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ON THE INTERRELATION OF CERTAIN PRAKRIT SOURCES

A short narration as recorded in the Āvaśyaka-commentaries¹ informs us about a so-called *nidāna*, e.g. a wish to be accomplished during a future existence,² which is linked with Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and Kūṇika during the former life of both of them. Because the diverse research conducted in the field of the Āvaśyaka-literature lacks any reference to this narration, which appears to be of considerable interest with regard to the history of Jaina literature, the main focus of this paper is concentrated on the interpretation of this Prakrit text, which comprises a mere nine lines in the manuscripts.³

1. The earliest commentaries on the various editions of the Āvaśyaka-niryukti are Jinadāsa's Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi (Prakrit) and Haribhadra's Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā (Sanskrit): śrīmaj-Jinadāsa-gaṇimahattara-kṛtayā sūtra-cūrṇyā sametaṃ śrīmad-Āvaśyakasūtram, 2 vols., ed. Rṣabha-devaḥ Keśarīmalaḥ Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā (Indore, 1928-29) = Āv.-cūrṇi (6./7th AD.); śrīmad-bhavaviraha-Haribhadra-sūri-sūtrita-vṛṭty-alaṃkṛtaṃ śrī-Āvaśyakasūtram, 2 vols., Āgamodaya Samiti (Bombay, 1916-17, repr. 1982) = Āv.-ṭīkā (8th AD.).

2. The interpretation of the term *nidāna* as "sinful thought" appears to be erroneous in: H. JACOBI, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* (Leipzig, 1886), s. v. *niyāna*, *niyāṇaya*; W. SCHUBRING, *Nāyādhammakahāo – Das 6. Anga des Jaina-Siddhānta* (Wiesbaden, 1978), p. 45; E. LEUMANN, *Die Legende von Citta und Sambhūta*, WZKM 6, p. 9. For more details on the term *nidāna* see also: W. SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons, Āyāradasāo, Vavahāra, Nisiha*, ANIS, 11 (Hamburg, 1966), pp. 22-28; H. JACOBI, *Samarāicca Kahā. A Jaina Prakṛta Work* (Calcutta, 1926), p. XIXf. (Intr.) and L. ALSDORF, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, ANIS, 5 (Hamburg, 1936), p. 47f..

3. Āv.-cūrṇi, (supra n. 1), 2.166.2-10 = Āv.-ṭīkā (supra n. 1), 2.125f. (= fol. 678a.3-b.5). Compare also the late Sanskrit version as recorded in the Universal

There now follows a review of the section of the Āvaśyaka-commentaries dealing with the early rulers of northern India (§ 1 Early history according to the Āvaśyaka literature), accompanied by a summary of the genealogical relations as provided by this report, in which the narration about the former lives of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra (called Sumaṅgala during his previous existence) and Kūṇika (Śreṇika by name at his earlier birth), as presented in this paper, is recorded. Subsequently, the attention of the reader is drawn on the interpretation of our narration (§ 2 Sumaṅgala and Śreṇika according to the Āvaśyaka tradition), which presumably provides the source for Haribhadra's Prakrit romance *Samarāditya Kathā* (§ 3 Guṇasena and Agniśarman in the *Samarāditya Kathā*). Moreover, careful comparison of our narration with a similar account recorded in Saṅghadāsa's Prakrit composition *Vasudevahiṇḍī* shows that the original arrangement of *lambhas* as published in the current edition of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* needs to be revised since the last *lambha* appears originally to have been part of the first *lambha* (§ 4 Ugrasena and Kaṃśa in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*).

§ 1. Early history according to the Āvaśyaka-literature

The short narration mentioned above has come down to us in the context of a comprehensive report about the early political history of northern India that is included in the commentary literature on the Āvaśyaka-niryuktis for the explanation of the stanza Āvaśyaka-niryukti 1284⁴ and which takes us back to a time long before the Mauryas came to power.⁵ The first part of this Āryā stanza provides

History of the Jains: HEMACANDRA, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, 10 vols. (Bhāvnagar, 1904-1908), 10.6, vvs. 11-45; translated by H. M. JOHNSON, *Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, 6 vols. (Baroda 1931-62), 6, pp. 138-41.

4. According to the Āvaśyaka-niryukti as cited in Haribhadra's commentary: Āv.-ṭīkā (supra n. 1), 2.120 (= fol. 670b): *Khiti-Caṇa-Usabha-Kusaggaṃ Rāyagiham Campa-Pāḍalīputtaṃ* ; *Naṃde Sagaḍāle Thūlabhadda-Sirie Varuṇi* ya 11284l.

5. Probably the first reference to this semi-historical report, which covers nearly 30 pages of the Indian manuscript of the Āv.-cūrṇi (supra n. 1), is to be found in: E. LEUMANN, *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*, ANIS, 4 (Hamburg, 1934), p. 24b. The author published a summary of this report comprising altogether 36 headlines.

the names of those cities, which are connected with the names of certain rulers, e.g. *Kuśāgrapura* (Prasenajit), *Rājagṛha* (Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra), *Campā* (Kūṇika – the counterpart of Ajātaśatru in Buddhist sources) and *Pāṭaliputra* (Udāyin); the second part contains a reference to the dynasty of the Nandas and the names of various individuals who are of some significance in the life of the famous Jaina patriarch Sthūlabhadra.

The following review comprises the explanations of the catchwords mentioned in the first part of this stanza, e.g. the political history of northern India until the rise of the Nandas, concerning the life of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra (the successor of King Prasenajit), the birth of his first son Abhaya by Nandā, his marriage of Ceṭaka's daughter, the princess Cellaṇā, (the birth of Kūṇika, the war between Ceṭaka and the latter)⁶ and the life of Udāyin, Kūṇika's son.⁷

Jinadāsa, the author of the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, informs us in short sentences about the destruction and foundation of several settlements; the first ruler, Prasenajit, is mentioned in connection with the ruin of Kuśāgrapura. Because Prasenajit himself was responsible for an uncontrollable fire, caused by his cooks, he was obliged to leave Kuśāgrapura in accordance with an earlier proclamation. Somewhere outside he founded Rājagṛha. During that disastrous fire, the young Śreṇika got hold of a bell (*bhimbha*) which became his most valuable possession (*sāra*). Afterwards he became known by the name Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra.⁸ When Prasenajit had appointed him his successor, he

The first 30 headlines correspond with the review presented in this paper (infra n. 7). A more detailed interpretation of these episodes is to be found in J. JAIN, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canon and Commentaries* (New Delhi, 1984).

6. This part about the pregnant Cellaṇā, the birth of Kūṇika and the outbreak of war with his maternal grandfather Ceṭaka from Vaiśālī appears to be a reproduction of the corresponding canonical report as recorded in the *Nirayāvali-sūtra*: Śrī-Candrasūri-viracita-vṛtti-yutam śrī-Niryāvalikāsūtram, ĀgS (Ahmedabad, 1922), p. 8b.12-18, summarized by H. JACOBI, *Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāna und die politische Entwicklung Magadhas zu jener Zeit*, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin 1930), S.557-568 (= Kleine Schriften, pp. 803-14).

7. *Āv.-cūrṇi* (supra n. 1), 2.158.2-180.11.

8. For different explanations of Bhimbhisāra's name see B. C. LAW, *Tribes in ancient India*, BOS, 4 (1973), p. 200.

became afraid of the other princes. He left Rājagṛha and lived in Bennātaṭa together with Nandā, the daughter of a merchant. Later he was called back to assume kingship in Rājagṛha. On leaving Nandā, he did not realise that she was already pregnant. She gave birth to Abhaya, who became famous because of his high intelligence (*buddhi*). When Nandā informed the young Abhaya about his royal father Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra, they travelled to Rājagṛha together, staying outside the city. During the time of their visit to Rājagṛha, Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra ordered a public announcement to be made regarding the position of a royal consultant, which depended on solving the task of retrieving a jewel from the bottom of a dried well. In the end, Abhaya successfully retrieved the jewel by throwing fresh cow dung down upon the jewel and later pouring water into the well so that, with the cow dung having dried, it came up with the rising water, thereby enabling Abhaya to retrieve the jewel. He was introduced to the king and revealed himself to be his son. Abhaya stayed there and on several occasions provided his father with intelligent counsel. When Pradyota, who ruled in Ujjayinī, marched against Rājagṛha, Abhaya employed a trick to make Pradyota so apprehensive that he called off his invasion. However, when Pradyota learned the trick, with the assistance of a prostitute he abducted Abhaya to Ujjayinī. While imprisoned at Pradyota's court, Abhaya further developed his intelligence and prevented the loss of the four royal jewels. In the course of time, the enmity between Pradyota and Abhaya turned into a close friendship. Finally Abhaya was set free. In return Abhaya abducted Pradyota to Rājagṛha, where he was soon released.

Meanwhile Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra had taken note of a painting of princess Sujyeṣṭhā, the daughter of King Ceṭaka, who belonged to the *Haihaya-kūla*.⁹ Among the seven daughters of Ceṭaka, Sujyeṣṭhā and Cellaṇā were still unmarried, while the other five princesses were married to the neighbouring rulers. Because Ceṭaka refused to give Sujyeṣṭhā away to Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra, Abhaya assisted his father in his quest to marry Ceṭaka's daughter. Disguised (*sarabheda-vanṇabheda*), he opened a shop close to the place where Sujyeṣṭhā

9. For further information about the term *Haihaya* see LAW (supra n. 8), p. 392f..

lived together with her sister Cellaṇā. After some time, Sujyeṣṭhā's attention was caught by a painting of his father Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra, which he had positioned in his shop. Later Sujyeṣṭhā agreed to flee together with Abhaya. On the date set for the flight, some confusion arose, and Cellaṇā, who had decided at the last moment to join the flight, fled away alone. However, as soon as Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra saw Cellaṇā, he fell in love and married her.

[Sujyeṣṭhā entered the order. The ascetic Peḍhāla selected her for the creation of an embryo acquainted with his *vidyā*, after he had transposed her into a state of senselessness. In this way, the virgin Sujyeṣṭhā gave birth to Śiva Maheśvara, the husband of Umā.]¹⁰

[For the narration dealing with the previous life of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and Kūṇika see *infra* § 2.]

[After some months, Cellaṇā was gripped by the pregnancy-desire to eat flesh from the belly of her husband. Abhaya assisted her in fulfilling this pregnancy-desire without injuring Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra. Cellaṇā failed in all attempts to abort the embryo, always bearing in mind that her child would put an end to the family because of the pregnancy-desire. When the boy Aśokacandra was born, Cellaṇā ordered her slave-girl to abandon the child on a solitary dunghill. As soon as Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra came to know about this, he rescued his son. Because a feather wounded the tip of Aśokacandra's finger, he was called Kūṇika. He grew up under the guidance of his father, to whom Cellaṇā bore two other princes, the twins Halla and Vehalla. After Abhaya's decision to enter the order, thereby renouncing his claim to the throne, his father Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra decided to prevent Kūṇika from succeeding him as king. He handed over the insignia of kingship, e.g. the elephant Secanaka and the necklace,¹¹ to the twins

10. Āv.-cūrṇi (supra n. 1), 2.174.13-176.9.

11. The necklace (*hāra*) together with the elephant Secanaka are supposed to be of the same value as the whole kingdom (*Seṇiyassa raṇṇo kira jāvatīyaṃ rajjassa mollāṃ tāvatīyaṃ devadīṇassa hāraṃ Secaṇagassa ya gandhatthi-ṛayaṇassa mollāṃ* = Āv.-cūrṇi, [supra n. 1], 2.167.7; = commentary on the Nirayāvali-sūtra [supra n. 6], p. 4a.15f.). The description of the necklace as consisting of 18 *vaikas* (Āv.-cūrṇi, [supra n. 1], 2.170.7) reminds us of the 18 confederated kings of Ceṭaka (2.173.5f.).

Vehalla and Halla. Well aware that he will would never be able to enjoy the life of a king, Kūṇika, together with his stepbrothers Kāla, etc., arrested his father and seized the throne after his father had committed suicide. Kūṇika moved his residence to Campā. Full of anger, his wife Padmāvati observed the twins Vehalla and Halla on several parades during which they presented their royal elephant Secanaka to the watching public. After she had urged her husband several times, Kūṇika demanded the elephant and the necklace from his brothers. When the twins asked for half of Kūṇika's territory in return, the latter refused to hand over what his brothers required. Because Kūṇika did not give up his claims, the twins became afraid and took refuge in the residence of their grandfather Ceṭaka in Vaiśālī. Ceṭaka likewise refused to hand over the twins together with the elephant and the necklace. On several occasions, Kūṇika and Ceṭaka exchanged messages. Kūṇika finally declared war on his grandfather. Supported by a huge army of allies Kūṇika marched against Vaiśālī].

For a long time Kūṇika was unable to conquer the city. A prophecy circulated declaring the city of Vaiśālī would fall, after a prostitute had seduced the monk Kūlavālaka. Kūṇika ordered that it should be arranged that the two should meet. Finally he succeeded in capturing the city.¹² Kūṇika's revenge was terrible. He murdered his grandfather Ceṭaka and ordered that all the residents of Vaiśālī were to be deported to Nepal.

On Kūṇika's death, his son Udāyin succeeded to the throne of Campā. He was the last ruler of this dynasty. Subsequently, the Nandas ruled for nine generations; thereafter the Maurya Candragupta assumed power with the help of the famous Kauṭilya, also known as Cāṇakya.

12. The author Jinadāsa refers for a complete account of the story about the monk Kūlavālaka to the part of the Āvaśyaka-commentary that deals with the Namaskāra-prayer (*jathā namokkāre*) and gives in the current context a summary consisting of five *saṃgrahaṇī*-stanzas (*Av.-cūrṇi* [supra n. 1], 2.174.5-10).

§ 2. Sumaṅgala and Śreṇika according to the Āvaśyaka tradition

This narration describes the relation between Kūṇika and his father Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra in the course of their previous life (supra note 3). Because the big-bellied and ugly Śreṇika (as Kūṇika had been called during his former existence) is maltreated during childhood on several occasions by the prince Sumaṅgala (who is reborn as Kūṇika's father Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra), he seeks refuge in the life of a *tāpasa* (*ohasijjati pāṇie uccālagam pajjijjati potṭiya... nivveṇaṃ bālatavassī pavvaito*). Later, when Sumaṅgala had assumed kingship, he noticed the *tāpasa* Śreṇika somewhere observing a monthly fast inside a *uṭṭiyā*¹³. Reflecting on his earlier behaviour against Śreṇika, he invited him to take his first meal at the palace on the day he ended his fast (*Sumaṅgalo vi pitari mate rāyā jāto. aṇṇadā so teṇa ogāseṇaṃ voleṃto diṭṭho. pucchati. logo bhaṇati - esa erisaṃ tavaṃ kareti... raṇṇo aṇukampā jātā “puvvaṃ dukkhāvio” tti... nimamṭti. “mama ghare pārehi” tti*). Śreṇika accepted the invitation and appeared at the palace on the day on which he finished his one month of fasting (*māsakhaṃe puṇṇe gato*). Sumaṅgala, however, felt sick that day and did not notice the *tāpasa*, who returned to his *uṭṭiyā* (*rāyā paḍibhaggo. na diṇṇam... puṇovi uṭṭitaṃ pavitṭho*). Śreṇika was invited a second and a third time; on each occasion the king failed to serve a meal for the *tāpasa* (*saṃbhārīto. puṇo gato. nimamṭeti. āgato. puṇovi “paḍibhaggo” tti. puṇovi uṭṭiyaṃ pavitṭho. puṇovi nimamṭeti taiyaṃ. taiyā evi aṇāto vāravālehiṃ piṭṭito. jadhellāo eti tathellāo rāyā paḍibhaggati. so niggato*). When for the third time Śreṇika appeared at the entrance of the palace and was not allowed to enter, he became exceedingly excited and vowed the *nidāna*, to destroy Sumaṅgala during a future life (*addhitīe “ahaṃ pavvaito mi tahāvi dharasito eteṇaṃ” ti nidānaṃ kareti. “etassa vadhāe uvavajjāmi” tti*). The *tāpasa* Seṇiya died and was reborn as Vyantara (*kālagato*

13. According to the Uvāsagadasāo *uṭṭiyā* is a very large, unglazed earth jar, egg-shaped, etc., see A. F. R. HOERNLE, *Uvāsagadasāo*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1888), p. 16/n. 30 and p. 65. The Sanskrit commentary on the Ovavāiya-sutta explains the term *uṭṭiyā-samaṇa* as a type of ascetism inside an earthen jar: *uṣṭrikā mahān nṛṇmāyo bhājana-viśeṣaḥ, tatra praviṣṭā ya śrāmyanti te uṣṭrikā-śramaṇāḥ* = E. LEUMANN, *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, AKM, 10.1 (Leipzig, 1882), p. 105 s. v.

appiddhito vāṇamaṃtaro jāto). Likewise, King Sumaṅgala finished his life as a *tāpasa* (*sovi rāyā tāvaso pavvaito*) and came into existence as a Vyantara (*vāṇamaṃtaro jāto*). Thereafter Sumaṅgala was reborn as the king Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and the *kuṇḍa-sramaṇa* (e.g. the *tāpasa* Śreṇika) came into existence in the womb of Cellaṇā (*puvvaṃ rāyā Seṇio. Koṇio kuṇḍa-samaṇo jaṃ ceva Cellaṇāe poṭṭe uvavaṇṇo taṃ ceva cinteti* - “*kiha rāyyāṇaṃ acchihivi ṇa pecchejja*” *tti*).

§ 3. *Guṇasena and Agniśarman in the Samarāditya Kathā*

When in 1926 JACOBI published the text of the *Samarāditya Kathā* (supra note 2), only few examples from the Āvaśyaka-stories had already been published.¹⁴ For that reason, JACOBI could not trace back the source that the author Haribhadra had used as a model for his composition.¹⁵ In the context of the Āvaśyaka-commentaries, we come across several illustrative stories which are again to be found in the text of the *Samarāditya Kathā*.¹⁶ Similarly, our Āvaśyaka-narration about the previous birth of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and Kūṇika appears to be the source on which Haribhadra had developed the frame-story of his romance, which comprises in succession nine existences (*bhava*) of the king Samarāditya.

14. E. LEUMANN, *Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen*, AKM, 10.2 (Leipzig, 1897); translated in selection by J. HERTEL, *Die Erzählungsliteratur der Jainas*, Geist des Ostens (Leipzig, 1913).

15. JACOBI (supra n. 2), pp. X-XVIII (Intr.).

16. The following examples from the *Samarāditya* are recorded in the Āvaśyaka-commentaries, in each case related to a certain *catchword* (Āv.-cūrṇi, [supra n. 1]): Guṇasena and Agniśarman (8.5-38.15) = Prince Sumaṅgala and Śreṇika (*Rāyagiha*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 2.166.2-9); Amaragupta's tale (part 83.8-86.6) = The Namaskāra restores the love of a man towards his wife (*namokkāra-phala*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 1.589.8-14); Siṃha and Ānanda (121.3-132.6) = King Śreṇika and Prince Kūṇika (*Rāyagiha*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 2.166.9-167.6/171.8-172.9 = Niryāvalikā-sūtra [supra n. 6]); The Apologue of the two roads (391.10-395.6) = The caravan-leader Dhana (*aḍavi*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 1.509.7-511.11); Dharāṇa and Lakṣmī (part 426.4) = Sukumālikā (*phās'indiya*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 1.535.4f. = vs. 1); story of the lost necklace (501.15-514.6) = Sarvāṅgasundarī (*māyā*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 1.526.3-528.8); apologue of the savage in the royal palace (796.18-805.3) = the happiness of the Siddha (*siddha*: Āv.-cūrṇi, 1.584.9-13).

In the first *bhava*, Guṇasena and Agniśarman are described as the counterparts of Prince Sumaṅgala and Śreṇika according to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi. Agniśarman is treated badly by the prince Guṇasena in that he is invited to the palace in order to break his fast and three times rejected by the servants of the king Guṇasena. Similarly to the Āvaśyaka-report, the mistreated Agniśarman vowed the *nidāna* to destroy the king Guṇasena during a future existence. This existence Haribhadra describes in the second *bhava*, where we read that Agniśarman is reborn in the womb of Kusumāvalī, the wife of Siṃha, as Guṇasena was called after being reborn. Kusumāvalī was gripped by the pregnancy-desire to eat flesh from the bowels of her husband Siṃha. On account of this pregnancy-desire, she attempted several times in vain to abort the embryo. The minister Matisāgara assisted her in fulfilling this desire without injuring her husband, the king Siṃha. When the boy Ānanda was born, Kusumāvalī ordered her female servant to abandon the child. Siṃha rescued his son Ānanda, who later – in alliance with the rebel Durmati – imprisoned his father. When his father Siṃha died, Ānanda assumed kingship.

§ 4. Ugrasena and Kaṃśa in the Vasudevahiṇḍī

A similar story is recorded in Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍī*,¹⁷ in which Ugrasena and Kaṃśa appear to be the counterparts of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and Kūṇika. During his previous life the fasting *uttikā*-ascetic Kaṃśa vowed a *nidāna* against his later father Ugrasena, after he had been ignored three times at the palace, where he had expected to be served his first meal after breaking his fast. During the following existence, when Kaṃśa was born as the son of Ugrasena, the latter was arrested by Kaṃśa, who took over the kingdom Mathurā after his father had died in the prison.¹⁸

17. SAṄGHADĀSA, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (Bombay, 1930 = Vh.), translated by J. JAIN, *The Vasudevahiṇḍī - An authentic Jain version of the Brhatkathā* (Ahmedabad, 1977).

18. For later versions related to the Kaṃśa-legend as recorded in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, for instance the story about Vaśiṣṭha and Kaṃśa in the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, see ALSDORF (supra n. 2), p. 46f.

Since the present edition of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* records the story with it being scattered over the first (the youth of Kaṃśa, the arrest of his father Ugraseṇa, etc.) and the last (the previous birth of Ugraseṇa and Kaṃśa) *lambha*, we are able now to reconstruct the original arrangement of the 27 *lambhas*.¹⁹

[According to the first *lambha*, as the young Vasudeva was being introduced to a teacher in order to be instructed in the arts a certain merchant (*rasavāṇiya*) introduced Kaṃśa to join the lessons (*tato ahaṃ aṭṭhavāso jāto kal'āyariyassa uvaṇṇo. viṣiṭṭhamehā-matiguṇeṇa ya tosemi guravo. rasa-vāṇiyageṇa ya me dārago uvaṇṇo* “*kumāra! esa Kaṃso sevau tubbhe*” *tti. mayā paḍivanno saha mayā kalā-saṃgahaṃ karei*). Being asked about the family of Kaṃśa by the mighty ruler Jarāsaṃdha, the merchant explained, that he had found the child Kaṃśa floating in a chest on the Yamunā, together with a signet ring bearing the name of Ugraseṇa, the ruler of Mathurā. When Kaṃśa learned about this, he arrested his father Ugraseṇa after he had captured the city of Mathurā. Vasudeva was invited by Kaṃśa for a visit to Mathurā,]²⁰

[when a monk explained to him that Kaṃśa's enmity against his father Ugraseṇa had originated in an earlier existence: During this previous birth, the *tāpasa* Kaṃśa had followed his vow of fasting monthly inside a *uṭṭikā* (*so kira aṇaṃtara-bhave bālatavassī āsi. so māsaṃ māsaṃ khamamāṇo Mahuripurim āgato. uṭṭhiyāe māsaṃ māsaṃ gaheūṇa pārei. paḍāto*). With Kaṃśa having been invited three times by the later Ugraseṇa to break his fast at the palace, the king had been distracted each time when the *tāpasa* followed the invitation and appeared at the palace. Thereupon the *tāpasa* vowed the *nidāna* to destroy Ugraseṇa during a future life. He was born in the womb of Ugraseṇa's wife (*Uggaseṇeṇa ya nimamṭio – majjhaṃ gihe bhayavatā pāreyavvaṃ. pāraṇa-kāle vakkhitta-cittassa vīsario. so vi aṇṇattha bhutto. evaṃ bitiya-taiya-pāraṇāsu. so paduṭṭho* “*Uggaseṇa-*

19. The complete final *lambha* including a review of the various stories of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* has to be inserted at the beginning of the first *lambha* called *sarira*.

20. Vh. (supra n. 17), pp. 118.25-119.19.

vahāya bhavāmi” tti kaya-nidāṇo kālagato uvavaṇṇo Uggaseṇa-variṇṇe uyare). The pregnancy-desire to eat flesh of the king’s stomach was fulfilled with the help of a minister (*tīse ya tisu māsesu dohalo rāiṇo uyara-bali-maṃse samuppaṇṇo. maṃtīhi ya sarasa-maṃsa-balīrayaṇāya vatthe savaṇṇakarāṇe ya kae āloe devīe kappiyāo balīo. tīse uvaṇṇiyā. uvabhūṃjīūṇa ya viṇīya-ḍohalāe kameṇa ya daṃsio Uggaseṇo).* Because of the pregnancy-desire, Ugraseṇa’s wife feared that the whole family would be destroyed by the unborn child. Consequently, she abandoned the newly born child on the river Yamunā (*tīe ya [“e]sa gabbhe vadḍhio asaṃsayam kula-viṇāso” tti jāo Kaṃsamayīye maṃjūsāe pakkhiveūṇa jamuṇāe pavāhio gahio sorieṇa rasavāṇiyageṇa).*²¹

§ 5. Conclusion

The earliest account of the narration about the previous lives of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra and his son Kūṇika occurs in the Āvaśyaka-commentaries, in all probability with the purpose of contrasting the cruel behaviour of Kūṇika (who is venerated by the Jains as a follower of Mahāvīra) against his father with the behaviour of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra towards Kūṇika during a previous life. Although the canonical Nirayāvali-sūtra describes the imprisonment of Śreṇika Bhimbhisāra by his son Kūṇika, the narration about the earlier life is not recorded there. A comparison of the Āvaśyaka-commentaries (where our narration about the previous life is separately recorded and not connected in its contents with the following description about Kūṇika’s birth, etc.) with Saṅghadāsa’s *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (where the description about Kaṃśa’s/Ugraseṇa’s previous life is closely linked to the remaining parts) suggests that the parallel as recorded in the Āvaśyaka-sources appears to reflect an earlier version, which Haribhadra probably used for his romance *Samarāditya Kathā*.

21. *Kaṃsassa puvvabhavo* Vh. (supra n. 17), pp. 368.5-370.12.