# Voix et échos du roman-poème en prakrit

Vers une histoire des traditions monastiques jaina
dans l'Inde médiévale (8ᵉ–12ᵉ siècles)

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# AVANT-PROPOS

Les prémices de l'ouvrage qui va suivre remontent à une vingtaine d'années, quand le professeur Adelheid Mette a attiré mon attention sur une œuvre raffinée en prakrit, *Kuvalayamālā* « Guirlande de nymphéas bleus », composée en 779 par le moine Uddyotana dans une prose mêlée de vers. La traduction intégrale et l'étude de cette œuvre m'ont fait mesurer combien elle était exceptionnelle à maints égards et la lecture des compositions ultérieures de moines jaina entre les 8e et 12e siècles m'a permis de voir que ses retentissements étaient plus grands que je ne l'avais imaginé au préalable. En effet, les échos de *Kuvalayamālā* sont perceptibles dans un ensemble de dix longues œuvres narratives écrites durant cette période. Les unes portent sur un sujet inventé : la *Samarāiccakahā* « Histoire de Soleil-éblouissant-au-combat » de Haribhadra (8e siècle), *Bhuvaṇasuṃdarī* « Belle-de-l'univers » de Vijayasiṃhasūri (c. fin 10e siècle, *Maṇoramā* « Charmante-pour-l'esprit » de Vardhamāna (1092) et le *Puhaicaṃdacaria* « Histoire d'Éclat-de-lune-de-la-terre » de Śāntisūri (1105). Les autres relatent les vies (*caria*) exemplaires de personnages saints du jainisme : le *Jambucaria* de Guṇapāla (9e siècle), le *Cauppannamahāpurisacaria* « Histoire des cinquante-quatre hommes illustres » de Śīlāṅka (868), et des biographies dédiées à l'un des vingt-quatre héros du jainisme, respectivement aux 24e, 16e, 1er et 23e Jina, le *Mahāvīracaria* de Guṇacandra (1092), le *Saṃtiṇāhacaria* de Devacandra (1104), le *Jugāijiṇiṃdacaria* de Vardhamāna (1104) et le *Pāsaṇāhacaria* de Devabhadra (1112). Or si ces œuvres, que j'ai appelées romans-poèmes étant donné leurs caractéristiques partagées, ont presque toutes eu le bonheur d'être éditées, elles restent dans l'ensemble négligées ou oubliées dans les histoires de la littérature et dans les travaux de recherche. Par conséquent, j'ai souhaité entreprendre leur étude avec deux objectifs principaux. Le premier était de faire connaître ces œuvres et de leur redonner la place qu'elles méritent dans la culture indienne moyennant une étude des procédés linguistiques et stylistiques ; le second était de montrer comment ces œuvres peuvent éclairer l'histoire des traditions

monastiques jaina médiévales à une période charnière et pourtant mal connue, faute de documentation.

Comme le montre déjà leur sujet, ces romans-poèmes ont été écrits non seulement pour plaire à un public raffiné, mais aussi pour transmettre les principes de la religion jaina et ils ont été reconnus comme tels dans la tradition jaina qui les a intégrés dans un patrimoine culturel et transmis au cours des siècles. Ils sont donc susceptibles d'apporter des informations sur les mouvements monastiques en cours, notamment sur les moines de deux groupes rivaux qui se sont concurrencés au tournant du premier millénaire, à savoir les représentants d'un courant nommé Caityavāsin « habitants de temples » et ceux d'un courant nommé Vasativāsin « habitants de logis ». En effet, si l'on sait que les Vasativāsin sont à l'origine de plusieurs congrégations médiévales, dont on peut retracer l'histoire, on ignore à peu près tout des Caityavāsin, qui sont connus à ce jour essentiellement par les caricatures de leurs détracteurs. Sont-ils ces moines qui ont été décrits comme habitant de manière permanente dans des temples ou dans des monastères et vivant dans le luxe et les plaisirs ? Sont-ils des moines dont le succès grandissant auprès des cours royales a suscité des rivalités intrasectaires qui ont contribué à ternir leur réputation et à estomper leur souvenir dans les siècles futurs ? En conséquence, le but de cet ouvrage est d'examiner quels portraits de moines les auteurs des romans-poèmes font ressortir et quelles dynamiques monastiques ils permettent de reconstruire dans le milieu religieux complexe de l'Inde médiévale. Ainsi, tandis que les deux premiers chapitres sont destinés à évaluer la place des romans-poèmes dans la littérature indienne et dans la littérature jaina, les quatre chapitres suivants s'emploient à définir à partir de critères distincts les dynamiques monastiques entre les 8ᵉ et 12ᵉ siècles. L'ouvrage est complété par une annexe qui présente des traductions annotées extraites de dix romans-poèmes. Le lecteur y trouvera systématiquement les prologues et les *praśasti* ainsi que des morceaux choisis à l'appui des différents chapitres de l'étude. Enfin, un appendice présente le matériel disponible (édition, traduction, résumé, manuscrits) pour les œuvres narratives en prakrit conservées entre les 8ᵉ et 12ᵉ siècles.

Avant de laisser le lecteur découvrir le contenu de cet ouvrage, je souhaite remercier les collègues et amis qui ont participé à cette aventure.

Tout d'abord, j'ai une pensée émue pour deux grands savants disparus l'an passé, Adelheid Mette (1934–2023) et Paul Dundas (1952–2023) à qui je dédie ce livre comme un témoignage de mon admiration. Dans sa forme actuelle, ce livre doit beaucoup à Basile Leclère (Lyon) que je remercie vivement pour ses relectures attentives et nos échanges fructueux. Je voudrais aussi exprimer ma gratitude à Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München) pour sa disponibilité et nos discussions sur le fond et la forme de cet ouvrage. Ma reconnaissance va encore à Oskar von Hinüber (Freiburg) qui a fait bénéficier mon introduction de ses conseils judicieux et à Romain Graziani (ENS Lyon), qui a formulé diverses suggestions pour rendre mon avant-propos plus attrayant. En outre, je voudrais remercier tout spécialement les collègues et bibliothécaires qui m'ont aimablement apporté leur aide quand je recherchais plusieurs œuvres narratives devenues rares dans les bibliothèques des USA, d'Allemagne et d'Inde où elles ont été conservées : Daud Ali (Philadelphia), Reinhold Grünendahl (Göttingen), Thomas Oberlies (Göttingen), Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München), Ines Fornell (Göttingen), Kathrin Holz (Würzburg), Amruta Natu (Pune), Birte Plutat (Hamburg), Andreas Pohlus (Halle) et Roland Steiner (Marburg). Je souhaiterais encore adresser mes remerciements sincères aux éditeurs de la collection Indica & Tibetica pour leur confiance, à Mitsuyo Demoto, directrice de la collection, pour son examen méticuleux du manuscrit et pour son aide technique précieuse et à Roland Steiner pour sa relecture minutieuse du texte final. Enfin, je ne saurais exprimer aisément ma gratitude envers les membres de ma famille, Andrée, Alexandre, Denis, Éric et Nathalie, qui m'ont supportée et soutenue au cours de cette entreprise.

# TABLE DES MATIERES

# ENGLISH SUMMARY

The beginnings of this work go back some twenty years, when Professor Adelheid Mette drew my attention to a work in Prakrit, *Kuvalayamālā* by the monk Uddyotana (779), that was the first Jaina exponent of the *campū* genre alternating prose and verse. The complete translation and study of this work made me realise how exceptional it was in many respects, and reading later compositions by Jaina monks enabled me to see that the influence of the *Kuvalayamālā* is noticeable in a series of ten long narrative works composed between the 8th and 12th centuries : Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā* (8th c.), Guṇapāla's *Jambucaria* (9th c.), Śīlāṅka's *Cauppannamahāpurisacaria* (868), Vijayasiṃha's *Bhuvaṇasuṃdarī* (10–11th c.), Guṇacandra's *Mahāvīracaria* (1082), Vardhamāna's *Maṇoramā* (1082), Devacandra's *Saṃtiṇāhacaria* (1104), Vardhamāna's *Jugāijiṇiṃdacaria* (1104), Śāntisūri's *Puhaicaṃdacaria* (1105) and Devabhadra's *Pāsaṇāhacaria* (1112). They constitute a particular genre that I have called romance-poem because of the distinctive features they have in common: in addition to features of the *kāvya* style in Prakrit and, for most of them, the alternation between prose and verse, they contain didactic passages borrowed from worldly knowledge and religious discourses expounding the principles of the Jaina faith. However, with the exception of Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā* and Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā*, the other nine romance-poems in the corpus have remained unknown in literary histories as well as in scholarly works partly because of their language, and partly because of their editions that were restricted to a narrow readership. The first aim of this book was therefore to assess their place in Indian literature and their role in Jaina literature.

In chapter 1, the linguistic, stylistic, and compositional analysis of the romance-poems shows that most of the monk-writers appear to be worthy heirs of Bāṇa. Not only do they take up the themes and *kāvya* style of *Kādambarī*, but they also incorporate the innovations that Tubb (2014) has identified in this post-classical author, such as the realistic themes of winter or poverty and manage to create unique literary works. While some

transformations were intended to educate the audience (such as the epi-sode of the queen's rage or the polylogues of the townswomen), others testify to the monks' undeniable talent as poets and composers. Indeed, among them, Uddyotana and Vijayasiṃha show a mastery of complex narrative structure that is more advanced than that of Bāṇa. Furthermore, the use of the *campū* allows the monk-writers to surpass Bāṇa's poetic prose in the effects of rhythm: the alternation between prose and verse gives the opportunity to speed up or slow down the rhythms as much as to vary the tonalities between the narrative and the various emotions of the speeches. It also makes it possible to integrate within the narrative framework several kinds of sub-genres, such as passages taken from treatises on worldly knowledge or other classical genres (Śīlāṅka's one-act play) or po-pular genres (Uddyotana's cloth painting, Uddyotana's and Devacandra's *carcarī*, Vardhamāna's *rāsaka*). There is no doubt that the authors of the romance-poems were erudite writers, experienced in the practice of poetry and that, for the most part, they were able to create original works that highlight the use of Prakrit as a language of culture and successfully handle all the devices of the *kāvya* style.

The examination of the structure of the romance-poems and their descriptive and dialogic sequences in chapter 2 proves why the romance-poems could be copied and disseminated in the same way as the canonical works. As we show with the help of selected passages, they constitute a successful third way alongside exegetical texts and *Treasures of stories* for several reasons. First, the monk-writers brilliantly master the two essential components of the *kāvya*, which are descriptions and dialogue sequences. Not only do they limit their scope, but they also channel them skilfully: the poetic description of clouds becomes a pretext for evoking the instability of all things and encouraging renunciation of the world; the frenzy of courtesans and the futility of their occupations is contrasted with the serenity of monks concentrating on activities leading to deliverance. They also distance themselves from the polylogues of the *kāvyas* with a dis-paraging commentary by the narrator denouncing all harmful or useless speech. In addition, the monk-writers innovate by creating descriptions based on key notions of Jainism, ranging from the fear of the underworld to the admiration of the deliverance achieved by the Jina; they also distance themselves from the classical *kāvya* by adding various types of dialogue passages – religious discourse, dialogue or praise – that directly

convey Jaina teachings. Second, an analysis of the romance-poems suggests the assets that contributed to their attractiveness as a didactic genre: the psychological depth given to characters who would otherwise only be the illustration of a defect, thanks to their successful integration into the narrative framework, the multiplication of narrators right up to the listener, thanks to *a mise en abyme* effect in the various levels of narration, the expanded scope of the various types of religious discourse, thanks to skilful narration, and the association of sermons with the quality of a character's soul, thanks to their delivery by authorised persons. It is not surprising, therefore, that at a time when Prakrit was a literary medium understood or interpreted by monks, this entertaining and edifying literary form was in vogue with an educated public of wealthy merchants who had it copied to perform a pious work like building a temple or making a statue and passed it on to posterity. Although the authors were remarkable writers and admired monks in the Jaina tradition, their memory faded over the centuries until manuscripts of their works were rediscovered and published in the 20th and 21st centuries. The other aim of this book, therefore, was to analyse what the romance-poems can teach us about the place of their authors in Jaina monasticism.

Studying the romance-poems in order to reconstruct part of the history of Jaina monasticism is particularly appropriate because these works were composed at a pivotal period when major upheavals were taking place. Tradition keeps track of these by mentioning two debates, one in 1024, the other in 1124, which resulted in the triumph of some congregations over their opponents (in one case, the Vasativāsins, forerunners of the Kharataragaccha, against the Caityavāsins, in the other, the Śvetāmbaras against the Digambaras). Yet not only is there very little documentation for this period, and the romance-poems are important documents, but several indications suggest that some of the authors of romance-poems were part of the Caityavāsins who were competing with the Vasativāsins at the turn of the millennium. To begin with, Vijayasiṃha refers to the *maṭha* in which he composed his work. In addition, Jineśvara wrote the *Nivvāṇalīlāvaī* in 1035, which with its story of ten souls suffering from ten defects clearly rivals Uddyotana's work, which includes the successive lives of five souls who are victims of five passions. Furthermore, Vardhamāna, the heir of Jineśvara, also wrote a work, *Maṇoramā*, which is influenced by Uddyotana, but changed its structure to include more didactic stories. As a

result, the romance-poems are likely to shed new light on the monastic movement of the monks known as the Caityavāsins, who had hitherto been known only through their opponents and portrayed in a negative light. In the earliest thirteenth century sources that mention them, they appear as monks who live like high dignitaries, accepting food prepared for them, using betel and travelling on palanquins. They are also portrayed as monks who break with tradition by living in permanently constructed spaces rather than in temporary lodgings provided by Jaina laymen. The later the sources, the more the term Caityavāsin is associated with that of *yati* and the more the image deteriorates: the monks of this religious group are described as greedy, ignorant, and manipulative. In order to determine the extent to which the monks who can be hypothesised to be Caityavāsins correspond to this image of a decadent movement competing with an orthodox reform movement, I have chosen four angles of analysis: the religious discourse and in particular the recurring themes from one work to the next, the portraits of the monks in the narrative with an examination of their designations, their descriptions, their roles and the places they frequent, the representations of kings and royalty vis-à-vis Jainism and finally the data in the para-texts of the works (dating, places, genealogies of monks and merchants).

A systematic analysis of the religious discourse and of recurring themes, which may reveal differences between authors and periods undertaken in chapter 3 leads to several conclusions. The authors of the romance-poems show a precise knowledge of authoritative texts (the *Aṅgas*, but also the *Tattvārthasūtra* and the *Tiloyapannatti*) and commentary literature (*Sthānāṅgavṛtti*, *Jīvavicāra*), which they sometimes quote to the letter. Moreover, a comparison of religious passages on the same subjects reveals several types of variation. Some attest to the exegetical activity of monks, who replaced obsolete vocabulary or commented on religious terms to make them more explicit. Others, however, show two moments in the transmission of the tradition. In the first period, between the 8th and 10th centuries, various traditions coexisted as if they were evolving together without difficulty for several key notions of Jainism. In a second period, a different religious context emerges. While Guṇacandra and Śāntisūri retain features of the traditions conveyed by Uddyotana, Vardhamāna and Devacandra are distinguished by an effort to unify the Śvetāmbara tradition, which results in the erasure of alternative traditions and a return

to canonical sources. This differentiation therefore corroborates the existence of a reform movement in the 11th–12th centuries but suggests that what is at stake is not the defence of an orthodoxy in the face of decadence, but a desire to create a unitary tradition capable of providing a Jaina identity.

Chapter 4 focuses on the portraits of monks in the romance-poems. Among the authors who can be associated with the Caityavāsins, can we find features that coincide with the defects ascribed to the Caityavāsins, such as lack of rigorism, occult practices, permanent dwelling, and can we discern an opposition between two groups of monks? An examination of the passages in which the monks appear shows that such a binary opposition does not exist. To begin with, in none of the romance-poems does the term *yati*, which is associated with the Caityavāsins in late medieval Jaina literature, have a negative connotation. In fact, all authors use the term *yatidharma* to describe the ascetic's dharma and its ten virtues as opposed to the layman's dharma and all use the term *yati* interchangeably with the term *sādhu* and *muṇi*. A comparison of the idealised portraits of monks in the romance-poems also shows that there is no difference between them. Moreover, the differences that can be identified in the monks' activities do not reveal any of the negative qualities attributed to the Caityavāsins but point to a more complex situation. In fact, the progressive valorisation of the use of magic to help others and to spread the Jaina faith among competing religions is not the act of the Caityavāsin monks, but of Vardhamāna, a representative of the Vasativāsin movement, precursor of the Kharataragaccha, known for the miraculous feats of its monks. The passages describing the performances of young girls or courtesans near a temple in honour of a Jina occur without a pejorative connotation in the works of both the reformer Vardhamāna and the Caityavāsin Vijayasiṃha. Finally, an analysis of the terms used to designate the spaces frequented by the monks (living quarters and places of study) also fails to highlight the main accusation levelled at the Caityavāsin monks, namely that they have abandoned the eremitical life. Indeed, itinerant life is recommended throughout the narratives, and even the mention of a *maṭha* in *Bhuvaṇa-suṃdarī's praśasti* is not enough to identify its author as a permanent temple dweller. The building described as a converted layman's dwelling could accommodate a monk for the time it takes to compose a work. Consequently, the question of permanent or non-permanent residence does not

yet seem to be a crucial point of division between monastic groups, as it later became.

The analysis of representations of kings and their type of Jaina kingship in chapter 5, shows variations depending on the period and the author. In the romance-poems that precede the end of the first millennium, there is no such thing as a temporal Jaina kingship, as can be seen from several points: when it is described, the royal consecration of a prince does not include any Jaina feature; the royal activities only mention homage paid to the Jinas and gifts offered to the people before renunciation; finally, the only royal dharma that is presented is in fact a dharma of renunciation. In addition, the kings retain in their life as monks, remnants of the faults they had in their life as kings, such as pride and anger. Thus, even Vijayasiṃha, from whom we can assume that he was a Caityavāsin, shows a distancing from royal power. On the other hand, there are changes in the romance-poems of the 11th–12th centuries. Indeed, while the model of royal renunciation continues to be valued by Vardhamāna, who is known for his efforts to maintain orthodoxy and orthopraxy, secular kingship that respects the Jinas and protects the Jaina community is valued by Guṇacandra, Devacandra and Śāntisūri. For all that, it is not simply a matter of opposition between the Vasativāsins, who continue to propose the model of royal renunciation and the Caityavāsins, who propose a temporal Jaina kingship. Indeed, the romance-poems reveal differences among the Vasativāsins as well. While Vardhamāna supports royal renunciation, Devacandra is also close to power and similarly defends a model of secular Jaina kingship, as is later shown by the role of his disciple Hemacandra with King Kumārapāla becoming a Jaina devotee. While certain features of royal ideologies thus suggest an opposition between two groups of Caityavāsin and Vasativāsin monks, they also indicate a complex religious world with several types of divisions.

In chapter 6, the combination of data from the *praśastis* and the content of the romance-poems also highlights two periods in the history of the monastic movements between the 8th and 12th centuries. Between the 8th and 10th centuries there were only the religious families called *kula* with two great teachers, Haribhadra and Uddyotana, with different religious and aesthetic positions, each of whom exerted a great influence on his successors. Between the 10th and 12th centuries, when the *gacchas* began to

appear as a designation for a religious group, only the Candrakula remained of the previous *kulas*, but with several subdivisions. Indeed, some rivalries (between Guṇacandra and Vardhamāna in 1082) reveal an opposition between Caityavāsins and Vasativāsins, as mentioned in the Jaina tradition. But others, notably between Devacandra and Vardhamāna in 1104, suggest tensions within the Vasativāsins, particularly over the royal ideologies supported. Thus, the material of the romance-poems partly reflects the opposition between Vasativāsins and Caityavāsins, but it also reveals a more complex religious world. It also confirms the evidence of external data suggesting that the defeat of the Caityavāsins was not a sudden event but was spread over several centuries. Finally, it brings to light an image of those who were named Caityavāsins that is quite different from that conveyed by their opponents. They appear as scholarly, rigorous monks, and anxious to pass on not only the Jaina faith but also sophisticated literary works unrivalled by their Vasativāsin opponents, Vardhamāna and Devacandra. It is therefore likely that the decline of the Caityavāsins, in an evolving society where the Jainas occupied a growing place in political circles, was not due to their failing morality, but partly to their success, partly to their elitist proselytising, while congregations advocating popular proselytising and aiming to define a Jaina orthopraxy and identity became increasingly powerful.

The study is accompanied by a lengthy appendix, which supports the proposed argument. It contains texts and translations, with philological and cultural notes, of passages taken from the romance-poems except the *Kuvalayamālā*. The prologues, which shed light on the poetic and religious projects of the authors, and the *praśastis* of the works, which provide information on the monastic genealogies and those of the merchants who commissioned copies of the works, have been translated in their entirety. I have also selected passages which illustrate the points developed in the chapters of the study. The most numerous passages are *kāvya* descriptions of common themes (city, forest, park, mountain, lake, spring, autumn, palace, bedroom, king, young girl, Yakṣa, Vetāla, place of cremation, army, combat, marriage) or rarer motives in the Bāṇa tradition (such as the merchant's convoy, a boat, decay of the body and poverty) or borrowed from the Jaina tradition (ascetic, temple, master, nun, torments inflicted on the Jina). These descriptions help to demonstrate the various stylistic devices of the *kāvya* mastered by the writer-monks, including the double

meaning of words, highlighting the possibilities of Prakrit, recurring con-catenations in verse and prose, multiple comparisons, and long nominal compounds. Some narrative passages are also included, as they show the influence of the *Kādambarī* and the *Kuvalayamālā,* and the way in which Guṇabhadra and Vardhamāna reinterpreted the motifs in their works for their own purposes. In addition, various types of dialogical passages illus-trate how the authors used this component of the *kāvya* style for didactic purposes: some of them distance themselves from the mundane dialogues of the *kāvya*, others are eulogies manifesting the development of devotion, and others are religious sermons inculcating the principles of Jaina dharma. Following the translations, the reader will also find an appendix of the narrative works in Prakrit that were composed between the 8th and 12th centuries in Gujarat and Rajasthan. For each entry, the following headings are given: the title of the work, its author, the date, the existing edition (and the manuscripts on which it is based), the limits of the intro-duction, the full or partial translations, and the notes or summaries. An index of rare words, Jaina technical terms and other cultural terms which have been the subject of a note in the translation completes the set.

This work is a first step towards demonstrating the interest of Jaina narrative works for both Indian literature and our knowledge of monastic movements, and I hope that it will serve as an incentive to preserve exis-ting sources, translate the works and explore them in research.