Floods, Taxes, and a Stone Cow: A Jain Apocalyptic Account of the Gupta Period

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The Jains are not readily identifiable as a prominent component of society during the Gupta Empire, with the archaeological record of their activities being relatively meagre. This has led to the hypothesis that this community may have migrated from the Gupta realms to the west and south of the subcontinent as a result of antipathy towards the non-orthodox articulated in brahmanical/Vaiṣṇava texts such as the Viṣṇupurāṇa. This paper identifies in the Śvetāmbara text, the Tiṭṭhogālī, a possible apocalyptic interpretation of this period in which the Jains are described as being subjected to oppression by King Caturmukha and a goddess in the form of a stone cow. The Tiṭṭhogālī also records the disastrous impact of the flooding of the city of Pātaliputra.

**Keywords:** Jain; Gupta; Vaiṣṇava; Tiṭṭhogālī; Prākrit; apocalyptic literature; Kalki; cow; Pātaliputra

The notion that the two hundred and thirty or so years of the Gupta Empire represent early India’s most significant ‘golden age’, a time of artistic achievement, intellectual consolidation, and benign religious tolerance, remains resilient in many quarters. However, informed scholarship has in recent years been more sceptical about aspects of this assessment of the Gupta period. Attention has been drawn to the facts that the evidence emanating from those who would have presided over a golden age of this sort, that is to say inscriptions issued directly by Gupta emperors, is remarkably limited, and also that for all the claims made for the Gupta period as a watershed for the appearance of foundational works of Sanskrit śāstra, it is difficult to establish a precise chronological ‘fit’ for many texts which fall into this category.

Furthermore, it is hardly novel to observe that, rather than bearing witness to an even-handed dispensation towards brahman/Hindu and non-Vedic/Buddhist and Jain communities alike, textual evidence for this historical moment as embodied in the early purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇupurāṇa, an undoubtedly Gupta period text, whether early or late, evinces a strong antipathy towards pāṇḍanda, that is to say non-orthodox behaviour. This antipathy is most markedly encoded in the form of a myth of corruption and decline exemplified by the deluding figure of Māyāmohā, who assumes in succession the guise of the two most deviant renunciant types for brahmans, a naked bald-headed Jain and a red-robed Buddhist, in order to undermine the trust of the demons in orthodox Vedic practice.

The purāṇic narrative of the evils wrought by non-orthodox renunciant communities amplifies an apocalyptic theme adumbrated in the Mahābhārata (the final version of which was most likely produced some time around the Gupta period) with reference to the conquest of barbarian outsiders and invaders by the brahman king Kalki(n) Viṣṇuyāsas, who subsequently restores social and ritual order. Whether the Viṣṇupurāṇa was a vehicle for a conservative brahmanical agenda of renewal intended to be enacted by Vaiṣṇava Gupta emperors must remain a moot point. The Buddhists, for their part, undoubtedly perceived a threat directed towards them during the Gupta period, and responded vigorously to the animus expressed in works like the Viṣṇupurāṇa with their own narratives. The Jains, however, seem to have been much more reticent in the face of this textual hostility, and their frustratingly ill-defined and intermittent presence throughout the duration of the Gupta Empire might well be regarded as reflected in the paucity of inscriptions deriving from this community and the sudden decrease in the number of sculptures at Mathurā, hitherto a major centre of Jain material culture.

**The Jains in the Gupta period**

Attempts to provide a firm chronological location within the Gupta period for Jain authors and their writings must also be viewed as unsatisfactory. It has, for example, been suggested that the decision by Umāsvāti to produce the first Jain text in Sanskrit, the

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foundational Tattvārthādhigamasūtra which sums up the main tenets of the doctrine as established in the āgama, should be understood in the light of Gupta promotion of that language and the diminution of Prākrit in public discourse.\(^9\) Yet, leaving aside the fact that any direct association of the Guptas with the patronage of Sanskrit is identifiable only in the most general terms, the date of Umāsvāti has still not been accurately determined. While there is a strong possibility that the Tattvārthādhigamasūtra was written during the Gupta period, an earlier dating to the Kuśāna period remains perfectly plausible.\(^10\)

Nor is it any easier to assign a Gupta period dating to Jain historical events in the early Common Era. Śvetāmbara Jain tradition claims that three councils convened to consolidate the scriptural corpus took place in the fourth and fifth centuries CE. One of these has generally been dated to around the middle of the fourth century, and is recorded as taking place at Mathurā, so possibly falling within the geographical and chronological parameters of the early Gupta Empire.\(^11\) Councils convened to stabilise scriptural canons generally took place in early India when social and political uncertainty, usually signalled as manifesting itself in the form of famine, threatened the integrity of scriptural traditions, or at any rate the memory of those monks who controlled oral transmission.\(^12\) Certainly, such a situation prevailed, according to most traditional accounts, as the preamble to the council at Mathurā, and thus might indeed permit location of this event around the conclusion of the turbulent or uncertain process from which the Guptas most likely emerged. However, leaving aside the fact that we are told neither what texts were redacted at this council nor what mechanism was involved by which canonisation was implemented, no source before the beginning of the fourth century provides an actual date for the Gupta councils that would envisage him as possibly having been his father Samudragupta’s viceroy in Vidiśā, with aspirations (quickly to be proved futile and apparently fatal) to control the entire empire. Rāmagupta’s styling himself as mahārāṣṭradhirāja in the Jain image inscription may then have represented a mode of grandiose, if ultimately no more than local, propaganda akin to his issuing of his own coinage, an assertion of self-perceived imperial status rather than a public proclamation of a genuine partiality for Jainism.\(^21\)

It is understandable that historians of the Gupta Empire have focused upon the possible political implications of this Vidiśā inscription. Viewed from the perspective of Jain history, however, what is striking is the fact that these inscribed images are the first hitherto identified iconic representations of the eighth and ninth Jinas Candraprabha and Puspadanta (who is also known as Suvidhi), and also of Padmaprabha, if the damaged third image does indeed depict the sixth Jina.\(^22\) Their lack of laṅkhanas, or distinguishing insignia, is typical of the early stage of Jain iconography.\(^23\) The first textual appearances of these Jinas are in the Kalpasūtra, where their names are given along with those of the seventeen other intermediate Jinas between Ṛṣabhā the first and Nemi the twenty-second, and in the quasi-encyclopaedic Samavāyāṅgasutra, where the first minimal descriptions of their biographies and physical appearances are to be found.\(^24\) Both of these works can most likely be dated to some time around the fourth century CE. The significance of the Vidiśā inscription for the historian of Jainism may
then not lie in the evidence it provides of patronage of this religion by an apparently short-lived Gupta ruler. Rather, it bears witness to the presence of Jainism at the fringes of the Gupta realm, and the introduction of devotional novelty in the locality of what Bakker has characterised as a ‘frontier town’ at some distance from what had been for several centuries the Jain heartland of the Mathurā region.

But was the appearance of a Jain teacher, possibly a prominent one, at Vidiśā merely the natural result of the imperative of ascetic wandering, or did it betoken something slightly more sinister, such as an enforced relocation? Ohira has argued that the Gupta period was particularly unfortunate for Jainism, as evidenced by the decline in Jain sculptures at Mathurā with the advent of Gupta hegemony, and the strong Vaiśṇavisation of what was regarded as Kṛṣṇa’s birthplace at Mathurā. This led, Ohira suggests, to the Jains being driven to other parts of India from the north and the migration of the Jain business community to large trading centres such as Ujjayini. By this argument the Malwa border-region may have provided a conduit for Jains leaving the Gupta realm.

Ohira’s hypothesis makes a degree of sense of the conjuncture of purānic vilification of the non-orthodox and the gradual repositioning of sections of the Jain community towards the west and the south of the sub-continent. Its weakness (apart from failing to consider the analogous case of the Buddhists at this time) is that it is greatly reliant on a gloomy interpretation of a Jain archaeological record which, while clearly attenuated, never completely disappeared from the Gupta Empire. Unfortunately, no textual evidence which might support the theory of a possible ‘migration’ of the Jain community in response to pressure from a supposedly less than accommodating Gupta regime has been identified thus far. In an attempt to expand the range of reference for locating the Jains in the Gupta period, I would now like to introduce a literary work which has been hitherto little acknowledged by both traditional and modern scholarship alike, the Titthogāli.

The Titthogāli and its prophecy

The Titthogāli (henceforth T) is a Śvetāmbara text which, in the Jaina Ṛgveda Series version of 1984 edited by Pumavijaya and Bhojak, comprises 1261 Prākrit verses.

The title of this work has various spellings, and its meaning is unclear, probably signifying ‘The Decline of the Jain Tradition’. It belongs to the fluid ‘mixed’ (prakṛnaka) category of canonical texts, but is not mentioned in all the available listings, and it lacks any commentary, traditional or modern. Significantly, however, the T is specifically mentioned in the Vyavahārabhāṣya, usually attributed to Saṅghadāsaganin, as the authoritative source for details of scriptural texts which have disappeared. While the dating of the Śvetāmbara bhāṣya texts is not totally secure, the consensus is that the Vyavahārabhāṣya was composed around the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries CE. The T in its current form may not be the exact equivalent of the work referred to in the Vyavahārabhāṣya, but it nonetheless seems justifiable to posit as a working hypothesis that the work dates from around the fifth or sixth centuries CE, which, if correct, would locate it within the latter stages of the Gupta Empire.

In terms of content, the T is a prophetic work in which Mahāvīra predicts the gradual demise throughout the descending time cycle of the Jain religion and the textual tradition which embodies it. While Mahāvīra’s powers of prediction had already been described in the Śvetāmbara scriptural canon, the T is the first Jain text to be devoted in total to a prophetic vision of the destiny of the Jain tradition. After a description of the nature of time and the various Jinas and mythological figures who appear throughout the phases of the time cycle, the T prefaces its account of the dūṣamā period (equivalent to the Hindu Kali Yuga) with a description of a series of disasters visited upon the Jain renunciant community (and by extension the laity, which is not otherwise regularly mentioned in the work) during the reign of a king, initially called Duṣṭabuddhi then Caṭurmukha (T verses 628–89), which I will suggest is an interpretation of Jainism’s fortunes during the Gupta period. The following represents a translation, annotated where necessary or possible, of this section of the T, followed by some analytical comment. Occasionally I paraphrase or summarise the Prākrit; at points where the text is corrupt or difficult to understand, only an approximate rendering will be ventured. Bracketing and conjectures in the body of the Prākrit text are those of Pumavijaya and Bhojak.

The section is introduced thus (verses 620–27):

620. jam raṇāṁ siddhi-ga araṭha titthamkaro Mahāvīro /
   tam raṇāṁ Avāntī abhisitto Pālao rāya

On the same night that the arhat tīrthamkara Mahāvīra attained deliverance Pālaka was consecrated as king of Avanti.

621–23: There will then be a succession of kings over a span of six hundred and five months and five years commencing with the Nanda dynasty and culminating with the Sakas.

624. Saṅgavamsaṣa ya terasa savyāṁ teviśaim ca vāsāṁ /
    hoḥi jammāṁ tassa u Kuśumapure Duṭṭhabuddhisā
The Saka dynasty will rule for thirteen centuries and twenty three years. Then Dutthabuddhi ('Ill-minded') will be born in Pātaliputra.

625–27: These verses describe astrological and celestial phenomena.

628. taiyā bhuvaman padanassa jamanagarie Rāma-Kanhaṃa / ghoran janakkhayakaram padibohadine ya Vinhussa

Then he will descend to earth on the day of Visṇu's awakening in the city where Rāma and Krṣṇa were born – a terrible event (ghora) which will bring general destruction.55

629. bahukoha-māṇa-māyā-lohbapasattassa tassa jamanammi / samghaṃ pura heseh gavirāvena ahītti (?thā)

On the birth of one who was much attached to anger, pride, deception, and greed (a goddess) attacking (?) in the form of a cow will harm the community (samgha) again.36

630. jhijhamti ya pāsamūlā, corehi ya janavayā viluppamī / hohitī dāni gāmā kevalasamvāhametta vi

The non-orthodox communities (pāsamudrā)37 will disappear (?).38 the country will be despoiled by brigands, and at that time (dāni) villages will (be obliged to) be little more than fortresses (samvāha).39

631. ettha kira majjhadesa paviralamanesu nāmedesu / haya-gaya-go-mahisānaṃ kahimci kicchāhiṃ uvalambho

In this middle region,40 it seems (kira), (and ?) in (other) well-known regions (?)41 which will become depopulated, calamities will somehow (kahimci) overtake horses, oxen, cows, and bulls.42

632. corā rāyakalabhayam, gundha-rasā jhijhihimti anusamayam / dutkhhkham anāvūṭṭhi ya nāma pa(vār)liyam povi jāta (?ī)

(There will be) brigands and oppression from kings, odours and flavours will be continually disgusting (?).43 There will be famine and drought and (a sect called) the Yāpanīyas will become (Jain) renunciants.44

633. rāṭṭaṃ ca viroho rībahūḷa ya janavayā taiyā / jannami tassa ete niyamvat' yayaṃ bhavā muṇeyavyā

Gifts (rāṭṭa) (to monks) will be stopped, the countryside will at that moment be full of calamities. On the birth of that one these conditions are to be regarded as usual (?).45

634. athārasa ya kumāro varisā dāmarito tatiyam kālam / ara'ya)sesavammi kāle Bharaha rāyā anamta(? anamnajsamē

For eighteen years he will be a prince and will cause trouble46 during that period. In the remaining portion of the (fifth) phase of time (ara)47 he will be a king like no other in the continent of Bharata.

635. jam evam varanagaram Pādaliputtam ti vissam loe / ettham hohī rāyā Cauṇhuṇa nāma nāmēnaṃ

He will become a king called Caturmukha, 'Fourfaced', of this excellent city famed in the world as Pātaliputra.48

636. so avinayapajjato annararimde tanaṃ piva gananto / nagaraṃ āhiṣṭaṃto pechihi pañca thābbe u

Lacking any decency, he will count other kings as worth only a straw. While roaming through the city he will see five stūpas.49

637. putṭhā ya benti mañuyā 'Namdo rāyā ciram ihaṃ āṣī / balito athasamidduḥ rāyasamidduḥ joyasamidduho

On being asked about them, people will say: 'King Nanda lived here for a long time. He was powerful, endowed with wealth, good looks, and success.'

638. tena u idam hiraṇnam nikkhittam / subahabalapamattenam / na ya nāṃ tarami ane rāvano dāni ghettum je

'Intoxicated by his great strength he buried gold here and no other kings can get hold of it now.'

639. tam vayaṃ soīnna kamhehītī te samamtao thābbe / Nāmadass saṁitiyam tam padīvajja so aha hiraṇnam

Having heard this he will excavate the stūpas completely and then obtain the gold belonging to Nanda.

640. so atthapaditthaddho annararimde tanam via ganimoto / aha savatto mahaṃdaman khanāvihi puravaram savvam

Proud of his wealth, counting other kings as worth only a straw, he will then get the entire splendid city, great as it is, completely dug up.

641. nāmeṇa Loṇadevi gavirāvena nāma ahīttah (?) / dharaṇīyalā ubbhāya disīhi silamayi gāvī

(A goddess) called Loṇadevi will then appear in the shape of a cow; emerging from the ground she will manifest herself as a stone cow.50

642. sā kira taiyā gavīhōṣṇam rāyaṃaggam otiṇṇa / sāhuṇam hindaṃtam pādehi sāsuvaṇyamī

It seems that (kira) after becoming a cow she will then descend to the royal highway and, fleeing (?),51 will kill (pādehi) the monks (sāhuṇam)52 wandering there.

643. te bhīṣaḥbhīṣaḥbhīṣaḥvanavilīyā bhīṣaṇakoppaṇidalā
bhikkhum pi hu samanagaññ na cayanti hu hindimna
nayare

Those groups (gana) of monks, agitated because their receiving of alms had been interrupted (bhinnma) and their elbows (koppara) and foreheads had been pierced (bhinnma) (by the horns of the cow-goddess), were not able to wander in the city for alms.

644. vocchanti ya mayaharagā āyariyaparamparāgāryam
taccañ /
esa anāgṛyosado ciraddītho Vadhdamānenā

Then the senior monks (mayaharagā)\(^{53}\) will describe the truth come down through the succession of teachers: 'This future evil was predicted\(^{54}\) by Vardhamāna (i.e. Mahāvīra).

645. anne vi athi desā lahum lahum tā ito avakkamimo /
esā vi hu anukappai (?) gāvṛtvena ahiuttā'

There are (atti) other countries; let us go there most quickly. For this (goddess) who appears in the form of a cow is tormenting us.\(^{55}\)

646. gāvī wassaggā jinavaramavānaṃ ca je munehimati /
gacchanti anpadesam, taha vi ya bahave na gacchanti

Those who will consider the calamities brought about by the cow and the word of the excellent Jina (predicting them) will go to another country. However, many will not go.

647. GamgāSonuwasaggam jinavaramavānaṃ ca je munehimati /
gacchanti anpadesam, taha vi ya bahāya na gacchanti

Those who will consider the calamity to be brought about by the rivers Ganges and Śona and the word of the excellent Jina (predicting this) will go to other countries. However, many will not go.\(^{36}\)

648. 'kim amha paḷāenam? bhikkhassa kim icchiyā
labbhiṃte
evam vijampamānā taha vi ya bahūya na gacchanti

(They will say), 'What is the point of us fleeing? Can the desired quantity of alms be got (elsewhere)?' Saying this, many will not leave.

649–50: Summary: 'who can escape the results of actions performed in the past?'

651. aha dāṇi so narimdo Cummhu dummhu adham-
mamah /
pāsansde pindēn bhanīṭi 'save karam deha'

Now that King Caturmukha, of evil demeanour and turned towards unrighteousness, will say, treating the non-orthodox communities as one (?),\(^{\text{57}}\) 'All of you pay a tax.'\(^{\text{58}}\)

652. ruddho ya samanasaṃgho acchhiti, sesayā ya
pāsansdā /
save dāhimm karam sahiranno-suvannaya jathā

The community of Jain monks will be imprisoned,\(^{59}\) while the remaining non-orthodox groups will all pay the tax, where they have money and gold.

653. save ya kupāsamde movāvehi balā salimgām /
aivvalohaghathtoo samane vi abhidavadesi

He will (then) get all the evil unorthodox groups (kupāsamde) (and) their false ascetics (?\(^{60}\)) released from detention. (?\(^{61}\)) Then, holding an extremely sharp sword,\(^{62}\) he will menace the Jain monks.

654. vocchanti ya mayaharagā 'unhāṃ dāyanaṃ na
kimbhūla /
jan nāma tubbha lubbhā karehi tam dāvāsi rāṣā'

The senior monks will say: 'We should give nothing in this respect; you are making us give simply because you are greedy for taxes, oh king.'

655. roṣena sāsāvantam so kai vi dine theva acchhī /
aha nagaradevaya taṃ appaniyā bhaṇṇiti 'rāyaṃ
Roaring\(^{63}\) with anger, he will stay in that same state (of rage) (theva) for some (kai) vi days; then the tutelary goddess of the city herself (appaniyā) will say: 'Oh king,'

656. kim tūraisi marium je nisaṃsa kim bhave samanasaṃghām /
savam te pajjaṭam naṃ katवāhaṃ paṭicchāmi'

'Why do you hurry to die, monster? Why do you oppress the community of Jain monks? I will simply wait a few days (until) you have resolved everything.’ (?)

657. uḷlapaḍaśāddao so paḍhī samanasaṃghāssa /
'kovo diṭṭho bhagavaṃ kunhaḥ pasāyaṃ pasāemi'

With clothes wet (with tears) he will fall at the feet of the community of Jain monks, saying: ‘You have seen my anger, your reverences; now show me good will, I beg you.’

658. 'kim amha pasāenam? taha vi ya bahūya tahiṃ na
icchamit/ ghoranirantaravāsam aha vāsam dams vāsīhī

However, many did not wish to live there in an unceasingly grim fashion, saying: 'Why should we show goodwill to him?' Then he will exile them. (?)\(^{64}\)

659. divvantarikkha-bhomā tayā hohinti nagaranāsā
ya /
uppāyā u mahālā susanam-samaninā piṇākarā

At that time there will be heavenly omens in the sky and destruction of cities. Great portents will torment the good monks and nuns.

660. 'samvaccaraṇapane hohi asivam’ ti to tao nivitam /
suttathāṃ kuvamā aśayamādiḥīṃ nāṇaṃ

So they will lead (the community) from there.\(^{65}\) For they will act on the basis of understanding through the prodigies (they saw) the meaning of the scriptures as (foretelling) that there will be a calamity (asivam).\(^{56}\)
661. Gamātā pi na cāṇmī kei uvagāraṇavasahipaddbaddhā / kei saṇvagānī, kei puṇa jambhavissā u

(But) some were not able to go because they were attached to possessions and dwellings, some were dependent on particular laymen, while some were totalitists (jambhavissā). 68

662. Tam daṇi samanubuddham sataraśaratiṃdiyāhit vāśihihi / Gāmā-Gasāpuśasaro uvvattai tena veyevensā

(Paraphrase:) It will then rain as prophesied by the omniscient ones and the current of the Ganges and Śona will quickly rise. 69

663. Gāmā veyeva yon Sonassa ya duddharena setenā / aha savatto samamā tābhūhi puravaram rammā

Through the force of the Ganges and the irresistible flood of the Śona the fine city in all its beauty will be completely swept away in all directions.

664. ālojyiyasalā hācakkaheṣu niccama ujittā / ucchippihimī sānī Gāmā aggevēnum

Monks (sāhā) who will have confessed their faults and been continually zealous in respect to abstinence will (nevertheless) be overwhelmed by the full force of the Ganges.

665. keithā sāhuvarā uvarārane dhanīyārgaspadbaddhā / kalāmūm palomēntā vasahīsihīyā u vujhamti

Some groups of monks (sāhuvarā) who are extremely (dhanīyā) devoted to possessions will be carried off with their residences, 70 wailing (palomēntā) piteously. 71

666. āmīya Samānkmurā saranāni tā hohi samanasamhassā / inamo veyevacchā bhanamāṇiṇān na vaṭṭhihi

‘Lord Sanatkumāra, 72 be a refuge for the community of Jain monks.’ (But) there will be no assistance (veyevacchā) 73 when they say this.

667–70: These verses (with verse 667 ~ verse 670) effectively reprise verses 664–66 with reference to Jain nuns (samaṇī, sāhuṇī).

673. ranū ya atthajāyām Pādivata ceva Kakkrīyā / evam havai u būḍdhā, bahuṇā vāḍhām jahahena

There will arise wealth for the king, (the monk) Pādivata, and King Kalkin. 74 This (city) will sink (vāḍhām) and much will be carried off by the flood.

674. pāsamādā vi ya vāṇḍā (?) vāḍhā veyena kālasampatā / cooldown (?) ceihara tithe (?) titham vā paviralamāṇyam ca saṃjñyam

Non-orthodox groups and... (?) 75 will be swept away by the flood and drowned; shrines and sacred places will certainly (vā) become little frequented.

675. so atthapaditthaddho mahiham hoḥ jaso ya kūṭī ya / tammi ya nagare vāḍhā angāram niveshihi

‘Caturmukha will be proud of his wealth.’ After that city has been swept away, he will find another one, (thinking) ‘I will (thereby) gain glory (jaso) and renown’. 76

676. aha savatto samamā kārēhi puravaram mahārammām / āramunjanāyām virāyate devanāgamā ya

Then he will get built a very fine capital in every respect (widespreading) on all sides. It will be like the city of the gods with bowers and gardens.

677. punar avi ayatanām, punar avi sāhā vi tattha viharantī / samama ca vaṭṭhihākā vāśihi samātī ya vaṭṭihiti

Once again there will be temples and monks will wander (viharatī) for alms there again. Rain will fall appropriately and there will be peace.

678. paṭdēna vi kumbhēna kīraṃ tāyā ya taṁī na humī (?) / paṇṇāsam vāsaḥ hoḥ ya samubbhavo kālo (?)

(Unclear. The verse refers to an interlude of fifty years and may allude to Mahābhārata 31.88.89a, which describes the appearance of Kalkin urged on by Time (Kalkir Viṣṇuṣa nama dvijā kalāpradītāḥ.).)

679 ~ verse 653. Caturmukha reverts to his earlier harassment of Jain monks.

680. taiyā vi Kappa-Vavhārādhārao samjātva tāvatto / anadiṭṭhi samāno bhāvyasatutto pasamsa(ta)maṇo

Then (there will come) one who is familiar with the Kalpaśūtra and the Vyasvahārasūtra, 77 restrained, devoted to austerity, whose view is fixed on the command of the Jinas, a monk who has internalised the sūtras, of calm mind.

681. viṛēna samāṭtītho Tīthogālī jugapahāno ti / sānāunnaṭṭānaṇō yāryāro hohiti dihro

He will be a steadfast teacher, described by Mahāvīra in the Tīthogālī as the principle one of the era (jugapahāno), bringing about elevation of the doctrine, 78
a homeless monk called Pādivata. Those disciplined ascetics will perform the austerity of omitting the sixth and eighth meal in order to relieve suffering.

Blazing with anger, he (i.e Caturmukha) will remain intent on true religion (dhamma) in that same state of rage for several days. Then the goddesses (devayā) of the city, having hidden the wealth of the Jain community (?), will say, ‘Oh king.’

The prophecy of the cow was being fulfilled, and there existed another prophecy about disastrous malign celestial signs. After the birth of this evil individual a stone cow will appear to torment the Jain community. There will be general destruction, anarchy, and irreligion, with Jain monasticism being unable to function adequately (verses 628–33).

After eighteen years Duṣṭabuddhi will become King Caturmukha, who will gain wealth through finding treasure hidden long before by King Nanda in Pātaliputra (verses 634–40). The stone cow will prevent Jain monks gaining food. Senior monks will invoke Mahāvīra’s prophecy and advocate migration. Some members of the community will leave on the grounds that the prophecy of the cow was being fulfilled and that there existed another prophecy about disastrous flooding. Other members of the community will remain on the grounds that the results of previous actions cannot be escaped (verses 641–50).

Caturmukha will attempt to get the non-orthodox communities to pay a tax. Having released the non-Jains from their obligation, he will oppress the Jain community until the tutelary goddess of Pātaliputra intervenes and compels him to apologise. Some Jains will be grudging about this so that Caturmukha will exile them (verses 651–59).

The wake of threatening portents understood from scriptural prophecy to presage destruction, some of the monastic community will leave. Others will remain behind because of their attachment to places, possessions, and lay supporters. The violent confluence of the rivers Ganges and Śoṇā will lead to catastrophic flooding and the city of Pātaliputra will be inundated and swept away. Upright behaviour will not save monks and nuns, although some renunciants and city people will be able to escape drowning (verses 660–72).

The T cursorily predicts three things: the wealth of Caturmukha, the Jain monk Pāṇḍivata, and King Kalkī. In the aftermath of the ruination of Pātaliputra and its Jain sacred places, Caturmukha will found another splendid city where Jainism is able to flourish. However, after a period of fifty years he will revert to harassing the Jain community. The renunciant teacher Pāṇḍivata will appear and be a focus for disciplined ascetic behaviour. Meanwhile, Caturmukha will be in a state of anger with the Jain community. He will ignore divine intervention and demand a sixth part of the alms received by the Jain monks. Imprisoned in a cow stall,
the monks supported by a goddess will propitiate the god Indra, who will kill Caturmukha as one contemptuous of Jain teaching (verses 673–89).

Observations and conclusion

It seems reasonable to conclude that the section of the T under review is transmuting the tones of Hindu apocalyptic prophecy of the type found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* to confirm a Jain version of the past, specifically the period subsequent to Saka rule. The main agent within the prophecy is King Caturmukha, who epitomises negative or at least inconsistent behaviour towards the Jains, and is clearly the reverse image of King Kalki, who in Hindu texts appears to restore order out of moral and social chaos. The reference at *T* verse 673 to King Kalki, whether an interpolation or not, is one of what would appear to be very few occurrences of the name anywhere in Jain literature, and this figure does not have any function in the narrative which describes the restoration of order as effected by the brisk intervention of the god Indra. The early Śvetambara canonical commentator Agastyasimha asserts that ‘one should not interpret the future by claiming that Kalkin or such-and-such a king endowed with particular qualities will arise’. This proscription may be directed at the Purānic compilers who sought to demonise groups such as the Jains. Alternatively, it might explain or provide a context for why the Jains seem to have been less enthusiastic exponents of the genre of apocalyptic literature than the Hindus and Buddhists, or indeed why the author of the *T* does not always employ the future tense throughout his account (although for consistency’s sake I have translated as though he does).

The Guptas are not explicitly named in the verses translated above (apocalyptic reconfigurations of the recent past are by their nature not historically literal), and the dangers of circular reasoning here are obvious. However, I would suggest that the following is relevant for establishing a likely Gupta context for this section of the *T*, with the proviso that it is most likely the entire span of Gupta history which is being interpreted by our text.

1. The appearance of Caturmukha, the author of disaster for his kingdom and the Jains, is at the outset (verse 628), placed firmly in the context of Vaiṣṇavism, the religious tradition to which the Guptas owed allegiance, and in the city of Pāṭaliputra, for a long period one of the seats of Gupta power. The reference to Rāma and Krṣṇa being born there seems to be a deliberate distortion to emphasise this Vaiṣṇava connection. Kalki is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a brahman, and the name Caturmukha commonly designates the god Brahmā, who came to prominence during the Gupta period as a deity redolent of brahmanical authority.

2. The goddess manifesting herself as a malign cow violently removing the Jain monks’ capacity to beg for food seems to be a reference to an animal closely bound up with the brahman ritualistic worldview, whose sanctity became firmly established as an aspect of Hinduism by the time of the completion of the *Mahābhārata*, that is to say by around the beginning of the Gupta period. It is tempting to read the *T*’s description of the Jain monks being imprisoned in a cow stall (verse 686) as a sardonic reference to the languishing of the community under a Vaiṣṇava dispensation.

3. The famine and drought leading to rural depopulation and anarchy referred to by the *T*, in an apparent echoing of a more elaborate depiction at *Mahābhārata* 3.186 and 188, may largely be a bleak imaginary vision of social and religious decay. However, whatever the undoubted artistic achievements of this period, there did eventually occur a widespread economic malaise in parts of the Gupta Empire and a decline in the influence of urbanised centres in the Ganges basin. In this context, the *T*’s graphic description of the flooding of Pāṭaliputra and the drowning of many of its inhabitants may well preserve a memory of an actual natural disaster. The *T* claims that this disaster was caused by the precipitate rising of the water level of the Ganges and its tributary the Šona, and available evidence does suggests that Pāṭaliputra was indeed inundated by flooding, although exactly when this happened is unclear. The *T* describes Caturmukha as refounding or rebuilding the city and lavishing wealth upon it. However, it seems that in the fifth century the Guptas relocated their court to Sāketa, henceforth known as Ayodhya.

4. Caturmukha’s initial attempt to levy a tax from the reluctant Jains, described at *T* verses 651–54, is frustrated. His second attempt is presented by *T* verse 685 as a more specific demand for a sixth share of the Jain renunciants’ alms. The *Manusmṛti* and *Arthaśāstra*, which provide the authority for a king receiving such an allotment, were undoubtedly redacted prior to the Gupta period, although no doubt both were influential during that time. However, an actual Gupta connection to this institution can be found in the writings of Kālidāsa (c. 400–50 CE), whom few would dispute was a Gupta court poet and whose poems and dramas can be interpreted as articulating much of the regal and brahmanical ideology which underpinned the dynasty. So *Rāghuvamsā* 5.8 contains an expression of goodwill on the part of a king towards a hermitage river ‘whose sandy shores are studded with the sixth part of gleaned corn’ (*učhasaṣṭhāṁkītaśaikātāṁ*), while at 17.65 the king is described as being ‘a recipient of the sixth share’ (*sadamśabhāk*) from ascetics and social classes.
alike because of the protection he provides. At Abhijñānāsākuntala 2.12, p. 43, the vidiṣṭaka tells his master King Dusyanta that he can return to the hermitage where he has seen the girl Śakuntalā under the pretext of collecting ‘the sixth share of wild rice’ (nīvāraṇacchāṭhābhaām), while at 5.4 of the same play Dusyanta’s chamberlain muses on the unuttering duty of the king, ‘who is supported by the sixth share’ (gaśṭhāṃsavyṛteḥ). The Ts negative portrayal of Caturmukha and Kālidāsā’s idealised depiction of Dusyanta and other Hindu kings in respect to the appropriation of the sixth share represent the two sides of the imaginative coin of Gupta kingship as envisaged from a Jain and Hindu perspective.

If my speculative assessment is justifiable, then by the Ts oblique reading the Jain experience during the Gupta period was complex, frequently fraught, and embattled; less frequently, it was secure and prosperous (verse 677). While many Jains are described as leaving for other lands in times of difficulty, it is made clear that others remained. Ohira’s hypothesis of a mass migration of the Jain community to the west and south to escape the Gupta realms is then no doubt overstated, and the absence of Jains from much of the archaeological and epigraphical picture during the Gupta period may simply have been the result of economic decline in various parts of the empire and the consequent geographical relocation of sections of the community. The Ts picture does, however, leave room for the suspicion that the supposed religious tolerance of the Guptas may also have been overstated. At any rate, whatever the Ts vantage point might have been, whether chronologically near to the final collapse into relative obscurity of Gupta hegemony, or more distant from it, the work’s significance as a unique piece of testimony within Jain tradition is worthy of more notice that it has hitherto received.

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NOTES

1. Jason Neelis, Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 149–50; Fred Virkus, Politische Strukturen im Guptareich (300–550 n. Chr.) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), p. 30; Michael Willis, ‘Later Gupta History: Inscriptions, Coins, and Historical Ideology’, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Series 3, 15 (2005), 131–50 (pp. 142–43).
2. See Emmanuel Francis and Arlo Griffiths, ‘Review of “Michael Willis, Archaeology”’, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 134 (2014), 140–43 (pp. 141, note 1, 142); Sheldon Pollock, The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), p. 250; Giovanni Verardi, Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India (New Delhi: Manohar, 2011), pp. 128–29, 131, for the difficulties involved in the category ‘Gupta art’.
3. For references to discussion of the range of dates proposed for the Viṣṇupurāṇa, see Vincent Eltschinger, Buddhist Epistemology as Apologetics: Studies on the History, Self-understanding and Dogmatics of Late Indian Buddhist Philosophy (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), p. 57.
4. See ibid., p. 36, note 3, for discussion of the term pāṇḍa/pāṇḍadīn, and see also note 37 below.
5. For recent discussion, see ibid., pp. 59–66; Jonathan Geen, ‘Fair Trade and Reversal of Fortune: Krṣṇa and Mahāvīra in the Hindu and Jaina Traditions’, Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 79 (2011), 58–89 (pp. 60–64); Peter Schreiner, Viṣṇupurāṇa: Althergebrachte Kunde über Viṣṇu (Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2013), pp. 283–84, 288–93, 592–94; Romila Thapar, ‘The Purāṇas: Heresy and the “Vāmāṅucarīta”’, in Ancient to Modern: Religion, Power, and Community in India, ed. by Ishita Banerjee-Dube and Saurabhi Dube (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 28–48 (pp. 34–37).
6. See Eltschinger, pp. 41–50; Alf Hiltebeitel, Dharma: Its Early History in Law, Religion, and Narrative (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 59–94. By ‘apocalyptic’, I mean a mode of interpreting recent historical, social, and religious events which endows them with a particularly charged significance by locating them in a situation of decline and corruption which is then overturned by a representative of orthodoxy and order. Cf. Eltschinger, pp. 37–39.
7. Ibid., pp. 64–66.
8. Suzuki Ohira, A Study of Tattvārthasūtra with Bhāṣya, With Special Reference to Authorship and Date (Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1982), pp. 116, 120; V. K. Sharma, History of Jainism with Special Reference to Mathurā (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 2001), pp. 197–98.
9. Ohira, p. 114.
10. See Piotr Balcerowicz, ‘Some Remarks on the Opening Sections in Jain Epistemological Treatises’, in Śāstrārāṃbha: Enquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit, ed. by Walter Slaje (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), pp. 25–81 (p. 35, note 23), for the range of datings for Umāsvāti. I leave aside the issue of Siddhasena Divākara and his hagiographical connection with Vikramādiśīya (~ Candragupta II ?).

11. However, see Virkus, pp. 94–95, for the murkiness of early Gupta connections with Mathurā. The other councils are recorded as taking place at Valabhi in Saurāstra.

12. Christoph Emmrich, ‘Śvetāmbaras, Digambaras und die Geschichte ihres Kanons als Besitz, Verlust und Erfindung’, in Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte, ed. by Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger, and Christoph Kleine (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), pp. 105–29 (p. 115, note 32), conjectures that the processes involved in forming the Gupta imperium provided an appropriate environment for the establishment of a Śvetāmbara Jain canon of texts.

13. Royce Wiles, ‘The Dating of the Jaina Councils: Do Scholarly Presentations Reflect the Traditional Sources?’, in Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues, ed. by Peter Flügel (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 61–85 (pp. 69–71, 74). Wiles offers a valuable overall corrective to modern scholarship’s interpretation of the sources on the Jain councils.

14. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. 3, ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar, B. C. Chhabra, and G. S. Ghai (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India), pp. 231–34. Cf. Hans Bakker, ‘Royal Patronage and Religious Tolerance: The Formative Period of Gupta-Vākāṭaka Culture’, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Series 3, 20 (2010), 461–75 (p. 463); Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, The Imperial Gupta: A Political History (New Delhi: Aryan Books, 2012), pp. 155–561; Virkus, p. 103; Joanna Gottfried Williams, The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 28–29; Michael Willis, The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual: Temples and the Establishment of the Gods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 231.

15. The inscription on the Candraprabha pedestal is almost complete, that on the Puspadanta pedestal largely replicates this, while the inscription on the Padmaprabha (?) pedestal replicates the first half but has lost the portion referring to Jain monks.

16. The reading Celū is guaranteed according to Willis, Archaeology, p. 333, note 277, but the name is unique as such, and seems slightly unlikely. It may possibly be connected with cela(ka), meaning little more than ‘pupil’. The most recent treatment of the inscription by Thaplyal (see note 14) interprets the word ksamanā appended to the monks’ names as the equivalent of kṣapanaka, in fact a term applied to Digambara monks by their opponents. However, there is no doubt that the expression appended to these monks’ names is the same as the Prākrit honorific khamāśamaṇa (~ Sanskrit kṣamāśramaṇa), and has perhaps been misheard or misunderstood as being in a quasi-rhyming relationship with -śramaṇa by a scribe unfamiliar with Jain usage. This honorific occurs in the liturgical formula of homage (vandana) offered to a monastic teacher and implies that he is an ascetic who possesses a series of virtues of which the first is kṣama, ‘patience’. The expression is incorporated into the names of three Śvetāmbara monks mentioned at the end of a list of prominent teachers found in the Kalpasūtra. See Jaina Sutras: Part One, trans. by Hermann Jacobi (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), p. 295. However, such a formal style for Śvetāmbara teachers ceased to be current some time after the sixth or seventh centuries CE.

17. The name of the teacher Sarvāsena seems odd, although the spelling appears certain. Its second component ‘ṣenā’ is a lineage indicator which was to become particularly common among the Digambaras – see A. N. Upadhye, Upadhye: Papers (Mysore: University of Mysore, 1983), pp. 245–51 – but was not unknown among the Śvetāmbaras. However, while many Digambaras incorporated nāga as the first part of their renunciant names, the more basic serpentine noun ‘sarpā’ does not seem to be attested in this role. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the more common name Sarvādeva has been misheard in the course of the inscription being recited to the scribe, perhaps, as the uncertainty evinced by the term kṣamaṇa described in note 16 suggests, by somebody not particularly familiar with Jain usage.

18. Willis, Archaeology, p. 333, note 278, proposes reading kṣamaṇācārya. The expression pāṇipārika is a common epithet normally used of monks of the Digambara sect who differentiate themselves from the Śvetāmbaras who use alms bowls. However, the practice of using the hands as an alms bowl was also prescribed amongst the Śvetāmbaras for advanced monks following the jinaṇakalpa, the ‘practice of the Jinas’, a more intense mode of renunciant life. As noted above,
the honorific kṣamāśramaṇa, however represented in the inscription, seems to be characteristic of Śvetāmbara usage, and the conclusion must be that the monks in question were Śvetāmbaras, although the term may not have had a formally sectarian sense at this particular time.

19. See Verardi, p. 128, and in particular Willis, *Archaeology*, p. 231; but see also Leslie Orr, ‘Review of “Michael Willis, Archaeology”’, *South Asian Studies*, 26 (2010), 238–42 (p. 241), for reservations about the latter. It is noteworthy that ‘Celū’ is not actually given the title ācārya.

20. U. N. Roy, cited and criticised by Thaplyal, pp. 23.

21. See Hans Bakker, *A Theatre of Broken Dreams: Vidiśā in the Days of Gupta Hegemony*, in *Interrogating History: Essays for Hermann Kulke*, ed. by M. Brandner and S. K. Panda (New Delhi: Manohar, 2006), pp. 165–87 (pp. 166–69). Bakker, ‘Royal Patronage’, p. 463, simply has Rāmagupta ‘favouring’ Jainism, indicative of the general climate of tolerance at this time. Vīrūkṣa, pp. 225–26, is sceptical as to whether the Gupta emperors exercised any sort of policy of religious tolerance.

22. Umakant P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Mandana* (*Jaina Iconography*) (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), pp. 137, 142, 145.

23. The earliest datable Jina image with a lañcana, that of Nemināthā found at Rājgir, in fact belongs to the early Gupta period. See Julia Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual* (Berlin: GH Verlag, 2009), p. 761.

24. ‘Kalpasutra’, in *Jaina Sutras*, trans. by Jacobi, p. 280; *Samavāyāngasūtra*, ed. by Muni Jambūvijaya, Jaina Āgama Granthamālā, 20 (Mumbai: Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, 2005), sūtras 93, 101, 157 (Candraprabha), 75, 86, 100 (Puspadanta/Suvīḍhi), 103, 157 (Padmaprabha).

25. Bakker, ‘Theatre’, p. 167.

26. See Ohira, pp. 116–26. Ohira does not refer to Rāmagupta’s Vidiśā inscription. The Mathurā inscriptive evidence from the early centuries CE depicts the Jain lay devotees there as petit bourgeois rather than wealthy magnates. A projection of the present economic profile of the Jain community in India onto the ancient period should be viewed warily.

27. Malvania who inspected the press copy of this edition describes it as comprising 1251 verses. He also refers to unspecified manuscripts which contain 1254 verses. See Dalasukh Malvania, *Śruta-Saritā (Dalasukh Malvania Collected Papers)* (Ahmedabad: Shreshthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi, 2001), p. 64. The *T* was edited for the first time by Kalyāṇavijaya and Rathod at Jalore in 1974/75 to celebrate the 2500th anniversary of Mahāvīra’s nirvāṇa. I have not been able to consult this edition, but Bhojak devotes some effort to describing its many textual inadequacies. See his introduction to the Jaina Āgama Series edition – *Paṁṇayāsuttāṁ: Prathamo Bhāgah*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya and Amṛtāl Bhojak, Jaina Āgama Granthamālā, 17.1 (Bambai: Śrī Mahāvīra Jīna Vidyālaya, 1984), pp. 123–34.

28. Abhidhānārājendrákoṣa (Ahmadābād: Śrī Abhidhānārājendrákoṣa Prakāśan Samsthā, 1986), s.v. has Tīthogalīya with the Sanskrit equivalent Tīrthodālīka, while Malvania, p. 64, has Tīthogalīya with the Sanskrit equivalent Tīrthodgalīka. Hiralaal Rasikdas Kapadia, *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, 1st rev. edn (Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 2010), p. 53, note 5, records from a list given in the Jaina Granthāvalī the Sanskrit title Tīrthodgāra.

29. See Kapadia, p. 53. Although the number of prakīrṇakas has been fixed as ten for the last two hundred years, there is no uniformity about which texts are included in this listing. The three volumes of the Jaina Āgama Series edition of the prakīrṇakas contain twenty-two texts in this category.

30. Vyavahārābhāṣya verse 4532 – ed. by Samanī Kuśumaprajñā (Lādhūm: Jain Viśva Bhāratī Samsthān, 1996) – and verse 4513 – in ŚrīMalayaagliśirvīravirataviravanayutaniyuktibhāṣyasametam ŚrīVyavahārārātaram, ed. by Ācārya Vījāyamunandrāsūri (Sūrat: Ācāraya ŚrīOmākāraśīrṣājñānamandira, 2010): Tīthogalī ettham vaivalvā hoi ānupuvi / jo jassa amgassā vacthedo vinidādītho.

31. Malvania, p. 74, endorses Kalyāṇavijaya’s fifth-century samvat dating. He also points out (p. 73) that many of the *T* verses describing the Jina Rṣabha and the other tīrthaṅkaras occur in the Āvaśyakānirūkti.

32. See Paul Dundas, ‘History in Future Mode: A Nineteenth Century Digambara Jain Prophetic Text’, in *Vasantagauravam: Essays in Jainism Felicitating Professor M. D. Vasanthra Raj*, ed. by Jayandari Soni (Mumbai: Valiks, Feffer and Simon, 2001), pp. 51–72 (p. 53), for the genre of Jain prophetic texts.

33. See ibid., p. 56, note 17.

34. Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India* (100 BC – AD 900), rev. edn (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2005), p. 16,
refers, without providing any textual source, to the historical tradition of Pālaka being consecrated at Ujjayinī.

35. My translation implies some sort of emendation of padanassa. Rāma (unless the name denotes Balarāma) and Kṛṣṇa were born in Ayodhyā and Mathurā respectively. Viṣṇu’s four month sleep (coinciding with the monsoon) ends when he awakes on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Krāttika. See Willis, Archaeology, p. 31. The editors of the T provide a Prākṛt rubric to verses 628–89: Dūṭhabuddhi-Caummuhāavarānanāmassa Kakkiranno jana-jañavayākāṭṭhādāyagam cariyam (‘The deeds of King Kalki, also known as Duṭhabuddhi and Caturmukha, which afflict people, country etc.’). For Caturmukha, see T verse 635 and after. The name Kakkī ~ Kalki is used by the T only at verse 673.

36. This verse anticipates an event contextualised at verse 641 and is, as it were, a prophecy within a prophecy. The form abhiyutthā may derive from abhiyoktr. The editorial conjecture abhiutthā (~ adjectival abhyutthā, ‘arising’?) occurs at T verses 641 and 645.

37. I take the first quarter of this verse to refer to non-brahmanical renunciant groups (pāsamāda) including the Jains. T verses 653 and 679 refer in negative terms to kūpāsamāda, who clearly do not include the Jains. The term pāsamāda (~ Sanskrit pāśanda) is of uncertain etymology, most likely deriving either from a verbal root with the sense of ‘question’ or from parṣad, ‘group’. See Eltschinger, p. 36, note 3, who does not, however, adduce any Jain evidence for the term’s use. The Śvetāmbara canonical Anuyogadāvatāsūtra, sūtra 288, defines pāsamāda in terms of five groups: the śramanas (samanae), those who smear themselves with white ashes (pamcaramgae), the Buddhists (bhikkhu), the Kāpālikas (kāvīyaia), ascetic hermits (tāvasae), and wandering mendicants (parivāvaśage). In his commentary on this passage Hemacandra Maladhārīn (twelfth century) addresses the meaning of the term śramaṇa by quoting the canonical Piṇḍaniryuktī verse 445a: niggamthah sakka tāvasa geruya ājīva pamcāhā samanā, ‘The śramanas are of five sorts: the bondless (Jains), the Buddhists, ascetic hermits, ascetics who wear red robes, and the Ājīvikas’. See Anuyogadāvārasūtra, with the cūrnī of Jinādāsāgin, the viṇḍi of Haribhadrāsūri and the vṛtī of Maladhārī Hemacandraśrī, ed. by Muni Jambuviṣaya, Jaina Āgama Series, 18 (Bombay: Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, 1999), pp. 336–49; cf. Jagdish Chandra Jain, Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons (Bombay: New Book Company, 1947), pp. 201–08. In this renunciant taxonomy Jain monks are a subset of śramanas, who are included among the five types of pāsamāda. The standard term in the T for Śvetāmbara monks is in fact samanā, less commonly sāhī.

38. I read jhījāṃti. If, however, it is judged inappropriate for a Jain writer to refer to his coreligionists as representing a pāsamāda, then I very tentatively suggest the emendation pāsamā drivājāṃti, ‘non-Jain groups will thrive’, a feature of the social decline initiated by Duṭhabuddhi.

39. For samvāha, ‘fortress’, see Hargovind Das T. Sheth, Pāśa-Sadda-Mahānava (Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society, 1963), s.v. In depicting the chaos of the Kali Yuga Mahābhārata 3.186.36a describes the countryside as ‘studded with watchtowers’ (attaśāta janapadādi). Alternatively, the sense might be ‘villages will be encompassed only by ruin’ (samvāhā ~ sambādhā).

40. Avantī and its capital Ujjayinī were to be regarded as a Jain ‘middle region’ (madhyadeśa) by the end of the first millennium CE. See Padmanabh S. Jaini, Collected Papers on Jaina Studies (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000), pp. 229–30, and also T verse 620 for an apparent focusing of Jain history on this region. For differing conceptions of what is signified by the Madhyadeśa, see Hildebeitel, pp. 283, note 27, 312–15.

41. I translate nāmadesesu thus without any conviction and an emendation to nāyadesesu may be warranted. If so, two interpretations suggest themselves. The first would take the compound as signifying ‘in the territories of the Nāgas’. For the Nāga kingdom or confederacy centring on the cities of Kāntipuri and Vidiśa, with a western frontier bordering on Ujjayinī, which was overturned in the fourth century by the Gupta king Samudragupta, see Bakker, ‘Theatre’, p. 167; Willis, ‘Later Gupta History’, pp. 131–32; Willis, Archaeology, p. 199. With regard to the second interpretation, there is the possibility that the T is here alluding in highly abbreviated form to Mahābhārata 3.188, which describes the perverse and debased things which take place at the end of the Yuga, including the appearance of monuments containing mortuary remains (edāka) at sacred spots such as temples, caityas, and ‘the abodes of nāgas’ (3.188.65b: nāgāṇāṃ edāvesu; text at Eltschinger, p. 48, note 71; cf. Hildebeitel, p. 392).

42. For depopulation and the countryside being overrun with wild beasts, see Mahābhārata 3.186 33a: bahuśānyā janapadā mṛgavālāyīti diśāh.
43. Cf. *Mahābhārata* 3.186.34: na tathā gṛhāṇayuktāś ca sarvagandhā viśāṃ pate / rasāś ca manujavyāghra na tathā svādvyoginaḥ.

44. The editorial conjecture *valiyam* can be interpreted as an abbreviation of *jāvalīya*, one of at least eleven identified renderings of Yāpāṇiya, the name of a Jain sect which seems to have emerged in the early Common Era and, in its mature form, evinced characteristics of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects, thus rendering it unacceptable to both. See Jaini, *Jaina Studies*, pp. 303–4; Upadhye, p. 194. The fifteenth-century Digambara Raidhū refers to this sect by the name Valiya Sāṅgha in his Apabhraṃśa poem, the *Bhadrabhāucānkayacandrauguptakathānaka* 24.4 (hūu tā valiyasamgha vikḥāyau). The *T* no doubt refers here to the appearance of the Yāpāṇiyas as a prime feature of the evil times being described. Digambara Jain tradition regards the origins of this sect, which supposedly compromised on the vow of nudity, as taking place at a time of famine and drought apparently in the region of Ujjainī. See Jaini, *Jaina Studies*, pp. 299–301.

45. The second line is unclear. I interpret the editorial conjecture as ~ *niyatam*.

46. I read *dāmariyo*.

47. I follow the reading *arasesayammi* and read *anāṇasamo*.

48. Dustabhuddhi presumably becomes Caturmukha as a result of royal consecration. For *nāma nāmenam* cf. verse 641: *nāmena...nāma*.

49. The five stūpas, or funerary monuments, referred to in this verse may be the same as those from which the Digambara lineage, the Pañcaśṭūpānīkāya (later the Pañcaśṭūpānīvaya) took its name, and which is mentioned for the first time in a Gupta period copperplate inscription of 479 CE from Bengal. For this see Upadhye, pp. 279–80. Upadhye suggests that Pañcaśṭūpa is the name of a locality.

50. The assumption must be that Loṇaḍevī manifested herself as a result of the excavation of the city. I have not so far located another reference to this goddess, whose name seems to mean little more than ‘Fair Goddess’. For Loṇa- as the first half of the name of the courtesan Loṇaśobhikā, see Shah, p. 16.

51. The form *sūsvāyamti*, for which see also verse 655, seems to denote some sort of noisemaking, but does not occur in Sheth. It may be connected with *śūs*, ‘hiss’.

52. Cf. verses 664 and 665 for *sāhū*.

53. I take *mayaharaga* as by metathesis ~ *mahattara-ka*. Virkus, pp. 43–44, describes the *mahattara* as representing a prominent social category in the Gupta period. However, the *T* shows no significant interest in the Jain laity.

54. Literally ‘long seen’. The opening of the *T* presents the text in prophetic terms as emanating from Mahāvīra.

55. I translate on the basis of emending to *anutappeni*.

56. Cf. verses 662 and 663. The river Śrōna rises in the west and flows into the Ganges in the region of Pātaḷiputra. The next verses seem to suggest that those who remained were sceptical about prophecy.

57. I interpret tentatively. If *pimdeum* is ~ *pīdayitum*, then it could also imply that Caturmukha, in a ludicrous reversal of normal practice, is compelling the non-orthodox renunciant groups to give alms (*pīda*) to him. Alternatively, the form could be ~ *pīdayitum*, ‘to oppress’.

58. Cf. *Mahābhārata* 3.180.70b for brahmans migrating in the Kali Yuga because of being oppressed by heavy taxes (*karabhārabhayād viprā bhajisvanti disā dāsa*).

59. Or possibly, if *ruddho* is taken in an active sense, the sense is ‘will hold back money’. However, cf. verse 686 for Jain monks being imprisoned in the second phase of Caturmukha’s antipathy.

60. Cf. verse 679. My translation of the first line is very tentative, and I am unclear about the grammar of *saliṅgāmī*. I take *kupāsande* as an expression differentiating non-Jain groups from the Jains (cf. note 37).

61. Or ‘obligation’. I take *bala* as the equivalent of *balākāra*, which Wilson, cited by Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1851; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), s.v., explains as ‘(in law) the detention of the person of a debtor by his creditor to recover his debt’. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 8.49 in Patrick Olivelle, *Manu’s Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Māṇava-Dharmaśāstra* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) for *bala*, ‘force’, as one of the five means of regaining money loaned.

62. For *gḥattha* ~ *gṛhiṇa*, see Sheth, s.v. I take *-gḥattho* as a reverse compound.

63. For *sūsayaṅma*, see note 51.

64. I give the text of the first half of the second line provided on p. 530 of the corrigenda (*suddhipattayam*) in *Painīnamсутīm:Prathamo Bhāgah*, ed. by Punyavijaya and Bhojak, but I am uncertain about the meaning.

65. I translate tentatively.

66. The c. sixth/seventh-century CE *Niśṭhabhāṣya* verses 729, 734, 812, 814–15 links *asirv* with famine (*omōyariya*), a malevolent king (*raṇavuttaha*), general danger (*bhaa*), and illness.
(gelanna) as circumstances justifying modification of normal renunciant behaviour. See Niṣītha-
Śūtram, ed. by Amara Muni and Muni Kanhaiyalāl (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1982).

67. Cf. verse 665. The corrupting effect of domestica-
tion upon the renunciant community and the
necessity of returning to scripturally prescribed
practices is a frequent theme in Śvetāmbara
literature from around 1000 CE.

68. Unattested in Sheth.

69. I am unclear about the full meaning of the first
line.

70. Cf. note 67.

71. Or ‘staring piteously’. However, the context seems
to require paloṃtā to be connected with rud
rather than lok, ‘see’. Cf. verse 668: kaluṃapaloṃniyāno.

72. In Jain cosmography, Sanatkumāra has a rela-
tively insignificant position as one of the gods of
the upper heavens. However, in Hindu tradition he
is one of the sons of Brahmā, born from his thought,
and at Mahābhārata 3.183.20–25 he is
depicted as supporting the brahmanical status
quo and kingly authority. Futile invocation of
such a figure by Jain monks is most likely indica-
tive of the debased and dangerous times.

73. While the term veyāvacca normally refers to
mutual assistance among Jain monks, it can also
mean help offered by the laity in time of difficulty.
Its use here seems ironic.

74. This line has the appearance of a series of catch-
words, summing up the rest of the section, and
the verse may be an interpolation. Caturmukha had
already gained wealth through finding Nanda’s
treasure. See verses 636–40.

75. The form vandā could be read as a variant spell-
ing of vanthā, ‘servants’, for which see H. C.
Bhayani, Studies in Deśa Prakrit (Ahmedabad:
Kalikāla Sarvajñā Śrī Hemacandrācārya Navam
Janma Śatādbdi Smrti Śikṣan Sanskr Nidhi,
1988), p. 14. However, the context might seem to
require a sense corresponding to ‘brahmans’.

76. I takes the reference to glory (jaso ~ yasās) to be
pointed. For Kalkin’s epithet viṣṇuṣyasās and his role in
the Mahābhārata as the incarnation of Viṣṇu’s glory (yasās), see Jan Gonda, Aspects of
Early Viṣṇuism (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass,
1993), p. 149.

77. These are texts dealing with correct monastic
practice.

78. A possible interpolation. Apart from the verse’s
obviously self-referential assertion, the expres-
sion jugapahāno (~ yugapradhāna) seems to have
become usual in Jain discourse only around 1000
CE in the context of the emergence of Śvetāmbara
disciplinary orders with their competing leaders,
although the Abhidhānārajendrakosa, s.v.
jugappahāna, claims that the expression occurs
in the c. seventh-century Niṣīthacūrṇi 1.
Furthermore, the form āyario (~ ācārya) with
the hyper-correcting backformation -y- > -r-
(‘ta-śruti’i) is characteristic of a later phase of
Prākrit. Cf. verse 634: dāmarito < dāmariyo?
However, this may possibly be a simple scribal
idiosyncrasy.

79. This is a relatively non-intense austerity, perhaps
indicative of diminished capability in the evil time.

80. Cf. Sheth: misimisiya de[ṣi] uddīpt.

81. Cf. verse 655.

82. This is possibly an honorific plural.

83. I take vittivesiyā as a reverse compound but am
not confident about its sense here.

84. Cf. Manusmrīti 7.131–32 in Olivelle, Mānava-
Dharmaśāstra, for the king taking the sixth part
(ṣaṭbhāga) of a range of produce and substances.
For reference to the royal sixth share in Kautilya’s
Arthaśāstra see Patrick Olivelle, King,
Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kautilya’s
Arthaśāstra (New York: Oxford University Press,
2013), pp. 80, 511.

85. Cf. verse 652.

86. See note 80.

87. Cf. verse 656.

88. Cf. verse 188 for Indra’s throne suddenly shak-
ing at the imminent birth of the first Jina
Rṣabha (īṣānāsa vi divvam sahasā sihāsanam
caliyaṃ).

89. Read ābohiya?

90. Indra is normally associated with the eastern direc-
tion; however, a substantial number of Vedic texts
associate him with the south. See Corinna Wessels-
Mevissen, The Gods of the Directions in Ancient
India: Origin and Early Development in Art and
Literature (until c. 1000 AD) (Berlin: Dietrich
Reimer Verlag, 2001), pp. 5–6. 9. For Indra in
Jainism, see Hampa Nagarajaiah, Indra in Jaina
Iconography (Hombuja: Sri Siddhantakeerthi
Granthamale, 2002).

91. I take -padikattham as a reverse compound.

92. Sheth, s.v. Kakki refers to a future king of
Pattaliputra of this name, citing a text entitled
Tirathkalpa, which, according to his list of
Prākrit source materials, exists only in manuscript
form.

93. See Agastyasimha, Daśavālikākacārṇi 7.8 – in
Sayyamabhava’s Dasakāliyasuttam with Bhadrabāhūś
Niryuktā and Agastyasimhāś Cārṇi, ed. by Muni
Punyavijaya (Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society,
2003), p. 166, lines 24–25: anāgatam atttham na
nidhārejjā jadhā Kakkī amuko vā evaṁguno rāyā bhavissati.

94. See W. Norman Brown, ‘The Sanctity of the Cow in Hinduism’. Economic Weekly (Bombay), 16 (1964), 245–55 (p. 249).

95. See Virkus, pp. 34–36. The T’s description of Caturmukha appropriating Pātaliputra’s hidden wealth has the look of a parable about the loss of urban prosperity.

96. Hans Bakker, Ayodhyā (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), p. 30, suggests that a calamity, ‘possibly a flood of the river Ganges’, occurred in the middle of the fifth century, while Virkus, p. 167, refers to a catastrophic flood afflicting the city at the end of the sixth century in the wake of changes in the flow of the Ganges. This, combined with a decline in external trading links, influenced the city’s status as an economic centre.

97. See Bakker, Ayodhyā, p. 12.

98. See Daniel H. H. Ingalls, ‘Kālidāsa and the Attitudes of the Golden Age’, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 96 (1976), 15–26.

99. See Willis, ‘Later Gupta History’, pp. 143–46.