śrī-dharma-bhūpatiḥ </i> <i>tato rhad-devatādhyakṣam karuṇā-pāṇi-paṅkajam </i> <i>lalau caulukya-bhūpālo nirmalyāda-mud-am-budhiḥ </i></p>	<p><i>virati-śvaśrīvā kṛta-pronkhaṇācāraḥ śama-damādī-śālaka-darśita-saraṇir</i> <i>mātr-grha-madhya-sthityāḥ śīla-dhavalacīvara-dhyāna-dvaya-kunḍala-navapadī-hāra-tapo-bheda-mudrikādy-alāṅkṛtyāḥ</i> <i>kṛpāsundaryāḥ saṁvat 1216 mārḡa-śūdi-dvitiyā-dine pāṇim jagrāha śrī-kumārapāla-mahīpālāḥ śrīmad-arhad-devatā-samakṣam </i></p>
<p>His mother-in-law Abstention approached and performed for him the auspicious custom, and as Appeasement and his other brothers-in-law had shown him the way, he came in. The illustrious King Religion had his daughter led there, once she had bathed with the water of Affability, and put on the priceless dress of Morality, the bodice of Truth, the two earrings of Meditations, the shaking necklace of</p>	<p>His mother-in-law Abstention having done in his honour the ceremony of welcoming the bridegroom, and his brothers-in-law Appeasement, Restraint and the other ones having shown him the way, the illustrious king Kumārapāla came to Fair-Compassion who was staying in the house of her mother and had many ornaments such as the white dress of Morality, the two earrings of Med-</p>

<p>the Nine-Dignities, the large seals Varieties-of-Austerity. Then the Caulukya king seized the lotus hand of Compassion in the presence of the Arhat deities and became an unlimited ocean of joy.</p>	<p>itations, the necklace of the Nine-Dignities, the seals Varieties-of-Austerity, and on the presence of the glorious Arhat deities, he took her hand on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārga, in the year 1216 of the Vikrama Era.</p>
<p><i>śrutoditā-śrāddha-guṇa-praśasya-kalaśāvalim</i> <i>kṛtvā śraddhā-mayīm vedīm vicārocchrita-toraṇām</i> <i>uddīpya ca prabodhāgñim tarpitaṁ tattva-sarpiṣā</i> <i>taṁ pradakṣinayām āsa savadhūkaṁ nṛpaṁ guruḥ</i> </p>	<p><i>tataḥ śrī-āgamokta-śrāddha-guṇa-praṇūṇita-dvādaśa-vrata-kalaśāvalim</i> <i>vicāra-cāru-toraṇām nava-tattva-navāṅga-vedīm kṛtvā prabodhāgñim uddīpya bhāvanā-sarpis-tarpitaṁ śrī-hemācāryo bhū-devaḥ savadhūkaṁ nṛpaṁ pradakṣinayām āsa catvāri maṅgalaṁ iti vedoccāra-pūrvam</i> </p>
<p>The spiritual teacher set up an altar made of Faith, with a series of praiseworthy water pots, the Qualities-of-the-Faithful told by the Scriptures, and a lofty archway, Deliberation; he kindled the fire of Awakening satiated with the ghee of Realities; then he went round the king and his wife from left to right.</p>	<p>Then the illustrious teacher Hemacandra who was like a god on earth set up an altar endowed with nine parts: the nine Realities, a series of water pots: the twelve Vows set right by the Qualities-of-the-Faithful told by the Sacred-Texts, and a charming archway: Deliberation; he kindled the fire of Awakening satiated with the ghee of Soteriological-Thoughts; then he went round the king and his wife from left to right after uttering the sacred formulae called the Fourfold-Auspiciousness.</p>

Jinamaṇḍana also enriches the depiction with original details, like the ritual performed by the bride's mother to welcome the bridegroom (*proṅkhana*) or the utterance of auspicious formulae (*catvāri maṅgalaṁ iti vedoccāra*) at the end of the ceremony.³² He even presents the hall of vows (*pauṣadhāgāra*)³³ where the marriage takes place as having at

³² In the allegorical story of Kumārapāla's wedding with Non-Violence presented as an appendix to Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, the ritual is called *proṅkṣaṇa* (PCi 128. 10) and may derive its name for the act of sprinkling water (*prokṣ-* in Sanskrit). The form *proṅkhana* suggests that Jinamaṇḍana borrowed this detail from some oral or written source in Middle Indic. As regards the other expression, Sandesara and Thaker took *cattarimaṅgala*, which also figures in the same appendix (PCi 128.15) as referring to the custom of "going four times round the fire in the marriage-ceremony" (Sandesara and Thaker 1962: 16, 27), but in the PCi as well as in the KC-Jin, the expression is followed by *iti* and apparently corresponds to either the name or the contents of an auspicious or sacred saying Hemacandra confers or utters. Jinamaṇḍana's additions can be at the same time ornamental and meaningful, as when he says that the elephant Inner-Turmoil is frolicking (*saṁvega-raṅgad-gaja*): the insertion of the present participle *raṅgad* develops the repetition of the syllable *ga* already audible in the original compound *saṁvega-gaja*, but it also expresses the agitation caused by this emotion.

³³ Literally the "house of *pauṣadha*", a religious vow that Jains perform on certain days of the lunar fortnight and which requires abstinences of different kinds (cf. Sandesara

its entrance “an archway filled with the sound of instruments played by the five kinds of Studies” (*paṣadhāgāra-dvāra-toraṇe pañca-vidhi-svādhyāya-vādyamānātodya-dhvani-pūre*), thus introducing one more technical notion with the right number of subdivisions (Chojnacki 2008: 317).

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to stress several characteristics of Jinamaṇḍana's method as a writer. The first and most noteworthy one is the fact that it is based on a wide and impressive erudition. Not only did Jinamaṇḍana possess complete mastery of his two main sources on Kumārapāla's allegorical love story, Yaśaḥpāla's *Moharājaparājaya* and Jayasiṃha's *Kumārabhūpalacaritra*, but he was also acquainted with other important works of the Jain tradition such as Siddharṣi's *Upamiti-bhava-prapañcākathā* as well as other oral or written sources now lost to us, such as the one where he must have found the exact date of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism. With all the information or inspiration he gathered from these various sources, Jinamaṇḍana produced a new version of the story with a double, somewhat paradoxical aim: being faithful to both the previous versions to the point of literally quoting them or at least paraphrasing them in a very close way, on the one hand, and figuring out their inconsistencies on the other hand. A concern for Jain orthodoxy seems also to have guided him in the process of selecting one or the other version: if he followed Jayasiṃha in leaving aside the *vedāntin* aspects of the play, he also got rid of the erotic overtones the poem of his predecessor was replete with in conformity with the rules of the genre.³⁴ This leads us to the apparently heterogeneous nature of Jinamaṇḍana's text, with its prose interspersed with stanzas of various patterns and languages coming from different sources: what

and Thaker 1962: 26, 76–77, 166; Williams 1963: 142–149). The place is then rather a hall where the community gathers for attending sermons or taking vows than a Jain monastery, as Sandesara and Thaker translate it. Interestingly enough, the building in front of which Kumārapāla sees Compassion for the first time is called a *maṭha* in Jayasiṃha's version and a *śālā* in Jinamaṇḍana's. If the former word can refer to a monastery in Jain and Hindu contexts, the latter clearly designates a preaching hall in Jain narratives.

³⁴ Among *makākāvya*'s set pieces enumerated by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* or *Mirror for Poetry* (seventh century) figure several erotic themes such as amorous encounters in gardens or by lakes, drinking parties and passionate lovemaking (*Kāvyaḍarśa*, I. 18). For a convenient and updated presentation of the genre, see Paul Dundas's introduction to the *Śiśupālavadha* or *Killing of Shishupala* of Māgha, pp. xi–xxii).

could appear at first sight as a mere activity of a compiler may be in fact a deliberate literary stance of a historian. Beyond a patchwork-like aesthetic reminding to some extent of the *campū* genre, that mixed form actually enabled Jinamaṇḍana to produce an exhaustive and harmonised version of the story as he could either quote directly key passages from his sources or reformulate them in a consistent way when they did not agree. Besides, Jinamaṇḍana had the possibility to clarify the data of the earlier versions by making use of simpler words, assembled in a more natural way, but he could also express them within a poetical fashion of his own, either in a metrical form, as some of the stanzas cannot be traced in extant sources and may be from his own hand, or with greater certitude, in a poetical prose influenced by the great tradition inaugurated by Bāṇa. It is not a coincidence, then, that Jinamaṇḍana's work was published earlier than its two models: the convenient synthesis it gave of the available traditions about Kumārapāla, the many quotations it was replete with as well as its readability and own literary qualities made it a reference book that overshadowed the earlier works, in the same way as Nilakaṇṭha's relatively late commentary did in the tradition of *Mahābhārata* exegesis.³⁵

Quite interestingly, what we can understand about Jinamaṇḍana's creative process may also shed light on the method of former, more celebrated chroniclers such as Prabhācandra or Merutuṅga. As Jinamaṇḍana did with the *Moharājaparājaya*, the former heavily relied on another dramatic work from the twelfth century, Yaśaścandra's *Mudritakumudacandra*, when he retold in the penultimate section of the *Prabhāvākacarita* how the Śvetāmbara debater Devasūri defeated the Digambara teacher Kumudacandra at the Caulukya court, quoting and reformulating many verses or prose passages;³⁶ however, the parallel with the *Kumārapālāprabandha* suggests that Prabhācandra may have also taken

³⁵ Minkovski 2005. The transmission of these texts shows that Jinamaṇḍana's version was particularly appreciated: H. D. Velankar traced in lists, reports and catalogues available to him no less than twenty-seven manuscripts of his biography of Kumārapāla, vis-à-vis nineteen manuscripts of Jayasimha's poem and twelve of Yaśaḥpāla's play (Velankar 1944: 92–93, 316).

³⁶ I dealt with the influence of the *Mudritakumudacandra* on the *Prabhāvākacarita* in a paper entitled "A Controversy under Debate. On the Historicity of Kumudacandra's Defeat at the Caulukya Court" that I presented in 2018 at the World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver, Canada. Nine literal quotations from the first, third and fifth (and last) acts of the play can be traced in Prabhācandra's version, and many others have been reformulated by him. I intend to publish soon a reworked version of my paper, but in the meantime, information about this play can be found in a paper presented by Paul Dundas at the same conference and published in 2022 (especially note 25, for a synthetic overview of the quotations of the play in the *prabandha* collections).

into account at least one other, now lost source to compose his own version, and calls for a closer investigation of its style (metrical patterns) and internal organisation (order of the quotations or reformulated passages, contents of the intervening passages in the play and the chronicle, etc.).³⁷ As regards the *Prabandhancintāmaṇi*, its stylistic proximity with the *Kumārapālprabandha* may also help to identify with greater certainty retellings of earlier works, by examining for instance its prose *kāvya* passages in the light of Jinamaṇḍana's rewordings of Jayasiṃha's poem. More generally, the *Kumārapālprabandha* could help us better understand the importance of quotations and the growing interest for prose interspersed with verses in the technique of writing history in medieval Gujarat.³⁸

Abbreviations

KC-Jay = *Kumārapālabhūpālacaritramahākāvya* of Jayasiṃhasūri

KC-Jin = *Kumārapālprabandha* of Jinamaṇḍana

LPS = *Laghuprabandhasaṃgraha*.

MRP = *Mohārājaparājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla.

PCi = *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga.

UBPK = *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā* of Siddharṣi.

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³⁷ The variations of metrical patterns in KC-Jay may also be a clue to the insertion of quotations from previous works, since, as a rule, each canto of a *mahākāvya* should follow but one metrical pattern except for the concluding verses (*Kāvyaḍarśa*, I. 19). Several Jain Sanskrit *mahākāvyas* from the thirteenth centuries follow that rule (Gupta 1993: 61, 64, 79).

³⁸ In reaction to what he presents as a prejudice spread by Western thinkers from the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, the opinion that the prose novel is the only literary medium fit for writing history, Sanjay Subrahmanyam has argued that a variety of genres have been used for such purpose all over the world, and in India in particular (Subrahmanyam 2004: 9–10). Even though I have myself shown that theatre has been one of these genres in ancient and medieval India (Leclère 2013: 152–166), I cannot help thinking when I see the concomitant composition of *mahākāvyas* and *prabandhas* on the same historical subjects that there was a debate among Jain writers on the choice of literary medium.

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