

THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ IN THE HINDU AND JAINA
MAHĀBHĀRATA

THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ IN THE
HINDU AND JAINA *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2001)
(Religious Studies)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Canada

TITLE: *The Marriage of Draupadi in the Hindu and Jaina Mahābhārata.*

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NUMBER OF PAGES: xi, 581

ABSTRACT

Broadly speaking, this thesis constitutes an examination of the history and development of the great Indian epic *Mahābhārata*, or the *Great Story of the Descendants of Bharata*. More specifically, this thesis attempts to shed light upon the origin of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition and to elucidate its interactions with the Hindu *Mahābhārata* tradition over approximately two millennia. The discussion of these issues is focused upon one particular episode from the epic: the Marriage of Princess Draupadī to the five sons of King Pāṇḍu (i.e. the five Pāṇḍavas).

Whether the Jainas had their own ancient *Mahābhārata* tradition that developed independently and in parallel with the Hindu version or they simply appropriated the epic from the Hindus and self-consciously transformed it into a Jaina *Mahābhārata* has been a point of disagreement among scholars. It is concluded in this thesis that the Jainas did have an ancient and distinctive *Mahābhārata* tradition, though the tradition was rather modest and of limited importance to the early Jaina community. Over a period of approximately 1500-2000 years, however, and under the influence of the popularity of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, the Jaina *Mahābhārata* took on greater prominence in the Jaina community while at the same time becoming less distinctively Jaina and increasingly similar to the Hindu version.

Finally, it is argued here that one particular short tale which is to be found in the oldest extant Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī was in fact originally a Jaina tale that was borrowed, adapted, and inserted into the Hindu *Mahābhārata* at a very early period (i.e. not later than 400 CE, and possibly much earlier).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who deserve my heartfelt thanks for their assistance, both academic and otherwise, in the completing of this thesis. To my supervisor Phyllis Granoff goes *most* of the credit for anything herein that is worthwhile and *none* of the blame for any errors or follies. To the other members of my committee, Koichi Shinohara and Jean Wilson, I offer my thanks for their assistance and especially their patience. Other inhabitants of the Religious Studies Department at McMaster University, both past and present, who deserve my gratitude for a bewildering variety of reasons include Rosalind Lefeber, Wayne Whillier, Graeme MacQueen, Paul Younger, Gerard Vallee, Bob Sharf, Tinamarie Jones, Philippa Carter, and Jeannie Salmay. My gratitude is also due to my more recent colleague and junior Guru Mahārāj Douglas R. Brooks at the University of Rochester, both for his helpful comments and for getting me a job!

For support of every conceivable kind, without which I could barely have started let alone completed this dissertation, I must reserve my greatest appreciation for my parents, Stewart and Donna Geen, as well as my beloved and patient wife, Sujata Bhavnani.

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INTRODUCTION

I began my doctoral research with a fairly simple premise. It was my supposition that the Jaina tradition was less tolerant of moral ambiguity than the Hindu tradition, and that this moralistic tendency should be reflected in Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata*. To a limited extent, I already knew this to be the case from previous work on the Jaina *Mahābhārata*, mainly by P.S. Jaini.¹ However, in order to investigate this issue in greater depth, I initially selected what I considered to be four “morally ambiguous” events in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, and examined the manner in which these events were treated in the Jaina *Mahābhārata*.

In these early stages, my definitions of “Hindu *Mahābhārata*” and “Jaina *Mahābhārata*” were very straightforward and uncomplicated. It was my intention to simply compare the *Critical Edition of the (Hindu) Mahābhārata* to a 13th century Jaina text entitled *The Pāṇḍavacarita*, or, *The Story of the Sons of Pāṇḍu*. However, as my thesis work progressed, I found myself continually tempted by other Hindu and Jaina texts, and before long, I was comparing four Hindu texts

¹ There is also a series of interesting articles, mainly of an heuristic nature, by M.J. Kashalikar: “The Origin of the Pāṇḍavas, As related in the *Mahābhārata* and some later Jain works, and its sociological implications.” *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, 16 (1966), 349-359; “Hemacandra’s Version of the *Mahābhārata*.” *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, 19 (1969), 234-246; “Guṇabhadra’s Version of the Story of the Pāṇḍavas.” *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, 22 (1972), 335-340. Also, Shaktidhar Jha has compiled some useful

with eight Jaina texts. But even a cursory examination of the Jaina texts was sufficient to reveal that the story of the Pāṇḍavas in the Digambara Jaina tradition was very different than the one found in the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition. Thus, my comparison quickly took on a three-pronged aspect: Hindu versions vs. Digambara Jaina versions vs. Śvetāmbara Jaina versions.

As more and more texts were incorporated into my investigation, there was, practically speaking, room for fewer “morally ambiguous” events. By the time I had selected the twelve texts I was to use, I had reduced the scope of my project to examining a single “morally ambiguous” event: the story of the marriage of Draupadī to the five Pāṇḍava brothers. That this is a morally ambiguous event in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* is, I contend, beyond question. It occasions a lengthy discussion in the text itself about the lawfulness and propriety of one woman having more than one husband. Even in the best of circumstances, such an idea was scandalous in the extreme. Thus, my project, as it is presented in this thesis, is a comparison among Hindu, Digambara Jaina and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī, with particular attention to the ways in which the various versions deal with the issue of Draupadī’s polyandry.

My thesis unfolds in a stepwise progression. The first chapter provides a brief introduction to the *Mahābhārata* in the Hindu and Jaina traditions, including

a discussion of prior scholarship on the Jaina *Mahābhārata*. The next three chapters are mainly concerned with introducing and contextualizing the twelve source texts from which I obtained versions of the story of the Marriage of Drupadī. The fifth chapter examines the evolution undergone by the Jaina versions, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara, over the centuries, and demonstrates that this evolution constitutes a gradual but continual “hindufication” of the Jaina versions. The sixth and final chapter, somewhat contrary to Chapter 5, presents an argument that one of the episodes found in the earliest extant Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī may have originally been a Jaina tale that was borrowed, modified, and inserted into the Hindu version. This argument also occasions a discussion of whether or not the Jainas possessed their own ancient and distinct version of the *Mahābhārata* epic.

Finally, I have included at the end of the thesis three appendices. Appendix I contains (i) salient details about each of the twelve source texts used in this thesis, (ii) a table of contents for each of these texts so that the story of the Marriage of Draupadī may be viewed in the context of the larger text as a whole, and (iii) a complete English translation of the Marriage of Draupadī episode from each text.² Appendix II contains a basic plot summary of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī from each of the Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions. These three basic plot summaries were constructed by dividing

² Some of the translations are my own, and some are borrowed from pre-existing English translations.

the story into a multitude of plot points and comparing all of the texts from a given tradition on each of these points. And lastly, Appendix III contains translations of three passages from the (Hindu) *Mahābhārata* tradition used to justify Draupadī's polyandrous marriage. These passages were rejected by Sukthankar for his *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, though he included them as part of the critical apparatus.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE HINDU AND JAINA *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

1.1 Thesis Statement

This thesis addresses three broad questions relating to the Jaina *Mahābhārata*: (i) What was the origin of the Jaina *Mahābhārata*? That is, did the extant Jaina *Mahābhārata* spring from an ancient and independent tradition that arose contemporaneously and in parallel with the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, or did the Jainas appropriate the epic from the Hindus and transform it into a distinctly Jaina story?; (ii) Do Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata*, in comparison to the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, provide evidence that the Jainas had a lower threshold of tolerance for moral ambiguity?; and (iii) How have the Hindu and Jaina *Mahābhārata* traditions interacted and influenced one another over the last two millennia? Because the Hindu and Jaina *Mahābhārata* traditions are much too vast to be treated comprehensively in a single thesis, I shall focus the discussion of these broad questions upon one very important, central, and ubiquitous episode: the story of the Marriage of Draupadī to the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

The bulk of this thesis rests upon a comparison among twelve versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī (four Hindu, four Digambara Jaina, and four Śvetāmbara Jaina). Five of these twelve versions had been previously translated into English, and the remaining seven versions were translated for the

purpose of this thesis. Though all but two of these twelve versions were originally composed in Sanskrit, my comparison of them does not consist of a close textual comparison of the Sanskrit originals, but rather is conducted at the level of plot structure and character development.

1.2 The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī

It was only long after I began investigating the story of the Marriage of Draupadī in various Hindu and Jaina texts that I came across this valuable and reassuring piece of advice from one of the great scholars of Jainism in this century, A.N. Upadhye:

[M]any ... stories have so often appeared and reappeared, with or without variations, in different strata of Jaina literature in particular and Indian literature in general that it is necessary that individual stories, in view of their specific motifs and details, should be selected for intensive study, and their gradual evolution should be marked out at its various stages, separating the basic kernel from the incidental accretions and detached sub-stories.¹

Generally speaking, the story of the Marriage of Draupadī may be viewed as an isolated episode that constitutes a small part of the much larger Indian epic known as the *Mahābhārata*, in the same way that the stealing of Achilles' war prize by Agamemnon is an isolated episode in the much larger Greek epic *Iliad*. However, the situation is actually somewhat more complex. Since its origin in the mists of early Indian history, the *Mahābhārata* has been a living text that has

¹ A.N. Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," in A.N. Upadhye, *Upadhye: Papers*. (Mysore: Prasārāṅga, University of Mysore, 1983), 76.

been cast and recast countless times by countless individuals. While the composition of the *Iliad* is still a point of controversy, it is likely that the epic was composed by a single author or handful of authors, and to this extent, may be roughly located in time.² The title *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, refers in a general way to a core narrative that has been the subject of hundreds of texts that, collectively, span thousands of years. In some instances, this core narrative has been greatly modified, and has been inserted into many different contexts. And as the *Mahābhārata* as a whole has undergone countless major and minor alterations over the centuries, so too has the episode of the Marriage of Draupadī. Even a seemingly straightforward summary of this episode, i.e. the story of how Princess Draupadī married the five Pāṇḍava brothers, is complicated by the fact that in the Digambara Jaina tradition, she is said to have married not five but only one of the brothers. But before considering this episode in particular, some general discussion of the *Mahābhārata* as a whole is in order.

1.3 What is the *Mahābhārata*?

In reality, one can speak of the *Mahābhārata* as an epic and as a “poem” only in a very restricted sense. Indeed, in a certain sense the *Mahābhārata* is not at all a poetic product, but rather, an entire literature.³

However hyperbolic the above quotation may at first appear, anyone who has spent a reasonable amount of time working in the *Mahābhārata* knows it to be

² Robert Fagles, trans., *The Iliad*. (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1990), 5ff.

true. And if the text is a literature unto itself, the secondary scholarship surely constitutes an entire library. As a result, the task of making any reasonably comprehensive statement about the *Mahābhārata* in a limited space fills one with a mixture of ecstasy and despair. So much has been written on the *Mahābhārata* that one is tempted to follow every general statement with a page or more of footnotes. Nevertheless, in order to contextualize properly the story of the Marriage of Draupadī, a few basic facts regarding the nature and history of the *Mahābhārata* are required.

In my Introduction, I made reference to the Hindu *Mahābhārata* and the Jaina *Mahābhārata* as if these were two clearly defined entities. In truth, they are not. There are, in fact, many Hindu *Mahābhāratas* and many Jaina *Mahābhāratas*, and to treat either one as a single, monolithic entity is to construct artificially something that does not exist, and probably never did exist. Even the title *Mahābhārata* itself, irrespective of religious affiliation, is in need of considerable explanation. Below, I will attempt briefly but clearly to explain what I intend by the word “Mahābhārata,” and to describe in general terms what is intended by the titles “Hindu *Mahābhārata*” and “Jaina *Mahābhārata*.” But despite my best attempt at accuracy and precision, I will be using the term “Mahābhārata” in a variety of senses throughout this thesis, frequently making reference to “the *Mahābhārata*” in the singular, as if it were a single, well-defined

³ Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature. Volume 1. 2nd Edition*. Translated from the original German by V. Srinivasa Sarma, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981), 296.

text. When dealing with a topic as vast as the *Mahābhārata*, such ambiguity, on the one hand, and vagueness on the other, is as unavoidable as it is unfortunate.

The title *Mahābhārata* literally means “The Great Story of the Descendants of Bharata,”⁴ though the major focus of the epic is upon the rivalry between factions of a North Indian ruling family, the Pāṇḍavas⁵ on one side, and their cousins the Kauravas⁶ on the other. Thus, at its most basic level, the *Mahābhārata* is simply a story. And being a popular story, it was liable to being recast, retold and rewritten by any number of people at various times and in various places, and one can easily understand how a multitude of versions of *more-or-less* the same story could evolve. This is in fact what has occurred in India for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years. The same basic story of the “Descendants of Bharata” has been told and retold endlessly, and frequently rewritten as well, both in the Hindu and Jaina communities. Thus, when I refer to various Hindu, Digambara Jaina, or Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata*, I first and foremost refer to what I consider to be *differing versions* of *more-or-less* the same basic story. This being the case, one has to decide the degree to which details of the story may be altered, added to, or omitted, before the story falls outside the expansive *Mahābhārata*-umbrella. For the purpose of

⁴ According to Hindu tradition, Bharata was a king of an *āryan* clan or tribe in *vedic* times who lent his name both to the descendents of this tribe as well as to the land in which they lived (i.e. Bhāratavarṣa). Bharata is in some cases considered the progenitor of the modern day Indian people. According to Jaina tradition, Bharata was the name of the first of twelve *cakravartins* (or universal sovereigns) of the present world age, and was the son of the first of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* (or Jaina saviors) named Rṣabha.

⁵ That is, sons of King Pāṇḍu.

this thesis, I have kept to the broadest and most inclusive interpretation possible, and was undeterred by even the most wide-ranging variations in detail.

For most people familiar with South Asia and its literature, labeling the *Mahābhārata* as “Hindu” is the equivalent for people familiar with the literature of the West to refer to the *New Testament* as “Christian.” While the adjectives denoting religious affiliation are perhaps not entirely redundant, they would generally be considered obvious and unnecessary. In fact, the *Mahābhārata* has frequently been referred to as an encyclopedia of Hinduism, and it has even been suggested that the *Mahābhārata* is not merely a Hindu text, but rather Hinduism itself.⁷ But the *Mahābhārata* as we shall see was not the exclusive property of Hinduism. When I refer to the “Hindu” *Mahābhārata*, I do so in order to distinguish it from the Jaina *Mahābhārata*. Normally, such a distinction is entirely unnecessary, as Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata* story have virtually no currency outside the Jaina communities and a small circle of scholars. Thus, when the title *Mahābhārata* is used in the scholarly literature without any adjective denoting religious affiliation, it refers, by default, to the Hindu *Mahābhārata*. I mention this only to remind my readers (and myself) that although the Hindu and Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata* are, in this thesis, treated as equals, granting equal historical weight to the Hindu and Jaina versions

⁶ That is, descendents of King Kuru (as the children of Pāṇḍu’s brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra were called).

⁷ Winternitz refers to it as a “textbook of religion” (M. Winternitz, “Notes on the Mahābhārata,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1897, p. 733, as quoted in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 317n).

of the *Mahābhārata* is not unlike granting equal historical weight to the writings of Plato and the Stoics.

1.4 Origin and Development of the *Mahābhārata* in the Hindu Tradition

The *Mahābhārata* as we encounter it today is the product of a long tradition of literary activity. Though now lost to posterity, one may well imagine a relatively modest poem commemorating the heroic deeds carried out during a battle between rival factions of a ruling family. Whether or not the theme of the poem was taken directly from an historical event, or was entirely the product of some composer's imagination, or some combination thereof, is impossible to say with assurance. Whatever the case, the poem was not likely unique, but an example of a larger genre of heroic poetry. Traces of such heroic poetry are evident in certain *Ṛgvedic* hymns and throughout the *Brāhmaṇas*, and we know from the ritual literature that recitation of these narrative hymns was common practice during sacrifices and festivals.⁸ Winternitz states:

The authors, reciters and preservers of this hero-poetry were the bards usually called *Sūtas* who lived at the courts of the kings and recited or sang their songs during great festivals to proclaim the fame of the princes. They accompanied them to the battle-field in order to be able to sing the heroic deeds of the warriors by witnessing them. ... The propagation of the hero-songs among the masses was then taken over also by the wandering singers, called *Kuśīlavas* who learnt the songs by heart and sang in public to the accompaniment of the lute.⁹

⁸ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 291.

⁹ *ibid.*, 295.

However modestly it may have began, the small heroic poem of the type Winternitz envisions,¹⁰ acting like a grain of sand in an oyster, soon became a full blown pearl, coated with so many related and unrelated episodes, religious tracts, didactic poems, and grand framing stories.

1.4.1 A Brief Plot Summary of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*

But before we get too far in our discussion of the evolution of the *Mahābhārata*, let us begin with a very brief summary of the core narrative as it is found in most of the extant Hindu texts. The episode of the Marriage of Draupadī is highlighted:

Once upon a time in the city of Hastināpura, King Vicitravīrya, scion of the great progenitor Bharata and of mighty King Kuru, married two princesses named Ambikā and Ambālikā, daughters of the king of Kāśī. As fate would have it, Vicitravīrya fell ill and died without issue. In order to save the family lineage, his mother Satyavatī implored the great sage Vyāsa to father legitimate heirs upon Vicitravīrya's widowed queens. (Vyāsa was in fact a half brother to the unfortunate King Vicitravīrya, being the child of an earlier tryst between Satyavatī and the sage Parāśara). When Vyāsa had obliged his mother, Ambikā gave birth to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who was born blind, and then Ambālikā gave birth to Pāṇḍu.

¹⁰ Referred to by Hopkins as the *Bhārati kathā*, in E. Washburn Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1901), 386.

Because Dhṛtarāṣṭra was blind, Pāṇḍu was made king. In due course of time, Dhṛtarāṣṭra married Gāndhārī, daughter of the king of Gāndhāra, and Pāṇḍu married two women, Kuntī, daughter of Śūra and adopted daughter of Kuntibhoja, and Mādrī, daughter of the king of Madras. It so happened that, before he was able to father any heirs, King Pāṇḍu was cursed by a sage such that any attempt at procreation would prove deadly for him. In despair, Pāṇḍu renounced the throne, went into the wilderness with Kuntī and Mādrī, and had his elder brother, the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, installed as king. In the forest, Kuntī confessed to her husband Pāṇḍu that by means of a secret *mantra* that she had previously received from the sage Durvāsas, she was able to beget a son from any god she chose. Seeing this as his best chance to have “legitimate” heirs, Pāṇḍu agreed, and Kuntī begot the sons Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna by the gods Dharma, Vāyu, and Indra, respectively. She taught her co-wife Mādrī the secret *mantra*, and Mādrī begot the twins Nakula and Sahadeva by the twin Aśvin gods. While Pāṇḍu was thus acquiring his five sons, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his wife Gāndhārī had one hundred sons, the eldest of whom was named Duryodhana, born on the same day as Kuntī’s second son, Bhīma. One day, in a fit of passion, Pāṇḍu approached Mādrī and died. While Mādrī burned on Pāṇḍu’s funeral pyre, Kuntī returned to Hastināpura with her five sons, who were taken under the care of their uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and who were raised together with his hundred sons. Early on an intense

rivalry was evident between the cousins, the Pāṇḍavas (i.e. sons of Pāṇḍu) on the one hand, and the Kauravas (i.e. descendents of Kuru, as the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra were known) on the other. Uppermost in the mind of Duryodhana was the question, “Who shall succeed to the throne? Will it be Yudhiṣṭhira or I?” Fearing that Yudhiṣṭhira would become king, Duryodhana plotted to kill him and his brothers in a house fire, and though the Pāṇḍavas were thought to have perished in the flames, they secretly escaped unharmed and wandered the countryside disguised as brahmins. *While staying in a village, a wandering brahmin told the Pāṇḍavas about the Pāñcāla country, and they decided to visit it. As they were traveling to the Pāñcāla capital, they encountered Vyāsa, who was their biological grandfather, and who spoke to them of Drupada, King of the Pāñcālas, and of his daughter Draupadī. This Draupadī, Vyāsa claimed, was destined to be the common wife of all five Pāṇḍavas. Still disguised as brahmins, the Pāṇḍavas attended Draupadī’s svayaṁvara.¹¹ Arjuna won Draupadī in the svayaṁvara archery competition, but because of a fateful statement made by their mother Kuntī, it came about that all five Pāṇḍavas married Draupadī, just as Vyāsa had predicted.*

Following their marriage to Draupadī, the Pāṇḍavas returned to Hastināpura, where it was decided that the kingdom would be divided into

¹¹ That is, the ritual choice of a husband by a princess.

two parts, one for the Pāṇḍavas and one for the Kauravas. But when Duryodhana saw how magnificent the Pāṇḍavas' kingdom had become, he was jealous and set about, by means of a game of dice, to swindle the Pāṇḍavas out of everything they owned. Eventually, it was decided that whichever side lost the dice game would go into the forest for twelve years, live incognito for a thirteenth year, and only then would return to claim the entire kingdom. Yudhiṣṭhira lost the dice game, and the Pāṇḍavas immediately went into the forest, where they lived for twelve years. In the thirteenth year, they dwelled incognito as members of King Virāṭa's court, and when the time came for them to reclaim the kingdom, it was obvious to all that Duryodhana was not about to give it up without a fight. Despite attempts at a peaceful resolution, it was to be war; and before long, a terrible battle began. When the war started, there were thousands upon thousands standing on each side of Kurukṣetra, the field of battle, but when it was over, few were left standing. If it could be said that any side won the war, it was the Pāṇḍavas. With the Kauravas vanquished, the Pāṇḍavas ruled what was left of their kingdom until such time as they decided to renounce their royal status, travel to the Himālayas, and worship Lord Śiva until they had won heaven, which they did.

1.4.2 From Poem to Tome

Commenting upon how a small heroic poem became the great epic of India, A.N. Upadhye states:

The primary kernel of the Mahābhārata is a heroic tale belonging to the Kuru cycle of legends, especially dealing with the great Kuru battle. But this secular event is imposed on with the grandiose superstructure of an encyclopaedic literature showing clear-cut strata of different types and ages. This extraneous matter includes religious legends of theo-cosmological contents; independent stories ...; religio-philosophical and ethical sections including maxims on polity and social behavior; fables, parables and didactic narratives; and lastly a good deal of ascetic poetry. The entire work, in parts and as a whole, has passed through the hands of many redactors; and all sorts of topics are admitted into the body of the text irrespective of inconsistency and mutual contradiction. The Mahābhārata text, as it stands today, is moulded into its present shape, according to the opinions of competent authorities, under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. This must have been preceded and followed by many a sectarian attempt of this nature. Many long and short Ākhyānas etc., are simply added without much connection with the main story.¹²

Van Buitenen has suggested that the expansion of the modest hero-poem into the modern-day *Mahābhārata* occurred in four phases. First, the poem was expanded from within; second, it became mythologized; third, it came under the brahminizing influence of the priests; and finally, when it was recorded in manuscripts, it became the repository for any number of new stories and didactic expositions:

Almost any text of “hindū” inspiration could be included in this expanding library, so that in the end the custodians could rightly boast that, “whatever is found here may be found somewhere else, but what is not found here is found nowhere.”¹³

¹² Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 8.

¹³ J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata, I. The Book of the Beginning*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), xxiii.

Interestingly, the *Mahābhārata*, as a text, shows an awareness of this process of expansion. The adjective “*mahā*” found in the title *Mahābhārata*, usually translated as “great,” primarily means “very lengthy.” This derives from the fact that the Hindu *Mahā-bhārata*, in its present vulgate incarnation, is comprised of roughly 100,000 verses. However, the *Mahābhārata* itself testifies to the fact that it is a greatly enlarged and expanded version of an earlier text in 24,000 verses known simply as the *Bhārata*. The *Bhārata*, “The Story of the Descendants of Bharata,” though no longer extant as such, presumably dealt specifically with the descendants of King Kuru in the line of Bharata, and more specifically, with the two sets of cousins mentioned above, who vie for the throne of a North Indian kingdom called Kurukṣetra, and whose power struggle results in a battle of unprecedented destruction. Thus, the title *Mahābhārata* is also meant as an abbreviation for something like *mahābhāratayuddhākhyānam*, meaning, “The Story of the Great Battle of the Bharatas,” which implies that the central event of the story is the internecine war between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.¹⁴

1.4.3 What is the Hindu *Mahābhārata*?

In the Hindu tradition, the title *Mahābhārata* is generally taken to refer to a specific epic poem composed by the great sage Vyāsa,¹⁵ in a manner apparently analogous to the title *Iliad* referring to a specific epic composed by Homer. Thus,

¹⁴ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 297.

¹⁵ This is the same Vyāsa who appeared in the summary above as the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas as well as the one who predicted their communal marriage to Draupadī.

in the Hindu tradition, the name *Mahābhārata* does not abstractly refer to any version of the story of the descendants of Bharata, but to a particular telling of the story by Vyāsa. But this is not equivalent to singling out, for example, Shakespeare's version from amid a collection of biographies of Julius Caesar. Unlike Shakespeare, Vyāsa is a legendary figure, and it is without doubt that the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa as we know it today is the product of many authors and redactors. Ascribing composition of the epic to Vyāsa is mainly honorific, as is made evident by the fact that the self-same Vyāsa is also credited with the compiling and editing the four *vedas*. And unlike Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* is hardly a consistent and narrowly defined text. This is made manifest when one compares the various vulgate editions that have been produced,¹⁶ as well as when one considers the difficulty with which V.S. Sukthankar created his *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*.

Thus, when it is said that Hindus generally consider the *Mahābhārata* to consist of the actual *ślokas* written by Vyāsa rather than to any other *more-or-less* similar version of the story, this is intended more as a statement of faith than fact. When one considers the way in which Indians have traditionally encountered the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* (i.e. in piecemeal fashion as told by one or another storyteller, and not explicitly bound by some narrow and verifiable canon), one soon realizes that even a seemingly specific definition of the *Mahābhārata* as the "version composed by Vyāsa" is tantamount to saying "any *more-or-less* similar

¹⁶ e.g. Calcutta Edition (1839), Bombay Edition (1863), Kumbhakonam Edition (1910).

version of the story.” For example, the authors of the three Hindu medieval summaries of the *Mahābhārata*¹⁷ used in this thesis would all claim to have specifically epitomized Vyāsa’s text, though it is doubtful that any of the three epitomizers was working from the exact same version.¹⁸

In the *prolegomena* to his *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan* (i.e. the “First Book” of the *Mahābhārata*), Sukthankar suggests that the true *Mahābhārata* is not his critically edited text, but rather is comprised of his reconstructed text plus *all of the variant readings* combined:

To put it in other words, the *Mahābhārata* is the whole of the epic tradition: the *entire* Critical Apparatus. Its separation into the constituted text and the critical notes is only a static representation of a constantly changing epic text – a representation made for the purpose of visualizing, studying and analyzing the panorama of the more grand and less grand thought-movements that have crystallized in the shape of the texts handed down to us in our *Mahābhārata* manuscripts.¹⁹

So, in the Hindu tradition, the *Mahābhārata* may loosely be defined as any story about the descendants of Bharata, or as a particular version of the story written by Vyāsa, or as any version claiming to be Vyāsa’s version, or as any significant part of any of these versions, or, as Sukthankar would have it, everything rolled into one.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have broadly extended the *Mahābhārata*-umbrella to cover any version of a story, either Hindu or Jaina, that deals with the

¹⁷ That is, the anonymous 10th century *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, Kṣemendra’s 11th century *Bhāratamañjarī*, and Amaraśūri’s 13th century *Bālabhārata*.

¹⁸ This is hardly a point which we can prove, though given the variation between extant manuscripts from different times and places, it seems exceedingly likely.

actions and adventures of the Pāṇḍavas, in whole or in part. Modern Hindu vulgate versions of the *Mahābhārata*, in roughly 100,000 verses, obviously cover much more than the story of the Pāṇḍavas, and as discussed below, many of the Jaina versions of the Pāṇḍava-story are located in texts that could scarcely be called Jaina *Mahābhāratas*.²⁰ Because of this, I was tempted to dispense with the title *Mahābhārata* entirely and title my thesis, *The Marriage of Draupadī in Hindu and Jaina Versions of the Story of the Pāṇḍavas*. But this would have implied a stronger distinction between the story of the Pāṇḍavas on the one hand, and the *Mahābhārata*-as-a-whole on the other, than I was prepared to make.

1.4.4 The Place of the *Mahābhārata* in Hindu Literature

The *Mahābhārata* is so intimately woven into the fabric of Indian culture that any attempt to reduce it to the status of a mere epic poem must, of necessity, demean it. It is ancient, vast, pervasive, and passionately embraced by the vast majority of India's swelling population. What R.K. Narayan boldly asserted with respect to the popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India could easily be said of the *Mahābhārata* as well:

It may sound hyperbolic, but I am prepared to state that almost every individual among the five hundred millions living in India [in 1971] is aware of the story of the Ramayana in some measure or other. Everyone of whatever age, outlook, education, or station in life knows the essential part of the epic and adores the main figures in it.²¹

¹⁹ *Mahābhārata*. Sanskrit text critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar *et al.*, Volume 1, (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933), cii.

²⁰ Not, at least, in the sense of constituting gigantic and comprehensive encyclopedias of Jainism.

²¹ R.K. Narayan, *The Ramayana*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1972), xi.

How far into the past we may safely project the national popularity of the *Mahābhārata* is uncertain, though to suggest that it has enjoyed widespread circulation and popular acceptance in one form or another for over 2000 years would be hardly controversial. According to van Buitenen, the oldest material represented by manuscripts included in the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* can be dated somewhere around 400 BCE,²² and the editor of the *Critical Edition*, V.S. Sukthankar, states in the *prolegomena*:

There is nothing to suggest that our Mahābhārata manuscripts have suffered any serious loss at any time. There never was any lack of manuscripts, many of which were preserved carefully in temples, and which must have been copied repeatedly, for the enhancement of merit. There is no evidence of any break in the tradition at any time or any place, within the confines of India at least.²³

It is possible to locate the *Mahābhārata-cum-epic* in the vast corpus of Hindu literature. Like the Law Books, *purāṇas*, and the other great epic of India the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* falls into general category of religious works known as *smṛti* (lit. “remembered”). These *smṛti* texts do not have the absolute religious authority of the revealed *śruti* (lit. “heard”) texts comprised of the *vedas*, but are said to depend from, clarify, expand upon, and draw their authority from *śruti*. The sub-genre within *smṛti* literature into which both the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* fall is known as *itihāsa*, frequently translated as “epic,” though other names for story literature, e.g. *ākhyāna*, *purāṇa*, are frequently used

²² van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, xxv.

²³ Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata*, xcv.

interchangeably with *itihāsa*, and the *Mahābhārata* refers to itself variously as *ākhyāna*, *itihāsa*, and *purāṇa*.²⁴

1.5 Jainism

Before entering into a discussion of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* and its historical relationship to the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, we shall consider, very briefly, the origin, spread, and literature of the Jaina tradition.

1.5.1 Introduction to Jainism

Jainism, a non-theistic, ascetically-oriented religious tradition arose in India around the same time, and in the same geographical region, as Buddhism. The founder of Jainism in its classical formulation is generally considered by scholars to have been Mahāvīra,²⁵ who was, alongside the Buddha, one of several popular personalities at the forefront of the *śramaṇic*²⁶ movement that blossomed in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE in the Ganges river basin. Many of the ideas which first entered Hindu orthodoxy in the *upaniṣads*²⁷ characterize much of what we know of the *śramaṇic* worldview in general, and of Jainism in particular.

²⁴ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1*, 291.

²⁵ Pārśvanātha, who lived at least a generation earlier than Mahāvīra, is considered by most scholars to have been an historical personage and to have promulgated a spiritual path to liberation through the practice of harsh asceticism. However, it is uncertain whether or not we should consider him to be the founder of Jainism or rather the founder of a tradition that served as a precursor to Jainism.

²⁶ The word *śramaṇa*, derived from the verbal root *śram* (“exert”), was used to refer to a class of religious practitioners who devoted themselves to the practice of strict asceticism for the purpose of gaining magical powers, religious merit, and spiritual insight.

²⁷ e.g. transmigration (*punarjanma*) of the soul (*ātman*, *jīva*), the impact of one’s actions (*karma*) on the sort of rebirth attained, and the inability of the traditional, external *vedic* sacrifices to effect

However, the *śramaṇas* could also be defined by what they rejected from the dominant culture of the time: the revealed and thus infallible nature of the *vedic* hymns and sacrifices, and the unexamined ascendancy of the brahmin or priestly class.

Fortunately for posterity, a brief synopsis of the tenets of various *śramaṇic* groups has survived in the literature of the Buddhists.²⁸ Among the *śramaṇic* leaders mentioned is one Nigaṇṭha Ñātaputta²⁹ [Skt. Nirgraṇṭha Jñāṭṛputra³⁰], who has been convincingly equated with Vardhamāna, son of Siddhārtha and Trisālā, also known as Mahāvīra.³¹ The adjective “nigaṇṭha” means “free from bonds,” and was associated with the teachings of an ascetic named Pārśva, who is considered by scholars as the forerunner to Mahāvīra. The name Ñātaputta is derived from the fact that Mahāvīra was said to have come from the Ñāṭṭ clan.³²

According to the Jaina tradition, neither Mahāvīra nor Pārśva was the founder of Jainism; rather they were the last two in a line of 24 *tīrthanīkaras*, or “ford(*tīrtha*)-makers”, so called because it is these special individuals who assist their fellow humans to ford the river from worldly bondage to spiritual

liberation (*mokṣa*) of the soul from the otherwise endless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (*saṃsāra*).

²⁸ Padmanabh S. Jaini, “Śramaṇas: Their Conflict with Brāhmanical Society,” in J.W. Elders, ed., *Chapters in Indian Civilization*. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1970), 49-52.

²⁹ Or, Nigaṇṭha Ñāyaputta.

³⁰ Or, Nirgraṇṭha Jñāṭṛputra.

³¹ That is, “Great Hero,” analogous to Siddhārtha Gautama’s title “Buddha,” meaning “Awakened One.”

³² Jaini, “Śramaṇas,” 54.

liberation.³³ Another term frequently used to refer to a *tīrthāṅkara* is *jina*, or “victor,” denoting victory in the battle for spiritual liberation. Linguistically, the term *jaina* is derived from the term *jina*, and denotes that which is derived from and/or related to the *jinās*. The Jainas, then, are the followers of the spiritual path laid down by the *jinās*, and Jainism refers to the tradition that was developed around them.

Whether or not all of these 24 *tīrthāṅkaras* are to be accepted as historical personages is uncertain and doubtful, and, according to Paul Dundas, “the historicity of Mahavira and his predecessor Parshva alone of all the formakers is not in question.”³⁴

Jainism was always a minority religion, except perhaps for a few moments in time and in certain geographical regions. Because of this, Jainism never really posed a serious threat to the existence of Hinduism in the same way that Hinduism was always viewed as a threat to the existence of Jainism. With the Jaina community being so modest in size, it was continually under a threat of complete dissolution, and, as we will see below, fought with a self-conscious attitude for survival.

³³ The term *tīrtha* is also used for the community of monks, nuns and laity established by the *tīrthāṅkara*, as they form the foundation by which the devout will learn about Jainism and eventually attain liberation.

1.5.2 The Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jaina Traditions

The historical details concerning the division of the Jaina community into two branches or sects, i.e. the Digambaras (lit. “clad-[only]-by-the-sky”) and the Śvetāmbaras (lit. “clad-in-white”), are not known and are probably not recoverable. However, the main issue that initially divided the community is not difficult to surmise, and is related to the degree to which the harsh ascetic lifestyle of Mahāvīra was to be maintained by Jaina monks, and more specifically, whether or not monks were allowed to wear garments or were to go about entirely naked. There is an explanatory story in each of the two sects to account for the rupture of the community, though both stories are of late origin and are likely of little historical value.³⁵ Both of these stories provide a quasi-historical incident that resulted in the division of the otherwise unified Jaina community. According to Paul Dundas, however, “the archaeological and inscriptional evidence suggests that there was a gradual movement among Jain monks towards a differentiation based upon apparel, or the lack of it, rather than any abrupt doctrinal split.”³⁶ Furthermore, he states that, “an original, quintessential form of Jainism never really existed, or at least cannot be clearly identified.”³⁷ The reason for this is easy to deduce. The earliest division of Jaina monks into *gaṇas* or troops must surely have resulted in slightly different practices being passed down in different regions. Thus, very early on there must have existed side-by-side various clusters

³⁴ Paul Dundas, *The Jains*. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 17.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 42.

³⁶ *ibid.*

of Jaina monks assiduously practising the ascetic lifestyle as exemplified by Mahāvīra, but nevertheless with slight differences.

If the division of the Jaina community into Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras was a gradual process, it nevertheless became solidified by the 5th century CE:

The catalyst for the final hardening of boundaries between the Shvetambaras and Digambaras was most likely the Council of Valabhi which took place in either 453 or 466 CE, depending on the reckoning ... The important point about this event is that it was exclusively Shvetambara, with no naked monks in attendance and indeed no record of it in any Digambara source.³⁸

For practical purposes, the division of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras has been as much geographical as doctrinal, with a preponderance of Digambaras located in south India and the bulk of the Śvetāmbaras in western Indian. Doctrinally, the two sects are more similar than different, and it is mainly on the level of nuances of ascetic practice and the authority to be granted to the extant canon that the two sects are distinguished.

1.5.3 A Brief History of the Spread of Jainism Across India

Jainism seems to have begun in the 7-6th centuries BCE³⁹ in the Ganges river basin area of northeast India, just prior to the arising of Buddhism, but this region was not to remain the center of Jaina activity for long. Over the next few centuries, substantial numbers of Jainas migrated both to the west and to the south, and while Jainism was probably never entirely absent from its birth place in

³⁷ *ibid.*, 40.

the northeast, it was the Jaina communities in the west and south of India that have had the most profound impact on the development of the tradition.

The center for Jaina activity in North India is, and for many centuries has been, the western regions mainly described by the provinces of Gujarāt and Rājasthān. However, the migration of a large Jaina community from the Ganges basin to the western-most parts of India seems to have occurred in two steps, the first step involving a migration as far as the city of Mathurā. In the last few centuries prior to the turn of the Common Era, Mathurā was an important and no doubt cosmopolitan city, situated as it was at the confluence of the major trading routes to the east, west and south.⁴⁰ There is sufficient archaeological and inscriptional evidence to suggest that the Jaina community was active and flourishing in Mathurā before the Common Era.⁴¹ Most likely it was in Mathurā where Jainism first came in contact with the nascent Kṛṣṇa-cult, an encounter which has important implications for the present thesis.⁴²

The timing of the second step in the westward migration, i.e. from Mathurā to Gujarāt, coincides with the flourishing of the Gupta Empire in north India, i.e. 4th and 5th century CE.⁴³ It has been speculated that the development of Hindu theism which occurred during the Gupta empire may have resulted in the

³⁸ *ibid.*, 43.

³⁹ That is, if we take Pārśvanātha as the founder of the Jaina or proto-Jaina tradition.

⁴⁰ Dundas, *The Jains*, 97.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² "It is also likely that around the beginning of the common era the Jains, no doubt in order to accommodate themselves to the Hindu population, started remodelling (sic) the story of Krishna,

persecution of non-Hindu sects. As Dundas points out, the Hindu *purāṇic* texts, many of which were written or partially written during the Gupta period,

describe the archetypal heretic, essentially portrayed as an amalgam of the Jain and Buddhist monk, as a demonic and anti-social figure, but this may only reflect the prejudices of the brahman compilers of these texts. There is in fact no serious evidence for Hindu persecution of Jains in north India at this time.⁴⁴

The impact of the Jaina community in the northwest of India has been, and continues to be, very important. Since the time when the Śvetāmbara polymath Hemacandra is said to have converted the Caulukya king Kumārapāla in the 12th century, Jainism has played a major role in the life, culture and government of Gujarāt.⁴⁵

There is also inscriptional evidence from south India to demonstrate the presence of Jaina ascetics as well as lay supporters in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE,⁴⁶ though it is not clear exactly when Jainism first developed a strong presence in the south. One of the earliest hints appears in the south Indian Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram*, where the author's name (i.e. Iṭaṅkō Aṭiṅkaḷ) implies a connection to Jainism,⁴⁷ and the main characters in the story meet up and travel together with a Jaina nun. The dating of this epic, however, is uncertain, and is probably not earlier than 5th century CE. What is certain is that Jaina ascetics had

of whose cult Mathura was and still is an important centre, in order to link him with the fordmaker Nemi." Dundas, *The Jains*, 98.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁵ Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature. Volume 2. Revised Edition*. Translated from the original German by V. Srinivasa Sarma. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 462ff.

⁴⁶ Dundas, *The Jains*, 99.

arrived in south India before the Common Era, and over the next thousand years played a role of varying importance in the development of south Indian culture and religion. There is evidence of Jaina activity in Tamiḷnāḍu, and even today there is a modest Jaina community there, but it was in the Karṇāṭaka region where they flourished, and continue to flourish. Despite the strict emphasis on non-violence that pervades all of Jainism, the Jaina monks in Karṇāṭaka⁴⁸ somehow managed to forge strong ties to royal patrons, and played important roles in the dynasties there, especially during the medieval period. Dundas states,

Jainism redefined the nature of martial valour and violence so that the true warrior was seen as being the fully committed Jain ascetic. The early Digambara writer Shivarya compares the young warrior fighting in battle to the spiritually victorious monk and the gaining of deliverance is equated with the attainment of kingship.⁴⁹

The composition of the medieval Jaina *purāṇas*⁵⁰ was due in no small part to the Jainas' success at forging ties with the ruling powers in the northwest and south. Royal patronage allowed a flourishing of all aspects of Jaina culture, including temple building, art, and literature, and the Jaina emphasis upon promulgating their own versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* epics was no doubt inspired by the great popularity of the Hindu versions. While it is clear that many Jaina poets received royal patronage, it is less clear whether or not their

⁴⁷ The honourific *aṭikaḷ* was used in South India to denote Jaina religious leaders, and is not unlike the Sanskrit *ācārya*.

⁴⁸ As did their counterparts in Gujarāt.

⁴⁹ Dundas, *The Jains*, 102.

⁵⁰ These are the texts that most frequently contain Jaina versions of the story of the Pāṇḍavas.

purāṇas were specifically commissioned by their patrons. Jaina claims of royal support and favour do not always stand up to historical scrutiny.

1.6 Jaina Literature

Jaina literature, including the Jaina *Mahābhārata*, has not received a great deal of scholarly attention in comparison to the literatures of the Hindus and Buddhists. Nevertheless, tribute must be paid to the work of, among others, the 19th century German scholars such as Alsdorf, Bühler, Glasenapp, Jacobi, Leumann, Schubring, and Weber. Their pioneering work did much to locate properly Jainism in the Indian religious landscape by conclusively demonstrating it to be a distinct and important tradition in its own right, and they argued effectively that it should no longer be relegated to the ignominious position of a degenerate and corrupted Buddhist sect. Unfortunately, the twentieth century has witnessed only a modest blossoming in scholastic interest in Jaina texts.

Jainas have made important contributions to the literatures of India in the fields of philosophy, grammar and astronomy. In the Dravidian south, Jaina monks also made serious contributions to the development of various vernacular languages:

The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture.⁵¹

⁵¹ G. Bühler, as quoted in Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 99.

More important for the purposes of this thesis, however, is the fact that Jaina literature is replete with stories (*kathā*) of all shapes and sizes. As Glasenapp has noted,

Jainas have evoked from time immemorial an extremely fruitful activity in the field of fairy-tale novels, nouvelles (sic) and fables. They competed with Hindus and Buddhists in inventing new materials and developing the existing ones. Their writings in the field of narrative literature is so vast that it cannot be estimated at the moment.⁵²

The story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas appears early in the Jaina tradition.

Though by no means being exhaustive in my treatment, I will now attempt to summarize the history of their appearances as well as the various types of literature in which their story is found.

1.6.1 Definition of the Jaina *Mahābhārata*

As a preface to this discussion of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī in Jaina literature, we would do well to remember that there does not exist anything like a true Jaina *Mahābhārata*, if by that label we mean a text of 100,000 verses comprising a sort of encyclopedia of Jainism. Rather, when I refer to the Jaina *Mahābhārata*, I merely intend it to refer to Jaina versions of the story of the Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas, and Draupadī. In this sense, we can talk about a Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition without falsely implying that every Jaina text in which the story of the Pāṇḍavas appears is a sort of Jaina *Mahābhārata* proper. In fact,

⁵² Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Jainism: An Indian Religion of Salvation*. Translated from the original German by Shridhar B. Shrotri. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), 136.

most of these texts do not focus specifically upon the story of the Pāṇḍavas; on the contrary, their story is often included as a modest and at times almost tangential episode.

1.6.2 Nemi, Kṛṣṇa, the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī

From earliest times, the Jaina tradition has described the *śramaṇa* Mahāvīra as the 24th and last *tīrthaṅkara* or savior of the present world age, and has enumerated the 23 saviors of the present world age that preceded him. This list of 24 *tīrthaṅkaras* seems to have been the earliest ordering principle of the Jaina view of world history, and accordingly, many important figures of pan-Indian mythology have been located in time relative to these 24 *tīrthaṅkaras*. For example, Jaina tradition puts Rāma⁵³ and Kṛṣṇa as contemporaries of the 20th and 22nd *tīrthaṅkaras* Munisuvrata and Nemi, respectively.⁵⁴

The 22nd *tīrthaṅkara*, named Ariṣṭanemi, Neminātha, or just Nemi, was, according to the early Jaina tradition, a member of the Yādava clan and a younger cousin of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Nemi's relationship to Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is of paramount importance for us, as Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas, at least ostensibly, enter the Jaina tradition through their close association with the cousin (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) of the 22nd Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*. The importance and prominence of Kṛṣṇa in Jaina world history has evolved over the centuries, and the ambivalence with which the

⁵³ That is, Rāmacandra, hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁵⁴ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 30.

Jaina authors viewed him will be discussed below. The position of the Pāṇḍavas in the Jaina texts has always been subordinated to that of Kṛṣṇa, but as we will see, the role of the Pāṇḍavas also increased over time.

Of the eight Jaina texts used in this thesis, only one, i.e. *Nāyādhammakahāo* [Skt. *Jñāṭṛdharmakathā*], is a Jaina canonical text. The other seven texts are non-canonical, and certainly post-canonical (i.e. post 5th century CE). Nevertheless, many of the post-canonical Jaina texts, and the Jaina *purāṇas* in particular, drew their themes from the canonical texts. Thus, let us first consider the Jaina canonical texts and the role played therein by Kṛṣṇa, Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas.

1.6.3 Jaina Canonical Literature

The Jainas refer to their canon of sacred books as the *siddhānta* or *āgama*.⁵⁵ Because the language of the canon was primarily Ardhamāgadhī, it is frequently referred to as the Ardhamāgadhī canon. The canon⁵⁶ is divided into several categories, beginning with the 14 *puvvas* [Skt. *pūrvvas*], the 12 *āṅgas*, 12 *uvamgas* [Skt. *upāṅgas*], and 6 *cheya-* [Skt. *cheda-*], 4 *mūla-*, 10 *paiṅṇa-* [Skt. *prakīrṇaka-*] and 2 *cūlikā-suttas*. Of these texts, the *puvvas* and *āṅgas* were

⁵⁵ As discuss below, the Digambara Jainas believe this canon to have been lost, and thus believe the canon accepted by Śvetāmbara Jainas to be corrupt and generally non-authoritative.

⁵⁶ As Cort has noted in his “Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jain Scripture in a Performative Context”, in Jeffery R. Timm, ed., *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 171-194, the list of works comprising the Jaina *āgama* differs slightly from one author to another in terms of the order and title of the texts; compare, for example, the lists given in Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 412-3, in P.S. Jaini’s *Path of Purification*,

considered paramount by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras.⁵⁷ The extant canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas does not include any of the 14 *puvvas*, nor the 12th *āṅga*, all of which are said to have been lost. This Śvetāmbara Ardhamāgadhī canon, however, is not accepted as authoritative by Digambara Jainas. According to them, the original and true Ardhamāgadhī canon was entirely lost to posterity, and the canon maintained by the Śvetāmbara Jainas is a hopelessly corrupted version. Thus, when one refers to extant Jaina canonical texts, one necessarily refers to Śvetāmbara Jaina canonical texts.⁵⁸

This Śvetāmbara canon, which contains the oldest surviving Jaina texts, was not codified until the 5th century CE at the so-called Valabhī Council, and consequently, none of the content of the canonical texts may be dated with any great accuracy before this period. Nevertheless, as Upadhye points out,

the Ardhamāgadhī canon, though recast into its present shape much later, contains undoubtedly old portions which can be assigned quite near to the period of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthānkara of the Jainas.⁵⁹

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 47-9, and in N.V. Vaidya's *Nāyādhammakahāo: Chapters IX & XVI*, (Poona, 1940), iii-iv.

⁵⁷ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 412.

⁵⁸ A list of canonical texts together with their sub-divisions, if any, and contents has been preserved by the Digambaras. Upadhye states: "It is interesting to compare [these lists] with those given in the Nandīsūtra and with the classification of the Ardhamāgadhī canon as it is current today. The absence of the Upāṅga division both in the Nandīsūtra enumeration and the Digambara classification and certain common details indicate the genuineness of the Digambara tradition which is earlier than the Valabhī Council." (Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 26-7).

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 14.

1.6.4 Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas in Jaina Canonical Literature

With respect to the role of Kṛṣṇa (Pkt. Kaṇha) in the Ardhamāgadhī canon, Upadhye states:

The legends [in the canon] are associated mainly with [the chronologically last] three Tīrthaṅkaras, Nemi [22nd], Pārśva [23rd] and Mahāvīra [24th]: the majority with Mahāvīra and minimum with Pārśva. In all the legends connected with Nemi, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva figures quite prominently; and they get closely linked with what we call Harivamśa.⁶⁰

Numerous events narrated in the Jaina canonical texts involve Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, and to a lesser extent, Draupadī (Pkt. Dovaī) and the Pāṇḍavas.⁶¹ In the *Samavāyaṅga* (Skt. *Samavāyāṅga*),⁶² Nemi, Kṛṣṇa & Balarāma are found in a list of 54 *śalākāpuruṣas* or Illustrious Men.⁶³ In the *Uttarajjhayaṇasutta* (Skt. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*),⁶⁴ Nemi is connected with the Yādava (i.e. Kṛṣṇa's) clan, and in the *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* (Skt. *Antakṛddasāh*),⁶⁵ there are stories in which Nemi, Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas figure. In the *Vaṇhidasāo* (Skt. *Vṛṣṇidasāh*),⁶⁶ Nemi converts the twelve princes of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty beginning with Nisadha, son of Baladeva and nephew of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. There are also references to Pāṇḍu's wives Kuntī and Mādrī in other parts of the canon, but most interesting of all is a

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 25.

⁶¹ The following examples are pieced together from: B.N. Sumitra Bai and Robert J. Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*", in Arvind Sharma, ed., *Essays on the Mahābhārata*, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1991), 253-4; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 440; and Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 16-7.

⁶² That is, the 4th *Aṅga* of the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

⁶³ See below for a discussion of the *śalākāpuruṣas*.

⁶⁴ That is, one of four *Mūlasūtras*.

⁶⁵ That is, the 8th *Aṅga* of the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

⁶⁶ That is, the 12th *Upāṅga* of the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

brief biography of Draupadī found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*.⁶⁷ Here, we get the story of Draupadī together with her past lives as Nāgaśrī (Pkt. Nāgasiri) and Sukumārikā (Pkt. Sukumāliyā).⁶⁸

Finally, in the *Maraṇasamāhī* (Skt. *Maraṇa-samādhi*), one of the canonical *Paiñṇasuttas* (Skt. *Prakīrṇasūtras*), we are given some insight into the past lives of the five Pāṇḍavas:

[f]ive members of a family at Ayalaggāma, viz., Surāī, Saya, Deva, Samaṇa and Subhadda, humbly waited upon a monk, Khamaga by name, who was penance-worn, and accepted from him the vows of a householder after hearing his discourses on Puṇya and Pāpa. Later they entered the ascetic order in the religious regime of Vāsupūjya. They practiced various severe penances and were born in the Aparājita-vimāna. Thence they were born as the victorious sons of Pāṇḍu in the Bhārata country. Hearing the sad news of Kṛṣṇa's death, they got themselves admitted to the order under the monk Suṭṭhiya. The eldest mastered fourteen and the rest eleven Pūrvas, and they became famous all over the world. They came to Suratṭha; and hearing about the Nirvāṇa of Jina [Nemi], they adopted fast. Bhīma practiced rigorous austerities, adopted Prāyopagamana on the mount Śatruñjaya, tolerated every trouble, and reached Parinirvāṇa. The rest of them also followed him (M. 449-64).⁶⁹

From the extant canonical evidence, of which only a selection is mentioned above, Sumitra Bai rightly concludes,

that by the time these *āgama*-s were compiled (c. 5th cent. A.D.) all the major elements of the Kṛṣṇa story and some aspects of the Pāṇḍava tales had entered into the corpus of Jaina narrative literature... These stray episodes form more or less essential parts of later literary works in both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ That is, the 6th *Aṅga* of the Ardhmagadhī canon.

⁶⁸ These past-life stories of Draupadī will be taken up in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

⁶⁹ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 23-4.

1.6.5 Jaina Post-Canonical Literature

The post-canonical Jaina texts,⁷¹ both those of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, are classified into four categories, known as *anuyogas* or expositions, though the names of these four categories differ between the two sects. The names of the four categories in the Digambara/Śvetāmbara traditions are *prathama/dharmakathā*, *karāṇa/gaṇita*, *caraṇa/caraṇakaraṇa*, and *dravya/dravya*. Generally speaking, the first category deals with stories of outstanding Jaina personalities whose lives set an example for the laity to emulate; the second deals with technical matters such as the true nature of the universe; the third deals with rules for monks and nuns; and the fourth deals with issues of Jaina philosophy. With the exception of the canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo*, all of the Jaina versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī used for this thesis are located in texts that belong to the first of these post-canonical categories (i.e. the *prathama/dharmakathā anuyoga*).

1.6.6 Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas in Jaina Non-*Purāṇic* Post-Canonical Literature

Without a doubt, it is the *purāṇic* literature of both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jains that serve as the most important source for the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition, and these sources will be discussed in detail throughout

⁷⁰ Bai and Zydenbos, “The Jaina *Mahābhārata*,” 254.

⁷¹ John E. Cort, “An Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” in W. Doniger, ed., *Purāṇa Perennis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 186.

this thesis. However, references to Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas are also to be found in non-*purāṇic* texts. For example, Upadhye states:

[The Digambara] Vasunandi in his *Uvāsayaḥhayaṇa* ... illustrates the consequences of the seven Vyasanās by appealing to the following stories: Due to gambling the king Yudhiṣṭhira lost his kingdom and had to dwell in the forest for a period of twelve years: ... the demon Baka of Ekacakra [killed by Bhīma], being addicted to flesh-eating, lost his kingdom and went to hell after death ... This much is certain that no writer would refer to names like this unless he has definite stories in view either in oral tradition or in written records.⁷²

In his 12th century *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, the Digambara author Śrutakīrti accomplished the truly amazing feat of composing a series of verses that, when read (i.e. parsed) one way, tell the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and if read another, tell the story of the Pāṇḍavas.⁷³ The *Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya* by Dhaneśvara includes the story of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.⁷⁴ Furthermore, there are several Jaina plays based on episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, including a drama entitled *Draupadī-Svayaṃvara*, written by Vijayapāla, son of Siddhapāla, a contemporary of Kumārapāla.⁷⁵ In addition to these texts, tales of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas appear in any number of Jaina story (*kathā*) collections in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, and vernacular languages. As Upadhye has noted, “We have in [Hariṣeṇa’s *Kathā*-] Kośa a few tales connected with Pāṇḍavas (Nos. 58, 83, 96).

⁷² Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 28-9.

⁷³ Glasenapp, *Jainism*, 144.

⁷⁴ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 484.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 525.

Once the author narrates the story according to the Mahābhārata, but condemns it as heretical and incredible (No. 83. 45-9).⁷⁶

In sum, it may be said that, at least from the medieval period onwards, many of the characters and plots of the great Indian epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* have found a home in the Jaina literary tradition. Beginning with Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya* and Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, both of which are discussed below, the Jainas have fruitfully engaged in the production of Jaina versions of the epics, and as we shall see in subsequent chapters, the importance of the Pāṇḍava story in the Jaina tradition steadily increased through the entire medieval period, up to the 17th century CE, and perhaps beyond.

1.6.7 Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas in Jaina *Purāṇas*

The Jainas have composed roughly 700 *purāṇas*, though relatively few still remain important and popular.⁷⁷ Some of these texts actually contain the label *purāṇa* in their title, especially the Digambara texts, though Śvetāmbara authors often favoured the term *carita* (Pkt. *cariya*, lit. “deeds” or “adventures”) emphasizing the biographical character of the text.⁷⁸ These *purāṇas* were mainly

⁷⁶ Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 75.

⁷⁷ Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” 185.

⁷⁸ Nevertheless, in this context, *purāṇa* and *carita* should be taken as equivalent.

written in Maharastri Prakrit, Apabhramsa, Sanskrit and Kannada,⁷⁹ though all of the *purāṇas* included in this thesis were composed in Sanskrit.⁸⁰

In terms of style, the *purāṇas* are generally *kāvya*, or epics in poetic style.⁸¹ Unlike their Brahmanic Sanskrit cousins, written by many authors and compiled over centuries, Jaina *purāṇas* tend to be written by an identifiable author at a reasonably identifiable time.⁸² In terms of content, they are predominantly biographies of earthly personages⁸³ believed by Jainas to have had historical lives on earth.⁸⁴ As to their intent and purpose, Cort states,

The Jaina authors were interested in telling good stories, but they were also more interested in communicating to their audience an argument for the Jaina religion and morality. Thus, the Jaina Purāṇas were *caritas*, biographies, tales of the famous heroes: they were written to provide role models for the Jaina laity to emulate.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 185.

⁸⁰ With respect to the language of the *purāṇas* and other non-canonical Jaina texts, Winternitz states: "The language of the post-canonical Jaina works is partly Prākṛit – the so-called Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī – and partly Sanskrit. In general it may be said that the earlier works were in Prākṛit, and that later, certainly not until the centuries of the Christian era, Sanskrit was also used. Side by side with Sanskrit, however, in which language some Jaina authors reached a great perfection, though others wrote it rather clumsily, Prākṛit and the Apabhraṃśa dialects were still used, even in the later centuries, and lastly the modern Indian languages too: for the Jainas, more than any other sect, have in their writings, and especially in their exceptionally comprehensive narrative literature, never addressed themselves exclusively to the learned classes, but made an appeal to other strata of the people also. As is still the case at the present day, it was among the merchant classes in particular that they found their most loyal lay adherents." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 456).

⁸¹ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 186.

⁸² *ibid.*, 185.

⁸³ As opposed to tales of gods and their interactions with humans, as is typical in the Hindu *purāṇas*.

⁸⁴ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 186.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 202.

Many of the biographical details of this or that character found in the canonical texts are taken up and expanded upon in the *purāṇas*, and it is this fact which lends authority to these texts. According to Jaini,

[j]ust as the traditional eighteen [Hindu] Purāṇas, together with the [Hindu] Epics, are considered *smṛtis*, which were subservient in their authority to the *śrutis*, or Vedic literature, the Jaina Purāṇic literature is also relegated to a position secondary to that of the Jaina canon.⁸⁶

The Jainas, unlike the Hindus, made no literary distinction between *purāṇa* and *itihāsa*, and consequently the Jaina *purāṇas* contain stories involving characters which in the Hindu tradition tend to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸⁷ As noted above, Jaina literature has historically been a reservoir for Indian *kathā* (story) literature, and the Jaina *purāṇas* have absorbed a fair amount of *kathā*.⁸⁸ Accordingly, John Cort characterizes the Jaina *purāṇas* as post-*āgamic* biographical *kāvya*s based upon themes found in the *āgama*, and having much overlap with the genre of *kathā*.⁸⁹

In terms of Jaina categories of non-canonical literature, the *purāṇas* fall under the first category of *amuyogas* or “Additional Questions [asked of Mahāvīra].” This general category

was devoted to the biographies of the twenty-four Jinas of the present half of the Jaina time-cycle (the *Avasarpinī*, of “Descending” half), to which were added ... the narratives of the remaining *śalākā puruṣas*, forming the present-day Purāṇas of the Jaina community. Thus what we have

⁸⁶ Padmanabh S. Jaini, “Jaina Purāṇas: A Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” in Doniger, ed., *Purāṇa Perennis*, 214.

⁸⁷ Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” 187.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 186-7.

available under the rubric of the Jaina Purāṇas are two sets of sectarian narratives [i.e., Śvetāmbara and Digambara].⁹⁰

In broad terms, there are basically three types of Jaina *purāṇas*: (i) *jinacaritas*, or biographies of one of the 24 *tīrthaṅkaras* from the present age; (ii) Jaina *rāmāyaṇas* or *padmacaritas*, which are versions of the story of Rāma; and (iii) *harivaṃśapurāṇas*, which are versions of the story of Kṛṣṇa and the Bhārata war.⁹¹ Texts in which all of these topics are comprehensively covered are known as *mahāpurāṇas*. *Mahāpurāṇas*, by definition, provide the biographies of all of the 63 so-called *śalākāpuruṣas*, or 63 Great or Illustrious Men.⁹²

1.6.8 *Śalākāpuruṣas* and the Jaina Universal History

The 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* are subdivided into five sub-categories: to the 24 Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* are added 12 *cakravartins* (i.e. “universal rulers”), and 9 each of the *baladevas*, *vāsudevas*, and *prativāsudevas*. Of the later three categories, Cort states: “They are not so much unique characters as they are archetypical characters who repeatedly act correctly and incorrectly according to the guiding principles of *karma* in the moral universe of the Jains.”⁹³ German scholars used the lives of the 63 Illustrious Men as the basis for what they called a Jaina

⁹⁰ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 214-5.

⁹¹ Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” 188.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *ibid.*

Universalgeschichte (universal history),⁹⁴ and whereas a Jaina *purāṇa* covers only part of the universal history, a *mahāpurāṇa* covered it all.⁹⁵ Cort states:

In sum, the scheme of the *śalākā puruṣas* represents a conceptual framework within which the Jainas elaborated their own view of history. As such, it can be juxtaposed with the Hindu *pañcalakṣaṇa* definition as providing a self-definition of the Jaina Purāṇas.⁹⁶

Each of the *śalākāpuruṣas* has a standard part to play in his historical age.

The role of a *tīrthāṅkara* is to forge a path for people to follow whereby they shall attain to spiritual liberation. The role of a *cakravartin* is to bring the world under his sway, and to rule according to strict Jaina principles. The *cakravartins*, it is said, will attain liberation in their present lives, after renouncing their thrones and practising harsh ascetic practices. These two categories (i.e. *tīrthāṅkaras* and *cakravartins*) are, in the context of the *śramaṇic* traditions, not so unusual. The categories of *baladevas*, *vāsudevas* and *prativāsudevas*, however, are unique to Jainism, and as the names suggest, demonstrate some awareness of the Kṛṣṇa-cult. The general definitions of these three categories are as follows⁹⁷: (i) the *baladevas* are ideal role-models for the Jaina laity, and are upright practitioners of all of the strict principles of Jainism, especially the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*; (ii) the *vāsudevas/nārāyaṇas* are ideal Jaina rulers, half-brothers to the *baladevas*, (having different mothers but a common father), half-*cakravartins*, and always kill their archenemies, the *prativāsudevas/pratinārāyaṇas*, for which act they are

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 195.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 200.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 199.

reborn in hell; and (iii) the *prativāsudevas/pratinārāyaṇas* are kings who have gained, through their own spiritual endeavors, great magical power and become *vidyādharas*,⁹⁸ but who misuse this power for evil, and who must thus be killed by the *vāsudevas*. In the Jaina versions of the epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the roles of *baladeva-vāsudeva-prativāsudeva* are filled by Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Rāvaṇa and Balarāma-Kṛṣṇa-Jarāsandha, respectively.⁹⁹

In general, the archetypal descriptions of all the *baladevas* conforms to a description of Balarāma, and all the *vāsudevas* to that of Kṛṣṇa.¹⁰⁰ However, unlike the Kṛṣṇa of the Hindu tradition, the Jaina Kṛṣṇa is here described as “an outstanding hero of his age, but the traces of deification, so overwhelmingly patent in the [Hindu] Mahābhārata, are conspicuously absent through these references.”¹⁰¹ And though Kṛṣṇa may be a *śalākāpuruṣa* or “Illustrious Man” in the Jaina *purāṇas*, he is nevertheless depicted as “a crude and lowly type of human being, who through his own righteous deeds attains the blessed state of a *nārāyaṇa*.”¹⁰²

There is some disagreement between John Cort and P.S. Jaini regarding the origin of the names of these latter three categories of *śalākāpuruṣas*. Jaini is of the opinion, one that would seem obvious on the surface, that the names of these categories must have been influenced by exposure to the Kṛṣṇa-cult, most

⁹⁸ Some of these *vidyādharas* have the names of demons killed by Viṣṇu in one or another of his various *avatars*.

⁹⁹ Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” 199.

¹⁰⁰ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 211-2.

¹⁰¹ Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 30.

likely at the time when the Jainas migrated westward to Mathurā. The texts themselves are silent on this issue, and, as Jaini asserts, “give us no clue as to how the Jainas arrived at such an extraordinary class of beings, conspicuously absent from the Brahminic mythology as well as the earlier strata of the Jaina canonical literature.”¹⁰³ Nevertheless, his argument goes like this: the incorporation of the names *baladeva*, *vāsudeva* and *prativāsudeva* into the Jaina universal history must have happened after the elevation of Kṛṣṇa to the level of an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; after all, the choice of these names for entire “classes” of beings implies that the names were of great weight already.¹⁰⁴ The *Jinacarita* of Bhadrabāhu (c. 330 BCE), which is incorporated into the well-known *Kalpasūtra*, contains lists of the 24 Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*. This list almost certainly predates the list of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.¹⁰⁵ Soon after Bhadrabāhu’s *Jinacarita* was composed, the Jaina teachers likewise produced a list of 12 Jaina *cakravartins*.¹⁰⁶ Jaini argues that both of the above two categories come out of the *śramaṇic* tradition of the Gangetic plain, and one need claim no influence from Brahminic mythology for them.¹⁰⁷ However, the categories of *baladevas* and *vāsudevas* are unknown to either the Buddhists (another *śramaṇa* tradition) or earlier texts in the Jaina

¹⁰² Bai and Zydenbos, “The Jaina *Mahābhārata*,” 259.

¹⁰³ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” p. 209.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 210.

tradition, and one must assume they were borrowed from the Brahminic tradition.¹⁰⁸ Jaini concludes that,

The introduction of these novel categories in the Jaina tradition, therefore, cannot be explained without reference to the myths surrounding the two popular cultic figures of the Vaiṣṇava tradition, namely, Balarāma and his younger brother, Kṛṣṇa of Mathura.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, Jaini asserts that the use of these categories allowed the Jainas to manipulate conveniently Hindu mythology: “the Jaina authors shrewdly made a major change that was to accomplish at a single stroke both the elevation of Rāma to the status of a Jaina saint and the consignment of Kṛṣṇa to hell.”¹¹⁰

Cort, however, is unconvinced of the necessity of the Mathurā influence, and states: “the categories of the Vāsudevas and Baladevas [though not the *prativāsudevas*] are found in the Kappa Sutta¹¹¹ [Skt. *Kalpasūtra*] and quite possibly predate the Jaina-Vaiṣṇava interaction at Mathurā.”¹¹²

1.6.9 Vimalasūri’s *Paūmacariya*

The earliest surviving Jaina *purāṇa* is the *Paūmacariya* [Skt. *Padmacarita*] of Vimalasūri, written mostly in Maharashtra, sometime between 2 CE and 474 CE.¹¹³ The *Paūmacariya* constitutes something like a Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is so titled because, in the Jaina tradition, Rāma is more

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 210.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, 213.

¹¹¹ *Kalpasūtra* 2.17.

¹¹² Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas,” 199.

commonly known by the name Paūma (Skt. Padma). However, as Jaini points out, the title of the text ought not

mislead us into believing that the *Paūmacariya* is merely a Jaina story of Rāma, for the work essentially covers all of the *śalākā puruṣas*, who flourished from the time of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, up to that of the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, Munisuvrata, in whose reign (*tīrtha* or *śāsana*), roughly corresponding to the second Brahminic *yuga*, the actual story of Rāma took place.¹¹⁴

The opening passages of the *Paūmacariya* leave the reader in no doubt as to the purpose behind the text's composition: the author informs us that the popular Hindu version of the story of Rāma had become hopelessly corrupted, and that the truth had to be set right.¹¹⁵ Here we read about Seṇiya [Skt. Śreṇika] Bimbisāra,¹¹⁶ king of Magadha, who comes to Mahāvīra to ask him questions about the story of Rāma as he has heard it from the *kuśāstra-vādins*, (i.e. expounders of false scriptures).¹¹⁷ Śreṇika, we are told, is rather dubious about the veracity of the details he has heard, and wants to get the true story from Mahāvīra.¹¹⁸ Śreṇika says,

How is it possible that the demon heroes in all their mighty strength were defeated by the monkeys? And the demons with Ravaṇa at their head, who, according to the Jaina faith, were certainly of noble descent, are said to have eaten meat! Then again it is said that, in spite of all the disturbances, Ravaṇa's brother Kumbhakarna slept for half a year, and then after his awakening, devoured elephants, etc., whereupon he again slumbered for half a year. Then again Indra, though he rules over gods,

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 190; according to Jaini, this text was placed by Jacobi and Chandra in the 3rd or 4th century CE (Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 215).

¹¹⁴ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 215.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, 216.

¹¹⁶ A popular interlocutor in Jaina and Buddhist texts.

¹¹⁷ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 216.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

and men, is said to have been taken captive to Lañkā by Ravaṇa! At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the gazelle, the elephant by the dog. These Rāmāyaṇa stories are most certainly lies.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, despite such protestations, the basic story of Rāma found in this text is very similar to that of the more familiar Vālmīki (Hindu) *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it is mainly in the details that the Jaina version diverges.¹²⁰ Because the story of Rāma, according to the Jaina universal history, ends long before the birth of Nemi and the Bhārata war, there is quite naturally no mention of Kṛṣṇa nor the Pāṇḍavas in this text.¹²¹

1.6.10 Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*

The earliest surviving Jaina *purāṇa* that we might consider a Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata* is the 8th century Sanskrit *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, written a few centuries after the *Paūmacariya*. There is a rather dubious attribution of a *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* to Vimalasūri, though if it ever existed, it is no longer extant.¹²² And there is also an Apabhraṃśa work giving the complete biography of Nemi which was written between 756-783 by Svayambhu, and which was later developed into a *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Yaśaḥkīrti. Nevertheless, the earliest Jaina *Mahābhārata/Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of any historical importance was the Sanskrit

¹¹⁹ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 470.

¹²⁰ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 217.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, 218.

¹²² Bai and Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*," 255.

work of Punnāṭa Jinasena,¹²³ completed in the 8th century CE in Gujarāt.¹²⁴ In a Jaina context, the *harivamśa* refers to the lineage of Hari, a *vidyādhara* prince, and is not a reference to Kṛṣṇa. Sumitra Bai explains:

In the Brahmanical version the Yaduvaṁśa is called the Harivamśa because Hari-Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa took birth in that lineage. It has in fact been a tradition in India to name a lineage after a person of historical achievements. It is strange that the Jaina authors name the lineage after someone of whom nothing is known but his name, whereas all the prominent characters like Nemi, Kṛṣṇa, Vasudeva, Baladeva etc. are just the descendants of this Hari.¹²⁵

It would hardly be controversial, I should think, to suggest that the title *Harivamśa* was simply borrowed from the Hindu text of the same name, and that the Jaina authors were not actually keen on naming a lineage after a little known *vidyādhara* prince. In any case, because Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa, and Nemi were all born into the Yādava clan, which was an important branch of the Hari dynasty, the stories about them were entitled *Harivamśapurāṇas*.¹²⁶ While the life of Kṛṣṇa figures largely in all of the *Harivamśapurāṇas*, the Pāṇḍavas have a fairly modest role, which was only expanded in later *purāṇas* aptly titled *Pāṇḍavacaritas* and *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas*.

According to Bai, Jinasena's *Harivamśapurāṇa* laid down the framework upon which all later authors of Jaina *Mahābhāratas* built. She even suggests that,

¹²³ The prefix "punnāṭa," which signifies his lineage, is used to distinguish him from another famous Digambara named Jinasena, author of the *Ādipurāṇa*.

¹²⁴ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 191.

¹²⁵ Bai and Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*," 252.

¹²⁶ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 219; texts which deal with Nemi alone are generally known as a *nemināthacaritas*; if a text deals with other *śalākāpuruṣas* such as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, it is called a *harivamśa*.

“it may not be improper if we take this work as representative of the essential Jaina Mahābhārata.”¹²⁷ According to her,

Though in essence it is always the same, smaller differences may appear due to differences of sect, *saṅgha*, or oral tradition. The differences in the writings may be found in the order of events, in the stories relating previous lives of different characters, et cetera. Furthermore these authors took the liberty to enlarge or alter, or blend in parts of earlier works.¹²⁸

In Jinasena’s *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas is subsumed into the battle between Kṛṣṇa (the *vāsudeva*) and Jarāsandha (the *prati-vāsudeva*), and the Pāṇḍavas are not depicted as being nearly so glorious as in the Hindu versions. Thus, it is only with great latitude that we can accurately refer to this *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* as a Jaina *Mahābhārata*, and we do so only because it offers a divergent yet recognizable version of the story of the Pāṇḍavas.

In form, Jinasena’s *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* follows the pattern of Vimalasūri’s *Paūmacariya*; it begins with Śreṇika coming to Mahāvīra to ask about a member of the Hari dynasty who had recently become a Jaina saint, and Mahāvīra responds with a history of the Hari dynasty.¹²⁹ Thus, also like the *Paūmacariya*, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* does not begin with tales of the central characters but rather begins at the beginning: the first seventeen chapters of Jinasena’s *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* cover events occurring during the tenure of the first twenty-one *tīrthaṅkaras*, leading up to the regime of Nemi, at which time the Yādava branch

¹²⁷ Bai and Zydenbos, “The Jaina *Mahābhārata*,” 255.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 258.

¹²⁹ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 220.

of the Hari dynasty came into existence.¹³⁰ Having then introduced the audience to Nemi and his elder cousin Kṛṣṇa, Jinasena takes the opportunity to bring the Pāṇḍavas into the story. Jaini states:

The narrative pertaining to Kṛṣṇa gives the Jaina authors an excellent opportunity to introduce the episode of the *Mahābhārata* war between the Pāṇḍavas and their cousins, the Kauravas. The Pāṇḍavas were maternal cousins of Kṛṣṇa (sons of his aunts Kuntī and Mādrī), and their family strife made Kṛṣṇa's participation necessary for their victory in the war against the faction of Duryodhana. Here, too, the Jainas have effected a great many changes in the *Mahābhārata* story: excising entirely those parts that were offensive to them ... [including] the polyandry of Draupadī. Nor did the Jainas have Kṛṣṇa appear in the great war as a charioteer for Arjuna preaching his Divine Song, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, but instead only as an instigator and an advocate of bravery in warfare.¹³¹

If, as Jaini suggests, the purpose of placing Kṛṣṇa in the role of a *vāsudeva* was to allow the Jainas to send him to hell, it is interesting that Jinasena later predicts that Kṛṣṇa will be a *tīrthāṅkara* in the next world age. As Jaini points out, “although it is required [according to Jaina philosophy] for a Vāsudeva to be reborn in hell, it is certainly not a Jaina rule that a Vāsudeva must become a Tīrthāṅkara.”¹³²

Jinasena also changed the ending of the Pāṇḍavas' story: he tells us that later in life, the Pāṇḍavas renounced their kingdom, became Jaina monks, lived the austere life of yogis, and died peacefully in meditation. The eldest three,

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 221.

¹³² *ibid.*, 228; the ultimate fate of the Pāṇḍavas varies from one Jaina text to the other, and an examination of this point would make for an interesting study.

Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna all attained mokṣa at death, while the twins Nakula and Sahadeva were reborn in heaven.¹³³

Though Kṛṣṇa is ostensibly of interest to Jainas because he is a cousin to Nemi, it is interesting that Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, and for that matter, Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya*, seems to focus more on the *baladeva-vāsudeva-prativāsudeva* triumvirate than on any *tīrthāṅkara*.¹³⁴

It is clear that Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariya* served, to some extent, as a template both for later Jaina *Rāmāyaṇas* and Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. In turn, Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* became something of a template for later *Harivaṃśa-* and *Pāṇḍava-purāṇas*, especially in the Digambara tradition. However, as mentioned above, the Śvetāmbara Jainas had canonical narratives dealing with Kṛṣṇa, Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas, and in certain details, these canonical narratives differ from those found in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. On the whole, these differences were consistently maintained throughout the Śvetāmbara *purāṇic* tradition:

A fine example of this is provided by the story of Draupadī as narrated in the literature of these two sects. No Jaina writer has been comfortable with the Mahābhārata account of Draupadī's polyandrous marriage to all five Pāṇḍava brothers. Digambara writers [such as Punnāṭa Jinasena] have tended to treat this as a slander of the Brahmins against the character of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas, and have devised means of explaining the event away as a gross misrepresentation of an accidental falling of the garland, thrown by Draupadī to Arjuna, on the heads of all five brothers at the time of her self-choice (*svayamvara*) marriage.¹³⁵

¹³³ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 229.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, 231.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 240-1.

However, in the Śvetāmbara tradition, beginning with the narrative account of Draupadī and her past lives found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, the marriage between Draupadī and *all five* Pāṇḍava brothers has always been maintained. For this and other reasons, I would suggest that Bai overstates the point by identifying Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* as the essential Jaina *Mahābhārata* upon which all subsequent versions were based. At most, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* might be considered the foundational Digambara Jaina *Mahābhārata*.

1.7 Origin of the Jaina Mahābhārata Tradition

Having briefly discussed the story of the Pāṇḍavas in both the Hindu and Jaina traditions, we must now address a question of great importance to this thesis: Did the Jainas appropriate the *Mahābhārata* story (i.e. the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata*) from the Hindus and merely change the details for their own purposes, or did they have their own ancient *Mahābhārata* tradition that developed separately and in parallel with that of the Hindus? As this is a question that will be discussed throughout this thesis, I shall merely summarize the positions of other scholars on this point. Because even the earliest extant Jaina *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, that of Jinasena, was not composed until the 8th century CE, and even the (Śvetāmbara) Jaina canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo* was not codified until the 5th century CE, it is difficult to argue conclusively for an ancient Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition from direct, textual evidence. Nevertheless, let us see what has been said on this point.

1.7.1 An Original, Independent and Ancient Jaina *Mahābhārata*?

In terms of the origin of the epic stories in the Jaina tradition, we may begin with the theory that the core narratives of the epics originally existed as part of the common stock of stories from which the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas alike drew, each group lending its own sectarian leanings to the tales as it incorporated them into its sacred writings. According to this theory, the sectarian nature of the present Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* is as much evidence of a brahmanization or hinduization as the Jaina versions are of a jainification.

Different scholars have tended to grant this theory varying degrees of weight, and have assumed that it applied more reasonably to some narratives than to others.

As an example of one who gives credence to this theory, A.N. Upadhye, commenting on the myriad small narratives one encounters in the Jaina canonical texts, stated:

Some of these tales are purely Jaina in origin, while others are drawn from the common stock of Indian tales, though used to propagate Jaina virtues, and have their counterparts in Hindu and Buddhist literatures. Many of these legends are connected with famous cycles of tales associated with outstanding personalities like Kṛṣṇa, Brahmadaṭṭa, Śreṇika etc.¹³⁶

Similarly, when examining the large number of narratives embedded in Jaina commentaries on their canonical texts, Winternitz states:

As is the case with the Buddhist Jātakas, this narrative literature ... contains many popular themes, including some which occur also in other

¹³⁶ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 16.

Indian and non-Indian literatures, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature.¹³⁷

Alsdorf was also of the opinion that many of the Jaina canonical texts as well as texts like Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* contain considerable material relating to the Kṛṣṇa cycle that is independent of the Hindu tradition:

In all these [Jaina] versions one has to admit, to a greater or smaller degree, a secondary production from the literary tradition of the Brāhmaṇas. By the expression secondary is meant that in any case the original reception of the Kṛṣṇa and Mahābhārata sagas has not come from the [Hindu] Harivaṃśa or the Mahābhārata, at least not from the literary sources. It is indeed long-known that the real ancient Jaina tradition possesses some amount of independence as against the Brahminic one, and even occasionally, though in rare cases, has preserved an old original trait which is obliterated from the epic-Purāṇic tradition as available to us.¹³⁸

J. Dahlmann, in his *Genesis des Mahābhārata*, suggested,

that there must have existed an independent heroic saga dealing with the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsaṃdha in which the latter was killed by Kṛṣṇa himself¹³⁹ and only fragments of which are found in the present Mahābhārata where the act of killing is attributed to Bhīma.¹⁴⁰

With respect to the so-called tradition of Indian ascetic poetry, Upadhye says:

As to the historical position of this ancient Indian ascetic poetry, the Mahābhārata cannot be the original source, because these sections are found in the latest stratum; so many of these discourses may have existed independently before they were taken up in the Mahābhārata. ... [Winternitz] accepts the position that 'some of the legends and maxims of the ascetic poetry contained in the epic are doubtless borrowed from Jaina or Buddhistic texts'. As to the common legends and maxims, there are two possibilities: 'the original may have been either Buddhist or Jain, or

¹³⁷ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 465.

¹³⁸ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathakośa," 74-5.

¹³⁹ This is, as he is in the Jaina versions.

¹⁴⁰ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathakośa," 75.

the parallel passages may all go back to the same source, an older ascetic literature'.¹⁴¹

Winternitz identified several "beautiful old Itihāsa dialogues" in the Jaina *Uttarajjhayaṇasūtra*,¹⁴² including the dialogue between a *purohita* and his son in which the path of the ascetic is held to be superior to that of the traditional Brahminic ideal. Winternitz comments that,

[t]he fact that we find this conversation also in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and in the Jātaka, in part even literally, proves that it belongs to general Indian ascetic poetry.¹⁴³

More generally, Winternitz states that,

It is also certain that as early as about the time of the Buddha (i.e. in the fifth century B.C.) there must have been already an inexhaustible stock of stories in prose and verse -- Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Gāthās – as a sort of common literary property from which the Buddhists and Jains as well as the epic poets drew their material.¹⁴⁴

Sumitra Bai also appears somewhat cautiously to accept this theory:

the fact that the Jainas had their own versions of the Mahābhārata since very early times cannot be denied. But we should not forget the typical attitude that Jaina authors have shown time and again: they brought into their own religion whatever they found attractive in other religious systems.¹⁴⁵

Some scholars are considerably bolder in their assertion of this theory, or at least the complete plausibility of it. For example, P.C. Divanji, who grants Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* no more antiquity than the oldest Jaina version, states that,

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 12.

¹⁴² That is, the first *Mūlasūtra* of the Ardhmāgadhī canon.

¹⁴³ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 450.

¹⁴⁴ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 293-4.

¹⁴⁵ Bai and Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*," 260-1.

the charge that the Jainas have made out their puranic works from the Bhāgavata sources on twisting facts so as to suit their purpose must be dismissed as unfounded.¹⁴⁶

With direct reference to the place of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas in early Jaina literature, Upadhye comments:

In early Jaina works [the] Pāṇḍavas are not as important as they appear to be in the Mahābhārata; and Kṛṣṇa, though not a divinity, is a brave and noble Kṣatriya hero. Perhaps this represents an earlier stage in the evolution of the Pāṇḍava legend which, in its enlarged and sectarian form, is available to us in the present-day [Hindu] Mahābhārata.¹⁴⁷

Perhaps the strongest proponent of the plausibility of this theory is John Cort:

Some scholars have viewed the differences in the Jaina versions of the Rāma story as attempts by Jaina authors to change the Vālmīki [i.e. Hindu] Rāma story into a Jaina moralizing tract. While Vimalasūri pointedly disagrees with Vālmīki's rendering of many episodes, the antiquity of Vimalasūri's version may well mean that he had access to episodes and accounts still prevalent in the oral tradition of that time, which had either been left out or changed in the Vālmīki version and to have since disappeared from the Hindu tradition due to the primacy of Vālmīki's version within Indian culture. It is just as likely that Vālmīki greatly changed the earlier oral heroic epic to make it into a Brahminic Hindu tract and that parts of Vimalasūri's version represent an older, pre-Hindu, non-Brahminic tradition. That Rāma and Rāvaṇa are characterized in the Jaina Rāma story as humans, whereas Vālmīki portrays them as a god and a demon, offers a case in point. Neither version has clear and logical priority over the other. The way in which the contents of the Jaina Rāmāyaṇas and Mahābhāratas were thoroughly Jainized by Jaina authors suggests the extent to which the Hindu Rāmāyaṇas and Mahābhāratas were Hinduized and Brahminized by their Hindu Brahmin authors and redactors.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Bai and Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*," 260-1.

¹⁴⁷ Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathakośa," 30.

¹⁴⁸ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 190.

Though perhaps somewhat less enthusiastically than Cort, P.S. Jaini too suggests that the Jaina authors “may well have preserved a different recension of these [epic] accounts than the one handed down in the brahminic tradition.”¹⁴⁹

1.7.2 The Jainas Plagiarized the Hindu *Mahābhārata*?

The obvious alternative to the theory that the Jainas preserved their own ancient *Mahābhārata* tradition is that they simply “stole” it, as it were, from the Hindus, and twisted the facts in order to suit their own sensibilities and doctrinal purposes. Such a notion was expressed by Glasenapp:

Along with [persons] who appear to be particularly special for Jainas, they also consider heroes known to Hindus, like Bharata, Sagara, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa, as also Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha. Jainas have more or less strongly changed the stories of these men and other persons from the great Epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata for their purpose; the heroes in these are obviously all pious Jainas and think and act as such.¹⁵⁰

Some scholars, such as Winternitz, lend this theory more credence in certain instances than in others. For example, in the case of a quaint *itihāsa* dialogue, such as the one mentioned above between a *purohita* and his son, Winternitz is content to assign the tale to a pan-Indian treasury of stories. In other cases, he sharply accuses the Jainas of counterfeiting the Hindus:

More than the Buddhists, the Jainas were at pains to appropriate to themselves all the favourite popular themes from Brahmanical and general Indian literature ... At times they established but a very slight connection between these ancient themes and the Jaina religion: in other cases,

¹⁴⁹ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 208.

¹⁵⁰ Glasenapp, *Jainism*, 134.

however, they completely changed and spoilt them, in order to give them a Jinistic appearance.¹⁵¹

In the case of the legend of Draupadī and her past lives found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, Winternitz boldly states that “this is a monkish corruption of the legend from the Mahābhārata of Draupadī’s marriage to the five brothers.”¹⁵² In a footnote added to this statement, Winternitz states that “E. Leumann ... believes that an archaic tradition is embodied in the Jinistic form of the legend. That is certainly not the case.”¹⁵³ Bai, who generally accepts the plausibility that the Jainas possessed their own *Mahābhārata* tradition, nevertheless states with respect to the story of Draupadī in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*,

After listening to the accounts of their previous lives from Ariṣṭanemi, the five Pāṇḍava-s became monks and after severe penance attained liberation. Here the relationship between Kṛṣṇa, Nemi and the Pāṇḍava-s is stated. Here we can also see an effort on the part of the Jaina authors to make the Draupadī story acceptable to their layfolk.¹⁵⁴

And again, Winternitz states that,

[The eighth] Aṅga [of the Jaina canon] is of importance from the point of view of Indian mythology and history of religion, because it embodies the Kṛṣṇa-legend in a corrupted Jaina version, related so as to suit Jaina requirements.¹⁵⁵

One may ask how these plagiarizing Jainas would then explain the obvious similarities between their own religion and that of the Brahmans. Surely they would be loath to admit the theft. According to Winternitz, the Jainas

¹⁵¹ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 431.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Bai and Zydenbos, “The Jaina *Mahābhārata*,” 253.

¹⁵⁵ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 434.

explain the reason for these similarities by insisting that their religion was the original, true religion, and that what now appears as Brahmanism or Hinduism is actually a corrupt and degraded form of it.¹⁵⁶ By way of example, Winternitz offers the case of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, wherein the authors

took pains to obliterate the difference between Jinism and the older religion [i.e. Brahmanism] as far as possible by retaining the names of the saints and heroes, by the use of Brahmanical terms and even by the adoption of Brahmanical rites. The underlying tendency in all this was to cause Brahmanism and Hinduism to appear as merely a decayed form of the true faith, namely the Jaina religion, which had existed from time immemorial.¹⁵⁷

As must now be obvious, scholars do not speak with one voice on the issue of the origin of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition. The reason for this is straightforward: conclusive textual evidence is lacking, and in the face of an almost complete lack of evidence, scholars tend to argue from pre-existing biases, as is all too plain in the above quotations. My own opinion on this issue leans more towards an independent rather than plagiarized Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition, though further discussion on this point will have to wait until later chapters.

1.8 Textual Interactions Between Hindus and Jains in the Medieval Period

Regardless of whether or not the legends of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas first entered the Jaina tradition from a Hindu or an ancient pre-sectarian source, it is

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 409-10.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 479.

clear that by the medieval period, the Jainas were keenly aware of the Hindu version of the *Mahābhārata*, and the Hindus were also becoming aware of the Jaina versions. This “awareness” of one another is made manifest by the thinly veiled jibes which can be found in both Hindu and Jaina medieval texts. Let us begin by examining the evidence that the Jaina authors were taking issue with the Hindus.

1.8.1 The Treatment of Hindu Epics in Jaina Texts

A very early example of the Jaina attitude to the Hindu epics may be seen in the canonical *Aṅuogadāra*-[Skt. *Anuyogadvāra*-] and *Namḍī*-[Skt. *Nandī*-] *suttas*,¹⁵⁸ in which the Jainas, commenting upon the Hindu versions of the epics, enumerated them among the “‘false tradition’ ([Skt] *mithya-śrutam*) or ‘worldly’ ([Skt] *laukika*) sciences.”¹⁵⁹

By the time we get to the Jaina *purāṇas*, the Jaina opinion of the Hindu versions of the epics is quite clear:

Even a cursory glance at the Jaina *Purāṇas* makes it clear that the Jaina authors who composed them knew the Hindu Epics and *Purāṇas* well, studied them with the attention worthy of a board of censors examining the offensive portions of a story, and finally decided to rewrite the script in conformity with their own doctrines and sensibilities.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Sometimes named among the *Paiṇṇas*, but more often are enumerated as separate texts (*Cūlikāsūtras*) just before or after the *Mūlasuttas*.

¹⁵⁹ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 454; unfortunately, Winternitz did not cite specific textual references.

¹⁶⁰ Jaini, “*Purāṇic Counter Tradition*,” 207.

Interestingly, as we saw above, the Jainas chose not merely to present their own versions of the epic stories, but in addition they explicitly state that a truthful retelling of the stories was necessary because “certain narratives of these [epic] texts had been deliberately falsified by their adversaries, the Brahmins, proponents of the Vedic rituals and worshippers of such divinities as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.”¹⁶¹

Furthermore, as Jaini points out,

What made the Jaina writers view these Hindu Purāṇas with hostility was the Brahminic attempt to appropriate such worldly heroes as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, sanctify their secular lives, and set them up as divine incarnations of their god Viṣṇu. The devotional movements that grew up around these so-called avatars threatened to overwhelm the Jaina laity, who mostly belonged to the affluent merchant castes, and there was the increasing danger that they might return to the Brahminic fold from which they had earlier been converted.¹⁶²

But the Jainas did not merely provide the “true” versions of stories made false by their adversaries; frequently, Jaina authors took great pains to point out the foolishness of Hindu stories by ridiculing them with great cleverness and ingenuity. Texts such as Haribhadra’s *Dhūrtākhyāna* and the *Dharmaparīkṣās* of Hariṣena, Amitagati and Vṛttavilāsa display the Jaina talent for using imaginative tales to expose many aspects of Hindu mythology to ridicule.¹⁶³ For example, Amitagati had great fun at the Hindus’ expense by piecing together various fragments from Hindu tales, supposedly culled from the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa* and

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 208.

¹⁶³ Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 31.

Mahābhārata, in such a manner as to make them seem as absurd as possible.¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, Amitagati narrates the following tale regarding Vyāsa, author of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*:

Vyāsa certainly knew that his poem was full of lies, but he ventured to dish up the inconsistent and senseless stuff to mankind, after he had convinced himself, by an experiment, of the stupidity of men. He placed a pot on the bank of the Gaṅgā and began to heap sand over it. Immediately the people came along and followed his example, so that after a short time the place where the pot first stood, could no longer be determined.¹⁶⁵

According to Jaini, the authors of the Jaina *purāṇas*, “in addition to their primary purpose of expounding Jaina doctrine, used this medium to combat Brahminic influences emanating from their Epics and Purāṇas.”¹⁶⁶ Whether or not the Jainas were justified in thinking their laity was in any way specifically being targeted by Hindu authors is uncertain. Jaini states:

No Jaina Purāṇa has ever been mentioned in any of the traditional [i.e. Hindu] eighteen Mahāpurāṇas or the Upapurāṇas, and, with the exception of Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata, no other character of the Jaina Purāṇas has figured in their narratives. The Jainas, on the other hand, show a remarkable familiarity with the Brahminic Purāṇas, although only one late Jaina Purāṇa, namely, the seventeenth-century *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa*, explicitly mentions the *Śiva Purāṇa* in criticizing the latter’s alleged misrepresentation of the Pāṇḍava story. But such a lack of cross-references does not tell us the whole story of the mutual impact between these two literary traditions, which were probably competing for the patronage of a common audience, namely, the mostly urban and affluent sections of the India community.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ However, most of the details that he claims to have found in the Hindu tradition were probably deliberate corruptions of his own or which he inherited from earlier Jaina apologists.

¹⁶⁵ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 543.

¹⁶⁶ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 242.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

1.8.2 The Treatment of the Jaina Tradition in Hindu Texts

While it is obviously true that the medieval Jainas demonstrated a great interest in, and antipathy towards, the Hindu epics and *purāṇas*, there is some compelling textual evidence that the Hindus were likewise engaged in this sectarian rivalry. It is less clear, however, that their sources of information about Jainism came from a direct familiarity with Jaina texts. As Jaini points out,

there is very little indication that [the Jaina] works were studied by the authors of the Brahminic Purāṇas, for had the Brahmins indeed seen what the author of the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* or the *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa* had said about them, they would certainly have made some angry rejoinders. Unfortunately, no record of such literary retaliation has become available to us. In view of the kind of religious and sectarian segregation that exists between various communities of India, it is more than likely that non-Jainas ceased to have any contact with the Jaina material; and hence Jaina works enjoyed a very limited readership, probably confined only to a few Jaina monks and still fewer members of the learned laity.¹⁶⁸

Notwithstanding the above, P.S. Jaini has investigated an extremely interesting case of textual interaction between Hindu and Jaina authors: the incorporation of the first Jaina *tīrthankara* Ṛṣabha into the list of *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. It is commonly known that the Buddha, likewise a *śramaṇa*, was incorporated by the Vaiṣṇavas into the *purāṇic* list of *avatāras* of Viṣṇu,¹⁶⁹ but in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Ṛṣabha is assigned the role of a ‘minor’ or partial (*aṃśa*) *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.¹⁷⁰ Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata are mentioned in several Hindu

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 246.

¹⁶⁹ Padmanabh S. Jaini, “Jina Ṛṣabha as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 40, no. 2 (1977), 321.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*; *Bhāgavata* v, iii-vii.

purāṇas in the line of Manu, but “the Bhāgavatapurāṇa appears to be the first and probably the only work to accord him the status of an *amśavatāra* of Viṣṇu.”¹⁷¹

In this text, it is said that Lord Viṣṇu incarnated on earth as Ṛṣabha for the purpose of establishing “the *śramaṇa-dharma* of the naked ascetics.”¹⁷²

As Jaini points out, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

enables us to observe the extraordinary manner in which a Vaiṣṇava apologist, while denouncing the Jina faith, appropriates the central figure of that religion by the device of the doctrine of *avatāra*.¹⁷³

The *śramaṇa dharma* which is taught through the mouth of the Ṛṣabha *avatāra* stresses “the need of renunciation and devotion, the twin doctrines of the *Bhāgavata* cult.”¹⁷⁴ Having the need for renunciation being preached by Ṛṣabha would hardly be inflammatory to Jainas. However, as Jaini points out, “what distinguishes the *Bhāgavata* legend is the glorification of the brahman caste through Ṛṣabha, conspicuous by its absence in the Jain account.”¹⁷⁵ As the stated purpose of the *avatāra* was to teach the *śramaṇa-dharma*, the glorification of the brahmins seems out of place, prompting Jaini to comment:

One cannot fail to suspect here a deliberate attempt ... to demonstrate to the followers of Ṛṣabha that their traditional anti-Brahmanism was quite inconsistent with the extraordinary devotion of their great saint to the Brahmins, and also his lavish patronage of the Vedic sacrifices.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, 324.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 322.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 325-6.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 328.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*

One cannot help but be curious as to why the author(s) of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* would suddenly take such an interest in Ṛṣabha, and, not surprisingly, Jaini provides the answer. He traces these passages in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* back to Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, where the biography of Ṛṣabha first began to take on the importance seen in later Jaina texts. Prior to the *Ādipurāṇa*, Hindu authors would likely have had little exposure or interest in Ṛṣabha.¹⁷⁷ However, in his *Ādipurāṇa*, Jinasena was openly and obviously critical of the Brahmanical tradition and “openly challenged the authority of the Vedic scriptures.”¹⁷⁸ According to Jinasena,

the castes ... had no divine origin at all ... there is only one *jāti* called the *manuṣyajāti* or the human caste, but divisions arise on account of their different professions. The caste of the Kṣatriyas came to be established when Ṛṣabha assumed the powers of a king and held weapons in his arms. The Vaiśya and the Śūdra castes arose subsequently as he invented different means of livelihood and people were trained in diverse arts and crafts.

The Jain accounts unanimously declare that the caste of the Brahmans was not instituted by Ṛṣabha but by his son Bharata, the first *cakravartin*.¹⁷⁹

As frequently occurs in *śramaṇic* texts, Jinasena even redefines what it means to be a Brahmin – a so-called Jaina-Brahmin – which would clearly be unacceptable to the “genuine” Hindu Brahmans.¹⁸⁰ Thus, Jaini asserts that it must have been these passages or ones like them that reached the ears of the Bhāgavatas, inspiring them to co-opt Ṛṣabha for their own. However, as Jaini

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 331.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 332.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 333.

himself points out, there is little evidence that the Hindus were reading and responding to Jaina texts per se, and the absorption of Ṛṣabha into the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu may have been instigated by an entirely non-textually-based cause.

The examples of textual interactions mentioned above constitute a small but representative sample of many such points of textual interaction that occurred throughout the medieval period. And by the end of the present thesis, we will have seen several more examples of textual interactions, relating specifically to the story of the Marriage of Draupadī.

1.9 Textual Analysis of an Oral Tradition

In a thesis which is almost entirely textually oriented, it behooves us to at least consider how the average Hindu or Jaina audience would have encountered the texts we are examining. Unlike paṇḍits or scholars, the general population did not sit down and read these texts like novels or pour over them like reference books. In most cases, these texts were presented to an audience by a master storyteller or reciter, who, no doubt, would have filled in the gaps and fleshed out the details. Obviously, whatever ornamentation or commentary these storytellers lent to the stories is lost by treating them as simple written documents.

There has been, in India, a tradition of publicly reciting narrative poems going all the way back to the ancient heroic poetry as found in the *vedic* hymns and *brāhmaṇas*. The occasions for public storytelling, though mainly sacrificial

and ceremonial, were many,¹⁸¹ and it is likely that such recitations have played an important part in Indian culture and religion for 3000 years or more. As an example, Winternitz cites the use of such narratives in the traditional Indian post-funerary customs:

And when after a death or any other calamity in the family the old hearth-fire was taken out for warding off further misfortune and a new fire was lighted in the house by rubbing pieces of wood, then the members of the family sat down, keeping the fire burning in flames till late in the quiet night, while hearing stories of people who attained a ripe old age and of auspicious Itihāsas and Purāṇas that were narrated to them.¹⁸²

There is no doubt that the *Mahābhārata* had its origins in an oral tradition, and even after the text was written down, in whatever version, it continued its life as an oral text in that it continued to be transmitted to the general population through the medium of professional storytellers. The fact that our medieval texts, both Hindu and Jaina, were mainly composed by a single author over a short period of time, thus making them part of India's literary tradition, did little to change the predominantly oral character of the *Mahābhārata* story as a whole.

Unfortunately, I do not have much data on the relative popularity of the texts that I have included in my thesis. How often Amaraśāstrī's *Bālabhārata*, for

¹⁸¹For example, Winternitz states: "Thus a part of the year-long preparatory celebrations to the great horse-sacrifice is the daily discourse of sagas of gods and heroes. In a series repeated once in ten days stories of certain gods and heroes were told; and also two lute-players were present, a Brahmin and a warrior, of whom one extolled in self-composed verses (gāthās) the generosity and the other similarly the battledeeds of the prince who performed the sacrifice. The lute-players who sang the glory of a real king or the Soma as the king of the Brahmins were not to be missing at the hair-parting ceremony also, which was performed for the prospective mother in the fourth month of pregnancy with an offering for the prosperity of the embryo. After a funeral it was an old custom (and this is testified even by Bāṇa in the 7th century A.D.) that the mourners sat down at a shady place outside the house and found diversion and consolation by hearing the discourses on ancient Itihāsas or Purāṇas." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 291-2).

example, was publicly recited, and how much or little it was appreciated by a general audience, is unknown to me. Fortunately, however, as a written text, it provides a fascinating contrast to other medieval Hindu summaries of the *Mahābhārata* story, as well as to all of the Jaina texts used in this thesis.

In the Jaina tradition too, the narrative texts used in this thesis were mainly presented to the laity through public recitation, and thus on this point, we must consider the Hindu and Jaina traditions to be very similar. As John Cort points out,¹⁸³ the Jaina *purāṇas* may have been written by one individual, but they were not generally read by individuals. The transmission of these texts from the monks to the laity generally occurred through public sermons, often during the four-month rainy season (*cāturmāsa*) when the monks and nuns would cease their wandering and remain in one place, though sermons are delivered at other times as well:

Often a *sādhu* who is especially renowned for his sermons is invited by a local congregation to give a series of sermons on one text, lasting one or two weeks. The Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa* and Jaina *Mahābhārata* are favourite topics for these special sermons, which are often advertised in the local newspapers.¹⁸⁴

These texts, which are read in the original language, usually Prākṛit or Sanskrit, are often supplemented by summaries and commentaries in the vernacular,

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 202-3.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

making the public reception of even a written text very much a part of the fluid, oral tradition.¹⁸⁵

1.10 Why Focus on the Marriage of Draupadī?

As I stated in my Introduction, my initial project was to select several “morally ambiguous” events from the Hindu *Mahābhārata* and examine the ways in which these events were treated in the Jaina *Mahābhārata*. One of the events I selected at this time was the Marriage of Draupadī to the five Pāṇḍava brothers. However, when my project blossomed into a comparison among four Hindu and eight Jaina texts, I chose the Marriage of Draupadī as my sole focus, but not without good reasons. First, I felt certain that this was a story that had been well-known, wide-spread, and popular throughout India for at least 2000 years. Clearly, not all of the stories collected in the modern vulgate editions of the *Mahābhārata* have been equally popular. The story of Draupadī’s marriage, however, must have been well-known for millennia, as it is also absolutely central to the main thread of the story.¹⁸⁶ Second, it is perhaps the only important story from the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata* to be found in any (Śvetāmbara) Jaina canonical text. Third, it is a story which appears repeatedly in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina texts, but which is consistently treated quite differently in

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ At the first dicing match between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, Karṇa justified the humiliation of Draupadī, which occurred at the hands of the Kauravas, by stating that her condition of having more than one husband meant that she was already a public woman. And it was as a result of this

the two traditions, thus providing not only a nice point of comparison between Hinduism and Jainism, but also between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina traditions. Fourth, if one is, as I am, interested in comparing the manner in which the Hindu and Jaina traditions deal with morally ambiguous situations, the marriage of Draupadī to five men ought to be an excellent moral litmus test. Fifth, the manner in which the Hindu versions of the story “justify” the apparent transgression that this polyandry invokes is, I might argue, not typical of the text as a whole, and rather seems more Jainistic. And finally, I just really liked the story.

1.11 Dealing With Twelve Texts

As mentioned above, the main project of this thesis involves examining and comparing versions of the story of Draupadī’s Marriage from a total of twelve different texts.¹⁸⁷ Such a large number of versions continually threatened to

humiliation of Draupadī that Bhīma predicted that he would drink Duḥśāsana’s blood and smash Duryodhana’s thigh (both of which he later carries out).

¹⁸⁷ Four Hindu texts [1. *The Mahābhārata*, ed. V.S. Sukthankar; 2. *The Indonesian Mahābhārata: Ādiparva -- The First Book*, ed. and trans. I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi, Śata-Piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures, Volume 360. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1990); 3. *Bhāratamañjarī of Kshemendra*, ed. Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāndurang Parab, Kāvya-mālā Series 64. (Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, 1898); and 4. *Bālābhārata of Amarachandra Sūri*, ed. Paṇḍit Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāndurang Parab, Kāvya-mālā Series 45. (Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, 1894)]; four Digambara Jaina texts [1. *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa of (Punnāṭa) Jinasena*, ed. Pandit Panna Lal Jain, Sahityacharya, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā Sanskrit Granth No. 27. (Kāśī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, 1962); 2. *Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra*, ed. Patralal Jaina, Jñānapīṭha Murtidevī Granthamālā 14, (Bhiaraitya Jñānapīṭh Prakashan, 1944); 3. *Pāṇḍavapurāṇam of ŚrīŚubhacandra*, ed. Paṇḍit Jinadas Parshwanatha Shastri, Jīvarāj Jain Granthamālā 3. (Sholapur: Jain Samskriti Samraksaka Samgha, 1980); 4. *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa of Vādicandra*, ed. and trans. Padmanabh S. Jaini, Journal of Indian Philosophy, volumes 25 (91-127 and 517-560) and 27 (215-278).], and four Svetāmbara Jaina texts [1. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, ed. and trans. Vaidya; 2. *Triṣaṣṭśalākāpuruṣacaritra of*

become unwieldy, and some efficient manner for dealing with them was required. Simply to lay out all twelve versions of the story one after the other would be too unsystematic and of limited critical value.¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, the differences among the various versions were sufficiently great that laying out all twelve versions side by side¹⁸⁹ is also impractical. Thus, as a compromise, I chose to leave the texts separated into their three natural divisions (i.e. Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina) and, within each division, examine and compare the texts in parallel fashion. The results of this comparison are found in Appendix II. However, before considering the various versions of the Marriage of Draupadī, we will first introduce our twelve source texts over the next three chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the four Hindu source texts, while Chapters 3 and 4 introduce the source texts from the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions respectively.

Hemacandra, trans. Helen M. Johnson, Gaekwad's Oriental Series. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931-62); 3. *Pāṇḍavacaritaṃ Mahākāvyaṃ of Śrīmaladhāri-devaprabhasūri*, ed. Paṇḍit Kedāranātha and Wāsudeva Laxmaṇa Shāstrī Paṇashīkar. Kāvyaṃālā Series 93. (Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, 1911); and 4. *Pāṇḍavacaritraṃ* (in the *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti of Śubhaśīla*), ed. Munirāja-Lābhasāgaragaṇi, Āgamoddhārakagranthamālā 41st Ratnam (Ahmedabad, 1969)].

¹⁸⁸ This is, though, how they are presented in Appendix I.

¹⁸⁹ That is, similar to the manner in which the four Christian Gospels are sometimes presented side-by-side, running in parallel.

CHAPTER 2

HINDU SOURCES FOR THE STORY OF THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ

In this chapter, I will introduce the four texts that will serve as our Hindu sources for the story of the Marriage of Draupadī. The four Hindu texts¹ discussed in this chapter are as follows: (i) the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*; (ii) the anonymous *Indonesian Mahābhārata* (10th-11th century CE); (iii) Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī* (11th century CE); and (iv) Amaracandrasūri's *Bālabhārata* (13th century CE). A full translation of the Marriage of Draupadī from each of these texts can be found in Appendix I. In Appendix II, I have compared the versions of the story from these four texts by dividing the story into 45 plot points and comparing all four versions on each of these points.

2.1 The Hindu Mahābhārata Tradition Represented by Four Texts

Before discussing the degree to which the four Hindu versions of the Marriage of Draupadī are similar to, or different from, one another, I shall attempt to demonstrate that the four Hindu texts used in this thesis may be taken

¹ See Chapter 1, footnote 187.

collectively as somehow representative of the Sanskritic² Hindu *Mahābhārata* tradition as a whole.

2.1.1 Textual Fluidity in Hindu Literature

While identifying the similarities and differences among the various Hindu and Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī is relatively easy, drawing conclusions from them is not. Determining why one version differs from another is often difficult, and of necessity requires a certain degree of speculation. As I stated in my Introduction, I began my research with the premise that the Jaina tradition was less tolerant of moral ambiguity than the Hindu, and that this tendency ought to be reflected in the Jaina *Mahābhārata*. Thus, in the Jaina versions, I expected to find either a “moral cleansing” of certain morally ambiguous events,³ or that these events would be expurgated altogether. I was indeed able to find clear evidence of such textual “cleansing,” as will become clear in later chapters.

However, not all differences between the Hindu and Jaina versions could be so easily explained. In many cases, the details of the story are simply different, without any obvious moral cleansing involved. Thus, the question continually arose as to whether or not differences between Hindu and Jaina texts, or between

² That is, not including either the oral or literary regional, vernacular *Mahābhārata* traditions.

³ Both Jaini (Padmanabh S. Jaini, “*Mahābhārata* Motifs in the Jaina *Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa*.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies* 47 no. 1 (1984), and “Jina Ṛṣabha”) and Balbir (Nalini Balbir, “Normalizing Trends in Jaina Narrative Literature.” *Indologica Taurinensia* XII (1984)) have discussed this sort of moral cleansing in various Jaina texts.

Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, were based on doctrinal differences or were merely symptomatic of a general textual fluidity, with no reference whatsoever to issues of morality or doctrine.

As alluded to in the last chapter, it is a well-known phenomenon in India for even well-known stories to be told differently in different written texts, to say nothing of the variations to be encountered in the oral tradition. For example, the story of Śakuntalā as presented by Kālidāsa in his *Abhijñānaśākuntala* is clearly different from the version found in the (Hindu) *Mahābhārata*, a version that surely must have been well known to his audience. The character of Duryodhana, who is portrayed as an almost uniformly unsympathetic character in the *Mahābhārata*, is transformed into a noble and tragic figure in pseudo-Bhāsa's drama *Ūrubhaṅga*. Examples of such fluidity in Hindu literature abound and are entirely too numerous to list here. Even within the same text, two distinct versions of a story may be found, such as the story of the birth of Skanda in the *Mahābhārata*, where the father of Skanda is said to be Śiva in one version and Agni in another.⁴

Because of this tendency towards textual fluidity, I felt that any comparison between Hindu and Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī must necessarily be preceded by an analysis of the variation to be found among the various Hindu versions themselves. Or, to put it another way, I wanted to determine the extent to which it was possible to construct a truly representative

Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī. If the Hindu versions themselves tended to be greatly divergent from one another, what could be concluded from differences between Hindu and Jaina versions? Thus, I chose four Hindu texts, each of which included a version of the Marriage of Draupadī, and each of which had some features that made it reasonably likely that it would be divergent from the others. In other words, I did not select the four Hindu texts with a mind to obtain four very similar versions, but rather with a mind to find divergences within the tradition if such divergences existed.

2.1.2 Rationale for Selecting the Four Hindu Texts

The choice of Hindu texts included in this thesis, as just alluded to, was influenced by a desire for diversity. The *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, a miracle of modern editing, was the text chosen to represent the *Mahābhārata* in its entirety, i.e., in its incarnation as a poem of roughly 100,000 verses.⁵ The other three texts that were selected⁶ all fall under the general category of medieval summaries of the epic, and are on the order of one tenth or less the size of the *Critical Edition*. Taken together, these four texts constitute only the tiniest

⁴ Wendy O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*, (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 104-105.

⁵ As opposed to, say, any of the modern vulgate editions. In fact, while the verses of the *Mahābhārata* are often numbered at 100,000, the *Critical Edition* includes less than 79,000 in the constituted text (K.K. Shastree, "The Bharata and the Jaya Samhitas." *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* 20(1970-71), 227).

⁶ The Indonesian *Mahābhārata*, the Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*, and Amaraśāstrī's *Bālabhārata*.

fraction of extant Hindu texts informed by the *Mahābhārata*,⁷ but each one was selected by me for a specific reason.

The *Critical Edition* should be, I believe, the primary source for all general work on the *Mahābhārata*,⁸ and its particular utility in the process of creating a representative or normative Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī is discussed below in some detail. The *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, though not written in Sanskrit, serves as an example of a Hindu text composed under the auspices of a Hindu ruler outside the confines of India, and is a good test case for the resilience of the story as it travels abroad and is retold in a non-Indian language. Fortunately, an English translation of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī from the Indonesian *Mahābhārata* was already in existence. The *Bhāratamañjarī* is probably the best-known medieval summary of the

⁷ It might seem strange that one entire group of the most popular texts of medieval Hindu India, i.e. the *Mahāpurāṇas*, play no part in this thesis. Using English translations of these *purāṇas*, I scanned them for any passages that appeared to bear on our topic, virtually without success. The only significant passage I came across was found in the fourth Canto of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (F.E. Pargiter, trans., *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1969), where Jaimini visited the Birds and questioned them on issues in the *Mahābhārata* that perplexed him. One of these questions goes as follows: “And why was Drupada’s daughter [Draupadī] the common wife of the five sons of Pāṇḍu?” (Canto IV, verse 32) The answer given him by the birds (in Canto V) describes how, through various misdeeds such as the improper killing of demons, Indra’s splendour went into Dharma, his might entered the Wind, and his beauty of limb and feature went into the Aśvin gods. The Earth was soon burdened by the slain demons who took rebirth on earth into families of kings and created huge armies. The Earth appealed to the gods for relief from these great armies. In response, the gods gave up that part of Indra that had previously entered them, and these aspects of Indra took birth as the sons of Kuntī (Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma) and Mādrī (Nakula and Sahadeva). Indra himself gave up half his power that took shape as Kuntī’s son Arjuna. Quoting from Pargiter’s translation, “Thus the adorable Indra became incarnate in five forms. His auspicious wife was born as [Draupadī] from Agni: she, [Draupadī] is the wife of Indra alone, and of no one else. The lords of ascetics can even multiple their bodies. Thus the fact of her being one wife to five men has been explained to thee.” (Canto V, verses 23-26). For an indepth discussion of similar passages, see Chapter 6.

Mahābhārata, and was written by the deservedly famous Kaśmīrī poet Kṣemendra. Whenever a famous Indian poet sets out to provide a new version of a story, even if only an epitome of that story, a certain amount of poetic license is to be expected.⁹ Thus, it would hardly be surprising if Kṣemendra made alterations to the plot of the story. The last of these texts, the *Bālabhārata*, is especially interesting as it presents a typically Hindu version of the story written by a Jaina author.

Thus, in one way or another, each of the four selected Hindu texts has some unique and interesting features. If it could then be demonstrated that the story of the Marriage of Draupadī is very similar among these texts, this might well suggest a certain immutability of this story in the Hindu tradition, and make it easier to draw conclusion from any divergences found in the Jaina versions.¹⁰ Let us now consider these four Hindu texts in greater detail.

2.2 The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

Of the four Hindu texts, the *Critical Edition* is the oldest,¹¹ longest, and most detailed. However, to consider the *Critical Edition* as just another text does not do it justice. The *Critical Edition* should not merely be accorded the weight

⁸ While the *Critical Edition* is not perfect, it has the advantages of nullifying, to a great extent, those portions of the text that may be representative only of one particular geographical region or one particular time period.

⁹ As in the case of Kālidāsa and pseudo-Bhāsa mentioned above.

¹⁰ Clearly, there is an almost endless number of Hindu texts which could be recruited for this purpose, though I could not afford the time or space to cover them all.

of a single Hindu version of the *Mahābhārata*; it is itself a critically edited version of a large number of different manuscripts. The goal of the *Critical Edition* is summarized by its chief editor, V.S. Sukthankar, thus:

What the promoters of this scheme desire to produce and supply is briefly this: a critical edition of the Mahābhārata in the preparation of which all important versions of the Great Epic shall have been taken into consideration, and all important manuscripts collated, estimated and turned to account. Since all divergent readings of any importance will be given in the critical notes, printed at the foot of the page, this edition will, for the first time, render it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant manuscript evidence for each individual passage ... Since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza, actually found in a Mahābhārata manuscript collated for the edition, is on any account omitted, this edition of the Mahābhārata will be, in a sense, more complete than any previous edition.¹²

The process of selecting manuscripts specifically for the *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*, the first of eighteen *parvans* or major books of the (Hindu) *Mahābhārata*, and the *parvan* in which we find the story of the Marriage of Draupadī, was both thorough and intelligent.¹³ For the section of the *Ādiparvan*

¹¹ That is, the contents are the most ancient, dated to circa 4th century CE or earlier (van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I, xxv).

¹² Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata*, Volume 1, iii-iv.

¹³ "As a very approximate computation, I may say that there are known to be about 235 manuscripts of the Ādi[parvan] ... [b]ut this is probably by a long way not the total number of extant manuscripts of this parvan, because there must be quite a large number of manuscripts in private hands, of which we know next to nothing ... Of these 235 manuscripts of the Ādi, a little less than half (107) are in the Devanāgarī script alone. The other scripts are represented in this collection as follows: Bengali 32, Grantha 31, Telugu 28, Malayālam 26, Nepālī 5, Śāradā 3, Maithilī 1, Kannaḍa 1, and Nandināgarī 1. Of these manuscripts of the Ādi about 70 (i.e. a little more than 29 per cent of the total) were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition. And of these again about 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text ... The number of exact duplicates among these is decidedly small and almost negligible. An exception to this rule is formed only by manuscripts of commentator's versions, which show *inter se* little difference ... [N]otwithstanding [the] difficulties, the choice of our critical apparatus has not been entirely arbitrary. Efforts were made to secure manuscripts written in as many Indian scripts as possible, which is the same thing as saying, manuscripts belonging to as many different Indian provinces as possible. Old manuscripts, even though fragmentary and partly illegible, were selected in

specifically relevant to the Marriage of Draupadī, i.e. *adhyāyas* 124-190, a total of 33 manuscripts were used in preparing the critical text and apparatus, and include manuscripts in the Śāradā (Kaśmīrī) script, the Devanāgarī script allied to the Śāradā text, the Nepālī script, the Maithilī script, the Bengali script, the Devanāgarī script in the tradition of Arjunamiśra, the Devanāgarī script in the tradition of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Devanāgarī script of various eclectic types, the Telugu script, the Grantha script, and the Malayālam script.¹⁴ While being as inclusive as possible with respect to manuscripts from various provinces and in various scripts, Sukthankar felt it necessary to privilege the Northern over the Southern recension, and argues strongly and convincingly in favour of this choice.¹⁵

Sukthankar discusses at great length the sorts of variations he encountered between manuscripts, and how they are to be accounted for. However, his ideas are neatly represented in the following passage:

to conceive of the Epic of the Bhāratas – or for that matter, of any true epic – as a rigid or fixed composition like the dramas or poems of Goethe or Milton, or even Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti, would be manifestly grotesque. Such a view can originate only in a fundamental

preference to modern-looking manuscripts, though complete, neatly written and well preserved. Within the version, discrepant types were chosen in preference to similar types. Of the Nīlakaṇṭha version, only three were selected, though it is by far the most numerous group ... The only important scripts unrepresented in our critical apparatus are: Kannaḍa, Uriyā and Nandināgarī.” (ibid., v-vi).

¹⁴ ibid., xxiv.

¹⁵ In his *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*, Sukthankar chose the Northern over the Southern recension as being more reliable and less encumbered by spurious additions and deletions. And within the Northern recension, he chose the Kaśmīrī or Śāradā version as the standard: “[the Śāradā version is] the *shortest* known version of the Ādi, and may, therefore, appropriately be called the *textus simplicior*. While it is the shortest extant version, it is a demonstrable fact that it contains relatively little matter that is not found, at the same time, in *all other versions of both recensions*. It is clear, therefore, that it must contain, relatively, *less spurious matter* than any other known version. That is precisely the main reason why it is taken as the norm for this edition.” (ibid., xlvii).

misconception of the origin, growth and function of epic poetry ... Two facts emerge rather clearly ... firstly, *the text was originally committed to memory and recited freely*; secondly, *different rhapsodists recited differently*. ... The view that the epic has reached its present form by a gradual process of addition and alteration receives strong support from the fact that this *process is not stopped even by scriptal fixation*. The study of the manuscripts themselves, which belong to a very late phase in the evolution of the text, shows that texts must have been constantly amplified and altered by conflation.¹⁶

From all of this, it will be clear that the *Critical Edition* cannot be considered as yet just another version of the *Mahābhārata*. In fact, I would argue that in combination with the three medieval epitomes (i.e. the Indonesian *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāratamañjarī*, and the *Bālabhārata*) briefly discussed below, the *Critical Edition* furnishes us with an exceptionally solid basis on which to construct a truly representative Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī. It must, of course, be admitted that the text of the *Critical Edition* did not exist at any time prior to Sukthankar's creation of it, and thus it cannot be considered as a historical text *per se*. Nevertheless, even a quick scan of the variants listed in the *Critical Edition* for the story of the Marriage of Draupadī is sufficient to show that the story did not vary substantially from manuscript to manuscript,¹⁷ and in this sense the *Critical Edition* provides us with, more or less, the most common historical version.

However, because Sukthankar favoured the Northern over the Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* in his *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*, a

¹⁶ *ibid.*, lxxv-lxxvi.

¹⁷ The majority of these variants are of no consequence whatsoever to the plot of the story.

significant portion of the Southern recension was relegated to the critical apparatus, and is found either in the footnotes or in the appendix. There are three passages from the Southern recension in Sukthankar's Appendix I (i.e. Passages 100, 101, and 102) that add to the list of stories Vyāsa tells King Drupada to justify the unusual marriage of Draupadī to five Pāṇḍava brothers. These passages, translations of which are located in my Appendix III, will be taken up in detail in Chapter 6.

2.3 The Medieval Summaries of the *Mahābhārata*

Technical details about the other three Hindu texts used in this thesis are provided in my Appendix I, though I shall briefly describe them here. Of the three medieval summaries, the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* is the oldest.¹⁸ Though I have referred to it as the *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, the edition I used actually includes only the *Ādiparvan*. In all, eight of eighteen *parvans* from the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* are still preserved in Bali, though a complete *Indonesian Mahābhārata* with all eighteen *parvans* may have existed at one time. All of the extant *parvans* are written in Kawi, the classical language of Indonesia, and are prose summaries of the original Sanskrit verse. They are in no way intended to be Kawi translations from the Sanskrit, though "occasionally key lines of the Sanskrit text were quoted possibly to add authenticity or prestige."¹⁹

¹⁸ The following details are taken from Phalgunadi's introduction to his *Indonesian Mahābhārata* (Phalgunadi, ed. and trans., *The Indonesian Mahābhārata*, 1-11).

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 4.

Because of these Sanskrit quotations, Sukthankar made use of an edition of the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* in the collating of the *Critical Edition*, though it was his opinion that “the Sanskrit excerpts in the extant Javanese manuscripts are extremely corrupt.”²⁰ Nevertheless, Sukthankar does include a concordance of the Sanskrit verses from the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* in his Appendix II to the *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*, and is confident enough to conclude that it “is inevitable that the text of the Sanskrit Ādiparvan used by the Javanese writers must have belonged to the Northern recension.”²¹ The *Indonesian Ādiparvan* used in this thesis is an anonymous text, and was written under the patronage of an East Java king named Dharmavaṃśa, whose reign spanned the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century CE.

As we are mainly concerned in this thesis with plot and not linguistic variation, the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* offers an interesting variant despite being composed in Kawi and not Sanskrit. According to the editor and translator, “[t]he plot of the Indonesian Ādiparva is almost identical with that of the Sanskrit original.”²² While the reign under which this work was composed was unquestionably Hindu, it was also Indonesian, and thus there may be some question as to the appropriateness of using the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* in this thesis. By way of defending its use, I may state that *if* the basic plot of the Marriage of Draupadī in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* differs significantly from

²⁰ Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata, Volume 1*, xxv-xxvi.

²¹ *ibid.*, xxvi.

²² Phalgunadi, ed. and trans., *The Indonesian Mahābhārata*, 10.

the Hindu Sanskrit versions, it may well be explained by a process of transformation that occurred as the story left India and traveled across Southeast Asia.²³ If, on the other hand, the plot is essentially the same as the Sanskrit Hindu versions, it may well suggest, as alluded to above, a certain immutability of the story within Hindu culture, at home or abroad.²⁴

The second of our medieval summaries, in chronological order, is the *Bhāratamañjarī* composed by the Kaśmīrī poet Kṣemendra probably in the first half of the 11th century CE. It is a complete summary of the *Mahābhārata*, including the *Harivaṃśa*, in roughly 10,500 verses. It has been suggested that this work, together with his *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, constitutes Kṣemendra's earlier "poetical exercises,"²⁵ and that none of these summaries contains the mature poetic beauty of his later works such as his famous *Daśavatāracarita* which narrates the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu. A quick glance at the table of contents of the *Bhāratamañjarī*²⁶ will make it clear that Kṣemendra intended it to be a comprehensive summary of the original,²⁷ and that he tried, however briefly, to cover all major and minor episodes, summarizing an event which may span hundreds of verses in the original into a three verse synopsis. Though this method, obviously, may be more prone to density and

²³ Alternatively, differences might be explained by hypothesizing that it was an unusual Indian variant which made its way to Java, though in retrospect this is unlikely given the consistency witnessed in the manuscripts used for the *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*.

²⁴ The plots of other episodes from the *Mahābhārata* have undergone additions, omissions, and transformations at the hands of Javanese poets. See, e.g., F.D.K. Bosch, "The Bhīmastava," in *India Antiqua*, 1947.

²⁵ See Appendix I for more details.

terseness than poetic beauty, Kṣemendra's Sanskrit verse is not without a certain simple charm. Sukthankar, as he did with the *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, made some limited use of the *Bhāratamañjarī* in the creation of his *Critical Edition*, especially in regard to the exact order of events. Commenting upon the

Bhāratamañjarī, Sukthankar states:

Bühler and Kirste have given in their *Indian Studies*, No. 2 (pp. 30 ff.),²⁸ the results of a careful comparison of Kṣemendra's abstract with the Bombay text of the Mahābhārata. They show that Kṣemendra's text contains both additions and omissions as compared with the latter ... The collaborating authors felt justified in concluding that the omissions and additions 'are just such liberties as any Kāvya poet would take in making a similar abridgement.' They were also of opinion that the original cannot have differed very essentially from our current texts, that is, the Vulgate. This is correct up to a certain point. A comparison with the different versions shows that Kṣemendra's version agrees, as was to be expected, most closely with the Śāradā [i.e. Kaśmīrī recension].²⁹

The chronologically last of our medieval summaries is the *Bālabhārata* of Amracandrasūri, an epitome in roughly 5,500 verses, probably composed sometime in the middle of the 13th century CE. Though it is shorter and less comprehensive than Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*, it is clear that the author intended an episode-by-episode summary of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.³⁰ In as much as the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* is distinguished for being a non-Indian product, the *Bālabhārata* is distinguished by being a Hindu version of the story written by a Jaina author. The circumstances under which the brilliant Gujarāti

²⁶ The complete Table of Contents can be found in Appendix I.

²⁷ Though *exactly* which "original" is uncertain.

²⁸ An article which, despite heroic efforts, I was unable to procure.

²⁹ Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata, Volume I*, xxvii.

³⁰ See the Table of Contents for the *Bālabhārata* in Appendix I.

Jaina poet Amracandrasūri wrote an epitome of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* as opposed to a Jaina version are not known,³¹ though we do know that Amracandra was part of the royal court under the reign of King Viśaladeva of Gujarāt, and he may simply have been commissioned to do the task.³² The question of whether or not Amracandra used this opportunity to infuse the Hindu story of the Marriage of Draupadī with a Jaina sensibility will be taken up in Chapter 6. Unlike the other two medieval summaries mentioned above, the *Bālabhārata* was not utilized, or even mentioned, by Sukthankar in the *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*.

The phenomenon of a Jaina author composing a predominantly Hindu version of the *Mahābhārata* is not unique to Amracandra's *Bālabhārata*. In his summary of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* in the Kannada language, Zydenbos points out that the earliest versions written by Jainas were not particularly "Jaina" in orientation:

The first complete literary work in Kannada is by Pampa (941 CE), who was a Jaina, and though his *Vikramārjunavijayam* (also known as the "Pampabhārata") is a complete *Mahābhārata* in Kannada, it does not follow the Jaina *Mahābhārata*-s that were already in existence in Sanskrit and Prakrit at the time, but that of the work ascribed to Vyāsa ... Pampa identifies his patron, King Arikesari, with Arjuna, and the obvious reason why he chose to follow the Vyāsa version, apart from his literary appreciation of that work, would be that his patron was not a Jaina but a Hindu.³³

³¹ At least, not known to me.

³² See Appendix I for further details.

³³ Bai and Zydenbos, "The Jaina *Mahābhārata*," 264.

Nevertheless, not all devout Hindus would have appreciated Pampa's version.

With respect to his portrayal of Kṛṣṇa as a good but crafty hero rather than a divine being, B.M. Śrīkaṇṭhayya states,

a struggle arose between his Jaina faith and the Vedic *saṃskāra* of his ancestors[;] innerly Pampa's mind was torn, and an impediment arose which must be said to have decreased his poetic vision and enthusiastic tone to some extent.³⁴

Following Pampa's version was a work known as the *Sāhasabhīmavijayam* by Ranna (993 CE), which likewise followed Vyāsa's storyline.³⁵ It was not until after Ranna that Jaina authors wrote "Jaina" versions of the *Mahābhārata* in the Kannada language.³⁶

More generally, it might be said that instances of Indian poets composing texts for a tradition other than their own are not uncommon. In fact, Kṣemendra himself wrote the Buddhist *Avadānakalpalatā*, though he was certainly not a Buddhist.

2.4 Similarities and Differences Among the Four Hindu Versions

The following section will be much easier to follow if the plot summary of the Marriage of Draupadī constructed from our four Hindu versions (in Appendix II) has been somewhat digested. In any case, from the plot summary in Appendix II, two points emerge quite clearly. First, despite the many minor and occasionally less minor discrepancies, all four of the Hindu versions relate the

³⁴ *ibid.*, 264-5.

same basic story. Second, if any of the texts is noticeably divergent, it is the *Bālabhārata* of Amaraśāstri. It might be argued that the latter point is to be expected from the fact that Amaraśāstri was a Jaina and not a Hindu, though when his version is compared to the plot summaries of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara versions likewise presented in Appendix II, there can be no doubt that the author of the *Bālabhārata* was following Vyāsa's storyline and not a traditional Jaina plot. In Chapter 6, I will propose that some of the ways in which the *Bālabhārata* differs from the other Hindu versions displays a discernible "jainification" of the Hindu story, though for now we can safely consider the *Bālabhārata* as merely an interesting and slightly divergent Hindu version of the story.

Notwithstanding the overall consistency of the four texts over the 45 plot points, there are a few differences that are worth highlighting. The first difference, which almost goes without saying, is that the versions of Draupadī's Marriage in the three medieval summaries are much shorter and more succinct than the version in the *Critical Edition*. The story comprised of the basic 45-point plot is told over the course of roughly 1000 verses in the *Critical Edition*, while only about 200 and 100 verses in the *Bhāratamañjarī* and *Bālabhārata* respectively. The *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, being a prose text, cannot be measured in verses, though the length of the relevant passage is on the same order

³⁵ *ibid.*, 265.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 266.

as that of the *Bhāratamañjarī* and *Bālabhārata*. On account of the abbreviated length of the versions in the medieval summaries, a certain amount of variation in plot is to be expected. However, as Bühler and Kirste said of the *Bhāratamañjarī*, I believe that many of the plot variations in the three medieval summaries are “just such liberties as any Kāvya poet would take in making a similar abridgement.”³⁷

For the purpose of discussing the variations observed among the four Hindu versions, I will cover the 45-point plot in four sections: (i) the events leading up to Draupadī’s *svayamvara* (points 1-13); (ii) Draupadī’s *svayamvara* and the subsequent battle (points 14-24); (iii) the events leading to the polyandrous marriage (points 25-36); and (iv) Vyāsa’s explanations and the five weddings (points 37-45). Many of the differences between texts will, no doubt, seem somewhat trivial, though to a great extent this is the point I am attempting to demonstrate. I wish to highlight the sorts of differences that exist among these texts in order to lay the groundwork for discussing the sorts of differences which we will find among Hindu, Digambara Jaina and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions.

With respect to the plot elements leading up to Draupadī’s *svayamvara*, the *Critical Edition*, Indonesian *Mahābhārata*, and *Bhāratamañjarī* are without

³⁷ Sukthankar, ed., *The Mahābhārata, Volume 1*, xxvii. It would be of great interest to discover exactly what version of the *Mahābhārata* the three medieval epitomizers were summarizing. Sukthankar, through his work on the *Critical Edition*, concluded that Kṣemendra’s *Bhāratamañjarī* follows the Śāradā (i.e. Kaśmīrī) version fairly closely, as might have been suspected by the fact that Kṣemendra lived and wrote in Kaśmīr, and that it was the Northern rather than Southern recension that informed the Indonesian *Mahābhārata*. Beyond this, we know very little about the exact sources used by the medieval poets.

significant variation with the single exception that in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, it was Yudhiṣṭhira and not Kuntī who suggested they should all travel to the Pāñcāla country. The *Bālabhārata* differs from the other texts mainly in what it omits and the necessary alterations required to smooth out the omission. The main point omitted by the *Bālabhārata* in this section is the past-life story of Draupadī, narrated to the Pāṇḍavas at Ekacakrā by Vyāsa. The reason for omitting this particular tale at this point in the story is of great interest, and will be taken up again in Chapter 6. Suffice it to say that this particular omission seems to have been calculated rather than merely random.

There are a few more discrepancies among our four texts in the next section, i.e. Draupadī's *svayamvara*, though the differences are again more a matter of omission than plot variation. The *Critical Edition* is the only text that makes reference to the Pāṇḍavas falling in love with Draupadī immediately upon seeing her. Otherwise, both the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and *Bhāratamañjarī* closely follow the *Critical Edition*. The *Indonesian Mahābhārata* omits only Dhṛṣṭadyumna's naming of the kings and princes, and an explicit reference to the gods being the source of the shower of flowers which falls upon the victorious Arjuna. The *Bhāratamañjarī* omits only Karṇa's question and Arjuna's lie, and an explicit reference to Kṛṣṇa being the one to halt the battle. Once again, it is the *Bālabhārata* that is most divergent, omitting the recognition of the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise by Kṛṣṇa, the shower of flowers upon the victorious Arjuna, and Karṇa's questioning of Arjuna. In addition to these omissions, the *Bālabhārata* adds a

scene not found in the other texts, wherein Bhīma ridicules the failure of the pompous kings prior to Arjuna's stringing the bow.

In the third section, i.e. the events leading to the polyandrous marriage, the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* once again closely follows the *Critical Edition*, with the slight variation that when Dhṛṣṭadyumna was eavesdropping on the Pāṇḍavas' conversation, he became convinced that these so-called brahmins were not merely a family of *kṣatriyas*, but were the Pāṇḍavas themselves; this fact was also reported by him to his father. The *Bhāratamañjarī* also follows the *Critical Edition* closely, but omits an explicit reference to the Pāṇḍavas all loving Draupadī, an explicit reference to Yudhiṣṭhira recalling Vyāsa's prediction of their common marriage, and an explicit reference to Drupada's dejection at not knowing the fate of his daughter.

In the *Bālabhārata*, several of the details omitted from this section result from earlier omissions. Because the story of Draupadī's past-life had not yet been narrated at this point in the text, Vyāsa obviously could not use it to make a prediction of the Pāṇḍavas' common marriage to Draupadī. Thus, Yudhiṣṭhira does not, in this text, recall Vyāsa's prediction. The *Bālabhārata* also omits an explicit reference to the Pāṇḍavas all loving Draupadī, an explicit reference to Drupada's dejection, and a reference to Drupada sending his messenger to the Pāṇḍavas. The *Bālabhārata* also contains a significant alteration to the plot. In the other three texts, Kuntī's fateful words that her sons should share the "alms" brought home by Bhīma and Arjuna is immediately followed by her shock at

seeing Draupadī and an anxiety-filled discussion resulting in Yudhiṣṭhira's proclamation that they would all marry Draupadī. In the *Bālabhārata*, Kuntī, not seeing Draupadī, is for a time unaware of the impact of her words, and the five Pāṇḍavas discuss and mutually agree upon the polyandrous marriage before informing Kuntī that it was a woman, and not food-alms, that they had brought home.

Most of the details regarding the final section, i.e. Vyāsa's explanations of the lawfulness of the polyandrous marriage, will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6, but there are a few relevant points we may cover here. Vyāsa's arrival occurs in all four texts after the polyandrous marriage has been suggested to King Drupada. However, only the version in the *Critical Edition* has Vyāsa both soliciting and giving ear to the opinions of others. In the *Bhāratamañjarī*, he listens to their opinions, but does not solicit them. In the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and *Bālabhārata*, no one's opinion on the matter is even mentioned. The issue of Vyāsa taking King Drupada aside and speaking to him in private is found in the *Critical Edition*, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, and *Bālabhārata*, but the *Bhāratamañjarī* makes no explicit reference to their discussion being in private. Following his discussion with Vyāsa, Drupada then explicitly acquiesces to the polyandrous marriage in the *Critical Edition*, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, and *Bhāratamañjarī*, though it is only implied in the *Bālabhārata*. And finally, all four texts end with Draupadī being married to each of the five Pāṇḍavas.

2.5 Conclusion

I began this Chapter hoping to establish two points: (i) that the versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī in our four Hindu texts are, on the whole, very similar to one another; and (ii) that the four selected Hindu texts may be considered representative of the mainstream Hindu *Mahābhārata* tradition. I feel confident of the latter point, in that the *Critical Edition* includes manuscripts from all over India and the three distinct medieval summaries each have unique features in their circumstances of composition which easily could have resulted in plot variations. I also feel confident of the former point, in that, again, the *Critical Edition* contains manuscripts from all over India, and the basic plot found therein is fairly closely mirrored in the three medieval summaries. However, making the assertion that a narrative plot is “similar” in four obviously distinct versions of a story from four different texts is entirely relative. So, to be more precise, I shall state that the plot of the Marriage of Draupadī is very similar among the four Hindu texts *in the context of* the sorts of variation to be found in the Digambara and Śvetāmbara texts covered in the next two chapters.

Having demonstrated the relative similarity of our four Hindu versions of Draupadī’s Marriage, we might now consider what is to be concluded from this uniformity. There are only two possibilities: (i) that wide-ranging variation never existed in Hindu versions of the Marriage of Draupadī; or (ii) if wide-ranging variations did exist, they were effectively suppressed or brought into conformity

with what became the dominant version. Without further evidence, this must remain an open question.

Over the next two chapters, I will introduce the four Digambara and four Śvetāmbara Jaina source texts used in this thesis. As will be very soon evident, not only do the Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī differ significantly from the Hindu versions, but they are in many respects quite different from one another.

CHAPTER 3
DIGAMBARA JAINA SOURCES FOR THE STORY OF
THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ

The four texts used in this thesis as sources for the story of the Marriage of Draupadī in the Digambara Jaina tradition are: (i) Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (8th century CE); (ii) Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (9th century) (iii) Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (mid 16th century CE); and (iv) Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (late 16th century CE). While there is more than a seven-hundred-year gap between the former two and latter two texts, this does not represent any strong dividing line in terms of plot structure. Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, for example, occupies a sort of narrative, though not chronological, middle-ground between the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*.

Unlike the case of the Hindu versions, I have here no intention of demonstrating that the four Digambara versions of the story are very similar to one another because, in many respects, they are not. And because the versions are not so similar, it was rather more difficult to construct the sort of uniform plot summary that was possible for the Hindu texts. Nevertheless, dividing the Digambara story into a number of plot points and comparing the various versions on each of these points allows us to identify exactly where the texts are similar to,

or diverge from, one another. While the result of this process (found in Appendix II) is not a tightly defined normative Digambara Jaina version of the Marriage of Draupadī, it clearly demonstrates the fact that the Digambara texts *do* all agree on several important points that distinguish them from the Hindu and Śvetāmbara versions. The most important of these points, for our purposes, is that in all of the Digambara Jaina versions, Draupadī is said to have married Arjuna alone, and not all five Pāṇḍava brothers.¹ But this is not the only unique feature of the Digambara Jaina versions, as will be evident below.

The version of Draupadī's Marriage from Guṇabhadra's 9th century *Uttarapurāṇa* was not included in the plot summary presented in Appendix II. On the whole, the story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas in this text was much too brief to be of use in this endeavour, and will thus be treated separately below. In an interesting way, it shall lead us directly into the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts in Chapter 4.

3.1 Three Digambara Jaina Texts

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, I gave a fairly lengthy introduction to Punnāṭha Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* because of its status as the earliest extant Jaina *purāṇa* dealing with, among many other characters, Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas. Thus, for general information on this text, I refer my reader to Chapter 1 as well as to Appendix I. Like Jinasena's text, all of the earliest Jaina texts in which the

¹ This point, however, is not absolutely certain in the case of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*.

story of the Pāṇḍavas was narrated in any detail were entitled *Harivaṃśapurāṇas*, but as the name suggests, these texts were more concerned with Kṛṣṇa (and his cousin Nemi) than with the Pāṇḍavas. It is for this reason that I continue to feel uneasy describing these *Harivaṃśapurāṇas* as Jaina *Mahābhāratas*, which seems to me to be akin to describing the *Qur'an* as an Islamic *New Testament* just because it includes a brief treatment on the life of Jesus.

By the 13th century CE, however, the Jainas started composing lengthy works focusing more specifically and extensively on the story of the Pāṇḍavas. These texts were entitled *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas* in the Digambara Jaina tradition, and *Pāṇḍavacaritas*² in the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition. The earliest extant text of this sort in Sanskrit is the 13th century Śvetāmbara *Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri.³ Some centuries later, we get the Digambara Jaina *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas* of Śubhacandra and Vādicandra.⁴ Let us now consider in greater detail these two *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas*, both of which are strongly sectarian in nature.

3.2 Śubhacandra's Pāṇḍavapurāṇa

Śubhacandra succeeded his preceptor Vijayakīrti as head of the Mūlasaṅgha *maṭha* founded by Padmanandi. His *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* was completed in the mid-16th century CE at Śrīpura in Śākavāta, though his text was later revised by his pupil Śrīpāla. His purpose for writing this text is unclear, though

² Or alternatively, *-caritras*.

³ This text is included next chapter among our Śvetāmbara Jaina texts.

⁴ For technical details of these texts, see Appendix I.

P.S. Jaini speculates that it was a direct result of sectarian rivalries going on at the time in Western India between the two prominent communities of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Jainas.⁵

Evidence of “moral cleansing” is immediately apparent in Śubhacandra’s *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*. Jaini states:

Śubhacandra, with no scruple regarding the Śvetāmbara tradition, which had somehow followed the *Mahābhārata* genealogy (as is evident from the *Triṣaṣṭi-salākā-puruṣa-caritra* of Hemacandra), sets out to correct this abomination, as he calls it, and present [a] strictly sanitized version.⁶

The reason that the genealogy of the Pāṇḍavas as found in the Hindu tradition was considered an “abomination” by Śubhacandra and other Digambara writers is not hard to discern: there are just too many fantastic and morally ambiguous couplings. For example, the Pāṇḍavas themselves were said to have each been fathered by a different god on one of two human mothers.⁷ The father of the Pāṇḍavas, King Pāṇḍu, was likewise not the issue of a normal married couple: he was the offspring of Vicitravīrya’s widowed queen and the sage Vyāsa, who was himself the offspring of Vicitravīrya’s mother Satyavati⁸ and the sage Pārāśara. And so on. As Jaini stated, Śubhacandra cleans up this irregular genealogy, and he sees to it that each of the main characters is the unfantastic offspring of a normal married couple.

⁵ Jaini, “*Mahābhārata* Motifs,” 110.

⁶ *ibid.*, 109.

⁷ The circumstances behind the birth of Duryodhana and his 99 brothers were, from a Jaina point of view, almost equally fantastic.

⁸ Whose husband was Śāntanu.

Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* follows, in many respects, the story of the Pāṇḍavas found in Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, though it usually includes considerably more detail. For example, like the version of the story in Jinasena's text, but with extra details added, the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* is subsumed under the cosmic battle between the *vāsudeva* Kṛṣṇa and *prativāsudeva* Jarāsandha, in which the Kauravas side with the latter.⁹ And, just as in all the earlier Jaina *Harivaṃśapurāṇas*, Kṛṣṇa is here entirely stripped of the divine nature he possesses in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* and other *vaiṣṇava* texts. Jaini states:

[Śubhacandra's] story reduces Kṛṣṇa to human stature by totally excising the battle scene of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and also by showing Kṛṣṇa to be scheming and selfish.¹⁰

But Śubhacandra goes even further in his attempt to discredit Kṛṣṇa by modifying the traditional story of Nemi's renunciation of worldly life. The traditional version of the story has Nemi's renunciation brought on by the pity he felt for the animals to be slaughtered for his own wedding feast. But in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, Kṛṣṇa, knowing Nemi's great compassion for all living beings, makes a point of drawing the impending slaughter to Nemi's attention for the purpose of actually occasioning the latter's renunciation and thereby removing Nemi as a rival to the throne.

⁹ Jaini, "Mahābhārata Motifs," 109.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 109-10.

3.3 Vādicandra's Pāṇḍavapurāna

While Śubhacandra appears to have been engaged in a sectarian rivalry with the Western *vaiṣṇava* community, Vādicandra seems to have directed his venom at the Śaivas.¹¹ Vādicandra was the direct disciple and brother of Prabhācandrasūri of the Mūlasaṅgha, Sarasvatī Gaccha, he flourished in the area near Khambhat in southern Gujarāt, and his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* was completed at Ghanauga in 1598 CE. Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* clearly shares much with Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, but, as will be evident from the plot summary of Digambara story of Draupadī's Marriage found in Appendix II, it also contains a good deal of original material. Like Śubhacandra, Vādicandra takes issue with what he claims to be the traditional Hindu genealogy of the Pāṇḍavas, but, unlike his predecessors, he actually names the text from which he obtained the scandalous Hindu genealogy: the *Śivapurāṇa*.¹² However, the supposed Hindu genealogy referred to by Vādicandra is nowhere to be found in any Hindu text, let alone the extant *Śivapurāṇa*, and as Jaini asserts, it is obviously a fake:

It is not likely that Vādicandra had access to any other version of the *Śiva-Purāṇa*, which might have contained the material which he condemns. We may safely conclude, therefore, that Vādicandra himself concocted these aberrations and knowingly attributed them to the *Śiva-Purāṇa*.¹³

¹¹ *ibid.*, 110.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ *ibid.*, 113.

Why Vādicandra would display such vitriolic contempt for the *Śivapurāṇa* is likewise suggested by Jaini: along with the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, “the *Śiva-Purāṇa* ... contains several chapters in which the origins of the Jina and his mendicant followers are described in a most unsavoury form.”¹⁴ In fact, in combination with the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa*, Jaini feels that our two 16th century Digambara Jaina *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas* can be used as reliable documentary evidence for the sort of sectarian rivalries that were in existence during India’s medieval period, especially the later medieval period.¹⁵ And although Vādicandra wrote his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* only a few decades after Śubhacandra, there is a noticeable escalation in his polemics, which might be taken as evidence of a warming in the sectarian disputes. Jaini states:

In all [the] Jaina efforts to keep their devotees within the Jaina fold, no other Jaina author has gone as far as Vādicandra, in depicting the non-Jaina traditions, whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva, in such slanderous terms.

We may nevertheless evaluate the importance of the Jaina *Pāṇḍava-Purāṇas* as indications of the sectarian jealousies and feuds that were current during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶

3.4 Plot Summary

Two points should be abundantly clear from the plot summary of the Digambara Jaina story of the Marriage of Draupadī presented in Appendix II: (i)

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 114.

¹⁶ *ibid.*; Jaini may perhaps be overstating the point. Haribhadra, in his *Dhūrtākhyāna*, was about as slanderous to the Hindus as is possible.

the three¹⁷ Digambara Jaina versions are similar at a very basic level, but differ in many important respects; and (ii) many, but by no means all, of the events in the Digambara Jaina versions of the story are recognizable from the Hindu versions. In Chapter 5, I will discuss in detail the changes, or evolution, in the Digambara Jaina story as we move chronologically from Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* to Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, and will demonstrate the degree to which these changes appear to have been influenced by the Hindu and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the story.

3.5 Gunabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa

Guṇabhadra was a disciple of the eminent 9th century south Indian Digambara poet and mendicant Jinasena,¹⁸ who is purported to have been the teacher of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I who ruled in the 9th century from the city of Mānyakheta in the Deccan (in modern Karṇāṭaka). This Jinasena began one of the most important and influential texts in the Digambara tradition, known as the *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇaśrīmahāpurāṇasaṅgraha*, more commonly referred to by the abbreviated title *Mahāpurāṇa*. However, because Jinasena completed little more than the story of the first *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha in 46 chapters¹⁹ before dying, the rest of the history, including the story of the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi, was left for Guṇabhadra. The portion of this text composed by Jinasena is

¹⁷ That is, excluding Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*.

¹⁸ This Jinasena is to be distinguished from his predecessor of the same name, Punnāṭa Jinasena, who lived in Gujārāt and was the author of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.

referred to as the *Ādipurāṇa*, and the latter part, completed by his disciple Guṇabhadra, is known as the *Uttarapurāṇa*.

The *Mahāpurāṇa* is the oldest extant example of what became known in the Jaina literary tradition as a genre of the same name (i.e. *mahāpurāṇa*), referred to by the German scholars as Universal Histories, in which the biographies of all 63 of the *śalākāpuruṣas* or Illustrious persons are narrated. Another example of this type of text, Hemacandra's famous 12th century Śvetāmbara *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, will be examined in the next chapter. Despite the great popularity and renown of Hemacandra's work, Cort states, "in terms of social and historical importance and literary style, [it is not] as important as a normative and influential Jaina text as Jinasena's *Ādi Purāṇa*."²⁰ While Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* may be normative in many respects, Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* is hardly normative in its rendition of the marriage of Draupadī.

As expected, Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas enter the *Mahāpurāṇa* through their connection to the *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi and the *vāsudeva/prativāsudeva* pair of Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha. Guṇabhadra makes no bones about the fact that he intended to keep the story of the Pāṇḍavas brief. At the outset of the story, he states, "Now, cognizant of the lifespan and the mental capacity of those who fear stories that are too long, [only] a [very] brief version of the sons of Pāṇḍu shall be narrated."²¹ His account, from the beginning of the story of the Pāṇḍavas up to

¹⁹ Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition," 231-2.

²⁰ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 193.

²¹ *Uttarapurāṇa*, Chapter 72, verse 197.

the end of the marriage of Draupadī, spans only 16 verses,²² and for this reason it could not be productively included in the plot summary of the Digambara story in Appendix II. Furthermore, in a Digambara context, Guṇabhadra's version is remarkable for two reasons: (i) past-life stories of both Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas are introduced; interestingly, these stories are slightly modified forms of the stories found in the Śvetāmbara tradition to explain why Draupadī marries all five Pāṇḍava brothers;²³ and (ii) it is actually *unclear whether or not Draupadī married all five Pāṇḍavas*, or just Arjuna alone.

In some respects, Guṇabhadra's version coincides with the other Digambara versions summarized in Appendix II. For example, prior to Draupadī's *svayamvara*, there is mention of the lac-house episode and that the Pāṇḍavas were thought to have perished in the flames. It might also be inferred from certain phrases that, having escaped the fire, they traveled incognito. However, the story is unique in several respects. One might think, for example, that in any version of the Marriage of Draupadī, whether Hindu or Jaina, the author would be absolutely unequivocal about whether or not Draupadī committed polyandry. In all of the Hindu versions that were examined in Chapter 2, Draupadī certainly married five men, and in all the Digambara versions summarized in Appendix II, Draupadī married Arjuna alone. Furthermore, as will

²² In fact, the story of the Pāṇḍavas is only 75 verses long from beginning to end.

²³ See Chapter 4.

be clear in Chapter 4, every Śvetāmbara Jaina text examined for this thesis describes Draupadī marrying all five Pāṇḍava brothers.

In Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, however, the situation is murky. Initially, when King Drupada sees that his daughter Draupadī has reached marriageable age, he asks his ministers to whom she should be married. Their answer is, "She must be given to the fearsome Pāṇḍavas."²⁴ It would appear that the ministers were proposing a polyandrous union, though their suggestion could possibly be taken to mean that she should be given to one of the Pāṇḍavas. On the surface, it would also appear that they were advocating necromancy, as all the world, including King Drupada, believed the Pāṇḍavas to have perished in the lac-house. However, the ministers quickly explained that a spy had witnessed the Pāṇḍavas alive and well and taking part in political intrigue in another kingdom. The ministers told king Drupada that if he were to announce a *svayamvara* for his daughter Draupadī, the Pāṇḍavas would be sure to make an appearance. As the ministers predicted, the Pāṇḍavas did show up at the *svayamvara*. It is not clear how long they maintained their incognito status at the *svayamvara*, though it does appear that they were recognized more by their irrepressible behavior than their appearance.

It is also unclear in the *Uttarapurāṇa* whether or not there is an archery contest at Draupadī's *svayamvara*. Though Arjuna is said to have strung the bow and hit the "fish" target with an arrow, this event may or may not have been part

of the *svayamvara* activities. It is somewhat removed from Draupadī's act of garlanding Arjuna at the *svayamvara*, where it appears that while she is being introduced to all the kings and princes in attendance, she simply places the *svayamvara*-garland around the neck of Arjuna.²⁵ Her choice, if indeed it was her choice, seemed to meet with general approval:

The identity of the Pāṇḍavas was made plain by Bhīma's sporting with the thrashing trunk of a rutting elephant, by Arjuna's (Pārtha's) boldness in stringing the bow and piercing of the fish-[target], and from the arrival of Nārada. When they had been recognized as present along with the honest, most worthy, and greatly honoured ones, that girl [Draupadī] entered the *svayamvara* pavilion bedecked with jewels. While the king's domestic priest named Siddhārtha was introducing, excluding [Pāṇḍavas], each of the kings, together with their lineage, beauty, and qualities, [Draupadī] honoured Arjuna with a beautiful garland. The kings originating from noble families, beginning with Drupada, and those born in the Kuru lineage and still others, were satisfied, [thinking], "This is a suitable match."²⁶

Since there is no mention whatsoever of some event, miraculous or otherwise, to bring about a polyandrous union, this passage would seem to indicate that Draupadī married Arjuna alone. But the next verse²⁷ describes the Pāṇḍavas as *saṃprāpta-kalyāṇāḥ*, which could be interpreted as, "by whom good fortune was obtained," or "who had gotten married." In other words, either it was to the benefit of the Pāṇḍavas as a whole that Arjuna married Draupadī, or they all married Draupadī. It is possible, therefore, but not certain that this adjective

²⁴ *Uttarapurāṇa*, Chapter 72, verse 200.

²⁵ She does this in a manner similar to the accounts in the Śvetāmbara *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, though in these texts she garlands all five Pāṇḍavas.

²⁶ *Uttarapurāṇa*, Chapter 72, verses 207-212.

²⁷ *Uttarapurāṇa*, Chapter 72, verse 213.

implies a polyandrous union. The following verse²⁸ makes reference to Arjuna fathering one child with his wife Subhadrā, and five children, one at a time, with Draupadī, though the verse is just sufficiently vague that, if one were determined, one could suggest that the five children of Draupadī were each fathered by a different Pāṇḍava.

Following the marriage episode is only a very brief description of the life of the Pāṇḍavas after they returned to their own city, and a simple enumeration of events, including the destruction of Dvārāvātī and the death of Kṛṣṇa. Upon the death of Kṛṣṇa, the Pāṇḍavas decided to renounce their kingdom and journey to where Nemi was residing. Having arrived, they asked Nemi about their previous lives, and in response, Lord Nemi narrated the story of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārī.

The use of these past-life stories by Guṇabhadra is quite fascinating, as he is the only Digambara author I have come across that does so. The stories themselves are sure to be very familiar to the Śvetāmbara Jainas, though Guṇabhadra does not use these stories in the same way as the Śvetāmbara authors, i.e. as past-life stories of Draupadī that justify her polyandry.²⁹ Even when he is done narrating the two stories, Draupadī's marital status is still vague.³⁰ Unlike in the Śvetāmbara texts, these stories function in the *Uttarapurāṇa* as past-life stories for all five Pāṇḍavas as well as Draupadī. However, further discussion of the *Uttarapurāṇa*, and especially the past-life stories, will have to wait until

²⁸ *Uttarapurāṇa*, Chapter 72, verse 214.

²⁹ See Chapter 4.

Chapters 5 and 6, after the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts have been examined. Suffice it to say that it seems Guṇabhadra was drawing from a variety of sources for his very brief summary, and his version seems to represent an uneasy conflation of elements from versions in which Draupadī's polyandry occurs with versions in which it does not.

³⁰ Actually, in the absence of further information, I believe we are compelled to assume that Draupadī married Arjuna alone.

CHAPTER 4

ŚVETĀMBARA JAINA SOURCES FOR THE STORY OF THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ

The four texts used in this thesis as sources of the Śvetāmbara version of Draupadī's Marriage are: (i) the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, being the 6th *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon (5th century CE or earlier); (ii) Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (12th century CE); (iii) Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* (13th century CE); and (iv) Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacarita* (15th century CE). With respect to the story of Draupadī, the first two texts are quite similar to one another, as are the latter two. However, there is a significant shift in plot from the earlier two to the later two texts, demonstrating an important evolution of the Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī. An in-depth discussion of this evolution will be taken up in Chapter 5.

4.1 The Nāyādharmakahāo

The earliest¹ of the Śvetāmbara versions is found in the canonical *Nāyādharmakahāo*, which, as a vestige of an ancient oral tradition, can no more be assigned to any particular author than the *Mahābhārata* as a whole. However, the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is not a Jaina *Mahābhārata* per se, nor an epic of any sort,

but rather a collection of stories. This 6th *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon may be classified, together with the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th *aṅgas*, under the genre of *dharmakathā*, or narratives intended for the edification of the laity.² As Jaini has pointed out, the *Nāyādhammakahāo* served as a sort of archetype for later Jaina texts: “[it] sets the tone for such religious tales (*dharma-kathā*), which came to be a favourite genre among Jainas of the medieval period.”³ Paul Dundas describes the *Nāyādhammakahāo* as a series of tales of “varying in length and occasionally only vaguely Jain in theme, from which morals about the results of following the religious path are drawn.”⁴

The text is divided into two books, and the title *Nāyā-dhamma-kahāo* has been translated variously as “Stories of Knowledge and Righteousness”⁵ or “Examples and Religious Narratives.”⁶ The latter translation, given by N.V. Vaidya,⁷ relies upon the 13th century commentator Abhayadevasūri, and is explained thus: “the title refers to the two parts of the work. The first one contains ‘Illustrative’ stories, i.e. stories illustrating some religious principles, and the second part contains only the religious stories.”⁸ With respect to these stories, Vaidya states that, “every story is supposed to contain some moral principle, and generally, the moral is given immediately at the end. Sometimes, as in [the story

¹ For a discussion of the date of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, see Chapter 6.

² Jaini, *Path of Purification*, 54.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Dundas, *The Jains*, 64.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Vaidya, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, v.

⁷ The translator of the story of Draupadī (Pkt. Dovaī) from the *Nāyādhammakahāo*.

of Draupadī], the moral is not given.”⁹ The story of Draupadī and her past-lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā is located in the sixteenth chapter of Book I, and thus it falls under the category of “illustrative tales.”¹⁰

Historically, it is likely that the Jainas incorporated Kṛṣṇa into their cast of literary characters by simply declaring him to be a cousin to the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi, and that the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī gained entry through their connection to Kṛṣṇa. The 16th chapter of the first book of the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, however, is really a biography of Draupadī. Though Nemi, Kṛṣṇa, and the Pāṇḍavas appear in the story, it might be fair to say that they make an appearance only because of the roles they played in Draupadī’s life.

Although the account in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* follows Draupadī from her past lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā to her ultimate enlightenment, the story of Draupadī herself is mainly comprised of two episodes in her life: her marriage to the five Pāṇḍavas and her abduction by Padmanābha.¹¹ Throughout these events, Kṛṣṇa is unquestionably cast in a better light than the Pāṇḍavas. It is he who rescues the kidnapped Draupadī after the Pāṇḍavas prove themselves no match for Padmanābha, and he who, enraged by an adolescent trick on him by the Pāṇḍavas, expelled them from their kingdom. As the Pāṇḍavas tend to be

⁸ Vaidya, *Nāyādharmakahāo*, 57.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Though as just mentioned, the text does not make clear exactly which religious principle is being highlighted.

¹¹ An event, by the way, that is nowhere found in Hindu versions of the *Mahābhārata*.

glorified in whichever text they appear, whether Hindu or Jaina, it is interesting to see them depicted here as rather mediocre fellows.

The account of Draupadī's biography in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* was neatly summarized by Upadhye as follows:

Dhammaruī [Skt. Dharmaruci], who eats ... poisonous food to save the life of ants, becomes a god and subsequently attains liberation; while Nāgasiri [Skt. Nāgaśrī], who offered that food, becomes sick and poor. She is reborn as Sukumāliyā [Skt. Sukumārikā] who becomes a [Jaina] nun not being liked by her suitors. The sight of a harlot rekindles her passion, and she entertains a hankering for love-satisfaction in the next life. She becomes first a harlot of the gods, is born subsequently as Dovaī [Skt. Draupadī] and married to all the five Pāṇḍavas. Pāumanābha [Skt. Padmanābha], the king of Avarakaṅkā, on account of the mischief of Nārada, robs her; but was conquered by Kaṇha [Skt. Kṛṣṇa] Vāsudeva who takes her back to her five husbands. After paying respects to Ariṣṭanemi and practicing severe penances in due course, the five Pāṇḍava monks and Dovaī attain liberation.¹²

It should not escape our attention that Draupadī is here said to attain liberation.¹³

At some point, the Digambara Jainas came to promote the idea that women could not attain liberation, and obviously this passage would have been troubling to them. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, insist that there is no prohibition against women attaining liberation, and, unlike the Digambaras, believe that the 19th *tīrthaṅkara* Mallī was a woman.

¹² Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 16-7.

¹³ In the critically edited version of the *Nāyādharmakahāo* by N.V. Vaidya, Draupadī is not explicitly said to have attained salvation but merely to have been reborn as a goddess in heaven. I do not know whether Upadhye is mistaken in his assertion of Draupadī's emancipation, or was privy to a version not used or rejected by Vaidya. I suspect the latter.

4.2 Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*

The second of our Śvetāmbara texts is Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. As lengthy as the title may be, and as voluminous as the work itself certainly is, the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* occupies but a modest place in Hemacandra's yet more voluminous *oeuvre*, and any discussion that aims to be comprehensive about either this text or its author must likewise be voluminous. However, much has already been made of both the author and the text, both by Jainas and others,¹⁴ so I shall provide here just a few basic facts.¹⁵ Hemacandra was born to pious Jaina parents in 1088/9 CE, in the province of Gujarāt. It is said that he was brought under the tutelage of Jaina monks at an early age, and his skills as a scholar were quickly recognized. In time, he came under the patronage of the western Indian kings Jayasiṅha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1143 CE) and his nephew and successor Kumārapāla (c. 1143-1172 CE). Jayasiṅha appointed Hemacandra court scholar and annalist, and, when the throne passed to Kumārapāla, it appears that he developed a close relationship with Hemacandra. According to the Jainas, Hemacandra converted Kumārapāla to Jainism, and Kumārapāla then instituted in Gujarāt a government run entirely upon Jaina

¹⁴ Soon after his death, Hemacandra was the subject of many hagiographical accounts in which he was endowed with supernatural powers, and has to this day remained one of the most revered figures in the history of the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition. However, even outside of the Jaina tradition, Hemacandra is recognized for his contribution to scholarship on the Sanskrit language in a grammar of Sanskrit and several related Prākṛit languages he composed at the behest of Jayasiṅha Siddharāja, which was named *Siddhahemacandra* or *Siddhahaima*, after the patron and author of the work. Bühler wrote a biography of Hemacandra, and Helen Johnson devoted a large proportion of her scholarly life to the translation of the entire *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*.

¹⁵ R.C.C. Fynes, trans., *The Lives of the Jain Elders* (by Hemacandra), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xi.

principles. As usual, such wide-sweeping claims are not justified by the available evidence, though it is clear that both Hemacandra and the Jaina community thrived under the protection of Kumārapāla. Hemacandra died in 1172/3 CE, after composing a sequel, as it were, to the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, known as the *Sthavirāvalīcaritra*, or Lives of the Elders. Because he was so prolific, and displayed an almost superhuman breadth of knowledge, he became known as Kali-kāla-sarvajña, or, the Omniscient of the Kali (i.e. degenerate) Age.

The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, or Lives of the Sixty-three Illustrious Beings, falls under the general Jaina literary category of *mahāpurāṇa*,¹⁶ and is the foremost example of the genre in the Śvetāmbara tradition, if not the entire Jaina tradition. The story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas is found in Book VIII of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, also known as the *Nemināthacaritra* or The Life of Lord Nemi. Helen Johnson's translation of Book VIII is over 300 pages long, and no more than a handful of pages are devoted to Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas. Thus, not even the *Nemināthacaritra*, let alone the entire *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, may be considered a Jaina *Mahābhārata* per se, though much of Book VIII is devoted to the deeds of Kṛṣṇa and his father Vasudeva. As Helen Johnson has rightly pointed out, this eighth book of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* "gives more space to Kṛṣṇa than to Neminātha himself and is, in fact, a Jain Harivaṃśa."¹⁷ Though the story of Draupadī is quite brief in this text, it is

¹⁶ See Chapter 3.

¹⁷ Helen M. Johnson, trans., *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Vol. 5 (by Hemacandra), Gaekwad's Oriental Series. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931-62), xxviii.

inserted into a more familiar context than in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, where her biography was merely sandwiched between two entirely unrelated stories.

4.3 Devaprabhasūri's Pāṇḍavacarita

When we encounter Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, which was composed only about a century after Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, we find a very different text. Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* is neither a Universal History nor even a *harivaṃśa*. It represents, in fact, the first attempt among either Śvetāmbara or Digambara Jainas to compose an extensive text devoted primarily to the story of the Pāṇḍavas. For that reason it is both a landmark text in the Jaina tradition and the first Jaina text that actually conforms to what one might expect from the title "Jaina *Mahābhārata*."¹⁸ While both Kṛṣṇa and Nemi appear in the text, and while the text is undeniably Jaina in character, the text as a whole, in about 9,000 verses, focuses on the story of the Pāṇḍavas. Neither the account in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* nor in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacaritra* had nearly enough detail to be easily expanded into a 9,000 verse epic, and thus it is not surprising that the author Devaprabhasūri drew liberally from the most popular and easily accessible version in India, i.e. the Hindu version.

Little is known about the author of this text, apart from his approximate dates (c. mid-13th century), his ecclesiastical association (Harṣapuriya Gaccha)

and the name of his master (Municandra) and disciple (Devānanda).¹⁹ It would be fascinating to understand what his motive was in writing the text, and, more importantly, why a full-blown Jaina version of the Pāṇḍava story was, for the first time, deemed desirable.²⁰

4.4 Śubhaśīla's Pāṇḍavacaritra

Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* is embedded within his *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*, which is a commentary (i.e. *vṛtti*) on a text known as the *Śatruñjayakalpa*. The *Śatruñjayakalpa* is a 39-verse text, composed in Prākṛit, and attributed to Dharmaghoṣa.²¹ The *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*, written in Sanskrit, is in excess of 10,000 verses, and is basically a collection of stories depending, as if jewels, from the thread of the 39 verses in the *Śatruñjayakalpa*. Specifically, the *Pāṇḍavacaritra* is hung on verse 25, which makes reference to the Pāṇḍavas erecting images of the *jinās* on Mt. Śatruñjaya. In the context of the *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*, this version of the Pāṇḍava story is of considerable length (1,232 verses), though it is still only about one ninth the length of Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*.

Because of the strong association between the 22nd *tīrthāṅkara* Nemi and Mt. Śatruñjaya, it is not surprising that a tenth of Śubhaśīla's *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*

¹⁸ See the Table of Contents for the Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* in Appendix I.

¹⁹ M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Third Edition*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), 199.

²⁰ If such information is available, it has yet to reveal itself to me.

²¹ I cannot find a date for this text.

should be devoted to Nemi's equally famous associates, the Pāṇḍavas. However, Śubhaśīla's version of the Lives of the Pāṇḍavas has several seemingly unique aspects, and, like many other text I have examined, it deserves much greater attention than it has received. We seem to know about as much of Śubhaśīla as we do of Devaprabha, in that his dates are mid-fifteenth century, he belonged to the Tapā Gaccha, and his teacher was Munisundarasūri.²²

4.5 Plot Summary

From a close inspection of the plot developments evident in the plot summary of the four Śvetāmbara versions presented in Appendix II, a few points clearly emerge: (i) in many respects, the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* follows the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, and Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* follows Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, but between the earlier two texts and the later two texts, a significant development has occurred; (ii) the Jaina authors did not feel compelled to adhere strictly to the canonical version of events, despite the great weight that canonical authority might be expected to have; (iii) despite general additions, omissions, or alterations in the text, the past-life stories of Draupadī as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā are remarkably consistent;²³ and (iv) the Śvetāmbara versions of the story of Draupadī's Marriage are as different from the Digambara versions as

²² Hari Damodar Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa: An Alphabetical Register of Jain Works and Authors. Volume 1: Works*, (Poona: BORI, 1944), 372.

²³ That is, with the possible exception of the story of Sukumārikā in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, which displays several interesting alterations to the plot.

they are from the Hindu versions,²⁴ which decidedly removes any notion that there might be a unified Jaina version of this story, let alone a unified Jaina *Mahābhārata*.

Having now completed an introduction of our twelve source texts in Chapters 2-4, and having constructed basic plot summaries of Draupadī's Marriage for each of the three traditions in Appendix II, we must now turn to a detailed analysis of the historical evolution undergone by the Jaina versions. As will be evident, the evolution of the Jaina versions is both interesting and profound, and in many respects constitutes a shift from a more distinctly Jaina story to a story more closely allied to the Hindu version.

²⁴ In Chapter 5, however, I have demonstrated that the Śvetāmbara versions become increasingly similar to the Hindu version over the centuries.

CHAPTER 5
THE “HINDUFICATION” OF THE JAINA VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF
THE MARRIAGE OF DRAUPADĪ

5.1 Introduction

I began this thesis with the supposition that the Jaina tradition is less tolerant of moral ambiguity than the Hindu tradition, and that Jaina versions of morally ambiguous episodes found in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* should provide evidence of this tendency. It is ironic, then, that in the earliest extant story of the marriage of Draupadī in a Jaina text, i.e. the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, Draupadī’s polyandry seems to pass with only the slightest hint that there is something morally questionable going on. The event proceeds thus:

Then princess Draupadī walking in the midst of those thousands of kings, and being (so to say) impelled by her former *Nidāna* (or sinful resolution), approached the five Pāṇḍavas, and encircled and wreathed those five Pāṇḍavas with the five-coloured wreath of flowers, and spoke thus: -- “I have chosen these five Pāṇḍavas as my husbands”. Then Vāsudeva, and all those many thousands of kings declared loudly: -- “Well-chosen, indeed, by princess Draupadī,” – and with these words they left the *Swayamvara*-pandal and repaired to their respective guest-houses (or camps).¹

The only indication that Draupadī’s actions were anything less than morally pure is the reference to her former *nidāna*, or sinful resolution, as the motivating factor in her choice of five husbands. But the story appears to gloss

over this “sinful” motivation without much self-consciousness, and there is never any hint that Draupadī’s polyandry put anyone within the story into a moral quandary.² In the Hindu *Critical Edition*, everyone who even heard the suggestion that Draupadī should marry all five Pāṇḍavas is at least duly and properly shocked, if not morally outraged.³ Furthermore, in the *Critical Edition*, Draupadī herself plays no active role in the decision, but rather is a “victim” of the polyandry proposed by Kuntī and the Pāṇḍavas. But here, in the earliest extant Jaina version, we see that Draupadī’s *very intentional* choice to marry all five Pāṇḍavas meets with not only the tacit but the explicit approval of all concerned. Because we, as the audience, have already been introduced earlier in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* to Draupadī’s past lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā, we at least understand why Draupadī makes the choice she does. But there is no reason to believe that Vāsudeva and the other kings present at Draupadī’s *svayamvara* were privy to this information. Where, we might ask, is their sense of moral outrage? Evidently, attempting to distinguish between Hindu and Jaina versions of Draupadī’s Marriage on the simple basis of “tolerance of moral ambiguity” will prove inadequate.

¹ Vaidya, *Nāyādharmakahāo*, 36-37.

² Exactly how a Jaina audience might react to this story is an entirely different matter. Nevertheless, the main characters in the story are considered to be good Jainas, and they show no negative reaction at all.

³ Even Kuntī, whose (mis)speech was responsible for the polyandry being suggested, says to Yudhiṣṭhira upon realizing the consequences of her words, “Now tell me, bull of the Kurus, how/This word of mine is not made a lie/Or how the girl of the king of Pāñcāla/Incurs not an Unlaw such as never has been!” (van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.182.5).

Thus, I propose to examine the historical development of our eight Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī, with special reference to the following three issues: (i) the effect of polyandry on Draupadī's moral status; (ii) the influence of the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition on that of the Digambaras, and vice versa; and, *most particularly*, (iii) the influence of the Hindu version⁴ on the various Jaina versions.

However, we must be careful not to treat unwittingly our eight Jaina versions as if they all came out of more or less the same context or the same type of text, differing only by their date, author, and slight variations in content. Along with being distinguished by the Jaina sect from which they originate (i.e. Śvetāmbara or Digambara), our eight Jaina texts can also be divided into five literary genres: (i) canonical *aṅgas*, consisting of *dharmakathā* (e.g. the *Nāyādhammakahāo*); (ii) *harivaṃśas*, consisting of the biographies of the *tīrthankara* Neminātha, his cousin the *vāsudeva* Kṛṣṇa, the *prativāsudeva* Jarāsandha, and the Pāṇḍavas (e.g. Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*); (iii) *mahāpurāṇas* or universal histories, consisting of the biographies of the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* (e.g. Jinasena/Guṇabhadra's *Mahāpurāṇa*, Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*); (iv) *caritas* or *purāṇas* specifically focusing on the biography of the Pāṇḍavas (e.g. Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, and the

⁴ In Chapter 2, I took great pains to demonstrate that the four Hindu texts examined for this thesis are, on the whole, very similar with respect to the story of the Marriage of Draupadī, and that with few relevant exceptions, we would be safe taking refuge in the version found in the *Critical Edition* alone, and referring to it as *the* Hindu version. Thus, when I say I wish to examine the

Pāṇḍavapurāṇas of Śubhacandra and Vādicandra); and (v) *vṛttis* or commentaries containing stories designed to supplement a primary text (e.g. Śubhāśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* from his *Śatruñjayakalpa-vṛtti*).

One must expect that when the same basic story is related in texts from two different sects and five different genres, a certain degree of variation will undoubtedly be encountered. Thus, when each text is examined for the ways in which it is similar to, or different from, its antecedent texts (including the Hindu version), the genre and purpose of the text will be taken into account to the extent that it is possible and/or relevant. However, as will become evident below, the evolution of Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī, regardless of the Jaina sect or genre of literature from which they come, tend towards the same direction. That is, they show, in both their basic plot structure and their details, a gradual shift toward those of the Hindu version.

5.2 The Marriage of Draupadī in the Śvetāmbara Jaina Tradition

Based upon the evidence from extant (predominantly Sanskrit) texts, the story of Draupadī's Marriage has undergone a greater evolution in the Śvetāmbara than the Digambara Jaina tradition. This may in part result from the fact that the earliest sources for this story in the Digambara tradition are later than earliest

influence of *the* Hindu version on the various Jaina versions, I specific mean the version found in the Hindu *Critical Edition* (unless otherwise explicitly stated).

Śvetāmbara source by either a few centuries or as much as a millennium, depending upon the date assigned to the version in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*.

When we compare the account of Draupadī's Marriage found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* with that in the Hindu *Critical Edition*, the differences seem to overwhelm the similarities. In fact, of the eight Jaina versions considered in this thesis, the version in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* is not only the most ancient but is also the *least similar* to the story in the *Critical Edition*. It is my intention to show that as we move chronologically through our four Śvetāmbara texts, we observe a progressive movement away from the unique qualities of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*'s version toward a more recognizably Hindu version.⁵ In evaluating the progressive evolution of these Śvetāmbara Jaina versions, the following twelve points will be considered: (i) genre of the text and the textual context; (ii) the use of past-life stories; (iii) the order of events; (iv) the status of King Pāṇḍu (i.e. dead or alive); (v) the status of the Pāṇḍavas at the *svayamvara* (i.e. incognito or not); (vi) whether or not Draupadī pays homage to the *jinās*; (vii) the archery contest; (viii) the kings' futile attempt at the feat of archery; (ix) the exact circumstances leading to Draupadī's polyandry; (x) the reaction of the audience to the polyandry; (xi) the justification for the polyandry; and (xii) Draupadī's resulting moral status.

⁵ It is evident that the evolution of the story of Draupadī's Marriage does not move in equal increments between each of our four Śvetāmbara texts; rather, the greatest change occurs between Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Nevertheless, the evolution towards the Hindu version occurs to a greater or lesser extent in each of the texts evaluated.

5.2.1 The Marriage of Draupadī in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*

The context into which the story of Draupadī's Marriage is placed in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is quite different from that in the *Critical Edition*, for the simple reason that the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is not an epic with the thread of a core narrative running through it to give it continuity, but rather a collection of unrelated stories used for the purpose of edifying the laity on various religious principles. Furthermore, the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is the only one of our four Śvetāmbara Jaina texts that has the story of Draupadī herself *preceded* by her past-life stories as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā; in the other three Śvetāmbara versions, it is not until halfway through the story of Draupadī, specifically at the point when she is on the verge of marrying the five Pāṇḍavas, that a sage arrives to recount her past-lives in order to explain and perhaps justify the impending polyandry.

It is typical of Jaina story (i.e. *kathā*) literature to have the biography of an important character, especially one of the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas*, preceded by the story of one or more of his or her past-lives. Thus, the context in which the story of Draupadī is found in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, as well as the order in which the stories of Nāgaśrī, Sukumārikā and Draupadī appear, give the impression of an absolutely normal, unremarkable Jaina *dharmakathā* narrative. In fact, if the names of Kṛṣṇa, Draupadī, and the Pāṇḍavas were changed, there would be little

to distinguish this series of stories from any number of other Jaina stories. And to be even more explicit, we might say that the version of Draupadī's biography in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* shows no particular sign of having been an episode from a Hindu epic transplanted into a Jaina text. This is not to say that the Jainas invented the story of Draupadī from scratch, but merely that at the time the story was incorporated into the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, it was likely an episode from a popular non-sectarian story, rather than from a well-established, Hindu sectarian epic.⁶

Another difference that is immediately discernible between the versions of Draupadī's Marriage in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Critical Edition* is that in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, King Pāṇḍu is most assuredly alive and well at Draupadī's *svayamvara*! The Hindu story of the sage's curse that prevents Pāṇḍu from fathering heirs, and which ultimately results in his death, is not found here, nor is its corollary: in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, the Pāṇḍavas are the biological sons of Pāṇḍu, and are not the progeny of the gods. Not only is King Pāṇḍu alive at the time of Draupadī's *svayamvara*, but he, together with his five sons, arrives at Drupada's capital with the full pomp and ceremony suitable for kings and princes; the Pāṇḍavas do not arrive disguised as brahmins.

Not wishing to miss any opportunity to promote Jaina practice, the author of the version in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* makes reference to the fact that Draupadī, while preparing herself to attend her *svayamvara*, went to the Hall that

⁶ This topic will be discussed in greater detail below.

housed the images of the *jinas* and ritually paid homage to them. Obviously, no such event is found in the Hindu version. Furthermore, in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, the term *svayamvara*⁷ seems to be used literally rather than ritually. There is here no archery contest in which Draupadī is the prize. Here we do not find the other kings attempting the feat of archery and miserably failing. Here we do not find Arjuna, disguised as a brahmin, accomplishing the feat of archery to the shock and dismay of the audience. In fact, there is no archery contest at all; rather, Draupadī is merely introduced, as it were, to all the kings and princes in attendance at the *svayamvara*, and, seeing the Pāṇḍavas, she self-consciously chooses all five of them as her husbands. In other words, there is no strange set of circumstances, no strange twist of fate or slip of the tongue, and no miraculous event that results in Draupadī obtaining five husbands. She simply laid down a *nidāna* to have the attention of five men in her past life as Sukumārikā, and now, as princess Draupadī, she has chosen them!

As alluded to above, Draupadī's self-conscious choice for a polyandrous union causes no consternation whatsoever on the part of the other kings in attendance, and is in fact explicitly blessed by the *vāsudeva-śalākāpuruṣa* in attendance (i.e. none other than Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa himself). Nothing in this version is so startling as the fact that Draupadī's self-conscious polyandry meets with no hint of disapproval. And due to the utter absence of disapproval, or even of shock

⁷ Literally, "[a ceremony at which a husband is] chosen by oneself."

or confusion, it is clear that for the characters within the story no justification for the polyandry is required, nor is any offered.

It is no doubt as a result of the general approval of Draupadī's choice that her status as a virtuous woman is not raised. There is no explicit mention that she remained a virtuous woman despite having five husbands, but there is also no indication in the story that her virtuousness was ever in question.

5.2.2 The Marriage of Draupadī in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra*

Those elements in the account of Draupadī's Marriage in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* which distinguish it from the version in the *Critical Edition* are to a great extent mirrored in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, despite the fact that the latter was composed at least 700 years, if not more than 1000 years, after the account in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*. Nevertheless, the genre of text has changed, as has the context in which we find the story. The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, like the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, could be described as a collection of stories used for the edification of the laity, but it is much more than that. It is the foremost Śvetāmbara Jaina *mahāpurāṇa* or Universal History,⁸ and while not being a Jaina *Mahābhārata* exactly, it is a text with a coherent historical chronology which inserts the story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas, including their

⁸ See Chapter 1.

relationship to the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi and the *vāsudeva* Kṛṣṇa, into the proper place in Jaina history.

Because the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā have no direct relationship *per se* to the stories of Nemi and Kṛṣṇa, the narrative in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacaritra* begins with Draupadī, and the stories of her past-lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā are merely inserted into the middle of Draupadī’s biography, just as the story of “Śiva’s Boon” in the *Critical Edition* is an auxiliary story inserted into the middle of the story of Draupadī’s Marriage. However, though the order in which they are presented in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* is different, the past-life stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā are nevertheless told with details familiar from the *Nāyādhammakahāo*.

In the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Pāṇḍu is again described as being alive and well, and again accompanies the Pāṇḍavas, undisguised, to Draupadī’s *svayamvara*. And, like the version in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, Draupadī is explicitly said to have offered up homage to the *jinas* prior to attending her *svayamvara*. At the *svayamvara*, we find again that there is no feat of archery required of the kings in order to win Draupadī, and thus we obviously do not find any description of their gallant attempts and miserable failures.

Most importantly, and similar to the version in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, Hemacandra has Draupadī self-consciously and willfully choose the five Pāṇḍavas as her husbands: “She, enamored, threw the *svayamvara*-wreath around

the necks of the five sons of Pāṇḍu at the same time.”⁹ However, unlike the version in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, the assembled kings, led by Vāsudeva, do show some surprise, if not dismay, at this turn of events:

The circle of kings was amazed, saying ‘What’s this?’ until a flying ascetic came there. The muni was asked by the kings, Kṛṣṇa, et cetera, “How can Draupadī have five husbands?” and he explained:

“This state of having five husbands will result from karma acquired in a former birth. What is remarkable? The course of karma is unequal.”¹⁰

This flying ascetic then proceeds to narrate Draupadī’s past-lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā, in much the same way as, in the *Critical Edition*, Vyāsa arrives on the scene to tell King Drupada the stories of “The Five Indras” and “Śiva’s Boon”. Thus, the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā become, in this text, true “justification” stories in a way not really seen in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*. Ultimately, they serve a similar purpose, but the context in which they are used is different.

The issue of Draupadī’s status as a virtuous woman is likewise not explicitly raised in this text. However, when the ascetic has completed narrating Draupadī’s past-lives, an interesting event takes place: “When this had been told by the muni, there was a voice in the air saying, ‘Well done! Well done!’ Kṛṣṇa and the others said, ‘It is good that these husbands happened.’”¹¹ In this event we get an inkling that Draupadī’s virtue is being declared from on high, though this point is certainly a little bit vague.

⁹ Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, p. 198.

5.2.3 The Marriage of Draupadī in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* is the first large-scale Jaina version of the story of the Pāṇḍavas, and is thus the first text that one can comfortably refer to as a Jaina *Mahābhārata*. And while Devaprabhasūri no doubt needed to draw upon the Hindu *Mahābhārata* to flesh out the details of this newly expanded Jaina version of the Pāṇḍavas' story, the differences between the account of Draupadī's Marriage in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* and the *Nāyādhammakahāo/Trīṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* cannot be explained merely by the addition of new details. On the contrary, in several important instances, events which occur in the earlier texts are here described with very different details, and, on the whole, the story in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* is aligned much more closely with the Hindu version.

As in the earlier Śvetāmbara accounts, King Pāṇḍu and his five sons attend Draupadī's *svayamvara* together, undisguised. It is interesting to note, however, that the event which in the Hindu version resulted in the Pāṇḍavas attending Draupadī's *svayamvara* incognito, i.e. Duryodhana's attempt to assassinate them in the lac-house, is found in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, but it is placed much later in the text, long after the *svayamvara*. The reference made in the earlier Śvetāmbara texts to Draupadī paying homage to the *jinās* prior

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*, 202.

to attending her *svayamvara* is quite surprisingly omitted by Devaprabhasūri.

And similar to the story in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā are here placed *after* Draupadī obtains the five Pāṇḍavas as husbands.

Unlike the versions in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Devaprabhasūri introduces the archery contest into Draupadī's *svayamvara*. The contest functions here in much the same way as it does in the *Critical Edition*, in that the winner of the archery contest wins Draupadī as his bride. This represents a major innovation in the Śvetāmbara versions of Draupadī's Marriage, and obviously brings it into closer harmony with the Hindu version.¹² What had been, in the earlier texts, a true *svayamvara*,¹³ has now taken on the character of a typical Hindu epic *svayamvara*, where a bride is won rather than a husband chosen. Just as in the Hindu version, Arjuna here wins Draupadī by performing the feat of archery known as the *rādhavedha*. However, his accomplishment of this feat does not occur only after all the other kings and princes have tried and failed. In fact, there is no mention of anyone else giving it a try. Rather, while Draupadī's companion was in the process of naming and describing each of the assembled kings and princes, and just as she began describing Arjuna, he stepped right up to the bow, fired the arrow, and hit the target. Actually, the description of this feat of archery in Devaprabhasūri's

¹² And, for that matter, closer to the Digambara Jaina versions.

¹³ In that Draupadī herself actually got to choose her own husband(s).

Pāṇḍavacarita extends over almost 25 verses, which far exceeds the equivalent description in the *Critical Edition*. But, as in the *Critical Edition*, a shower of flowers from heaven descends upon the victorious Arjuna and, for that matter, the other kings seem to be visibly angry at Arjuna (presumably out of sheer jealousy).

In the context of the archery contest, in which Draupadī is rightfully won by Arjuna, there is no opportunity for her simply and willfully to choose all five Pāṇḍavas as she does in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra*. Nevertheless, we are told in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* that she *wanted to choose* all five, but was anxious over what people might think. Thus, following the expected protocol, she threw the *svayamvara*-garland around the neck of Arjuna. But before it could land on his shoulders, a miracle, as it were, took place:

With a desire to choose all five, but anxious about the censure of the world, [Draupadī] tossed the bridegroom garland, [obtained] from the lotus hands of her servant, onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Kirīṭin), but by a miracle, though only one, it appeared to the world to be around the necks of each one of them individually.¹⁴

The description of this event has the effect of removing Draupadī by at least one step from a conscious decision to choose five husbands. Here, she still *desires* to have all five Pāṇḍavas, but she knows better than to act upon it. Nevertheless, she miraculously obtains all five.

Just as in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, a disembodied voice from the heavens is described in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, but instead of occurring

after the flying ascetic has narrated Draupadī's past-lives, it happens immediately upon the expanding-garland miracle. In this text, the voice is somewhat more explicit than in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. Instead of merely saying, "Well done Well done!" it says: "The princess has made an excellent choice – Let there be no doubt!"¹⁵

The reaction of the assembled audience to the expanding-garland miracle is mixed, with Kuntī being delighted, Arjuna relieved, Pāṇḍu filled with wonder, and most importantly, King Drupada filled with anxiety. In fact, this is the first time in our Śvetāmbara texts that genuine *dismay* is expressed at the thought of one woman marrying five men:

Just as King Drupada was filled with anxiety, [thinking] "I am not able to give a single daughter to those five; in giving her, I will indeed put myself in a position to be derided by the sages; [but] that bridegroom garland fluttered upon the necks of the five; from where did this divine voice arise?; what will be?", a certain wandering ascetic arrived by way of the sky.¹⁶

Having properly honoured the ascetic, Kṛṣṇa asks him how Draupadī could have five husbands, to which the ascetic replies that it is as a result of a *nidāna* from a past life, and he proceeds to narrate Draupadī's past lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā. These "justification" stories told by the ascetic appear to satisfy everyone's concerns, including Drupada's (though he is not explicitly said to have been satisfied by the explanation), and Draupadī is married to the Pāṇḍavas.

¹⁴ *Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri, Chapter 4, verse 312-313.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, verse 314.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, verses 318-20.

Once again, the status of Draupadī's virtue vis-à-vis the polyandrous union is not directly addressed, though we are, as usual, given no indication that the polyandry has stripped Draupadī of a speck of her virtue.

5.2.4 The Marriage of Draupadī in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*

Moving to the last of our four Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, we once again shift into a new genre: commentarial literature. Jaina commentarial literature contains, among other things, a veritable storehouse of Indian *kathā* literature, and Śubhaśīla's *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*, wherein his *Pāṇḍavacaritra* is located, is no exception, running to approximately 10,000 verses. Śubhaśīla's version of the Pāṇḍavas' story in 1,232 verses, though only approximately one-ninth the length of Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, is nevertheless quite extensive for a text in which many stories run no longer than 20-30 verses.

The order of events with respect to the location of Draupadī's past-life stories is the same here as in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, in that the past lives of Draupadī are alluded to only at the time of the impending polyandrous union. Also, as was the case in all of our Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, King Pāṇḍu is alive and well, and he attends Draupadī's *svayamvara* with his five undisguised sons. Like Devaprabha, Śubhaśīla refrains from any reference to Draupadī offering up praise to the *jinas* in preparation for her *svayamvara*. It is difficult to surmise why this particular

detail would be omitted by these two authors, unless we consider it a casualty of the general trend towards a decreasingly “Jaina” version of Draupadī’s biography.

Following the account in Devaprabhasūri’s *Pāṇḍavacarita*, we find in this text the archery contest at Draupadī’s *svayamvara*. However, an additional detail regarding the attempt and failure of the other kings to complete the required feat of archery, found in the *Critical Edition* but not in any of the three earlier Śvetāmbara texts, is included by Śubhaśīla: “[But, no matter] which king lifted up the bow and firmly released an arrow, the result was an arrow bust into 100 pieces like [so many] pieces of rock.”¹⁷ This is also accompanied by a statement reminiscent of the version in the *Critical Edition*, in which the other kings seemed amused at the idea of Arjuna making an attempt at the feat of archery: “Then, while many kings were watching with amused looks, Arjuna (Phālguna) successfully hit the target ‘Rādhā’, according to the rules laid down in the *śāstras*.”¹⁸

Though it is debatable, it seems to me that the episode of the miserable and complete failure of the other kings to accomplish the *svayamvara* archery challenge, followed by their amusement at the sight of Arjuna making his attempt, is quite at home in the Hindu version of Draupadī’s Marriage, but is somewhat out of place here. In the Hindu version of the story, all of the assembled kings and princes attempted and failed to string the bow and hit the target. When the

¹⁷ *Pāṇḍavacaritra* of Śubhaśīla, 27. (According to my verse numbering in the translated portion in Appendix I, this is verse 12).

last of them had given up, a man dressed as a brahmin steps out from among the brahmins, and walks up to the bow. In this context, it would, of course, be natural for the mighty kings to be amused at the idea that a mere brahmin could prove successful at a feat of martial valour that not one of the assembled kings could accomplish. All of the kings *knew* that Arjuna was a master archer; they simply didn't know this "brahmin" was actually Arjuna in disguise. However, in none of our four Śvetāmbara versions is Arjuna in disguise, and for that reason, the idea of the kings looking on amusedly at Arjuna making his attempt with the bow and arrow sits a little uncomfortably in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*.

The circumstances given in Śubhaśīla's version that result in Draupadī's obtaining five husbands is similar, but not identical, to those in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*. In the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, where there is no archery contest, Draupadī simply walks up to the five Pāṇḍavas and chooses them. In Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, where there is an archery contest and Draupadī is rightfully won by Arjuna, we are told that Draupadī *secretly desired* all five Pāṇḍavas but, wishing to act with decorum, decided to garland Arjuna, the contest winner, alone. This was, of course, followed by the expanding-garland miracle. In other words, regardless of her secret desire, Draupadī obtained all five Pāṇḍavas not through her voluntary actions, but through a miracle. Thus, Draupadī herself is thereby relieved of some of the

¹⁸ *ibid.* (According to my verse numbering in the translated portion in Appendix I, this is verse 13).

moral burden of the polyandry, which now can be only indirectly assigned to her through arguing that the power of her former *nidāna* was such that even when she, as upright Draupadī, could restrain her desire for five men, *karma* would win out, even if by means of a miraculously expanding garland!

In Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* as well, Arjuna wins the archery contest and is showered with flowers from heaven while the gods cried "Jaya Jaya."¹⁹ And like Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, Draupadī walks up to Arjuna with the *svayamvara*-garland and tosses it over his head. However, Śubhaśīla says nothing at all about Draupadī *secretly desiring* all five Pāṇḍavas, but fearing the censure of the world. The event is described as follows:

Just as the daughter of Drupada tossed the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Pārtha), that excellent bridegroom garland assumed a five-fold form. Being tossed, it quickly fell onto the shoulders of the five [Pāṇḍava] brothers, and there was a voice in the sky saying 'These five ought to be the husbands of Draupadī'. When Draupadī tossed the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Pārtha), it fell *simultaneously* around the necks of the five brothers.²⁰

Once again, a voice from heaven confirms the correctness of Draupadī's "windfall."

Similar to the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, a flying ascetic arrives on the scene just as the assembled kings were wondering how and why such a thing as the expanding-garland miracle could occur. Having delivered a short discourse on the Jaina *dharma*, and upon

¹⁹ In Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, it was the crowd of people shouting "Jaya Jaya".

²⁰ *Pāṇḍavacaritra* of Śubhaśīla, 27. (According to my verse numbering in the translated portion in Appendix I, this is verses 15-17).

being asked, the ascetic began narrating the past-life of Draupadī in order to explain why the present polyandrous circumstances had arisen. However, unlike any of our previous Śvetāmbara texts, Śubhaśīla gives only the story of Sukumārikā, ignoring completely the story of Nāgaśrī.²¹

The issue of Draupadī's moral status in the face of her having five husbands is addressed in this text like no other. When the ascetic has completed the story of Sukumārikā, and despite a voice from heaven already giving its approbation immediately following the expanding-garland miracle, the loquacious voice in the sky speaks once again:

[Then] there was a heavenly voice in the sky [which spoke] thus: "Although there are five husbands, [nevertheless], Draupadī is to be considered a virtuous woman," and henceforth her father rejoiced.²²

5.2.5 Draupadī's Moral Status in the Śvetāmbara Tradition

It is of singular interest to me that the Śvetāmbara Jainas do not seem to know exactly what to say about the effect that Draupadī's polyandry has on her moral character. Their equivocal attitude towards Draupadī's moral status suggests to me that the story of Draupadī, including the story of her polyandrous union to the Pāṇḍavas, must have been popular before it ever entered the Jaina religious arena, leaving the Jainas to deal with a popular character whose morality was, to say the least, open to question. This perhaps supports Winternitz's

²¹ Also, as discussed in Chapter 3, some of the details of his version of the story of Sukumārikā diverge from the three versions in our earlier Śvetāmbara texts.

suggestion²³ that, whether or not it represents an ethnographic fact, the story of Draupadī's polyandry is quite ancient. The account in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* leads us from the birth of Nāgaśrī in the beginning to the fate of Draupadī²⁴ in the end, described in the text as follows:

Then the nun Draupadī studied the Eleven Aṅgas, beginning with Sāmāyika (i.e. Acārāṅga), with those Suvratā nuns for many years, and observing a mortification (fast) of one month, and having confessed and expiated her faults, and having died at the proper hour, was reborn in the heaven Brahmaloaka. There, the duration of life of some of the gods is ten Sāgaropamas.²⁵

This is a rather uncertain end for Draupadī,²⁶ especially in comparison to the destiny of each of the five Pāṇḍavas, i.e. full and complete emancipation.²⁷ Also, if there is a moral to the story here with regard to polyandry or *nidānas*, it is not at all clear what it might be.²⁸ If one were to inquire of the text a straightforward question such as, "So, was Draupadī committing a sin when she married the five Pāṇḍavas, or was she still virtuous?" the text does not seem to answer. Clearly, in her incarnation as Sukumārikā, her desire for the attention of five men could not be considered anything but sinful, and Sukumārikā is described as living out her life as a rather degraded, rogue nun who died without

²² *Pāṇḍavacaritra* of Śubhaśīla, 28. (According to my verse numbering in the translated portion in Appendix I, this is verse 45).

²³ See Chapter 6.

²⁴ Draupadī has become a Jaina nun at his point.

²⁵ Vaidya, *Nāyādharmakahāo*, 56.

²⁶ And is not in line with Draupadī's ultimate fate described by Upadhye above (Chapter 4).

²⁷ Vaidya, *Nāyādharmakahāo*, 56.

²⁸ Though a lack of an explicit moral does not make this story unique in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*.

confessing her sins. But while her *nidāna* to have five men in a future birth may *explain* the polyandry of Draupadī, it hardly *excuses* it.

Nevertheless, until Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts never really comment on Draupadī's moral character. In both the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, Draupadī's moral status remains unstated. Nevertheless, one gets the *impression* that Draupadī is meant to be considered virtuous,²⁹ and for that reason, perhaps the authors of the earlier three Śvetāmbara texts felt it wise not to delve too deeply into the propriety of Draupadī's polyandry.

But by the 15th century, Śubhaśīla felt compelled to address explicitly the fact that Draupadī was virtuous *despite* her polyandry, and he does so, it seems to me, using a particularly *un-jainistic* device; he establishes her virtue through the authority of a disembodied voice in the sky. Nowhere is there the sort of elegantly argued defense of Draupadī's virtuosness that one might expect. In fact, it is apparent that the Śvetāmbara Jainas end up justifying Draupadī's polyandry in much the same manner as the Hindus. That is, they imply that she is somehow a magical or mystical exception to the general rule, and while polyandry ought normally to be considered contrary to *dharma*, there are certain mysterious instances when it is not. In other words, Śubhaśīla abandons the typical Jaina argument that everything results from *karma*, in favour of the mysterious but absolutely authoritative voice in the sky.

In the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* and Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, the flying ascetic who arrives on the scene of Draupadī's impending polyandry, in response to the question "How can Draupadī have five husbands?," always appeals to the force of *karma*,³⁰ but the fact that Draupadī obtained five men because she somewhat lasciviously thirsted for them in a past-life hardly serves as a foundation for her virtue. It would be interesting to know why Śubhaśīla felt compelled to do what his predecessors had avoided, and in the discussion that follows, we may find that Śubhaśīla's inclusion of a passage that *explicitly* identifies Draupadī as a virtuous woman may have been in response to pressure, not from the Hindu camp, but from his rivals amongst the Digambara Jinas.

5.3 The Marriage of Draupadī in the Digambara Jaina Tradition

The story of the Marriage of Draupadī in the Digambara Jaina tradition has also evolved over the centuries, from Punnāṭa Jinasena's 8th century *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* to the late 16th century *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* of Vādicandra. There is no question that the Digambara authors were from the beginning heavily influenced by the Hindu version of the story. In the Digambara tradition,

²⁹ Almost as if her virtue is to be taken as an *a priori* fact.

³⁰ Johnson, trans., *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, 198: "This state of having five husbands will result from karma acquired in a former birth. What is remarkable? The course of karma is unequal."; *Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri: "Five husbands were chosen by her due to a *nidāna* enunciated in her previous birth. Do not worry any more." (Chapter 4, verse 325); "On account of her former *nidāna*, this one, fallen from a divine existence, became Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), and these five eminent men are known to be her husbands. What is surprising in this?" (Chapter 4, verse 386);

however, we are not so fortunate as in the Śvetāmbara tradition in terms of the antiquity of the extant versions of Draupadī's biography. Although the Digambaras claim that the true canon passed down by Mahāvīra and his immediate disciples was lost to posterity, and therefore reject the authenticity and authority of the Śvetāmbara canon, the exact moment in history when the literary traditions of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras became completely separated is uncertain. According to Paul Dundas, "everything points to the existence of an original and ancient shared Jain textual tradition which gradually bifurcated."³¹

It has been suggested³² that the final and hardened division between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras can be marked by the consolidation of the Śvetāmbara canon at the 5th century CE Council of Valabhi, at which there was no mention of naked monks at all. If this was the case, then it may be safe to assume that the final split was motivated as much by political considerations as it was by objections to the actual content of the canon. In other words, it may be safe to assume that the contents of the Śvetāmbara canon were, to a great extent, familiar and even acceptable to the Digambaras for centuries, and it would be interesting to know until what period the Digambaras would have claimed the story of Draupadī from the *Nāyādharmakahāo* as their own. Dundas states:

Little work has been done on Digambara attitudes, past and present, to the Shvetambara canon. Prominent Digambaras were certainly familiar with it and cite from it on occasion and, in the nineteenth century, Bühler

Pāṇḍavacaritra of Śubhaśīla, 28 (my verse 44): "As a result of the vow which she made in a previous life and which stated the object of her austerities, these five are now her husbands."

³¹ Dundas, *The Jains*, 70.

³² *ibid.*, 43.

describes how learned Digambaras whom he had encountered accepted the authority of some Shvetāmbara texts, while rejecting others.³³

As will be clear from passages in Śubhacandra's and Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas*, the Digambara Jainas of the 16th century were engaged in sectarian battles, and proved themselves to be familiar with the texts of the Śvetāmbaras.

The most ancient Digambara version of Draupadī's Marriage in Sanskrit is Punnāṭha Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, which was completed in the latter half of the 8th century CE, and thus lies halfway between the latest date for the *Nāyādhammakahāo* (i.e. 5th century CE) and Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacaritra* (i.e. 12th century CE). It is an open question as to just how familiar Punnāṭha Jinasena was with the Śvetāmbara version of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas found in the canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo*. Given the fact that he lived in Gujarāt,³⁴ which was a stronghold of Śvetāmbara Jainism, it may not be too controversial to assert that his version self-consciously diverged from the Śvetāmbara Jaina version. Furthermore, Guṇabhadra's version of Draupadī's Marriage in the *Uttarapurāṇa*, which was composed approximately a century later than the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, demonstrates a familiarity with the Śvetāmbara version as made clear by his somewhat unusual use of the past-life story of Draupadī as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārī (i.e. Sukumārikā).

³³ *ibid.*, 70.

³⁴ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas," 192.

In discussing the Digambara versions, we will not only make passing comparisons to the Hindu *Critical Edition*, but also to the Śvetāmbara versions discussed above. Because of its brevity and unique characteristics, the story of Draupadī from Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* will be discussed out of chronological order, after the other three Digambara versions.

5.3.1 The Marriage of Draupadī in Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*

The genre of this text is given by its title, and it contains, like other Jaina *harivaṃśas*, the biographies of Nemi, Kṛṣṇa, Jarāsandha, and the Pāṇḍavas. From the outset, the context in which Draupadī's Marriage is set in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* would be more familiar to Hindus than was the context of the *Nāyādharmakahāo*. For example, unlike any of the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, king Pāṇḍu was dead long before Draupadī's *svayaṃvara*.³⁵ Also, Draupadī's *svayaṃvara* is here preceded by the episode of the fire in the lac-house, where Duryodhana attempted to assassinate his cousins the Pāṇḍavas. Following this assassination attempt, which was thought by all the world to have been successful, the Pāṇḍavas secretly escaped and dwelled incognito, disguised as brahmins.

The adventures they had while wandering incognito are uniquely Jaina in character, and, as mentioned in Chapter 3, appear to have been influenced by the

³⁵ In this case, however, it was not as a result of a sage's curse but through the pious Jaina route of fasting unto death.

Vasudevahiṇḍi.³⁶ The manner in which the Pāṇḍavas arrive at Draupadī's *svayamvara* is also uniquely Jaina: having had many adventures, which included the marriages of Arjuna's two elder brothers Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma, the Pāṇḍavas decided to return home. On their way home, they stopped, seemingly by random chance, in Mākandī city, which was the capital of King Drupada. Only after they had arrived at Mākandī city did they hear of Draupadī's *svayamvara*. Up to this point in the story, there had been no mention whatsoever of Drupada, Draupadī, or Mākandī city.

This version of events in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* is decidedly different from those of the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, in which Pāṇḍu and his sons were explicitly invited via messenger to attend Draupadī's *svayamvara*, but it also differs from the Hindu account, in which the Pāṇḍavas are implored to go to Draupadī's *svayamvara* by Vyāsa. Similar to the Śvetāmbara versions, Draupadī appears to have been born in a normal biological fashion, and is not said to have appeared out of a sacrificial altar. Punnāṭha Jinasena also includes the archery contest at Draupadī's *svayamvara*. The introduction of the *vidyādhara* Surendravardhana and his giving of the Gāṇḍīva bow to King Drupada is apparently distinctly Digambara in origin, and does not appear in either the Hindu or Śvetāmbara versions.

³⁶ According to Jagdishcandra Jain, the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* was composed in the 2nd or 3rd century CE. (J.C. Jain, *Vasudevahiṇḍi: An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*. L.D. Series 59. (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1977), 25-28).

As in the Hindu version, the Pāṇḍavas here attended the *svayamvara* incognito, sitting with the brahmins and watching as the kings failed to perform the required feat of archery. Also similar to the Hindu version, Arjuna here steps up to the bow and performs the feat. Though he is in disguise, and those present at the *svayamvara* all thought him to have died in the fire at the lac-house, some people nevertheless wondered if this “brahmin” could be Arjuna. When Arjuna had won the contest, Draupadī proceeded to toss the *svayamvara*-garland around his neck, just as in the Hindu version and latter two Śvetāmbara versions. However, this is where the Digambara version makes its major departure from both the Hindu and Śvetāmbara versions.

Let us first consider Draupadī’s intentions at the garlanding ceremony. In the Hindu version, though Draupadī happily placed the garland around Arjuna’s neck, there was no indication that she recognized this “brahmin” as one of the Pāṇḍavas; furthermore, it is never explicitly stated that she desired even one, let alone all five Pāṇḍavas. In fact, despite it being her own *svayamvara*, Draupadī’s wishes are, seemingly, entirely irrelevant. By contrast, we are informed by our Śvetāmbara texts (excluding Śubhaśīla’s *Pāṇḍavacaritra*) that Draupadī desired all five Pāṇḍavas. In the Digambara *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, it is implied that Draupadī specifically wanted Arjuna for her husband, though, because he was in disguise, we have no reason to believe that Draupadī recognized him during the *svayamvara*. Nevertheless, the text says: “Then Draupadī, *the bride of Arjuna by*

her own desire, having approached [him] quickly, placed the garland on his charming neck with her own two lotus-hands.”³⁷

This brings us to the actual act of garlanding. In the Hindu version, no details are given at all, and we are left to assume that the garland fell gracefully upon the shoulders of Arjuna and that was that. The proximate cause of the polyandry in the Hindu version, i.e. Kuntī’s (mis)speech, is still somewhat removed from this event. In the earlier two Śvetāmbara texts, Draupadī boldly garlands all five Pāṇḍavas, and that is that. In the latter two Śvetāmbara texts, Draupadī was said to have thrown the garland around the neck of Arjuna alone, but that, by a miracle, the garland expanded and fell on the shoulders of all five Pāṇḍavas.

Here in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, something else is said to have happened: “Then, the garland expanded, and was suddenly wafted, by means of a gentle breeze, onto the bodies of the five [Pāṇḍavas] standing together.”³⁸ This breeze, however, constituted no miracle for Punnāṭa Jinasena. On the contrary, the people at the *svayamvara* who interpreted this event as Draupadī’s having chosen five men are described as ignorant: “The words of some of the trembling people, [who were] ignorant of what had happened, spread loudly: ‘Five [men] were chosen by her!’”³⁹ At this point, having departed slightly from the Hindu version by reference to the “gentle breeze”, we appear to again rejoin the Hindu version,

³⁷ Jain, ed., *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa of (Punnāṭa) Jinasena*. Chapter 45, verse 135; *emphasis mine*.

³⁸ *ibid.*, verse 136.

³⁹ *ibid.*, verse 137.

whereby some of the kings are outraged at the outcome of the *svayamvara* and advance against Arjuna eager for battle.⁴⁰ Like the Hindu version, the angry kings are beaten back by Arjuna and Bhīma, but *unlike* the Hindu version, the Pāṇḍavas then immediately reveal their true identity and reunite with their former companions, including Droṇa, Bhīṣma, and even Duryodhana.

Following the reunion, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* tells us that all the assembled kings remained to witness the marriage of Draupadī to her one and only rightful husband, Arjuna. It is of note in this text that during the post-lac-house adventures of the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise, *both* Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma, (Arjuna's elder brothers), were betrothed, thus leaving the younger Arjuna free to marry Draupadī without the complication of a younger brother marrying before an older one.⁴¹

After describing how the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas returned to each rule one half of the Kuru kingdom, Punnāṭa Jinasena returned to issue of Draupadī's relations with the Pāṇḍavas. He says:

The two older [brothers, i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma] thought of Arjuna's wife Draupadī as their daughter-in-law, while the twins [i.e. Nakula and Sahadeva] served her as if she was their mother. She treated the older brothers as if they were her father-in-law, just like Pāṇḍu, and she behaved

⁴⁰ It is unclear exactly what upset the kings: it could be the fact that a "brahmin" had won Draupadī, as in the Hindu versions, or it could be the fact that they thought Draupadī had chosen five men. In the absence of any explicit reference, and given the obvious influence of the Hindu version in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, the former explanation is more likely.

⁴¹ In the *Critical Edition*, Yudhiṣṭhira was unwed when he attended Draupadī's *svayamvara*, and the social awkwardness of a younger brother marrying before all of his elder brothers were married was sufficient to cause Arjuna great anxiety. For this reason, Arjuna was relieved by Yudhiṣṭhira's polyandrous solution.

suitably to her younger brothers-in-law, restrained by her love for Arjuna.⁴²

These statements are then followed by a short discourse on the ills of lying and spreading false rumours. That this discussion is directed at the “false rumour” of Draupadī’s polyandry is not explicitly mentioned, but that this is the intention is utterly transparent. Punnāṭa Jinasena says, “Even ordinary people observe the rule that out of affection they may share their wealth but never their women. It is obvious that noble men would be even more scrupulous in this.”⁴³

What is most interesting here is that the version of the Digambara Punnāṭa Jinasena, in its refutation of Draupadī’s polyandry, does not seem to be refuting the Hindu version of events that led to Draupadī’s polyandry, i.e. Kuntī’s (mis)speech. Rather, he concerns himself with what appears to be the Śvetāmbara Jaina version (i.e. the miraculously expanding-garland).⁴⁴ However, among our four Śvetāmbara texts, this miracle story is not found until the 13th century *Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri, composed roughly *four centuries after* the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.⁴⁵ Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, composed roughly *three centuries later* than the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, makes no mention whatsoever of a miraculously expanding-garland.

⁴² Jain, ed., *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa of (Punnāṭa) Jinasena*. Chapter 45, verses 150-1.

⁴³ *ibid.*, verse 154.

⁴⁴ That is, he refers to a gentle breeze that wafted the flowers of the *svayamvara*-garland onto all of the Pāṇḍavas.

⁴⁵ P.S. Jaini made a similar observation with respect Vādicandra’s *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, i.e. that the Digambara author Vādicandra was refuting the Śvetāmbara version. However, though Vādicandra may be said to have been refuting earlier Śvetāmbara versions such as those found in Devaprabhasūri’s *Pāṇḍavacarita* or Śubhaśīla’s *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, Punnāṭa Jinasena’s text is still at least 400 years earlier than either of these.

This leaves us with two possibilities as to the origin of the miraculously expanding-garland story in our two chronologically most recent Śvetāmbara texts. First, it might be supposed that the story of the miraculous expanding-garland as an explanation for Draupadī's polyandry was known to the Jaina tradition, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara, but was not necessarily normative in either.⁴⁶ Thus, in his refutation of Draupadī's polyandry, Punnāṭa Jinasena chose to incorporate this story in his version, and chose to refute not the *fact* of the expanding-garland but rather its interpretation as miraculous. That is, according to him, the flowers of the garland did indeed fall upon all of the Pāṇḍavas, but this signified nothing, and was certainly no miracle. Draupadī intended to garland Arjuna alone, and in the end, Draupadī married Arjuna alone. In other words, Punnāṭa Jinasena used his version of the garland story to clear up the ridiculous misapprehension that Draupadī married the five Pāṇḍavas just because the flowers of the *svayamvara*-garland happened to land on them all.

Furthermore, it might be supposed that three centuries later, the Śvetāmbara poet and polymath Hemacandra, whose version of the story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas in his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* is quite brief, chose to stick closely to the canonical version found in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, and to ignore the expanding-garland episode. A century after Hemacandra, when the

⁴⁶ Like so many stories in India, the story of the miraculously- expanding garland may have been known to the community of Jainas without necessarily being an officially sanctioned episode. This situation is commonplace in India, where the general population may be able to provide quite easily five explanations for why Draupadī married five men that are nowhere to be found in the Hindu Sanskritic *Mahābhārata* tradition.

Śvetāmbara poet Devaprabhasūri came to compose a long and detailed version of the story of the Pāṇḍavas in his *Pāṇḍavacarita*, he chose to incorporate every story at his disposal, including many episodes from the Hindu *Mahābhārata* as well as other episodes known to the Jaina tradition, including the story of the expanding-garland. Śubhaśīla, no doubt aware of Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, likewise chose to include the expanding-garland story.

The second possible theory goes as follows: the story of an expanding-garland did not exist prior to Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, and he invented it because he was in need of some expedient manner of refuting the polyandry of Draupadī. Why he wished to refute her polyandry is not known, but we may surmise that he either wanted to tarnish the authority of both Hindu and Śvetāmbara scripture by pointing out their errors, or, he was simply presented with the apparent and *a priori* fact that Draupadī was a virtuous woman, and could think of no way that she could be virtuous without denying her polyandrous marriage. Perhaps it was both reasons. In any case, he invented the story of the expanding-garland to explain why some ignorant people *thought* that Draupadī had married all five Pāṇḍavas when, in fact, she only married Arjuna. Possibly he took as his starting point the account in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* wherein Draupadī is said to have thrown the garland around all five Pāṇḍavas, and then proceeded to explain that she never had any intention to throw the garland onto all of the Pāṇḍavas, but only Arjuna, and the foolish and wicked people in the crowd were tricked by a meaningless gust of wind into thinking she garlanded them all.

Then, according to this second theory, a story that was originally invented to *refute* Draupadī's polyandry, and which was entirely ignored by the Śvetāmbara Hemacandra, was then taken up and twisted by later Śvetāmbara authors such as Devaprabhasūri to *explain* the polyandry. Why would they do that? One obvious reason, as discussed above, would be their desire to remove Draupadī's intention from the equation,⁴⁷ and to make a miraculous event the proximate cause of the polyandry.

Both of these theories strike me as being plausible, and I am unable to absolutely favour one over the other. One way of helping to settle the matter would be to examine, with this issue in mind, every Jaina text, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara, both Sanskrit and vernacular, that makes even the slightest comment upon Draupadī's *svayamvara*. Unfortunately, such an exhaustive search is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁴⁸

As trivial as this point may seem on the surface, I believe that these are just the sorts of clues which are in need of investigation if we are to come to a clearer understanding of the relationships, textual and otherwise, between the Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina communities throughout the medieval period.

⁴⁷ The earlier Śvetāmbara accounts are clear that it was Draupadī's intention to garland all five Pāṇḍavas.

⁴⁸ It is worth noting that while the refutation of the expanding-garland explanation for Draupadī's polyandry is found in our two 16th century Digambara *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas*, it is not mentioned in Guṇabhadra's 9th century *Uttarapurāṇa*. Guṇabhadra's text, apart from being very brief, seems to be walking a strange line between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara versions, and is even so vague as to be unclear on the fact of Draupadī's polyandry. See discussion below.

5.3.2 The Marriage of Draupadī in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*

Temporarily abandoning our scheme of treating the texts in chronological order, we shall skip Guṇabhadra's 9th century *Uttarapurāṇa*⁴⁹ now and move on to the next text: Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*. Though Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* diverges from the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* in many details, it is similar in basic plot. For example, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* has the following events in common with the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*: the fire in the lac-house; the subsequent traveling of the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī incognito; their decision to journey back to Hastināpura; their visit to Mākandī city at the time of Draupadī's *svayaṃvara*; the Gāṇḍīva bow obtained by King Drupada from the *vidyādharma* king; the attendance of the Pāṇḍavas incognito at the *svayaṃvara*; the archery contest; Arjuna's victory at the archery contest; Draupadī's attempt to garland Arjuna; the garland being shaken by the wind and falling on all five Pāṇḍavas; ignorant people using this fact to declare Draupadī had chosen five men; the kings becoming angry; Arjuna and Bhīma fighting off the kings; Arjuna identifying himself and his companions to Droṇa etc; the happy reunion; and Draupadī being married to Arjuna alone.

As should be clear from these points of agreement, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* is very similar in basic plot to Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. However, the story in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* is much more detailed, and it is interesting to see how many of the additional details are common to the

version in the Hindu *Critical Edition*. For example, while the Pāṇḍavas' escape from Duryodhana's assassination attempt at the lac-house is found in both texts, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* includes a detail, mentioned in the *Critical Edition*, that they were warned ahead of time about Duryodhana's plot by their uncle Vidura. Also, while the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* mentions that the townspeople thought the Pāṇḍavas to have perished in the flames, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* gives the additional details, also found in the *Critical Edition*, that the corpses of a woman and her five sons were found in the aftermath of the fire, providing further "evidence" of the demise of the Pāṇḍavas.

The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* mentions that Bhīma marries a woman named Hṛdayasundarī, daughter of king Simhaghoṣa in the lineage of Hiḍamba, which is clearly though only slightly related to the episode in the *Critical Edition* where Bhīma marries the demoness Hiḍimbā with whom he has a son named Ghaṭotkaca. However, in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, Bhīma is said to have married a demoness named Hiḍimbā and to have had a son by her named Ghuṭuka, which is much closer to the account in the *Critical Edition* than the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. And again, in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, we are not specifically told where the Pāṇḍavas resided while staying in Drupada's capital, but Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* informs us that, similar to the account in the *Critical Edition*, the Pāṇḍavas took up residence in the house of a potter.

⁴⁹ It will be treated separately below.

The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* does not make specific reference to the naming of the kings at the *svayamvara*, though it is found both in the *Critical Edition* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*. Likewise, both the *Critical Edition* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* include a passage indicating that it was Drupada's secret wish that his daughter marry Arjuna, though this is nowhere found in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.

With regard to what occurred while Draupadī was placing the *svayamvara*-garland upon Arjuna, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* is in complete agreement with the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*: "Then, due to the power of fate, the garland was shaken by the wind, fluttered about, and was scattered about the palanquin/couch of the five [Pāṇḍavas] who were all standing nearby."⁵⁰ In terms of countering the rumour that Draupadī married five men, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* also mirrors the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*: "On account of ignorance, the following rumour got out: 'Due to the ripening of actions in a past life, five men were chosen by her'; and villains proclaimed this aloud!"⁵¹ This statement is rather more pointed than the one in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, where the foolish crowd merely declared that she has chosen five men. Here, clear reference is made to the Śvetāmbara version in which a *nidāna* was made by Draupadī in her past-life as Nāgaśrī, and is designed quite explicitly to refer to the Śvetāmbaras as ignorant fools!

⁵⁰ Shastri, *Pāṇḍavapurāṇam of ŚrīŚubhacandra*, Chapter 15, verse 113.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, verse 114.

As in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Śubhacandra's version refers to the kings in attendance at the *svayamvara* responding angrily to its outcome, but in Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, we are told why: it is because King Drupada allowed a brahmin to walk away with the prize. Once again, Śubhacandra's version mirrors the version in the *Critical Edition*. During the battle that ensues, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* adds yet another detail found in the *Critical Edition* but not in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*: Karṇa asks Arjuna-in-disguise if he is indeed Arjuna, and Arjuna denies his true identity.

When it comes to Draupadī's status as a virtuous woman, Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, unlike the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, is explicit in this regard:

Draupadī, who is completely pure, intent upon the gods and upon righteousness, possessed of moral conduct, and of shining beauty serves [one] man of the highest qualities, and indeed, not five!; how could she if she is completely devoted to him, is regarded as being a virtuous woman, is said to be the first among faithful wives, and is the ornament of her family? Some crazy people say that Draupadī, of excellent moral conduct, having been subject to an oath, serves five men by the permission of her husband. How could those Pāṇḍavas, endowed with vast understanding, be devoted to [only] one? Even poor people have their own wives. If Draupadī should somehow be devoted to five [men], how could she maintain the title of 'virtuous woman'?; having considered this matter in their minds, those whose understanding is pure and who possess excellent intelligence should demonstrate that she is completely pure. Thus, where will they go, those wicked people, intent upon their own opinions regarding her?⁵²

When one reads a statement like this, one can see perhaps why the Śvetāmbara poet Śubhaśīla, in his *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, felt compelled to have a voice from the heavens proclaim that, despite having five husbands, Draupadī was a virtuous

woman. Though Śubhacandra was writing this about 90 years *after* Subhāśīla, his assertion probably represents the position held by Digambaras virtually since the time of Jinasena.⁵³ In any case, it is clear that when Śubhacandra dismisses the idea that Draupadī had multiple husbands, and specifically debunks the expanding-garland theory, it is the Śvetāmbara version, and not that of the Hindus, with which he is concerned. As far as I know, the notion that Draupadī's polyandry was caused by a miraculous expanding-garland is nowhere to be found in the Hindu tradition, nor is Kuntī's (mis)speech to be found in any Jaina text.

5.3.3 The Marriage of Draupadī in Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*

Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* was written less than 50 years after Śubhacandra's text of the same name, and one might wonder why Vādicandra felt that another Sanskrit Digambara Jaina version of the Pāṇḍavas' biography was needed, especially as Śubhacandra's text was well known and highly regarded.⁵⁴ However, as P.S. Jaini, the editor and translator of this text, points out, the answer to this question is not difficult to surmise: Vādicandra was engaged in sectarian disputes with the Hindus and, to a lesser extent, the Śvetāmbara Jainas. In general, Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* shares the same plot as the

⁵² *ibid.*, verse 225-7.

⁵³ It is possible, I suppose, that Śubhacandra's explicit tirade against the notion that a woman with five husbands could be considered virtuous may have been in response to Subhāśīla's statement or others like it in the Śvetāmbara tradition, but there is little doubt that since the time of Punnāṭa Jinasena, Digambaras have felt that having five husbands precludes a woman from the title "virtuous". Nevertheless, as Jaini has demonstrated, it would appear that sectarian battles were heating up in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, though the details, as made evident in Chapter 3 and Appendix II, are often quite different. At present, however, we are mainly concerned with those details which display a likely influence of either the Hindu *Critical Edition* or any of the Śvetāmbara versions. The impact of the Hindu version is of special interest, given the sectarian dispute in which Vādicandra was engaged.

Beginning with the episode of the fire in the lac-house, we find that Vādicandra has introduced the name of Śākuni, a well-known character from the Hindu version, though this is clearly not the exact same character. In the Hindu account, Śākuni is Duryodhana's maternal uncle, who conspires with Duryodhana to bring about the downfall of the Pāṇḍavas. In Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, Śākuni is not a *kṣatriya*, but rather a brahmin, and is in fact Duryodhana's *purohita* i.e. domestic priest, though he certainly conspires with Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas. In fact, it is said that the brahmin Śākuni himself set the lac-house ablaze. Given Vādicandra's rivalry with the Hindus, this introduction of Śākuni should likely be viewed less as a covert influence of the Hindu version than as Vādicandra's explicit attempt to tell the "real story" which the Hindus have gotten wrong.

Further evidence of the impact of the Hindu version upon Vādicandra's version is the fact that the name of Bhīma's son with the demoness Hiḍimbā is given by Vādicandra as Ghaṭotkaca, just as it is found in the *Critical Edition*, and

⁵⁴ Jaini, "Pāṇḍavapurāṇa of Vādicandra," 91.

in his version the Pāṇḍavas visit a town called Ekacakrapura, an obvious reference to the Ekacakrā of the Hindu version. It is interesting that Vādicandra does not use the name Bhogavatī for Drupada's wife, as it is found in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, but rather uses the name Dṛḍharathā, suggesting some influence from Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* discussed below. Similar to the case of Śakuni, Vādicandra introduces another well-known name from the Hindu version, Śikhaṇḍin, but again his Śikhaṇḍin is not exactly the same character as in Hindu version: here, Śikhaṇḍin is the name one of Drupada's two sons.

When it comes to descriptions of the bow that the contestants in the archery challenge were to use, Vādicandra follows the Hindu version of events more closely than Jinasena or Śubhacandra. In the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, the Gāṇḍīva bow⁵⁵ was more or less unapproachable to anyone but Arjuna. In Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, the description of the bow and its effect on the kings who tried to approach it is quite detailed and extreme. The bow is described as being so fearsome that it actually killed many of the kings. In Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, however, we see a description of the bow as simply stiff and difficult to manage. It appears that Vādicandra was normalizing, as it were, the

⁵⁵ The origin of the Gāṇḍīva bow in the Digambara tradition is interesting, and does not correspond with the Hindu version at all. According to the Hindu story, Agni wished to consume the entire Khāṇḍava forest, and asked Varuṇa to give the divine Gāṇḍīva bow to Arjuna (along with two quivers of arrows and a chariot marked with the sign of a monkey) in order to fight off Indra, who was endeavouring to prevent Agni's conflagration. (see *Critical Edition*, I.216.1-4). According to the Digambara tradition, the Gāṇḍīva bow was given to King Drupada by the *vidyādhara* king Surendravardhana/Devendravardhana for use at the *svayamvara* archery contest.

more extravagant Digambara descriptions of the bow, but in the process bringing his account closer to the Hindu version.

When Arjuna accomplished the required feat of archery in Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, things proceed very much as they do in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*: "As Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, was throwing the wedding garland over the neck of Arjuna, it was blown by the wind and fell on all five Pāṇḍava brothers."⁵⁶ Despite the variations in detail between the three Digambara texts, they are remarkably consistent on this point. And, as usual, this event is followed by rumour-mongering: "At that, the evil kings, who had lost hope, said the following, 'All five have been wed by this woman.' And having spoken thus, the wicked ones jeered [at Arjuna]."⁵⁷

A further apparent influence of the Hindu version on Vādicandra's version can be seen in the treatment of the manner in which the Kuru kingdom was divided between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. In the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, the Kuru kingdom was split evenly between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas long before the incident at the lac-house or Draupadī's *svayamvara*. Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* seems to follow the Hindu order of events by having the kingdom split between the two sets of cousins only after the *svayamvara* takes place and the true identity of the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise is revealed.

In neither the Hindu version nor the Śvetāmbara versions is the Gāṇḍīva bow involved in the archery challenge at Draupadī's *svayamvara*.

⁵⁶ Jaini, "Pāṇḍavapurāṇa of Vādicandra," Canto 6, verse 170.

Finally, Vādicandra, like Jinasena and Śubhacandra, gives his comments on the rumour that Draupadī married five men. Of the three authors, however, Vādicandra is the most explicit about which story is being refuted, and, as Jaini points out, it is quite obviously not the Hindu version but rather the Śvetāmbara version as found in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* and Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*. I quote the passage here from Jaini's translation:

Some deluded beings, however, prattled that Draupadī was the wife of five husbands. Their idea of a virtuous woman, as well as their daring, is extraordinary indeed. Some [Śvetāmbaras] have speculated that she came to have a relationship with the five brothers on account of craving for such a reward at the time of her death in the previous life. But indeed, this is not a proper causal connection. Such an argument has a fallacy called *sādhyasādhana* (a proper means of establishing what is to be proved). According to them [the Śvetāmbara version], in her previous birth she was devoid of beauty, and she practiced severe penance [as a Jaina nun]. One day she saw a most beautiful courtesan called Vasantasenā. She resolved that she would be as beautiful as that courtesan and would not have any sexual relationship with any other men. Because of that resolution, she has five husbands in this life. [They have further said] that in the case of Draupadī, in her present life, there is no flaw in her character since she had desired the five husbands in her previous life. But even such utterances are truly false and are devoid of all reasoning. If there was evil desire, then it would certainly result in her not being a virtuous woman. But in that case, you should not call her a *sādhvī* (a virtuous woman). But if she is virtuous, then how do you explain that (i.e., her having five husbands)?

Therefore, the words of the Digambaras should be trusted as true by those people who are true believers. And no other speech should be honored as truthful since it only spreads conflicting versions.⁵⁸

This passage represents the clearest statement thus far regarding the Digambara position on the mutual exclusivity of polyandry and virtue. However,

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, verse 171.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, verses 257-263.

the Śvetāmbara version that Vādicandra briefly alludes to does not coincide with the Śvetāmbara story of Sukumārikā that is found in our texts, and actually seems rather garbled and nonsensical. For example, Vādicandra states that in her previous birth, Draupadī was devoid of beauty, and upon seeing the courtesan named Vasantasenā⁵⁹ it was the courtesan's beauty that she craved. In the Śvetāmbara versions examined for this thesis, Sukumārikā was described as already being beautiful. Furthermore, upon seeing the courtesan, it was the courtesan's five attendant males and not her beauty that caught Sukumārikā's attention. Somehow, Vādicandra arrives at her obtaining five husbands as a result of her desire to be beautiful.

Despite these irregularities, it is the Śvetāmbara version, rather than the Hindu version, to which Vādicandra awkwardly alludes. Why his version is so unusual is a mystery, unless he purposely twisted the story to discredit yet further the Śvetāmbaras. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact source for his story.

5.3.4 The Marriage of Draupadī in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*

The story of Draupadī's Marriage in the *Uttarapurāṇa* is very short, and a determination of whether Draupadī married one man or five is surprisingly hard to achieve. Furthermore, Guṇabhadra's text, so far as I can determine, is unique in the fact that it uses the Śvetāmbara past-life stories of Draupadī (as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā) to connect the past-lives of the Pāṇḍavas with those of Draupadī, but

⁵⁹ As opposed to the more usual name, Devadattā.

(apparently) does not use them to explain or justify polyandry. Though the Jaina tradition does contain past-life stories for the Pāṇḍavas, nowhere else⁶⁰ are they said to have been characters in the story of Nāgaśrī.

Being as distinctive as it is, it is fairly obvious that Guṇabhadra's version was not heavily influenced by Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, as were the later *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas* of Śubhacandra and Vādicandra. However, as influential as the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* was on the 16th century Digambara authors, it is interesting that small vestiges of Guṇabhadra's version emerge in Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, such as the use of the name Dṛḍharathā for Drupada's wife, as opposed to Bhogavatī in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*. Such small borrowing may have been used by Vādicandra in order to distinguish his version from that of Śubhacandra, which was written a mere 50 years earlier.

The fact that Guṇabhadra seems to have conflated elements of a version of the Marriage of Draupadī in which she *does* commit polyandry (i.e. the ministers' suggestion that she be given to the Pāṇḍavas, and the use of the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā) with a version in which she *does not* (i.e. she garlands Arjuna alone, there is no expanding-garland, and she is never explicitly said to have married all five Pāṇḍavas) is quite interesting. It may suggest that Guṇabhadra was familiar with both versions and wished to include portions of both, or, even

⁶⁰At least not that I have come across.

more suggestively, it may demonstrate the fluidity of our story among 9th century Digambaras.

5.4 The Cumulative Effect

When performing a detailed analysis of a single text, one may be tempted to allow the weightiest of issues to hang on a choice chance word or phrase. This is perhaps a natural result of attempting to squeeze as much from a text as possible. However, when confronted with twelve distinct versions of *more-or-less* the same story, it becomes more difficult to place great emphasis upon the exact wording of a single text. For example, one may construct an argument for why it is absolutely crucial to the integrity of a story that episode A precede episode B, only to find that the ordering of episode A and episode B across twelve texts is fairly random and seemingly inconsequential.

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate the influence that the Hindu version of Draupadi's Marriage has had on the evolution of this story in both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina traditions. In order to do this, I have certainly highlighted small, seemingly minor alterations from one text to another. However, the force of my argument that the Jaina versions have become increasingly "hindufied" does not rest upon this or that minor alteration, but resides in the cumulative force of many alterations, both great and small, each tending in a similar direction. Because of the large number of texts that were consulted, I was confined to dealing with the evolution of the Jaina versions of the

Marriage of Draupadī in a fairly crude way; that is, I have certainly *not* squeezed as much as possible from these texts, and a great deal of work is yet required before we can fully understand the evolution of the Jaina story of Draupadī, to say nothing of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* as a whole.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, there are certain differences between one version of a story and another that can be easily and convincingly explained by resorting to theological differences between authors or traditions. In some cases, the traditions themselves are blatantly and self-consciously making an alteration in plot from an earlier text in an effort to “correct” the previous text. In the case of the Jaina versions of Draupadī’s Marriage, it may appear that they are “correcting” their own, older versions in favour of the Hindu version. However theologically unwise this may seem, by reducing the distinction between their own versions and the Hindu versions, they only serve to further highlight those “important” points in which they continue to differ. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the evolution of the Jaina versions of Draupadī’s Marriage is found in Devaprabhasūri’s *Pāṇḍavacarita* and Śubhaśīla’s *Pāṇḍavacartira*. Many of the salient details found in the canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo* have been altered in these texts. Not only are they more in line with the Hindu version, but they flatly contradict what the Śvertāmbara Jainas must surely have accepted as the spoken words of Mahāvīra himself. The Digambara Jainas, having denied the authority of the Śvetāmbara canon and thus of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, were able to dodge

this bullet to some extent, though even their *purāṇas*, which by no means agree on every point, frequently claim to be the spoken words of Mahāvīra.

5.5 The Story Keeps On Changing

Being a long-time fan of the martial artist Bruce Lee, I awaited with great anticipation Hollywood's film version of his biography entitled "Dragon". As I sat in the theatre and watched the screen, I found myself not a little put out by the fact that the movie-makers were playing somewhat fast and loose with the facts. I leaned over to my regular *kung-fu*-movie-companion and whispered, "That's not the way it really happened!" But that's how it is with Hollywood – if some historical fact is not sufficiently interesting or exciting enough for the movie-going public, it can always be jazzed up. I may not have been representative of the audience as a whole, but I was surely not the only one who knew that the facts were being glossed over in the interests of excitement. Nevertheless, though I knew it to be inaccurate, I enjoyed it!

The reason I relate this story is because, for many years now, I have been asking myself the question, "How can the details of the *Mahābhārata* continually be changed when the audience, on the whole, must surely know that they have been changed? How would the audience stand for it?" The simple answer that the Indian audiences were used to it, because it happened all the time, is unsatisfying.

Without doubt, different storytellers can use the same words to tell a very different story. For example, some years ago I saw a production of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* that was directed in a way that made a seemingly misogynistic tale relatively non-offensive to even a modern audience. Similarly, a recent production of *The Merchant of Venice* used Shakespeare's words and a novel direction to make Shylock clearly emerge as the more intelligent and more reasonable, and for that matter more likeable, of the grieving parties. But in both of these productions, the original words of Shakespeare remained unmodified. In our various versions of the Marriage of Draupadī, of course, the words too change, as do the details of the plot. There are very few accounts from India that describe an audience's reaction to such obvious modifications, but the following story is one of them.

5.6 The Story of Hemacandra and King Jayasiṃha⁶¹

Having overheard Hemacandra talking in the assembly about how the Pāṇḍavas [eventually] became Jaina monks who attained emancipation on Mt. Śatruñjaya, the Brahmins, inflated with conceit, said the following in the presence of King Śrī Jayasiṃha: "O King! In the assembly, in the presence of those of all creeds (*darśanas*), these Śvetāmbaras, who are *sūdras* because of their false words, distort what is said about the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*, i.e. that they [eventually] went to Śrīkedāra

⁶¹ From Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 15; according to H.D. Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa*, the *Kumārapālaprabandha* was "composed in Saṃ. 1492 by Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi, pupil of Somasundarasūri of the Tapā Gaccha." This is one of several Jaina texts with the Prefix "Kumārapāla," referring to King Kumārapāla of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarāt (c. 1143-1172). A slightly longer variant of this story has been translated by Padmanabh S. Jaini in "Jaina Purāṇas: A Purāṇic Counter Tradition," in Doniger, ed., *Purāṇa Perennis*, 246-9. His version comes from the *Prabhāvakaarita* of Prabhācandra, Jinavijaya Muni, ed., Singhi Jain Series, no. 13 (1940), 187-8, which, according to the *Jinaratnakośa*, was composed in Saṃ. 1334.

[in the Himālayas] and worshipped Śiva etc.” Hearing [the Brahmins say], “Surely a king must put a stop to those who are hostile to the *dharma*, because they [both] do, and teach others to do, what is wrong!”, the King responded [saying], “Hail Brahmins! Surely Kings ought not to act quickly and without reflection. Hema[candra]sūri, lord of sages, abandoner of all worldly attachments, does not speak falsely even in the face of death. Tomorrow we will gather and find out the truth of the matter.”

The clever Brahmins said, “Let it be so”, and thus the king summoned Hemacandra, lord of sages.

So, in the presence of all the vassal kings, *gurus*, *purohitas*, etc., the king asked about the true state of affairs regarding the emancipation etc. of the Pāṇḍavas.

[Hemacandra]sūri said, “[My version of the story] was related in our scriptures by previous *sūris*; this other [version], i.e. their going to the Himālayas etc., is found in the *Mahābhārata*; I do not know whether or not those who are described in our scriptures are the very ones mentioned in Vyāsa’s scripture, or [for that matter, the ones mentioned] in other [scriptures].

The king said, “O sage, how is it that so many of them have previously been born?” And then the *guru* [Hemacandra] said, “Listen, O King, to the answer!

“In the [*Mahā*]bhārata, the following was said by Bhīṣma (Gaṅgeya) in the presence of his attendants, while he was doing battle, ‘The purification [i.e. burning] of my body at my death should not occur [on a spot] where anyone else has previously been burned’. Thus –

“When, after carrying out fit and proper battle, Bhīṣma died, they [i.e. His attendants], considering what he had said, took up his body and went onto the mountain.

“While they were carrying out the purification [i.e. burning] of his body there on the [mountain] peak, a voice in the sky was heard [saying] thus –

“‘Here [on this very spot] one hundred Bhīṣmas have been burned, [as have] three hundred Pāṇḍavas, and a thousand Duryodhanas; the number of Karṇas is incalculable.’

“O King! [The story of] the emancipation of the Pāṇḍavas related by me [should be viewed in the context of] this statement from the *[Mahā]bhārata*. There are images of [the Pāṇḍavas] on Mt. Śatruñjaya, in the Candraprabha temple in Nāśikyapura. Thus, some of these Pāṇḍavas were [surely] Jains.” Having heard Hema[candra]sūri’s speech, the King said, “O Brahmins! What is your answer to this? This Jain ṛṣi is speaking the truth, but You, on account of your mistaken arrogance, are indeed babbling falsely!” Then, Śrī [Hemacandra]sūri was honoured by the king, [after which] he adorned his own abode [i.e. he went home]. Thus was the Jaina cause greatly strengthened.

It is unlikely that we are to take each variant of the story of the Pāṇḍavas as referring to a separate and distinct group of Pāṇḍavas, but this was Hemacandra’s answer, and it was good enough for King Jayasiṅha.

In the sixth and final chapter of this thesis, we will examine, contrary to the foregoing discussion, a case of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition influencing the development of the Hindu tradition. Having accused the Jainas of slowly transforming their own distinct version of the Marriage of Draupadī into a version much closer in detail to the Hindu account, it seems only fair to demonstrate that the indebtedness between the Hindus and Jainas was not all in one direction.



CHAPTER 6
THE HINDU STORY OF “ŚIVA’S BOON” AND
THE JAINA STORY OF SUKUMĀRIKĀ

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 through 4, in combination with the plot summaries in Appendix II, were designed to provide a framework within which the various Hindu and Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī could be summarized and compared, both as individual texts within a tradition and across traditions. In Chapter 5, I examined the historical evolution of the Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī in order to demonstrate that this evolution represents a gradual but continual “hindufication” of the Jaina versions. Thus, in Chapter 5, I argued that the authors of the Jaina versions were heavily and increasingly influenced by their familiarity with the Hindu version.

In the present chapter, however, the reverse is true: I intend to argue that a short episode found in the Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī had its origin in the (Śvetāmbara)¹ Jaina tradition, and was borrowed, modified and inserted into the Hindu version by some redactor at a time sufficiently remote to be included in the constituted text of the *Critical Edition*. The particular episode

¹ Actually, it is unclear whether the transference of this episode occurred before or after the hardened split between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, but likely before.

in question deals with events that occurred in a past-life of Draupadī, events that explain why she was destined, as it were, to have five husbands. In the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, this episode takes the form of Draupadī's past-life as Sukumārikā,² the plot of which was presented in detail in Appendix II. In the Hindu version, the episode is not given a specific name but might be referred to as "Śiva's Boon".

In the course of my argument, I intend to establish the following: (i) the basic similarity between the two episodes; (ii) the plausibility, with respect to the dates of the relevant texts, that a Hindu redactor could have borrowed this episode from the Jaina tradition at a sufficiently early period; (iii) the fact that the Hindu episode of "Śiva's Boon" can be easily isolated as a separate tale and removed from the larger story without unraveling the overall plot; (iv) the fact that the use of a past-life story as a narrative device to justify the present circumstances of a character is commonplace in Jaina narrative literature but virtually absent from the Hindu *Mahābhārata*; (v) the consistency with which the episode of Sukumārikā is presented in the various Śvetāmbara texts; and finally (vi) that the main differences between the episode of Sukumārikā and "Śiva's Boon" can be explained as a result of the type of changes one might expect a Hindu redactor to make to the Jaina story in order to make it palatable to a Hindu audience.

² The stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā are also found in the Digambara *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, though in this text, the stories are not used to justify Draupadī's polyandry.

I should state at the outset that, in line with several other *Mahābhārata* scholars,³ I proceed from the assumption that the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata* existed for some time in India, perhaps centuries, before being transformed into a sectarian Hindu text. That is, I assume that it is both possible and reasonable to conceive of an ancient version of the *Mahābhārata* story without any attending sectarian affiliation. The core narrative may well have had from its inception aspects of what might be now called Hindu religion, such as characters paying heed to certain sages who appear in the *veda*, or kings performing certain ritual acts now subsumed under the rubric of Hinduism. But the presence of these aspects do not necessarily make the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata* any more of a sectarian Hindu text than the presence of catholic priest in a mystery novel makes the novel a sectarian Christian text.⁴

As van Buitenen⁵ and others have suggested, the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata* has undergone considerable brahminizing influence over the centuries, and it is this influence that I consider to have been responsible for the transformation of a non-sectarian epic story into a sectarian Hindu text, in exactly the same manner as the Jainas have transformed it into a sectarian Jaina text. This brahminizing influence can be found throughout the *Critical Edition*,⁶ and the *Bhagavadgītā* itself seems designed to counter the *śramaṇa* movement, including Buddhism and Jainism. Thus, I certainly grant that the core narrative of the

³ The opinions of some of whom are discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴ Though I am, of course, stretching the point here.

⁵ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, xxiii.

Mahābhārata in general, and of Draupadī's polyandrous marriage to the Pāṇḍavas in particular, predated the entry of Draupadī's biography into the Jaina *Nāyādhammakahāo*; I simply suggest that, at the time her biography came to the attention of the Jainas, it was not an established Hindu sectarian story.

6.2 Justification Stories

Despite the differences among the various versions of the Marriage of Draupadī, the texts of the Hindu and Śvetāmbara traditions are unanimous with respect to one fact: Draupadī married all five Pāṇḍava brothers. The Digambara texts, on the other hand, insist that Draupadī married Arjuna alone, and that the rumour of her marriage to five men must be considered absurd, scandalous, and unequivocally false.⁷ Therefore, while the Hindu and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions are faced with the task of *justifying* the legitimacy of Draupadī's polyandry, the Digambara Jainas set themselves the task of *dispelling* the rumor and setting the record straight. It is not surprising, then, that the Hindu and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of Draupadī's Marriage all contain "justification" stories, designed to rationalize the otherwise unacceptable polyandry. In the Śvetāmbara Jaina versions, as we saw in Chapter 4 and Appendix II, we are provided with two complete past-life stories of Draupadī (as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā) which serve at least to explain, if not justify, her polyandrous

⁶ The contents of which are probably not later than 400 CE.

⁷ The account in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, however, is less clear and contains no vitriolic attack on liars and rumour-mongers.

circumstances. In the Hindu versions, there are likewise at least two justification stories, the one alluded to above (i.e. “Śiva’s Boon”), and another very interesting tale known as “The Five Indras”. Of the four Hindu versions under consideration, Amracandra’s *Bālabhārata* is in a unique position with respect to the use of justification stories; for this reason, it will be treated separately at the end of the chapter.

6.3 The Hindu Story of “Śiva’s Boon”

As mentioned above, it is my contention that the Hindu story of “Śiva’s Boon” is actually a “hindufied” version of the original Jaina story of Sukumārikā. For a detailed plot summary of the story of Sukumārikā,⁸ see Appendix II. The Hindu justification stories, which were merely glossed over in the Hindu plot summary of the Marriage of Draupadī in Appendix II, will now be taken up in detail.

6.3.1 “Śiva’s Boon” in the *Critical Edition*

In the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, there are two stories told by Vyāsa to justify why Draupadī’s marriage to five men is to be considered both lawful and preordained. The first of these stories, “Śiva’s Boon”, appears in the text twice, in almost identical form, once just as the Pāṇḍavas were setting out for the Pāñcāla country, and again immediately preceding the wedding of Draupadī to

the five brothers. In the first instance, Vyāsa narrates the episode to the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī while they were living disguised as brahmins in Ekacakrā, as a justification for why it was necessary that they attend Draupadī's *svayamvara*:

[*Vyāsa said:*]

There once was a young girl who lived in a wilderness of austerities, the daughter of a great-spirited seer, with a narrow waist, full hips, and a beautiful brow – a girl favored with all virtues. Because of previous acts, which she herself had done, she was unfortunate in love, and the girl, lovely though she was, did not find a husband. Unhappily, she began mortifications for the sake of obtaining a husband, and, indeed, with her awesome austerities she satisfied Śaṅkara [i.e. Śiva]. Being satisfied, the blessed Lord said to the ascetic girl, “Good luck to thee! Choose a husband, and I shall bestow the boon, radiant maiden.” She replied to the Sovereign for her own benefit, “I want a husband with all virtues!” And she said it again and again. Then the eloquent Sovereign Śaṅkara said to her, “You shall have your five husbands, dear girl!” When she replied to the God, “Give me just one husband!”, Śaṅkara said this final word: “Five times you told me to give you a husband, and it shall be as you asked for, when you have been reborn in another body!”

That maiden was reborn in the lineage of Drupada as the blameless Kṛṣṇā Pārṣatī [i.e. Draupadī], lovely as a Goddess, and she has been destined for you as your wife. Therefore, mighty men, enter the city of the Pāñcālas. When you have obtained her, you shall of a certainty find happiness.⁹

The second time Vyāsa tells this story, he is speaking in private to King Drupada, who was, at that point in the story, understandably unnerved by the very suggestion that his daughter should become the wife of five men. Here, Vyāsa had just finished telling King Drupada the justification story known as the “The Five Indras,” which he immediately follows with this (second) telling of “Śiva's Boon.” The story is virtually identical to the one above:

⁸ This story is found in all four of the Śvetāmbara texts under consideration.

⁹ van Buitenen; *The Mahābhārata*, I.157.6-15.

Vyāsa said:

In a wilderness of austerities there once lived a daughter of a great-spirited seer. Beautiful though she was, she found no husband. Now, they say, with awesome austerities she satisfied Śaṅkara, and being pleased the Lord of his own accord said to the maiden, “Choose a boon!” At his words the maiden said to the Lord of Gods, the boon-granting Śaṅkara, “I wish a husband who has all virtues,” and said it again and again. The benevolent Lord of Gods gave her the boon: “You shall have five excellent husbands!” said Śaṅkara. She propitiated the God and again said: “I deserve one husband from you, endowed with virtues!” Thereupon the God of Gods, who was in benign spirits, spoke these hallowed words: “Five times you have said to me, ‘Give me a husband,’ and so shall it be, my dear – good luck shall befall you – when you have gone to another body, it shall be as you have said.”¹⁰

Though the two versions of this story are almost identical, the first version is more specific regarding the reason why the daughter of the great-spirited seer was unable to acquire a husband: it was “because of previous acts, which she herself had done.”¹¹ It is not specified whether these previous acts were performed in her present incarnation, or in a past-life. Given the fact that Śiva’s boon of five husbands was not to take effect until a future birth, it may not be unreasonable to assume that these “previous acts” refer to acts she performed in a previous life. If so, we are given, however vaguely, some insight into at least two of Draupadī’s previous lives: one as the daughter of a great-spirited seer, and an *earlier life* in which she committed some sinful act that later resulted in the seer’s daughter being “unfortunate in love”.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, I.189.41-46.

6.3.2 “Śiva’s Boon” in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and Kṣemendra’s *Bhāratamañjarī*

Though I intend to focus primarily on the first of two Hindu versions of “Śiva’s Boon” found in the *Critical Edition*, it will be instructive to consider the versions of this story in both the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and Kṣemendra’s *Bhāratamañjarī*. Like the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* as a whole, the justification stories therein constitute an abbreviated form of the fuller stories found in the larger Hindu *Mahābhārata*. Nevertheless, versions of both the stories of “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” are to be found here. The story of “Śiva’s Boon,” however, is not given in this text twice; rather, it only appears in what we might call the first instance, when Vyāsa is explaining to Kuntī and the five Pāṇḍavas why they must attend Draupadī’s *svayamvara*. The story is very similar to the one quoted above from the *Critical Edition*, and runs as follows:

Immediately there arrived Bhagavān Byāsa [Skt. Vyāsa]. Byāsa was offered water for washing feet and mouth. Then Bhagavān Byāsa said: “My daughter (-in-law) Kuntī! My Grandson[s] the Pāṇḍavas! I have come here to ask you to go to Pāñchāla to participate in the *svayambara* [Skt. *svayamvara*] of Dropadī [Skt. *Draupadī*]. Her story goes like this: There was a brāhmaṇa girl who used to worship god Śaṁkara daily in order to be blessed with an excellent husband (*svāmī uttama*) possessing all kinds of good qualities (*guṇa*), such as the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong (*dharma*), heroic (*balavān*), strong (*śūra*), learned (*kṛtavidyā*) and pleasant in speech (*priyambada*). God Śaṁkara appeared before her. She requested him to bless her with the boon. But she requested him five times: “*Patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, dharmiṇaḥ śūrāḥ balavān kṛtavidyāḥ, priyambadāḥ.*” Then she was blessed to have five husbands endowed with

¹¹ Literally, *karmabhiḥ svakṛtaiḥ*; van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.157.7.

righteousness and other qualities, in her next birth. Such was the blessing from god Śaṁkara. She was to be the daughter of Mahārāja Drupada and named Dropadī. None other than you [are] suitable to become her husband[s]. That is why, my grandsons, it is proper for you to take part in that svayambara.”

Such was the suggestion of Bhagavān Byāsa, and immediately he vanished.

The Pāṇḍavas were very pleased. After Bhagavān Byāsa’s departure the Pāṇḍavas took leave [of] their brāhmaṇa host, and set out at night, lest they be late for the svayambara.¹²

Though this version of the story is very similar to the versions found in the *Critical Edition*, there is one important difference: the specific reason why the *brāhmaṇa* girl felt compelled to do austerities is not mentioned here. We are not told that she was unable to obtain a husband, and we are certainly not told that the reason for this unhappy circumstance was actions she herself had performed in the past. In other words, the form of the story remains pretty much intact, but the larger context in which we are to view this story has been lost.

Kṣemendra’s *Bhāratamañjarī* is similar to the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* in that it too does not tell the story of “Śiva’s Boon” twice, but merely places it at the earlier juncture where Vyāsa is imploring the Pāṇḍavas to attend Draupadī’s *svayamvara*. Also, as the *Bhāratamañjarī* is likewise an abbreviated version of the fuller Hindu *Mahābhārata*, it too tends to be brief. The story of “Śiva’s Boon” as it appears in the *Bhāratamañjarī* is as follows:

But, while [the Pāṇḍavas] made active preparations to depart, on account of [the] words of their mother, the blessed sage Vyāsa (Satyavatisuta) arrived in person. Having asked after the welfare of the sons of Pāṇḍu, that ocean of compassion, knowing all, told them everything: “In the past,

¹² *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, ed. and trans. Phalgunadi, 237-9.

there was a daughter of a sage. Having propitiated Śiva (Candraśekhara) by her austerities, that slender-waisted girl asked the giver of boons five times, ‘Grant me a husband.’ Having heard her fivefold request, Śiva (Girijāpati) said, ‘You shall have five husbands, Good Lady.’ And that very girl was born in the Pāñcāla city as the daughter of [King] Drupada. She will become the wife of [all of] you, when you have gone there.” Having been thus addressed, and when Vyāsa had vanished, the Pāñḍavas, taking leave of the brahmins, journeyed along the bank of the Ganges [towards Pāñcāla].¹³

This version of the story resembles the version found in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* in as much as it too maintains the outward form of the story but fails to provide the context for the events described. That is, the reason for the girl’s austerities and desire for a husband is left unstated, and there is no hint that her austerities were designed to overcome the negative consequences of some past action.

If, as I suspect to be the case, both the anonymous author of the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and Kṣemendra had no inkling that the story of “Śiva’s Boon” was a transformed version of the Jaina story of Sukumārikā, it would not be surprising that, in their epitomes of the epic, they would innocently omit to include the fact that the seer’s daughter was unfortunate in love due to actions which she herself had done. Alternatively, however, the poets may have left it out in order to remove any taint from this past-life of Draupadī. In any case, I believe these authors left out one of the key elements that assists us in identifying the story of “Śiva’s Boon” as a transformed version of the Jaina episode of Sukumārikā. The fact that both of these authors include the story of “Śiva’s

¹³ *Bhāratamañjarī*, Ādiparva, Section 21, verses 879-884.

Boon” only once, i.e. at the earlier juncture of the story, may be evidence of their desire for overall brevity, though it may also indicate that this was the only place that the episode of “Śiva’s Boon” appeared in the *Mahābhārata* tradition with which they were familiar.

6.4 Similarities Between “Śiva’s Boon” and the Story of Sukumārikā

There is no question that, on the surface, the Hindu episode of “Śiva’s Boon”¹⁴ and the Jaina episode of Sukumārikā do not appear to be particularly similar, let alone intimately related. The story of Sukumārikā is rather long and detailed, especially in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, while “Śiva’s Boon” is exceedingly short and seems to contain few, if any, of these details. Nevertheless, let us now consider these stories at the level of their fundamental plot. The two stories are very similar with respect to the following six points: (i) both stories are used to narrate events in a past-life of Draupadī that serve to explain how her polyandry is to be explained, if not justified; (ii) in both stories, we are presented with a young girl who, despite being beautiful and possessed of all virtues, is either unable to obtain (Hindu) or maintain (Jaina) a husband; (iii) in both stories, past actions which she herself had performed are identified as the cause of her present difficulties; (iv) in both stories, these difficulties incite the young girl to the practice of austerities; (v) in both stories, the ultimate consequence of this

¹⁴ From here on, I will consider the earlier and longer version of “Śiva’s Boon” from the *Critical Edition* only.

practice of austerities is the obtaining of five husbands; and (vi) in both stories, the acquisition of these five husbands is postponed until the girl's next earthly life.

It has to be acknowledged that, given the huge volume of story literature in India, it is statistically a foregone conclusion that certain stories that had entirely independent origins would display some degree of similarity. Nevertheless, the fact that these two stories share a common purpose in their respective texts and share a similar plot structure surely must allow one at least to consider the possibility that the stories are related, and that one was influenced by the other. However, given the chronological lateness of most of our Jaina texts, and the fact that the bulk of Chapter 5 of this thesis argued for a Hindu influence in the evolution of the Jaina versions, why should we here assert that this episode had its origins in the Jaina tradition, and that it was borrowed by the Hindus? I will now attempt to answer this question.

6.5 The Issue of Dating

6.5.1 The *Critical Edition*

Attempting to place a firm date on the Hindu *Mahābhārata* as a whole is hardly possible, as the dates of the distinct layers of content vary widely. However, van Buitenen has suggested that the contents included in the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* can be placed roughly between 400 BCE and 400 CE. He states:

Such a dating, from 400 B.C. till A.D. 400, is of course absurd from the point of view of a single literary work. It makes sense when we look upon the text not so much as one opus but as a library of opera. Then we can say that 400 B.C. was the founding date of that library, and that A.D. 400 was the approximate date after which no more substantial additions were made to the text.¹⁵

Such a loose dating scheme would be of little or no use if our argument for the transferral of this story from the Jaina to the Hindu tradition rested upon locating the text within, say, a particular decade. Fortunately, this is not the case and, accepting van Buitenen's dates as being in the right ballpark, we shall now consider the date of the Jaina story of Sukumārikā.

6.5.2 The *Nāyādharmakahāo*

Fixing a date for the Jaina episode of Sukumārikā depends in large part upon the date assigned to the earliest extant text in which it appears, i.e. the *Nāyādharmakahāo*. Our next most ancient Śvetāmbara source for this episode, Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, is already as late as the 12th century CE. Because the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is clearly the most ancient of our Śvetāmbara texts, and because a full account of the Marriage of Draupadī, including her previous incarnation as Sukumārikā, is found therein, we can here effectively limit our discussion of dating to the version of the episode in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*. The *Nāyādharmakahāo*, along with the other texts of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, was more or less fixed during the Council at Valabhi in

¹⁵ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, xxv.

Gujarāt under the leadership of Devarddhi Kṣamāsramaṇa, sometime in the 5th century CE. Even if we were to accept such a relatively late date for the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, it would still be adequate to support my supposition that the Jaina story of Sukumārikā was sufficiently ancient to have been incorporated into the Hindu tradition represented by Sukthankar's *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. However, it is well established that, as an *aṅga*, the *Nāyādharmakahāo* belongs to the oldest genre of the extant Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, and though even the contents of the *aṅgas* may be stratified into earlier and later periods,¹⁶ it is very likely that the contents of the *Nāyādharmakahāo* were well known and well established prior to the Common Era.¹⁷

As generally unsatisfying as it may be to be faced with such vagueness in regard to the dating of texts, our dating is at least sufficient to make it *highly unlikely* that the story of Sukumārikā in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is later than 400 CE (i.e. the *terminus ante quem* for the content included in the *Critical Edition*); on the contrary, it was very likely a component of the (Śvetāmbara) Jaina oral tradition hundreds of years earlier. Thus, there could have been ample opportunity for such a story to gain enough popular currency to attract the notice and interest of a Hindu redactor. There is no independent evidence that this was the case, but it is at least entirely plausible in terms of textual dating.

¹⁶ Dundas, *The Jains*, 20.

6.5.3 The Buddhist *Kuṇāljātaka*

The argument for placing the *Nāyādhammakahāo*'s account of Draupadī and her past lives further back in history than the 5th century CE is strengthened by the fact that another major *śramaṇic* tradition, Buddhism, likewise took notice of Draupadī and her five husbands, though in a very different context. The Buddhist *jātakas* do not contain much material from the core stories of the Hindu epics. Jaini states¹⁸ that “only two short Jātaka tales about Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are known to have been written in the Buddhist tradition.”¹⁹ Thus, the fact that Draupadī appears in a Buddhist *jātaka* should not be seen as commonplace or trivial. Though the reference to Draupadī is somewhat passing, it presupposes a general knowledge of her story on the part of the audience. Furthermore, the fact that reference is specifically made to Draupadī in a context entirely separate from the now familiar epic²⁰ suggests that the story, or stories, of Draupadī may have had independent currency across various Indian religious traditions including the *śramaṇas*.

The *jātaka* that mentions Draupadī and her five husbands is known as the *Kuṇāljātaka*. Of the 547 *jātakas* in the Pāli collection, the *Kuṇāla* is unique in that it is not a single story but is itself a collection of so-called “misogynous” tales

¹⁷ Both Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature, Vol 2*, 418) and Upadhye (“Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 14) suggest that the oldest parts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon may be pushed as far back as the time of Mahāvīra or his immediate disciples.

¹⁸ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 243.

¹⁹ These are the *Dasaratha-jātaka* (no. 461) about Rāma and *Ghaṭa-jātaka* (no. 454) about Kaṇha [Skt. Kṛṣṇa].

²⁰ This is similar to the case in the Jaina *Nāyādhammakahāo*.

designed to warn the monks of the evil of women and the perils involved in pursuing relationships with them.²¹

The name of this *jātaka* comes from the name of a bird. In a past-life, we are told, the Buddha was a bird named Kuṇāla, and he instructed a spotted cuckoo named Puṇṇamukha on the perils of womankind. W.B. Bollee, in his critical edition and translation of the *Kuṇāljātaka*,²² explains how the *Kuṇāljātaka* differs in form from all other *jātakas*: the general form of a *jātaka* tale begins with the *paccuppannavatthu*, or an incident in the “present” which leads the Buddha to the recounting of one of his many past lives (*atītavatthu*). The only canonical part of the *jātaka*, i.e. the verses or *gāthās*, is generally imbedded within the *atītavatthu*. Following or interspersed with this *atītavatthu*, is the prose commentary (*veyyākaraṇa*) to the *gāthās*, followed by the *samodhāna*, which identifies the characters in the story with the Buddha and others in the “present”. The *Kuṇāljātaka* is the only exception in that it contains two kinds of verses, *gāthās* and *veḍhas*, and it also contains an ancient prose portion as part of the *atītavatthu* that, like the verses, is canonical.²³

²¹ *Kuṇāljātaka*. ed. and trans. W.B. Bollee, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXVI. (London: Luzac & Company, Ltd., 1970), 117.

²² *Kuṇāljātaka*, ed. and trans. W.B. Bollee.

²³ Bollee states that “the canonical character [of this ancient prose] ... is proven by the *pratīka*: *evaṃ akkhāyati*, by its style which is very different from that of the scholiast’s prose written many centuries later, and last but not least by the fact that it is introduced and commented upon in the same way as the stanzas.” (ibid., vi).

By way of explaining the wickedness of women to Puṇṇamukha, Kuṇāla makes references to four particular women, of whom Draupadī, here referred to as Kaṇhā (Skt. Kṛṣṇā) is the first (Bollee's translation):

[22] The bird Kuṇāla then spoke in the following way to the cuckoo Puṇṇamukha ...: Dear Puṇṇamukha, I saw Kaṇhā (the daughter) of two fathers. Though she had five husbands she set her mind on a sixth man and that was a crippled dwarf. There is also this saying about her:

- I. Ajjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṭṭhila and king Sahadeva; cuckolding five husbands like these the woman misbehaved with a hunch-backed dwarf.²⁴

The commentator fills in the details of this story of Draupadī with the following information²⁵: Draupadī is said to have been the daughter of two fathers as she was, in this version of the story, the posthumous daughter of the king of Kosala and the adopted daughter of the king of Benares. At her *svayamvara*, she chose the five Pāṇḍavas and married them.²⁶ Before long, however, she is said to have misbehaved with a crippled servant.

Now, in none of the Jaina stories examined for this thesis has there been even a hint or whisper of such behaviour with a servant, though Bollee does identify a possible Jaina connection to this *jātaka* tale in Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara* (circa 1600 CE), story 27, verse 6, in which the following verse appears²⁷:

My five husbands, the Pāṇḍavas, are beautiful men and great fighters;
yet my heart longs for a sixth man.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 132.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 133-35.

²⁶ Just as she did in the early Śvetāmbara versions.

²⁷ As quoted in *Kuṇāljātaka*, ed. and trans. W.B. Bollee, 134.

Bollee does not allow the possibility that Hemavijaya was acquainted with the *Kuṇāljātaka*, and thus concludes that this reference to Draupadī's wantonness is either independent and coincidental or is representative of a very ancient, perhaps *śramaṇic* narrative that survived in the Jaina tradition into the 17th century.

Such a reference to Draupadī in a Buddhist *jātaka* may be explained neatly enough by supposing the Buddhists to have appropriated a popular and supposedly virtuous Hindu heroine for their own purposes. That is, we might propose that they self-consciously used her questionable moral status as an occasion to teach their monks the wickedness of women while at the same time seizing an opportunity to critique the Hindu tradition. However, as mentioned above, the Buddhist *jātakas*, like the texts of the (Śvetāmbara) Jaina canon, tend to take very little notice of the Hindu epics on the whole, and the fact that we see an ancient Buddhist text (i.e. the *Kuṇāljātaka*), an ancient Jaina text (i.e. the *Nāyādharmakahāo*), and an ancient Hindu text (i.e. as represented by the *Critical Edition*) all make specific reference to Draupadī may perhaps suggest that, at this remote time, the character of Draupadī was not "owned" by any particular tradition. Furthermore, this fact may also suggest that the Jaina story of Sukumārikā was sufficiently ancient to have worked its way into the Hindu tradition by 400 CE.

However, even if we suppose the core narrative of the *Mahābhārata* to have been "owned," as it were, by the Hindus at the time when the Jainas and

Buddhists first took notice of it, it does not follow that this core narrative necessarily included the episode of “Śiva’s Boon.” The probable antiquity of the Buddhist and Jaina interest in the character of Draupadī still very much allows for the possibility that the Hindu justification story of “Śiva’s Boon” was a borrowed and transformed version of the Jaina episode of Sukumārikā.

6.6 The Story of “Śiva’s Boon” Interpolated?

If the story of “Śiva’s Boon” was originally a Jaina story that was adopted, adapted, and inserted into the Hindu text, it might be supposed that, in the Hindu context, the story would show some signs of being an interpolation. Such tell-tale signs of interpolation might include: (i) peculiarities in metre or in general style of language; (ii) an episode being inserted into different places in different manuscripts; (iii) an episode not meshing smoothly with the plot at the point it was inserted in the larger story; and (iv) removal of the episode would not cause the overall plot to unravel.

With respect to the style of language, the story of “Śiva’s Boon” in the *Critical Edition* appears to be composed in typical Sanskrit epic *ślokas*, and does not in any obvious way stand out from the text as a whole. However, in the present case, there is no very compelling reason to believe that it would stand out, as “Śiva’s Boon” is clearly not identical in detail to the story of Sukumārikā. It is not my contention that the story of “Śiva’s Boon” was ever lifted wholesale from a Jaina text and deposited into a Hindu text. Rather, I suggest only that “Śiva’s

Boon” is a highly modified, rewritten and interpolated version of the story of Sukumārikā, the composition of which would be a simple task for any Hindu poet familiar with epic versification. Furthermore, there is no evidence prior to 400 CE²⁸ that a Sanskrit version of the story of Sukumārikā was even in existence,²⁹ and since many Jaina tales originally composed in Prākṛit were subsequently recast in Sanskrit by later Jaina poets, it is quite plausible that the Prākṛit tale of Sukumārikā could have been modified and recast into unremarkable epic *śloka*s.

In regard to the second sign of interpolation, viz. the story appearing at different points in the text, it has already been mentioned above that the story of “Śiva’s Boon” appears twice in almost identical form in the text of the *Critical Edition*. This immediately suggests two possibilities: (i) the story was inserted into different places in the text by different redactors, and when these versions were conflated, the editor chose to include the story at both locations; or (ii) the story was originally inserted in the earlier location,³⁰ and only secondarily moved to the later point in the story³¹ in order to reconcile it with “The Five Indras” story. It would be difficult to determine which of these possibilities is more likely, and both appear to be utterly plausible.

A determination of how inextricably this story of “Śiva’s Boon” is enmeshed with the rest of the main plot of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* is, of course,

²⁸ That is, the latest date assigned to the contents of the *Critical Edition*.

²⁹ Like all Jaina canonical texts, the *Nāyādharmakāhō* is composed in Ardhamāgadhī.

³⁰ That is, the point when the Pāṇḍavas were still at Ekacakrā, which, in the *Critical Edition*, is the juncture where the story is slightly longer and more detailed, and in the Indonesian *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāratamañjarī*, is the only place the story appears.

somewhat subjective. It is a well-established fact, as discussed in Chapter One, that the core story of the *Mahābhārata* served for hundreds of years as a sort of literary magnet onto which originally-independent stories of all shapes and sizes were attached. Because of this composite nature, there are any number of stories which do not exactly mesh seamlessly with the main plot. However, in the present case, I am proposing that a story in the Jaina tradition that was *already intended* to justify Draupadī's polyandry has been specifically adapted by a Hindu redactor to serve the same general purpose in the Hindu version of Draupadī's story. To that extent, the story ought to be already well suited to the plot into which it was inserted.

Furthermore, when the story first appears in the *Critical Edition*, it seems, ostensibly, to serve the purpose of impelling the Pāṇḍavas towards the Pāñcāla capital where they would attend Draupadī's *svayamvara*. However, at the point in the main plot where this episode appears, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī were already planning to travel to the Pāñcāla capital because of the description of it that they had received from a wandering brahmin. Thus, if this first telling of "Śiva's Boon" were to be removed from the story in the *Critical Edition*, nothing seemingly essential to the plot would be lost. But there is further evidence that this episode is out of place. Another potential purpose of Vyāsa's first telling this story could have been to prepare the Pāṇḍavas for their impending polyandrous marriage to Draupadī. If so, it was a miserable failure, as the Pāṇḍavas seem to

³¹ That is, immediately following Vyāsa's telling of "The Five Indras" story.

have forgotten this fact as soon as they had heard it, and were entirely shocked at the idea of a polyandrous marriage.³²

The issue of how seamlessly the story of “Śiva’s Boon” fits with the other justification story found in the *Critical Edition*, i.e. “The Five Indras,” will be best left until a brief description and discussion of “The Five Indras” story.

6.6.1 The Story of “The Five Indras” in the *Critical Edition*

Whatever else one might say about the story of “Śiva’s Boon” in the context of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, it is essentially complete as an explanation of Draupadī’s polyandry and is in need of no further additions: Draupadī is merely the reincarnation of a girl who received the boon of five virtuous husbands from Lord Śiva. However, “Śiva’s Boon” is but one of two stories that Vyāsa tells King Drupada to justify Draupadī’s polyandry. The other story, known as “The Five Indras”, is related by Vyāsa while speaking privately to the agitated King Drupada, and immediately *precedes* the (second) telling of “Śiva’s Boon.”

This very unusual and interesting story, given below as a combination of my own summary and direct quotations from van Buitenen’s translation of the *Critical Edition*, is as follows:

In olden days, Vyāsa explained, the Gods sat in a sacrificial session in the Naimiṣa Forest, and at this sacrifice, Yama (i.e. the god of Death) held the

³² Though we are told in the *Critical Edition* that Yudhiṣṭhira, while he was pondering whether or not Kuntī’s injunction to share Draupadī equally among themselves should or should not be obeyed, remembered (finally!) what Vyāsa had told them back in Ekacakrā (I.182.14-15).

position of the butcher priest. Yama, while diligently occupying this ceremonial position, entirely ceased his regular task of killing creatures. Thus freed from the constraints of death, all living creatures, and especially men, increased greatly. This situation caused considerable apprehension in the gods, Indra, Kubera, Varuṇa and many others. In fact, they went in a group to take refuge with the god Prajāpati. Prajāpati asked them why, if they were immortal, did they fear men? The gods responded that because Yama was no longer doing his appointed duties, men too were now immortal, and thus there was no longer a difference between gods and men. Prajāpati told these anxious gods that it was only because Yama was currently occupied with the sacrifice that he had ceased killing living creatures, and that when the sacrifice was completed, he would resume his job as Death. The Gods, their fears somewhat allayed, then returned to the sacrificial ground, and while there, they noticed a lotus flower floating down the Ganges. When Indra got up to look at it he saw there, standing in the river, a woman who was crying. He watched as each one of her tears turned into a golden lotus and floated down the river. Indra drew near and asked the weeping woman who she was and why she was crying. The woman told Indra that his questions would be answered if he followed her, which he did. The woman led Indra into the mountains, and there he saw a handsome youth (i.e. Lord Śiva) seated on a throne, surrounded by women, and playing dice on a Himālayan peak.

Seeing that the youth was absorbed in the game, Indra became indignant, and exclaimed, "I am the king of the Gods and all the world is under my sway!" The youth, now described as the Mountain God, looked up at Indra and laughed. Then Indra, much to his chagrin, grew as rigid as a tree under the gaze of this Mountain God and stood there paralyzed and helpless. Eventually, when the Mountain God grew bored with the dice, he instructed the Goddess (i.e. the weeping woman who had led Indra there) to bring Indra a little closer. The Mountain God said, "We shall see that his pride will no more seize him." Indra then dropped limp on the ground, after which the Mountain God instructed him to roll away the peak of the great mountain they were atop, and to enter its center, where Indra would find others like himself. Having rolled away the peak of the mountain, Indra indeed found four beings imprisoned there who were his equal in every way (i.e. four other Indras). Seeing them, Indra begged to be released, but the Mountain God refused. However, he did tell the five Indras the following:

There shall be an escape for you all, no doubt.
 You shall all enter a human womb,
 Having wrought great feats of violence there
 And sped many others to their death,

You shall go again to the world of Indra,
 The precious world you had won with your acts,
 All this that I say shall be carried out,
 And much else of varied significance.

The previous Indras said:

We shall go from the Gods to the world of men
 Where release is declared to be hard to obtain.
 But Gods must beget us upon our mother,
 God Dharma, the Wind God, God Indra, the Aśvins.

Vyāsa said:

Having heard this word, the Thunderbolt-wielder [i.e. Indra]
 Once more addressed the greatest of Gods [i.e. Śiva]:
 “With my seed I shall father a man for that task,
 Who shall be their fifth and be born my son.”

The blessed Lord of the Dreadful Bow [i.e. Śiva]
 Good-naturedly granted the wish they asked
 And ordained that a woman, beloved of the world,
 Śrī herself, should be their wife among men.

Together with them the God then repaired
 To the measureless God Nārāyaṇa.
 He too ordained that it should be so,
 And so it befell all were born on earth.

God Hari [i.e. Viṣṇu] had plucked two hairs of his head;
 One hair was white, the other was black.
 These hairs then went into the Yadu women,
 Into Rohiṇī and Devakī.
 The one of them became Baladeva [i.e. Balarāma],
 The other, the black one, Keśava [i.e. Kṛṣṇa].

Those Indra forms that of yore were cloistered
 Inside that cave of the lofty mountain,
 Have been born here the powerful Pāṇḍavas;
 The Left-Handed Archer is Indra’s part.

It is thus that the Pāṇḍavas came to be
 Who before had been Indras, O king of the land;
 And of old was Lakṣmī ordained for them
 As their wife and became divine Draupadī.

For how could a woman arise from the earth

At the end of the rite save by God's intercession?
 She whose beauty shines like the moon and sun
 And whose fragrance blows as far as a league?

O king of men, as a favor to thee
 I shall give you one more most wonderful boon:
 The eyesight of Gods. See the sons of Kuntī
 Endowed with their former celestial bodies!³³

Through the power of Vyāsa, Drupada momentarily gained the power to see the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī in their divine forms.

Upon beholding this miracle great,
 [Drupada] clasped the feet of Satyavati's son [i.e. Vyāsa]:
 "For you, great seer, this is no wonder!"
 Quoth the king to him in a tranquil spirit.³⁴

6.6.2 "The Five Indras" in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāratamañjarī*

The version of "The Five Indras" in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* diverges more substantially from the *Critical Edition* than did its version of the story of "Śiva's Boon." The overall form and purport of the story remain intact here, but instead of there being five Indras (Skt. *pañcendrāḥ*) we find that Indra's thunderbolt shatters into the five senses (Skt. *pañcendriyāḥ*). Thus, rather than five Indras incarnating as the five Pāṇḍavas, we see the five senses, through the powers of gods Indra, Dharma, Vāyu and the Aśvins, incarnating as the five Pāṇḍavas. As in the *Critical Edition's* version, Draupadī is described as an incarnation of the goddess Śrī. Despite the variations, the structure of the story is

³³ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.189.25-35.

very similar to the one in the *Critical Edition*, and it serves an identical purpose.

The story goes as follows:

At that moment there came Bhagavān Byāsa. He was greeted by the Pāṇḍavas and Mahārāja Drupada and was offered water for washing feet and cleansing his mouth. He was given a seat of honour bedecked with jewels. When Bhagavān Byāsa sat down, Drupada asked him, whether it was proper to give his daughter in marriage to the five brothers. Then Bhagavān Byāsa replied:

“Do not worry, Mahārāja Drupada! *Yathā prāha kaunteya[h]*, whatever you have been told by Yudhiṣṭhira, *tathā dharmo na samśayaḥ*, that is the law. Now I will tell you, the story of Dropadī.

Then Bhagavān Byāsa accompanied by Drupada went to a secluded place in the house and said:

“In ancient times, once god Yama conducted a sacrifice in the forest of Naimiṣa. It made heaven prosperous and safe from disease and death (vyādhimaraṇa). Even the world of men, like heaven, was never touched by disease and death. Such a situation disturbed all the gods, particularly god Indra, because now there was no difference left between the gods and human beings. So all of them appeared before god Brahmā [i.e. Prajāpati], and asked him why mankind was left untouched by old age and death. God Brahmā replied:

“Do not worry, you gods! At present human beings are immune from old age and death, because god Yama is conducting a sacrifice. However, whenever in future, this sacrifice is over, the world will once again be dominated by old age and death (jarāmaraṇa). So you join together, and enter into the body of god Yama, whereby you will be able to reproduce death in the world.”

So spoke god Brahmā. Then the rest of the gods were pleased and [along with] their consorts, they returned to their own heavenly abode one by one. God Indra made his way along the bank of Gaṅgā. He saw a golden lotus floating in the river Jāhnavī (i.e. Gaṅgā). He was amazed by it, and he followed upwards to trace its origin. And then he saw a woman weeping on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Her tears were uninterruptedly dripping on to the waters of the Gaṅgā, and turning into golden lotuses. God Indra asked her why she was weeping and also who was her husband. The lady answered:

“I am goddess Śrī, the consort of god Viṣṇu, I have been separated from my beloved. There is a man who is having love with his wife. They are enjoying on the peak of the mountain. It makes me jealous seeing

³⁴ *ibid.*, I.189.40.

them having open sexual intercourse. Please be kind to me god Indra, and if possible, hit them with your thunderbolt (bajra). I will tell you their place.”

So said goddess Śrī. Then god Indra, accompanied by the goddess Śrī, moved on towards the peak of the mountain. There they saw someone making love to his wife. Actually they were god Parameśvara and goddess Umā, in the form of human beings. Then god Indra released his thunderbolt, *sthāṇur ivāvatasthe*, but his thunderbolt could not even move, as its magic had been countered by the power of god Īśvara. The thunderbolt was thrown away. As it hit the mountain, it broke and changed into five senses (pañchendriya). *Tulyajyotiḥ*, all five have vital powers in an equal degree. Then they were ordered to be reborn. Their incarnations were to become the husbands of goddess Śrī. Goddess Śrī incarnated herself as your daughter, as it was predetermined. God Parameśvara punished god Indra in such a way. Then goddess Śrī appeared before god Viṣṇu and informed him that she will incarnate herself as a human being. She requested him to be her companion. God Viṣṇu gave her his black and white hair to accompany her as human being in her next birth. The white hair was to become Baladeva, whereas the black one was to be born as Kṛṣṇa, the most excellent among the Yadu race (Yadukula). The five senses (pañchendriya) were to incarnate as five Pāṇḍavas through the power of god Dharma, god Bāyu, god Indra and god Aśvinodevas. Goddess Śrī was to become Dropadī. That is why all the five Pāṇḍavas are fit to have her as their wife.”

Thus spoke Bhagavān Byāsa: “You may want to see for yourself the truth of my words,” (saying thus) Bhagavān Byāsa touched the eyes of Mahārāja Drupada enabling him to see things happening long ago (dūradarśana), to see the origin of Pāṇḍavas, and also the former life of Dropadī. Drupada saw the past (atīta), future (nāgata) and the present (vartamāna) of their lives. Then Drupada was satisfied, and firmly resolved to obey the words of Bhagavān Byāsa. He paid homage to the great seer by touching his feet. Then with folded hands he gave his consent for the marriage of Dropadī to the five Pāṇḍavas.³⁵

There are many obvious respects in which this story differs from the version found in the *Critical Edition*, and a detailed analysis of these stories would no doubt be of great interest, though it would take us too far afield. What is important is that the story of “The Five Indras” is once again complete and self-

sufficient as an explanation for Draupadī's polyandry, and that the story of "Śiva's Boon" is not strictly required.

The version of "The Five Indras" found in Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī* resembles that of the *Critical Edition* given above, and goes as follows:

Just then, the blessed sage Vyāsa (Satyavatīśuta), causing the welfare of all living beings, remover of all doubts, having arrived in their midst, was there greatly honoured by them, whose crowns brushed the ground, and he listened to each of their wide-ranging concerns about legality in the case of this marriage. The best of sages [i.e. Vyāsa] said to him [i.e. Drupada], "You ought not falsely to doubt – Let it be heard right now, this which was narrated by the Creator himself:

"Long ago, when Yama was eagerly engaged in a sacrificial ceremony, the entire earth, which became completely filled with a great mass of living creatures, was greatly distressed by the absence of death. Then, Indra (Pākaśāsana), occupied with the preservation of the earth, having [first] visited Brahmā (Caturmukha Deva), went to the place of Yama's sacrifice. There he saw in the Ganges river a trail of golden lotuses floating about, being made to dance and whirl about for an instant by a series of waves. Now, having investigated further out of curiosity, Indra (Sahasrākṣa) spied a fawn-eyed heavenly woman whose lotus-face was downcast. Having observed that the trail of golden lotuses in the water [was caused] by the water drops of her tears, and being amazed, he asked her for the cause of her sorrow. Having said, 'You shall know that [cause]', she then departed with her stately elephant-like gait. Indra (Śakra), following closely after her, saw, on the summit of a mountain, a beautiful man, seated upon a lion-throne, attended by his beloved. Having seen that he was playing with dice, Indra (Vṛtrahā), out of arrogance, said, "My god! Having seen me, who is assuredly the Lord of All, you do not tremble?! Even a weakling acts like Indra in the presence of women.' Having heard the words of Indra (Śatamanyu) and having laughed out loud, Śiva (Girijāpati) instantly made him [i.e. Indra] as motionless as a piece of wood with [merely] a side-glance. Then, at the conclusion of his dice play, making everything crystal-like with the rays of his smile, he said privately to that weeping woman, 'By my word, having touched him [i.e. Indra], release that conceited one from the shackles of my anger.' "Being thus addressed by him [i.e. by Śiva], she touched Indra (Vajrin)

³⁵ *The Indonesian Mahābhārata*, ed. and trans. Phalgunadi, 269-271.

who had been paralyzed among the heavenly women. And being merely touched by her, he [i.e. Indra] fell to the ground senseless.

“Śiva (Umākānta) said to him, ‘You ought not to be this arrogant again! Arise! Behold the cavern! The peak of the mountain must be ripped away!’ Having heard this [command], and having done thus, he [i.e. Indra] saw in a cave-dwelling four other Indras (Puraṁdaras) with the same appearance and same dress. Having seen them, Indra (Śakra), trembling, whose mind was agitated, was anxious [thinking], ‘Will I not become just like one of these [imprisoned Indras]?’ Just then, the blessed Śiva (Bharga) said to him, ‘For the sake of carrying out a specific task, you five [Indras] must be born in the human realm for the abatement of the suffering of the world.’ Having heard the words of Śiva (Maheśvara) and having paid him reverence, they said, ‘The gods, beginning with Dharma, must be our fathers.’ Then Indra (Śakra) too said, ‘My son must be the fifth among these; by Your graciousness, O God, I myself will not descend to the earth.’ The god Śiva (Śaṅkara), being satisfied, said to him, ‘Let it be so’. The anger of great men is not permanent and lasts only until they are propitiated. Then Viśvabhuj [Indra], Dhṛtadhāmā [Indra], Śibi [Indra], Śānta [Indra] and Tejasvī [Indra] departed. And those Indras (Śakras) were born on earth as the sons of Pāṇḍu. For their sake, that beautiful woman of heaven herself was born on earth as your daughter Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā): O king, You ought not to cause dissension! Look with a divine eye at everything just as it transpired.” Having said this, Vyāsa then gave to him for just an instant a sight consisting of a meditational vision. Then, having completely grasped the truth, ecstatic, the humble Pāñcāla king, saying “I am fortunate!,” departed along with the sage.³⁶

As in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, there are here interesting variations in Kṣemendra’s account that would make the story of “The Five Indras” a fruitful topic of research. However, once again, our main point is verified: “The Five Indras” story functions as a self-sufficient and complete explanation of Draupadī’s polyandry, and is in no need of the story of “Śiva’s Boon.”

³⁶ *Bhāratamañjarī*, Ādiparva, Section 21, verses 1121-1145.

6.6.3 Other Justification Stories from the Hindu Tradition

In the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa tells King Drupada only two justification stories (i.e. “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras”). However, there were a few more justification stories that Sukthankar encountered in the process of creating his *Critical Edition*, and though these additional stories were not included in the constituted text, he included them in the critical apparatus (i.e. in his Appendix I to the *Ādiparvan*). These passages, full translations of which are to be found in my Appendix III, were inserted in their various manuscripts either immediately before or after Vyāsa’s telling of “The Five Indras” episode, depending on the passage and the particular manuscript. The episodes are somewhat confusing at times, and it is difficult to say whether they are intended as pure additions to “The Five Indras” and “Śiva’s Boon,” or are replacements for them, or are meant to provide additional details to them.

The first of the three passages narrates the story of a girl named Nālāyanī who has a great thirst for sexual pleasure and pesters her ascetically-minded husband for continual attentions. He eventually says to her,

Since you, without fear, speak what ought not to be spoken to me, thereby acting in a way that hinders my austerities, therefore, hear my words: In the world of men, you shall become a celebrated princess, daughter of Drupada, noble king of the Pāñcālas. In that birth you will have your five famous husbands – together with those handsome men, you will find pleasure for a long time to come.³⁷

³⁷ As Sukthankar obviously cannot assign verse numbers to passages rejected from his constituted text, these verses cannot be so identified. The above quotation comes from his Passage 100, on page 948 (in his Appendix I) to the *Critical Edition of the Ādiparva*.

Following this decree, Nālāyanī performs austerities to please Lord Śiva, and when he appears, she asks him five times for a husband, and, as expected, he grants that she will have five husbands in a future life. This, of course, would make Nālāyanī identical to the great-spirited seer's daughter of the "Śiva's Boon" episode. However, Nālāyanī was then instructed to go and stand in the river Ganges and bring whoever approached her into the presence of Lord Śiva. This leads us directly to the point in the episode of "The Five Indras" where Indra approaches the woman standing in the Ganges. Though it does not work out perfectly, this story has obviously been designed to connect the stories of "Śiva's Boon" and "The Five Indras". Another interesting and more successful attempt to connect these two justification stories will be discussed below in the context of Amaraśāstrī's *Bālabhārata*.

The second of these passages has Vyāsa, in his private conversation with king Drupada, citing a supposedly historical example of a virtuous woman named Bhaumāśvī who married the five sons of Nitantu. His concluding line states, "Thus was the single wife [of five men] celebrated on earth."

The final passage includes an account similar to a passage found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*³⁸ wherein the five Pāṇḍavas are said to be incarnations of five aspects of Indra, and are thus to be viewed collectively as a single Indra, while Draupadī is an incarnation of Indra's wife Paulomī. Following this account

³⁸ See Chapter 2.

is a collection of further esoteric equivalences, as it were, in which the five Pāṇḍavas are said to be the five faces of Śiva and Draupadī is their Pārvatī, or the Pāṇḍavas are five fires, and Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) is the sanctioned oblation, and so on.

I have included these three passages not to complicate our discussion, but merely to illustrate the fact that the Hindu tradition was not averse to heaping, as it were, one story on top of another in a common cause without any very apparent need to reconcile them.³⁹ The fact that certain manuscripts included some or all of these additional justification stories tends to support the plausibility of my supposition (below) that the stories of “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” were in no way originally related to one another.

The German scholar Moritz Winternitz had a very interesting and very definite take on Draupadī’s polyandry and the stories used to justify it:

In this five-husbands-marriage the epic has faithfully retained undoubtedly an old feature of the saga. For, although polyandry or rather group-marriage, of which the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas affords an example, is found even today in some isolated parts of India, still it has not been testified to be the legal form of marriage in ancient India and is even quite contrary to the Brahminical views. When Drupada says (I, 197, 27): ‘The law instructs that one man has many wives; but we have never heard that one woman has many husbands,’ then with this he gives expression to the general Indian view. If in spite of this the five chief heroes in the epic have only one wife then this is proof of the fact that this feature was so intimately entwined with the whole legend and the ancient epic that even in later times when the Mahābhārata received a more and more Brahminical character and became a textbook of religion nobody could think of removing this feature. One simply strove to justify this marriage with five men by means of many rather unskillfully inserted stories. Once

³⁹ Though the story of Nālāyanī does appear to make an awkward attempt at reconciliation.

Vyāsa tells the foolish story of a virgin who could not get a husband and implored Lord Śiva to procure a husband for her. Now because she had cried out five times, 'Give me a husband', Śiva promises her five husbands – in a later birth. This virgin is reborn as Kṛṣṇā, Drupada's daughter and obtains therefore the five Pāṇḍavas as husbands. A second story is also not in any way shrewd. The Pāṇḍavas who live in the potter's house as begging Brahmins come home with Draupadī and tell their mother that they have brought home 'the alms' that they have collected on their begging rounds. Without looking up says Kuntī as usual, 'Enjoy it all together'. Only then she notices that the 'alms' is a woman and is taken aback; but the word of a mother must not be rendered false and it should be settled that the five brothers enjoy Draupadī in common. A third story that Vyāsa again tells to Drupada is the Śaivite "Five-Indra-Story" (Pañchendropākhyānam), a highly fanciful and confused report as to how Indra, as a penalty for having insulted Śiva, is divided into five parts and is born on the earth, and an incarnation of Lakṣmī or Śrī (Goddess of fortune and beauty) is determined to be his wife. The five Pāṇḍavas are incarnations of one Indra, Draupadī is an incarnation of Lakṣmī; so Draupadī actually has only one husband! There is not even an attempt made to reconcile these three stories of justification with one another or with the main story. On the contrary it is repeatedly expressed that we are concerned here with an old family-custom not for instance with a general Indian but with a particular family-custom of the Pāṇḍavas. In the stories of the Buddhists and the Jains the husband-self-selection of Draupadī is described in this way that she chooses not Arjuna but all the five Pāṇḍavas at the same time. It is funny that some European researchers also have tried to interpret and justify the five-husbands-marriage mythologically, allegorically and symbolically instead of accepting it as an ethnological fact.⁴⁰

Having spent a good deal of time pondering the various Hindu and Jaina justification stories, I can sympathize with Winternitz's position, and I understand why he expressed these sentiments. However, it is absolutely clear that he dismissed out of hand the justification stories as the products of weak and confused minds, an opinion with which I am not at all inclined to agree. There is no doubt that the story of "The Five Indras" is somewhat opaque, but I submit that

⁴⁰ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 317n.

Winternitz dismissed the story because he failed to understand it, not because the story itself was “highly fanciful and confused.”⁴¹

Winternitz is equally dismissive of the Jaina justification stories.

Commenting upon the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, he states: “Chapter 16 [of Book I] contains the legend of Dovaī, i.e., Draupadī, in the form of a story of rebirth. This is a monkish corruption of the legend from the Mahābhārata of Draupadī’s marriage to the five brothers.”⁴² In other words, according to Winternitz, the Jainas stole the story from the Hindus and corrupted it for their own purpose. In the course of my research, I have seen this statement of Winternitz quoted again and again, and even Vaidya quotes it in the introduction to his translation of Draupadī’s biography from the *Nāyādharmakahāo*. Winternitz, though in complete disagreement, does note⁴³ that Ernst Leumann believed this story of Draupadī in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* provided evidence that “an archaic tradition is embodied in the Jinistic form of the legend.” Nevertheless, Winternitz does rightly point out that “it is a favourite theme in Jinist legends in general, ... to follow up the fate of persons through various rebirths.”⁴⁴ Unfortunately, I believe he missed the significance of this statement for the answer to the question, “Who stole the story from whom?”

⁴¹ I myself have some difficulty following the significance of the Five Indras story, though I am less willing to dismiss it. I suspect that it has significance beyond a mere justification of Draupadī’s polyandry. Professor D.R. Brooks has provided me a very interesting interpretation of “The Five Indras” story as a *śaiva* yogic tale about the internalization of god. Whether his interpretation is correct is beyond my judging, though it strikes me as both coherent and plausible.

⁴² Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 431.

⁴³ *ibid.*

6.7 Reconciling “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras”

6.7.1 *The Critical Edition*

On the surface, both “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” appear to be complete and self-sufficient as explanations for Draupadī’s polyandry. Neither story seems to require the other, and they bear no obvious relation whatsoever to one another. However, in the *Critical Edition*, Vyāsa does make a rather cryptic and half-hearted attempt to relate these two seemingly unrelated stories. While speaking to King Drupada in private, he first tells the story of “The Five Indras”, followed immediately by the (second) telling of “The Boon of Śiva”, followed immediately by this short passage presumably designed to reconcile the two:

[*Vyāsa said:*]

So Drupada, this daughter was born to you, beautiful as a Goddess. Kṛṣṇā Pārṣatī [i.e. Draupadī] has been ordained to be the wife of the five and remain blameless. Celestial Śrī, after having done her dread mortifications, arose at the grand sacrifice and became your daughter.

The effulgent Goddess sought by the Gods,
Sole wife to the five by the acts she performed,
The Creator created as wife to the Gods,
And hearing this, Drupada, act as you wish.⁴⁵

The statement that “Celestial Śrī, after having done her dread mortifications, arose at the grand sacrifice and became your daughter” may perhaps be taken to imply that after the incidents related in “The Five Indras,” the

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.189.47-49.

goddess Śrī did not come to earth directly as Draupadī, but first as the great-seer's daughter who pleased Śiva with her austerities, and only then as Draupadī who "arose at the grand sacrifice." In that case, "her dread mortifications" would be a description of the austerities performed by Śrī in her incarnation as the great-spirited seer's daughter in "Śiva's Boon." This might also be confirmed by the statement, "Sole wife to the five by the acts she performed." But as discussed above, there is some indication in the first (i.e. earlier) telling of the story of "Śiva's Boon" that the daughter of the "great-spirited seer" was suffering in her present incarnation due to actions performed in yet another previous incarnation.

Thus, in order to reconcile the two stories, we must assume a chronology such as the following: During the incidents described in "The Five Indras," the decision was made for the goddess Śrī to incarnate on earth to be the sole wife of the five incarnated Indras. However, when she incarnated on earth, she did not immediately take the form of Draupadī, but rather of some unnamed person who performed some sinful act or set of actions; this unnamed person died, and Śrī was then reincarnated as the daughter of the "great-spirited seer." Due to acts performed in her past life, the seer's daughter was unable to procure a husband, and consequently practised harsh asceticism to propitiate Śiva. Śiva then, in an interaction that on the surface of things can only be considered mischievous, granted her the boon of five husbands, though she was clear that she only wanted one. But the effect of this boon was not to take place until a future incarnation, and thus it is not until her incarnation as Draupadī that she acquires her five

husbands. This chronology that I have constructed is surely a bit much to derive from the single sentence, “Celestial Śrī, after having done her dread mortifications, arose at the grand sacrifice and became your daughter.” However, unless the situation is intended to be taken as I have taken it, “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” cannot really be reconciled.

In reality, I suspect the situation is much simpler: the two stories are not meant to be reconciled because they are in no way related to one another. Rather, they appear to be two complete and self-sufficient stories stacked one upon the other. My goal in demonstrating the original independence of the stories of “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” is obvious: I wish to bolster the plausibility that the coherence of the Hindu version of Draupadī’s Marriage in no way hangs upon the story of “Śiva’s Boon,” and that if this story were removed, the main plot would not be seriously compromised. Of course, I cannot possibly prove that “The Five Indras” story was already included in the Hindu version when the story of “Śiva’s Boon” was inserted. Indeed, it may be the case that every one of the justification stories was originally inserted into early versions entirely devoid of justification stories, and that it is only through a process of editing and conflation that the *Critical Edition* contains two, and some manuscripts four or five. I believe it is likely that “The Five Indras” story was also originally an independent story later inserted into the epic, though to demonstrate this would be a whole other project.

6.7.2 The Indonesian *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāratamañjarī*

The Indonesian *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāratamañjarī* are both similar to the *Critical Edition* in that they make no serious attempt to reconcile the stories of “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras,” although we should recall that in the two former texts, the story of “Śiva’s Boon” is not retold in proximity to “The Five Indras” as in the *Critical Edition*, but appears only much earlier in the story. In the Indonesian *Mahābhārata*, the only identifiable attempt at reconciliation comes in the following statement, describing what King Drupada saw with the divine vision granted him by Vyāsa: “Bhagavān Vyāsa touched the eyes of Mahārāja Drupada enabling him to see things happening long ago (*dūradarśana*), to see the origin of Pāṇḍavas, and also the former life of Dropadī.”⁴⁶ We might surmise that the wording, “former life of Dropadī” may be a reference to the *brāhmaṇa* girl in “Śiva’s Boon,” rather than to goddess Śrī in “The Five Indras,” but even this is open to question.

The *Bhāratamañjarī*, on the other hand, does not appear to contain any statement aimed at the reconciliation of the two stories. We are merely told, “that beautiful woman of heaven herself was born on earth as your daughter Draupadī (*Kṛṣṇā*).” Nothing here even hints that the “woman of heaven” incarnated as a *brāhmaṇa* girl prior to being born as Draupadī.

6.7.3 Independent and Separate Stories

With respect to the Hindu versions of the justification stories discussed above, we can make a few remarks of a general nature: (i) some version of both justification stories (i.e. “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras”) is found in all three of the above discussed Hindu texts, including the medieval epitomes of the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and *Bhāratamañjarī*, and thus both stories must be accepted as having become at an early period indispensable in the eyes of the Hindu editors and redactors of the epic; however, (ii) in both the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and *Bhāratamañjarī*, the story of “Śiva’s Boon” is given only once, at the earlier of the two positions found in the *Critical Edition*, which, if not to be explained merely by the poets’ desire for brevity, may represent an attempt to keep the two justification stories well separated; (iii) the stories of “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras” do not seem to be reconcilable without rather heroic leaps of faith and interpretive acrobatics, and ought, to that extent, to be taken as two separate, originally independent and unrelated stories; and finally (iv) the Hindu versions appear to be much more concerned with justifying Draupadī’s polyandry than in reconciling the stories used as justification.

As alluded to above, the Hindu *Mahābhārata* has been a repository for stories of all varieties over the centuries, and it cannot be taken as extraordinary that two stories found side-by-side in the text are not easily reconciled. If there is

⁴⁶ *The Indonesian Mahābhārata*, ed. and trans. Phalgunadi, 271.

anything extraordinary about the Hindu justification stories at all, I would argue that it is the *recourse to past-life stories* made in the episode of “Śiva’s Boon.”

6.8 Past-life Stories in Jaina Narrative Literature and the Hindu Mahābhārata

If we were to characterize the narrative device used in each of the two Hindu justification stories to connect events in the past to Draupadī’s “current” situation, we might say that the story of “Śiva’s Boon” uses the device of *reincarnation* (Draupadī as the reincarnation of the great-spirited seer’s daughter), whereas “The Five Indras” uses the device of *incarnation* (Draupadī as the incarnation of Śrī). It is my contention that the use of the latter (i.e. incarnation) is very common in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* in particular, and the Hindu epic and *purāṇic* literature in general, while the former (i.e. reincarnation) is not. In Jaina narrative literature, on the other hand, we see the reverse: the phenomenon of reincarnation is absolutely commonplace, while the phenomenon of incarnation is rare. It is hardly possible here to discuss in a comprehensive manner the roles of incarnation and reincarnation in the Hindu and Jaina traditions, though a few brief statements should suffice to demonstrate the general truth of my contention.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Whether the phenomenon of *incarnation* or *reincarnation* predominates in a religious worldview seems to depend upon how the tradition views the nature of god(s) and men. In a tradition that believes that gods and men are ontologically separate and distinct, such that gods do not (permanently) become men, and men may go to heaven but never become gods, then the notion of *incarnation* is meaningful. However, in a tradition such as Jainism, where there is no ontological distinction between gods and men, both being viewed as *jīvas* with varying amounts of adhering karmic dust, the notion of incarnation is more or less meaningless. When a god becomes a man, it is because his good karma has decreased to the point where the self-same *jīva* merely “falls” to the world of men. This type of descent from gods to men is not what would normally be

6.8.1 Incarnation and Reincarnation in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*

The earliest extant description of the phenomenon of reincarnation in the Hindu tradition cannot be dated much earlier than the 6th century BCE, which was when the earliest *upaniṣads* were composed. This was also the period which witnessed the rise of the *śramaṇic* movements such as Jainism and Buddhism, both of which contain their own individual notions of reincarnation. Prior to this period, according to the extant *vedic* texts, the conception of the universe and man's place therein was considerably different. There is in the early *vedic* texts no indication of a belief that human beings had more than one earthly life. Gods were gods, and humans were humans, and the attainment of heaven in the after-life was the most for which a man could hope, though what sort of existence awaited him was murky. However, even the earliest date assigned to the material included in the *Critical Edition*⁴⁸ is later than the early *upaniṣads*, and descriptions of reincarnation are without question to be found in the *Critical Edition*. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, for example, Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna:

As a man discards
worn-out clothes
to put on new
and different ones,
so the embodied self
discards

intended by the term "incarnation." Furthermore, in Jainism, souls are solely responsible for their own destiny. In the words of A.N. Upadhye, "The vigilant law of Karman governs every one's destiny, and there is no place for any God bestowing favours and meeting (sic) out punishments." (Upadhye, "Bṛhat-Kathākośa," 74).

⁴⁸ As discussed above.

its worn-out bodies
to take on other new ones.⁴⁹

A belief in the phenomenon of reincarnation is common to most of the religious traditions that sprang from India soil, including Classical (post-*vedic* period) Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Regardless of the manner in which the individual traditions describe the specific mechanisms and nuances of this process, a belief in some form of reincarnation is common to all. Nevertheless, and somewhat surprisingly, the impact of this phenomenon on the narrative structure of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* is, for all practical purposes, negligible. The lives of the characters in the *Mahābhārata* are influenced by the power of the gods, by the power of sages, by the power of fate, by the power of curses, and by their own actions performed earlier in the same lifetime; they are rarely if ever influenced by actions said to have been committed in a past life. On the contrary, the earthly careers of the main characters seem to be confined to a single lifetime: they often have their beginnings in unusual or miraculous births, and are frequently said to be incarnations or partial incarnations of gods or goddesses; they end their lives, if we are even informed of their ultimate fate, by arriving in heaven or hell.

There is no indication, for example, that Arjuna or Yudhiṣṭhira or Bhīma have arrived at their “present” circumstances in the story as a result of actions in a past life, and there is no significant hint as to what their future incarnations, if

any, might be. It is not even clear that we are to conceive of them having anything like a soul that transmigrates from birth to birth. In one instance, they are said to be a product of a divine father and earthly mother, and as such, are partial incarnations of their fathers. In another instance, it is said that the five Pāṇḍavas are the earthly incarnations of five Indras. And further still, Arjuna is frequently said to be an earthly incarnation of the seer-god Nara.⁵⁰ Thus, it may, I believe, be generally stated that the phenomenon of incarnation, and not reincarnation, takes center stage in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*. It is not that the *idea* of reincarnation is absent from the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, but rather that the *process* of reincarnation seems to play no practical role in the main plot. And though we have been discussing the Hindu *Mahābhārata* in particular, this statement is also, in varying degrees, true of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and much of the Hindu *purāṇic* literature.

Let us look, for example, at what we know about the origins of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī from the *Critical Edition*. Because of the curse of a great sage, Pāṇḍu was not able to father children of his own, and thus he implored his wife Kuntī to “give birth by a brahmin of superior austerity to sons that are endowed with virtues. With your help, Kuntī, I may walk the path of those that have sons.”⁵¹ This was not such an outrageous suggestion, since Pāṇḍu’s own biological father was not really his mother’s husband but a brahmin surrogate (i.e.

⁴⁹ Barbara Stoler Miller, *The Bhagavad-Gita: Krishna’s Counsel in Time of War*. (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1986), 32.

⁵⁰ I will return to this issue later.

Vyāsa). However, Kuntī then confessed to her husband Pāṇḍu that the great sage Durvāsas imparted to her a secret *mantra* by which she could call down from heaven whichever god she chose and procreate with him. Pāṇḍu gives his assent to this plan, and three times Kuntī calls a god from heaven for the sake of procreation. As Pāṇḍu wanted yet more sons, and Kuntī did not want to give birth again, she taught the secret *mantra* to her co-wife Mādrī who conceived a set of twins by the twin Aśvins gods. That the five Pāṇḍavas (lit. “sons of Pāṇḍu”) Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva are not biologically “sons of Pāṇḍu,” but rather have the gods Dharma, Vāyu, Indra and the Aśvin twins, respectively, as their fathers is either implied or explicitly stated in several places in the epic.⁵² Furthermore, each one is also said to be a partial incarnation of their father-god.⁵³

The origin of one of the Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna, is somewhat complicated by the introduction of the notion that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are some form of the seers Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa are mentioned in the opening benedictory verse, “The Bard shall intone the song of the Triumph after having bowed to Nara and Nārāyaṇa, supreme among men, and to the Goddess Sarasvatī.”⁵⁴ And Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, on at least three occasions, are said *to have been* the seers Nara and Nārāyaṇa.⁵⁵ It is not entirely clear what such a statement

⁵¹ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.113.30-1.

⁵² *ibid.*, I.1.67-9; I.57.96ff; I.113.30-115.16.

⁵³ *ibid.*, I.61.85ff; I.109.1-4.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, I.1.117; I.210.4-5; I.219.12ff.

is meant to infer. If we view this in the context of reincarnation of individual souls, it could mean that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were Nara and Nārāyaṇa in a past life. However, in the context of the epic as a whole, and of the origins of the main characters in particular, especially that of Kṛṣṇa, it is more likely that we are intended to take this as a reference to divine incarnation rather than run-of-the-mill reincarnation. But this point is uncertain. It is possible that the tradition that has Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa somehow related to Nara and Nārāyaṇa is distinct from the “partial incarnation of their father-gods” tradition. And, for that matter, the story identifying the five Pāṇḍavas as the incarnations of five Indras is likely also a separate tradition.

In “The Five Indras” story from the *Critical Edition*, Śiva makes a very interesting statement to the five Indras as he is commanding them to incarnate on earth. He states:

You shall all enter a human womb,
Having wrought great feats of violence there
And sped many others to their death,

You shall go again to the world of Indra,
The precious world you had won with your acts.⁵⁶

This statement starts out sounding like a typical example of a god incarnating on earth for a while, only to return to heaven again. However, the last line, “The precious world you had won with your acts,” implies that the world of Indra is a world these gods had somehow worked up to and won through their

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, I.189.25-26.

effort, which clearly implies a worldview in which, through a process of penitential acts, and over many lifetimes, an individual soul can rise to the level of a god. This is not the predominant view of heaven in the *Mahābhārata*. Rather, heaven is more often described as the place where heroic warriors go when killed in battle, and in this latter context there is no hint that they are ever to be reborn again on earth or anywhere else. Once again, the Hindu *Mahābhārata* appears poised between a worldview dominated by incarnation and one dominated by reincarnation.

Furthermore, similar to the well-known story of “The Parade of the Ants” from the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*,⁵⁷ the statement in the last line above is also likely to be taken as a deliberate demotion of Indra (and the rest of the gods of the *veda*) in favour of the new-world-order gods Viṣṇu (in the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*) or Śiva (in “The Five Indras” story from the *Mahābhārata*). What is important is that despite the incursion of new views of the universe and the place of man and god within it, the lives of the major characters in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* are generally untouched by the phenomenon of reincarnation.

With respect to the origins of Draupadī, we are told that she too had an unusual birth, “born from an altar, effulgent, bright, shining wide with beauty, and having superb shape.”⁵⁸ In other words, she apparent had no biological earthly

⁵⁷ As translated in Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962), 3-11.

⁵⁸ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.57.91ff.

father or mother. In the *Book of the Partial Incarnations*,⁵⁹ we are told that, as the Pāṇḍavas are partial incarnations of their respective god-fathers, Draupadī is a part of the Goddess Śrī: “A part of Śrī was born here on earth for the sake of love as a blameless virgin, from the middle of an altar in the house of Drupada.”⁶⁰ In this context, I believe we are to take Draupadī as a partial incarnation, and not a reincarnation, of the goddess Śrī. This idea is maintained in “The Five Indras” story, where Draupadī is again said to be an incarnation of Śrī.

6.8.2 Incarnation and Reincarnation in Jaina Narrative Literature

The situation is significantly different when we consider Jaina narrative literature. Following a soul (*jīva*) as it passes through various lives on earth or in one of the many Jaina heavens or hells, is one of the most common narrative devices used in Jaina didactic (*dharmakathā*) story literature, and can be found from the earliest extant genre of Jaina literature⁶¹ onwards. The Jaina tradition is replete with stories of important individuals and the events which occurred in their past lives, or which are predicted to occur in their future births (especially their future enlightenment) as a result of actions done in the present existence. As Jaini rightly states, “It is customary for Jaina authors to begin the life story of a major character with a significant event in one of his or her past lives that may

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, I.61.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, I.61.85ff.

⁶¹ That is, the *āṅgas*, e.g. the *Nāyādhammakahāo*.

hold the seed that bears fruit in the events of the present life of that person.”⁶² For example, in the eighth book of Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, which narrates the life of the 22nd Jaina *tīrthankara* Nemi, we are first presented with no less than his eight most recent past-lives. This sort of enumeration of a whole series of previous incarnations of important people is typical of Jaina story literature, and is in no way exceptional. Upadhye, commenting upon the characters of Jaina narrative literature, states,

excepting some of the semi-historical Prabandhas, certain traits specially attract our attention, because they are not quite normal and not found in such abundance in other branches of India literature. Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future lives; and the vigilant and omnipotent law of Karman meticulously records their pious and impious deeds whose consequences no one can escape.⁶³

In fact, the habitual use of past-life stories, which at times may seem somewhat tedious, prompted Winternitz to comment:

On the whole it is rather tiresome always to follow the wanderings of the same persons from one rebirth to another, the one always killing the other, the one going to heaven and the other to hell or being reborn as an animal, in one instance even as a coconut-palm.⁶⁴

It is also common in the Jaina stories for a sage to appear at a crucial point in a character’s life, and to narrate the past-life events that have led up to the pivotal moment. Glasenapp states:

[T]he stories of Jainas are also infused with their religious views in another respect; namely by the extensive use of metempsychosis as a poetic motif in them. At the end of many stories, a wise man or a Kevalī appears who explains to the hero, why he experienced in his present life

⁶² Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition,” 225.

⁶³ Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” 32.

⁶⁴ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, 503-4.

just this amount of happiness or unhappiness, and traces back all the enjoyable experiences to rewards earned in an earlier form of existence and all the sufferings to the lapses in an earlier life.⁶⁵

In the Hindu version of the Marriage of Draupadī, it is, of course, Vyāsa who, like a Jaina *kevalin*, arrives on the scene just in time to explain to King Drupada why the proposed marriage of Draupadī to the five Pāṇḍavas is to be allowed. One would be tempted to see in this arrival of Vyāsa another influence of Jainism on the Hindu versions if not for the fact that Vyāsa “arrives on the scene” to interpret events or proffer advice on a fairly regular basis in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.

In the context of the discussion above, the relevance of all of this is fairly simple and straightforward: the use of past-life stories to explain the present circumstances of a main character in a story would hardly be surprising if we came across it in one or another Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata*, but would be almost unprecedented in a Hindu version of the story. In fact, the presence of such past-life stories in the Hindu versions might even suggest that the Hindu texts had been influenced by the Jaina tradition!⁶⁶

6.9 The Consistency in the Śvetāmbara Story of Sukumārikā

The Śvetāmbara Jaina stories of Draupadī’s former incarnations as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā have been presented and discussed in Chapter 4 and Appendix II. Of the four Śvetāmbara texts we have examined, all but the

⁶⁵ Glasenapp, *Jainism*. 138-9.

⁶⁶ The regular use of past-life stories is also found in Buddhist texts, though to a lesser extent than in Jaina texts.

chronologically-last, (i.e. Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*), includes the story of Nāgaśrī, and all four provide some version of her past-life as Sukumārikā. As will have been obvious from the (Śvetāmbara) plot summary of the story of Nāgaśrī in Appendix II, the versions of this story found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* are remarkably similar, so much so that it can safely be asserted that, for our purposes, there are no significant differences among the versions. In each one of the three texts, Nāgaśrī cooked a rotten gourd with a lot of expensive ingredients; she later clearly believed it to be unfit for her extended family to consume, and thus made another dish for them to eat; she was nevertheless hesitant about just throwing the rotten gourd out; instead, she gave it to the Jaina monk Dharmaruci as alms-food; Dharmaruci was informed by his *guru* Dharmaghoṣa that the dish was poison and ought to be thrown away; Dharmaruci was on the verge of throwing it away when he noticed that even a single drop of the sauce killed countless ants; Dharmaruci decided to eat it himself so that only one living creature (i.e. himself) would suffer death by it; he died;⁶⁷ through the

⁶⁷ The same basic story of Dharmaruci is told in the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* as an example of the forbearance of mortal pains (*udaa maraṇantie*). The story runs as follows (Nalini Balbir, "Stories from the Āvaśyaka Commentaries," in Phyllis Granoff, ed., *The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories*. (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1990), 65-66:

"Even if there are pains which end in death, one should bear them. Here is an example.

In the city of Rohiṭaka, there was a group called Laliya. There lived Rohiṇī, an old courtesan. As she had no other means of livelihood, she used to cook food for the group, and so time passed.

One day, she took a bitter pumpkin, prepared it with lots of spices and cooked it. It was so spoilt that it could not be put in the mouth. 'The group is going to blame me,' she thought. So she quickly cooked another one. 'Let me give the bad one to monks wandering for alms so that it does not go to waste,' she thought. Then the monk Dharmaruci, who was at the end of one

spiritual prowess of his *guru*, it was revealed that Nāgaśrī gave the poison dish to Dharmaruci; Dharmaghoṣa's other disciples spread a report of this in the town until Nāgaśrī's husband heard of it, and he expelled her from his home; the townspeople then expelled her from the city; Nāgaśrī then suffered terrible torments and eventually died; she then went through many rebirths in different hells and lower orders of life until she was finally reborn as Sukumārikā. Given the fact that stories in India often tend to grow and evolve over the years, the consistency found in this story is somewhat remarkable, and can perhaps be explained by reverence for an ancient, and for that matter canonical, tradition.⁶⁸

As for the story of Sukumārikā, it too is remarkably consistent among the *Nāyādharmakāhāo*, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, and Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*. The most recent version of the story, that found in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, is somewhat altered and will be discussed below. The basic story as told in the first three texts is as follows: Sukumārikā was born in the city of Campā as the daughter of the merchant Sāgaradatta; in Campā, there was another merchant named Jinadatta who had a son Sāgara; one day Jinadatta spied

month's fast, came in. The pumpkin was given to him. He went back and confessed to his teacher about what he had received. The teacher took the dish. He perceived an acrid smell and investigated it. He realised that whoever ate the pumpkin would die and told Dharmaruci to throw it away outside.

The monk took the food and went to the forest with the idea of throwing it away at the foot of a dry tree. While he was removing the string binding his alms-bowl, his hand was smeared with some of the pumpkin. It came in contact with the food in one place. Because of the smell ants gathered. All that ate died. Dharmaruci thought, 'Let me finish this dish alone to avoid the murder of living beings.' So, alone in a pure place, he confessed and repented. He carefully examined his mouth-cloth, and, blameless as he was, ate that food. Very intense pains came. He endured them and was Emancipated."

Sukumārikā, and thought she would be a suitable wife for his son Sāgara;
 Jinadatta proposed the match to Sukumārikā's father Sāgaradatta; Sāgaradatta
 agreed to the match on the condition that the couple would take up their residence
 in his home; Jinadatta agreed and proposed the match to his son Sāgara; Sāgara
 agreed, and the wedding occurred; when Sukumārikā and her husband Sāgara
 retired to the bedroom, Sāgara experienced a painful burning sensation whenever
 he touched Sukumārikā; in the night, Sāgara sneaked out and returned to his
 father's home; in the morning, Sukumārikā discovered her husband had left her
 and she was distressed; Sukumārikā's father Sāgaradatta heard of this, and went
 to Jinadatta's house for an explanation; Jinadatta questioned his son Sāgara, and
 Sāgara told him that death would be preferable to returning to Sukumārikā;
 Sāgaradatta went home dejected, but tried to cheer his daughter by saying he
 would find her a new husband; Sāgaradatta spied a filthy beggar one day, had him
 washed, fed, and clothed and offered his daughter Sukumārikā to the beggar, who
 accepted; the beggar wedded Sukumārikā, but at night he too experienced the pain
 of her touch; like Sāgara, the beggar sneaked out at night never to be seen again;
 Sukumārikā again woke up alone and was dejected; this time, Sāgaradatta told his
 daughter Sukumārikā that these unhappy events must have been the result of some
 past action, and thus, she should forsake the idea of marriage and remain at home
 practising charity, which she did; one day, Sukumārikā met a Jaina nun named

⁶⁸ Though obviously not every aspect of the biography of Draupadī found in the canonical *Nāyādharmakāhā* is equally resistant to change.

Gopālikā, and having spoken with her, decided to join the order of nuns; on one occasion, and against the strictures of scripture and her fellow nuns, Sukumārikā went to a park outside the city to carry out a harsh ascetic practice; while she was in the park, a courtesan named Devadattā arrived with five adoring gentlemen fawning over her; Sukumārikā, remembering her own unhappy history with men, made a vow that if anything should come of all her ascetic practices, it should be that she too, in her next life, might have the attentions of five men; having died without confessing her sinful thoughts, she was reborn in heaven where she dwelt for a long time; eventually, she descended from heaven and was born as Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada.

The discrepancies between the story as summarized above and the version found in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* may perhaps, to some extent, be explained by the poet's desire for brevity, though some of the elements are simply different, and in no way briefer. The story as found in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* is different from the outset by virtue of the fact that the story of Nāgaśrī was nowhere given nor even alluded to. The arranging of the marriage between Sukumārikā and Sāgara was very brief, and they were no sooner mentioned than we are told they were married. As in the above version, Sāgara was burnt by the touch of Sukumārikā, but instead of returning to his father's house, he simply ran away never to be seen again. Sukumārikā awoke alone and was devastated, but her father does not go to speak to Sāgara's father. The story of Sukumārikā's father providing a beggar for his daughter to marry is likewise not found here.

Rather, we are merely told that two other husbands were acquired, with the same unhappy results as the first. Her father then recommended she stay at home meditating upon the *dharma*. There is an oblique reference to the fact that such unhappy circumstances happen as a result of sin, though there is no *explicit* reference to the notion that Sukumārikā did some evil act in her past life. Out of disgust, Sukumārikā decided to become a nun, and took the vow in the presence of the nun Gaṅgā. As above, Sukumārikā saw the courtesan Devadattā while she was practising harsh austerities in a park, but here there is no explicit mention nor even implication that she was practising as a rogue nun against the rules of her order. The story ends much the same as above, with her vow to have five men in the future, with her confession-less death, with her tenure in heaven, and with her rebirth as Drupada's daughter Draupādī.

While there are considerable differences between the story of Sukumārikā as found in the chronologically earlier three texts and that told in Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, the differences are not relevant to our immediate concern, and have already been discussed in Chapter 5. It might be noted here, however, that Śubhaśīla's version of the life of Sukumārikā is, in both its brevity and details, closer to the story of "Śiva's Boon" than any of the earlier versions.

Now, what conclusion may we draw from the fact that, in the face of an on-going evolution,⁶⁹ the Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the lives of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā have remained so consistent? One obvious conclusion is that these

stories carried sufficient weight within the Jaina literary tradition that Śvetāmbara authors felt it best to leave them unaltered. These stories may have represented to the Śvetāmbara poets something uniquely and genuinely “Jaina” in a story that came to be known almost exclusively as Hindu. On its own, this is a rather weak conclusion, and it would be difficult to argue for the antiquity and even primacy of the Jaina version from such evidence alone. However, the fact remains that in many areas of the Jaina story of Draupadī, the details have been readily open to alteration over the years, and in combination with much of the evidence presented above, the consistency of these past-life stories only further serves to support the idea that the biography of Draupadī has a long and revered history in the Jaina tradition.

6.10 The Meaning of the Episodes of Sukumārikā and “Śiva’s Boon”

If it were my predilection, I believe I could have a veritable field day with the mythological significance of both the stories of Sukumārikā and “Śiva’s Boon.”⁷⁰ On the surface, the story of Sukumārikā appears to be a straightforward, logical follow-up to the story of Nāgaśrī, wherein a young girl is unable to find happiness in the domestic sphere due to the bad karma remaining from a previous life. That is, because she poisoned a Jaina monk as Nāgaśrī, she now cannot keep a husband as Sukumārikā. However, the story of Sukumārikā

⁶⁹ As demonstrated in Chapter 5.

becomes immensely more interesting if it is removed from the context of the story of Nāgaśrī and simply examined as an independent story in its own right.

When examined on its own, the story of Sukumārikā is the story of a girl who was literally too hot to handle. Presumably, however, she was not too hot for everyone, as no one else in her life prior to her first husband Sāgara had felt the pain of her burning touch. In fact, during the interval between husbands, her father took her on his knee and seemingly suffered no ill effects at all.⁷¹ Rather, it was only her would-be lovers that suffered from her burning heat. Sukumārikā clearly wanted to experience the life of sensual pleasure open only to a woman in the householder stage of life, but, as it turned out, she was more highly charged than any man could handle. In a *śramaṇic* tradition such as Jainism, this burning heat might easily be associated with *tapas*, which means both “heat” and “the power gained from the practice of austerities,” though an excess of *tapas* hardly seems like a fitting karmic retribution for the poisoning of a monk. After losing her second husband for the same reason as the first, Sukumārikā was informed by her father that her sad condition was the fruit of past actions. In the context of the larger story, we must immediately identify these actions with the poisoning of Dharmaruci by Nāgaśrī. However, if we were not to consider the story of Nāgaśrī, we might almost guess that the past actions were in fact acts of

⁷⁰ Since it is not my predilection, I will discuss the topic only briefly. Much of what I include here was the result of discussions with Dr. D.R. Brooks and my colleagues in the Department of Religion and Classics at the University of Rochester.

austerities, and that she was still “charged up” from a previous life. It might also be argued that it was not *tapas* but pure “burning” lustfulness that was the root of her problems, though it would have made more sense for *her* to suffer the painful burning of passion than for her *would-be lover* to be scorched. In any case, by virtue of her heat, she was unsuitable for domestic life (i.e. to be a member of the laity) and decided to renounce the world in favour of the ascetic life (i.e. as a Jaina nun).

However, even as a nun she continued to burn for sensual gratification, and upon seeing the courtesan Devadattā in the grove where she was practising austerities, Sukumārikā immediately made a *nidāna* to bask likewise in the fervent attentions of five men in her next life. Perhaps if she were too much for one man, she would be better suited for five. Nevertheless, having made what must be considered a particularly scandalous *nidāna*, she continued to live out her life as a nun. The power of her austerities was such that, at her death, she was reborn in heaven, and, upon falling back to earth, she got her five men. Clearly, the heat of eroticism and the heat of asceticism were not antithetical in this case, but perhaps even the same thing! Because of her heat, she couldn’t keep one husband, but as an ultimate result of this same heat, she got five.

As it is much shorter than the story of Sukumārikā, it is difficult to draw so many conclusions about the story of “Śiva’s Boon,” though we shall do our

⁷¹ If we are to draw any conclusion from the fact that Sukumārikā’s father refused to part with her, even after her marriage, and insisted that her husband come to live with him, I do not know what it might be.

best. To begin with, we are presented with a girl who, despite being beautiful and filled with all virtues, was unable to procure a husband. We are also told, at least in one of the versions in the *Critical Edition*, that her situation was a result of actions that she had done in the past, though without a preceding story like that of Nāgaśrī we cannot even guess what those actions might have been.⁷² In any case, she begins the practice of austerities in order to get a husband. Whereas Sukumārikā did not intentionally plan to use her austerities to procure a husband, and took up the practice of austerities out of disgust with domestic life, the seer's daughter from "Śiva's Boon" took up the ascetic practice in order to procure a husband and thereby *properly establish* domestic life.⁷³ Nevertheless, the overwhelming power of her desire for sensual gratification resulted in Sukumārikā's using her powers to procure five men. The seer's daughter, on the other hand, having succeeded in propitiating Lord Śiva, asked him in all propriety (if perhaps over-zealously) for a single husband. In other words, the seer's daughter, unlike Sukumārikā, never wanted nor asked for five husbands. However, the power of her austerities was sufficiently great that her utterances had the power of *mantra*, and by proclaiming to Śiva five times that she wanted a husband, he had little choice but to grant her five husbands. In a move seemingly

⁷² We perhaps get some idea of her actions in a past life from the justification story of Nālāyanī which exists in the southern *Mahābhārata* manuscript tradition, though as mentioned above, this story was rejected by Sukthankar in the creation of his critically edited text.

⁷³ Thus, in the Jaina story, asceticism results from a rejection of domestic life, whereas in the Hindu story, asceticism is used to improve domestic life.

designed not to besmirch the character of the seer's daughter, Śiva managed to arrange that the five husbands would be reserved for a future birth.

Having considered some of the ways in which the story of “Śiva's Boon” differs from the story of Sukumārikā, we must determine if the differences can be rationalized as the types of changes that one might reasonably expect a Hindu author to make to the story of Sukumārikā in order to make it more suitable to the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.⁷⁴ But, first, let us consider how the Hindu redactors would have first encountered the story of Sukumārikā. It is unlikely that Hindus were reading Jaina canonical texts, though, if the story of Mahāvīra's conversion of the 11 *gaṇadhara*s and the biographies of many important Jaina monks⁷⁵ are to be given any credence, we can assume that even in its earliest history Jainism was successful in converting educated Hindu brahmins. Such brahmin converts, while obviously functioning as a conduit for Hindu materials to enter the Jaina tradition, may also, through their interactions with other Hindu brahmins, have served as a conduit for the flow of Jaina material back into the Hindu tradition. As Winternitz points out,⁷⁶ the Hindu *Mahābhārata* shares a significant amount of so-called ascetic poetry with the renunciatory traditions like Jainism and Buddhism, and the story of “Śiva's Boon” may well be an example of such sharing. In any case, it is likely that the story was first encountered by Hindus in

⁷⁴ It may be the case that the process of hindufication was a slow and drawn out process, rather than the work of a single Hindu poet. In any case, the task necessitates a great deal of speculation, and the force of the argument can only be felt in its cumulative weight.

⁷⁵ e.g. Haribhadra, Siddhasena.

⁷⁶ See Chapter 1.

a vernacular language, and, what is more, it would likely be received by Hindus as an interesting addition to the plot and not something equivalent to a *vedic* hymn that needed to be carefully maintained and preserved word for word.

Apart from the length of the episodes, the first notable difference between the stories of Sukumārikā and “Śiva’s Boon” is the caste of the girl in the story. In the Hindu story she is the daughter of a sage (i.e. a brahmin girl), and in the Jaina story she is the daughter of a merchant. It would, however, be perfectly natural for a Hindu to change the girl’s caste from merchant to brahmin. The Jains certainly have many stories about brahmins and sages, but they have even more about merchant caste folk, as it is the merchant classes that have since the beginning populated the Jaina lay community. Hindu stories, and especially their epic and *purāṇic* literature, do not on the whole have major characters come from the merchant classes. In the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, virtually all of the main characters are from the priestly or ruling caste, and though Karṇa is ridiculed for being a low-caste son of a charioteer, the audience knows that he is really the offspring of Kuntī and the sun-god Sūrya. For a Hindu author, it would very likely be considered degrading to Draupadī, a high-born *kṣatriya*, to imply that she was a common *vaiśya* in her most recent past-life.

In the story of “Śiva’s Boon,” we are not told explicitly what the “previous actions” were that resulted in the seer’s daughter being unlucky in love. However, given the fact that the story already implies more than one earthly existence for the girl (i.e. her present life as well as her future life when she will

obtain the five husbands), it is perhaps not a stretch to assume that the actions which resulted in her being unlucky in love were committed in a previous life. However, being brief in the extreme, the story of “Śiva’s Boon” does not provide any details about what these past actions might have been. In the Śvetāmbara version of Draupadī’s biography, on the other hand, we know exactly which “previous actions” resulted in Sukumārikā’s unlucky predicament, because we know the story of her past-life as Nāgaśrī. However, the extremely unflattering nature of the story of Nāgaśrī hardly makes it a serious candidate for wholesale adoption by the Hindus. It is unlikely that a Hindu redactor would insert a story about Draupadī’s past life that described her as being downright evil.

Nevertheless, I would argue that the Hindu version does adopt the story of Nāgaśrī *to the extent that* it implies that the seer’s daughter *must have done something negative* in a past-life to be unable to obtain a husband in her present life. Furthermore, as mentioned above, it is possible that the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā, so seemingly inextricably linked in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, may well have been originally independent stories entirely unrelated to Draupadī.⁷⁷

In the story of “Śiva’s Boon”, we are given no details about the seer’s daughter’s earlier attempts to procure a husband, and are merely told that she was not able to acquire one. In the Jaina story, we, of course, know a great deal about

⁷⁷ That is, it does not necessarily make sense that the specific problem suffered by Sukumārikā would logically follow from the crimes of Nāgaśrī.

poor Sukumārikā's attempts to get a husband. If the author of "Śiva's Boon" was aiming at brevity we can perhaps forgive the omission of all these details. After all, to summarize Sukumārikā's situation in a single sentence, we could reasonably borrow the sentence from the episode of "Śiva's Boon": "Because of previous acts, which she herself had done, she was unfortunate in love, and the girl, lovely though she was, did not find a husband."⁷⁸

As a result of the unfortunate situation in which the girls in both stories found themselves, they took up a life of austerities. However, the austerities performed by the girls were appropriate to their respective traditions: the seer's daughter performed austerities to please Lord Śiva, and Sukumārikā became a Jaina nun. I would argue that these two modes of asceticism are in a general sense equivalent, and that no Hindu would ever describe Draupadī as having been a Jaina nun in her past life! However, given the strongly *vaiṣṇava* character of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* as a whole, it is interesting that Lord Śiva is made the target of the girl's austerities. One very simple explanation would be that the choice of Śiva was designed to dovetail with the story of "The Five Indras," where Śiva is clearly the dominant personality. In fact, in "The Five Indras," it is by the command of Śiva that the five Indras and goddess Śrī incarnate on earth as the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī.

However, we do not have any evidence that "The Five Indras" story was, at least in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* tradition, antecedent to the story of "Śiva's

⁷⁸ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.157.7.

Boon,” let alone a determining factor in its development. I suspect that there is an even better explanation for Śiva’s role in Draupadī’s predicament: the marriage of a Hindu woman to five men must be considered outside the normal realm of *dharma*, and without question sexually deviant. Furthermore, it was the practice of austerities that led to this sexually deviant circumstance. The admixture of asceticism and eroticism has already been convincingly assigned to Śiva by Wendy O’Flaherty,⁷⁹ and Śiva himself has a history of sexual deviancy. If, keeping in mind the impending polyandry, a Hindu poet were to change this girl’s mode of asceticism from that of a Jaina nun to the performing of austerities directed at a particular Hindu god, Śiva would be a fairly obvious choice.⁸⁰

Perhaps the most interesting difference between the two stories is the exact manner in which the girl gets herself into the position of gaining five husbands in a future birth. In the story of “Śiva’s Boon,” it is made very clear that the seer’s daughter at no time wanted or intended for Lord Śiva to grant her five husbands, let alone five husbands in a future birth. Rather, it seems clear that she desired a single husband in her present life. How is it, then, that things develop as they do?

When I first read the story of “Śiva’s Boon,” I interpreted Śiva’s decree that the seer’s daughter would acquire five husbands as a somewhat humorous and mischievous, and, as Winternitz would have it, a not altogether shrewd,

⁷⁹ In her *Śiva: The Erotic Ascetic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

⁸⁰ Like many issues in this thesis, this topic deserves much more attention, though it is not possible to go off on this particular tangent here.

device to explain the polyandry. Upon further reflection,⁸¹ however, the fact that the girl obtains five husbands because she asked for a single husband five times may well reflect the pan-Indian belief in the power of *mantra*, or efficacious speech. The notion that speech, once spoken, has certain and unavoidable consequences is a theme that runs throughout the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.⁸² For example, as a general rule, a curse, once uttered, can never be revoked but only modified. Similarly, when Kuntī first got her secret *mantra* from Durvāsas that allowed her to call upon any god of her choosing to father a child for her, she naively decided to test it. And despite being unmarried and a virgin, she was forced to procreate with Sūrya.⁸³ Likewise, Kuntī's (mis)spoken injunction to her sons that they should all share equally in the "alms" brought home by Arjuna and Bhīma, despite the fact that the "alms" were actually Draupadī, seemed inviolate.⁸⁴

In other words, once the ascetically-charged seer's daughter had uttered the "Grant me a husband" *mantra* five times, even Śiva was powerless to reverse the consequences; the most he could do was delay it until a future life. Seen in this light, the story represents an interesting mixture of worldviews, in which impersonal and irrevocable vedic-style *mantras* are combined with acts of devotion to a deity. Such a mixture is perhaps not surprising in a text like the *Mahābhārata* that, as a whole, occupies an uncertain position at the center of a

⁸¹ Assisted by discussion with Dr. D.R. Brooks.

⁸² And for that matter, in the Buddhist *Jātakas* as well.

⁸³ See, van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, I.104.

vedic sacrifice-based, a śramaṇic asceticism-based, and a classical Hindu devotion-based worldview. In the end, though we may reasonably hold the seer's daughter responsible for her unrestrained speech, there was clearly no intentionality behind her obtaining five husbands. Rather, the girl simply and naively failed to understand the power of her speech when combined with her harsh ascetic practices. Sukumārikā, on the other hand, understood very well the power of her *nidāna* when combined with harsh ascetic practice. That is, Sukumārikā unquestionably wanted five men and, in her next birth, she got them. Thus, the overall effect of the modifications made in the Hindu version was to remove the sinful intentionality from the girl's speech, and thus to relieve Draupadī of the shame that her polyandrous situation arose as a consequence of her own wanton desires.

Such a modification to the details of the story would not only better suit the sensibilities of those wishing to protect the virtue of princess Draupadī, but it connects more seamlessly with the dominant worldview in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*. That is, according to the story of "Śiva's Boon", Draupadī's polyandry is the result of a combination of asceticism, *mantra*, devotionally-acquired boons, and fate (i.e. *daiva*), and is not to be explained merely by the effects of karma alone. If karma and karma alone were used by the Hindus to explain Draupadī's polyandry, then surely karma would likewise need to be invoked to explain everything else in the epic, which is hardly the case.

⁸⁴ Though it is unclear whether or not her speech is to be seen as exuding the power of *mantra*.

6.11 The Case of Amracandrasūri's *Bālabhārata*

Having now discussed both the Hindu and Jaina stories used to justify Draupadī's polyandry, we turn finally to the very interesting case of a Hindu version of the *Mahābhārata* written by a Jaina. The *Bālabhārata* was composed by the Jaina poet Amracandrasūri sometime in the 13th century CE, and while his version of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī is perhaps slightly divergent from the other Hindu texts, his treatment of the justification stories is absolutely distinctive.

As discussed above, the story of "Śiva's Boon" is found in two places in the *Critical Edition*, while it is found only once, at the earlier point in the story, in both the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* and Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*.

Furthermore, all three of these Hindu texts include some version of "The Five Indras" story. However, Amracandrasūri's presentation of these stories in the *Bālabhārata* is distinctive, beginning with the fact that he does not include the story of "Śiva's Boon" at the earlier juncture, when the Pāṇḍavas are getting ready to depart to the Pāñcāla country, but rather includes it in the second instance, during Vyāsa's private conversation with king Drupada just before the wedding. But even more interesting is the fact that Amracandrasūri did not merely present the episode of "Śiva's Boon" as a seemingly unrelated story conveniently situated next to "The Five Indras"; rather, his version of "Śiva's

Boon” is perfectly harmonized with “The Five Indras” such that the two stories meld seamlessly into one.

In this unified story, we are explicitly told why the girl from the “Śiva’s Boon” episode was performing austerities; she was “an unlucky daughter of a chief among sages, in whom anger was produced by want of a husband”. However, we are not told why she was so unlucky as to be unable to attain a husband.⁸⁵ Having gratified Śiva, she received the boon of five husbands in her future life (though, as usual, she apparently only wanted one husband in her present life), and, having received the boon, happily practised austerities until she died. She was then reborn as Nākaśrī in the presence of Śiva in heaven. The choice of names here is interesting, as it has connotations of both “Nāgaśrī” of the Śvetāmbara Jaina versions and the “Śrī” of the Hindu versions.⁸⁶ It is this Nākaśrī who encounters Indra at the river Ganges as the weeping woman who leads him to the Himalayan peaks. At this point, the story of “Śiva’s Boon” has flowed effortlessly into “The Five Indras”.

The five Indras who are trapped by Śiva in a mountain cavern are said, as it were, to provide the mountain with five senses, thus incorporating an aspect of “The Five Indras” episode found in the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* where the Indras are not really five *indras* but five *indriyas* (i.e. the five senses). Śiva then explains the impending monumental Bhārata war as the required expiation for his

⁸⁵ Though for a Jaina like Amaraśrī, there could be no doubt that it was a result of past actions!

sin of brahmanicide, and charges the five Indras-*cum*-Pāṇḍavas with the Great War's execution. Nākaśrī, who must also assist in bringing about the battle, is to make a descent as their sole wife. The manner in which the five Indras "become" the five Pāṇḍavas is a bit confusing, and it is unclear whether we are meant to see them as incarnations or reincarnations. Nākaśrī returns to earth through appearing in the fire pit of Drupada's sacrifice, after Dhṛṣṭadyumna has appeared. Finally, the mission that Śiva charged them with (i.e. executing a great battle) is reiterated. The story in the *Bālabhārata* is as follows:

[Vyāsa said:]

'In the past, in a certain place, an unlucky daughter of a chief among sages, in whom anger was produced by want of a husband, said five times, with austerities directed at the boon-conferring Śiva (Purāri), "Grant me a husband". Having granted that beautiful girl's boon [because of her austerities], "In another lifetime, five heroes, of whom there is the highest mutual affection, must become your husbands", Śiva (Purāṁ Virodhī) then disappeared. Having thought, "I will have husbands in another lifetime", that very girl delighted in austerities; at the end of her life, due to a vast store of merit, she existed [for awhile] in the presence of Śiva (Bhava) as Nākaśrī.

Meanwhile, Yama (Kṛtānta), who had previously gone to the Naimiṣa Forest, carried out a sacrifice. While he, by whom compassion had been acquired, was not killing [i.e. not doing his job as Death], the earth became adorned by mortals who were as if immortal. The gods, placing Indra (Hari) at their head, began, on account of distress, reproaching Brahmā, [saying], "The earth, of which there is a burden of extraordinary mortals, will be swamped. There is no longer any difference between mortals and immortals!" To this, Brahmā said, "When that sacrificer Yama (Kṛtānta) has taken a bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, then the death of creatures will gradually begin again after a full life term, like so many ripe fruit." Having heard these accurate words of Brahmā, Indra (Surendra) departed with joy; appearing at the Ganges, he

⁸⁶ In Prākṛit, Nāgaśrī and Nākaśrī might be the same name; this suggests the possibility of a Sanskritization of one name into two different forms.

saw a golden lotus. [Wondering], “From what was this [lotus] produced?,” he, out of delight, entered into the river to fetch it.

Then, by means of a trick made by Śiva (Bharga), he saw before him Nākaśrī (Svargaśrī) weeping. Indra (Dyubhartṛ) was at first astonished by the fact that her tears, dripping into the water of the Ganges, were quickly becoming golden lotuses; then, when he got up close to her moon-like face, he was even more astonished by her smiles. “O You of beautiful thighs! Who are you? Why do you weep?” The weeping girl, who was thus questioned by Indra (Nākabhartṛ), wandered away. Indra (Vāsava) then followed after her as the moon follows twilight. That ‘mountain’ [i.e. Indra] was led by that doe-eyed woman to the chief of mountains [i.e. the Himālayas]; having seen some mere youth sitting motionless, engaged in dice together with a woman, and not bothering to greet him, [Indra] became angry.

Indra (Hari), angry with this youth, was struck with a glance by him, [i.e. by Hara/Śiva], as if by a snake with poison in his eyes/gaze, and being made paralyzed on the peaks of the Himālayas, stood there having the appearance of a fresh [mountain] peak. His body being touched by the hand of Nākaśrī (Tridaśaśrī), at the behest of Śiva (Viśvanātha) by whom the game of dice was completed, Indra (Dyubhartṛ) toppled like a pillar of which the support had been shattered. Then Śiva (Viśvaguru) said to Indra (Surendra): “You must enter this cave in the mountain. Along with the four who have previously gone in and who resemble you, this mountain must shine as if it had the five sense organs.” That Indra (Pākasya Ripu), with anguish, then went into the cave together with those [other] four.

[Then], having approached, he bowed to the feet of Śiva (Purāri), and, being wretched, said, “What in the world must I do?” Then Śiva (Nātha) said, “My act of murder, arising from cutting off the head of a brahmin, has been well-known for a long time; having drunk the blood of 18 armies, it will stop. Hence, You Indras (Śakras) must secretly make efforts for the atoning for my murder which still clings to me; the earth must have [five] husbands, as a lioness (*pañcānana-kāminī*) has many husbands. That Nākaśrī (Nākalakṣmī) must put together a collection of kings for the sake of bringing to pass the commencement of battle; she, by whom a descent has been made, will be the single wife of you five [Indras]. That Brahmahatyā [i.e. the personification of Śiva’s murder of a brahmin] having made a descent here into the goddess, being one of my Kṛtyās [i.e. “witches”], and having drunk the honey-like blood of the kings, and being satisfied from this intoxicant, she will leave me right away!”

Having been convinced that it must be thus, Indra (Vibhu), with those other four Indras by whom oaths were taken, said, “Surely our birth

is not to be derived from man – it must be brought about from Dharma, Vāta, and the Aśvins (Nāsatyas).” And that fifth Indra said these words, “I will not make a descent onto earth. A human being, whose motive is this business on earth, must be derived from a portion of me on earth, with abundant supernatural powers.” Then, Śiva (Nātha), with great delight and excitement about his own aim, the atoning for the murder [of a brahmin], which was well-nigh completed, said to them all, “Let it be so! You are all victorious! But Nara, the sage from the Badarī forest, will become a son of Indra (Vāsava) Vaivasvata; to help him, Nārāyaṇa too, having made a descent, will be on earth.”

That lord of gods named Viśvabhuj⁸⁷, in the intermediate Svayambhuva age, appeared on earth as Yudhiṣṭhira, son of Dharma, beloved by all. The lord of gods named Ṛtadhāma, in the world age of Svārociṣa, appeared on earth as Bhīma, son of Vāta, conqueror of armies of elephants. And again, a child, possessing an unrestrainable bow, was born of the lord of gods named Tejasvin, of the world age called Vaivasvata, who was Arjuna himself. The two gods whose fame was so widespread in the world age known as Uttamatāmasa, known in the texts as Śānti and Śibi, became the twins, sons of the Aśvins (Nāsatyas).

Now then, having propitiated the two ascetics, Yāja and Upayāja, for a year, a sacrifice was done on the banks of the Ganges by you [O Drupada], by whom the humiliation [by Droṇa] was meditated upon, and who was desirous of a son for the purpose of slaying Droṇa. Now, while Upayāja was intent upon the sacrificial actions, and while Yāja meditated upon the presiding deity of the sacrifice, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, a warrior bearing weapons and clothed in armour, and a [partial incarnation of fire], appeared in the fire pit. Then, your daughter, none other than Nākaśrī, having a waist shaped like an altar, appeared here from the midst of the sacrificial altar; it was this one, O king, by whom Śiva (Purāri) was formerly propitiated, and who obtained [the boon of] being the bride of five men. Those heroes and your daughter must wander about for a long time for the sake of such [above mentioned] exploits.’

That sage, having proclaimed [all of this] in the presence of King Drupada (Pārṣata), then caused [Drupada] to see it with his own eyes through the power of divine sight.⁸⁸

One can well imagine a Jaina author, with no particular allegiance to

Hindu tradition but nevertheless confronted with the task of writing a Hindu

⁸⁷ Each of the five Indras is identified with a particular name and the world age in which he was the reigning Indra.

⁸⁸ *Bālabhārata of Amarachandra Sūri*, Ādiparvan, Chapter 6; verses 3-33.

version of the *Mahābhārata*, being dissatisfied with the apparent lack of harmony between “Śiva’s Boon” and “The Five Indras.” Instead of merely accepting and maintaining the disharmony, Amracandrasūri set out to correct it. And while there is no question that Amracandrasūri has brought continuity to the two stories, I would argue that he did it in a typically Jaina manner. Whether or not his inspiration for this harmonized version were the Jaina stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā is impossible to say, though it strikes me as exceedingly likely.

According to his version, the sage’s daughter, having satisfied Śiva and obtained the promise of five husbands in a future birth, died and was reborn as a goddess in heaven. Having spent some time in heaven, she returned to earth to become Drupada’s daughter Draupadī. As was discussed in detail above, this type of story is typically Jaina in that a *jīva* may be born as a human, reborn as a god or goddess in heaven, only to be reborn on earth again as a human. Such a story is not at all typical of the Hindu versions. However effective his version is at bringing harmony to the two justification stories, he ignores the predominant worldview of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* where there is, most of the time, a discernible ontological distinction maintained between men and gods, and humans are not temporarily reborn in heaven as gods only to return to earth again as humans.

Though Amracandrasūri’s *Bālabhārata* was not particularly influential in the larger Hindu *Mahābhārata* tradition, it is nevertheless quite interesting in the context of this thesis. In it, Amracandrasūri does what the Hindu poets did not

feel compelled to do: he brought harmony to two originally unrelated and unharmonious stories, and he did it in just the manner we would expect from a Jaina. And while the use of past-life stories was not likely to cause anyone, Hindu or Jaina, much discomfort in the medieval period, such stories, including even the standard story of “Śiva’s Boon,” do not find a comfortable home in the ancient Hindu *Mahābhārata*.

6.12 Conclusion

I shall be the first to admit that my argument in this chapter is not ironclad. The case for the Hindu episode of “Śiva’s Boon” being a “hindufied” version of the Jaina story of Sukumārikā is not absolutely conclusive, and the above argument may be unconvincing to my most intransigent of readers. However, the argument presented is, I believe, both reasonable and compelling. If one were to accept its premise, this case would tell us something interesting about the historical development of the *Mahābhārata*, especially with respect to issues of religious ownership of the epic.

In the medieval period, there is no question that Hindu versions of the epic predominated in India, and, as we saw in the last chapter, Hindu versions of the epic were heavily influential on the authors of medieval Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata*. In pre-medieval period, however, and perhaps even as far back as the 4th or 5th centuries before the Common Era, we might imagine a time when various versions of the core narrative of the epic story, including a Jaina version,

had equal currency and carried equal weight. If such were the case, what we now know as the Hindu *Mahābhārata* may well contain, in a greater or lesser disguised form, a good deal of originally disparate and even philosophically and theologically antagonistic episodes. I am hardly the first person to suggest this may be the case, but I do think that with the example of the “Śiva’s Boon”/Sukumārikā episodes, I have provided a good example.

But we are here less concerned with the epic as a whole than with the biography of Draupadī, and even if there never was a full-blown, ancient Jaina *Mahābhārata* per se, there was almost certainly an ancient Jaina biography of Draupadī, and it is very likely that remnants of it still survive in the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with the hope of shedding light upon three issues: (i) the origin of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition; (ii) the degree to which Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata* display a lesser tolerance for moral ambiguity than the Hindu versions; and (iii) the degree and manner of interaction that took place between the Hindu and Jaina *Mahābhārata* traditions over roughly the past two millennia. I will address these three points in order.

On an absolute level, any assertion that there existed an ancient Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition is speculative; there is no ironclad proof. As there is not a single extant Jaina text, let alone a Jaina version of the Pāṇḍava story, that can be dated with absolute assurance prior to the 5th century CE, we are on uncertain ground. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, it seems both reasonable and safe to place the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, including its biography of Draupadī, much earlier than the 5th century CE, and possibly closer to the time of Mahāvīra or his immediate disciples. The argument that the Hindu story of “Śiva’s Boon” is a modification of the Jaina story of Sukumārikā is just one more reason to accept the antiquity of this Jaina biography of Draupadī. So let us assume, at the very least, that the Jainas possessed in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* an ancient version of the story of Draupadī that contains some mention of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.

This biography of Draupadī is still a long way from a full-blown, ancient Jaina *Mahābhārata*.

Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that the Jainas could have incorporated Draupadī, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas into their cast of literary characters without some familiarity with the larger core narrative of the *Mahābhārata*. They may have located their story of Draupadī in something of a textual void, but it is unlikely their devout laity heard it in a void. Whether or not the Jainas possessed a more extensive version of the core narrative that has subsequently been lost is impossible to say; however, given the non-epic context into which the biography of Draupadī is found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, it is not exceedingly likely.

The most I am prepared to state is that the Jainas were aware in ancient times of a non-sectarian core narrative of the *Mahābhārata*, and that, at very least, they possessed their own ancient and quite distinctive version of the story of Draupadī. The assertion that the Jainas appropriated the story of Draupadī from the Hindus and twisted it to fit their own purposes seems to me to be without merit, and to result from the unjustifiable *a priori* assumption that the *Mahābhārata* is and always has been a Hindu text.

The second issue is the impact that Jaina morality had on the episode of the Marriage of Draupadī. P.S. Jaini and others have demonstrated unequivocal evidence of Jainas engaging in a “moral cleansing” of portions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* stories, at least what we know of them from the extant Hindu versions. But in terms of the episode of the Marriage of Draupadī in

particular, the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jainas radically differ. The Digambara Jainas have scrubbed the episode clean by entirely doing away with the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, seemed to take centuries before displaying any obvious concern about it, and even longer to do something about it. In the end (i.e. in Śubhaśīla's 15th century CE *Pāṇḍavacaritra*), and despite having five husbands, Draupadī is explicitly declared to be a virtuous woman. However, the one who declares it is an anonymous voice in the sky. It would seem that, on the whole, the Śvetāmbara Jainas do not display any overarching concern to scrub the text clean of moral ambiguity or even immorality in characters that are otherwise considered quite virtuous. In the Śvetāmbara tradition, Draupadī's moral status in the face of her polyandry seems hardly to be an issue, and in at least one version of the story Draupadī is said to have attained liberation at the end of her life!

The third issue is related to the historical interactions between the Hindu and Jaina *Mahābhārata* traditions. I feel that the analysis and comparison of the plot and character development in the story of the Marriage of Draupadī has been quite effective in demonstrating the tendency of the Jaina versions to become increasingly similar to that of the Hindus. However gradual this tendency may have been, it was steady and unwavering. Unfortunately, reading eight Jaina versions of Draupadī's Marriage, one after the other, can have a numbing effect upon the reader, and the changes from one version to the next can seem arbitrary and inconsequential. Nevertheless, we would do well to remember that these

texts were works of poetic art that surely took up years of their poets' lives, and that the poets surely put a lot of thought into what should or should not be included.

Thus, when we see the Jaina versions becoming increasingly similar to the Hindu version, we must consider this to be deliberate. This "hindufying" tendency may have been partly the result of the powerful effect that the Hindu version of the story had on the imaginations of all the people of India. However, we must also accept that the later Jaina poets were familiar with the earlier Jaina versions, and that they were aware of the alterations they were making.

It is interesting to me that the conclusions presented here are not at all what I would have expected prior to beginning this thesis work. If I would have attempted to answer (i.e. to give an educated guess at) my three basic questions before having done the research, I would have guessed that: (i) the Jainas *did* simply appropriate the *Mahābhārata* from the Hindus; (ii) that their versions of the *Mahābhārata* do show that they were obviously less tolerant of moral ambiguity than the Hindus; and (iii) that the Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata* continued over time to become more and more distinctively Jaina in nature. I guess this is why we do the research.

If it is not already altogether obvious, there is a tremendous amount of work left to be done. One could continue the exact project outlined in this thesis by merely adding more texts to the discussion, or could simply expand the number of discrete episodes examined. Not only would such work continue to

elucidate the nature of the Jaina *Mahābhārata* tradition, but would also shed a much-needed new light upon the historical development and impact of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*.

More importantly, it is desirable to begin viewing the Jaina tradition as an integrated component of India's religious history, rather than as an isolated phenomenon. A recent book edited by John Cort has made an excellent beginning to this endeavour, and I hope that this thesis has also made a contribution. One of the articles in Cort's book, by Leslie Orr,¹ has examined the possible influence of the Jaina tradition on the development of "religious women" in the South Indian Hindu tradition. While she concludes that the Hindu tradition was not immediately impacted by the Jaina tradition, the very act of investigating the possibility sheds new light on both traditions.

¹ Leslie C. Orr, "Jain and Hindu 'Religious Women' in Early Medieval Tamilnadu," in John E. Cort, ed., *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

APPENDIX I:

**The Marriage of Draupadī in
Four Hindu,
Four Digambara Jaina,
And Four Śvetāmbara Jaina Texts**

For each of the twelve texts included in this Appendix, I have provided three things: (i) general information about the text and its author, including the exact edition used; (ii) a Table of Contents for the text as a whole; and (iii) an English translation of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī from the text.

The reason for including a Table of Contents for each text was to allow the story of Draupadī's Marriage to be properly contextualized. As will be made obvious by the Tables of Contents from these various texts, the story of Draupadī's Marriage in particular, and of the Pāṇḍavas in general, constitutes anything from virtually the only object of concern of the text to being almost peripheral and tangential.¹ It must be admitted that these Tables of Contents do not make for fascinating reading, and I might recommend that they be consulted only as necessary.

A Note on the Translations:

This Appendix contains English translations of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī from 12 separate texts. With the exception of the Śvetāmbara Jaina *Nāyādhammakahāo*, which was composed in Ardhamāgadhī, and the anonymous *Indonesian Mahābhārata* composed in Kawi, all of the texts were translated from the original Sanskrit. Because some of the texts used in this thesis had previously been translated into English, I utilized the existing English versions of the Marriage of Draupadī from these translations. These included: the *Critical*

Edition of the Mahābhārata (J.A.B. van Buitenen); the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* (I.G.P. Phalgunadi); Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (P.S. Jaini); *Nāyādhammakahāo* (N.V. Vaidya); and the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (H.M. Johnson).

For my own translations, I attempted to produce fairly literal versions, and thus kept as close to the original as I thought prudent. In several places (remarked on in the footnotes), I was uncertain of the exact sense of the text and did my best to produce something meaningful. Though Sanskrit poets make copious use of epithets for their characters, I have generally adopted a single name for each of the characters. In my own translations, I have placed in parentheses the actual name/epithet used in the original, c.g. Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmaputra). Even in my presentation of versions translated by others, I have attempted to streamline the use of epithets by consistent use of a single name for each character. While epithets certainly add poetic flavour in the Sanskrit, and not infrequently serve as a record of various aspects of a character, they are an unnecessary complication in our project of comparing and contrasting twelve versions of more-or-less the same story.

Irrespective of the tradition from which the story comes, the exact events covered in the translations differ somewhat. For those texts in which the story of Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas is fairly brief, I have included a great deal, or even all,

¹ Several of the texts used had no Table of Contents at all, and thus I constructed them by collecting and collating the titles of the various chapters as found in the closing statement of each chapter.

of their story.² For those texts in which the story of the Pāṇḍavas in general, and of Draupadī's Marriage in particular, is quite lengthy, I have focused upon a more narrow series of events.³ Because the version of the Marriage of Draupadī in the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* is so lengthy, I have presented it as a combination of my own summary and van Buitenen's translation.

It must be admitted that my own translations are much less than poetic, and are hardly fit for popular public consumption. I intended my translations to serve as an aid to uncover the plot and character development in each text, and would need to do some further work before the translations would be fit for publication. I beg my reader's indulgence on this point.

² e.g., Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*.

³ e.g. Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Hindu Tradition:**
The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

Title:	<i>The Mahābhārata, Volume 1, The Ādiparvan, being the first book of the Mahābhārata, the great epic of India.</i>
Author:	Kṛṣṇa DvaipāyanaVyāsa (legendary author)
Date:	1933; (estimated date of contents 400 BCE – 400 CE)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	V.S. Sukthankar, <i>et al.</i>
Published By:	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1933.
Series:	<i>The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata</i>
Translated By:	J.A.B. van Buitenen (<i>As: The Mahābhārata. 1. The Book of the Beginning.</i> Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973)
Length:	879 pages (incl. critical apparatus); 6,000-7,000 verses
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	This text constitutes the 1 st of 18 major <i>parvans</i> , (encompassing the first 19 of 100 minor <i>parvans</i>), and divided into 225 <i>adhyāyas</i> .
Apparatus:	lengthy <i>prolegomena</i> and extensive critical apparatus

About the Author:

Regarding the authorship of the *Mahābhārata*, van Buitenen states:

[It is] clear that neither a single author nor a single date can be assigned to the great epic. Indian tradition attributes the composition to ... Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana ... a kind of immortal brahmin ... But this is more intended as a symbolic authorship, for the same Dvaipāyana is also held to have divided the one veda into the four vedas, and compiled the eighteen Purāṇas, as well as the basic text of Vedānta. He is a kind of universal uncle. ... That the main story of *The Mahābhārata* was a conscious composition is, to me, undeniable, and one poet, or a small group of them, must have been responsible for it. The original story is now irrecoverable, but it is likely to have been substantially shorter than the shortest recorded summary [viz. 24000 *ślokas*]. It is from this modest beginning, and from a bard whose name has since been forgotten, that *The Mahābhārata* began its incredible career.⁴

As to how the original, modestly-lengthed story began so extensive, van

Buitenen suggests that such is the inevitable result of the process of public

recitations.⁵ That is, each public reciter was, or at least had the opportunity to become, one of the multitude of authors who must have contributed to the great epic over perhaps thirty centuries or more.

About the Text:

In his *prolegomena* to the first volume of the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, Sukthankar provides copious details about both the manuscripts and the methods used in constructing the *Critical Edition*, and for these details I refer my readers there. With respect to dating the contents of the *Ādiparvan* of his *Critical Edition*, Sukthankar rightly states that his constituted text cannot be accurately dated, nor can it be assigned to any particular person or place:

It goes without saying that (precisely like every other edition) it is a mosaic of old and new matter. That is to say, in an average adhyāya of this edition (as of any other edition) we may read a stanza of the second century B.C. followed by one written in the second century A.D.⁶

In regard to the date of Sukthankar's constituted critical text of the *Ādiparvan*, van Buitenen fixes the *terminus a quo* at 400 BCE. He states:

There is a general agreement that the oldest portions preserved are hardly older than 400 B.C. The oldest testimony of the existence of a *Bhārata* text is barely before this period, in two of the ritual manuals and in the grammar of Pāṇini.⁷

⁴ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

⁵ "The reciter would first give a resume, a brief summary containing the salient features and little more. Then he would be prevailed upon to give the fuller story with all the detail he could think of. Even then his audience might interrupt him and ask for more information on certain points. All this creates the impression that what would come down from generation to generation were, first, the summaries, and, second, the technique of spinning out a tale to please the listeners. The reciter was thus also a creative poet, within the idiom of his craft." (van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, p. xxiv)

⁶ Sukthankar, *The Mahābhārata*, p. ciii.

⁷ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, p. xxv.

The *terminus ante quem*, however, is somewhat more difficult to fix, though van Buitenen proposes the fourth century CE as a reasonable but rough estimate.⁸

⁸ van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, p. xxv.

Table of Contents for the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*⁹

The *Mahābhārata* in 18 Major Books:

1. *The Book of the Beginning*
2. The Book of the Assembly Hall
3. The Book of the Forest
4. The Book of Virāṭa
5. The Book of Effort
6. The Book of Bhīṣma
7. The Book of Droṇa
8. The Book of Karṇa
9. The Book of Śalya
10. The Book of the Sleeping Warriors
11. The Book of Women
12. The Book of Peace
13. The Book of Instructions
14. The Book of the Horse Sacrifice
15. The Sojourn in the Hermitage
16. The Book of the Clubs
17. The Book of the Great Journey
18. The Book of Heaven

Appendix: The Genealogy of Viṣṇu

⁹ Adapted from van Buitenen's translation.

The Mahābhārata in 100 Minor Books:

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| I | THE BOOK OF THE
BEGINNING | 28. | The Sequel to the Gambling |
| | | III | THE BOOK OF THE FOREST |
| 1. | The List of the One Hundred
Books | 29. | The Forest Teachings |
| 2. | The Summary of the Books | 30. | The Slaying of Kirmīra |
| 3. | The Book of Pauṣya | 31. | The Battle of Arjuna and the
Mountain Man |
| 4. | Puloman | 32. | The Journey to the World of
Indra |
| 5. | Āstika | 33. | The Pilgrimage (of the wise king
of the Kurus) |
| 6. | The Descent of the First
Generations | 34. | The Slaying of Jaṭāsura |
| 7. | The Origins (a wondrous book
compiled by the gods) | 35. | The War of the Yakṣas |
| 8. | <i>The Fire in the Lacquer House</i> | 36. | The Boa |
| 9. | <i>The Slaying of Hiḍimba</i> | 37. | The Meeting with Mārkaṇḍeya |
| 10. | <i>The Slaying of Baka</i> | 38. | The Dialogue of Draupadī and
Satyabhāmā |
| 11. | <i>Citraratha</i> | 39. | The Cattle Expedition |
| 12. | <i>The Choice of a Bridegroom (by
the divine daughter of the
Pāñcālas)</i> | 40. | The Deer in the Dream |
| 13. | <i>The Wedding</i> | 41. | The Measure of Rice |
| 14. | The Arrival of Vidura | 42. | The Abduction of Draupadī
(from the forest by Saindhava) |
| 15. | The Winning of a Kingdom | 43. | The Theft of the Earrings |
| 16. | Arjuna's Sojourn in the Forest | 44. | The Fire Drilling Woods |
| 17. | The Abduction of Subhadrā | IV | THE BOOK OF VIRĀṬA |
| 18. | The Fetching of the Nuptial Gift | 45. | Virāṭa |
| 19. | The Burning of the Khāṇḍava
Forest (where Maya is
encountered) | 46. | The Slaying of Kīcaka |
| II | THE BOOK OF THE
ASSEMBLY HALL | 47. | The Cattle Robbery |
| 20. | The Assembly Hall | 48. | The Wedding of Abhimanyu and
the daughter of Virāṭa |
| 21. | The Council | V | THE BOOK OF EFFORT |
| 22. | The Slaying of Jarāsaṁdha | 49. | The Effort (which is full of
marvels) |
| 23. | The Conquest of the World | 50. | The Coming of Saṁjaya |
| 24. | The Royal Consecration | 51. | The Sleeplessness (of
Dhṛtarāṣṭra, from worrying) |
| 25. | The Taking of the Guest Gift | | |
| 26. | The Slaying of Śiśupāla | | |
| 27. | The Gambling Match | | |

52.	Sanatsujāta (which expounds the secret doctrine of the soul)	IX	THE BOOK OF ŚALYA
53.	The Suing for Peace	74.	Śalya
54.	The Coming of Kṛṣṇa	75.	The Entering of the Lake
55.	The Quarrel (of the great spirited Karṇa)	76.	The Battle of the Bludgeons
56.	The Marching Out (of the armies of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas)	X	THE BOOK OF THE SLEEPING WARRIORS
57.	The Warriors and the Greater Warriors	77.	The River Sarasvatī (with the virtues of sacred fords and lineages)
58.	The Arrival of the Messenger Ulūka	78.	(the grisly) Massacre of the Sleeping Warriors
59.	The Narrative of Ambā	79.	(the fearful) Aiṣīka Weapon
60.	The Wonderful Installation of Bhīṣma	80.	The Offering of the Water
VI	THE BOOK OF BHĪṢMA	XI	THE BOOK OF THE WOMEN
61.	The Creation of the Continent of Jambū	81.	The Women
62.	The Earth (which describes the Expanse of the Continents)	82.	The Funeral Oblation (the funerary rites of the Kurus)
63.	The Bhagavadgītā	XII	THE BOOK OF PEACE
64.	The Slaying of Bhīṣma	83.	The Royal Consecration (of the wise King Dharma)
VII	THE BOOK OF DROṆA	84.	The Subduing of Carvāka (a Rākṣasa who took the guise of a brahmin)
65.	The Installation of Droṇa	85.	The Distribution of the Houses
66.	The Slaughter of the Sworn Warriors	86.	The Peace (in which are related the Law of the King)
67.	The Slaying of Abhimanyu	87.	The Law of Emergencies (and)
68.	The Promise	88.	The Law of Salvation
69.	The Slaying of Jayadratha	XIII	THE BOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS
70.	The Slaying of Ghaṭotkaca	89.	The Instructions
71.	(the hair-raising account of) The Slaying of Droṇa	90.	The Ascent to Heaven (of the wise Bhīṣma)
72.	The Casting of the Nārāyaṇa Weapon		
VIII	THE BOOK OF KARṆA		
73.	Karṇa		

XIV THE BOOK OF THE HORSE
SACRIFICE

91. The Horse Sacrifice (a tale that
destroys all evil)
92. The Anugītā (which teaches
matters of the soul)

XV THE SOJOURN IN THE
HERMITAGE

93. The Sojourn in the Hermitage
94. The Encounter with the Sons
95. The Arrival of Nārada

XVI THE BOOK OF THE CLUBS

96. (the cruel) Battle of the Clubs

XVII THE BOOK OF THE GREAT
JOURNEY

97. The Great Journey

XVIII THE BOOK OF HEAVEN

98. The Ascension to Heaven

THE HARIVAMŚA

99. The Appendix of the Genealogy
of Hari (and)
100. (the great wondrous) Book of the
Future (among the Appendixes)

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from the
Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata¹⁰

Once, when Duryodhana plotted with his brothers and advisors to kill the Pāṇḍavas, he arranged for them to stay in a house coated in lacquer (i.e. the lac-house), which he planned to burn to the ground while the Pāṇḍavas and their mother Kuntī slept inside. Alerted to the plan, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī escaped, and spent some time wandering about disguised as brahmins. In their travels, they arrived at a town known as Ekacakrā, and lived there for awhile with a brahmin family. While dwelling there, Bhīma killed an evil demon named Baka who was terrorizing the townsfolk. Once the countryside had once again been made secure for safe travel, a wandering brahmin of strict vows arrived at the house where the Pāṇḍavas were staying.

In the course of narrating many tales, this brahmin made some mention of Drupada, King of the Pāñcālas, his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and his daughter Draupadī. Their curiosity having been aroused, the Pāṇḍavas pressed him for further details concerning the Pāñcāla court. Thus, the brahmin recounted the story of the animosity between the Pāñcāla king Drupada and the Pāṇḍavas' teacher Droṇa. He summarized the story of how Drupada, after gaining the throne from his father, refused to acknowledge Droṇa, who had been his childhood friend and companion, and how Droṇa later sent his students the Pāṇḍavas to humiliate King Drupada in retaliation for the great insult. (As it was the

¹⁰ The version presented here is a combination of my summary of van Buitenen's translation intermingled with direct quotations.

Pāṇḍavas themselves who performed this service for their teacher Droṇa, it must surely have been familiar to them!).

King Drupada never forgot this humiliation, but because he knew that he could never defeat Droṇa himself, he spent years searching for a brahmin who could procure for him a son who could destroy Droṇa. Eventually, Drupada encountered two great brahmin seers, Yāja and Upayāja. At first, the king implored Upayāja to perform the ritual that would produce a son to slay Droṇa. Though Upayāja refused, he sent Drupada to his elder brother Yāja, who agreed to Drupada’s request for a large price (a myriad cows). Yāja in turn coerced Upayāja to lend a hand, and the two brahmin seers, together with Drupada and his wife, performed the ritual. When the sacrificial oblation was offered into the fire, a youth (later named Dhṛṣṭadyumna), born for the destruction of Droṇa, appeared from out of the altar. (I.124 – I. 155) Following his appearance, his sister Draupadī was born:

Thereupon a young maiden arose from the center of the altar, the well-favored and beautiful Daughter of the Pāñcālas, heart-fetching, with a waist shaped like an altar. She was dark, with eyes like lotus petals, her hair glossy black and curling – a lovely Goddess who had chosen a human form. The fragrance of blue lotuses wafted from her to the distance of a league, the shape she bore was magnificent, and no one was her peer on earth. And over the full-hipped maiden as soon as she was born the disembodied voice spoke: “Superb among women, the Dark Woman [Draupadī] shall lead the baronage to its doom. The fair-waisted maiden shall in time accomplish the purpose of the Gods, and because of her, great danger shall arise for the barons.” Hearing this, all the Pāñcālas roared like a pride of lions, and earth was unable to hold them so full of joy. (I.155.41-47)

Having heard this story of the Pāñcālas from the brahmin of strict vows, Kuntī suggested to her sons that they should all go to the Pāñcāla’s capital city to see things

with their own eyes. All the Pāṇḍavas agreed, and so they set off. On their way, they encountered Vyāsa (the author of the epic itself!), who told them the following story:

There once was a young girl who lived in a wilderness of austerities, the daughter of a great-spirited seer, with a narrow waist, full hips, and a beautiful brow – a girl favored with all virtues. Because of previous acts, which she herself had done, she was unfortunate in love, and the girl, lovely though she was, did not find a husband. Unhappily, she began mortifications for the sake of obtaining a husband, and, indeed, with her awesome austerities she satisfied Śaṅkara [i.e. Śiva]. Being satisfied, the blessed Lord said to the ascetic girl, “Good luck to thee! Choose a husband, and I shall bestow the boon, radiant maiden.” She replied to the Sovereign for her own benefit, “I want a husband with all virtues!” And she said it again and again. Then the eloquent Sovereign Śaṅkara said to her, “You shall have your five husbands, dear girl!” When she replied to the God, “Give me just one husband!”, Śaṅkara said this final word: “Five times you told me to give you a husband, and it shall be as you asked for, when you have been reborn in another body!”

That maiden was reborn in the lineage of Drupada as the blameless [Draupadī], lovely as a Goddess, and she has been destined for you as your wife. Therefore, mighty men, enter the city of the Pāñcālas. When you have obtained her, you shall of a certainty find happiness. (I.157.6-15)

While traveling through the wilderness on the way to the city of the Pāñcālas, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī were set upon by the *gandharva* King Angāraraṇa Citraratha, whom Arjuna soundly defeated. Citraratha then convinced the Pāṇḍavas that they needed to have a brahmin priest, who could travel with them and carry out all the proper sacrifices. Thus, with the *gandharva* king’s help, they chose Dhaumya, who accompanied them on their journey to the Pāñcāla capital.

The Pāṇḍavas, upon having put a brahmin ahead of themselves, now had high hopes of winning wealth, a kingdom, and the bridegroom choice of the daughter of the Pāñcālas. The bulls of the Bhāratas – with their mother the sixth in their company – deemed themselves well protected, now that they had been joined with a guru. ... He blessed the way for them, and thereupon the princes of men decided to go together to the bridegroom choice of the princess of the Pāñcālas. ... The five Pāṇḍava brothers, tigers among men, journeyed to see Draupadī and the divine festival. (I.174.7 – I. 175. 1)

While on the path to the Pāñcāla country, the Pāñḍavas chanced to meet some brahmins who were also going to the Pāñcāla capital for the *svayamvara*. One of the brahmins even said to them:

Perchance, when [Draupadī] sees you all standing there, handsome like Gods, she may choose one of you for her bridegroom. (I.175.18)

Now, at this point of the story, the poet lets us in on a secret: as it would happen, it had long been King Drupada's secret wish that his daughter Draupadī be married to Arjuna:

It had always been [Drupada's] wish to give [Draupadī] to the diademed Arjuna, but he did not divulge it. Since he hoped to search out the Pāñḍavas, [Drupada] had a very hard bow made, well-nigh impossible to bend, O Janamejaya Bhārata. He had a contraption built in the sky, and onto the contraption he had a golden target fixed.

Drupada said:

The man who can string this bow and, when he has strung it, can shoot arrows through the contraption into the mark will have my daughter.

Vaiśampāyana said:

Thus went the challenge that King Drupada caused to be proclaimed everywhere; and when they heard it, all the kings came flocking there, Bhārata. Great-spirited seers arrived to watch the bridegroom choice, and so did the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana and accompanied by Karṇa. Lordly brahmins came from the countries around, and hosts of kings were welcomed by the great-spirited Drupada. With the roar of the windswept ocean, all the townspeople gathered in the City of the Crocodile, and the barons settled down there. (I.176.8-15)

For the purposes of Draupadī's *svayamvara*, King Drupada had a huge wedding pavilion erected, in which the kings and the other guests all took their respective places:

On the many stories of the pavilions all the kings were seated, rivaling one another with the adornment of their persons. The townspeople and country folk,

who had come to content themselves with the spectacle of [Draupadī], sat all about on their own rich platforms and stared at the lordly, lionlike kings who were sitting there, of mighty courage and prowess, perfumed with black aloe – gracious and brahminic princes, the protectors of their realms and beloved of all the world for their hallowed good deeds.

The Pāṇḍavas [who were still disguised as brahmins] took their seats with the brahmins and gazed upon the matchless wealth of the king of the Pāñcālas. For many days the audience grew while it was heaped with largess of jewels and entertained by actors and dancers. On the sixteenth day, when there was a lovely crowd, Draupadī appeared, freshly bathed, in new clothes. Carrying the champion's goblet, which was made of gold and finely wrought, she descended into the arena, O bull of the Bhāratas. ... When silence fell, Dhṛṣṭadyumna strode to the middle of the arena and spoke in a thundering voice these polished and most meaningful words:

‘Hear ye, all kings who are gathered here!
Mark bow and target, and mark these arrows.
You must hit the mark with these five arrows
By shooting through this hole in the wheel.

‘Whoever of lineage, beauty, and might
Accomplishes this most difficult feat,
To him shall go my sister [Draupadī]
To be his wife, and I say sooth!’

When Drupada's son had spoken to them,
He thereafter spoke to Draupadī,
And heralded the assembled princes
By name and lineage and by their feats.

(I.176.23-36)

When Dhṛṣṭadyumna had enumerated some of the kings, princes, and heroes who had assembled there, he said to his sister Draupadī:

These and many other princes of many countrysides, all these barons renowned on earth have come to sue for you, my dear. These brave men shall shoot at the great target to win you. And you, beautiful princess, will choose the one who hits it. (I.177.21-22)

Though seated amid the brahmins rather than with the kings and princes, the Pāṇḍavas were recognized by Kṛṣṇa:

Observing the five Pāṇḍavas,
 Like rutting red-spotted elephants,
 All covered with ashes like offering fire,
 The Yadu hero [i.e. Kṛṣṇa] began to wonder.

To [Balarāma] he mentioned Yudhiṣṭhira
 And Bhīma and [Arjuna] and the brave twins;
 And [Balarāma] leisurely looked at them,
 The glanced at [Kṛṣṇa] gleefully... (I.178.9-10)

The Pāṇḍavas were mesmerized by the beauty of Draupadī, and instantly fell in love with her. Nevertheless, they had to remain seated while the various kings tried their luck at fulfilling the archery challenge:

The wide-armed sons of Pāṇḍu by [Kuntī]
 And the two heroic and powerful twins,
 They all kept looking at Draupadī –
 They were all struck by the arrows of Love ...

Then the hosts of kings one after another
 Strode bravely about for [Draupadī's] sake,
 But so tough was that bow that with all their strength
 They failed to cord that bow with its strings.

The hardwood bow would recoil and fling
 The wide-striding kings of men in the dust.
 And as they lay gesturing on the ground
 They looked crestfallen and their spirits broke.

The hardwood bow cried out in pain
 And shattered and ground their bracelets and earrings.
 Their feelings of love for [Draupadī] departed –
 The circle of kings was woebegone.

The folk got restive in that assembly
 And spoke words of abuse to the kings of men;
 Then [Arjuna] arose, the son of Kuntī,
 The hero, to string and to shaft the bow.

Vaiśampāyana said:

When the kings withdrew from the stringing of the bow, the noble-minded [Arjuna] stood up in the midst of the brahmins. The great brahmins cried out and waved with their deerskins, when they saw the [Arjuna] start, radiant like Indra's rainbow. Some were displeased, others quite joyous; and some sagacious brahmins, who lived by their wisdom, said to one another, "If world-famous kings like Karṇa and Śalya and others, strong and past masters of archery, were unable to bend the bow, could this mere brat, inexperienced with weapons and much inferior in vigor, string that bow, brahmins? The brahmins will become the laughstock among all the kings if he fails in this task, which he was too flighty to consider!" ... Others said, "The youth is grand enough. He is like the trunk of the king of elephants! ... That he is up to the task is inferred from his enterprise – his power is full of enterprise, no incompetent man would go off on his own. Besides, there's not a task to be found in any one of the worlds that is impossible to the brahmins among the three orders of beings!" ...

When they were thus voicing their various opinions, Arjuna took his stand by the bow like an immovable mountain. He walked around the bow, making a solemn circumambulation, and bowed his head down to it. Then the enemy-burner joyfully took it in his hand.

In a twinkling of the eye he strung the bow
And took the arrows that counted five.

He pierced the target and brought it down,
Hit through the hole, and it fell with a might.

In the sky above there was applause,
And great cheering in the crowd below.
The God rained down with celestial flowers
On the head of the [Arjuna], killer of foes.

The spectators all around waved with their clothes or moaned, and from the sky fell a rain of flowers. The musicians sounded their hundredfold instruments, and melodious bards and songsters lifted their voices in praise. When Drupada, scourge of his enemies, saw him, he was much pleased and stood ready to succor the [Arjuna] with his army.

As the uproar came to its mighty head,
Yudhiṣṭhira, first of the bearers of Law,
Went hastily back to his own abode
Along with the twins, supreme among men.

On beholding the target hit and on seeing
 [Kuntī's] son in the image of Indra,
 [Draupadī] took a festoon of white flowers
 And went smilingly up to Arjuna.

Having won in the lists, he took the woman
 Whilest the twiceborn brahmins paid him homage.
 And the miracle-monger strode from the pit,
 And after him followed she, his wife.

Vaiśampāyana said:

When the king was ready to give the maiden to the great-spirited brahmin, a great anger arose in the barons and they looked at one another. "Here we are assembled," they said, "and he passes us by as though we were straw! He wants to give Draupadī, finest of women, to a brahmin! Let us kill this ill-spirited man who despises us ... First he invited and honored all the kings and feasted them properly, and then he condemns them! How is it possible that in this assembly of kings, like a congregation of Gods, he cannot find a single prince who is his equal? Brahmins have no title to the choosing; the scriptures are clear: 'The bridegroom choice is for the barons.' Or else, if this girl wants no part of any one of us, let us throw her in the fire and go back to our kingdoms, kings! But let this brahmin escape with his life, even if he has insulted great kings, either from folly or greed. (I.178.12 – I.180.9)

The angry kings, weapons in hand, moved threateningly towards King Drupada.

And seeing them fall upon him in anger with their bows and arrows, Drupada was frightened and sought shelter with the brahmins. But the two enemy-taming sons of Pāṇḍu [i.e. Bhīma and Arjuna] went to meet the princes, who advanced ferociously like rutting elephants. (I.180.12-13)

Bhīma ripped a tree out of the ground like it was nothing, and holding it in his hand, he stood next to Arjuna. This astonishing deed confirmed to Kṛṣṇa that these were indeed two Pāṇḍavas:

Upon seeing the feats of the superhuman
 [Arjuna] and Bhīma, the wonder-monger
 [Kṛṣṇa] turned to his plough-armed brother
 Of awesome deeds, and he spoke his word:

“That man who strides like a rutting bull,
 Who bent the big bow that stands four ell,
 That man is Arjuna, doubt it not,
 If I’m Vāsudeva [Kṛṣṇa], [Balarāma]!

“And the one who pulled out the tree with his strength
 And now has turned to counter the kings,
 Is [Bhīma], for no mortal on earth
 Is here and now capable of such a feat.” (I. 180.17-19)

Likewise, Kṛṣṇa inferred that the other three “brahmins” who had been with them earlier must have been Yudhiṣṭhira, Nakula, and Sahadeva. Meanwhile, the crowd of brahmins who had been present at the *svayamvara* now offered to join in the fight to save King Drupada, but Arjuna merely told them to sit and be spectators, as he and Bhīma alone would ward them off. Karṇa attacked Arjuna, and Śalya attacked Bhīma. Duryodhana and the others advanced on the brahmins, but in truth, they didn’t try too hard to kill them. Karṇa was amazed that he was unable to defeat this “brahmin”, and being impressed, asked Arjuna-in-disguise whether or not he was the Art of Archery in person, or Paraśurāma, or perhaps Indra or Viṣṇu in the guise of a brahmin. Arjuna replied that he was merely a brahmin trained in warfare. Karṇa backed down. Bhīma likewise defeated Śalya. The kings, shocked at this outcome, gave a great cheer for these two “brahmins” who so soundly thrashed Karṇa and Śalya. They broke off the battle in order to find out who they really were, after which they planned to resume the battle. But Kṛṣṇa stopped them:

Upon seeing the feat of Bhīma, Kṛṣṇa
 Surmised that the two were Kuntī’s sons;
 And he gently restrained all these kings of the land:
 “The maiden was won according to Law.”

Thereupon the battle-wise kings turned away from the battle, and all the good princes went wonderingly back to their land. (I.181.32-33)

Then, Arjuna and Bhīma, together with Draupadī, made their way back to the potter's shop, which was their temporary abode in the Pāñcāla country. Meanwhile, their mother Kuntī had become worried about them, thinking that the time of alms-begging had already passed and they had not returned.

Then, far into the afternoon, [Arjuna], like the sun surrounded by clouds, entered with the brahmins, preceded by the Brahman.

Vaiśampāyana said:

The two [sons of Kuntī] went in the potter's shop,
And the powerful men found [Kuntī] home,
And the lords of men, in the highest spirits,
Spoke to Kuntī of Draupadī, "Look what we found!"

She was inside the house without seeing her sons
And she merely said, "Now you share that together!"
Later on did Kuntī set eyes on the girl
And cried out, "Woe! O what have I said!"

Afraid to prove lawless and much ashamed
-- While Draupadī was exceedingly trustful --
She took the girl by the hand and went in
And spoke this word to Yudhiṣṭhira:

"This girl, the child of King Drupada
Was presented to me by your younger brothers,
And I said, as I am wonted to do,
But carelessly, "Now you share that together!"

"Now tell me, bull of the Kurus, how
This word of mine is not made a lie,
Or how the girl of the king of Pāñcāla
Incurs not an Unlaw such as never has been!"

And the king sat pondering there for a while,

That most august King Yudhiṣṭhira,
Then the Kaurava¹¹ hero comforted Kuntī
And spoke this word to [Arjuna]:

“It was you who won Draupadī, Pāṇḍava;
And *you* shall make the princess content!
Let the fire be lit and an offering made,
And you take her hand by the proper rite!”

Arjuna said:

Do not make me, king, share in lawlessness:
This is *not* the Law that the others accept.
You yourself should be the first to wed,
Then strong-armed Bhīma of wondrous feats,

I next and Nakula after me,
And Sahadeva the last of us all.
[Bhīma], I, and the twins, O prince,
All hold that the girl should go to you!

What now in this pass had better be done,
Think upon it and do what brings Law and honor,
And will also please the king of Pāñcāla –
Instruct us, we all are in your command!

Vaiśampāyana said:

They all stared at the glorious [Draupadī] who stood there, and sat looking at one another, holding her in their hearts. And as all these boundlessly lustrous men gazed at Draupadī, their love became evident, churning their senses ... Kuntī’s son Yudhiṣṭhira knew their manifest feelings; and remembering the entire declaration of Dvaipāyana [i.e. Vyāsa], O bull among men, the king spoke to his brothers, lest a breach among them occurred: “The lovely Draupadī shall be the wife of all of us!”

Vaiśampāyana said:

The sons of Pāṇḍu then all sat there
And pondered the word of the eldest of them;

¹¹ The Kaurava hero here is Yudhiṣṭhira. Though the cousins of the Pāṇḍavas, and not the Pāṇḍavas themselves, are generally referred to as the Kauravas, both the Pāṇḍavas and their cousins (the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra) are descendents of King Kuru.

And they all sat there and mused with their minds
 On its meaning, those boundlessly lustrous men.
 (I.181.40 – I.183.1)

Then Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma came to the potter's house and greeted the Pāṇḍavas.

Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa how he had recognized them in their disguises:

Replied Vāsudeva with a laugh,
 “Fire, even when hidden, will out, good king!
 Who, barring the Pāṇḍavas, of all men
 Could be found to display such bravery?”

“It was by good fortune that all of you
 Escaped from that fire, ye enemy-scourges!
 Good fortune that evil Duryodhana
 And his councillors failed in their design!” (I.183.7-8)

So as not to risk revealing the true identities of the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma quickly departed.

Meanwhile, Draupadī's brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna had followed the two formidable “brahmins” (i.e. Arjuna and Bhīma) when they returned to the potter's house with Draupadī, and he then sat unobserved within earshot of the house. When the Pāṇḍavas had finished their alms round, they divided up the food, ate, and retired for the evening with Kuntī lying at their heads and Draupadī at their feet. They amused themselves by telling stories of battles, weapons, and war. Dhṛṣṭadyumna overheard them telling such stories, and went back to the palace to report this to his father King Drupada.

The great-spirited king of Pāñcāla, dejected
 For failing to find the Pāṇḍavas,
 Now put his question to Dhṛṣṭadyumna:
 “Where has she gone, who has taken [Draupadī]?”

“Is she owned by a serf, of lowly birth,
Or a commoner who pays taxes to me?
Has perchance a foot been set on my head?
Has the garland been cast on the burning ground?

“Or a man of distinguished baronial line?
Or perhaps a brahmin of higher rank?
Or has perchance a left foot humbled
My head, O son, by defiling [Draupadī]?

“Or may I confidently sacrifice
For having allied with the bulllike [Arjuna]?
Tell me in truth, what powerful man
Has won today this daughter of mine?

“Can it be that Vicitravīrya’s scions,
The sons of Pāṇḍu, are still alive,
And [Arjuna] perchance today
Took up the bow and brought down the target?

Vaiśampāyana said:

Upon these words of his father, the prince
Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the pride of the Somakas,
Recounted with joy to his father the king
What had happened, and *who* had taken [Draupadī].
(I.184.14 – I.185.1)

Dhṛṣṭadyumna recounted to his father King Drupada everything that happened from the time that the “brahmin” (i.e. Arjuna) had won the contest, up to the tales of weapons and war told by the “troop of brahmins” when they had retired for the night.

Then Dhṛṣṭadyumna said:

“They are bulls of the barons without misdoubting,
For the tales that they told were of *war*, O king.
Our hope indeed is clearly fulfilled now –
We hear that the [Pāṇḍavas] escaped from the fire!

“The manner in which the bow was strung
And the mark brought down by the warrior’s might,

And the way in which they talked to each other,
It is sure they're the [Pāṇḍavas] living in hiding!" (I.185.12-13)

King Drupada was thrilled, and dispatched his family priest to the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise to confirm their identity. Wasting no time, the priest went to them and asked them to divulge their identity, declaring King Drupada's constant but secret desire that one day his daughter be given in marriage to Arjuna. Yudhiṣṭhira then told Drupada's priest that a price was set for Draupadī, and that this price was rightly and duly paid when the bow was strung and the target brought down. No other considerations ought to come into the matter. Nevertheless, he did tell the priest that Drupada's wish has come true (though he stops short of declaring that they are indeed the Pāṇḍavas, and that it was Arjuna who had strung the bow and hit the target). As Yudhiṣṭhira was speaking, another messenger of King Drupada arrived and informed them that the wedding feast had been prepared, and that King Drupada now bade them come for the wedding rite.

The Pāṇḍavas, together with Kuntī and Draupadī, made their way to the feast. King Drupada, in order to discover for certain whether or not these "brahmins" were really barons, collected and had displayed all manner of things, including fruits and flowers, tools and utensils for various professions, and weapons used by warriors. His goal was to see which of these many things attracted the attention of the five "brahmins". Having eaten, the Pāṇḍavas regarded the collection of things, and were immediately drawn to the many weapons. King Drupada was delighted, and approached the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise. Greeting them as if they were brahmins, he inquired as to their origin and lineage. Yudhiṣṭhira replied:

Do not be downhearted, sire; be joyous, [Drupada]! For the wish you have cherished has doubtless come true. For we are barons, sire, the sons of the great-spirited Pāṇḍu! Know me for the eldest [son of Kuntī]. These are Bhīmasena and Arjuna, by whom your daughter was won in the assembly of kings. The twins are waiting there with [Draupadī]. Banish all grief from your heart: we are barons, bull among kings! (I.187.8-10)

King Drupada was for a moment overwhelmed, but having swiftly regained his control, he inquired of Yudhiṣṭhira the story of how they escaped from the fire in the lac-house. Having heard the account, Drupada reviled the evil Duryodhana, and assured Yudhiṣṭhira that he himself would see to it that the Pāṇḍavas were restored to the throne. The Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī then repaired to the palace with the king where they were duly and suitably honoured. King Drupada was overjoyed, but he still didn't know the whole story:

Later the king and his sons said to the brothers who had taken new courage, "Today the scion of Kuru should take her hand in ritual fashion. On this auspicious day the strong-armed Arjuna should make the occasion!" Upon this, King Yudhiṣṭhira the son of Law said to him, "Then I too must take my wife, lord of the people!"

Drupada said:

Then you should rather take my daughter's hand by the rite, or assign [Draupadī] to whomever you wish, hero!

Yudhiṣṭhira said:

Draupadī shall be the common queen of us all, sire, for this has my mother said, lord of the people. I am still unmarried and so is Bhīmasena Pāṇḍava. She was won by [Arjuna], your daughter – and she is a treasure. We have a covenant that we share together every treasure, king! We do not want to give up our covenant now, good king. By Law, [Draupadī] will be the common queen of all of us. She shall take the hand of each of us, one after another, before the fire.

Drupada said:

It is laid down that one man may have many queens, scion of Kuru, but *never* that one woman may have many men! Law-minded and pure as you are, you may not perpetrate such a breach of the Law that runs counter to *Veda* and world, [son of Kuntī]! Whence such a design in you?

Yudhiṣṭhira said:

The Law is subtle, great king, and we do not know its course. We follow one after the other the path that was traveled by the Ancient. My voice does not tell a lie, nor does my mind dwell on lawlessness! Thus has our mother spoken, and this is my own desire. This is certain Law, O king; obey it unhesitatingly. Let there be no misdoubting of it whatever by you, my prince!

Drupada said:

You yourself, [son of Kuntī], and Kuntī and my son Dhṛṣṭadyumna must deliberate what is to be done now. On the morrow we shall act.

Vaiśampāyana said:

So they all assembled and deliberated, O Bhārata. Then [Vyāsa] chanced to arrive. (I.187.18-32)

When Vyāsa had been warmly greeted by all, he took his seat.

After a while Drupada Pārṣata began to speak in a gentle voice and questioned the great-spirited sage [about] Draupadī, O lord of the people. “How can one woman be the wife of many men,” he said, “and yet the Law be not broken? Declare it all to us, good sir, how this can be.”

Vyāsa said:

On this Law, which is mocked and runs counter to *Veda* and the world, I wish to hear the view of each of you. (I.188.4-6)

Drupada responded that it ran counter to *Veda* and that such a practice was not followed by the Ancients. Thus, he could not agree to put it into practice.

Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna, on the other hand, admitted that he was confounded, and was neither able nor equipped to decide whether such polyandry was or was not Law. He said:

Surely, the Law is too subtle for us to know its course entirely! The likes of us cannot decide whether it is Law or a breach of Law. (I.188.11)

Yudhiṣṭhira argued that if he himself, the son of Dharma, could entertain such a notion, it, by definition, must not be a breach of Law. To counter the notion that polyandry was never practiced by the Ancients, he cited the case of a Gautamī named Jaṭilā who lay with the Seven Seers. He also argued that this present situation resulted from the words of his mother, that the word of the *guru* is Law, and that one's mother is the first of *gurus*. Kuntī agreed with Yudhiṣṭhira, and said that she was very averse to being made a liar. Finally, Vyāsa rejoined the discussion and assured Kuntī that she would not be made a liar, and that this polyandry was indeed lawful (despite the fact that his earlier statement above made mention of “this Law, which is mocked and runs counter to *Veda* and the world”). Vyāsa's explanation as to *why* it was lawful, however, was to be reserved for King Drupada alone, and Vyāsa took Drupada into the latter's chambers, leaving the others outside.

Vyāsa then told Drupada the story of the Five Indras. In olden days, Vyāsa explained, the Gods sat in a sacrificial session in the Naimiṣa Forest, and at that time, Yama¹² held the position of the butcher priest. Yama, while diligently occupying this sacrificial position, entirely ceased his regular task of killing creatures, and so without the constraints of death, living creatures, and especially men, increased greatly. This caused

great fear in the gods, Indra, Kubera, Varuṇa and many others. They went in a group to take refuge with Prajāpati. Prajāpati asked them why, if they were immortal, did they fear men? They responded that men too were now immortal, and that there was no longer a difference between gods and men. Prajāpati told them that it was because Yama was currently occupied with the sacrifice that he had ceased killing living creatures, and that when he was finished the sacrifice, he would resume his job as Death. The gods then returned to the sacrificial ground, and while there, spied a lotus floating down the Ganges. When Indra got up to look at it he saw there, standing in the river, a woman who was crying. He watched as each tear turned into a golden lotus and floated down the river.

Indra drew near and asked her who she was and why she was crying. She told him that he would get an answer to his questions if he followed her, which he did. Indra then saw a handsome youth seated on a throne, surrounded by women, and playing dice on a Himālayan peak. Seeing that the youth was absorbed in the game, Indra became indignant, and exclaimed, "I am the king of the gods and all the world is under my sway!" The youth, now described as the Mountain God, looked up at Indra and laughed. Indra, much to his chagrin, grew as rigid as a tree under the gaze of this Mountain God and stood paralyzed. Eventually, when the God grew bored with the dice, he instructed the Goddess (i.e. the woman who had been weeping in the river) to bring Indra a little closer. He said, "We shall see that his pride will no more seize him." Indra then dropped limp on the ground, after which the Mountain God instructed him to roll away the peak of

¹² i.e. Death, or the god of death.

the great mountain they were atop and enter its center, where Indra would find others like himself. Indra did so, and found four beings there who were his equal in every way (i.e. four other Indras). At this point, Indra begged to be released, but the Mountain God refused. However, he did tell the five Indras that:

There shall be an escape for you all, no doubt.
 You shall all enter a human womb,
 Having wrought great feats of violence there
 And sped many others to their death,

You shall go again to the world of Indra,
 The precious world you had won with your acts,
 All this that I say shall be carried out,
 And much else of varied significance.

The previous Indras said:

We shall go from the Gods to the world of men
 Where release is declared to be hard to obtain.
 But Gods must beget us upon our mother,
 God Dharma, the Wind God, God Indra, the Aśvins.

Vyāsa said:

Having heard this word, the Thunderbolt-wielder [i.e. Indra]
 Once more addressed the greatest of Gods:
 “With my seed I shall father a man for that task,
 Who shall be their fifth and be born my son.”

The blessed Lord of the Dreadful Bow
 Good-naturedly granted the wish they asked
 And ordained that a woman, beloved of the world,
 Śrī herself, should be their wife among men.

Together with them the God then repaired
 To the measureless God Nārāyaṇa [i.e. Viṣṇu].
 He too ordained that it should be so,
 And so it befell all were born on earth.

God Hari [i.e. Viṣṇu] had plucked two hairs of his head;

One hair was white, the other was black.
 These hairs then went into the Yadu women,
 Into Rohiṇī and Devakī.
 The one of them became Baladeva [i.e. Balarāma],
 The other, the black one, Keśava [i.e. Kṛṣṇa].

Those Indra forms that of yore were cloistered
 Inside that cave of the lofty mountain,
 Have been born here the powerful Pāṇḍavas;
 The Left-Handed Archer [Arjuna] is Indra's part.

It is thus that the Pāṇḍavas came to be
 Who before had been Indras, O king of the land;
 And of old was Lakṣmī [i.e. Śrī] ordained for them
 As their wife and became divine Draupadī.

For how could a woman arise from the earth
 At the end of the rite save by God's intercession?
 She whose beauty shines like the moon and sun
 And whose fragrance blows as far as a league?

O king of men, as a favor to thee
 I shall give you one more most wonderful boon:
 The eyesight of Gods. See the sons of Kuntī
 Endowed with their former celestial bodies! (I.189.25-35)

Drupada momentarily gained the power to see the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī in their
 divine forms.

Upon beholding this miracle great,
 He clasped the feet of Satyavatī's son [i.e. Vyāsa]:
 "For you, great seer, this is no wonder!"
 Quoth the king to him in a tranquil spirit.

Vyāsa said:

In a wilderness of austerities there once lived a daughter of a great-spirited
 seer. Beautiful though she was, she found no husband. Now, they say, with
 awesome austerities she satisfied Śaṅkara [i.e. Śiva], and being pleased the Lord
 of his own accord said to the maiden, "Choose a boon!" At his words the maiden
 said to the Lord of Gods, the boon-granting Śaṅkara, "I wish a husband who has
 all virtues," and said it again and again. The benevolent Lord of Gods gave her

the boon: “You shall have five excellent husbands!” said Śaṅkara. She propitiated the God and again said: “I deserve one husband from you, endowed with virtues!” Thereupon the God of Gods, who was in benign spirits, spoke these hallowed words: “Five times you have said to me, ‘Give me a husband,’ and so shall it be, my dear – good luck shall befall you – when you have gone to another body, it shall be as you have said.”

So Drupada, this daughter was born to you, beautiful as a Goddess. Kṛṣṇā Pārṣatī [i.e. Draupadī] has been ordained to be the wife of the five and remain blameless. Celestial Śrī, after having done her dread mortifications, arose at the grand sacrifice and became your daughter.

The effulgent Goddess sought by the Gods,
Sole wife to the five by the acts she performed,
The Creator created as wife to the Gods,
And hearing this, Drupada, act as you wish. (I.189.40-49)

Having listened to the stories narrated by Vyāsa, Drupada changed his mind, and now looked favorably upon the notion of wedding his daughter to the five Pāṇḍavas. Nevertheless, he still seemed to skirt the issue of the lawfulness of this polyandry by merely bowing to the will of the gods: if such was the wish of the gods, so be it. Who was he to stand in the way of fate?:

Drupada said:

‘Twas because I had not heard your word
That I strove, great seer, to act as I did.
What has been ordained cannot be undone.
And this indeed is the ordinance set.

The knot of fate cannot be untied.
There is nothing on earth ordained by one’s acts.
The arrangements made for the sake of one wooer
Are the ordinance set for the sake of many.

Since [Draupadī] had said in the days of yore
“May the blessed Lord give me many a husband,”
He pronounced his boon in the way she asked.
The God surely knows the best of it.

As Śaṅkara has ordained it so,
 Whether lawful or lawless, I bear no guilt.
 Let them take her hand in the ritual way,
 As they please, for to them is [Draupadī] ordained! (I.190.1-4)

So it was decided. And that very day, Yudhiṣṭhira, as the eldest, was married to Draupadī. Then, one after another in turn, each a day apart, the other four Pāṇḍavas were likewise married to Draupadī.

When the wedding was done and the Pāṇḍavas
 Had received their Śrī with fullness of treasure,
 They disported themselves like the equals of Indra
 In the king of Pāñcāla's capital seat. (I.190.18)

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Hindu Tradition:
*Indonesian Mahābhārata***

Title:	<i>The Indonesian Mahābhārata: Ādiparva – The First Book</i>
Author:	Anonymous
Date:	10 th – 11 th century CE
Language:	Kawi prose (the language of classical Indonesian Literature); English translation
Edited By:	Dr. I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi
Published By:	International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1990
Series:	Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Volume 360
Translated By:	Dr. I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi
Length:	approximately 150 pages of continuously-running Kawi prose.
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 18 untitled sections; (it is unclear, even in the editor's Introduction, whether these sections are or are not found in the original text)
Apparatus:	sparse footnotes

About the Author:

About the actual author of the *Ādiparva* from the *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, virtually nothing is known. As is not uncommon for Kawi poets, the author of the *Ādiparva* has provided us with no information about himself, though he does mention the circumstances under which it was written:

The author informs us that the *Ādiparva* was written under the patronage of king Dharmavaṁśa. He wrote the epic because the king himself had ordered him to compose it and not because he felt himself to be the master of the epic.¹³

King Dharmavaṁśa was the ruler of Kaḍiri (East Java) from approximately 991-1016 CE,¹⁴ thus placing the composition of this text in the late 10th to early 11th century CE.

¹³ Phalgunadi, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, p. 10.

About the Text:

The *Ādīparva* from the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* derives its themes from the Sanskrit version,¹⁵ but it is neither a translation nor a straight epitome of it. Rather, the *Ādīparva* adopts the broad outlines of the Sanskrit version, but focuses upon only certain episodes, and frequently sprinkles the text with original content including a few entirely new episodes. On the whole, the names of the major characters have remained the same, but the names of minor characters have sometimes been modified, and certain minor characters that do not appear at all in the Sanskrit version are introduced.

The Kawi text used by the editor and translator comes predominantly from the manuscript in the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi. Other manuscripts were consulted (details about these manuscripts are included in Phalgunadi's Introduction), as was the Dutch printed edition edited by H.H. Juynboll (published in Leiden, 1906). The latter edition was also consulted by the editors of the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, as the Kawi prose text contains what purport to be direct quotations from the Sanskrit original.

Below I have reproduced several sections from Phalgunadi's translation that are relevant to the story of the Marriage of Draupadī. His translation style is a bit stilted at times, and he tends to leave untranslated direct quotations from the Sanskrit. He also frequently includes Sanskrit terms in parentheses following his translation of a word or

¹⁴ Phalgunadi, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, p. 9.

¹⁵ It is not possible to give any details about the Sanskrit version(s) of the *Ādīparva* utilized by our Kawi poet, except to say that it appears to have come from the Northern rather than Southern tradition.

phrase, and sporadically places these Sanskrit terms in italics. In general, I have reproduced his translation just as it originally appeared.

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¹⁶ No table of contents was included in Phalgunadi's edition, and the text was merely divided into 18 untitled sections. Thus, the following table of contents was created for the purposes of this thesis.

¹⁷ In Phalgunadi's edition, the English translation is found on odd pages, the Kawi original is on even pages.

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The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī
from the Indonesian Mahābhārata

From Section XVI of the *Ādiparva*:

Pāṇḍavas resided at Gajāhvaya [i.e. Hastināpura] for thirteen years. After the lac-palace incident, they left for the forest of Hiḍimba. Then they lived for four years in the Ekachakra country. Once a brāhmaṇa guest spoke to them about the svayambara [Skt. svayamvara] being conducted by Mahārāja Drupada. Yudhiṣṭhira asked the brāhmaṇa guest as to how Mahārāja Drupada came to have a child. He asked it, because as far as his knowledge went, Drupada did not have a child at the time he was defeated by the Pāṇḍavas and brought to Droṇa. The brāhmaṇa guest answered:

“When half of the kingdom of Mahārāja Drupada was taken by Droṇa, Drupada was very angered, and he visited a number of places looking for a brāhmaṇa, endowed with the knowledge of powerful magic formulae, who could bless him with a son capable of killing Droṇa later on. That was his aim. Then Drupada went to the bank of Gaṅgā. There were two brāhmaṇas, both of them brothers, named Yajña (Skt: Y[ā]ja) and Upayajña (Skt: Upay[ā]ja). They were *Piṅgalakeśaputra*, the sons of Bhagavān Piṅgalakeśa. Drupada heard that they had magical powers. On reaching their place he fell prostrate at their feet, and touching the dust of their feet, appraised them of what afflicted him. He sought their favour for performing a fire sacrifice, which may culminate in the death of Droṇa. Drupada made every possible effort to win over their favour. He stayed in their hermitage for two years, and this made the brāhmaṇas sympathetic towards him. Then both the sages gave Drupada their consent, and asked him to perform the sacrifice. Mahārāja Drupada returned to his kingdom and conducted the sacrifice of complete oblation (*pūrṇa homa*) according to tradition. He took the customary bath in holy water for purification. After the bathing oblation and other ceremonies were over, Drupada performed ritual worship, and sage Yajña and Upayajña invoked god *Rājāstravīrāmara*, to bless him with a powerful son by offering an oblation of clarified butter. Then emerged the shining little child from the centre of the sacrificial fire. He was wearing a crown and a metal armour (*kavacha*) and had a sword (*khaḍga*) and bow and arrows. Immediately as he sat on a chariot, a divine voice was heard:

“*Eṣa droṇasya mṛtyave*, he will kill Droṇa.” Such was the voice from the sky. *Sākṣāt agni mahābala, ājyāhutiphalam labhet*. Mahārāja Drupada was cheerful. Thereafter a female infant came out from the middle of the sacrificial altar, *Kṛṣṇā nilotpālākṣiṇī*, black in complexion and with eyes like the blue lotus, *nīlakuñchitamūrdhajā*, black curly hair, *padmakesaragandhanam*, with an odour sweet as the fragrance of the lotus pollen, *Asyāḥ śrutvā tathā krośāt*, people were heard discussing that the odour emanating from her body could be detected even

at a distance of a krośa. She was like the best piece of art, dazzling in appearance, proving her divine incarnation. She was called Kṛṣṇā and Dropadī was her other name, so named after Drupada. However, her elder brother derived his name from the process of his birth. Since he was born from the centre of sacrificial fire, *dṛṣ[ṭ]atvāt*, conducted with due rites and ceremonies, *dharmādyutsambhavāt* also because of his high spirit, he was called Dhṛṣ[ṭ]adyumna. So were born the two children of king Drupada. ... Dropadī is now going to be married off in a svayambara arranged by Mahārāja Drupada and its proclamation has been made in far off countries.”

Thus explained the brāhmaṇa guest to Yudhiṣṭhira. Then Yudhiṣṭhira had a desire to take part in the svayambara.

Immediately there arrived Bhagavān Byāsa [Skt. Vyāsa]. Byāsa was offered water for washing feet and mouth. Then Bhagavān Byāsa said:

“My daughter (-in-law) Kuntī! My Grandson[s] the Pāṇḍavas! I have come here to ask you to go to Pāñchāla to participate in the svayambara of Dropadī. Her story goes like this: There was a brāhmaṇa girl who used to worship god Śaṁkara daily in order to be blessed with an excellent husband (*svāmī uttama*) possessing all kinds of good qualities (*guṇa*), such as the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong (*dharma*), heroic (*balavān*), strong (*śūra*), learned (*kṛtavidyā*) and pleasant in speech (*priyambada*). God Śaṁkara appeared before her. She requested him to bless her with the boon. But she requested him five times: “*Patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, patin dehi, dharmiṇaḥ śūrāḥ balavān kṛtavidyāḥ, priyambadāḥ.*” Then she was blessed to have five husbands endowed with righteousness and other qualities, in her next birth. Such was the blessing from god Śaṁkara. She was to be the daughter of Mahārāja Drupada and named Dropadī. None other than you [are] suitable to become her husband[s]. That is why, my grandsons, it is proper for you to take part in that svayambara.”

Such was the suggestion of Bhagavān Byāsa, and immediately he vanished.

The Pāṇḍavas were very pleased. After Bhagavān Byāsa’s departure the Pāṇḍavas took leave [of] their brāhmaṇa host, and set out at night, lest they be late for the svayambara.¹⁸

Traveling along the bank of the Ganges river on their way to the *svayambara*, the Pāṇḍavas encountered the *gandharva* king Aṅgāraparṇa/Vicitaratha [Skt. Citraratha] who, being angered that they were disturbing his leisure time, attacked them. Quickly

¹⁸ Phalgunadi, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, pp. 235-239.

defeated in battle by Arjuna, the *gandharva* king told the Pāṇḍavas the story of their ancestor Tapatī, which led to the story of Vasiṣṭha, which led to the story of Orva [Skt. Aurva]. Vicitraratha then advised the Pāṇḍavas to acquire their own *purohita* to travel with them, in order to keep them from inadvertently performing any immoral acts. Vicitraratha suggested that Dhomya [Skt. Dhaumya], younger brother of the sage Devala, would be an ideal *purohita* for them. Thus, the Pāṇḍavas went to the sacred bathing site known as Utkochaka where the sage Dhomya resided.

[The Pāṇḍavas] requested [Dhomya] to become their chief priest, and told him that they belonged to a ruling class. Bhagavān Dhomya agreed and thenceforth led the journey with Pāṇḍavas following him.

Then they reached Pāñchāla. On the south of Gaṅgā was the capital of Mahārāja Drupada. *Kumbhakārasya śālāyām*, there was a potter's factory and a tank with a bathing ghat. They took their bath and changed their clothes disguising themselves as mendicants. Nobody could recognize them. Next morning they appeared in the public meeting place of Mahārāja Drupada. The hall was already filled with kṣatriyas, rulers from all over Bhāratavarṣa. All the hundred Koravas, particularly Duryodhana, and the Yadus were there. King Drupada paid homage to them and they were given the traditional welcome. The audience hall was glittering with the dazzle of ornaments worn by the kings. One portion was reserved for the kṣatriyas, and another for brāhmaṇas. Then Pāṇḍavas were seated in the other portion as they had disguised themselves as hermits. When everyone was seated, Dhṛṣṭadyumna stood up to make a public announcement to the people:

“*Śṛṇvantu pārthivāḥ sarve, Dhṛṣṭadyumna iho vacaḥ*. Please listen all those who are present in this audience hall!

[“*Tad idan dhanuścha lakṣyam ime pañcha bāṇāḥ*. Look! Here is a bow and there is the target to be directed at, on the top of the tree. Now here are five arrows! The target should be hit by these arrows. Whoever succeeds in hitting the hole of the target, will be the husband of my younger sister, Dropadī, sitting there on the throne!”

Such was the public announcement of Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

Every king looked at the beautiful Dropadī, and equally everyone wanted to possess her. At that moment Kṛṣṇa noticed the Pāṇḍavas occupying their seats among the brāhmaṇas. Then Kṛṣṇa informed Baladeva. They were very pleased. After the public announcements was over, all the kṣatriyas stood up, one by one, and made a beeline for the bow. But no one could even pull it up, the pre-

requisite for bending it. Such was the fate of every king. *Bhagnād harṣasya darpasya*, they all lost their smile and pride. Now they wanted to let go their desire for Dropadī. At last Arjuna stood up and came out from the place of brāhmaṇas. All the kings looked at him, and wanted to restrain him, because that was not expected of brāhmaṇas and also because it would have been against the rules. They were astonished to see that what they themselves could not do, was ever possible to be done by any such fellow. Some of them criticised:

“How could a brāhmaṇa be able to lift up such a big bow. As is well known, even Karṇa and Śalya, experts as they are in archery could not succeed in lifting it up.”

Such were their words. At the moment when everyone was discussing about it, Arjuna lifted up the bow, tied the string, and then picked up the arrow. He began to raise the bow. There was no difficulty for him to bend it. Everyone in the assembly was greatly astonished, when they saw him raising the bow and releasing the arrow. Then it hit the hole of the target and immediately the target fell down, as witnessed by all. Then flowers were showered (*puṣpavarṣa*) from the sky, and the music of percussion instruments was heard. It was mixed up with the sound of people shouting. Then Dhṛṣṭadyumna stood up, and Dropadī garlanded Arjuna. Dhṛṣṭadyumna announced that he would be handing her over to the brāhmaṇa who had succeeded in lifting the bow. This made all the kṣatriyas furious at Mahārāja Drupada, as they thought it improper that a brāhmaṇa should be allowed to raise the bow in a svayambara. They claimed that only kṣatriyas should have been asked to take part in the svayambara. So was their criticism. Then they jointly attacked Mahārāja Drupada. When Arjuna saw them jointly attacking Mahārāja Drupada, he stood up against the feudatory kings (*sāmanta[nṛ]pati*). Yudhiṣṭhira asked Nakula and Sahadeva to go back with him to protect Kuntī, while Bhīma gave Arjuna company. Then Arjuna fought against Karṇa. They showed equal might in the battlefield. When he saw Arjuna remain unshaken, Karṇa said:

“*Kas tvam yathākṣatra dhanurdharajñāḥ?* [W]ho are you to put up such a brave fight and match my strength? You possess perfect knowledge of archery. Are you god Viṣṇu in the form of a brāhmaṇa? No one else, other than Arjuna, among human beings is capable of restraining my might. And you remain unshakable, and even my might is unable to move you. Tell me of your lineage!”

So [i]nquired Karṇa. Arjuna answered:

“*Nāsmi Karṇa Dhanurvedo.* Hey Karṇa! I am neither skilled in archery, nor am I Viṣṇu in the form of a brāhmaṇa. *Brāhmaṇo ‘smi yudhām śreṣṭha[ḥ].* I am simply a brāhmaṇa who fights. I have obtained the boon of mastery over all sorts of weapons and am capable of defeating the kṣatriyas.”

Thus spoke Arjuna. Then Karṇa pondered over the possibility of a brāhmaṇa in possession of magical powers, who was unconquerable. He left the battle-field. However, Mahārāja Śalya continued to face Bhīma in combat. They fought with maces. They ex[c]hanged equally powerful blows with maces and

fought as two infuriated elephants. For a long time they grappled with each other, then Śalya fell down, but to the surprise of all the kings, Bhīma did no more attack him. The kings present there became suspicious and now they were in no doubt about Bhīma's skill in fighting with a mace, because it was generally known that apart from Bhīma and Baladeva none could defeat Śalya. Then all the kṣatriyas ran away. The fear of both these persons made them flee. Moreover Kṛṣṇa warned all the people that Dropadī had been lawfully won by the brāhmaṇa, because he alone was able to hit the target. Such was Kṛṣṇa's warning. Then all the kings went back home. Bhīma and Arjuna took Dropad[ī] to Kuntī at the potter's place. At that moment Kuntī sleeping under a sheet, was thinking of her sons who were in disguise. Moreover, she was worried about their safety because she had heard of them being jointly attacked by all the kings. At that moment Bhīma and Arjuna came there along with Dropadī and informed her that they had brought something. Kuntī was pleased on hearing their words. Not conscious of what they had brought, as she was lying under a sheet, she asked them to share the thing amongst themselves, that being the general practice. Then they informed her that it was a girl. Taken aback, she removed her sheet and got up. Then she saw the girl. She was very sad because she unknowingly asked them to share her together. As she never indulged in double talk, her words had to be true, and so it was justified by Yudhiṣṭhira. They saw that the girl was charming. All of them were enticed by the beauty of Dropad[ī]. Therefore they equally wanted to have her. Yudhiṣṭhira said:

“Hey you, all my younger brothers! Do you not remember what Bhagavān Byāsa told us before, when we were in the country of Ekachakra. He had said that Dropadī was the incarnation of the brāhmaṇa woman, who in her earlier birth had obtained a boon from god Śaṁkara to have five husbands. Such were his words and that was why we took part in the svayambara. Of that I remind you now.”

Thus spoke Yudhiṣṭhira. At the moment Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva arrived there. What brought them there? And what did they want to convey?

“*Kṛṣṇo 'ham asmīti nipīḍya pādau Yudhiṣṭhirasyājamiḍasya rājñah, svechchāpi dṛṣṭā[h] Kuravo 'bhyanandan tathaiva tasyāpy anu rauhiṇeya[h].*”

They touched Yudhiṣṭhira's feet and then disclosed that they were first cousins, because Kuntī was the younger sister of Basudeva (Skt: Vasudeva, [i.e. the father of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Balarāma/Baladeva]), and that was why Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva had come to visit them. The Pāṇḍavas were delighted by their arrival and touched by their sympathy.

“How could you recognize that we are the Pāṇḍavas? Who informed you, my Lord, about our presence here at the potter's place (kumbhakāraka-sālā)?”

Kṛṣṇa answered: “Who can deny the existence of fire. Where there is smoke or ashes, there is fire. Similarly, no one can fail to recognize you by your prowess, as none else possesses so much strength. However, I have come here to convey my happiness on finding you in perfect health, and that you had not been

taken in by the trick. I had heard, and I believed you to be dead, ever since the lac-palace was set on fire. Be composed in your mind, my highness!”

Thus spoke Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. Then they took their leave of the Pāṇḍavas, and immediately departed. In the evening, Dhṛṣṭadyumna came unnoticed as he wanted to watch the Pāṇḍavas’ activity, in order to know about their identity. The Pāṇḍavas did not see him. Kuntī said:

“My daughter [-in-law] Dropadī! Take this food, (which all five) have collected from begging. This you divide in two portions. Give one half to Bhīma! *Samo vayam bhuktir annam damanam*, as he is very fond of eating, and the other half is to be shared amongst my sons and myself!”

So directed Kuntī. Dhṛṣṭadyumna heard Kuntī mentioning Bhīma, but he kept silent, and thought within himself: “Certainly, they are Pāṇḍavas.” So he thought. He was delighted. Then he returned back. Meanwhile Mahārāja Drupada was very much depressed about his daughter, who had been carried away by unknown persons. It was his long cherished desire to have Arjuna as his son-in-law and now his daughter was a brāhmaṇa’s possession. It caused him distress. Then arrived Dhṛṣṭadyumna to inform him that it was Arjuna, who hailing from the ceremonial hall (Bhārgavakarmaśāla) had raised the bow and carried Dropadī. Such was the information given by Dhṛṣṭadyumna. Mahārāja Drupada got cheered up. Then he ordered the chief priest to invite the Pāṇḍavas. Immediately the chief court-priest departed to invite the Pāṇḍavas. On reaching their place, he told the Pāṇḍavas that he had come there to invite them on Mahārāja Drupada’s order. The Pāṇḍavas did not refuse. Together with Dropadī, and led by the royal priest Dhomya they arrived in the city, where they were received with great hospitality and were served with meals, and given every kind of honour as befitting to greet them. Kuntī and Dropadī were taken to the ladies’ apartments. Next morning Mahārāja Drupada asked Yudhiṣṭhira:

“I obey your words, noble man! That my daughter, Dropadī, I think has been taken by your younger brother, because he was successful in fulfilling all the conditions for marrying a virgin girl at a svayambara. No one else is proper to take her as wife. That is why I have invited you to perform the wedding ceremony. Please tell me about your birth, noble man! Do you belong to the excellent clan of brāhmaṇas or are you kṣatriyas by birth?”

So asked Mahārāja Drupada. Yudhiṣṭhira replied:

“*Vayam hi kṣatriyā rājan*. With your permission, Mahārāja Drupada! We are all kṣatriyas by birth and we are not brāhmaṇas. Have you ever heard about the Pāṇḍavas, Your Highness, who, it is said were burnt in the lac-palace (jatugṛha) by the trick played by the hundred Koravas. I am known by the name of Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest son of Mahārāja Pāṇḍu. The brother next to me in age is Bhīma. However, the one who lifted the bow is Arjuna. Younger to him are Nakula and Sahadeva. The lady whom Dropadī has accompanied to the ladies’ apartments is my mother, Kuntī. You should know, oh great king, without doubt, that Dropadī is fit to be married to all of us. It is so, because my mother (unaware

of what had been brought) ordered Bhīma and Arjuna to share the begged thing amongst us all in common, as is our usual practice. Later on, they informed her, that they had brought a beautiful girl. However, as my mother had already directed to share the thing, and she never speaks untruth, all of us have to marry your respected daughter.”

Thus spoke Yudhiṣṭhira. Mahārāja Drupada answered:

“Hey, noble man, Yudhiṣṭhira! [W]hat you have said is not proper.

Ekasya bhāryā vihitaḥ. Because according to law (dharma) one man is allowed to have many wives but no woman is allowed to have more than one husband, because it is against public interest (lokaviruddha). Do not commit an immoral act (adharma), noble man.”

“With your permission, my lord! Mahārāja Drupada! You mean to say that I am challenging the sacred law and giving them to interpretations. I do not have even an iota of desire for committing anything immoral. However, we need not be limited by any law, as it is my mother’s order, who never speaks anything untrue. This being the situation, whatever she has spoken is the law (for us)!”

Such were the words of Yudhiṣṭhira. At that moment there came Bhagavān Byāsa. He was greeted by the Pāṇḍavas and Mahārāja Drupada and was offered water for washing feet and cleansing his mouth. He was given a seat of honour bedecked with jewels. When Bhagavān Byāsa sat down, Drupada asked him, whether it was proper to give his daughter in marriage to the five brothers. Then Bhagavā Byāsa replied:

“Do not worry, Mahārāja Drupada! *Yathā prāha kaunteya[h]*, whatever you have been told by Yudhiṣṭhira, *tathā dharmo na saṁśayaḥ*, that is the law. Now I will tell you, the story of Dropadī.

Then Bhagavān Byāsa accompanied by Drupada went to a secluded place in the house and said:

“In ancient times, once god Yama conducted a sacrifice in the forest of Naimiṣa. It made heaven prosperous and safe from disease and death (vyādhimaraṇa). Even the world of men, like heaven, was never touched by disease and death. Such a situation disturbed all the gods, particularly god Indra, because now there was no difference left between the gods and human beings. So all of them appeared before god Brahmā, and asked him why mankind was left untouched by old age and death. God Brahmā replied:

“Do not worry, you gods! At present human beings are immune from old age and death, because god Yama is conducting a sacrifice. However, whenever in future, this sacrifice is over, the world will once again be dominated by old age and death (jarāmaraṇa). So you join together, and enter into the body of god Yama, whereby you will be able to reproduce death in the world.”

So spoke god Brahmā. Then the rest of the gods were pleased and [along with] their consorts, they returned to their own heavenly abode one by one. God Indra made his way along the bank of Gaṅgā. He saw a golden lotus floating in the river Jāhnavī (i.e. Gaṅgā). He was amazed by it, and he followed upwards to

trace its origin. And then he saw a woman weeping on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Her tears were uninterruptedly dripping on to the waters of the Gaṅgā, and turning into golden lotuses. God Indra asked her why she was weeping and also who was her husband. The lady answered:

“I am goddess Śrī, the consort of god Viṣṇu, I have been separated from my beloved. There is a man who is having love with his wife. They are enjoying on the peak of the mountain. It makes me jealous seeing them having open sexual intercourse. Please be kind to me god Indra, and if possible, hit them with your thunderbolt (bajra). I will tell you their place.”

So said goddess Śrī. Then god Indra, accompanied by the goddess Śrī, moved on towards the peak of the mountain. There they saw someone making love to his wife. Actually they were god Parameśvara and goddess Umā, in the form of human beings. Then god Indra released his thunderbolt, *sthāṇur ivāvatasthe*, but his thunderbolt could not even move, as its magic had been countered by the power of god Īśvara. The thunderbolt was thrown away. As it hit the mountain, it broke and changed into five senses (pañchendriya). *Tulyajyotiḥ*, all five have vital powers in an equal degree. Then they were ordered to be reborn. Their incarnations were to become the husbands of goddess Śrī. Goddess Śrī incarnated herself as your daughter, as it was predetermined. God Parameśvara punished god Indra in such a way. Then goddess Śrī appeared before god Viṣṇu and informed him that she will incarnate herself as a human being. She requested him to be her companion. God Viṣṇu gave her his black and white hair to accompany her as human being in her next birth. The white hair was to become Baladeva, whereas the black one was to be born as Kṛṣṇa, the most excellent among the Yadu race (Yadukula). The five senses (pañchendriya) were to incarnate as five Pāṇḍavas through the power of god Dharma, god Bāyu, god Indra and god Aśvinodevas. Goddess Śrī was to become Dropadī. That is why all the five Pāṇḍavas are fit to have her as their wife.”

Thus spoke Bhagavān Byāsa: “You may want to see for yourself the truth of my words,” (saying thus) Bhagavān Byāsa touched the eyes of Mahārāja Drupada enabling him to see things happening long ago (dūradaśana), to see the origin of Pāṇḍavas, and also the former life of Dropadī. Drupada saw the past (atīta), future (nāgata) and the present (vartamāna) of their lives. Then Drupada was satisfied, and firmly resolved to obey the words of Bhagavān Byāsa. He pa[id] homage to the great seer by touching his feet. Then with folded hands he gave his consent for the marriage of Dropadī to the five Pāṇḍavas. Then Bhagavān Byāsa disappeared from his seat. The auspicious day arrived. The chief royal priests were ordered to conduct the ceremonial prayer at the wedding and offer oblation to the sacred fire (homa) according to the prescribed rites and ceremonies, including all the necessities of sacrifice to be observed at marriage ceremonies. Dropadī and the Pāṇḍavas were duly married. Their marriage was extraordinary. *Pañcharātriḥ punaḥ kanyā*, then for the five nights consecutively she changed her place, and one by one the five brothers had sexual intercourse

with her. It was really as per god's desire, because it was the fruit of their former actions done in their previous lives. The marriage was completed without any problem. There was no danger, and now Mahārāja Drupada had nothing to be afraid of, because now he possessed five Pāṇḍavas as his sons-in-law. Dropadī won over Kuntī by her good conduct. Kuntī was very pleased with her and prayed for her husbands to get the royal position, and blessed her to have superlative sons. Meanwhile Kṛṣṇa heard about their marriage. He visited them in order to show his happiness. He brought, [along with] him, gold, clothing and a number of ornaments made of jewels. Besides these elephants (gaja), chariots (ratha), horses (turaga) and a number of things he brought to pay his respects to the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas had firmly established a close relationship with Pāñchāla.¹⁹

¹⁹ Phalgunadi, *Indonesian Mahābhārata*, pp. 261-273.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Hindu Tradition:
Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī***

Title:	<i>Bhāratamañjarī</i>
Author:	Kṣemendra
Date:	11 th century CE (1037 CE?)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Śivadatta & Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab
Published By:	Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1898
Series:	Kāvya-mālā Series 64
Translated By:	Jonathan Geen (The Story of the Maṭtriage of Draupadī only)
Length:	851 Pages; 10,666 Verses (including a 1,641 verse <i>Harivaṃśa</i>)
Table of Contents:	Yes (with multiple errors and omissions)
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 18 <i>parvans</i> + <i>Harivaṃśa</i> , and sub-divided into about 400 sub-sections, each of which is given a descriptive title, presumably by the author himself
Apparatus:	no introduction of any sort; very sparse footnotes

About the Author:

Kṣemendra is considered one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. He studied under the polymath and genius Abhinavagupta, and served in the royal court of King Ananta of Kashmir (1029-1064 CE). It is said that Kṣemendra was a devotee of Śiva, but later became a Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata under the influence of the teachings of Somācārya.²⁰ He wrote many works, including the well-known *Daśāvātāracarita*, in which he narrates the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu. He also wrote epitomes (called mañjarīs) of the Bṛhatkathā, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata (i.e. the Bhāratamañjarī).

About the Text:

According to Winternitz²¹, the date of the *Bhāratamañjarī* is 1037 C.E. The metre is primarily *śloka*. Winternitz notes S. Levi's opinion that both the *Bhāratamañjarī* and *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* are deprived of the poetic beauty of the original,

²⁰ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 171.

and agrees with Levi's supposition that the three "*mañjarīs*" of Kṣemendra may constitute early "poetical exercises", which Kṣemendra himself recommends to beginners. The *Daśāvatāracarita*, which is a more mature work, is dated at 1066 C.E.

²¹ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 3, p.81.

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²² This table of contents is my translation of the table of contents provided in the original text, though I have included in bold those entries omitted in the original.

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17.	The episode of Māndhātṛ	p. 218

18.	The episode of Jantu [son of King Somaka]	p. 219
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21.	[The story of the sage] Yavakṛita	p. 226
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23.	The fetching of [<i>saugandhika</i>] flowers [by Bhīma]	p. 236
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24.	The slaying of [the <i>rākṣasa</i>] Jaṭāsura [by Bhīma]	p. 237
25.	The slaying of [the <i>rākṣasa</i>] Maṇimat [by Bhīma]	p. 240
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27.	The slaying of the Nivātakavaca [<i>dānavas</i> , by Arjuna]	p. 245
28.	The pilgrimage to the <i>tīrtha</i> with Lomaśa	p. 245
29.	[The story of] the boa [<i>ajagara</i>]	p. 248
30.	The Glorification of Brahmins	p. 250
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2. The journey of Sañjaya [to the Pāṇḍavas as Dhṛtarāṣṭra's envoy] p. 347
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31.	The tenth day of battle	p. 429

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8.	The second day of battle	p. 440
9.	The slaying of Abhimanyu on the third day [by 6 great warriors]	p. 447
10.	Arjuna's Oath	p. 449
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12.	The slaying of Sudakṣiṇa [King of the Kambhojas, by Arjuna]	p. 453
13.	The slaying of Śrutāyus [by Arjuna]	p. 453
14.	The slaying of Vinda & Anuvinda [of Avanti, by Arjuna]	p. 455
15.	The slaying of Alambusa [by Ghaṭotkaca]	p. 458
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17.	The slaying of [the] kekaya[s] and Dhṛṣṭaketu [King of Cedi]	p. 462
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21.	The slaying of Jayadratha [by Arjuna with the Paśupata astra]	p. 472
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23.	The slaying of [the <i>rākṣasa</i>] Alāyudha [by Ghaṭotkaca]	p. 481
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27.	The slaying of Droṇa [by Dhṛṣṭadyumna]	p. 487

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2.	The pilgrimage to <i>tīrthas</i> by [Bala]rāma	p. 521
3.	The mace-fight [between Duryodhana and Bhīma]	p. 523

THE BOOK OF THE SLEEPING WARRIORS: [101 verses; 4 sub-sections]

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7.	The consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira	p. 556
8.	The birth of a king	p. 563
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10.	The episode of Mucukunda	p. 566
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17.	A conversation between Indra and Bṛhaspati	p. 571
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19.	The proper conduct for groups	p. 572
20.	[The practice of] truth and falsehood	p. 572
21.	Overcoming those things that are difficult to overcome	p. 572
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51.	A conversation between Indra and Kaśyapa	p. 602
52.	A conversation between Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja	p. 602

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57.	The Supreme Spirit according to Vaiṣṇavas	p. 607
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59.	A lecture on self-restraint	p. 608
60.	The goddess, or, The consumer of Ambrosia	p. 609
61.	A conversation between Śakra and Pralhāda	p. 609
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63.	A conversation between Śakra and Namuci	p. 612
64.	A conversation between Baḍi(li) and Vāsava	p. 613
65.	A conversation between Śrī and Vāsava	p. 614
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72.	The episode of Dyumatsena	p. 618
73.	[The story of] Kapila and the cow	p. 619
74.	The episode of Kuṇḍadhāra	p. 620
75.	A conversation between Nārada and Asita	p. 620
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78.	The hymns of Vṛtra	p. 621
79.	The slaying of Vṛtra	p. 622
80.	The destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice	p. 623
81.	A conversation between Samaṅga and Nārada	p. 623
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83.	A conversation between Sagara and Ariṣṭanemi	p. 625
84.	The birth of Venus	p. 625
85.	The hymns of Parāśara	p. 626
86.	The hymns of [Prajāpati in the form of a] goose	p. 626
87.	A conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Janaka	p. 626
88.	A conversation between Yājñavalkya and Janaka	p. 626
89.	A conversation between Sulabhā and Janaka	p. 629
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92.	[The story of] Nārāyaṇa	p. 637
93.	The proper conduct for [attaining] emancipation	p. 639
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95.	The episode of Sudarśana	p. 643

96.	The birth of Viśvāmitra	p. 644
97.	A conversation between Śuka and Śakra	p. 645
98.	[The story of] the workings of fate and of men	p. 645
99.	The Glorification of Brahmins	p. 645
100.	Counsel of the <i>guru</i>	p. 646
101.	The episode of the bee and the horse	p. 648
102.	The book of Meghavāhana	p. 651
103.	A conversation between Aṣṭāvakra and the sky	p. 654
104.	[The story of] Aṅgiras	p. 655
105.	[The story of] Indra's elephant	p. 656
106.	The episode of Vītahavya	p. 657
107.	Praise of brahmins	p. 657
108.	A conversation between Nārada and Pañcacūḍā	p. 658
109.	The episode of Vipula	p. 660
110.	The proper conduct regarding weddings	p. 660
111.	The episode of Cyavana	p. 661
112.	A conversation between Cyavana and Kuśika	p. 663
113.	The episode of Nṛga	p. 665
114.	The episode of [the great sage] Nāsiketa	p. 665
115.	The gift of [a] cow[s]	p. 666
116.	The birth of Suvarṇa	p. 667
117.	Rules for funerary rites	p. 667
118.	The theft ²³ of the lotus stalk	p. 670
119.	The theft of the blue lotus	p. 670
120.	The origin of the parasol	p. 671
121.	Gifts, beginning with flowers	p. 671
122.	A conversation between the king and the outcaste	p. 672
123.	[The story of] a herd of elephants	p. 673
124.	The wheel of rebirth	p. 675
125.	The wheel of time	p. 675
126.	The non-eating of flesh	p. 676
127.	The episode of the worm/insect	p. 677
128.	Maitreya's mendicancy	p. 678
129.	A conversation between Śaṅḍilī and Sumanā	p. 678
130.	[The story of] the emaciated deer	p. 679
131.	A conversation between Umā and Maheśvara	p. 680
132.	A conversation between Pavana and Arjuna	p. 682
133.	Durvāsa's mendicancy	p. 682
134.	The death of Bhīṣma	p. 684

THE BOOK OF THE HORSE SACRIFICE [215 verses; 7 sub-sections]

²³ *stainya*(?)

1.	[The story of] Saṁvarta and Marutta	p. 689
2.	The “After-hymns”	p. 692
3.	The seeing of all forms by Uttāṅka	p. 694
4.	The birth of Parikṣit	p. 696
5.	The releasing of the horse	p. 699
6.	The sacrifice	p. 700
7.	The episode of Nakula	p. 702

THE BOOK OF THE DWELLING IN THE HERMITAGE [69 verses] p. 703

THE BOOK OF THE MACES [71 verses] p. 709

THE BOOK OF PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE [33 verses] p. 715

THE BOOK OF HEAVEN [34 verses] p. 718

[[TOTAL = 9025 verses]]

THE LINEAGE OF HARI [1641 verses; 47/50 sub-sections]

1.	The milking of the earth	p. 723
2.	Description of the epochs of the Manus	p. 725
3.	The lineage of Manu	p. 729
4.	Precepts relating to the rites honouring the fathers	p. 735
5.	The origin of Soma	p. 736
6.	The lineage of Pūru	p. 739
7.	The lineage of Yadu	p. 741
8.	The absconding of the jewel “Syamantaka”	p. 744
9.	Enumerations of the manifestations	p. 746
10.	The slaying of Kālanemi	p. 752
11.	The birth of Kṛṣṇa	p. 761
12.	The breaking of the cart	p. 762
13.	The slaying of Pūtanā	p. 762
14.	The felling of the trees	p. 764
15.	A description of the rainy season	p. 766
16.	The killing of [the <i>nāga</i>] Kāliya	p. 769
17.	The slaying of [the <i>asura</i>] Dhenuka	p. 770
18.	The slaying of [the <i>daitya</i>] Pralamba	p. 771
19.	The sacrifice on [Govardhana] mountain	p. 772
20.	The lifting-up of Govardhana	p. 774
21.	The consecration of Govinda	p. 775
22.	The sporting with the <i>gopīs</i>	p. 777

23.	The slaying of [the <i>asura</i>] Ariṣṭa	p. 778
24.	The slaying of [the <i>asura</i>] Keśi	p. 782
25.	The doubts of [Kṛṣṇa's maternal uncle] Akrūra	p. 784
26.	The encounter at the lake/pool	p. 786
27.	The slaying of [Kāmsa's daitya-elephant] Kuvalayāpīḍa	p. 789
28.	The slaying of Kāmsa	p. 792
29.	The respectful treatment of Kāmsa	p. 794
30.	The art of the bow	p. 795
31.	The battle with Jarāsandha	p. 797
32.	The invocation of Yamunā	p. 799
33.	The slaying of Kāla-yavana	p. 801
34.	The abduction of Rukmiṇī	p. 804
35.	The slaying of Rukmin	p. 806
36.	The glorification of Baladeva	p. 807
37.	The slaying of Naraka	p. 809
38.	The abstracting of the Pārijāta [tree]	p. 810
39.	The slaying of Śāmba	p. 810
40.	The book of wonders	p. 812
41.	The glorification of Vāsudeva	p. 813
42.	A hymn of praise to Durgā	p. 825
43.	The battle with Bāṇa	p. 835
44.	The lineage of Janamejaya	p. 836
45.	Worship of the "Books" [of this text]	p. 837
46.	The Future	p. 839
47.	The completion of Janamejaya's sacrifice	p. 840
48.	The manifestation as a boar	p. 842
49.	The manifestation as a man-lion	p. 846
50.	The manifestation as a dwarf	p. 849
	PRAISE OF THE POET	p. 849

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī
from the *Bhāratamañjarī*

***Ādiparva*, Section 20: Description of the Births of Dhṛṣṭadyumna and Draupadī
(vv. 855-876)**

855. [The followers of Baka, who had heard a terrible noise when Bhīma had killed their demon master, and who, being alarmed, had come running out to investigate] were calmed by Bhīma, and were held to an agreement by him; having abandoned the condition of being wicked creatures, they departed, grieving for their [deceased] master.
856. Now, on the next day, after Bhīmasena had departed leaving the [corpse of the] demon on the road, the townspeople saw that Baka had been killed.
857. Having long wished for this day, they were delighted, and out of astonishment, they questioned the “brahmin”. He said, “The rākṣasa was killed by someone adept in magic spells.”
858. Then one day, when one could wander about happily and at will in the world which was [now] secure, a brahmin came and arrived at the home of the brahmin [where the Pāṇḍavas were residing].
859. The eager sons of Pāṇḍu, along with Kuntī (Pṛthā), unreservedly questioned [that visiting brahmin], who had finished eating and who was seated telling stories.
860. Having narrated charming stories about various places, he said, at the end of the conversation, “In the Pāñcāla land is great prosperity. The glorious king,
861. “Drupada by name, was formerly defeated in battle by the pupils of Droṇa; having handed over half his kingdom to Droṇa, he was inwardly consumed by anger.
862. “Though he had many sons, he was seeking just such a son with the desire for slaying Droṇa; on the banks of the Ganges he humbly waited upon a sage.
863. “There, for a year, he served with many delights two kāśyapa brahmins, firm in vow, named Yāja and Upayāja.
864. “Then, one day, the king said to Upayāja, who had been satisfied, ‘O brahmin, through your supernatural powers, I desire a son who will be the killer of Droṇa.

865. “‘Defeated by him, I am miserable and unable to sleep; I shall bestow upon you ten million cows adorned with gold.’
866. “‘Having heard what was said by Drupada, Upayāja said to him, ‘I, a brahmin, am not associated with such vile deeds; my younger brother Yāja ought to be employed in that deed.
867. “‘That he, being one who eats with greediness a fruit which had fallen onto impure ground, is greedy was indeed conjectured by me a long time ago.’
868. “‘Hearing that, Drupada humbly approached Yāja and said, ‘Give [me] a son who will be the death of Droṇa, and I shall give you a multitude of cows.’
869. “‘Hearing this, and having ascertained the history of that king, Yāja, a sacrificer of the *Atharvaveda*, offered an oblation according to the prescribed rules.
870. “‘Then, from the midst of the fire, a youth appeared like a burst of light rays, wearing a diadem, clothed in armour, and equipped with sword and bow.
871. “‘Then, from the sky, Drupada heard, ‘This is your son, O king, named Dhṛṣṭadyumna, born to be the death of Droṇa.’
872. “‘Droṇa, best of the high-minded, by whom this event was understood, and realizing the command of fate can never be denied, made him skilled in all the arts.
873. “‘A young maiden, the younger sister of him [i.e. of Dhṛṣṭadyumna], arose from the sacrificial pit, like the tutelary deity of the moon worshipped by the brahmins at every change of the moon.
874. “‘Once again, the king heard [a voice] from the sky, ‘This beautiful girl, dark like the petal of the blue-lotus blossom, born for the alleviation of the burdens of the world, is yours.’
875. “‘In the course of time, that one became, as it were, a flower in Madana’s garden, of whom the gestures were charming, and who possessed breasts like clusters of blossoms in the spring time that is youth.
876. “‘Amidst an assembly of kings in the Pārṣata city, a very elaborate and visually stunning celebration of her *svayamvara* will take place.’”

Ādīparva, Section 21: Aṅgāraparṇa [Lord of the Gandharvas] (vv. 877-910)

877. Having heard this from the best of brahmins, the sons of Pāṇḍu were distressed, their minds confounded by the question, “How could it be that the death of Droṇa has been born?”
878. Then, Kuntī said to them, “This place is not kind to those in need, O son; let us, whose livelihood is meager, go to the flourishing Pāñcālas.”
879. But, while they made active preparations to depart, on account of these words of their mother, the blessed sage Vyāsa (Satyavatīśuta) arrived in person.
880. Having asked after the welfare of the sons of Pāṇḍu, that ocean of compassion, knowing all, told them everything: “In the past, there was a daughter of a sage.
881. “Having propitiated Śiva (Candraśekhara) by her austerities, that slender-waisted girl asked the giver of boons five times, ‘Grant me a husband.’
882. “Having heard her fivefold request, Śiva (Girijāpati) said, ‘You shall have five husbands, Good Lady.’
883. “And that very girl was born in the Pāñcāla city as the daughter of [King] Drupada. She will become the wife of [all of] you, when you have gone there.”
884. Having been thus addressed, and when Vyāsa had vanished, the Pāṇḍavas, taking leave of the brahmins, journeyed along the bank of the Ganges and arrived at the Somaśravāyana *tīrtha* ...

Ādīparva, Section 22: [The Story of] Tapatī [daughter of the sun] (vv. 911-948)

Ādīparva, Section 23: [The Story of] Aurva [son of a Bhṛgu woman] (vv. 949-1007)

Ādīparva, Section 24: [The Story of] Vasiṣṭha (vv. 1008-1010)

Ādīparva, Section 25: Draupadī’s Svayaṃvara (verses 1011-1120)

1011. Arjuna (Śakranandana) was told all this [i.e. the stories in the preceding sections] by the king of *gandharvas*, and having heard it, he said to [the *gandharva* king Citraratha], “Our [own] *purohita* must be named”

1012. Citraratha said, “At the *tīrtha* called Uktvocaka, there is a sage, Dhaumya, younger brother of Devala; he is ideal for you.”
1013. Then, having taken their leave of the *gandharva*, the sons of Pāṇḍu, delighted and full of virtue, went to Dhaumya’s hermitage by the path described by him [i.e. by Citraratha].
1014. Then, having respectfully bowed to him, whose face and heart were calm, the heroes chose him as *purohita*, who could help them achieve success in the winning of universal sovereignty.
1015. Having placed him in front of them, those courageous ones, together with their mother, then went to the city Pāñcāla to see the *svayamvara* of Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā).
1016. Wandering about with a group of brahmins amid the assembly of kings, they saw Vyāsa (Pārāśarya), best of sages, treasure-trove of good fortune.
1017. Having respectfully bowed to him, and being dismissed by him, they entered the city, which was thronged with troops of elephants, horses, and chariots of the kings.
1018. Having settled their mother in a potter’s house, the heroes, having the appearance of brahmins and living off alms, went to the *svayamvara*-grounds,
1019. where there was an invincible bow and a *Rādhāyantra*. With respect to the winning of his daughter, [King] Drupada (Pārṣata) made these the wager in the contest to win his daughter.
1020. His object in [setting up] this target was, “If that Arjuna (Savyasācī) has survived [the fire in the lac-house], no other hero will obtain my daughter.”
1021. Then, all the kings, of whom the jewels and earrings swung about, entered the place of assembly which was itself [already] inhabited by the best of sages, who were full of curiosity.
1022. In the midst of [the kings], Duryodhana shone forth with extraordinary beauty, the way the moon, dazzlingly white with beams like strings of pearls, does amidst the constellations.
1023. The kings were seated on golden thrones and seats [ornamented] with precious jewels, like the gods seated on the peaks of Mt. Meru.

1024. In that place, the most excellent kings, their crowns radiant with jewels, and adorned with sandal and camphor, were resplendent.
1025. They looked like lotus-ponds, the waving chowries being so many white geese (Rājahaṁsas) while their raised staffs were like lotuses.
1026. Then, Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) appeared, possessing very fine clothing and bright-colored jewelry, a [veritable] banner of Love in His undertaking of the conquest of the three worlds.
1027. The circle of kings looked resplendent, reflected in the row of her toenails, as if straining to look upon her face, which, out of modesty, was cast downwards.
1028. Her beauty was like a lotus pond, where her thighs, soft like lotus leaves, were blooming; the thin garment that covered them was like the water of the pond.
1029. She bore full hips on which a swaying girdle chimed, just like the heavenly Ganges bears banks on which there are gently cooing Kalahaṁsas.
1030. She, a young plantain tree in loveliness, had a line of dark hair running up her middle, like the playful plumes of the peacock of the God of Love.
1031. She, a river of youthfulness, was resplendent with her pair of breasts on which was a pearl necklace, like a pair of cakra birds garlanded with drops of water.
1032. Her face, like a lotus, looked beautiful with her red lips being the petals, the splendor of her white teeth the filament, and her side-glances the bumble bees.
1033. Playfully circling about, she saw the kings who were being fanned by love with the palm-leaf of her coquettish gestures.
1034. Then, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, putting a halt to the words of the bards who were singing her praises with his arm, beautiful like the tethering post of the elephant that is military victory, said:
1035. “O most excellent of kings! Who is not delighted by this assembly of you, who are radiant with fame as white as an abundance of camphor.
1036. “Our speech is incapable of describing the virtues of you, of whom the fame is like the flawless drink of nectar, a flood of wonder like a flood of moonlight.
1037. “O kings, this is an invincible bow, and this is the target; Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) is the fitting prize; Do what you see fit.”

1038. Having thus addressed those high-minded kings, the king's son again spoke to his sister in such a way that everything was bathed in the white radiance of his teeth.
1039. "O Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), having bowed to the sages, worthy of honour, look at the assembly of kings. Be calm; the striker of the target shall be your husband.
1040. "This is the glorious King Duryodhana, foremost among the best of kings; his friends enjoy the wealth of that proud king as if it were their own wealth.
1041. "These are his valiant brothers, headed by Duḥśāsana, in the cage of whose arms good fortune shines forth like a pet swan.
1042. "This is Karṇa, also called Vikarṇa, blessed King of Aṅga, an ocean of wish-granting nectar to those who appeal to him, of whom the enemy is yet to be born.
1043. "This is mighty Saubala [i.e. Śākuni], maternal uncle of King [Duryodhana's] family, the fire of whose power is inflamed by the [hot] sighs of the wives of his slain enemies.
1044. "This is the irresistible archer Jayadratha, King of Sindh, by whom a fear of setting foot on the earth was produced in the gods by the dust [raised] by his army.
1045. "This is Kṛṣṇa, slayer of [the asura] Keśi, of whom the eyes are like lotus petals, and who is like a lotus pond, with swarms of bees, consists of the eyes of his sixteen thousand wives.
1046. "And this is Balarāma (Revatīramaṇa), (*rauhīnyorivāraṇaḥ* ???), who shines like [Indra's elephant] Airāvana with its constant lustre of rut.
1047. "These ones, viz. Kṛtavarman, Aniruddha, Gada, Sātyaki, Uddhava, Akrūra, and Cārudoṣṇa, are the bulls of the *Daśārhas*.
1048. "This is Virāṭa, King of Matsya, and this is Sudakṣiṇa, King of Kamboja; this is the kauravya [i.e. descendent of Kuru] Somadatta, son of the brother of Śantanu. (I thought Somadatta was Śantanu's own son? – but that isn't what it seems to say)
1049. "And these ones, viz. Bhūri, Bhūriśravas, and Śāla are the sons of Somadatta; this is Śālya, Lord of the Madra mountains, and this is King Bhagadatta.

1050. “These and other kings have assembled for your sake, O beautiful-browed one, nobles by connection to the family of Kuntī; the piercer of the *Rādhā* [doll target] shall be your husband.”
1051. When the son of the Pāñcāla king had thus spoken, the kings stood up facing the bow, taking their own bows as if in sport.
1052. The kings, who were handsome, swelling with pride, and admiring their own flexing arms, had an ardent desire for love.
1053. They banged into each other in such a marvelous way that rays of light darted from their jingling bracelets and armlets and pearl necklaces, while their earrings bobbed to and fro.
1054. At this moment, Kṛṣṇa (Śauri) said to Balarāma (Balabhadra), “Look, amid the brahmins, the sons of Pāṇḍu in disguise!
1055. “Surely they, liberated from the lac-house, and by whom manhood has been obtained, appear beautiful; with pride in their arms, they consider the other kings to be just worthless.”
1056. While Kṛṣṇa (Madhuripu) was thus speaking in confidence, the kings, each with a desire to be the first, all rushed up to the bow, each one trying to get there ahead of the other.
1057. While the sky was crowded with gods who were drawn by the alluring quality of her beauty, the kings, stopped dead in their tracks like painted figures, their eyes fixed on Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), looked resplendent.
1058. Unable to string the bow, which had the weight of a mountain, they had their wish, which was to win the treasure of Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), immediately dashed.
1059. Their upper-arm bracelets and earrings being pulverized by [merely] scraping against it, they concluded that even the thought of lifting that bow was unbearable.
1060. Suddenly, when the proud kings’ efforts were frustrated and their fortitude vanished, and their garlands were withered by their hot sighs,
1061. great-armed Arjuna (Savyasācī) got up from amid the brahmins, raising up [again] the arrogance of the bowmen which had set like the moon.

1062. As that one approached the bow, the brahmins, ashamed, said, “Ack! Surely the foolishness of that rash one is in keeping with his lack of knowledge!
1063. “Can it be that, out of foolishness, this brahmin brat desires to string that [bow] which could not even be lifted by the mighty warriors beginning with Śalya?
1064. “Or are we now to be ridiculed by, and become odious to, the kings? An entire caravan can be destroyed by the fault of one person!
1065. “Or again, is he a mighty hero who has appeared, for he has the form of a god? Who knows the strengths and weakness of the vital energy among those who are disguised?”
1066. While all were speaking in this way, the Pāṇḍava [i.e. Arjuna], handsome and charming, having bent the bow, pierced the target and caused it to fall.
1067. At the precise moment when Arjuna’s (Kirīṭin’s) arrow struck that target, the arrows of love entered Draupadī’s (Kṛṣṇā’s) heart.
1068. Then, Arjuna (Pārtha) was bright, decorated by a rain of flowers poured forth by the gods, while the kings grew dark, , as if from the bees that swarmed from the flowers.
1069. Then Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), having taken up a garland of flowers which was brilliant with blue lotuses which were her side-glances, approached Arjuna (Dhanarṁjaya).
1070. Eyes wide-open with joy, Drupada too, together with his [other] children, [though] observing the envious (reading sāsūyān for sāsūyam) kings, heartily approved of him.
1071. Then, the kings, having looked into the faces of one another for a moment, having drops of sweat forming from the scorching heat of the fire of their humiliation,
1072. having on the lustre of their lips a wisp of false smiles, and the anger they had built up clearly visible in their reddening lotus-eyes (reading –vyañjitorjita- for –vyañjito ‘rjita-), said:
1073. “Ack! The high-minded kings have been made fools of by King Drupada, whose beard is hanging down [i.e. he’s senile?], and who has only been pretending to be polite.

1074. Having made us doubt the strength of our arms, that scoundrel played a game with us, treating us like so many water pots, once on top, plunged to the bottom of the water wheel [reading araghataṭṭaka for udghataṭṭaka].
1075. We are innocents, our spotless fame, pure like crystal, has been sullied by us with the dirt of associating with a wicked person.
1076. Our anger is with the brahmin by whom [such] insolence was enacted; this Drupada, who offered to give his daughter to him, is to be killed.
1077. How in the world can we endure this perversion of proper conduct? A *svayamvara* is suitable for kings; it is not prescribed for brahmins!
1078. Having thus spoken, all the kings, whose golden armour was like the sun and whose faces were wrinkled with frowns, advanced to kill Drupada (Pārṣata).
1079. Having seen them furious with anger, Drupada sought refuge with the brahmins; they too, being armed, stood up on all sides.
1080. Then Arjuna (Vijaya), having laughed out loud, and having restrained the brahmins from battle, picked up that very bow from the ground and attacked.
1081. Bhīmasena too, heavy as a mountain, having uprooted and grasped a tree with wide-sweeping branches, agitated the ocean of kings.
1082. Karna, having considered Arjuna's (Kirīṭin's) appearance which seemed to be equal to his might, being extremely enraged, having approached, made his [i.e. Arjuna's?] hair stick up on end with arrows.
1083. But then, Karna was unable to endure in battle the arrows which poured forth from the arms of Arjuna, just as a wicked person cannot endure the virtues of a good man.
1084. That Karna, alarmed by this excessive heroism, said to Arjuna (Phālguna): "Are you the Science of Archery in bodily form, or [Paraśu]rāma, or Indra (Śakra), or [merely] a brahmin?"
1085. Having heard these words of Karna, Arjuna (Dhananjaya), laughing, said: "You must fight! What's with this [talk] of yours? You will never escape from me alive!

1086. “In this battle among our own kind [i.e. among real warriors], enough with those beginning with Duḥśāsana, with arms like delicate lotus fibres and with the courage of tender youths!”
1087. Having spoken thus, he covered him [i.e. Karṇa] in arrows, which flew forth from inside the circle of the fierce bow, as the [circle of the] sun covers one with sunrays.
1088. Then, mighty Bhīmasena, agitated, having subdued Śalya and Duryodhana, led [them] heroically in his two arms as if they were two upper-arm bracelets.
1089. When Śalya, together with King [Duryodhana], was subdued by Bhīma, who fought with his arms, the kings, apprehensive of the power of these “brahmins”, withdrew.
1090. Wise Yudhiṣṭhira had [already] gone to the city together with the twins, and so hence, Bhīma and Arjuna (Phalguṇa), taking along Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), likewise went there.
1091. When they were close to the potter’s house, the abode of [the potter named] Bhārgava, those heroes approached their mother who was situated inside the workshop.
1092. Bhīma and Arjuna said to her: “The alms have been collected”; now, being in the evening, Kuntī said to those two, “It must be shared together.”
1093. Then, having seen Draupadī, of whom the ornaments are radiant, in front of her, and being degraded by her untrue speech, she was subsequently distressed.
1094. Having noticed that Kuntī was depressed, they, possessing a mutual sense of unbreakable solidarity and an understanding that it was ordained, said, “Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) is indeed all of ours!”
1095. Meanwhile, having recognized the sons of Pāṇḍu who were given away by their valor, Kṛṣṇa (Śauri), who was ecstatic, accompanied by Balarāma (Halāyudha), went to see them.
1096. Then, having entered secretly, and having seen the sons of his father’s sister, and saying, “I am Kṛṣṇa”, he grasped the two feet of Yudhiṣṭhira.
1097. Each of them having been embraced and greeted by Kṛṣṇa (Śauri), they were thrilled, and having listen to each other’s stories for awhile, they stood there, their eyes filled with tears.

1098. Then, after Kṛṣṇa, along with Balarāma (Lāṅgalin), had left just as he had come, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, anxious to learn some news of his younger sister, wandered about.
1099. He concealed himself close to Bhārgava's house, and during their [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas'] various stories, he heard the name "Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā)", as well as tales customary for warriors.
1100. Then, overjoyed, he went to [his father King] Drupada and announced, "O father, that sister of mine was chosen by a family of kings!
1101. "She herself is a Nāga-creeper, abounding in nectar, ascending a Betel nut tree; she is moonlight filled with nectar which shines upon a moonstone [which is said to be made of the moon's rays and to dissolve under the influence of its light]."
1102. Drupada, having heard the words of his son, and having dispatched his own *purohita*, had the sons of Pāṇḍu brought to his own abode.
1103. [Various] gifts were arranged by four attendants for the purpose of ascertaining [whether or not these "brahmins" were really] kings, and [the Pāṇḍavas], having gathered them together, took those [gifts] which were fit for kings.
1104. Then, Kuntī, having fetched Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), entered the female apartments, and the Pāṇḍavas (Pārthas) sat down upon jeweled seats and were honoured.
1105. Drupada, having honoured them who were now seated and who had finished eating, asked about their lineage, though it was previously made known by their handsome appearances.
1106. Then Yudhiṣṭhira said, with a voice as deep as a thundercloud, acting like a *Tāṇḍava* dance teacher to the pet peacocks [peacocks dance when it thunders].
1107. "O king, good qualities, along with valour, resembling no other, and endowed with the virtue of honesty, are never to be found in a person without a good family.
1108. "You are devoted to your daughter. Why do you doubt us, without thinking carefully? What average person anywhere would be capable of piercing the *Rādhā* [doll] target?
1109. "I am Yudhiṣṭhira, O king; this is Bhīma and this is Arjuna; in the presence of those kings, the [*Rādhā*] device was made to fall upon the ground by him."

1110. Having heard those words of Yudhiṣṭhira which were liberally sprinkled with nectar, Drupada, in whom desire was fulfilled, obtained the radiance of joy.
1111. Having stood there for a moment positively tingling with delight, and having listened to their story, the Pāñcāla king replied, reviling the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra:
1112. “Thank heavens you were liberated from that perilous lac-house! And thank goodness this relationship with you was obtained by me through good fortune!
1113. “Arjuna (Śvetavāhana) must take the hand of my daughter according to prescribed custom”; having heard this, Yudhiṣṭhira (Kaunteya), recalling the true speech of his mother, said:
1114. “We all must take the hand of your daughter, O king! You must not doubt it! This path of *dharma* is indeed subtle.”
1115. Having heard him, though, Drupada, whose heart trembled, replied, “Ack! Though a knower of *dharma*, you speak that which is reproachable and done by the wicked.
1116. “How can a person of our kind, disregarding the traditional ways, go forward in this deed which is rejected by the opinion of the world?
1117. “‘Women vow to have but one husband; men have many wives’; how are you able to shun so frivolously this righteous maxim?”
1118. Having heard that, Yudhiṣṭhira (Pārtha) said to him, “Be not dejected, O king! We were directed by our own mother, ‘This is to be shared together’.
1119. “How could a person who is rich in truth make those words untrue? Truth is indeed the root of the tree of *dharma*, which possesses a thousand branches.”
1120. While the king, together with his son, was depressed by these words of Yudhiṣṭhira (Kaunteya), Kuntī was questioned, and having approached, she told exactly that [i.e. exactly what Yudhiṣṭhira had said] to the king [i.e. to Drupada].

Ādiparva, Section 26: The Tale of the Five Indras (vv. 1121-1145)

1121. Just then, the blessed sage Vyāsa (Satyavatīśuta), causing the welfare of all living beings, remover of all doubts, having arrived in their midst,

1122. was there greatly honoured by them, whose crowns brushed the ground, and he listened to each of their wide-ranging concerns about legality in the case of this marriage.
1123. The best of sages said to him [i.e. Drupada], “You ought not falsely to doubt – Let it be heard right now, this which was narrated by the Creator himself:
1124. “Long ago, when Yama was eagerly engaged in a sacrificial ceremony, the entire earth, which became completely filled with a great mass of living creatures, was greatly distressed by the absence of death.
1125. “Then, Indra (Pākaśāsana), occupied with the preservation of the earth, having [first] visited Brahmā (Caturmukha Deva), went to the place of Yama’s sacrifice.
1126. “There he saw in the Ganges river a trail of golden lotuses floating about, being made to dance and whirl about for an instant by a series of waves.
1127. “Now, having investigated further out of curiosity, Indra (Sahasrākṣa) spied a fawn-eyed heavenly woman whose lotus-face was downcast.
1128. “Having observed that the trail of golden lotuses in the water [was caused] by the water drops of her tears, and being amazed, he asked her for the cause of her sorrow.
1129. “Having said, ‘You shall know that [cause]’, she then departed with her stately elephant-like gait. Indra (Śakra), following closely after her, saw, on the summit of a mountain,
1130. “a beautiful man, seated upon a lion-throne, attended by his beloved. Having seen that he was playing with dice, Indra (Vṛtrahā), out of arrogance, said,
1131. “‘My god! Having seen me, who is assuredly the Lord of All, you do not tremble?! Even a weakling acts like Indra in the presence of women.’
1132. “Having heard the words of Indra (Śatamanyu) and having laughed out loud, Śiva (Girijāpati) instantly made him [i.e. Indra] as motionless as a piece of wood with [merely] a side glance.
1133. “Then, at the conclusion of his dice play, making everything crystal-like with the rays of his smile, he said privately to that weeping woman, ‘By my word, having touched him [i.e. Indra], release that conceited one from the shackles of my anger.’

1134. “Being thus addressed by him [i.e. by Śiva], she touched Indra (Vajrin) who had been paralyzed among the heavenly woman. And being merely touched by her, he [i.e. Indra] fell to the ground senseless.
1135. “Śiva (Umākānta) said to him, ‘You ought not to be this arrogant again! Arise! Behold the cavern! The peak of the mountain must be ripped away!’
1136. “Having heard this [command], and having done thus, he [i.e. Indra] saw in a cave dwelling four other Indras (Puraṁdaras) with the same appearance and same dress.
1137. “Having seen them, Indra (Śakra), trembling, whose mind was agitated, was anxious [thinking], ‘Will I not become just like one of these [imprisoned Indras]?’
1138. “Just then, the blessed Śiva (Bharga) said to him, ‘For the sake of carrying out a specific task, you five [Indras] must be born in the human realm for the abatement of the suffering of the world.’
1139. “Having heard the words of Śiva (Maheśvara) and having paid him reverence, they said, ‘The gods, beginning with Dharma, must be our fathers.’
1140. “Then Indra (Śakra) too said, ‘My son must be the fifth among these; by Your graciousness, O God, I myself will not descend to the earth.’
1141. “The god Śiva (Śaṁkara), being satisfied, said to him, ‘Let it be so’. The anger of great men is not permanent and lasts only until they are propitiated.
1142. “Then Viśvabhuj [Indra], Dhṛtadhāmā [Indra], Śibi [Indra], Śānta [Indra] and Tejasvī [Indra] departed. And those Indras (Śakras) were born on earth as the sons of Pāṇḍu.
1143. “For their sake, that beautiful woman of heaven herself was born on earth as your daughter Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā): O king, You ought not to cause dissension!
1144. “Look with a divine eye at everything just as it transpired.” Having said this, Vyāsa then gave to him for just an instant a sight consisting of a meditational vision.
1145. Then, having completely grasped the truth, ecstatic, the humble Pāñcāla king, saying “I am fortunate!”, departed along with the sage.

Ādiparva, Section 27: The Wedding (vv. 1146-1148)

1146. Now, after the best of sages left when the conjunction of the moon with Puṣya occurred, and when an offering, together with the appropriate mantras, was made into the fire by Dhaumya,
1147. the sons of Pāṇḍu each in turn took the hand of Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) in marriage, and were honoured by all the Pāñcālas with many gifts of jewels and fine clothes.
1148. During that renowned celebration, at which there was the amassing of great wealth, Kṛṣṇa sent to the Pāṇḍavas (Pārtha-s) wealth consisting of many horses and elephants.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Hindu Tradition:
Amaracandrasūri's *Bālabhārata***

Title:	<i>Bālabhārata</i>
Author:	Amaracandrasūri
Date:	13 th century CE
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Paṇḍit Śivadatta & Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab
Published By:	Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1894
Series:	Kāvya-mālā Series 45
Translated By:	Jonathan Geen (the story of the Marriage of Draupadī only)
Length:	491 Pages; 5,485 Verses (+ a 46 verse <i>praśasti</i>)
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	44 sargas, consecutively numbered, somewhat divided into parvans
Apparatus:	a 16 page <i>Bhūmikā</i> with footnotes (in Sanskrit) by the editors

About the Author:

Amaracandra was first and foremost an exceptional poet. He lived near Anhilvid in Gujarāt, and was a disciple of the Jaina monk Jinadattasūri of the Vāyāḍa Gaccha, who was himself in the lineage of Jivadevasūri. As he is often referred to as Amracandrasūri, it is likely he succeeded Jinadattasūri. Most of what we know about Amracandra comes from his short biography that is included in the *Prabandhakośa*.²⁴ He was associated and perhaps patronized by king Viśaladeva of Gujarāt (r. 1243-1262 CE), which places Amracandra in about the middle of the 13th century CE. He wrote several works on poetics, and was considered to be an outstanding poet himself, which opinion is certainly not diminished by an examination of his *Bālabhārata*. M. Krishnamachariar, in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, stated:

Among his works BALABHARATA is the most known. It narrates the story of the Mahābhārata in the order of the Parvans and is therefore a poetic epitome of it.

²⁴ See Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (eds.) *Other Selves: Autobiography and Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1994) p. 180-184.

His poetry is of a high order and placed by the side of the Raghuvamśa, it may not be possible to discern disparity in literary merit.²⁵

About the Text:

The Bālabhārata cannot be dated more specifically than the mid-13th century CE. The text consists of 44 *sargas*, the titles of which, together with the *parvan* to which they belong, are given only at the end of each *sarga*. Variant readings are listed in the footnotes.²⁶ There are several metres used in this text, with 8, 11, or 14 syllables in each *pāda*. The section translated below from the fifth *sarga* had 14 syllables in each *pāda*, and from the sixth *sarga*, 11 syllables per *pāda*.

It is interesting that Velankar, in his *Jinaratnaśoṣa*, lists the *Bālabhārata* as a Jaina work.²⁷ Though Amaraçandra was unquestionably a Jaina, the *Bālabhārata* is an epitome of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* rather than a Jaina version.

²⁵ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 200.

²⁶ Three manuscripts were used for this edition (abbreviated as *ka*, *kha*, and *ga*).

²⁷ Velankar, *Jinaratnaśoṣa*, p. 282.

Table of Contents for Amarasūri's *Bālabhārata*²⁸

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Chapter 2:	Description of 18 kings, the first among them being Pūru. [84 verses]	p. 10
Chapter 3:	Description of 12 kings, beginning with Bharata. [131 verses]	p. 18
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Chapter 5:	Draupadī's <i>svayamvara</i> . [121 verses]	p. 47
Chapter 6:	Description of the acquisition of half of the kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas. [104 verses]	p. 66
Chapter 7:	Description of the Spring season. [84 verses]	p. 75
Chapter 8:	Description of the gathering of flowers and frolicking in the water. [82 verses]	p. 88
Chapter 9:	Description of the rising moon. [108 verses]	p. 95
Chapter 10:	Description of the drinking of spiritous liquor and of the great amorous delights: [84 verses]	p. 104
Chapter 11:	The acquisition of weapons by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. [73 verses]	p. 111
Chapter 12:	Description of the Khāṇḍava forest. [97 verses]	p. 121
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Chapter 2:	Universal conquest. [154 verses]	p. 139
Chapter 3:	Description of the <i>rājasūya</i> sacrifice. [85 verses]	p. 152
Chapter 4:	The indignation of the Kauravas. [106 verses]	p. 159
Chapter 5:	The "exile" of the Pāṇḍavas. [106 verses]	p. 168
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²⁸ This Table of Contents was constructed by me from *sarga* and *parvan* titles listed at the end of each *sarga*.

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Chapter 2:	The unfathomable Duryodhana. [86 verses]	p. 263
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Chapter 4:	Encamping for the night. [52 verses]	p. 277
Chapter 5:	The commencement of battle. [121 verses]	p. 282
THE BOOK OF BHĪṢMA		p. 292
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Chapter 2:	The slaying of Bhīṣma following a description of the battle on the tenth day. [281 verses]	p. 300
THE BOOK OF DRONA		p. 324
Chapter 1:	Description of the battle on the first two days. [84 verses]	p. 324
Chapter 2:	The slaying of Abhimanyu on the third day. [111 verses]	p. 331
Chapter 3:	The slaying of Jayadratha on the fourth day. [218 verses]	p. 340
Chapter 4:	The slaying of Droṇa during battle on the fifth day. [196 verses]	p. 359
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Chapter 1:	The slaying of Karṇa. [132 verses]	p. 376
The 38 th chapter, called “The relating of the ninth book (Śalya), including the mace-fight, and the tenth book (Sauptika)”, has two Books in a single chapter of 300 [though actually only 299 numbered] <i>anuṣṭubh</i> verses. [299 verses]		
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THE BOOK OF INSTRUCTION	p. 439
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The 42 nd chapter, called "The diverse collection of five books", which sets forth the [books known as] the Horse Sacrifice, the Dwelling in the Hermitage, the Maces, the Preparations for Departure, and the Ascent to Heaven; five Books are here laid out within a single chapter of 281 [though actually only 269 numbered] <i>anuṣṭubh</i> verses. [269 verses]	p. 444
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THE BOOK OF DWELLING IN THE HERMITAGE [60 verses]	p. 452
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THE BOOK OF PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE [32 verses]	p. 462
THE BOOK OF THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN [26 verses]	p. 465
The 43 rd chapter called the description of the supernatural powers of (the brahmin) Āstika, being an adjunct to the Book of Origins. [165 verses]	p. 468
[[TOTAL = 5485 verses]]	
The 44 th chapter, praising the poet. [46 verses]	p. 485

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī
from the *Bālabhārata*²⁹

***Ādiparva*, Chapter Five:**

Summary of *Ādiparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 58-62:

While the Pāṇḍavas and their mother Kuntī were residing incognito with a brahmin family in Ekacakrā, Bhīma slayed the demon Baka. After that, not content to stay in one place, the Pāṇḍavas decided to travel towards the Pāñcāla country. As they traveled through the wilderness, they encountered Vyāsa (Dvaipāyana). They were overjoyed to see him and paid him proper homage.

63. Having given a benediction, the chief of sages [Vyāsa], knowing everything that was, is, and will be, joyfully said to them, “You must go quickly to marry the princess in the city of King Drupada, for whom the only stake is the piercing of the *rādhā* [doll]!”

Summary of *Ādiparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 64-68:

Having heard these welcome words from Vyāsa, the Pāṇḍavas, together with Kuntī, set out at once for Drupada’s capital. As they were traveling by night along the Trimargā river, they were spotted by Aṅgāraparṇa, a lord of *gandharvas*, who became angry at being disturbed. Aṅgāraparṇa was quickly subdued by Arjuna in battle, but when the *gandharva*’s wife, Kumbhīnasī, placated Yudhiṣṭhira and Kuntī, Aṅgāraparṇa was released. Then, Arjuna and Aṅgāraparṇa forged a friendship complete with the exchanging of gifts. Having then acquired Dhaumya, lord of the holy *tīrtha* Utkocaka, as their *purohita*, the Pāṇḍavas arrived at Drupada’s capital city.

69. Having gone, together with their mother, through the city, which was the purview of King Drupada, to the house of a potter, and having left her there, they quickly went, on the sixteenth day, to the assembly of kings for the piercing of the Rādhāvedha which was the stipulation for [winning] the beautiful woman.
70. Having witnessed the wedding pavilion before them, Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmatanuja) commented to his circle of younger brothers: “This [pavilion] looks as if heaven was made to descend by Drupada, who is humbling the power of the gods by the power of human effort.

Summary of *Ādiparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 71-80:

Yudhiṣṭhira then lavishly praised the entire scene, including the wedding pavilion, the various banners and flags, and the sounds of musical instruments which filled the air. The Pāṇḍavas, still disguised as brahmins, took their place amongst the other brahmins who had assembled to witness the spectacle. Then Draupadī, looking positively radiant, arrived on the stage.

81. In the radiance of the outer corner of the eyes of a multitude of agitated kings, resembling waves cutting through an ocean of milk, the princess, as if Lakṣmī herself, appeared beautiful, perfectly done-up for some [as-of-yet-undetermined] best of men.

Summary of *Ādiparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 82-90:

The kings were clearly cowed by the sight of Draupadī, and they tried desperately to hide their agitation while at the same time gesturing to her in such a way as to make plain their feelings and intentions.

²⁹ The story of Draupadī's marriage is presented here as a combination of my own summary and direct quotations from the text.

91. This one woman was fixed in the eyes and minds of all the love-struck kings, but she, though she beheld the bow with her eyes, thought of Arjuna's two arms in her mind.
92. Having worshipped the bow, and having joyfully raised up his lotus hand in the middle of the assembly, [Drupada's son] Dhṛṣṭadyumna then said these words: "Whosoever longs for Draupadī (Drupadātmaja), he, who has the foremost of fortitude among archers, must pierce the Rādhā [doll]."

Summary of *Ādiparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 93-102:

Despite their efforts, there was not a single king there who was equal to the weight of the bow. Then, both Bhīma and Arjuna got up from their seats among the brahmins and walked down to the stage. The crowd was astonished by their magnificent and powerful appearance. When Arjuna had strung the bow, Bhīma, with a booming voice which humbled all who heard it, addressed the kings and taunted them, claiming that this brahmin (i.e. Arjuna disguised as a brahmin) would hit the target, thus robbing all the kings and princes of their glory.

- 103-4. When all the kṣatriyas [had heard] his words, which were greater than the roar of the clouds, thinking in their minds that some calamity had happened, like brahmins who stop their study when some natural disaster occurs, remained silent, and when, in the following silence, their lotus faces were bowing, Arjuna (Indratanuja) then made a twang of the bowstring, which was a crack of a thunderbolt to that mountain of kingly arrogance, was the sound of clouds and the fresh dancing of peacocks to the heart of the maiden [Draupadī], and was the sound of the trumpeting of an elephant in the form of his own valour.
105. The target was made to fall on the ground with the play of an arrow by Arjuna, whose valour astonished Drupada (Pārṣata), and whose mighty and thick arms had hair standing on end from the sight of Draupadī who was the abode of passion.
106. Then, while the people were swaying to and fro like a great palm-leaf fan, and while there was, in the heavens, the most excellent sound of the kettledrums of the gods, and while the faces of the kings darkened, Draupadī, at her father's behest, now applied the most exquisite garland around the neck of Arjuna.

107. [The kings said], “That one, who gave his daughter to a mere brahmin stripling, insulted us.” Then, burning for Drupada, the groups of kings, bearing weapons, quickly attacked the frightened [king], right there at the spot of the wedding pavilion.

Summary of *Ādīparva*, Chapter Five, vv. 108-111:

As the angry kings advanced against him, King Drupada sought refuge with Bhīma and Arjuna. A battle ensued, in which Bhīma wiped out entire armies and then fought with Śalya. Arjuna did battle with Karṇa.

112. They were forcefully restrained in battle by Kṛṣṇa (Dāmodara), the knower of truth, [who said], “This is not proper conduct for warriors”. Then, the kings went to their own homes and the sons of Pāṇḍu, along with Draupadī (Kumārī), went to the locale of the potter’s house.
113. Kuntī said to them who had come, “The alms are to be shared by you five, who are equal. [Thinking] “A mother must not be one of whom the speech is untrue”, those five made an agreement to marry her.
114. Those resolute ones, having explained [the situation] to their own bewildered mother, who, by this time, having laid eyes on Draupadī (Bhūpatanayā), [had exclaimed], “What have I said?”, and after Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, having come out of affection, had departed, and being beggars of alms, they had gone to and came back from the city.
115. After that, in the evening and in the presence of their mother who was accompanied by Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmasuta), they then divvied-up the alms, each to his/her own. Draupadī (Drupadabhūpasutā), having seen the calamities, [nevertheless] did not obtain any inner sorrow. What can I say of the mind of faithful women?
116. Having made a bali offering and given alms to brahmins and to the needy, half the food was set aside for to Bhīma by Draupadī (Drupadasū), heeding the words of Kuntī, and delighted, she made the remainder into six equal portions.
117. Then, at night, the warriors, occupying a bed made from kuśa grass, slept with their heads in a southward facing direction; Kuntī (Bhojasutā) lay at the head and Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) at the feet of them who discussed heroism, weapons, and the perfect battle.

118. Dhṛṣṭadyumna, while he was concealed behind a wall just outside the potter's house, heard their conversation, which was typical of kings, and reported the whole thing to Drupada in the morning, [saying], "They are indeed some princes."
119. Having been identified as *kṣatriyas* through their connection to a *purohitā*, and as the sons of King Pāṇḍu by virtue of their steadfastness, and having been fetched at their abode by chariots, and having been fed, Yudhiṣṭhira, questioned [by King Drupada], told him everything.
120. While Drupada (Pārṣata) was speaking thus, "This daughter is to be joyfully given to Arjuna (Vāsavabhū), of whom the great abundance of glory from sporting is like the glory of the moon, and whose high degree of shining splendor is blazing like the burning of the sun", it was said by Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmātma), "That one will be the wife to us five, just as the radiance of the mind is to the power of the [five] senses."
121. [Drupada asked]: "Why ever should my daughter become the wife of five", and Yudhiṣṭhira said "Why not?" King Drupada, though a hero of whom the mind (lit. "condition of the self") was in this way troubled by an ocean of doubt, was further confused.

Ādīparva, Chapter Six:

1. That ascetic, Vyāsa (Kṛṣṇa-muni), emaciated, having burnt off his inner darkness by the pure light of his knowledge and the darkness around him by the glory he achieved through the *Mahābhārata*, happily moved on.
2. Then, having approached King Drupada, who was confused as to what should be done in this situation, and who thus had great anxiety, Vyāsa, knower of all things mysterious, said privately:
3. "In the past, in a certain place, an unlucky daughter of a chief among sages, in whom anger was produced by want of a husband, said five times, with austerities directed at the boon-conferring Śiva (Purāri), 'Grant me a husband'.
4. "Having granted that beautiful girl's boon [because of her austerities], 'In another lifetime, five heroes, of whom there is the highest mutual affection, must become your husbands', Śiva (Purāṁ Virodhī) then disappeared.
5. "Having thought, 'I will have husbands in another lifetime', that very girl delighted in austerities; at the end of her life, due to a vast store of merit, she existed [for awhile] in the presence of Śiva (Bhava) as Nākaśrī.

6. “Meanwhile, Yama (Kṛtānta), who had previously gone to the Naimiṣa Forest, carried out a sacrifice. While he, by whom compassion had been acquired, was not killing [i.e. not doing his job as death], the earth became adorned by mortals who were as if immortal.
7. “The gods, placing Indra (Hari) at their head, began, on account of distress, reproaching Brahmā, [saying], ‘The earth, of which there is a burden of extraordinary mortals, will be swamped. There is no longer any difference between mortals and immortals!’
8. “To this, Brahmā said, ‘When that sacrificer Yama (Kṛtānta) has taken a bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, then the death of creatures will gradually begin again after a full life term, like so many ripe fruit.’
9. “Having heard these accurate words of Brahmā, Indra (Surendra) departed with joy; appearing at the Ganges, he saw a golden lotus. [footnote: *abdevatāsyadyuti* seems garbled?]
10. “[Wondering], ‘From what was this [lotus] produced?’, he, out of delight, entered into the river to fetch it. Then, by means of a trick made by Śiva (Bharga), he saw before him Nākaśrī (Svargaśrī) weeping.
11. “Indra (Dyubhartṛ) was at first astonished by the fact that her tears, dripping into the water of the Ganges, were quickly becoming golden lotuses; then, when he got up close to her moon-like face, he was even more astonished by her smiles.
12. “‘O beautiful-thighed one! Who are you? Why do you weep?’ The weeping girl, who was thus questioned by Indra (Nākabhartṛ), wandered away. Indra (Vāsava) then followed after her like the moon follows twilight (*pratyūṣa*? As it goes towards the dawn?)
13. “That mountain [Indra?] was led by that doe-eyed woman to the chief of mountains [i.e. the Himālayas]; having seen some mere youth sitting motionless, engaged in dice together with a woman, and not bothering to greet him, [Indra] became angry.
14. “Indra (Hari), angry with this youth, was struck with a glance by him, [i.e. by Hara/Śiva], as if by a snake with poison in his eyes/gaze, and being made paralyzed on the peaks of the Himālayas, stood there having the appearance of a fresh [mountain] peak.

15. “His body being touched by the hand of Nākaśrī (Tridaśāśrī), at the behest of Śiva (Viśvanātha) by whom the game of dice was completed, Indra (Dyubhartṛ) toppled like a pillar of which the support had been shattered.
16. “Then Śiva (Viśvaguru) said to Indra (Surendra): ‘You must enter this cave in the mountain. Along with the four who have previously gone in and whom resemble you, this mountain must shine as if it had the five sense organs.’
17. “That Indra (Pākasya Ripu), with anguish, then went into the cave together with those [other] four; [then], having approached, he bowed to the feet of Śiva (Purāri), and, being wretched, said, ‘What in the world must I do?’
18. “Then Śiva (Nātha) said, ‘My act of murder, arising from cutting off the head of a brahmin, has been well-known for a long time; having drunk the blood of 18 armies, it will stop.
19. “‘Hence, You Indras (Śakras) must secretly make efforts for the atoning for my murder which still clings to me; the earth must have [five] husbands, as a lioness (*pañcānana-kāminī*) has many husbands.
20. “‘That Nākaśrī (Nākalakṣmī) must put together a collection of kings for the sake of bringing to pass the commencement of battle; she, by whom a descent has been made, will be the single wife of you five [Indras].
21. “‘That Brahmahatyā [i.e. the personification of Śiva’s murder of a brahmin] having made a descent here into the goddess, being one of my Kṛtyās [i.e. “witches”], will, having drunk the honey-like blood of the kings, and being satisfied from this intoxicant, she will leave me right away!’
22. “‘Having been convinced that it must be thus, Indra (Vibhu), with those other four Indras by whom oaths were taken, said, ‘Surely our birth is not to be derived from man – it must be brought about from Dharma, Vāta, and the Aśvins (Nāsatyas).’
23. “‘And that fifth Indra said these words, ‘I will not make a descent onto earth. A human being, whose motive is this business on earth, must be derived from a portion of me on earth, with abundant supernatural powers.’
24. “‘Then, Śiva (Nātha), with great delight and excitement about his own aim, the atoning for the murder [of a brahmin], which was well-nigh completed, said to them all, ‘Let it be so! You are all victorious!’
25. “‘But Nara, the sage from the Badarī forest, will become a son of Indra (Vāsava) Vaivasvata; to help him, Nārāyaṇa too, having made a descent, will be on earth.’

26. “That lord of gods named Viśvabhuj, in the intermediate Svayambhuva age, appeared on earth as Yudhiṣṭhira, son of Dharma, beloved by all.
27. “The lord of gods named Ṛtadhāma, in the world age of Svārociṣa, appeared on earth as Bhīma, son of Vāta, conqueror of armies of elephants.
28. “And again, a child, possessing an unrestrainable bow, was born of the lord of gods named Tejasvin, of the world age called Vaivasvata, who was Arjuna himself.
29. “The two gods whose fame was so widespread in the world age known as Uttamatāmasa, known in the texts as Śānti and Śibi, became the twins, sons of the Aśvins (Nāsatyas).
30. “Now then, having propitiated the two ascetics, Yāja and Upayāja, for a year, a sacrifice was done on the banks of the Ganges by you, by whom the humiliation [by Droṇa] was meditated upon, and who was desirous of a son for the purpose of slaying Droṇa.
31. “Now, while Upayāja was intent upon the sacrificial actions, and while Yāja meditated upon the presiding deity of the sacrifice, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, a warrior bearing weapons and clothed in armour, and a [partial incarnation of fire], appeared in the fire pit.
32. “Then, your daughter, none other than Nākaśrī, having a waist shaped like an altar, appeared here from the midst of the sacrificial altar; it was this one, O king, by whom Śiva (Purāri) was former propitiated, and who obtain [the boon of] being the bride of five men.
33. “Those heroes and your daughter must wander about for a long time for the sake of such [above mentioned] exploits.” That sage, having proclaimed [all of this] in the presence of King Drupada (Pārṣata), then caused [Drupada] to see it with his own eyes through the power of divine sight.
34. This having been said, and when that chief of sages [i.e. Vyāsa] had departed, the sons of Pāṇḍu were caused to be married by King Drupada to the very happy young maiden, his own daughter, one after the other, over the course of five days.
35. The happy news that the sons of Kuntī, abounding in practical wisdom, were victorious, was proclaimed everywhere on earth; and the kings who had come for the *svayamvara*, out of fear of the Pāṇḍavas’ arrows, all departed, going each to his own city.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Digambara Jaina Tradition:
Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa***

Title:	<i>Harivaṃśa Purāṇa</i>
Author:	Punnāṭa Jinasena
Date:	8 th century CE (783 CE)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Pt. Panna Lal Jain, Sahityacharya
Published By:	Bhāratīya Jñānapītha Kāśī, 1962
Series:	Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā Sanskrit Granth No. 27
Translated By:	Pt. Panna Lal Jain, Sahityacharya (Hindi) Jonathan Geen (English; Chapter 45 only)
Length:	811 pages (including Hindi translation); 8,893 verses
Table of Contents:	Yes – extensive, in Hindi
Index:	Several
Text Divisions:	divided into 66 <i>sargas</i> , the titles of which are found at the end of each <i>sarga</i> .
Apparatus:	variant readings frequently listed

About the Author:

There are two well-known and virtually contemporaneous Digambara Jaina authors, both named Jinasena. For the sake of clarity, the author of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* is often called Punnāṭa Jinasena, denoting that he belonged to the Punnāṭa-gaṇa. He lived in Gujarāt and is said to have been the pupil of Kīrtisena.³⁰ The other famous Digambara Jinasena, author of the *Ādipurāṇa* and belonging to the Senagaṇa³¹, lived in Karṇāṭaka and was slightly later than Punnāṭa Jinasena. He is said to have been the pupil of Vīrasena. This latter Jinasena (who completed the *Ādipurāṇa* sometime after 868 CE) was unable to complete the vast work he had begun, and consequently, his pupil Guṇabhadra completed the work (in a text known as the *Uttarapurāṇa*). Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* is the next text considered in this thesis.

³⁰ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 292.

About the Text:

Punnāṭa Jinasena completed the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* in 783 CE. Cort has called this work the “oldest extant Jaina telling of the story of Kṛṣṇa”³², though of course tales of Kṛṣṇa are found here and there through the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon.³³ Jinasena wrote a very interesting if cryptic verse describing the time in which he was writing. Upadhye translates the verses as follows:

Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṃśa* at Vardhamānapura when Indrāyudha was ruling in the North; Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa, in the South; Vatsarāja, king of Avanti, in the East; and in the West, Vīra Jayavarāha over the Sauramaṇḍala.³⁴

As mentioned in Chapter One of this thesis, Jaina *Mahābhāratas* have never experienced the sorts of accretions that the Hindu epic has endured, but according to Jaini,

the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* grew to be a treasure-house of information on such miscellaneous items as music (Saṅgīta-śāstra), dance (Sāmudrika-śāstra), and art (Śilpa-śāstra), to mention only a few – a Jaina encyclopedia, as it were, in the manner of the Brahminic Purāṇas.³⁵

³¹ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 292.

³² Cort, “Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas”, p. 191; I assume Cort means the first full-blown version of the story of Kṛṣṇa.

³³ See Chapter One.

³⁴ Upadhye, “Bṛhat-Kathākośa,” p. 105.

³⁵ Jaini, “Purāṇic Counter Tradition”, p. 220.

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³⁶ Though the edition of this text that I used had an extensive table of contents provided by the editor in English, this table of contents has been constructed by me by collecting and collating all of the *sarga* titles listed at the end of each *sarga*.

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[[TOTAL = 8,893 verses]]

**The 45th Chapter of Punnāta Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāna*,
including the Story of the Marriage of Draupadī**

1. “Now then, the five noble and celebrated Pāṇḍavas, nephews of the Daśārhas, arrived at the city of Dvāravatī.
2. “These five sons of Pāṇḍu were Yudhiṣṭhira, who was the eldest, mighty Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva.”
3. At this point, Māgadha [i.e. the king of Magadha], hands held together [in a mark of respect], asked the leader of the gaṇa: “O Bhagavan, in whose lineage are Pāṇḍu and his sons?”
4. The Gaṇī said, “[They are] in the lineage of the fortune-bestowing Kuru kings, where [are also found] the group of three Tīrthaṅkaras, the names of whom are Śānti, Kunthu, and Ara.
5. “Listen, O Māgadha, and I shall tell you from the beginning some of the names of the kings, descendents of Kuru, devoted to the four goals in life.
6. “There were two kings in the excellent city of Hāstinapura who were the ornaments of the Kuru-jāṅgala country, which was the equal of the magical Kuru country,
7. “and who were named Śreyān and Somaprabha. Those two, who were leaders of the *dharma* of generosity, and who were contemporaries of [the Tīrthaṅkara] Nābheya [i.e. Ṛṣabha], were the distinction of the Kuru lineage.
8. “There was in that lineage a son of King Somaprabha, named Jayanāyaka. [This Jayanāyaka] was then given the name ‘Meghasvara’ by the [cakravartin] Bharata.
9. “From [King Jayanāyaka], there was a son Kuru, and from him, a son named Kurucandra. Then, there was [Kurucandra's son] Śubhaṅkara, and then his son, King Dhṛtikara, was born.
10. “Over the course of time, after many *koti*-s of kings had passed away and during the interval between Jinas, of which the *koti*-s [of years] resemble many oceans,
11. “came Dhṛtideva, Dhṛtikara, and Gaṅgadeva, followed by a line beginning with Dhṛtimitra, Dhṛtikṣema, Suvrata, Vrāta, Mandara.

12. “Kings by the hundreds passed away beginning with Śrīcandra and Supratiṣṭha; when Dhṛtapadma, Dhṛtendra, Dhṛtavīrya, and Pratiṣṭhita
13. “had passed away, [there came] Dhṛtidṛṣṭi and Dhṛtidyuti, and yet others born into the Kuru lineage passed away beginning with Dhṛtikara and Prītikara.
14. “Then, there came the kings named Bhramaraghoṣa, Harighoṣa, Haridhvaja, Sūryaghoṣa, Sutejas, and Pṛthu.
15. “Then, kings beginning with Ibhavāhana passed away. Next there was a great king called Vijaya and then another called King Jaya.
16. “Then, there was Sanatkumāra, fourth among the [twelve] cakravartins, consecrated and admonished by the gods, who were drawn to him by the snare of his beauty.
17. “Sukumāra was his son, and from him, there was Varakumāraka, Viśva, Vaiśvānara, Viśvaketu and Bṛhaddhvaja.
18. “Then Viśvasena was born, whose most beloved wife was named Erā: his son, Śānti, was the fifth of the [twelve] cakravartins, as well as the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara.
19. “When Nārāyaṇa, Narahari, Praśānti, Śāntivardhana, Śānticandra, Śaśāṅkāṅka, and Kuru, [all] born into the Kuru lineage,
20. “had passed away, there came Sūrya, whose wife was Śrīmatī: [their son] was Kunthu, [who became] the [sixth] cakravartin and also the [seventeenth] Tīrthaṅkara.
21. “Then, after many kings passed away in the course of time, King Sudarśana was born, whose wife was Mithrā.
22. “[Their son], named Ara, was the seventh among the [twelve] cakravartins, and being energetic, numbered eighteenth among the [24] Tīrthaṅkaras.
23. “Then [came] Sucāru, Cāru, mighty Cāruṛpa, and Cārupadma; then, after these and other kings had passed away,
24. “there were the kings Padmamāla, Subhauma, and Padmaratha. Then came the cakrī Mahāpadma and his two sons Viṣṇu and Padma.

25. “Following them were Supadma, Padmadeva, Kulakīrti, Kīrti, Sukīrti and Kīrti, mighty Vasukīrti,
26. “Vāsuki, Vāsava, Vasu, Suvasu, Śrīvasu, [who was] the lord of the kingly glory of the Puru lineage, and Vasundhara.
27. “[Then] Vasuratha was born from Vasudhara, and from him mighty Indravīrya, [followed by] Citra, Vicitra, Vīrya, and another mighty Vicitra.
28. “The came Vicitravīrya, followed by King Citraratha, Mahāratha, Vṛtaratha, Vṛṣānanta, Vṛṣadhvaṇa,
29. “Śrīvrata, Vratadharman, Dhṛta, Dhāraṇa, Mahāsara, Pratisara, Śara, King Pāraśara,
30. “King Śaradvīpa, Dvīpa, King Dvīpāyana, Suśānti, Śāntibhadra, and King Śāntiṣeṇa.
31. “Śāntanu was the husband of the princess Yojanagandhā; it is said that the son of Śāntanu was King Dhṛtavyaśa.
32. “Then came Dhṛtadharman and his son Dhṛtodaya, followed by Dhṛtatejas, Dhṛtayaśaś, Dhṛtamāna, and King Dhṛta.
33. “Also, there was Dhṛtarāja; his three wives, born into a celebrated lineage, were named Ambikā, Ambālikā, and Ambā.
34. “Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, and Vidura, who was foremost among the wise, were, respectively, the sons of those three [above named women].
35. “Bhīṣma was also born into the lineage of Śāntanu: his father was Rukmaṇa and his mother was the pure-minded princess named Gaṅgā.
36. “The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the first of which was Duryodhana, were possessed of both manliness and prudence, and were devoted to one another’s happiness.
37. “Karṇa was born from Pāṇḍu and Kuntī while she was still unmarried; [subsequently] three sons, Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, and Bhīma, were born after she was his wife.
38. “Two [other] sons, named Nakula and Sahadeva, ornaments of the family, were born from [Pāṇḍu and] Mādrī, steadfast as a mountain: these [latter five] were the five [legitimate] sons of Pāṇḍu.

39. “When Pāṇḍu and his queen Mādrī had passed away according to [the method expounded in] the teachings of the Jina [i.e. they fasted to death], the Pāṇḍavas and the Dhārtarāṣṭras became contentious with respect to the kingdom.
40. “[The following decree was made:] ‘Having divided the Kaurava kingdom into [two] equal portions, one for the five [Pāṇḍavas], and one for the others, let [the kingdom] be ruled.’
41. “Bhīṣma, Vidura, Droṇa, and the minister Śakuni were the witnesses on one side; Duryodhana had friends, beginning with Śaśaroma, as his witnesses.
42. “For Duryodhana, there most certainly was the best of friendships with Karṇa and the tranquillity of peace with Jarāsandha.
43. “On account of impartiality, the Bhārgavācārya Droṇa, highly skilled in the science of archery, taught both the Kaunteyas and Dhārtarāṣṭras.
44. “Hear, O Śreṇika, as the lineage of this Bhārgavācārya is related: The celebrated lineage of teachers of Droṇācārya [goes like this:]
45. “The first pupil [of Bhārgava/Bhṛgu?] was Ātreya, [who taught] his son Kauthumi, [who taught] his son Amarāvarta, [who taught] his son Sita.
46. “Then, [the teachings passed from Sita to] his son Vāmadeva, [from Vāmadeva to] his son Kapiṣṭhala, then to his son Jagatsthāman, then to his son Saravara, then to his son Śarāsana,
47. “then to his son Rāvaṇa, then to his son Vidrāvaṇa, and finally to Droṇa, son of Vidrāvaṇa, who is venerated by all of the Bhārgavas.
48. “From [Droṇa, a son named] Aśvatthāman was begotten on Aśvinī; in battle, he was an archer of whom only the archer Arjuna (Pārtha) himself was the rival.
49. “Now then, afflicted by jealousy of the skill and power of Arjuna (Pārtha), those who were led by Duryodhana began to cause a breaking of the treaty [previously agreed upon whereby the kingdom would be split into two equal halves].
50. “They said, ‘On the one hand, five [brothers] rule one half of the Kaurava kingdom, but on the other hand, one hundred [brothers] rule [the other] half. Could anything be so unjust?’

51. “At this, the sons of Pāṇḍu, who, like the four oceans, were deep and tranquil, were [nevertheless] agitated, [as are even the four oceans] by violent winds.
52. “Arjuna, who, like a rain-cloud, arose and said, ‘I shall cover this mountain-like enemy which has arisen with a rain of arrows like torrents of water!’, was then calmed [as it were] by the wind of his elder brother [Yudhiṣṭhira].
53. “Then, the eldest [Yudhiṣṭhira], speaking as if with a mantra, [next] calmed Bhīma, who, like a trembling snake, had said, ‘I shall scorch these one hundred cousins with a [single] glance!’ (note: mantras are used to calm snakes)
54. “Nakula (note: whose named means “mongoose”) too, by whom efforts were made for the destruction of the host of snakes, was wisely checked, restrained [as it were] in cage-like arms, by his eldest [brother Yudhiṣṭhira].
55. “Sahadeva, burning like a forest fire, having said, ‘I shall quite easily burn to ashes these foes as if they were a clump of trees!’, was [likewise] calmed by his rain-cloud-like eldest [brother Yudhiṣṭhira].
56. “[But then], the house of those [Pāṇḍavas], in which they had been dwelling contentedly for some time, was set on fire [one night], while they slept, by the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.
57. “Those five Pāṇḍavas, together with their mother [Kuntī], having suddenly woke up, having escaped by means of a tunnel, and being unafraid, went elsewhere.
58. “At that time, the people's antipathy towards Duryodhana was born. Wherever there is an abounding in love of sin, should there not [also] be antipathy on the part of a decent person?
59. “Then, having thought those Pāṇḍavas to have been forever lost, those of the same family [i.e. the Kauravas, Duryodhana etc.], having carried out the proper religious rites (their funerals, et cetera), lived happily.
60. “But [meanwhile], having crossed the river Gaṅgā and having changed their appearance, those wise Kaunteyas sought refuge in the eastern region.
61. “Moving along with the gait of Kuntī [i.e. at a speed comfortable for her], these [Pāṇḍavas], moving along happily and as they liked, arrived in a city called Kauśikā, where Varṇa was king.

62. “His wife was Prabhāvatī, and his daughter was Kusumakomalā; [Kusumakomalā], having heard about them [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas in disguise], and out of [her] love for people, she went to see them.
63. That beautiful young girl bloomed yet more on account of the sight of the youth Yudhiṣṭhira, as [an already] magnificent pond of lotuses does on account of the sight of the moon.
64. That woman who was destined to be his beloved thought [the following] about him: “Here in this birth, this very one should be my future husband.”
65. Having understood her desire, that one [i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira], in whom the bonds of love had been produced, left, having [first] indicated his desire and intention to marry her.
66. The time was whiled away by her, who was looking forward to meeting him again, with her own diversions suitable for young girls.
67. Then, those brothers, of whom the appearance was by nature charming, wearing the clothes of brahmins, departed, carrying away the hearts of the people.
68. The resting, sleeping, and delightful food of those very excellent [Pāṇḍavas] was then, happily, given no thought. [i.e. they didn’t need to worry about it]
69. Having arrived again at Śleṣmāntakam forest with the clothes of ascetics, they rested and were honoured here in the delightful ascetic’s hermitage.
70. The daughter of Vindhyasena, lord of Vasundharapura, named Vasantasundarī, born of Narmadā, was there [in the hermitage].
71. She was previously given to Yudhiṣṭhira as a bride by her elders, but having heard the terrible news [of the Pāṇḍavas’ death], she blamed herself for having done something wrong [that resulted in her husband’s death].
72. Striving after an encounter with that husband in a future birth, she began to practice austerities there in that ascetic’s hermitage.
73. She appeared beautiful, possessing the loveliness of a gentle form, ornamented with a fine garment, and having twisted braids like a branch from a banyan tree.
74. This female ascetic carries off one’s mind by her two eyes that extend to her ears, by her beautiful lips, by her moon-like face, and by the weight of her hips and breasts.

75. This [girl], with her lovely thin body, pure like a crescent moon, made pure the austerity-forest of the entire assembly of ascetics.
76. This one, who was possessed of captivating speech, and who provided hospitality to the Kaunteyas, with acts proper for an ascetic, removed the hunger, thirst, and fatigue-of-the-road of the Kaunteyas.
77. Kuntī kindly asked her, “O young girl, who is as charming as a lotus and observes such a stern vow! From what was born this disgust [for worldly life] in the time of your youth?”
78. Being courteously questioned thus, the deer-eyed princess, stealing away their hearts with sweet words, said:
79. An excellent thing was asked by you, O honourable woman. Let the reason now be heard. A good person [i.e. in this case, Kuntī] removes sorrow that has been made known.
80. Previously indeed, I was given by my elders to the Kaurava, the eldest Kaunteya, of whom noble conduct is the natural condition.
81. Due to the power of my bad deeds, I have heard from people something about him and his mother and brothers that is so terrible I cannot bear to think of it.
82. I would have followed in death, in that very same manner, my husband who suffered death by burning; unable to do so, I have now undertaken to do penance.
83. Having heard these words, that gentle [Kuntī] said to [her] future daughter-in-law: “O good lady! This is well done by you, to preserve your life.
84. A friend [in this case, Vasantsundarī] may well think one thing about another [in this case, that her future husband had perished in a fire], while fate makes things come out totally differently. That is why one must always think in terms of the long-term outcome.
85. O Fortunate One! You must go on living, even as you practice austerities, for by living, you will obtain happiness!
86. The first son of Pāṇḍu reiterated just that as he related the duties associated with the primary vows (aṇu-s), moral conduct (śīla-s), and the secondary vows (guṇavrata-s).

87. While their conversation was occurring, causing affection in their hearts for one another, that girl silently thought:
88. Could it be that this one, possessed of the marks of a king, could be Yudhiṣṭhira, so exceedingly compassionate, here together with his mother, instructing me?
89. By all means, including my religious devotion and my *tapas*, that honest man whom I love must be alive, praiseworthy, free from harm, and ever active.
90. Desirous of departing, honoured by the kind words, “There must be a meeting of us all again”, they gladly departed, while she stayed behind, full of hope.
91. Samudravijaya, having heard about the death of his sister [Kuntī] and his nephews [the Pāṇḍavas], and having angry thoughts, arrived for the purpose of killing the Kurus.
92. Then, Jarāsandha himself, greatly respected, arrived in person and brought about a peace-treaty between the Yadus and Kauravas, before departing.
93. Meanwhile, having abandoned their guise as ascetics, and donning the clothes of brahmins, the brothers, traveling together with Kuntī, arrived at the next place, [a city called] Īnāpura.
94. Bhīmasena, having laid waste to a very frightful man-eating demon named Bhṛṅga, as he had the appearance of a bhṛṅga, [i.e. a large black bee], he chased away in fear the fear of the city dwellers.
95. [The Pāṇḍavas], by whom reverence was received from the people [who were now] free from fear, together with their mother, wandering about as they pleased, arrived at a great city called Triśṅga.
96. There was in that place a fierce king of cruel deeds called Pracaṇḍavāhana; of him there was a cherished wife called Vimalaprabhā.
97. All ten daughters of those two were endowed with pre-eminence in beauty, were possessed of faces resembling the full moon, and were ones in whom there was a perfection of the arts.
98. The first among them was Guṇaprabhā, [then came] Suprabhā, Hrī, Śrī, Rati, Padma, Indīvarā, Viśvā, and Caryā together with Aśokā.

99. All of them had been previously given to Yudhiṣṭhira; having obtained the contrary news of him (i.e. that he had been killed in a fire), they remained as Jain laywomen.
100. In that city, a wealthy merchant named Priyamitra, served the Kaunteys with respect, recognizing that they were different from ordinary people.
101. His wife was called Sominī, and his daughter was Nayanāsundarī, who gave joy to the eye by her elegance and her natural beauty.
102. Some time ago, she had been promised in marriage to the hero Yudhiṣṭhira. As with the previous princesses, she too remained devoted to him.
103. The king, together with his wife, and the wealthy man were recognizers of great men, and they wished to give their daughters to the eldest son of Kuntī.
104. But they [i.e. the daughters] from the condition of having firm minds, [considering that], “Though dead, he is still our husband”, didn’t want that ‘brahmin’.
105. And so then, they [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas] having the steady nature of the king of mountains, left from that city [of Triśṅga] and arrived at the city of Campā where Karṇa was the Great King.
106. There, Bhīma, having frolicked about in the middle of the city with a large and rutting elephant, caused [it] to be no longer in rut, and caused Karṇa to be anxious(?).
107. Then, they went (note: reading *yātāḥ* for *yātā*) to the city Vaidīśa, which resembled the city of the gods, where Vṛṣadhvaṇa was king and Dṛḍhāyudhaḥ was the crown prince.
108. Diśāvalī was the king’s wife, and Diśānandā his daughter, whose appearance was celebrated throughout the quarters as having the purity of the quarters.
109. Bhīma, the very well-formed mendicant, pleasing to the eyes, of whom there was a penetrating aspect and deep voice, was observed by the king in his palace.
110. The king, having recognized him [i.e. Bhīma] as a great man, having taken [his] daughter [Diśānandā] to him, and standing in the presence of the inhabitants of the women’s quarters, said sweet words:

111. “This girl, who is worthy of you, is offered as alms. Open wide your hand for marriage, O blessed one! A gift [i.e. a bhikṣā] to a mendicant must be accepted.”
112. [Bhīma said] “Aho! This is unprecedented. Such a bhikṣā is not proper. I cannot act on my own.” Saying this, he went and told the others.
113. Having remained here for months together in the city, they [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas] then departed. Having crossed the Narmadā [river], which flowed ever so gently, they entered the Vindhya [mountains].
114. In a city known as Sandhyākāra, [which was] in another region [i.e. dvīpa], and [which had] an appearance like twilight/dawn(?), the king Simhaghoṣa, born in the lineage of Hiḍamba, resides.
115. His queen was Sudarśanā and his daughter was Hṛdayasundarī. Meghavega, king of the Trikūṭa mountains, having asked for her in marriage, [nevertheless] did not obtain her.
116. “He who, arriving by chance, shall kill him [i.e. Meghavega], of whom there is the perfecting of the science of mace-fighting in the Vindhya, shall be the husband of Hṛdayasundarī”, [thus a soothsayer had predicted].
117. One day, while that Vidyādhara Meghavega was sitting in the hollow of a tree, trying to gain magic power over the mace, Bhīma felled him, tree and all, using the very same mace that [Meghavega] sought to control.
118. Then, the marriage of Bhīmasena with Hṛdayasundarī, an alliance with Haiḍimba, and a great celebration, took place.
119. Having wandered through the various countries in the south, those pre-eminent sons of Pāṇḍu began to travel [back to] Hāstinapura.
120. In the course of their journey, all [the Pāṇḍavas], whose appearance was as handsome as gods, arrived at the city Mākandī, which was like a reflected image of heaven.
121. At that time, Drupada was the king of that [city], his wife was Bhogavatī, and each one of his sons, beginning with Dhṛṣṭadyumna, were ones in whom power was manifest.
122. The daughter of that Drupada was the unequalled Draupadī, whose person was adorned with beauty, charm, good fortune, and [knowledge] of the arts.

123. Made mad, as it were, by Kāmadeva, all of the princes, in whose hands were various gifts, made entreaties for the sake of [obtaining] her.
124. Then, all the kings [who were] suitors of [his] daughter were summoned by Drupada, who was afraid of ignoring any of them, for the purpose of [performing the archery feat known as] “candraka-vedha”.
125. There was, here at this spot in [the city of] Mākandī, a multitude of kings, beginning with Karṇa and Duryodhana, each possessed by, and eager to marry, Draupadī.
126. At that time, and due to a request by [King Drupada] who was seeking a groom for his own daughter, the Vidyādhara king Surendravardhana created there the divine bow Gāṇḍīva.
- 127-8. Having heard this public declaration, “The person who, managing to bend in a curve the fierce Gāṇḍīva bow, is capable of [performing the archery feat known as] the Rādhāvedha, shall be the husband of Draupadī”, the kings, beginning with Droṇa and Karṇa, having approached and having formed a circle, stood before the bow.
129. [Even] the beholding of the body of the bow, [now] inhabited by the gods, was impossible, like the beholding of a powerfully chaste woman; how could there be the touching and bending of it [i.e. of the bow].
130. Then, at last, the bow, having been seen and touched, was bent, like a virtuous woman brought under one’s control, by Arjuna, [Draupadī’s] ever-upright future husband.
131. Having been strung and drawn back by Arjuna (Pārtha), the bow caused a rolling of the eyes, [which were] made to open wide at the sight of the bow string, and in the shrill sound, a deafening of the ears, of [the kings] beginning with Karṇa.
132. Having seen him to be the sturdiest among them, there was some uncertainty: Could it be that this one of whom there was an innate supremacy, together with his brothers, is Arjuna, who, having died, is resurrected?
133. It was [also] said: “How could there be such a bearing of another ordinary bowman? Oh what an eye! Oh what a fist! Oh what extreme skillfulness!”
134. In the presence of the kings, [Arjuna], having stepped up to the revolving circle and having pulled back [his] arrow, facing south, pierced the target known as the “candraka-vedha”.

135. Then Draupadī, the bride of Arjuna by her own desire, having approached [him] quickly, placed the garland on his charming neck with her own two lotus-hands.
136. Then, the garland expanded, and was suddenly wafted, by means of a gentle breeze, onto the bodies of the five [Pāṇḍavas who were] standing together.
137. The words of some of the trembling people, [who were] ignorant of what had happened, spread loudly: “Five [men] were chosen by her!”
138. [Draupadī], whose appearance was like a flowering creeper, took refuge as it were in the body of Arjuna [who was like] a tall and excellent fruit-bearing tree of wonderful fragrance.
139. Then, [Draupadī], with tight anklets was led to Kuntī by that knowing one [i.e. Arjuna], while the foolish kings looked on.
140. [But] some of those kings, having donned armour and being desirous of battle, followed [the Pāṇḍavas], and were only restrained with some effort by the justice-seeking Drupada.
141. Held at bay from a distance by the three bow-men Arjuna, Bhīma and Dhṛṣṭadyumna, they [i.e. the kings] did not come even one step closer.
142. An arrow, bearing his own name and declaring [all that had happened in the past and which explained who they really were], was shot onto the chariot of Aśvatthāman (Drauṇa) by Arjuna (Kirīṭi), who was [himself] on Dhṛṣṭadyumna’s chariot.
143. [When the true state of affairs] was announced by the two heroes Droṇa and Aśvatthāman, by Bhīṣma, and by Vidura, all were delighted.
144. On meeting with the Pāṇḍavas, sounds of music and conch shells rang out on account of the happiness of Drupada and his kin, and of [the others] beginning with Droṇa.
145. When the meeting of friends came about, giving the highest joy, those very five [Pāṇḍavas] were falsely welcomed by Duryodhana [and his brothers].
146. That Draupadī, filled with a great degree of love, and supported by Arjuna, shined like an oil lamp brimming over with oil, on account of [their] union in marriage.

147. Having witnessed the ceremony of marriage between Draupadī and Arjuna, the kings departed; Duryodhana too, together with the Pāṇḍavas, left that place.
148. The Pāṇḍavas and those headed by Duryodhana dwelled again, in an appropriate manner, in Hāstinapura by means of a division of the kingdom into two halves.
149. That Bhīmasena, rounding up those to be fetched, having caused them, i.e. the previous young women, to be brought and to be married to the eldest [i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira], he made them, who were inherently suitable, overjoyed.
150. The two older [brothers, i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma] thought of Arjuna's wife Draupadī as their daughter-in-law, while the twins [i.e. Nakula and Sahadeva] served her as if she was their mother.
151. She treated the older brothers as if they were her father-in-law, just like Pāṇḍu, and she behaved suitably to her younger brothers-in-law, restrained by her love for Arjuna.
152. [For] those who are intent upon false accusations against those whose conduct is absolutely pure, well, who can prevent them from the sin of telling tales?
153. Even to speak of a real fault in another is a sin; how much more evil is it to accuse someone falsely?
154. Even ordinary people observe the rule that out of affection they may share their wealth but never their women. It is obvious that noble men would be even more scrupulous in this.
155. How is it that the tongue of those liars does not split into a hundred pieces when they abuse with a multitude of [false] sins those who are ranked among the ten million great men?
156. If the speaker and hearer of evil do not reap the consequences of their wrongdoing here in this world, know that it has been stored for them in the next world.
157. As the conversation between a speaker and hearer done in good faith leads to merit, so does a wicked conversation lead to its opposite.

The Alternating Quick and Slow Rhythm

158. You all must abandon speech which is filled with the dirt of falsehood; here, you must engage in the blamelessness of truthful speech, [which is] spotless with

inherent worthiness, lofty on account of its virtues, [which is] triumphant, and [by which] all knowledge is imparted.

159. Good conduct will be a refuge to living beings in this world in times of trouble and oppression, for the fruit of good conduct, practical wisdom, and courage . conquer the anger of an enemy.
160. The coming of a single Jina, driving away enemies, is like the coming of a rain-cloud of *dharma* to the spiking flames of a fire; the application of [Jain] vows, like a storehouse of various treasures, must be used by the [lay] people, for whom the application of collyrium to the eyes is the practicing of scriptural wisdom.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Digambara Jaina Tradition:
Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa***

Title:	<i>Uttarapurāṇa</i>
Author:	Guṇabhadra
Date:	9th century CE
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Patralal Jaina
Published By:	Bhiaraitya Jñānapīṭha Prakashan
Series:	Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī
Translated By:	Jonathan Geen
Length:	
Table of Contents:	
Index:	
Text Divisions:	
Apparatus:	

About the Author:

As mention above, Guṇabhadra was the pupil of Jinasena³⁷, a brahmin converted to Jainism³⁸ and author of the *Ādipurāṇa*. Because Jinasena was unable to finish the *Ādi*, Guṇabhadra completed it under the name *Uttarapurāṇa*. It is said that Jinasena and his preceptor Vīrasena/Vīrācārya converted the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa to Jainism, and that Guṇabhadra was the preceptor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa.³⁹ Guṇabhadra was also the author of work known as the *Jinadattacarita*.⁴⁰

About the Text:

It was Jinasena's intention to write a Jaina *mahāpurāṇa*, which would include the stories of all 63 *śalākāpuruṣas*. However, he died after completing the adventures of only the first *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha⁴¹, and the biographies of the remaining 62

³⁷ i.e. not Punnāṭa Jinasena, author of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.

³⁸ Cort, "Overview of the Jaina Purāṇas", p. 192.

³⁹ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 159.

⁴⁰ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 293.

⁴¹ His portion of this *mahāpurāṇa* was called the *Ādipurāṇa*, named after the first (Ādi) *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha. (Jaini, "Purāṇic Counter Tradition", pp. 231-2.

śalākāpuruṣas, including those of Nemi and Kṛṣṇa, was left to his disciple Guṇabhadra. Perhaps as a result of this monumental task, Guṇabhadra's version of the story of the Pāṇḍavas is exceedingly brief, and comprises a miniscule portion of his *Uttarapurāṇa* as a whole. Though Guṇabhadra's poetry is adequate, it does not display the poetic genius of his preceptor Jinasena, who is numbered among India's greatest poets.

The Uttarapurāna of Gunabhadra

Chapter (parvan) 72:

196. The Lord of the Jinas [Neminātha], pouring down a rain consisting of the nectar of dharma, passing the time in all of the (various) places, went to the region called “Pallava”.
197. Now, cognizant of the lifespan and the mental capacity of those who fear stories that are too long, [only] a [very] brief version of the sons of Pāṇḍu shall be narrated:
198. In a city known as Kāmpilyā was a king called Drupada. His queen was Dṛḍharathā, and their daughter was Draupadī.
- 199-200. Being praiseworthy by virtue of having all the qualities of a lady, she was beloved by the world. The ministers were asked by her father, who had seen that she was in the fullness of youth, “To whom should we entrust this girl,” and having taken counsel together, they declared, “She must be given to the fearsome Pāṇḍavas.
- 201-3. “King Duryodhana, owing to his inborn animosity towards the Pāṇḍavas, somehow made them enter a lac-house in order to kill them. Having found out about this, and impelled by their own merit, the Pāṇḍavas washed away their own sin in the water beneath a tree, and having stolen away by means of descending into a tunnel, they went to another country because of the torment of a sorrow perpetrated by their own relative.
- 204-5. “In a city called Podana, having made [Indravarman], son of King Candradatta and [Queen] Devilā, well skilled in all the arts, the [Pāṇḍavas], by whom Sthūṇagandha was killed, then happily passed over the kingdom to Indravarman. This account was heard from a spy.
206. “Her *svayamvara* ought to be put on, and they will surely come here. There will be no trouble.” Upon hearing these words,
- 207-9. that king [Drupada], in the Spring, had constructed a *svayamvara* pavilion and all the kings arrived there. And when the Pāṇḍavas, who were made quite obviously recognizable from Bhīma’s playing around with the thrashing trunk of a rutting elephant, from Arjuna’s (Pārtha’s) boldness in stringing the bow and from his

piercing of the fish-[target], and from Nārada's arrival, had been recognized to be present along with the honest, most worthy, and greatly honoured ones,

- 210-1. that girl, having entered the *svayamvara* pavilion bedecked with jewels, and, while the king's domestic priest named Siddhārtha was introducing one by one all of the kings, together with their lineage, beauty, and qualities, except them, honoured Arjuna with a beautiful garland.
212. The kings originating from noble families, beginning with Drupada, and those born in the Kuru lineage and still others, were satisfied, [thinking], "This is a suitable match".
213. Thus did those [Pāṇḍavas], by whom good fortune was attained, having returned to their own city, spent a long period that due to its happiness was as if a moment.
214. Then, from Arjuna, arose a son, Abhimanya in [his wife] Subhadrā, followed by five sons, one at a time, in Draupadī, known as the [five] Pāñcālas.
- 215-7. Next was the gaming of Yudhiṣṭhira with king Duryodhana, followed by the destruction of the Kīcakas in the city of Bhujāṅgaśaila, the recovering of many herds of cattle by King Virāṭa, and by following the excellent protector king Virāṭa, the recovery of a few herds of cattle by Arjuna and Uttara [son of Virāṭa]. [These episodes] are to be narrated just as they were heard, in all detail, by ones learned in the *purāṇas*.
218. Now, when the battle of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas had taken place on Kurukṣetra, and when he had vanquished King Duryodhana,
219. Yudhiṣṭhira became lord of the entire kingdom. Having divided it up with his younger brothers, and enjoying good fortune, he charmed the people of the kingdom.
220. Thus did they all steadily and continuously experience complete happiness arising as a consequence of the meritorious deeds they themselves had done.
221. Then came the burning of Dvārāvātī, the death of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) by Jaratkumāra in the midst of a Kauśāmbī forest, the self-restraint (*saṁyama* = becoming a monk?) of his eldest [brother Baladeva].
222. Everything predicted to occur with respect to Dvārāvātī by the lord of Jinās [Neminātha] actually happened. The Jinās are not liars!

223. Such indeed was the result of such bad deeds. For shame, for shame. Thus indeed do the wise uproot karma.
224. The Pāṇḍavas, kings of Mathurā, having heard that all this had come about, and being despondent over the separation from their lord and relatives, abandoned kingship.
225. They who had set out on their great journey, having reached Nemi, lord of Jinas, and having done the proper things for that occasion, became filled with devotion.
226. Out of fear of the mundane world, they asked about their own previous lives. The Lord, whose great good fortune is unfathomable, spoke thus:

The Story of Nāgaśrī

227. “Long ago, on the continent esteemed for its Jambū trees (i.e. jambūdvīpa), in the land of the Aṅgas in the Bharata country, there was a city known as Campā, and in that place was a Kaurava king named Meghavāhana.
228. “And in that very same city was a brahmin named Somadeva and his wife Somilā. Their three sons, called Somadatta, Somila,
229. “and Somabhūti, had mastered all the *vedas* and *aṅgas*, and were the most excellent brahmins. Their maternal uncle, Agnibhūti, had three daughters
230. “by his wife Agnilā, the beloved Dhanaśrī, Mitraśrī, and Nāgaśrī. One by one, these auspiciously-marked girls were given by their parents to the three boys.
- 231-2. “Wise Somadeva, having become thoroughly disgusted [with the world] for some reason or other, renounced the world and became a Jaina monk. One day, Somadatta, having regarded with compassion a [Jaina] monk (*tapodhana*) named Dharmaruci approaching the house at alms-time, and having waited for him, respectfully said to the wife of his younger brother,
233. “O Nāgaśrī, you must offer him food-alms.” Now she, thinking, “He constantly dumps everything on me who (on the contrary) should be treated with honour,
234. “became angry and gave the monk (*tapobhṛt*) food mixed with poison. He, having abandoned the world (*saṁnyasya*) and having confessed his sins (*samārādhya*), dying in the way proper for a Jaina monk, he obtained in the end [the state of an] Anuttara god.

235. “Having learned of the crime committed by Nāgaśrī, those three brothers received the initiation into liberation in the presence of [the Jaina] monk (*ārya*) Varuṇa.
236. “Then, the other two wives of the brahmins took vow of abstinence in the presence of [the Jaina] nun (*āryikā*) Guṇavatī. Such things, both good and bad, took place.
237. “Those five, having also confessed their sins, became Sāmānika gods in the divine abodes of the Āraṇa and Acyuta gods, with life spans of 22 *sāgaras* (i.e. oceans).
238. “There, they experienced many different kinds of pleasures for a long time. But Nāgaśrī, because of her sin, went to the fifth hell (*prthivī*).
239. “At the end of her life span there, and having experienced misery, she was then reborn and on the continent of Svayamprabha as a serpent with a poisonous gaze. It died.
240. “Having gone to the second hell (*naraka*) with a life span of three *samudropamas* (i.e. ocean-equivalents), and having enjoyed misery, she escaped into various existences among the moving and non-moving [creatures].
241. “Having cycled through the ocean of worldly existence for a period of two *sāgaropamas*, and on account of a decrease in her depravity, she was born as a Caṇḍāla woman in the city of Campā.
242. “Having encountered the sage named Samādhigupta, having, on another occasion, honoured him, and upon hearing the *dharma* [from him], as well as from thereupon abstaining from intoxicants and meat,
243. “and having died, she was reborn in that very same city as the virtuous daughter of a merchant (*ibhya*) named Subandhu and [his wife] Dhanadevī, though her body gave off a foul smell.

The Story of Sukumārī

- 244-5. “Her name was Sukumārī, a name well suited to her. In that very same city was a merchant (*vaiśya*) named Dhanadeva who, with his wife Aśokadattā, had two sons, named Jinadeva and Jinadatta. When it had been resolved upon that he would receive [in marriage] one of his own kin, and knowing his own relatives (*svasya veditā*),
246. “Jinadeva, desiring to protect himself against the foul stench of Sukumārī, became a disciple of a sage named Suvrata.

247. “Then, the younger [brother], Jinadatta, was continuously urged by his family out of the fear that ‘the daughter of our own kin has arrived and should not be disrespected.’
248. “Having married her, [but] as if she were an angry snake, he did not go to her even in a dream (*svapne*). On account of his indifference, she, blaming herself for being without merit,
249. “began fasting. Then, one day, having respectfully greeted two nuns named Suvratā and Kṣānti who had come to her house together with [some other] nuns.
250. “[Sukumārī] asked [one of them], ‘For what reason were these two nuns initiated [into the order]?’ Then, Kṣānti spoke thus, ‘You of illustrious name, listen:
251. “‘In a former life, in [the heaven called] Saudharma, these two [nuns] were goddesses named Vimalā and Suprabhā, wives of the lord of Saudharma.
- 252-6. “Having gone to the Isle of Nandiśvara out of the custom of paying homage in the house of the Jinas, and there, being overwhelmed by the Jina pūjā, they made this pact: ‘Having become human due to our agitated minds, we two shall perform *tapas*.’ So, having fallen from heaven, and having been born as the two daughters, named Hariṣeṇā and Śrīṣeṇā, of Śrīṣeṇa, lord of Ayodhyā (Sāketa) and [his wife] Śrīkāntā, and having remembered their former life, as well as their previous pact they had made, while as young ladies they sat inside the expansive wedding pavilion at their [own] *svayamvara*, and having thus dismissed the [assembled] princes along with her relatives, those two took initiation through hearing the words of Kṣānti.’
257. “That Sukumārī, disgusted [with the world], and permitted by her own relatives, took initiation right there in [Kṣānti’s] presence. Now, one day she came to the forest.
258. “Having spied a courtesan named Vasantasena being earnestly fawned over by a bunch of lotharios, she thought, ‘So also should it be for me!’
259. “At the end of her life, she made this her *nidāna*. She then became the queen of a Prānta-heaven-dweller who had been Somabhūti in a previous life.
260. “Having passed a long time there [in heaven], those three [who had previously been the brahmins Somadatta, Somila, and Somabhūti] fell from heaven as you three, resembling the triple jewel, born of the same womb,

261. “viz. the men called Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmaja), Bhīma, and Arjuna (Pārtha). And there as well, Dhanaśrī and Mitraśrī, whose gait was praised, became
- 262-7. “Nakula and Sahadeva, whose splendor rivals the moon and the sun. And in Kāmpilyapura, Sukumārī was born as the daughter of king Drupada and [his wife] Dṛḍharathā, called Draupadī.” Having heard what was said by Lord Nemi, the Pāṇḍavas, together with many others, became monks. This is the true friend of the good. Draupadī and her kin Kuntī and Subhadrā took initiation from the nun named Rājimatī. Those three, ornamented with all good qualities, having been in the 16[th] heaven, and having descended from there, will be freed from the stain of karma and achieve liberation. The five Pāṇḍavas as well, of glorious achievement, wandering with Nemi, being filled with faith, having arrived at Mount Satruñjaya, and took up the practice of yoga and of “*ātapa*”.
- 268-9. The cruel Kuryavara, son of the sister of the [late] lord of the Kauravas [Duryodhana], having spotted them there, and having remembered with anger the slaying of his maternal uncle, and having placed upon their bodies various “ornaments” beginning with iron crowns heated in fire, this evil doer
270. caused them great physical hardships. The [three] sons of Kuntī, ascending the meditation ladder (*śreṇi*) who took refuge in the crowd (*śreṇi*), and of whom the fuel of their deeds were burnt up in the fire of pure meditation, obtained perfection.
271. Nakula and Sahadeva went to the fifth heaven (*anuttara*). (a&b only)

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Digambara Jaina Tradition:
Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa***

Title:	<i>Pāṇḍavapurāṇam</i>
Author:	Śrī Śubhacandrācārya
Date:	16 th century CE (1552 CE)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Paṇḍit Jinadas Parshwanatha Shastri
Published By:	Jain Samskriti Samraksaka Samgha, Sholapur, 1980
Series:	Jīvarāj Jain Granthamālā 3
Translated By:	Paṇḍit Jinadas Parshwanatha Shastri (Hindi) Jonathan Geen (English; Marriage of Draupadī only)
Length:	5,314 verses
Table of Contents:	Yes – extensive, in Hindi
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 25 <i>parvans</i> , the titles of which are found at the end of each <i>parvan</i>
Apparatus:	a 38 page Introduction (<i>Prastāvanā</i>) in Hindi by Pandit Bālacandra Siddhāntaśāstrī; detailed Table of Contents in Hindi, including chapter sub-headings; Hindi translation; very infrequent footnotes

About the Author:

Śubhacandra was the pupil of Vijayakīrti of the Mūlasaṅgha, and succeeded him as head of the Mūlasaṅgha maṭha founded by Padmanandī. He composed the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* in the mid-sixteenth century CE at Śrīpura in Śākavāta, though his text was later revised by his pupil Brahma Śrīpāla Varṇin.⁴² Śubhacandra also claims to be the author of the following works, among others: *Candranāthacarita*, *Padmanāthacarita*, *Manmathamahimā* or *Pradyumnacarita*, *Jivakacarita* and *Nandiśvarakathā*.⁴³

About the Text:

The 25-chapter *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* opens with stories surrounding the 16th *tīrthaṅkara* Śāntinātha, closes with the story of the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha, and

⁴² Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* pp. 33-34.

⁴³ Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 294.

includes inbetween the stories of Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha,⁴⁴ as well as those of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī. In many respects, Śubhacandra has followed the story of the Pāṇḍavas found in Punnāṭha Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, though he adds altogether new episodes and considerable detail to existing ones. His Sanskrit poetry is at turns charmingly simple and rather complex, making not infrequent use of double *entendre*.

⁴⁴ i.e. the *vāsudeva* and *prativāsudeva*.

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[[TOTAL = 5,314 verses]]

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from Śubhacandra's Pāṇḍavapurāna

Chapter Fifteen:

36. Then, having spent some time in the southern regions, enjoying the fruits born of righteousness, [the Pāṇḍavas and their mother Kuntī] were eager to go to Hastina city.
37. In the course of their journey, those kings [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas] arrived at Mākandī city, with its wise men and women, like a band of gods arriving at the city of heaven with its women of the gods [i.e. Apsaras].
38. A beautiful woman who cultivates an upright character looks resplendent, adorned with a beautiful brow like a broad and beautiful Śāl tree on the face of the earth.
39. Having gone there wearing the clothes of brahmins, those excellent Pāṇḍavas, arriving at the home of a potter, stayed there *incognito*.
40. Seeing that purifying [city] filled with sages and kings, the Pāṇḍavas found joy, just as the gods do in seeing the city of heaven filled with divine world protectors.
41. There was in that place the excellent king Drupada, sturdy as a pillar, valorous, endowed with fortitude, unbeatable, and by whom enemies are defeated.
42. He had a wife named Bhogavatī, who, enjoying the foremost pleasures and wearing fine adornments, was always happy.
43. The glorious sons of those two [i.e. of Drupada and Bhogavatī], beginning with Dhṛṣṭadyumna, by whom the four corners of the earth were overcome by their own power, were stunning as if [so many] Indras.
44. [Drupada and Bhogavatī] also had a most excellent daughter, Draupadī, who was possessed of auspicious marks, and who outshone the excellent Śacī [Indra's wife] with her beauty and excellent qualities;
45. outshone the true wife of a goose with her gait; outshone the stars with her nails; outshone the beautiful lotus with her foot; and outshone the stem of a plantain tree with her shin. With her hips, she surpassed

46. the golden pleasure-house of Kāma; with her buttocks, she surpassed the most excellent stone; with the circle of her navel, she surpassed a pond with its whirlpool; with her chest, she surpassed
47. the slopes of Mt. Meru; with her two breasts covered with pearls, she surpassed two golden pitchers engraved with serpents; with her arm, she surpassed the kalpaśākhikā [Name of one of the five wishing-trees in Indra's heaven];
48. with her face, she surpassed the moon; with her voice, she surpassed the female cuckoo; with her eyes, she surpassed a doe; with her nose, she surpassed fine bamboo;
49. with her forehead she, who had a slender body and firm breasts, as well as being skilled in the arts, put to shame the ordinary foreheads on which fate writes its decree.
50. King Drupada, having seen his daughter possessed of the swelling of youth, and having summoned his ministers, broached the topic of marriage.
51. The ministers, with an intelligence that is useful in all sorts of situations, spoke excellent words, enumerating in great numbers the best and most able princes.
52. Having considered this one and that one, the king then, on account of the fear of failure with respect to the person he chose, said: "A *svayamvara*, with its celebrated wedding pavilion, must be quickly arranged."
53. Having summoned his messengers with haste, the king composed written messages for the purpose of quickly convening the [kings and princes] beginning with Karṇa and Duryodhana.
54. [Meanwhile], on a *vidyādhara* mountain, a *vidyādhara* named Surendravardhana, who had all means to obtain pleasures, inquired of a sooth-sayer regarding the best groom for his daughter.
- 55-56. Having contemplated [this issue], [the sooth-sayer] said: "Listen, O king, I will be succinct; the mighty person who, in the city of Mākandī, shall fix the bow string into Gāṇḍīva, the ultimate bow, that particular mighty person, possessing merit and of whom there is the greatest good fortune, shall be the husband of your daughter and of Draupadī.
57. Hearing this, the *vidyādhara* [Surendravardhana], of whom the glory was like jasmine, gathered up Gāṇḍīva and his excellent daughter, and came to Mākandī.

58. Having approached Drupada there, and having proclaimed the news arising from his own daughter [i.e. the information from the sooth-sayer], that eloquent one [i.e. Surendravardhana], gave the Gāṇḍīva bow to [Drupada].
- 59-62. Then King Drupada had the foremost flawless pillars arising from “jars” [which were special bases for columns] laid down for the beautiful wedding pavilion; [the pavilion itself] had a beautiful golden arched-doorway entirely covered by the expanse of an awning ornamented with hanging pearls, was enclosed by walls of real gold painted in various ways, obscured the sky with flags of painted cloth, resembled a [full blown] city, had the most excellent of raised altars in the middle abounding in kuśa grass, had a platform on pillars produced by polishing shining gold, and had a supply of food was offered for the satiety of the people.
- 63-64. Then, as they arrived, all the kings, beginning with Karṇa and Duryodhana, the Yādavas, the Lords of Magadha, and the Kings of Jalāṁdhara and of Kośala, took their place in the wedding pavilion; [so too] the five Pāṇḍavas, beautifully adorned, handsome, [but] wearing the clothes of brahmins, gathered there.
65. Then, Drupada and the Lord of the vidyādharas [i.e. Surendravardhana] caused to be made an excellent public announcement, of which the sound was like a cloud burst asunder by thunder, and which was a beautiful act of nourishing [like the rain which comes down from a thunder cloud].
66. “Whoever can string the Gāṇḍīva bow and strike [with an arrow] the pearl set in the nose of the Rādhā [doll] shall be the husband of [both of our daughters].”
- 67-68. Those beginning with Droṇa and Karṇa listened to the entire public announcement of the declaration concerning the [two] maidens; having approached and surrounded the bow, those kings were clearly not even able to look at the bow; from where could they hope to get the strength to touch and bend it?
- 69-71. Just then the maiden Draupadī, adorned with various ornaments, clothing her own body (which had to bear the weight of her jug-like breasts concealed in a smooth bodice) with cloth from the dukūla plant, outshining the wife of Kāma, with sounds of her tinkling anklet, and endowed with a glittering pearl in gold set in the tip of her nostril, came to the excellent building (*sad-grham*) near the wedding pavilion with the desire of seeing [the kings].
72. Then the kings, seated upon lavish thrones, spied that beautiful maiden abounding in elegance and shining beauty, and surrounded by her own female attendants.

- 73-74. Having seen her with jeweled-necklace [OR, *svayamvara* garland?] (beautifully arranged by the hands of her nurse), devoid of impurity, and rattling many kings with the mere casting of side-glances, those [kings], who love had completely discombobulated, and in whom a desire had arisen, said, “Nowhere is there another with such beauty and such a pleasing shape!”
75. One of them, playfully making conversation about this and that with a companion, observed that beautiful girl with a side-glance.
76. Some other king, having plucked a betel leaf, chewed it, clearly showing his red-coloured teeth with a faint smile.
77. Another scratched his beautiful golden throne with his big toe; another, lifting up his right foot, placed it on his left thigh.
78. Another one yawned while another placed a diadem on his head, and another squeezed his own arm with his upper-arm bracelet.
79. And another thoroughly messed his beard with his hand; and Aho!, another showed off the rays coming from his signet ring.
80. While the kings sat thusly, there was the sound born of lutes and tabours, and the even louder sound of kettle drums.
81. Then [Draupadī’s] very well-spoken nurse Sulocanā, in whose hand was a golden staff, pointed out to Draupadī [each of] the kings seated upon the platform.
82. “This is Surasena, master of Ayodhyā and crest jewel of the solar dynasty, who is as beautiful as the lord-of-gods Indra (Sunāsira).
83. “And this is the Lord of Vārāṇasī, intent upon the destruction of his rivals; this is Karṇa, Lord of Campāpurī, of whom the appearance is like gold.
84. “This is wise Duryodhana, Lord of Hastināga, and this is his brother, the unbearable king Duḥśāsana.
85. “These are the Yādava kings and these are the Ornaments of Magadha; these are the Lords of Jalaṁdhara and these are the kings of the Bālhikas.
86. “Among all these kings, I do not know which king will take up the bow with the arrow, and I do not know what he will accomplish.”

- 87-88. The bow, engulfed by a multitude of great flames of burning fire and surrounded by the hissing heads of divine snakes with chests raised to strike, flamed in order to repel the archer kings who had approached. Engulfed there by its flames, having covered their own two eyes, [the kings] withdrew.
89. Some others remained, and having stood and observed the dangerous serpents from a distance, their bodies trembled from fear and their eyes were shut tight.
90. Still other kings, killed by the flames, fell to the ground; others, tormented by the heat of the pure flames, became senseless.
91. Others said, "To heck with her! We will happily return to [our] homes. We will give the heap of gifts to the needy, who are wretched and without a provider."
92. Others said, "We will dally with our own maidens at our own palaces. On account of this torment to our lives, [we say] enough with this one and her great beauty."
93. Other kings said, "To heck with the desire for love and pleasure. We will pass some time in the pleasing condition of celibacy.
94. "This one [i.e. Draupadī] slays some men with her beauty, others with the flame of the poison of passion, and others with a paroxysm of love. Good god, this girl is a great poison!"
95. Then, being proud and haughty, Duryodhana said, exhibiting the foolishness in his mind, "Who else is capable of performing the Rādhāveda?"
96. Having said, "I will perform a perfect strike on the beautiful pearl in the nose of the Rādhā [doll]," the handsome man with eyes red stood up.
97. Overwhelmed by the blazing flames that came forth from the Gāṇḍīva bow, he himself, similarly unable to stand, fell defeated.
98. And so it was, the kings, beginning with Karṇa, unable to endure its flames, relinquished their badges of honour [as it were], and then sat down in their own seats.
99. Then Yudhiṣṭhira said to his own younger brother Arjuna, "None of these [kings] is able to string this bow.
100. "Come on! Get up! You must string this bow without hesitation! Who except you will now bring Gāṇḍīva to life?"

101. When thus addressed, Prince Arjuna (Pārtha), by whom homage was made to the Siddhas, having respectfully bowed to his elder brother [Yudhiṣṭhira], and having a purified mind, quickly got up.
102. Standing at a distance, and having seen Arjuna (Pārtha) wearing the clothes of a brahmin and surpassing Kāma in beauty, Draupadī was pierced by the arrows of Kāma.
103. Having strode past all the kings, he stood before the bow. Then the bow, which became quiescent and with flames died down, looked resplendent.
104. What is said by the wise? Well, a state of calm results from the efforts of the righteous, even for heroes; but what about just from their presence?
105. That archer [Arjuna], being purified, having taken the excellent bow Gāṇḍīva in his hand, and having strung it, caused its bow string to quiver. (NB reading *tadguṇam* for *tagduṇam*)
106. Then, the kings were made deaf in the ears by the sound of its being plucked, and the multitudes of horses then shuffled about restlessly.
107. Then, the elephants, those Elephants of the Quarters and others, trumpeting on account of hearing the sound, raised up their trunks and trumpeted by way of a response/echo.
108. Having heard the sound of it being plucked, Droṇa cried out, “This very one [must be] Arjuna! Can it be that, though he was dead, he has arisen?”
109. Then mighty Arjuna (Pārtha), having loaded the arrow onto the bow string, pierced the pearl on the nose of the Rādhā [doll] which had been [placed] up high and which was whirling around.
110. Then, having seen the arrow fall to the ground together with the pearl, all the kings who were eager to praise his virtues, exulted.
111. The Yādava and Māgadha kings praised that best of brahmins [i.e. Arjuna]. Drupada, [standing] together with his sons, was harbouring an ardent longing for a wish in his own thoughts.
112. Then, the daughter of King Drupada, having taken a beautiful garland from the hand of [her nurse] Sulocanā, tossed it around the neck of Arjuna (Pārtha).

113. Then, due to the power of fate, the garland was shook by the wind, fluttered about, and was scattered about the palanquin/couch of the five [Pāṇḍavas] who were all standing nearby.
114. On account of ignorance/stupidity, the following rumour got out: “Due to the ripening of actions in a past life, five men were chosen by her”; and villains/scoundrels proclaimed this aloud!
115. She [i.e. Draupadī], like the excellent Lakṣmī incarnate, standing next to Arjuna, looked even more resplendent, like Śacī standing at the side of Indra (Pākaśāsana).
116. Beautiful Draupadī, who stood close to Kuntī as per Arjuna’s instruction, shone like a flash of lightning against a bank of [dark] clouds.
117. Then, wicked Duryodhana, his face dark, said to the kings, “Amidst all these kings, what right is there for a brahmin?”
118. Having consulted with the [other] sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, a messenger known by the name of Candra, well-trained and possessing auspicious marks, was dispatched to Drupada.
119. The well-trained messenger, having located and approached Drupada, said, “These lofty kings speak [to you] through my mouth:
120. “While Droṇa, Duryodhana, Karṇa, the Yādava, the Lord of Magadha, and these [other] kings stood here, your daughter performed an improper act.
121. “This one, a native of who-knows-where, is a greedy brahmin, like the submarine fire, never to be satiated. How can he take the princess and depart while the king just stands by?
122. “Having given a exquisite jewel or some other such things to satisfy him, you, who are well-equipped [to provide such things], must dismiss him with a clear conscience.
123. “Give this maiden, who is fit for a king, to a king, O King! Alternatively, you must at once be prepared to do battle with these kings.”
124. Out of anger, Drupada said, “This talk is not proper for kings who are forever guided by law, and who understand the *svayaṃvara*.

125. “This very suitor, a great god on earth, obtained that virtuous woman according to the rules of the *svayamvara*, and I will not intervene.
126. “What right do kings have with respect to this clamour as worthless as cotton, since, when [a girl] is obtained in a *svayamvara* [by someone], he, lowly or otherwise, is her [rightful] husband.
127. “In this undertaking, it is best to accept what has happened. If they refuse, I’ll give those wrong-headed kings a good battle!”
128. Having heard this, the messenger, understanding the enemy’s intention, and having returned, immediately gave the kings [Duryodhana et al.] in great detail the report of king [Drupada’s] message.
129. The kings, beginning with Duryodhana, angry and clamouring for battle, caused a large kettle drum to be violently beaten, indicating the start of battle.
130. Having heard the sound of the kettle drum, the kings went out, surrounded by their armies, endowed with an army of elephants, and situated on horses and chariots.
131. Some [soldiers], with bows in hand, took their place in chariots, while others, footsoldiers, abounding in swords, shields, and lances, were puffed up with arrogance.
132. Then, having become angry, some of them said, “Quickly, this girl must be seized! That audacious brahmin, who was wild with arrogance, must be killed.
133. “[And] proud Drupada, having caused this state of calamity, must be made to die!” Having heard the words of the enemies [speaking] thus, Draupadī (Drupadātmaajā) trembled.
134. That virtuous woman, made to break out into a sweat, sought refuge in that man [Arjuna]. Having seen her in such a state, Bhīma (Pavananandana) said:
135. “Don’t fear! Be at ease! Look at the strength of my two arms! I will at once make the enemies take to the hills!”
136. Then there was a huge commotion that came from the two armies there in the battle, stirring each other up with the terrifying arrows that came from their bows.
137. Having seen that the entire enemy army, resembling Yama, had arrived, those beginning with Drupada had their minds steeled [for battle].

138. The best of brahmins Yudhiṣṭhira requested of Drupada: “Give [us] five harnessed chariots with a multitude of weapons/swords, together with missiles.”
139. Having heard [this], these ones, beginning with Dhṛṣṭadyumna, thought to themselves, “Aho! Since they ask for chariots, these are [surely] great men!”
140. Then, Draupadī (Pāñcālī) was placed in his own chariot by Dhṛṣṭadyumna; Yudhiṣṭhira, standing in a chariot, shone like the chief of gods in Saudharma.
141. Arjuna too, with Gāṇḍīva, stood in a chariot with white horses; steeled and endowed with might, he was as radiant as Viṣṇu (Upendra).
142. Drupada, intent upon the proper way to deal out destruction to his enemies, endowed with golden armour and outfitted with a crown, looked resplendent.
143. Then, having seen the unstoppable enemy army advancing, and having uprooted a tree, Bhīma attacked.
144. Outraged, looking like the lord of the dead, he smashed the front-line kings, the horses, which were driven to cries of whinnying, and the elephants, which began roaring.
145. Having smashed the chariots to pieces, he made them devoid of all their wheels. At that place, there was not a single man who was not killed by Bhīma.
146. Bhīma himself, immovable and, with a deep voice, howling like the king of elephants, frightened the enemy kings like a demon.
147. In this manner did Bhīma, like a lion, revel on the pleasing field of battle, cutting down the entire enemy army like a scythe cutting grass.
148. Then, those kings who were situated in the middle [as opposed to those on the front-lines], having seen Bhīma reveling, praised him, giving out a shout of “Jaya!”.
149. Having seen them being shattered by Bhīma, King Duryodhana stood up to the sound of musical instruments, frightening all of his enemies.
150. Karṇa too, together with his own troops, approached Arjuna (Dhanamjaya), firing a multitude of arrows like well-arranged obstacles.

151. Having unleashed abundant arrows on them, Karṇa of whom there was abundant good fortune, having encountered the warrior, fought together with Arjuna (Dhanarjaya).
152. The very next moment, that Arjuna (Pārtha), as proficient at piercing targets as the wind is at dispersing the clouds, destroyed the arrows loosed by Karṇa.
153. Having seen this impossible-to-hit archer, Karṇa was amazed by him, [thinking], “Nowhere on the face of the earth has such an archer been seen by me.”
154. Karṇa said, “O Lord of Brahmins, you are skilled in archery! An exquisite and to-be-emulated quality of archery-related movements is displayed by you.(?)”
155. Having laughed again, the master of the bow [Karṇa], loading his bow, and having covered him with a heap of arrows, said with stammering voice,
156. “Hey, Lord of Brahmins! Where was this very advanced knowledge of archery, like a magical yogic attainment, pleasing and producing astonishment in the mind, obtained by you?
157. “O best of brahmins, did you descend from heaven on account of the perfection of your own merit? Someone so versed in archery as you has not been seen by us.
158. “Are you actually Indra (Śakra), or are you the sun by whom sacrifices are adored? Could it be that you, who are exhibiting such confidence in battle, are Arjuna, dead and arisen again to life?”
159. Laughing, the hero said, “O king, I am at this time a brahmin; having been Arjuna’s (Pārtha’s) charioteer, I learned to be an archer.”
160. Karṇa said, “Hey you brahmin! First, fire your stock of arrows! You must now receive my excellent and powerful arrows!”
161. Having spoken in this manner, those two were intent upon battle, with bows drawn back to their ears, and expanding their chest, just like two lion cubs.
162. Arjuna (Pārtha), whose words were powerful, destroyed Karṇa’s banner, his parasol by which the sun was blocked out, and his armour, just as he stopped his words.
163. Drupada got up in order to wreak havoc on all the enemies, covering the Kaurava army with pleasure-destroying arrows.

164. The heroes beginning with Dhṛṣṭadyumna, longing to kill the enemy, arose with firm stances and joined the battle as if it were some great sport.
165. Bhīmasena, standing in his chariot and aiming at Duryodhana, fought the enemy violently, splitting [even] the best armour.
166. There was no [creature], whether man, or ruttish elephant, or bucking horse, that was not struck by the Pāṇḍava's arrows.
167. Having seen his own troops being smashed, King Bhīṣma (Gāṅgeya) sobered up the drunkenness of the warriors who were drunk with pride and false confidence.
168. Arjuna (Dhanamjaya), skilled in battle, seeing Bhīṣma rising for battle, halted [Bhīṣma's] advance with great arrows.
169. Arjuna (Pārtha), skilled with arrows, as fixed upon Bhīṣma as a lion upon the great elephant, made the arrows [of Bhīṣma] totally ineffective.
170. Then, Droṇa said these words to king Duryodhana, "Look at the sky which is obscured by the dust kicked up by the horses' hooves!
171. "Look at that particular man, making his actions into an amusement in battle; you must know that this is Arjuna – nowhere else is there such skill with the bow!
172. "You must know that it was in vain that those clever Pāṇḍavas were burned in the lac-house, since they are present at this very battle!"
173. Having heard this, King Duryodhana, his mind unchanged, shook his head, and being astonished, laughed and said:
174. "O Droṇa, how could these words of defeat be uttered by even you? Having been burned by me in the lac-house, how in the world could they return again?
175. "Arjuna as well was thus burned there. How is it that you still say the name "Dhanamjaya"?
176. "Your even greater glorification of folly is seen at this point since you keep thinking about the dead Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira.
177. Having heard this, Droṇa, having placed a loaded bow in his hand, said this to Arjuna (Dhanamjaya), "You had better be prepared for battle!"

178. Having seen that Droṇa had arrived, the hero Arjuna (Pārtha), of whom the enemies are made useless, then, during the tumultuous battle, thought this in his mind:
179. “This blessed Guru, who has the foremost collection of good qualities, and through the kindness of whom I attained flawless archery, is to be honoured.
180. How can I, who am great in battle, fight (reading *yudhyate* for *yuddhayate*) against that very one by whose grace I obtained a great and sweet victory?
181. They are wicked who forget their gurus, of whom the good qualities are beyond reckoning and who aid the good. Where they will end up I cannot imagine!
182. Having thought in his mind, “He is not to be targeted”, and having left seven paces between them, Arjuna (Śrīdhananjaya) bowed to Droṇa.
183. And following this, that one endowed with excellent qualities [i.e. Arjuna] fired off an arrow together with a letter from the bowstring. And thence, that [arrow], fired by Arjuna (Pārtha) fell on his [i.e. Droṇa’s] chariot.
184. Having seen the arrow with the letter, and having picked it up, Droṇa read the letter, having his spirits raised by the delight he felt at the words of the letter:
185. “Having bowed with devotion to Droṇa, my own guru, and with my proud head bowed, I am Arjuna, son of Kuntī, a disciple of you who are an ocean of excellent qualities.
186. “I beg [you] to listen attentively: Needlessly were all these soldiers thrown by me into battle;
187. “Without cause were we made to burn by the mischievous Kauravas. Somehow or other, O lord, we got out from that house.
188. “Having rambled about various regions, we again arrived at Mākandī, abounding in delights. By virtue of the supernatural power of the merits of this place, we have arrived at your two feet.
189. “Step back for a moment and wait: You must observe the might of the two arms of your pupil, so that I may be satisfied!
190. “I will make plain to the kings beginning with Duryodhana the consequences deriving from the [attempted] burning of the Pāṇḍavas”; thus did Droṇa read out the letter.

191. And then Droṇa, eyes filled with the water of tears, indeed related the purport of the letter before those beginning with Karṇa and Duryodhana.
192. Karṇa said, “Who else except Arjuna (Pārtha) could have such strength, and who else is capable of annihilating the enemy in battle with the foremost arrows?”
193. “Bhīma by himself is always capable of handling an entire battle, and the others beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira are capable in all circumstances.
194. Having heard the whole story, the foremost of the Kauravas [i.e. Duryodhana] was in this case, for an instant, dumbfounded and embarrassed.
195. Then, Droṇa went confidently to the proximity of the Pāṇḍavas. They, having seen him and having warmly embraced him, bowed down at his lotus feet.
196. With joy they told him the entire story about past events. Droṇa, resorting to his friends [i.e. the Pāṇḍavas], stopped the battle.
197. Again Droṇa spoke, “Listen to my words! This sin of the Kauravas ought not to be acknowledged by those who are acquainted with what is best.
198. “Anger above all, O sons, ought not to be harbored by those who desire what is best. Who on earth could possibly describe the magnificent extent of your merit?”
199. “[Your] escape from the burning house of fire, that was a miracle! And now, having wandered from place to place for a long time, you are honoured by gifts of women and other valuables.
200. Just as the kings were talking like this, Bhīṣma, Karṇa, and the Kauravas arrived.
201. They all greeted and bowed to one another in a proper manner; the Kauravas, without pride, stood there with downcast faces, stripped of their arrogance.
202. The Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas were made to forgive each other by those beginning with Bhīṣma (Gāṅgeya), Droṇa and Karṇa -- the meeting of good men always leads to an auspicious result.
203. King Duryodhana again said, “Oh lords of men, the fire was not set by me there; the Lord of Jinas is an eye-witness!
204. “The one by whom that blistering fire was set in the house of the Pāṇḍavas, surely he, a torturer of living beings, must go to a terrifying hell!

205. “Good indeed is your return, which removes all stain of wrong-doing from us who are meritorious.
206. “Karma that was produced in another birth cannot be denied. Because of it, a person has good repute or suffers ill-fame.”
207. Having veiled his extreme wickedness with [such] pretense, wicked Duryodhana adopted a sweet expression. What wicked man stops being wicked?
208. The Kauravas, [speaking] thus, bestowing complete satisfaction, quickly produced abundant joy in the hearts of all the kings.
209. The kings arrived at the potter’s house and bowed with exceeding devotion to Kuntī, who protects success of the family.
210. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, once again with heads bowed, having bowed reverently to their mother Kuntī, and having produced complete satisfaction, stood before her with firm hearts.
211. Then Kuntī, whose eyes were shifting about, said to Duryodhana, “How was the stain on the great lineage of Dhṛtarāṣṭra bestowed by you?
212. “O say, king Duryodhana, what crazed motive could be conceived by you for the destruction of the family – for the burning of one’s own family?
213. “Those who, striving after the ultimate happiness, destroy their own family, they indeed go to destruction, just like reeds on account of fire.
214. “A kingdom should be sought for the sake of aiding those in need; to desire it for its own sake brings only grief. Then, it is nothing but a chain of misfortunes that lead to suffering. (verse very confusing)
215. “A kingdom is as transitory as a dewdrop on the tip of a blade of grass; by killing one’s kinsmen, how could one wish for that kingdom? Fie on the life of those who do so!”
216. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, having heard this, had faces downcast and went to a condition of blackness. They praised their own good qualities, having been themselves disgraced.
217. Then Drupada, eager for the wedding to be held, quickly provided the Pāṇḍava kings with a place to stay in a beautiful palace.

218. Then, Arjuna (Pārtha), in an excellent chariot, arrived at the wedding pavilion with great shouts of “Jaya”, and with the sound of musical instruments.
219. At the right moment, during an auspicious astrological conjunction, and inside the wedding pavilion, he was married to Draupadī as well as to the Vidyādhari [daughter of Surendravardhana].
220. Then, beautiful-sounding tabor drums were openly played, kettle drums thundered, and troops of dancing girls danced continuously.
221. The kings were honoured by noble king Drupada with the best of valuable items and adornments beginning with rich, fine garments.
222. Having witnessed their marriage, the kings beginning with Bhīṣma and Karṇa each went to their own palaces with their young woman.
223. Then those clever Pāṇḍavas and unsteady Kauravas, accompanied by their four-limbed army [consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry] meandered back to Hastināgapura.
224. Those sons of Pāṇḍu entered that city which had raised gates and handsome palaces before which big pots were positioned; the city had every adornment.
225. Draupadī, who is completely pure, intent upon the gods and upon righteousness, possessed of moral conduct, and of shining beauty serves [one] man of the highest qualities, and indeed, not five!; how could she if she is completely devoted to him, is regarded as being a virtuous woman, and is said to be the first among faithful wives, and is the ornament of her family?
226. Some crazy people say that Draupadī, of excellent moral conduct, having been subject to an oath [Kuntī’s speech?], serves five men by the permission of her husband. How could those Pāṇḍavas, endowed with vast understanding, be devoted to [only] one? Even poor people have their own wives.
227. If Draupadī should somehow be devoted to five [men], how could she maintain the title of “virtuous woman”?; having considered this matter in their minds, those whose understanding is pure and who possess excellent intelligence should demonstrate that she is completely pure. Thus, where will they go, those wicked people, intent upon their own opinions regarding her?
228. A person should constantly practice conduct which gives pleasure to the ear, causes pleasure, is to be served by the excellent, is praised by the excellent,

characterized by a singular taste for the nectar of association with good people, which is the quintessence of saṁsāra -- such a person attains a state of harmony which is perfect, which removes doubt and suffering, and which destroys all association with those who are attached to worldly objects.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Digambara Jaina Tradition:
Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa***

Title:	<i>Pāṇḍavapurāṇa</i>
Author:	Vādicandra
Date:	16 th century (1598 CE)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	P.S. Jaini
Published By:	<i>Journal of Indian Philosophy</i> Vol. 25 (1997): 91-127 (Sargas 1&2); Vol. 25 (1997): 517-560 (Sargas 3&4); Vol. 27 (1999): 215-278 (Sargas 5&6)
Translated By:	Padmanabh S. Jaini (English; Sargas 1-6)
Length:	2,750 verses (total text)
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 18 <i>sargas</i> , the titles of which are listed at the end of each <i>sarga</i>
Apparatus:	brief introduction by the editor/translator

About the Author:

The Digambara Bhaṭṭāraka Vādicandra was the direct disciple and brother of Prabhācandrasūri of the Mūlasaṅgha, Sarasvatī Gaccha. He seems to have flourished in the area near Khambhat in southern Gujārāt. His *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* was completed at Ghanauga in 1598, and though he is the author of other works, none have been published thus far.

About the Text:

P.S. Jaini gives the following information about Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*:

Although this *Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa* is certainly the shortest of the Purāṇa texts, ... it surpasses all the others in its importance for the study of medieval Indian religions and the sectarian disputes that were brewing in western India toward the close of the Mughal period. In the first canto of this text, we find clear evidence of the hostility that existed between the Digambara (Jainas) and the Śaivites as Vādicandra opens his story by narrating a version of the origins of the Pāṇḍavas that he alleges is from the "*Śiva-Purāṇa*," but that is not to be found in any extant version of the *Mahābhārata* or the Brahmanical Purāṇas. Expressing indignation at this fantastic and ignoble fabrication of a genealogy, he promises to correct it by presenting the truthful version as it was narrated originally by Mahāvīra, in

which Bhīṣma dies a holy Jaina death, where the three elder Pāṇḍavas become Jaina monks and attain mokṣa, and where Draupadī becomes a nun and gains heaven while Kṛṣṇa himself is reborn in hell.⁴⁶

While Vādicandra's text follows Punnāṭa Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* to some extent, it is quite original in many respects, at least for a Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata*. As outlined in Chapter Five, Vādicandra's version of the Marriage of Draupadī agrees in details with the Hindu version more than the earlier two Jaina versions.

⁴⁶ Jaini, "Pāṇḍavapurāṇa of Vādicandra (Sargas 1 & 2)," p. 92.

Table of Contents for Vādicandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāna*⁴⁷

- First Canto: The Genealogy of the Pāṇḍavas According to
"Śiva-Purāṇa" [164 verses]
- Second Canto: The Genealogy of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura
According to the Jaina Tradition. (Jainamata) [88 verses]
- Third Canto: Description of the Birth of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas
[109 verses]
- Fourth Canto: The Sporting of the Pāṇḍavas and the Birth of the Jina Nemi
[214 verses]
- Fifth Canto: Victory Over the Rākṣasa, Winning of the Maidens, and
Killing of the King of Elephants [225 verses]
- Sixth Canto: Description of the Entrance of the Pāṇḍavas into their
City and the Obtaining of Half the Kingdom [266 verses]

⁴⁷ This table of contents is not complete, but based upon the edited text published thus far.

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from Vādicandra's Pāṇḍavapurāna

Sixth Canto:

124. The king [i.e. King Drupada] saw his daughter [Draupadī] of such beauty. He then called for her minister and asked him, “Please tell me to whom should we give this maiden? Who would be a groom that would be her match?”
125. And he answered, “O lord, the son of Kṛṣṇa, who is famous by his name as Manmatha (= Pradyumna, god of love), [but] he is now at the abode of the vidyādharas in the palace of Śambara.
126. “Among the Pāṇḍava brothers Pārtha, of great valor, [would be a worthy husband], but he was burned to death together with the other Pāṇḍavas by the Kuru king (Duryodhana) in the house made of lac.
127. “[The third person would be] the venerable Nemi, worthy of worship by the entire world and one who is served by humans, gods, and demons. Such a person is to be obtained only by great good fortune. But he is young in age.
128. “What can be gained by such speculations? Some useful means must be found because of which among all the worthy ones the best bridegroom becomes known.”
129. Having consulted with the minister, the king had a mechanical device made that provided a target in the form of a Rādhā device (described below). [The poet says], “If you ask how it was done, the ācārya gives the following reply:
- 130-2. “Having erected a pillar that is twenty-one hands high and twenty-one measures in circumference, one should place upon it a wheel with twenty-one spokes, which revolves very quickly. On top of that should be placed the figure of a woman bending the branch of a tree with her hand (śālabhāñjakā). Whosoever would cause the pearl in her nose-ring to fall into the tank below by shooting an arrow while looking down into the tank at the reflection of that woman, such a warrior will obtain Draupadī. Let him gain the excellent fruits of this world.”
133. After creating such a device and consulting with his sons, he dispatched a letter to all the great kings announcing [this contest].
134. At this time, there lived on Mount Kheṭṭādri a vidyādhara by the name of Devendravaradhana. Once he asked a diviner (reader of signs), “Who is to be the husband of my daughter?”

- 135-7. He pondered in his heart and said, “O lord, please listen to my words. In your palace there is a bow given by the gods. Whosoever strings that bow with his might, that victor will be the husband of your daughter.” Trusting his words, those vidyādharas, together pulling it with their bodies, brought that bow, which was comparable to gāṇḍīva, to the city of Mākandī for the sake of finding a bridegroom.
138. They arrived with that bow at the court of King Drupada and narrated to him the story of their daughter. They gave that bow to him, which was animated as if by the power of the gods, the sight of which frightened everyone by its shining luster, a bow that is not easily mastered by ordinary people.
139. While they were standing in the court, the sons of Kuntī also quickly came there. So did Karṇa, the great archer, together with his father, who was the lord of the city of Campā.
140. The king of Kaliṅga, the abode of the goddess of wealth, displaying the beauty of the moon, arrived at the festival hall and appeared as if he had conquered the glamour of the king of the gods.
141. The ruler of the South (Dākṣiṇātya) did not prevail there nor did the king of Gurjara, indeed, not even the king from Vaṅga, nor those who were born from Vārāṭa.
142. From the kingdom of the Kurus there arrived the majestic king Duryodhana, who was made to shine by his accompanying army, uncountable in numbers, which resembled the motion of the ocean at the time of cosmic destruction.
143. The crown prince Duḥśāsana, animated by the excessive happiness produced by the thought of the destruction of the Pāṇḍavas, arrived there also.
144. Droṇācārya, the great teacher of all the warriors, who has gone to the other shore of the ocean of the knowledge of archery, arrived there too together with his heroic son Aśvatthāmā.
145. He (Droṇācārya) was the support of the entire family of Bhīṣma and the abode of radiant beauty. He was worthy of worship by all people because of his conduct and his family.
- 146-7. The great king Jarāsandha, the lord of the mighty capital city Rājagṛha, who was born in the womb of Kālindī, was one whose fame reached all over the world. He had a son called Kālaj(y)avana, the tormentor of the Yādavas. His son arrived

there along with his marching army, causing distress even to the snake Ananta [lying] in midst of the ocean.

148. As the various kings gathered in the festival hall crowded with men, the sons of Kuntī (the five Pāṇḍava brothers) also arrived there in the guise of brahmins.
149. How many kings of the earth have not been deceived by the desire for a woman? It is certain that this bride-to-be is not going to marry all of them. Still, the hopes of the men are very high.
150. All those kings who had assembled there, adorned with jewels and garlands, shone like the guardians of the four directions. They had come there with their elephants, chariots, horses, and foot soldiers and with their banners.
151. All the kings had arrived with great joy and hope, but seeing the (Rādhā) device, knowing this to be a most formidable act, they became devoid of lustre.
152. Arjuna also saw [that bowl] and addressed the kings that had arrived in the festival hall, saying, “Whosoever strings this gāṇḍīva bow and shoots that pearl, he will be the bridegroom.”
153. Hearing his words, all the warrior kings looked at their own shoulders and a good many of them who considered themselves experts in archery rose and came forward.
154. But they were not able even to string that bow with an arrow. How would they be able to break that device then? [The poet says], “Alas, alas, the thoughtless daring.”
155. Even the Kauravas including Karṇa were not masters enough to pierce it. [The poet says], “Any learning that has not been practiced does not suddenly bear fruit.”
156. The Lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana), having lost his pride, became very subdued in that hall. Seeing him [humiliated], the warriors said, “This son of the Kurus has not practiced archery.”
157. At this, Droṇa’s weapons dropped down and he [in contrast] remembered the mastery of Pāṇḍava (Arjuna) in this matter. Indeed, the memory of one’s dear ones is nothing but a bringer of sorrow.
158. All the warriors who had affection for the Pāṇḍavas assembled there and said, “Alas, alas, the Pāṇḍavas are dead. How can this Rādhā yantra now be hit?”

159. And they said further, “Shame on Śakuni (the maternal uncle of Duryodhana). Shame on Kuru (Duryodhana). And shame on their conspiracy to destroy the family (of the Pāṇḍavas). Pārtha (Arjuna) gone, let them (Duryodhana, and the others) depart from here leaving the maiden unwed.”
160. The Kauravas were beaten thus by the slapping of these harsh words. What person has not faded away by not being able to accomplish that which brings delight?
161. At that time Pārtha (Arjuna) asked the eldest brother (Yudhiṣṭhira), “Give me an order. This is the right time. I shall accomplish this task with no effort.”
162. Bhīma instigated him still further, saying, “O lord, what are you waiting for, looking at (Arjuna’s) face? An act done at the right time brings joy to all.”
- 163-5. Hearing the words of the son of Marut (Bhīma), the warrior Arjuna also stood up. Remembering his teacher and bowing down to the lotus-feet of his elder brother, Yudhiṣṭhira, he uttered the following words in front of the warriors assembled there, “O kings, if it is your command, then I shall proceed and indeed will hit the pearl in the nose of this maiden doll. For indeed, an act performed without consent does not please everyone.”
- 166-7. At that Dhṛṣṭāyana (a brother of Draupadī) said, “For those who are archers, where is the need of a command? Whosoever among of the three varṇas (whether brahmin, kṣatriya, or vaiśya) pierces this pearl, he surely is acceptable to us as worthy of the maiden.” Hearing this [Arjuna] in the presence of all the kings, lifted that bow and with his might made it appear weak, like it was made of reed.
168. Stretching the formidable bow in the presence of all his rivals, he shot that figure of the doll. [The poet says], “If one’s learning is free of all defects, then what fruit will it not yield?”
169. At that moment, there arose a great uproar, and a certain person, a foreigner, proclaimed, “The device has been shot at by a brahmin.” And there was a gossip among the people (caused by the following incident).
170. As Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, was throwing the wedding garland over the neck of Arjuna, it was blown by the wind and fell on all five Pāṇḍava brothers.

171. At that, the evil kings, who had lost hope, said the following, “All five have been wed by this woman.” And having spoken thus, the wicked ones jeered [at Arjuna].
172. At that time, the cruel Karṇa said, “This happened like a blind man hitting the target [by chance]. We will consider it true only if he hits it again.” Speaking thus, he stood there.
173. To him who was prattling thus with hatred and pride, the brahmin (Arjuna in disguise) said, “Let it be unpierced even if it is pierced. I shall hit it again right in front of you.”
174. When Karṇa acted in the manner of an enemy, a friendly voice (premadā) arose [in the audience saying], “Whosoever speaks ill of the Pāṇḍavas, to whom would he be dear?”
175. Then Kuru (Duryodhana) and Karṇa, the wicked ones, whose pride was shattered, spoke, “I shall quickly kill this brahmin chosen by this maiden as her husband.”
176. Thinking thus, those Kauravas, the evil ones, quickly arose and went outside the city and stood there contemplating a battle.
177. According to the rules [of war] the wicked Duryodhana dispatched a messenger to King Drupada. He went there and having greeted the king uttered these words, which truly went beyond what is lawful.
178. “[O king], you did not start a svayaṁvara but indeed a battle. You still have a long time to live. Why do you, O foolish one, wish to die soon on the battlefield?”
179. “To the brahmin who has broken the device (i.e., pierced the pearl of the Rādhāyantra) you should give some gold, not your daughter. Surely those who are born in a brahmin family are satisfied just by obtaining gold.
180. “And if you do not act this way, then know that this brahmin is dead. And there will be for you the additional sin created by the killing of a brahmin.
181. “Do not think out of pride that your two sons are great heroes. They are good warriors only as long as Karṇa is not angered.
182. “Therefore, let this brahmin go, give your daughter to us, and give up your false pride, because when the lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana) gets angry, no one will be able to save you.”

183. When the messenger had stopped talking, King Drupada, whose fortitude was unshakable like Mount Meru, said to him, “Do you know what was written earlier in the letter of invitation?”
184. ‘Whosoever breaks this machine, whether a warrior or a brahmin or a vaiśya born of a pure family, him will my daughter marry.’
185. “It is not proper that you should disparage the destroyer of the Rādhāyantra. Your words appear to us to be amusing.
186. “I have never heard that Duryodhana was a great warrior. (cd not translated)
187. “I do acknowledge as the true warriors King Karṇa together with Droṇa. And our [skill] in battle, as well as theirs, will be manifest on the battlefield.
188. “Therefore, do not again and again utter words spoken with pride. People do not join the side of those who merely speak out of pride.
189. How could this brahmin be considered lowly who has been chosen by my daughter? By the performance of his action he is known to be endowed with fortune as well as the foremost among the warriors.
190. “Therefore, go to your master and say to him, ‘I shall never give my daughter to you. If you are truly brave, then come. I myself will see your bravery’.”
191. Hearing these firm, forceful words, the messenger returned to the Kurus and relayed the entire message, saying, “In short, that stubborn one will not give his daughter to you.
192. “On account of the strength of his two sons, he does not give heed to your words at all, let alone giving [his daughter]. Hence, you should now resist him.”
193. Having heard the messenger’s word, the king (Duryodhana) had the war drums beaten. Truly [the poet says], “One who is endowed with royal power does not suffer the ascendance of others.”
- 194-6. The army consisted of some who had no armor to guard their bodies, some who had only clothes to cover themselves, some who were shouldering the bundle of arrows, some whose topknots were rising upwards like their rising anger. Some of the warriors holding bows in their hands, whose faces are brownish on account of the dust thrown up by [the galloping] feet of their horses, have no mercy. And some mounted roaring elephants and departed for the battle making a loud noise, their eyes gleaming with anger comparable to the shining of their own weapons.

197-

200. Seeing the army of the Kurus capable of bringing down the walls of her city, the maiden (Draupadī), frightened, said loudly to that brahmin (Arjuna), “O lord, best among the brahmins, Who are you? Where have you come from? I have never heard of you before. Where have you studied the art of warfare? I wonder if you even know how to fight. Or is it possible that you merely taught warfare to others? I really do not know you activities. Please, therefore, tell me your story from the beginning. This King Duryodhana is a mighty one, the foremost among those who have armies. O brahmin, how will you ever fight with him? I wonder if you would live long.”
201. Arjuna said to the fair maiden (Draupadī), who was lamenting in this manner, “Do not fear. I am truly expert in battle as you will see.
202. “At this time, you do not know either my name or my valor. But, O beautiful one, everything is going to be auspicious. Do not worry needlessly.”
- 203-4. Speaking thus, Nara (Arjuna) saw from a distance the army of the enemy resembling the agitation of the ocean. Burning with anger, holding his gāṇḍīva bow, he mounted his chariot and departed in the direction of Karṇa. King Drupada challenged Duryodhana to battle and went towards him.
205. Dhṛṣṭārjuna engaged in battle with Duḥśāsana, Śikhaṇḍin with Vratīn (Droṇa), and Yudhiṣṭhira with Aśvatthāmā.
- 206-7. And the rest of the army was blocked here and there by Bhīma himself, as a mountain would the waves of the ocean. He had uprooted a tree and with that he caused death to a large number of foot soldiers as well as those who were riding horses, elephants, and chariots. Does not a single lion kill a whole herd of elephants?
208. The warriors of the Kurus who were killed had their bodies smeared with blood. They appeared as if they had been burned by the flame of the fire of Bhīma’s anger.
209. Beaten by the mace [of Bhīma] the elephants fell, trumpeting, streaming with blood. They resembled mountains with water gushing from them when hit by lightning.
210. The sparks of fire that sprang from the clashing of the weapons of the two armies appeared like auspicious lamps lit by the warriors for Draupadī.

211. Those horses hit by arrows fell on the ground, neighing loudly. Their neighing sounded like the recitation of auspicious songs by horse-faced yakṣas.
212. In the ocean of battle, the weapons of the warriors constantly rose like the lotuses rising around Lakṣmī.
213. At this time Droṇa saw that the army of Kuru was broken, and so he, excited, went forward attacking the army of the enemy.
214. Not knowing that his enemy here was Arjuna, Droṇa shot arrows at his enemy. But how can Dhanañjaya (Arjuna), a good disciple, knowingly hurt his teacher?
215. Pārtha (Arjuna) cut off his teacher's arrows with his own, and leaving the teacher, he went on shooting at the other soldiers. By this action, he created a doubt in the mind of his teacher.
216. "Is Dhanañjaya by any chance alive on this earth? For in no other person is such expertise in archery to be perceived.
217. "Undoubtedly these are the arrows of Pārtha, not the arrows of Śikaṇḍin (son of Drupada). Indeed, even if a person is distanced by a great lapse of time, he can still be recognized even by ordinary persons."
218. Droṇa then went to Duryodhana and told him, "The one who has the banner of a monkey (Arjuna) is living. The speed of his arrows produces a suspicion in my mind."
219. Hearing these words, Duryodhana was aflame with the fire of anger and said harshly to Droṇa, "You still remember those who hate me even though they are dead.
220. "They were burned to death by me in the fire. How could my enemies return now? But at the time of this battle, you cause dissention among my warriors."
221. Thus censured by these words, the teacher held his silence. [The poet says], "Beings whose calamities are near do not know what is beneficial and what is not."
222. Again that selfish Duryodhana said loudly to Droṇa, "Even if they are living, what is it to you? While the sun is blazing, do glowworms ever shine?
223. "Bring that bow here. Why don't you kill those enemies, the two sons of Drupada? There is no victory for me if you do not fight."

224. Extremely excited by these words, the brave teacher wanted to engage in battle, and he advanced, shooting arrows capable of causing death instantly.
225. Seeing the teacher marching forward, Karṇa too released arrows on the army of the enemy and killing them went towards Dhṛṣṭāryuṇa to engage him in battle.
226. He too came towards him and there stood his ground, desiring a fight. [The poet says], “Indeed, a true warrior seeing another great warrior never becomes a coward.”
227. In the battle of these two, as terrible as the battle between the gods and the demons, the grandfather (Bhīṣma) called upon Śikhaṇḍin and engaged him in battle.
228. In that battle the son of Drupada cut off the parasol that was over the head of the elder (Bhīṣma). And he too, in great agitation, cut off the bow of both [sons of Drupada].
229. At that time Pārtha (Arjuna) shot his own arrow with a message in his own handwriting. And that arrow, which fell at the lotus-feet of the teacher (Droṇa), appeared like a bee on a lotus.
230. The teacher picked it up and saw the series of letters that were written on it. And realizing that it had come from Dhanañjaya, he could not contain his joy in his heart.
231. Quickly he went to Kuru (Duryodhana) and showed him that arrow. Seeing it, Duryodhana became as if dead, his lustre gone.
232. Greatly distressed, he thought, “Alas, surely these Pāṇḍavas must have destroyed even the fire, or how else could they be alive on this earth?”
233. Fetching that arrow, he read that message himself, and the wicked one in his heart believed that this was the end of his life.
234. “Having respectfully bowed down to the most exalted and venerable Nemi (the would-be Tirthaṅkara) and to you sir, the great teacher, worthy of worship and veneration, I, Nara (Arjuna), bow down to you with my head three times having circumambulated you thrice.

235. “I, your servant, beg permission to convey this to you: by the majesty of your great meritorious deeds, the Pāṇḍavas, although burned by their enemies, are still alive.
236. “Warriors are considered to be those who refrain from harming those who are not at fault. But those warriors who do indeed punish the guilty are not considered sinful.
237. “Today, I shall certainly kill that wicked and cruel one. I shall not forebear him. Even if he takes refuge in the King of Gods (Indra), I still shall tear him asunder.
238. “Let Karṇa and others who think themselves to be warriors but actually are warriors in name only gird themselves and let them protect the Lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana). Let them see my bravery today.
239. “[O teacher], by your grace I alone am enough to conquer the lord of the ancestor together with the gods. What to speak of this king of the Kurus who has very little bravery?”
240. The Lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana), grasping the intent of the messages, was shaken in his heart. [The poet says], “Indeed, snakes are not free from fear having seen an eagle above.”
241. At that [the army of Duryodhana] abandoned their weapons and greatly delighted, loudly shouting with joy, came and embraced Arjuna, and they all greeted with respect King Yudhiṣṭhira.
242. And they all uttered words of praise, “Truly, your birth is fruitful. You have attained an extreme form of merit. Those things that were obstructions to you have proven to be occasions for festivals on this earth.
243. “It is true that for those who are intent on doing good to others and for those whose minds are constantly on dharma, there will never be any misfortunes, even in dreams.
244. “You are the leader among the virtuous. You are the most shining among the brave ones. You are the foremost among those who forgive. You are a river of gentleness.
245. “Out of kindness towards us, please forgive this great offence of Kuru (Duryodhana). There is no doubt that on this earth an evil one is destroyed by his own evil.”

246. Having thus addressed [Yudhiṣṭhira], they went and fetched the Lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana). The venerable Droṇa, the teacher, and Bhīṣma made him (Duryodhana) bow at his (Yudhiṣṭhira's) feet [seeking his forgiveness].
247. All the good people (i.e., both parties now reconciled) beat those drums that were expressive of joy. They went to the potter's house, and each, in accordance with rank, greeted Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas.
248. Seeing the enemy on the battlefield, Kuntī was greatly angered in her heart. Even an ordinary person may be incensed, what to speak of those who are powerful.
249. "Fie upon you who are an apostate from dharma and have tarnished the lineage of the Kurus. Abandoning shame, you have robbed the things (i.e., my sons) that were entrusted to you by my husband.
250. "All of you have repeatedly made the womb of my sister (Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana) impure. Each one of you is more sinful than the other. You were all born with evil desires.
251. "One should not even look at the impure, evil face of such a person, whosoever he might be, who abandons affection and gives up justice.
252. "You must give half of your kingdom, together with its treasury, to my sons. Only then will there be reconciliation, never otherwise."
253. The kings assembled there understood the words of Kuntī as being in accord with justice. In order to appease the anger of the Pāṇḍavas, they said, "Yes, indeed, you have uttered the truth."
254. On that occasion, the Lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana), incapable of fighting the Pāṇḍavas, gave away half of his kingdom while still secretly nurturing anger in his heart.
255. Then, choosing a proper constellation of stars in the right lunar month and erecting a golden pavilion, they gave Draupadī to Nara (Arjuna) in marriage with a great [wedding] festival.
256. On the occasion of that same ceremony, the vidyādhara (who had offered the gāṇḍīva bow to King Drupada) also gave his daughter in marriage to Arjuna. [The poet says], "Indeed, by good fortune, even those beings who are born far apart are united."

257. Some deluded beings, however, prattled that Draupadī was the wife of five husbands. Their idea of a virtuous woman, as well as their daring, is extraordinary indeed.
258. Some [Śvetāmbaras] have speculated that she came to have a relationship with the five brothers on account of craving for such a reward at the time of her death in the previous life. But indeed, this is not a proper causal connection. Such an argument has a fallacy called *sādhyasādhana* (a proper means of establishing what is to be proved).
259. According to them [the Śvetāmbara version], in her previous birth she was devoid of beauty, and she practiced severe penance [as a Jaina nun]. One day she saw a most beautiful courtesan called Vasantasenā.
260. She resolved that she would be as beautiful as that courtesan and would not have any sexual relationship with any other men.
261. Because of that resolution, she has five husbands in this life. [They have further said] that in the case of Draupadī, in her present life, there is no flaw in her character since she had desired the five husbands in her previous life. But even such utterances are truly false and are devoid of all reasoning.⁴⁸
262. If there was evil desire, then it would certainly result in her not being a virtuous woman. But in that case, you should not call her a *sādhvī* (a virtuous woman). But if she is virtuous, then how do you explain that (i.e., her having five husbands)?
263. Therefore, the words of the Digambaras should be trusted as true by those people who are true believers. And no other speech should be honored as truthful since it only spreads conflicting versions.
264. As Rāma brought Sītā [to Ayodhyā] having rescued her from Ravaṇa, the Pāṇḍavas, together with Draupadī, arrived at their city with great festivities.

⁴⁸ At this point in his translation, Jaini inserts the following note: “the Digambara author seems to be aware of the fact that story of the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī has its origin in the Mahābhārata although he does not explicitly say so. It is well known that the Śvetāmbara version agrees with the Mahābhārata and that they have provided a Jaina explanation of *nidāna* (an unfulfilled desire at the time of death) in a previous life for this event. Vādicandra is here refuting that Śvetāmbara story without mentioning them by name or the source of their story. At the end of this episode, his claim that the Digambara version is correct and to be trusted demonstrates that he is not directly taking the brahmanical school to task but rather the Śvetāmbaras.”

265. With the daughter of the vidyādhara and Draupadī, Dhanañjaya (Arjuna) was resplendent on this earth as was the first Jina, Ṛṣabha, with [his two wives], Yaśasvatī and Sunandā.
266. For beings in this world, there is the removal of obstructions by meritorious deeds. There is extraordinary splendor by merit. Because of merit, no enemy can prevail, and often there is union with friends. What is there in this world, the most blessed, that is not to be attained by merit? Therefore, [listen] with happiness to the words spoken by the Lord of the Jinas, who is worshipped by the Kurus and by Bhīṣma.

Thus ends the Sixth Canto of the *Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa* entitled “Description of the Entrance of the Pāṇḍavas into Their City and the Obtaining of Half the Kingdom.” It is composed by the venerable Vādicandrasūri, disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhācandrasūri.



**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Śvetāmbara Jaina Tradition:
*Nāyādhammakahāo***

Title:	<i>Nāyādharmakahāo</i> [Skt. <i>Jñātādharmakathāḥ</i> OR <i>Jñātadharmakathāḥ</i>], being <i>The Sixth Aṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon</i>
Author:	Mahāvīra (legendary author)
Language:	Prākṛit (known as Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhi)
Series:	
Edited By:	N.V. Vaidya (critically edited)
Published By:	Poona, 1940
Translated By:	N.V. Vaidya (Chapters 9 & 16 of Book I translated into English)
Length:	roughly 6,000 <i>ślokas</i>
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 2 <i>suyakkhandhas</i> , the first of which contains 19 <i>ajjhayaṇas</i> , and the second of which 10 <i>vaggas</i> , each further subdivided into <i>ajjhayaṇas</i>
Apparatus:	variants from the five manuscripts listed at back

About the Author:

Like the rest of the Śvetāmbara canonical *Aṅgas*, the *Nāyādharmakahāo* is said to have been a record of the words of Mahāvīra himself. While it is certainly plausible that the words recorded in the *Nāyādharmakahāo* were spoken by Mahāvīra, it can hardly be taken for granted.

About the Text:

According to Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, the Jaina Canon as we know it today (including the *Nāyādharmakahāo*) was collected and set down in writing at the Council at Valabhi in Gujarāt under the leadership of Devarddhi Kṣamāsramaṇa in the year 980/993 after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, (which is between the mid-5th to early 6th century CE). According to Digambara Jains, the Śvetāmbara canon is corrupt and does not represent the genuine canon that existed at the time of Mahāvīra. They maintain that the

knowledge of the 14 *Pūrvas* and 11 *Aṅgas* possessed by the early disciples of Mahāvīra were entirely lost 683 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Winternitz states:

Thus we see that, according to the tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jainas themselves, the authority of their sacred texts does not go beyond the 5th century A.D. It is true that they assume that the texts which were written down at the Council of Vallabhi, are based on those old texts that had been compiled at the Council of Pāṭaliputra, and which can be traced back to Mahāvīra and his disciples. The Gaṇadhara or heads of schools who were still pupils of Mahāvīra, especially Ajja Suhamma (Ārya Sudharman), are said to have compiled the Master's words in the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas ... Even though the tradition of the Jainas themselves would not appear to be in favour of investing their sacred texts with a very great antiquity, there are nevertheless good reasons for attributing their first origin, at least in part, to an earlier age, and for assuming that Devarddhi's labours consisted merely of compiling a Canon of sacred writings partly with the help of old manuscripts, and partly on the basis of oral tradition.⁴⁹

Some of these “good reasons” Winternitz refers to are as follows: (i) inscriptions from the 1st-2nd century CE indicate that the Jainas had already split into the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras by this time, and the lists of teachers of various schools given in some of the inscriptions match what we find in the texts; (ii) inscriptions from the same time make reference to “vācakas”, or “readers”, indicating that there must have been at that time texts which were read; (iii) inscriptions and bas-reliefs concerning the life of Mahāvīra closely match what is found in the texts; (iv) the rule that monks should go naked is found in the texts, despite the fact that Śvetāmbaras monks wear clothes – this suggests a certain devotion to antiquity on a central point of controversy between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras where one might not have expected it; (v) many of the details of the Jaina canon coincide nicely with what is found in the Buddhist canon.

⁴⁹ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature, Vol. II*, pp. 416-7.

The text itself divided into two books, and the title *Nāyā-dhamma-kahāo* refers to the two kinds of stories (*kahāo*) found within: knowledge (*nāyā*) and righteousness (*dhamma*). The 16th chapter of the first book of the *Nāyādhammakahāo* is really a biography of Draupadī. Though Nemi, Kṛṣṇa, and the Pāṇḍavas appear in the story, they seem to make an appearance because they play a role in Draupadī's life.

With respect to the story of Draupadī in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, Winternitz made the following and, unfortunately, oft quoted statement:

Chapter 16 [of Book I] contains the legend of Dovaī, i.e., Draupadī, in the form of a story of rebirth. This is a monkish corruption of the legend from the Mahābhārata of Draupadī's marriage to the five brothers.⁵⁰

Though he notes that Ernst Leumann believed this story of Draupadī in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* provided evidence that "an archaic tradition is embodied in the Jinistic form of the legend," Winternitz complete disagrees.

⁵⁰ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature, Vol. II*, p. 431.

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from the *Nāyādhammakahā*⁵¹

Chapter 16:

The Story of Nāgaśrī:⁵²

Once upon a time, in the city of Campā, there lived three Brahmin brothers, named Soma, Somadatta, and Somabhūti, each of whom was rich, learned in the Vedas, and well respected. These three brothers had three wives, named Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, and Yakṣaśrī, respectively. One day, when they were all having a discussion, they decided that they should always eat together, rotating from one home to the next in turn. And this they did, quite happily. One day, when it came time for the meal in Soma's home, his wife Nāgaśrī busied herself with the preparations. Amongst other things, she prepared a large and juicy gourd (which, unbeknownst to her, was rotten), mixed it with lots of spices, and cooked it in plenty of ghee. When the gourd was prepared, she tasted a drop of the sauce. Tasting a terrible, bitter taste, she then realized that the gourd had been rotten. Distressed at the thought of the recriminations from her sisters-in-law over the large amount of spices and ghee wasted, she decided to hide it from them and prepared another, fresh gourd for the meal. The group happily ate this new meal prepared by Nāgaśrī, went back to their respective houses, and went about their various duties.

⁵¹ This is actually my summary of the trans. by N.V. Vaidya, whose trans. is *very* literal (including all the "... up to ..."s when the text doesn't repeat itself but refers back to the initial "stock phrasing"), and is practically unreadable – at times, however, I quote him directly.

⁵² Note that unlike our other Śvetāmbara texts, this story is presented in strict chronological order. That is, it does not begin with Draupadī, and then go back into past birth stories to explain Draupadī's polyandry. It starts with Nāgaśrī, then moves to Sukumārikā, and hence to Draupadī.

Now, at that time, a venerable monk named Dharmaghoṣa took up residence in a park called Subhūmibhāga, just north-east of Campā. There he taught the *dharma* to the Jaina community who came there from the city. Dharmaruci, a disciple of Dharmaghoṣa, was in the habit of doing month-long fasts, and when the day to break his fast arrived, he sought and received Dharmaghoṣa's permission to enter Campā to collect some food in his alms-bowl. When he arrived in Campā, Dharmaruci went to the house of Nāgaśrī to beg some food. Seeing him coming, and seeing an opportunity to get rid of the rotten gourd cooked in spices and ghee, she jumped up and quickly put the rotten gourd into his alms-bowl. Feeling he had already received sufficient food from this one house, Dharmaruci returned to Subhūmibhāga and showed the gourd dish to Dharmaghoṣa. Being overcome by the wonderful smell, Dharmaghoṣa tasted some, but immediately realized it was rotten. He said to Dharmaruci: "This is poison! If you eat this gourd, you will surely die. Go and find a solitary place, not inhabited by men or any other living being, and dispose of this gourd. Then go back to the city and procure some other food." Being thus instructed, Dharmaruci found a pure spot in the vicinity of Subhūmibhāga park, and was about to dispose of the gourd, when he noticed that a single drop of the gourd sauce had fallen onto the ground and was attracting many ants. Then he saw that every ant that ate from the drop instantly died. He thought to himself: "If I dispose of this gourd here, many thousands of living beings will die. It is better that I myself eat this gourd so that only I shall die." So thinking, he sat down and consumed the entire dish. As it entered his system, he felt his vitality draining away. Thus, he prepared a pure bed of *darbha* grass, sat down in the proper posture, said a prayer of salutation to the Jinas,

confessed all his faults, atoned for them, achieved perfect concentration, and passed away.

Now that venerable monk Dharmaghoṣa, thinking that his disciple Dharmaruci had been away for too long a time, said to the other Nirgrantha Ascetics: “Go out and find what has become of Dharmaruci.” They went about searching for Dharmaruci, eventually came across his dead body, collected up his religious equipment, and reported back to Dharmaghoṣa. When Dharmaghoṣa heard the news, he meditated upon the past, divined the whole story, and announced the story to the monks and nuns who had gathered. Regarding the fate of Dharmaruci, Dharmaghoṣa said:

The monk Dharmaruci, having led the life of an ascetic for many years, having confessed and expiated (all his sins), having attained deep concentration of mind, and having breathed his last, at the hour of death, will be reborn as a god in the Sarvārthasiddha Mahāvīmāna, situated above the Saudharma. There, the minimum duration of life of some of the gods, is thirty-three Sāgaropamas. The god Dharmaruci, (falling down) from that heavenly region, ..., would achieve salvation in the Mahāvideha Varṣa. (p. 19)

“But woe for that Brahmin’s wife Nāgaśrī, as she will surely pay for her wicked deed.”

The Nirgrantha Ascetics, having heard this account from Dharmaghoṣa, went into the city of Campā and retold it to the people in the city. When the Brahmin brothers Soma, Somadatta, and Somabhūti heard about it, they were outraged at Nāgaśrī. They went to her house, railed against her, hurling many abuses at her, and drove her from the home. This treatment was repeated over and over as she encountered the people of Campā, until she was dressed in tattered rags and was entirely without a place of refuge. She kept herself alive by begging from door to door, but was afflicted with sixteen diseases,

including cough, cold, uterine disease, and leprosy. She eventually died helpless and alone, and was born as a hell-being in the Sixth Hell. From there, she was born among the fishes. Suffering a tortuous death, she was born into the Seventh Hell, and having dwelled there for the appointed time, was born among the fishes again. This process of moving from Hell to the lower animals and back continued for some time, until eventually her births were limited to earthly beings, such as the birds.

The Story of Sukumārikā:

Having passed through many births, she was born once again in this very city of Campā to a merchant named Sāgaradatta and his wife Bhadrā. They named her Sukumārikā. In the same city lived another merchant named Jinadatta, who had a son named Sāgara. One day, after Sukumārikā had grown to marriagable age, Jinadatta happened to be passing Sāgaradatta's house and he saw Sukumārikā out playing with a golden ball on the terrace. Struck by her beauty and virtues, he inquired about her from his servants. They explained to him who she was, so he returned home, prepared himself appropriately, and went, accompanied by friends and relatives, to Sāgaradatta's house.

Having been appropriately greeted, Jinadatta suggested to Sāgaradatta that Sukumārikā would make a good bride for Sāgara. He even asked what dowry he should pay for the girl. Sāgaradatta replied that his affection and need for his daughter was so great, he could not bear to be separated from her. Thus, he suggested that the proposed match would be agreeable if the boy Sāgara was to come and live in their home as a son-

in-law.⁵³ Jinadatta then returned to his own house and proposed the match and conditions to his son Sāgara. Taking Sāgara's silence as assent, an auspicious day was determined, and the marriage took place as planned.

When Sāgara was made to join hands with Sukumārikā during the wedding ceremony, he felt a desperate pain, variously described as gripping the blade of a sword, being touched by burning embers, et cetera. Being helpless to do anything about it, he bore the pain in silence. At night, Sāgara went to his new wife Sukumārikā's bed with her, and lay down beside her. Once again he experienced the burning sensation from the touch of her body. Not wishing to upset her, he waited for her to fall asleep, and then he slipped out quietly and went to his own bed. Upon awaking, and realizing that her husband was not with her, Sukumārikā arose and went to Sāgara's bed, and lay down with him there. And, once again, Sāgara experienced the painful, burning sensation from the touch of her body. Waiting until she was again asleep, Sāgara quietly arose and slipped out of the house, returning to his father's house.

In the morning, Sukumārikā awoke and noticed her husband missing. Being devoted to him, she made a thorough search for him throughout the house. Eventually coming to the realization that Sāgara had abandoned her, she sat down dejected and wept. Sukumārikā's mother, Bhadrā, sent a maid-servant into check on Sukumārikā and her new bridegroom. When the maid-servant arrived, she found Sukumārikā weeping and depressed. Hearing the reason for this dejection from Sukumārikā, the maid went

⁵³ i.e. rather than having Sukumārikā go to live as a daughter-in-law in Jinadatta's home, as would normally be expected.

immediately and informed Sāgaradatta about the situation. Sāgaradatta, furious at Sāgara's behaviour, went straight to Jinadatta's house, and blasted him. Jinadatta, in turn, went inside his house to discuss the circumstances with Sāgara. Though Jinadatta implored his son to return to his bride, Sāgara adamantly refused:

Father! I am even prepared to undertake (or face death by either of these -
-) a fall from a mountain (precipice), or from a tree, or being deserted (or
stranded) in a place where there is no water available, or a fall in water, or
entering burning fire, or eating poison, or cutting myself into pieces with a
weapon, or be hanged, or be devoured by vultures, or be an exile (for the
rest of my life), or go to (and stay in) a foreign country; but never shall I
go to Sāgaradatta's house (again). (p. 25)

As it happened, Sāgaradatta overheard the whole exchange between Jinadatta and Sāgara, and feeling ashamed and abashed, he returned to his own home. Taking his daughter Sukumārikā on his lap, and speaking soothingly, he told her not to fret or bother over Sāgara, and that soon enough he would find a new man to be her husband.

One day, while sitting outside on his porch, Sāgaradatta happened to see a beggar, dressed in tattered rags, carrying potsherds in his hands, and being pursued by thousands of flies. He called out to the beggar, had him brought in, fed, bathed et cetera, and said to him: "How would you like to marry my daughter, and live a good life with shelter and plenty of food etc.?" The beggar readily agreed. Thus, in quick fashion, the beggar and Sukumārikā were married. At night, the beggar went to bed with Sukumārikā and lay beside her. But in the same fashion as her first husband Sāgara, this beggar likewise felt the burning, painful sensation resulting from the touch of her body. He got up out of bed, got dressed, and ran away from the house as fast as he could. When Sukumārikā awoke, she realized that her new husband had also abandoned her, and she was dejected.

As before, Sukumārikā's mother Bhadrā sent a maid-servant to check on the newlyweds, and once again the maid found Sukumārikā sitting alone, dejected. As before, the maid reported this to Sāgaradatta. Sāgaradatta once again took his daughter on his lap and explained to her that what she was experiencing must be the result of past actions coming to fruition. He suggested that she forget about marriage and stay at home practicing charity by preparing and distributing food to mendicants et cetera.

At that time, a group of nuns, known as Gopālikās, came into the area, and went to Sukumārikā's house for alms. Sukumārikā, recognizing that the nuns were learned, explained her problems to the nuns and asked them if they had a cure for her situation. After they discussed the *dharma* with her, she sought and received her father's permission to join the order of nuns. She then lived as a nun, engaging in fasts of one day, two days, three days, et cetera. One day, she went to the Gopālikā nuns and said that she would like to practice a special two-day fast in which she would stand staring into the sun without break. She proposed to do this harsh act of asceticism in Subhūmibhāga park, on the outskirts of Campā. The nuns disapproved of her plan, saying that it was not proper to venture outside the monastery while practicing austerities. Ignoring the words of the nuns, Sukumārikā left them and went to practice her fast in Subhūmibhāga park.

Now, in the city of Campā, there was a Bohemian club called Lalitā, whose members were given free access everywhere by the king. These were mainly rich people, who were uninterested in their families, and who spent much time in the houses of courtesans leading a rather dissipated life. On the very day that Sukumārikā went to Subhūmibhāga park, five members of this club arrived there with the beautiful courtesan

Devadattā. One of them had Devadattā sit in his lap, while another held an umbrella over her head, while another wove a coronet of flowers for her, while another dyed her feet with lac, while yet another fanned her with a chowry. When Sukumārikā spied this scene, she was astonished and filled with envy. Thinking of how her own unhappy love-life was a result of past actions, she concluded that Devadattā must be enjoying the attention of five men on account of her own past actions. Thus, Sukumārikā made a vow (*nidāna*) that if anything should result from all of her austerities, it should be that in a future birth she too would enjoy the attention of five men.

From this time forward, Sukumārikā continued to live as a nun, but continuously broke the precepts, especially where washing and adorning the body was concerned. She spent much time each day washing and re-washing all parts of her body. This was frowned upon by the Gopālikā nuns who tried to no avail to set her straight. Sukumārikā, who grew weary of the strictures of the nuns, and who felt she got more respect from them when she lived in her father's house than she did now as a nun, decided to go off by herself to an isolated monastery and live out her life there. While she continued to live as a nun, she was unrestrained in her bodily washing as well as in her devotion (in mind only) to sexual pleasure. Having died without confessing or expiating her sinful thoughts, she was reborn as a celestial courtesan in one of the *Vimānas* of the *Īśāna* Kalpa, where she dwelled for nine Palyopamas.

The Story of Draupadī:

Having fallen from heaven, she descended into the womb of Queen Culañī, wife of King Drupada of Kāmpilyapura, whose son Dhṛṣṭadyumna was heir-apparent. The

King and Queen gave her the name Draupadī, as she was the daughter of Drupada. She grew up to be a charming and beautiful young girl. One day, when she came into the presence of the king, he was astonished to see that she was all grown up and had arrived at an appropriate age for marriage. Upon realizing this, he said to her: “Daughter, I could certainly give you in marriage to any king or prince of my choice, but who can say whether or not you would be happy. If you were not, it would cause me great pain. Thus, I propose that you should be able to choose your own husband, one for whom you feel great affection.”

Then the king called his messenger, and instructed him to go to Dvārāvātī to politely invite the great kings and princes from that region to Draupadī’s *svayaṁvara*. Those whom he specifically named included: (first and foremost) Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva; followed by the ten Daśārhas headed by Samudravijaya; the five Mahāvīras headed by Baladeva; the sixteen thousands kings with Ugrasena as their leader; the three and a half crores of princes led by Pradyumna; the sixty thousand valiant heroes led by Sāmba; and the fifty-six thousand mighty men headed by Mahāsena. When the messenger arrived in Dvārāvātī, the kings and princes welcomed the news, and after much preparation, made their way to Kāmpilyapura.

Next, King Drupada sent his messenger to Hastināpura to invite the kings and princes of that region. Those specifically mentioned by the king included: King Pāṇḍu and his sons Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva; Duryodhana and his

hundred brothers; Bhīṣma; Vidura; Droṇa; Jayadratha; Śakuni, Kṛpa, and Aśvatthāman.⁵⁴ Following this, messengers were sent to various places to invite various people: from Cāmpa, Karṇa, King of Aṅga and Śalya, King of Nandīś, were invited; from Śuktimatī, Śiśupāla son of Damaghoṣa and his five hundred brothers; from Hastiśīrṣa, King Damadanta; from Mathurā, King Dhara; from Rajagṛha, Sahadeva son of Jarāsaṁdha; from Kaudinya, Rukmī son of Meṣaka; from Virāṭa, Kīcaka and his hundred brothers; and from the various other cities, towns and villages, many other kings, princes, and worthy men.

In order to accommodate all of these guests, King Drupada had his workmen construct a huge wedding pavilion on the outskirts of Kāmpilyapura, along the Gaṅgā river, including luxurious thrones and seats labeled with the names of each of the honored guests. When all of the guests had arrived at Kāmpilyapura, they were richly greeted and honored by King Drupada. One day, Drupada had his messenger announce that on the following morning, Draupadī's *svayamvara* would take place. The following morning, while all of the kings and princes went to the wedding pavilion and took their designated seat, Draupadī prepared herself for the ceremony. She bathed, offered oblations and performed the appropriate rites, donned the appropriate garments, bowed down before the idols of the Jinas and honored them as prescribed, went to the haram to be decked with all sorts of ornaments by the maids, got into a horse drawn carriage with her companion who was also a historian/chronicler, and had her charioteer, who on that day was her brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna, drive her to the pavilion. Having arrived, Draupadī bowed to Vāsudeva

⁵⁴ The name of Dhṛtarāṣṭra is noticeably absent.

and all of the other kings and princes, and took a beautiful wreath of flowers in her hands. Then, Draupadi was given the names and pedigrees etc. of each of the guests by her historian companion, gazing at their faces as they were reflected in a mirror held by her companion.

Then princess Draupadī walking in the midst of those thousands of kings, and being (so to say) impelled by her former Nidāna (or sinful resolution), approached the five Pāṇḍavas, and encircled and wreathed those five Pāṇḍavas with the five-coloured wreath of flowers, and spoke thus: -- “I have chosen these five Pāṇḍavas as my husbands”. Then Vāsudeva, and all those many thousands of kings declared loudly: -- “Well-chosen, indeed, by princess Draupadī,” – and with these words they left the Swayamvara-pandal and repaired to their respective guest-houses (or camps). Then prince Dhṛṣṭadyumna took the five Pāṇḍavas and the princess Draupadī in the four-belled horse-carriage, and driving through Kāmpilyapura ... entered his palace. Then king Drupada asked the five Pāṇḍavas to ascend the wooden seat along with Draupadī, had them bathed with water brought in white and yellow pitchers, made them offer oblations into the fire, and performed the marriage ceremony of Draupadī with the five Pāṇḍavas. (p. 36)

Then, King Pāṇḍu requested Vāsudeva and the other kings to accompany him and the newlyweds to Hastināpura where they would perform a ceremony auguring welfare to the five Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī. When all the arrangements had been made and all concerned had made their way to Hastināpura, the ceremony was performed.

Then king Pāṇḍu asked Draupadī and the five Pāṇḍavas to ascend the wooden seat (for bathing), had them bathed with water brought in white and yellow pitchers, performed the auspicious ceremony, honoured and respected Vāsudeva and all those other kings, by offering them plenty of food etc., as well as flowers and garments, and then gave them leave to go. (p. 38).

When the ceremony and celebration was over, Vāsudeva and the other kings and princes all returned to their homes.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Śvetāmbara Jaina Tradition:
Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra***

Title:	<i>Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra</i>
Author:	Hemacandra
Date:	12 th century C.E.
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Series:	
Edited By:	
Published By:	
Translated By:	Helen M. Johnson (English, in her <i>Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, or, The Lives of Sixty-Three Illustrrious Persons. Vol. V. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 139, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962</i>)
Length:	Book VIII -- <i>Nemināthacaritra</i> is over 300 pages in translation
Table of Contents:	
Index:	
Text Divisions:	
Apparatus:	

About the Author:

Hemcandra was born in 1088/9 CE in Dhundūka (near Ahmedabad in Gujarāt). Legend has it that he was given to the Jaina monk Devendrasūri/Devacandrācārya by his mother while his father was away from home. Upon his return, the father found his son in order to bring him home again, but to no avail. In order to demonstrate his powers for his father, the young novice put his arm into the fire, upon which it turned into gold. It is said that from this episode came the appellation Hemacandra. He studied under Devendrasūri, was consecrated at age 10, and became a sūri a mere 13 years later.

Hemacandra spent much of his career in Anhilvid (Gujarāt) at the royal court of the Śaiva Caulukya king Jayasīṃha Siddharāja and his successor Kumārapāla, who, according to Jaina sources, is said to have converted to Jainism under Hemacandra's influence. However true the Jaina accounts of Hemacandra are, it is clear that it was through his influence on Kumārapāla that Gujarāt became a stronghold of Śvetāmbara

Jainism. He died in 1173-4 CE, and not surprisingly, died the pious Jaina death by fasting. His oeuvre is enormous, and contains important contributions both to Jainism as well as to Sanskrit grammar.

About the Text:

The *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* or Lives of the 63 Illustrious Persons, is the foremost *mahāpurāṇa* or Universal History in the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, and arguably in all of Jainism. It is incredibly long, and gives fair treatment to each and every one of the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas*, though inevitably it lends more space to some than others. The story of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī, which is situated amid the biography of the 22nd *tīrthāṅkara* Neminātha, is quite short, relatively speaking, and makes but a modest, not to say negligible, impact on the text as a whole. It is clear that for this episode, Hemacandra follows the account in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* closely.

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The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from Hemacandra's
Trisastiśalākāpuruṣacaritra

Vol. VIII, Chapter 6: (264-378 – Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas)⁵⁶

Now, in the past Vṛṣabha Svāmin had a son, named Kuru, from whom Kurukṣetra was named. Kuru had a son, Hastin, from whom Hastināpura was named. In the line of King Hastin there was a king, Anantavīrya. From him there was Kṛtavīrya and then Cakrabhṛt Subhūma. Then after innumerable kings Śāntanu became king. He had two wives, Gaṅgā and Satyavatī; and by Gaṅgā he had a son Bhīṣma, whose strength was terrifying. By Satyavatī he had two sons, Citrāṅgada and Citravīrya; and Citravīrya's wives were Ambikā, Ambālikā, and Ambā. Of these in turn there were sons Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, and Vidura.

The realm was settled on Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu became devoted to hunting. Dhṛtarāṣṭra married eight full sisters, Gāndhārī, et cetera, of Śakuni, King of Gandhāra, son of Subala. They had one hundred sons, Duryodhana and others. By Kuntī Pāṇḍu had sons, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna. From Pāṇḍu's second wife, Mādri, sister of Śalya, there were two sons, Nakula and Sahadeva, long-armed. These five sons of Pāṇḍu were bold as lions, invincible even to Khecaras, powerful from magic arts and strength of arm. The five, respectful according to seniority, intolerant of bad conduct, caused astonishment among the people by their superior virtues.

One day a messenger of King Drupada came from Kāmpīlya, bowed to King Pāṇḍu and said: "There is a maiden, named Draupadī, daughter of King Drupada by Culanī, younger sister of Dhṛṣṭadyumna. All of the Daśārhas, Sīrin, Śārṅgin, Damadanta, Śīsupāla, Rukmin, Karṇa, Suyodhana, and other kings and powerful princes, invited by the king by messengers, are going now to her svayaṁvara. Do you go there and adorn the svayaṁvara-pavilion with these five princes who resemble young gods."

Pāṇḍu went to Kāmpīlya with his five victorious sons, like Smara with his five arrows, and other kings went also. There the kings were honored by Drupada one by one and they presided over the svayaṁvara-hall like planets over the sky.

Draupadī, having bathed, wearing clean garments, adorned with wreaths and ornaments, after she had worshipped the Arhat, came attended by friends, like a goddess in beauty, to the svayaṁvara-pavilion, which was adorned by Kṛṣṇa and the others like Sāmānika-gods. The kings there being pointed out by a friend who announced their names, Drupada's daughter, looking, went where the Pāṇḍavas were. She, enamored, threw the svayaṁvara-wreath around the necks of the five sons of Pāṇḍu at the same time. The circle of kings was amazed, saying "What's this?" until a flying ascetic came there.

Chapter 6: (286-355 – Draupadī's former births)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ pp. 197 ff

The muni was asked by the kings, Kṛṣṇa, et cetera, “How can Draupadī have five husbands?” and he explained:

“This state of having five husbands will result from karma acquired in a former birth. What is remarkable? The course of karma is unequal. Here in the city Campā there were three Brāhmins, Somadeva, Somabhūti, and Somadatta, full brothers. They, rich in grain and cash, had wives – Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, Yakṣaśrī, respectively. Fond of each other, one day they made an agreement that they should all eat in one house in turn.

One day, while they were doing this, when the time came to eat in Somadeva’s house, Nāgaśrī made ready. She cooked many kinds of food and unknowingly cooked a bitter gourd made into a sauce. To find out what it was like, she tasted it and discovered that it was inedible and spit it out at once. Depressed at the thought, ‘This is still bitter, though I prepared it with many sweet materials,’ she put it away. She fed her husband and brothers-in-law and their families, with other food without this.

Then Ācārya Śrī Dharmaghoṣa, who was omniscient, stopped with his retinue in the garden Subhūmibhāga. His disciple, Dharmaruci, went to Nāgaśrī’s house to break his month’s fast, Somadeva and the others being gone. Thinking, ‘Let him be satisfied with this,’ Nāgaśrī gave the muni the gourd-sauce. ‘I have never received this thing before,’ he reflected, went to show the dish, and put it in his guru’s hand. The guru smelled its odor and said, ‘If you eat this, you will die, son. Throw it out quickly. You should break your fast, after obtaining other food with which you are familiar.’

So instructed, he went outside and found a clean bare spot. A single drop of the gourd-sauce fell from the dish by itself and he saw the ants dying, that had been touched by it. He thought: ‘Many creatures are dying, touched by a drop of this. If it is thrown out, how many will die? Is it not better for me alone to die than for a lot of beings?’ Deciding so, he himself ate the gourd carefully. After he had made ārādhana, he died, completely absorbed in meditation, and became a chief-god, an Ahamindra, in Sarvārthasiddha.

Now, the Ācārya Dharmaghoṣa instructed the other munis to find out why Dharmaruci was delayed. They saw him dead outside and, taking his broom, et cetera, they went and told the guru, grieving the guru. Then by employing his supernatural knowledge, the guru said, ‘This was a crime of Nāgaśrī’s against all ascetics.’ Then the monks and the nuns, angered, went there and told the people, Somadeva and others. Nāgaśrī was driven from the house by the Brāhmins, Soma and others, and, being reviled by the people, wandered everywhere, miserable. She experienced hell even here (on earth), afflicted by sixteen very severe diseases, cough, asthma, fever, leprosy et cetera. Hungry, thirsty, wearing tattered garments, roaming without shelter, in time she died and went to the sixth hell.

Rising from hell, she was born in the Mlecchas and went to the seventh hell after death. Rising from that she was born in the fishes. Again she went to the seventh hell and again she was born in the Mlecchas. So she, wicked, in this way went to all the hells,

⁵⁷ pp. 198 ff

twice to each one. Then she was born many times in earth-bodies, et cetera and she destroyed much bad karma from the activity of involuntary destruction of karma.

Then here in Campā she became the daughter, Sukumārikā, of Sheth Sāgaradatta and Subhadrā. In the same place there was a wealthy caravan-leader, Jinadatta. His wife was named Bhadrā and his son Sāgara. One day Jinadatta, while passing near Sāgaradatta's house, saw the girl Sukumārikā, who had grown up. He observed her playing with a ball on top of the house and went home, thinking, 'She is suitable for my son.'

Then Jinadatta went with relatives and asked Sāgaradatta for the girl Sukumārikā for his son. Sāgaradatta said, 'My daughter is dearer than my life. I can not exist at all without her. If your son, Sāgara, will live in my house as a son-in-law, then I will give him my daughter with a dowry, et cetera.' Saying, 'I shall have him consider,' Jinadatta went home and told Sāgara. Sāgara stood silent. By the rule, 'unopposed is approved,' his father consider his son a house-son-in-law of Sāgaradatta.

Sāgara was married to the girl by the parents and went to the bed-chamber with her and rested on a couch. Because of the power of past actions, burned severely instantly by her touch like a coal, Sāgara remained there with difficulty. Leaving her asleep, he escaped and went home. At the end of her sleep, not seeing her husband, she wept very loud. A slave-girl, who had been sent at dawn by Subhadrā to clean the teeth of the bride and bridegroom, saw her weeping, deserted by her husband. She went and told Subhadrā and Subhadrā told the sheth. The sheth himself reproached Jinadatta.

Jinadatta summoned his son and said to him privately: 'You did not behave fittingly in deserting the daughter of a good family. Now go, son, to Sukumārikā. For I made such a promise before at that time to respectable people.' Sāgara declared: 'Father, I will enter the fire rather than go again to Sukumārikā.' Sāgaradatta heard that from inside the house and, hopeless, went home and told Sukumārikā: 'Sāgara does not like you. So I shall find another husband for you, daughter. Do not worry.'

One day, standing at a window, he saw a man carrying a beggar's bowl, wearing tattered clothes, seeking alms, surrounded by flies. The sheth called him, had him abandon the beggar's bowl, had him bathed, fed, and anointed with sandal. He said to him: 'I give you my daughter Sukumārikā. Stay comfortably with her without anxiety about food, et cetera.' Talked to in this way, he went to the bed-chamber with her and, asleep, was touched by fire, as it were, from the touch of her body. Getting up, he put on his own clothes and fled. She, depressed, remained just as she was and was seen by her father. He said: 'Daughter, this is the maturing of past actions. There is no other reason. Remain contented in my house, dispensing charity.' Just so she gave gifts, tranquil, devoted to dharma, virtuous.

One day Āryā Gopālikā came to her house. She presented her with pure food, drink et cetera. Listening to dharma from her, enlightened, she took the vow. Observing fasts of one day, two days, three days, et cetera, she wandered daily with Āryā Gopālikā. One time, looking at the sun, she said to the Āryā, 'I shall do the penance of burning in the sun, standing in the garden Subhūmibhāga.' She (the Āryā) said: 'The penance of

burning in the sun is not done outside of one's own place. That is prescribed for nuns in the Āgama.'

Just as if she had not heard that, she went to the garden Subhūmibhāga and began the sun-penance, her eyes fixed on the sun. She saw the courtesan named Devadattā, who had come there, being held on the lap by one lover, with an umbrella held by another, being fanned by another with a pleasant breeze, her hair being bound by another, her feet being held on the lap by another. She, whose desire for pleasure had not been satisfied, made a nidāna: 'May I have five husbands, like her, as a result of this penance.'

Devoted to personal cleanliness, she sprinkled (herself) at every step; being restrained by the Āryā, she thought: 'In the past when I stayed in a house, I was respected by the Āryā, but now that I am a mendicant, she scolds me in this way. Enough of her.' Having considered so, she remained in a shelter apart. Alone, voluntarily she observed the vow for a long time. After fasting for eight months, she died without confessing and became a goddess in Saudharma with a life-term of nine palyopamas. When she fell, she became Draupadī and these five husbands were caused by that nidāna in the past. What is surprising in that?"

Chapter 6: (356-378 – Pāṇḍavas go to Dvārakā)⁵⁸

When this had been told by the muni, there was a voice in the air saying, "Well done! Well done!" Kṛṣṇa and the others said, "It is good that these husbands happened." The Pāṇḍavas married Draupadī with a festival held by the same kings and kindred who had come to the svayaṁvara. Then Pāṇḍu escorted the Daśārhas, Kṛṣṇa, and the other kings invited here to the wedding to his own city with dignity. After entertaining them there for a long time, King Pāṇḍu dismissed the Daśārhas, Sīrin, Sārṅgin, and the other kings who asked permission to go.

⁵⁸ pp. 202 ff

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Śvetāmbara Jaina Tradition:
Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita***

Title:	<i>Pāṇḍavacarita</i>
Author:	Devaprabhasūri
Date:	13 th century CE
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Paṇḍit Kedāranātha & Wāsudeva Laxmaṇa Shāstrī Paṇashīkar
Published By:	Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1911
Translated By:	Jonathan Geen (Draupadī's Marriage only)
Series:	Kāvyaṃālā Series 93
Length:	714 pages; 9,189 verses
Table of Contents:	Yes
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	divided into 18 very large and titled <i>sargas</i>
Apparatus:	a 2 page <i>Bhūmikā</i> (in Sanskrit) by the editors; virtually no footnotes
About the Author:	

Little is known about the Śvetāmbara Devaprabhasūri. He is said to have been the pupil and successor of Muniandrasūri, and preceptor to Devānanda. He carries the appellation maladhāri, and is variously said to have belonged to the Maladhāri or Harṣapuriya Gaccha. Flourishing in the 13th century, he is said to have been a contemporary of Udayaprabha and Naracandra.

About the Text:

Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* was composed in 18 chapters, presumably in corresponding to the 18 books of the (Hindu) *Mahābhārata*. It was completed in the region near Abu in Rājasthān.⁵⁹ It is the first and largest of the Jaina texts focusing particularly on the Pāṇḍavas. To some extent, Devaprabha must have drawn upon the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, though his version of the story of the Pāṇḍavas is so much more expansive than that found in these other texts that it can

⁵⁹ Jaini, "Mahābhārata Motifs," p. 108.

hardly be a surprise to find that he borrows liberally from the (Hindu) *Mahābhārata*. This point is discussed in detail in Chapter Five of this thesis. Devaprabha's text was redone into prose, with verses inserted, in 1603 CE by Devavijaya Gaṇin, pupil of Rājavijaya Sūri.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 477.

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[[TOTAL = 9,189 verses]]

The Story of Draupadī in Devaprabha's Pāṇḍavacarita

Chapter Four:

Brief Summary of Verses 1-264

Description of King Pāṇḍu's court in Hastināpura (v. 1ff)

Pāṇḍu's door-keeper announces the arrival of King Drupada's messenger (v.17)

Drupada's messenger informs Pāṇḍu that Drupada is holding a *svayamvara* for his daughter Draupadī, and that to win her a suitor must accomplish a feat of archery known as the *rādhāvedha* (v. 26-27)

Pāṇḍu and his five sons the Pāṇḍavas are specifically invited to attend the *svayamvara* (v. 31)

Pāṇḍu dismisses the Drupada's messenger (v. 33)

Pāṇḍu sets out for Drupada's city of Kāmpilya with the five Pāṇḍavas and hundred Kauravas, Kuntī and Mādri, Dhṛtarāṣṭra etc (v. 34ff)

The procession from Hastināpura Arrives at Kāmpilya and King Pāṇḍu is greeted by King Drupada (v. 58ff)

Drupada orders his architects, artisans and craftsmen to construct a wedding pavilion (v. 95)

Description of the wedding pavilion (v. 96ff)

When the proper and auspicious time arrived, King Drupada called his messengers and had them sing Draupadī's praises in order to inspire the kings and princes assembled for her *svayamvara* (v. 118ff)

Finally, Draupadī arrives at the wedding pavilion and the kings are wowed by her beauty (v. 173ff)

Drupada's son Dhṛṣṭadyumna publicly announces the *rādhāvedha* archery challenge (v. 202-205)

Draupadī's attendant then announces the names of all the kings gathered in her honour (v. 206ff)

Translation of verses 265-429

- 265-6. “These ones, Bhagadatta, Aśvatthāman, Bhūriśravas, and Śala [Śalya?] by name, and also those led by Jayadratha, Mahāsena, and Cārudeṣṇa, sat there unmoving, having reflected on the power of their arms; knowing oneself is surely the cause of great splendor and power for noble men.
267. “Look, Good Lady! With a [mere] gesture of the eyebrow of Kṛṣṇa (Hari), those [kings], whose faces are lit up by royal eyes filled with wonder, sprang up from their seats/thrones.
268. “The five sons of Pāṇḍu, as formidable as the arrows of Kāma (Smara), were, out of respect, received by a multitude of side-glances by some woman.
269. “O Lady, the family of the king of the Kurus is adorned by these five Pāṇḍavas like a body is adorned with the five senses.
270. “When Yudhiṣṭhira (Ajātaripu) has [both] the sentiments of heroism and tranquillity, as if both the sun and moon were situated in the sky [at the same time], what more does he need?
271. “A tremendous feast of husbands for the women of heaven were made by the arms of the twins/of those Yamas, restraining heaps of enemies in battles.
272. “Even the name of Bhīma and Arjuna (Phālguna) kill enemies in battle; the echo of a lion’s roar is enough to terrify elephant.
273. “While the wives of the gods are trembling in heaven, Bhīma sports with elephants sent out and called back in battle, as if they were mere balls to catch.
274. “Whose heart do Arjuna’s arrows, removing the lives of the enemies, not enter though yet unreleased by the bow?
275. “By whose arrows the painted-on creeper decorations on the [bodies] of the women of the enemy are plucked off, just as the bees of their side-glances go away.
276. “Methinks this earth, under their sway, will endure to the end of the kalpa, as even their arrows, having reached their targets, take their refuge in her [i.e. in the earth].
277. “Whose arrows, in battle, strike the chest of the enemies, but the necklaces of their brides, in the women’s apartments fall off [i.e. they are made into widows].

278. “Whose arrows, in battle, fly up into the sky, as if to ask the sun, ‘how can we go back down when we are destined for release?’
279. “The guru Droṇa, seeing him [i.e. Arjuna] in whom was an excellence in archery even greater than his own, strongly wished to establish him as guru.”
280. While that servant was speaking thus, in the presence of the king’s daughter, Arjuna happily walked up to the bow.
281. [All] eyes, some filled with astonishment, others bright and bugged-out, and yet others red with anger, fell upon Arjuna.
282. Having immediately circumambulated and respectfully bowed to the bow, Arjuna then lifted it up as per the command of his eldest brother.
283. Then, while Arjuna (Kapiketana) was performing this extraordinary feat, Bhīma (Vṛkodara), arrogant, loudly spit out:
284. “In whichever of the weapons-bearers a headache should arise, this mace, my cure-all, will take care of him.”
285. Arjuna (Pārtha) bent the bow together with the pride of the kings, and brought the tip of the bow to the bowstring together with himself to the pinnacle of archers.
286. Then, the moon-faces of his allies attained splendor, and the darkness, as if chased away, took refuge in the face of his enemies.
287. In her heart, Kuntī sent forth Kundalī-sprouts of joy; Gāndhārī secretly unleashed the poison-creeper of hate.
288. Then, the eyes of Yudhiṣṭhira and his associates were shining with great joy; the eyes of Duryodhana and his associates were further darkened with sin.
289. Draupadī gave off a glittering eye from the fervent hope that, “As this deed has been done, now the god-like one must come to me”.
290. The Guru [i.e. Droṇa] said to Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and Bhīṣma: “Witness the power of Arjuna’s arms!”
- 291-4. While Bhīma was advising, “My child, you should bend that ancient bow gently – it will not bear your power”, and while the circle of kings, having gotten up quickly from their seats with gaping mouths full of impetuous and violent

boasting, were looking on, and while the sky was [as it were] adorned by a hundred moons by wheels indicating the presence of the aerial cars of the young women of the Siddhas and Gandharvas who were assembling out of curiosity, hair stood on end on the body of friends and excessive sweat was on the body of enemies, as an arrow was fixed on the shaft of the bow by Arjuna (Savyasacin,)

- 295-7. Head bowed down and [tilted slightly] with his right eye raised and the other eye lowered towards his chest, and taking aim between the spokes of the swiftly revolving wheels at the [reflection of the] left eye of the Rādhā [doll] whose image was reflected in the middle of a oil-pot, and accompanied by the side-glances of Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), the flowing milk of Kuntī, and the tears of joy of his father, Arjuna drew back the bow.
298. He appeared in such a way as if he were ready to slay the gods, unwilling to look upon its pathetic face.
- 299-301. That “kren” sound of the bow drawn back by Arjuna (Phālguna), propagating a singleness of sound over the whole world, rending the mountain slopes, was heard by many, some of whom fell out of their seats on account of violent agitation, others who plugged their ears with their fingers, still others who, from the arising of terror, lost their upper garments, and yet still others who, agitated by fear, were made to tremble.
302. Methinks that, on account of that sound of the bow, even the one-wheeled chariot of the sun was bashed against the peaks of Meru by its frightened horses.
303. The arrow left the bowstring and valour left the arms of the kings; it hit its mark together with their hearts.
304. Arjuna’s (Savyasācin) arrow, flying upwards hit its mark, and the fame of the prowess of his arms reached the heavens.
305. The assembly of Maruts released a rain of flowers from the lap of heaven down onto Arjuna (Kirīṭin) as if joy incarnate.
306. The rumble of the kettledrums of the gods thundered tremendously in the sky, like echoes of the sound of Arjuna’s (Dhanamjaya) bow.
307. Out of the joy of the entire world, the sound of “jaya” resounded greatly, as if making a magic diagram of the two syllables.
308. Then, Kuntī and Pāṇḍu had [as it were] the entire world, consisting of abundant glory, riches, and a singular happiness.

- 309-10. Now, with the corner of her eye, Draupadī (Pāñcālī) was longingly darting a myriad glances at the five extraordinarily heroic sons of Pāṇḍu; and was sprinkling with the water of perspiration the pleasure grove of her body which blossomed with the sprouts of new love under the pretext of her hairs standing on end.
311. She was, at turns, one of whom the stupor [of love] had arisen, one who trembled all over, and one who was even more charming [in her display] of passion, eagerness, bashfulness, joy, and fear.
- 312-3. With a desire to choose all five, but anxious about the censure of the world, she tossed the bridegroom garland, [obtained] from the lotus hands of her servant, onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Kīrītīn), but by a miracle, and though only one, it appeared to the world to be around the necks of each one of them individually.
314. Then Tārā (look for references to this goddess) in heaven, with disembodied voice, uttered, “The princess has made an excellent choice – Let there be no doubt!”
315. Thinking, “This anxiety of mine regarding the necessity of finding suitable daughters-in-law for the other four has now passed away,” Kuntī obtained joy.
316. Pāṇḍu was surprised, [and wondered], “Was it from the [combined] good fortune of [all five] of them that Arjuna, to whom the greatest excellence was given, did this deed?”
317. Thinking, “As Yudhiṣṭhira (Tapaḥsuta) and Bhīma are [now] furnished with a wedding, I will not become a younger brother married before the elder [brothers],” Arjuna (Kapīdhvaja) was pleased.
- 318-20. Just as King Drupada was filled with anxiety, [thinking] “I am not able to give a single daughter to those five; in giving her, I will indeed put myself in a position to be derided by the sages; [but] that bridegroom garland fluttered upon the necks of the five; from where did this divine voice arise?; what will be?”, a certain wandering ascetic arrived by way of the sky.
- 321-2. Like bees [are drawn] to the fragrance of a blossoming lotus garden, the kings, led by Drupada (Pāñcāla) and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣvaksena) got up and went towards him, who was lighting up the quarters with the splendour of his body which was radiant like gold, as if it was transformed into the embodiment of the supreme light.

323. Having seated that sage on a jeweled throne, all of the kings bowed down, with heads touching the ground.
324. Then, having reached a favourable moment at the close of the teachings, Kṛṣṇa asked the lord of sages, “How could there be five husbands of Draupadī (Pāñcālī)?”
325. He said: “Five husbands were chosen by her due to a nidāna enunciated in her previous birth. Do not worry any more.

The Story of Draupadī’s past life as Nāgaśrī

326. In the past, in this very city of Campā, there were three brahmins, named Somadeva, Somabhūti, and Somadatta, who were full brothers.
327. They had three wives who were the birthplace of passionate love, and who were named, respectively, Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, and Yakṣaśrī.
328. Because of their fondness for one another, this was their decision, “Taking turns, our meals are to be eaten by all of us together in one house.”
329. Now, as the day when it was her turn [to supply] the food rolled around, Nāgaśrī prepared a meal in which many spices and seasonings were used.
330. She prepared with many fine ingredients a bitter tumbīphala gourd; somehow, she only realized this after it had been cooked.
331. Because of the economic hardship arising from the loss of various valuable ingredients, she did not throw it away; having put the whole dish in some secret place, she kept it.
332. She fed her husband and his brothers with various delectable eatables other than [the gourd], and was pleased they went outside.
333. Around that time, a noble and omniscient Jaina sage named Dharmaghoṣa descended in the city park called Subhūmibhāga.
334. One of his disciples, Dharmaruci, when at the conclusion of a month-long fast, went to the home of Nāgaśrī, like a wishing tree of the Ganges.
335. Having thus reflected, “Let [the cooking of] this [gourd] not be in vain: thus, this person ought to be pleased [with it]”, she [i.e. Nāgaśrī] gave him [i.e. Dharmaruci] that [bitter] gourd curry.

336. Having thought, “This is unprecedented [i.e. I’ve never seen this before!],” and with the desire of showing kindness by having another accept the dish, and having come to their dwelling place [in Subhūmibhāga Park], he showed it to his guru.
337. Having smelled its odour, [his guru] said out of kindness, “If you would eat this, my child, you would instantly suffer death.
338. “You must dump it somewhere in a clean and barren place.” Having received this instruction from his guru, he then went to the outskirts of the city.
339. When a drop of that sauce somehow fell there from the pot, that sage saw that the ants who were drawn to it were dying.
340. He, of whom a violent agitation was apparent, thought, “If merely a drop of this is a killer of so many living beings, what would the whole thing do?!”
341. Having reflected, “The death of a single being, me, is to be preferred to the death of creatures by the millions”, and with a joyous thrill, he ate it himself.
342. Having confessed his sins in the presence of the Siddhas, and directing his mind to the sweet sensation of samādhi, that sage, having relinquished his life, went to [the heaven known as] Sarvārthasiddha.
343. Then, his guru Śrīdharmaghoṣa directed the other sages to find out the cause of Dharmaruci’s delay in the [city’s] outskirts.
344. Having seen him dead in the [city’s] outskirts, and taking along his [few his possessions], broom etc., they showed them to their guru.
345. Using means of knowledge beyond the ordinary senses, he narrated the story of Nāgaśrī to the sages just as it happened.
346. Having somehow found this out by word of mouth, the people spoke of her evil act to those [three] brahmins beginning with Somadeva.
347. Those brahmins, having good and properly reviled her, banished her from her home, and she wandered all over being abused by the whole world.
348. She, whose body was overcome by sixteen diseases beginning with cough, asthma, wasting, tremors and leprosy, obtained the anguish of hell while right here [on earth].

349. Tormented by hunger and thirst, being despised by the world at every step, and reeling in misery, she, having died, sunk to the sixth hell.
350. Having been born among the fishes, she went from there to the seventh hell; having again achieved a birth as a fish, she again went there [i.e. the seventh hell].
351. In thus a manner was she twice consigned to each one of the hells, and likewise ascended many times as various creatures beginning with earth bodies.

The Story of Draupadī's past life as Sukumārikā

352. Then, on account of the lightness of her karma, she arose [once again] in Campā as one Sukumārikā, daughter of Sāgaradatta, born from the womb of Subhadrā.
353. There was, at that place, Sāgara, son of Jinadatta, born from Bhadrā. One day his father observed Sukumārikā while she was in her house.
354. Thinking, "This girl is suitable for my son", and having approached her father, he, accompanied by his kinsmen, asked for her in marriage [for his son].
355. And [her father] said, "This girl is exceedingly precious to me; I cannot exist without her. Thus, your son Sāgara must be my resident-son-in-law."
356. Saying, "I will put it to my son", Jinadatta went home and communicated this to Sāgara. [Sāgara merely] stood there, remaining silent.
357. His father, according to the axiom that "A lack of opposition equals assent", considered his son as resident-son-in-law to Sāgaradatta.
358. The marvelous marriage ceremony of those two was brought about; at night, they resorted to their bed in the bedroom.
359. Though having experienced her touch, which was, because of the power of previous deeds, just like that of burning charcoal, Sāgara somehow managed to stay there for a short time.
360. While she was happily sleeping, he, having bowed down, went home. When she awoke, and not seeing her husband, she wept violently.
361. Then, at dawn, a female servant was instructed by Subhadrā [to go to their bedroom] for the purpose of cleaning their teeth, and she saw that girl weeping, abandoned by her husband.

362. Having left, she reported to Subhadrā, who likewise immediately told her own husband. He himself reproached the father of his son-in-law.
363. [In turn, Jinadatta] then said to his son, “My child, this was improperly done by you. So go there again now – let not my promise be violated.”
364. Sāgara said, “I would sooner jump into fire! O father, never again will I go to her home!
365. Now, Sāgaradatta, who was hiding outside, heard this, and having gone home without any hope, said to Sukumārikā:
366. “For some reason or other, my child, Sāgara is entirely without interest in you. [But] you must not be depressed about it; some other husband shall be procured for you.”
367. Sometime later, standing by a window, he spied a certain beggar who wore merely a loin cloth, had a single bowl, and was surrounded by flies.
- 368-9. Having invited him in, bathed him with sweet-smelling water, smeared him with sandal paste, and clothed him in heavenly garments, [Sāgaradatta] said to that [beggar]: “This young maiden, Sukumārikā, is given by me to you. You must remain here together with her, happily delighting in my wealth.”
370. Thus addressed, he entered the bedroom together with her at night and thought, “To me, the embrace of her body is like the burning of fire.”
371. Having quickly gotten up, and taking along his own clothes, he fled. Her father, having seen her weeping once again, said:
372. “My child, this simply must be the ripening of past deeds – there is no other explanation. Thus, you must calmly remain here in my house dispensing charity.”
373. Doing just this, and devoted solely to dharma, she stayed. One day, a nun called Gopālikā came to her house.
374. Having furnished her with such things as pure food and drink, and having heard the dharma from her mouth, she had an awakening, and took the vow.
375. Now, constantly performing austerities, beginning with the 4th, 6th, and 8th fasts, she wandered with that nun.

376. One day, she said to that worthy woman, “I will complete the Ātāpanā [vow], standing in Subhūmibhāga park, staring into the sun.”
377. [Gopālikā] replied with these words: “The words of the Āgamas are indeed, ‘Ātāpanā is not to be performed by nuns outside of the monastery’”
- 378-80. Not heeding her words, having gone into that [Subhūmibhāga] park, and just as she was about to commence the Ātāpanā with eyes directed at the sun, she noticed that the courtesan Devadattā had arrived there, reposing in the lap of one man, her foot resting upon the chest of another man, a garland being applied by another, a parasol being held over her by another, and being fanned by yet another.
381. Having spied her, and with her desire for sexual passion unfulfilled [in this life], she made the following nidāna: “As a result of this austerity, may I, like that [Devadattā], become the lover of five men.”
382. Devoted to activities beginning with the cleansing of her body, sprinkling [water upon herself] over and over, this woman, though the Āryā [Gopālikā] tried to stop her, fixed this in her mind:
383. “Previously, I was a laywoman, highly esteemed by the Āryikā, but now that I am a nun, this one despises me.”
384. Having reflected upon this, and having left [the monastery], she remained in a separate dwelling. For a long time, she kept her vow, practicing the way she wanted to.
385. Having completed eight months of strict fasting, she passed away without ever repenting; she became a goddess in [the heaven] Saudharma with a life-span of nine palyopamas.
386. On account of her former nidāna, this one, fallen from a divine existence, became Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), and these five eminent men are known to be her husbands. What is surprising in this?
387. Having proclaimed these words, that sage left by means of the sky, for such people never stay in one place for long.
388. When the Pāṇḍavas had obtained their bride, their kinsmen-kings acquired a happy glowing expression, like lotus shoots do from the sun.
389. Then, Pāṇḍu and Drupada (Pāñcālabhūpa) at once began preparations for the nuptials, which were spectacular due to an abundance of riches.

390. Draupadī (Pāñcālī), having been respectfully led to the palace by the older women in her family, whose eyes were wide open with delight, was made to sit on a bathing seat.
391. Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), who was rubbed with pleasant-smelling oils, looked positively radiant, as if radiating outwards her inner love for the sons of Pāṇḍu.
392. Her childhood was cut up and strewn about by her adolescence in the form of those unguents that were dripping from her body.
393. The women joyfully made, on her limbs, nine marks with sandal, like the nine treasures of Rati.
394. The women of the family placed a thread, under the pretext of the tarku-thread (?), onto her body as if from the motive of [laying the foundation] for the new abode of youth.
395. Then, the auspicious sounds from a group of beautiful women of the family forcefully burst forth, raining down nectar onto the ears of all.
396. The fair-eyed women of the family put Draupadī onto a platform and likewise they happily applied her make-up.
397. Then, they bathed the perpetually youthful one with lukewarm waters to which camphor, musk, and saffron had been added.
398. Draupadī's (Pāñcālī) body shone forth from being rubbed with a fragrant cloth, and was at the same time decorated like a newly-made jewelled doll.
399. They adorned her with various ornaments [only] because it was customary – something not naturally beautiful cannot be made so [merely] by accessories.
400. She then put on a fine cloth around her eyes, as if raining down with a torrent of water of beauty under the pretext of dangling fringes.
401. Having done all this, the young women joyfully led her to the Temple of the Mothers, making her whose eyes were full of love to sit upon a golden throne.
- 402-3. Those five Pāṇḍavas, by whom the smearing with unguents had also been done, having taken a bath, by whom delightful ornaments had been put on, and then, having mounted the best of riding-elephants one after the other, together came forth to marry Draupadī (Pāñcālī).

404. Their peacock-feather parasol, over all of their heads, shone as if struck by the rays of the sun from the splendor of the dark jewels in their diadems.
405. The *maṅgalatūryas* [i.e. a musical instrument used at festivals] rang out before them again and again, as if inviting the lords of the quarters with the loud echoes.
406. The sounds of the *nisvārṇas* [name of a musical instrument], powerful enough to rend the valleys of the Himālayas, rose up from the west, as if out of anger at the presence of the enemies.
- 407-8. Dust, stirred up by the hooves of the horses of the kinsmen-kings who were assembling, blocked out the form/body of the sun, as if [with the thought], “Where the sons of Pāṇḍu are, foremost among all by virtue of the radiance of their vital energies, what need is there for these rays of the sun to fall upon the earth?”
409. Large black bees buzzed about the flowered ornaments of the best of the elephants of the vassal princes to partake of the stream of rutting fluid.
410. The sky looked beautiful, covered by the white umbrellas of the kinsmen-kings as if all of the full moons had come to see the wedding.
411. Likewise, the sky was [made] beautiful by the banners/flags, flapping in the pleasant breeze, as if pointing out to Draupadī the pathway to the *kautukāgāra* [i.e. the room in which a marriage ceremony takes place].
412. Those horses of the sun, intent upon hearing the women’s songs of blessing for a long time, exhausted their riders.
413. Then, Kuntī, Mādrī, and those led by Gāndhārī arrived with fabulously elegant attire – they were worthy to be looked at even by the heavenly women.
- 414-5. Accompanied by the loud-sounding musical instruments bursting the ears of the enemy on the one hand and drawing the world to the spectacle on the other, and with their superhuman strength of arm everywhere being praised by the bards, the Pāṇḍavas then assembled in succession at the entrance to the wedding pavilion.
416. Having waited for the blessing brought down by the mothers-in-law to be done, those of whom the splendor was like the sun thus approached the Temple of the Mothers.
417. Draupadī’s (Pāñcālī) right hand was there joined with [all of] their right hands by the chaplain, as if by Brahmā.

418. At the behest of her female elders, Draupadī somehow melded her gaze, [which had been] downcast from bashfulness, [but was now] rising to the sons of Pāṇḍu, with their [gaze].
- 419-20. Then, having recited the nuptial verses, and an offering of oblations being made by the brahmin, those competent ones, as if the pañcāngamantrāṅgāni (?) had become incarnate, accompanied by Draupadī (Kāmpilya-nātha-nandanā) as if by Lakṣmī in person, circumambulated the fire on the altar.
421. After the ceremony of unjoining of the hands, Drupada bestowed upon the Pāṇḍavas everything he owed excepting only his wives.
422. The women of the city, drawn by the rumble of kettle drums, sang melodious and auspicious songs like the melodious humming of the female cuckoo.
423. Taking along Draupadī (Drupadātmajā) as if she were a king's Lakṣmī in person, and having mounted their chariot, the Pāṇḍavas set off towards their own abode.
424. Then, Pāṇḍu, accompanied by his wives and children and the kings who had assembled, beginning with Kṛṣṇa, set out towards his own city.
425. Having gone a short way, Pāṇḍu forcefully caused King Drupada, who had been following, to turn back.
- 426-9. Then, accompanied by that collection of kinsmen-kings which had assembled, and by his wives and sons, Pāṇḍu entered his own city, in which the blue festoons of leaves suspended across the gateways became visible as they approached their abode, in which flags were touching the sky on all the major roadways, by which [even] a celestial chariot would compare unfavourably to the shining thrones all over the place, of which the weight (-mānakam? Should be -mānavam? – people?) shook from the thrumming noise which filled the belly of the sky, and which was as if dotted on all sides by fields of fresh blue lotus blossoms by the collection of eyes of the women who had been drawn to the spectacle out of curiosity.

**The Marriage of Draupadī
In The Śvetāmbara Jaina Tradition:
Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra***

Title:	<i>Pāṇḍavacaritra</i> (in the <i>Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti</i> of Dharmaghoṣa)
Author:	Śubhaśīla
Date:	15 th century (1462 CE)
Language:	Sanskrit verse
Edited By:	Munirāja-Lābhasāgaragaṇi
Published By:	
Translated By:	Jonathan Geen (Draupadī's Marriage only)
Series:	Āgamoddhāra-granthamālā 41 st Ratnam
Length:	36 pages; 1,232 unnumbered verses
Table of Contents:	No
Index:	No
Text Divisions:	none
Apparatus:	none

About the Author:

I have come across precious little about Śubhaśīla. Krishnamachariar doesn't mention him at all in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. He is described, however, in the *Jinaratnakośa* as a pupil of Munisundarasūri of the Tāpa Gaccha.⁶¹ Winternitz⁶² makes reference to a Śubhaśīla Gaṇin, who composed a text known as the *Pañcaśatī Prabodha-Sambandha*, or Book of 500 stories serving to awaken the Faith. This latter text was completed only two years (1464 CE) after the *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti*, which makes it plausible that a single Śubhaśīla authored both, though Winternitz's poet is said to have been a pupil of Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri.

About the Text:

The *Śatruñjayakalpavṛtti* consists of a commentary on the *Śatruñjayakalpa*, attributed to Dharmaghoṣa, and the *Pāṇḍavacartira* arises as a story associated with verse

⁶¹ Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa*, p. 372.

25 (of 39 or 40) of the *Śatruñjayakalpa*. According to the *Jinaratnakośa*, Śubhaśīla's text is also known as the *Śatruñjayabṛhatkalpa* or *Śatruñjayakalpakathā*, or *Śatruñjayakalpakośa*.⁶³

⁶² Winternitz, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 523; Winternitz also includes a footnote stating that Pavolini, in *Giornale della societa Asiatica Italiana* 13, pp. 89ff, dealt with the stories of Draupadī, Kuntī-Devakī and Rukmiṇī in the *Pañcaśatī Prabodha-Sambandha*.

⁶³ Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa*, p. 372.

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⁶⁴ Though rather long and detailed, I include this table of contents/summary in order to give an overview of the later Śvetāmbara versions -- Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* was much too long and detailed to provide even this type of summary.

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⁶⁵ Note that there seems to be a conflation of two episodes here: (i) Bhīma gathering the flowers for Draupadī (*Critical Edition* III: 146ff); and (ii) the fight between Duryodhana and the *gandharva* Citrasena at lake Dvaitavana (*Critical Edition* III:229ff).

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When he comes, Bhīma kills him and writes a message on his headband	p. 40
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- When Bhīṣma heard the sound of the conch, he exclaims “Hey Duryodhana, this guy wearing women’s clothing is Arjuna!. Having met with him now, the kingdom should be given to him today” p. 43
- Duryodhana and Bṛhannaṭā (Arjuna) exchange words p. 43
- Bṛhannaṭā (Arjuna) points out to Uttara the different members of the enemy by the clothing they wear p. 43
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- Arjuna reveals himself to Duryodhana p. 44
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- Samudravijaya and Kṛṣṇa go to Duryodhana at Hastināgapura as envoys of the Pāṇḍavas p. 44
- Kṛṣṇa says, “the Pāṇḍavas kept their promise ...” p. 44
- The envoy asks Duryodhana for the Kingdom back as promised p. 45
- Duryodhana responds, “Except through battle, I will not give them even one single town (*grāma*); Kṛṣṇa says, “Just give 5 *grāmas*, beginning with Indraprastha”; Duryodhana says, “Except through battle, I will (not?) give them one field (*kṣetra*)”; Kṛṣṇa responds, “Give them one *grāma*, O best of Kurus”; Duryodhana refuses p. 45
- Finally Bhīṣma and others say to Kṛṣṇa that he should go back to the Pāṇḍavas and tell them that Duryodhana will not give them even one speck of dust p. 45

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- Kṛṣṇa is backed by many including: King Samudravijaya, Mahānemi,

Marunnemi, Satyanemi, Dhanañjaya (Arjuna), Ariṣṭanemi riding on a horse, Jayasena, Mahāsena, Śivānanda, Tejaḥsena, Mahāviṣṇu, Mahāmsa, Gautama. Along with these great warriors were the many Yādava princes, the sons of Kṛṣṇa starting with Pradyumna and Śāmba, the sons of the Daśārhas, the sons of Rāma, and kings beginning with King Ugrasena	p. 47
Kṛṣṇa's army worshipped the <i>arhats</i> with the best flowers etc.	p. 47
Then, Kṛṣṇa and his army went forth to conquer their enemy	p. 47
They went 50 <i>yojanas</i> from Dvārakā, and stopped in a village called Śanipalyā	p. 47
The great army of Jarāsandha was 4 <i>yojanas</i> away	p. 47
Kṛṣṇa meets some <i>vidyādharas</i>	p. 47
Duryodhana recognizes many Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas	p. 47
Bowing to Jarāsandha, Duryodhana says, "The 5 Pāṇḍavas are amongst Kṛṣṇa's army. First, I will kill them in battle. Then, Kṛṣṇa will be killed by you"	p. 47
The armies advance; the Pāṇḍavas assemble on Kurukṣetra	p. 47
The battle between the Pāṇḍavas' army and Duryodhana's army commences	p. 47
Abhimanyu, Kṛpa, Bhīṣma, Yudhiṣṭhira, and Arjuna are mentioned; the fight between Duryodhana and Bhīma begins	p. 47
Śalya joins the fight	p. 47
Arjuna fights with Bhīṣma; Bhīṣma takes initiation and goes to the 12 th heaven	p. 47
Duryodhana then makes Droṇa the general of his army	p. 47
Arjuna salutes Droṇa	p. 47
Arjuna battles King Bhagadatta and kills him	p. 48

Duryodhana calls for the <i>cakra</i> -formation	p. 48
This <i>cakra</i> -formation is breeched by Bhīma and Abhimanyu	p. 48
Abhimanyu is killed by Jayadratha	p. 48
Arjuna finds this out, and kills Jayadratha	p. 48
Bhīma kills many of the enemy	p. 48
Arjuna battles Karṇa and kills him	p. 48
Droṇa kills Virāṭa and Drupada	p. 48
Yudhiṣṭhira kills an elephant called “Aśvathāman”; Droṇa hears that “Aśvathāman” has been killed, and thinks it is his own son; by the command of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna kills Droṇa; Droṇa goes to the 3 rd heaven in Brahmaloaka	p. 48
Aśvathāman finds out his father is dead ...	p. 48
Sahadeva kills many of the enemy; Nakula kills Duryodhana’s son Bala; many kings are killed	p. 48
Duryodhana fights Bhīma’s son Ghaṭotkaca	p. 48
Arjuna kills Ravisuta	p. 48
Bhīma kills many of the enemy with his mace, right in the vicinity of Duryodhana	p. 48
Bhīma and Duryodhana fight, and Bhīma kills Duryodhana	p. 48
When Duryodhana has been killed, the gods rained-down flowers upon the heads of the Pāṇḍavas	p. 48
Gāndhārī says to Kṛṣṇa ... ; Kṛṣṇa responds ... ; etc. etc.	p. 48
The conversation between Kṛṣṇa and Gāndhārī continues	p. 49
Yudhiṣṭhira says that Gāndhārī is like their mother, just as Kuntī is	p. 49
Kṛṣṇa kills Jarāsandha, King of Trikhaṇḍa	p. 49

- Then, Kṛṣṇa, in Dvāravatī, is installed as king through royal consecration by kings beginning with Samudravijaya p. 49
- “That Kṛṣṇa’s relatives acquired the kingdom from Kṛṣṇa is to be ascertained from the *Kṛṣṇacaritra*” (an earlier section of the *vytti*?) p. 49
- The Pāṇḍavas return to Hastināgapura p. 49
- Once, Nemi was spending some time on the outskirts of Hastināgapura; he was honoured there by the gods p. 49
- Then Yudhiṣṭhira, together with his brothers, mother, wives, and sons, went around to receive instruction in the *dharma* from Nemi p. 49
- Having heard the Śatruñjaya-māhātmyam from the mouth of Nemi, Yudhiṣṭhira was of the mind to make a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain p. 50
- Another time, Yudhiṣṭhira considers going to Śiva’s mountain (*Śivācala*) p. 50
- Pāṇḍu, their father, now a god in heaven, appeared and said to Yudhiṣṭhira, “Together with your brothers, you should worship the gods Siddhadhātrīdhara p. 50
- Having heard the words of his father, Yudhiṣṭhira invited many kings for the pilgrimage p. 50
- Then, Yudhiṣṭhira, joined by a bunch of kings and their subjects, set out, moving from town to town, village to village, worshipping the *jinās* p. 50
- Finally, they ascend Mt. Śatruñjaya p. 50
- Then Kṛṣṇa, together with a multitude, came there from Dvāravatī to bow to the Jina Ṛṣabha (*yugādiśa*) p. 50
- Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas bow before the impression of the feet of the Jina and do other worshipful things p. 50
- Then, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, having seen the decaying condition of the temple, discussed together about the renovating the old temple/

building a new temple	p. 50
The Pāṇḍavas, on Raivataka mountain, installed images in the houses of the <i>jinās</i>	p. 50
Kṛṣṇa talks to Yudhiṣṭhira about erecting a temple to Ādideva (R̥ṣabha)	p. 50
Pāṇḍu, the god, arrives ...	p. 50
Yudhiṣṭhira erects a temple of Ādideva	p. 50
Then Yudhiṣṭhira caused a miracle to be performed: something about placing a pillar/post in the middle (of the temple?), consisting of moulds of images, something about a jewel (?), etc. etc.	p. 50
They worship Varadattaguru	p. 50
Then, having gone to and bowed to Jineśvara in Dvāravatī, Yudhiṣṭhira held a celebration in his own city	p. 50
Another time, Draupadī (Vedijā), having seen that Nārada had come there, but not having acted with the reverence due to a <i>guru</i> , offended Nārada	p. 50
Nārada then went to King Padmottara and told him about the sons of Pāṇḍu in Kumbhi-puri in Bharata, and about their wife Draupadī and how she is the best ...	p. 51
On hearing this, King Padmottara was desirous of abducting Draupadī	p. 51
King Padmottara secretly brought Draupadī to his own women's apartment	p. 51
The Pāṇḍavas realize that Draupadī has been abducted; they look for her but cannot find her; they go to see Kṛṣṇa in Dvāravatī; Kṛṣṇa cannot find her either	p. 51
Then, Nārada tells Kṛṣṇa that Draupadī is with King Padmottara	p. 51
Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas go to King Padmottara; the Pāṇḍavas do battle with King Padmottara but are defeated	p. 51

- Kṛṣṇa sees that the Pāṇḍavas are defeated; Kṛṣṇa takes on the “Man-Lion” form p. 51
- King Padmottara, realizing that Kṛṣṇa had arrived, and being frightened, took Draupadī with him and bowed to Kṛṣṇa p. 51
- Then, the sound of Kṛṣṇa’s conch is heard in the city known as “Padmā”; the *tīrthaṅkara* Padma (Padmaprabha, the 6th *tīrthaṅkara*) comes there p. 51
- Kṛṣṇa talks to Padma/Jinendra/Jina p. 51
- Somehow, the Pāṇḍavas get home with Draupadī p. 51
- Now, for some reason Kṛṣṇa is mad, and comes to Hasti-puri (sic), but is somehow passified by Kuntī’s words; he gives the Southern Mathurā (=Madurai?) to the Pāṇḍavas p. 51
- The Pāṇḍavas go there, and together with their mother and wives, follow the *jainadharmā* each day p. 51
- One day, Jarākumāra (brother & accidental slayer of Kṛṣṇa) came to their place and told them the news of the burning of Dvārakā p. 51
- Then, Nemi, realizing that the hearts of the Pāṇḍavas were desirous of receiving initiation, sent the sage Dharmaghoṣa to enlighten them p. 52
- The Pāṇḍavas, having bowed respectfully to Dharmaghoṣa, listen as he speaks to them about *dharma* p. 52
- They then ask him, “What meritorious act (*puṇyam*) was done by us to attain this state?” p. 52
- Dharmaghoṣa tells the Pāṇḍavas of their previous existence, and having settled the kingdom upon their son Parīkṣit, the Pāṇḍavas, together with Draupadī and Kuntī, took the vow p. 52
- They constantly and devotedly read/recited the *jina-āgamas* at the side of the *guru*, and 11 *aṅgas*, devoted entirely to the doing of tapas, were produced p. 52
- Eventually, the Pāṇḍavas, together with 500 princes, on Mt. Śatruñjaya, obtained emancipation p. 52

- They left the kingdom in the hands of Yudhiṣṭhira's son Vairimardana p. 52
- Vairimardana undertakes a pilgrimage to Mt. Puṇḍarīka p. 53
- There, he hears the words of the *Śrīgurus* p. 53
- Then he goes to Śatruñjaya, where he worships at the feet (or, the footprints?) of Ṛṣabheśa, among other things p. 53
- Then, Vairimardana went to Śrīnemi on the Raivata mountain and honoured him p. 53
- Then, in the course of time, having settled the kingdom upon his own son Siṁha, King Vairimardana took initiation and attained emancipation p. 53

The Story of the Marriage of Draupadī from Śubhāśīla's Pāṇḍavacaritra⁶⁶

1. One day a certain man approached King Pāṇḍu, while [the latter] was in his Assembly Hall, and said, "The eminent city of Kāmpīlya is resplendent.
2. "There, Cūlanī became the wife of King Drupada. She has a son Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and also a daughter Draupadī.
3. "All the Daśārhas, beginning with the Yādavas, and all the kings, beginning with Damadanta, will assemble at her svayaṁvara on the appointed day.
4. "O Pāṇḍu, You too, together with your five sons, must immediately adorn the city of Kāmpīlya as Hari adorns the city of Heaven."
5. Thus, King Pāṇḍu went there with haste, accompanied by his five sons, and was happily honoured by King Drupada.
6. When the praiseworthy kings, beginning with the Daśārhas, were seated according to rank on the various thrones in that wedding pavilion,
7. Draupadī, having donned two exquisite garments at day break, and seated in a comfortable seat, was carried into the wedding pavilion.
8. Then, by the order of King Drupada, the doorkeeper said: "A fine *cakra* revolves in front of the base of the Rādhā-pillar.
9. "Twelve-spoke wheels, on [both] the left and right sides of it, revolve as well. There is a beautiful statue of a girl attached to the front of the *cakra* that is known as 'Rādhā'.
- 10-11. "This princess Draupadī will choose as her bridegroom the man who, positioned at the bottom of the pillar, and having arms raised up, shall skillfully hit [the doll's] left eye while looking down at its true image which is reflected in a saucepan filled with ghee."
12. [But, no matter] which king lifted up the bow and firmly released an

⁶⁶ Note that in certain sections of the *Śatruñjayakalpaṛṭī*, including the *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, the verses are not individually numbered; rather, only the total number of verses is listed at the end of the section. Thus, in the following episode, I arbitrarily assigned the verse numbers for convenience only.

arrow, the result was an arrow bust into 100 pieces like [so many] pieces of rock.

13. Then, while many kings were watching with amused looks, Arjuna (Phālguna) successfully hit the target 'Rādhā', according to the rules laid down in the *śāstras*.
14. Then, as the gods were crying out 'Jaya Jaya' in the sky, a rain of flowers fell from the sky upon the head of Arjuna (Pārtha).

SANSKRIT VERSE:

Having united wealth with wisdom, cleverness with learning, power with tranquillity, sovereignty with prudence, and faith with righteous behaviour, there is success for a fortunate man. (1)

15. Just as the daughter of Drupada tossed the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Pārtha), that excellent bridegroom garland assumed a five-fold form.
16. Being tossed, it quickly fell onto the shoulders of the five [Pāṇḍava] brothers, and there was a voice in the sky saying "These five ought to be the husbands of Draupadī".
17. When Draupadī tossed the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna (Pārtha), it fell *simultaneously* around the necks of the five brothers.
18. Then, Pāṇḍu, the Daśārhas, and other kings, etc., all said the following to one another, "Why are there five husbands of Draupadī? Someone must be consulted in this matter".
19. Then, Kṛṣṇa and the others, having observed that a wandering *śramaṇa* muni had suddenly arrived on the scene from the sky, happily went to pay their respects to him.
20. Then that *śramaṇa* said, "Without the *dharma* spoken by a Jina, living being are neither happy here nor in the world to come.
21. "In this life, the first sorrow of men [comes from being] in a womb in the middle of a woman's belly, and then, in childhood, there is the sorrow connected with drinking the milk of a woman whose body is covered with filth, and then, in youth, there is the sorrow of separation, and finally, there is the sapless elderly state. Oh men! If there is, in the midst of *samsāra*, even some small happiness, you must say what it is!

22. “Here in this worthless *samsāra*, the mistaken impression of happiness in embodied creatures is like the illusion of milk in children [who are merely] sucking on their thumbs (i.e. their own spit).
23. “Childhood, with its want of judgment, youth with its intoxication from desire, old age with its infirmity, ... there is, for men, a constant visitation with affliction.
24. “Living beings are afflicted at dawn with urine and excrement, and at midday with hunger, thirst and desire; at night they are afflicted by sleep.

PRAKRIT VERSE (I’ll work on these later)

PRAKRIT VERSE

25. Having heard the *dharma*, and having bowed to the ṛṣi, the kings, beginning with Pāṇḍu and Kṛṣṇa, asked him, “How can it be that this Draupadī is the wife of five [men]?”
26. The muni narrated, “There was, in Campā, a *sheth* named Sāgaradattaka. Sukumārikā, born of [his wife] Subhadrā, was his daughter.
27. “In her youth, she was married to Jinadatta's son Sāgara. One night, she went to bed with her husband.
28. “That Sāgara, whose body was being burned from the touch of her body, which was like flaming charcoal, abandoned her, and having ran off, went far away.
29. “The mother [Subhadrā] asked the daughter [Sukumārikā] who, on awakening, realized that her husband had departed, and who was [consequently] much engaged in weeping, ‘O daughter! Why are you crying?’
30. “The daughter said, ‘O mother! My husband, having abandoned me, has surely gone some place [else]!’ The mother said, ‘O daughter! You must not cry! Your husband will return here.’
31. “When that Sāgara was neither seen nor even met with anywhere, [Sukumārikā] was then given to another bridegroom by her father.

32. “That [second] husband as well, having abandoned his wife [Sukumārikā] like her previous husband, quickly went to a distant place. So then, she was secretly given to [yet] another bridegroom.
33. “[But] then he too, having abandoned [his] wife at night on account of the touch of her body [being] like that of burning charcoal, quickly ran far away.
34. “Lack of ghee, very small amounts of food, separation from loved ones, and association with unloved ones: all are the consequence of sin.
35. “Over the course of time, her father, having figured out that contact with his daughter’s body was akin to the touch of burning charcoal, said, ‘You must remain here and meditate on *dharma*.’
36. “Eventually, out of disgust, and in the presence of the nun Gaṅgā, she took on the vow of restraint and practiced severe austerities.
37. “Continuously performing the penance [of sitting next to fires] beginning with one, two, three, four, and five, she happily undertakes austerities in a grove during the hot season.
38. “A courtesan, named Devadattā, having a lovely figure, seated in a comfortable chair, and being attended upon by five men, came there.
- 39-40. “The female ascetic [Sukumārikā], observing that great attention to [Devadattā’s] body was continuously being paid by those five men, by the washing her feet etc., thought, ‘In this life, I was odious to men, but that [woman] is enjoying sexual pleasure with five men.
41. “ ‘Hence, by the supernatural powers acquired through my severe austerities, let there certainly be in my next life five men, resembling Madana, as [my] husbands.’
42. “At the conclusion of performing severe austerities, she took on a fast to death; she did not confess what she had thought, and she became the wife of the lord of Saudharma.
43. “[Then] she fell from heaven, and by virtue of the power from her previously performed austerities, having become the daughter of the king, she is now the wife of five men.
44. “As a result of the vow which she made in a previous life and which stated the object of her austerities, these five are now her husbands.”

45. [Then] there was a heavenly voice in the sky [which spoke] thus:
“Although there are five husbands, [nevertheless], Draupadī is to be considered a virtuous woman”, and henceforth her father rejoiced.
46. Thus, when the maiden Draupadī was married to the five Pāṇḍavas during the appropriate festival, [then all] the mothers and fathers were delighted.
47. Then, King Pāṇḍu, along with his sons, was honoured by King Drupada with gifts of fine food, drinks, and garments.
48. Other kings were then also honoured by King Drupada by gifts beginning with the finest garments, [after which each one] went to his own city.
49. After the glittering festival, King Pāṇḍu, together with his sons, was dismissed by Drupada and went to Hastināpurī.
50. Pāṇḍu, along with Nārada, made (the following) decree, “Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmaputra) and [the other 4 brothers] are to stay in Draupadī’s house one at a time.

Omitted SANSKRIT VERSE (which doesn’t make sense).

51. “A 12 year tour of the *tīrthas* should be done by [any] person [i.e. any of the other 4 brothers] who interrupts while one of the husbands is in Draupadī’s house.”
52. Then, in the presence of the *ṛṣi* [i.e. Nārada], the happiness-and-peace-conferring *dharma*, rooted in compassion for souls, was received by a multitude beginning with Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira.
53. “How is it possible that that *dharma*, which is the motive for non-violence, could originate from violence? Water-born lotuses are not produced in fire.
54. “All beings are fond of pleasure, and all shrink back from misery. Therefore, a seeker after pleasure should give only pleasure; a giver of pleasure obtains many pleasures.”
- 55-56. Once, while Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmasuta) was residing in Draupadī’s house, and [at a time] when a herd of cows, driven away by thieves, were making cries of “baṁba”, Arjuna entered there [i.e. into the house] for the sake of his bow, and having caught up with the enemies, and having struck them down with his bow, he drove the cows back from the forest.

57. When Arjuna (Pārtha), remaining in the pleasure garden, did not come inside the city, [then] Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmasuta), accompanied by his brothers, approached and said:
58. “Hail Arjuna (Pārtha)! You must go into the city! You must guard the earth righteously! Why do you remain in this garden?” Then [Arjuna] said:
59. “While stalwart Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmaputra) was engaged with his wife in the house, I entered for the sake of my bow. Hence, I must remain in the forest for 12 years.”
60. Yudhiṣṭhira said, “O brother, why do you speak such words? In my heart, O Arjuna (Dhanañjaya), there is not even the slightest enmity for you”.
61. Arjuna (Dhanañjaya) said, “There was a breaking of my promise. Hence, Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmasū), I must remain in the forest for 12 years doing religious acts.”

APPENDIX II

Plot Summaries of the Marriage of Draupadī from the Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina Traditions

In Appendix I, I simply presented translations of twelve different versions of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī, one after the other, without any attempt to compare and contrast their plots. In Appendix II, I have attempted to construct, as far as was possible, a basic plot summary of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī from each of the Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions. In order to do this, I divided eleven of the twelve versions¹ of the Marriage of Draupadī used for this thesis into three groups (Hindu, Digambara Jaina, and Śvetāmbara Jaina). Within each of these three groups, the various versions were compared on a series of plot points. For purposes of easy comparison, I chose one version from each group as the standard against which the other versions were compared. For example, in the group of four Hindu versions, I chose the version from the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* as my standard version, and only remarked on the remaining three Hindu versions when their plots deviated from that of the *Critical Edition*.

The main purpose behind constructing these plot summaries was to make grappling with twelve separate versions of *more-or-less* the same story a bit more

¹ The version from the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra was entirely unsuitable for this purpose, and is considered separately in Chapter Three.

manageable through superimposing (or uncovering) structural similarities among versions from the same tradition. Attempting to keep in mind the similarities and differences among twelve different versions is tremendously cumbersome, and would require more indulgence from my readers than I have a right to expect!

Also, while it would not surprise me if many of my readers came to this thesis with a reasonably good grasp of the story of the Marriage of Draupadī as found in the Hindu tradition, I doubt most would be equally familiar with either the Digambara or Śvetāmbara Jaina versions, which are themselves considerably different from one another. If, for example, I were to state that the story of Draupadī's Marriage in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* is quite similar to that found in the *Nāyādharmakahāo*, with the exception that Draupadī's past lives are related at a later point in the story, I cannot assume that this will communicate anything very meaningful to my readers. For this statement to be useful, one must have a basic plot summary of the Śvetāmbara Jaina version of the Marriage of Draupadī in one's mind.

As it happened, however, constructing even a basic plot summary for each of the three traditions had its challenges. As will be clear from what follows below, the four Hindu versions were quite amenable to this summarizing process, as they demonstrated relatively few points upon which they significantly diverged. On the other hand, the versions within the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions displayed, at times, wide variation, and for certain plot points there was no agreement among them at all. Nevertheless, as I hope will become

clear, it *was* just possible to identify a basic overall plot summary of the Marriage of Draupadī for each of the three traditions, making my efforts not entirely futile.

For the most part, this Appendix is designed to highlight similarities in plot structure among versions within each of the three traditions. For a discussion of the ways in which the Jaina versions have changed and evolved over the centuries, see Chapter Five.

Plot Summary of the Marriage of Draupadī in the Hindu Tradition

The four texts used in the construction of this plot summary are as follows: *The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* (CE), the *Indonesian Mahābhārata* (IM), the *Bhāratamañjarī* (BM), and the *Bālabhārata* (BB).² In the summary constructed below, I have divided the story into 45 plot points, and in general, the latter three texts are individually compared on each point to the CE only, and not to each other. Thus, when comments such as “similar” or “very similar in essential details” are used for any of these texts, it always means “similar to the CE,” unless otherwise explicitly stated.

The immediate goal of this exercise is to compare the basic plot and salient details among the four Hindu versions. Thus, the story as presented below is entirely my own summary, and is in no way a translation of the texts. Complete translations of the story of the “Marriage of Draupadī” from these four texts are to be found in Appendix I.

0. Introduction

King Pāṇḍu was dead. He had died as the result of a curse that stipulated that he would drop dead if he attempted to make love to a woman. It was this same curse that earlier compelled his two wives Kuntī and Mādrī to beget their children by various gods rather than Pāṇḍu himself. One day, while in the forest, Pāṇḍu approached Mādrī and died. Mādrī, a dutiful wife, was burned alive on his funeral pyre, while Kuntī, entrusted with Pāṇḍu's five sons, (i.e. the Pāṇḍavas), returned to Hastināpura. There, they were taken in under the protection of Pāṇḍu's elder brother, the blind King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and the Pāṇḍavas were raised alongside their cousins. These cousins, the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra led by Duryodhana, were often referred to as the Kauravas, denoting an ancestry in which King Kuru figured largely. As the years went by, the Kauravas did not fare well in open competition with the Pāṇḍavas, and a bitter rivalry sprung up in the minds of Duryodhana and his brothers. Duryodhana's animosity was especially kindled by Bhīma's constant bullying and Arjuna's ever-superior acumen.

1. Fire at the Lac-House

CE: Prince Duryodhana, eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and foremost among the Kauravas, became so overpowered by envy and animus against his cousins the Pāṇḍavas, that he conspired to have them burned alive in their sleep

² For technical details and a discussion of these texts, see Chapter Two and Appendix I.

together with their mother Kuntī in a specially constructed tinderbox-house made of lac. As it so happened, Vidura, brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu and thus an uncle to both Duryodhana and the Pāṇḍavas', became wise to Duryodhana's plot and secretly alerted the Pāṇḍavas to this immanent danger. Through Vidura's counsel and careful planning, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī escaped the fire unharmed. Nevertheless, because six unrecognizable corpses were discovered in the aftermath of the blaze,³ all the world, including Duryodhana and his cronies, believed the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī to have perished in the flames. Having escaped the fire unnoticed, the Pāṇḍavas and their mother wandered through the wilderness disguised as itinerant brahmin hermits.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

2. Bhīma Slays Hiḍimba and Marries Hiḍimbā

CE: While dwelling in the forest, Bhīma killed a *rākṣasa* named Hiḍimba and married his sister, the *rākṣasī* Hiḍimbā. Together they had a son named Ghaṭotkaca.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

³ i.e. the corpses of a Niṣāda woman and her five sons.

3. The Pāṇḍavas incognito at Ekacakrā

CE: Having wandered through the wilderness for some time, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī eventually arrived at a village called Ekacakrā where, continuing to don their disguises, they took up residence with a brahmin family.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

4. Bhīma Kills the Demon Baka

CE: While dwelling incognito at Ekacakrā, Bhīma killed the powerful demon Baka, who had been terrorizing the inhabitants of the village, and making travel throughout that region dangerous for strangers.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

5. A Wandering Brahmin Visits Ekacakrā

CE: After the death of Baka, a wandering brahmin arrived in Ekacakrā, encountered the Pāṇḍavas, and proceeded to narrate to them tales of the various people and places he had seen in his travels, including the Pāñcāla country and its ruler, King Drupada. This wandering brahmin was also the one to alert the Pāṇḍavas to the upcoming *svayaṃvara* of Drupada's daughter, Draupadī.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Similar, though there is no mention of Drupada holding a *svayamvara* for his daughter at this point in the text (see plot point 7).

BB: *Not found in this version.*

6. The Tale of Drupada, Droṇa and Dhṛṣṭadyumna

CE: Hearing mention of the Pāñcāla country and of King Drupada, the Pāṇḍavas pressed the brahmin for further details. The brahmin then spoke of the great animosity between king Drupada and Droṇa (none other than the martial *guru* of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas), and of Drupada's quest to procure a son capable of destroying Droṇa. He told the Pāṇḍavas that, by means of great ritual proficiency, two brahmins named Yāja and Upayāja created for Drupada just such a son in their sacrificial altar. This son of king Drupada was named Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

7. The Birth of Draupadī

CE: Shortly after Dhṛṣṭadyumna came forth from the sacrificial altar, a female child likewise appeared. This daughter of king Drupada was named Draupadī.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details, though Draupadī's impending *svayamvara* was only now mentioned for the first time in this text.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

8. A Journey to the Pāñcāla Country

CE: Having heard these reports from the wandering brahmin, Kuntī suggested to her sons that they should all visit the Pāñcāla country to witness it with their own eyes.

IM: Similar, though in this text, we are told that it was not Kuntī but rather Yudhiṣṭhira who, having formed a desire to attend Draupadī's *svayamvara*, suggested visiting the Pāñcāla country.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Quite different. In this text, the suggestion to go to the Pāñcāla country was not specifically ascribed to anyone, but they nevertheless collectively decided to go. Also, the rationale for their journey to the Pāñcāla country was not to attend Draupadī's *svayamvara*, an event of which, at this point in this text, they are entirely ignorant; nor was it simply to see the Pāñcāla country with their own eyes. Rather, they decided to leave Ekacakrā and go on a journey due to the general principle that people who are on the run should not stay in one place for too long.

9. An Encounter with Vyāsa

CE: It is not entirely clear whether the Pāñḍavas encountered Vyāsa just before leaving Ekacakrā for the Pāñcāla country, or while they were already on their way. Probably we are meant to take it that the meeting took place at Ekacakrā, as Vyāsa had met with them earlier in that village, and had

asked them to wait there until his return (I.144.15-20). In any case, Vyāsa now told them the tale of Draupadī's past life.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar, though in this text, the Pāṇḍavas encountered Vyāsa in the wilderness while on their way to the Pāñcāla country, rather than in Ekacakrā, and the meeting was very brief. Most importantly, Vyāsa did not relate to them the story of Draupadī's past life.

10. Draupadī's Past Life

CE: Vyāsa told Kuntī and the Pāṇḍavas the story of a girl who, due to her own previous actions, was unable to obtain a husband. Because of her unhappy circumstances, this girl practiced harsh austerities and pleased the god Śiva, who appeared before her and asked her to choose a boon. She asked Śiva for a husband, but she repeated this wish five times. Śiva, apparently displaying a sense of humour, told her that when she has been reborn into another body, she would indeed have five husbands. And, according to Vyāsa, this very girl had now been reborn as King Drupada's daughter, Draupadī.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

11. Vyāsa's Prediction

CE: Vyāsa then told the five Pāṇḍavas that Draupadī was destined to be their common wife, and that they should go straight to the Pāñcāla capital and procure her as their bride. Following this encounter with Vyāsa, they began their journey to the Pāñcāla capital.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Somewhat different. In this text, Vyāsa does not explicitly foretell of the polyandrous marriage. Rather, being described as omniscient, he merely said to them, "You all must go quickly to marry the princess in the city of King Drupada, for whom the only stake is the piercing of the *rādhā* [doll]!" (*Ādiparva*, Ch.5, v. 63)

12. Drupada's Secret Wish

CE: Meanwhile, in the Pāñcāla country, king Drupada began making arrangements for Draupadī's *svayamvara*, and for this purpose, had a special hardwood bow constructed. It was, we are told, Drupada's long-standing but secret desire for Draupadī to marry Arjuna, and this hardwood bow was intentionally constructed in such a way as to be unwieldy to anyone but Arjuna. It was Drupada's intention to use this as a device to "search out the Pāṇḍavas", *if* they had somehow managed to escape the fire, and *if* they were present at the *svayamvara*.

IM: Not found at this point in the text, but mentioned later in the story (see plot point 31).

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Not found at this exact point in the text, but mentioned later in the story.

13. Incognito at the *Svayamvara*

CE: Now, having left Kuntī at the house of a potter on the outskirts of the Pāñcāla capital, the five Pāṇḍavas, still disguised as brahmins, arrived at the *svayamvara* pavilion and took their place among the brahmins.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

14. Dhṛṣṭadyumna Announces the Archery Contest

CE: When all the guests had assembled at the *svayamvara*-pavilion, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, son of king Drupada, described the feat of archery that a man must complete in order to win Draupadī as his wife.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

15. The Naming of the Kings

CE: Then, Dhṛṣṭadyumna announced to his sister Draupadī the various names of the myriad kings and princes who had journeyed there for a chance at winning her hand in marriage.

IM: *Not found in this version.*

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

16. The Pāṇḍavas are Recognized by Kṛṣṇa

CE: Despite their disguise, and the fact that they were seated amidst the brahmins rather than the kings and princes, the Pāṇḍavas were recognized by Kṛṣṇa, who pointed them out to his brother Balarāma.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

17. The Pāṇḍavas in Love

CE: When, for the first time, they cast their eyes upon Draupadī, the Pāṇḍavas instantly fell in love with her.

IM: *Not found in this version.*

BM: *Not found in this version.*

BB: *Not explicitly found in this version,* although there is a long passage describing how incredibly love-struck all the other kings became at the sight of Draupadī. There is mention that Draupadī was specifically taken with the sight of Arjuna, though there is no evidence that she knew who he really was at the time.

18. The Failure of the Kings

CE: Then, each of the assembled kings, one after the other, attempted the required feat of archery, but none could even string the hardwood bow, let alone loose an arrow.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

19. Arjuna Wins the Contest

CE: Finally, Arjuna got up from amidst the brahmins, walked up to the bow, strung it with ease, and expertly accomplished the required feat of archery.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details. Although there was in this text no prior mention that the Pāṇḍavas had all fallen in love with Draupadī upon seeing her, we are told here that Draupadī fell in love with Arjuna when he had won the contest.

BB: Similar, though there are in this text a few verses that describe Bhīma walking up to the bow with Arjuna. Before Arjuna completed the archery challenge, Bhīma first taunted the kings who had failed miserably. There is also the suggestion that Arjuna and Draupadī were both very taken with each other.

20. A Shower of Flowers

CE: Upon his success, the gods, who were overjoyed, poured forth a shower of flowers onto Arjuna.

IM: Similar, though in this text there is no explicit mention of the gods; the shower of flowers is merely said to have fallen from the sky.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

21. Draupadī Garlands Arjuna

CE: Draupadī “took a festoon of white flowers and went smilingly up to Arjuna.” (I.179.22) There is no explicit mention of her actually placing the garland around his neck or shoulders, though it is implied.

IM: Similar, though in this text, Draupadī was explicitly said to have garlanded Arjuna.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar. It is said that, “Draupadī, at her father’s behest, now applied the most exquisite garland around the neck of Arjuna.” (*Ādiparva*, Ch. 5, v.106)

22. Drupada is Glad, but the Kings are Mad

CE: Drupada was pleased at the outcome (despite the fact that he did not yet know it was Arjuna himself who had won the contest), but the other kings were outraged that Drupada should even permit a brahmin to participate in a *svayamvara*, let alone allow him to walk away with the grand prize. The

angry kings then moved threateningly towards King Drupada, but Arjuna and Bhīma took up the fight on his behalf.

IM: Similar, though in this text, there is no explicit mention that King Drupada was pleased with the outcome of the *svayamvara*.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar, though in this text, as in the IM, there is no explicit mention that King Drupada was pleased with the outcome of the *svayamvara*.

23. Karṇa Asks a Question, Arjuna Tells a Lie

CE: During the battle that ensued, Karṇa joined in combat with Arjuna, but found Arjuna unassailable. Not recognizing Arjuna in his disguise as a brahmin, Karṇa asked him who he really was, and Arjuna replied that he was merely a brahmin who knew how to fight.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Similar, though when Karṇa questioned Arjuna about the latter's identity, Arjuna did not lie, but rather simply rejected the question.

BB: *Not found in this version.* We are told that Arjuna rendered Karṇa pale in battle, but there is no direct question and answer in this text.

24. Kṛṣṇa Halts the Battle

CE: After the combat had raged for some time, Kṛṣṇa brought it to a close by declaring that Draupadī had in fact been rightly and lawfully won, and consequently the kings had no moral or legal justification for their indignation or violent outburst.

IM: Similar, though in this text, it seems the angry kings were already quite willing to quit the battle with Arjuna and Bhīma even before Kṛṣṇa spoke.

BM: *Not found in this version.*

BB: Similar, though in this text, Kṛṣṇa did not explicitly state that King Drupada acted rightly in allowing a brahmin to walk away with the *svayamvara* prize. Rather, he merely told the other kings that their rash and violent behavior was, in this instance, “not proper for warriors”.

(Ādiparva, Ch. 5, v. 112)

25. Kuntī’s Fateful Words

CE: At the conclusion of this battle, Arjuna and Bhīma took Draupadī back to the potter’s house where Kuntī, Yudhiṣṭhira, Nakula, and Sahadeva were waiting. Arjuna and Bhīma called out to their mother to look at what they had brought home with them, and Kuntī, without looking, and thinking that they were referring to food alms, instructed them to share it amongst themselves. When she found out that it was a woman and not food alms that had been brought home, Kuntī greatly regretted, but nevertheless did not retract, her fateful command that Draupadī was to be shared by all five brothers.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar, though in this text, Bhīma and Arjuna did not call out to Kuntī; rather, knowing they had returned, but not yet having seen Draupadī, she

instructed them to share the collected alms equally. The Pāṇḍavas, deciding on their own that their mother's words must be obeyed, made an agreement amongst themselves that they would all marry Draupadī. They all decided upon this course of action even before Kuntī saw Draupadī and realized the consequences of her words.

26. Everybody Loves Draupadī

CE: When Yudhiṣṭhira observed his brothers and himself, it became evident to him that they all loved Draupadī.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: *Not found in this version.*

BB: *Not found in this version.*

27. Yudhiṣṭhira Recalls Vyāsa's Prediction

CE: Only then did Yudhiṣṭhira recall everything that Vyāsa had previously told them about how all five brothers were destined to share Draupadī as their common wife. Though it is not explicitly stated that Yudhiṣṭhira and the others had forgotten all of this, it nevertheless seems that they had.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: In this text, this point is rather vague, and the text makes no explicit mention whatsoever of Vyāsa's prediction. However, the Pāṇḍavas were said to have understood that "it was ordained", which is likely a reference to Vyāsa's prediction. (*Ādīparva*, Section 25, v. 1094) (see plot point 10)

BB: *Not found in this version* (nor, for that matter, was the story of Draupadī's past life).

28. Draupadī Shall Have Five Husbands

CE: Because of Kuntī's desire that her speech always be truthful, because of what Vyāsa had predicted, and because of their evident love for Draupadī, Yudhiṣṭhira declared that he and his four brothers would all marry Draupadī.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Similar, though there is no mention of their love for Draupadī.

BB: Similar, though there is no explicit mention of Vyāsa's prediction, nor of the fact that the Pāṇḍavas all loved Draupadī. Also, the decision to proceed with the polyandrous marriage seems to have been mutually agreed upon, and the final word was not explicitly left in the hands of Yudhiṣṭhira.

29. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma Drop By

CE: At this time, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, having a desire to greet Kuntī and the Pāṇḍavas, briefly visited them all at the potter's house, but then quickly departed again so as not to give away the Pāṇḍavas' true identity.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

30. Dhṛṣṭadyumna Eavesdrops on the Pāṇḍavas

CE: Meanwhile, curious to discover what manner of man had won his sister in the *svayamvara*, Dhṛṣṭadyumna secretly followed Arjuna and Bhīma when they had returned to the potter's abode and hid himself within earshot outside the house. He overheard the Pāṇḍavas amusing themselves with tales of battles, weapons and war, and from this, he deduced that they were not really a family of brahmins, but rather were of the *kṣatriya* caste.

IM: Similar, though in this text, it was not the Pāṇḍavas' talk of weapons and battles, but Kuntī's mention of the name "Bhīma", which tipped off Dhṛṣṭadyumna. Furthermore, instead of merely concluding that they were a *kṣatriya* family, Dhṛṣṭadyumna was convinced, even at this time, that they were indeed the Pāṇḍavas.

BM: Similar, though in this text it seems Dhṛṣṭadyumna did not follow them home; rather, he wandered about looking for them, and overheard the name "Draupadī" as well as the tales of weapons and wars.

BB: Very similar in essential details, though we are merely told that Dhṛṣṭadyumna was concealed outside their house listening to their conversation, and not how he got there or why he came.

31. Drupada's Dejection

CE: Despite being pleased when the awesome and mysterious "brahmin" won his daughter at the *svayamvara*, Drupada was afterwards dejected by the failure of his plan that Arjuna and no one else should marry Draupadī.

IM: Similar, though in this text, Drupada's dejection is less surprising, as we had not previously been told that Drupada was initially pleased with the outcome of the *svayamvara*. We are told here, for the first time in this text, that King Drupada did have a "long cherished desire" that his daughter should marry Arjuna, and that he was now dejected at the thought of her being taken away by an unknown "brahmin".

BM: *Not found in this version.*

BB: *Not found in this version.*

32. Dhṛṣṭadyumna's News Rekindles Drupada's Hope

CE: However, when Dhṛṣṭadyumna returned and reported to his father Drupada all that he had overheard at the potter's house, Drupada's hope was rekindled.

IM: In this text, Dhṛṣṭadyumna came right out and informed Drupada that it was indeed Arjuna who had won Draupadī at the *svayamvara*. Drupada was instantly cured of his dejection.

BM: Similar, though we are not actually told anything explicit about King Drupada's emotions.

BB: Similar. Like the account in the BM, Drupada received the report from Dhṛṣṭadyumna, but we are not told anything about his reaction.

33. Drupada Sends his Messenger

CE: Drupada then sent his priest as messenger to the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise in order to discover their true identity, and also to declare to them what had

long been Drupada's secret desire, i.e. that his daughter Draupadī should marry Arjuna. The messenger invited the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise to come to Drupada's palace, which they did.

IM: Similar, though King Drupada already knew they were the Pāṇḍavas, and there is no mention of the messenger declaring Drupada's fervent wish for Draupadī to marry Arjuna.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

34. The Pāṇḍavas Revealed

CE: Though Yudhiṣṭhira did not *immediately* admit to his true identity as a Pāṇḍava, before long the truth of their identity was known to all.

IM: In this text, Drupada politely asked the disguised Yudhiṣṭhira about the lineage of his family (though we the audience realize that Drupada *already knows* their lineage), and Yudhiṣṭhira admitted to their true identity.

BM: Similar, though in this text, it is implied that even before the Pāṇḍavas actually confessed their true identity, they were recognizable through their handsome appearances. At this point, we are told that King Drupada was absolutely overjoyed.

BB: Similar, though in this text, it is said that even before the Pāṇḍavas confessed their true identity, they were "identified as *kṣatriyas* through their connection to a *purohita*, and as the sons of King Pāṇḍu by virtue of their steadfastness". (*Ādiparva*, Ch. 5, v. 119)

35. Yudhiṣṭhira Informs Drupada of Their Polyandrous Intentions

CE: Drupada was anxious for the wedding of his daughter to Arjuna, but Yudhiṣṭhira then informed him of their plan for Draupadī to be their common wife.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Very similar in essential details.

36. Drupada is Dumbfounded

CE: Drupada was intensely shocked and dismayed by this revelation, and clearly believed such an arrangement to be unlawful.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar, though the passage is very brief, and all that is explicitly mentioned is that Drupada was surprised and perplexed.

37. Vyāsa Arrives

CE: While those who had assembled were deliberating on the lawfulness of such a polyandrous marriage, Vyāsa arrived on the scene.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: Very similar in essential details.

BB: Similar, though there is no explicit mention of any deliberation on the lawfulness of the proposed polyandrous marriage. In this text, Vyāsa seems to have arrived before much deliberation could take place.

38. Vyāsa Solicits Opinions

CE: Drupada asked Vyāsa how such a marriage could be lawful, and Vyāsa decided to solicit the opinions of Drupada, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Yudhiṣṭhira and Kuntī before making any pronouncement himself.

IM: *Not found in this version.*

BM: Similar, though it is not said that Vyāsa solicited these opinions, but merely that he gave ear to them.

BB: *Not found in this version.*

39. Vyāsa Speaks to Drupada in Private

CE: After hearing what the others had to say, Vyāsa assured king Drupada that the marriage of Draupadī to the five Pāṇḍavas was indeed legal, but instead of explaining to the assembled audience why he believed this to be the case, he explained it to King Drupada alone, in private.

IM: Very similar in essential details.

BM: *Not found in this version.* There is no indication that Vyāsa spoke secretly to King Drupada in private.

BB: Similar, though there is in this text no mention that Vyāsa solicited or heard anyone else's opinion on the topic; rather, he simply took Drupada aside and spoke to him privately.

40. The Five Indras

The tale of the Five Indras is a story that Vyāsa related to King Drupada in order to explain to him how it came to be that Draupadī's marriage to the

five Pāṇḍavas was previously ordained by the gods. For a complete discussion, refer to Chapter 6.

41. Drupada's Divine Sight

Vyāsa then granted Drupada the power of divine sight such that the latter could see the truth of Vyāsa's story with his own eyes. For a complete discussion, refer to Chapter 6.

42. Draupadī's Past Life Reiterated

Next, Vyāsa told the same story about Draupadī's past life that was told earlier in the story (see plot point 9), repeated here virtually word for word. For a complete discussion, refer to Chapter 6.

43. Vyāsa's Synthesis

Finally, Vyāsa made an apparently half-hearted attempt to reconcile the two stories told to explain Draupadī's polyandry, i.e. the Five Indras, and the story of Draupadī's past life. For a complete discussion, refer to Chapter 6.

44. Drupada Acquiesces

CE: Having heard the story of the Five Indras, as well as the story of Draupadī's past life, King Drupada consented to the marriage of his daughter to the five Pāṇḍavas. However, he did not necessarily believe that the marriage was lawful; rather, he simply believed it to be the will of the gods, which was good enough for him. He said to Vyāsa:

‘Twas because I had not heard your word

That I strove, great seer, to act as I did.
 What has been ordained cannot be undone.
 And this indeed is the ordinance set.

The knot of fate cannot be untied ...

As Śaṁkara [i.e. Śiva] has ordained it so,
 Whether lawful or lawless, I bear no guilt.
 Let them take her hand in the ritual way,
 As they please, for to them is Kṛṣṇā [i.e. Draupadī]
 ordained! (van Buitenen, I.190.1-4)

IM: Similar, though in this text, Drupada made no comment. A little further on, however, the storyteller does comment with respect to the marriage that: “It was really as per god’s desire.” (p. 271)

BM: Similar, though somewhat more straightforward: “Then, having completely grasped the truth, ecstatic, the humble Pāñcāla king [Drupada], sa[id] ‘I am fortunate!’” (*Ādiparva*, Section 26, v. 1145)

BB: Vague. In this text, Drupada’s acquiescence is implied but not explicitly stated.

45. The Five Weddings

CE: At last, the five weddings took place, each a day apart, starting with the union of Draupadī and Yudhiṣṭhira.

IM: Similar, though the details are a little different. It says: “Draupadī and the Pāñḍavas were duly married. Their marriage was extraordinary.

Pañcharātriḥ punaḥ kanyā [each night she was again a virgin], then for the five nights consecutively she changed her place, and one by one the five brothers had sexual intercourse with her.” (p. 271)

BM: Similar, though no details are given beyond the fact that five weddings took place.

BB: Similar. The text says: “the sons of Pāṇḍu were caused to be married by King Drupada to the very happy young maiden, his own daughter, one after the other, over the course of five days.” (*Ādiparva*, Ch. 6, v. 34)

Plot Summary of the Marriage of Draupadī in the Digambara Jaina

Tradition

For the purpose of constructing a basic plot summary of the Marriage of Draupadī for the Digambara Jaina tradition, I have examined three of our four Digambara Jaina versions: Punnāṭa Jinasena’s *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (HVP), Śubhacandra’s *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (ŚPP), and Vādicandra’s *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* (VPP).⁴ The version of the story in Guṇabhadra’s *Uttarapurāṇa* is much too brief to be of use in this endeavour, and will be considered separately in Chapter Three. I have divided the story into 36 plot points, and have compared all three versions on each of these points. When constructing the plot summary for the Hindu tradition above, the choice of the *Critical Edition* as the standard version against which the other texts were compared seemed rather obvious. However, the choice of a standard text in the Digambara tradition was not so easy. Despite the historically important status of Jinasena’s HVP to the Digambara Jaina tradition, the later two *Pāṇḍavapurāṇas* are hardly medieval summaries of it;⁵ on the contrary, they tend to provide greater rather than lesser detail with respect to the story of Draupadī’s Marriage. Nevertheless, I have approached the three Digambara texts chronologically, taking the HVP as the standard text, and noting details from ŚPP or VPP only when they diverge from the HVP. Thus, when comments such as “similar” or “very similar in essential details” are used for ŚPP or VPP, they

⁴ For technical details and a discussion of these texts, see Chapter Three and Appendix I.

⁵ The IM, BM, and BB were all self-consciously intended to be epitomes of, and not expansions upon, the great *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa.

always mean “similar to the HVP”, unless otherwise explicitly stated. In truth, as noted above, the Digambara Jaina versions are not so amenable to this process of summarizing, and for many of the points of comparison, there is really nothing like a normative version, but rather three divergent readings.

At times, it was impossible to resist making direct comparisons to the Hindu versions, and when opportunities arose that provided a fruitful and easy basis for comparison, I have explicitly mentioned where and how the Digambara Jaina versions differ from the Hindu. Nevertheless, a much fuller comparison is to be found in Chapter Five.

O. Introduction

King Pāṇḍu was dead, but not as a result of a curse. In the Digambara Jaina tradition, it is said that Pāṇḍu and his wife Mādri both died a pious Jaina death by fasting. Nevertheless, as in the Hindu version, the Pāṇḍavas were raised together with their cousins the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana. The HVP and ŚPP both describe the Kuru kingdom being divided into two equal parts, one for the Pāṇḍavas and one for the Kauravas. Not unexpectedly, Duryodhana is embittered at the idea of half the kingdom going to the *five* Pāṇḍava brothers while the other half would have to be shared by himself and his *ninety-nine* brothers. In VPP, however, there is no splitting of the kingdom at this point⁶; rather, it is said that Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Vidura simply and arbitrarily made Duryodhana the sole king. Like the Hindu version, both ŚPP and VPP tell us that Duryodhana harboured

animosity for the Pāṇḍavas because they always out-excelled the Kauravas in the martial training they received from Droṇa. Also similar to events found in the Hindu version, both ŚPP and VPP relate how Duryodhana's hatred and jealousy even resulted in his attempting to kill Bhīma by poisoning his food.⁷

1. Fire at the Lac House

HVP: Because of their tremendous animosity, the Dhārtarāṣṭras (i.e. sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra) set fire to the house where the Pāṇḍavas and their mother Kuntī were sleeping. (The house is not specifically said to have contained lac.) The Pāṇḍavas managed to escape the flames, though in this case it was through their own vigilance and not a warning from their uncle Vidura. The townspeople all believed the Pāṇḍavas and their mother Kuntī to have perished in the blaze.

ŚPP: Similar. Unlike the account in the HVP but similar to the Hindu version, however, the Pāṇḍavas' uncle Vidura alerted them to the immanent danger. We are also given more detail as to the setting of the fire and the escape therefrom. Duryodhana first tried to convince a *cāṇḍāla* to burn down the Pāṇḍavas' lac-filled house, but when the *cāṇḍāla* refused, the house was set ablaze by Duryodhana's unnamed brahmin *purohita*. We are told that when Yudhiṣṭhira realized the house was on fire, he remembered *śrījīneśinaḥ* (i.e. the Jinas), and that Kunti thought of the

⁶ See plot point 31.

⁷ This attempt to poison Bhīma is likewise found in the CE (see I.119).

Jina. In the Hindu version, a Niṣāda woman and her five sons were killed in the house fire, and their corpses were mistakenly identified as those of the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī. In ŚPP, the Pāṇḍavas were said to have gathered up six corpses from a graveyard and thrown them into the burnt-out house to serve the same purpose.

VPP: Similar, though with many more and sometimes divergent details. In this text we are told that all of the Yādavas had been killed in a great fire. Duryodhana, thinking that without the Yādavas to defend the Pāṇḍavas he was now free to kill them, decided they ought to suffer the same fate as the Yādavas, and had a house constructed in which the walls were filled with lac (or some other combustible material). As in the Hindu version, Vidura realized what was going on, paid the builder to dig an escape tunnel, and then secretly warned Yudhiṣṭhira about the immanent danger. Similar to ŚPP, Duryodhana tried to get a lowly *cāṇḍāla* to burn the house down, but when he refused, the house was set ablaze by the evil-minded brahmin Śakuni.⁸ The Pāṇḍavas awoke to a blazing house, took refuge in Lord Nemi, and by the merit obtained through his remembrance, were saved. As in ŚPP, the Pāṇḍavas then found six corpses in the cemetery, and threw them into the fire in order to fake their death.

⁸ In this text, and unlike the Hindu version, Śakuni is brahmin and not a *kṣatriya*, and he is apparently not the brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's wife Gāndhārī.

2. The Pāṇḍavas Travel incognito

HVP: Having secretly escaped the fire, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī crossed the Ganges river, changed their appearance and traveled first to the eastern regions and later through the southern districts. At turns they donned the guise of forest hermits or city brahmins, but they were always in disguise. They had adventures here and there, mostly of the kind found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, in which Yudhiṣṭhira (instead of Vasudeva) is married to, or promised to, a multitude of girls to be gathered up later. The places they visited include the city of Kauśikā, an ascetic's hermitage, the city of Īnāpura (where Bhīma killed the demon Bhṛṅga), the city of Triśṅga, the city of Campā (where Bhīma subdued a wild elephant), and the city of Vaidiśa; having crossed the Narmadā river and entered the Vindhya mountains, they visited the city of Sandhyākāra (where Bhīma acquired his magical mace by slaying the *vidyādhara* Meghavega, and thereby also obtained a wife named Hṛdayasundarī, daughter of king Simhaghoṣa in the lineage of Hiḍamba). By the end of these travels, both Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma were married.

ŚPP: Similar, though the places the Pāṇḍavas-in-disguise visited, and the exact order of events, differ slightly. Having escaped the lac-house fire, they crossed the Ganges river, where Bhīma subdued the water goddess Tuṇḍī. They first went to the city Kauśika, then to an ascetic's hermitage, then the city of Triśṅga. Next they went into a great forest where, similar to the

Hindu version, Bhīma killed a demon, married Hiḍimbā and had a son by her named Ghuṭuka. Next they went into a frightful forest where Bhīma killed Bhīmāsura. From there, they went to Śrutapura, where Bhīma killed evil King Baka (as opposed to the demon Baka of Ekacakrā in the Hindu version). Next, they traveled to Campā, where they stayed in the house of a potter, and where Bhīma subdued a wild rutting elephant. Next, they traveled to Vaideśikā, and then, crossing the Narmadā river, they enter the Vindhya mountains, where Bhīma was given a mace by a *yakṣa*. Like the HVP, both Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma acquired brides in their travels.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP, though the details and order of events are again somewhat different. The subduing of the water goddess/demoness Tuṇḍī in the Ganges river is more detailed in this text. The name of Bhīma's son by Hiḍimbā, as in the Hindu version, was Ghaṭotkaccha. Also, in this text the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī traveled to a city called Ekacakrapura, where they took up residence in the house of a potter. Campā, where Bhīma subdued the wild elephant and where they again stayed in the house of a potter, is here said to be ruled by King Karṇa.

3. Journey Back to Hāstinapura

HVP: Having traveled incognito for some time, and having had many adventures, the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī finally decided to journey home to Hāstinapura. There had been, up to this point in the story, no mention at

all of King Drupada, his daughter Draupadī, or Draupadī's impending *svayamvara*.

ŚPP: Very similar in essential details.

VPP: Similar, although we are not told that they consciously decided to return to Hāstinapura.

4. Visit to Mākandī City

HVP: While journeying back to Hastināpura, the Pāṇḍavas stopped in at Mākandī City.⁹ There is no indication given in the text that they had any specific reason to visit Mākandī city, nor that they even knew much about it.

ŚPP: Similar, though we are given more details. As in the Hindu versions, we are told the Pāṇḍavas, having arrived at Mākandī city, and dressed as brahmins, took up lodgings in the house of a potter.

VPP: Similar. Having left the Vindhya mountains with no particular destination in mind, the Pāṇḍavas eventually arrived in a city called Mākanda.

5. Drupada, Bhogavatī, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and Draupadī

HVP: Mākandī city was ruled by King Drupada. Unlike the Hindu version of the story, there was no indication given here that the Pāṇḍavas had ever heard of, let alone met, King Drupada. Drupada had a wife named Bhogavatī, multiple sons beginning with Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and a daughter named Draupadī. The circumstances under which Drupada obtained his

sons and daughter were not explicitly mentioned, and we are naturally left to assume that he came by them in a straightforward and unremarkable, that is to say un-miraculous, manner.

ŚPP: Very similar in essential details.

VPP: Somewhat different. In this text, Drupada's wife was named Dṛḍharathā, by whom he had two sons named Dhṛṣṭārjuna and Śikhaṇḍin, and a daughter named Draupadī.

6. Draupadī's Suitors and the Archery Contest

HVP: Because so many kings and princes were arriving at Mākandī city as suitors for Draupadī, King Drupada was compelled to make some accommodation for them. He decided to summon all the kings for an archery contest called the "*candrakavedha*", the winner of which would marry princess Draupadī.

ŚPP: The version of these events in this text is different, and in some ways approximates the Hindu version more than the HVP. Here we are told that King Drupada himself noticed that his daughter Draupadī had matured into a beautiful young woman, and thus he summoned his ministers and introduced the topic of her marriage in order to receive their counsel. The ministers suggested many different princes as appropriate prospects, but the king was concerned lest he choose the wrong one. Thus, Drupada decreed that a *svayamvara* should be arranged for his daughter, and to that

⁹ In the Hindu versions, Drupada's capital was simply called Pāncāla city.

end, he dispatched messengers to all the surrounding kings, beginning with Karṇa and Duryodhana, inviting them to partake in the *svayamvara*.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP. King Drupada had the *rādhā* device (to be used in the archery contest) constructed at this point, and it is described in some detail.

7. The *Vidyādhara* king Surendravardhana and the Divine Gāṇḍīva Bow

HVP: At this time, a certain *vidyādhara* king named Surendravardhana, who was looking for a suitable husband for his own daughter, created a special divine bow named “Gāṇḍīva”.

ŚPP: Similar, although we get many more details in this text. We are told that the *vidyādhara* Surendravardhana consulted a sooth-sayer as to who would be the best groom for his daughter. The sooth-sayer informed Surendravardhana that whosoever was able to string the great bow Gāṇḍīva in Mākandī city would, by means of his great virtue, be the ideal husband both for his daughter as well as for princess Draupadī, daughter of Drupada, King of Mākandī. Upon hearing this, the *vidyādhara* Surendravardhana gathered up the Gāṇḍīva bow together with his daughter, and took them to Mākandī. We are not explicitly told that Surendravardhana created Gāṇḍīva, but he obviously possessed it.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP, though in this text, the *vidyādhara*'s name is Devendravardhana. Also, we are told that the bow in question was not created by Devendravardhana but rather given to him by the gods, and that

it was not called Gāṇḍīva, but rather “comparable to Gāṇḍīva”. (Further on, however, the bow is explicitly identified as being “Gāṇḍīva”.) Also, the sooth-sayer doesn’t mention Draupadī at all, and the acquisition of a husband for Devendravaradhana’s daughter in no way seems tied to Draupadī’s obtaining a husband, though the story seems to unfold as if the two were connected.

8. Drupada gets Gāṇḍīva from Surendravardhana

HVP: For purposes of the archery contest, King Drupada obtained the Gāṇḍīva bow from Surendravardhana.

ŚPP: Similar, though again, we have more details. Surendravardhana arrived in Mākandī and announced to king Drupada what the sooth-sayer had said about the ideal husband for both of their daughters, and Surendravardhana then gave the Gāṇḍīva bow to Drupada.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP.

9. Incognito at the *svayamvara*

HVP: It is not explicitly stated here that the Pāṇḍavas were incognito at the *svayamvara*, though it is easily inferred from what follows.

ŚPP: Similar, however in this text, it is explicitly stated that the Pāṇḍavas arrived at the *svayamvara* pavilion disguised as brahmins.

VPP: Very similar in essential details to ŚPP.

10. The Archery Contest Announced

HVP: When the kings were assembled, it was announced by no one in particular that the man who was able to perform the feat of archery known as the *rādhāvedha* would obtain Draupadī as his wife.

ŚPP: Very similar, though in this version, the announcement is made both by Drupada and Surendravardhana, and it was explicitly stated that the prize was both of their daughters.

VPP: Somewhat different. In this text, the announcement is made by someone named “Arjuna”, and though the context would lead one to believe that this refers to the Pāṇḍava Arjuna, it could conceivably refer to Dhṛṣṭārjuna, son of King Drupada (which would follow the Hindu version where Dhṛṣṭadyumna makes the announcement). Also, the bow is here explicitly referred to as “Gāṇḍīva”.

11. The Failure of the Kings

HVP: Then the assembled kings all gathered around the bow, but they found it impossible even to gaze upon Gāṇḍīva, which was inhabited by the gods, let alone touch or bend it.

ŚPP: Very similar in essential details.

VPP: Similar, though in this text, the bow did not seem so awesome and fierce as merely unwieldy, and the principal problem for the best of archers was the piercing of the target rather than the stringing of the bow.

12. Description of Draupadī's Arrival

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Then, Draupadī arrived at the wedding pavilion with her unmatched beauty on full display. Her arrival and appearance greatly agitated the kings.

VPP: *Not found in this version.*

13. The Naming of the Kings

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: In this text, Draupadī's nurse Sulocanā pointed out and named for Draupadī all of the kings who had assembled for her *svayamvara*, as Dhṛṣṭadyumna does in the Hindu version.

VPP: *Not found in this text*, though the poet did previously mention the names of some of the kings and princes who arrived for the *svayamvara*.

Nevertheless, the names were never explicitly announced to Draupadī.

14. The Deadly Gāṇḍīva Bow

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Now, the Gāṇḍīva bow was engulfed in deadly flames and protected by the heads of divine snakes, ready to strike. It is unclear whether or not the various kings were afflicted by the fearsome bow only if they tried to approach it, or just because they were in its general vicinity. In any case, the bow incapacitated many of the kings and killed even more. Many of

those who remained alive became disheartened and decided to give up their quest to attain Draupadī.

VPP: *Not found in this version.*

15. Foolish Duryodhana Tries and Fails

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Despite presumably witnessing the carnage left in the neighborhood of the Gāṇḍīva bow, Duryodhana still arrogantly believed that he was capable of taming it. He tried, but was unable to withstand its flames, and retreated in ignominious stark defeat. The utter failure of all of the other kings is reiterated here.

VPP: Somewhat different. In this text, the Gāṇḍīva bow was not deadly but merely difficult to manage. Duryodhana's humiliating failure was used as an occasion to point out that he had obviously not been practicing what Droṇa had taught him.

16. Yudhiṣṭhira Instructs Arjuna to Approach the Bow

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: After it was clear that no king was able even to approach the Gāṇḍīva bow, Yudhiṣṭhira instructed his younger brother Arjuna to approach the bow and string it.

VPP: Similar, though in this text, Arjuna asked Yudhiṣṭhira to “give [me] an order”, so that he might stand up and accomplish the feat of archery. Yudhiṣṭhira assented, and then Arjuna (still disguised as a brahmin)

explicitly asked the crowd for permission to approach the bow and make an attempt. Drupada's son Dhṛṣṭārjuna stated that anyone from the upper three *varṇas* was allowed to make an attempt.

17. Draupadī Falls for Arjuna

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Seeing Arjuna approach the bow, and though he was still disguised as a brahmin, Draupadī was described as having been hit by cupid's arrows.

VPP: *Not found in this version.*

18. Arjuna-in-Disguise Strings the Bow; Could This Be Arjuna?

HVP: Arjuna, however, approached the bow, bent it, and strung it. Right away there was speculation regarding who this mysterious person might be, and it was suggested that it may be Arjuna, resurrected from the dead.

ŚPP: Similar, though we are explicitly told that it was Droṇa who asked whether or not this mysterious person could be Arjuna risen from the dead.

VPP: *Not found in this version.* However, we were told a little earlier that, in the face of everyone else's failure, Droṇa pined, as it were, for the presumed-deceased archery master Arjuna.

19. Arjuna Wins the Contest

HVP: Arjuna hit the *candrakavedha* target, and won the contest.

ŚPP: Similar, though in this text, we are told more explicitly that Arjuna hit the pearl set in the nose of the *rādhā* doll, which had been placed up in the air and which was whirling about.

VPP: Very similar, though the target is referred to as a *rādhā* doll rather than a *candrakavedha* target.

20. Drupada's Secret Wish

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: As Drupada stood looking on at the proceedings, we are told he was harbouring an ardent desire in his thoughts, though we are not told what it was.

VPP: *Not found in this version.*

21. Draupadī Garlands Arjuna

HVP: Draupadī, who is said to have become Arjuna's bride through her own desire, stepped up and placed the garland around his neck.

ŚPP: Very similar in essential details.

VPP: Very similar in essential details.

22. The Garland is Blown by the Wind

HVP: "Then, the garland expanded, and was suddenly wafted, by means of a gentle breeze, onto the bodies of the five [Pāṇḍavas who were] standing together." (Ch. 45, v. 136.)

ŚPP: "Then, due to the power of fate, the garland was shook by the wind, fluttered about, and was scattered about the palanquin/couch of the five [Pāṇḍavas] who were all standing nearby." (Ch. 15, v. 113)

VPP: “As Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, was throwing the wedding garland over the neck of Arjuna, it was blown by the wind and fell on all five Pāṇḍava brothers.” (Canto 6, v. 170)

23. Fools and Scoundrels Declare, “She chose 5 men”

HVP: “The words of some of the trembling people, [who were] ignorant of what had happened, spread loudly, ‘Five [men] were chosen by her!’” (Ch. 45, v. 137)

ŚPP: “On account of ignorance, the following rumour got out: “Due to the ripening of actions in a past life, five men were chosen by her”; and villains proclaimed this aloud!” (Ch. 15, v. 114)

VPP: “At that, the evil kings, who had lost hope, said the following, “All five have been wed by this woman.” And having spoken thus, the wicked ones jeered [at Arjuna].” (Canto 6, v. 171)

24. The Angry Kings

HVP: The kings were angry at this outcome, though we are not explicitly told why.

ŚPP: Similar, though we are given many more details. Here, it is Duryodhana who whipped up the ire of the kings by suggesting that Drupada should not have allowed a brahmin even to participate in, let alone win, a *svayamvara* which should be restricted to kings alone. Duryodhana sent an envoy with this message to King Drupada. However, Drupada rejected Duryodhana’s argument as being unworthy of a king, and agreed to wage battle if Duryodhana and the others insisted. The preparations for battle, and the battle itself, are described in much greater detail in this version

VPP: Similar to ŚPP, but with still more detail. First, it is said that Karṇa declared the target to have been hit by sheer luck, and that it should be

counted as valid only if this “brahmin” could hit it again, which Arjuna said he was happy to do (though we are not told whether he actually did hit it again). Then Duryodhana and Karṇa threatened to kill the “brahmin” who had won Draupadī. The Kauravas departed and reassembled on the outskirts of the city, after which Duryodhana sent a messenger to King Drupada. Duryodhana’s message stated that this “brahmin” should be given gold but not a king’s daughter, and that if Drupada refused to act properly, the brahmin would be killed and the sin of brahmanicide would be upon Drupada’s head. Rather, Draupadī should be handed over to Duryodhana to stem his great displeasure. Drupada merely responded that the brahmin won Draupadī fair and square, and that no rules were broken; thus he refused Duryodhana’s demand. Upon seeing the Kuru army approaching, Draupadī became frightened and started questioning Arjuna as to his fighting ability and his history in general. Arjuna merely told her not to worry, though he didn’t tell her who he really was.

25. Karṇa Asks a Question, Arjuna Tells a Lie

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: During the battle, Karṇa encountered Arjuna, attacked him, and found him to be unassailable. Amazed, Karṇa asked Arjuna:

Are you actually Indra (Śakra), or are you the sun by whom sacrifices are adored? Could it be that you, who are exhibiting such confidence in battle, are Arjuna, dead and arisen again to life? (Ch. 15, v. 158)

Arjuna replied,

O king, I am at this time a brahmin; having been Arjuna's (Pārtha's) charioteer, I learned to be an archer. (Ch. 15, v.159)

VPP: *Not found in this text.* We are merely told that Arjuna grabbed his bow and set off in the direction of Karna.

26. Droṇa Speaks to Duryodhana

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Having witnessed the battle, Droṇa told Duryodhana that their opponent must surely be Arjuna, and that it was in vain that Duryodhana tried previously to kill the Pāṇḍavas in the lac-house. Duryodhana did not believe Droṇa, and ridiculed him by saying that he was so devoted to the Pāṇḍavas that even after they were dead he couldn't stop thinking about them.

VPP: Very similar in essential details to ŚPP.

27. Arjuna Refuses to Fight Against his *guru* Droṇa

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: When Arjuna saw Droṇa, his beloved *guru*, on the other side of the battlefield, he refused to fight him.

VPP: Similar to the version in ŚPP, but this scene is found a little earlier in the story when Droṇa was first becoming suspicious that he was fighting against his old pupil Arjuna.

28. Arjuna, Bhīma, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna Repel the Angry Kings

HVP: The angry kings were restrained by Arjuna, Bhīma, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

ŚPP: In this text, the battle scene is much longer and more detailed, and it was not the three bowmen (i.e. Arjuna, Bhīma, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna) alone who held the enemy at bay, though the combat of Arjuna and Bhīma are specifically highlighted.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP.

29. Arjuna's Arrow

HVP: Arjuna then shot an arrow together with a note onto the chariot of Aśvatthāman, son of Droṇa, identifying himself and his brothers, and explaining all that had happened since the fire in the lac-house.

ŚPP: Similar, although in this version, the arrow landed upon the chariot of Droṇa, not Aśvatthāman. The contents of the note are mentioned here, and in it Arjuna made specific reference to the Kauravas' attempt on their lives at the lac-house.

VPP: Similar to the version in ŚPP, though the arrow here lands at the feet of Droṇa. The content of Arjuna's note is actually quoted in the text. In addition to mentioning the lac-house incident, the note issued death threats at Duryodhana saying that Arjuna would kill him this very day.

30. The Joyful Reunion and Deceitful Duryodhana

HVP: When the news broke that the Pāṇḍavas were still alive, everyone but Duryodhana was overjoyed, though he nevertheless greeted them with

false graciousness. Only now did King Drupada realize that it was actually Arjuna who won Draupadī at the archery contest, though this realization is not treated with any great notice.

ŚPP: Similar. However, because of what Arjuna had explicitly written in his letter regarding Duryodhana's assassination attempt at the lac-house, Droṇa here specifically counseled the Pāṇḍavas to let bygones be bygones, and not to hold a grudge against the Kauravas. The Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas were forced to make peace. Duryodhana, for his part, disavowed any suggestion that he was responsible for setting their house on fire, and he was seemingly successful in convincing the assembled kings of his innocence.

VPP: Somewhat different. Upon hearing the news that the Pāṇḍavas were alive and well, the Kuru army was overjoyed, and they went to fetch Duryodhana, who was made to bow at Yudhiṣṭhira's feet by Droṇa and Bhīṣma. Duryodhana said nothing.

31. Kuntī's Reproach

HVP: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPP: Next, the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas went to the potter's house to see Kuntī. Kuntī reproached the Kauravas for their wickedness in attempting to gain the entire kingdom by killing their cousins in a house fire. The Kauravas once again proclaimed their innocence.

VPP: Similar to ŚPP, though in this text, Kuntī reviled and railed against the Kurus, and said that only by giving up half the kingdom and half their wealth could peace be secured. Duryodhana, with anger still in his heart, but seeing that he had no reasonable alternative, begrudgingly accepted. This was the first time in this text that the Kuru kingdom was split between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.

32. The Wedding of Arjuna and Draupadī

HVP: All of the kings who had come for the *svayamvara* stayed to witness the wedding of Draupadī to Arjuna, after which all they all returned to their own palaces, and the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas returned to Hāstinapura.

ŚPP: Similar, although in this version, Arjuna is married both to Draupadī and to Surendravardhana's daughter.

VPP: Very similar in essential details to ŚPP.

33. The Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas Rule a Divided Kingdom

HVP: Upon returning to Hastināpura, the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas each ruled half the kingdom.

ŚPP: *Not found (at least at this point) in this version.*

VPP: *Not found (at least at this point) in this version.*

34. Yudhiṣṭhira Weds his Collection of Girls

HVP: Bhīma was then sent back to the places the Pāṇḍavas had visited in their disguise as brahmins (after the lac-house incident), and collected the girls

who were to be married to Yudhiṣṭhira. (This is not unlike the story of Vasudeva in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*.)

ŚPP: *Not found (at least at this point) in this version.*

VPP: *Not found (at least at this point) in this version.*

35. The Relationship Draupadī to Arjuna and his Brothers

HVP: “The two older [brothers, i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma] thought of Arjuna’s wife Draupadī as their daughter-in-law, while the twins [i.e. Nakula and Sahadeva] served her as if she was their mother. She treated the older brothers as if they were her father-in-law, just like Pāṇḍu, and she behaved suitably to her younger brothers-in-law, restrained by her love for Arjuna.” (Ch. 45, vv. 150-51)

ŚPP: *Not explicitly found in this text.*

VPP: *Not explicitly found in this text.*

36. Liars and Scoundrels

HVP: The story of these events ends with a discussion of the evils of lying and making false accusations, and the ridiculousness of the idea that heroic men could possibly share one woman. The rumour that Draupadī married five men is not explicitly referred to again, but that is clearly the issue Punnāṭa Jinasena is addressing.

ŚPP: “Draupadī, who is completely pure, intent upon the gods and upon righteousness, possessed of moral conduct, and of shining beauty serves [one] man of the highest qualities, and indeed, not five!; how could she if she is completely devoted to him, is regarded as being a virtuous woman, is said to be the first among faithful wives, and is the ornament of her family? Some crazy people say that Draupadī, of excellent moral conduct, having been subject to an oath, serves five men by the permission of her husband. How could those Pāṇḍavas, endowed with vast understanding, be devoted to [only] one? Even poor people have their own wives. If Draupadī should somehow be devoted to five [men], how could she

maintain the title of ‘virtuous woman’?; having considered this matter in their minds, those whose understanding is pure and who possess excellent intelligence should demonstrate that she is completely pure. Thus, where will they go, those wicked people, intent upon their own opinions regarding her?” (Ch. 15, vv. 225-7)

VPP: “Some deluded beings, however, prattled that Draupadī was the wife of five husbands. Their idea of a virtuous woman, as well as their daring, is extraordinary indeed.” (Canto 6, v. 257)

In this text, the poet is more pointed with his discussion, and when he mentions the scandalous and patently false rumour that Draupadī had married five men, it is quite obvious that he is raising and refuting not the Hindu but the Śvetāmbara Jaina version of events, in which Draupadī is said to have married the five Pāṇḍavas because of an unfulfilled wish (*nidāna*) from a past life. Vādicandra does not merely state that the rumour is false, but attacks it from a logical and philosophical vantage point.¹⁰

¹⁰ For details of this argument, see complete translation in Appendix I.

Plot Summary of the Marriage of Draupadī in the Śvetāmbara Jaina

Tradition

The four Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the Marriage of Draupadī used in constructing this basic plot summary are taken from the following texts: the canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo* (NDK), Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (TRŚ), Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* (DPC), and Śubhaśīla's *Pāṇḍavacaritra* (ŚPC).¹¹ The story of the Marriage of Draupadī is here divided into 30 plot points, and all four of the Śvetāmbara texts are compared on each of these points. As with the previous plot summaries constructed above, I have here selected one text to serve as the standard against which the others are individually compared. Having no very compelling reason to choose any of the texts apart from chronology and perhaps canonical status, I chose the chronologically earliest text, i.e. the NDK, as the standard text. Of our four Śvetāmbara texts, the NDK, being a canonical text, is the only version that we can assume was known to all subsequent Śvetāmbara authors, though Devaprabhasūri and Śubhaśīla would have had to bury their heads in the sand to be unaware of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*!

0. Introduction

The order of events in the NDK differs from the other three Śvetāmbara texts in the following manner: it *begins* with the story of a woman named Nāgaśrī, who as a result of her evil actions, was reborn into various hells and

lower forms of life before again returning to the human realm, where she was born as Sukumārikā. As a result of her practicing austerities, Sukumārikā was, at death, reborn as a celestial courtesan. Having reached the end of her heavenly existence, Sukumārikā was then reborn on earth as Draupadī, daughter of King Drupada. Thus, in terms of Draupadī and her past lives, the NDK presents the stories in strict chronological order. The other three texts, however, all begin with the story of Draupadī, and it is not until her *svayamvara* that a sage reveals the details of her past lives as Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā. For the sake of expediency and continuity, I have, without altering the details, reordered the events as found in the NDK such that they coincide with the order of events in the other three texts. Thus, we begin our Śvetāmbara Jaina plot summary with the birth of Draupadī from the NDK, rather than the story of Nāgaśrī. In the other three texts, we learn nothing about Draupadī until Drupada's messenger arrives at the royal court of Pāṇḍu to announce her *svayamvara*. Notice, by the way, that King Pāṇḍu *was alive!*

1. Draupadī Born to King Drupada & Queen Culaṇī of Kāmpilyapura

NDK: (Having spent a long time in heaven as a celestial courtesan, the soul that had been Nāgaśrī, and that had later been Sukumārikā), descended from heaven into the womb of Queen Culaṇī, wife of Drupada, King of Kāmpilyapura¹², and was born as Draupadī.

¹¹ For technical details and a discussion of these texts, see Chapter Four and Appendix I.

¹² As opposed to Pāñcāla city in the Hindu versions and Mākandī/Mākanda in the Digambara versions.

TRṢ: *Not found in this version.* Nevertheless, we are informed that Draupadī was the daughter of King Drupada and Queen Culanī of Kāmpīlya.

DPC: Similar to the TRṢ, though there is no mention of Queen Culanī.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

2. Drupada Notices that Draupadī Is All Grown-Up

NDK: One day, Drupada looked at his daughter and was astonished to see that she had blossomed into a young woman of marriageable age.

TRṢ: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

3. Drupada Suggests a *svayamvara* for Draupadī

NDK: Drupada discussed the matter with Draupadī. He told her that if he himself were to choose a husband for her, she might not be happy with his choice, and thus he suggested that she choose her own husband in a *svayamvara* ceremony.

TRṢ: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

4. Drupada Sends Out his Messengers

NDK: Having decided upon this course of action, King Drupada dispatched his messengers to all of the important kingdoms to personally invite all the kings and princes to participate in his daughter's *svayamvara*.

TRŞ: Similar. As mentioned above, the story of Draupadī in this text begins with the arrival of Drupada's messenger to Pāṇḍu's court to invite the king and his five sons to participate in Draupadī's *svayaṁvara*.

DPC: Similar to the TRŞ, though in this text the messenger also mentioned the fact that Draupadī would only be given to the man who was capable of accomplishing the feat of archery known as the *rādhāvedha*.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRŞ. There is at this point no mention of an archery contest, though it is included below.

5. A Wedding Pavilion is Constructed

NDK: In order to accommodate all of the arriving dignitaries, Drupada had a huge wedding pavilion erected on the outskirts of his city.

TRŞ: *Implied but not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: Similar, though this text also includes a lengthy description of the wedding pavilion.

ŚPC: *Implied but not explicitly found in this version.*

6. The Kings Gather at the Wedding Pavilion

NDK: When all the kings had arrived and Drupada had received them all with great hospitality, a day was set for the *svayaṁvara* to take place, and on that day, all the kings gathered at the wedding pavilion.

TRŞ: The account in this text is very brief, and merely states that Pāṇḍu and his sons were honoured by Drupada and took their place at the wedding pavilion.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

7. Draupadī Worships the Jinas

NDK: In preparation for the *svayamvara*, Draupadī bathed, donned fine garments, performed the appropriate rites, bowed down before the idols of the Jinas, and returned to the women's quarters to be fully adorned.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

8. Draupadī Arrives at the *svayamvara*

NDK: Accompanied by her companion who was also a chronicler, Draupadī was driven to the wedding pavilion by her brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

TRṢ: In this text, we are merely told that she arrived at the wedding pavilion accompanied by friends.

DPC: In this text, Draupadī arrives at the wedding pavilion in a car borne by men.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

9. The Kings are Cowed by Draupadī's Beauty

NDK: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

TRṢ: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: The reactions of the kings to seeing the stunning beauty of Draupadī are described in some detail.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

10. Draupadī Bows to the Kings and Takes Up a Garland

NDK: Having bowed to Vāsudeva [Kṛṣṇa] and all the other kings and princes, Draupadī took up a garland of flowers.

TRṢ: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: *Not mentioned at this point in this text. (see below)*

ŚPC: *Not mentioned at this point in this text. (see below)*

11. The Archery Challenge is Announced

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRṢ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: Then, Draupadī's brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna announced the archery challenge known as the *rādhāvedha*.

ŚPC: Similar to DPC, though in this text it is Drupada's doorkeeper rather than Dhṛṣṭadyumna who announces the *rādhāvedha*.

12. The Naming of the Kings

NDK: As her chronicler-companion announced the names and lineages of each of the assembled kings and princes, Draupadī glanced at them by looking at their reflections in a mirror held by her companion.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text, we are merely told that a friend pointed out the kings and announced their names to Draupadī.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

13. Failure of the Kings

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: *Not found in this version.*

ŞPC: None of the kings were able to accomplish the required feat of archery.

14. Arjuna Strings the Bow

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: When the names of the kings and princes had been duly announced and praised, Arjuna respectfully approached the bow and strung it.

ŞPC: *Implied but not explicitly stated.*

15. The Reaction to Arjuna

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: When Arjuna had strung the bow, we are told that Kuntī, Yudhişthira and their associates were filled with joy but Gāndhārī, Duryodhana and their associates were filled with hate. There was also an indignant reaction from the circle of kings, who were “full of impetuous and violent boasting.” (Chapter 4, v. 292)

ŞPC: In this text, we are merely told that the kings watched on with amused looks as Arjuna attempted the feat.

16. Arjuna Hits the Target

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: Arjuna hit the target according to the rules of the *rādhāvedha* and thus won Draupadī as his wife.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

17. The Shower of Flowers

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: Upon accomplishing the *rādhāvedha*, the gods released a shower of flowers upon Arjuna, the kettledrums in heaven thundered, and the people cried “*jaya*”.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC, though here it was the gods who cried “*jaya*”.

18. How Draupadī Obtains Five Husbands

NDK: Having been introduced to all of the kings and princes, and impelled by the power of her own desire in a previous incarnation (i.e., by her *nidāna*), Draupadī approached the Pāṇḍavas, placed the garland around all five of them, and declared, “I have chosen these five Pāṇḍavas as my husbands.”
(p. 36)

TRŞ: Similar. However, because there has been as of yet no information in this text regarding Draupadī’s former desire for five husbands (because we

have not yet been introduced to her past lives), we are merely told that she was enamoured of the Pāṇḍavas, and threw the wedding garland around the necks of all five at the same time.

DPC: Different. Through proving successful at the archery challenge, Arjuna rightfully won Draupadī for himself. Here, we are told of Draupadī's secret desire to have all five Pāṇḍavas, but realizing that the world would censure such a desire, she merely tossed the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna. However, by a miracle, the garland landed upon the shoulders of each one of the Pāṇḍavas. Then, a voice from the sky declared "The princess has made an excellent choice – Let there be no doubt!" (Chapter 4, v. 314)

ŚPC: Similar to DPC. When Draupadī stepped forward to toss the bridegroom garland onto the shoulders of Arjuna, there was no mention that Draupadī harboured any secret desire for all of the Pāṇḍavas. However, as in DPC, the garland assumed a fivefold form, and landed on the shoulders of each one of the Pāṇḍavas. This miraculous occurrence is followed by a voice from the sky saying, "These five ought to be the husbands of Draupadī". (v. 16)

19. The Reaction of the Audience

NDK: Without missing a beat, Vāsudeva [Kṛṣṇa] and the other kings declared, "Well-chosen, indeed, by princess Draupadī," (p. 36-7) and they return to their camps. There is here no indication whatsoever that the characters in

the story were shocked by, nor disapproving of, Draupadī's selection of five husbands.

TRṢ: Somewhat different. The reaction of the characters in the story was described this way: "The circle of kings was amazed, saying, 'What's this?'" (p. 198)

DPC: Somewhat different. In this text, we are given many different peoples' reactions: Kuntī was joyful, Pāṇḍu was surprised, Arjuna was pleased, and King Drupada was perplexed and filled with anxiety and uncertainty.

ŚPC: Similar to the TRṢ. In this text, we are merely told that the kings were somewhat perplexed by this issue of Draupadī having five husbands, and they suggested that someone ought to be consulted on the matter.

20. A Flying Ascetic Arrives

NDK: *Not found in this version.* Because this text has the stories of Nāgaśrī and Sukumārikā *precede* the story of Draupadī, there is no need for a flying ascetic to arrive and narrate Draupadī's past-lives.

TRṢ: Just as the kings were looking for an explanation, a flying ascetic arrived on the scene. The kings asked him how Draupadī could have five husbands, and he replied, "This state of having five husbands will result from karma acquired in a former birth. What is remarkable? The course of karma is unequal." (p. 198) He then proceeded to tell the kings about Draupadī's past lives, beginning with her incarnation as Nāgaśrī.

DPC: Similar to the TRṢ. Here, Kṛṣṇa asked the ascetic, “How could there be five husbands of Draupadī?” The ascetic replied, “Five husbands were chosen by her due to a former nidāna enunciated in her previous birth. Do not worry any more.” (p. 324-5) He then commenced with the story of Nāgaśrī.

ŚPC: Similar to the TRṢ. In this text, the ascetic preached the *dharma* to the assembled kings, and when he was done, those kings asked him, “How can it be that this Draupadī is the wife of five men?” (v. 25) In response, the sage commences the story of Sukumārikā. The story of Draupadī’s past life as Nāgaśrī is not found in this version.

21. The Story of Nāgaśrī:

21a. Three Brothers & Three Wives in Campā

NDK: Once upon a time in the city of Campā there lived three brahmins, full brothers, named Soma, Somadatta and Somabhūti. These three brothers each acquired a wife, of whom the names were Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, and Yakṣaśrī, respectively.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details, though in this account, Soma was most often referred to as Somadeva, and the wives were slightly shuffled – Bhūtaśrī was here, as her name might suggest, the wife of Somabhūti, and Yakṣaśrī was assigned to Somadatta.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21b. They Agree to Always Eat Together

NDK: As the three couples got along well, they agreed that they should always eat their meals together, rotating from one house to the next in turn.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21c. Nāgaśrī Prepares a Rotten/Bitter Gourd

NDK: One day, when it came time for Nāgaśrī to prepare the meal for the whole group, she made a gourd curry with a lot of spices and ghee. When the dish was finished, she tasted a drop of the sauce and realized that the gourd she had used was rotten.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details, though we are told the name of the gourd – a *tumbīphala* gourd, and that it was bitter.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21d. Nāgaśrī, Fearing Recriminations, Hides the Gourd

NDK: Afraid of the recriminations of her sisters-in-law over having wasted the expensive ingredients, she quickly hid the gourd and prepared a fresh dish.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this account Nāgaśrī was not said to have hidden the gourd dish out of a fear of recrimination, but merely to have put it away and not served it to the group.

DPC: Similar, though as in the TRṢ, Nāgaśrī was not said to have been afraid of recriminations. Unlike the TRṢ, this text mentions the economic hardship of having “wasted” valuable ingredients, and that she kept the dish in a secret place. One might infer that she was afraid of blame.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21e. No One is the Wiser

NDK: Everyone then happily ate the meal she had served without ever knowing about the curry made with a rotten gourd.

TRṢ: As Nāgaśrī was not described as trying to keep the rotten gourd curry a secret, there is no mention of this secret remaining undiscovered.

DPC: Somewhat vague, but likely meant to be taken as similar to the NDK.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21f. The Jaina Monk Dharmaghoṣa Arrives at Campā

NDK: Meanwhile, a venerable Jaina monk named Dharmaghoṣa arrived with his disciples to set up camp just outside of Campā in a park named Subhūmibhāga.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text Dharmaghoṣa was explicitly described as being omniscient.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21g. Dharmaghoṣa's Disciple Dharmaruci Breaks His Fast

NDK: One of Dharmaghoṣa's disciples, named Dharmaruci, who was in the habit of making month-long fasts, came to the end of a particular fast and sought Dharmaghoṣa's permission to enter the city to beg for food alms.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text, Dharmaruci did not seek Dharmaghoṣa's permission to enter the city.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21h. Dharmaruci Begg Alms at the Home of Nāgaśrī

NDK: Having obtained permission, Dharmaruci entered the city and went to the home of Nāgaśrī to beg for alms.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21i. Nāgaśrī Gives Dharmaruci the Rotten Gourd

NDK: Seeing this as an opportunity to get rid of the rotten gourd, she quickly filled Dharmaruci's alms-bowl with the curry.

TRṢ: In this text, because Nāgaśrī was never described as attempting to hide the rotten curry in the first place, she is not said to have used Dharmaruci's begging as an opportunity to unload the hidden gourd curry; rather, she merely took the high-handed attitude that a begging monk ought to be satisfied even with unappetizing fare.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21j. Dharmaruci Returns with the Gourd to Dharmaghoṣa

NDK: His alms-bowl full, Dharmaruci returned to the park outside the city and showed the dish to Dharmaghoṣa who, smelling the very appetizing aroma, tasted a drop of the curry.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text, Dharmaruci was curious about the gourd curry, which was something he had never seen before, and he thus took it to show Dharmaghoṣa. Dharmaghoṣa did not taste the sauce, but detected from its odour alone that the dish was spoiled.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21k. Dharmaghoṣa Declares the Gourd to be Poison

NDK: Dharmaghoṣa immediately declared the gourd curry to be poison, and told Dharmaruci that to eat it meant certain death.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21l. Dharmaruci Instructed to Dispose of the Gourd in a Safe Place

NDK: Hence, Dharmaghoṣa instructed his disciple Dharmaruci to take the dish out to a barren spot and dispose of it.

TRŞ: Similar, though in this text, Dharmaghoṣa told Dharmaruci to throw the gourd curry away and return to the city to beg for food alms with which he is familiar. Dharmaruci did, however, decide to dispose of the dish in a clean, bare spot.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21m. Dharmaruci and the Ants

NDK: Having arrived at a barren spot, Dharmaruci was on the verge of throwing the rotten curry away when he noticed that a drop of the sauce had fallen onto the ground and was attracting a large number of ants. Every one of the ants that ate from the drop of curry died instantly.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21n. Out of Compassion, Dharmaruci Eats the Gourd and Dies

NDK: Being a good Jaina monk, and realizing that throwing the entire dish onto the ground would result in the death of untold numbers of living creatures, he decided simply to eat it himself. Having properly prepared himself by confessing his sins and assuming a meditative posture, he consumed the entire dish of gourd curry.

TRŞ: Very similar, though the narrator tells us here that, upon his death, Dharmaruci became a god in heaven.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21o. Dharmaghoṣa Sends Out Disciples to Find Dharmaruci

NDK: After awhile, when Dharmaghoṣa noticed that Dharmaruci had not yet returned, he sent some of his other disciples out to investigate.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21p. Disciples Return with News of Dharmaruci's Death

NDK: Having come across the dead body of Dharmaruci, the other disciples gathered up his religious paraphernalia and returned with them to Dharmaghoṣa in Subhūmibhāga park.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21q. Dharmaghoṣa Discovers the Truth

NDK: Having received from his disciples the news of Dharmaruci's demise, Dharmaghoṣa went into a meditative trance, divined the whole story, and related all the details to his disciples. He specifically identified Nāgaśrī by name.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21r. Dharmaghoṣa Predicts Dharmaruci's Future Salvation

NDK: Dharmaghoṣa declared that Dharmaruci, having died a good death, was to be reborn as a god in one of the Jaina heavens, after which he was destined to fall back to earth from where he would attain salvation.

TRṢ: In this text, Dharmaghoṣa does not relate the destiny of Dharmaruci, though the narrator mentioned earlier that Dharmaruci was reborn as a god in heaven.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21s. The Disciples Spread the Story of Nāgaśrī Throughout Campā

NDK: Hearing the whole account from their master, Dharmaghoṣa's disciples then related the story of Dharmaruci and Nāgaśrī to the inhabitants of Campā. Before long, the news reached the ears of the three brahmin brothers Soma, Somadatta, and Somabhūti.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

21t. Nāgaśrī is Driven From Home and City

NDK: Being outraged, the brothers returned to the abode of Soma and drove Nāgaśrī from her home with violent abuse. Because the entire city had likewise heard the story, this abuse was repeated by everyone she met.

TRᅒ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ᅒPC: *Not found in this version.*

21u. The Ruin and Death of Nāgaśrī

NDK: Nāgaśrī, an entirely broken woman, maintained her miserable life by begging for food wherever she could. She was stricken with a plethora of ailments, including a hacking cough, a cold, fever, and leprosy. She died helpless and alone.

TRᅒ: Very similar in essential details. We are told that by virtue of her many afflictions, Nāgaśrī experienced hell on earth even before she died.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRᅒ.

ᅒPC: *Not found in this version.*

21v. Nāgaśrī's Reincarnations in the Hells and as Lowly Creatures

NDK: Having passed away, she was reborn in the Sixth Hell. For many lifetimes to come, she continually alternated between rebirth among the lowly creatures on earth and rebirth in one of the many Jaina Hells. Eventually, her births were restricted to some of the smaller animals such as the birds.

TRᅒ: Similar, though in this text, her spheres of rebirth included that of the *mlecchas*, or barbarian tribes.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ᅒPC: *Not found in this version.*

22. The Story of Sukumārikā:

22a. Nāgaśrī's Reincarnation in Campā as Sukumārikā

NDK: After many births and rebirths, the soul that had been Nāgaśrī was eventually reborn in the very same city of Campā as Sukumārikā, daughter of the merchant Sāgaradatta and his wife Bhadrā.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details, though Bhadrā is here named Subhadrā.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Similar, though not surprisingly there is no explicit mention of Draupadī's previous incarnation as Nāgaśrī, since this text omitted the tale of Nāgaśrī altogether.

22b. Sāgara, Son of Jinadatta

NDK: In Campā there was another merchant named Jinadatta, who lived in together with his wife (likewise named Bhadrā) and a son named Sāgara.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details, though the name of Sāgara's mother is not given here.

22c. Jinadatta Spies Sukumārikā

NDK: One day, while out walking past Sāgaradatta's house, Jinadatta spied Sukumārikā, both beautiful and virtuous. He inquired after her from his servants, and decided she would make a good match for his son Sāgara.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text he merely spied her playing outside and decided for himself that she is suitable for his son.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ, though he spied her in her home, not outside playing.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly mentioned in this version.*

22d. Jinadatta Suggests a Match Between Sāgara and Sukumārikā

NDK: Accompanied by friends and relatives, Jinadatta goes to Sāgaradatta's house and suggested that Sukumārikā would make a good bride for Sāgara. He even offered to pay her dowry.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text he does not offer any dowry.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly mentioned in this version.*

22e. Sāgaradatta Agrees on One Condition

NDK: As Sāgaradatta could not stand to part with his daughter, he told Jinadatta that Sāgara could marry Sukumārikā only on the condition that the couple reside with Sāgaradatta and his wife.¹³

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly mentioned in this version.*

¹³ Instead of the more usual situation in which a daughter would leave her home and live in her husband's home.

22f. Jinadatta then Proposes the Match to His Son Sāgara

NDK: Jinadatta then returned home and put this proposed arrangement to his son Sāgara. Taking Sāgara's silence for assent, the wedding was planned and executed.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly mentioned in this version.*

22g. Sāgara and Sukumārikā are Wed; Sāgara Burnt by Her Touch

NDK: During the wedding ceremony, when Sāgara touched the hand of Sukumārikā, he experienced a painful burning sensation, though he said nothing about it.

TRṢ: Somewhat similar, though in this text, there is no mention of Sāgara touching Sukumārikā during the wedding nor any experience of pain.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: In this text, we are merely told that the couple was married.

22h. At Night, Sāgara Burned Again and Departs

NDK: At night, Sāgara went to Sukumārikā's bed with her, but when his body came in contact with hers, he again experienced the same painful sensation as when he touched her at the wedding. Thus, he quietly slipped out when she was asleep and returned to his own bed.

TRṢ: The account in this text is somewhat streamlined. Here, after experiencing the burning sensation from her touch, he snuck out and left the house.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

22i. Sukumārikā Comes to His Bed; Again He is Burnt by Her Touch

NDK: Awaking to find Sāgara gone, Sukumārikā went to his bed and lay with him. Yet again, Sāgara experienced the scorch of her touch.

TRṢ: *Not found in this version.*

DPC: *Not found in this version.*

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22j. Sāgara Secretly Slips Away

NDK: Once again waiting until she was asleep, Sāgara slipped out of bed and returned to his father's home.

TRṢ: As mentioned above, Sāgara returned to his father's home after his first bedroom encounter with her.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Similar, though in this text, Sāgara merely ran far away, but not to his father's house.

22k. Sukumārikā is Devastated

NDK: When Sukumārikā awoke to find her husband gone, she searched all over for him, and not finding him, she was greatly dejected and began to weep.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details.

22l. Sukumārikā Tells the Story to a Serving-Maid

NDK: A serving maid came to Sukumārikā in the morning and found her weeping. Sukumārikā told the maid what had happened.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: In this text, Sukumārikā told her story to her mother Subhadrā. Subhadrā tried to comfort Sukumārikā by saying that surely Sāgara would return.

22m. The Serving-Maid Informs Sāgaradatta

NDK: Being told the reason for Sukumārikā's distress, the maid went to Sāgaradatta and related the whole story to him.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text, the serving-maid related Sukumārikā's story to Subhadrā, who then related it to her husband Sāgaradatta.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22.n Sāgaradatta Informs Jinadatta

NDK: Hearing the news, Sāgaradatta was exceedingly angry and went immediately to inform Jinadatta.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22o. Jinadatta Tells Sāgara to Return to Sukumārikā; Sāgara Refuses

NDK: Having been accosted by Sāgaradatta, Jinadatta then went to speak to his son Sāgara. He implored Sāgara to return to Sukumārikā, but Sāgara steadfastly refused, saying he would rather die than return to Sukumārikā.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22p. Sāgaradatta Overhears and Departs in Dejection

NDK: This exchange between father and son was overheard by Sāgaradatta who, having heard Sāgara's absolute refusal to return to Sukumārikā, went home dejected.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22q. Sāgaradatta Calms Sukumārikā with the Promise of a New Husband

NDK: When Sāgaradatta returned home, he took Sukumārikā on his lap and soothed her with a promise of finding her a new husband.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.* Rather, we are told in a very succinct manner that two other husbands were procured for Sukumārikā, and both of them left her in the same manner and for the same reason as the first.

22r. Sāgaradatta Procures a Beggar to Marry Sukumārikā

NDK: One day, Sāgaradatta spied a beggar walking by his house looking positively filthy. He brought this beggar into his house, had him fed and cleaned up, and asked the beggar if he would assent to marry Sukumārikā and to live with the family enjoying all of their wealth. The beggar agreed, and the wedding took place.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details, though there is no explicit mention of a wedding taking place.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRŞ.

ŚPC: *Not found in this version.*

22s. The New Husband is Likewise Burned by Sukumārikā's Touch

NDK: However, this new husband, like the previous one, experienced a painful, burning sensation from the touch of her body.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22t. This Husband Likewise Flees at Night

NDK: And, like her previous husband, this one too slipped out of the house at night while she slept.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details, though it is not explicitly mentioned that she was asleep when he left.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRŞ.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22u. Sukumārikā Awakes, and is Again Dejected

NDK: Once again Sukumārikā awoke to the realization that her husband had abandoned her. She was again dejected.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22v. Again the Maid Reports to Sāgaradatta

NDK: When her maid arrived in the morning to attend to Sukumārikā, she found her sitting alone, dejected. Having heard the story from Sukumārikā, the maid reported it to Sāgaradatta.

TRṢ: Somewhat streamlined. In this text, it was Sāgaradatta himself who found his daughter Sukumārikā alone and dejected in the morning.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22w. The Fruit of Some Past Action

NDK: This time, Sāgaradatta realized that Sukumārikā was suffering from the effects of actions done in a past-life, and he took her on his lap and told her so.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Similar, yet in this text, we are told that Sukumārikā's father Sāgaradattaka eventually discovered that the touch of his daughter's skin was akin to burning charcoal, and he told her to remain at home and meditate on the *dharma*. There is a verse quoted at this point which indicated that the origin of her problems was sin, but there is no explicit mention of sin in a past life.

22x. Sāgaradatta Suggests that She Stay at Home Practicing Charity

NDK: Instead of attempting to procure another husband for Sukumārikā, Sāgaradatta advised her to stay at home and practice charity by preparing and serving food to mendicants and so on.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22y. Sukumārikā Encounters some Jaina Gopālikā Nuns

NDK: One day, some Jaina nuns known as Gopālikās came to Sukumārikā's house for alms. Realizing that the nuns were learned, Sukumārikā explained her predicament to the nuns in hopes that they could help her.

TRŞ: Very similar in essential details, though here, Āryā Gopālikā is the name of a nun (this may be just a different interpretation by the translator – the word “Gopālikā” is found in the plural, but most likely as a mark of respect to a single person.)

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRŞ.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this text.*

22z. Sukumārikā Joins this Order of Nuns

NDK: The nuns talked to Sukumārikā for awhile, and before long, she asked her father's permission to join this order of nuns. Sāgaradatta agreed, and Sukumārikā went to live with the nuns.

TRṢ: Similar, though here Sukumārikā merely took the vow without explicitly asking for her father's permission.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Similar, though in this text, we are merely told that Sukumārikā decided to become a nun out of disgust, and that she took the vow in the presence of a nun called Gaṅgā.

22aa. Sukumārikā Wants to Practice a Special Fast; the Nuns Refuse

NDK: One day, Sukumārikā decided to carry out a fast that required her to look into the sun all day, and for some reason she wanted to perform this austerity in Subhūmibhāga park on the outskirts of Campā. The nuns refused to give their permission, saying that nuns ought to remain in the monastery when practicing austerities.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22bb. Sukumārikā Disobeys; She Begins the Fast in a Remote Grove

NDK: Disobeying the nuns, Sukumārikā went to the park and began the fast.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: In this text, we are merely told that Sukumārikā carried out extreme ascetic practices in a grove, and there is no indication that she was a rogue nun or that her practices were less than admirable.

22cc. The Courtesan Devadattā Arrives in the Grove with a Group of Men

NDK: While Sukumārikā was in Subhūmibhāga park, five men arrived there with a courtesan named Devadattā. All five men were attending upon the courtesan.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details.

22dd. Sukumārikā Sees Devadattā with Five Men; She is Envious

NDK: Seeing the courtesan Devadattā pampered and fawned over by five men, Sukumārikā was envious.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details.

22ee. Sukumārikā's Vows to have Five Men in a Future Birth

NDK: Having remembered that her own husband-less existence was due to her own past actions, she reckoned that Devadattā must have done something

in her past life to warrant all this attention. Thus, Sukumārikā vowed (i.e. made a *nidāna*) that if anything should come of her austerities, it should be that she too would, in her next life, enjoy the attentions of five men.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text, we are merely told that she was envious and made a *nidāna* that the result of her penance should be five husbands.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

22ff. Sukumārikā Lives as a Marginal Nun

NDK: Sukumārikā continued to live as a nun, but she did not abide by all the precepts. Tired of being lectured to by the other nuns, she went off to live by herself in an isolated place. Though living as a degraded nun, her mind was still occupied by a desire for sexual pleasure.

TRṢ: Similar, though in this text there is no explicit reference to her continuing desire for sexual pleasure.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

22gg. Sukumārikā Dies Without Confessing Her Sinful Thoughts

NDK: Sukumārikā died without confessing her sins.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details, though we are told she fasted for 8 months unto death.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ, though we are merely told that she fasted to death, and not how long she fasted.

22hh. Sukumārikā is Reborn as a Celestial Courtesan

NDK: Upon her death, the soul that had been Sukumārikā was then born in one of the *vimānas* of the Īśāna Kalpa as a celestial courtesan, and remained so for nine *palyopamas*.

TRṢ: Here, she was said to have become a goddess in Saudharma for nine *palyopamas*.

DPC: Very similar in essential details to the TRṢ.

ŚPC: Here, we are told that she was reborn as the wife of the Lord of Saudharma.

22ii. Falling From Heaven, She is Reborn as Draupadī

NDK: Having fallen from heaven, she descended into the womb of King Drupada's wife Culaṇī in Kāmpilyapura, where Drupada's son Dhṛṣṭadyumna was heir-apparent.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Very similar in essential details.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details.

23. The Voice in the Air

NDK: *Not found in this version.*

TRṢ: When the ascetic had concluded his narration of the events in Draupadī's past lives that led to her acquiring five husbands, he said, "What is

surprising in that?" Then, a voice in the sky was heard to say, "Well done! Well done!" And then Kṛṣṇa and the others added their approval by stating, "It is good that these husbands happened." (p. 202)

DPC: Very similar to the TRṢ, though the voice in the sky did not appear here but rather earlier in the story. (see plot point 18)

ŚPC: Similar to the TRṢ, though in this text, the voice is more explicit. It says, "Although there are five husbands, [nevertheless], Draupadī is to be considered a virtuous woman". (v. 45)

24. Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas Return to Drupada's Palace

NDK: Dhṛṣṭadyumna then drove Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas to Drupada's palace, first parading them through the city.

TRṢ: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

DPC: Similar, though the preparations made by Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas just prior to the wedding ceremony are given in some detail.

ŚPC: *Not explicitly found in this version.*

25. The Wedding

NDK: Drupada then saw his daughter Draupadī married to the five Pāṇḍavas seemingly all at one and the same time.

TRṢ: Very similar in essential details.

DPC: Similar, though many more details of the wedding ceremony are given.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details.

26. Pāṇḍu holds a ceremony for them in Hastināpura

NDK: When the marriage had been accomplished, Pāṇḍu invited all the kings to accompany him and the newlyweds to Hastināpura, where he had a ceremony for their welfare carried out.

TRṢ: Similar. We are told that Pāṇḍu invited all the kings to his own city where he entertained them for a long time. There is no mention of a specific ceremony that he carried out for the newlyweds.

DPC: *Not found in this text.*

ŚPC: *Not found in this text.*

27. All the Kings Return Home

NDK: At the conclusion of the ceremony in Hastināpura, Vāsudeva and the other kings returned to their respective kingdoms.

TRṢ: Similar. Having been hospitably entertained for some time, the kings gained permission from Pāṇḍu to return to their own cities.

DPC: Presumably the other kings returned home after the wedding ceremony in Kāmpilya.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

28. The Rules for Husbands and Wife

NDK: *Not found in this text.*

TRṢ: *Not found in this text.*

DPC: Upon the return of King Pāṇḍu, his five sons, and their new bride Draupadī to Hastināgapurī, King Pāṇḍu and Nārada made the decree that each of the Pāṇḍavas were to stay in Draupadī's house one at a time, and that when one brother was with Draupadī, they were not to be intruded upon by another.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

29. Arjuna's Breach of the Agreement

NDK: *Not found in this text.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this text.*

DPC: When a herd of cows were being driven off by thieves, Arjuna, in order to get his bow to fight off the thieves, burst into Draupadī's house while his elder brother Yudhiṣṭhira was there.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

30. The 12 Year Tour of the Tīrthas

NDK: *Not found in this text.*

TRŞ: *Not found in this text.*

DPC: Despite the lack of even a shred of animus on the part of Yudhiṣṭhira, and the noble cause Arjuna was pursuing when he interrupted Yudhiṣṭhira while he was with Draupadī, nevertheless Arjuna insisted upon the punishment for his intrusion, and embarked upon the 12 year tour of the *tīrthas*.

ŚPC: Very similar in essential details to DPC.

APPENDIX III

Additional Hindu Justification Stories

This Appendix contains my translations of three passages found in the first appendix to V.S. Sukthankar's *Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan*. These passages came mainly from southern manuscripts, and as Sukthankar tended to favour the northern over the southern manuscript tradition, these passages were rejected for the purpose of the critically constituted text and were relegated to the critical apparatus. They are passages 100, 101, and 102 from Sukthankar's Appendix I.

The exact meaning of certain parts of these passages at times eluded me, but at least they serve the purpose of clearly demonstrating that the Hindu tradition was not averse to creating new stories to justify Draupadī's polyandry, nor were they necessarily concerned about bringing all of the various stories into harmony.

Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, Appendix I, Passage 100¹

Vyāsa [said]:

O king, let not your mind be tormented by the thought, “My daughter is the wife of five men”! Her mother wished, “May my daughter be the wife of five men,” O king! Those two [brahmins], Yāja and Upayāja, intent upon righteousness, created, by their *tapas*, her state of having five husbands. That wife Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) was lawfully obtained by the sons of Pāṇḍu – indeed, your family must rejoice! In this world, no one else subject to a master is superior to you [who is not]; you are inviolable by all your enemies, O king! So again, you must listen to me without anxiety – her state of having five husbands is in line with tradition. Some time ago, a certain Nālāyanī, who was irreproachable, honourably served her elderly husband, a *maudgalya* [i.e. descendent of the sage Maudgala], who had leprosy, who was reduced to skin and bone, bitter, greedy, jealous, exceptionally wrathful, who was possessed grey hair and was full of wrinkles, stinking with a smell that was other than pleasant, disfigured and possessed of cracking skin and nails. Adopting a strict vow of eating only what he discarded, she attended upon him. Then, one time, his thumb broke off while he was eating. Having plucked it out from the food, she unhesitatingly ate it as her food. Being repeatedly addressed by him who was pleased with her and was filled with desire for her [saying], “You must choose a boon”, she then chose a boon.

The ṛṣi [said]:

I am not [actually] old, not bitter, not jealous, and certainly not angry; I am not feeble nor greedy and my breath does not stink. How may I please you? How may I make love to you? Tell me, O lovely One, what you wish in your heart.

Vyāsa [said]:

That beautifully-limbed one replied to her husband who was pleased, of pure deed, and a giver of boons and granter of all desires:

Nālāyanī [said]:

O great-minded one, I have been pierced by the five arrows of Kāma (Manmatha) – You, O inconceivable-souled one, who are celebrated

¹ Sukthankar (ed.), *The Mahābhārata, Volume 1*, p. 948-50.

throughout the worlds, having divided yourself into five parts, must gratify me, after which you will return to a unified state.

Vyāsa [said]:

The wise *brahmarṣi*, of great *tapas*, said to her, “So indeed it shall be.” Having become fivefold, that *maudgala* gratified in every way that Nālāyanī of the beautiful locks and sweet smile. Being greatly honoured by the *maharṣis* in the hermitages, he wandered about as he pleased, assuming any form at will. When he went to heaven, he wandered about in the realm of the gods imbibing the drink of ambrosia together with the *devarṣis* who were there. Being thus honoured even in the palaces of Indra by [Indra’s wife] Śacī, he ran around lustfully with Nālāyanī (Mahendrasenā). Having mounted the divine chariot of the sun, and having come back to Mt. Meru, the blessed lord delighted in making his abode on Mt. Meru. Having bathed in the heavenly Ganges together with her, that treasure chest of *tapas*, like the wind, dwelled in the rays of the moon. When that *maharṣi* assumed the form of a mountain, then, by her supernatural power, she became a great river running through him. When the blessed *ṛṣi* transformed into a Sāl tree bursting with flowers, she then became a creeper clinging fast to him. Whatever form into which he transformed, she likewise transformed herself into a corresponding form. She even rode on the shoulders of her lord. From this, her love of him and his of her grew equally, and he became a great *ṛṣi* through her ministrations. She was born there through divine power and he made love to her through his magic power. Having previously been a devoted wife, she was subsequently forever celebrated, like Arundhatī and Sītā, as one who had an exceeding devotion to her husband. She became even greater than her mother Damayantī (or than Damayantī and her mother). This is the truth, O great king, you must not think otherwise! This very Nālāyanī, by some quirk of fate, O king, arose in the altar as your own beautiful and radiant daughter Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā). Though her heart, ever constant to him, was never able, still her soul was completely devoted to that best of brahmins.

Drupada [said]:

O brahmin, tell me the cause by which that wretched woman arose in the sacrifice as my daughter Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā), O best among knowers of the entire veda!

Vyāsa [said]:

Listen, O king, to the account of a boon granted to her by Śiva (Rudra) through which this beautiful girl arose in your sacrifice. I will narrate to you that which occurred in Draupadī's past life: previously, the exquisite Nālāyanī was named Indrasenā [i.e. Mahendrasenā]. Having obtained her *maudgalya* husband, she went about free from grief. While her *maudgalya maharṣi* [husband] was delighting in her, many years passed by as if in the twinkling of an eye. Eventually, however, her righteous [husband], satiated from love making, became indifferent [towards her]. Seeking after the highest brahman, he became intent upon the virtue of renunciation – that brahmin sent her away, and she then fell to the earth. The *maudgalya*, O tiger of kings, was constantly engrossed in austerities. Plagued by desire for sexual gratification, she approached him and said these words:

Indrasenā [said]:

Be kind to me, O blessed one – you must not dismiss me. I have not had my fill of the pleasures of lovemaking, O *brahmarṣi*. The passion of love torments me to no end – You must take pity on me! You must satisfy my senses! My vagina torments me incessantly!

The ṛṣi [said]:

Since you, without fear, speak what ought not to be spoken to me, thereby acting in a way that hinders my austerities, therefore, hear my words: In the world of men, you shall become a celebrated princess, daughter of Drupada, noble king of the Pāñcālas. In that birth you will have your five famous husbands – together with those handsome men, you will find pleasure for a long time to come.

Vyāsa [said]:

Being thus cursed, the illustrious woman, disgraced, went to the forest. Then, she who had been unsatiated by sensual pleasures, propitiated Śiva (Deveśa) with her austerities. Free from desires, living on air and fasting, following the sun [with her gaze], she [performed the ritual of] the five fires. Śiva (Paśupati) himself was pleased by her harsh asceticism. Then, Lord Śiva (Rudra), lord of all realms, granted her a boon: “You will have a great life among men, O beautiful woman! And, my dear one, five upright men will be your husbands, each one like Indra (Mahendra) in form, and

each having strength equal to Indra (Mahendra). Dwelling there, you will perform a great service to the gods.

Nālāyanī [said]:

A single husband was surely chosen by me. How will I have five husbands? You must elucidate this for me.

Śiva (Maheśvara) [said]:

Five times was I addressed by you, “Give me a husband.” There will be, my dear, five joy-bringing husbands for you.

Nālāyanī [said]:

In the past, a single husband was the rule decreed for women, while for men, the condition of multiple wives was the rule set down by the fathers. This rule for women is ancient, and was created long ago by the sages. It is well known that a single wife shares the duties with her husband. People say that there is indeed one husband for a woman who is a virgin. In times of calamity, another [man] may be considered for the purpose of continuing the lineage by proxy. And it is said that there is atonement for her who would go to a third [man]. With respect to a fourth, [it is said] she has fallen from righteousness, and with respect to a fifth, she is a whore. Since this is the path of righteousness, I do not choose to have multiple husbands. How can I be liberated from this intermingling which is practiced nowhere on earth?

Śiva (Maheśvara) [said]:

Long ago, women were not shut away and were purified during their menses. Not once was this mentioned by you. This [arrangement] will not be unlawful for you.

Nālāyanī [said]:

If I am to have five husbands, I, being together with them, want a boon: I must be a virgin after each time I am with each one of them. Perfection was previously obtained by me by through attending upon my husband and the desire for pleasure. Now I will have pleasure.

Śiva (Maheśvara) [said]:

My dear lady, sensual pleasure and perfection are mutually exclusive – foregoing sensual pleasure, you will obtain perfection, and through *yoga*, you will obtain a state of greatness. During another existence, possessing beauty, good fortune, and virtue, you as a virgin will have each of these five [men], and you will become highly illustrious. Go and stand in the water of the Ganges river. You will see him who is a man. Bring him, Indra (Surarāja), into my presence, O brightly-smiling one.

Vyāsa [said]:

Thus was she addressed by Śiva (Viśvarūpa), and having circumambulated Śiva (Rudra), she set out in the direction of the auspicious triple-coursed river Ganges.

Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, Appendix I, Passage 101²

[Vyāsa said:]

Listen, O king, to that which happened long ago and which is being narrated regarding the marriages of previous seer-kings. There was on earth a celebrated seer-king named Nitantu. He had five sons, named Sālveya, Śūrasena, Śrutasena, Tindusāra, and Atisāra, great archers, warriors, sacrificers and kings. They never transgressed one another and always spoke well of each other. Once, during a *svayamvara*, Bhaumāśvī, in the lineage of Śibi, obtained these five sons of Nitantu, heroes and lords of men, as her husbands. Bhaumāśvī was at that time the best of women, possessed of a voice with notes as melodious as the sweet sounds of a lute. She was the wife of the five sons of Nitantu, best of warriors and protectors of the earth, rich in all desirable virtues. And this queen of the Uśīnaras, named Bhaumāśvī, possessed of both beauty and virtue, was the sole wife of these kings. Eventually, O best of kings, she bore to those five sons of Nitantu five heirs apiece. Listen to me, O foremost of kings, to the names of each of those five Matsyas, being recited just as they were: the Sālveya kings, the Śūrasena kings, the Śrutasena kings, the Tindusāra kings, and the Atisāra kings were their lineages, O best of kings. Thus was the single wife [of five men] celebrated on earth.

² Sukthankar (ed.), *The Mahābhārata, Volume 1*, p. 950.

Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, Appendix I, Passage 102³

[Vyāsa said:]

That very woman, unequalled in beauty on earth, previously was Nālāyanī who had obtained the *maudgalya* husband and who had received a boon from Śiva. Listen, O king, to what I tell you in confidence, and have absolute faith in my words – then you shall see the Pāṇḍavas [in the proper context]. Having killed Vṛtra son of Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra (Surapati), having now acquired the sin of brahmanocide, was then expelled from heaven, deprived of such things as *dharma*. Indra's *dharma* went to Yama, his power then entered Vāyu, his courage went to Vara, and his knowledge and beauty went to the two Aśvins (Nāsatyau). Modesty, prosperity, fame, humility and even opinion – these abandoned Indra and sought refuge in Sarasvatī (Vāgdevī). On account of the gift of a boon from a previous Indra, and by the command of Śiva (Maheśa), O king, Indra's *dharma* etc. became the [five] Pāṇḍavas and his modesty etc. entered Draupadī. Thus, these Pāṇḍavas, O king, are actually a single Indra – have no doubt – and indeed, O king, Draupadī and [Indra's wife] Paulomī are one. You must not doubt it! And now hear in even stricter confidence another mystery fashioned by the gods, having heard which, your doubts will immediately shatter into a hundred pieces: The faces of Śiva (Maheśīṭṛ), beginning with the face of Sadyojāta, are the five Pāṇḍavas, and this Draupadī is their Pārvatī. And this yet further ancient mystery, concealed from you by the gods, is [told] for your sake as a great cause of assurance: The four arms of Viṣṇu, O foremost of kings, furnished with the conch, discus etc., are Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmarāja), Bhīma, and the twins [Nakula and Sahadeva]. But Arjuna is Viṣṇu himself, and Draupadī (Pāñcālī) is Lakṣmī (Kamalāvati). The four forms of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu himself, and Lakṣmī (Sindhujā) are the four Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna (Jiṣṇu) and Draupadī, O lord of the earth! Viṣṇu, who has four forms, four separate appearances, along with those beginning with Kṛṣṇa (Vāsudeva), has descended to earth, and Draupadī (Pāñcālī) is Lakṣmī herself. Śiva, who has five forms known as the five *āyatanas*, entered the five kinds of dissolution beginning with *nivṛtta* and Draupadī (Pāñcālī), O king. Therefore, you must not hesitate! Your daughter Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) must be married to the Pāṇḍavas, O king, due to her past life with these five. The Pāṇḍavas are five fires, and Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) is the sanctioned oblation.

³ Sukthankar (ed.), *The Mahābhārata, Volume 1*, p. 950.

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