

Crown-Jewel of the Jain Canon:
The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Mūrtipūjaka Jain Scholastic and Spiritual Life

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Abstract

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My dissertation project traces the textual tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a scripture sacred to the Jain religious community in India. For well over a millennium this work—more than any other single sacred document in the tradition—has been ritually reproduced, worshipped, and studied by both monastics and members of the devotional public. Given its rich and enduring religious value to the community, I look at the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a case to study intersecting issues relating to textual, material, and ritual culture that developed from the ancient to early modern period. Within this socio-religious context, my research focuses on the salvic sponsorship and worship of this scripture by the largest community of Śvetāmbara” (“white-robed”) Jains known as the Mūrtipūjakas (or “image-worshippers”), especially those who identify as members of the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha communities. In this milieu of the Mūrtipūjaka tradition, then, I reconstruct the long history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s production and reception and accordingly analyze the impact it had on their social, scholastic, and religious life. I document the religious professionals who were instrumental in the development of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well

as the regimes of ecclesiastical power which made its production possible. Such an archeology, historiography, and ethnography of the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition entails giving careful attention to its various modes of material being (sacred scripture, illustrated manuscript, performed text) as well as connected codes of discursive meaning (scriptural, literary, pedagogical, popular). In short, by analyzing the patronage, production, and performance of this scripture across the centuries, I show how the *Kalpa Sūtra* was carefully crafted by its redactors as a charter document central to the self-fashioning of Mūrtipūjaka Jain community.

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Introduction

Prologue: Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation (Crown-Jewel of the Canon: the *Kalpa Sūtra* Scripture in Jain Scholastic and Spiritual Life) traces the treasured textual tradition of the *Kalpa Sutra*, a sacred scripture cherished by communities of Jains in India for well over a millennia.¹ I chart the *Kalpa Sūtra* from its early origins before the beginning of the Common Era as an orally-based ritual work restricted to members of the monastic organization to its later crowning as the epithetic “jewel” of the Jain canon meant for the spiritual edification of both mendicants and congregants alike. While there has been no shortage of translations, overviews, “introductory” type essays and encyclopedia entries touching upon the rich ritual and visual world of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, my dissertation presents an in-depth monographic study of its full textual, scriptural, and performative tradition as it developed through the ages. In this way it builds upon the bedrock of solid yet overall comparatively scarce critical research on the finer points of this subject conducted by the pioneering scholars preceding me who, each in their own way, have helped to advance the study of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and inspired my own endeavors.

Drawing upon methodologies developed within related disciplines such as textual studies, scriptural studies, and the history of the book, my dissertation looks at scripture-formation and how the development of devotional practices towards sacred books consequently became an abiding feature structuring Jain religiosity. The inspired sponsorship, ritual reproduction, and

¹ The title “*Kalpa Sūtra*” presents unique challenges in terms of translation. While *kalpa* literally means “rule” or “precept,” the common rendering of the title as “Book of Rules” or “Book of Rituals” is overall misleading given its assorted contents (hagiographies, lineage lists, and monastic codes of conduct). As we shall see, although the exposition of monastic rules played a formative part in the historical genesis of the text (as reflected in the title), this legislative aspect of the work constitutes just one part of its grand tripartite design.

pious “performance” of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by devout Jains for countless centuries during the period of prayer and penance known as “Paryuṣaṇā” (“Coming Together”) is testament to its enduring religious value and power in the community. In this particular context of the Jain congregation, I discuss how the *Kalpa Sūtra* has effectively functioned as a “charter” document central to and inseparable from the social and soteriological interests of the community itself. My study hence demonstrates how the interface between sacred books such as the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the pious publics who encountered them led to new valuations of scripture as a marker of religious identity and became an important factor in the self-fashioning of their scriptural communities. Within this socio-religious terrain, my research here mainly focuses on the textual and ritual practices associated with Śvetāmbara Jains belonging to the Mūrtipūjaka tradition, especially those who identify as members of what are designated the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha sects. In this connection, I further touch upon the new element of royal and religious power represented in the story, a factor I take to be directly related to the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a work which was carefully crafted by its redactors to be a proselytizing vehicle *par excellence* for the institution.

While the Jains constitute a small community compared to other major religious traditions in India, their contribution to the historical development “scripture” in India has nevertheless been disproportionately great. As active participants in the religious and literary landscape of India since at least the early classical period, the Jains represent an historically prominent socio-textual community operating among the monastic, mercantile, and courtly networks of South Asia, networks of knowledge and power which were in part mediated by the circulation of material manuscript-books and scriptures. Nevertheless, despite their prolific presence in the historical record, the study of their decisive role in the production and consumption of books, especially religious ones, is still an emerging field of inquiry. This study,

then, contributes to the growing literature on Jains as prominent players in the arena of ideas and practices related to the culture and cult of the book evolving in premodern India.

“Sacred books” or “scriptures” have of course played an integral role in the history of religion and communicative media in South Asia since at least the beginning of the Common Era. The invention of writing in India (ca. 3rd century BCE) was perhaps the most consequential event in this media history. The impact of this invention was first discernable in royal and religious sectors of society and, in due course, a new marketplace of manuscript-books—both sacred and secular—gradually began to flourish in the Indian subcontinent.² In this context, the codification of sacred oral texts into written scriptures by Brahmins, Buddhists, and Jains around the middle of the first millennium marks a key moment in the history of the book in South Asia. Given the scarcity of surviving manuscripts from this early period, however, the overwhelming amount of evidence for Indian innovation in the construction, collection, and conservation of sacred books comes from the late medieval (ca. 1100 CE) to early modern period. This was a period characterized by the emergence of new religious publics as well as the traditions of the book they fashioned in the consolidation of their communities. The unprecedented circulation of medieval-era manuscripts in South Asia would be particularly crucial in helping to establish a number of upstart religious communities in North India such as Sūfīs, Sīkhs, and Śvetāmbara Jains. Material manuscripts in circulation thus began to serve as one of the primary vectors through which new forms of religiosity became disseminated throughout the competitive sectarian environment of this era and region. The study of scriptures and the interpretive

² While discussing the invention and impact of writing in ancient India, I should not fail to acknowledge the dynamic world of inscriptions that began to proliferate in South Asia before the beginning of the Common Era and which continued largely unabated until at least the modern era. This vast history, however, is well beyond the scope of the present study.

communities who encountered them is therefore an important topic which engages with the social, cultural, and religious history of this period.

Within this framework, there are a number of reasons why I have chosen the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a site to specifically study scripture in the context of the Jain community in South Asia. First of all, its sustained history of reproduction from the early medieval to modern period makes it an ideal candidate to chart the changing dimensions of textual culture ranging from the transformative effects of oral performance to script technologies (and later print). The ritual worship of physical copies of the manuscript and its valorization as a holy book also positions it as a primary source to document the evolving cultural as well as cultic status of books in India. The ambitious artistic programs devised to enrich the religious narratives of the text and facilitate their comprehension also testify to the amplified devotional and didactic dimensions of it as a central scripture to the community. Another special feature of the *Kalpa Sūtra* involves its curation as a sacred text-artifact in the Jain “knowledge archive” (*jñāna-bhaṇḍāra*). Here the artefactual apotheosis of the *Kalpa Sūtra* codex is evident given the old practice of presenting a manuscript-copy to mark the ceremonial opening of a temple’s archives. For example, it is widely reported in the lore surrounding the scripture that the Cālukyan ruler Kumārapāla (1143-1172 CE) established twenty-one such *jñāna-bhaṇḍāras* and marked the occasion by furnishing each with a royal copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* written in golden letters (*suvarṇākṣarī*). The ritual installation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and devotionism directed towards copies of the codex (*pustaka-pūjā*) accordingly indicates the great votive value infusing the care and custodianship of the text.

The sheer scale of patronage and production of copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra* through the centuries is proven by its overwhelming presence in both private and public collections. As Nalini Balbir, an expert in Jain codicology, has stated, “It is hardly necessary to recall the

centrality of this work to Jain tradition for a long time...It goes without saying that there are mss. of the K. in virtually all libraries...”³ This observation regarding the preponderance of collected *Kalpa Sūtras* is further aptly echoed by the comments of the late Professor R.P. Poddar: “The *Pajjosavaṇākappa* [i.e., the *Kalpa Sūtra*] is the most widely circulated book of the Ardhamāghadī scriptures. In the collection of the Bhandarkar Institute itself there are fifty-two manuscripts and a number of printed editions. In richer Jaina Bhaṇḍāras and libraries there could be much more.”⁴ This institutional investiture of *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts as sacred text-artifacts central to the self-fashioning of the religious community can be seen to have further contributed to its subsequent scholarly canonization by western Indologists working within the conceptual framework of comparative religion in the 19th century. Max Müller’s inclusion of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in his mammoth *Sacred Books of the East* series can be seen as part of this process of “canonizing” the text in the context western academies by means of rhetorically representing it as a “sacred book” central to the beliefs and aspirations of the Jain community. Taken together, these practices of patronage and production in tandem with collection and conservation serve to establish the case of the Jains and the tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as an ideal example to pursue issues relating to the study of scriptural enterprise in India.

Nevertheless, despite all the scholarly interest in the multivalent world of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, there have been very few real critical studies of its extensive textual and commentarial history. A glance at the long list of exegetical works on the *Kalpa Sūtra* found in H.D. Velankar’s *catalogus catalogorum* of Jain texts and authors, the *Jinaratnakośa* (1944), reveals

³ See *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the British Library*, Vol. 2 (London: The British Library and The Institute of Jainology, 2006), 71. This work provides a wealth of descriptive information on Jain manuscripts and serves as a valuable source for mining useful codicological data and scribal remarks.

⁴ R.P. Poddar, *An Illustrated Prakrit Manuscript of Paryuṣaṇa-Kalpasūtra* (Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2011), 38.

the size and scale of this commentarial history.⁵ In addition to all the commentaries and sub-commentaries, there have also been countless editions and translations of the text in Indian languages (mainly Gujarati and Hindi). While the publication and translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the West began with the Reverend J. Stevenson's English translation in 1848, the first real analysis of the text remains the one given by the German Indologist Hermann Jacobi in the Introduction to his *Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabāhu* (1879). Jacobi's edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* consists of the original text in Prakrit and supplies a number of untranslated extracts gathered from important commentaries. To this day Jacobi's work remains a standard reference for students of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. This "critical edition" of the *Kalpa Sūtra* root-text was subsequently followed up in 1884 by Jacobi's English translation of it produced for the aforementioned *Sacred Books of the East* Series (Vol. 22). Since the time of Jacobi, various other translations of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into English have appeared as well.⁶

In order to accomplish my stated goals throughout the dissertation, a priority has therefore been given to look closely at the claims first proposed by Jacobi in the introductory essay to his critical edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well as take stock of his remarks found in the opening to his subsequent English translation of the work done for the *Sacred Books of the East*.⁷ While Jacobi's pioneering work remains a starting point for any serious undertaking to study this

⁵ H.D. Velankar (1944: 74-79). Here Velankar lists fifty-seven various commentaries. An even more extensive list of ninety commentaries compiled by Mahopādhyāya Vinaya Sāgar can be found in the Hindi introduction (pp. vii-xii) to the *Kalpasūtra* (1984).

⁶ Worthy of note here is Mukund Lāth's English translation (with accompanying Hindi translation by Mahopādhyāya Vinayasāgar) found in the *Kalpasūtra* (1984) and K.C. Lalwani's *Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu Svāmī* (1979). Lalwani's translation, however, appears to mostly follow Jacobi's 1884 version for the *SBE* series mentioned above. A more recent English translation edited by M.K. Dhavalikar and Śreenand Bhatpat can be found in *An Illustrated Prakrit Manuscript of Paryuṣaṇā-Kalpasūtra* (2011).

⁷ While Jacobi's Introduction opening the *Kalpa Sūtra* critical edition (1879) is densely packed with a wide range of insightful information, the gist of his comments that pertain exclusively to the work itself are limited to pp. 22-26.

material, a profusion of primary textual sources (e.g., early commentaries like the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* and *cūrṇi*) that were not yet available to him has since appeared that both confirm as well as contest his original insights. I therefore reassess his claims in light of the new evidence obtainable from reading these newly available primary resources in addition to investigating the wide range of secondary scholarly studies that comment on this material.

An important part of my project will be to put the influential ideas of Jacobi and others working outside the tradition in conversation with important studies produced by modern Jain scholars working within the tradition. Among Jain scholars, the works of Muni Puṇyavijaya of the Tapā Gaccha have been in particular a great source of information regarding the textual tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. His own issue of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (1952) stands out from the general bulk of editions for including the key commentarial material Jacobi could only speculate on, namely, the *niryukti* (ca. 2nd c. CE) and *cūrṇi* (ca. 6th c. CE), the earliest analyses of the text.⁸ Other essays by Puṇyavijaya on the *Kalpa Sūtra* have been collected in jubilee works like *Jñānāñjali: Pūjya Muni Puṇyavijayjī Abhivādan Granth* and include articles in Gujarati such as “*Kalpa-sūtra nī Pratiyoṃ Svarūp*” (1969) and “*Suvarṇākṣarī Kalpa-sūtra nī Prati nā Antmā nī Vistṛt Praśasti*” (1969) which give information on *Kalpa Sūtra* codices and colophons.⁹ Devendra Muni’s edition of the work, *Kalpasūtra* (1968), printed in dual Gujarati and Hindi versions, is also worthy of note in view of its copious number of fine footnotes giving both mandatory as well as miscellaneous contextual information relating to the text.¹⁰ While I have tended to prioritize the work of Jain scholar-monks belonging to Mūrtipūjaka traditions like the

⁸ Muni Puṇyavijay. *Kalpasūtra: mūla pāṭha, cūrṇi, niryukti tathā Śrī Pṛthvīcandrasūrikṛta Ṭippaṇa* (Ahmedabad: Sārābhāi Maṇilāl Navāba, 1952).

⁹ Puṇyavijaya’s work on Jain scribal culture is also relevant in this connection with works like *Prācīn Lekhan-kalā aur uske Sādhan* (1936).

¹⁰ *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (1968) edited by Devendra Muni Śāstrī.

Tapā Gaccha and Kharatara Gaccha in light of the centrality of the *Kalpa Sūtra* within their communities, I have also at times utilized sources deriving from other Śvetāmbara Jain groups such as the Sthānakvāsī sect. However, given the substantial philosophical and doctrinal differences between the Mūrtipūjakas and Sthānakvāsīs, I have also been careful to navigate these sources with an understanding of each groups particular theological orientations.¹¹

In any case, compared to the wealth of *Kalpa Sūtra* translations and introductions, there has been a corresponding dearth of actual in-depth studies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s actual textual history to productively build upon the original work done by Jacobi over a century ago. There have been some notable exceptions to this, however, beginning with studies such as W. Norman Brown's *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra* (1934). In this work Brown was among the first to critically examine both the textual and visual history of the treatise. For example, he was the first to show how pictorial programs found in many manuscript copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra* don't fully correspond to the narratives discoverable in the core text but instead rely on material gathered from the mass of commentarial works on it. In this connection with the visual world of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a significant source of scholarship has been conducted by a large number of art-historians interested in analyzing the illustrations found in copies of the text to chart the development of Indian painting. Studies by prominent art-historians like Karl Khandalava, Pramod Chandra, and Ananda Coomaraswamy have been particularly valuable in their work documenting the material features and provenance of many manuscript-copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.¹² Nevertheless, although much of this research

¹¹ For example, Amar Muni's wealth of writings regarding all manner of things relating to Jain religious practice is at times decidedly polemical towards Mūrtipūjaka traditions, a critical stance which results from his own Sthānakvāsī sectarian orientation.

¹² For example, see Khandalavala's "An Illustrated *Kalpasūtra* Painted at Jaunpur in A.D. 1465" (1962: 9-15); Khandalavala and Moti Chandra's *New Documents of Indian Painting; A Reappraisal* (1969: ch.

has been extremely meaningful in terms of tracing the trajectory of illustrated Jain manuscripts in comparison with other painting traditions, it often ignores important textual data.

Meriting strong mention in this art-historical context is also the work of Sarabhai Manilal Nawab whose research on illustrated *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts has been a boon to researchers such as myself interested in all aspects of its manuscriptology. Nawab's *Masterpieces of the Kalpasutra Paintings* (1956), *Śrī Kalpasūtra, Bārasāsūtra* (1976), and *Śrīkalpasūtranām Varṇana ane Citrānusāra Prabhu Śrī Mahāvīra* (1978) are invaluable resources for studying features of *Kalpa Sūtra* materiality. While Nawab's work lies more or less within the field of art-history, his work has also proven to be of great benefit to textual studies of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well given that he had the insight to document a large number of manuscript-copies of the text, many of which were from his private collection and not accessible to the public. He furthermore had the foresight to photograph important internal components of these archived manuscripts such as their introductory praise poems (*praśasti*) and concluding colophons (*puṣpaka*) which provide crucial information on patronage and provenance.

More recent art-historical and increasingly interdisciplinary investigations on Jain paintings and *Kalpa Sūtra* pictorial programs have also been produced by scholars ranging from Saryu Doshi to Paul Dundas.¹³ The work of Patrick Krüger deserves special recognition in this context with the publication of his monograph on *Kalpa Sūtra* miniature paintings (2020).¹⁴ Here

2); Moti Chandra and U.P. Shah's *New Documents of Jaina Painting* (1975); Moti Candra's "An Illustrated Manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā*" (1953-54: 40-48); and Pramod Candra's "Notes on *Kalpasutra* of A.D. 1439" (1959: 51-54).

¹³ See Saryu Doshi's "Islamic Elements in Jain Manuscript Paintings" in *An Age of Splendour: Islamic Art in India* (1983: 114-121), and *Masterpieces of Jain Painting* (1985); B.N. Goswamy's "A Jainesque Sultanate Shahnama and the Context of Pre-Mughal Painting in India" (1988); and Paul Dundas' "Victorious Across Eternity: The Lives of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras" (2009: 16–33).

¹⁴ Patrick Krüger. *Miniaturen mittelalterlicher Kalpasutra-Handschriften: Eine ikonographische Betrachtung mit kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Anmerkungen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2020).

Krüger takes a positive step forward in scholarship on the *Kalpa Sūtra* by examining its illustrations in relationship to wider frames of religious and cultural history rather than simply concentrating on the formal analysis of images themselves. My own study is more aligned with this type of integrative investigation into the literary sources and deeper socio-religious structures that shaped the text as we know it today. My dissertation project, however, can be distinguished from studies such as Krüger's by its stricter critical focus on the textual, commentarial, and performative history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. While I do discuss aspects of the striking visual world of the text when relevant to the discussion, at the same time, my study does not foreground its art-historical elements as a major point of focus. What it does do, then, is fill a lacuna on the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s all-important and obscure textual foundations. I therefore look at each layer of its long history of development and, in this process, trace out the past and present forms of praxis associated with its function as supreme scripture in the Mūrtipūjaka community.

For the organization of this study, the dissertation has been divided into two primary parts. Part One ("From Word to Script," Chapters 1 and 2) situates the *Kalpa Sūtra* in its wider historical frame by looking at the prequels to its history of production. Here I trace the special set of transformations taking place within the Jain monastic institution which led to a re-evaluation of the utility of writing in their spiritual and scriptural enterprise after years of prohibiting the possession (*parigraha*) of books. Part Two ("Production and Reception," Chapters 3 through 6) next focuses exclusively on the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition itself and mines the various modes of its production, reception, reproduction. I accordingly track how each of these modes served as vectors influencing the trajectory of its historical development. In this way, my dissertation

Also see Krüger's "Aspects of *Kalpasūtra* Painting" in *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies*. Issue 8 (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2013), 40–41.

furnishes an opportunity to trace the “life” of a singular living textual tradition such as the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well as its post-performative “afterlife” as a cherished text-artifact. I will now proceed to give a more detailed outline of the individual chapters belonging to these two sections of the study.

Outline of Chapters in Part I of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 (“Situating ‘Scripture’: Theoretical Approaches and Issues”) begins by examining important terminologies, concepts, and themes central to the theoretical underpinnings of the dissertation. Given that an important conceptual orientation of the dissertation is to view the historical development of Jain scriptural documents through the lens of textual studies and comparative religion, I take it as a methodological imperative to begin by problematizing and unpacking some of the salient technical terms which have been discursively deployed, many times uncritically, within these particular fields. Here I attempt to build upon the original insights first put forward by pioneering figures in Jain Studies such as Kendall Folkert who, more than any other single scholar, reflected on the phenomenology of “scripture” in the context of Jain textual practice.¹⁵ Indeed, Folkert’s insistence that we should carefully scrutinize the Western term “scripture” itself and its semantic-conceptual undertones serves as a theoretical point of departure for the dissertation. I accordingly discuss how “scripture” signifies a special class of inscribed textuality that—together with its obvious religio-spiritual significations—also has meaningful material and artifactual dimensions relevant to its religious valences. My intention here is to make explicit the conceptual links between scriptural texts and their

¹⁵ See the essays of Folkert found in *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains* (1993). Especially impactful in this regard are “Scripture as a Phenomenological Category,” “Scripture and Continuity in the Jain Tradition,” and “The ‘Canons’ of ‘Scripture’: Text, Ritual, Symbol.”

magnitude as material objects which form an essential part of the religious paraphernalia of Jain communities such as the Mūrtipūjakas. A growing number of studies by contemporary scholars of comparative religion have fortunately begun to critically examine scripture along these lines as a distinct textual typology and probe its multiple modalities. For example, while William Graham has argued for the “fundamental orality of scripture” in *Beyond the Written Word* (1987), by contrast, Walter Ong’s *Orality and Literacy* (1982) aims to offer a deeper discussion of the “chirographic” codes (i.e., written or graphic) permeating script-literate societies and their role in the displacement of the “old oral poetic economy.”¹⁶

After deconstructing the structure of “scripture” in the domain of religious discourse, I next turn to the discussion of “scripturalization” as a historical process and the pivotal role that writing has played in Śvetāmbara Jain scripture-formation.¹⁷ The seminal study informing my account of the broad theoretical issues at stake in the study of scripture and “scripturalization” as a force in history starts with Wilfred Cantwell Smith’s *What is Scripture? A Comparative Approach* (1993). It is no overstatement to regard Smith’s works as the main intellectual impetus behind the inception of new studies aimed at examining the phenomenon of scriptures in human history and their phenomenology as part of the lived experience of religious practitioners and publics.¹⁸ His call for a more pluralistic perspective in the study of scripture has demonstrated the increasingly important need to make basic practical and analytical distinctions between the variety of ways people of faith encounter religious texts. While Smith himself focused mainly on the subjective experience and sociality of scriptures in religious life, his idea of “scripture” as a

¹⁶ William Graham (1987: ix); Walter Ong (1982: 164).

¹⁷ As will be more clearly demonstrated in Chapter 2, I draw distinctions between canon formation and scripture formation.

¹⁸ For Smith’s earliest attempt to critically investigate scripture as a unique textual form see his article “The Study of Religion and the Study of the Bible” (1971: 131-140). This essay has been reprinted in the volume *Rethinking Scripture*.

special category of religious text nevertheless sparked new interest in scriptural studies as a field having close disciplinary ties with textual studies. A collection of thought-provoking essays by Smith and some of his most notable students (e.g., Thomas Coburn, William Graham, and Kendall Folkert) have accordingly been collected in the volume *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparative Perspective* (1989), a compendium of scholarly articles which discusses the variety of issues facing scripturalists from the perspective of modern textual studies.

Beyond their obvious relevance to religious practice, wider interest in the scope of scripture as a vehicle for social, cultural, racial, and political power is reflected in the growing number of scholarly projects dedicated to the subject. For example, the more recent and provocative volume of essays found in *Theorizing Scriptures: New Critical Orientations to a Cultural Phenomenon* (2008) continues the trend set forth by its predecessor by offering an updated, eclectic, and interdisciplinary analysis of the topic of scripture that go beyond the boundaries of Biblical scholarship and the Judeo-Christian tradition. In addition to this, studies such as Jack Goody's *The Interface Between the Oral and Written* (1987) and *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (1986) provide further background on the ideological components of writing and its function in the regime of religion. Another exemplary study I have already mentioned is Walter Ong's *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (1982) which specifically highlights the linkages between writing, literacy, and power. These works are of further value by investigating how these dynamics of power operate in non-Western social and religious frameworks. The recent volume *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (2014) parallels this shift by presenting a large collection of essays which analyze pre-print technologies of textual transcription in diverse contexts such as Africa, South Asia, Central Asia, and East Asia.

With regard to the particular case of India, studies I draw on that specifically detail the social and cultural transformations brought on by writing in South Asia include Sheldon Pollock's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (2006) as well as his "Literary Culture and Manuscript Culture in Precolonial India" (2007). Pollock's ideas regarding the "revolution" of writing and manuscript culture in premodern India especially serve as a major intellectual inspiration for the first chapter of the dissertation. In particular, his notion of "literization" (the inaugural historical act of inscribing oral texts into written form) constitutes an important heuristic framework for situating the process of "scripturalization" that I highlight throughout the dissertation. My research has further benefited from more recent research such as Tyler William's dissertation *Sacred Sounds and Sacred Books: A History of Writing in India* (2014) which discusses the phenomenon of scripturalization in the context of early modern India and its pivotal role in the formation of sectarian groups like the Niranjani Sampraday. The discussion of scripture as both a "product" as well as a "process" therefore lays the conceptual foundation for the discussion of topics brought up in the following chapters treating the development of Jain sacred texts.

Having presented this theoretical backdrop in the first chapter, I next shift to the case of the Jains in India in Chapter 2 ("The Breakthrough to the Book: Jain Monastic Councils and the Program of Scripturalization"). Here I demonstrate how new programs of scripturalization undertaken by their community around the fifth century CE marked a formative moment in the history of the book in South Asia. I start by describing the crisis of textual loss the Jain community allegedly suffered beginning around the fourth century BCE after a series of famines claimed the lives of prominent master monks who served as custodians of the still orally-based canon of texts. I re-examine the series of monastic councils held in the following centuries and

their directive to recover lost textual canons through oral recitation and later by means of scribal transcription. Most important with respect to the history of Jain scriptures in India, the dual project of “literization” and “scripturalization” initiated at these councils would serve as the catalyst for a whole new era of manuscript production. Of special significance here is that the final Council of Vallabhī under the direction of Devarddhigaṇi has also been labeled by Jain commentators as the *pustakārohaṇa*, the “installation (*ārohaṇa*) of the book (*pustaka*).” This event has not only been hailed in the annals of Jain history as a watershed event heralding the new age of manuscript-making, it was also held in high regard by Jain commentators as having special relevance to the codification and compilation of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. This was due to their belief that it was the “Venerable Redactor” (*Devavācaka*) himself, Devarddhigaṇi, who was responsible for putting it in its final form. I therefore look at the ways in which the so-called *pustakārohaṇa* as a technical term both conjures the notion of scripturalization as well as conflicts with it in the context of Jain textual practice.

For general background information on the development of Jain scriptures, a number of scholarly studies and surveys have been conducted. Some of the most important I have consulted include Weber’s “Sacred Literature of the Jains” (1888-1892), Schubring’s *The Doctrine of the Jainas: Described After the Old Sources* (1935), and Kapadia’s *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains* (1941). More recent research in this area has been Paul Dundas’ *The Jains* (1992) and the aforementioned work of Kendall Folkert found in *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains* (1993).¹⁹ These studies provide a modicum of information

¹⁹ Other studies worthy of mention that address the topic of scripture formation and sectarian identity in India are Gurinder Singh Mann’s *The Making of Sikh Scripture* (2001); Thomas Coburn’s “‘Scripture’ in India,” in *Rethinking Scripture* (1989); and Mackenzie Brown’s “Purāṇa as Scripture: From Sound to Image of the Holy Word in the Hindu Tradition” (198).

regarding important personages, places, and periods associated with the Jain synods. Royce Wiles' "The Dating of the Jaina Councils" (2005) presents the most up-to-date work on the chronology of the councils and draws attention to the fact that existing scholarship on this topic has failed to accurately represent the cursory accounts of the councils provided by Jain commentators.

My chapter contributes to the discussion on these councils by critically examining and translating passages from extant textual sources which present the oldest chronicles of the councils. Works in Prakrit and Sanskrit such as the *Titthogāliya-paiṇṇa* (c. 5th-6th century CE), the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī* (c. 6th-7th century CE), the *Kahāvalī* of Bhadreśvara (c. 12th c. CE), and Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (13th century CE) each give short expositions on the multiple efforts to recover the lost works of their predecessors. My main goal here is to examine these source-texts to chart how writing as a strategy of textual transmission first came into play in the context of the Jains and the new valuation of the technology of writing that arose as a result. I therefore document when writing was actually first implemented by the Jains according to the commentators and track when reference to the word *pustakārohaṇa* first arose as a technical term describing the new program of written textualization. This puts the reader in a better position to appreciate the stakes that were involved in the development of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as it evolved from an oral text transmitted exclusively among monastics to its eventual circulation as a holy book at the center of Mūrtipūjaka Jain spiritual life.

Synopsis of Topics Covered in Part II ("Production, Reception, and Reproduction of the *Kalpa Sūtra*")

Part Two of the dissertation (Chapters 3-6) shifts from this backdrop of the canon to an analysis of the text forming the centerpiece of this study, the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Since Part Two of the

dissertation delves into the complexities of our main subject, it is imperative that I first give a comprehensive overview of the materials, topics, and issues involved here before zooming back in to highlight the specific contents of each chapter. In Part Two of the dissertation I accordingly begin to critically analyze the textual history of the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself and detail the evolution of its three sections or *adhikāras*. These sections have been fixed in the following order since around the middle of the first millennium: I. *Jina Caritras*, the life-stories of the Jina preceptors composed in mixed canonical-courtly prose (228 *sūtras*); II. *Sthavirāvali*, a historically significant list crafted in alternating prose and verse presenting the lineage of the Jina Mahāvīra’s disciples and their schools (13 *sūtras*); and III. *Sādhu Sāmācārī*, the rules for monastics during the four-month period of the rainy season in canonical prose (64 *sūtras*).²⁰ The fully developed form of the text thus consists of 305 *sūtras* which have been divided into three distinct sections covering different material (hagiography, genealogy, and orthopraxy).

The extent of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s text, however, is not traditionally quantified or conceived according to the number of its *sūtras*. More important than the count of its *sūtras* in the eyes of the tradition was the calculation of its *ślokas* or *grantha* units. *Granthas* (abbreviated in manuscripts as *gram*) are strings of text consisting of thirty-two syllables each (hence the common use of the term *śloka* to characterize them as well).²¹ *Grantha* units are prominently

²⁰ It should be noted that the use of the term “*sūtra*” in the *Kalpa Sūtra* is somewhat misleading given that here they are not reducible to single aphoristic sentences but, rather, are of varying sizes (many more like paragraphs). In any case, in the dissertation I follow the *sūtra* numbering used in Jacobi’s critical edition since different printed editions of the *Kalpa Sūtra* use different numbers of *sūtras* (a feature which is also reflected in manuscript records). For example the Prākṛit Bhāratī edition renders the number of *sūtras* in each respective section as 201, 23, and 68 making a total of 292. Lalwani’s numbering accords with Jacobi, i.e., 228, 13, and 64 for a grand total of 305 *sūtras*.

²¹ Muni Jambūvijay (1977: 64) has explained this metric of calculating the length of the text by saying “At present, the measure of one *anuṣṭup śloka* is 32 letters. And in measuring the extent of a particular text this *anuṣṭup śloka* is taken as a unit of measurement.” These units are also commonly referred to as *grantha* units.

marked in the body of *Kalpa Sūtra* texts at intervals of one hundred. In other words, after every group of one hundred *grantha* units the convention of inserting *graṃ* 100, *graṃ* 200, *graṃ* 300 and so on, arose. Since the complete *Kalpa Sūtra* text consists of a total of twelve-hundred *grantha* units it has been known popularly by the alternative title *Bārasā* (1200) *Sūtra*, “Treatise of Twelve-hundred *Grantha* Units.”²² (Fig. I.1) In any case, the text therefore consists of three structurally distinct and thematically different discourses, each having their own set of narratological needs and theological functions. This seeming incongruity of topics has unfortunately led some scholars of Jainism, Jacobi included, to consider the *Kalpa Sūtra* a collection of disparate subjects lacking any coherent unity.²³ One of my major objectives in Part Two of the dissertation will be to challenge this thesis and show how these units of the text functioned together as a curriculum.

As part of my plan to conduct what I conceive as an “archeology of the book,” in Part Two of the dissertation I progress through each of the sections of the *Kalpa Sūtra* based on their historical point of deposit rather than their fixed sequence in the text. Thus while the first section consisting of the biographies of the Jain founders, the Jinas, is by far the longest and most well-known part of the scripture, I demonstrate how it was not an original part of the root-text.²⁴ And so rather than conventionally starting my analysis of the *Kalpa Sūtra* with its first section on the stories of the Jain saints, my approach will be chronological and begin by looking at the far lesser-studied final section first due to the preeminent part it played in the earliest phase of the

²² My rough calculation of the size of some of the sections of the *Kalpa Sūtra* based on the number of *grantha* units: *Mahāvīra Caritra* (approx. 700 g.u.), *Sthavīrāvalī* (150 g.u.), *Sāmācārī* (200 g.u.).

²³ See Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1879.), 23.

²⁴ This fact is important to remember given that other Śvetāmbara Jain groups outside of the Mūrtipūjakas—namely, the Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī traditions—consider the fully-formed *Kalpa Sūtra* a post-canonical text and, hence, do not worship it as a sacred scripture.



Fig. I.1. The text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* engraved on gold plates at the Śrī Vardhamāna Jain Āgama Tīrth, Pune, India. Note the common designation of the scripture as the *Kalpa (Bārsā) Sūtram* or “*Kalpa (1200) Sūtra*.” Photo by the author.

text’s evolution. This early iteration of the text was composed in the centuries prior to the Common Era and functioned as a chapter in a larger work on monastic conduct known as the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. At this time the text was not even known by the name *Kalpa Sūtra* but circulated as the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* (Skt. *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*), a title which refers to the rules (*kalpa*) in force for monks and nuns while they resided or “abided” in one place (*Paryuṣaṇā*) during the rainy season.²⁵ This approach beginning with the final section on monastic rules first breaks with certain popular narratives put forward in the modern era concerning the relationship

²⁵ Commentarial works beginning with the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa nirvyukti* (ca. 2nd c. CE) give various etymological explanations for the Prakrit word *pajjosavaṇā*, one of which is *parivasaṇā* (residence, abidance).

of the final section to the two other parts which precede it in the now standardized format of the text. For example, in the Introduction to his translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (1977), K.C. Lalwani has written with regard to the final section consisting of rules that “It is the personal opinion of the writer that this part is not relevant for a work which purports to be an account of the Tīrthankaras and church leaders, and must have been added at a later period when the readings of the *Kalpa Sūtra* became popular with certain sects of the Jainas during the Parjuṣaṇā [Paryuṣaṇā].”²⁶ While Lalwani’s assessment of the compiled nature of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is accurate, his claim that this final section consisting of rainy-season rules is a later addition ignores all the available evidence regarding the historical development of the text. I therefore offer a corrective to this perspective by unpacking the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*’s early history starting in Chapter 3.

It should be noted that the overall consensus of the tradition itself affirms the essential integrity and antiquity of the current tripartite text, although, strictly speaking, this is not an “orthodox” position. By contrast, scholarly opinion in the Western world has tended to view the work more in terms of being an *omnium-gatherum* of parts compiled from different eras. This is fundamentally the position first put forward by Jacobi in the Introduction to his critical edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* published in 1879, a stance that has generally found acceptance in Western studies as well as endorsed by a number of modern Jain scholars. While I endorse Jacobi’s position that the *Kalpa Sūtra* in its modern standardized form was the product of a prolonged historical process, I add the proviso that the tradition is also not entirely incorrect either in asserting its essential structural and sacred unity. This is due to the fact that all three narrative units of the text mentioned above appear to have had a long prehistory of fluid interaction before

²⁶ Lalwani (1979: xv).

they became officially fixed in their current written form. The religious tradition thus, both conceptually and cognitively, tends to draw less of a distinction between such “fluid” and “fixed” forms of the text. On the other hand, the academic tradition in the West tends to do just the opposite and amplify the differences between them. While this kind of “positivist” or “deconstructivist” mode of inquiry is granted a great deal of primacy in this study, at the same time, I also try to resolve some of these binaries by thinking of the text in terms of hybridity as well. As Christian Novetzke puts it, when it comes to texts and their ongoing performative lives in the sphere of premodern South Asia, “the two constitute one strand of praxis.”²⁷ The criteria for claiming the text as fluid or fixed are thus not as transparent as we might assume it to be. This is especially the case for non-Western premodern works that do not fit neatly into prefabricated categories of analysis. I therefore do not exclude the tradition’s own beliefs, theories, or practices when it comes to exploring how the work was understood and valued by those who have historically held it as sacred.

To take just one example, when it comes to the complicated question of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s authorship, in Chapter 3 I recognize the validity of the tradition’s claims that the famous preceptor Bhadrabāhu was likely its earliest “author.” However, at the same time, in view of the overall interpolated nature of the fully codified form of the text, the idea of attributing a single author to the work becomes untenable. My solution to this “problem” has been to therefore approach the thorny question of authorship such as this in terms of what has been referred to by Norman Perrin as “Redaction Criticism” (or “Editorial Criticism”). As a scholar working

²⁷ See Christian Novetzke’s *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint Namdev in India* (2007: 126). For Novetzke’s overall discussion of the binary between fluid and fixed forms of literature and their relationship to oral and written modalities of texts, see “Orality and Literacy/Performance and Permanence” in this work (2007: 99-131).

specifically within the discipline of Biblical Studies, Perrin described redaction criticism as a method for tracing the multiple layers of authorship found in the texts of the Bible. Thus instead of focusing on a composite work with multiple strands of composition such as the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the action of single authoritative figure, redaction critics rather look for the various traces of the many authorial agents who arranged, edited, and modified the text over time.²⁸ “The redaction critic investigates how smaller units—both simple and composite—from the oral tradition or from written sources were put together to form larger complexes... Redaction Criticism is concerned with the interaction between an inherited tradition and a later interpretive point of view.”²⁹ This type of dialogic inquiry applied to the case of the Jains and the construction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* thus similarly serves to shift focus away from emphasis on individual authors to the role of redactors, compilers, and editors as authorial agents involved in its long development. It therefore makes a connection between the various layers of the text and the players involved in its production at various historical moments.

Outline of Chapters in Part II

With these sources and overarching theoretical models in mind, Part II of the dissertation focuses on framing the text’s external context with its internal content. This begins with Chapter 3 (“The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part One: The *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and its Ritual World”) where I discuss the backdrop and beginnings of the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition. I shed light on the history of the text’s obscure origins as an orally transmitted treatise known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* (Rules for the Rainy Season). As mentioned previously, this short text was in origin

²⁸ For more on “Redaction Criticism” (*Redaktionsgeschichte*) as a method of analysis, see Norman Perrin (1969).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vi.

fashioned as part of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, a canonical work on codes of conduct meant for the instruction of monastics and advanced lay pupils. In this chapter I therefore detail how the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* represents the initial phase of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s development when it solely consisted of the *kalpas* (rules) incumbent on mendicants during Paryuṣaṇā when monks and nuns reside or “come together” in one place for the four months of the monsoon. And so before the later dynamic involving the public reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra* can be fully grasped, it is imperative that we first look at the text in its earliest phase before it became publicly available. While there has been overall little discussion of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* in its relation to the later form of the text, my intention is to highlight how this manual on monastic conduct clearly served as the original inspiration behind the entire tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. To be sure, the text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* not only constituted the earliest iteration of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, it provided the foundation for the performative ritual world now associated with it. For it was the annual presentation and recitation of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* by monks and nuns at the start of the rainy season in ancient times that formed the basis for today's ceremonial public reading and worship of the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture.

In this chapter I demonstrate how this ancient precursor also provided the platform for the later literary tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. I base my analysis on material found in the oldest commentaries on the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*; that is, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa nirukti* and *cūrṇi*. These two commentaries provide important information concerning just when and why the recitation of rainy-season rules by monks at the start of Paryuṣaṇā became linked with the presentation of the life-stories of the Jinās (*Jina Caritras*) as well as with the recital of the names of the lineage leaders (*Sthavirāvalī*) who followed Mahāvīra. Indeed, the development of the *Jina Caritra* as a genre is directly traceable to the proceedings for Paryuṣaṇā when these saint stories began to be

read aloud among the mendicants at this holy time of the year. In the course of time, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a work intimately tied to these proceedings, would consequently become the site of the first fully-developed hagiography on the life of the last Jina, Mahāvīra. In addition to this, the genealogical list of church leaders would become an enduring fixture in these proceedings as well. Ultimately, it was out of this original context of religious instruction taking place during Paryuṣaṇā that these three subjects —the rules for the rainy-season, the stories of the Jina saints, and the list of lineage leaders—became united into one all-encompassing book under the title *Kalpa Sūtra*. In Chapter 3, I accordingly document how this tradition first became established and set the stage for the developments to come in the following centuries when the *Kalpa Sūtra* took shape as a full-fledged scripture cherished by the community. I therefore highlight how the emergence of the ritual world surrounding the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* in the ancient past was crucial to the ascendancy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the medieval and early modern period.

After discussing the origins of this emergent textual tradition within the context of Paryuṣaṇā and the code of conduct associated with it, in Chapter 4 (“The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part Two: The *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* Liturgical Formula and Literary Tradition”) I shift to the discussion of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s second stage of development, the stories of the Jain prophets (*Jina Caritras*). I show how it was the incorporation of the biographies of the Jina saints into the already established base-text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* that would be essential in shaping the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s future fortunes and ascendancy in the community as the “crown-jewel” (*śiro-maṇi*) of the canon as well as help establish it as a holy book. For despite all the importance that the recitation of rainy-season rules during Paryuṣaṇā had to the early development of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, it was the new narrative accounts and novel visual representations of the lives of the Jinās

that were to become the primary focus of popular devotion and didactic instruction for the community.

My analysis in this chapter shows how the *Kalpa Sūtra* represents an instructive site for tracing the origin and development of the genre of religious biography in India. To achieve this end I show how this nascent genre evolved out of what is known as the “Five Auspicious Events” (*Pañca Kalyāṇakas*), a fixed program of five episodes or “acts” associated with the careers of the Jina saints that may have served as a kind of narratological template or “script” for the later literary adaptations of their lives. In this chapter I therefore show how this early core of material chronicling the life-cycle of a Jina in condensed form illustrates one of the earliest examples of hagiography found in all of India. A key feature unifying the saint stories found in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text, in fact, is the incorporation of these archaic abstracts of their lives at the beginning of each hagiography. I argue that this scheme of five acts appears to have functioned as an early “miniature” model for the fully developed hagiographical text and, in this way, perhaps helped to inaugurate the *caritra* textual tradition itself having the lives of the Jinas as its primary object of focus. In short, the prefatory placement of the mini-narratives of the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* prior to the more fully developed hagiographical accounts following them in the main body of the text provides further evidence of how the religious biographies contained in the *Kalpa Sūtra* constitute some of the oldest formulations of stories chronicling the lives of the Jinas.

In Chapter 5 (“The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part Three: New Directions in Hagiography and Religious History”) I move from the backdrop of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* and proceed to an in-depth discussion of the *Jina Caritras* themselves as they first emerged in scholastic-monastic milieus before fully developing in works such as the *Kalpa Sūtra*. In this context I show how the

progress of hagiography as a new genre of religious text reflected the progressive influence of lay practitioners and patrons in the development of this literature. This is nowhere more visible than in the *Kalpa Sūtra* where the literature on the lives of the Jain saints first takes significant root and whose stories for the first time appear to have been crafted for both members of the mendicancy and laity alike. In order to highlight the transformations this genre underwent from exclusive monastic contexts of reception to more inclusive domestic domains I systematically unpack and compare the life of Mahāvīra found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* with its “counterpart” from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. A comparison between these two archaic versions of the prophet’s life is especially revealing given their close conceptual and chronological associations with one another as well as the deep divergences they display. After surveying a range of scholarly views on how these works developed, I go on to critique the prevailing idea since Jacobi’s time that the *Mahāvīra Caritra* located in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was based on the “older” version found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. For the evidence from the texts themselves and their oldest commentaries suggests that these works were more than likely parallel productions. Rather than viewing these works as monolithic or monologic entities, I therefore take a more “dialogic” approach that highlights their shared repertoires and intertextual connections.

Beyond the issue of origins, in this chapter I am equally interested in exploring the connected question of audience and reception. A comparison between the biography of Mahāvīra in the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra* demonstrates how they were produced with overall different socio-religious agendas in mind, the former text appearing more geared to monastics through its valorization of renunciation and the latter more interested in exploring aspects of lay life. This is important as it has implications for our investigation into how the *Kalpa Sūtra* began to surge in popularity during the late classical to medieval period. On this account I argue that this rapid rise

of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the hierarchy of canonical scriptures appears connected with the novel treatment of the Mahāvīra story here and the increasingly important role of the religious public as sources of support and sponsorship in the tradition. In other words, the enormous output in the volume of *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts during this period appears to have been a direct result of the increasing input—devotional as well as financial—from lay worshippers. In this chapter I therefore devote a great deal to the actual contents of the chronicle of Mahāvīra’s life as it appears in the *Kalpa Sūtra* and show how the overwhelming emphasis on miracles taking place during the saint’s prenatal period, birth, and nativity appears to have been consciously amplified to engage with the emotional and devotional needs of domestic audiences.

To conclude the discussion on the contents of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Chapter 5 ends with an analysis of the *Sthavirāvalī*, the second (*dviṭīya*) of its three main divisions (*adhikāras*). It is only fitting that I end here since this section appears to be historically the last to have been arranged. The *Sthavirāvalī*, as its name indicates, consists of the “line” (*āvalī*), or lineage, of church leaders (*sthaviras*) who headed the Śvetāmbara monastic organization from the time of Mahāvīra in the past up to the “present time” (*ajjattāe*; Skt. *ādhunātana*) of the redactors. It is here in the versified list of patriarchs where we find perhaps the single most valuable piece of evidence pertaining to the identity of the actual ecclesiastical agents involved in the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s final compilation. As the composite structure of the *Kalpa Sūtra* raises questions about assigning authorship to any single individual, my focus here mainly falls on the mediating role of the redactor Devardhigaṇi under whose direction the first edited edition—what I call the “vulgate” version of the text—appears to have been produced. Given that his name is prominently placed in the final position of the long list of ecclesiastical leaders presented in the *Sthavirāvalī*, I

consider the evidence found here for assigning Devarddhigaṇi as the primary editor responsible for shaping the scripture into its current popular form.

In Chapter 6 (“Reception History: Paryuṣaṇā and the Public Performance of the *Kalpa Sūtra*”) I move beyond the discussion of the internal dimensions of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text to a reconstruction of its reception history and the impact it had on Jain social, scholastic, and religious life, especially during the festival of Paryuṣaṇā. As in the previous chapter, I once again discuss dialogic relationships, but in this case I delve into the dialogue taking place between scriptural text, religious public, as well as private practitioner. Here commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* provide a rich source of material regarding the complex historiography of the text within the Jain interpretive community. Instead of adding to the surplus of translations of the root-text of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a more critical need regards the examination and translation of texts belonging to this commentarial layer of literature in order to excavate material relevant to its exegesis and historiography. A study of the exegetical tradition associated with the text therefore plays a valuable role in reconstructing the reception history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. I first look at the oldest commentaries available such as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* (2nd-3rd c. CE) and *cūrṇi* (6th-7th c.), the *Niśītha Sūtra bhāṣya* (3rd- 4th c.) and *cūrṇi* (7th c.), and the *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra bhāṣya* (3rd- 4th c.), *cūrṇi* (6th-7th c.), and *ṭīkā* (13th c.).³⁰ These old commentaries are key to establishing the early history of the still orally-based form of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as it began to circulate outside the sacerdotal sphere and filter into the wider world of the lay community. The later medieval and early modern era commentaries subsequently provide valuable information on

³⁰ Exegetical works such as these all represent various strata of commentary found in the Jain scholastic tradition. The oldest are the *niryuktis* (mnemonic verses in Prakrit) which are followed in chronological order by *bhāṣyas* (texts that “explain” the earlier *niryuktis*), *cūrṇis* (explanatory texts that “crystallize” the earlier commentaries into more detailed “fine flour”), and *ṭīkāṣ* (further “refined” sub-commentaries).

how the now fully-formed and redacted *Kalpa Sūtra* was used in the context of the eight-day Paryuṣaṇā festival when the manuscript is recited, displayed, and worshipped by the entire congregation. While the number of commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* produced since the medieval period is quite voluminous, I focus my attention on a few of the most salient ones such as the *Subodhikā Ṭikā* of Vinayavijaya (18th c.), the *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* of Samayasundara (17th c.), the *Kiraṇāvalī* of Dharmasāgara (1571 CE), the *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* of Samayasundara (mid-17th c.), and the *Kalpadrūmakalikā* of Lakṣmīvallabha (18th c.). In particular, the *Subodhikā Ṭikā* and *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* are especially worth focusing on in view of the important historical roles they have played in mediating the text to the different communities who have used them (i.e., the Tapā Gaccha and Kharatara Gaccha, respectively).

An analysis of commentaries such as those mentioned above are thus quite relevant when it comes to understanding “readership” and the ritual “performance” of the text. Their main function appears to be manuals for those conducting services during the proceedings for Paryuṣana when the manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is ritually presented, recited, and studied by the congregation. Looking at commentaries like the *Subodhikā Ṭikā* and *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* can thus serve as guides to better understand the ritual, pedagogical, and performative context of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Despite repeating much of the material found in the *Subodhikā Ṭikā*, Samayasundara’s *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* also furnishes fuller details relating to the first public recitation of the text, an important episode in the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s history of reception given that the original reading of the text appears to have been initially restricted to the margins of the mendicancy. For example, it more than any of the other commentaries highlights the role of King Dhruvasena (ca. 7th c. CE, Gujarat) and his story of personal piety in establishing the tradition of having the text recited before the assembled public during Paryuṣaṇā. A closer analysis of practices such as this

relating to the patronage, presentation, and pietization of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the public and private sphere therefore helps to demonstrate how merit-making and book-making became linked as both a social and soteriological strategy and hence incentivized the sacral sponsorship of *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts. Chapter 6 of the dissertation thus fills a desideratum on studies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s reception history by providing an updated analysis on the commentarial tradition associated with it as a whole and the central place it occupies in interpreting the text.

Altogether, these commentaries furnish valuable information regarding the interplay between the manuscript, individual practitioners, and the religious community. The large number of copies of these commentaries found in manuscript repositories also testifies to their importance as guides to navigate the exegetical terrain of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text. Up to this point little attention has been given to these works and the information they provide concerning the ways in which the *Kalpa Sūtra* was actually deployed in the space of ritual performance. The earliest remarks on the above-mentioned commentarial works are found in the Introduction to Jacobi's 1879 edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Jacobi's comments here are instructive yet more work is needed to update his original insights. The Reverend J. Stevenson also apparently used the commentary of the *Kalpalatā Ṭikā* for his 1848 English translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.³¹ In fact, some of the only existing translated material from any of these commentarial texts can be found here in the opening passages of his published volume where he quotes select parts from this particular work. In connection with the later strand of exegetical works on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the exemplary work of Nalini Balbir must also be mentioned. Balbir, perhaps more than any other contemporary expert in the field Jainism, has brought attention to the value of accessing

³¹ I say "apparently" because Stevenson never mentions the name of the commentary he used and only refers to its author as the "Annotator." The work he used, however, appears to match the *Kalpalatā Ṭikā*.

commentaries and colophons of the *Kalpa Sūtra* for the rich data they supply.³² Overall, Balbir's body of work has been especially important in tracing the life of Jain texts as material objects in circulation as well as their curation as conserved artifacts.

Other recent scholarly studies remarking on Jain commentarial materials include John Cort's "Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jain Scripture in a Performative Context" (1992) which provides an informative account of the use of scriptures during Jain festival days. Here Cort testifies to the use of the *Subodhikā Tikā* alongside the *Kalpa Sūtra* for the Paryuṣana ceremony in the context of Mūrtipūjaka orders such as the Tapā Gaccha. Phyllis Granoff's "Going By the Book: The Role of Written Texts in Jain Sectarian Conflicts" (1993) further discusses the ritual and performative use of books in the Kharatara Gaccha community. While Granoff does not discuss commentaries specifically relating to the *Kalpa Sūtra*, her observations on the ritual function of books in the context of the Kharatara Gaccha congregation provide a better understanding of the public performance and reception of texts as a mode of transmission. Nalini Balbir's "Is a Manuscript an Object or a Living Being: Jain Views on the Life and Use of Sacred Texts" (2016) further takes on the subject of the ritual power infusing Jain manuscripts such as the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Taken together, these studies thus speak volumes regarding the votive value of books in the social, scholastic, and religious life of Śvetāmbara Jains. Ultimately, one of my objectives in writing this dissertation is to build upon the work of scholars such as these to consolidate what is currently known as well as update the field of inquiry in order to ultimately facilitate the opening up of new interdisciplinary directions for *Kalpa Sūtra* studies.

³² Worth citing here is Nalini Balbir's paper "Exegetical Strategies: The Example of Samayasundara's 'Kalpalatā'" presented for the 14th World Sanskrit Conference (2009) at Kyoto University, Japan (in *Jaina Studies*. N. Balbir & P. Flügel (eds.), Bangkok, 2018: 165–186).

Chapter 1

Situating “Scripture”: Theoretical Approaches and Issues

1.1 Building a *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Library of Sacred Books): Max Müller’s *Sacred Books of the East* Series and Modern Constructions of Canonicity

The publication of Max Müller’s monumental *Sacred Books of the East* (SBE) series stands out as one of the great intellectual and editorial achievements in the history of modern religious studies. Published serially during the years 1879 to 1910, the massive project presented for the first time many of the world’s most important religious texts together in a set of fifty bound volumes. Despite the Orientalist overtones of the project and geographic emphasis placed on the “East” in the title, as well as the bias shown towards for Indian texts in the series, Müller’s stated plan for the project was nevertheless ecumenical in its publishing spirit: to provide readers with translated authoritative editions of sacred works from the major religious traditions of the world. Altogether, the fifty hefty volumes of the series would, according to Müller, constitute a complete “library of the Sacred Books of the world.”³³ However, texts only belonging to what were accordingly classified as “universal” or “world” religions would be selected for inclusion in the series.³⁴ These universalistic “world religions” were distinguished by nineteenth century comparative philologists for their antiquity, linguistic pedigrees (Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, etc.), and most importantly, their possession of perennial sacred scriptures.

³³ See Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion; Four Lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution in February and May 1870* (Varanasi: Bharata Manisha, 1972), 56.

³⁴ Ibid. “With these eight religions the library of the Sacred Books of the whole human race is complete...” Müller’s original conception for the series incorporated eight religious traditions to be represented: Christian, Judaic, Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, Confucianist, Daoist, and Zoroastrianist. In the end, however, seven religions would be represented in the series after he excluded Christian and Hebrew scriptures in order to placate critics who objected to equating Biblical works with texts belonging to other religious traditions. A last group he later added to the list of traditions to be included in the series would be the Jains. See Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 56.

Müller’s imaginary of the series as a universal “library” holding the world’s most important sacred books—a *Bibliotheca Sacra*, as it were—is instructive here in terms of illustrating the primacy of the concept of “scripture” in modern constructions of religion.³⁵ For scholars like Müller and many of his contemporaries who were involved in the emerging discipline of comparative theology, the study of religion was primarily textual in nature and strongly focused on the editing and exegesis of “canonical” texts.³⁶ The pressing of the world’s sacred works into a uniform set of textual objects for the series was further inextricably bound up with the new “science” of religion where each work could be analyzed and compared across different epochs, geographic regions, and genres. Concomitant with these overarching ideas was the notion that the world’s “great” religious traditions were “book-religions.”³⁷ Despite their doctrinal differences, these diverse religions “of the book” were nevertheless thought to be united in terms of the high status that scripture occupied in the moral, social, and ritual life of their communities. Indeed, the possession of sacred scriptures was largely seen as constitutive of

³⁵ Müller used this expression to characterize the SBE project in a letter written to his family in 1876 (“...they have given me *carte blanche* for printing my *Bibliotheca Sacra*.”). See *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*, edited by his wife [Georgina Müller], Vol. 2 (New York—Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902), 7f..

³⁶ The most comprehensive current study looking at the legacy of Müller’s mammoth SBE series is the recent work by Arie L. Molendijk, *Friedrich Max Müller and the Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2016). In this connection, Tomoko Masuzawa’s *The Invention of World Religions, Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) is also salient and directly touches upon issues relevant to Müller’s project and the new “science of religion” (*Religionswissenschaft*). Worth mentioning in this connection is also Richard King’s *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and “the Mystic East.”* (London: Routledge, 1999) and Daniel Dubuisson’s *The Western Construction of Religion: Myths, Knowledge, and Ideology* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

³⁷ The term “book-religion” was coined by Müller as a way of distinguishing religions possessing scriptures from those which did not. Not unexpectedly, his view was that “book religions” ranked higher than the latter. In fact, his bias for the privileged position of book religions went so far as to consider them as constituting a kind of aristocratic elite among the world’s religious orders. Of this he has written, “But how few are the religions which possess a sacred canon, how small is the aristocracy of real book-religions in the history of the world.” See Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 53. Also see Karel Van der Toorn’s chapter (9) “The Iconic Book” in *God in Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018) for a critique of Müller here.

the religious community itself. Moreover, traditions that possessed a single authoritative scripture—in other words, an iconic and singular “Sacred Book” (e.g., a Bible or Qur’an) central to the foundations of the community—were seen as especially prestigious in the ranking of so-called book religions.³⁸ A Biblical and Qur’anic model of the sacred book thus generally prevailed in Müller’s thinking about the form of religious texts and their function in the scriptural community. Another key component in Müller’s conceptual casting of scripture within the scope of the SBE project was its written modality (or chirographic mode). A frequent synonym used by Müller for sacred books, in fact, was “sacred writings.” For example, in the “Lecture on Sacred Books” from his work *Natural Religion* (1888), he muses on various topics including those labeled under headings such as “Book Religions,” “The Invention of Writing,” and “The Influence of Writing on Religion.” Yet beyond the mere statement of the utility of the written word in the transmission of sacred literature, his statements on this point remain generic and superficial. The deeper epistemic and socio-cultural dimensions of writing as a signifying practice were therefore never fully explored by him.

In short, Müller’s *Sacred Books of the East* series was not just an editorial or publishing project, it served an ideological purpose and quite literally imprinted modern ways of thinking about “sacred books” and “scripture.” While the study of religious texts in a variety of formats had already been long-established in academic disciplines such as Biblical, Classical, and Medieval studies, a new theological thematic of “scripture” nevertheless began to crystallize in the nineteenth-century with the publication of scholarly anthologies epitomized by Müller’s

³⁸ Note Müller’s frequent use of phrases such as “Bibles of the world,” “Bibles of humanity,” “Bibles of Buddhism,” etc. to characterize sacred books. See Müller’s “Forgotten Bibles,” in *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* 40, no 2 (1844-1898): 153-166. This essay is also reprinted in *Nineteenth Century* 15 (1884): 1004-1022.

series.³⁹ It also forged a conceptual link between the possession of sacred canonical books and the very constitution of the religious community itself. The series can therefore serve as a particularly productive site for exploring some of the key theoretical models, rubrics, and conventions inherited from the West that have been commonly—and many times unreflectively—deployed to describe non-Western systems of religion, knowledge, and culture.

1.2 Jainism and the Orientalist Ordering of Indian Religions

As it was mentioned, a distinguishing feature of the *Sacred Books of the East* series was the preponderance of Indian texts in the directory of works selected for translation. Out of the fifty volumes produced for the series, thirty-three were devoted to religious texts having an Indian provenance. Among these, the vast majority were dedicated to Hindu (twenty-one volumes) and Buddhist texts (ten volumes). Two volumes devoted to lesser-known Jain works would also be selected for inclusion in the series, the first being the *Gaina* [sic] *Sûtras*, Part 1 (volume 22) in 1884 and, second, *Gaina Sûtras*, Part 2 (volume 45) published in 1895. The process of selecting these Jain works, and the principles of selection informing the process, reveals a great deal about the politics of religious representation in the making of the series. The decision to include Jain materials was, first of all, not an automatic or self-evident one for Müller given the scarcity of studies and critical translations of their texts. In fact, the admittance of Jain scriptures into the series almost didn't happen at all. In the initial program printed for the project in 1876 Müller would notably lament, "I should have wished to include a translation of some of the *Gain* [sic] works...but there is hardly room for them at present."⁴⁰ A continuing complication

³⁹ Other nineteenth-century multi-volume anthologies in this category include *The Sacred Books of China*, edited by James Legge published from 1879-1891 for the Clarendon Press and *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, edited by Charles F. Horne from 1901 to 1907.

⁴⁰ Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 1, xlv.

facing project organizers was the paucity of data on Jain manuscript collections archived in India and the linguistic challenge of translating the archaic forms of Prākṛit used in their sacred works.

Nevertheless, despite these logistical and linguistic challenges, great progress in the study of Jainism was accomplished in the years leading up to the series by scholars such as Georg Bühler, Albrecht Weber, and Hermann Jacobi among others. Perhaps as a result of this progressive shift in scholarship, by 1879, Müller’s lament regarding the lacuna for Jain works in the series appears to have lifted and efforts were apparently undertaken to make the necessary “room” for their texts in an upcoming edition. According to a newly revised outline of forthcoming works for the series located in the Preface to the first volume of 1879, four Jain texts were now being proposed for translation: the *Ācāranga Sūtra*, *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*.⁴¹ These Jain documents, however, were curiously placed under the monolithic heading of “Buddhism” in Müller’s taxonomy, a scheme which aptly illustrates the perplexing and peripheral position of Jainism in the conceptual ordering of Indian religions being constructed at the time. To be sure, Müller’s presentation of Jain scriptures under the bloc of “Buddhism” merely replicated a prevailing view of the period which tended to see the Jain order as a division of the Buddhist tradition rather than forming an independent religious organization.⁴² His scheme representing Jain scripture as deriving from the matrix of “Buddhism,” therefore, both reflected as well as reified this predominant view of the assumed asymmetrical influence of the Buddhists upon the Jains.⁴³

⁴¹ See Müller’s “Preface to Volume One” (SBE, *The Upanishads*), xlv.

⁴² A major proponent of this idea, in fact, was the very same Albrecht Weber mentioned above. See Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, 1-2.

⁴³ For an example of an early argument in favor of viewing the Jains as “one of the oldest Buddhistic sects,” see Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains* (India: Education Society's Steam Press, 1893), 12-13.

Müller’s editorial eye on these matters consequently serves as an accurate index of the emerging ordering systems in place at this pivotal moment in the nineteenth century when Western scholars were beginning the process of compiling their comparative map of the Indian religious sphere within the wider project of plotting the religions of the world. In the language of comparative theology, taxonomies such as Müller’s, then, helped contribute to the idea of Buddhism as a universalistic “world religion” while, by contrast, reinforced the idea of the Jain order as particularistic and provincial. Despite the fact that the Jains had been accorded the full status of a “book religion” by Müller, his taxonomic subordination of their scriptures to the universalism of “Buddhism” had the opposite effect, at least empirically, of a theological demotion. A scholarly narrative of Jain insularity, alterity, and immobility can thus be seen taking shape early on in the Orientalist ordering of Indian religions. Müller’s musings in this instance would, in fact, foreshadow the way in which Jains would go on to be chronically cast as peripheral players in the wider arena of ideas and events in Indian history. Consider, for example, the words of Ludwig Alsdorf (1904-1978)—a pioneering scholar of Jainism himself—and how they perpetuate the theme of Jain peripherality in the conceptual schemes laid out by Müller: “It cannot be denied, though, that Buddhism when compared to Jinism is the more important Indian contribution to human culture. The doctrine of the Buddha doubtless stands spiritually higher and is as a whole for us more attractive; it has after all become a world religion, whereas Jinism was always restricted to India...”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Alsdorf, *Jaina Studies: Their Present State and Future Tasks* (Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay, 2006), 5-6. Take note that “Jinism” is used here as an alternative to the more common “Jainism.” The use of this variation is explained by Winternitz who writes that, “It has grown customary to use the expressions ‘Jainism’ and ‘Jainistic.’ However, as we never say ‘Bauddhism’ or ‘Bauddhistic,’ we ought by rights to say ‘Jinsism’ and ‘Jinistic’ just as we say ‘Buddhism’ and ‘Buddhistic.’” See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature: Vol. II, Part I, Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature* (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1987), 424.

In any case, Müller’s subsuming of Jainism into the hegemonic category of Buddhism is diagnostic of the overall lack of knowledge Western scholars had of the Jains on the eve of the *Sacred Books of the East*’s publication. It further presents an interesting glimpse into how a narrative of Jain quietism was in the process of becoming normalized in contrast to the perceived religious dynamism of other groups. The point in highlighting this is to demonstrate how early Indological inventories of religion such as Müller’s served as important templates marking the discursive boundaries of the emerging field of Indian studies and helped to embed certain ways of thinking about more marginal groups such as the Jains.

1.3 Introducing the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the New Jainology

As the first three volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East* series rolled off the presses in 1879, another work was being published that same year which would significantly alter both the course of Jain studies as well as the direction of Müller’s proposed volume of upcoming Jain texts. This was Hermann Jacobi’s *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabâhu*, a study which was heralded by its author as being the first complete “critical edition” of any Jain text up to that point.⁴⁵ Released as part of the “monograph series” of the German Oriental Society, Jacobi’s study represented a landmark work in the fledgling field of Jainology and, as the title indicates, had as its subject the celebrated scripture of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. According to Kendall Folkert, Jacobi had selected the *Kalpa Sūtra* for critical editing among all Jain texts “because of its enormous popularity and value to the community, a fact that is attested by the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s overwhelming presence in manuscript collections and its dominance as a text chosen for illustration by

⁴⁵ Weber had preceded Jacobi in 1866 with a critically edited study of the Jain *Bhagavatī Sūtra* in his treatise *Ueber ein Fragment der Bhagavati*. However, this study, as the title makes clear, only consisted of a “fragment” of the text rather than an analysis of the complete root-text.

manuscript artists.”⁴⁶ Paul Dundas, in this connection, has also commented that “Jacobi must have been influenced in ascribing such importance to the *Kalpa Sūtra* by the extraordinary proliferation of manuscripts of the text, far more than for any other Jain work, usually containing fine illustrations, which could only have suggested to him that it held a central place in the Śvetāmbara scriptural canon.”⁴⁷ Jacobi’s study features a transliteration of the entire original Prākṛit text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* collated from several manuscripts (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2) together with a critical apparatus, explanatory notes, glossary, and excerpts (untranslated) from various commentaries.



Fig. 1.1 The first folio of “Manuscript A” used by Jacobi for his critical edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (Source: the British Library)

⁴⁶ Folkert, *Scripture and Community*, 72. Folkert further remarks (27) that “In a sense, then, up to Jacobi’s time there was no ‘Jainology’ as a field that could be readily delimited.”

⁴⁷ Dundas, *The Jains* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 65-66.



Fig. 1.2. The final folio (f. 113 r.) from Jacobi's "Manuscript A" displaying the colophon. Regarding this manuscript copy, Jacobi wrote, "An excellent MS. in my collection. It is written with silver on 113 leaves, most of which are painted alternatively black and red. Each page contains six lines. There are many pictures in the text, and arabesques on the margin. (MSS. of this kind are not unfrequent with the Jainas.) The date, Vikrama 1484 (1427 A.D.) is given in the somewhat lengthy colophon. No subdivisions, neither sutras nor vâcanâs, are marked in this MS." See Jacobi, *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu*, 28. Source: the British Library

Meanwhile, in the accompanying Introduction, Jacobi would upend the scholarly beliefs held at that time concerning the historical chronology and position of Jainism by successfully challenging the prevalent thesis that the Jain order had its roots in Buddhism. Here Jacobi would provide a much needed corrective to this premature scholarly consensus by persuasively demonstrating that both groups were in origin parallel yet independent traditions.⁴⁸ As Helmuth

⁴⁸ Despite Jacobi's support for understanding Jainism on its own terms, his comments in the Introduction are unfortunately still overall saturated with a strong bias for the "superiority" of Buddhist textual and philosophical traditions. Jacobi would once again revisit and synopsise the Buddhism-Jainism question of origins in the Introduction to the first volume on the Jains in the *Sacred Books of the East* series to be discussed ahead.

von Glasenapp put it, “Jacobi has convincingly shown that Jainas and Bauddhas are two religious communities which are completely different from each other and their prophets Mahāvira and Gautama Buddha were two different personalities who lived at the same time.”⁴⁹ On the basis of these breakthroughs, Jacobi’s monograph would not only be instrumental in laying the early foundation for the field of Jain studies, it would also contribute to the growing image of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the locus of the Jain scriptural community as well.

At least two major developments in the discourse on Jains, then, can be traced back to Jacobi’s study. The first was his demonstration that the Jain community descended from a single “founder” or “reformer,” Mahāvīra, who could be identified on various textual and linguistic grounds as historically distinct from Gautama Buddha.⁵⁰ This “discovery” was essential to facilitate the second closely related development, namely, that the Jain order could now be lifted from its liminal position in the Indic religious order and hence be more productively installed as an independent spiritual and philosophical tradition among the pantheon of world religions. Taken together, these developments would be crucial to the creation of “Jainism” as a meaningful concept and category in the emerging academic discourse on Indian and global religions in the West.

It is worth noting at this point that the *Kalpa Sūtra* had been conspicuously omitted from the original program of Jain works proposed by Müller in 1879 for his *Sacred Books of the East* series. In my view this omission can hardly be underestimated. It demonstrates that Jacobi’s timely study completed in the intervening period must have been a source of inspiration for

⁴⁹ Glasenapp, *Jainism: An Indian Religion of Salvation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing, 1999), 5-6. Also see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, 424 (fn. 2).

⁵⁰ Jacobi’s precise comments concerning Mahāvīra at this time was that he “may either be considered as the founder of the sect, or as a reformer of an already existing creed...” Whatever that “existing creed” was, however, was not clear to him at the time. See *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, 5.

Müller as a translation of the scripture would now, by the early 1880s, be planned for the first of the two volumes of Jain works to be included in his series. The work of translation was naturally entrusted to the capable hands of Jacobi himself who, in any case, seems to have already been under contract to produce translations for all the Jain works so far in the series.⁵¹ This first volume of *Jain Sūtras* (vol. 22) was subsequently released in 1884 and contained Jacobi's English translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* along with another important canonical text, the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.⁵²

While the publication of Jacobi's translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the *Sacred Books of the East* series marked a milestone in the history of the text's wider circulation and reception in the West, it was not, however, the first translation of the text to be put into print, nor had Jacobi been its first Western compiler or translator. That distinction belonged to the Scottish missionary the Reverend John Stevenson who had translated the text over thirty years previously in 1848 for the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain and Ireland. This published work, *The Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tatva: Two Works Illustrative of the Jain Religion and Philosophy*, had the prestige of not only being the first translation rendered into English of the *Kalpa Sūtra* but was also notably the first ever attempt to produce a translation of a complete Jain canonical text. While the prominent Orientalist H. T. Colebrooke had been among the earliest to draw attention to the *Kalpa Sūtra* in 1809 and provide a summary of its contents, Stevenson's work was nevertheless the first honest attempt to render the text accessible to modern readers.⁵³ Yet for all of his pioneering efforts to

⁵¹ Jacobi would, as it goes, serve as the primary translator for all four Jain works included in the *Sacred Books of the East* series.

⁵² I will return to the discussion of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* later in Chapter 2 where its relationship to the development of the Jain canon as a whole will be examined. It will also be further discussed at length in Chapter 5 in its connection with the narratological development of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

⁵³ See H. T. Colebrooke, "Observations on the Sect of the Jains," *Asiatic Researches*, 9 (1809): 287-322. Colebrooke mentions that he had manuscripts of the *Kalpa-sūtra* in his personal possession, the oldest being dated 1614 V.S. (1557 CE).

produce a faithful rendition of what he had characterized in his Preface as “the most sacred religious work” of the Jains,⁵⁴ Stevenson’s translation suffered from a litany of defects and, furthermore, was ultimately only an abridged version of the text. His work was therefore credited as an ambitious first attempt at translation but ultimately dismissed by the academic community.⁵⁵ Jacobi himself was deeply critical of Stevenson’s translation remarking that, “This work, which for a long time has been almost the only, and the standard, publication on Jainism, is, I regret to say it, neither accurate nor trustworthy. In the first instance, it is not what it pretends to be, a translation of the text, but, for the greater part, a carelessly made abstract.”⁵⁶ Jacobi’s own translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* for the *Sacred Books of the East* series, on the other hand, rather than a “carelessly made abstract,” was intended to be a carefully rendered reconstruction into English of the complete root-text which had already been successfully edited by him just a few years previously. In this way, Jacobi’s updated edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* would go on to entirely displace the defective version of his predecessor Stevenson, and the *Sacred Books of the East* installment of the text—for the time being at least—would become established as a religious classic in the West.

At a time when the printing of Indic texts in general—let alone Jain texts—was still an evolving academic endeavor, the publication of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in no less than three separate iterations (two translations and one critical edition) by three different scholarly presses would be instrumental in recasting this scripture in the West as the *de facto* document of normative Jainism. Further embedded with this idea was the notion that the Jains implicitly had a “holy

⁵⁴ Stevenson, *The Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tatva: Two Works Illustrative of the Jain Religion and Philosophy* (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain, 1848), vii.

⁵⁵ For example, Weber writes that “The *Kalpasūtram* was the first Jain text which was made known, in 1848, in the very faulty translation of Rev. J. Stevenson.” See Weber, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, 104.

⁵⁶ Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, 27.

book” in the manner of other major religious traditions such as Islam and Christianity; in other words, that the Jains possessed a singular scripture or supreme “Sacred Book,” as it were, superposed above the main body of canonical works, and one infused with an aura of authority and ultimacy in socio-spiritual matters. This image of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a kind of charter document central to and inseparable from the social and soteriological interests of the community can be seen gradually gaining currency throughout the nineteenth century in reports from Orientalists in India such as Colebrooke who, as far back as 1809, had singled out the text as “a work of great authority.”⁵⁷ By the 1850s, the postulation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as “the most sacred book of the Jains” seems to have become more routine,⁵⁸ although it would take inclusion in the eponymously entitled *Sacred Books of the East* series for that appellation to become fully routinized. In any case, this scholarly “canonization” of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by Western commentators as the sacred book of the Jains *par excellence* proved to be decisive in terms of how “Jainism” as a coherent category of religion and culture was charted in the scholarly discourse on world religions taking place in the nineteenth century.⁵⁹

In this way, the iconic context of Müller’s monumental multi-volume *Sacred Books of the East* series has functioned as an important site to explore some of the basic conceptual and cultural paradigms that have become axiomatic in studies of non-Western religious systems. In the words of Folkert, “Müller’s role in the first great period of the study of literature and languages from non-European cultures, including the genesis of the *Sacred Books of the East*,

⁵⁷ Colebrooke, “Observations on the Sect of the Jains,” 302.

⁵⁸ See the “Abstract of the Society’s Proceedings [Jan. 1854],” *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 5 (1857): 395.

⁵⁹ For an overall introduction to the topic of Jainism in the emerging discourse on world religions see Peter Flügel, “The Invention of Jainism: A Short History of Jaina Studies,” *International Journal of Jaina Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2005): 1-14.

makes it appropriate to propose him as a bellwether for the study of scriptures, and to see what can be learned by examining his view of the subject.”⁶⁰ The intellectual and ideological milieu of Müller and his collaborators, then, has been both formative as well as normative in the sense of helping to construct the very terms of the discourse on religions and texts from the postulated “East.” Given the implications this has for the present study, I wish to now probe, as well as problematize, a few of the main conceptual issues at stake here, issues which include basic notions such as “scripture” and “sacred book.”

1.4 The Structure of “Scripture” and the Process of “Scripturalization”

The above *excursus* into the historiography of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the context of the *Sacred Books of the East* series has been presented here as a point of departure for this dissertation in order to introduce a number of theoretical issues and terminological problems not only involved in the present study but also applicable to disciplines such as Comparative Religion, the History of the Book, and Media Studies as well. A chief issue of concern to begin with involves reviewing and clarifying some of the key interlocking terms employed throughout the dissertation such as “scripture,” “sacred text,” and “sacred book.” First and foremost, the word “scripture” in its common usage as a catchall category and generic expression for the other two terms needs addressing before we can properly proceed further into the discussion that follows regarding the nature of written textuality and religiosity in the context of premodern India. While the basic rendering of scripture as “sacred text” or “sacred book(s)” is in itself perhaps unproblematic—and even unavoidable—in popular parlance, a more critical and technical understanding of the term is nevertheless called for in historical studies of the book

⁶⁰ Folkert, *Scripture and Community*, 54.

such as the present one. In the case of this study, as a methodological imperative, I intend to make more precise distinctions when necessary in reference to different textual typologies and the various modes of media used in their production and transmission. An urgent call for a “*radical excavation* of the phenomenon of ‘scriptures’” in textual scholarship, in fact, has resulted in a rise of recent studies inquiring into the core features of scriptural texts and their function in various historically situated practices.⁶¹

To begin with, Wilfred Cantwell Smith—whose works have served as one of the main intellectual impulses behind the new wave of scriptural studies—has highlighted the vital historical and conceptual links between “scripture,” the act of writing, and the form of the book. He notes the fact that the word “scripture” (with reference to its origin from the Latin term *scriptura* meaning “written material”) “quietly posits, or presumes” writing as a medium.⁶² As a broad descriptive term indiscriminately applied to Indian textual traditions such as the Vedas that have historically been valued for their oral-aural qualities rather than their material dimension as manuscript-books, “scripture” as a totalizing explanatory category proves to be overall inadequate and misleading.⁶³ In order to better represent the differential historical logics and religious values involved in various spiritual traditions, Smith recommends that, “Rather than continuing to use the word ‘scripture’ loosely, almost vacuously, we are challenged to come up with a conception consonant with what we now know of its historical dynamic.”⁶⁴ This “challenge” was subsequently taken up by his student Kendall Folkert who was the first to

⁶¹ Regarding the plea for a “*radical excavation* of the phenomenon of ‘scriptures,’” see “TEXTures, Gestures, Power: Orientation to Radical Excavation” by Vincent Wimbush in *Theorizing Scriptures: New Critical Orientations to a Cultural Phenomenon* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 3.

⁶² W.C. Smith, *What is Scripture*, 7.

⁶³ See Folkert, *Scripture and Community*, 36-37.

⁶⁴ W.C. Smith, *What is Scripture*, 17. It should be noted that Smith’s idea of scripture, however, is not simply reducible to its written form and is contingent upon other contextual factors, the most important being the social and spiritual investment that an interpretive community imparts to it.

attempt a “phenomenology” of scripture in the context of Jainism. Folkert’s ideas on the subject are forcefully presented and provocative although they remained exploratory in tenor.⁶⁵ He discussed the “problem” of scripture and instructively wondered “whether it would not be more helpful to take ‘scripture’ quite literally, as meaning ‘written,’ in a sense in which the ‘written’ form itself is important to the religious value of the material, and under which a number of other headings—book, inscription, etc—should be included.”⁶⁶

As a general rule for this dissertation, then, I follow Smith and Folkert on a basic conceptual and terminological level and employ the word “scripture” when its written form is thought to be essential to the “religious value” of the textual material under consideration and, on the other hand, use “sacred text” when a more neutral or generic meaning is intended. The third major term in this series, “sacred book,” can also be distinguished here as a key word to be self-evidently used when a text’s physical form and sacral status as a holy book (or books) is considered to be integral to its meaning in the religious life of the community.⁶⁷ To put it another way, a sacred text is not always coextensive with being a scriptural one; conversely, a scriptural

⁶⁵ Folkert’s groundbreaking explorations of Jain scripture were tragically cut short due to his untimely passing in 1985. Despite this, however, the impact of his innovative ideas still resonate today with the publication of many of his essays in the aforementioned *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains* (1993) edited by John Cort. For material dealing specifically with the issue of scripture, see his essays “Scripture as a Phenomenological Category” (35-39), “Scripture and Continuity in the Jain Tradition” (41-52), and “The ‘Canons’ of ‘Scripture’: Text, Ritual, and Symbol” (53-83) which can be found in this volume.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 67.

⁶⁷ Here a further important distinction can be made between a tradition’s primary “sacred book” (singular) and their secondary “sacred books” (plural). In the words of William Graham, “Such distinction between a community’s preeminent scripture and the rest of its sacred texts is helpful in understanding many religious traditions...” See Graham’s analysis of scriptural typologies in the Introduction to his *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

text invariably has meaning and value as a sacred one, but with the extra provision that it has special significance as a transmitter of the written word.⁶⁸

Lastly, with regard to the scriptural transmission of the sacred word through writing, an important point worth stressing here—and, for that matter, to be highlighted throughout the dissertation as a whole in the discussion of the *Kalpa Sūtra*—regards the ongoing vital role of orality in the performance of sacred texts and scriptures. Despite the definitional emphasis being placed here on writing as constitutive of “scripturality” as a category, to overlook the sonic structures saturating premodern scriptural texts and the auditory arena of their presentation misses a major point concerning preprint textuality. As William Graham has put it, premodern and preprint scriptures are not simply “silent repositories of information” in the manner of modern printed documents but rather retain an “active, vocal presence” as verbal texts.⁶⁹ He adds that, “We cannot ignore the prominent but rarely emphasized oral function—in ritual, reading, recitation, devotion, and song—of *all* religious texts, written as well as unwritten.”⁷⁰ This is especially true concerning the case of metrical religious texts from India which are expressive of what Guy Beck has referred to as “sonic theology.”⁷¹ The implicit phonocentricity of many scriptural texts can therefore be just as integral to their “phenomenology” as their explicit

⁶⁸ Cf. Miriam Levering’s argument in *Rethinking Scripture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) for the need to update our existing terminologies. Here she writes (6) that “‘Sacred text’ could continue to have the broad, unspecific usage that it now has, able to mark the specially holy status of many kinds of texts, oral and written. ‘Scripture’ could be used to meet a need for a more limited category than sacred text, referring to the normative, bounded or semi-bounded written traditions that typically occur in the religions of chirographic cultures.”

⁶⁹ Graham, *Beyond the Written Word*, pp. 8 and 18.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4-5. Graham’s thesis, however, is not to reduce scripture to a kind of essentialized and original orality but, rather, to ironically re-inscribe the oral traces of scripture that have seemingly diminished (if not altogether disappeared) as a result of the modern emphasis on the muted printed page as a vehicle for transmitting knowledge and information.

⁷¹ On the sanctity of sound in Indian religions, see Beck’s excellent and aptly named study entitled *Sonic Theology* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

graphic ones. The concept of scripture, in this way, ultimately remains a multivalent one fraught with the tension of being something valued for its written form while simultaneously all the while retaining an ineluctable performative vocality.⁷²

Now that we have determined, or at least attempted to delimit, some of the general contours of scripture as a conceptual category, a final task here is to introduce one more important component of this topic which is centrally related to the theoretical direction of the dissertation as a whole. Here I am referring to the notion of *scripturalization*, or the theory of scripture as a dynamic historical process rather than simply as a static product or deposit of textual data to be mined for its informational content.⁷³ That is to say, instead of studying scriptural texts solely for their canonical contents, the study of their “scripturalization” focuses on the “constructedness” or ways of conveyance of those contents. In this sense, it ironically may involve the very deconstruction or desacralization of the sacrosanct idea and religious ideal of the holy revelatory text itself in order to focus on its historical genealogy. In this dissertation I therefore take the dynamic of scripturalization as a heuristic device to diachronically trace out the history of Jain scriptural writings from their oral origins in the sayings of their saints to the moment of their inscription in the form of sacred books. The interpretive possibilities of this *processual* approach to scripture—rather than focusing solely on their *contentual* claims—has the advantage of emphasizing the practices and performances through which sacred texts took

⁷² W.C. Smith, discussing scripture in the context of the Qu’ran, characterizes it in *What is Scripture?* (61) as “something written even when in practice functioning as something spoken.” This insight is particularly applicable to the discussion of Indian texts.

⁷³ On this point it is important to fully quote W.C. Smith (167): “Our concern in this book is not with what the various scriptures say. This has been widely studied by modern scholarship, and the texts made fairly widely available in translation. Much more centrally, our engagement is with what scripture as such is—or does (has been; has done); with how it may best be conceived; with how one may understand it as the major factor in human history and personal life that it demonstrably has been.”

shape *as* scripture and hence demonstrates how their historical production varies among different traditions and systems.⁷⁴

While Wilfred Cantwell Smith does not explicitly use the word “scripturalization” as a technical term, he nonetheless appears to have been the first to spark discussion on the subject by referring to what he characterized in his writings as the “human propensity to scripturalize” at particular moments in history.⁷⁵ In short, to grasp what it means for a text to become “scripturalized” is, according to Smith, “to recognize its fundamentally historical character: its quality of changing over time—and place; of being ever enmeshed in the particular contexts of those in whose lives and societies the role has been played.”⁷⁶ That is to say, to treat scripture as a conceptually given category or some kind of inevitable outcome of religious life or textual practice is to conceal the specific historically-bound institutional strategies, cultural contexts, and even psycho-social conditions by which texts became privileged sites of scripture.

A more recent and provocative demonstration of scripturalization as a force in history has been put forward by Tyler Williams who discusses it in the context of the written anthologization of orally based poems belonging to the Niranjani religious community in and around Rajasthan, India during the early modern period (ca. seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).⁷⁷ Examining the

⁷⁴ At this point no precise definition of “scripturalization” as a model of inquiry exists. However, Vincent Wimbush’s Introduction found in *Theorizing Scriptures* is a good place to start for understanding many of the principal issues involved. Hugh R. Page’s description of the scripturalizing process in his essay from the same volume (“The Dynamics of Scripturalization,” pp. 55-61) is also instructive. Here he links the “creation of scriptures” to “the social, political, and other dynamics that obtain when individuals and other social aggregates inscribe themselves on, read their life experiences through, or employ as basic building blocks for their identity construction and community formation, texts of various genres.” He adds (55), “it has been my experience that the chief vehicle for the communication of the aforementioned has been the authoritative texts (i.e., the “scriptures”) generated by the process itself.”

⁷⁵ Smith, *What is Scripture*, pp. 1 and 18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁷ See Williams, *Sacred Sounds and Sacred Books: A History of Writing in Hindi* (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2014).

decisive role of writing in the development of these sacred anthologies, Williams describes scripturalization as “the process through which a text is established to be central to the thought and belief of a community, and through which that text comes to be understood as being not simply expressive of something else that is revered, but rather as constituting an object of reverence in its own right.”⁷⁸ A more concise “working definition” of scripturalization by Williams is also given as a “mode of creating or defining scriptures in a particular place and time, emphasizing the role of writing in this process.”⁷⁹ Here Williams, in addition to invoking the processual framework of scripturalization as a mode of investigation, introduces another important point, namely, the way in which the sacred writings of certain devotional communities have evolved in such a way that they no longer merely served to *refer back to* the spoken words they were originally written down to record for posterity but, instead, became transformed into *self-referential* scriptural objects in and of themselves as a result of having been inscribed and bound in book form. This transformation in which the bound book form of the text becomes essential to its religious and ritual value is illustrative of what W. C. Smith refers to as “the transition from valuing a written account because it made available treasured material, to treasuring the book itself” as a central icon of the religious community.⁸⁰

At least two stages of development, then, are at work here in what we are referring to as “scripturalization.” The first can be described as the written textualization of the sacred sonic

⁷⁸ Ibid., 268-269. Another instance of Williams’ definition of scripture is the following (271): “‘Scripture’ for our purposes here is a text that has attained a special status in which it is understood to be not just descriptive or evocative of something else sacred, but is a sacred ‘thing’ in and of itself (again using ‘thing’ in the sense of Latour, as a non-human actor that has a life of its own, and is understood to make meaning as much as accrue it).”

⁷⁹ Ibid. This type of religious veneration directed towards books has also been aptly characterized as “bibliolatry.” Like its counterpart “idolatry,” this word, however, often carries negative connotations and can imply a kind of religious fundamentalism rather than simply indicating a strong devotional attitude towards sacred books.

⁸⁰ W.C. Smith, *What is Scripture*, 52.

word, or the written codification of those immaterial yet memorial texts already canonized and orally communicated by the religious community.⁸¹ This leads to the second stage of development noted above involving the shift from the physically inscribed scriptural text serving as a signifier of something transcendental to becoming a kind of transcendental signified in itself. In this stage the material text could be said to assume what Tazim Kassam calls a new “charismatic field of influence” in its physical scriptural form and, as a consequence, becomes both a ritual implement and “cultural artifact” in the religious paraphernalia of the community.⁸² In other words, the written material form of the scriptural text itself becomes an essential component structuring its overall sacred value.

1.5 The Dual Driving Forces of Literization and Literarization

In the case of the written textualization of the sacred word it is instructive here to briefly consider Sheldon Pollock’s seminal ideas concerning the “breakthrough to writing” in the South Asian subcontinent, specifically the intertwined processes he terms *literization* (i.e., the attainment of literacy) and *literarization* (i.e., the attainment of literature).⁸³ In Pollock’s proposal, “literization” is the first and historically prior of the two processes and represents an earlier more elementary stage of committing language to written form as compared to the latter.

⁸¹ The *canonization* of texts is hence, in most cases, an altogether separate phenomenon to be distinguished from their specific *scripturalization*. There are, of course, exceptions to this (e.g., the Qu’ran).

⁸² Kassam, “Signifying Revelation in Islam” in *Theorizing Scriptures* (Ithaca, NY: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 30. Kassam’s overall definition of scripture is useful to consider here (29-30): “If we classify “scriptures” under the wider rubric of cultural artifacts that are textual in nature, including originally oral utterances that became inscribed into written form, we may say that “scriptures” are a subcategory of textual artifacts that are highly saturated with power and meaning. They are texts (oral and written) that are imbued with sacred authority such that they function as templates and charters of a society’s cultural norms.”

⁸³ Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 4 and 287.

In this earlier stage of development, writing primarily serves a passive documentary function rather than an active literary one. In other words, “literized” writing is more a mimetic mode of linguistic representation or textual transcription rather than a medium used to generate imaginative literature. Regarding the initial phase of literization, Pollock observes that “...the ongoing interaction of the oral and the literate constitutes one of the most remarkable and unique features of Indian literary culture. If oral compositions could be literized, literized compositions could also return to oral circulation, and the interplay between oral and literate composition and transcription could become dizzyingly complex.”⁸⁴ According to Pollock, the process of literization represents one of the most culturally consequential developments in premodern India given that textual practices had been hegemonically held in check by an unwavering ideology of orality for vast millennia. The inauguration of literization in India is thus characterized by him as a momentous event involving the initial writing down of languages and texts which for time immemorial had existed in a purely oral and unwritten state. Pollock tracks the onset of literization and its transformative socio-cultural effects from the “invention” of writing in the court of the Aśoka during the mid-third century BCE to its full florescence around the beginning of Common Era with the inscription of texts in Sanskrit. He then proceeds to the early modern period and what he calls the “vernacular revolution” which involved the revolutionary act of writing down local languages such as Hindi and Kannada among others.

As mentioned above, a key component of Pollock’s penetrative analysis is the division of labor he draws between “literization” and the later process he refers to as “literarization.” In contrast to the more or less documentary domain of literization, Pollock posits literarization as a higher-order meta-textual process in which “writing enables textual features far in excess of the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 316.

oral; for literature it renders the discourse itself a subject for discourse for the first time, language itself an object of aestheticized awareness, the text itself an artifact to be decoded and a pretext for deciphering.”⁸⁵ Literarization, or “writing literarily,” then, went beyond merely re-presenting the oral and informational in written form (as per *literization*) and instead took on an active aesthetic, imaginative, and ideational force. Consequently, just as the practice of writing is encoded in the very definition of the word “literature” in the example of early modern Europe (as was the case for “scripture” mentioned above),⁸⁶ Pollock similarly argues that the idea of literariness (Skt: *kāvya*) as formulated in classical India was from its inception always bound to and inseparable from the dynamic of its written modality (as per *literarization*).⁸⁷ “What made *kāvya* historically possible as a cultural practice at all was writing itself; indeed, one could say that *kāvya* was the name given to an expressive text that was written down—and the text was the kind it was precisely because it was written down.”⁸⁸ As a result of these developments in the culture of writing—and despite the ongoing importance of orality in the popular performance of literary texts—literization and literarization became the dual driving forces shaping textuality in South Asia around the beginning the Common Era.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁶ See the *Oxford English Dictionary* (“literature” < classical Latin *litterāris* of or used in writing). Walter Ong also comments in *Orality and Literacy* (10) that, “We have the term ‘literature’, which essentially means ‘writings’ (Latin *litteratura*, from *littera*, letter of the alphabet), to cover a given body of written materials...”

⁸⁷ An important passage from Pollock in *Language of the Gods* (4) reads “...with the introduction of writing, a new boundary was drawn between the purely oral and *kāvya* [i.e., literature]. Writing was never essential to literature—until literature *became literature*.”

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸⁹ An interesting feature differentiating literization and literarization is the temporal delay between the inception of each process, the former preceding the latter generally by an extensive period of time. That is, writing first had to become operational as a “medium of pragmatic communication” before the conditions could be created for the latter process of literary elaboration through textual writing. The commencement of “literary newness” is dependent upon a range of socio-cultural factors as well. See Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 295.

Pollock's insights regarding the development of writing in India, however, are mainly concerned with its role in the construction of cosmopolitan and vernacular literary cultures rather than its specific instantiation in the spiritual culture and context of scripture. Nevertheless, his ideas remain highly relevant to the present study. Especially compelling is how the inaugural process of "literization" might relate to the aforementioned phenomenon of "scripturalization." Tyler Williams has keenly pointed out the close links between each process in his discussion of how saintly songs and preliterate poems—that is, those which were orally composed, communicated, and circulated in the absence of writing—belonging to the Niranjani Sampraday were committed to writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He comments here that, "Just as literization was integral to the literarization of a language and its texts, it was also integral to scripturalization in early modern North India; in other words, writing was an essential part of transforming songs, sayings, and other works composed in the vernacular into the culturally privileged category of scripture."⁹⁰ W. C. Smith, too, comes close to capturing the phenomenological distinction between original oral utterance and the transformations it undergoes as a result of being reshaped into written form where he remarks (while discussing Moses and the Book of Deuteronomy), "instead of something being written down because it was important, this message was important because it was written down." Smith here, however, does not address the obvious objection to the fact that something would not have been selected to be written down had it not already been considered important to begin with. While Pollock never specifically invokes the process of scripturalization in his works, he nevertheless hints at the above meaning when he comments, "Writing is also a form of recognition that the knowledge

⁹⁰ Williams, *Sacred Sounds and Sacred Books*, 270. On the relationship between the two, he also writes (269), "Literization and scripturalization went hand in hand, as the material instantiation of the saints' utterance was integral to their establishment as a type of 'scripture.'"

contained in the language is worthy of preservation, first through the initial act of inscription but also through recopying.”⁹¹ In order to clarify, or at least simplify, the distinction between the two procedures being discussed, it may be then said—to once again paraphrase Smith above—that *literization* is writing a text down because it was already considered important while *scripturalization* involves a text-artifact taking on extratextual importance and votive value to a given religious public as a result of having been written down. With this in mind, we might be better served by rendering Pollock’s term “literization” here “scribalization” as a more congenial conceptual counterpart to “scripturalization” since it avoids the courtly connotations suggested by the word “literature” while still retaining the basic meaning of his terminology.⁹²

Regardless of whatever technical terms we may choose to use, one thing is certain with regard to these large processes: before the holy Word could become converted into holy Writ—that is, *become* scripture—they had to first be written down (i.e., literized or scribalized). Yet inscribing a text alone does nothing to create scripture. The same written document can be regarded either scripturally or un-scripturally according to the context of its religious or irreligious reception. The boundary line between a literary and scriptural document, then, can be said to be dependent upon the religious value a community invests in it. In the words of the New Testament scholar Sze-kar Wan, “[T]he process of scripturalization is always freighted with the meaning of the text for the community and the question of legitimacy for the receiving community.”⁹³ As religious symbols, scriptural texts then take on extra-textual valences that

⁹¹ Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 306.

⁹² While I don’t wish to complicate matters any further, another related term having some currency in discourse on the Bible is “inscripturation” which in this case means the transcription of oral revelation (i.e., the Word of God) into written scriptures.

⁹³ Sze-kar Wan, “Signification as Scripturalization: Communal Memories Among the Miao and in Ancient Jewish Allegorization” in *Theorizing Scriptures*, 114.

could be said to facilitate the encounter between “the historical in the transcendent”⁹⁴ and therefore make significations that go beyond the bindings and boundaries of their physical dimensions. In this way, an entirely different set of optics are at work in the way scriptures can function as ritual and artefactual icons in the scriptural community in ways oral texts cannot.

It is now time to examine how these phenomena are exemplified in the case of Jain texts and history in premodern India. The following sections of the next chapter accordingly examine connected yet separate processes such as “canonization,” “scribalization,” and “scripturalization” in the particular context of the Śvetāmbara Jains. It will be shown how Śvetāmbara Jains constructed their canon out of the oral utterances of their saints and subsequently mapped these sayings from sound to script at a series of synods conducted in the early centuries of the Common Era. For it is well-documented that the Jains held a number of redactional conferences (*vācanās*) from the period of the 4th century BCE to the 5th century CE in order to preserve and codify their original collection of canonical oral texts (*āgama*). It would be here at these conferences that the sacro-sonic word was for the first time said to have been written down or, in the Pollockian sense of the term, “literized” (or still, as it was characterized by the Jains themselves, the process by which the word became *lipi-baddha*, lit. “bound in script” or “in-scripted”). I will accordingly document these councils as examples of literization in which the word was forged into script, or “technologized” via writing in the sense put forward by Walter Ong.⁹⁵ This project of fashioning into written form languages and texts which had historically and materially remained within the prehistoric and immaterial realm of the unwritten has been

⁹⁴ W.C. Smith, *What is Scripture*, 174.

⁹⁵ See Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen & Company, 1982). By the phrase “technologizing of the word,” Ong refers to the various technological interventions (written, printed, and computer-generated graphics) which have historically served to transform the systems of sound and speech into visual phenomena.

memorialized in a number of Jain texts which I will now survey to document the process. I will further suggest that these councils are diagnostic of the process of scripturalization in which—also for first time in Jain history—canonical texts took the shape of scripture through their written inscription and therefore took on new valences as sacred books marking new bibliographic boundaries for the religious tradition.

Chapter 2

The Breakthrough to the Book: Jain Monastic Councils and the Program of Scripturalization

2.1 Genesis of the Mūrtipūjikā Śvetāmbara Canon and Congregation

According to accounts provided by a number of Jain commentarial texts beginning with the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī* (ca. 593-693 CE), the period following the death of the founder of the community,⁹⁶ the last Jina Mahāvīra (d. [traditionally] 527 BCE), marks in the collective cultural memory of Jains a crisis from which the congregation only barely survived intact.⁹⁷ For it was during this time that a series of “famines” (*duṣkāla*, *durbhikṣā*) reportedly ravaged the ranks of the monastic order thereby weakening the very foundations of the community.⁹⁸ At least three such famines or droughts—each said to have lasted twelve years—are mentioned in various Jain sources.⁹⁹ The period of the postulated famine(s) was felt to have been most damaging in terms of the loss of a large corpus of sacred texts which had up to that point been preserved and orally-transmitted by assemblies of senior monks since the death of Mahāvīra around the fifth or sixth

⁹⁶ Founding figures of the Jain community (such as the Jina Mahāvīra) are technically known by the title of “Tīrthaṅkara,” literally a “Congregation Establisher.” See Cort (2010: 114).

⁹⁷ Mahāvīra’s “liberation” (*nirvāṇa*), or physical death, is traditionally placed at 527 BCE. The “Vīr Saṃvat” calendar—the standard system used to calculate dates in Jainism—commences from this year. In addition, this dating system is commonly abbreviated as AV (“After Vardhamāna,” Vardhamāna being another appellation for Mahāvīra). Scholars differ in opinion with regard to the actual date of Mahāvīra’s *nirvāṇa*. For example, Jacobi, on the basis of Hemacandra, places Mahāvīra’s death at 427 BCE while Dundas (1992: 24) calculates it as 425 BCE.

⁹⁸ Based on evidence provided by the textual records, Kapadia holds that there were approximately four famines, each lasting twelve years, the first being the most devastating in terms of the impact it had on the loss of members of the monastic community and the corresponding loss of sacred texts. See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 57, fn. 1). According to Paul Dundas (1992: 47), “the word *durbhikṣā* used in this context by the sources means literally ‘a time when it is difficult to gain alms’ and can imply a state of political anarchy.” Similarly, in the context of the development of Jain scriptures, the contrast between states of *durbhikṣā* (famine, loss, scarcity) and *subhikṣā* (feast, flourish, abundance) may here also serve to signify periods of scriptural loss and recovery.

⁹⁹ Kapadia, ([1941] 2000: 57). Various Buddhist sources also refer to “twelve-year famines.” For example, several tales in the ‘Meṇḍhakāvadāna’ chapter in the *Divyādvadāna* (ca. 2nd century CE) discuss droughts.

century BCE. As a result, new mechanisms of textual control and conservation would be put into place by the remaining monastic authorities to ensure the survival of the original collections of canonical texts and, by extension, the congregation itself.¹⁰⁰ While the factuality of these “twelve-year famines” may be open to scrutiny, the rhetoric of scriptural loss and recovery surrounding them nevertheless figures prominently in narratives concerning both the bibliographic genesis of Jain scriptures as well as the ethnogenesis of the Śvetāmbara community in North India.¹⁰¹

In any case, by the middle of the first millennium, the community of Jains had succeeded in amassing a large collection of sacred oral works, many of which reportedly dated back to the time of Mahāvīra a thousand years previous.¹⁰² The exact extent of this proto-canonical literature, however, remains unclear given the deficiencies in the current textual record. In fact, there is no reliable record of any of the works produced in the thousand-year period between the death of Mahāvīra and the last redactional council held at Vallabhī (i.e., ca. 500 BCE to ca. 500 CE).¹⁰³ While the precise dimensions of this precodified proto-canon can never be known with any precision, the oldest core of sacred texts (*āgama*) in the present compiled form of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka canon consists of twelve foundational treatises which are traditionally

¹⁰⁰ A parallel process, if not a precedent setting one, is described in Buddhist works, notably, the *Sanṅgīti-sūtra* (in the *Dīghanikāya*).

¹⁰¹ According to legendary accounts, it was the first famine occurring in the fourth century BCE at the time of Bhadrabāhu which ultimately would bear upon the Śvetāmbara-Digambara “schism” in the Jain congregation. Whether or not the reports of such “famines” (*duṣkāla*, *durbhikṣā*) actually signified periods of food scarcity, or, alternately, may have come to serve more as a metonym for expressing a period of decline for the community has not been thoroughly explored.

¹⁰² See Weber’s grand *Sacred Literature of the Jains* (1893) for one of the earliest and exhaustive accounts of the contours of the Jain canon. Weber himself follows the order of texts as presented by Georg Bühler.

¹⁰³ Kapadia, ([1941] 2000: 65).

referred to as the original “limbs” (*aṅga*) of the entire corpus of canonical works.¹⁰⁴ This early nucleus of textual material is accordingly categorized as the first out of a total of six groups.

These “Group 1” texts consist of the following works (See Appendix 1 for a full chart of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka canon of 45 works):

1. *Āyāraṃga-suya* (Skt. *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*)
“Text on Conduct”
2. *Sūyagaḍa-suya* (*Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra*)
“Text on Opposing Views”
3. *Ṭhāṇaṃga-suya* (*Sthānāṅga-sūtra*)
“Text on Metaphysics”
4. *Samavāyaṃga-suya* (*Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*)
“Text on Combinations”
5. *Viyāha-pannatt-suya* (*Vyākhyā-prajñapti-sūtra*)
“Text of Explanations”
6. *Nāyā-dhamma-kahā-suya* (*Jñātā-dharma-kathāṅga-sūtra*),
“Stories of Knowledge and Religious Practice”
7. *Uvāsaga-dasāo-suya* (*Upāsaka-dasāṅga-sūtra*)
“Ten Chapters on Rules for the Laity”
8. *Antagaḍa-dasāo-suya* (*Antakṛd-dasāṅga-sūtra*)
“Ten Chapters on Achieving the Final Goal”
9. *Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo-suya* (*Anuttar’-aupapātika-dasāṅga-sūtra*)
“Ten Chapters on Arising in the Highest Heavens”

¹⁰⁴ Besides *āgama* (from Sanskrit *ā-gam*, or “received” knowledge), other technical terms used for “canon” in the Jain tradition are *aṅgāgama* (*aṅga-āgama*), *siddhānta* (complete collection of canonical texts), *dvādaśāṅgī*, (twelve *aṅgas*), *dvādaśāṅga gaṇi-piṭaka* (basket [*piṭaka*] of twelve *aṅgas* collected by the teachers [*gaṇi*]), and *śruta* (revealed text). Weber (1893: 5) also gives the terms *śruta*, *sūtra*, *grantha*, *śāsana*, *āñjā*, *vacana*, *upadeśa*, *prajñapanā*. For another comprehensive list of technical terms see Ashok Kumar Singh’s Introduction in the *Samavāyaṅgasuttam* (Delhi: Bogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology, 2012), viii. Malavania’s “Jain Āgamas” found in the introduction to Punyavijaya’s (ed.) *Nandisutta and Aṇuogaddārāim* (Bombay: Shri Mahāvīra Vidyālaya, 1968) gives perhaps the best examination of technical terms associated with Jain canonical texts. Folkert (1993: 78) has translated *āgama* as “tradition” and *siddhānta* as “doctrine.” He writes that the “Jains own collective terms for such materials are *Āgama* and *Siddhānta* (‘tradition’ and ‘doctrine,’ if any direct translation of the terms is possible), which scholars replaced with the terms “canon” and “canonical literature.”

10. *Pañha-vāgaraṇa-suya* (*Praśna-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*)
“Text of Questions and Explications”

11. *Vivāga-suya* (*Vipāka-sūtra*)
“Text on the Results of Karma”

*The final work of the original set of twelve texts is no longer extant:

12. *Diṭṭhivāda* (*Dṛṣṭivāda*)
“Text on Disputation about Views”¹⁰⁵

This core of twelve canonical texts, or “Twelve Limbs” or *Aṅgas*, was eventually supplemented with the second group of texts, a class of twelve works known as *Upāṅgas* or “Subsidiary Limbs.”¹⁰⁶ While these texts are said to be quite old, Kapadia remarks that there is no reference to them prior to the twelfth century CE.¹⁰⁷ The arrangement of twelve *Upāṅgas* does not appear to be based on the chronology of their composition but rather on their respective affiliations with the preceding set of twelve *Aṅgas*.¹⁰⁸ Additional classes of texts would be subsequentially added to the entire catalogue of *āgamas*, each class with their own group of specialized texts. These include the third group of works consisting of seven so-called *Cheda Sūtras* (“Penal Texts”), a

¹⁰⁵ The exact order in which works from this “Group 1” collection of texts were originally composed is a matter of dispute. In brief, it is held by many scholars that the first text in the series, the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, naturally represents the oldest stratum of the corpus while others claim that the earliest text is in fact the lost legendary work known as the *Dṛṣṭivāda* (which is conventionally placed as the final text as seen above). See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 6). Much more on the problematic placement and special significance of the mythical *Dṛṣṭivāda* material will be discussed later on in the present chapter.

¹⁰⁶ (Group 2) Twelve *Upāṅga* texts: 1. *Uvavāiṣya-sutta* (*Aupapātika-sūtra*), 2. *Rāya-paseṇaijja* (*Rāja-praśnīya-sūtra*), 3. *Jīvājīvābhigama* (*Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*), 4. *Pannavaṇā* (*Prajñāpana-sūtra*), 5. *Sūriya-pannatti* (*Sūryaprañapti-sūtra*), 6. *Jambūdvīpa-pannatti* (*Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-sūtra*), 7. *Canda-pannatti* (*Candraprajñapti-sūtra*), 8. *Nirayāvaliyāo* (*Nirayāvali-sūtra*), 9. *Kappāvaḍaṃsiāo* (*Kalpāvataṃsika-sūtra*), 10. *Pupphiāo* (*Puṣpika-sūtra*), 11. *Puppha-cūliāo* (*Puṣpa-cūlika-sūtra*), and 12. *Vaṇhi-dasāo* (*Vṛṣṇidaśa-sūtra*).

¹⁰⁷ Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 27 & 32) claims that the first mention of twelve *Upāṅga* texts, along with their names, appears for the first time in the *Suhabohasāmāyārī* of Śrīcandra Sūri (c. 12th century CE). Also see J.C. Jain (2004: 68).

¹⁰⁸ Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 33).

division of the textual canon which pertain to rules of conduct regulating monastic behavior.¹⁰⁹

The fourth group of works respectively consisted of five *Mūla Sūtras* (“Root Texts”) having as their subject-matter aspects of monastic practice and discipline.¹¹⁰ The fifth group was composed of *Cūlikā Sūtras* (“Appendices”), two treatises on exegesis, epistemology, and methodology.¹¹¹

And lastly, the final and sixth collection contained ten so-called *Prakīrṇaka* (“Mixed/Miscellaneous”) texts.¹¹²

This list of a total of forty-five texts in six groups has become standard in studies of Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara Jain scriptures (Fig. 2.1). The general uniformity and unity of the list, however, obscures a long history of development and dispute. There were, in fact, other orderings of the texts based on alternative classification systems. For example, alternative technical terms were employed to distinguish the original *aṅga* texts from later compilations such as “*aṅga-praviṣṭa*,” or those original texts which had “entered into the [twelve] limbs.” This designation differentiated them from those which were designated “*aṅga-bāhya*” or those “outside” the original twelve. In short, as Folkert puts it, the “total number of texts, their division into classes, and even the particular texts within the classes are all problematic points.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ (Group 3) Six *Cheda Sūtra* texts: 1. *Āyāra-dasāo* (*Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*), 2. *Bihā-kappa* (*Brhatkalpa Sūtra*), 3. *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra Sūtra*), 4. *Nisīha* (*Niśītha Sūtra*), 5. *Jīya-kappa* (*Jīta-kalpa*), and 6. *Mahānisīha* (*Mahāniśītha Sūtra*). The *Kalpa Sūtra*, the main subject of this paper, belongs to the eighth chapter of the fourth text listed, the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* (and is therefore not to be confused with the similarly named *Brhatkalpa Sūtra* which is also included here in the *Cheda Sūtra* collection). Schubring ([1935] 1962: 81) holds that the *Cheda Sūtras* are among the oldest strata of the canon.

¹¹⁰ (Group 4) Four *Mūla Sūtras*: 1. *Dasaveyāliya Sutta* (*Daśavaikālika Sūtra*), 2. *Uttarajhayaṇa Sutta* (*Uttaradhyāyana Sūtra*), 3. *Āvassaya Sutta* (*Āvaśyaka Sūtra*), 4. *Piṇḍa-nijjutti* (*Piṇḍa-niryukti*) and *Ogha-nijjutti* (*Ogha-niryukti*).

¹¹¹ (Group 5) Two *Cūlikā Sūtras*: 1. *Nandi Sutta* (*Nandī Sūtra*), 2. *Anuogaddārāim* (*Anuyogdvāra Sūtra*).

¹¹² (Group 6) Ten *Prakīrṇaka* texts: 1. *Cau-saraṇa* (*Catuḥ-śaraṇa*), 2. *Āura-paccakkhāṇa* (*Ātura-pratyākhyāna*), 3. *Bhatta-parinnā* (*Bhakta-parijñā*), 4. *Samthāraga* (*Samstāraka*), 5. *Tandula-veyāliya* (*Taṇḍula-vaicārika*), 6. *Canda-vejhhaya* (*Candra-vedhyaka*), 7. *Devinda-tthaya* (*Devendra-stava*), 8. *Gaṇi-vijjā* (*Gaṇi-vidyā*), 9. *Mahāpratyākhyāna*, 10. *Vīra-tthava* (*Vīrastava*).

¹¹³ Folkert (1993: 44) has discussed how the fixed dimensions of the current collection of texts as outlined above are a modern invention. He argues that the premodern contours of the canon were more likely fluid



Fig. 2.1. Śvetāmbara Jain Scriptures inscribed on gold plates at the Śrī Vardhamāna Jain Āgama Tīrth, Pune, India. Here the entire collection of 45 canonical works are displayed along the corridor walls just off the inner courtyard. Photo by the author.

than fixed. Folkert further has discussed how the modern arrangement of forty-five to forty-seven texts is the result of a single list of works obtained by Georg Bühler in the nineteenth century. He writes (47) “In the absence of a solution to the problem, Bühler’s list is accepted as defining the shape and limits of the canon, and the presumption is still active that the third synod [Devarddhi’s council at Vallabhī] gave the canon that shape.” Also see Weber (1893: 8) where he was already referring this arrangement as “Bühler’s List.”

orderings of the texts based on alternative classification systems. For example, alternative technical terms were employed to distinguish the original *aṅga* texts from later compilations such as “*aṅga-praviṣṭa*,” or those original texts which had “entered into the [twelve] limbs.” This designation differentiated them from those which were designated “*aṅga-bāhya*” or those “outside” the original twelve. In short, as Folkert puts it, the “total number of texts, their division into classes, and even the particular texts within the classes are all problematic points.”¹¹⁴ Further, the collection of an original nucleus of twelve scriptures cannot be said to be traceable to a single place or period.¹¹⁵ Despite these problems of provenance and periodization inherent in the above standardized list of scriptures, the arrangement of forty-five canonical texts, or *āgamas*, has nevertheless generally prevailed since the late medieval to early modern period.¹¹⁶ In fact, starting around the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the commissioning of the forty-five *āgamas* as a complete set became viewed as a meritorious act among elite Mūrtipūjaka Jain families who could afford to sponsor such ambitious manuscript projects. It should be noted, however, that such a collection forty-five canonical works in manuscript form does not appear to have ever been actually produced as one all-encompassing scripture but, rather, in the form of individual copies or with several works bound together. Based on her examination of the large collection of Jain *āgamas* at the Cambridge University Library, Nalini Balbir has observed that “What we have are mostly individual manuscripts for each text, or instances of 4 to 6 texts that are found together because they are related. This is the case with Aṅgas No. 6 to 11 which are

¹¹⁴ Folkert (1993: 44).

¹¹⁵ J.C. Jain (2004: 66).

¹¹⁶ The number “45” has even become part of the religious identity of the Mūrtipūjaka Jain community as a marker to distinguish their community from other Śvetāmbara sects such as the Sthānakvāsīs who endorse thirty-two canonical works.

predominantly narrative.”¹¹⁷ Here Balbir also mentions the forms of worship that have developed around the physically embodied form of the full set of forty-five scriptures in the Mūrtipūjaka tradition. “At the instigation of some religious teachers, these 45 books are collectively the center of a *pūjā*, the *45-Āgama-pūjan*, where each of them is praised in the form of a short poem.”¹¹⁸

In terms of historical chronology, Schubring suggests that the most ancient layers of the original collection of twelve *Aṅgas* are discoverable in the first and second texts (the *Ācāra* and *Sūtrakṛta*). He further postulates that a number of other texts positioned outside of the original core of twelve treatises also appear to have been produced at quite an early date as well, those which are now dispersed within the classes of *Cheda Sūtras*, *Mūla Sūtras*, and *Prakīrṇakas*.¹¹⁹ Schubring bases this dating on his critical analysis and identification of old grammatical, metrical, and rhetorical features of the texts themselves such as the use of fixed expressions, formulaic verse forms, repetitions, and conventionalized verbal constructions. In particular, the presence of the old *āryā* meter in these works served as a key to deciphering their stage of development.¹²⁰ The investigations of Hermann Jacobi, too, have demonstrated that the most ancient material is embedded in chapters belonging to the first two *Aṅgas*, the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (ch. 1.9) and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* (ch. 1.4), as well as in one of the *Upāṅgas*, the *Uttaradhyāyaṇa*

¹¹⁷ Balbir (2017: 67-68). At the same time, Balbir does also note that (68) “In manuscript colophons, however, laypeople do claim their intention to form larger projects where one category of scriptures or all of them would be collected. Unfortunately, since the individual manuscripts have circulated in all directions, in India and outside, and are no longer *in situ*, we have access to them only in very partial form, as the scattered pieces of a jigsaw that we can try to collect without being able to assemble them all.”

¹¹⁸ Ibid. Elsewhere, Balbir has also written that “From the 17th century onwards special fasts and ceremonies developed around the worship of the 45 canonical scriptures which Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak Jains recognize as authoritative. These are a way of publicly asserting their sectarian identity, against the Sthānakavāsins, who recognize 32 such scriptures.” See Balbir, “Jain Treasures at the Bodleian Library” (2012: 10).

¹¹⁹ See Schubring’s first chapter in *Mahāvīra’s Words* ([1926] 2004: 1-32).

¹²⁰ The “old *āryā*” would be replaced by the “new *āryā*” (or *gāthā*), an updated and more versatile metrical form commonly deployed in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit poetry.

Sūtra (ch. 8).¹²¹ Ludwig Alsdorf similarly analyses the use of the *āryā* meter as a guideline for the chronological dating of the earliest texts, with the presence of the *gāthā* meter serving as an indicator of a later textual layer.¹²² According to Folkert, there appears to be “a rough progression in age in the list, the *Aṅgas* containing the oldest material for the most part, and *Nandī* and *Anuyogdvāra* being among the youngest portions of the corpus.”¹²³ He further contends that generally “the oldest textual materials in this canon appear, on linguistic grounds, to have been fixed ca. 300 B.C.E., and its most recent material may have been added as much as a millennium later.”¹²⁴ This estimation roughly accords with Jacobi’s conjecture that the oldest layers of the canon were compiled sometime around the end of the fourth century BCE or beginning of the third BCE.¹²⁵

2.2 Canonization: Metrical and Mnemonic Strategies of Textual Transmission

The traditional view regarding the origin of Śvetāmbara canonical texts places their beginnings with the original words spoken by Mahāvīra (*Mahāvīra-vāṇī* or *jina-vacana*) in the fifth to fourth century BCE.¹²⁶ The process of *canonization*, however, began with the act of shaping these spoken words into sūtraic-mnemonic form by his original group of disciples shortly after his death (tr. 527 BCE). While the teachings composed and conveyed by his students in the form of *sūtras* can therefore be said to be directly traceable to the “divine voice”

¹²¹ For the first identification of the earlier so-called “old *āryā*” meter see Jacobi’s “Ueber die Entwicklung d. indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeitin” in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 38, No. 3/4 (1884: 590-619).

¹²² See Alsdorf, “Itthīparinnā: A Chapter of Jain Monastic Poetry, Edited as a Contribution to Indian Prosody.” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1958: 249-270).

¹²³ Folkert (1993: 44 and 78).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ See J.C. Jain (2004), Ch. 2 “Religious Literature in Prakrit: The Contribution of the Jain Thinkers” and his corresponding footnotes (esp. fn. 36, 37, & 38) for a concise summary of the historiography surrounding the study of the Jain *āgamas* in the West.

¹²⁶ Only the original twelve texts are considered to be *jina-vacana*.

(*divya-dhvani*) of Mahāvīra, the simple attribution of “authorship” to this single source nevertheless ignores the multiple voices and vectors through which these works would be channeled over the centuries. In connection with positing Mahāvīra’s original authorial presence in the literature of the canon, Jacobi has written, “[T]hat Mahāvīra was not the author of the Sūtras in our sense of ‘author’ can easily be proved by the works themselves. For many Sūtras commence by relating that they were declared to [the disciple] Jambu by [his chief, the *Gaṇadhara*] Sudharman. Most probably, the doctrines and words of Mahāvīra were, originally, not arranged into distinct works.”¹²⁷ Jacobi here refers to the active role of the original chief disciples of Mahāvīra, the *gaṇadharas*—the upholders (*dhara*) of the monastic troop (*gaṇa*)—who were to become the early elders of the order’s various branches and who would formally compose the teachings of their preceptor into mnemonically structured sutras (Fig. 2.2).¹²⁸ An early commentary (*niryukti*) on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*—a text belonging to the *Mūla Sūtras* or Group 4 collection of texts—gives us a glimpse into the process of canonization from the original oral recitations of the teacher to their translation into sūtras by disciples:

¹²⁷ Jacobi (1879: 15). Dundas (1992: 61) also notes that “[F]or Jains, their scriptures represent the literal words of Mahāvīra and the other formakers [i.e., *tīrthaṅkara*] only to the extent that the *āgama* is a series of beginningless, endless and fixed truth, a tradition without any origin, human or divine, which in this world age has been channeled through Sudharman, the last of Mahāvīra’s disciples to survive.”

¹²⁸ *Gaṇadharas* are said to have composed the original twelve texts, the *Aṅgas*, while the next set of twelve supplementary texts, the *Upāṅgas*, were later composed by *Sthaviras* (senior patriarchs who followed the *gaṇadharas*). The *sūtras* themselves often begin by announcing that they were communicated by Mahāvīra to his *Gaṇadhara* disciples. For example, the third *Aṅga* text, the *Sthānaṅga-sūtra*, begins with the opening formula common to many of texts of the canon: *sūyaṃ me āusaṃ tenaṃ bhagavayā evaṃ akkhāyaṃ* (“O Venerable One (*āusaṃ/āyuṣman*), [that] proclaimed (*akkhāyaṃ/ākhyātam*) by the Lord [Mahāvīra] (*tenaṃ bhagavayā/tena bhagavatā*) [was] thus (*evaṃ*) heard (*sūyaṃ/śrutam*) by me (*me/mayā*).” Cf. this opening oral formula with the standard one found in Buddhist texts: *evaṃ me sutam* (“thus it was heard by me...”).



Fig. 2.2. The Eleven *Gaṇadharaḥ* (note the label at upper left reading “*Gaṇadhara 11*”). *Kalpa Sūtra*, 15th c., folio 101 (recto). Source: Cincinnati & Hamilton County Public Library. Accession Number: Kalpasutra_0961ffJ251500 201.

attham bhāsai arahā suttam gaṃthaṃti gaṇaharā niunaṃ |
sāsaṇassa hiyaṭṭhāe tao suttam pavattāi ||

The Blessed One (*araha/arhat*) communicates (*bhāsai*) the meaning (*attha/artha*), the disciples (*gaṇahara/gaṇadhāra*) skillfully (*niunaṃ/nipunam*) string together (*gaṃthaṃti/grathnanti*) the sūtraic text (*sutta/sūtra*). The sacred text then proceeds (*pavattāi*) for the benefit (*hiyaṭṭhāe*) of the Jain doctrine (*sāsaṇassa*).¹²⁹

As can be seen from the above passage, the conceptual and practical distinction here between *attha* (Skt. *artha*) and *sutta* (Skt. *sūtra*) is essentially that between original utterance and composed text. In other words, the Jina preceptors expound and explicate principal subjects in verbal discourses while disciples then “bind” or “string together” (*gaṃthaṃti/grathnanti*) or

¹²⁹ *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*, v. 92. Also see P.S. Jaini (1979: 42) who writes that the “divine sound” of the teacher “manifests *artha*, the meaning or import of a Jina’s teachings. *Artha* is in turn translated into *sūtra*, the canonical scriptures, by the several *gaṇadharaḥ* or chief disciples.”

translate the spoken sermons into segments of sūtraic text. A further example of this idea is replicated in the *Rṣabha Jina Stuti*, a medieval-era hymn composed in Old Hindi:

prabhu aratha prakāśe, racanā gaṇadhara sāra |
so āgama sunatām, chedīje gati cāra ||

The Lord illuminates the meaning, [while] the Gaṇadharas compose it all.
The one (*so*) who hears the holy texts (*āgama*) transcends (*chedīje*) the four (*cāra*) states (*gati*) of karmic existence (i.e., the divine, human, animal, infernal).

At this point, this distinction is therefore not to be taken as one between an oral and written text—as the verbal root *granth* would later suggest—but between original verbal discourse and versified text.

According to a more detailed interpretation of the process, it is said that the original spoken words of Mahāvīra were “bound” (*nibaddha*) into metrical mnemonic texts (*sūtras*) by his eleven chief disciples, or *gaṇadharas*, who then each arranged them into the form of what was called a “*dvādaśāṅgī*,” a complete catalogue of the aforementioned twelve original *Aṅga* texts. In other words, in the beginning there were alleged to have been eleven different versions or editions of the original twelve canonical texts. Each of the eleven early disciples was thus said to have produced their own individually composed set of twelve texts.¹³⁰ As time went on other high-ranking disciples, such as the polymath Bhadrabāhu, subsequently expanded and elaborated the original teachings through the composition of commentaries. Disciples such as Bhadrabāhu became styled as *śruta-kevalins* (“master of sacred texts”) and were considered to be the ultimate guardians of sacred textual knowledge (*śruta-jñāna*). While Jinās such as Mahāvīra were designated as *kevalins* (omniscient beings) by virtue of their attainment of *kevala-jñāna*

¹³⁰ The current set of core canonical texts is said to be based only on the collection of twelve texts (*dvādaśāṅgī*) produced by the *Gaṇadhara* Sudharman as his lineage alone is believed to have survived. The loss of material hence began following the generation of *gaṇadharas*. See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 3).

(omniscience), *śruta-kevalins*, despite their mastery of the teachings, were conversely said to be reliant on the medium of *śruta*, or verbally transmitted āgamic (sacred-textual) knowledge for understanding. All original eleven disciples of Mahāvīra, the *gaṇadharas*, were consequently also by default considered to be *śruta-kevalins* since they were each alleged to have produced their own complete set of twelve *Aṅga* texts (or a *dvādaśāṅgī*). All *śruta-kevalins*, however, were not considered to be *gaṇadharas* as this particular title was only granted to the direct disciples of Mahāvīra. In any case, a hierarchy of monks based on the relative mastery of sacred textual knowledge was put into practice early on beginning with the first followers of Mahāvīra. In the Śvetāmbara tradition, an era of *śruta-kevalins* thus began, with their lineage ensuring the perpetuation of the complete original teachings. The primacy of textual transmission through oral recitation and aural reception in the original formulation of the sacred canon of the Śvetāmbara Jains was hence clearly denoted in traditional terminology.¹³¹

2.3 On the Edge of Socio-Textual Extinction: *Durbhikṣā* (famine) and the Loss of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* Literature

Despite the management of texts through an apostolic succession of monastic masters, a steady decline in the knowledge of the twelve sacred *Aṅga* texts nevertheless began with the weakening of the mendicancy brought on by the first wave of famines said to have allegedly occurred around the 4th century BCE. This dissolution in textual knowledge initially appears with the gradual loss of the voluminous twelfth work, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, especially the fourteen sections comprising its third chapter entitled the *Puvvagaya* (Skt. *Pūrvagata*), or put more simply, the

¹³¹ For more on the concept of *śruta* see Dundas (1996: 77). Here Dundas writes that the “term ‘*śruta*,’ ‘what has been heard,’ which eventually developed in Jain philosophy to have the sense of any spoken or written symbol, seems in its earliest usage to have roughly corresponded in meaning to ‘scripture,’ in the same manner as *śruti* in Hinduism denotes the totality of revealed truth as embodied in the Veda.”

“*Pūrvas*” (“Ancient/Former [Texts]”).¹³² Indeed, the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* is also synecdochically referred to as the “Fourteen *Pūrvas*” on account of the importance given to these fourteen sections.¹³³ The consternation produced by the loss of this *Pūrvā* or “Former” literature would prove to be especially consequential in terms of mobilizing monks for the original joint recitation to restore the old oral texts. In fact, the legend of the loss of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda/Pūrvā* literature came to serve as a central organizing trope in narratives describing the mytho-historical reconstruction of the canon. For it was this particular material contained in the so-called “*Pūrvas*” which the Śvetāmbara Jains held to contain the oldest teachings of the Tīrthānkaras.¹³⁴ The ancient and authoritative status of this literature is also indicated by the idea that the Tīrthānkara teachers all allegedly recited “fourteen *Pūrvas*” prior to transmitting the various discourses which later became fixed as sacred canon.¹³⁵ The preeminence given to the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda/Pūrvā* literature can further be seen in the image of the “*śruta-puruṣa*,” the symbolic configuration of the twelve limbs (*aṅgas*) of the canon (*śruta*) as a human figure (*puruṣa*) with the head imagined as the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*.¹³⁶ Indeed, it was the threat of losing the “head” of all scriptures that appears to have set in motion the entire enterprise attempting to recuperate the remaining “body” of texts.

¹³² Another position is that it was the fourth chapter of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* rather than the third.

¹³³ While the text of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* no longer survives, lists found in extant canonical texts provide subject headings of its alleged various internal sections.

¹³⁴ The question arises as to why the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* was positioned as the final text in the list of *Aṅgas* if it contained the oldest teachings of the Jinās. Perhaps given its long extinct status it was eventually overridden by those texts which are extant. Some commentators nevertheless do hold that the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* is indeed the first text, followed in order by the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, etc., while others believe the *Ācārāṅga* to be the first text in the standard order. Kapadia, who has demonstrated perhaps the most expertise with regard to the development of Jain canonical literature, appears to take the latter position. He comments that there “is no explicit statement, so far as I know, which says that on 14 *Puvvas* (*Pūrvas*) being composed, the remaining portion of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* was composed, and then the 11 *Aṅgas* commencing with *Āyāra* (*Ācāra*) and ending with *Vivāgasuya* (*Vipākaśruta*).” See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 6).

¹³⁵ Dundas (1992: 67).

¹³⁶ For more information on the *śruta-puruṣa* see Indra Chandra Shastri (1990: 288) and Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 20 and 26-27). Also see Punyavijay, Malvania, and Mohanlal (eds.) *Nandisuttaṃ and Aṅuogaddārāṃ 1*, 15. The *śruta-puruṣa* consists of two feet (1. *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* and 2. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-*

A gradual loss in knowledge of the *Drṣṭivāda* can be seen reflected in the diminishing ranks of *śruta-kevalins*, those high-ranking masters who still had knowledge of all twelve *Aṅga* texts and could accurately communicate their contents from memory. The importance of mastering the *Drṣṭivāda* corpus—and especially the ability to recite its fourteen *Pūrva* or “ancient” sections—is further indicated by the title “*catur-daśa-pūrva-dhara*” (“Knower of the Fourteen *Pūrvas*”), an appellation that began to serve as a special standard of excellence for select monks who were considered masters of *śruta-jñāna* (sacred textual knowledge). The name “*catur-daśa-pūrva-dhara*” thus became coterminous with the title *śruta-kevalin* and the excellence it expressed. Yet despite all the mnemonic mechanisms of control put in place by the scholar-monks presiding over this vast textual body, after some time knowledge of only ten *Pūrva* chapters remained, now retained by monks designated *daśa-pūrva-dharas* (“knowers of ten *Pūrvas*”). This demise of the era of those knowing fourteen *Pūrvas* (*catur-daśa-pūrva-dhara*) is said to have officially occurred in 357 BCE, to be followed by the subsequent era of those knowing ten (*daśa-pūrva-dhara*) which commenced with the emergence of Ācārya Sthūlabhadra.¹³⁷ In due course of time, however, the number of those versed in the *Pūrva* literature continued to decline given the difficulties in grasping its alleged archaic language and esoteric contents. The monk Ārya Rakṣita was said to know nine *Pūrvas* and part of the tenth, while for a period of time others were reputed to know at least one. By the fifth century CE, the venerable *Drṣṭivāda*, including the chapters containing all fourteen *Pūrvas*, had fallen into

sūtra), two lower legs (3. *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* and 4. *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*), two thighs (5. *Vyākhyāprajñapti-sūtra* and 6. *Jñātādharma-kathā-sūtra*), back (7. *Upāsakadaśāṅga-sūtra*), abdomen (8. *Antakṛddāśāṅga-sūtra*), two hands (9. *Anuttaraupapātikadaśāṅga-sūtra* and 10. *Praśnavyākaraṇa-sūtra*), neck (11. *Vipākaśruta-sūtra*), and head (12. *Drṣṭivāda*).

¹³⁷ More on the important role of Sthūlabhadra will be found in the following section (2.5) of this chapter.

oblivion and was officially declared extinct.¹³⁸ The loss of this corpus of material would accordingly go on to function as a potent trope in the Jain tradition for the need for new systems of textual conservation.

2.4 Scriptural Famine and Feast: Jain Monastic Councils and their Historical Significance

According to fragmentary accounts given in a number of commentaries and literary works, the first of a series of at least four councils was convened in the city of Pāṭaliputra (Paṭanā, Bihār) in 367 BCE for the purpose of stabilizing and standardizing the collection of remaining sacred texts through the collaboration of living interlocutor-monks. This process of codification entailed orally reciting texts which still remained intact in the memories of monks as well as re-engineering other texts which had become partially lost. The attempt at codification undertaken at these councils was therefore an immense intellectual and logistical challenge involving the collaboration of a multitude of monastic authorities and agents. Following this early conference at Pāṭaliputra, three additional councils would be held several hundred years later in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Common Era to further recover materials. These later three councils are said to have been held at two locations, the first at Vallabhī (located on the Kāṭhīavār Peninsula in present-day Gujarat), the second at Mathurā (in modern Uttar Pradesh), and the final council once again at Vallabhī.

Sources regarding these events, however, are dubious regarding the chronology of the councils or *vācanās*. Given the long gap (approximately six hundred years) between the first and following councils, the question remains at which council(s) were the texts orally-codified

¹³⁸ See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 68). The date is given as 1000 Vīr Saṃvat, or a thousand years after Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa*. As the date of Mahāvīra's death is placed by tradition at 527 BCE, the date 1000 AV calculates as 473 CE. It should also be noted that Digambaras follow a different timeline of events.

through joint recitation and—pertinent to the discussion of the genesis of Jain written “scriptures”—when and where were the texts actually first put into written form or “literized.” The question of sources involves taking a closer look at original accounts composed by Jain commentators as well as an examination of modern scholarly reconstructions of these events. Granting that the historicity of this first council at Pātaliputra cannot be absolutely verified, we are still nevertheless able to consult a number of principal sources for information on this conference. These are the *Titthogāliya-paiṅṇa* (c. 5th-6th century CE),¹³⁹ Haribhadrasūri’s *Upadeśapada* (c. 5th-6th century CE),¹⁴⁰ the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇī* (c. 6th-7th century CE),¹⁴¹ and Hemacandra’s *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (13th century CE).¹⁴² An analysis of the individuals and events surrounding this first conference at Pātaliputra helps to provide information regarding the procedures by which Śvetāmbara Jain scriptures came to be fixed prior to the later councils. Kendall Folkert, in his paper on the development of Jain scriptures (“Scripture and Continuity in

¹³⁹ The *Titthogāliya* (Skt. *Tīrthodgāra*) is a post-canonical treatise on the Jain concept of time (*kāla*) and its cyclical patterns of progress (*utsarpiṇī*) and regress (*avasarpiṇī*). In this context of cosmic time, it narrates the series of events leading up to the first council at Pātaliputra and its aftermath as events connected with the current declining age. While the *Titthogāliya* is considered outside the group of core canonical texts (or “*aṅga bāhya*”), it nevertheless is included in an expanded grouping of eighty-four canonical texts in the Śvetāmbara textual tradition where it is classified as a *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous) text. The only published version of the text I know of is an edition edited by Kalyāṅvijay under the title *Titthogāli Paiṅṇaya* (Jalore: Śvetāmbara Jain Saṅgh, 1975). For more information on this work see Dalsukh Malvania’s *A Study of the Titthogāliya in Jinvijayamuni Abhinanda Granth* (1971: 129-138) and Hasṭimal (2011: 404-413). Also worthy of note for including excerpts of the text is Kalyāṅvijay Gaṇī’s *Vīr Nīrvān Saṃvat aur Jain Kāl Gananā* (2000: 94-104).

¹⁴⁰ Haribhadra-sūri. *Upadeśapada* (Maḍhaḍā: Lālana Niketana, 1925).

¹⁴¹ *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī*, Vol. 1 & 2. Edited by Sāgarānanda. Indore: Jaina-bandhu Press, 1928–29.

¹⁴² Hemacandra. *Sthavirāvalī or Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*. Edited by Hermann Jacobi (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1932). This work (13th c.) functions as a follow-up or “supplement” (*parīṣiṣṭa*) to his more famous epic poem known as the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (“The Lives of the Sixty-three Illustrious People”). Whereas the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* narrates the legendary lives of the Jinās and other mythical figures from the epic past, the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* gives an account of the early Jain patriarchs such as Bhadrabāhu and Sthūlabhadra. Given the late date of this text (composed a thousand years after the first council at Pātaliputra), the information found here must be considered dependent on earlier accounts. In fact, it appears to mainly restate material contained in the much earlier *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī* and *Upadeśapada* mentioned above. The *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* has recently been translated by R.C.C. Fynes as *The Lives of the Jain Elders* (Oxford University Press, 1998).

the Jain Tradition”), surprisingly ignores the important first council convened at Pāṭaliputra in favor of discussing the later ones at Mathurā and Vallabhī.¹⁴³ His explanation is that “even the Jain sources concerning the three later councils do not tend to relate the work of the Pāṭaliputra council to these later assemblies.”¹⁴⁴ Despite Folkert’s insights regarding the lack of continuity between the first and the latter series of councils, it nevertheless appears abundantly clear from a reading of the commentarial literature that the memory of the Pāṭaliputra council still loomed large in Jain histories as the site of the canon’s first formalization. The efforts to recover the legendary *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* and *Pūrvā* literature at the first council convened at Pāṭaliputra has, furthermore, been viewed by Jain commentators as a formative event in the founding of the community. Indeed, the first council at Pāṭaliputra highlights how the trauma of textual loss suffered by the nascent community at this time impacted the entire trajectory of their textual tradition, ultimately leading to the institutionalization of writing at the following councils. In other words, it was this early legend of famine and anxiety of erasure that would serve as the key impetus behind the scriptural enterprise of literization ensuing in the following centuries.¹⁴⁵

2.5 Early Strategies of Oral Codification: The Pāṭaliputra Redaction of Sthūlabhadra

Turning back to the fourth century BCE—when the full contents of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* were allegedly still extant—preparations had already begun for convening the first redactional council at Pāṭaliputra under the leadership of the Ācārya Sthūlabhadra. According to legend, a famine

¹⁴³ See Folkert’s “Scripture and Continuity in the Jain Tradition” (1993: 41-52).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 46. It is perhaps for this reason that Folkert refers to the much later Mathurā conference as the “first council” rather than the one conducted at Pāṭaliputra several hundred years earlier.

¹⁴⁵ The connection with food, famine, and feast in the context of Jainism has religious relevance that goes beyond the consolidation of their sacred literature. See Devdutt Pattanaik’s article “Jain Worldview is Based on Hunger and Food” in the *Economic Times* (Jan. 9, 2021) which can be found online here: <https://devdutt.com/articles/jain-worldview-is-based-on-hunger-and-food/>.

lasting twelve years had taken a terrible toll on the community of monks. In particular, the effect on the reciter lineages—the very guardians of the textual tradition—was especially catastrophic.¹⁴⁶ After the famine had subsided, the then leader of the congregation, Sthūlabhadra, ordered monks to convene at Pāṭaliputra for the purpose of once and for all codifying the twelve core canonical texts. According to Haribhadra-sūri’s (ca. 6th c. CE) account in the *Upadeśapada*, the narrative of events unfolded in the following way:¹⁴⁷

*jāo a taṃmi samae dukkāle doya dasaya varisāṇi |
savvo sāhusamūho gao tao jalahitūresu || 89 ||*

*taduvaramē so puṇaravi Pādāliputte samāgao vihiyā |
saṃgheṇa suyavisayā cintā kiṃ kassa attheti || 90 ||*

*jaṃ jassa āsi pāse uddesajjhayaṇamāi saṃghāḍiṃ |
taṃ savvaṃ ekkāraya aṅgāiṃ taheva ṭhaviāiṃ || 91 ||*

And (*a/ca*) therefore (*jāo/yataḥ*) at that time (*taṃmi samae*) during the famine (*dukkāle*) of twelve (*doya dasaya*) years (*varisāṇi*) the entire (*savvo*) assembly of monks (*sāhusamūho*) went (*gao*) to the ocean’s coast (*jalahi-tūresu*).

When [the famine] was over (*tad-uvarame/tad-uparame*, loc. sing.) they (*so*) again (*puṇaravi*) assembled (*samāgao*) by mandate (*vihiyā/vidhinā*) in Pāṭaliputra (*Pādāliputte*). The monastic organization (*saṃgheṇa*) was worried (*cintā*) regarding the matter of the sacred texts (*suya-visayā*) [thinking], “What (*kiṃ*) do they mean (*atha/artha*) [and] who (*kassa/kasya*) [knows them]?” (*iti*)

In this way (*taheva/tathaiva*) those chapters (*uddesa/uddeśya*) and sections, etc. (*ajjhayaṇamāi/adhyayanādi*) which (*jaṃ*) still remained (*āsi*) were put together (*saṃghāḍiṃ*) by those who (*jassa/yasya*) were in attendance (*pāse/pārśve*) and all (*taṃ savvaṃ*) eleven (*ekkāraya*) canonical texts (*aṅgāiṃ*) were fixed (*ṭhaviāiṃ/sthāpita*).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Cf. the traditional account of the Buddhist councils and the writing down of the Pāli Canon in the *Mahāvamśa*. A good place to start is Wilhelm Geiger’s English translation produced for the Pali Text Society, *The Mahāvamśa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), 14-50.

¹⁴⁷ Haribhadra-sūri, *Upadeśapada*, 396. Also see Hastīmala in *Jain Dharma kā Maulik Itihāsa* ([1974] 2001: 405). Here Hastīmala gives extracts of Haribhadra’s text and glossed it in Hindi. The *Upadeśapada* is not mentioned by Wiles who has done the most up to date work on the councils.

¹⁴⁸ Compare this passage with Hemacandra’s 13th c. *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (1932: 243):

A similar course of events is provided by the *Titthogāliya Painnaya* (ca. 5th-6th century CE) where it is stated that only the first eleven works were compiled at Pāṭaliputra in order starting with the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*.¹⁴⁹ This undertaking is reported to have taken several months with monks assembling various fragments of text together through oral recitation until they were deemed to be in their proper reconstituted form.

Yet when it was time to recite perhaps the most important and ancient text, the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* and its fourteen *Pūrvas*, it was discovered that there were no monks in attendance who could remember it. In fact, the situation was so dire that, according to ancient lore, by the fourth century (BCE) only one monk could communicate the full text of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* and explicate its meaning as well. That monk was the celebrated Ācārya Bhadrabāhu, the last master of all twelve texts (*śruta-kevalin*) according to Śvetāmbara lore and the purported leader of the entire order (*paṭṭadhara*).¹⁵⁰ Thus with the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* on the verge of total loss, a delegation (*saṃghāṭaka*) was sent to make an appeal to Bhadrabāhu to come to Pāṭaliputra for his assistance in reciting the text in order to finally fix and retain its contents as well as explicate their meaning. As the story goes, despite this appeal Bhadrabāhu at this time had been practicing penances in Nepal while taking refuge from the famine in Magadha. This ascetic undertaking not only prevented his attendance in Pāṭaliputra but it further prohibited him from engaging in any kind of discourse

saṃgho 'tha Pāṭalīputre duṣkālānte 'khilo 'milat | yadaṅgādhyayanoddeśādyāsīdyasya tadādade ||57|| tataścaikādaśāṅgāni śrīsaṅgho 'melayattadā | dr̥ṣṭivādanimittaṃ ca tasyau kiṃcidvicintayan ||58|| (“When the famine was over, the entire congregation of monks assembled in Pāṭalīputra, so that they could then collect the various chapters of the Limbs from whoever happened to remember them. In this way they reassembled eleven Limbs. Then they considered what to do about the twelfth, the Disputation about Views [i.e., the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*].”). Translation by Fynes (1998: 193).

¹⁴⁹ See *Titthogāliya*, ss. 721-803.

¹⁵⁰ Bhadrabāhu, the reputed author of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. In the Śvetāmbara tradition, he is considered the fifth and final *śruta-kevalin*, proceeded in order by Prabhava, Śayyambhava, Yaśobhadra, and Sambhūtavijaya.

with the other monks.¹⁵¹ It was only after he was threatened with excommunication that Bhadrabāhu conditionally complied with the order and devised a schedule for reciting and teaching the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* to the monastic officials who had been dispatched to Nepal. According to the account provided by the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī* (6th – 7th century CE):

At that time there was a famine of twelve years. [The Jaina mendicants] lived here and there on the coast, then, [after the famine] they met again in Pātaliputra. From some they gathered chapters and pieces [of texts] and so put together the eleven *Aṅgas*. The *Diṭṭivāda* did not survive. Bhadrabāhu was living in Nepal, he knew the fourteen *Pūrvas*. The *saṅgha* sent emissaries to him to say: ‘Teach [us] the *Diṭṭivāda*.’ They went and related that edict from the *saṅgha*. He replied to them: ‘Because of the famine I could not begin the *mahāprāṇa* [practice], now I have undertaken it.’ So he did not go. The emissaries returned and told the *saṅgha* this. They sent more emissaries [to ask]: ‘What is the punishment for someone who disobeys an order of the *saṅgha*?’ They went and said that. He said: ‘That one is to be expelled.’ He then said to them: ‘Do not expel me, send intelligent [students], I will give seven instructions.’¹⁵²

While the methods of recitation used to redact the texts under the direction of Bhadrabāhu in this context are not known with any certainty, here the mention of “seven instructions” in the final part of the above citation reveals a clue to some of the procedures of oral performance put in place at this time. Hemacandra’s *Pariṣiṣṭaparavan* (also known as the *Sthavirāvalicaritra*) gives some additional clues as to the nature of these “seven instructions” by providing the following brief yet intriguing mention of Bhadrabāhu’s system and schedule of recitations delivered at his retreat in Nepal.

tatraikāṃ vācanāṃ dāsye bhikṣācaryāta āgataḥ |
tisṛṣu kālavelāsu tisro ’nyā vācanāstathā || 68 ||

¹⁵¹ This vow of silence by Bhadrabāhu is here said to be a part of the so-called *mahāprāṇa* meditation he was engaged in during this time.

¹⁵² Translation by Wiles (2006: 62).

sāyāhanapratikramaṇe jāte tisro 'parāḥ punaḥ |
setsyaty evaṃ saṃghakāryaṃ matkāryasyāvibādhayā || 69 ||

(68) [When] I come back (*āgataḥ*) from taking alms (*bhikṣācaryātaḥ*) I will give (*dāsyē*) one recitation (*ekāṃ vācanām*). [Then] [I will give] three (*tisro*) more (*anyāḥ*) lessons (*vācanāḥ*) during the three (*tisṛṣu*) resting periods of the day (*kāla-velāsu*).

(69) Then (*punaḥ*), [when] the evening penance (*sāyāhana-pratikramaṇe*) has taken place (*jāte*) during the fifth watch of the day, [I will give] three (*tisro*) additional (*aparāḥ*) [recitations]. [In this way], the work of the congregation (*saṃgha-kāryaṃ*) will be accomplished (*setsyati*)¹⁵³ without the disruption (*avibādhayā*) of my own religious practices (*mat-kāryasya*).

That is to say, one recitation was to be given first after returning from the early rounds to collect food (*bhikṣā*). This would be followed by six more recitations: three during the third watch of the midday and another three during the fifth watch in the evening (*sāyāhana*) for a total of seven recitations per day.¹⁵⁴

With Bhadrabāhu's stipulations in place, the head of the council, Sthūlabhadra, and five hundred other capable monks were selected to make the journey to Nepal in order to begin the long process of orally codifying the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. The *Titthogāliya* gives one of the most embellished accounts of the great lengths that went into this endeavor:

(v. 738) From among these (*tānaṃ/teṣāṃ*) educated monks (*sikkhaga-sāhaṇa/śaikṣaka-sādhūnāṃ*) [belonging to the monastic organization], five hundred (*paṃca-sayāiṃ/pañca-śatāni*) were selected (*gahiyāiṃ/grhītāni*) who were wise

¹⁵³ √*sidh*, future, sing., 3rd pers.

¹⁵⁴ Schubring ([1935] 1962: 264) provides an account of a monk's routine duties: "Day and night are divided into four equal parts (*porisī, porusī*), their length changing according to the length of the day which, hence, has either 2, 3 or 4 *paya* [= *prahara*; watch, an eighth part of the natural day.]. On days of rest and in the night the first and fourth *porisī* are for studying the sacred texts, the second is for meditating, whereas in the daytime the third is reserved to the monk's making his round for collecting alms and in the night to sleeping. Travelling is done in the first and second *por* of the day. Such is the ground-plan into which different duties of different kind are incorporated."

(*mehāvī/medhāvinaḥ*), industrious (*ujjuttā/udyuktāḥ*), and capable of remembering and understanding (*gahaṇa-dhāraṇa-samatthā/grahaṇa-dhāraṇa-samarthāḥ*).

(v. 739) Among them (*teṣāṃ*) servants (*veyāvaccagarā/vaiyāvṛtyakarāḥ*) were appointed (*uvaṭṭhavviyā/upasthāpitāḥ*), two (*do do/dvau dvau*) for each one (*ekkekassa/ekaikasya*). [Since] they were not obligated (*apaḍivaddhā/apratibaddhāḥ*) to beg for alms (*bhikkhaṃmi/bhikṣāyāṃ*) they studied (*sikkhaṃti/sikṣante*) day and night (*diyā ya rattiṃ ca/diva ca rātraṃ ca*).¹⁵⁵

However, given the reported difficulties in grasping its esoteric language and contents, only one of the medicants, the Ācārya Sthūlabhadra, was capable of following the instruction of Bhadrabāhu. Sthūlabhadra alone accordingly remained in Nepal to persevere in the endeavor to master the *Drṣṭivāda* literature. After eight years working in the prescribed manner, Bhadrabāhu's austerities finally concluded. Both he and Sthūlabhadra were free to journey back to Pāṭaliputra to begin the final phase of redacting the *Drṣṭivāda* and its fourteen problematic *Pūrvā* sections. Taking into account the mythological and ideological underpinnings of this narrative, it is here where the didactic tale of Sthūlabhadra and his abuse of the special powers (*vidyā*) acquired through knowledge of the *Drṣṭivāda* is told. For it is said that Sthūlabhadra tested his newfound powers of knowledge by transforming himself into a lion, an act which violated Bhadrabāhu's injunction against using any kind of magic or occult power which could be attained through grasping the *Drṣṭivāda*. After being rebuked, Sthūlabhadra was punished for his insolence and Bhadrabāhu thereby refused to teach the remaining *Pūrvas* to him. However, it was ultimately resolved that Bhadrabāhu would continue to teach the additional *Pūrvā* material

¹⁵⁵ *je āsī mehāvī ujjuttā gahaṇadhāraṇasamatthā |*
tāṇaṃ paṃcasayāṃ sikkhagāsāhaṇa gahiyāṃ ||738||
veyāvaccagarā se ekkekassuvaṭṭhavviyā do do |
bhikkhaṃmi apaḍivaddhā diyā ya rattiṃ ca sikkhaṃti ||739||

on condition that Sthūlabhadra never divulge it to anyone else lest they use the power acquired through its knowledge for worldly benefit.

In this way Sthūlabhadra became the last person to be taught the complete *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*. On this point there is some difference of opinion as to whether Bhadrabāhu or Sthūlabhadra is technically the last “Knower of the fourteen *Pūrvas*” (*caturdaśapūrvadhara*). On the one hand, Sthūlabhadra can indeed be considered the last due to the fact that he was taught the entire *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*, including its fourteen *Pūrvas*, and outlived Bhadrabāhu. On the other hand, it should also be noted that Bhadrabāhu is said to have only taught Sthūlabhadra the *mūla-pāṭha* of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*, or “root-text,” meaning the base text alone without explication. In this sense, Bhadrabāhu was the last *śruta-kevalin* and *caturdaśapūrvadhara*, and not Sthūlabhadra. With the death of Bhadrabāhu in 357 BCE, an era of *daśapūrvadharas* (“Knowers of ten *Pūrvas*”) therefore began which lasted until 57 CE.¹⁵⁶

2.6 Prequels to Book Production: The Transitional Councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna

It is here at this point in the discussion of the recension of the Śvetāmbara canon where the issue of writing and its role in the redactional process first tangibly presents itself. As the era of *daśapūrvadharas* was eventually succeeded in time by the age of *Sāmānya Pūrvadharas* (“Ordinary Knowers of the *Pūrvas*,” i.e., those who had ever-decreasing levels of *Pūrvā* knowledge), three more councils would be held in the following centuries to forestall the ongoing loss of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* corpus.¹⁵⁷ These councils were convened in two locations, one in Mathurā and two in Vallabhī (referred hereafter as “Vallabhī I” and “Vallabhī II”) under the

¹⁵⁶ Hastīmala ([1974] 2001: 589).

¹⁵⁷ According to Hastīmala, the *Sāmānya Pūrvadhara* era lasts from 57 CE to 527 CE.

respective direction of the monks Skandila (Mathurā), Nāgārjuna (Vallabhī I), and Devarddhigaṇi (Vallabhī II).¹⁵⁸ While the final council held at Vallabhī under the direction of Devarddhigaṇi will be of primary concern here concerning the process of literization and scripturalization of the sacred canon, it is nevertheless first necessary to unpack accounts made with regard to the Skandila and Nāgārjuna councils and the methods of redaction which were employed by them.

According to various accounts, the Mathurā and Vallabhī I councils were both jointly convened around 300-350 CE in these two respective Jain centers located in the north and west of India.¹⁵⁹ Once again, a famine is said to have decimated the members of the mendicant ranks leading to new proceedings to salvage sacred works as texts at this time were still apparently maintained by oral-memorial methods of recitation by living interlocutor monks. Here again the question arises as to which texts were redacted and what methods were used in the redactional process. While the core set of twelve canonical works had been scaled down to eleven due to the extinction of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*, additional sets of canonical and extra-canonical texts had nevertheless been forged in the centuries since the time of Bhadrabāhu and Sthūlabhadra at Pāṭaliputra.¹⁶⁰ This growth of the Śvetāmbara canon would have made the work of redaction at Mathurā and Vallabhī an even much greater endeavor.

¹⁵⁸ Mathurā is located in the modern state of Uttar Pradesh and Vallabhī in Gujarat. The wide geographical distribution of the two *vācanās* demonstrate the broad dispersal of Jain communities in northern and western India at the beginning of the Common Era.

¹⁵⁹ These dates are based on Dundas (1992: 70-73) and Folkert (1993: 46). Royce Wiles (2006: 67) calls Dundas' analysis of the councils "perhaps the best contemporary formulation of the academic position regarding the councils." Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 57), holds that these councils were held between Vīr Saṃvat 827 and 840 (300 CE and 313 CE), yet he does not produce any evidence for these dates. Also see Punyavijay's "Jain Citra Kalpa Druma" (16) where he gives the same dates as Kapadia (i.e., AV 827 to 840/300 CE to 313 CE).

¹⁶⁰ As it has been previously alluded to, the first source (the *Suhabohasāmāyārī*) to mention a complete list of 12 *Upāṅgas* only dates back to the 12th century CE. The *Nandī Sūtra*, on the other hand, offers a

In order to reconstruct the procedures put in place to codify texts at these later conferences, original source materials by members of the old order remain one of the few keys to trace the transition from oral to written forms of textual practice. These original materials, however, are far from being completely reliable accounts of these events. As Royce Wiles has shown in his skillful analysis tracing the dates of the councils, there is nothing certain about the historicity of these events as they are described in later literature. The descriptions found in various Jain commentaries should not, then, be taken as authoritative accounts of historical events. The material is further largely composite, conventionalized, and composed at a time far removed from the events themselves. Here the narrative frame of famine, the loss of textual knowledge, and the subsequent attempts at recovery by resurgent monks appears to have been modeled on the largely legendary account of the Pāṭaliputra conference. In any case, a survey of the commentaries furnishes information regarding how the tradition itself chronicled the development of their sacred canonical works and their continued efforts to construct a reliable repository of sacred knowledge to guide the community into the future.

While very little is known about these two high-ranking monks, the names Skandila and Nāgārjuna find their first mention in a list of monastic elders (*sthavīrāvali*) found in the *Nandī Sūtra*.¹⁶¹ Additional information regarding their work as “reciter-redactors” (*vācaka*) can be found in the *Nandī Sūtra Cūrṇī*, a secondary commentary (*cūrṇī*)¹⁶² on the *Nandī Sūtra* by

list of works which, according to Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 32), “tally with those of all the 12 (or 13) *Uvaṅgas* (*Upāṅgas*). If these works are identical, these *Uvaṅgas* are at least as old as the *Nandī*.” While the exact date of the *Nandī Sūtra* is not known, a commentary on it (the *Nandī Sūtra cūrṇī* of Jinadāsa) can be dated to 676 CE, which only proves that it existed sometime before this date.

¹⁶¹ See the above footnote for information on the *Nandī Sūtra*. For Malayagiri’s Sanskrit *ṭīkā* (which seems to mostly gloss Jinadāsa’s Prākṛit *cūrṇī*), see Kalyāṇvijay Gani’s *Vīr Nirvāṇ Saṃvat aur Jain Kāl Gaṇanā* (2000: 108).

¹⁶² In Jain scholastics, a *cūrṇī* is a type of commentary composed in prose in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit. This class of commentarial literature generally dates to around the 7th century CE.

Jinadāsa dated to 676 CE and therefore one of the oldest extant sources describing these two councils.¹⁶³ Here, as was the case with accounts of the Pāṭaliputra conference, the terms *durbhikṣā* and *subhikṣā* are deployed in such a way as to suggest both literal and “scriptural” states of famine and flourish:

*ucyate bārasasaṃvaccarie mahante dubbhikkhakāle bhataṭṭhā aṇṇaṇṇato phiḍitāṇāṃ gahaṇagahaṇāṇṇuppehābhāvato sute vippanaṭṭhe puṇo subhikkha-kāle jāte Madhurāe mahante sāhu-samudae Khandilāyariyappahuha-saṃgheṇa “jo jaṃ saṃbharai” tti evaṃ saṃghaḍitaṃ Kāliyasutaṃ | jamhā ya eyaṃ “Madhurā vāyaṇā” bhaṇṇati |*¹⁶⁴

Wiles’ translation of this section reads:

It is said, there was a time of profound and difficult famine [*dubbhikkha-kāle*] for twelve years, because [the ascetics] were again and again (*aṇṇaṇṇato* = *anyānya-taḥ?*) lapsing [from the rules] for the sake of food, scriptural learning (*suta*) perished through the absence of understanding (*gahaṇa/grahaṇa*), text-work (*gahaṇā*), [and] *aṇuppeha* [?]. Then in the time of plenty of food [*subhikkha-kāle*] in Mathurā there was a great meeting of ascetics with the faithful, headed by Ācārya Khandila (Skt. Skandila), saying: ‘Who remembers whatever [let them recount that for us].’ Thus the *Kāliyasuta* [texts] were gathered. Because this was done in Mathurā it is said to be the Mathurā recension...¹⁶⁵

The final lines of the above extract are of interest with regard to methods of redaction. While Wiles’ interpretation of the phrase “*jo jaṃ saṃbharai*” here foregrounds oral-memorial forms of transmission (“He who *remembers* whatever...”), the verb used in Jinadāsa’s text (*saṃbharati*) can also have the basic meaning of “to arrange” or “compose.” This latter sense of the verb makes it more ambiguous as to whether *saṃbharati* here refers to the action of oral or written forms of redaction. The commentator Malayagiri’s (ca. 1093-1193 CE) interpretation of these

¹⁶³ The primary sources for information on the Mathurā and Vallabhī *vācanās* are: the *Nandī Sūtra* of Devavācaka and its principal commentaries (Jinadāsa’s *Nandī Cūrṇī*, Haribhadra’s *Nandī-sūtra Laghu Vṛtti*, and Malayagiri’s *Nandī-sūtra vṛtti*), Hemacandra’s commentary on the *Yogaśāstra*, Malayagiri’s *Jośakaraṇḍaka*, and Bhadreśvara’s *Kahāvalī*.

¹⁶⁴ Citation from Kapadi ([1941] 2000: 57).

¹⁶⁵ Translation by Wiles (2006: 70).

events in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Nandī Sūtra* reads almost identical to Jinadāsa's, but with a major proviso being his explicit use of *smarati* (remembers) instead of Jinadāsa's more ambiguous *saṃbharati* (composes): *yo yat smarati, sa tat kathayatītyevaṃ kālika-śrutam pūrva-gataṃ ca kiṃcid anusandāya ghaṭitaṃ...* (“Whoever could remember whatever, let him speak (*kathayati*)...”). Based on the interpretation of Malayagiri, Jinadāsa's intended meaning of *saṃbharati* would here then seem to imply a *memoria technica* rather than a mode of retrieval through consulting any kind of written record. On the basis of Malayagiri's statements found in the *Nandī Sūtra cūrṇi*, then, the evidence remains ambiguous as to whether writing was introduced here during this period as a redactional tool in the ongoing recension process.

The *Kahāvalī* of Bhadreśvara (c. 12th c. CE) similarly casts the tropes of famine (*dukkāla*) and feast (*sukāla*) as the narrative frame of his account of textual loss and recovery:¹⁶⁶

atthi Mahurā-urīe suya-samidhho Khaṃdilo nāma sūrī | tahā Valahī-nayarīe Nāgajjuṇo nāma sūrī | tehi ya jāe [bārasa]¹⁶⁷-varisie dukkāle nivvāhābhāvaṃ vipphuṭṭim kāūṇa pesiyā disodisim sāhavo | gamium ca kahavi dutthaṃ te puṇo miliyā sugāle, jāva sajjhāyemti tāva khaṇḍa-khuruḍḍhūyam puṇvāhiyam | tao mā suyavocchittī hoi tti pāraddho sūrīhim siddhant-uddhāro | tattha vi jaṃ na vīsariyam taṃ taheva saṃthaviyam | pamhuṭṭha-thāṇe uṇa puṇvāvaraveḍaṃtasuttatthāṇusārao kayā saṃghaḍaṇā | tao vivaraṇakārehiṃ pi Nāgajjuṇiyā uṇa evaṃ paḍhaṃti tti sammuliṃgiyā tahev' Āyārāi-suttesu so darisio tti.¹⁶⁸

In the town of Mathurā (*Mahurā-urīe*) there was (*atthi*) the preceptor named Skandila. In like manner (*tahā*), in the city of Vallabhī (*Valahī-nayarīe*) was the preceptor named Nāgārjuna. When the famine (*dukkāle*) of twelve years (*bārasa-varisie*) happened (*jāe*), having suffered greatly (*vipphuṭṭim kāūṇa/vispandaṃ kṛtvā*), and out of a determination to stay alive (*nivvāhā-bhāvaṃ/nirvāha-bhāvāt*), day by day (*disodisim*) monks

¹⁶⁶ Jacobi (1932: xiii) refers to Bhadreśvari's *Kahāvalī* as “scarcely more than a collection of disconnected materials for the history of the Śvetāmbara church, culled from the ample literature of *cūrṇīs* and *ḥikas*.” Also see Wiles (2006: 72).

¹⁶⁷ I insert *bārasa* (twelve) occurs here on the basis of an extract supplied by Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 57, fn. 6).

¹⁶⁸ *Kahāvalī of Bhadreswarsūri II (paḍhama-pariccheassa bīo khaṃḍo)*. Edited by Muni Kalyāṇakīrti Vijaya (Ahmedabad: Hemacandrācārya Navam Janmasatābdi Smṛti Saṃskār śikṣānidhi, 2016), 338. Also see Puṇyavijaya (1936: 16).

(*sāhavo/sādhavaḥ*) were sent away (*pesiyā/preṣitāḥ*) by them (*tehi*) (i.e., Skandila and Nāgārjuna). [Although almost all of them] had left (*gamium/gatvā*), at the time when food became abundant (*sugāle/sukāle*), somehow (*kahavi/kathamapi*) with great difficulty (*duttham*) they (*te*) managed to get back together (*miliyā*) again (*puṇo*). [Their intention was this:] as much as (*jāva*) they could study (*sajjhāyanti/svadyāyanti*), that much (*tāva*) [of the sacred canon] was to be pieced back together (*khaṇḍa-akhuruḍḍhūyaṃ/khaṇḍa-akhaṇḍībhūtam?*)¹⁶⁹ as it had been previously recited (*puvva-āhiyaṃ/pūrva-adhītam*).¹⁷⁰ They thus (*tao*) declared “We shall not (*mā*) let the sacred texts become destroyed (*suya-vocchittī hoi tti/śruta-vyavacchitti bhavati iti*). [And so] the uplifting of the sacred literature (*siddhanta-uddhāro/siddhānt’-oddhāraḥ*) was initiated (*pāraddho/prārabdhaḥ*) by these preceptors (*sūrīhiṃ*). Right there (*tattha vi/tatrāpi*), whatever (*jaṃ*) had not been forgotten (*na vīsariyaṃ*) was put into fixed order (*saṃthaviyaṃ/saṃsthāpitam*). Then (*uṇa/punaḥ*) when there were segments of texts which could not be remembered (*pamhuṭṭha-ṭhāṇe/prasmita-sthāne*) they were caused (*kayā/kṛtā*) to be joined together (*saṃghaḍaṇā/saṅghaṭanā*) with segments of previous other sacred texts (*puvva-avara-veḍamta*)¹⁷¹-*sutta-ttha-aṇusārao/purva-anya-viṣṭi-sūtra-stha-anusārāt*). As a result (*tao*) the “Nāgārjuna” recension (*Nāgajjuṇīyā*) was marked (*sammulimḡiyā*) [as a variant to the Skandila recension] and recited by those interpreting the works (*vivarāṇa-kārehiṃ*). In this way (*taheva*), with regard to the *sūtras* beginning with the *Ācāraṅga* (*Āyāra-ai-suttasu*), they were all explained (*darisio/darṣita*).

According to this extract from the *Kahāvalī*, it was the memorial mechanics of oral transmission that were still thought to have been in force during the time of the Mathurā and Vallabhī (I) conferences rather than written transcription. Or at least it was according to the reimagination of the event as it was recollected during the time of Bhadrēśvara much later in the twelfth century.

Another source to mention the Skandila and Nāgārjuna councils is the commentary on the *Joīsakaraṇḍaga* by Malayagiri (fl. 12th century CE):

iha hi Skandilācārya-pravṛttau duṣṣamānubhāvato durbhikṣapravṛtṭyā sādḥūnām paṭhanaguṇanādikaṃ sarvam apy aneśat | tato durbhikṣātikrame subhikṣapravṛttau

¹⁶⁹ *akkhuḍia* वि अखण्डित संपूर्ण, अखण्ड, त्रुटिरहित. (Seth)

¹⁷⁰ *puvva-āhiya?* > *puvva* + *āhiya* (-*adhīta*), *pahile paḍhāhuā*. That which was read formerly. (Ratnacandra, *Sacitra Ardhamāgadhī Koṣa*, 620).

¹⁷¹ *veḍamta?* > *viṭṭhi* [विष्टि] ? कर्म, काज, काम. (Seth)

dvayoḥ saṃghayor melāpako 'bhavat | tadyathā – eko Valabhyām eko Mathurāyām | tatra ca sūtrārthasaṃghaṭane parasparam vācanābhedo jātaḥ |¹⁷²

Here, beginning with Skandila, comprehending the era of decline, [and] because of the protracted famine, emphasis was placed upon the mendicant's reciting (*paṭhana*) and repetition (*guṇana*) [of the texts]. Therefore, when the time of scarcity was over (*durbhikṣātikrame*), [and] beginning in the time of abundance (*subhikṣaprayattau*), there was an assembly of both monastic groups; namely, one in Vallabhī and one in Mathurā. On that occasion, different readings (*vācanā-bhedo*) arose with regard to the organization and meaning of the *sūtras*.

As it is mentioned in the citation above, the councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna are said to have produced two variant recensions of the Śvetāmbara canon. This variance would lead to the final council at Vallabhī (II) presided over by Devarddhigaṇi in the following years where the Skandila recension would be chosen to serve as the basis for the final arrangement of the canon. Textual variants furnished by the Nāgārjuna recension would accordingly be deposited in commentarial literature such as the *cūrṇī* texts for consultation by scholastics.¹⁷³ In the final analysis of these two councils, Dundas writes “it is clear that the Mathurā version of Skandila...constituted a first ‘official’ version of the scriptures since all the medieval commentators quote readings from Nāgārjuna’s recitation only as variants.”¹⁷⁴

What still remains unclear, however, from these accounts is whether writing was ever instituted at the Skandila and Nāgārjuna councils during the period of 300-350 CE. Yet a clue to answering this question can be found in a commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Yogaśāstra* authored by Hemacandra (fl. 12th c. CE). While Royce Wiles is correct in reporting that Hemacandra’s work here largely borrows from other commentaries beginning with the *Nandī Cūrṇī* of Jinadāsa (cited

¹⁷² Original Prākṛit text cited from Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 57).

¹⁷³ See J.C. Jain (2004: 84). See fn. 16 for a list of commentarial texts which contain the variant readings of Nāgārjuna.

¹⁷⁴ Dundas (1992: 71).

above, pp. 96-98), as well as others commentarial works such as the *Nandī Sūtra Laghu Vṛtti* of Haribhadra (fl. 8th c. CE), he nevertheless misses a major point that separates Hemacandra's account from all the others. This is Hemacandra's unambiguous reference to the implementation of writing at the Mathurā and Vallabhī (I) councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna:

*Jinavacanam ca duṣṣamākāla-vaśād uccinnaprāyaṃ iti matvā bhagavadbhir Nāgārjuna-Skandalācāryaprabhṛtibhiḥ pustakeṣu nyastam.*¹⁷⁵

The words of the Jina (*Jina-vacana*) generally (*prāyaṃ*) became degraded (*uccinna*) due to the period of famine (*duṣṣamākāla-vaśād*). Thinking this (*iti matvā*), [the Jina's words] were fixed (*nyasta*) in books (*pustakeṣu*) by the Ācāryas beginning with the illustrious Nāgārjuna and Skandila (*bhagavadbhir Nāgārjuna-Skandalācārya-prabhṛtibhiḥ*).

Hemacandra's unequivocal attribution to Skandila and Nāgārjuna with introducing programs of literization (written transcription) in the redaction process is indeed novel. At the same time, caution should be exercised concerning the veracity of his account as it was produced perhaps some five to six hundred years after the events in question. Moreover, the mythical clearly mingles with the historical in Hemacandra's chronicle of events. Regardless of these reservations, Hemacandra's mention of books in use at the Skandila and Nāgārjuna conferences remains significant in terms of how the later scholastic tradition reimagined the beginnings of their bibliographical past.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, it seems more than likely that by the time these intermediary councils were held in the fifth or sixth century CE there certainly would have been ample knowledge of writing and manuscript making, especially in a highly literate monastic-

¹⁷⁵ Cited from Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 57). Also see the citation in Kalyāṇvijay Gaṇi's *Vīr Nirvāṇ Saṃvat* (2000: 110) where he cites it as being from the "*Yogaśāstra Prakāśa* 3 patra 207."

¹⁷⁶ While Wiles (2006: 72) correctly notes the reference to writing at these transitional councils by Hemacandra in the *Yogaśāstra*, at the same time, he appears to overlook the significance of the reference, declaring that Hemacandra "merely says that the Āgamas were written down by Skandila and Nāgārjuna." I conversely want to highlight that the reference to writing here stands out as an important detail in our attempt to reconstruct when and where writing was first programmatically implemented.

mercantile community such as the Śvetāmbara Jains. Hemacandra’s mention of books in use at the Mathurā council should therefore not be entirely ruled out as an anachronism or poetic fancy.

2.7 Devarddhigaṇi and the Second Council of Vallabhī

Despite whatever progress in codifying canonical texts was achieved at the councils headed by Skandila and Nāgārjuna, it is the third and final conference once again convened at Vallabhī under Devarddhigaṇi in the fifth or sixth century CE which has been memorialized by the tradition as the site of the first complete written compilation of the Śvetāmbara corpus of canonical works (*siddhānta*).¹⁷⁷ Among the various versions of the Śvetāmbara canon that have been put forward, it is the reputed recension of Devarddhigaṇi that has attained an authoritative and legendary status within the tradition and has been retained ever since.¹⁷⁸ In terms of the trajectory of the textual tradition, by finally having the old oral texts systematically recorded in written form, Devarddhigaṇi could be said to occupy perhaps the most important position in the

¹⁷⁷ There have been a number of proposals regarding the dating of this final council. In summary, Jacobi (1879) was the first to speculate on the dating of the Vallabhī II council of Devarddhigaṇi and bases his two dates of 454 CE and 514 CE on two different calendrical conversions for Mahāvīra’s *nirvāṇa*. He argues that the “date 980 A.V. corresponds with 454 of our Era, on the supposition that at that time the Nirvāṇa was placed 470 [years] before Vikrama. But if at that time the older tradition by means of which we have adjusted the date of the Nirvāṇa, was still in use, the corresponding year of our Era would be 514 A.D.” See Jacobi (1879: 15). In other words, he arrives at the date of 454 CE by subtracting the traditional date of Mahāvīra’s *nirvāṇa* (526/527 BC) from the inscribed date of the recension (980 AV), or 980-526=454. He also apparently arrives at the number 514 by subtracting Hemacandra’s proposed date for the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra (467 CE) from the date of the redaction (980 AV), or 980-467=513/514.

Weber (1893: 4), in “Sacred Literature of the Jains,” converts the dates differently and claims that the final councils were convened in either 543 CE (or 556 CE if we take 993 AV into consideration). Charpentier (1922: 16) places the final council in 526 CE; Schubring (1926: 1) proposes the last council was convened in 500-525 CE. Folkert (1993: 46) holds that the Skandila and Nāgārjuna conferences were held in c. 350 CE while that of Devarddhigaṇi in c. 500 CE. Dundas (1992: 71) proposes a date of 160 AV (367 BCE) for the first council under Sthūlabhadra at Pāṭaliputra, 827 AV (300 CE) for Skandila and Nāgārjuna, and c. 500 CE-550 CE for Devarddhigaṇi. For the most up to date analysis of these dates see Wiles, “The Dating of the Jaina Councils” in Peter Flügel (ed.) *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 61-85.

¹⁷⁸ Given the fact that there are no written records or other kinds of evidence to demonstrate what this codified canon looked like in the time of Devarddhigaṇi, there is no way of knowing whether the current arrangement of the texts matches the one established at the Vallabhī II council.

historical development of Jain scriptures. In order to reconstruct the history of writing in this context, the dating of Devarddhigaṇi's Vallabhī II council is therefore crucial. Evidence for the date of this council is furnished by a single source, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the principal subject of this dissertation and hence a text having special significance with respect to writing, manuscript culture, and the overall enterprise of scripturalization. For it is here in this work at the conclusion of the biography of Mahāvīra that the following post-script has been curiously inserted:

samaṇassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa jāva savva-dukkā-ppahīṇassa nava vāsa-sayāiṃ viikkamṭāiṃ, dasamassa ya vāsa-sayassa ayaṃ asīme saṃvacchare kale gacchai, vāyāṇamtare puna: ayaṃ teṇaue saṃvacchare kāle gacchai iti |¹⁷⁹

Nine (*nava*) hundred (*sayāiṃ*, *n. pl./śataka*) years (*vāsa/varṣa*) have passed (*viikkamṭāiṃ/vikrānta*) since (*jāva/yāvat*) Bhagavān Mahāvīra was liberated from all pain (*savva-dukkā-ppahīṇassa/sarva-duḥkha-prahīṇasya*) and (*ya*) this (*ayaṃ*) [is the] 80th (*asīme/asītītama*) year (*saṃvacchare kāle*) of the 10th (*dasamassa/dasamasya*) century (*vāsa-sayassa/varṣa-śataka*) [that] is passing (*gacchai*) [i.e., 980 AV].

But (*puna*) according to another redaction/reading (*vāyāṇamtare/vācaṇā*¹⁸⁰-*antare*), it is seen (*dīsai/dr̥ṣyate*) [that] this (*ayaṃ*) [century] is in the 93rd (*te-ṇaue/tri-navatau*) year (*saṃvacchare kāle/saṃvatsare kāle*) [i.e. 993 AV].¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Jacobi (1879: 67).

¹⁸⁰ A key point in looking at these commentaries will be to determine the precise meaning of the word *vācanā* and its derivatives. For example, the commentators seem to use the terms *vācaṇā*, *vācanā*, *vācana*, *vacana* to describe activities associated with either reading, oral recitation, or written redaction. Some of the standard dictionary renderings of these words are the following: *vācana*, n. the causing to recite; the act of reciting, recitation; the act of reading; the act of declaring or designating; (*ā*) f. a lesson, chapter (MW); *vāyaṇā/vācanā* स्त्री [वाचना] १ पठन , गुरु- समीपे अध्ययन (उप २९ , १) २ अध्यापन , पढ़ाना (सम १०६ ; उव) ३ व्याख्यान (पव ६४) ४ सूत्र-पाठ (कप्प) (Seth, *Pāia Sadda Māhaṇavo*); *vācanā*, (f.) [fr. *vāceti*] recitation, reading; °*magga* way of recitation, help for reading, division of text [into chapters or paragraphs] (*Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*)

¹⁸¹ Mukund Lāth's translation (1984: 207) reads: "Nine full centuries have now passed since Bhagavān Mahāvīra attained liberation and passed away into a state beyond all pain. Of the tenth century, the current year is the eightieth [= 980 AV]. According to another reading, however, the current year is the ninety-third [= 993 AV]."

This brief block of text thus records two dates which denote some significant yet unspecified event: firstly, “980 AV” (“of the tenth century this is the eightieth year”) which corresponds to 453/454 CE; and secondly, “993 AV” corresponding to 466/467 CE.¹⁸² Jain commentators on the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well as modern scholars have speculated on the meaning of these appended dates. The first and earliest source musing on the date is Jinaprabhasūri’s *Sandehaviṣṭasādhī* (“Antidote for the Poison of Doubt”), the oldest surviving complete commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* dated to 1307 CE. On the basis of earlier commentaries (unnamed), Jinaprabhasūri supplies a number of possible meanings for these two dates. In short, Jinaprabhasūri’s first interpretation is that the chief redactor Devarddhigaṇi himself has composed this *sūtra* at the time of the Vallabhī II council and inserted it at the end of the story of Mahāvīra to mark the official moment of inscription of the *Kalpa Sūtra* along with the rest of the sacred works that were codified through writing and put into book-form. This directly links either the composition or compilation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* with the written codification of the full canon. With regard to crediting Devarddhigaṇi with the actual composition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Jacobi remarks that “[I]t needs hardly be remarked that the passages containing the dates 980 and 993 AV do not refer to the author [of the *Kalpasūtra*, Bhadrabāhu], but to Devarddhigaṇin, the editor of the *Kalpasūtra*.”¹⁸³ In subsequent comments dated a few years later, he appears less certain and holds that the dates could also refer to the preceding council held at Mathurā under Skandila.¹⁸⁴

Yet the question persists as to why two dates, 980 AV and 993 AV, are here recorded if the addendum was inserted by the chief redactor/editor Devarddhigaṇi at the time of the Vallabhī

¹⁸² See Appendix 3 for a fuller discussion of this “addendum” or “postscript” found at the end of the *Mahāvīra Caritra* in the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

¹⁸³ Jacobi (1879: 23) and (1884: 270). Also see Wiles (2006: 70).

¹⁸⁴ Jacobi (1884: 270).

II council. Although Jacobi never explicitly addresses the issue, it seems clear that the notation of two dates may reflect some sort of doctrinal dispute among the redactors concerning the calculation of years since Mahāvīra's passing in relation to the time of the recension rather than any uncertainty on the part of Devarddhigaṇi himself.¹⁸⁵ To support this view, I cite H. Kapadia who, despite not acknowledging the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the source of these two dates, has commented that during the second conference held at Vallabhī, “[I]t appears that the Skāndilīyas [i.e., the followers of Skandila] who had attended this council believed that this Redaction of the Jaina canon could be dated as Vīra Saṃvat 980 whereas the Nāgārjunīyas [i.e., followers of Nāgārjuna] said that the correct date was Vīra Saṃvat 993. Thus this difference had its origin in the fact that some saints thought that 980 years had then elapsed since the *nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra, whereas others thought that 993 years had elapsed.”¹⁸⁶ The attribution of possible contention between the supporters of Skandila and Nāgārjuna at the later Devarddhigaṇi council is at least credible given the rivalry which attended the simultaneous yet separately held councils previously convened in Mathurā and Vallabhī by their respective lineage leaders Skandila and Nāgārjuna. Taking into account that these two earlier councils also produced divergent recensions of the canon further lends support to the idea of potential antagonism between their rival supporters. Furthermore, it is noted by later commentators that the Mathurā version of the canon of Skandila was ascribed a higher status than the one produced by Nāgārjuna, a situation which likely resulted in the formation of divisions between rival ‘Skāndilīyas’ and ‘Nāgārjunīyas.’ The authority conferred upon the Mathurā recension of Skandila can also be seen in the general acceptance of 980 AV (453 CE) as the date of the Devarddhigaṇi council rather

¹⁸⁵ In this context, J.C. Jain states (2004: 58-59) that “[A]ccording to Ārya Skandila, this council was convened 980 years after Mahāvīra's death, whereas in the opinion of Nāgārjuna it was after 993 years.”

¹⁸⁶ Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 58).

than 993 AV, the dates which respectively correspond with the supporters of Skandila and Nāgārjuna. On the authority conferred to the Mathurā recension Kapadia says, “Practically the entire Jaina canonical literature was written according to the version of the Mathurā council, as a connected link.”¹⁸⁷ J.C. Jain goes so far as to claim that Devarddhigaṇi was himself an attendee at the earlier Mathurā conference and that Skandila and Nāgārjuna also attended his later council. He writes, “Since Devarddhigaṇi was a distinguished scholar of the Māthura *saṃgha*, naturally he accepted the Māthurī version of the Canon. The council at Vallabhī held under his presidentship was attended by both Ārya Skandila and Nāgārjuna and other prominent scholars of the age.” Yet J.C. Jain provides no sources for these claims which appear to contradict the timeline of events since the councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna were more than likely held at least one hundred and fifty years prior to the council of Devarddhigaṇi. Weber, on the basis of unnamed sources, conjectures that the date of 993 AV recorded in the *Kalpa Sūtra* in fact refers to the Mathurā council of Skandila, and that the earlier date of 980 AV references the second council of Vallabhī under Devarddhigaṇi.¹⁸⁸ This chronology placing Devarddhigaṇi prior to Skandila, however, is completely out of sync with the reported *floruit* of each leader.

There are thus at least two positions with regard to the meaning of the dates “980 AV” and “993 AV” as they apply to the dating of the councils. First, they record the different dates which were advocated by the supporters of Skandila (980 AV) and Nāgārjuna (993 AV) during time of the Devarddhigaṇi recension. Again, the contention here must revolve around disputed calendrical calculations for Mahāvīra’s *nirvāṇa* with respect to the date of the Vallabhī II council when they were allegedly inserted into the *Kalpa Sūtra* by Devarddhigaṇi. Second, the dates may

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 59.

¹⁸⁸ Weber (1893: 4).

conversely refer to the councils of Devarddhigaṇi (980 AV) and Skandila (993 AV). This chronology of events, however, would then necessarily attribute the insertion of the addendum to Skandila rather than Devarddhigaṇi. The positioning of Skandila as the chief redactor of the Śvetāmbara canon rather than Devarddhigaṇi, however, would seem to contradict not only the tradition's own account of these events but also much of the evidence found in the textual record. For example, internal evidence preserved within the text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* such as the chronology of patriarchs (*Sthavirāvalī*) enumerated in the second section may help to not only periodize the production of this text but also aid in the identification of agents involved in the overall project to compile the entire corpus of canonical texts. This list neither mentions Skandila nor Nāgārjuna but does conclude with a hymn to Devarddhigaṇi, a compelling feature which may demonstrate that the final compilation was most likely produced under his direction rather than Skandila.¹⁸⁹

2.8 The “Installation of the Book” (*Pustakārohaṇa*)

Based upon the above available evidence, it is feasible to grant that Devarddhigaṇi was the chief redactor at the Vallabhī II council and that this recension took place sometime around the middle of the fifth or sixth centuries of the Common Era (450 CE-550 CE). At this point, then, beyond the speculation on dates, an inquiry into the editorial practices put into place for redacting the texts at this time is needed, namely whether writing was instituted here at this council as the new primary mode of textual transmission. The oldest remarks regarding this final council headed by Devarddhigaṇi are all found in commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* where the

¹⁸⁹ Other earlier lists of patriarchs—such as one found at the beginning of the aforementioned *Nandī Sūtra*—do mention the names Skandila and Nāgārjuna. I deconstruct this lineage of elders as well as the one found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* in Chapter 5.6.

dates “980” and “993” (AV) are being discussed. These commentaries are, to name just a few, Jinaprabhasūri’s *Sandehaviṣauśadhi* (14th c.), Vinayavijaya’s *Subodhikā* (17th c.), Dharmasāgara’s *Kiraṇāvalī* (17th c.), and Lakṣmīvallabha’s *Kalpadrūmakalika* (18th c.).

The earliest available account of the Vallabhī II council is Jinaprabhasūri’s aforementioned commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* known as the *Sandehaviṣauśadhi* (1307 CE). Jinaprabhasūri’s work itself is largely composite and so must be seen as more than likely derived from an earlier stratum of commentary. His work therefore reproduces the standard scholastic account of earlier generations of Jain commentators going back to the *cūrṇīs* (sub-commentaries, ca. 4th-7th centuries CE). Jinaprabhasūri’s first mention of writing and the name Devarddhigaṇi appears in the section of his text where the meaning of the dates “980 AV” and “993 AV” are being unraveled. Here he assigns Devarddhigaṇi with the task of converting the canon of sacred oral texts into written scriptures:

iyati kāle gate iyaṃ vācanā pustakeṣu nyaste ’ti saṃbhāvyate.

Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇair hi śrīVīranīrvāṇān navasu varṣa-śateṣv aśītyuttareṣv atīteṣu granthān vyavacchidyamānān dṛṣṭvā sarvagranthānām...granthāḥ pustakeṣu likhitā.

It is believed (*saṃbhāvyate*) [that] at this time (*iyati kāle gate*) [980 AV] this recitation (*iyaṃ vācanā*) was fixed (*nyaste*) into books (*pustakeṣu*).

For (*hi*) texts (*granthāḥ*) were written (*likhitā*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) by Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇa (*Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇair*) when 900 years (*navasu varṣa-śateṣv*) [and] 80 (*aśīty-uttareṣv*) had passed (*atīteṣu*) [from] the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra after he saw (*dṛṣṭvā*) texts (*granthān*) becoming degraded (*vyavacchidyamānān*)...

Jinaprabhasūri next praises Devarddhigaṇi for instituting the practice of producing written textbooks for instructional use by monastics who previously had to rely on memory alone:

pūrvam tu guruśiṣyānām śrutādhyayanādhyāpanavyavahārah pustakanirapekṣa evā 'sīt

Prior to this (*pūrvam tu*), with regard to teachers and students (*guru-śiṣyānām*), there was (*āsīt*) the practice of studying and teaching [only] by means of oral texts (*śruta-adhyayana-adhyāpana-vyavahārah*) [and] without reference to books (*pustaka-nirapekṣa eva*).¹⁹⁰

Jinaprabhasūri thus assigns to Devarddhigaṇi the revolutionary role of not only regenerating the textual tradition but also inspiring the pedagogical practices undergirding the continuity of that tradition as well. These remarks by Jinaprabhasūri make his *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi* one of the first known commentaries on record to explicitly cast Devarddhigaṇi as the editor in charge of the ambitious program to consolidate the canon into a catalogue of written scriptures sometime during the middle of the first millennium.

Following Jinaprabhasūri's *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*, the next work to comment on the activities of Devarddhigaṇi is another commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the *Subodhikā* (1559 CE) of Vinayavijaya. Again, while this work—like most commentarial texts—is far removed from the events it chronicles, it nevertheless provides an important account of the way scholastics understood the beginnings of book-culture within their own tradition. Moreover, despite the time-lag between the original event and its subsequent commentarial elaboration, scholastic chronicles such as the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi* and *Subodhikā* are replete with citations from earlier commentators and therefore can give us glimpses of lost layers of commentary composed closer to the time of the events. For example, in the section of the *Subodhikā* commenting on the key dates mentioned above (980 and 993 AV) —and rather than speculating on the matter himself—Vinayavijaya cites a much earlier commentary in Prākṛit by an unknown author which connects

¹⁹⁰ Jacobi (1879: 15), discussing this passage, comments that after Devarddhigaṇi, the mendicants “...used books, and so they do now when delivering their lessons in the *upāśrayas* [monastic abode].”

the year 980 AV (ca. 453 CE) to the moment the Śvetāmbara canon was converted into physical scriptures.¹⁹¹ The citation selected by Vinayavijaya reads:

*Vallahīpurammi nayare Devaḍḍhippamuhasayalasaṃghehiṃ |
putthe āgama lihio nava ya asīyāo Vīrāo ||*

“In the town of Vallabhī (*Vallahī-purammi*), the sacred texts (*āgama*) were written (*lihio/likhita*) in books (*putthe/pustakeṣu*) by the entire order headed by Devarddhi (*Devadḍhi-ppamuha-sayala-saṃghehiṃ/Devarddhi-pramukha-sakala-saṃghaiḥ*) nine-hundred and eighty years after Mahāvīra (*nava ya asīyāo Vīrāo*).”

One thing striking about the extract given here by Vinayavijaya is its language, an older style of Prākṛit that clearly seems to predate the aforementioned Sanskrit commentary of Jinaprabhasūri (*Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*). Thus, while Jinaprabhasūri’s mention of Devarddhigaṇi in the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi* can be said to be the first known commentarial text to explicitly assign him as the chief editor of the written redaction of the canon, it is in fact Vinayavijaya who has furnished what appears to be the earliest reference to Devarddhigaṇi and his role as redactor at Vallabhī by means of a citation from an even earlier text.

It is also here in the same section of the *Subodhikā* where the first incipient allusion to the technical term “*pustakārohaṇa*” (“installation of the book”) can be found, a technical term which would become enduringly associated with the breakthrough to the book made by Devarddhigaṇi at the second council of Vallabhī.¹⁹² Tracking references to this term in the scholastic literature is

¹⁹¹ As Vinayavijaya himself states before discussing this passage: *yady api etasya sūtrasya vyaktatayā bhāvārtho na jñāyate, tathā 'pi yathā pūrvaṭīkākārair vyākhyātam, tathā vyākhyāyate*. (“Even though the true meaning (*bhāva-arthaḥ*) of this *sūtra* is not (*na*) clearly (*vyaktatayā*) understood (*jñāyate*), still (*tathāpi*) just as (*yathā*) [it] has been commented upon (*vyākhyātam*) by previous commentators (*pūrvaṭīkākārair*), so too (*tathā*) it is commented upon (*vyākhyāyate*) [here by me].”). See the *Subodhikā Tīkā*, 125 (verso).

¹⁹² Up to this point I have not been able to find any allusion to this word in Jain literature, or any of its semantically related versions, in any text prior to the *Subodhikā Tīkā*. While charting the progression of the term in Jain history, however, it is important to note that the word *pustakārohaṇa* had also been similarly utilized by Buddhist commentators during the first millennium CE to describe the project of writing down the Pali canon. Based on this evidence, the textual record therefore suggests that the

accordingly key to tracing the ways in which the Jains began to reconstruct their own bibliographical beginnings. Once again, this early allusion can be found in the section of the *Subodhikā* mentioned above where Vinayavijaya is commenting on the meaning of the date “980 AV” found at the end of the biography of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* (s. 148):¹⁹³

*tathā ca 'yam artho yathā śrīVīranirvāṇād aśītyadhikanavavarṣaśatātikrame
pustakārūḍhaḥ siddhānto jātas, tadā Kalpo 'pi pustakārūḍho 'pi jātaḥ iti.*

Therefore (*tathā ca*) this meaning (*ayam arthaḥ*) [is that] just as the entire canon (*siddhāntaḥ*) became (*jātaḥ*) converted into book-form (*pustaka-ārūḍhaḥ*) when 900 plus 80 years had passed (*aśīti-adhika-nava-varṣa-śata-atikrame*) after Śrī Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa (*śrīVīranirvāṇād*), at that same time (*tadā*) the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] too (*Kalpo 'pi*) became (*jātaḥ*) converted into a book as well (*pustakārūḍho 'pi*).

As Vinayavijaya explains, the date either denotes the time when the “entire set of canonical texts (*siddhāntaḥ*) became converted to books” (*pustakārūḍhaḥ siddhānto jātas*) or when the “*Kalpa Sūtra* became converted to a book” (*tadā Kalpo 'pi pustakārūḍho 'pi jāta iti*). Here he uses the participle *ārūḍha* to describe the way in which oral texts were fixed or converted into material manuscripts, a participial form which can have various basic senses such as “mounted,” “raised up,” or “elevated.”¹⁹⁴ In particular, as the second member of a compound, it can also have the more nuanced meaning of something becoming transformed or converted into another state. In any case, Vinayavijaya's original participial phrase (*pustakārūḍhaḥ*, “converted [to/into] books”) in the initial description of the event would later become formalized into its more substantive or “action noun” form as the *pustakārohaṇa*, a locution which served to imbue it with more

Buddhists preceded the Jains in their use of the term to refer to the process of converting oral texts into scriptures.

¹⁹³ *Subodhikā*, 125 (verso). More on the significance of this passage as it relates to the *Kalpa Sūtra* text can be found in Appendix 3.

¹⁹⁴ According to Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899), *ārūḍha* (past participle from the verbal root *ā √ruh*) has various senses such as “mounted, ascended, bestridden (as a horse &c.); risen; raised up, elevated on high; undertaken; reached, brought to (often used in compounds e.g. *indriyārūḍha*, brought under the cognizance of the senses, perceived); having reached or attained, come into (a state).”

monumental historical significance as the term became increasingly deployed by Jain scholars in the following centuries.

The next work to use this particular phraseology alluding to the *ārohana* of the canon into books during the time of Devarddhigaṇi is the *Samācārīśataka* of Samayasundara (ca. 1630). As Wiles has correctly pointed out, Samayasundara here mainly follows the standard account as it had already been established by his predecessors as far as names, places, and the general timeline are concerned. According to Wiles, “In his *Samācārīśataka* he repeats the statements of the earlier sources, apparently on the basis of the *Nandīsūtra-cūrṇi*, without adding anything new.”¹⁹⁵ At the same time, the claim that Samayasundara adds nothing new here needs reappraising given that, as it was pointed out previously, the commentaries on the *Nandī Sūtra* only discussed the intermedial councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna (i.e., Mathurā, and Vallabhī 1) and make no mention of Devarddhigaṇi. Samayasundara, on the other hand, furnishes further details on the final synod under Devarddhigaṇi and the *pustakārohaṇa*:

bhaviṣyad bhavyalokopakārāya śruta-bhaktaye ca śrīsaṃghāgrahād mṛtāviśiṣṭa-tadākālīna-sarva-sādhūn Valabhyām ākārya tan-mukhād avicchinnāvaśiṣṭān nyūnādhikān truṭitān truṭitān āgamālāpakān anukrameṇa svamatyā sankalayya pustakārūḍhāḥ kṛtāḥ |¹⁹⁶

For the benefit of people now and in the future (*bhaviṣyad-bhavya-loka-upakārāya*), and for the devotion of sacred texts (*śruta-bhaktaye*), [the entire canon] became converted into books (*pustaka-ārūḍhāḥ kṛtāḥ*) in their proper order (*anukrameṇa*) according to each one’s memory (*sva-matyā*) [by] all the mendicants who had survived the famine (*mṛtāviśiṣṭa-tadākālīna-sarva-sādhūn*) after [they] assembled (*ākārya*) in Vallabhī (*Valabhyām*) [and] compiled (*sankalayya*) the complete (*avicchinna*) extant (*avaśiṣṭān*) [but] more or less defective (*nyūnādhikān*) [and] highly degraded (*truṭitān truṭitān*) sacred oral texts (*āgama-ālāpakān*) through verbal recitation (*tan-mukhād*).

¹⁹⁵ Wiles (2006: 74).

¹⁹⁶ Samayasundara, *Samācārīśataka*, 77b. See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 58) for the original text.

As it can be seen, Samayasundara's choice of words here in the *Samācārīśataka* describing the inscription of the canon into books (*pustakārūḍhāḥ kṛtāḥ*) closely follows upon Vinayavijaya's phrasing (*pustakārūḍhaḥ siddhānto jātaḥ*) from the *Subodhikā*. Further, while it is true that Samayasundara here mostly repeats the earlier accounts of the final council at Vallabhī found in the *Sandehaviṣausadhi* and *Subodhikā*, he also can be seen expanding upon the significance of this council and ascribes a new level of meaning to the event. One striking element is his comment that converting the canon into written scriptures facilitated the development of devotionism towards sacred texts (*śruta-bhaktaye*). Thus, contrary to the claim that Samayasundara adds nothing new the discussion of the councils, it can be seen here that he does in fact build upon the earlier layers of commentary by amplifying the prominent position of the *pustakārohaṇa* in the historical imagination of the Jains and the strong soteriological benefits it would have for the future of the community.

Lastly, the *Kalpadrūmakalika* (18th c.) of Lakṣmīvallabha, another commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, also mentions the Devarddhigaṇi council at Vallabhī. Lakṣmīvallabha supplies the now familiar trope of a twelve-year famine as the impetus to save Jain canonical texts from extinction and goes on to credit Devarddhigaṇi with causing the canon to be written down in manuscripts.

Śramaṇasya Bhagavato Mahāvīrasya muktigamanāt paścāt navaśata-aśīti 980 varṣeṣu gateṣu Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇena kālavīśeṣasya vuddhihīyamānaṃ (read buddhiṃ hīyamānaṃ) jnātvā siddhāntavicchedam bhāvinaṃ vicintya prathamadvādaśavārṣakasya (read varṣikīyadurbhikṣasya) prānte sarvasādhūnāṃ (supply saṅghaṃ) sammīlya Vallabhīnagaryāṃ śrīsiddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu kṛtaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ |

pūrvaṃ sarvasiddhāntānāṃ pāthanaṃ ca mukhapāthenai 'vā 'sīt, tataḥ paścād gurubhiḥ pustakena siddhāntaḥ śiṣyebhyaḥ pāthyate, iyaṃ rītir abhūt |¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ See the *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, with the *Kalpadrūmakalikā* of Lakṣmīvallabha (Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, 1918), 151b-152a.

The entire collection of sacred texts (*śrīśiddhāntaḥ*) was made (*kṛtaḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) [and/or] written down (*likhitāḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) by Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇa (*Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇena*) after he realized (*jnātvā*) the minds (*buddhiṃ*) of those at this particular time (*kāla-viśeṣasya*) were becoming weakened (*hīyamānām*). [And so] having thought (*vicintya*) that the loss of the collection of sacred texts (*siddhānta-vicchedam*) was imminent (*bhāvinam*) the entire community of monks (*sarvasādhūnām sanghaṃ*) was gathered together (*sammūlya/sammilya*) in the city of Vallabhī (*Vallabhī-nagaryām*) at the end (*prānte*) of the [twelve-]year famine (*varṣikīya-durbhikṣasya*) when 980 years had elapsed (*navasāta-aśīti varṣeṣu gateṣu*) after the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's (*Śramaṇasya Bhagavato Mahāvīrasya*) liberation (*mukti-gamanāt paścāt*).

Previously (*pūrvam*) the study (*pāṭhanam*) of the entire collection of sacred texts (*sarvasiddhāntānām*) was (*āsīt*) only through oral instruction (*mukha-pāṭhena eva*). Then (*tataḥ*) later on (*paścāt*) sacred texts (*siddhāntaḥ*) were read (*pāṭhyate*) by preceptors (*gurbhiḥ*) to disciples (*śiṣyebhyaḥ*) by means of the book (*pustakena*). This (*iyam*) became (*abhūt*) the convention (*rītiḥ*).

Here once again we can see how Lakṣmīvallabha's narrative describing the legend of Devarddhigaṇi and his leadership at the final council of Vallabhī has embellished upon the comments of his predecessors. While Hemacandra had unambiguously credited the first writing down of the canon to Skandila and Nāgārjuna, the *Kalpa Sūtra* commentators can be conversely seen laying more emphasis on Devarddhigaṇi as the main agent behind the "installation of the book." Thus, despite whatever progress in codifying canonical texts was achieved at the intermediary councils headed by Skandila and Nāgārjuna, it is the third and final council convened for the second time at Vallabhī under Devarddhigaṇi in the fifth or sixth century CE that has been for the most part memorialized by the older scholastic tradition as the site of the first written compilation of the full Śvetāmbara canon of forty-five texts (*siddhānta*).

2.9 The Councils and their Significance: Modern Scholarly Reflections

More recent academic opinion on these councils appears mixed as to whether writing was first introduced at 1) Mathurā under Skandila, 2) Vallabhī (I) under Nāgārjuna, or 3) Vallabhī (II) under Devarddhigaṇi. Jacobi, the first western scholar to discuss the councils in his 1879 edition of *Kalpa Sūtra*, holds that prior to the final conference held at Vallabhī under Devarddhigaṇi (whom he refers to as “the Buddhaghosha of the Jainas”)¹⁹⁸ some of the texts must have already been written down at Mathurā and Vallabhī since the “text of the sacred books, before the last redaction of the Siddhānta [the entire catalogue of sacred texts], did not exist in such a vague form as it would have been liable to if it were preserved only by the memory of the monks, but it was checked by MSS [manuscripts].”¹⁹⁹ The exact dimensions of this alleged early manuscript record which may have served as an archetype for later redactors such as Devarddhigaṇi, however, is not discussed in any detail by Jacobi. At the same time, while he acknowledges that copies of canonical texts must have been produced prior to the directives of Devarddhigaṇi, Jacobi does credit him with institutionalizing and incentivizing the production of manuscripts as a new feature of Jain pedagogical practice. He writes that “[O]f this canon a great many copies were taken, in order to furnish every seminary with books which had become necessary by the newly introduced change in the method of religious instructions.”²⁰⁰

Weber (1883-1885) also surmises that while copies of canonical texts must have been produced prior to the final council, the systematic transcription of these works into books was

¹⁹⁸ Jacobi (1879: 16). Here Jacobi says, “Devarddhigaṇin, the Buddhaghosha of the Jainas, has most probably arranged the whole of the traditional Jaina Literature, which he gathered in the Agamas from books and from the mouth of living theologians. He was nearly too late for his task. For in many cases, fragments only of books were left, and he put them together to make up a book as he thought best.”

¹⁹⁹ Jacobi (1884: xxxix).

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

not fully realized until the time of Devarddhigaṇi. He notes that contrary to any idea that a written redaction of the canon could have taken place during the first council at Pāṭaliputra back in the 4th century, it is his position that, “according to tradition, writing was not substituted till eight centuries later, in the year 980 Vīra [453 CE]. This was effected by a council in Valabhī under the presidency of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa.”²⁰¹ Despite this basic agreement with the commentarial tradition’s ascription of Devarddhigaṇi as the director in charge of the *pustakārohaṇa*, Weber also holds out the possibility that it was Skandila who may have first reduced the canon into book-form.²⁰² Charpentier (1922) appears to follow both Jacobi and Weber and assigns the initial conversion to manuscripts in the period just prior to Devarddhigaṇi. “Devarddhigaṇin, the president of the council, no doubt took down from the members all the scriptures considered as canonical that did not at that time exist in written form...”²⁰³ In other words, Devarddhigaṇi merely expanded upon the directives already initiated by either Skandila or Nāgārjuna. Schubring (1935) holds that texts must have only been redacted through oral recitation at the two earlier councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna. He further credits the Skandila recension produced in Mathurā with providing a prototype for the canon before it was finally fixed into writing at the second council of Vallabhī under Devarddhigaṇi. According to him, at these two earlier transitional conferences, the “method was to form a unit out of parts and fragments, to supply lost portions and even works, and, in many cases, to arrange the text suitably. It is probable that all this was the result of two councils, the one taking place at Mathurā, the other at Vallabhī (Kathiawar)...”²⁰⁴ He then follows the traditional account placing

²⁰¹ Weber (1893: 4). Weber appears to base his opinion here solely on the fragment of text mentioned previously and found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* which refers to the date “980 AV.”

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Charpentier (1922: 15-17).

²⁰⁴ Schubring ([1935] 1962: 77).

the written transcription of the canon to the final council at Vallabhī II: “[U]nder the presidency of Devarddhi, one of their principals, in the convocations of the believers an attempt was made to settle and copy down the wording of the sacred texts.”²⁰⁵ In addition to the role of redactor and conservator, Schubring further interprets Devarddhigani as a facilitator of Jain educational imperatives through his efforts to make manuscripts widely available to the congregation. “Devarddhi is reported to have got copies of the holy works multiplied with a view to provide them to as many communities as possible.”²⁰⁶

Still other scholars have emphasized that writing must have assuredly already been accomplished at the earlier councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna and thus assign Devarddhigani a more secondary role. For example, Winternitz (1933) writes that “Devarddhi’s labors consisted merely of compiling a Canon of sacred writings partly with the help of old manuscripts, and partly on the basis of oral tradition.”²⁰⁷ Kapadia (1941) contends that during the later council of Devarddhigani “not only were the works formerly written at Mathurā and Vallabhī again written and codified, but some more were written.”²⁰⁸ Folkert (1993), following Kapadia, also grants that writing must have been first introduced at the councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna when he states that “the function of the first two councils [i.e., Mathurā and Vallabhī I] apparently was to commit to writing the texts subscribed to by the Śvetāmbara monastic groups (*gacchas*)

²⁰⁵ Schubring ([1926] 2004: 1). Also see Wiles (2006: 65).

²⁰⁶ Schubring ([1935] 1962: 77).

²⁰⁷ Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 433-434).

²⁰⁸ Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 58). The only original source which connects writing with earlier councils such as Mathurā appears to be Hemacandra’s *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*. Thus scholarly opinion that claims writing was initiated at Mathurā and Vallabhī I must be drawn from Hemacandra in the sense that no other account regarding these two councils mentions any use of writing or books in a clear and unequivocal way. These opinions, therefore, only seem to tally with the Hemacandra reading.

represented at each.”²⁰⁹ Jaini (1979) holds a similar position emphasizing that writing was first employed at the council of Skandila in Mathurā.²¹⁰ Yet Jaini contends that writing must have already been something practiced by the Jains at some point even prior to this event. He remarks that we “do not know the earliest date at which they began to put the canon into written form; this must have taken place prior to the second council, which was held at Mathurā in the fourth century A.D. under the guidance of the Pontiff Skandila (A.D. 300-343).”²¹¹ Winternitz, Folkert, Kapadia, and Jaini’s *terminus post quem* for the earliest written redaction of the canon, then, is at least during the time of the Skandila council in Mathurā in the 4th century CE rather than a century later during the conference of Devarddhigaṇi in Vallabhī.²¹²

Scholars writing in Hindi and Gujarati have also speculated on the nature of the councils and when writing was first put into practice by the Jains. Here I specifically look at the positions taken by Muni Puṇyavijay and Ācārya Hastīmala. Firstly, Muni Puṇyavijay (1936)—perhaps the most celebrated of all Jain scholar-monks of the twentieth-century—holds the position that the Mathurā and Vallabhī I councils of Skandila and Nāgārjuna were mainly oral recitations merely meant to fix any discrepancies in the canon.²¹³ At the same time, he also claims that there must have at least already been some earlier attempts to transcribe the canon into written form during this period prior to Devarddhigaṇi.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, Puṇyavijay is clear on the point that it was only at the subsequent council of Devarddhigaṇi that the canon became systematically “bound

²⁰⁹ Folkert (1993: 46). Here Folkert refers to the Mathurā and Vallabhī I conferences as “the first two councils” – rather than the second and third – since he does not furnish any analysis of the first official *vācanā* at Pāṭaliputra.

²¹⁰ Jaini (1979: 51).

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² It should be pointed out that Paul Dundas, a noted scholar of Jainism, does not commit to any particular position concerning the introduction of writing in this context.

²¹³ Puṇyavijay, “Jain Śramaṇa Sanskṛti aur Lekhan-kalā” (1936: 16).

²¹⁴ Ibid., 17. Puṇyavijay’s claim here is based on a reading of Hemacandra’s auto-commentary (*svopajñā tīkā*) on the *Yogaśāstra* already mentioned previously.

into script-form” (*lipi-baddha*).²¹⁵ He also emphasizes that the council of Devarddhigaṇi was conducted solely for the specific purpose of writing down the canon (*pustaka-lekhana*) which had already been orally redacted and edited by Skandila. Devarddhigaṇi’s own council was therefore not intended to serve as another joint oral recitation.²¹⁶ It is thus a mistake, according to Puṇyavijay, to ascribe to Devarddhigaṇi the role of reciter rather than a redactor. As he would later put it in his introduction to the *Nandi-sūtra and Anuyogdvāra* (1968), “In Vallabhī Āc. Devardhi (sic) simply penned down (*pustaka-lekhana*) the Āgamas while their final recension had been prepared by Āc. Skandila in Mathurā. Āc. Skandila belongs to the period between VN 827 and 840 [300 and 313 CE].”²¹⁷ Ultimately, Puṇyavijay affirms the traditional account that Devarddhigaṇi was responsible for causing the mass inscription of canonical texts. While there may have been earlier attempts to “bind into script” the old oral texts at previous councils, this effort would only be fully realized at the second council of Vallabhī.

Regarding this final council of Devarddhigaṇi, Hastīmala (1974) claims that “either an oral recitation of the canon (*āgama-vācanā*) was performed, or the sacred texts were bound into script-form (*lipi-baddha*) during this assembly. But historians are not in agreement on this topic. According to tradition, many scholars believe that this was an oral recitation while recent researchers claim only a written transcription (*āgama-lekhana*) happened.”²¹⁸ He goes on to argue that even if writing had been officially institutionalized by Devarddhigaṇi at the second council of Vallabhī, the references to books in Jain scholastic texts such as the *Anuyogadvāra-*

²¹⁵ Ibid., 18.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 16. Puṇyavijay’s original text in Gujarati: “Sthavir Ārya Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāsramanā pramukhapaṇā nice Vallabhīmāṃ malela saṃgha-samavāyamāṃ mātra pustakalekhananī pravṛttine ange ja vicār ane nirṇay karvāmāṃ āvyo hato.”

²¹⁷ Puṇyavijay in *Nandisuttaṃ and Aṇuogaddārāiṃ* (1968: 71-72).

²¹⁸ Hastīmala ([1974] 2001: 677). Translated from the Hindi (“Pariṣad meṃ āgama-vācanā kī gaī athavā śāstra lipi-baddha kiye gaye, is viṣay meṃ itihās lekhak ekmat nahīm haiṃ. Paramparānusār kāi vidvān ise āgama-vācanā mānte haiṃ to katipay navīn śodhak ise mātrā āgama-lekhan hī.”).

sūtra (2nd century CE, allegedly authored by Ārya Rakṣita) demonstrate that knowledge of writing and manuscript-making was already quite current. “If canonical texts had not been put into writing prior to Devarddhigaṇi then there would not have been any mention of ‘*pustaka-likhita-śruta*’ (‘sacred written books’) in the description of ‘*dravya-śruta*’ (‘physical scriptures’) in the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*. It is evident from this that long before the time of Devarddhigaṇi there was already a tendency to write down Jain sacred texts.”²¹⁹ That is to say, for Hastīmala the earliest likely date we can assign for evidence of an emergent Jain manuscript culture would be the time of Ārya Rakṣita—the reputed author of the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*—who is believed to have lived sometime in the 2nd century CE, some two centuries prior to the eras of Skandila, Nāgārjuna, and Devarddhigaṇi.²²⁰ He surmises that, at the very least it was during the era of Ārya Rakṣita where there must have been attempts to write down various chapters from sacred āgamic texts.²²¹ He does not, however, support the notion that there could have been any *systematic* transcription of these works at this time. For if the complete canon had already been reduced to written form during the era of Ārya Rakṣita then why would there have been the need for Devarddhigaṇi’s directives at the second council of Vallabhī for the mass written redaction of texts?²²²

²¹⁹ Ibid., 678. Translated from the Hindi (“Devarddhigaṇi ke pahle yadi āgam likhe hue nahīm hote to Anuyogdvār Sūtra meṃ dravya-śruta ke varṇan meṃ ‘pustaka-likhita-śruta’ kā ullekh nahīm hotā. Is se yah bāt to niścīt hai ki Devarddhigaṇi ke samay se bahut pahle Jain śāstra likhne kī pravṛtti ho calī thī.”).

²²⁰ Puṇyavijay (1968: 72) claims that the *Anuyogdvāra Sūtra* is “a work of the second century of the Christian Era. In any case it is not later than VS 357 [i.e., 300 CE].” Weber dates the text somewhere between 300 CE and 500 CE which, if true, would make it much more contemporaneous with the time of Devarddhigaṇi. Puṇyavijay’s critical editing and work on the *Anuyogdvāra Sūtra*, however, is unsurpassed and so his analysis remains definitive in this case.

²²¹ Hastīmala ([1974] 2001: 679). Also see Kalyanvijay Gani in *Vīr Nirvāṇ Saṃvat aur Jain Kāl Gaṇanā* (2000: 110) where the same proposal highlighting the evidence presented by Ārya Rakṣita in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* is discussed.

²²² To further support his argument, Hastīmala supplies a number of anecdotal details found in various commentarial records that are not mentioned in any of the studies by the western scholars referred to

2.10 Conclusions

From the perspective of print modernity, the Jain canon in its fixed extant form appears as an immutable monolith of forty-five books, each volume functioning as a purposeful part of the canonical whole. From the lens of pre-print premodernity, however, the transparency of this clear image of the canon becomes far more opaque and problematic. As it is known, following the death of Mahāvīra in the fifth or sixth century BCE, Jain monastics began the long process of building a body of sacred literature out of the founder's spoken sermons by codifying them into sūtraic strings of verse. In this manner, by the fourth century BCE, a large corpus of sacred works had already been produced. Nevertheless, after a series of famines devastated the mendicant order that presided over the vast body of sacred literature, the congregation found itself on the verge of total textual and communal collapse. It was out of this threat of socio-textual annihilation that the mandate for textual conservation was born among the Jains and became a defining feature of institutional Jainism. The trope of textual loss and scriptural recovery is therefore key to understanding the intellectual endeavor of the Jain councils and how these redactional projects helped to launch the new era of writing and manuscript-making in their tradition.

Considering the reported early date of the first council at Pāṭaliputra (4th century BCE, reputedly during the reign of Candragupta Maurya in Magadha) it is difficult to accept that any

above. For example, he cites ([1974] 2001: 678) the *Himavant Sthavirāvalī* ("The Himavant Chronology of Elders," date unknown) as a source which refers to a pious layman from Mathurā named Polāka who is said to have served as a scribe during the Mathurā recension of Skandila. The fragment from the *Himavant Sthavirāvalī* reads: *Mathurānivāsinā śramaṇ-opāsaka-vareṇa Ośavaṃśa-vibhūṣaṇena Polāk-ābhīdhena tat-sakalam apī pravacanaṃ gaṃdhahasti-kṛta-vivaraṇ-opetaṃ tāla-patr-ādiṣu lekḥayitvā bhikṣubhyaḥ svādhyāyārthaṃ samarpitam* ("For the purpose of study, all the sermons, together with the analysis by Gandhahasti, were bestowed to the monks after being written down on palm leaves by Polāka, a resident of Mathurā and lay follower of the monks belonging to the Ośa clan.").

form of literization or written transcription (*āgama-lekhana*) of the still orally-based canon could have been accomplished by the Jain monastic organization at Pātaliputra. The subsequent need for a further series of councils—as well as the lack of evidence for writing in the Indian subcontinent at this time—supports this notion. The redaction here at this early moment at Pātaliputra, then, must have consisted of the oral recitation of the texts alone. Indeed, the original term used to describe these councils, “*vācanā*,” itself explicitly expresses the act of oral recitation rather than written transcription. Narrative accounts of this first attempt at codification of the early canonical texts at Pātaliputra are not much help either with regard to establishing an early time frame for the writing down of any texts and are more concerned with presenting the personages involved in the events rather than the procedures put in place to fix the fledgling corpus.

Nevertheless, a total of four councils are said to have taken place, and it was at these latter conferences where the written redaction of the canon is believed to have been accomplished. While tradition credits Devarddhigaṇi at the final council with this achievement, a modicum of modern scholars disagree and hold that it must have been at the transitional conferences of Skandila or Nāgārjuna that the redaction through writing was realized. These scholarly opinions, however, are only I have shown how the only original source which connects writing with these intermediary councils appears to be Hemacandra’s *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*. Thus, on the testimony of the oldest surviving sources, any claim that writing could have been initiated at Mathurā under Skandila or Vallabhī I under Nāgārjuna can only be based on the words of Hemacandra as no other account regarding these two councils mentions any use of writing or

books.²²³ These opinions, then, as far as sources go, only seem to tally with the Hemacandra reading. Anecdotal evidence found in texts such as the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* of Ārya Rakṣita, however, does demonstrate that a nascent manuscript culture among the Jains may have emerged as far back as two centuries before in the 2nd century CE.

In any case, it is the final known synod conducted at Vallabhī under the preceptor Devarddhigaṇi around the middle of the first millennium CE where the written transcription of the sacred word (*āgama-lekhana*) is claimed by the tradition to have been finally and fully completed, at least according to cultural and commentarial memory. Despite the fact that there were more than likely earlier attempts to transcribe—or, literally, to cause the sacred word to become *lipi-baddha* (“in-scripted”)—at the previous council of Skandila, the evidence suggests that it was at the second council of Vallabhī headed by Devarddhigaṇi where an extensive program of literization took place. Of special interest here is that this final council undertaken in the middle of the first millennium has also been referred to in Jain histories as the “*pustakārohaṇa*,” or the “installation (*ārohaṇa*) of the book (*pustaka*),” a term which aptly invokes the process of “scripturalization” as it occurred in the context of the Jains and which makes their distinctive history an excellent case to examine this phenomenon. The study of these councils as catalysts for writing, manuscript-making, and literacy in the Jain tradition has therefore helped to make more clear the process by which books would become a key part of the social, ritual, and cultural life of the lay community in the medieval-early modern period when the Jains would truly emerge on the sectarian scene in India as a “religion of the book.”

²²³ Again, the oldest accounts for these intermedial councils are discoverable in the *Nandī Sūtra* literature (see pp. 96-98 above).

Chapter 3

The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part 1: The *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and its Ritual World

3.1 Crowning the Jewel of the Mūrtipūjaka Jain Canon

For a large segment of the Jain devotional populace, the *Kalpa Sūtra* occupies an illustrious place at the apex of all scriptures. While this popular hierarchy is not universally held by all schools or sectarian traditions, the high status of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a salient scripture central to the social and soteriological interests of the largest community of Śvetāmbara Jains—known as the Mūrtipūjaka (“image worshipping”) sect—is nonetheless noteworthy in the context of Indian religions and book-history. Indeed, within the milieu of the Mūrtipūjakas, the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been celebrated and circulated as a supreme scripture since at least the early medieval period (8th-13th c.). By the seventeenth century, the Jain scholar Samayasundara would in fact proclaim the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the “crown-jewel” among all the works of the canon (*sarva-śāstreṣu śiromaṇi Kalpa-sūtram*).²²⁴ In other words, just as the legendary and now long-lost *Dṛṣṭivāda* literature had once aptly served as the “head” of the old oral corpus of canonical works, the *Kalpa Sūtra* now—that is, in the post-*pustakārohaṇa* age of manuscripts—had symbolically surmounted it as the crowning glory of the entire scriptural corpus.²²⁵

This exalted liturgical location of the scripture, however, contrasts sharply with its comparatively obscure place of deposit in the Śvetāmbara canon itself. In fact, despite its conspicuous presence in devotional practice, a curious feature of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is its equally

²²⁴ See folio 6 (recto) of a manuscript copy of Samayasundara’s *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā* (a commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra*) in the collection of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai (Record Locator Number: MS_00001440).

²²⁵ See Chapter 2.3 (p. 80) for reference to the *śruta-puruṣa*, the personified form of the Jain canon with the *Dṛṣṭivāda* envisioned as its oral-mnemonic head.

conspicuous *absence* among the titles of the main books constituting the canon. An initial task here in this chapter, then, is to first determine the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s designated theological station within the system of sacred books in order to be able to better grasp its bibliographical origins, design, and development. While in popular practice the *Kalpa Sūtra* effectively functions as an independent and self-contained scripture, it was actually conceived, codified, and inserted into the confines of the canon by its redactors as part of an altogether different and more obscure canonical work on monastic penal code known as the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. In recognition of this, I therefore begin by first investigating the history of how the *Kalpa Sūtra* was edited and embedded into the inner recesses of the canon, and especially why it came to be curiously incorporated into the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. This initial discussion of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s discursive place and function within the overall apparatus of the canon will help to highlight how it subsequently became repurposed as a superposed scripture during the medieval period.

3.2 Backdrop and Beginnings: Developments in the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*

Despite Samayasundara's remarks on the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s high visibility and status as the "crown-jewel" (*śiro-maṇi*) affixed at the apex of all Jain scriptures, inquiring exegetes will have to navigate deep within the voluminous collection of forty-five books comprising the Mūrtipūjaka Jain canon to find its comparatively cryptic location. One of the preliminary objectives in "mapping" the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition, then, first involves plotting the path to its strategic site within the overall architecture of the canon given how this directly relates to its ancient ecclesiastical origins. This process of zooming in on the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s special niche in the network of sacred texts accordingly begins by first entering into a cluster of cloistered works known as the *Cheda Sūtras*, the third of the six primary collections of books. As it has been already noted in Chapter 2.1, the texts comprising the so-called *Cheda-sūtras* are the following

six works: 1. *Niśītha Sūtra*, 2. *Mahāniśītha Sūtra*, 3. *Vyavahāra Sūtra*, 4. *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, 5. *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra*, and 6. *Pañcakalpa Sūtra*.²²⁶ Categorized as a type of ascetic literature, these texts as a whole principally relate rules and regulations governing the behavior of mendicants. As the term *cheda* signifies “cutting off” in Sanskrit, the implicit sense of the heading “*Cheda Sūtras*” may have therefore referred to the overall system of discipline and demotion for monastics who transgressed against ethical codes.²²⁷ Given their ancient esoteric origins and role in arcane forms of ascetic legislation, the *Cheda Sūtras* have hence been regarded as a kind of “mystical literature” that was “to be kept secret” and “restricted to few.”²²⁸ Another possible meaning of *cheda*, and one with important implications with regard to tracing their origins and authorship, is that these *sūtras* were “cut” (*chinna*) or “extracted” (*uddhṛta*) from the *Pūrvas*, the legendary lost fourteen lectures which belonged to the defunct *Drṣṭivāda*

²²⁶ Take note that the fifth text listed here, the *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra* (“Great *Kalpa Sūtra*”), is not to be confused with the similarly named text under discussion. For more information on this literature as a whole, see Weber (1893: 94-107); Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 461-465); and Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 33-38). The *Cheda-sūtras* as a whole, and especially the third through fifth texts, are held to be canonical by Śvetāmbara Jains. Like other texts falling outside of the original twelve *Aṅga* works, they are further classified as *Aṅga-bāhya*, or “outside of the *Aṅgas*.”

²²⁷ See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 33). With regard to this sense of “cutting” as applied to the category of “*Cheda-sūtras*,” Kapadia notes that a text included within this class “may be construed as a treatise which prescribes cuts in seniority (*dīkṣā-paryāya*) in the case of the Jain clergy on their violating any rules of their order.”

²²⁸ Dulaharaj and Prajñā (1996: 94). Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 34), citing a commentary called the *Pañcakappabhāsā*, says that the *Cheda-sūtras* were exclusively intended for “*pariṇata* pupils” (advanced disciples). The passage he cites from the *Pañcakappabhāsā* thus reads: *pariṇām aparīṇāmā aīpariṇāmā ya tivihā purisā su, ṇātūṇaṃ Chedasuttaṃ pariṇāmaṇe hoṃti dāyavvaṇ!* “There are three types of people: those who are ripe for knowledge (*pariṇata*), those who are unripe for knowledge (*aparīṇata*), and those who are overripe for knowledge (*atipariṇata*). Of these knowing subjects, the *Cheda Sūtras* should be given to those who are ripe for knowledge.” The practice of restricting access to *Cheda Sūtras* even continues today. Nalini Balbir reports that “In modern times, some lay people or scholars who are not mendicants have reported being forbidden access to these works. Among some Śvetāmbara monastic orders, such as the Kharatara-gaccha, nuns are not encouraged to read them, though monks can do so.” See Balbir, Jainpedia, at <https://jainpedia.org/themes/principles/sacred-writings/svetambara-canon/cheda-sutras/>.

(the twelfth *Āṅga*).²²⁹ As it will be discussed later in this chapter, this feat has been attributed to the agency of Bhadrabāhu, the last of the great sages who could recite from memory all of the original twelve works (*Āṅgas*) comprising the core of the Jain canon. The *Cheda Sūtra* series of texts are thus held to be works of great antiquity and were specifically said to derive from the *Pūrvas*' ninth lecture called the *Pratyākhyāna Pūrva*. According to Winternitz, “the six *Cheda Sūtras* did not, perhaps, form a group until a late period, as it is not always the same texts which are placed in this group. The nucleus of this group, however, *Cheda Sūtras* 3-5, belongs to the earliest portion of the Canon.”²³⁰ This “nucleus” of three texts—generally grouped as 1. *Daśāśrutaskandha*, 2. *Bṛhat Kalpa*, and 3. *Vyavahāra Sūtra*—are all, in fact, ascribed to Bhadrabāhu given his alleged role in retrieving them from the *Pūrvas*. For this reason, as well as because of their shared subject-matter, they are said to constitute one “*śrutaskandha*,” i.e., a single textual tract or, as it came to mean later on, a book or volume.²³¹

Prominently positioned at the head of these three chief *Cheda Sūtras* is the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. As its title indicates, the *Daśāśrutaskandha* is a collection of canonical teachings (*śruta-skandha*) arranged as a decalogue or group of ten chapters (*daśā*). These chapters mainly enumerate various codes of conduct meant for the rank-and-file members of the monastic order but also include prescriptions for spiritually advanced lay worshippers as well.²³²

²²⁹ See Devendra Muni Śāstrī (1991: 21). Original Hindi text: “*Daśāśrutaskandh, Vyavahār, aur Bṛhat-Kalp* ye sūtra nauveṃ *Pratyākhyān Pūrv* se uddhṛt kiye gaye hai. Us se chinna arthāt pṛthak karne se unheṃ *Cheda-sūtra* kī sañjyā dī gayī ho, yah bhī saṃbhav hai.”

²³⁰ Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 461-462).

²³¹ At least five other works are attributed to Bhadrabāhu, all of them being either commentaries or works on monastic discipline. He is furthermore known as the reputed author of multiple commentarial works including others found in the class of *Cheda Sūtras*, such as the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra*, and the *Panca Kalpa*.

²³² A summary of the ten chapters of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* is as follows: Ch. 1: Twenty *Asamādhi-sthānas* (places that disrupt mental concentration); Ch. 2: Twenty-one *Śabalas* (“variegated” offences); Ch. 3: Thirty-three *Āśātanās* (disrespectful actions); Ch. 4: Eight *Gaṇi-sampadās* (qualifications [*sampadā*] for becoming the head [*gaṇi*] of a group of mendicants); Ch. 5: Ten *Citta-samādhi-sthānas*

For the purposes of our inquiry, the eighth chapter is the most paramount, as well as perplexing, since it serves as the officially sanctioned site of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. A host of hermeneutical questions, however, persist with regard to the genesis of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the *Daśāśrutaskandha*'s eighth chapter. Given the large scale of the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself, and the equally large scope of its ambitious evangelistic program aimed at the entire congregation, a first issue in need of resolution regards what its form and function were originally intended to be in the immediate context of this so-called “mystical” manual on monastic penal codes and expiations. An analysis of the origins and organizational logic of the internal relationship between these two works is therefore a prerequisite before moving onto the specific contents of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

The eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* in its current redacted form—known both by its numerical name *Aṣṭama Adhyayana* (“Eighth Chapter”) as well as by its original descriptive title *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* (Pkt. *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa*), or “Rules for the Rain-Resort”—presents a number of textual and paratextual anomalies that testify to a complex history of development. First, while the majority of the main chapters in the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* are divided into short lectures (*uddeśas*) that deal with focused lessons on specific types of *ācāra* (conduct), by contrast, the eighth chapter appears as an outlier due its much greater length and divergent designation as an *adhyayana* (a division of text longer than an *uddeśa*) as well as the range of its topics (hagiography, genealogy, and orthopraxy).²³³ Hence the uniformity of the

(places conducive to mental concentration); Ch. 6: Eleven *Upāsaka-pratimās* (standards [*pratimās*] of conduct for advanced lay disciples); Ch. 7: Twelve *Bhikṣu-pratimās* (standards of conduct for mendicants); Ch. 8: *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpas* (the Rules [*kalpa*] for the Rainy Season); Ch. 9: Thirty *Mahāmohanīya Karmas* (karmas that delude); Ch. 10: Nine *Nidānas* (desires for worldly enjoyments).²³³ On account of the emphasis on *ācāra* (conduct) the text is also known as the *Āyāradāsāo* (“Ten Chapters on Conduct”). For more information on the chapter structure of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, see Weber (1893: 103) and Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 131). It should also be noted that the tenth chapter is also referred to as an *adhyayana* and appears irregular when compared to the other chapters. Another point

main body chapters as a whole stand in stark stylistic contrast to the eclecticism of the eighth. Another notable anomaly is the fact that surviving manuscript copies and modern printed editions of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* do not as a custom even contain the full text of the eighth chapter, nor any of the expected rules for the rainy season to which the original title refers, in the space allotted for the eighth chapter. In its place is instead normally found a single *sūtra*. This is the *sūtra* opening the biography of the Jina Mahāvīra which is here further joined with a small sentence that cues the final words of the concluding *sūtra*. Whether or not this convention of abridging the chapter into one all-encompassing *sūtra* standing for the entire text ostensibly arose due to the inconveniently large extent of the fully formed *Kalpa Sūtra* itself or the fact that at some point in time it attained a quasi-independent status from the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* is unclear.²³⁴

I use the qualification “quasi-independent” since the issue of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s internal relationship to the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* remains a contested matter within Śvetāmbara Jainism. For example, the Mūrtipūjaka tradition—which has historically esteemed, worshipped, and sponsored the *Kalpa Sūtra* more than any other community of Jains—do not consider it to be an “independent” (*svatantra*) work and consequently continue to closely align it with the canonically established *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*.²³⁵ The Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī traditions, conversely, claim the opposite and regard the fully developed *Kalpa Sūtra* as a separate post-canonical work that only later became incorporated into the *Daśāśrutaskandha*’s eighth

that should be mentioned is that some commentators refer to all the chapters as *adhyayanas*. The designation of whether the chapter was an *uddeśa* or *adhyayana* is therefore somewhat irregular in the tradition itself.

²³⁴ This issue will be dealt with in a more detailed way in the following chapter which discusses this part of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

²³⁵ See Devendra Muni Śāstrī (1968: 18-20).

chapter.²³⁶ This latter position questioning the scriptural status of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is partially based on codicological evidence supplied by the majority of old manuscript copies of the *Daśāśrutaskandh Sūtra*. Since these copies do not ordinarily present the entire root-text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the space provided for the eighth chapter, this has inevitably led to critical questions concerning whether it formed an original part of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* or if it was only later inserted here by redactors. Concealed at the crux of this question is no less than the matter of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s own canonicity, an issue which has fueled sectarian debates on whether it should be taken as an authentic or apocryphal (*kalpita*) scriptural authority.

To complicate matters further, the very oldest surviving manuscript copies of these works reveal different kinds of data that raise more questions than deliver definitive answers. The earliest known copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (1190 CE), for instance, appears not as part of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* but in the form of an autonomous and self-contained scripture. Codicological evidence such as this would then seem to support the Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī contention regarding the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s original status as an independent treatise. On the other hand, proponents of the Mūrtipūjaka position such as Muni Puṇyavijaya (1952), Devendra Muni Śāstrī (1968), and Kulcandrasūri (2007) have each examined what they contend to be the oldest extant copy of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* (ca. pre-14th c.) preserved in the Khambāt Bhaṇḍār (loc. Ahmedabad, Gujarat) and report that the entire root-text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* does, in fact,

²³⁶Altogether, the reformist Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī sects do not accept thirteen of the texts considered canonical by the Mūrtipūjakas. Thus while the Mūrtipūjakas retain forty-five texts for their canon, the Sthānakvāsīs and Terāpanthīs recognize thirty-two texts as canonical. This is not to suggest that the thirteen texts rejected by the Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī traditions are considered to be without religious value to the wider Śvetāmbara community, only that they are thought to be later works falling outside the core of original teachings. In fact, the Sthānakvāsīs have played a major role in the publication of a wide selection of Śvetāmbara textual materials.

appear here as its eighth chapter.²³⁷ They take this as archival evidence in support of the idea that the *Kalpa Sūtra* was not entirely independent from the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* but still formed an integral and original part of it.²³⁸ Muni Puṇyavijaya further mentions that many such manuscripts dating from around the beginning of the fourteenth century can be found which include the full (*salamga*) and complete (*sampūrṇa*) tripartite *Kalpa Sūtra*.²³⁹ Muni Caturvijay (1936), too, notes that an ancient (*prācīna*) and complete (*sampūrṇa*) manuscript of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* archived at the Yatijī Jñān Bhaṇḍār in Phagvārā (loc. Punjab) was being used at the time of his writing for the recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* during the Paryuṣanā festival for its auspicious powers (*mangala-nimitte*).²⁴⁰ Such case studies testify to the fact that genetic and liturgical linkages between these two works have surely existed for many centuries. At the same time, they unfortunately only give a partial picture of the past and remain limited in scope as far as providing evidence for the developments taking place during the entire preceding millennium of activity. As a result, we should proceed with a high degree of caution with respect to using these cases to make large claims about what the formal qualities of these texts may have been in previous centuries of production.

²³⁷ Devendra Muni Śāstrī (1968: 13). To quote Kulcandrasūri directly (f.n. 2, p. 99) from critical notes found in his *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra Grantha, Nirukti-Cūrṇi Sahit* (Ahmedabad: Śrī Jain Svetāmbara Mūrtipūjak Saṃgh, 2007): “Tālapatrīya-pustake sampūrṇa-Saṃvaccharī Sūtram likhitam asti, anya-pratau prathama-sūtram eva likhitam asti.” Note here that *Saṃvaccharī* (Skt. *Saṃvatsarī*) *Sūtra* is another alternative name for the *Kalpa Sūtra* given its importance on the final day of Paryuṣan known as *Saṃvatsarī* when the text is recited before the public.

²³⁸ In Devendra Muni Śāstrī’s words (1968: 13), “*Daśāśrutaskandha* kī prācīnatam pratiyā (14vī śatābdī se pūrv kī) jo Puṇyavijayjī Mahārāj ke saujanya se mujhe dekhne ko milī hai, usmeṃ āṭhave adhyayan meṃ pūrṇ *Kalpasūtra* āyā hai jo yah spaṣṭ pramāṇit kartā hai ki *Kalpasūtra* koī svatantra eva mangadhant racanā nahīṃ hai, apitu *Daśāśrutaskandha* kā hī āṭhavā adhyayan hai.”

²³⁹ Puṇyavijay (1969: 115).

²⁴⁰ Muni Caturvijay (1936: fn. 12, p. 9). (“Paṃjābmām āvelā Phagvārā gāmmām Yatijīnā Jñān Bhaṇḍārmām sampūrṇa prācīn prati che. Hālmām maṃgalnimitte Paryuṣanparvmām vaṃcāy che te *Kalpasūtra* ā gramthanuṃ āṭhamuṃ adhyayan che.”) Muni Caturvijay’s note is of great interest here as it does not appear to be the norm for the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* to be used for the purpose of reading from the *Kalpa Sūtra* during the period of the Paryuṣan festival.

In spite of these limitations, a modicum of information can be mined from other textual sources that make reconstructing this past history still partially possible. I will briefly mention one such source here that I take to be instructive for my present reconstructive purposes. This is another early canonical text, the *Sthānāṅga* [Pkt. *Thāṇaṅga*] *Sūtra* (ca. 1st-4th c. CE), the third in the line of original twelve *Aṅgas* and a veritable database of information concerning the shape of the Jain canon as it existed around the beginning of the Common Era.²⁴¹ Weber has hence called the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* a “perfect treasure house” of material for the wealth of information it provides regarding all aspects of early Jainism while Winternitz lauds it for its “important literary data” concerning the construction of the canon.²⁴² This data comes in the form of lists that not only enumerate the titles of texts but also, in certain cases, give a record of their table of contents as well. When we also consider the fact that such systems of enumeration appear to have been firmly rooted in the oral tradition, the archaic style of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* is further proof of its antiquity. The *Daśāśrutaskandha* is fortunately among those works presented whose chapter titles are also itemized and where the “*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*” is given as the name of its eighth chapter.²⁴³ If we judge the date and data of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* to be correct, then this helps to establish a baseline for the *Daśāśrutaskandha*’s internal dimensions at a very early period.

Yet despite the probative and even provocative value of this literary data, other than providing the title of the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, the evidence obtained from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* offers little in the way of divulging what the actual contents of the chapter itself

²⁴¹ For the date of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* see Sagarmal Jain (1998: 5). For the discussion of the antiquity of this work see Devendra Muni Śāstrī (1991: 13-50).

²⁴² Weber (1893: 27); Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 441).

²⁴³ *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 10.115.

may have consisted of at this time. For the name “*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*” presents its own set of interpretive difficulties that generate a myriad of meanings. As the identifying name of the chapter, questions therefore abound regarding the nature of its original form and content. Questions I will pose here and ponder over in the next section accordingly involve not only inquiring into these two essential ingredients of the chapter but also address the issue of its intended audience or “auditors.” For example, did the chapter originally, and exclusively, consist of the list of rules (*kalpa*) only meant for mendicants during their annual retreat from the rains (*Paryuṣaṇā*)?²⁴⁴ This would at least seem to be a reasonable hypothesis as this type of prescriptive content focusing on monastic conduct seamlessly interweaves with the overall thematic fabric of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, a work on disciplinarity addressed to mendicants as well as advanced spiritual aspirants from the lay community. The chief problem with this notion, however, is that it obviously omits inclusion of the other two sections—that is to say, the all-important saint-stories and lineage of apostles—which are also alleged to have been an integral part of the original treatise. This interpretation of the title thus goes against the grain of tradition and the opinion of many of the Jain scholiasts who, beginning in the medieval era, affirm the structural integrity and antiquity of the full tripartite text from its inception, or at least they do not question it.

This leads to a second question, namely, did the early appellation “*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*” at this time then actually serve a larger role as a general rubric for the entire *Kalpa Sūtra* treatise in its current maximal form? Indeed, the title “*Kalpa Sūtra*,” the most common name for the text at

²⁴⁴ One again, these are the same set of rules and regulations now forming the final section of the current *Kalpa Sūtra*, however, they go by yet another name, the “*Sādhu Sāmācārī*,” i.e., “Monastic (*sādhu*) Codes of Conduct” (*sāmācārī*). Perhaps in an effort to distinguish the name *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* as the main title of the entire work from its more limited technical sense as “codes of conduct for the rainy season” the rules began to be referred to under this alternative name.

least since the late medieval period, would itself seem to be a continuation and even distillation of this method of naming the whole of the treatise for one of its primary parts since there are no prescriptive *kalpas* (rules) found in the other two sections. At any rate, answering these questions is no easy exercise, yet we can begin by taking an even closer look at the convoluted case of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and its historical underpinnings. The next step in the task of tracing this textual history therefore involves unpacking the stock of meanings circulating around the early title “*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*” before turning to how it conceptually interlocked with and historically impacted the overall program of the current (*vartamān*) *Kalpa Sūtra* treatise.²⁴⁵ For this I will also discuss two of the oldest commentaries available on the *Daśāśrutaskandha*—viz., its little-studied *niryukti* (ca. 1st-3rd c. CE) and *cūrṇi* (6th c. CE)—which do, in fact, give us what the *Sthānaṅga Sūtra* cannot, that is, provide a revealing glimpse into the eighth chapter’s actual contents as they existed around the beginning of the Common Era.

3.3 Pondering the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and its Intertwined Relationship with the *Kalpa Sūtra*

To recapitulate, the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s sanctioned slot in the totality of texts making up the Mūrtipūjaka Jain canon is the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. This chapter has been formally designated by the tradition as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, or in its popular Prākṛit equivalent, the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa*.²⁴⁶ Given the fact that textual materials at this time were not yet put into writing, early evidence for documenting the contents of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* comes in the form of a list found in another old canonical work, the *Sthānaṅga Sūtra*. Here important details about the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, such as its chapter-titles, can be found that match

²⁴⁵ In Jain scholarly literature, the *Kalpa Sūtra* title is often preceded with modifiers such as “*vartamān*” (current) or “*prakhyāt*” (recognized). Therefore I, too, here generally follow this convention in order to distinguish between the different iterations of the work.

²⁴⁶ The name in Prākṛit appears most commonly as either *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* or *Pajjosamaṇā-kappa*.

the current text and reveal the name of the eighth chapter as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. Since there are no manuscript records to check what its chapter contents consisted of at this early point, I have speculated on some of the possible meanings above. One possibility was that the title reflexively referred only to the rules (*kalpa*) which are prescribed to monks and nuns for the period of what is known as their “rain-resort” or “abidance” (*Paryuṣaṇā*), the four-months of the monsoon season in which their peripatetic lifestyle (*parivrajyā*) is temporarily suspended in order that they reside in a single location.²⁴⁷ According to this interpretation, the rules for the rainy season alone constituted the original text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and, by extension, formed the earliest layer of the current *Kalpa Sūtra*. Yet since this title also does double duty as a traditional name for this current text compiled in three parts, the other possibility was raised that it may have already referred to this larger “vulgate” edition. While this interpretation upholding the essential unity of the text since its inception has proven to be most popular with medieval scholiasts and today’s traditionalists, modern Jain scholars reflect a more diverse set of opinions.

In any case, this set of stipulations in sixty-eight *sūtras* that arguably make up the old *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*—and which now generally go by the name *Sādhu Sāmācārī*—have served as a key manual for monastics making the transition from the constant cycle of wandering (*vihāra*) to a protracted residency in a temple *upāśraya* (residence hall).²⁴⁸ The regulations contained in this small treatise cover a wide range of subjects pertinent to this sedentary period taken during the

²⁴⁷ In terms of the Jain ritual (*āgamic*) calendar, the rainy season lasts from Āṣāḍh Śukla (Sud) 14/15 to Kārtik Śukla (Sud) 14/15. The rationale for residing in a single location for the four months of the rainy season (*catuṛ-māsa*) is tied to the Jain emphasis on non-violence (*ahiṃsa*). Here the circuit of constant wandering is prohibited due to the proliferation of living organisms which arise during the monsoon season. Given the increased presence of insects and other minute living creatures at this time, monks and nuns are to refrain from traveling to avoid coming into violent contact with.

²⁴⁸ An interesting point regarding the word *vihāra* is that while in Jainism it essentially means to travel, walk, or wander, conversely, in Buddhism it takes on the opposite meaning of “monastic hall” or “monastery” (which, as noted above, is signified by the word *upāśraya* in Jainism).

rains such as dietary constraints, travel restrictions, acceptable abodes for dwelling, and the types of contacts they can have with both clergy and congregation members. This last point is important as it highlights the fact that Jain ascetics live in close proximity to the lay population during their temporary time of retreat from itinerancy and take on vital spiritual-clerical roles for the local community. The rain-resort period has therefore been essential for the renewing of religious bonds between clergy and congregation for the ongoing propagation of the faith.²⁴⁹ For this reason, the most cherished meaning of *paryuṣaṇā* has been its sense as the “complete coming together” or “congregating” of the Jain community.²⁵⁰ In addition to “rain-resort” or “rain-retreat,” the word *Paryuṣaṇā* is packed with a number of other meanings that play upon this basic sense of “abidance” in one place and the “coming together” of the four-fold community (monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen). Foremost among them is the eponymously named eight-day period of worship known as “Paryuṣaṇā Parva,” the holiest festival of the year for Jains held during the month of Bhādrapada.²⁵¹

It is at this auspicious time of the liturgical calendar when the congregation comes together as one in order to celebrate the Jain creed, fortify communal relations, reflect upon the exemplary lives of the founding Jina figures, and study sacred scriptures. This last convention culminates in the ritual reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* before the public by presiding clergy members who have taken up residence in the local temple (*upāśraya*) during the retreat from the

²⁴⁹ Outside of the rainy season, Jain monks are enjoined to never spend more than one night in any given location. This is meant to prevent any possibility of forming attachments to both people and places. Jain monks therefore spend the majority of the year wandering and living off alms.

²⁵⁰ *Paryuṣaṇā* as “complete coming together” or “abidance” is etymologized from *pari* (around) + the verbal root *vas* (to abide) + *āna* (the act of coming). Another sense of *Paryuṣaṇā* as signifying a time of worship can also be etymologically pieced together, e.g. *pari* + *upa* + *ās*, to worship.

²⁵¹ The month of Bhādrapada usually occurs sometime between late August and early September in the western calendar. In terms of the lunar calendar used by the Jains, the festival falls between the thirteenth day of the dark phase of the moon during the month of Bhādrapada and extends to the fourth day of the bright phase, lasting a total of eight days.

rains. The festival then concludes in the ardent expression of another important sense of *Paryuṣaṇā* as “repentance,” a locution connected with the salvic power that prayer and penance are thought to play during the time of the festival, especially during the last day known as *saṃvatsarī*, when Jains are expected to atone for any transgressions committed against fellow members of the faith.²⁵² The term *Paryuṣaṇā* is thus a highly charged signifier having close connections with the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* treatise, the festival to which it is intimately connected, and the performance of penance which is thought to literally “congregate” worshippers into one religious community.

With these points in view regarding the semantic range of the word *Paryuṣaṇā*, the question now turns to the roots of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* treatise itself and the quest to unravel its role with respect to the inception of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. I will begin by piecing together traditional accounts of the origins of this material which trace it back to the very earliest layers of canon formation. To start with, its “composer” or “promulgator” (*praṇetā*) is held by tradition to be none other than the great sage Bhadrabāhu (fl. 4th-3rd century BCE), the last retainer and reciter of the lost *Pūrvā* literature.²⁵³ The earliest evidence for this come from the oldest commentary (*niryukti*) on the *Daśāśrutaskandha* from the first century of the Common Era which begins by praising Bhadrabāhu as not only the promulgator of this work but of all three chief *Cheda Sūtras*:²⁵⁴

²⁵² A more detailed account of the Paryuṣaṇā festival will be given in Chapter 6 where I discuss the *Kalpa Sūtra* in Jain religious life.

²⁵³ For a discussion on Bhadrabāhu’s “authorship” of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, see the “Bhūmikā” in the *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtram* by Muni Upādhyāya Ātmarām (1936: 6-9). For a full analysis of the works of Bhadrabāhu, see Dhaky (2004: 108–155).

²⁵⁴ DŚS, 1. Another later reference is mentioned by Jacobi from a work called the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Sūtra* by Dharmaghoṣasūri (ca. 13th c. CE) which contains a short stanza praising Bhadrabāhu in his role as progenitor of the three chief *Cheda Sūtras*. Jacobi uncharacteristically misinterprets the meaning of the verse and proceeds to give a rather convoluted explanation for it. Specifically, he misreads the phrase

*vaṃdāmi Bhaddabāhuṃ pāṇaṃ carima-sayala-suyanāṇiṃ /
suttassa kāragamiṃ Dasāsu Kappe ya Vavahāre ||*

I salute Bhadrabāhu of the Prācīna (*pāṇaṃ*) clan, who was the last one (*carima*) to know all the sacred texts (*sayala-suyanāṇiṃ*), and the sage (*iṣiṃ*) who was the creator (*kāragam*) of the *sūtras* for the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, [*Brhat*] *Kalpa*, and *Vyavahāra Sūtras*.

A more specific reference to Bhadrabāhu’s role in restoring the *Daśāśrutaskandha* can be found in a commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* titled the *Kiraṇāvalī* by Dharmasāgara (ca. 17th c.).

The passage found in the first lecture (*prathama vyākhyāna*) from the *Kiraṇāvalī* reads:

*Praṇetā tāvat sarvākṣarasamnipātavicakṣaṇaś caturdaśapūrvavid yugapradhānaḥ śrī
Bharabāhusvāmī Daśāśrutaskanadhasy’ āṣṭamādhyayanarūpatayā
Pratyākhānapravādābhīdhānanavamapūrvāt Kalpasūtram idaṃ sūtritavān |²⁵⁵*

Now as for (*tāvat*) the composer (*praṇetā*), it was the illustrious master Bhadrabāhu, the chief preceptor of the era (*yugapradhānaḥ*) who knew the fourteen *Pūrvas* (*caturdaśapūrvavid*). He was skilled in the combination of all letters (*sarvākṣarasamnipātavicakṣaṇaś*) and so arranged into *sūtras* (*sūtritavān*) the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* (*Daśāśrutaskanadhasy’ āṣṭamādhyayanarūpatayā*) which was from the ninth *Pūrva* known as the *Pratyākhānapravāda* (*Pratyākhānapravādābhīdhānanavamapūrvāt*).²⁵⁶

There are a couple of important points worth taking away from this account by Dharmasāgara.

First of all, and not to belabor the issue, but critical questions once again arise as to what

Dharmasāgara here means by “*Kalpa Sūtra*” and, secondly, what he intends by assigning

“*Dasa-Kappa-Vvavahārā*” contained in the verse as the “ten *kalpas* and the *vyavahāra*” instead of as a *dvandva* compound giving the abbreviated names of the three oldest texts constituting the core of the *Cheda Sūtras*, i.e., the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, [*Brhat*] *Kalpa*, and *Vyavahāra Sūtras*. For the citation, see Jacobi (1879: 11). Also see Weber (1893: 59, fn. 4) who correctly notes that the word *dasa* used in the formula “*Dasa-Kappa-Vvavahārā*” found in commentaries “denotes the *Dasāo*, the fourth *Chedasūtram* itself, a part of which exists today under the title of the *Kalpasūtram*.”

²⁵⁵ *Kiraṇāvalī*, 19. Also see Jacobi (1879: 22).

²⁵⁶ According to Glasenapp ([1925] 1999: 114), the ninth *Pūrva* known as *Pratyākhānapravāda* and the alleged ultimate source of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, “discusses the renunciation that leads to the nullification of Karma.”

Bhadrabāhu as its “*pranētā*” (promulgator or “author”). From a close reading of the commentary, it is clear that by *Kalpa Sūtra* he intends the full text in three parts rather than just the section on rules. Also clear is that Dharmasāgara is casting Bhadrabāhu as the central agent in disseminating the unified current text. However, as Jacobi has correctly states, this feat could not have yet been accomplished since “the *Sāmācārīs* [rules] only, being comprised by the name *Paryuṣaṇākalpa*, and forming the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, can be looked upon as the work of Bhadrabāhu.”²⁵⁷ While I fully endorse Jacobi’s statement here, at the same time, I would also like to emend and enlarge upon his declaration that the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* was “the work of Bhadrabāhu.” For if we filter back through Dharmasāgara’s passage from the *Kiraṇāvalī*, it is evident that Bhadrabāhu was being heralded here not so much as the author of the work but rather more as a kind of exalted editor or compiler involved in the recovery and reshaping of the root-text into its currently consolidated sūtraic structure (*sūtritavān*).²⁵⁸ The epithet *sarvākṣarasamnipātavicakṣaṇaḥ* (one skilled in the combination of all letters/syllables) also lends support to this notion of Bhadrabāhu as the legendary editor and conduit of the text who, through his famed metacognitive mastery of the oral-memorial canon, was able to recall the text’s sacred syllables and reconstitute them into new *sūtras* suitable for the comprehension of his pupils.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Jacobi (1879: 22).

²⁵⁸ Along the lines of this sense of “editor,” in his Hindi introduction to the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* Muni Upādhyāya Ātmarām (1936: 8) refers to Bhadrabāhu as the text’s “*sampādan karne-vālā*.” He also muses about the possibility that Bhadrabāhu could have collected passages relating to conduct that had been scattered among the other *Aṅgas* and then deposited them into the work which came to be known as the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*.

²⁵⁹ According to Matikīrtigaṇi, the author of a later commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, it was the direct disciples of Mahāvīra who actually arranged the text into *sūtras* prior to the Bhadrabāhu. This, however, doesn’t necessarily conflict with the idea of Bhadrabāhu being singled out as the current text’s *sūtrakāra* since he is thought to have updated the text for the understanding of his generation of pupils. See Muni Upādhyāya Ātmarām (1936: 3-4).

The figure of Bhadrabāhu thus forms an integral authorial-editorial link in the long chain of the text's transmission, yet he was clearly not its only nor even first so-called *praṇetā*. In order to continue tracking the trail of authorship, we will have to go back still further to the original *gaṇadhara* disciples as well as to the Jina preceptors themselves. Fortunately, the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, like many of the other Jain canonical works, gives various clues to its own oral origins as part of the overall narrative frame forming the text itself. The treatise thus begins with the fifth *Gaṇadhara* Sudharman, in whose voice the text is presented, telling his pupil Jambū that he first heard the teachings about to be given directly from the mouth of Mahāvīra.²⁶⁰ This is consistent with the orthodox order of textual transmission for Jain canonical works which are said to proceed first from the spoken words of the presiding Jina to their direct *gaṇadhara* disciples who next textualize the sermons into *sūtras* in order to promulgate their essential message and meaning (*artha*) to pupils.²⁶¹ Since all the surviving original *Aṅga* texts of the extant canon are thought to have descended from the recension of Sudharman alone, his role as chief interlocutor in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* is not at all surprising.²⁶²

In addition to Sudharman's didactic voice in mediating the message of Mahāvīra, another clue which highlights the *Daśāśrutaskandha*'s dynamic of oral transmission is that each chapter ends with a short concluding coda that appears to come from yet another overarching voice. This voice speaks from more of an omniscient point of view and serves to formulaically recount how

²⁶⁰ DŚS, s. 1: *suyam me āusa teṇaṃ bhagavayā evamakkhāyaṃ* (Skt. *śrutam mayā āyuṣman tena bhagavatā evam ākhyātam*/"Oh Venerable One, I heard it thus spoken by the Lord"). This kind of opening formula ascribing authorship to one's spiritual preceptor is of course found in numerous Jain canonical texts as well as standard in Buddhist literature.

²⁶¹ This idea is conveniently formulated as *atthaṃ bhāsai arahā suttaṃ gaṃthaṃti gaṇaharā niunaṃ* (The Jinas verbally disclose the meaning while the worthy *gaṇadharas* string together the *sūtras*). See the *niryukti* (s. 92) on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (1981 [vol. 1]: 46).

²⁶² This was discussed in Chapter 2.2 but it merits mentioning once again that each of the eleven original *gaṇadharas* is claimed to have produced their own recension of twelve canonical texts or *Aṅgas* forming what was called a *dvādaśāṅgī*.

the topics under discussion for the chapter have been taught by the *sthaviras* (senior monks) before ending with the refrain “*tī bemi*” (Skt. *iti bravīmi*), “so say I [to you].”²⁶³ The composer of the *vṛtti*, Matikīrtigaṇi, interprets the phrase “*tī bemi*” as here spoken by the *sūtrakāra* Bhadrabāhu rather than Sudharman:

[“*tī bemi*” =] *iti bravīmi yad bhagavatā sarvavidupadiṣṭam mayākarnītamīti tad aham api Bhadrabāhusvāmī pratipādayām iti bhāvaḥ |*

[the phrase “*tī bemi*” =] “so say I” (*iti bravīmi*) [means] “that (*yad*) which was taught by the all-knowing (*sarvavidupadiṣṭam*) Lord (*bhagavatā*) was heard (*ākarnītam*) by me (*mayā*). Thus I, Bhadrabāhu, explain (*pratipādayāmi*) it as well.” This is the sense.²⁶⁴

In any case, whether this refrain should be taken as spoken by Sudharman or Bhadrabāhu, the key point is that oral markers such as these reveal the rich communicative context of instruction, recitation, and transmission that permeate the text of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. The ascription of the work to Bhadrabāhu, then, while not incorrect, still problematically projects a conception of authorship that fails to take into account its multivocal lines of development that allegedly stretched all the way back to the sermons forming the ancient *Pūrva* literature.

This account aligns with other retellings from the tradition which hold that the ancient *Pūrvas*, like all the original twelve *Aṅga* texts, were first taught by the Jinas such as Mahāvīra.

²⁶³ After the *tī bemi* phrase each chapter then characteristically ends with yet another common formula, this one stating that “x chapter is now complete (*samatta/samāpta*).” Paratextual features such as this, however, are far more likely to have been inserted at a much later date during one of the subsequent redactional councils. The phrase *tī bemi*, on the other hand, can function as a shibboleth for identifying the earliest strata of the canon (viz. *Aṅgas* 1-4). See Schubring ([1935] 1962: 81) for his comments on the opening (*suṃam me āusa*) and concluding (*tī bemi*) formulas as belonging to “the most ancient style” of the Jain canon. Also see Schubring ([1926] 2004: 9-10).

²⁶⁴ See *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtram* (1936: 9). One objection of this interpretation by the commentator Matikīrtigaṇi could be that since the era of Bhadrabāhu was at least six generations removed from that of Mahāvīra, how could it be possible for him to have heard the teachings from him? A reasonable answer is that here Matikīrtigaṇi means that Bhadrabāhu heard the teaching from his own guru Yaśobhadra who, in turn, heard it from his guru and so on back to the Jina. Jinaprabhasūri, in the *Sandehaviṣaṣadhi* (167) from the 14th century, also interprets the “so say I” phrase as spoken by Bhadrabāhu.

As such the *Cheda Sūtras*, as descendants in this line of literature, were by default considered to be traceable to the words of the Jinas (*jina-vacana*) as well as being “spoken by ancient sages” (*ṛṣi-bhāṣita*) such as Sudharman and Bhadrabāhu.²⁶⁵ In this sense, because the ultimate source of this material is claimed to issue from that fabled font of oral lore known as the ancient *Pūrvas*, Bhadrabāhu’s status as the *praṇetā* of the text only makes sense if we take it to mean something more like “auxiliary author” or interlocutor rather than signifying its *mūla-praṇetā* or “original author.” This latter title would have to be strictly reserved for Mahāvīra who delivered the original discourses that formed the foundation for the work which ultimately became the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, and by extension, its eighth section known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.

This point is actually reported in the final passage of the rainy-season rules themselves. The closing statement here attributes their original authorship to Mahāvīra himself and, for the first time, rhetorically reveals the name of the chapter as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*:

*teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ samaṇe Bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre Rāyagihe nagare
Gunaśīlae ceie bahūṇaṃ samaṇāṇaṃ bahūṇaṃ samaṇīṇaṃ bahūṇaṃ sāvyāṇaṃ
bahūṇaṃ sāvyāṇaṃ bahūṇaṃ devāṇaṃ bahūṇaṃ devīṇaṃ majjhagae ceva
evaṃ āikkhai evaṃ bhāsei evaṃ paṇṇavei evaṃ parūvei Pajjosavaṇākappo nāma
ajjhayaṇaṃ sa-aṭṭhaṃ sa-heuyaṃ sa-kāraṇaṃ sa-suttaṃ sa-atthaṃ sa-ubhayaṃ
savāgaraṇaṃ bhujjo bhujjo uvadaṃsei tti bemi || 291 ||*

Thus I say (*tti bemi*), “At that time and period, in the town of Rājagrha, at the shrine [called] Guṇaśīla, the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, in the midst of many monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen, gods, and goddesses, thus related (*evaṃ āikkhai*), thus spoke (*evaṃ bhāsei*), thus proclaimed (*evaṃ paṇṇavei*), [and] thus expounded (*evaṃ parūvei*) the chapter (*ajjhayaṇaṃ*) named the *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa* together with its essence (*sa-aṭṭhaṃ*), reason (*sa-heuyaṃ*), cause (*sa-kāraṇaṃ*), text (*sa-suttaṃ*), [and] meaning (*sa-atthaṃ*). Again and again (*bhujjo bhujjo*) he taught (*uvadaṃsei*) both [the *sūtras* and their meaning] along with grammatical explanations (*sa-vāgaraṇaṃ*).”

²⁶⁵ For Mahāvīra as the *mūla-praṇetā* see the “Bhūmikā” by Muni Upādhyāya Ātmarām in *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtram* (1936: 6).

This passage usefully summarizes many of the most important themes we have been discussing so far concerning the agents, origins, and rubrics of the text: its primary authorship in the figure of Mahāvīra who founds and expounds the original text; its secondary authorship by interlocutory figures who recreate and recite it for posterity (“Thus I say...”); its pedagogical form and function as an *ajjhayaṇa* (Skt. *adhyayana*, a chapter or division of text to be studied); and the enunciation of its title as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.²⁶⁶ Paratextual phenomena such as these last two elements merit attention as they reveal important clues about the contending conceptual frameworks within which the rules were originally cast. For the fashioning of the text in the form of an *adhyayana*, on the one hand, indicates that it was clearly designed as being part of a larger theological and pedagogical program; in this case, a division of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. On the other hand, the fact that the chapter was here simultaneously emblazoned with its own individual title—unlike the other chapters of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* which are only indicated generically or numerically—shows that it was also being promoted with a special semi-independent status as well.

This concluding passage, however, appears to be most likely the work of later redactors. I say this because its narrative form alone is quite different from the text of the rules themselves. It also presents an anachronistic image of the recitation of rules as something taking place before the entire four-fold community rather than just for mendicants (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2). Since the presentation of rules before non-monastics was something that appears to only have begun later,

²⁶⁶ My feeling is that this concluding prose passage of the *Sāmācārī* was added by a later redactor. It matches the diction of the *Sāmācārī*'s introductory passage which Jacobi doubted was original to the text given its stylistic difference between the main text of the rules. For example, they begin with formula *teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ śramaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre* found frequently opening the prose sections of the *Mahāvīra Caritra*. The opening and closing passages thus appear to be framing devices that were inserted as part of the compilation process to create narrative continuity with the material found earlier in the work. It also gives an image of the four-fold community as audience despite the fact that the recitation of the rules was originally reserved for monastics.

perhaps around the middle of the Common Era, I therefore believe it is reasonable to conclude that it is this narrative portion concluding the rules to be a later addition.²⁶⁷ Further, when we take into consideration the overall format of the old core text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, it fortifies the argument that the rainy-season rules alone, and not the hagiographies and list of apostles found in the current *Kalpa Sūtra*, formed the original context of the chapter. This becomes more clear when the rules are read in conjunction with the other chapters making up the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, all of which are relatively short prose expositions in Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛit focused on explaining and prescribing a particular mode of ethical conduct.²⁶⁸ The rules, then, *sans* the other two sections of the current *Kalpa Sūtra* (i.e., *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvalī*) thematically, linguistically, and stylistically interlink with the other nine chapters within the conceptual confines of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. Paratextual or extratextual evidence such as this, then, helps justify the idea that the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* in the form of the rules alone constituted the original *Aṣṭama Adhyayana* (eighth chapter) of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*.

Lastly, the very fact that the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* is here said to be traceable back to the teaching of Mahāvīra is yet further proof for the argument that it is the most archaic of the three sections and forms the old substratum of the current text. The reason for this is that while the hagiographies appearing in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* are also clearly quite old, there is no support for the idea that Mahāvīra, or any other Jina for that matter, ever narrated their own life-story in detail or that the *caritra* as a religio-literary genre even existed during the fourth

²⁶⁷ For more on material that appear to have been inserted by later redactors in the redacted form of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text, see Chapters 5.6 and 6.2.

²⁶⁸ The average length of each *adhyayana* in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* is twenty-nine *sūtras*. Conversely, the hagiography of Mahāvīra alone found in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is 147 *sūtras*, the total number of *sūtras* swelling to two hundred if we count the other saint-stories. On this basis alone it seems difficult to justify how this massive amount of material would have conceptually fit into the original narrative program of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*.

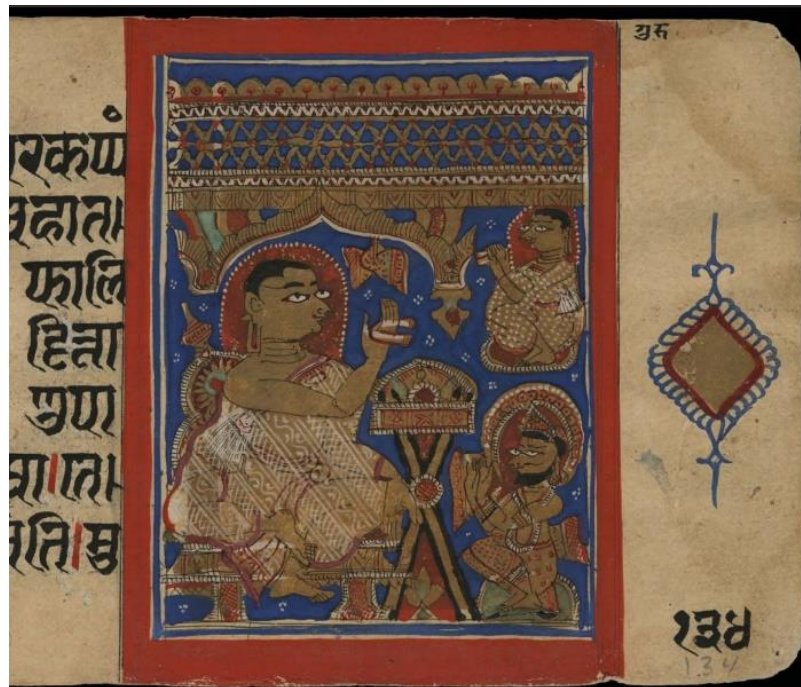


Fig. 3.1. Mahāvīra Preaching the *Sāmācārī* (rules for Paryuṣaṇā). *Kalpa Sūtra*, ca. 16th c., folio 134 (recto). Upper right *guru* is labeled for the image. Source: Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library. Accession Number: Kalpasutra_0961ffJ251500 267.



Fig. 3.2. The Four-fold Community (*saṅgha*) receiving the oral instruction of the rules by Mahāvīra. *Kalpa Sūtra*, 16th c., folio 135 (verso). Upper row: Laymen; middle row: Monks and Nuns; bottom row: Laywomen. Upper right *saṅgha* is labeled for the image. Source: Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library. Accession Number: Kalpasutra_0961ffJ251500 270.

century BCE when he flourished.²⁶⁹ In addition to this, the account of his life given in the text narrates events that transpired after his death, a fact which argues against the notion that the source of the life-story could have been Mahāvīra himself. This, too, can also be said for the second section known as the *Sthavirāvali*, which details the lineage of ecclesiastics who followed Mahāvīra, an account that obviously also could only be given after his passing. Furthermore, as Jacobi perceptively has pointed out, since the hagiographies and lineages also lack any clear theological ties to the original practice of the Paryuṣaṇā rain-retreat and the *kalpa* rules relating to it, “They have, therefore, no claim to the title *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa* and cannot, consequently, be regarded as having, originally, made part of the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*.”²⁷⁰ Thus when it says in the final stanza above that it was Mahāvīra who “proclaimed anexpounded the chapter (*ajjhayaṇa*) named *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa*,” it seems reasonably certain that here it exclusively meant the rules alone.

3.4 Introducing Evidence from the Oldest Commentaries on the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*

This reasonable certainty regarding the role of the rules in forming the chapter’s foundation, however, comes close to being a virtual certitude when we examine the two oldest exegetical works on the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. Here I refer to its so-called *niryukti* (explanation) dating from the 1st–3rd c. CE and *cūrṇi* (refined explanation) from the ca. 5th–6th c. CE. In my analysis, these two commentaries each provide a glimpse into two different lost

²⁶⁹ Except it is said that biographies were given in the fourth section of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* (known as *Anuoga/Anuyoga* or “Investigation”). See Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 9). It should be noted that in this same study Kapadia later (p. 71) “excludes the possibility” of there being “legendary and biographical contents” located here. Here he says, “Now when the real contents of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* had been forgotten, this text became a convenient place where everything could be located which it was thought desirable to invest with canonical authority. And since a continuous and systematic account of the Jaina mythology and hagiology, the “History of the 63 Great Men,” was not found in the existing canon, it was attributed to the last part of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*.”

²⁷⁰ Jacobi (1879: 22).

layers of the text’s bibliographic history. While the *niryukti* is keyed to the old oral text, the *cūrṇi* records a later more transitional phase in the text’s development around the middle of the first millennium (ca. 450 CE) after it had already become redacted into its current vulgate form. The *niryuktis* (Pkt. *nijjuti*), first of all, represent the oldest strand of Jain commentarial literature and provide some of the earliest images of canonical texts taken at the moment of their exegesis sometime in the early centuries of the Common Era.²⁷¹ *Niryuktis* are hence classified as the first of the four “classical modes of commentary” in Jain exegetical practice.²⁷² In the words of Alsdorf, *niryuktis* consist of versified “mnemonic stanzas” in Prākṛit that were “destined for oral transmission.”²⁷³ All the *niryuktis* are further believed to have been composed by yet another monk of high rank and great learning known as Bhadrabāhu, a circumstance which has led many to falsely identify the one with the other and distort the timeline of events. This second Bhadrabāhu—who I will refer to hereafter for the sake of clarity as Bhadrabāhu II—flourished in

²⁷¹ With regard to scholarly opinion on the dating of the *niryuktis*, Schubring ([1935] 1962: 84) cites Leumann who dates them to the 1st century CE.

²⁷² Dundas (1996: 73). Here in “Somnolent Sūtras: Scriptural Commentary in Śvetāmbara Jainism” Dundas summarizes these four modes of commentary as “*niryukti* and *bhāṣya* (written in Prākṛit verse), *cūrṇi* (written in Prākṛit prose, with elements of Sanskritization), and *vṛtti* (written in Sanskrit prose).” Dundas’ statement here that the *niryuktis* and *bhāṣyas* were “written” in Prākṛit is, chronologically speaking, somewhat anachronistic since they allegedly predate written composition and transcription. For a defining, if not diagnostic, feature of these two types of commentary, especially the *niryuktis*, are that they were originally composed and transmitted in a wholly oral environment of exegesis and instruction. To compare with Dundas, another succinct summary of these different commentarial strands is given by Andrew Ollett (2015: 111): “The common typology of commentary in Jainism distinguishes between the original “explanations” (*niryuktis*), the expanded “discussions” (*bhāṣyas*), also in Prakrit verse, and more “granular” commentaries (*cūrṇis*) in Prakrit prose.”

²⁷³ Alsdorf (1977: 2). Alsdorf’s reflections on this literature here (“Jain Exegetical Literature and the History of the Jaina Canon”) are a reliable source for not only introducing the salient features of Jain commentary but also the history of their study first by Leumann and then Schubring.

the first century of the Common Era, a number of centuries after Bhadrabāhu I.²⁷⁴ The *niryuktis* of Bhadrabāhu II thus represent a later era of the canon.

While *niryuktis* do not exhaustively treat the full contents of canonical texts word-by-word like their later commentarial counterparts, they nevertheless provide a sketch of the interior shape of the early sacred texts that go beyond the mere skeletal lists found in works such as the *Sthānaṅga Sūtra* mentioned previously. The later *cūrṇis*, alternatively, are more detailed and fuller written prose explanations in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛit that often contain and explain both the canonical text in addition to the meaning of the epigrammatic *niryuktis*. According to Alsdorf, “In the *cūrṇi* we come for the first time to know the full text of the traditional exegesis.”²⁷⁵ The *cūrṇis* thus record an important moment in the development of the Jain canon soon after the introduction of writing and the redaction of their sacred oral texts into books—the so-called *pustakārohaṇa* discussed in Chapter 2—around the middle of the fifth century CE at the Second Council of Vallabhī. The comparative study of these two exegetical tiers of the texts can therefore serve as a valuable tool for reconstructing the seemingly irrecoverable stages of development they underwent during the transition from oral to scripted works.

The value of the *niryuktis* is especially amplified when we consider the fact that, first of all, not every classical canonical text was equipped with one and, secondly, even among those that were, not all have survived the exigencies of time.²⁷⁶ In any case, the antiquity of these

²⁷⁴ For information on the dates of Bhadrabāhu II and the *niryuktis*, once again see Schubring ([1935] 1962: 84). As mentioned above, Schubring here appears to follow Leumann and place Bhadrabāhu II (and the beginning of the *niryukti* literature) in 80 CE. For further reading on this see Balbir (1993: 39).

²⁷⁵ Ibid. Given their potential for adding to our knowledge of how texts were selectively read, interpreted, and transmitted, Alsdorf writes that “the systematic study of the *Cūrṇis*, hardly begun as yet, promises to be rewarding.”

²⁷⁶ According to traditional lists, there were a total ten *niryukti* commentaries on canonical texts. Again, these are all presumed to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu II. The last two, however, have been lost: 1. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 2. *Daśavaikālika Niryukti*, 3. *Uttarādhyayana Nirukti*, 4. *Ācārāṅga Niryukti*, 5.

records alone makes the information they proffer an even more precious resource worth excavating. We are therefore fortunate that not only was there a *niryukti* composed on the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* but that it still survives and, furthermore, it has survived along with its *cūrṇi* intact as well.²⁷⁷ For our particular investigative purposes, we should also be pleased to find that the subject of our inquiry, the eighth chapter or *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, is treated by both the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* composers. These two exegetical layers of the text, however, have up to this point received little sustained critical attention.²⁷⁸

Jacobi, who sought out as many commentaries as possible while researching his critical edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, was clearly aware of the existence of the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* but unable to procure copies of either.²⁷⁹ He was, however, able to piece together parts from the old *niryukti* from the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*, one of the oldest surviving commentaries (14th c.) on the current *Kalpa Sūtra* which contains citations from it as well as the *cūrṇi*. Jacobi seems to have been especially interested in the *cūrṇi* given its attested overall value to the later tradition of commentators. As he writes in the “Introduction” to the 1879 critical edition, “The oldest commentary on the *Kalpāsutra*, which, however, I have not seen, seems to have been the *Curṇi*.

Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti, 6. *Daśāśrutaskandha Niryukti*, 7. *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra Niryukti*, 8. *Vyavahāra Niryukti*, 9. *Sūryaprajñāpti Niryukti* (no longer extant), and 10. *Ṛṣibhāṣita Niryukti* (no longer extant).

²⁷⁷ Perhaps a better way to put it might be to say the opposite, i.e., that the *niryukti* only survives intact due to the survival of the *cūrṇi* since it has incorporated the oral-based *niryuktis* in its own text. In addition to this *cūrṇi*, there were likely other *cūrṇis* composed on the *Daśāśrutaskandha* besides the one that survives. Wiles (2000: 246) notes in his comprehensive “Bibliography of the Śvetāmbara Canon” (Appendix 1) that there may have been at least three *cūrṇis* although it is still unclear. The same can be said for the later strands of commentarial literature such as the *vṛttis*. Thus, along with the *vṛtti* composed by Matikīrtigaṇi which I have already cited above, there were presumably others.

²⁷⁸ An exception to this is Aśok Kumār Singh’s *Daśāśrutaskandha-Niryukti: Ek Adhyāyan* (Vāraṇasī: Pārśvanāth Vidyāpīṭh, 1998).

²⁷⁹ See Jacobi (1879: 12). Here he writes, “The commentaries we have are, directly or indirectly, based on the old *cūrṇis* or *vṛttis* written in Prakrit, which are now either lost or extant in very few copies only.” Despite the unavailability of these particular works, Jacobi nevertheless had access to a large quantity of Jain manuscripts, including numerous commentaries, housed in the Berlin collection as well as borrowed from the personal collection of the influential Indologist Georg Bühler.

It was, like all *Curṇis*, written in Prakrit as is proved by occasional quotations from it in the commentaries...[W]e must, naturally, look upon that work as the basis, nay the original, of all commentaries.”²⁸⁰ Jacobi’s statement here that the *cūrṇi* represents “the oldest commentary on the *Kalpasutra*” deserves pause and piecing together before we proceed further to discuss the finer points of these commentaries. On the one hand, while the *niryukti* is, strictly speaking, the older specimen of the two, as we shall see in the next section of the chapter, it only analyzes the rules for Paryuṣaṇā rather than the currently redacted *Kalpa Sūtra* in three parts. On the other hand, since the *cūrṇi* does appear to comment on the current tripartite text, Jacobi’s sense that it was the “oldest” and “original” commentary on this material turns out to be correct. At the same time, it should be also noted that the *cūrṇi* did not completely displace the older commentary as the stanzas of the *niryukti* itself were incorporated into it as part of the *cūrṇi*’s own critical apparatus.

Having hopefully made this point more clear, let us now turn to the commentaries themselves and explore the picture each presents of this literature at two different moments in its early history. Specifically, I am interested in the testimony each respective commentary gives that responds to the questions I posed earlier regarding the original constitution of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* chapter and how it related to the later fully formed *Kalpa Sūtra*. Central to my inquiry, it bears repeating, is the question of whether the monastic rules (*kalpas*) for the rainy season (*Paryuṣaṇā*) alone constituted the chapter from the beginning (as its title suggests), or if its theological program was larger and more ecumenical in scope (as tradition suggests). While the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* on the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* have been around for close to two millennia and, for much of their early history, appear to have been widely utilized by the

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 25.

medieval scholiasts, their modern analysis has only just begun. The reason for this is that, to begin with, the epigrammatic and mystifying style of the *niryuktis* make their exact interpretation often difficult if not impossible.²⁸¹ The *cūrṇi* literature helps in recovering much of the buried meaning of the *niryuktis* but also introduces its own set of dilemmas that the later commentaries themselves struggled to resolve. These older layers of scholia thus largely appear to have become gradually more obsolete once later commentaries composed in classical Sanskrit became standard. Another reason for their ultimate obsolescence must have simply been due to the decreasing availability of manuscripts in India featuring the older commentaries once oral knowledge of the *niryuktis* disappeared. This dearth of manuscripts in India, in turn, created an impoverished field of study for their examination abroad as well. Leumann's work in the early twentieth century would nevertheless change the landscape on this when he began looking at the *niryuktis* belonging to the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* and stimulate renewed interest in these old enigmatic texts.²⁸²

As for the exegetical literature on the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, progress in making them available would begin a few decades later with the publication of a number of new printed editions produced by Jain presses starting in the mid-twentieth century. This appears to have been initiated in 1952 when the ever-perceptive Muni Puṇyavijaya singled out for publication the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* on the *Daśāśrutaskandha*'s eighth chapter (i.e., the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*) and had them printed as part of a new edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* he was producing.²⁸³ Following this

²⁸¹ Since *niryuktis* were intended to be memorized and used as aids in oral instruction, grammaticality is all but abandoned in favor of metrics in these texts (*metri causa*). They thus often consist of nothing more than keywords intended to help advanced instructors extemporize on the material.

²⁸² See Leumann's *An Outline of the Āvaśyaka Literature* (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 2010).

²⁸³ This is the *Pavitra Kalpasūtra: Mūla pāṭha, Cūrṇi, Niryukti tathā Śrī Pṛthvīcandrasūrikṛta Ṭippana, pāṭhāntarā Gujarātī bhāshāntara tathā bhāshāntaramāṃ ādharā śabdono koṣa* (1952). For this volume, Puṇyavijaya has placed the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* after the root-text of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

abridged edition of the commentaries, the complete *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* on the full *Daśāśrutaskandha* has subsequently been published in a number of volumes produced by Jain scholarly societies and educational institutes.²⁸⁴ I will start by discussing the *niryukti* given its standing as the earliest strand of this scholastic material. While the *niryukti* on the full *Daśāśrutaskandha* consists of a total of one hundred and forty-one *gāthās*, sixty-seven of these are dedicated to explaining the *sūtras* on the eighth chapter. Among these, I will limit myself to a few salient passages that are relevant to our discussion since much of the commentary is beyond the scope of this study.

3.5 Navigating the *Niryukti*

The *niryukti* on the eighth chapter begins in typical fashion by etymologizing the first object of interest, the name of the chapter's title. Here the *niryukti* composer takes its proper name as *Pajjosamaṇā* (Skt. *Paryuṣaṇā*) and goes on to analyze its various permutations.²⁸⁵ He first gives three variants of the word (*Parivasanaṇā*, *Pajjusanaṇā*, *Pajjosamaṇā*)²⁸⁶ which is followed by two synonyms that are conceptually linked with the season of *Paryuṣaṇā*: *vasāvāsa* (Skt. *varṣāvāsa*), the time of residence during the rainy season; and *paḍhama-samosaraṇa* (Skt. *prathama-samavasaraṇa*), the “first assembly” of ascetics.²⁸⁷ While the *niryukti* nowhere

²⁸⁴ For a full collection of published *niryuktis* see Jinendrasūri (ed.), *Niryukti-saṅgrahaḥ* (1954). For the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* specifically belonging to the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, see the following: *Śrīdaśāśrutaskandha-mūlaniryukticūrṇiḥ* (1954) edited by Maṇivijay-gaṇi; *Daśāśrutaskandha-niryuktiḥ: Ek Adhyayan* (1998) edited by Aśok Kumār Singh and Śrī *Daśāśrutaskandha-granthaḥ: Niryukti-cūrṇi Sahitaḥ* (2006) edited by Ācārya Kalacandrasūrīśvarjī.

²⁸⁵ *DŚS nir.* 1-2.

²⁸⁶ These words can be etymologically deciphered as: *Parivasanaṇā* (Skt. *pari-vas*, to abide or remain in one place); *Pajjusanaṇā* (Skt. *pari-uṣ*, to burn; to do austerities); *Paryupaśamaṇā* (Skt. *pari-upaśam*, to remain calm, peaceful).

²⁸⁷ Regarding this last word, according to the *cūrṇi* on the *Niśūtha Sūtra* (*uddeśaka* 10), there are two *samavasaraṇas* (assemblies) during the Jain ritual calendar, the first (*paḍhama-samosaraṇa*) happens during the four months of *Paryuṣaṇā* and the second (*ditīya-samosaraṇa*) lasts for the remaining eight months of the year.

mentions the word *kappa* (Skt. *kalpa*) as part of the title, the *cūrṇi* composer makes a point to clarify that the meaning of the title consists of two words: *dupadaṃ nāma Pajjosamaṇā Kappo ya* (The name contains two words, *Paryuṣaṇā* and *Kalpa*).²⁸⁸ As this full name tallies with the one given in the list of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*'s chapters found in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (see above p. 132), it confirms that this title was in circulation at an early date. We thus have at least two independent and roughly contemporaneous documents from the early centuries of the Common Era—viz., the *niryukti* and *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*—that can corroborate what was stated in the final stanza of the eighth chapter itself, namely, that the rules for monastics during the period of the rainy season were formalized under the title *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* which occupied the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. Establishing this timeline and tracking the title is therefore important in order to fill in the huge temporal gap between the original enunciation of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text by Bhadrabāhu around the third or fourth century BCE to the first manuscript records of the fully articulated *Kalpa Sūtra* after the twelfth century CE.

Proceeding now from the paratext to an analysis of the body-text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, as we navigate through the *niryukti* it becomes immediately clear that the commentary only treats topics found in the *Sādhu Sāmācārī* (monastic rules) rather than in the *Jina Caritras* or *Sthavirāvali*. This would thus appear to be the strongest and most compelling evidence so far showing that at the time of the *niryukti* the original root-text of the eighth chapter was limited to the *Sāmācārīs* (rules) alone. The case for this is made even stronger when the later *cūrṇi* layer is superimposed onto the picture the *niryukti* gives for comparison since it is here that we begin to see the *Jina Caritra* and *Sthavirāvali* turn up for the first time in the commentarial literature. I thus divide the *cūrṇi* into two parts, the first which is fused to the *niryukti* and faithfully

²⁸⁸ *DŚS cūr.* opening *sūtra*.

comments on each of its verses in longer prose explanations, and the second which breaks new ground after the older commentary concludes by introducing a whole new set of *sūtras* up for analysis. These are the *sūtras* that make up the life-story of Mahāvīra after which follows a short discussion on the *Sthavirāvali*'s first verse before the commentary concludes with a number of new remarks on the *Sāmācārī* rules. In other words, what we see here in the second part of the *cūrṇi* is the very first real exegetical evidence for the fully unified tripartite *Kalpa Sūtra*. Since the *cūrṇi* is datable to around the fifth or sixth century CE, it therefore appears to represent the very first archival “map” of the vulgate text as it appeared in the years immediately following the official redaction of canonical works by Devarddhigaṇi around 450 CE. This event, the *pustakārohaṇa* (see Chapter 2) not only involved the act of copying down sacred oral texts into written or “lettered” form (literization) but also set in motion the closely related second-order process by which they became established as scriptures (scripturalization). In this way, the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* reflect two important historical points in the trajectory of the text. The *cūrṇi*, as the first witness of the fully articulated text, would accordingly go on to become the chief point of reference for the later tradition of commentarial works on the *Kalpa Sūtra* beginning with Jinaprabhasūri's *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*.

At the same time, there may be more interpretive ambiguity at play to this seemingly clear image than meets the eye. As it was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, Jain scholastic opinion, either by convention or conviction, valorizes the antiquity and integrity of the fully formed *Kalpa Sūtra* rather than describing its development in the stratified fashion I have outlined above. For support they cite the *niryukti*'s sixty-second verse,²⁸⁹ perhaps the single most

²⁸⁹ Also numbered as v. 61 in other editions like the 1954 edition of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* edited by Maṇivijay-gaṇi.

important and intriguing passage not only within this particular commentary but in all of the commentarial literature amassed on the *Kalpa Sūtra*. This passage undoubtedly represents the oldest reference linking the *Jina Caritra*, *Sthavirāvalī*, and *Sāmācārīs* together. Here the verse, located near the commentary’s conclusion, and in an economy of words characteristic of the *niryukti* style, discloses the whole condensed history of how and why the *Jina Caritra* and *Sthavirāvalī* first became affiliated with the *Sāmācārī* rules during the period of Paryuṣaṇā:²⁹⁰

purima-carimāṇa kappo
maṅgalaṃ Vaddhamāṇa-titthaṃmi |

to parikahiyā Jina-pari-
kahā ya Therāvalī cetthaṃ ||

The practice of Paryuṣaṇā (*kalpa*) [during the time of] the first and last [Jinas] is [proper]; [It is therefore] auspicious for the community (*tīrtha*) of Vardhamāna.

Hence (*to/tatas*) the story of the Jina (*Jina-parikahā*) and (*ya*) list of senior monks (*Therāvalī*) have been told (*parikahiyā*) here at this time (*itthaṃ/atra*).

While sparse in wording, the passage is nevertheless rich in meaning and brings to light long-lost clues on the obscure early timeline of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. To start with, it tells us what inspired the tradition of reciting the *Jina Caritra* and *Sthavirāvalī* during Paryuṣaṇā alongside the rules of conduct or *Sāmācārīs*. This was reportedly because of the “auspicious power” (*maṅgala*) generated not only by their oral performance but, more specifically, the auspicious impact of their reception on the *tīrtha* (*titthaṃmi*), that is, the complete and total religious community (monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen).²⁹¹ The *Cūrṇi* commentary (s. 62) on the

²⁹⁰ For reference to this *gāthā* found in secondary scholarly sources see Jacobi (1879: 23-24); Punyavijay (1969: 116); Vinaya Sāgar’s English Introduction in *Kalpasūtra* (1984: xxiv); Aśok Kumar Singh (1998: 184); and B. Bhatt (1993: 89 & 116).

²⁹¹ I take *tīrtha* here to mean the Jain community itself rather than the typical translation given as “ford,” “pilgrimage site,” or “sacred teaching.” As John Cort describes it (2010: 110), the term *tīrtha* “specifically indicates the four branches (*tīrtha*) of the necessary complete community—monks, nuns,

Niryukti verse reinforces the idea that these texts were brought together “for the purpose of auspiciousness (*maṅgala-nimittam*) in the religious community of Vardhamāna” (*Vaddhamāṇa-titthammi*).²⁹² It explains this further here by saying that while religious practices and monastic rules (*kalpa*) were optional (Pkt. *bhayita*; Skt. *vibhakta*, *vikalpita*) in the eras of the middle twenty-two Jinas, during the time of the first and last Jinas (i.e., Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra) rules of conduct were mandatory, especially those in force during the holy period of the rain-resort (*paryuṣaṇā*). This is because the religious community was thought to have been too inexperienced in matters of religion in the case of the first Jina, and, conversely, too corrupted in the case of the last.²⁹³ For this reason, the *Jinacaritras* and *Sthavirāvalī* have been prefixed to the *Sāmācārī* rules for the benefit of community of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra). In short, what we are seeing articulated here for the very first time is an expansion of the closed hermitic performative space of the old *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* into a more open demotic one by introducing narrative material aimed at the spiritual edification of the complete religious community, the *tīrtha*. The *niryukti* thus testifies to the way in which the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* gradually began to be transformed from a disciplinary digest of rules meant for rank-and-file monastics into a more expanded devotional and didactic program with religious significance for both mendicants and congregants.

laymen, laywomen—created by each Tirthankara. This fourfold community provides the social foundation necessary for the practice of religion and therefore the attainment of liberation.”

²⁹² *Cūrṇi* s. 62: *purimacarimāṇa ya titthagaraṇam esa maggo ceva -- jahā vāsāvāsam pajjosaveyavvam paḍatu vā vāsam vā | majjhimagāṇam puṇa bhayitam | avi ya Vaddhamāṇatitthammi maṅgalanimittam jina-gaṇahara[rāi-therā]valiyā savvesiṃ ca jīṇaṇam samosaraṇāṇi parikahijjanti.*

²⁹³ According to Dundas (1992: 31), “In the time of the first formaker there was difficulty in understanding the doctrine which was being preached for the first time, while in the time of the last formaker, as the process of spiritual and moral decline began to take hold, people had difficulty in putting it into practice.

Jacobi's observations here, as usual, are astute and worth considering in detail. Even though he did not have access to the full *niryukti*, he was still able to analyze fragments of it discoverable in the *Sandehaviṣṇauśadhi* (14th c. CE) which cites a number of passages from both the *niryukti* and *cūrṇi*, including this one. Regarding this *gāthā* he writes, "The Jainas seem to have been perfectly aware of the disparity of the subjects treated in the *Kalpasūtra*. But they account for it by saying that the first two parts are prefixed to the *Paryuṣaṇāsāmācārīs* [Paryuṣaṇā rules] 'maṅgalārtham,' i.e. for the sake of auspiciousness."²⁹⁴ Jacobi's analysis here points in the right direction but, ultimately, misses the mark. For while his description of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s contents as a "disparity of subjects" is, at least on the surface, an accurate statement, at the same time, it also misleadingly implies that it was out of some arbitrary development or accident of history that the *Jina Caritras*, *Sthavirāvalī*, and *Sāmācārī* rules became linked together. On the contrary, the Jain scholiasts in this case were not merely attempting to resolve what seemed to be a "disparity of subjects" in the *Kalpa Sūtra* by appealing to some higher power of "auspiciousness" but were instead doing just the opposite: they were expressing their belief in the logic of localizing these three works together as a unit; that is, they were highlighting the theological utility and auspicious efficacy in aligning these particular texts together as a thematically sound group. Together, they formed an enduring ecclesiastical ensemble of texts with strategic connections between each section. More than just a mystical manual for ascetics, in the expanded *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* we begin to see the makings of a new kind of socio-spiritual "charter" document for the upstart community. This working model consisted of chronicles of the founding "fordmakers" or "congregation-establishers" (*Tīrthaṅkaras*) in the form of the *Jina Caritras*, followed by a eulogistic recital of the elders who instituted their

²⁹⁴ Jacobi (1879: 23).

teachings in the *Sthavirāvalī*, and then concluded where it all began with a presentation of the Paryuṣaṇā rules for monks and nuns, the spiritual guardians of the tradition. It is also no coincidence either that Paryuṣaṇā festival would play the pivotal role it did in these events given that, as previously mentioned, it represented the one time of the ritually-attuned calendrical year when the fourfold community was able to literally “congregate” together—i.e., to make “Paryuṣaṇā” (*pari* [around, fully] + *√vas* [to abide] + *ana* [the action of])—as one religious unit).

There is no indication here yet, however, that at the time of the *niryukti* the *Jina Caritra* or *Sthavirāvalī* (at least as we now know them) had in any way officially become appended to the root-text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. All that can be concluded from the above verse is that the practice of reciting some version of these texts alongside the *Sāmācārīs* during Paryuṣaṇā was already in progress. For this reason I maintain my original point that the *niryukti* appears to only testify to a period of time in which the work we understand as the *Kalpa Sūtra* was still in the making. The fact that, outside of this one instance, the Jina stories or list of their apostles are not mentioned anywhere else in the *niryukti* and, further, that there is not any actual exegetical treatment of them at all here, supports this conclusion. But the verse does clearly establish that these three separate texts began to form an inseparable and exclusive repertoire of topics at an early point, one that would lay the groundwork for their future fusion into as a single self-contained scripture.

The historical and religious value of the *niryukti* verse was clearly not lost upon the later tradition of scholastics either who began to position it at the opening of their commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* as part of the auspicious invocation (*maṅgalācāra*) of the text.²⁹⁵ However, this

²⁹⁵ For example, see the opening formulas found in Dharmasāgara’s *Kiraṇāvalī* (1571 CE), Vinayavijaya’s *Subodhikā* (1639 CE), and Samayasundara’s *Kalpalatā Tīkā* (1642 CE).

later invocational form of the verse was in reality a carefully recrafted revision of the original, one punctuated with subtle syllabic alterations that served to substantially alter its meaning.

While the first half of the verse (*a* and *b* below) remains unchanged, the compounds coming at the end of half-lines *c* and *d* have been reworked to now reflect the orthodox arrangement of the current *Kalpa Sūtra* or vulgate (the so-called *Bārsā Sūtra*):

<u>Original <i>Gāthā</i> (ca. 1st – 2nd c. CE)</u>	<u>Reworked Vulgate Version (ca. 16th c. CE)</u>
(a) <i>purima-carimāṇa kappo</i>	<i>purima-carimāṇa kappo</i>
(b) <i>maṅgalaṃ Vaddhamāṇa-titthaṃmi </i>	<i>maṅgalaṃ Vaddhamāṇa-titthaṃmi </i>
(c) <i>to parikahiyā Jina-pari-</i>	<i>iha parikahiyā Jina-Gaṇa-</i>
(d) <i>kahā ya Therāvalī cetthaṃ </i>	<i>harāi-Therāvalī-Carittaṃ </i>
(a-b) And the religious practice (<i>kalpa</i>) of the first and last [Jinas] is auspicious in the religious order (<i>tīrtha</i>) of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra)	And the religious practice (<i>kalpa</i>) of the first and last [Jinas] is auspicious in the religious order (<i>tīrtha</i>) of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra)
(c-d) For this reason (<i>to/tatas</i>) the story of the Jina (<i>Jina-parikahā</i>) and (<i>ya</i>) list of senior monks (<i>Therāvalī</i>) have been told (<i>parikahiyā</i>) here at this time (<i>itthaṃ</i>)	[Therefore] at this time (<i>iha</i>) the [story of the] Jina, the list of senior monks (<i>Therāvalī</i>) beginning with the Gaṇadharas (<i>Gaṇaharāi</i>), and codes of conduct (<i>Caritta</i>) have been told (<i>parikahiyā</i>). ²⁹⁶

The parallel placement of the original and reworked versions of the verse above puts into sharp relief how lines *c* and *d* of the original *niryukti* have been retrofitted to now denote the fixed trio of texts comprising the fully articulated *Kalpa Sūtra*. Jacobi has noted this conversion of the line and refers to it as a new “metrical table of contents (*adhikāratrayaṃ*)” that united these three topics together “in one book under the title of *Kalpāsūtra*.”²⁹⁷ Jacobi’s application of the word

²⁹⁶ I include here A. K. Singh’s (1998: 184) Hindi translation of the verse from his *Daśāśrutaskandha-Niryukti: Ek Adhyāyana*: “Pratham aur antim Tīrthaṅkar ke samay meṃ kalpa arthāt varṣāvās avāśya hotā hai, (madhya ke Tīrthaṅkarom ke samay varṣāvās vikalp se hotā hai), kalyāṇ ke liye Vardhamān tīrth meṃ Jinom kā caritra aur Gaṇadharom kī Sthavirāvalī varṇit hai.”

²⁹⁷ Jacobi (1879: 24).

adhikāratraya here, and his interpretation of it as a versified table of contents, appears almost certainly to have been drawn from the scholiast Samayasundara who, in the opening to the *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā* (1642 CE), reproduces the reinvented *gāthā* from the *niryukti* and interprets the meaning of lines *c-d* in the following way:

atra Śrī Kalpa Sūtre adhikāratrayaṃ vācyam vartate |

1. *Jināṇāṃ Caritāṇi*, 2. *Sthavirāvalī*, 3. *Śrī Paryuṣaṇā Parva Sāmācārī ca* |²⁹⁸

Here with regard to the Noble *Kalpa Sūtra* there exist a collection of three subjects (*adhikāra-traya*) to be read (*vācyā*): 1. the Biographies of the Jinas, 2. the Lineage of Elders, and 3. the Monastic Rules for the Illustrious Festival of Paryuṣaṇā.

Samayasundara’s choice of the term *adhikāra-traya* to describe the taxonomy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text is instructive and gives insight into how the vulgate edition was being conceptually and institutionally constructed in the early modern period. While in its most basic sense *adhikāra-traya* merely means a collection of three (*traya*) “presiding” or “superintending” topics (*adhikāra*), in a deeper sense, however, this particular compound seems more than merely descriptive but imbued with normative power as well.²⁹⁹ That is to say, given the legislative force of the term *adhikāra*, the locution *adhikāra-traya* both confers as well as confirms the high authoritative status of this holy hegemony or trinity (*traya*) of topics brought together under the title *Kalpa Sūtra*.³⁰⁰ This once again demonstrates how these three stately subjects were not considered “disparate” but fully commensurate with one another in view of the tradition.

²⁹⁸ Samayasundara, *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā*, 1.

²⁹⁹ According to the entry for *adhikāra* in the *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism* by Timothy Lubin, “The noun *adhikāra* (and related forms derived from *adhi + kr-*, “be or place over,” “aim at,” or “superintend”) denotes a range of personal capacities and statuses, especially those conferred by religious or social convention.” It is along these lines that I take *adhikāra* here in the compound *adhikāra-traya* to also function in certain respects as an orthodox normative claim.

³⁰⁰ The political, social, and religious ramifications of the term *adhikāra* can be seen in the following entry for the word given by Apte (*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*): *adhikārah*

With this in mind I would also like to add here that there was also another deeper significance and function to the remastered *niryukti* verse, one that went far beyond the idea of it forming a convenient “table of contents” for the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture. For by inscribing the revised verse at the head of their commentaries in the form of an auspicious epigraph in archaic canonical Prākṛit, the scholastic authors were also presenting a carefully curated image of the current *Kalpa Sūtra* that placed it securely in the remote and legendary past of Bhadrabāhu. The verse thus functioned in the manner of a sacred relic that infused the present scripture with an aura of antiquity, authenticity, and authority. In this way, the inscription of the verse-relic from the *niryukti* had the ultimate effect of historicizing the current *Kalpa Sūtra* and thus archaizing the *adhikāra-traya* as a timeless trinity. Concomitant with this was the associated idea that it was Bhadrabāhu alone who brought these three topics together and forged the full vulgate in the third or fourth century BCE starting with the story of Mahāvīra.³⁰¹ Later commentators such as Samayasundara mentioned above were thus involved in normatively defining the internal and external domains of the text as well as formalizing the thesis that it had singular authorship in Bhadrabāhu.

1 Superintendence, watching over; superintendence of religious matters. -2 Duty, office, charge; power, post of authority; authority. -3 Sovereignty, government or administration, jurisdiction, rule. -4 Position, dignity, rank. -5 (a) Right, authority, privilege, claim, title. (b) Qualification or authority to perform certain specified duties, civil, sacrificial, religious &c.

³⁰¹ See Samayasundara, *Kalpalatā Tīkā*, 1: *tatrāpi Śrī Mahāvīradevo vartamāna-tīrthasya svāmī, punaḥ āsannopakārī, tataḥ Śrī Bhadrabāhusvāmināḥ pūrvvaṃ Śrī Mahāvīrasya caritaṃ kathayanti* / [As] Mahāvīra is the spiritual preceptor (*svāmī*) of the Jain community of the present age (*vartamāna-tīrtha*) and, moreover (*punaḥ*), one whose benefit is nearest at hand (*āsanna-upakārī*), for this reason (*tataḥ*) the master Bhadrabāhu has first (*pūrvvaṃ*) told (*kathayanti*) the life of Lord Mahāvīra there as well (*tatrāpi*) [in the *Kalpa Sūtra*].

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter began grandiosely with the statement of the scholiast Samayasundara anointing the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture as the “crown-jewel” (*śiromaṇi*) of the Jain canon. I have tried to show in the remaining sections of the chapter how this coronation of the current unified text, however, concealed a long prehistory of modification and augmentation. To put it in more technical terms, the final textual product represented by the *Kalpa Sūtra* as we now know it was the result of a protracted historical process involving the intervention of more than one authorial agent and institutional setting. Thus far I have mainly discussed one of those agents, the polymath Bhadrabāhu, who set this whole monumental history in motion with the composition of the *Cheda Sūtras*, the set of canonical penal code texts intended for monks and nuns that he is said to have “extracted” from the lost lore of *Pūrva* literature. Out of this set of works on monastic doctrine and discipline, the most important one for our purposes has been the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, and more precisely, its eighth chapter known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. This title ostensibly referred to the twenty-eight rules (*kalpas*, also popularly called *sāmācārīs*) delivered in sixty-eight *sūtras* that govern monastic behavior during the time of year known as Paryuṣaṇā when they give up their peripatetic mode of living and reside in one place for the duration of the rainy season. This much is clear; however, from this point on things become far less certain and subject to dispute. This is due to the fact that compared to the uniformity of the other remaining chapters of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, a key feature of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* chapter as it exists today is its striking variformity. For in addition to the rules for Paryuṣaṇā presented in *sūtras* we also find life-stories of saints (*Jina Caritras*) and a lengthy list of apostles (*Sthavirāvali*). I have argued that these three seemingly “disparate” subjects form a strategic coalition of coordinated topics that make sense from a theological rather than stylistic point of

view. Despite this, contrary to the general opinion of tradition, each tract of the text appears to have been composed at a different time and under different circumstances.

We have also seen how the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*'s path to prominence was propelled by its close connection with the holy festival from which it derives its name, Paryuṣaṇā. The increasing importance of this festival period as a restorative time for the Jain faithful to spiritually and socially unite as one community no doubt accelerated the ascent of this chapter from its place on the periphery of the canon to the pinnacle of Jain holy scriptures. But we have also seen how this was no rapid rise to the crown of the canon. Before this could happen, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* had to first expand beyond the perimeters of the priesthood and enter into new social, cultural, and devotional domains. The process by which it shifted out of the circumscribed sacerdotal sphere of the ascetic order and into the more fluid circulatory spaces of the religious public has never been fully explored in detail, but I have attempted to reconstruct its stages of development based on what can be discovered out of the strands of the oldest surviving commentaries.

With reference to these surviving records, I have made mention of a second important agent involved in the dissemination of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. This was the composer of its very first commentary, the *niryukti* by Bhadrabāhu II. A comparative analysis of the *niryukti* (2nd-3rd c. CE) with the later *cūrṇi* (unknown author, 6th c. CE) has revealed that transformations to the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* occurred in a series of subtle rather than seismic shifts taking place over the course of several centuries. Based on the data obtained from these two oldest commentaries, I have been able to trace at least three eras or “iterations” of the text that I link with the activities of different institutional agents: the original text from the era of Bhadrabāhu (3rd century BCE); a second iteration represented by the *niryukti* belonging to the era of its author Bhadrabāhu II (1st century CE); and a third iteration represented by the *cūrṇi* produced in the era of

Devarddhi.³⁰² Each iteration represents a point in the timeline of the text as it expanded in content and, as a result, broadened its scope of circulation from old ascetic to new demotic domains.

In short, with regard to the first iteration of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, it appears to have consisted solely of the sixty-eight *sūtras* we now find located in the final section of today's vulgate text known as the *Sādhu Sāmācārī* that present the monastic codes of discipline to be observed during the rainy season. We can confidently credit Bhadrabāhu as its author, editor, and promulgator (*praṇetā*) and that this happened sometime around the third century BCE. The second proposed iteration is traceable to the *niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu II, the first commentary on the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. While the *niryukti*—composed around the first century CE—does not indicate any substantial transformation to the text, here we do find the very first allusion to the stories of saints and line of patriarchs entering into the orbit of the original rules recorded by Bhadrabāhu I. However, the extent to which these tracts had become incorporated into the textual and theological program of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* remains unclear. Given that the *niryukti* only mentions them near the end of the commentary and, furthermore, does not actually comment on them as if they were part of the apparatus of the root-text, suggests that they were still in the process of becoming assimilated into the preserve of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. The third iteration I name after the redactor Devarddhi since it is he who, as I will show in following chapters, was most likely responsible for the establishment of the vulgate version of the complete *Kalpa Sūtra* in three parts. The *cūrṇi*, produced after the redaction, appears to be the first commentary to officially recognize this fixed tripartite edition.

³⁰² The era of Devarddhi will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

At the same time, for all its newness, the *cūrṇi* itself also still seems to be a text in transition. While the later commentaries on the fully formed *Kalpa Sūtra* as a rule begin their studies by treating the *Jina Caritras* first since these stories occupy the opening book of the scripture, it is noteworthy that the *cūrṇi* composer treats the hagiography of Mahāvīra only *after* the *Sāmācārī* rules. Perhaps this reflected a desire to acknowledge the primacy of the rules in their position as the basis of the root-text and their centrality to the practice of Paryuṣaṇā even though the other two sections had obviously already become prefixed to them. There is also no commentary on any of the other *Jina Caritras* besides that of Mahāvīra which may indicate that these had yet to be composed. Or it could just as well indicate that a principle of parsimony was at play, meaning that since these stories were by and large identical to the Mahāvīra narrative, to comment on them would have seemed superfluous.

In the final analysis, to say that the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* forms a primary part of the *Kalpa Sūtra* practically amounts to pleonasm. For in one sense, it *is* the *Kalpa Sūtra*. As its root-text, it was instrumental to the inception of the entire textual tradition connected with the scripture. It thus served as the fertile ground for the future maximal text to take root and flourish in the following centuries. The mandatory monastic exercise of reciting the rules for Paryuṣaṇā (i.e., the *Sāmācārīs*) during this auspicious time of year also provided an oral-performative precedent for the later practice of reciting the stories of the Jinas and list of Patriarchs before the entire congregation. The eponymously entitled *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* thus served as a multivalent model for the textual, ritual, and liturgical program that would ultimately center on the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture during the most holy time of year for Jains, Paryuṣaṇā. One of the intents behind this chapter has therefore been to contest the position that these rules were “not relevant” to the

foundations of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.³⁰³ In opposition to this point of view, I have tried to demonstrate how they were not only connected to the inception of the scripture but, even more so, they were actually constitutive of both it and the liturgical tradition that was in the process of taking shape in the first half of the Common Era. My task in this chapter has hence been to make it a methodological priority to first probe the understudied history of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* as a point of departure to begin to understand the curious course by which the *Kalpa Sūtra* would become monumentalized and superposed as a sacred scripture.

Yet no matter how much of a religious imperative the recital of rules for Paryuṣaṇā may have been for the maintenance of the ascetic order, on its own, a list of penal codes governing the conduct of monks and nuns seems hardly the material for the makings of an iconic scripture with the power to spiritually inspire and socially mobilize an entire religious community. For that to happen the old root-text would have to undergo a set of transformations and innovations before becoming a true scriptural foundation for the faith. Here I refer to the introduction of the hagiographical and genealogical tracts that have up to this point only been obliquely alluded to, the *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvali*. While ascetic values would still remain essential to the overall religious value of the work, the introduction of these two later tracts to the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* would also signal a shift from a strictly ascetic point of view to a new aesthetic one. And so now it is time that we turn to the discussion of these two other fixtures of the scripture. In the next chapter I will show how they, in concert with the older established tradition of rule recitation, would transform the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and crystallize it into the epithetic jewel of all scriptures.

³⁰³ Once again, see Lalwani's quote mentioned earlier (p. 32) regarding the lack of relevance of the rules to the current scripture.

Chapter 4

The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part II

The *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* Liturgical Formula and Literary Tradition

4.1 Introduction: From Chapter to Charter Text

In Part I of the “The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context” we began the process of excavating the contents of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in order to reconstruct its rich multilayered past. Here it was shown how that past began with the program of rules and regulations governing monastics during the period of the rainy season known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. It was also described how this earlier tract was itself part of a larger and more comprehensive canonical treatise on monastic law called the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. This “Treatise of Ten Chapters” outlines various rules of conduct meant for ordained mendicants as well as spiritually advanced lay worshippers. As the *Daśāśrutaskandha*’s eighth chapter, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* accordingly functioned as an integral part of this overarching work’s overall program aimed at enunciating correct codes of conduct within the realm of the religious order. As its title indicates, the specific contribution of the eighth chapter to this work was the articulation of appropriate actions (*kalpas*) for monks and nuns during the holy period of Paryuṣaṇā when they reside or “abide” together in proximity to the laity during the four-months of the rainy season. This special connection of the chapter to the ritual world of Paryuṣaṇā, in fact, appears to have been the main impulse behind why the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a work undoubtedly compiled for religious instruction during this holy period, would in time take root here and develop as an extension of the original *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.

The development of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is therefore one inextricably tied to the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* and the changing forms and fortunes of its venerable eighth chapter, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. This is an important point to keep in mind even as we move forward in this

study and start to discuss the *Kalpa Sūtra* as its own bibliographical work beyond the boundaries of its original root-text. Admittedly, there is a certain amount of hermeneutical circularity and inescapable overlap when it comes to talking about the *Kalpa Sūtra* as being both internal to as well as external from the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. Indeed, despite its deep roots in the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, a dynamic feature of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is its decided conceptual and material distinction from it as well. Pondering the issue of the interrelationship between the two is no mere academic exercise either, for the contested matter of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s own canonical or post-canonical status is inseparably bound up with this question of its dependent or independent relationship to the *Daśāśrutaskandha*.³⁰⁴ In any case, while in theory these intersecting materials remain forever theologically and textually linked, in actual religious practice the eighth chapter in its expanded and embellished form would nevertheless begin to supersede the limited discursive dimensions of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* itself and become sponsored as its own work.

The semi-independence of the *Kalpa Sūtra* from its base-text can best be seen by the highly abridged format the eighth chapter has come to assume in actual copies of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. For instance, the following two examples (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2) of the eighth chapter taken from modern printed editions of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* demonstrate how the entire text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* has come to be represented by a single yet substantial *sūtra*. This stylized and almost stanzaic *sūtra* consists of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s opening (*incipit*) and closing (*explicit*) passages joined into one all-encompassing encapsulation of the entire work. Its rhetorical role here is ostensibly to represent the total *Kalpa Sūtra* treatise which by the sixth century CE seems

³⁰⁴ See Chapter 3.2 for mention of the Śvetāmbara Jains (Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī) who question the canonicity of the *Kalpa Sūtra* based on their belief that it was composed at a later time. The Mūrtipūjakas, once again, fully endorse it as canonical.

आठमी दशा : पयुषणा ङलु

ढगवान ढहावीर स्वाढीना गुवननी ढुपुत घटनाओ :-

१ तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं समणे ढगवं ढहावीरे पंचहत्थुत्तरे यावि होत्था, तं जहा- हत्थुत्तराहिं चुए चइत्ता गढ्ढं वक्कंते, हत्थुत्तराहिं गढ्ढाओ गढ्ढं साहरिए, हत्थुत्तराहिं जाए, हत्थुत्तराहिं ढुंडे ढवित्ता अगाराओ अणगारियं पव्वइए, हत्थुत्तराहिं अणंते अणुत्तरे णिव्वाघाए णिरावरणे कसिणे पडिपुण्णे केवलवरनाणदंसणे समुप्पण्णे, साइणा परिणिव्वुए ढगवं जाव ढुज्जो ढुज्जो उवदंसेइ ।

Figure 4.1. The abridged form of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as it appears in the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha* where the entire text has been compressed into a single *sūtra* consisting of the opening (*incipit*) and closing (*explicit*) passages of the text. The two parts making up this composite *sūtra* can be seen joined together by the conjunctive particle *jāva* (Skt. *yāvat*) in line 5 where it is used in the sense of “up to” (as in “from *x* up to *y*”). Note that the chapter is still traditionally referred by its former title as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.

Source: *Śrī Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. Edited by Līlambai Mahāsatī. Mumbai: Guru Prāṇ Prakāśan, 2009: 82.

ढूलढ्ढ-तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं समणस्स ढगवओ
ढहावीरस्स पंच हत्थुत्तरा होत्था, तंजहा-हत्थुत्तराहिं चुए,
चुइत्ता गढ्ढं वक्कंते १ । हत्थुत्तराहिं गढ्ढाओ गढ्ढं साहरिए २ ।
हत्थुत्तराहिं जाए ३ । हत्थुत्तराहिं ढुंडे ढवित्ता अगाराओ
अणगारियं पव्वइए ४ । हत्थुत्तराहिं अणंते अणुत्तरे निव्वाघाए
निरावरणे कसिणे पडिपुण्णे केवलवरनाणदंसणे समुप्पण्णे ५ ।
साइणा परिनिव्वुए ढगवं जाव ढुज्जो उवदंसेइ त्तिवेढि ॥सू०१॥
॥ इय पज्जुसणं नामं अट्टढं अज्झयणं समत्तं ॥

Figure 4.2

Source: *Śrī Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. Rājkoṭ (Saurāṣṭra): Śrī Akhil Bhārat Śvetāmbara Stānakvāsī Jain Śāstrodhār Samiti, 1960.

to have for all practical purposes become its own separate scriptural volume.³⁰⁵ We will return to the discussion of this *sūtra* shortly in the next section of this chapter but for our present purposes it is enough to note that as the *Kalpa Sūtra* expanded in both size and status a corresponding strategy of reducing its scale in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* seems to have become standard.

Having established the deeply intertwined histories of these texts we are now in a position to plot the path of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as it began to embark on a course quite distinct from the *Daśāśrutaskandha*. In Part Two of the “text in context” we will accordingly start to shift our attention away from the backdrop of the base text and turn to the independent evolution of the eighth chapter as it became recast as the tripartite *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Jinacaritra*, *Sthavirāvalī*, *Sādhu Sāmācārī*) consisting of twelve-hundred *ślokas*, the so-called *Bārasā* (1200) *Sūtra*. I will show how this evolution of the chapter, in fact, represented a veritable revolution in Jain religiosity and narrative literature. This revolution would begin with the radical reinvention of the old eighth chapter from a digest of disciplinary rules into an entirely new kind of narrative work with enormous religious import and socio-cultural significance for the entire *saṅgha* or community. For it was here where the biographies of the Jinas would be first fully developed and deployed as a new religio-literary genre, the *caritra*, aimed at the spiritual and ethical edification of the whole congregation. It was also to a great extent due to the remarkably prolific and systematic reproduction of copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra* that the genre of hagiography would become instituted

³⁰⁵ In the parlance of classical western rhetoric, the passage’s role in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* can be compared (roughly) to what is referred to as a *pericope*; that is, it serves as a small yet spiritually charged citation or extract from a religious work that has come to function on its own as a liturgical text. *Pericope* is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “A section or subsection of a religious text, esp. one appointed for reading in public worship; a lesson.” Also see the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* which describes it as “An extract or selection from a book, especially a reading from a Scripture that forms part of a church service.”

and instrumentalized as a powerful evangelical tool to promote the Jain creed in the competitive sectarian environment of classical and medieval India.

In concert with this endeavor would also be the next “new” section of the work, the *Sthavirāvalī*, where the names and ministerial orders of the disciples and senior leaders (*sthaviras*) who succeeded them would be inscribed for Jain posterity. As these patriarchs could be considered something akin to the “church fathers” of the Jain religious institution or the clerical equivalent of “bishops” who followed the founding figures of the tradition, the *Sthavirāvalī*, to use another ecclesiastical corollary, would serve as an important document defining the Jain community’s own historic episcopate. By “historic episcopate” here I mean the historic lineage of Jain leaders and elders from the direct disciples of the Jina to the subsequent senior monks who held office as heads of their various orders within the overall institution. It was on the well-established platform of the old *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, then, that these two new units of the text would become established as important building blocks of Jain history and heritage as well as provide a potent popular vehicle for the ministry of their official teachings to the religious public. It is therefore no coincidence that a foundational document such as the *Kalpa Sūtra* would arise as part of the larger processes of sectarian self-fashioning taking place during the first millennium C.E., a span of time in which both the canon and the community were becoming reshaped and regionalized into new sectarian regimes. These events, needless to say, took centuries to transpire and so it also comes as no surprise either that the *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvalī* themselves on closer inspection reveal the unmistakable traces of prolonged development. One of our major objectives in this chapter will be to therefore document the developmental stages each underwent as they became fixed, or rather *prefixed*, to the existing list of monastic rules for Paryuṣaṇā.

We accordingly start our investigation by focusing on the formation of the *Jina Caritras* positioned in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. I will discuss how the version of the saint stories found here has been long held to be modeled on an earlier specimen of hagiography from Jain canonical literature. This is the sketch of the life of Mahāvīra located in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, the reputed oldest work in the current canon and, as such, the first text in the line of original twelve treatises comprising the “limbs” (*Aṅgas*) of the sacred literature. We will see how the longer version of Mahāvīra’s life as presented in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, however, was more than likely either a precursor or at least parallel to the version found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. At any rate, regardless of which version came first, the story of the saint found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* without a doubt represents the first true chronicle of his full life and religious career. A major goal of mine in Part II of the dissertation will consequently be to reconstruct the process by which the full biography of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* appears to have been generated out of older archaic material that no longer survives except in the form of fragments found in various ancient commentaries. A study of how the fully developed biography emerges as well as diverges from the older and less elaborate versions of his life can help us to understand the process by which it became popularized as the paradigmatic saint story.

4.2 The *Pañca Kalyāṇakas*: Setting the Stage for the Stories of the Jain Saints

Like many sacred Jain works the *Kalpa Sūtra* begins with a blessing. In manuscripts this customarily consists of the Jain auspicious sign for success ॐ॥ together with the *Ṇamokāra Mantra*, a sacred salutation to the supreme sages who teach and transmit the mystical knowledge



Fig. 4.3 First folio from an illustrated *Kalpa Sūtra*, 1501 CE. The rubricated auspicious sign ॥६०॥ on the top left—colloquially referred to in Gujarati and Rajasthani as *bhale mīṇḍu*—can be seen followed by the benedictive word *arhaṃ* in black ink. The *Namokāra Mantra* appears next (lines 1-6) followed by the first *sūtra* (line 6 center following the numeral 1) which continues on to the next leaf. The illustration on the right shows Mahāvīra as a god enthroned in heaven prior to his descent to earth to take birth. The marginalia surrounding the main text consists of two separate textual citations. The first can be seen in the block of small text at the top center which lists the topics of the nine lectures (*vyākhyāna*) to be delivered during Paryuṣaṇā by monastics expounding on the *Kalpa Sūtra* (to be discussed in Ch. 6). This citation continues on to the upper right margin and stops at the top part of the lozenge decoration. The second citation is taken from the beginning of the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*, a commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* from the 14th century. This citation begins in the right margin at the lower part of the lozenge and then continues on at the left margin top to bottom. Image courtesy of the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art.

knowledge that leads to spiritual liberation (Fig. 4.3).³⁰⁶ This prayer to the preceptors promptly sets the tone of the text as an authoritative official teaching having great religious import.³⁰⁷ A strategic emphasis on the oral interlocutors of the tradition and the authority of their illustrious instruction thus pervades the *Kalpa Sūtra* from the very beginning of the text. This glorification

³⁰⁶ The sign ॥६०॥ appears unique to Jain orthography and is known colloquially in Gujarati as *bhale mīṇḍu*. See Punyavijay (1936: 57-61), Kapadia (1936: appendix 2, 12-13), and Bhattacharya and Haque (2000: 329-360).

³⁰⁷ The *Namokāra Mantra* (Skt. *Namaskāra*) salutes the five luminaries of sacred knowledge (*pañca-parameṣṭhi*). These are the *Arihants* (omniscient ones), *Siddhas* (liberated souls), *Ācāryas* (advanced spiritual teachers), *Upādhyāyas* (secondary spiritual teachers), and *Sādhus* (sages).

of the teaching tradition and high regard for the role of the reciter-preceptor is especially important in this particular case given the long tradition of the scripture's recitation by presiding members of the clergy during the Paryuṣaṇā festival.

Following the invocation of the *Ṇamokāra Mantra* the chronicle of Mahāvīra officially commences with the first *sūtra* already alluded to in the introduction to this chapter. There it was brought up how the opening *sūtra*—a passage also referred to by some as the *mūla sūtra* (i.e., the “root” *sūtra* in the sense of “first” or “principle” *sūtra*) of the scripture³⁰⁸—served an important symbolic role in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* where it has come to stand for the total *Kalpa Sūtra* text. This encapsulating effect of the opening passage is not surprising given that it presents a succinct yet complete summary of Mahāvīra's full biography by enumerating the five legendary events ordering his life. Following this short synopsis of the full story the second *sūtra* then launches into the longer and more literary version of the tale which will take up the next one hundred and forty-seven *sūtras* of the text.³⁰⁹ As we shall see later in this chapter, this format having the “micro” or tabular version of the saint's life-story precede the more expanded “macro” literary version starting in the second *sūtra* is duplicated in the rendition of the story in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, an immensely important intertextual connection crucial for tracing the history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s compilation.³¹⁰ Before we go any further to discuss the intertextuality between these two texts, however, let us linger a bit longer at the threshold of the so-called *mūla sūtra* mentioned above in order to examine it more closely considering that its important role in the formulation of the saint story has not been adequately explained in scholarship. For the full measure of the

³⁰⁸ Muni Ātmarām Ātmārāma Upādhyāya (1936: 7).

³⁰⁹ Following the biography of Mahāvīra come the shorter biographical accounts of the Jinas Pārśva, Ariṣṭanemi, various intervening *Tīrthaṅkaras*, and Rṣabha.

³¹⁰ The first three *sūtras* of these texts are indeed largely identical. However, after this point the story of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* begins to diverge greatly from the shorter version in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.

opening *mūla sūtra* goes way beyond its short length, symbolic role, and simple style. On the contrary, the summary of the saint's full *floruit* in miniature form is of an order of magnitude inversely proportional to its brevity and bare structure. Without a doubt, this *sūtra* of the text is arguably one of the most remarkable, and consequential, in all of Jain literature.

We begin our analysis of the first *sūtra* by investigating its ostensible main objective: the communication of the five cardinal events outlining the life of Mahāvīra. These are known collectively as the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* (The Five Auspicious Acts), a fixed repertoire of extraordinary events that undoubtedly date far back to the ancient oral lore surrounding the Jinas. These five iconic acts, individually and collectively, would become immensely important for the development of a variety of votive and narrative practices centering on the lives of the tradition's founders in the following centuries. As it has been stated by Jyotendra Jain and Eberhard Fischer in their study of Jain ritualism and its visual culture, "Nearly every aspect of Jaina iconography, art, and ritual is directly or indirectly connected with *pañca mahā kalyāṇaka*, the five great events which are supposed to take place in the life of every *tīrthaṅkara*."³¹¹ To this I will add that nearly every aspect of early Jain hagiographical literature, too, was directly or indirectly connected with them as well. Indeed, this abstract inventory of mytho-historical happenings associated with the lives of the founding Jain saints opens a portal to a whole new narrative universe, one that goes far beyond the well-regulated world of injunctions and orthopraxy and into the largely uncharted territory of Jina hagiography.³¹² The first *sūtra*, composed in old canonical Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit, is short enough that it can be presented and translated here in its entirety:

³¹¹ Jyotindra Jain and Eberhard Fischer (1978 [pt. 1]: 4).

³¹² This narrative world would be expanded over time to become what scholars call the "Universal History" of Jainism. This literature will be discussed later in Chapter 5.5.

teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa paṃca hatthuttare hotthā; taṃ jahā 1. *hatthuttarāhiṃ cue, cuittā gabbhaṃ vakkante*; 2. *hatthuttarāhiṃ gabbhāo gabbhaṃ sāharie*; 3. *hatthuttarāhiṃ jāe*; 4. *hatthuttarāhiṃ muṃḍe bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaie*; 5. *hatthuttarāhiṃ aṇaṃte aṇuttare nivvāghāe nirāvaraṇe kasīṇe paḍipunṇe kevalavaranāṇadamsaṇe samuppaṇṇe*; 6. *sāiṇā parinivvūe bhayavaṃ* ||1||

“At that time (*teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ*) [and] on that occasion (*teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ*), the five (*paṃca*) [prime events] of the mendicant Lord Mahāvīra’s (*samaṇassa bhagavao*) [life] took place (*hotthā*) during [the lunar phase known as] Hastottarā³¹³ (*hatthuttare*) as follows (*taṃ jahā*): 1. [During the astrologically auspicious time] of Hastottarā (*hatthuttarāhiṃ*) he descended (*cue*) [from heaven]. Having descended (*cuittā*) he entered (*vakkante*) the womb (*gabbhaṃ*) [of the Brāhman lady Devānandā]; 2. [Then] during Hastottarā (*hatthuttarāhiṃ*) he was transferred (*sāharie/saṃhṛtaḥ*) from the womb (*gabbhāo*) [of Devānandā] to the womb (*gabbhaṃ*) [of the Kṣatriya Queen Triśalā]; 3. [Next] during Hastottarā (*hatthuttarāhiṃ*) he was born (*jāe*); 4. During Hastottarā (*hatthuttarāhiṃ*) he [then] became (*bhavittā*) tonsured (*muṃḍe*) [and] departed (*pavvaie/pravraṇitaḥ*) from home (*agārāo*) [to become] a homeless ascetic (*aṇagāriyaṃ/anagārin*); 5. During Hastottarā (*hatthuttarāhiṃ*) he [then] attained (*samuppaṇṇe/samutpannaḥ*) infinite (*aṇaṃte*) absolute (*aṇuttare*) unobstructed (*nivvāghāe/nirvyāghātaḥ*) unhindered (*nirāvaraṇe*) supreme omniscient knowledge (*kevala-vara-nāṇa-damsaṇe/kevala-vara-jnāna-darśanaḥ*); 6. [Then] the Lord (*bhayavaṃ*) [attained] final *nirvāna* (*parinivvūe/parinirvāṇa*) during [the lunar phase] Svāti (*sāiṇā*).”

As it can be seen here, the above passage maps out the major events associated with the life of last Jina Mahāvīra in their chronological order along with their astro-theological coordinates (*nakṣatras*). These five principal events present an arc of the sage’s life-story beginning with Mahāvīra’s miraculous conception and ending with his final act of spiritual liberation as an enlightened Jina. Specifically, the five miraculous events consist of the following feats: 1. *Cyavana* (descent from heaven and conception); 2. *Janma* (birth); 3. *Dīkṣā* (ordination into

³¹³ *Hatthuttarā* (Skt. *Hastottarā*) is the name of a *nakṣatra* (lunar mansion or constellation) in Vedic astrology. Specifically, according to Apte’s *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, it is “the twelfth lunar mansion consisting of two stars (having the figure of a bed).” It is also commonly referred to as Uttaraphālgunī.

monkhood); 4. *Kevalajñāna* (attainment of omniscience); and 5. *Nirvāṇa* (final spiritual liberation).³¹⁴ This itinerary of miraculous acts, it should also be noted, is not limited to the life of Mahāvīra alone but orders the lives of all Jinas from every age. These miracles can consequently be said to be fundamental to the very office of Jina itself. Each of the main biographies contained in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, in fact, begin with nearly identical opening *sūtras* that present the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* associated with their respective Jina, the main difference being the celestial coordinates within which the events take place.

While Jacobi has claimed³¹⁵ that the convention of deploying the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* at the head of the story first appears in the version of Mahāvīra's life found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (a position I dispute later in the chapter), the practice would be fully operationalized in the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the standard method of launching each of the saint stories.³¹⁶ As a result, these archaic abstracts enumerating the miraculous events associated with the founding figures of the tradition would constitute one of the most enduring and important formal features of the *Jinacaritras* in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The position of prominence that the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* assume here at the gateway to each of the hagiographical tales clearly demonstrates the important ritual and rhetorical role they play in the presentation of the main narratives. As an early functioning framework for plotting the life stories of the founders, the model of the five miraculous events

³¹⁴ While the scheme of five events is standard it can be seen here that six events are actually enumerated. The reason for this irregularity is that the second act shown in the above passage has been added as an extra event by some Śvetāmbara schools such as the Kharatara Gaccha resulting in six episodes rather than five. This act describes the transference of the embryonic form of Mahāvīra from a Brāhman woman's womb to that of a Kṣatriya woman. Robert Del Bontà (2015: 149-150) writes in "Cause and Effect: Illustrating the *Pañcakalyāṇaka*" that "Śvetāambaras believe that Mahāvīra was conceived by one woman and then his embryo was transferred to that of another. Since the Digambaras do not accept this idea the Śvetāambaras appear to emphasize it to a great degree." Also see Dundas (1992: 26).

³¹⁵ See Jacobi (1884: L).

³¹⁶ Note that the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* only deals with the life of Mahāvīra alone and does not include hagiographical material on other Jinas.

would hence constitute an important device central to the development of the hagiographical tradition of the Jains. While on the one hand the formula of five events may lack the finer biographical details and didactics of a full-scale hagiography, at the same time, they nevertheless appear to have served as a working narratological and chronological framework for conceiving of the lives of the founding formakers. At a minimum, they clearly served as a ritual resource for praising (*kīrtana*), worshipping (*pūjana*), and contemplating (*darśana*) these events. Again, this fact is palpably demonstrated in the cases of both the *Ācāraṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra* where the short synopsis of Mahāvīra’s life-story in the liturgical format of the *Pañca Kalyānakas* precedes the more articulated version of the chronicle that begins in the second *sūtra* (a formal strategy repeated in all the other religious biographies contained in the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well). In the terminology used by Klaus Bruhn, this type of formal structure consists of “tabular” and “non-tabular” elements where the former is embedded in the latter.³¹⁷ The tabular rendition of the story in the form of the *Pañca Kalyānakas* is thus effectively positioned as an all-important portal to enter into the fully articulated biographical lifeworld of the Jīna prophets.

As a way to distinguish between these miniature versions of the saint stories from the more monumental ones featured in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, I prefer to term the tabular synoptic style exemplified in the first *sūtra* a “hagiograph” to formally distinguish it from the fully developed “hagiography” that follows it starting in the second *sūtra*. A hagiograph as I conceive of the term is, like Bruhn’s notion of tabular narratives, much more indexical than narratological in scope when it comes to expounding the important incidents in the life and religious career of a Jīna

³¹⁷ Klaus Bruhn (1983: 45). Here Bruhn (“Repetition in Jaina Narrative Literature”) singles out the *Āvaśyaka Nirvyukti* and *Kalpa Sūtra* as examples of this type of system.

saint.³¹⁸ As a comparative explanatory model, the formalistic distinction between “hagiograph” and “hagiography” as narrative modes can further be loosely likened to what modern literary theorists respectively distinguish as *fabula* (event) and *syuzhet* (story) in works of narrative literature. My meaning by this admittedly broad cross-cultural and transhistorical comparison is best summed up by the classics scholar N. J. Lowe who describes *fabula* as a “series of events the work recounts, but imagined stripped of all the artifices of storytelling: a series of actual events in their natural order... In contrast, *syuzhet* is the account of those same events that we actually get, reordered and reshaped in the process of telling to reach and affect the audience or reader in a particular or deliberate way.”³¹⁹ To put it yet another way, the hagiograph in the form of the *Pañca Kalyānakas* could be said to have served as an oral “outline,” as it were, that helped fashion the narrative course and contours of the hagiographical scripture that followed it in the *Jina Caritra* text.

This itinerary of events, however, was certainly not the only, nor most likely even the earliest, such “hagiograph” produced in the tradition’s history. For example, another early attempt at formulating a mnemonic list or metanarrative table of the life-events associated with Mahāvīra can be found in the *niryukti* (vs. 458) on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* by Bhadrabāhu (II) dating to around the second century CE. Instead of the model of five (or six) events, this program instead presents thirteen *Kalyānakas* structuring Mahāvīra’s life:

sumiṇam avahāra’bhiggaha jamaṇam abhisea vuḍḍhi saraṇaṃ ca |
*bhesaṇa vivāh’ avacce dāṇe saṃbhoha nikkhamaṇe || 458 ||*³²⁰

³¹⁸ If a more technical vocabulary is called upon for analyzing this type of construct, we could even further distinguish between “hagiologues” (oral-mnemonic form) and “hagiographs” (written form) as complementary to hagiology and hagiography.

³¹⁹ See N. J. Lowe in *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative* (2000: 5).

³²⁰ *Āvaśyaka Niriyuktiḥ* (1981 [vol. 1]: 119).

Dreams, Transfer, Decision, Birth, Lustration, Maturation, and Remembering (births);
Terror, Marriage, Offspring, Charity, Enlightenment, Death.

This program of thirteen events is itself based on a perhaps even more archaic and abbreviated list found in an earlier verse (v. 186) from the same *niryukti* on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*.³²¹ This program of events, however, is modeled on the life of the first Jina, Ṛṣabha:

jammaṇe nāma vuḍḍhī a jāṭe saraṇe ia |
vīvāhe a avacce abhisee rajjasamgahe || 186 ||

Birth, Name, Growth, and Remembering Previous Births (*jāṭe*);
Marriage, Offspring (*avacce/apatya*), Anointment, and Expansion of the Kingdom.

This hagiograph is of further interest to this study in that it formally functions in the exact same manner as the list of *Pañca Kalyānakas* that head the *Jina Caritras* of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. In other words, it serves as an indexical device keyed to the events to be chronologically narrated in the commentary. What these hagiographic verses tell us, then, is that at the time of the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra Nirvyukti* during the early centuries of the Common Era the liturgical formula of the *Pañca Kalyānakas* was not the only model or mode of enumerating episodes associated with the lives of Jinas. It further demonstrates how this sort of tabulation of events framing their lives was something that clearly had a much longer prehistory than what we find in the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

At the same time, the hagiographs of the *Kalpa Sūtra* also do conversely testify to the fact that here a comparatively more systematic treatment and standardization of these events was in place, one founded on the *Pañca Kalyānaka* formula which was enshrined here as a kind of

³²¹ For this reference, see Bansidar Bhatt (1993: 93). Here (“Ācāra-Cūlās and -Niryukti. Studies II”) Bhatt writes that “It is very likely that this verse [i.e., Āv. Nir. vs. 458] is a later extension of an early *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* vs. 186 (p. 121a) —an *anuṣṭubh!*—reflecting an early tradition of this type.”

timeless template to be used at the beginning of each Jina hagiography.³²² The importance of these five events as an informational, imaginative, and instructional resource for narrating and ritualistically reenacting the life stories of the Jinas is further indicated by the wide range of ceremonial practices that center on them in public and private religious life.³²³ Moreover, the visual display of these events has also been a hallmark of the artistic programs found in countless illustrated copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. While each episode is customarily depicted in the form of an individual scene on separate folios, at least one remarkable example exists where all the events have been combined into a single image (Fig. 4.6). Here the sequence of episodes can be seen proceeding from the top left of the image where we see Mahāvīra's preparation for the first *kalyānaka*, the Descent (*Cyavana*) from heaven to earth, a scene which is directly followed in order on the right by the representation of his Nativity (*Janma*). Directly beneath the top row, and again in proper sequence, the scene of Mahāvīra's Ordination (*Dikṣā*) into monkhood is presented, an event which literally takes centerstage in the middle panel. The visual emphasis on the act of ordination here is unsurprising given the centrality of this event in the making of Mahāvīra's religious career as well as the overall primacy placed on the monastic vocation itself

³²² The events would also have significance with regard to mapping out pilgrimage sites (*tīrthas*) that correspond to the physical locations (*bhūmis*) where these events are believed by the faithful to have taken place. In this regard, other alternative orderings of the events associated with each Jina's life exist as well. For example, see v. 330 from the *Ācārāṅga Nirvyukti*:

*jammābhiseya-nikkhamaṇa-caraṇa-nāṇ'-uppayā ya nivvāne
diyaloa-bhavaṇa-Mandara-Nandīsara-bhoma-nararesuṃ*

Birth, Lustration, Departure, Wandering, Attainment of Omniscience, and Final Beatitude;
Divine Mansion, Mt. Mandara, Continent of Nandīśvara, Lower Regions.

According to Śīlāṅka, who commented on this verse from the *niryukti* in his later *īlā* on the *Ācārāṅga*, the sites given in the second line (representing upper, middle, and lower realms) are all said to be furnished with shrines to Jinas.

³²³ For an in-depth analysis of the ritual, ceremonial, and even theatrical practices connected with the performance of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* see Jain and Fischer (1978 [Pt. 1]: 4-14).

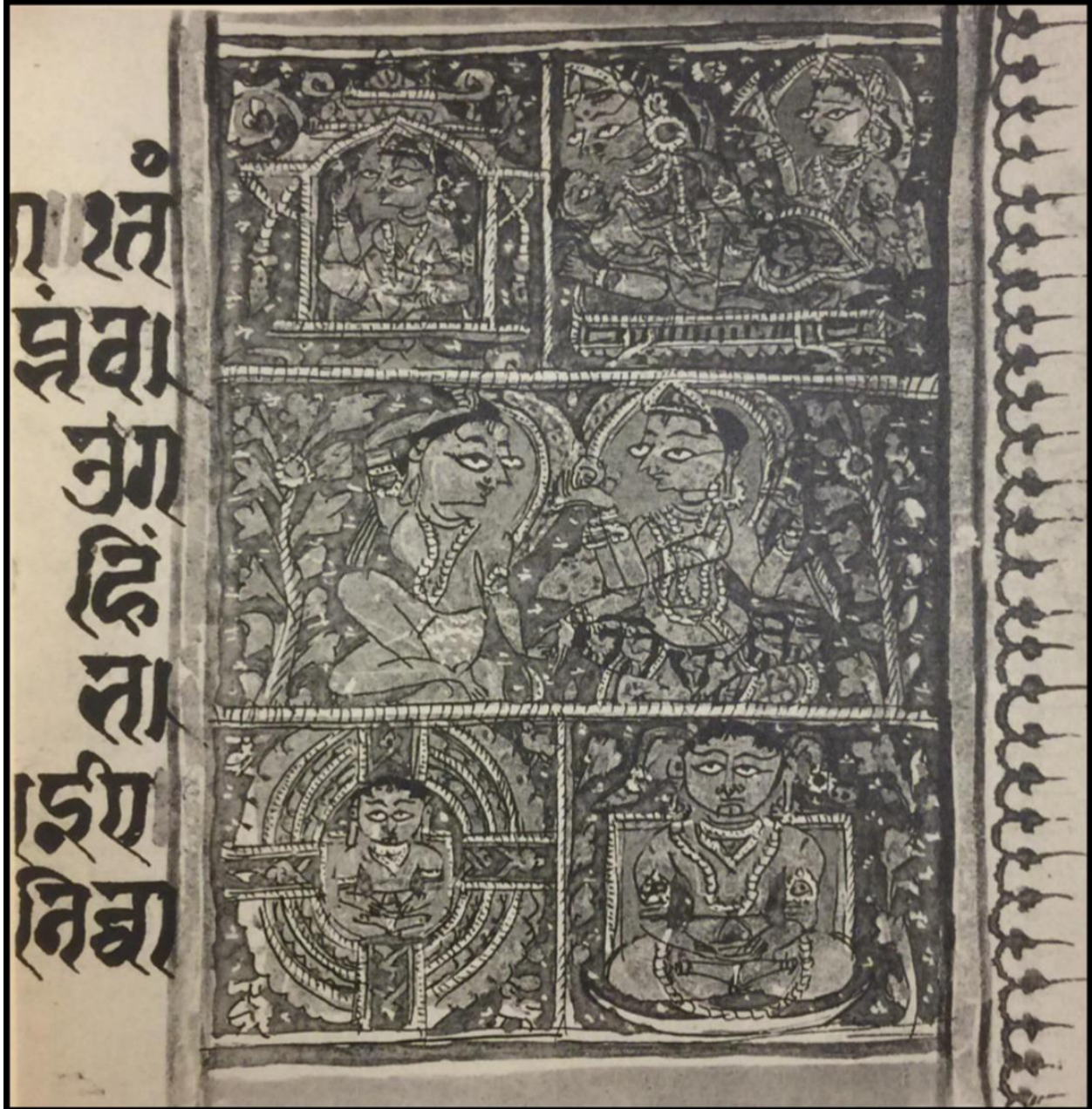


Fig. 4.4 Painting from an illustrated *Kalpa Sūtra* (15th c. CE) depicting the Five Auspicious Acts (*Pañca Kalyāṇakas*) of Mahāvīra in the form of a pictorial hagiograph. (top): 1. Descent, 2. Birth; 3. (center) Ordination; 4. (bottom) Omniscience, 5. Liberation. Source: W. Norman Brown, 1934: Fig. 1. Another nearly identical illustration of this same type can be found in a 16th c. *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript I have seen located at the Śāntināth Mandir in Phalodi, Rajasthan. An image of it can be seen in Meenakshi Kasliwal's dissertation (University of Rajasthan, 2007) *Jodhpur Sthit Jaināgāroṃ meṃ Saṃgrahīt Sacitra 'Kalpa Sūtra-Kālakācārya Kathāoṃ' kā Kalāparak (Kalātmak) Adhyayan, 14th Śatābdī se 18th Śatābdī tak* (Plate 2, Image 5).

in Jainism. At the bottom of the painting we encounter renderings of the two final miracles, Mahāvīra's Attainment of Omniscience (*Kevalajñāna*) and Final Liberation (*Nirvāṇa*). This last example thus illustrates a true pictorial hagiograph in the sense defined above whereby the entire story has been condensed into a single narrative frame.³²⁴ In this connection, this image is all the more remarkable due to the fact that representations of all the life scenes together, either painted or sculpted, are hardly known in the Jain tradition. As Umakant Shah has written, "The conception has its parallel in Buddhism where representation of the main events in the life of Buddha on one and the same sculpture had become a favorite theme with the artists of Gandhara and elsewhere. Attempts to represent the *Kalyāṇakas* in sculptures after the fashion of the Buddhists are not known in Jainism where one sculpture usually represents one idea."³²⁵

Beyond the visual representation of the five events in *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts, and more pertinent for our present purposes, is the manner of their verbal presentation in the text. A look at the verbal vectors and formal features governing the first *sūtra*, in fact, reveals a modicum of information not only about its own oral origins but can also perhaps tell us something about its defining role with respect to the discursive development and direction of the official biography of Mahāvīra starting in the next *sūtra*. I therefore view its analysis as an important preliminary step in reconstructing the evolution of the hagiographical portion of the text. As we probe deeper into the opening passage large questions continue to loom about what its wider application is to

³²⁴ This type of image depicting multiple scenes separated into individual panels is illustrative of what the art historian Vidya Dehejia calls the "continuous" mode of narrativity in Indian art. See Dehejia's "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art" (1990) and *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India* (1997).

³²⁵ Umakant Shah (1987: 99-100). Here Shah (in *Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana*), however, does further add (100) that "in ceilings at Abu and Kunbharia we have beautiful big long panels depicting all the main events in the lives of Tīrthāṅkaras like Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Śāntinātha, Rṣabha, Neminātha and others."

the rest of the story. One such question I have already alluded to is how the synoptic frame of the five events at the head of the story historically and formally relates to the episodic retelling of them in the body of the text. However, to even begin to answer this question first demands that we investigate the history of the so-called *mūla sūtra* itself and its core features before proceeding to discuss its formal function in the main text.

In this connection, the opening *sūtra* could be said to function in at least two ways. On the one hand, it serves as an all-important index of the subjects to follow in the main narrative in the manner of a traditional table of contents. On the other hand, there is evidence to also suggest that it may have served as an independent formula with its own ritual, liturgical, and pedagogical purposes that were separate from, and perhaps even historically prior to, the formulation of the saint stories themselves. With regard to the liturgical character of the first *sūtra* cataloguing the *Pañca Kalyānakas*, the remarks of the Indologist H. D. Velankar are instructive: “At the beginning of every account, these five auspicious events are briefly mentioned and this leaves no doubt as to the real purpose in the mind of the author. Evidently the narration of the five events was intended to be a part of the ceremonial rites connected with the worship of the Jinas, which had to be performed on the day of the Paryuṣaṇā Parvan.”³²⁶ If this is so, this fragment of text was certainly no ordinary *disjectum membrum* but, as I have already suggested, it may constitute evidence of an original narrative nucleus or preliterate precursor to the fully realized version of the hagiography. At a minimum, the liturgical formula on the *Kalyānakas* may hold one of the keys to unlocking part of the hidden history of how and when the stories of the Jinas took shape not only in the context of canonical literature but in the larger literary landscape as well.

³²⁶ Velankar (1939: 5).

4.3 Anatomy of the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* Metanarrative

First and foremost, given its synoptic mode of narration, the liturgical formula is distinguishable from the remainder of the *sūtras* contained in the chronicle in terms of it being more enumerative than descriptive in style as the passage schematically plots out the predefined path of Mahāvīra's life point by point. These fixed focal points, the *Kalyāṇakas*, strung together in the form of a single *sūtra*, promptly summarize the saint's entire *excursie* in the world from physical incarnation to spiritual liberation. As the commentator Muni Harṣiṇī notes in his Sanskrit *ṭīkā* on the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha-sūtra* where the five *Kalyāṇakas* are specifically commented upon: *pañcasu kalyāṇeṣu śramaṇasya bhagavato mahāvīrasya sarvaṃ jīvanacaritraṃ sūtrarūpeṇa varṇitaṃ* (In these five miraculous events the entire life-story of the mendicant saint Mahāvīra is described in the form of a *sūtra*).³²⁷ The *Kalyāṇakas* thus inscribe a complete and compact itinerary, as it were, of the itinerant saint's entire *jīvana-carita*. Transmitting knowledge of Mahāvīra's spiritually inspired itinerancy by means of the *Kalyāṇakas* would consequently become woven into the very fabric of Jain didactic and devotional life, especially during popular festival periods such as Paryuṣaṇā and Mahāvīra Jayanti. In this connection, Muni Harṣiṇī's *ṭīkā* mentioned above goes on to explicitly communicate the religious imperative to continue cultivating knowledge of the saint's life and legend through the *Kalyāṇaka* liturgy.³²⁸ In his Hindi translation of the above *ṭīkā*, the great Jain pandit Ghāsilāl Mahārāj (1885-1973) further underscores Muni Harṣiṇī's main point by adding

³²⁷ *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtram* (Rājkoṭa, Saurāṣṭra: A[khila]. Bhā[rat]. Śve[tāmbara]. Sthānakavāsī Jaina Śāstrodhāra Samiti, 1960), 297.

³²⁸ Muni Harṣiṇī's comments (in full): 1. *garbhe samāgamanena garbhādhānādisaṃskāro jñātavyaḥ*; 2. *janmanā janmamahimnaḥ sampūrṇavṛttānto jñeyāḥ*; 3. *dīkṣayā dīkṣāparyanto jīvanavṛttānto bodhyaḥ*; 4. *kevalajñānena samastasādhuvṛttiḥ śrībhagavadvihāracaryādikam ca jñātavyam*; 5. *nīrvāṇena kevalajñānam ārabhya nīrvāṇapadaprāptiparyantaṃ sarvaṃ caritaṃ jñeyam. etat pratipādanasyedaṃ tātparyam pañcasu kalyāṇeṣu śramaṇasya bhagavato Mahāvīrasya sarvaṃ jīvanacaritraṃ sūtrarūpeṇa varṇitaṃ*.

that the trials, travels, and tribulations undergone by Mahāvīra, as encoded in the *Kalyāṇakas*, have been taught since the time of his original disciples, the *gaṇadharas*.³²⁹

Our main interest in this study, however, is not so much with the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* on their own but rather the vital formative and performative ritual role they would play in the hagiographical portion of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. A brief analysis of the heuristic form and function of these ancient abstracts positioned at the head of each main narrative in the work therefore merits our attention and serves as a prerequisite to any meaningful historical reconstruction of the *Jina Caritras*. To begin such an analysis it is perhaps obvious to first point out that for all intents and purposes the liturgical formula is in the form of a numerically structured list that present the events as basic units (motifemes) in the story. Less obvious, however, may be the cognitive, conceptual, and oral-performative underpinnings of this type of itemized exposition in Jain textual practice. Its abstract archaic character should come as no surprise though since, as it has been mentioned, the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* we find at the opening of the *Kalpa Sūtra* represents a near verbatim rendition of the version that appears in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, the first work installed in the Śvetāmbara Jain canon. Given that this work is heralded as the oldest treatise belonging to the primary canon of twelve works compiled by the direct disciples of Mahāvīra, the version of the five events we see in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*—and duplicated almost word-for-word in the *Kalpa Sūtra*—was presumed by scholars such as Jacobi to represent the oldest attested textual artifact of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas*.³³⁰

³²⁹ Ibid. *Bhagavān ke vihār pariśaha-sahan ādi kā gaṇadharom dvārā punaḥ punaḥ upadeś kiyā gayā hai.*

³³⁰ See Jacobi (1884: L). Also see his critical edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (1879: 99) where he explicitly states that the first two *sūtras*—that is, the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* (s. 1) and the beginning of the actual narrative portion of the story (s. 2)—are “copied almost literally from the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*.” Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 463) and Schubring ([1935] 1962: 33) also appear to endorse this position.

This presumption, however, is far from certain and, in fact, has been persuasively contested. Based on his study of the oldest commentaries on the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Bansidhar Bhatt (1993) has shown, and rather conclusively, that the list of the *Pañca Kalyāṅakas* was “conspicuously absent” from the oldest attested versions of the chapter of the *Ācārāṅga* in which the Mahāvīra biography is now located.³³¹ This he bases on the fact that neither the *niryukti* nor *cūrṇi* on this work comment on the liturgical formula.³³² Bhatt accordingly concludes that the formula of five events is a “late addition” to the biography in the *Ācārāṅga* version of the tale and, thus, is of “spurious character.”³³³ He then conjectures that the list must have been copied from the *Jina Caritra* of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by a later redactor who saw it as “an ideal opening of the Mahāvīra biography” and so inserted it into the *Ācārāṅga* at some point *after* the composition of its *cūrṇi* commentary (since there is no reference to it here).³³⁴ Bhatt’s position thus runs counter to Jacobi who asserted the opposite and claimed that the opening formula was original to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. My study of the oldest extant commentary on the *Jina Caritra* belonging to the *Kalpa Sūtra* (viz. its *cūrṇi*),³³⁵ furthermore, appears to tally with Bhatt’s findings that the formula was originally here before being placed into the *Ācārāṅga*. This is because the first *sūtra* of the *cūrṇi*’s commentary on Mahāvīra’s biography in the *Kalpa Sūtra* directly alludes to the formula by referring to “six subjects beginning with the Descent (*cyavana*)” (*cayādīṇaṃ chaṅhaṃ vatthūṇaṃ*). The reference to “six subjects” is significant

³³¹ See Bansidhar Bhatt (1993: 85-121). The early Mahāvīra biography in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* is located in Book 2, Appendix 3, Lecture 15 and is entitled “*Bhāvanā*” (The Clauses).

³³² Bhatt (1993: 91).

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid., 93.

³³⁵ The *cūrṇi*, as it was explained in Chapter 3, is attached to the end of the *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa Niryukti* (otherwise known as the *Niryukti* on the *Daśāśrutaskandha*’s *Aṣṭama Adhyayana* or “Eighth Chapter”). See Muni Puṇyavijay (1952: 102-111).

because it can only mean the six miracles associated with Mahāvīra.³³⁶ Jacobi’s original insights on the primacy of the formula in the *Ācārāṅga*’s account of Mahāvīra must therefore be reevaluated in light of this new evidence obtained from the earliest commentarial layers on these materials.

At the same time, we should also question whether the liturgical formula was original to the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well. With this in mind, another theory I would like to interject here is that the formula of five events was not original to either the *Ācārāṅga* or *Kalpa Sūtra*. For another nearly exact version of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* can also be found in the old corpus of canonical works that may in reality constitute the original archetype. This potential “original” specimen of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* comes from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, the third work in the collection of twelve principal canonical texts dating from the early era which is known for its plethora of abstract lists. This idea is also endorsed by Muni Ātmarām Upādhyāya, a Jain exegete and critical editor active in the early twentieth century who claimed that the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* formula was “collected” (*saṅgrhīta*) from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* and then placed into the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra*.³³⁷ As it was first brought up in Chapter Three, the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* is an important work mostly known for the large trove of data it stores concerning all manner of Jain knowledge and lore from the early preclassical period. This data is presented in the form of abstract lists with

³³⁶ “*teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ*” *ti jo bhagavatā Usabhasāmiṇā sesatitthakarehiṃ ya bhagavao Vaddhamāṇasāmiṇo cayādīṇaṃ chaṅhaṃ vatthūṇaṃ kālo ṇāto diṭṭho vāgariyo ya teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ.*

³³⁷ Muni Ātmarām Upādhyāya (1936: 7). For the sake of clarity, I quote and translate Muni Ātmarām’s statement in full: “Āṭhvīṃ daśā meṃ Śrī Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīr Svāmī ke Pāñc Kalyāṇoṃ kā varṇan hai. Is daśā kā nām *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa* hai. Is daśā kā mūla sūtra *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* ke pañcama sthān ke prathamoddeśe se saṅgrhīt hai. Yahi pāṭh *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* ke dvitīya śruta-skandha ke caubīsveṃ adhyayan meṃ aur *Kalpa-sūtra* ke ādi meṃ bhī pāyā jātā hai.” (In the eighth chapter [of the *Daśāśrutaskandha-sūtra*] is the description of the “Five Auspicious Events” of the illustrious Lord Mahāvīra. This chapter’s name is the *Paryuṣaṇā Kalpa*. Its *mūla sūtra* is collected from the first lecture (*prathamoddeśa*) of the fifth chapter (*pañcama sthāna*) of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*. This very text is also found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*’s eighth chapter from the second book as well as the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s beginning).

topics arranged in the text according to number; that is, the first chapter enumerates subjects that exist in the form of monads (i.e., the soul), the second chapter lists two-fold phenomena or dyads, the third triads, etc. The fifth chapter accordingly catalogues phenomena occurring in aggregates of five such as the five events associated with each Jina's life-cycle and religious career. It is accordingly here in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*'s first lecture (*prathama uddeśaka*) of the fifth chapter (*pañca sthāna*) where we find lists of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* belonging to various Jinas.³³⁸ These lists, furthermore, all reduplicate the same standardized formula of five events in identical language, the only difference being the names of the different Jinas and their corresponding *nakṣatras* (lunar mansions) which can be "slotted" into the scheme. In fact, it is in this sense of "slot" (*sthāna*) that the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* may ultimately take its name.³³⁹ Klaus Bruhn's analysis of the various strategies of repetition used in Jain narrative literature is especially relevant with regard to this type of system of encoding information. "Multiplication of mythological figures is common in Indian tradition. Whatever the historical roots, it is possible to multiply a figure, i.e. to transform an individual into a type. Normally, this procedure is connected with the fabrication of names and the construction of a chronological frame (different representatives of the type in different periods). Narrative elements are however no basic requirement."³⁴⁰ This method of consolidating information through the use of prefabricated standardized templates may explain how the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* originated as a device to organize the events in the lives of the Jinas. While Bruhn highlights the ways in which such a

³³⁸ The lists given here include the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* associated with Padmaprabha (the sixth Tīrthaṅkara); Puṣpadanta (ninth); Śītanātha (tenth); Vimalanātha (thirteenth); Anantanātha (fourteenth); Dharmanātha (fifteenth); Śāntinātha (sixteenth); Kunthanātha (seventeenth); Aranātha (eighteenth); Munisuvratanātha (twentieth); Naminātha (twenty-first); Neminātha (twenty-second); Pārśvanātha (twenty-third); and Mahāvīra (twenty-fourth).

³³⁹ Schubring ([1926] 1962: 82) refers to a work such as the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* as a "category text" where conceptions and concrete subjects occurring in the teaching have been arranged according to number..."

³⁴⁰ Klaus Bruhn (1983: 40).

system served to transform the “individual into a type,” at the same time, the opposite could equally be said to be true; that is, a template also transformed the “type” into an “individual” since each list contained slots or fields to input data specific to a given subject. Thus while the overall course of each Jina’s life was uniformly ordered, this type of slot-filling system found in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* also allowed for each individual Jina to be distinguished out of the concreta of the scheme. This system thus facilitated the transmission of oral-based knowledge and ensured its preservation in the absence of written texts.

Unfortunately, Muni Ātmarām presents no evidence to support his claim that the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* of Mahāvīra were taken from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* and then subsequently incorporated into the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra*. I will submit here, however, at least one compelling piece of evidence that the liturgical formula may derive from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*. This is none other than its very style and structure which perfectly matches the standardized format and syntax of the lists found throughout this particular work. These lists in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* could be said to have a minimum of three parts: first, the specification of the subject and its number of qualities or categories to be enumerated; second, the phrase *taṃ jahā* (Skt. *tadyathā*; “that is,” “namely,” “for example”); and third, the enumeration that follows in the form of a categorized list.³⁴¹ As the idiom and organization of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* replicates this pattern precisely, the idea that it may ultimately derive from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* seems at least

³⁴¹ To give just one instance of a standard scheme of enumeration found in the *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, the list on the “Five Great Vows” begins the fifth chapter in the following way: *pañca mahāvayā paṇṇattā, taṃ jahā: savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo pariggāhāo veramaṇaṃ.* “Five great vows are specified (*paṇṇattā/prajñaptāḥ*). For example (*taṃ jahā*): abstinence (*veramaṇaṃ/viramaṇa*) from all kinds of taking of life (*savvāo pāṇāivāyāo/sarvāt prāṇātipātāt*), abstinence from lying (*savvāo musāvāyāo/sarvād mṛṣāvādāt*), abstinence from stealing (*adiṇṇādāṇāo/adattādādānāt*), abstinence from copulation (*musāvāyāo/maithunāt*), abstinence from greed (*pariggāhāo/parigrahāt*).”

conceivable. In any case, the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* in the form of a textual template plotting out the life-cycle of each Jina appears to have been in place from an early date. Yet whether this template actually originated first in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* or, conversely, was only recorded here at some early point, remains unclear.³⁴²

4.4 Conclusions

Whatever their actual historical origin, the three oldest recorded sources for the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* are thus the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (ca. 4th-1st BCE), *Kalpa Sūtra* (ca. 2nd-1st c. BCE), and *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (ca. 1st-4th c. CE). These dates, it should be borne in mind, are all *termini post quem* and therefore do not take into consideration the long period of development they would continue to undergo in the following centuries as they became codified into their current forms. Thus the fact that the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* is dated by some scholars as occurring *after* the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra* does not entirely invalidate the idea that the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* may have ultimately originated from here either. For example, while there is no doubt that the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* dates back to one of the earliest periods in the history of the canon, like many older works it nevertheless contains material produced at a later date as well. In fact, as we shall see in greater detail in the next chapter, the rendering of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* located in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*—as well as the brief biography of Mahāvīra sketched out there—actually comes from its second volume (*dvitīya śrutaskandha*) which is dated to the last centuries before the Common Era (ca. 2nd-1st BCE), a period slightly later than its first volume (*prathama śrutaskandha*). This would make both the second volume of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* as well as the

³⁴² The fact that there are numerous other intertextual links between the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* lends more credibility to this theory. See *Kalpa Sūtra* ss. 116-118 and ss. 120-121 for links with material found in the 9th *sthāna* (section) of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*.

earliest material found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* more or less contemporaneous with the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*. The contemporaneity between the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra* is even suggested by Jacobi who traces “the composition of the two last parts of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* to the same time when the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which treats of a similar subject, was composed.”³⁴³ Paul Dundas also appears to support this view and assigns the *Jinacaritra* in the *Ācārāṅga* (second book) and *Kalpa Sūtra* to the “second stratum of biographical material” relating to Mahāvīra.³⁴⁴ While granting that the proposal of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* having an autonomous origin outside of either of the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra* remains merely a theoretical possibility rather than historical certainty, if they did derive from the old mnemonic lists of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, then the idea that they may have circulated independently as a self-contained teaching or liturgical formula becomes more tenable. At the same time, it could also be the case that the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, and *Kalpa Sūtra* were each tapping into a preexisting memory bank of mytho-historical knowledge and oral heritage common to the community that the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* were a constituent part of.

As an early mnemonic map tracing out the pivotal plot points (motifemes) of a Jina’s lifeworld, the template of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* had a clear heuristic value that facilitated learning their life stories by means of a fixed oral formula. Whether or not we may ever know their ultimate source with any certainty, the repertoire of episodes that make up the *Kalyāṇakas* without a doubt constituted an enormously important ritual resource for teaching the key moments ordering the legendary lives of the Jinas. The embedding of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* at

³⁴³ Jacobi (1884: L).

³⁴⁴ Dundas (1992: 23). The “first stratum” of material relating to the biography of Mahāvīra mentioned by Dundas is the *Uvahāṇa Sūya* (Skt. *Upadhāna Sūtra*), a short tract found in the first book of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (3rd-2nd c. BCE). The *Uvahāṇa Sūya*, however, is not a hagiography in the strict sense of the word and, rather, concentrates on episodes from the saint’s ascetic career.

the beginning of each of the religious biographies in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was certainly no accidental historical development or arbitrary act by the redactors of the text either. On the contrary, the relationship of these mini-narratives of the lives of the Jinas to the main accounts in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was clearly strategic, programmatic, and even hierarchic. The actual *Jina Caritras* here were hence formally deployed as a kind of elaboration on the *kalyāṇakas*. In the words of the art historian Umakant Shah, “The *Kalpa-sūtra* text suggests that its main object was the narration of the various *kalyāṇakas* or chief auspicious events in the lives of Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra.”³⁴⁵ On this account, the *kalyāṇakas* could thus be said to function as a kind of narrative nucleus for the tale. Still unclear in this connection, however, is whether they were generated out the *Jina Caritra* itself or vice versa. In any case, the purpose in analyzing this liturgical formula is based on my belief that it may be able to tell us something about how the original saint stories were conceived, composed, and elaborated over time. We now accordingly shift to the ways in which that elaboration would take place, a course which will take us from the *Ācārāṅga* to the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

³⁴⁵ Umakant Shah (1987: 99).

Chapter 5

The *Kalpa Sūtra* in Context, Part 3

New Directions in Hagiography and Religious History

5.1 Moving Beyond the Frame of Five Events: Introducing the *Jina Caritras* in the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalp Sūtra*

In the previous section I presented the possibility of how the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* liturgical formula may have functioned as an important ritual resource and narratological “script” in the early development of scripture on the lives of the Jinas. Having established the importance of this program of events in this history, we will next begin to chart how this miniature model of Mahāvīra’s life was actually put to use in the first full-scale religious biography of the saint in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. This retelling of the tale in the *Kalpa Sūtra* would accordingly expand upon each of the episodes highlighted in the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* program and go on to span another one-hundred and forty-seven *sūtras*. It would represent the most ambitious attempt up to that point in time at constructing an ordered account of his life and legend. While a principle of parataxis may have governed the short synopsis of the Mahāvīra story found in the first *sūtra* in terms of its gnomic narrative expression, by comparison, much of the actual story beginning in the second *sūtra* would give way to an extravagant prolixity in the form of long descriptive prose passages that served to amplify the story.³⁴⁶

To retrace these developments taking place in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is no easy task but it is nevertheless possible to rediscover many of its lost layers of literary

³⁴⁶ Long literary passages in the *Jinacaritras* of the *Kalpa Sūtra* generally involve a type of hypermetrical prose called *veḍha* which is used for creating sentences consisting of nothing more than long descriptive compounds (*varṇakas*). Jacobi (1885: 389-441), in his work on meters in the Jain canon, has identified many examples of the *veḍha* occurring in various works. He singles out the *Aupapātika-sūtra* (*Upāṅga* 1), *Kalpa Sūtra*, and *Jñātādharma-kathā* (*Aṅga* 6) for their large number of *veḍhas*. Due to the length of these descriptive compounds, Jacobi referred to them as “true word monsters” (*wahren Wortungeheuern*).

development through a systematic excavation of the text which still preserve traces of its rich multilayered past. Given the fact that the general scholarly consensus has been that the Mahāvīra story in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was copied from the version found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I look in detail at the relationship between these two alleged oldest literary creations of the Mahāvīra story. The first account I accordingly analyze is the rendering of the story from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* which I argue appears more crafted for ascetics based on its overall narrative tone and structure. I next delve into the *Jina Caritra* as it appears in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a version of the story which is decidedly more devotional and aesthetic and therefore appears to have been intended for a broader audience of lay worshippers. In short, I will show how this transition from an ascetic to a more aesthetic mode of narration between each edition is diagnostic of the increasingly important role of the religious public in the ritual performance and popular reception of the text taking place during the first millennium.

Given that the hagiography in the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been rightly hailed as the first *full* account of Mahāvīra’s life and times, no authentic analysis of its textual history would be complete without first discussing how the sketch of the saint’s life laid out here paralleled the development of the story in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (and vice versa). What is most striking from a comparative reading of these two versions of the biography are the large blocks of identical text that each work shares. One major issue, then, is deciphering which text was the “original.” While the exact nature of the historical relationship between these two works remains unclear, the traditional thesis on this was first formulated by Jacobi (1884) who, as it was noted in the previous chapter (4.3), held that the biography found in the second book of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* was the primary source for its rendition in the *Jina Caritra* section of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Jacobi calls this second book of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* a set of “appendices” (*cūlās*) produced for the first

one. Four such appendices make up the second book, our interest being with the third appendix (*tr̥tīyā cūlā*) since this is the site of the short biography of Mahāvīra. Jacobi's specific remarks on the relationship between the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and *Kalpa Sūtra* are few but worth repeating: "The third part [of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*'s second book] is of great interest, as it contains the materials from which the Life of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been worked out. In fact most of the prose paragraphs occur with but small alterations in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The latter work adds little that is material from an historical point of view, but a great deal of descriptions which have become typical and are to be found in other Jaina works adapted to similar circumstances."³⁴⁷ Hence, according to this theory, the author or compilers of the *Kalpa Sūtra* appropriated large blocks of unmodified text from this earlier account and strategically built its narrative around these segments. The short yet spirited narrative of Mahāvīra's life contained in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, then, must have functioned as a reference point for reimagining the episodes of his life beyond the formula of five events. Jacobi, however, was also fully cognizant of the overlap between these works and even traced their composition to the "same time" even though it is unclear when that exact time was.³⁴⁸ He also recognized that there were "several parts of the *Kalpa Sūtra*" belonging to different ages.³⁴⁹ Winternitz (1908) appears to support the view of Jacobi by stating that the events detailed in the *Kalpa Sūtra* "are presented in the same way" as the *Ācārāṅga*.³⁵⁰ In due course Schubring (1935) would follow Jacobi and Winternitz and also endorse the idea of the *Jinacaritra* in the *Kalpa Sūtra* as being largely "based upon" the

³⁴⁷ Jacobi (1884: 1-li).

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., liii.

³⁵⁰ Winternitz ([1920] 1987: 463).

Ācārāṅga version.³⁵¹ More recently, Dundas (1992) also seems to endorse this idea by saying that the *Ācārāṅga* “presents Mahāvīra’s life as a totality for the first time.”³⁵²

This theory, however, has been subsequently challenged by Bansidhar Bhatt (1993) who arrived at the opposite conclusion and determined that the biography of Mahāvīra in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* was secondary to the *Kalpa Sūtra*.³⁵³ His opinion is that the *Jina Caritra* in the *Kalpa Sūtra* “represents a later stage of development in the Śvetāmbara canon, but apart from some minor details, it seems to be earlier than any of its kind available in Jainism.”³⁵⁴ He further conjectures that the *Jina Caritra* in the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself was “elaborated from an earlier version of the Mahāvīra biography” that was originally composed in some now long lost Prakrit original in prose.³⁵⁵ However, fragments of this alleged original do in fact appear to survive in old commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, a comparatively short yet extremely important work on the six compulsory duties for mendicants. These commentaries include its *niryukti* (ca. 2nd c. CE), *cūrṇi* (ca. 6th c. CE), and *īkā* (ca. 8th c. CE).³⁵⁶ Bhatt thus presents a strong counter-argument to Jacobi who viewed the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s biographical narrative as secondary to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. At the same time, while Bhatt’s findings are text-critical, well-argued, and persuasive, I would also submit that Jacobi’s position cannot be entirely dismissed either. For it is clear that these two texts were interpolated and intervened upon for many centuries. This has been credibly shown by K.R. Candra (1991) who has catalogued many of the correspondences between the Mahāvīra biography found in these two respective works (*Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra*) and

³⁵¹ Schubring ([1935] 1962: 33).

³⁵² Dundas (1992: 23).

³⁵³ Once again, see B. Bhatt (1993: 85-121).

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

³⁵⁶ As Paul Dundas has noted (1992: 75), “a huge amount of exegetical literature has been generated by this short text and the mnemonic verses (*niryukti*) commenting upon it have assumed a quasi-canonical status.”

demonstrated that the intertextual traffic between them was a two-way affair rather than unidirectional as Jacobi and Bhatt seem to suggest.³⁵⁷ Candra's ultimate position is, however, in agreement with Bhatt that the *Kalpa Sūtra* must have served as the base (*ādhār*) for the shorter (*saṃkṣipt*) version of the story in the *Ācārāṅga*. His analysis of the intertwined relationship between these works, however, raises more questions than it answers. In order to better highlight the points of convergence and divergence these works have with one another, a quick tour of the textual terrain and sūtraic structure of the Mahāvīra biography in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* is therefore essential before comparing it to the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

5.2 The Life of Mahāvīra in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*: Overall Structure and Subject-Matter

To begin, I have previously referred to the version of Mahāvīra's life in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* as a "sketch" mainly because of its relatively short length and lack of detail regarding event's from the saint's later life. Again, although Dundas has commented that this tract "presents Mahāvīra's life as a totality for the first time," strictly speaking, it only narrates events up to the fourth act of his life, the Enlightenment (*Kēvalajñāna Kalyāṇaka*).³⁵⁸ The fifth act, Mahāvīra's final passing away (*Nirvāṇa Kalyāṇaka*), is thus never arrived at in the story. Instead, the chapter ends with the newly enlightened Mahāvīra giving his first teaching of the "Five Great Vows" (*Pañca Mahāvratas*) and their twenty-five supporting "reflections" or "clauses" (*bhāvanās*) that are incumbent on Jain mendicants.³⁵⁹ If this was the so-called first

³⁵⁷ See K.R. Candra's "*Ācārāṅga evaṃ Kalpa-sūtra meṃ varṇit Mahāvīr caritroṃ kā viśleṣaṇ evaṃ unkī pūrvāpartā kā prśna*" in *Aspects of Jainology Vol. 3: Pandit Dalsubhāi Mālavaniyā Abhinandan Granth* (Varanasi: P.V. Research Institute, 1991), 1-11.

³⁵⁸ Dundas (1992: 23).

³⁵⁹ The five vows are: *Ahiṃsa* (non-violence), *Satya* (truthfulness), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Aparigraha* (non-attachment), and *Brahmācārya* (celibacy). The term *bhāvanā* (clause) has a number of meanings not only in the context of Jainism but generally. While in general it means "emotion," "contemplation," or "mental reflection," here in the context of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it means more specifically the "supportive practices (like contemplation) to make the observances of the *Mahāvratas* (Great Vows) more

attempt at presenting the story of Mahāvīra’s life, it thus appears to have been above all produced as a pretext for narrating the events that led to his propounding of the “Five Great Vows” and their numerous clauses. This is effectively borne out by the name of the chapter itself which is called “*Bhāvanā*” (The Clauses), a technical title which emphasizes its explicit orthopraxic agenda. The exposition of the “Five Great Vows” here, moreover, comes close to taking up half the space of the story and practically forms its own separate digest.

This last point regarding the internal organization of the story in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* invites us to investigate its sūtraic structure and subject matter in greater detail before we turn to looking at the contents of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. First, in terms of length, the story in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* spans a total of sixty *sūtras*, the vast majority of which are composed in prose but also include sections of verse. It should be noted, however, that a “*sūtra*” in this case—as well as in the *Kalpa Sūtra* and Jain canonical literature in general—does not necessarily denote a short epigrammatic sentence in the way the term is generally understood. *Sūtras* in Jain canonical literature appear to vary greatly in size and can range from single sentences to substantially longer segments of dense prose more akin to large paragraphs than pithy statements. Counting the number of *sūtras* as a criterion for measuring the size of any given work is therefore not a completely accurate index of scale given the wide variety of word-counts for any specific *sūtra*. Having said that, some sense of scale can still be gaged when we take note of the fact that the Mahāvīra story in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* is delivered in sixty *sūtras* whereas the biography of the sage in the *Kalpa Sūtra* consists of one hundred and forty-eight, more than twice its size.

meticulous.” See the *Jaina Paribhāṣika Śabdakośa* (Ladnun: Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, 2009), 250. Jacobi (1884) interprets *bhāvanā* as “clause” in his translation of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* for the *SBE* series.

Beyond the number of *sūtras*, a summary of the subjects covered in the version of Mahāvīra’s biography from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* also aids in clarifying the ways in which it paralleled the story in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Out of the sixty *sūtras* comprising the chapter in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, only the first forty-two specifically narrate the events associated with Mahāvīra’s life. The remaining eighteen *sūtras*, by contrast, are devoid of all biographical content and are instead devoted to his lecture on the “Five Great Vows.” The version of the story in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, on the other hand, never detours far from its biographical course and so omits this last long lecture on ascetic conduct. As we will see in the next section of this chapter, the portrayal of the story in the *Kalpa Sūtra* will adhere more closely to the full program of Mahāvīra’s life epitomized by the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas*. Despite these differences, however, the affiliations between the stories in these two texts run far deeper than any of the deviations in form and content that they had may have had with one another. Ultimately, then, their essential differences are of degree rather than kind.

Regarding the affiliations between these two works, we have already seen how each version of the story begins with an almost identical rendering of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas* pertaining to Mahāvīra before shifting to the narration of these events in greater detail. The story arc in each work also follows a similar path with most of the material in the narrative as a whole dedicated to describing episodes drawn from Mahāvīra’s early life that showcase his spiritual calling rather than scenes highlighting his later religious career. To give a better view of the overall arrangement of subjects in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, in Table 5.1 below I have divided the text

into the following narrative blocks showing the distribution of episodes and their corresponding *sūtras* (s.):³⁶⁰

Table 5.1 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 2.3.15 (Book 2, Appendix 3, Lecture 15)

Sūtra No.	Subject
s. 1 (733)	Enunciation of the Five Acts (<i>Pañca Kalyāṇakas</i>) in the life of Mahāvīra
s. 2 (734)	Act 1 (<i>Cyavana Kalyāṇaka</i>): Descent from heaven and conception
s. 3 (735)	Act 2: Transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from Devānandā to Trīśalā
ss. 4-13 (736-745)	Act 3 (<i>Janma Kalyāṇaka</i>): Nativity, childhood, and youth
ss. 14-39 (746-771)	Act 4 (<i>Dikṣā Kalyāṇaka</i>): Renunciation
ss. 40-42 (772-774)	Act 5 (<i>Kevalajñāna Kalyāṇaka</i>): Mahāvīra attains Enlightenment
ss. 43-60 (775-792)	Mahāvīra teaches the Five Great Vows and their twenty-five clauses

As it can be seen here, if we apply the simple metric of counting *sūtras*, the most popular segment in the story in terms of sheer volume involves the episode of Mahāvīra's Renunciation (*Dikṣā Kalyāṇaka*) designated here as Act 4 (s. 14-39).³⁶¹ This episode involves Mahāvīra's

³⁶⁰ For the sake of clarity, the actual *sūtra* number as it occurs in the *Ācārāṅga* text is given in parenthesis. I use the edition from the Jaina Āgama Grantha Mālā for reference: *Āyārāṅgasuttam* (*Ācārāṅgasūtram*). Ed. Muni Jambūvijaya (Bombay: Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, 1977), 259-293.

³⁶¹ It should once again be recalled here that in the conventional scheme of Five Events the Renunciation (*Dikṣā Kalyāṇaka*) is technically known as Act Three (rather than "Act Four" as shown above). This is because even though there are five traditional *kalyāṇakas* in Jain lore, in both the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and *Kalpa Sūtra* six are actually delineated. Thus the fifth *kalyāṇaka* depicted in the above scheme as "Act 5" (the Enlightenment) should not be taken as the final event in the scheme of six *kalyāṇakas*. In the scheme of six events, the Enlightenment consequently represents the penultimate *kalyāṇaka*. In any case, despite the addition of an extra *kalyāṇaka* in certain schools of Śvetāmbara Jainism, they are still generally

decision to depart from home, the rejoicing of the gods, his procession to the forest on a divine palanquin, the removal of his ornaments, and plucking of his hair. These last two actions signal Mahāvīra's initiation into ascetic life as the narrative then transitions to the next phase of the sage's journey involving his heroic sufferings and eventual Enlightenment. Although it will be presented in only two *sūtras*, the Enlightenment is nevertheless prominently treated as the high point of the story, an event which sets the scene for the recital of the Great Vows and their supporting practices.³⁶²

Based on the analysis of the chapter shown above, however, it is clear that the Renunciation of Mahāvīra forms the centerpiece of the story. I base this not only on the number of *sūtras* devoted to this episode but the comparatively more lively literary treatment it receives in the text. The entire scene, in fact, reads almost like a ballad and is propelled by the ample number of *gāthā* lyrics (ss. 15-20; 23-33) here that stylistically serve to amplify the atmosphere of exaltation and spiritual heroism surrounding Mahāvīra's glorious setting forth onto the mendicant path. It is also here in the midst of the glory of the renunciation where we encounter one of the most fateful lines uttered in the entire chapter (s. 20, v. 6), the directive expressed by

referred to as the "Five Miraculous Events" (although there are clearly rituals that do recognize the six events, viz., the *Ṣaṭ-Kalyānaka Pūjā*).

³⁶² The lack of attention to this important period of Mahāvīra's later life in the biography can be explained by the fact that another chapter from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* known as the *Uvahāṇa Suya* (Skt. *Upadhāna Sūtra*), the so-called "Pillow Sūtra" found in its first book, was devoted to this subject. Dundas calls the *Uvahāṇa Suya* "the earliest version of any part of Mahāvīra's life" in Jain literature. He also explains the meaning of the title "Pillow Sūtra" as a take on how "Mahāvīra's various religious practices supported him as a pillow does the head." See Dundas (1992: 26). Of the "Pillow Sūtra," Jacobi (1884: xlvi) remarks that it "was perhaps added in later times, but as it stands now it serves well to illustrate and to set a high example of the true ascetic's life."

the gods in *gāthā* meter for Mahāvīra to go forth and “establish the Jain religion” (*tittham pavattehi*):³⁶³

As it was just noted above, this scene would accordingly set the stage for the next episode, the Enlightenment, as well as the other major segment of the story, Mahāvīra’s articulation of the “Five Great Vows” of Jain monachism. What becomes clear from this brief analysis, then, is that the short story of Mahāvīra’s life in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* appears to have been principally interested in valorizing the monastic vocation and the vows that support it. It is also no accident that the climactic episode of the Renunciation was followed up by the Enlightenment and the teaching of the Great Vows, acts which further reinforced Mahāvīra’s high position in the holy hierarchy and legitimized his ministry. Given that this hagiography is located in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, a work dedicated to the discussion of *ācāra*, or right conduct, helps to explain the rationale behind why Mahāvīra’s exemplary life would be dramatized here. Nevertheless, we will see how this version of the saint’s life told more from a monastic point of view will be shifted in the *Kalpa Sūtra* in such a way as to magnify the role of the domestic sphere over the monastic by focusing much of the story on the miracles associated with Mahāvīra’s prenatal period, birth, and nativity.

³⁶³ AS, s. 752, vs. 116 (Book 2, Lecture 15): *ete devanikāyā Bhagavaṃ bohiṃti Jinavaraṃ Vīraṃ | savvajaggajīvahiyaṃ arahaṃ, tittham pavattehi* | Jacobi (1884: 195) translates this verse as “These orders of gods wake the best of Jinas, the Venerable Vīra: ‘Arhat! propagate the religion which is a blessing to all creatures in the world!’”

5.3 Introducing the Chronicle of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra*

*kalpataruvara Kalpa Sūtra, pūre mana vaṃchita;
Kalpadhare dhurathī suṇo, śrī Mahāvīra carita.*³⁶⁴

Like the excellent wish-granting tree, the *Kalpa Sūtra* fulfills the heart's desire; Starting on *Kalpa-dhara* day, listen to the life of Mahāvīra from beginning to end (*dhurathī*).

So far we have discussed the two narrative models of Mahāvīra's life that would play primary roles in shaping his hagiography in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The first was the miniature model of the saint's life encoded in the program of the *Pañca Kalyāṇakas*. The second was the more monumental model of his life recorded in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*'s second book, perhaps the earliest source to in effect mobilize the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* model by deploying it at the head of the story itself. I say "perhaps the earliest" since it is still far from certain just what the exact formal and chronological relationship is between these two early versions of the *Jina Caritra*. While Jacobi's opinion was that the *Kalpa Sūtra* was directly modeled on the canonically more established *Ācārāṅga*, other scholars such as Bansidar Bhatt (1993) have questioned this conclusion and consider the *Ācārāṅga*'s account "secondary" in relation to the more primary *Kalpa Sūtra*. Still another opinion is held by K. R. Candra (1991) who highlights the extreme intertextuality between both works and concludes that discovering the "original form" (*mūla rūpa*) of each an impossible task in view of the fact that their final products are the result of a long process of change as well as exchange with one another.³⁶⁵ My view on this matter mostly aligns with Candra in recognition of the near impossible task of unraveling the nature of the

³⁶⁴ Verse from *Śrī Paryuṣaṇa-parvanum Caityavandana*. "Kalpa-dhara" refers to the day during the Paryuṣaṇā festival when a copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is ceremoniously brought from the home of a devotee to the temple where its recitation before the public commences. See Chapter 6 (6.5) for more details on this practice.

³⁶⁵ K.R. Candra (1991: 1).

intertextual exchanges between each work taking place over the centuries. Along with this, instead of focusing exclusively on the question of origins or which text “invented” the other, I will be looking at the larger issue of social and institutional influence on the production and reception of the text and hence how each work’s similar yet different structure, style, and arrangement of subject-matter reflects the different audiences each work was addressed to. Thus despite the fact that both works are ultimately in a parallel position with one another, they must also be seen reflecting different overall social and religious agendas.

Having pointed out the problem of determining which narrative is “primary” or “derivative” in terms of overall influence, it nevertheless is clear that, in terms of reception and popularity, it is the account of Mahāvīra found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* that has prevailed as primary in the eyes of the tradition. It is also worth noting in this connection that the account of Mahāvīra’s life composed for the *Kalpa Sūtra* would also, in turn, be superposed as an important model itself for the other hagiographies following it in the text. While I have hardly mentioned them up to this point, it is also imperative that knowledge of these stories of the other Jina saints in the *Kalpa Sūtra* not be completely lost in all the light being cast on Mahāvīra’s tale. For following the story of Mahāvīra (ss. 1-148) come the much more abbreviated accounts of Pārśva (ss. 149-169), Ariṣṭanemi (ss. 170-183), various intervening Jinas (or *Jināntaras*, ss. 184-203), and Ṛṣabha (ss. 204-228).³⁶⁶ In other words, the text moves backwards in time by first narrating the life of the last Jina Mahāvīra (the twenty-fourth) before going on to present the biographies of the two Jinas who chronologically preceded him, that is Pārśva (the twenty-third), Ariṣṭanemi (the twenty-second), and Ṛṣabha (the first). This presentation of the biographies of the Jinas in reverse order is not surprising given that Mahāvīra is held to be the most recent prophet of the

³⁶⁶ For all *sūtra* numbers corresponding to the *Kalpa Sūtra* I use Jacobi’s critical edition (1879).

current age (the so-called “Avasarpiṇī” Age) and more attention would naturally have been placed on detailing his life than the others who were said to have lived in the remote epic past. In fact, the only Jina earlier than Mahāvīra to receive any substantial literary attention is the first Jina Ṛṣabha, a fact that is also not surprising given that, as the first Jina, he would have necessarily held a supreme position among the others. In any case, as Paul Dundas has written, these other hagiographies located here are of great religious significance because it is the *Kalpa Sūtra* that “for the first time links the last ford-maker with a chain of twenty-three predecessors.”³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, despite their obvious importance to the religious tradition, in view of the extensive overlap between all these accounts, for the remainder of my analysis I will mainly limit myself to the discussion of the Mahāvīra chronicle.

When we last left the Mahāvīra chronicle earlier in this chapter we saw how the *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* itinerary of events associated with his life had been ritualistically installed at the head of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text, a formal strategy also seen at work in the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*. The parallel narrative paths of each of these works would continue on from here with the next two *sūtras* of each text—describing Mahāvīra’s heavenly Descent and earthly Conception—being virtually identical as well. From this point on, however, the first substantial changes of the story in the *Kalpa Sūtra* begin in earnest. A close comparative reading of these texts shows that large segments of the two accounts are embedded in each other’s narratives, sometimes word for word while at other times in a more fragmentary fashion. Ultimately, it seems certain that a strategy of appropriation, adaptation, and augmentation seems to have prevailed when it came to crafting the account of Mahāvīra’s life found in each text.³⁶⁸ In this sense, Klaus Bruhn, in his study of

³⁶⁷ Dundas (1992: 23).

³⁶⁸ Again, this presents a “chicken and egg” type situation when it comes to unraveling which text may have been the so-called “original.”

repetition in Jain literature, discusses some of the stylistic features of the Mahāvīra narrative as presented in the *Kalpa Sūtra* and characterizes its form as consisting of “original (non-repetitive) matter, fillers (i.e., fillers in text form accompanied by stylistic elaborations), and standard episodes.”³⁶⁹

To present a clearer picture of this wide array of material under analysis, in Table 5.2 below I compare the arrangement of episodes in the Mahāvīra story belonging to the *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpa Sūtra*. Here I divide each text into basic narrative units or blocks as well as given the distribution of their respective *sūtras*:

Table 5.2

<i>Bhāvanā</i> (<i>Ācārāṅga Sūtra</i> , 2.3.15)	<i>Mahāvīracaritra</i> (<i>Kalpa Sūtra</i> , s.1-148)
s. 1 – (<i>Pañca Kalyāṇakas</i>) Enunciation of the Five Acts in the life of Mahāvīra	s. 1 – (<i>Pañca Kalyāṇakas</i>) Enunciation of the Five Acts in the life of Mahāvīra
s. 2 – Act 1 (<i>Cyavana Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Descent from heaven - Conception in the womb of Devānandā	s. 2-13 – Act 1 (<i>Cyavana Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Descent from heaven - Conception in the womb of Devānanda; - Devānandā’s 14 Dreams
s. 3 – Act 2: Transfer (<i>garbhāpahaṇa</i>) of Mahāvīra’s embryo from Devānandā to Triśalā	ss. 14-95 – Act 2: - Transfer (<i>garbhāpahaṇa</i>) of Mahāvīra’s embryo from Devānandā to Triśalā; - Triśalā’s 14 Dreams - Mahāvīra’s Vow (<i>abhigraha</i>)
ss. 4-13 – Act 3 (<i>Janma Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Nativity - Mahāvīra’s first thirty years	ss. 96-109 – Act 3 (<i>Janma Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Nativity - <i>sthiti pratijyā</i> ceremony (birth rites) - Mahāvīra’s first thirty years

³⁶⁹ Klaus Bruhn (1983: 43).

ss. 14-39 – Act 4 (<i>Dikṣā Kalyāṇaka</i>): Renunciation	ss. 110-119 – Act 4 (<i>Dikṣā Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Renunciation - ascetic career
ss. 40-42 – Act 5 (<i>Kevalajñāna Kalyāṇaka</i>): Enlightenment	ss. 120-122 – Act 5 (<i>Kevalajñāna Kalyāṇaka</i>): - Enlightenment - post-Enlightenment period
ss. 43-60 – Mahāvīra teaches the Five Great Vows and their twenty-five clauses	ss. 123-133 – Act 6 (<i>Nirvāṇa Kalyāṇaka</i>): Final Liberation
	ss. 134-147 Summary of Story
	s. 148 Textus Receptus

This juxtaposition showing each text's arrangement of episodes aptly illustrates their parallel narrative programs. We can see that while each work followed an almost identical plan of presentation with regard to the progression of the story, it is also evident that each would select different stages of the saint's life for dramatic emphasis.

For example, we have already taken note of how the storyline in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* reached its dramatic denouement with Mahāvīra's departure from home, renunciation, and enlightenment, a sequence of events which served to position him as a pious spiritual hero and ideal ascetic. However, if we compare this trajectory of events to the those in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, we can strikingly see the ways in which the arc of its story contrasts with the *Ācārāṅga* version. That is, my main observation here is how the storyline in the *Kalpa Sūtra* appears to dramatically de-emphasize Mahāvīra's act of departure from the domestic sphere and conversely highlights his foregoing investiture into it at the beginning of the story. This is borne out by the fact that

over a hundred of the story's one-hundred and forty-seven *sūtras* are devoted to the pre-departure period (s. 2-109) while the saint's actual religious career covers just a little over twenty *sūtras* (s. 110-133). What's more, in addition to the magnitude of its narrational expansion, this part of the story would also generate great artistic interest and become profusely illustrated in *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts. In fact, it is the first two miraculous acts involving the conception of Mahāvīra and the transfer of his embryonic form that would become the most popular subject among all the pictorial programs in the entire story. In the *Kalpa Sūtra* this change will also signal a shift from the rhetoric of renunciation more prominent in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*'s version of the story to a rhetoric of royal power and religious prosperity associated with the divine birth. The question, then, is why did this part of the life-story, especially the prenatal period and nativity, become so amplified in the eyes of the tradition? In order to answer this question we must first of all look at how the changing socio-religious conditions of the age impacted and gave rise to changes in the text.

To start with, I have already alluded to the *Kalpa Sūtra* as constituting a kind of religious charter for the Mūrtipūjaka branch of the Śvetāmbara Jain congregation. By this I mean that it was a defining document central to the identity of their community in the competitive sectarian environment of South Asia. Its text thus served as a treasured repository of the tradition's beliefs, legends, and religious practices. With regard to the birth story of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, it is significant in this connection that the other major tradition of Jains, the Digambaras, had long since rejected the extra episode involving the transport of his embryo between Brāhman and Kṣatriya mothers. In his essay on "Illustrating the *Pañcakalyāṇaka*," the art historian Robert J. Del Bontà calls attention to this dispute over the episode and writes that "Emphasizing this switch underscores Śvetāmbara identity, distinguishing it from the Digambara one. It is essential

to the Śvetāmbara narrative and it can be seen as giving Mahāvīra a dual parentage both from the priestly and the warrior castes.”³⁷⁰ If we accept this proposal, then, whatever the mythological meaning of the episode, what is most relevant here is the role the disputed *kalyāṇaka* plays in the politics of Jain identity formation and ideology. Given the epic treatment of the episode in the text, it points to one of the ways in which the production of the *Kalpa Sūtra* would form a key part of the self-fashioning project of the Śvetāmbara Jains to differentiate themselves from their Digambara rivals.

The allusion to Mahāvīra’s dual Brāhman-Kṣatriya parentage in the allegory of the embryo switch leads us to another important modality of the story introduced in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, one that has special relevance to the imagining of Mūrtipūjaka Jain social, religious, and political institutions. This is the modality of imperial-spiritual power that permeates this part of the story, a trope that exalts the royal righteousness of the king and the spiritual richness of his kingdom. To explore this dimension of the story further we will first need to examine some of the ways in which royal and religious power is constructed and linked in the text before showing how this overarching trope actually operates in relation to the wider social world of the religious public. My intent here is to show how scenes of spiritual, material, and familial prosperity and piety on display in the royal household of Mahāvīra would serve as edifying examples of Jain virtue that had great appeal and relevance for lay worshippers. This is in stark contrast to the fracture of the family seen taking place in the royal abode of the Buddha as depicted in comparable and roughly contemporaneous legends of his life.³⁷¹ I will show how the positive portrayal of Mahāvīra’s

³⁷⁰ Del Bontà (2015: 150).

³⁷¹ I am mostly referring to narrative works such as Aśvaghōṣa’s celebrated literary epic of the Buddha’s life, the *Buddha Carita* (1st-2nd c. CE) and the more composite *Lalitavistara Sūtra* (3rd- 4th c. CE). As with Mahāvīra and the other Jain prophets, the episodes of the Buddha’s life and career have also been schematized into a series of “Great Events.” However, unlike the case of the Jinas, the events or deeds

royal family unit in the *Kalpa Sūtra* comments on and may even offer a corrective to the biography of the Buddha by communicating the socio-spiritual merits of the householder state rather than critiquing it. In short, in comparison with works on the Buddha's biography such as the *Buddha Carita* and *Lalitavistara Sūtra*, the dialectic between social duty and spiritual calling dramatized in the *Kalpa Sūtra* reaches a more idealized synthesis in the figure of Mahāvīra, one that balances monastic and domestic duties.

With regard to the portrait of royal and religious power being put on display in the story of Mahāvīra, I want to start by first discussing the prenatal period of the saint found at the beginning of the tale given all the narrative energy devoted to investing him with a royal pedigree here. To be sure, legitimizing the royal lineage of Jinas such as Mahāvīra seems to have been at the forefront of the effort to recreate the story in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. In particular, the hagiography here makes a concerted effort to not only link Mahāvīra with the line of preceding Jinas for the first time but also with the legendary Ikṣvāku line of kings, topics conspicuously absent from the earlier account in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.³⁷² Since all Jinas are said as a rule to descend from the Ikṣvāku or Harivaṃśa dynasties, establishing Mahāvīra's lineage as deriving from either of these two royal houses can be seen as aligned with the task to establish him in the office of Jina.³⁷³ The need to forge links with the powerful monarchs of the legendary past and

organizing the Buddha's life appear to sharply diverge according to different traditions. Thus while some schools divide his life into five acts, others claim eight, and still other groups identify twelve acts. To put it simply, the Theravādan tradition holds that there are eight deeds while the Mahāyāna increases the number to twelve. See Sarla Khosla's *The Historical Evolution of the Buddha Legend* (New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1989).

³⁷² See *Kalpa Sūtra*, s. 2 where Mahāvīra's affiliations with the preceding Jinas are first mentioned.

³⁷³ According to Jain legendary history, Ṛṣabha, the first Jina, is actually identified as Ikṣvāku. See Kailash Chand Jain (1974: 2) and Dundas (1992: 36). Only Munisuvrata (the twentieth Jina) and Naminātha (the twenty-first Jina) were considered to be from the Harivaṃśa line. The remaining twenty-two were thus said to have belonged to the Ikṣvāku dynasty.

declare Mahāvīra’s imperial Kṣatriya heritage can be palpably grasped by the polemical force the matter takes on in the story. For example, we are told at the start of the second act (s. 14) involving the embryo transfer how it is no other than the king of the gods himself, Śakra (Indra), who orders the exchange of Mahāvīra’s embryo between mothers in order to ensure his noble birth. Here the divine ruler proclaims that the class of ‘Illustrious Beings’ (*mahāpuruṣas*) to which Mahāvīra belongs are never “born in a minor clan or a fringe-clan, or a lowly, destitute or miserly clan, a clan of beggars or *brāhmaṇas*— this is something that has never been; it cannot be and will never be...[Illustrious Beings] have always been born in powerful, affluent or princely clans: in the clans of the Ikṣvākus, in *kṣatriya* clans, in the clans of the Harivaṃśas or in similarly pure and nobly-bred clans or families.”³⁷⁴ It is at this point that Śakra orders his commander Hariṇaigameṣin to carry out the supernatural removal of Mahāvīra’s embryo (*garbhāpahāra*) from the Brāhman lady Devānandā and station it in the womb (*garbhashthāpana*) of the Kṣatriya Queen Triśalā (Fig. 5.1).³⁷⁵

We can interpret this scene on a number of levels. On one level, the rejection of Mahāvīra’s Brahman parentage can be read as a critique of Brahmanical patriarchal power and a corresponding assertion of Jain upward mobility. In this respect, the transfer could then be said to serve as an allegory of the transfer of old regimes of Brahmanical power to upstart Jain institutions in the new era of Mahāvīra’s ministry. A less fanciful and more functionalist interpretation, however, is that the scene was adopted from the common stock of mytho-legends already in currency and creatively adapted to fit the narrative needs of Jain legendary history.

³⁷⁴ KS, s. 17. I use the English translation by Mukund Lāṭh found in *Kalpa-sūtram* (Jaipur: Prākṛit Bhāratī, 1984), 34-35.

³⁷⁵ To be clear, two embryos are actually involved in this act. The first conceived in Devānandā which is Mahāvīra and the other one he is exchanged for already in the womb of Triśalā. Each woman is thus completely unaware of the switch as the act is concealed from mortal eyes.



Fig. 5.1. *Kalpa Sūtra*, ca. 1450. Mahāvīra's Transfer Between Wombs. Bottom: Removal of the Embryo from Devānandā. Top: Delivery of the Embryo to Trisālā.
 Source: Philadelphia Museum of Art (<https://philamuseum.org/>).
 Accession Number: 1976-191-1(13a,b).

Indeed, the episode does closely parallel the birth story of Krishna's older brother Balarāma told in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (ca. 1st c. CE).³⁷⁶ In this connection, Jacobi remarks that "The worship of Krishna seems to have been popular during the first centuries of the development of the Jaina creed" and, furthermore, that the figure of Krishna also historically served as a model for how Jains thought about and envisioned the lives of Jinas.³⁷⁷ These kinds of well-attested parallels with the pool of stories surrounding Krishna at least gives more credibility to the idea that elements of Mahāvīra's birth story may have been borrowed from other established sources

³⁷⁶ According to this myth, Krishna's elder brother Balarāma was transferred from the womb of his mother Devakī and placed inside her husband's chief co-wife Rohiṇī. This miracle was orchestrated through the divine intervention of Viṣṇu in order to prevent Devakī's cousin Kāṃsa from killing the baby as part of the internecine struggle for power taking place in the story.

³⁷⁷ Jacobi (1884: xxxi). With regard to Jacobi's last point concerning the influence of the image of Krishna on the conceptualization of the Jinas, he is specifically referring to the Jina Ariṣṭanemi who is held to be Krishna's cousin in Jain histories. Of this he says, "...for the Jainas have reproduced the whole history of Krishna, with small alterations, in relating the life of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Ariṣṭanemi, who was a famous Yādava."

already in circulation such as this. The incorporation of “popular” lore into Jain legends from Puranic works such as the *Harivaṃśa* would after all make sense from the point of view of proselytization. If so, it does lend more credence to the idea brought up in the previous chapter that the production of the *Kalpa Sūtra* formed part of a broader evangelistic campaign to both attract new converts to the Jain faith as well as prevent their own members from converting to other established traditions. In any case, the episode, perhaps the most sensationalistic of the entire work, provided a potent mythological point of reference for promoting Jain religious institutions in the rivalrous environment of the era.³⁷⁸ Given its novel treatment and disproportionate length in the story, as well as the ambitious artistic investment put into illustrating it in manuscripts, the importance of this episode in the imagination of the Jains should therefore not be underestimated.

The miracle of Mahāvīra’s conception, or *Garbha Kalyāṇaka*, along with its attendant themes of celestial and imperial sanction, would continue on from here in the next novel set of scenes introduced in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. These are the scenes narrating the “Fourteen Great Dreams” (*codassa-mahāsumiṇe*) experienced by both of Mahāvīra’s co-mothers at the moment of his divine conception. These dreams consist of a colorful montage of symbolically charged objects that foretell the future birth of an “Illustrious Being.”³⁷⁹ In the case of the “Brāhmaṇī” (Brāhman Lady) Devānandā, the dreams are said to signify the birth a son who, in accordance

³⁷⁸ On still another level, according to Dundas, the scene also “might suggest a desire to present Mahāvīra through his anomalous arrival in his final birth as, like other great religious figures, both human and at the same time transcending the normal mortal state.” Dundas (1992: 26).

³⁷⁹ The dream objects are nicely expressed by the following verse in KS s. 33 which is actually cited from the *bhāṣya* (3rd-5th c CE) v. 46 on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*: *gaya-vasaha-sihābhiseya-dāma-sasi-dīṇayaram jhayam kumbham | paumasara-sāgara-vimāṇabhuvana-ramaṇuccaya-sihim ca ||* Elephant, Bull, Lion, Anointing of Śrī (Lakṣmī), Garland, Full Moon, Sun Disc, Banner, Urn; Lotus Lake, Ocean of Milk, Celestial Vehicle, Heap of Jewels, and Smokeless Fire.

with his priestly lineage, will become a great luminary of Brahmanical learning.³⁸⁰ Conversely, in the case of the “Kṣatriyāṇī” (Noble Lady) Triśalā, the dreams presage the birth of either an all-powerful *cakravartī* king (a universal monarch wielding supreme political-temporal power) or an all-powerful *dharma-cakravartī* king (a universal monarch wielding supreme pontifical-spiritual power).³⁸¹ The fourteen auspicious objects beheld by Triśalā in her dreams accordingly serve as iconic symbols of dynastic power, divine prosperity, and domestic fertility. The importance of this interlude in the story and its images of terrestrial-celestial power can be deciphered by the amount of devotional attention it has received both inside and outside of the text. Within the text this is demonstrated most of all by the way in which its composer took great delight in describing each dream-object in a style of prose far more florid than the formulaic type we generally encounter in the text. Miniature painters further added their artistic touch to the spectacle described by the composer with vivid illustrations that visualize the dream-objects floating in orbit above the reclining figurine of Triśalā asleep below on her couch (Fig. 5.2). Altogether, the scene of the dreams supplies one of the most verbally inspired segments of the entire story, one having great visual and ritual appeal as well.

This last point regarding ritual brings us to perhaps the most important role the dream scene plays in the religious life of the community. This is its specific connection to what is known as the *svapna darśana* ceremony (observance of the dreams) held during the Paryuṣaṇā festival when ritual activity centering on the reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra* reaches its height. It is

³⁸⁰ KS, s. 9.

³⁸¹ KS, s. 76.



Fig. 5.2. Trisalā's Dreams. *Kalpa Sūtra*, 16th century. Source: Detroit Institute of Arts
Accession Number: 72.792.13A.



Detail of the above image showing the dream objects.

at this auspicious time—customarily on the fifth day of the festival—when members of the congregation reenact the visitation of the dreams by displaying silver reproductions of the objects beheld by Triśalā (Fig. 5.3). As it has been described in J. Jain and E. Fischer’s study of Jain visual and ritual culture, during this ceremony “the silver replicas of the dream motifs are lowered on a string from the ceiling window into the hall of the temple where devotees assemble to watch them. Each motif is garlanded and taken to a platform by a young girl, where they remain for some time.”³⁸² The ceremony surrounding the dreams is further noteworthy for the part it plays in generating capital for the community, both financial and spiritual. That is, according to custom, on the fourth day of the Paryuṣaṇā festival community members hold a “dream auction” (*svapna-bolī*) which, in the words of Kendall Folkert, is “the auction for the rights to garland, display, swing, etc., the silver representations of the 14 dreams seen by the mother of Mahāvīra.”³⁸³ The revenue raised from the auction of the dream-objects is considered a sacred fund (*dev dravya*) mandated for investment and redistribution back into the religious sector.³⁸⁴ This generally involves using the income derived from the auction to cover costs of upkeep and operations. Since it is the temple complex (*mandir*) that stands at the epicenter of public religious life, the funds raised from congregation members for the collective custodianship of its property are viewed as charitable donations (*dakṣiṇā*) or gifts (*dāna*) that benefit the social and spiritual economy of the entire *saṃgha*.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Jyotindra Jain and Eberhard Fischer (1978: 7).

³⁸³ Folkert (1993: 196, fn. 28).

³⁸⁴ For more see Kanakacandrasūri’s *Svapna-dravya, Dev-dravya hī hai* (Pāṭaṇ: Viśvamaṅgal Prakāśan Mandir, 1984).

³⁸⁵ Another auction held during Paryuṣaṇā involves an individual or family obtaining the rights to enshrine in their home the copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* to be used by the clergy on the day of its recitation before the public. On the day of the recital the copy is led from the home by procession aloft on some



Fig. 5.3. Silver reproductions of the dream objects used for the *svapna darśana* ceremony held during Paryuṣaṇā at the Śrī Śvetāmbara Jain Dādābārī temple, Jaipur, India, 2019. Photo by the author.

In view of these types of transactions between institutional complex and devotional community, performative practices such as the *svapna darśana* ceremony could be said to exemplify what Christian Novetzke calls a “public economy of worship” that formed around the reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.³⁸⁶ In other words, what we see transpiring in the development of the devotional world surrounding the scripture appears diagnostic of the increasingly important role of the religious public in terms of its patronage, production, and reception happening during the first millennium. While in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* we saw that the narratological and ideological emphasis of the biography was placed on the ascetic acts of renunciation from society, the achievement of omniscience, and technologies of discipline such as the practice of reciting the

type of vehicle (viz., elephant or palanquin) all the way to the temple hall (*āśraya*) where it is presented to the chief cleric in charge of the ceremony. I talk more in detail about this ceremonial practice in Chapter 6.

³⁸⁶ Christian Novetzke (2007: 259).

“Five Great Vows” (*Pañca Mahāvratas*) of Jain monachism, in the *Kalpa Sūtra* we conversely bear witness to the emergence of a new ethos of social and spiritual interchange in the making. By comparing the changing themes and structures of the Mahāvīra story found in each of these seminal works I have documented just part of this process of social change in which we are able to witness the increasing influence and agency of the lay apostolate in Jain rites and religious practice.

In short, all this evidence suggests that the biography of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was crafted for an audience that included lay votaries rather than only addressing anchorites. It is for this reason that in the new and expanded parts of the story we find such a new and unprecedented confluence of both cosmic and cosmopolitan themes. An example of this has been seen in the episode of the embryo switch where social, royal, and religious determinants factored into the development of this part of the tale. The ensuing dream scene introduced into the story here further plays upon themes of divine, dynastic, and domestic prosperity. We also saw how this scene was incorporated into the ritual world of the laity during Paryuṣaṇā where devotional practices such as the dream ceremony and auction served to stimulate the spiritual and material economy of the community. This all points to the wider religious public as constituting an increasingly important audience or, to use another one of Novetzke’s ideas, a “public of reception,” in the arena of ideas, arts, religion, and culture.³⁸⁷

To be clear, however, this purported “public of reception” should not be simply thought of as mere passive receivers of the culture’s communicative media but as comprising an active audience of cultural actors, patrons, and practitioners. In the case of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the impact

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 255.

of the audience on the shape of the Mahāvīra story can be seen reflected in the very aesthetic and emotional world constructed for the narrative itself.³⁸⁸ For example, while much of the story we have been discussing so far appears largely concerned with divinizing Mahāvīra as a demigod and saint, at the same time, we can also identify an attempt to humanize his character in ways that communicated and appealed to the affective sensibilities of the wider populace beyond the religious elite. To better understand this dynamic, let us take just one example from the story that illustrates how the new dimension of emotion we see infusing the narrative works in tandem with devotion in the text as a rhetorical and didactic strategy.

5.4 Vignettes of Virtue: Emotion, Devotion, and Moral Messaging in the Nativity of Mahāvīra

Perhaps the best example to use here for illustrative purposes is the scene in the story labeled *śoka* (scene of sorrow) by artists who produced miniature paintings of the event in multiple *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts. This scene (ss. 92-95) takes place during the prenatal period of Mahāvīra when he resolves, while still in his fetal form, to remain motionless in his mother Triśalā's womb so that she may not feel any discomfort during the pregnancy. The sudden stillness of the fetus, however, leads Triśalā to fear that her baby has died. A short melodramatic scene with significant implications for the entire story next unfolds. In view of the importance I ascribe to the scene, before discussing it and its implications in greater detail, I first present and translate it in its entirety:

³⁸⁸ A comparable situation prevailed in medieval Europe where it was said that “Lay experience of the holy was mostly visual and auditory, including encounters with religious art and the stories portrayed in these artworks, as well as the homilies of their priests (during the time periods that medieval liturgies incorporated preaching).” See “Laity and Popular Beliefs” in Bleiberg, Edward (ed.) *Arts & Humanities through the Eras (Medieval Europe: Religion, 814-1450)*. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2005.

tae ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre māuaṇukampaṇāṭṭhāe niccale nipphaṃde nireaṇe allīṇapallīṇagutte yāvi hotthā | tae ṇaṃ tīse Tisalāe khattiyāṇīe ayam eyārūve jāva samuppajjitthā: haḍe me se gabbhe, maḍe me se gabhe, cue me se gabbhe, galie me se gabbhe, esa me gabbhe puvviṃ eyai, iyāṇiṃ no eyai tti kaṭṭu ohayamaṇasaṃkappā cimṭā-soga-sāgaram paviṭṭhā karayala-palhatthamuhī aṭṭajjhāṇovagayā bhūmigaya-diṭṭiyā jhiyāi | taṃ pi ya Siddhattha-rāya-bhavaṇaṃ uvarayamuṃgataṃtīlatālanāḍaijjajaṇaṃ aṇujjaṃ dīṇavimaṇaṃ viharai || 92 ||

tae ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre māūe ayam eyārūvaṃ ajjhatthiyaṃ patthiyaṃ maṇogayaṃ saṃkappaṃ samuppannaṃ vijāṇittā egadesenaṃ eyai || 93 ||

tae ṇaṃ sā Tisalā khattiyāṇī taṃ gabbhaṃ eyamāṇaṃ vevamāṇaṃ calamāṇaṃ phaṃdamāṇaṃ jāṇittā haṭṭha-tuṭṭha jāva haya-hiyayā evaṃ vayāsī: “no khalu me gabbhe haḍe jāva no gali’ esa me gabbhe | puvviṃ no eyai, iyāṇiṃ eyai tti kaṭṭu haṭṭha-tuṭṭha jāva hayahiyayā evaṃ vā viharai | tae ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre gabbhatthe im’ eyātūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ: no khalu me kappai ammā-pīṭhiṃ jīvaṃtehiṃ muṃḍe bhavittā agāra-vāsāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae || 94 ||

tae ṇaṃ sā Tisalā khattiyāṇī ṇhāyā kayabalikammā kayakouyamaṃgalapāyacchittā savvālaṃkāravibhūsiyā ṇāisīehiṃ nāiṇhehiṃ nāitittehiṃ nāikaḍuehiṃ nāikasāehiṃ nāiambilehiṃ nāimahurehiṃ nāiniddhehiṃ nāilukkhehiṃ nāiullehiṃ nāisukkehiṃ savvattubhayamānasuhehiṃ bhoyaṇacchāyaṇagaṃdhamallehiṃ vavagayarogasoga-mohabhayaparissamā sā, jaṃ tassa gabbhassa hiyaṃ miyaṃ pacchaṃ gabbhaposaṇaṃ, taṃ dese ya kale ya āhāraṃ āhāremāṇī vivittamauehiṃ sayāṇāsaṇehiṃ pairikkasuhāe maṇāṇukūlāe vihārabhūmīe pasatthadohalā saṃpunnadohalā saṃmāṇiyadohalā avimāṇiyadohalā vocchinnadohalā vivaṇiyadohalā suhaṃ suheṇaṃ āsayai sayai ciṭṭhai nisīyayai tuyāṭṭai, suhaṃ suheṇaṃ taṃ gabbhaṃ parivahai || 95 ||

s. 92. At that time (*tae/tatas*) [while he was an embryo in the womb], the Venerable Renouncer Mahāvīra (*Mahāvīre/Mahāvīraḥ*), for the sake of compassion for his mother (*māu-aṇukampaṇa-aṭṭhāe/mātr-anukampana-arthah*), stayed motionless (*niccale/nīscalah*), steady (*nipphaṃde/nīsphandah*), and still (*nireaṇe/nir-ejanaḥ*).³⁸⁹ He was (*hotthā*) in such a state of suspended animation that he remained undetected (*allīṇa-pallīṇa-gutte/ālīna-pralīna-guptah*)³⁹⁰ at all times (*yāvi*).³⁹¹ Then (*tae*) this kind of (*eyārūve*)³⁹² thought (*saṃkappe*) occurred (*samuppajjitthā/samutpanna*) to the Noble Lady (*kṣatriyāṇī*) Trīśālā: “Has my unborn baby (*gabbhe*) been removed (*haḍe/hrta*), has

³⁸⁹ *ejanam* Trembling, shaking (Apte)

³⁹⁰ *ālīna*, mfn. Embraced. -2 Sticking or clinging to (Apte); dwelling or abiding in (MW); *pralīna*, mfn. dissolved, reabsorbed into (loc.), disappeared, lost, died (MW)

³⁹¹ *yāvi* = *āvi* (आवि न [दे] १ प्रसव-पीड़ा। २ वि. नित्य, शाश्वत।) (Seth)

³⁹² *eyārūve*, S. *etad-rūpa* (H. *aisā*, is prakār kā)

my baby died (*maḍe/mṛta*), has my baby fallen away (*cue/cyavana*), has my baby been miscarried (*galie/galita*)? Earlier (*puvviṃ*) this child of mine moved (*eyai/ejati*), yet now (*iyāṇiṃ*) he no longer moves (*no eyai*).” After thinking this (*tī kaṭṭu/itī kṛtvā*), her mind became overwhelmed with imaginings (*ohaya-maṇa-saṃkappā/upahata-mana-saṅkalpa*) and she sank (*paviṭṭhā/pravriṣṭā*) into a sea of sorrow and anxious thought (*ciṃtā-soga-sāgaram*). She sat reflecting on this (*jhiyāi/dhyāyati*) with her head resting on her hand (*kara-yala-palhattha-muhī/kara-tala-paryasta-mukhī*) and staring at the ground with eyes (*bhūmi-gaya-ditṭhiyā/bhūmī-gata-dṛṣṭi*) swollen with tears from painful thoughts (*aṭṭa-jjhāna-ovagayā/ārta-dhyāna-upavalgita*).³⁹³ The grand palace of King Siddhārtha (*Siddhattha-rāya-[vara]-bhavaṇaṃ*), too (*pi ya/api ca*), became (*viharai/viharati*) a dispirited (*anujjaṃ/anurjaṃ*), sad and disconsolate place (*dīṇa-vimaṇaṃ*); the people and performers, the clapping to stringed music and drums, all fell silent (*uvaraya-muiṃga*³⁹⁴-*tamṭī-tala-tāla-nāḍaijja*³⁹⁵-*jaṇaṃ/virata-mṛdaṅga-tala-tāla-nāṭakīya-jaṇaṃ*). (Fig. 5.4)

s. 93. Then the Venerable Renouncer Mahāvīra, having realized (*vijāṇittā/vijñāya*) that such (*eyārūvaṃ*) a morbid (*ajjhatthiyaṃ/ādhyātmikaṃ*) thought (*saṃkappaṃ*) had arisen (*samuppannaṃ*) and developed (*patthiyaṃ/prasthitaṃ*) in the mind (*maṇo-gayaṃ*) of his mother (*māūe*), wiggled a bit (*eyai*) to one side (*ega-deseṇaṃ*).

s. 94. The Noble Lady Trisālā then became overjoyed (*haṭṭha-tuṭṭhā/hrṣṭa-tuṣṭā*) when she noticed (*jāṇittā/jñātvā*) that the baby (*gabbhaṃ*) was twitching (*vevamāṇaṃ/vepamānaṃ*),³⁹⁶ stirring (*calamāṇaṃ*), and quivering (*phaṃdamāṇaṃ/spandamānaṃ*). Her heart was captivated (*haya-hiyayā/hrta-hṛdayā*) and she spoke (*vayāsī*, past tense, from *vad*) thus (*evaṃ*): “My unborn baby (*me gabbhe*) has not at all (*no khalu*) been lost (*haḍe*), nor has my baby been miscarried (*galia*). Before it did not move, but now it moves!” After saying this (*tī kaṭṭu/itī kṛtvā*), she felt overjoyed (*haṭṭha-tuṭṭha*) and her heart was thrilled (*haya-hiyayā*). In this way (*evaṃ*), she became transformed (*viharai*).

Then the Venerable Renouncer Mahāvīra, while still stationed in the womb (*gabbhatta/garbhastha*), made this (*ima/idam*) vow (*abhiggahaṃ/abhigrahaṇaṃ*): “It is not at all proper (*no kappai*) for me to become (*bhavittā*) tonsured by plucking out my hair (*muṃḍe*) and departing (*pavvaittae/pravrajita*) from householder life (*agāra-vāsāo*) to become a homeless ascetic (*aṇagāriyaṃ*) while my parents (*ammā-pīṭhiṃ*) are still living (*jīvaṃtehiṃ*).”

³⁹³ *upavalgita* a. Swollen or dimmed with tears (as eyes). (Apte)

³⁹⁴ *muiṃga* = *mṛdaṅgaḥ*, A kind of drum or tabor. (Apte)

³⁹⁵ *nāḍaijja*, वि नाटकीय नाटक-सम्बन्धी, नाटक में भाग लेनेवाला पात्र (Seth)

³⁹⁶ √*vip/vep*, 1 Ā. to tremble, shake, shiver, vibrate, quiver, be stirred (MW)



Fig. 5.4. Scene of sadness in the palace. *Kalpa Sūtra*, ca. 16th-17th c. Top: King Siddhārtha (left) and attendants. Bottom: The palace performers are sitting silently having put away their instruments in grief (seen in the middle band lying down silent as described in the passage). Image source: W. Norman Brown, 1934: fig. 54).

s. 95. From this moment on (*tae*), the Noble Lady Triśalā took ritual baths (*ñhāyā/snātā*), made religious offerings (*kaya-bali-kammā/kr̥ta-bali-karmā*), performed atonements and auspicious ceremonies to protect her pregnancy (*kaya-kouya*³⁹⁷-*maṅgala-pāyacchittā/kr̥ta-kautuka-maṅgala-prāyaścittā*), and adorned herself in all her ornaments (*savvālaṃkāra-vibhūsiyā*). She (*sā*) made efforts to ward off fear, delusion, depression, and disease (*vavagaya-roga-soga-moha-bhaya-parissamā/vyapagata-roga-śoka-bhaya-pariśramā*) with various foods, fine garments, fragrances, and flowers (*bhoyaṇa-acchāyaṇa-gaṃdha-mallehiṃ/bhojana-ācchādāna-gandha-mālyābhiḥ*). She ate (*āhāremāṇī*) meals (*āhāram*) at the proper place and time (*dese ya kāle ya*) which were healthy (*hiyaṃ/hitam*), balanced (*miyaṃ/mitam*), nutritious (*pachaṃ/pathyam*), and nourishing for the baby (*gabbha-posaṇaṃ*). The food was prepared to be neither too cold (*ñāisīehiṃ/nāti-śītalābhiḥ*) nor too hot (*nāiunhehiṃ/nāti-uṣṇābhiḥ*), neither too pungent (*nāititthehiṃ/nāti-tiktābhiḥ*) nor too bitter (*nāikaḍuehiṃ/nāti-kaṭukābhiḥ*), neither too spicy (*nāikasāehiṃ/nāti-kaṣāyābhiḥ*), sour (*nāiambilehiṃ/nāti-āmlābhiḥ*), or sweet (*nāimahurehiṃ/nāti-mādhurābhiḥ*), neither too rich (*nāiniddhehiṃ/nāti-snigdhabhiḥ*) nor too harsh (*nāiukkhehiṃ/nāti-ruksābhiḥ*), neither too wet (*nāiullehiṃ/nāti-ārdrābhiḥ*) nor too dry (*nāisukkehiṃ/nāti-śuṣkābhiḥ*). She happily (*suhaṃ suheṇaṃ/sukhena-sukhena*) relaxed (*āsayai/āste*), slept (*sayai/svapati*), idled (*ciṭṭhai/tiṣṭati*), reclined (*nisīyai/nyasyati*), and lounged (*tuyaṭṭai/tyagvartati*) [on] clean, soft (*vivitta-mauehiṃ/vivikta-mṛdubhiḥ*) couches and seats (*sayaṇāsanehiṃ/sayaṇa-āsanaḥ*). She strolled in surroundings (*vihāra-bhūmī*) that were secluded, peaceful (*pairikka-suhāe/pratirikta-śubhe*) and comforting to her mind (*maṇṇukūlāe/mana-anukule*). Her pregnancy desires (*dohalā/dohadāḥ*)³⁹⁸ were always honored (*pasattha-dohalā/prasasta-dohadā*), satisfied (*saṃpunna-dohalā*), courteously respected (*saṃmāṇiya-dohalā*), never neglected (*avimāṇiya-dohalā/avimanita-dohadāḥ*), fulfilled (*vocchinna-dohalā/vyavacchinna-dohadāḥ*),³⁹⁹ and taken care of (*vivaṇīya-dohalā/vyapanīta-dohadāḥ*).⁴⁰⁰ [In this way,] she cheerfully (*suhaṃ suheṇaṃ*)⁴⁰¹ carried (*parivahai*) the baby [during her pregnancy].

The scene is remarkable for a number of reasons. First, in terms of its emotional register, the composer(s) employs a large assortment of rhetorical tools to heighten the dramatic tension of

³⁹⁷ *koua* (Skt. *kautuka*), 1. Curiosity; 2. Ceremony relating to pregnancy (*garbhādhān ādi saṃskār*; mahotsav viśeṣ). See s.v. in Ratnacandra, *Sacitra Ardhamāgadhī Koṣa* (1988: 526-527).

³⁹⁸ *dohadaḥ/dohadam*, The longing of a pregnant woman. (Apte)

³⁹⁹ *vocchinna-dohalā*, One whose desires are fulfilled. (Ratnacandra)

⁴⁰⁰ *vivaṇīya* (*vivaṇīya*), Gone, set aside. (Ratnacandra). In this context, probably means “set aside” in the sense of “provided for” or “allocated.”

⁴⁰¹ *suhaṃ suheṇaṃ*, Easily, without difficulty. (Ratnacandra)

Triśalā's transition from sorrow to jubilation. Indeed, the narrative emphasis is placed mainly on the positive mental and spiritual transformation that Triśalā undergoes during this stage of her pregnancy. In images that seem designed for melodramatic effects, she is theatrically described as “sinking in a sea of sorrow and anxious thought (*cintā-śoka-sāgara*)” and that she “sat reflecting on this with her head resting on her hand and staring at the ground, her eyes swollen with tears from painful thoughts.” (Fig. 5.5). Further, as news of the “disaster of the embryo” (*garbhākuśala*) quickly spreads throughout the court, the palace goes into a state of shock and mourning. Fortunately, on account of his supersensory intellect, Mahāvīra becomes aware of his mother's grief and gently quivers his body to signal his survival and assuage her sorrow. Triśalā's heartache (*śoka*) transforms into happiness (*harṣa*) (Fig. 5.6) and she is then said to dedicate herself with renewed religious vigor to *garbha-poṣaṇa*, the performance of all the rituals incumbent upon expectant mothers to ensure the birth of healthy children.

This scene is therefore not staged in the story purely for its melodramatic effects but with a moral purpose in mind.⁴⁰² This moral component is further demonstrated by showing the impact of Triśalā's emotional trauma on Mahāvīra's psyche as the experience of his mother's sorrow is presented as a catalyst that shocks and attunes him to the *saṃsāric* world of suffering he is about to be born into. We see this when Mahāvīra—while still *in utero* (*garbhastha*) and directly after quivering his body to reassure his mother that he is alive—formulates what amounts to be his very first formal vow (*abhiggaha*/Skt. *abhi-graha*).⁴⁰³ This is the pledge he

⁴⁰² The scene is also an interesting example of prolepsis, a type of narrative device where future events are alluded to in the present in order to make an impact on the course of the narrative.

⁴⁰³ While this scene of Mahāvīra's vow is missing from the *Ācaraṅga Sūtra*'s version of the story, it is nevertheless mentioned in the versified list of events ordering his life found in the *Āvaśyaka Nirvyukti* (s. 458) mentioned previously.



Fig. 5.5
Trisālā's Sadness (*śoka*). *Kalpa Sūtra*,
15th c. Note the image label on upper
left reading *śoka*. Source: Cincinnati &
Hamilton County Public Library.
Accession Number:
Kalpasutra_0961ffJ251500 97

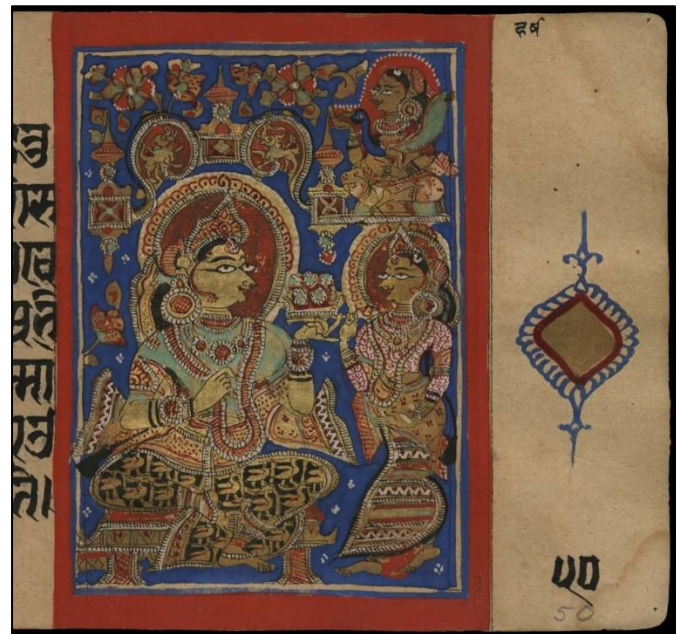


Fig. 5.6
Trisālā's Joy (*harṣa*). *Kalpa Sūtra*, 15th c.
Note the image label on upper right reading
harṣa. Source: Cincinnati & Hamilton
County Public Library. Accession Number:
Kalpasutra_0961ffJ251500 99

makes to never abandon his parents, even in exchange for future religious rewards:

*no khalu me kappai ammāpitīhiṃ jīvaṃtehiṃ muṃḍe bhavittā agāravāsāo aṇagāriyaṃ
pavvaie |*

“It is not at all proper (*no kappai*) for me to become tonsured by plucking out my hair and departing from householder life to become a homeless ascetic while my parents are still living.”

The binding nature of the vow can be immediately gaged by the fact that it mimics the legislative style of language used in normative texts (i.e., “*no kappai...*”).⁴⁰⁴ At the same time, it is a far cry

⁴⁰⁴ \sqrt{kapp} , from caus. of \sqrt{klp} (*kalpayati-te*) -1 To prepare, arrange, make ready, fit out; -2 To settle, fix upon, intend, design; -3 To make, offer; -4 To provide or furnish with; -5 To believe, consider, imagine, think; -6 To cut, divide; -7 To execute, bring about, do, perform. (Apte)

from the sort of impersonal or publicly professed type of vow such as we see in institutional settings. Rather, this vow reflects an inwardly felt, highly personal, and privately expressed point of view brought on by the transformative experience of sorrow he feels through the medium of his mother's suffering. The scene is thus all the more remarkable in this sense due to the fact that Jinās are, as a rule, depicted as monolithic icons of perfection detached from the emotional world of mortals.⁴⁰⁵ This enduring image of detached immovability, however, is generally associated with Mahāvīra the heroic saint rather than in his position as son.⁴⁰⁶

In another larger sense, the drama of the episode also expresses the anxiety between the two paths of “householder” (*agāravāsa*) and “homeless monk” (*anagārin*) and the need to reconcile them in society. To grasp this connected sense of the scene and the implications it has for the story, as well as for Jain society at large, it is helpful to put it in a broader socio-religious perspective and consider it in comparison with the parallel case of the Buddha's life. The story of the Buddha, first of all, makes for an instructive comparison since here we encounter a social and emotional situation very close to that of Mahāvīra. Just like the Jina, the Buddha—or Siddhārtha as he is known in his youth—is described as being a Kṣatriya prince who will be expected to conform to the *dharmic* duties prescribed to him by his lineage and caste. For both Siddhārtha and Vardhamāna this entails, in brief, that they fulfill their royal duties as princes and, at the appointed time, eventually inherit the office of king themselves. Among the duties of prince in premodern India include living as a householder (*grhastha*) in conformity with the so-called “four stages of life” (viz., student, householder, forest dweller, renunciate) that comprised the

⁴⁰⁵ Jinās are of course famously said to be *vīta-rāga* (freed from passion).

⁴⁰⁶ It should be noted that this incident in the life of Mahāvīra is rejected by the Digambara tradition. As Lawrence Babb has stated elsewhere (2015: 24), “the Digambaras tend to downplay his human characteristics to a greater extent than the Śvetāmbaras.”

āśrama system.⁴⁰⁷ This, in effect, meant that the monastic vocation was one completely closed off to a king's progeny until after the discharge of their royal duties and they were granted the right to retire to the forest in old age. For the spiritually enterprising Siddhārtha, the quest for salvation he resolves to undertake as a youth naturally brings him into conflict with the mandate to remain in the royal household as a servant of the state. Yet to violate any of these socio-political codes would, in theory at least, be considered a transgression against the Vedic natural order. Of course part of the intent behind a work such as Aśvaghōṣa's well-known biography of the Buddha, the *Buddha Carita* (1st- 2nd c. CE), was to do just that and dramatize the way in which Prince Siddhārtha subverts these social and political norms on his way to establishing the Buddhist creed as an alternative to Brahmanical orthodoxy.⁴⁰⁸ And so it goes that the prince renounces his royal duties, family, and household by absconding from the palace under the cover of night in order to begin his independent spiritual quest on the ascetic path.

The resolve of Siddhārtha to break with his family and the social codes that bind them thus stands in stark contrast to the vow Mahāvīra makes to remain in his parent's abode for the remainder of their life. Despite his preordained mission to achieve enlightenment and salvation as a wandering renunciate, he is nevertheless depicted as being equally bound by a personal moral code of compassion and honor for his elders that prevents him from forsaking their household.⁴⁰⁹ Of course he, as Prince Vardhamāna, is also bound by fate to become Mahāvīra, a

⁴⁰⁷ This system is more technically known as *varṇāśramadharmā*, the system of social hierarchy and regulation which concerns the social duties (*dharma*) incumbent upon members of Vedic society with reference to their caste (*varṇa*) and stage of life (*āśrama*) that was theoretically in force as a model since before the beginning of the Common Era.

⁴⁰⁸ For the best commentary on the social, political, and theological issues at stake in Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddha Carita* see Patrick Olivelle (2008: xix-lvii).

⁴⁰⁹ This is not at all to suggest that renouncing at an early age, or any age for that matter, is something Jains regard in the negative. Quite the contrary, ordination is considered perhaps the greatest act an individual can aspire to in life. The issue when it comes to entering into the monastic order is rather one

future Jina and *dharma* king, who will uphold the Jain faith on earth during the current era. In this way, the promise he makes to himself rather represents more of a compromise. In other words, his resolution to delay setting out on the ascetic path until after the death of his parents is made in consideration of its overall karmic costs to the family. Mahāvīra thus ultimately balances his long-term spiritual goals with his immediate filial duties of service to his parents.⁴¹⁰ The scene also strikes a strong emotional chord in the story, one that moreover sends a strong moral message with sociological implications for its audience by making an ethical principle out of Mahāvīra's act of compassion.⁴¹¹ In the end, compared to the case of the Buddha, instead of *rupture* between social duty and spiritual calling we instead encounter their *rapprochement* in the example of Mahāvīra.

This *rapprochement* is further accomplished by appealing to and accessing a more humanistic emotional register than we find in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* or, for that matter, in the scenes encountered thus far in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. For up to this point in the narrative the conceptual and emotional world of the tale is largely dominated by what Indian rhetoricians referred to as *aiśvarya*, the spectacle of divine majesty.⁴¹² We see this in the grand miracles

of proper timing and other crucial factors such as parental consent. To renounce at the improper time or age, in fact, could have deleterious effects on one's spiritual practice and even lead to the breaking of vows. The case of Mahāvīra dramatically demonstrates that, karmically, there are many factors to be taken into consideration when making the decision to renounce, the welfare and well-being of one's parents serving as just one of them. See Kristen Boa's thesis, *Renunciation in Jain Stories* (McMaster University, 1999) for an excellent survey of the different models of renunciation that have existed in Jain religious literature.

⁴¹⁰ It should also be pointed out that, unlike Prince Siddhārtha, Mahāvīra is said to actually have an older brother, Prince Nandivardhamāna, a circumstance that would have made his decision to depart from royal life and its duties a more acceptable proposition to authorities.

⁴¹¹ This is speculation on my part, but there would seem to be some implicit linkage between Mahāvīra's first vow discussed here and the first of the five "Great Vows" which centers on *ahimsa*, or the principle of non-harm.

⁴¹² This can also be said of the earlier version of the biography found in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* which gives off an overall tone of rapture and wonder (*adbhuta*).

associated with royal and religious power such as the divine descent, conception, and display of dreams. As Sudipta Kaviraj has explained it, the sentiment of *aiśvarya* functions in the mythopoetic world of Indian literature as a mode of speech specifically meant to create distance between the divine and human realms.⁴¹³ In the scenes of *śoka* (sadness) and *harṣa* (happiness) just described, however, we encounter a different kind of tropology at work that instead intends to momentarily bridge that gulf between divinity and humanity in order to create a more intimate emotional encounter. In this sense, an undercurrent of *bhakti* (devotion) could be said to propel this scene of bonding between parent and progeny rather than the disaffecting and distancing sentiment of *aiśvarya* we see superposed in the other episodes. This converging of devotion and emotion within the franchise of the family is, moreover, not at all out of place in the scope of *bhakti* literature. In the words of Christian Novetzke once again, “One often finds *bhakti* summoned to explain the devotion of family members, especially sons and daughters for their parents.”⁴¹⁴ Ultimately, then, while the scene does clearly also comment on the stakes of *dharma* and duty with respect to maintenance of the normative political order, what stands out most of all is the way it ultimately transcends politics and instead plays upon the pathos of parental affection, filial devotion, and human compassion within the intimate bonds of the family. The high regard for elders such as evidenced in this scene is further demonstrated in the story where it is said (s. 110) that Mahāvīra also “sought permission (*abhyanujñāna*) from his elders (*guru-mahattara*)” at the hour of his actual renunciation, a key moment missing from the account in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.⁴¹⁵ And so it is against the epic backdrop of Mahāvīra’s birth story and its

⁴¹³ Kaviraj (2010: 138-139).

⁴¹⁴ Novetzke (2008: 11).

⁴¹⁵ Jacobi (1884: 256) translates this in the *SBE* volume as “he with the permission of his elder brother and the authorities of the kingdom fulfilled his promise.” He also includes a footnote (fn. 2) adding that

spectacle of divine intervention, royal power, and religious prosperity where we also find smaller narrative niches embedded in the story engaging with modes of lay life and vignettes of virtue that held special meaning for householders. This engagement would continue on in the next set of scenes featuring the actual birth of the saint and descriptions of the ten-day *sthiti pratijyā* festival held to honor the newborn child. While the narration of these events is saturated with the same style of hyperbolic expression we encounter generally throughout the whole of the tale, we can also see here how the extraordinary is once again set within the familiar frame of the ordinary. For example, events charged with celestial significance such as the birth were at the same time visually translated by artists into scenes featuring a curious fusion of cosmic, courtly, and quotidian elements (Fig. 5.7). The purpose in highlighting these points is to draw attention to the fact that the world of the *Kalpa Sūtra* was a multivalent one that addressed itself to multiple strands of Jain society.

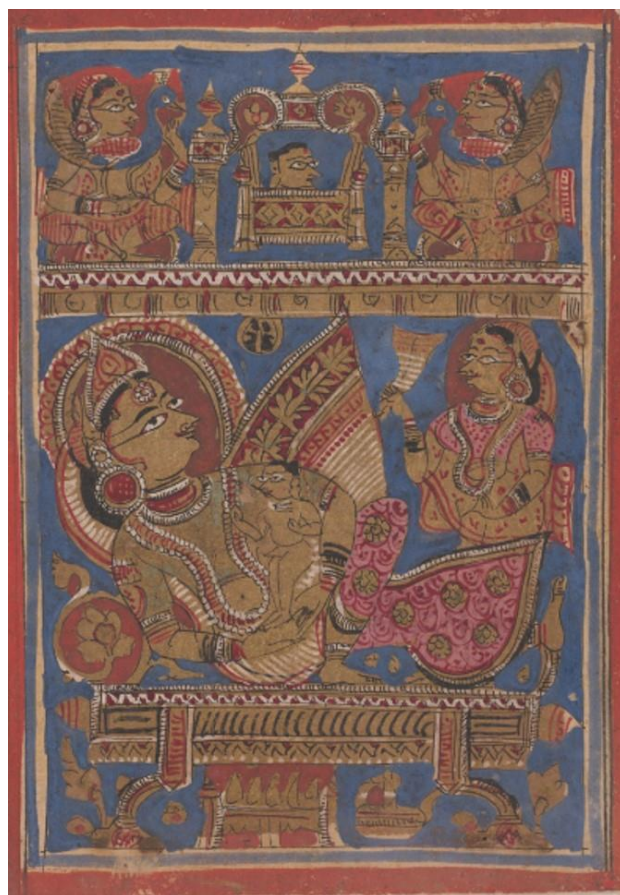
5.5 Composing the “Universal History”: Chronicles of Cosmological and Historical Time

As it can be seen in Table 5.2, out of the one-hundred and forty-seven *sūtras* comprising the legend of Mahāvīra’s life in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, one-hundred and ten of them—that is, approximately seventy-five percent—exclusively deal with the events surrounding the Nativity of the saint. The remainder of the tale (ss. 111-147) proceeds in a comparatively more mechanistic manner through the events of the Renunciation, Enlightenment, and final Liberation. It would be wrong to conclude from this ellipsis of the events, however, that these

“*Guru-mahattara* is the original of the last words, which I have translated according to the explanation of the commentary.”



Fig. 5.7. Domestic Scenes. *Kalpa Sūtra*, 15th century, Gujarat. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession Number: 55.121.38.11.



Detail from the above image. Top Panel: Mahāvīra as an infant in crib attended by nursemaids. Bottom Panel: Queen Trisalā nursing the newborn Mahāvīra.

later episodes were of any less importance to the tradition than the preceding ones surrounding the miracles of the birth. What it rather indicates is that the version of the *Jina Caritra* presented in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was mostly concerned with canonizing and mythologizing Mahāvīra's divine-dynastic past rather than retreading over the material pertaining to his later ascetic career.⁴¹⁶ Nor should we interpret the rather formulaic style and perfunctory pace of this part of the tale as being at odds with the overall spirit of devotionism animating the earlier episodes in the story either. These changes instead signal a shift in the affective register of the story from an emotional-devotional mode of *bhakti* to a venerational one where the ponderous omniscient form of the perfected Jina has now become the object of worship (Fig. 5.8).⁴¹⁷ This attitude of veneration towards the "absent Lord" lies at the heart of the apophatic theology inherent in the Jain system of worship where the Jina, as a liberated transcendent being, is utterly removed from the world of worshipper.⁴¹⁸ According to Cort, the attitude of veneration directed towards the Jinas is predicated on "their status as simultaneously lineage founders and liberated souls" who

⁴¹⁶ As it was mentioned earlier, material relating specifically to Mahāvīra's ascetic trials had already appeared in the *Uvahāṇa Sūya* ("Pillow Sūtra") located in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*'s first volume.

⁴¹⁷ For material on the different forms of "emotional *bhakti*" and "venerational *bhakti*" (*vandana*) in early Jainism see John Cort's essay "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia" (2002: 59–86). Here Cort argues that devotion and renunciation are not, as generally assumed, irreconcilable spiritual practices. With reference to Jainism, he says (81) that "There is extensive textual, archaeological, and epigraphical evidence for the presence of *bhakti* in the early strata of the Jain tradition. *Bhakti* is not extraneous to some ascetic core of the Jain tradition but is clearly and unambiguously integrated into central areas of both Jain practice and Jain doctrine." My emphasis on the forms of "emotional *bhakti*" present in the creation myth of Mahāvīra is not meant to suggest that the closely related attitude of veneration towards the perfected Jina is absent here. For an example of "venerational *bhakti*" seen in the early part of the story see *sūtra* 16, the passage labeled "*Indra stuti*" in illustrations where the king of the gods sings a hymn in praise in honor of the perfected form of the Jina.

⁴¹⁸ The "absent Lord" refers to Lawrence Babb's characterization of the non-transactional nature of the Jain worship of Jina figures. See Lawrence Babb's *Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Babb sums up this theology of absence by saying (92), "As the ultimate ascetic (that is, a fully liberated being), the Tirthankar can neither accept from nor give to a worshiper. He is an object of worship, but he cannot be a transactional altar."

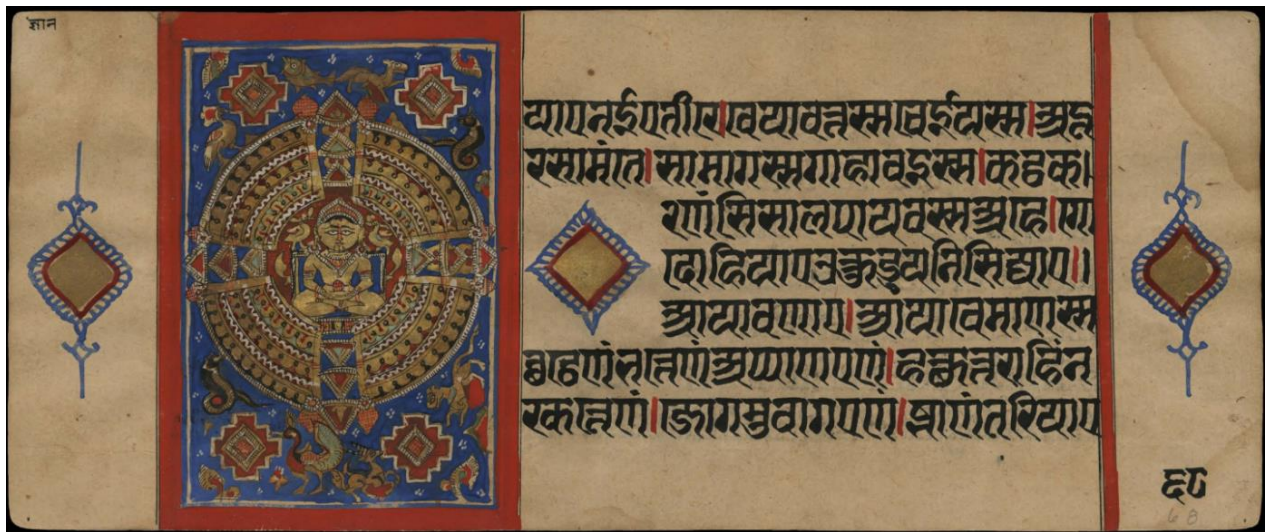


Fig. 5.8. Mahāvīra is depicted attaining omniscience (*kevalajñāna*). This is indicated by the label at the top left of the folio reading *jñāna*. Source: Cincinnati & Hamilton County Public Library. Accession No. 096.1 ffJ25 1500.

were “seen by the Jains as the manifestation of divinity, transcendence, and ultimacy—in short, were seen as God.”⁴¹⁹ At the same time, it is also important to point out that, in contrast to the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbaras conceive of Mahāvīra’s perfected form as essentially human.⁴²⁰ Thus, despite being in essence an immortal at this stage in his life, in the *Kalpa Sūtra* Mahāvīra is nevertheless portrayed as human, or more precisely, as a coolly aloof superhuman who still retains all the physiological functions of a mortal while in bodily form. The usual description of

⁴¹⁹ Cort (2002: 83).

⁴²⁰ According to Babb (2015: 24) once again, “The Digambaras maintain that post-enlightenment Mahāvīra was, in effect, human in form alone; his nourishment consisted of a special divine food that he absorbed and did not eat, and so tenuous was his engagement with the physical world that he sat motionless while delivering sermons that were expressed by means of a divine sound emanating from his body. The sound required translation into human language by his chief disciples before it could be understood by others.” In stark contrast to this Digambara image of Mahāvīra’s subtle bodily form, it is revealing that in *Kalpa Sūtra* (s. 117) it says that Mahāvīra, while wandering as an ascetic, “was circumspect in discarding excreta, urine, saliva, phlegm or body-dirt,” a detail that draws our attention to the conception of his abiding physical body. *Kalpa Sūtra* (s. 2) also mentions that Mahāvīra entered into a body that intakes food.

protagonist-prophets in in western religious discourse and hagiographical literature as “charismatic” religious figures thus does not necessarily apply to the case of the Jinas found in the *Jinacaritras*.⁴²¹

This sort of interplay between the mortal and immortal qualities of Mahāvīra is further paralleled by the way in which historical and cosmological time converge in the final sections of the tale. For example, while the scenes of the Renunciation (ss. 110-116) and Enlightenment (ss. 120-121) are amplified in their full cosmic glory, in the very next *sūtra* (s. 122) the story telescopes back into temporal reality by delineating information with local historical relevance to the sect. This consists of a short catalogue of proper place names and geographic locations where the saint is said to have spent Paryuṣaṇā during his post-enlightenment preaching career.⁴²² Regarding this record of Mahāvīra’s wandering circuit and its impact on later literature, Dundas has remarked that “An itinerary was subsequently provided for his travels in the *Kalpa Sūtra* which gives a list of the thirteen towns and cities in the Ganges basin where Mahāvīra passed various rainy seasons and the later strata [of literature] connect these places with specific events in the biography.”⁴²³ An attempt at providing a pseudo-historical picture of the sect at the time of

⁴²¹ Kendall Folkert’s comments on the incompatibility between various categories and models used in comparative religion are worth mentioning here. With regard to scholarly literature on “saints” in religious studies he writes (1993: xviii, fn. 3), “Through working with Jains in India, I have been particularly struck, for example, by a need to examine more carefully the role of ‘exemplary persons’ in religious cultures. On the surface this category resembles that of ‘saints’ in Occidental culture; but since comparative religion as an academic discipline has been almost an exclusively Protestant-secular enterprise insufficient attention has been paid to the status, role, and varying nature of such figures in communal religious life.”

⁴²² I quote Helmuth Glasenapp ([1925] 1999: 327) who summarizes this list of thirteen locations: “Mahāvīra spent the 42 monsoons of his ascetic life at the following places: 1 in Aṣṭikagrāma, 3 in Campā and Pṛṣṭicampā, 12 in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma, 14 in Vaiśālī and Nālandā, 6 in Mithilā, 2 in Bhadrīkā, 1 in Alabhikā, 1 in Panitabhūmi, 1 in Śrāvastī and 1 in Pāvā.”

⁴²³ Dundas (1992: 27). In this connection, Dundas also mentions (25) that “accurate knowledge of the region where Mahāvīra had preached was soon at a premium, and there is still disagreement between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras over this matter.” The importance of KS s. 122 should therefore not be underestimated.

the saint's death is further given by presenting a description of the fourfold community (*saṃgha*) with its various branches and assemblies (ss. 134-145). These descriptions are presented as being both real and hyperreal; that is to say, they give us some insight into the demographics of the community at this early time although the information provided is also expressed in a highly exaggerated and idealized manner, particularly when it comes to tabulating the congregation's population numbers. The chronicle then concludes with a coda (s. 148) summarizing Mahāvīra's life and situating his timeline as it figures into the grand cosmological scheme of the *Kālacakra* (Wheel of Time).⁴²⁴

The final statement of the story, however, is explicitly situated outside of the narrative world of the chronicle itself and consists of a short post-script recorded by later redactors. This postscript (see Chapter 2.7) effectively functions as the *textus receptus* to the tale and is perhaps the most compelling example of how cosmic and historic time were self-consciously merged together by later commentators:

KS, s. 148: *samaṇassa bhagavāo mahāvīrassa jāva savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa nava-vāsa-sayāiṃ viikkaṃtāiṃ dasamassa ya vāsa-sayassa ayaṃ asīme saṃvacchare kāle gacchati vāyaṇaṃtare puṇa ayaṃ teṇaue saṃvacchare kāle gacchati iti dīsai |*

Nine (*nava*) hundred (*sayāiṃ*, n. pl./*śataka*) years (*vāsa/varṣa*) have passed (*viikkaṃtāiṃ/vikrānta*) since (*jāva/yāvat*) Bhagavān Mahāvīra was liberated from all pain (*savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa/sarva-duḥkha-prahīṇasya*) and (*ya*) this (*ayaṃ*) [is the] 80th (*asīme/aśītītama*) year (*saṃvacchare kāle*) of the 10th (*dasamassa/daśamasya*) century (*vāsa-sayassa/varṣa-śataka*) [that] has passed (*gacchati*) [i.e., 980 AV]. But (*puṇa*) according to another redaction/reading (*vāyaṇaṃtare/vācaṇā*⁴²⁵-*antare*), it is seen

⁴²⁴ KS, s. 148. On this macro scale of time in Jainism, see Dundas (1992: 20). In brief, he says here that “Eras of time are conventionally represented in Jainism as being a continual series of downward and upward motions of a wheel, called respectively *avasarpīṇī* and *utsarpīṇī*. . . While this process is beginningless and endless, the Universal History is in effect only concerned with this current *avasarpīṇī* and that small area of the universe where human life is enacted.”

⁴²⁵ A key point in looking at these commentaries will be to determine the precise meaning of the word *vācaṇā* and its derivatives. For example, the commentators seem to use the terms *vācaṇā*, *vācanā*, *vācana*, *vacana* to describe activities associated with either reading, oral recitation, or written redaction. Some of the standard dictionary renderings of these words are the following: *vācana*, n. the causing to

(*dīsai/drśyate*) [that] this (*ayam*) [century] is in the 93rd (*te-ṇaue/tri-navatau*) year (*saṃvacchare kāle/saṃvatsare kāle*) [i.e. 993 AV].

In fact, this is not the only interruption of historical time into the legendary world of the Jina saints described in the hagiographies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. All the other *Jina Caritras* following the Mahāvīra chronicle, too, contain such post-scripts recording the current time of the redactors in relation to the legendary past time of the pontiffs. For example, the hagiography of the Jina Pārśva coming directly after the *Mahāvīra Caritra* gives the following “post-script” to the story (s. 169):

Pāssasa ṇaṃ arahao jāva savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa duvālasa vāsa-sayāiṃ viikkamṭāiṃ, terasamassa ya vāsa-sayasssa ayam tīsaiṃ saṃvacchare kāle gacchai [169]

Twelve full centuries have passed since Arhat Pārśva, the Chosen One, attained liberation and passed away into a state beyond pain. Of the thirteenth century, this current year is the thirtieth.⁴²⁶

If we take the dates contained in this statement at their face value, it indicates that this hagiography was composed some two centuries after the *Mahāvīra Caritra* (which was said to have been composed after the passing of ten centuries). The hagiographies of the remaining more ancient Jinās contain progressively more fantastic calculations of years in relation to the time of the redactors. The dating of the twenty-first Jina Ariṣṭanemi at the conclusion of his chronicle (following the *Pārśva Caritra*) is thus described (s. 183):

recite ŚrS.; the act of reciting, recitation Yājñ. Vārāhīt.; the act of reading Bālar.; the act of declaring or designating; (*ā*) f. a lesson, chapter (MW); *vāyaṇā/vācanā* स्त्री [वाचना] १ पठन , गुरु- समीपे अध्ययन (उप २९ , १) २ अध्यापन , पढ़ाना (सम १०६ ; उव) ३ व्याख्यान (पव ६४) ४ सूत्र-पाठ (कप्प) (Seth, *Pāia Sadda Māhaṇavo*); *vācanā*, (f.) [fr. *vāceti*] recitation, reading; °*magga* way of recitation, help for reading, division of text (into chapters or paragraphs) Tikp 239; KhA 12, 14, 24. (*Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*)
⁴²⁶ Translation by Lāṭh in *Kalpa Sūtra* (Jaipur: Prākṛit Bharat, 1984), 225.

Arahao ṇaṃ Ariṭṭhanemissa kāla-gayassa jāva savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa caurāsīṃ viikkaṃtāiṃ, paṃcāsīṃmassa vāsa-sahassassa nava vāsa-sayāiṃ viikkaṃtāiṃ, dasamassa ya vāsa-sayassa ayaṃ asīme saṃvacchare kale gacchai [183]

A full eighty-four millennium (sic. millennia) have passed since Arhat Ariṣṭanemi breathed his last and passed away into a state beyond pain. Of the eighty-fifth millennium, nine hundred years have passed. The current year is the eightieth year of the millennium's last century.⁴²⁷

This type of formula, again, follows all the saint stories and served to interject a religious cosmology into the timescale of the tradition itself up to the current era of the institution. Taken together, such parallel placements of the profoundly ancient within the coordinates of contemporary Jain society and geography appears throughout the *Kalpa Sūtra*. It indicates that the redactors were acutely aware of the fact that the production of this particular work was something worth marking as momentous in the history of their tradition. A further striking instance of this can also be seen in the common inclusion of the *Kālakācārya-kathā* in *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscripts. This separate narrative is customarily found at the conclusion of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text itself and bound together with it as a composite manuscript. In short, this short work is supplemented to the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture on the basis of the significant role the preceptor Kālaka is believed have had in the history of the Paryuṣaṇā festival.⁴²⁸ In any case, it is one more example of how the tradition viewed the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a site in which to record the history of the institution.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 241. Trans. by M. Lāṭh.

⁴²⁸ The Ācārya Kālaka is held to have been responsible for changing the date of the festival from the fifth bright day of Bhādrapada to the fourth. Given the extreme importance attached to the timing of the festival, this change of date was subsequently memorialized in the *Kālakācārya-kathā*. Manuscript copies of this work, just like the *Kalpa Sūtra*, are furthermore lavishly illustrated, a feature which demonstrates the high value it had to the tradition.

This type of intersecting of history and cosmology, and by implication geography and cosmography, has been discussed by the historian Romila Thapar in the context of chronicles composed by dissident groups such as the Jains and Buddhists as they attempted to legitimize their religious station in the geo-political frontiers of ancient India. According to Thapar, in such chronicles we find “collections of information, factual and fanciful, on places of sectarian importance, associating the place with the sect...With the development of missionary activities, these historical antecedents could be used in the balance of power with secular institutions.”⁴²⁹ She further links this process of historicizing the celestial and territorial claims of the community with the development of the *caritra* genre itself saying that, “Gradually the idea of biography was extended to the ‘hero’ in a wider context. A historical background is also helpful to organized missionary activity in new areas where antecedents have to be explained.”⁴³⁰ In other words, we should look upon this literature centering on mobile mendicants traveling, teaching, and preaching in the religious landscape not just as tales glorifying the spiritual quest of the religious hero but, in another sense, as chronicles of religious conquest and conversion as well.

Thapar’s remarks here regarding the connection between religious biography, history, and the evangelical enterprise of spiritual-hero narratives are instructive when it comes to understanding the important impact the legend of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* played in the rise of this genre of “hero” literature. To be sure, the story of “Mahāvīra” (lit., the “Great Hero”) is certainly one of the earliest specimens of this type of literature. Within the specific context of Jainism, not only was it the explicit model for the other saint stories included in the *Kalpa*

⁴²⁹ Romila Thapar (1978: 90).

⁴³⁰ Romila Thapar (1986: 377-388).

Sūtra,⁴³¹ it served as the narratological basis for the gradual development of the so-called Jain “Universal History.”⁴³² This was a narrative world populated and propelled by the exploits of what are known as the *Śalākāpuruṣas* or “Illustrious Beings.” As expected, the twenty-four Jinas are key protagonists in this cosmic drama who establish dharmic order in the world. The *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣa Caritra* (“The Deeds of the Sixty-three Illustrious Beings”) of Hemacandra (1089-1172 CE) represents one of the greatest articulations of this vast legendarium consisting of the founding Fordmakers (*Tīrthaṅkaras*), world-conquering monarchs (*Cakravartins*), their allies (*Vāsudevas*) and adversaries (*Prativāsudevas*). The events of this narrative universe unfold in the temporal arena of action referred to as a *karma bhūmi* (“land of action”) situated in the “Middle World” (*Madhya Loka*) where humans act and suffer but can also work towards salvation.⁴³³ This karmic arena of action thus served as the stage upon which the lives of the Jinas are acted out, a contextual feature of the early stories that would become increasingly more important in the coming centuries as the genre developed. John Cort has discussed this literary legacy of the spiritual biographies of the Jinas and how they impacted the later tradition of Jain storytelling.

⁴³¹ Numerous passages located throughout the hagiographies following Mahāvīra’s in the *Kalpa Sūtra* contain instructions to refer the reader or reciter back to the model of his story rather than repeat the same details over again. This type of practice appears to exemplify a form of repetition in Jain narrative literature that Klaus Bruhn refers to as “hero variation.” According to Bruhn (1983: 36), in this type of repetition there is “technical instruction to repeat the story with a new name for the hero and some additional substitution: *evaṃ* (follows the new name for the hero), *navaraṃ* (follows the additional substitution).” In the *Kalpa Sūtra*, instructions to repeat material generally use reference devices such as *jāva* (Skt. *yāvat*), *tahaiva* (Skt. *tathaiva*), and (as mentioned by Bruhn) *ṇavaraṃ*, a term found only in Jain texts meaning “only” or “in addition.” In the hagiography of Pārśva following Mahāvīra, for example, we see in s. 154 the instruction *jammaṇaṃ savvaṃ Pāssāhilāveṇaṃ bhāṇiyyavaṃ jāva/Everything*, viz. the birth, is to be repeated with the word “Pārśva” [as a substitute for “Mahāvīra”]. For more on terminology of this type found in Jain texts, see Kapadia (1934: 306-307).

⁴³² The term “Universal History” is a designation used by scholars in the west. For more on this, see Dundas, *The Jains*, 12-13. In short, according to Dundas, the Universal History “provides a description on a massive scale of the destinies, enacted over a vast period of time, of the twenty-four Jain teachers, the fordmakers, and their contemporaries.” For a nice summary of the aims of the Universal History see R. C. Fynes (1998: xxiv).

⁴³³ See the third chapter of the *Tathvārtha Sūtra* for the description of these worlds in Jain cosmography.

Discussing the influence of these works on the tradition, he writes that “*karma* is in fact at the center of the later, more elaborate *Jina Caritras* that built upon the narrative provided in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. These later texts could just as easily be called *Karmakathās*, “Karma Stories,” for it is *karma*, not the people, that is the true subject of the narrative. In order to trace the full affects of *karma*, the biography of each Jina — or, more accurately, the soul that finally becomes a Jina — is given over many lifetimes. These extended spiritual biographies take on an increasingly generalized, decontextualized flavor.”⁴³⁴ In any case, the *Jina Caritra*, without a doubt, formed the foundation of Jain “Universal History” and, in so doing, deliberately collapsed the boundaries between history and hagiography, the historical and the transcendental.⁴³⁵

In this context of legend and history, we now turn to the final section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* to be discussed in this study, the *Sthavirāvalī*, where we encounter the list of Jain patriarchs who served as the heads of the monastic order from the time of Mahāvīra up to the redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the middle of the Common Era. The *Sthavirāvalī*, in fact, is perhaps the most “historical” of the three sections of the work in the sense that, like many such genealogical lists, it was overall concerned with charting the localized history of the order as it developed over generations. Indeed, genealogical tracts such as the *Sthavirāvalī* were key to establishing the authenticity and “purity” of particular lineages in the religious tradition, an objective that I have argued was central to the very compilation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a charter narrative.

⁴³⁴ See Cort (1995: 476-477).

⁴³⁵ On this point, see Peter Flügel (2010: 357).


5.6 Inscribing the Patriarchate for Posterity: The Succession of Patriarchs and their Pupils (*Sthavirāvalī*)

In contrast to the *Jina Caritras*, the *Sthavirāvalī* (Pkt. *Therāvalī*) stands out for its short length (twenty-three *sūtras*) and unitary theme. Its main thesis was simple: to present a list of the lineage or “line” (*āvalī*) of Jain elders (*sthavira*) descending from the founder of the institute Mahāvīra up to the “present time” (*ajjattāe*; Skt. *ādhunātana*) when the list was composed. An enduring question, however, remains identifying just when that “present time” was. As we shall see, the evidence in the list itself will suggest that it was composed over the course of centuries in separate installments. In any case, the lineage of church leaders accordingly begins with the names of the original eleven disciples (*gaṇadharas*) who headed the first nine orders (*gaṇa*) of mendicants (Fig. 5.9a and b). From here it goes on to enumerate the names of the senior monks from the early period all the way up to time of the preceptor Devarddhigaṇi. As it was pointed out in Chapter 2, Devarddhigaṇi is speculated to have been the main architect behind the *pustakārohaṇa*, the monumental project to codify and transcribe into writing the Jain canon at the second Council of Vallabhī held around the fourth or fifth century CE. In connection with this endeavor, medieval and early modern commentators belonging to the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha, furthermore, link him with the compilation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* vulgate at this time. While this last point ultimately remains mere conjecture, the fact that the genealogy of elders culminates in Devarddhigaṇi’s name is nevertheless a compelling detail and gives credence to the idea that he was involved in the production of the work as we know it today.



Fig. 5.9a. Folio from a *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript (ca. 15th c., Gujarat) showing the opening section of the *Sthavirāvalī*. Courtesy of the collection of Andrew Parker.

Transliteration:

ca samanāsayāim vāei || 2 kañīase anagāre Vābhūi | Govama
 guttenam | pamca samanāsayāim vāei | 3 there Ajja Viyatte Bhārdāe
 guttanam | pamca samanāsayāim vāei || 4 there Ajja Su(?)me Aggi-
 veśāyana guttenam | pamca sa  manāsayāim vāei || 5 there Mam-
 diyaputte Vāsithaguttenam addhutthāim samanāsayāim vāei
 | 6 there Moriyaputte | Kāsavaguttenam | addhutthāim samanāsayāim vā
 ei || 7 there Akampie 8 Goamaguttenam there 9 Ayalabhāyā Hā-

Translation:




-five hundred monks taught 2; the youngest was Vāyabhūti of the Gautama
 clan who five hundred monks taught | 3; Sthavira Ārya Vyakta of the Bhāradvāja
 line five hundred monks  taught 4; Sthavira Ārya Sudharman of the Agni-
 veśāyana clan five hundred monks taught 5; Sthavira Man-
 -ditaputra of the Vasistha clan two hundred and fifty monks taught
 6; Sthavira Mauryaputra of the Kāśyapa clan two hundred and fifty monks tau-
 -ght 7; Sthavira Akampita 8 of the Gautama line [and] 9 Sthavira Acalabhṛātā of the Hā-



Fig. 5. Folio from a *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript (ca. 15th c., Gujarat) showing a section of the *Sthavirāvalī*. Courtesy of Andrew Parker.

 Lozenge shapes	(left & right panels) Images of various <i>gandharvas</i> (original disciples) seated in niches flanked by attendants and lustrating elephants	<u>Transliteration:</u> -riyāraṇa guttenam patteyaṃ te dunnī vi therā tinni 2 sama nasayā i[m]vā imti 9 there Pabhāse e dunnī vi there Kodinnā guttenam tenne samanasaṃyā	Note the presence of their monastic brooms (<i>rajoharāna</i>) and removed mouth cloths (<i>mukhavastrikā</i>) resting on their bare right shoulders	 114 (pg. #)
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Translation

-rīṭayāna line, each (*patteyaṃ*)
 they both three hundred 2 |
 mend- icants
 taught (*vāimti*) || 9
 Sthavira Prabhāsa
 both Sthaviras of the Kaundinya
 line three [hundred] monks...

Like the *Jina Caritras* found in the first section of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the *Sthavirāvalī* also played an important part in furnishing a ministerial history for the Śvetāmbara Jain institution.⁴³⁶ This is because it is the first known systematic rendition of the lineage of Jain monastic leaders and their orders from the time of Mahāvīra to the early medieval period. The *Sthavirāvalī* thus has considerable historical importance for calculating the chronology of the early church patriarchs in the tradition of the Śvetāmbara school.⁴³⁷ Also like the *Jina Caritras*, the *Sthavirāvalī* has had a long association with the recitation of the rainy-season rules which take place during the all-important period of Paryuṣaṇā.⁴³⁸ As John Cort has described the *Sthavirāvalī*, “the text itself is a bare list, that reads much like the ‘and so-and-so begat so-and-so’ section of Genesis, designed most likely as a mnemonic device intended for recitation on the occasion of the monks' gathering for the annual rainy season retreat.”⁴³⁹ On a deeper level, however, the *Sthavirāvalī* further encodes important information about monastic hierarchy and power. For while much of the list is rendered in prose in the “bare style” described by Cort (e.g., “*a* was the pupil of *b*, *b* was the pupil of *c*,” etc.), the final part of the treatise is decidedly different and composed in the lyrical language of *gāthās*. In connection with this, it further functions more in terms of *guru-vandana* (veneration of preceptors) compared to the rote repetition of names and clan affiliations found in its first part.⁴⁴⁰ This panegyric form of the final

⁴³⁶ It should be pointed out that Digambara Jains dispute various aspects of the order of succession found in the *Sthavirāvalī*.

⁴³⁷ Georg Bühler’s early work on Jain inscriptions from Mathurā dating back to the first or second centuries CE has proven to be extremely valuable in confirming much of the data found in the *Sthavirāvalī*. In his article “New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā” (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, 1892: 371-393), he analyzed the oldest known inscribed list of Jain elders and found that it agreed with the names of the *gaṇas* (order), *śākhās* (branch), and *kulas* (school) in the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. For Bühler’s specific remarks on correspondences between the information found in the Mathurā inscriptions and that of the *Sthavirāvalī*, see pp. 378-379.

⁴³⁸ The *Sthavirāvalī*’s perennial association with Paryuṣaṇā is first remarked upon in the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti*, a point brought up in Chapter 3.5.

⁴³⁹ Cort (1995: 481).

⁴⁴⁰ See Hastimāla (2011 [vol. 2]: 682).

set of stanzas palpably transforms the latter part of the list into more of a literary eulogy. We should therefore also take this eulogistic dimension of the list into consideration when discussing the *Sthavirāvalī* and the rhetorical role it played in the overall context of the spiritual and institutional program of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. As Sheldon Pollock has stated elsewhere with regard to the legitimizing function of lineage texts such as we see in the *Sthavirāvalī*, “eulogies are a prime mechanism of canonization, and it is the canon that allows a tradition to come into being.”⁴⁴¹ As the earliest surviving example of this kind of text in the case of the Jains, the construction of the *Sthavirāvalī* can accordingly be seen as part of the “the impulse to construct just such a tradition.”⁴⁴²

Given the fact that there are formal differences between the first and last parts of the genealogy, the *Sthavirāvalī* appears to have more than one historical layer and so was more than likely crafted by different redactors at different points in time. Jacobi’s comments on the *Sthavirāvalī* are brief but worth pondering over as they have implications for our understanding of how the list came into being. He makes at least two important observations that I feel warrant further discussion. The first point is that “the first two paragraphs of the *Sthavirāvalī* are independent of the rest, and once formed, I believe, a part of the *Jina Caritra*.”⁴⁴³ While he elaborates no further on this point of interest, a close look at the *Sthavirāvalī*’s first two paragraphs (ss. 1-3) reveals a number of stylistic elements that support his statement. To begin with, the “first two paragraphs” referred to by Jacobi are delivered in a style of prose that has far more narrative continuity with the *Jina Caritras* than they do with the overall repetitive and enumerative nature of the roll-call of names that follow. For example, the *Sthavirāvalī* opens

⁴⁴¹ Pollock (2006: 340).

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Jacobi (1879: 23).

with the same familiar phrase found throughout the *Jina Caritra* material beginning “*teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ...*” (the equivalent of the “Once upon a time” formula found in Western story literature). Here it is described how at a certain point in the past Mahāvīra acquired eleven disciples (*gaṇadharas*) who were divided into nine groups (*gaṇas*):

*teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ samaṇassa Bhagavaṃ Mahāvīrassa nava gaṇā,
ekkārassa gaṇaharā hotthā |*

At that age and era, the mendicant Lord Mahāvīra had eleven disciples (*ekkārassa gaṇaharā*) [divided into] nine groups (*gaṇā*).⁴⁴⁴

The opening then goes on to name these original eleven apostles and the number of their respective pupils. It next highlights how all “present-day” (*ajjattāe*; Skt. *adyatana*) monastic orders derive solely from the apostle Sudharma’s line of pupils since the other *gaṇadharas* left no descendants. This opening part then concludes with a short statement giving the clan affiliations (*gotra*) of Mahāvīra and Sudharma. In view of the drastic differences between this opening section and the list that follows, the idea that a short frame-story for the *Sthavirāvalī* has been inserted by redactors thus seems entirely plausible.⁴⁴⁵

Based on these apparent irregularities between the opening narrative and the actual list of leaders itself, Jacobi contends that we can “recognise in the *Sthavirāvalī* four or five distinct treatises.”⁴⁴⁶ His argument here is based on the fact that the *Sthavirāvalī* actually contains a “short” list (*saṃkhitta/saṃkṣipta*) and a more “detailed” (*vitthara/vistara*) one that follows it. This nomenclature of “short” and “long” is, in fact, explicitly stated at the head of each

⁴⁴⁴ *Sthavirāvalī*, s. 1.

⁴⁴⁵ This same type of inserted narrative frame is similarly encountered at the beginning of the final section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (the *Sāmācārī*). This will be discussed in Chapter 6.2.

⁴⁴⁶ Jacobi (1879: 23).

respective list. The short list thus begins *saṃkhitta-vāyaṇāe* (“In the short reading...”) while the detailed version correspondingly starts *vitthara-vāyaṇāe* (“In the detailed reading...”).⁴⁴⁷

Following the opening frame story, the two lists both start off with the monastic line of Sudharma and present the same nine or so generations of ascetics and their pupils who descended from the Ārya Yaśobhadra up to Ārya Vajra. The longer list, as one would expect, presents a more comprehensive record of the patriarchs and their pupils than the shorter one. As a result of these anomalies, Jacobi concluded that these long and short segments must “have been independent from each other, because of their stylistic and material differences.”⁴⁴⁸

Following the so-called “detailed reading,” a final section consisting solely of verses next picks up where the long list ends and goes on to enunciate the names of the monks in the line of Ārya Vajra. While both the long and short lists are mostly matter-of-fact renderings of the Jain elders in prose, this final part of the treatise stands out for being in lyrical *gāthās* which are, moreover, infused with a strong spirit of *guru-bhakti*. This last group of verses essentially give a pseudo *guru-paramparā* of Devarddhigaṇi that are presented using the first-person form of the verb √van (e.g., *vandāmi*, “I salute...”):

*vaṃdāmi Paggumittaṃ ca Goyamaṃ Daṇagiriṃ ca Vāsiṭṭhaṃ |
Kucchaṃ Sivabhūiṃ pi ya Kosiya Dujjiṃtakahe ya ||1||*

I give salutations to Phalgumitra of the Gautama clan and Dhanagiri of the Vāsiṭṭha clan,
to Śivabhūti of the Kautsya and Duryantakaṇṭha of the Kauśika.

⁴⁴⁷ If these two lists were indeed in origin independent from one another, it seems logical to conclude that this terminology using “*saṃkṣipta*” and “*vistara*” could have only been later added when they were combined into one treatise. Otherwise, there would have been no reason to make such a distinction between “short” and “detailed.”

⁴⁴⁸ Jacobi (1879: 23).

The praises become increasingly more panegyric as the poem progresses closer to the immediate predecessors of Devarddhigaṇi. An example is the following set of salutations given to the elders Hastin (v. 6) and Dharma (v. 7):

*vaṃdāmi ajja-Hathiṃ ca kāsavaṃ khaṃtisāgaraṃ dhīraṃ |
gimhāṇa paḍhamāse, kālagayaṃ ceva suddhassa ||6||*

*vaṃdāmi ajja-Dhammaṃ ca suvvaṃ sīlāddhisampannaṃ |
jassa nikkhamaṇe devo, chattaṃ varam uttamaṃ vahai ||7||*

And I salute Ārya Hastin of the Kāśyapa clan, an ocean of serenity and strength, who in the first month (*paḍha-māse*) of summer (*gimhāṇa*) during its bright half (*suddhassa*) departed this life (*kāla-gayaṃ*).

And I salute Ārya Dharma, who strictly kept his vows (*suvvaṃ*) and was endowed with a virtuous character (*sīla-laddhi-sampannaṃ*), and for whom (*jassa*) the gods (*devo*) held (*vahai*) an excellent brilliant parasol (*chattaṃ*) during his departure from home as a monk (*nikkhamaṇe*).

The final verse is directed towards Devarddhigaṇi himself (v. 9) who is here addressed with the customary epithet attached to his name, “Kṣamāśramaṇa” (Patient Monk). The verse appears to cast him in the role of a redactor, a detail not surprising given his long association with the codification of both the canon and *Kalpa Sūtra*:

*suttattharayaṇabharie khamadamamaddavaṇehiṃ sampanne |
Deviḍḍhikhamāsamaṇe Kāsavagotte paṇivayāmi ||9||*

I humbly bow down (*paṇivayāmi*) to Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa of the Kāśyapa clan, who is brimming with precious jewels of *sūtras* and their meanings, as well as endowed with the virtues of discipline (*maddava/mṛdutā*), restraint (*dama*), and fortitude (*khama/kṣama*).

This strategic placement of Devarddhigaṇi at the close of the *Sthavīrāvalī* prompts us to probe what his role may have been with regard to the circumstances of its composition. First, his prominent place in the list calls attention to his prominent standing in the monastic organization

at the time when the lineage of leaders was being codified into its final form. This is not in itself surprising since he was held to have been the twenty-seventh *paṭṭadhāra* (seat-holder) in the Śvetāmbara pontificate.⁴⁴⁹ If we also take into consideration the fact that Devarddhigaṇi was also known by the epithet *Vācakācārya* (Venerable Redactor), it is also intriguing to wonder whether the fixing of his name at the conclusion of the list was in tribute to his active role in the project to produce not only the *Sthavirāvalī* but the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well at the time of the second Council of Vallabhī. On the other hand, if Devarddhigaṇi, as it has been widely assumed, was indeed the redactor of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (and, by extension, its second section, the *Sthavirāvalī* as well), it seems improbable that he would have paid homage *to himself* here. Regarding this curious detail, it is telling that the verb in the very line praising Devarddhigaṇi ($\sqrt{\text{panivāya}}$; Skt. *pra-ṇi-pat*, to pay respectful homage to) is used in its first-person form (*paṇivayāmi*). This detail would seem to argue against the idea that Devarddhigaṇi was the composer of at least the last verse ending in his name. In other words, it is hard to believe that this final verse could have been the equivalent of some kind of signature line, or *chāp* as it came to be later known.

At the same time, another possibility is that Devarddhigaṇi was indeed the redactor and that his own disciples inserted his name into the final verse at a later time. The final set of *gāthā* verses are, in fact, just as irregular as the material preceding them in the list. Like the aforementioned other two parts of the *Sthavirāvalī*, there is a “short” and “long” version of this last section of *gāthās* as well. A look at various manuscripts and printed editions of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, in fact, reveals more than one version of this last *gāthā* section with differing numbers of names occurring in this last section. For example, the edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (16th c.)

⁴⁴⁹ Hastimāla (2011 [vol. 2]: 675).

published by Bhandarkar Institute (2011) gives twenty-one names while the one (15th c.) published by Prākṛit Bhārati (1977) contains twenty-three names. In the editions of Jacobi (1879) and Lalwani (1979), twenty-eight names are given.⁴⁵⁰ This longer version also starts with Phalgumitra and ends with Devarddhigaṇi just like the shorter ones but includes five more *sthaviras* (Jambu, Nandita, Desigaṇi, Sthiragupta, Kumāradharma). Jacobi's wise words sum this situation up the best when he says that the *Sthavirāvalī* "does not furnish, as it pretends to do, a connected line of patriarchs succeeding each other as teacher and disciple, but a patched up list of those patriarchs whose memory survived in oral or literary tradition, while the rest of them had fallen into utter oblivion."⁴⁵¹

Ultimately, the main point to highlight here is that the installing of the *Sthavirāvalī* directly after the hagiographies of the Jina saints in the *Kalpa Sūtra* illustrates how the representation of apostolic succession from Mahāvīra to the "present" period was viewed as key to legitimizing the status of sectarian traditions such as the Śvetāmbara Jains in the competitive religious milieu of the period. In terms of textual practice, it also testifies to the importance of establishing the ecclesiastical authority of redactors such as Devarddhigaṇi by linking him in an unbroken chain of preceptors all the way back to Mahāvīra's original disciples. The strategy of religious legitimation and sectarian affiliation seen in the representation of the patriarchate in the *Sthavirāvalī* can hence also be seen here as coextensive with the project of transmitting the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a charter document for the community. The inclusion of the *Sthavirāvalī* after the biographies of the Jinās must therefore be seen as part of the overall project of the redactor-

⁴⁵⁰ The main manuscript (MS "A") used by Jacobi is dated to the fifteenth century (1427). See Jacobi (1879: 84-85) verses 9-13 for the last set of stanzas being discussed. Lalwani does not indicate which manuscript(s) he used for his translation.

⁴⁵¹ Jacobi (1932: xix).

scholars to promote the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a key scripture in their collection of canonical works. As Professor R.P. Poddar has aptly remarked with regard to the *Stihavirāvalī*, “Remembering the names of the holy men (*theras*) of the past brings merit on the one hand and preserves the tradition on the other.”⁴⁵² In the following chapter we will begin to see in practice how the tradition, scripture, and community actually come together as one during Paryuṣaṇā, a festival whose very name etymologically connotes community solidarity.

⁴⁵² Poddar (2011: 38).

Chapter 6

Reception History: Performing the *Kalpa Sūtra* During Paryuṣaṇā

*Pustaka pūjā vī, nava vāṃcanāe vaṃcāya |
Śrī Kalpa-sūtra jihāṃ, sunatā pāpa palāya ||
Pratidina parabhāvanā, dhūpa agara ukheva |
Im bhaviyana prāṇī, parva Paryuṣaṇā seva ||*

Exalt the sacred book and the teaching of its nine sermons;
For where one hears the illustrious *Kalp Sūtra* sinful conduct slackens.
Every day glorify it with aloe and scented sandalwood incense (*vāskepa*);
On Paryuṣaṇā Parv people of faith perform their pious service (*seva*)!

(Hymn from the *Śrī Paryuṣaṇā Parv Stuti, gāthā* 3, 18th c.)⁴⁵³

6.1 The Votive Codex: Exalting the *Kalpa Sūtra* Scripture

On a late August morning (2019) in Jaipur, India, around eight o'clock a.m., a throng of Jain devotees dressed in traditional finery began to gather outside the Karaṇ Upāsana Residency apartments on Motī Dūngarī Road. Over the next half hour the crowd grew larger and the atmosphere more festive. A brass band in red and gold uniforms next arrived ensuring that the festivities would proceed with proper musical flair. At eight forty-five a.m. sharp, the proceedings officially began with the blaring of instruments and the beating of snare, bass, and *ḍhol* drums creating an atmosphere that seemed more akin to an evening wedding celebration than an early morning religious observance. A garlanded silver palanquin then emerged from the lobby of the apartment building and the crowd surged forward to help hold aloft the litter carrying its sacred cargo, the scripture of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (Fig. 6.1).

⁴⁵³ I thank Jyoti Kothari in Jaipur for bringing to my attention popular oral hymns such as this in Old Gujarati. For translation I use Jayant Koṭhārī's *Madhyakālīn Gujarātī Śabdakoś* (1995) and K.K. Śāstrī's *Bṛhad Gujarātī Koś* (1976).

So began the third day of the Paryuṣaṇā festival for members of the Śrī Śvetāmbara Jain Dādā Bārī congregation (*saṅgh*) in Jaipur, Rajasthan. Affiliated with the Kharatara Gaccha mendicant order, this branch of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka community was just one of many congregations of Jains who were devotedly carrying out the long tradition of celebrating the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture during this holy time. It was here on the third day of the festival—or, in other congregations, on the fourth day—when the *pūjā* procession (*julūs*) of the *Kalpa Sūtra* takes place.⁴⁵⁴ The processional journey of the book had actually begun the evening before after



Fig. 6.1
Pūjā Procession (*julūs*) of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Jaipur, India, 2019. Photo by the author.

it had been taken from the main temple campus (*derāsar*) situated a short distance away down the road and then brought to the apartment complex where the crowd had gathered. Here it was to be temporarily installed in a domestic shrine for *pūjā* in the home of one of the residents attached to the congregation. In this case, it was a family belonging to the Jargaḍ *parivār* who had won the rights to enshrine and maintain the prescribed night vigil (*rātrī jāgaran*) over the scripture in their home before it was to be ceremoniously transported back to the

⁴⁵⁴ Although daily programs for Paryuṣaṇā in Mūrtipūjaka Jain communities follow a similar pattern of events over the course of the eight days of the festival, there nevertheless appear to be regional and intersectarian variations among the different *saṅghs*. The schedule of events at the Dādā Bārī temple belonging to the Kharatara Gaccha where I attended Paryuṣaṇā thus appear to slightly differ from the proceedings of the Tapā Gaccha as described by John Cort (1989: 157-185) held in Pāṭan, Gujarat where the *pūjā* procession is said to have taken place on the fourth day of the festival rather than the third. Kendall Folkert's account of Paryuṣaṇā (1993: 189-211) held in Samī, Gujarat in 1985, as well as an early description of the festival in Gujarat provided by Sinclair Stevenson (1908: 876), testify to the *Kalpa Sūtra* procession happening on the third day. For more on the latter, see section 6.5 of the present chapter.

temple grounds the next morning by public procession. This consecrated copy of the scripture would then be used as the primary liturgical text for the proceedings and readings before the public in the remaining days of the festival. While in the past prominent Jain families would sponsor the production of a *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript for this occasion, today a modern printed copy of the book from the temple library collection suffices. This is because, in the view of the tradition, any edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is considered sacred, be it a treasured manuscript-artifact locked away in a “knowledge archive” (*jñān bhaṇḍār*) or a mass-printed modern edition in circulation at the temple library. Only one requirement for the type of the book used during Paryuṣaṇā appears to have been in force: that it be an edition in traditional *pothī* format, a codex with unbound folios that could be used in performative contexts whereby individual pages could be removed for the purposes of recitation (*vācan*) and visual display (*darśan*).

The *pūjā* procession carrying the *Kalpa Sūtra* continued on its course to the Dādā Bārī neighborhood temple located further down the road from the apartments where the book had



Fig. 6.2
Photo by the author.

been installed for the night’s vigil. A few devotees sprinkled water on the ground to sanctify the path of the parade while others ceremoniously waved *cāmars* (royal fans) in its direction as the flower-bedecked litter carrying the book was excitedly escorted into

the inner courtyard (*prāṅgana*) of the main temple campus (Fig. 6.2). Hardly a solemn ceremony, the procession was a high-spirited affair characterized by the singing of *bhajans* and

shouts of praise to the Jinas. This came as no surprise, however, given that the event had been promoted on temple bulletins as being part of the day's "devotional program" (*bhakti kāryakram*). To be sure, a primary function of *bhakti kāryakrams* such as this one involves publicly professing one's faith in the Jain creed.

As the procession wound its way back into the grounds of the temple it was, once again according to custom, handed back over to the presiding clergy member (*mukhya ācārya*) in charge of ceremonies. On this occasion it was the *sādhvī* Saṅghmitrā Śrījī Mahārāj who then began the first of several recitations from the book which were accompanied by religious discourses (*vāṃcan/Skt. vyākhyān*) as well as the occasional devotional hymn (*stavan*). Commentators on the *Kalpa Sūtra* beginning with Vinayavijaya (17th c. CE) have prescribed nine such discourses to be delivered for the eight days of the festival, a practice which still continues today. At the Paryuṣaṇā services I attended, these readings and religious discourses took place, as a rule, each morning and evening of the festival and were modestly attended. While programs for Paryuṣaṇā appear to slightly vary by region, it is generally standard that for the first two or three days of the festival these discourses focus not directly on the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself but on the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna* which, in Cort's words, describe the "five duties (*kartavya*) for Paryusan and the eleven annual duties enjoined on every Jain."⁴⁵⁵ Depending upon region, it is on day three or four that discourses centering on the *Kalpa Sūtra* commence and continue for the remainder of the festival. This attention on the *Kalpa Sūtra* reaches its focal point on the eighth and final day of Paryuṣaṇā with the ritual reading of the entire root-text (*mūla-pāṭh*) before the assembled congregation.⁴⁵⁶ Notable in this connection with the recitation

⁴⁵⁵ Cort (1989: 163).

⁴⁵⁶ It should be noted that at the Dādā Bārī in Jaipur only the first two days of Paryuṣaṇā were spent on sermonizing the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā* as the then focus shifted to the *Kalpa Sūtra* beginning on the third

of the root-text is the important distinction the community makes between the *Kalpa Sūtra* per se and its other vernacular designation as the *Bārasā Sūtra*, or “Treatise in Twelve-hundred (*bārasā*)” [*ślokas*].⁴⁵⁷ This is because, strictly speaking, whereas the name *Kalpa Sūtra* can broadly refer to both the root-text (composed in Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛit) as well as its commentaries (composed in Sanskrit and other languages such as Gujarati and Hindi), the *Bārasā Sūtra* specifically designates the root-text (*mūla-pāṭha*) only.⁴⁵⁸

This highly anticipated recitation of the text on the final day of Paryuṣaṇā, furthermore, also coincides with the most important and ritually restorative act of the year for members of the community known as *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*, the annual act of confession. It is at this time when Jains atone for any offenses committed during the year and seek forgiveness from fellow community members by uttering the phrase *micchā mi dukkadam*.⁴⁵⁹ This phrase simply means “My misdeed was wrong” (and so may I be absolved). Taken together, these aligned traditions show how the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture has been interwoven into the very fabric of the spiritual, social, ethical, and emotional life of the community. As we shall see, performative practices centering on the worship of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as both a sacred object as well as perennial source of

day. We should thus be careful in assigning one fixed schedule of events for all Mūrtipūjaka Jain congregations.

⁴⁵⁷ Muni Jambūvijay (1977: 64) has explained this metric of calculating the length of the text by saying “At present, the measure of one *anuṣṭup śloka* is 32 letters. And in measuring the extent of a particular text this *anuṣṭup śloka* is taken as a unit of measurement.” These units are also commonly referred to as *grantha* units.

⁴⁵⁸ Cort (1992: 178). At the same time, Cort also notes here that “the distinction between root-text and later commentary is oftentimes not felt to be at all important, as the community’s understanding of the text is mediated almost solely by the commentary, and it is said that the commentary makes explicit what was implied in the root-text anyway.”

⁴⁵⁹ In Sanskrit this phrase is rendered as *mithyā me duṣkṛtam*. Here *mithyā* is used as an indeclinable adverb meaning “wrongly.”

social-spiritual unity during Paryuṣaṇā are built on routines established well over a millennium ago.

While in the previous chapters of this study we were primarily concerned with deconstructing the *Kalpa Sūtra* to chart its long history of compilation by means of conducting a critical examination of its multilayered textual past, this chapter will overall emphasize its status as a fixed scripture in the ritual world of its patrons and practitioners. This shift in focus from the internal evolution of the text to its outward reception as a sacred scripture by the Jain interpretive community and how they make meaning out of it entails taking a closer look at the ways in which it has been historically mediated to the public by monastic and scholastic authorities who have followed the traditional patterns of instruction prescribed in the various commentaries on the work. Accordingly this discussion will once again take us back to the topic of “scripturalization” outlined in Chapters One in order to show how this process of scripture-formation has unfolded in the Jain community with respect to the *Kalpa Sūtra*. While in Chapters One and Two I discussed how a fundamental part of the process of a sacred text becoming scripture necessarily involved it being written down and put into material form as a manuscript or holy book, it is also clear that this hardly constitutes the full measure of what it means for a work, or body of works, to prevail as “scripture” in a given religious community. To ignore other factors involved in the scriptural enterprise of a community such as the oral-performance of sacred works and their multivalent modes of reception by the devotional public would therefore do an injustice to the myriad of ways in which people encounter scripture. Pashaura Singh’s comments concerning the ritual function and unifying role of scriptures in the Sikh community are apt here and can be equally applied to the case of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the Mūrtipūjaka Jains: “scripture becomes scripture only when it is filtered through the collective consciousness and

experience of a people. In this sense, scripture is a relational concept: it points to a relationship of power between a text and a community.”⁴⁶⁰ Along these lines, an analysis of the particular “relationship of power” between the scripture of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the Mūrtipūjaka community therefore demands that we take a closer look at the various ways in which it has been historically disseminated to the public. Through looking at this process, we will be in a position to better understand what its role has been in fostering socio-spiritual solidarity in the congregation.

At the same time, it is also clear that the presentation and reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra* to the religious public was not originally a part of the performative program surrounding the text. In fact, any sort of dissemination of the text beyond the bounds of the ascetic order was strictly prohibited during the initial phase of its evolution. This was largely due to the hermetic nature of the “original” version of the text itself when it circulated as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and, as this moniker makes clear, consisted solely of the monastic rules of conduct (*kalpas*) for the four-months of the rainy season (*Paryuṣaṇā*).⁴⁶¹ Under these circumstances, the *Kalpa Sūtra* qua *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* was strictly authorized for the instruction of monastic pupils only rather than the general public at this early phase of development. In order to put into perspective the long history of reception involving the *Kalpa Sūtra*, it is therefore imperative that we first review the practices which preceded, and even precluded for a substantial period of time, the circulation and availability of the early form of the text among the religious public. For it is clearly stated in a number of old commentaries that rigid prohibitions were put in place to circumvent the

⁴⁶⁰ Pashaura Singh (2008: 661).

⁴⁶¹ It should be once again recollected that the original *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text appears as the third section of the current *Kalpa Sūtra* and is generally referred to now as the *Sādhu Sāmācārī*, or “Rules of Conduct (*sāmācārī*) for Ascetics (*sādhu*).” Aside from what appear to be narrative frames later added by redactors at its beginning and end, the original text appears to survive intact.

circulation of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text outside of the sacerdotal sphere. These prohibitions, moreover, were underpinned by various penalties—including even forms of banishment—for those who did disseminate its secret teachings beyond monastic circles.

In this chapter we will accordingly first need to look in greater detail at the practices surrounding the original monastic reception of the text before turning to how it later became publicly available for the first time. To accomplish this we will also need to outline how the text originally functioned in the special context of Paryuṣaṇā, the holy period of the religious year in which the text—be it the *Paryuṣaṇa-kalpa* or in its later more expanded form as the *Kalpa Sūtra*—has been intimately associated from its inception and is inconceivable without understanding. For this undertaking I utilize some of the oldest commentarial texts which aid in providing an important baseline for reconstructing the ways in which the ceremony of reception has grown throughout the centuries to become a much more inclusive affair involving the entire congregation rather than aimed at ascetics alone.⁴⁶² These old commentarial works are thus invaluable sources for understanding many of the ideological factors involved in the historical reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra* during Paryuṣaṇā such as when (*kāla*) it was to be performed and who had the rights (*adhikāra*) to participate in its dissemination.

6.2 Astro-Theological Origins and Significance of the Paryuṣaṇā Ceremony

To start off with, the word “Paryuṣaṇā” as it used in the ancient literature has a number of entangled meanings that require some resolution. First, in its broadest sense, “Paryuṣaṇā” in the ancient period did not yet signify the eight-day festival that it is now associated with and,

⁴⁶² I have made use of the following commentaries for my analysis: the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* and *cūrṇi* (also formally known as the *niryukti* on the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*), the *Niśītha-sūtra bhāṣya* and *cūrṇi*, and the *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra bhāṣya*, *cūrṇi*, and *ṭīkā*. All of these commentaries display significant intertextual overlap with one another in their passages on Paryuṣaṇā.

instead, often referred to the entire four-month period (*cāturmāsa*) of the rainy season (viz., the title *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, the “Rules for the Rainy Season”) when mendicants cease wandering (*vihāra*) and reside in a single location or rain-retreat (*varṣāvāsa*).⁴⁶³ Second, and more specifically, Paryuṣaṇā at this time also conversely denoted a single holy day (*parva*) occurring at the commencement of the wet season when ascetics were required to perform a series of rituals that are especially meaningful at this time of year. These routines included forms of fasting (*upavāsa*), hair plucking (*keśa-loca*),⁴⁶⁴ as well as the all-important recitation (*vācana*) of the code of monastic conduct, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. The holy day of Paryuṣaṇā also involved the most important ritual act on the Jain religious calendar, the pivotal performance of *Sāmvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* (the Annual Expiation). This act involves a set of penances to be performed at the end of the year and is intended to absolve practitioners from the negative karmic effects of any misdeeds committed during the previous twelve months. In short, the practice of *pratikramaṇa* (lit., “turning back” or “introspection”) as a ceremonial rite consists of a number of formulaic routines and solemn recitations involving rituals of repentance (*prāyaścitta*), atonement (*ālocanā*), and forgiveness (*kṣamāpanā*).⁴⁶⁵ While various types of *pratikramaṇa* are observed at

⁴⁶³ The four-month long break in traveling for monastics during of the rainy season is also referred to in the commentarial literature (see PK *niryukti* v. 2) by various other technical terms such as *varṣāvāsa*, *prathama samavasaraṇa* (first assembly) and *jyeṣṭhāvagraha* (the extended sojourn), etc.

⁴⁶⁴ Jain mendicants customarily pluck their hair twice a year. Sagarmal Jain speculates that the custom of hair-plucking was decreed to be done at the start of the rainy season in order to prevent the injury to “water-bodied beings” (*apakāya*) which could take root in wet hair. See Sāgarmal Jain (1998b: 12).

⁴⁶⁵ *Pratikramaṇa* itself originated as one of the six daily religious rites (*āvaśyakas*) mendicants must perform every day: 1. *sāmāyika* (maintaining a mental state of equanimity), 2. *caturviṃśati stava* (worshipping the twenty-four Jinas), 3. *guru vandanā* (paying homage to preceptors), 4. *pratikramaṇa* (practicing penance), 5. *kāyotsarga* (standing meditation), and 6. *pratyākhyāna* (vowing to maintain one’s religious practice). Pravin Shah explains the origin of that the current practice of Pratikramaṇa: “Acharyas realized that it was difficult for the lay people to practice all six Avashyaks separately every day. Hence they incorporated all six Avashyaks into the 4th Pratikraman Avashyak ritual. Hence a person needs to perform only this expanded version of Pratikraman ritual to complete all six daily Avashyaka rituals. This is the reason the 4th Avashyak – Pratikraman became very important and the term ‘Pratikraman’ is used as a common name for all six essential acts.” See Pravin Shah (2019: 2).

other periodic times of the year as well, it was the compulsory performance of the annual *Sāmvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* (generally referred to as *Sāmvatsarī* by Jains) at the year's end that was considered an especially meritorious act for mendicants (and now for all Jains).⁴⁶⁶

Along with the performance of *Sāmvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*, a further crucial component of the original program for Paryuṣaṇā was the specific *parva* day these obligatory routines were to be performed on. Unlike today's present eight-day festival which culminates on the fourth bright day of the lunar month Bhādrapada (the end of August or beginning of September) in Mūrtipūjaka communities such as the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha, in ancient times the single pious day of the year specified for the observance of Paryuṣaṇā was Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*, the final “bright” (*śukla/śuddha*) full-moon day of the lunar month of Āṣāḍha (June/July).⁴⁶⁷ The reasoning behind both the fixing of the original date observing Paryuṣaṇā on Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*, as well as why it was subsequently changed to the month of Bhādrapada, are matters dealt with in both the ancient and medieval-era commentarial literature. Given how the material covered in these works directly relates to the overall historical dynamic of the community's reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, it is essential to provide an analysis of the data contained in these commentaries in order to bring to light the foundations of the performative tradition associated with it that prevails today. In the following pages of this part of the chapter I therefore piece together the

⁴⁶⁶ The other periodic times prescribed for performing *pratikramaṇa* are: *daivisika/devasī* (evening expiation to atone for offenses committed during the day), *rātrika/rāī* (morning expiation to atone for offenses committed during the night), *pākṣika/pakkhī* (penance performed every lunar fortnight), and *cāturmāsika/caummāsī* (penance performed every four months). The annual *Sāmvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* (penance performed once a year) serves as an expanded form of these other variants. While lay people are not obligated to perform these other periodic *pratikramaṇa* rituals, all members of the community, however, must perform annual *pratikramaṇa* to maintain their very status and identity as Jains.

⁴⁶⁷ While today the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha celebrate the final day of the festival on Bhādrapad bright 4, it also needs repeating here in passing that in earlier times it was traditional to observe the final day on Bhādrapad bright 5 for reasons I will get into later. Other branches of the Śvetāmbara Jain community such as the Sthānakvāsīs and Terāpanthīs, however, continue to observe the final day of Paryuṣaṇā on Bhādrapad bright 5.

proceedings for Paryuṣaṇā as it was originally prescribed to be practiced according to the ancient commentaries before moving on to the customs of the current ceremony. Based on my readings of these available commentaries I will show how the ritual recitation of the text was from the beginning a constituent part of these proceedings and planned according to the dictates of the ritual calendar.

First, as its full name *Paryuṣaṇā Parva* demonstrates, Paryuṣaṇā is calculated to fall on a *parva* day (celestial “juncture”), a holy day in the lunar calendar year having special astro-theological significance. Again, according to the old—and now defunct—traditional or *āgamic* Jain calendar, the specific *parva* day originally assigned for the observance of Paryuṣaṇā was *Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā* (Āṣāḍha bright 14/15).⁴⁶⁸ This, at least, was the prescribed rule (*utsarga*). The ability of monks and nuns to carry out this rule appears to have been a far more complicated matter in actual practice. Indeed, in the ancient period the directive to perform the Paryuṣaṇā rites by this date seems to have been fraught with various difficulties (bad weather, road conditions, etc.) that impacted its timely performance. Consequently, over the course of time, the basic rules (*utsarga*) became supplied with a number of provisions or amendments (*apavāda*) in order to ensure that monks and nuns could reasonably carry out their obligatory religious duties on time. Among these amendments, the most important I will discuss is the grace period of fifty days measured from *Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā* to *Bhādrapada śukla pañcamī* (bright 5) which allowed mendicants an extended period of time to perform their annual Paryuṣaṇā rites without violating

⁴⁶⁸ This older, and now obsolete, calendar was replaced at some early to mid-point in the Common Era by one that is now aligned with the more mainstream calendrical system used by Hindus. According to Pravin Shah, the change was instituted to better synchronize Jain traditions and festivals with this more mainstream calendar. The older Jain religious calendar, furthermore, involved comprehending complex luni-solar calculations that were synchronized with esoteric monastic ritual activities, knowledge of which may have become lost at some point due to the death of monastics from famine. See Pravin Shah (2012: 3).

the one-year timeframe. In any case, these fundamental rules (*utsarga*) and their amendments (*apavāda*) applying to the performance of Paryuṣaṇā are discussed at length in a number of very early commentaries specifically focused on issues pertaining to monastic conduct. Among these early commentaries, the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* is perhaps the most important in view of its antiquity (ca. 2nd- 3rd c. CE) and obvious close connection with Paryuṣaṇā. Its verses, in fact, have been quoted at length in other important commentaries on canonical works concerned with monastic conduct such as the *Niśītha Sūtra* and *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra* (not to be confused with the *Kalpa Sūtra*).⁴⁶⁹ Since many of the verses from the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* are practically inscrutable without the aid of subsequent layers of explanatory gloss (*bhāṣya*, *cūrṇi*, and *ṭīkā*), in the following analysis I have made great use of the secondary expository works since they directly comment on and make more clear its cryptic contents.

In short, the principal rule pertaining to the performance of Paryuṣaṇā highlighted in the commentarial literature was that mendicants should first of all be ideally stationed in their rain-retreat by Āṣāḍha *śukla daśamī* (bright 10). They were then to recite the text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* for five nights so that the final day of recitation would culminate on Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* (bright 14/15) when Paryuṣaṇā itself was to be observed (i.e., performing the rite of *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*).⁴⁷⁰ This mandate appears to be first presented in *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa niryukti* (v. 16) where, in the space of a single *gāthā*, both the *utsarga* defining the rule when monks should

⁴⁶⁹ Although Jacobi (1879: 26) has claimed that the PK *niryukti* was “compiled from the *Niśīthacūrṇi*,” the opposite in fact appears to be true. See the study by Aśok Kumar Singh (1998: 81-85).

⁴⁷⁰ This custom of reciting the text for five nights leading up to the final day of Paryuṣaṇā remains a staple feature in contemporary practice among the Mūrtipūjakas (usually day 4 through 8). See Amar Muni (2009: 135, fn. 8) who comments on the above precept and writes, “Āj bhī Mūrtipūjak paramparā meṃ, Bhārdve ke Paryuṣaṇ meṃ bhī, pāñc din hī *Kalpa-sūtra* vācane kī prathā hai.”

ideally arrive in their rain-retreat (and initiate their Paryuṣaṇā proceedings), and the *apavāda* qualifying it with an alternative schema for extenuating circumstances, are given:⁴⁷¹

ettha u paṇagaṃ paṇagaṃ, kāraṇiyaṃ jā savīsatīmāso |
suddha-dasamī thiyāṇa va, Āṣādhī punṇimosavaṇaṃ ||

To begin to unpack all the arcane information condensed into this verse, it is first necessary to consult the opinion of the later monastic scholars who discussed it in the various commentaries where it was reproduced.⁴⁷² For example, Kṣemakīrti's *īkā* (13th c. CE) on *Bṛhat Kalpa-sūtra bhāṣya* (v. 4284) interprets the rule in the second hemistich of the verse above in the following way:

...te Āṣārḍha-śuddha-daśamyāmeva varṣa-kṣetre sthitās tatas teṣāṃ pañca-rātreṇa
ḍagalādaṃ grhīte Paryuṣaṇā-kalpe ca kathite Āṣādhā-pūrṇimāyāṃ 'samavasaraṇaṃ'
Paryuṣaṇaṃ bhavati, eṣa utsargaḥ | śeṣaṃ kālaṃ Paryuṣaṇaṃ anutiṣṭhatāṃ sarve
'pavādaḥ |

Those (*te*) [monks] who have become stationed (*sthitāḥ*) in a rain-retreat (*varṣa-kṣetre*) precisely on Āṣāḍha bright 10 (*Āṣārḍha-śuddha-daśamyāmeva*) [and whose] requisite personal items such as *ḍagala*, etc. (*ḍagalādaṃ*)⁴⁷³ have been secured (*grhīte*), to them (*teṣāṃ*) the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* is recited (*kathite*) for five nights (*pañca-rātreṇa*). [In this fashion] *Paryuṣaṇā* is [then observed] on Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* which signals the beginning of the “*samavasaraṇaṃ*” (the four-month period of retreat from the rains).⁴⁷⁴ This (*eṣa*) is

⁴⁷¹ Since *niryukti* verses such as this consist of little more than key-words arranged in *gāthā* form for metrical and mnemonic purposes, they present enormous interpretive difficulties. This is true not only for today's scholars but it was also the case for the past commentators themselves as well. A large sum of missing information has to therefore be supplied in order to communicate the underlying meaning of the *niryukti*.

⁴⁷² In addition to PK *niryukti* v. 16, this same verse is also reproduced in NS *bhāṣya* v. 3153, and BKS *bhāṣya* v. 4284.

⁴⁷³ The list of monastic equipment here is abbreviated but it is rendered more thoroughly in other passages (e.g., NS *cūrṇi* 3150) as *saṃthāraga-taṇa-ḍagala-cchāra-mallādīya* (bed, grass, toiletries, sheet, cup, etc.). Here *ḍagala* = Skt. *ḍagalaka*. This is defined by J.C. Jain (1965: 533) as a kind of personal hygiene item made of stone used by *sādhus* to remove excreta (“*ṭaṭṭi poṃchne ke patthar ke ḍhele.*”). Also see Deo (1956: 406).

⁴⁷⁴ While *samavasaraṇa* generally refers to a kind of divine “preaching hall” constructed by the gods for Jinas to preach sermons, here it takes on the meaning of something like a “theater” of time during the

the fundamental rule (*utsargaḥ*). The remaining times (*sesaṃ kālaṃ*) for monks observing Paryuṣaṇā (*Paryuṣaṇam anutiṣṭhatām*) are all exceptions (*sarve 'pavādah*).

The earlier *Niśītha-sūtra cūrṇi* (3153) of Jinadāsa (ca. 7th c. CE) also comments on this verse and emphasizes the importance of conducting Paryuṣaṇā rites on Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*:

Āṣāḍha pūrṇimāe pajjosaveṃti, esa ussaggo |

On Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* [ascetics] practice Paryuṣaṇā (*pajjosaveṃti*), this is the rule (*ussaggo/utsarga*).⁴⁷⁵

Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* was specifically decreed as the day to “practice Paryuṣaṇā” (*pajjosaveṃti*) since this *parva* day in the old Jain calendar marked two important events. The first was that Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* in ancient times appears for all intents and purposes to have signaled the end of the religious year for Jains and, consequently, the following day marked the beginning of the new year.⁴⁷⁶ The second event was that Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* heralded the start of the four-month long

calendar year. The Jain calendar year was divided into two such “theaters”: *prathama-samavasaraṇa* and *dvitīya-samavasaraṇa*. Regarding this, Jinadāsa’s *cūrṇi* on *Niśītha-sūtra bhāṣya* v. 3139 reads: *te ya do samosaraṇā. egaṃ vāsāsu, bitiyam udu-baddhe. jato pajjosavaṇāto varisaṃ āḍhappati, ato paḍhamam samosaraṇam bhaṇṇati*/There are two *samavasaraṇas* for ascetics. One during the rainy season, the second during the other remaining eight months of the year (*udu-baddhe/ṛtu-baddhe*). Since the rainy season commences (*āḍhappati/ārabhate*) from Paryuṣaṇā (*pajjosavaṇāto*), for this reason (*ato*) [the rainy season] is referred to (*bhaṇṇati*) as the first *samavasaraṇa*.

⁴⁷⁵ The verb *pajjosavā* (Skt. *pari+vas*) here means “to perform Paryuṣaṇā” which, in this context, simply means to perform *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*. Similarly, when used as a substantive, “Paryuṣaṇā” also often simply functions as a synonym for the ritual of “*Sāṃvatsarī*” (*Pratikramaṇa*). As Muni Śrī Kanhaiyālālji writes in the Hindi translation to the *Niśītha-sūtra* (1990: 211), “In sūtram meṃ *sāṃvatsarī* ke liye ‘Pajjosavaṇā’ aur *Sāṃvatsarī* karne ke liye ‘pajjosavei’ kriyā kā prayog huā hai.”

⁴⁷⁶ The day after Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*—i.e., the first day of the new year in the old calendar—is calculated differently according to region. For example, in Gujarat it is recognized as Āṣāḍha Vad 1 (i.e., the first day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha) while, conversely, in Rajasthan it is known as Śrāvaṇa Vad 1 (the first day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa). This discrepancy is due to the fact that the Gujarati and Rajasthani calendars are out of sync during the dark halves (*kṛṣṇa pakṣa*) of the lunar months of the year although they agree with one another during the bright halves (*śukla pakṣa*). Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*—that is, Āṣāḍha bright 14/15—is thus the same in both regional calendars while the following day is recognized differently. For the basic differences between these two calendars, as well as the myriad of sectarian and regional issues arising from their incongruity, see Pravin Shah (2012). Also see Amar Muni’s “Paryuṣaṇā: Ek Aitihāsik Samīkṣaṇ” (2009: 106-136).

rainy season (*caturmāsa*).⁴⁷⁷ As it was discussed in Chapter 3, monks and nuns are commanded to halt their itinerant travels during these four months of year in order to reduce the chance of causing harm to the multitudes of living organisms and plant life that proliferate at this time. Monastics were thus enjoined to find a suitable place to arrange their rain-retreat (*varṣāvās*) by at least Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* and remain there until Kārtika *pūrṇimā* (Kārtika bright 14/15), the date that officially signals the end of the monsoonal months. Since in ancient times Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* was deemed the last day of the calendar year, it was considered crucial that ascetics perform their requisite end-of-the-year rituals mentioned above by this date to atone for any misdeeds committed during the previous twelve months and begin the new year with a karmically cleansed constitution.

In summary, then, it was Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* that was designated as the original official date in which mendicants were to commence their rain-retreat and perform the ritual actions associated with Paryuṣaṇā. However, as it was mentioned earlier, for every precept (*utsarga*) a number of amendments (*apavāda*) also existed in the normative literature to account for extenuating circumstances that were bound to arise beyond the control of the ascetics. As Amar Muni has written, “No rule can be literally and scrupulously followed by any saint (*sādhaka*) all the while, but in such events the spiritual adherents had to transgress the limits and make necessary amendments which were known as exceptions (*apavāda*); thus *apāvada* was accommodated as a logical compulsion and consequently became part of the general rules.”⁴⁷⁸ Given the precarious nature of the peripatetic mode of life for ascetics in ancient India,

⁴⁷⁷ The Buddhists also appear to calculate the date of the rainy season as beginning the day after Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*. See the *Mahāvagga*, 3.2.2.

⁴⁷⁸ Amar Muni (2005: 3). Further, according to Amar Muni (2005: 6), in disciplinary texts such as the *Niśītha Sūtra*, “the emphasis is not so much on the fundamental doctrines but on those rules where exceptions can be accommodated out of expediency.”

allowances for hardships encountered while wandering were thus considered a practical necessity.⁴⁷⁹ Thus whereas today mendicants plan their retreat from the rains well in advance and make the transition to the stationary mode of life with the organizational and logistical support of the lay community, in the ancient period they were often isolated and beset with unforeseen challenges that disrupted their movements. In recognition of this, if for any reason—weather conditions, impassable roads, lack of lodgings, absence of local lay support, the presence of dangerous animals, etc.—ascetics were unable to implement the prescribed plan for Paryuṣaṇā according to the precept listed above, they were granted an extended, although limited, period of time to accomplish their religious duties.

Consequently, in view of the importance of synchronizing ritual activities with the religious calendar, if Paryuṣaṇā could not be performed on Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā*, the rule was amended so that it could be observed on other holy days (*parva*) in order to accommodate incapacitated monks and nuns. This is in essence the sum and substance of the amendment addressed in the *niryukti* verse mentioned previously (p. 265). These other holy days are specified in the *Niśītha Sūtra cūrṇi* (commenting on NS *bhāṣya* v. 3153/PK *niryukti* 16) in the following amendment:

taṃ ca puṇṇimāe paṃcamīe dasamīe evamādipavvesu pajjosaveyavvaṃ, ṇo apavvesu |

Paryuṣaṇā can be observed (*pajjosaveyavvaṃ*) on holy days such as (*evamādipavvesu*) the day of the full moon (*pūrṇimā*), on the fifth (*paṃcamīe*), [or] on the tenth (*dasamīe*) [day of the lunar month]. [However, Paryuṣaṇā] cannot be observed on non-holy days (*apavvesu*).⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ See Deo's account (1956: 247-249) in *History of Jain Monachism* of some of the measures monks undertook to locate a proper place to spend their rain-resort. Also useful in this context is his section on "Touring" (386-392) and "Residence" (392-398).

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. the *cūrṇi* on PK *niryukti* (v.16). It should be noted that this short list of *parva* days is not standard and appears limited to the ancient period as well as specific to the exigencies of properly conducting Paryuṣaṇā in the past. It is therefore not to be confused with the standard tally of twelve *parva* days per month (six in each fortnight) recognized in today's calendar. The current list of *parva* days are the 2nd,

According to this exception, whenever monks did finally manage to find a proper place for their rain-retreat after *Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā*, they could initiate their religious observances on the next upcoming *parva* (i.e., on any 5th, 10th, or 15th *tithi* or lunar day). The following citation from Kṣemakīrti's *īlkā* on *Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra bhāṣya* (v. 4284) gives the clearest explanation of this contingency plan:

Āṣāḍha-pūrṇimāyāṃ sthitāḥ pancāhaṃ yāvad divā samstāraka-ḍagalādi grhṇanti rātrau ca Paryuṣaṇā-kalpaṃ kathayanti |

[Those ascetics who become] stationed (*sthitāḥ*) [in their rain-retreat] on *Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā* procure (*grhṇanti*) their requisite items such as bedding, etc. (*samstāraka-ḍagalādi*) during the day (*divā*) and recite the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* at night (*rātrau*) for five days (*pancāhaṃ*).

tataḥ Śrāvaṇa-bahula-pancamyāṃ Paryuṣaṇaṃ kurvanti |

They then observe *Paryuṣaṇā* (i.e., perform *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*) on Śrāvaṇa dark 5.⁴⁸¹

atha Āṣāḍha-pūrṇimāyāṃ kṣetre na prāptāḥ tata evameva panca-rātraṃ varṣāvāsa-prāyogyam upadhīṃ grhītṛvā Paryuṣaṇa-kalpaṃ ca kathayitṛvā daśamyāṃ paryuṣaṇayanti |

If supposing (*atha*) [they] have not arrived (*na prāptāḥ*) at a location (*kṣetre*) on *Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā*, they then (*tataḥ*) accordingly (*evameva*) [on Śrāvaṇ dark 5] procure (*grhītṛvā*) their requisite items for the rainy season (*varṣāvāsa-prāyogyam upadhīṃ*), recite (*kathayitṛvā*) the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* for five nights (*panca-rātraṃ*), and observe *Paryuṣaṇā* (*paryuṣaṇayanti*) on the 10th (*daśamyāṃ*) [of the month].

evaṃ kāraṇikaṃ rātrindivānāṃ pancakaṃ pancakaṃ ca vardhayatā tāvad neyaṃ yāvat sa-viṃśati-rātro māsaḥ pūrṇaḥ |

5th, 8th, 11th, 14th, and 15th (in both the dark and bright halves of the lunar month, making a total of twelve).

⁴⁸¹ This interpretation of dates appears to be based on the Rajasthani calendar rather than the Gujarati one. Thus, in the Rajasthani naming system, five days after *Āṣāḍh pūrṇimā* is Śrāvaṇ dark 5 while, conversely, in the Gujarati calendar the same date is referred to as *Āṣāḍh dark 5*.

Thus (*evam*), [if there is] necessary cause (*kāraṇikam*), adding (*vardhayatā*) every five (*pancakam pancakam*) days and nights (*rātrindivānām*), they have until one month and twenty nights (*sa-viṃśati-rātro māsaḥ*) have elapsed (*pūrṇaḥ*) [to find a suitable rain-retreat, recite the rules, and perform the annual rites].

The statement in the last sentence above that monks have “until one month and twenty nights have elapsed” to establish themselves in their rain-retreat leads us to another important development in the history of how the current festival has evolved. For as it was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Paryuṣaṇā festival today officially culminates on Bhādrapada 4/5 rather than in the month of Āṣāḍha as the original ancient rules prescribe. It is furthermore on this all-important day that the root-text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is read before the assembled public. As we shall see, this official change in the timing of the festival to culminate in the month of Bhādrapada is directly traceable to the grace period of “one month and twenty nights” mentioned in the above amendment.

To better understand the logic behind this last amendment granting monks an extended period of “one month and twenty nights” to carry out their religious observances, we now turn to the final section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* where its explanation is fully articulated for the first time in Jain literature in the form of a short preface to the rules of conduct which follow. For here (KS, *Sāmācārī*, s. 1-8) it is reported that it was the custom of Mahāvīra himself to officially begin his rain-retreat not on the full moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha (the day that marks the beginning of the rainy season as per the original policy), but a month and twenty days (i.e., fifty days) later. The explanation given for Mahāvīra’s practice of waiting a full fifty days after Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* to start his sojourn for the rainy season and perform the necessary rites was one of pure practicality:

In those times, in those days, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra had commenced his *paryuṣaṇā* (rain resort) after a month and twenty days of the rainy season had passed.

And why, now, is it being said that Bhagavān Mahāvīra commenced his *paryuṣaṇā* after a month and twenty days of the rainy season had passed?

By this time most house-holders have spread their houses with mats, whitewashed them, covered them, plastered, polished and levelled them, cleansed them, fenced them and purified them with incense-smoke. They have also dug gutters and constructed drains. And they have made their houses comfortable for themselves and suitable for the season. That is why it is being related that Bhagavān Mahāvīra commenced his *paryuṣaṇā* only after a month and twenty days of the rainy season had passed.⁴⁸²

In other words, the rationale given for Mahāvīra commencing “his *paryuṣaṇā*” fifty days after Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* was because at this point it was far more certain that the necessary arrangements and infrastructure would be in place to accommodate monks and nuns for their extended stay in the lay community (Fig. 6.3). Since fifty days from Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* falls precisely on Bhādrapada *śukla pañcamī* (Bhādrapada bright 5), this latter date became fixed over time as the official final day of the current eight-day Paryuṣaṇā festival when the all-important annual rite of *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* is to be performed as well as the full recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* root-text.

These passages from the *Kalpa Sūtra* framing Mahāvīra as the agent behind the establishment of Bhādrapada bright 5 as the holiest day in the Jain year are thus of great historical importance for reconstructing the calendrical foundations for today’s Paryuṣaṇā ceremony. The very next set of *sūtras* (KS, *Sāmācārī* s. 3-8), in fact, explicitly link the present practices with the policies initiated by Mahāvīra in the past:

⁴⁸² KS, *Sāmācārī*, s. 1-2. Translation by M. Lāṭh in *Kalpa-sūtram* (Jaipur: Prākṛit Bhāratī, 1984), 311-312.



Fig. 6.3. Image from a *Kalpa Sūtra* (ca. 16th c.) depicting mendicants and lay people during the rainy season. Top: A farmer with livestock engages in agricultural activity while a monk wanders nearby on his begging round. Middle: Three nuns. Bottom: A gathering of lay people. Source: W. Norman Brown, 1934: fig. 149.

The *gaṇadharas* followed the example set by Bhagavān Mahāvīra. The disciples of the *gaṇadharas* followed the *gaṇadharas*. Other *sthaviras* followed the footsteps of these disciples. Present *śramaṇa-nirgranthas* do as these *sthaviras* had done. We, too, follow in their wake. We commence our *paryuṣaṇa* after a month and twenty days of the rainy season is over. The *paryuṣaṇa* may be commenced earlier than the fiftieth night of the season, but not later.⁴⁸³

It is worth repeating that these key passages are strategically positioned at the very beginning of the final section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* where the original rules for Paryuṣaṇā are now located.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 313.

While the rules themselves more than likely derive from the original *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text, there are compelling reasons to believe that the above cited passages were prefixed to the rules by later redactors in order to legitimize the policy of marking Bhādrapada bright 5 as the most pious day of Paryuṣaṇā. First of all, the style of prose found in these opening passages is of a different sort than the more injunctive style of the rules that follow in the body of the text.⁴⁸⁴ Secondly, a distinction between the preceptors from the past and “present-day ascetics” (Pkt. *ajjatā samaṇā niggaṃtā*) is explicitly drawn, a phraseology that situates these opening *sūtras* in a later timeframe than the rules themselves that follow. If we accept that these opening *sūtras* were later added to the rules, the interpolation itself nevertheless still appears to be quite old since the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa cūrṇi* (ca. 6th c. CE) directly mentions them in its commentary (s. 224).⁴⁸⁵ In any case, it is for these reasons stated above that monks have a limited grace period of one month and twenty days after Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* to situate themselves in their rain-retreat and carry out their annual religious duties. Thus while according to the precepts mendicants were in theory allowed four months to reside in their rain-retreat (from Āṣāḍha *śukla daśamī* to Kārtika *pūrṇimā*),⁴⁸⁶ the amendment instituted by Mahāvīra also served to authorize an alternative minimum time (*jaḅhanya-kāla*) of seventy days for residing in one place (from Bhādrapada *śukla pañcamī* to Kārtika *pūrṇimā*).⁴⁸⁷ The performance of the annual rites of Paryuṣaṇā and the reading of the text, however, still had to be conducted by Bhādrapada bright 5. As a last resort,

⁴⁸⁴ In this sense, Amar Muni (2009: 112) has called this set of opening *sūtras* in the *Sāmācārī* “historical” rather than “prescriptive” (“yah itihās sūtra hai, vidhi [kalp] sūtra nahīm”).

⁴⁸⁵ In *Kalpasūtra* (1952: 104).

⁴⁸⁶ See Deo (1956: 449).

⁴⁸⁷ There were, in fact, still other amendments that granted monks until even the month of Mārgaśīrṣa (the month following Kārtika) to remain in their rain-retreat. In this way, the ideal four-month long rain-retreat (*sāmānya-varṣāvāsa*) could be extended to the maximum time (*utkrṣṭa-kāla*) of six-months under extraordinary conditions. See the *Sacitra Śrī Sthānaṅga Sūtra, Dvīṭīya Bhāḅ* (Delhi: Padma Prakashan, 2004), 141; also see PK *niryukti* vss. 68-69.

then, if monastics were unable to locate a proper place to sojourn for the rainy season by this amended later date, they were nevertheless still required to conduct their obligatory rituals and recitations under improvised conditions in the wild:

Yadyetāvatyapi gate varṣākṣetraṃ na labhyate tato vṛkṣamūle 'pi paryuṣaṇayitavvyam |

If (*yadi*) in such a case (*etāvatyapi*) a rain-retreat (*varṣākṣetra*) is not obtained (*na labhyate*) [upon the expiration of one month and twenty days], then (*tatas*) Paryuṣaṇā is to be observed (*paryuṣaṇayitavvyam*) beneath a tree (*vṛkṣa-mūle*).⁴⁸⁸

There is one more important point to add to this discussion concerning the timing of the days and dates of the festival. This is the fact that today the final day of the now eight-day festival is conducted in Mūrtipūjaka communities such as the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha not on the fifth bright day of Bhādrapāda but a day earlier, on the fourth. In the opinion of the Jain commentators, this change was allegedly instituted by the *Ācārya* Kālaka sometime during the first half of the Common Era, in either 453 or 466 CE (980/993 AV).⁴⁸⁹ According to this legend, it was while Kālaka was staying in the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (Paīṭhan, Mahārāṣṭra) during the rainy season that the local ruling king, Śālivāhaṇa, requested he and his monks celebrate Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth day of Bhādrapada rather than the fifth. This was because the day of the Jain ceremony happened to coincide with the local Indra festival (*Indra-mahotsava*) taking place which the king was to attend. Kālaka's response was to quote the passage from the *Kalpa Sūtra* mentioned above (s. 3-8) stating that it was not possible for Jains to observe Paryuṣaṇā beyond Mahāvīra's

⁴⁸⁸ Kṣemakīrti, *ṭīkā* on BKS *bhāṣya* v. 4284. This passage is a Sanskrit gloss on PK *cūrṇi* 16 (...*Bhaddavaya-joṇhassa paṃcamīe etthaṃtare jati ṇa laddhaṃ tāhe jati rukkhahetṭhe ṭhito vi pajjosavetavvaṃ*); also see the NS *cūrṇi* on *bhāṣya* 3153 which is nearly identical to the PK *cūrṇi*.

⁴⁸⁹ For the details regarding this legend see W.Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka: Texts, History, Legends, and Miniature Paintings of the Śvetāmbara Jain Hagiographical Work, the Kālākācāryakathā* (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1933). In particular, see pp. 63-64 for the account of Kālaka's changing of the dates of Paryuṣaṇā which Brown compiled from various manuscripts.

rule of “one month and twenty days” from *Āṣāḍh pūrṇimā*. Since Bhādrapada bright 6 transgressed beyond this limit, it meant that the monks would violate the mandatory rule of performing the yearly *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* by one day. In order to not violate this rule, a compromise was reached when Kālaka agreed to observe Paryuṣaṇā on Bhādrapada bright 4. This convention of observing the final day of Paryuṣaṇā on the fourth day of the month initiated by Kālaka has thus continued to prevail in the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha Mūrtipūjaka communities.⁴⁹⁰

6.3 Reciting the Text: New Didactic and Demotic Directions

In the same way that the date regarding Paryuṣaṇā was carefully calibrated according to time-honored rules, the recitation of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text, too, appears to have been subject to various mandates with respect to who had the rights to recite it as well receive its teachings. Moreover, the time of day in which the recitation could take place was also subject to strict regulation in the early period. While the reading of today’s *Kalpa Sūtra* text takes place during the day before the entire congregation, in ancient times the practice was decidedly different and limited to monastics only. In addition to this stipulation, ascetics could also only study or recite the text at night. In the following citations selected from both canonical and commentarial works, we will accordingly see how the tenets governing the text’s recitation in the past offer a striking contrast to today’s public reception of the text during the day.

First, the oldest rules forbidding non-mendicants from hearing the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text are clearly stated in canonical works on monastic discipline and legislation like the *Niśītha Sūtra*.

⁴⁹⁰ The question may arise as to why the final pivotal day of Paryuṣaṇā has not been restored back to the fifth in the centuries since Kālaka. The reason given is that ever since the annual rituals have been performed on Bhādrapada bright 4, to revert back to the fifth would once again violate by one day the annual *pratikramaṇa* mandated to be performed once a year. See Pravin Shah (2012: 6).

For example, NS s. 46 prescribes the following punishment for any monk who recites the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text to a non-monastic or non-Jain:

Jo bhikkhu aṇṇautthiyaṃ vā gāratthiyaṃ vā pajjosavei, pajjosaveṃtaṃ vā sāijjai |

The monk who recites the rules of monastic conduct (*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*) to a non-believer (*aṇṇautthiyaṃ/anya-tīrthakaṃ*) or householder (*gāratthiya/grhasthaṃ*) or supports (*sāijjai*) the ones who tell so (*pajjosaveṃtaṃ*), [a *guru caumāsī* expiation comes to him].⁴⁹¹

A *guru caumāsī* expiation specifically designates termination from the monastic organization (*sādhu saṅgha*) for a period of four months.⁴⁹² The rule excluding the lay estate from having any access to the text was therefore a defining feature in its early history during the ancient period. A main impulse behind this prohibition of lay people hearing the rules applying to monastic life and their amendments was not only to protect the secret knowledge contained in the texts themselves but also to protect monks and nuns from being seen as fallible in the eyes of the community and potentially losing support.

Beyond the exclusion of lay people from hearing the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, a further provision was that the recitation of the text take place at night. The NS *cūrṇi* on *bhāṣya* v. 3220 gives the following description of this constraint on times for recitation:⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ English translation by Sahitya Manishi Sh. Munnalal Jain and Padam Ratan Shri Rajkumar Jain in *Sacitra Niśītha Sūtra* (Delhi: Padma Prakashan, 2015), 187.

⁴⁹² See *Sacitra Śrī Sthānaṅga Sūtra, Dvītīya Bhāg* (Delhi: Padma Prakashan, 2004), 143. Here, in Amar Muni's words (English translation by Surendra Botharā), it is said that "Two kinds of atonement have been prescribed for faults committed—(a) *laghu-prāyaścīti* (simple atonement) and (b) *guru-prāyaścīti* (serious atonement). Simple atonement includes fasting (etc.) and is called *udghātik prāyaścīti*. Serious atonement includes termination from the ascetic organization for a specific period and is called *anudghātik prāyaścīti*. There is no provision of curtailment in serious atonement. It is also of two types—*guru māsik* or termination for one month and *guru caumāsī* or termination for four months."

⁴⁹³ *Pajjosavaṇā-kappo divasato kaḍḍhiṃ ṇa ceva kappati |*

Pajjosavaṇā-kappa-kaḍḍhaṇe imā Sāmāyārī — appaṇo uvassae pādosie āvassae kae kālaṃ ghettuṃ kāle suddhe vā paṭṭhavettā kaḍḍhijjati. evaṃ causu vi rātīsu | Pajjosavaṇā-rātīe puṇa kaḍḍhīe save sāhū samappāyaṇīya kāussagga kareti |

With regard to the reading (*kaḍḍhaṇe*) of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, this means the [reading of the] *Sāmācārī* [rules of conduct]. During the first quarter of the night (*pādosie*) [ascetics] complete their obligatory rituals (*āvassae kae/āvaśyake kṛte*) in their private (*appaṇo*) temple quarters (*uvassae/upāśraye*) and, having determined the proper time (*kāla ghettuṃ/kāla-grahaṇa*) for the ceremony, commence to read [the rules of conduct] at the correct hour (*kāle suddhe*). In this manner (*evaṃ*) they do this for four additional nights (*caūsu vi rātīsu*). When the text is recited (*kaḍḍhīe*) on the night of Paryuṣaṇā (*Pajjosavaṇā-rātīe*) all the ascetics (*save sāhū*) stand devoutly (*samappāyaṇīya*) at attention (*kāussagga/kāyotsarga*).

This principle of reciting or studying the text at night ultimately derives from the status of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* as a *kāliya* (Skt. *kālika*) text. *Kālika* texts are a category of sacred work that can be studied only at certain periods of day such as early morning or night. Texts categorized as *ukkāliya* (Skt. *utkālika*), on the other hand, could be studied at any time of the day. According to H. Kapadia, “we may define *kāliya* and *ukkāliya* as under: That *śruta* which is studied-recited during the first and last *pauruṣīs* [i.e., a period of three hours] of both day and night, is styled *kāliya-suya*, while that *śruta* which is studied-recited at all times except *kāla-velā* [inauspicious times], is designated as *ukkāliya-suya*.”⁴⁹⁴ In this context of permissible times to study the text, it is once again worth reiterating that the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, despite achieving a near independent status, still technically remained the eighth chapter of the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, a canonical work designated as *kālika*, and was thus subject to the above rules applying to this category of text. Taken together, these two rules regarding permissible times of the day to study the text and who retained the rights to do so are summed up in the following passage from a later popular commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* known as the *Subodhikā Ṭikā* (1696 CE) by Vinayavijaya:

⁴⁹⁴ Kapadia ([1941] 2000: 22).

*atha tasya śrī Kalpasūtrasya vācane śravaṇe ca adhikāriṇo mukhyavṛtṭyā sadhu-sādhvyaḥ | tatrāpi kālato rātrau vihitakālagrahaṇādividhīnām sādḥūnām vācanaṃ śravaṇaṃ ca, sādḥvīnām ca Niśītha-cūrṇyādyuktavidhinā divā 'pi śravaṇaṃ |*⁴⁹⁵

According to the primary meaning (*mukhya-vṛtṭyā*) [of the word], only monks and nuns (*sādhu-sādhvyaḥ*) “possessed the rights” (*adhikāriṇo*) in the reciting (*vācane*) and hearing (*śravaṇe*) of the illustrious *Kalpa Sūtra*. In that case, too (*tatrāpi*), with regard to time of day (*kālato*), it could only be recited and heard at night (*rātrau*) by monks who followed the precepts governing proper times of study (*vihita-kāla-grahaṇādi-vidhi*). According to the rule mentioned in the *Niśītha-sūtra cūrṇi* (*Niśītha-cūrṇyādy-ukta-vidhinā*), nuns could hear it during the day as well (*divā 'pi*).⁴⁹⁶

A cogent explanation as to how the text came to be read during the day is provided by Muni Kanhaiyālāl. I translate his account from Hindi as follows: “There used to be a prohibition of reciting ‘*kālika*’ texts [which can be read or studied only at certain times] such as the chapter from the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra* known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. Nevertheless, someone joined it with ‘*utkālika*’ narrative material [which can be read or studied at any time, i.e., the *Jinacaritras* and *Sthavirāvalī*]. And so, having created the new *Kalpa Sūtra* in the form of an *utkālik* text, the practice of reciting it to householders during the day began.”⁴⁹⁷

Having surveyed the myriad of ancient-era rules applying to the recitation of the *Payruṣaṇā-kalpa* (time of year, time of day, and rights of participation), the next pertinent

⁴⁹⁵ *Subodhikā*, 7 (recto).

⁴⁹⁶ See NS *cūrṇi* 3221 which refers to cases in which nuns are able to hear the recitation of the text during the day.

⁴⁹⁷ See Muni Kanhaiyālāl (1990: 216) found in his edited version of the *Niśītha-sūtra* (Jaināgama Granthamālā 32). The passage in Hindi reads: “*kālik Daśāśrutaskandha-sūtra kā 'Pajjosavaṇā-kappa' adhyāyan gr̥hasthoṃ ko sunāne kā niṣedh hai, phir bhī utkālik (culla) Kalpa-sūtra ādi kiśī se joḍā gayā hai aur nayā Kalpa-sūtra saṃkalan kar dopahar (utkālik) meṃ tathā gr̥hasthoṃ ke sāṃne vācan kiyā jāne lagā hai. Yah adhyayan vartamān meṃ vikṛt avasthā meṃ hai. Iskī mauliktā ke sāth hī isse sambandhit śudh paramparā bhī vyvacchinn-prāya ho cukī hai.*”

question to ask, then, is when and why did the current practice of reciting the text before the general public during the day arise? To answer this question we must consult the all-important commentaries again in order to reconstruct the events that led to the practices currently in place. First, as it was earlier revealed in Chapter 3, with regard to the inclusion of lay people in these proceedings, it is clear from material contained in the PK *niryukti* (v.) that as far back as the second century CE some form of the *Jina Caritra(s)* and *Sthavirāvali* were also being recited during the time of Paryuṣaṇā “for the benefit of the community.” Whether these recitations of the stories of the Jinās and list of patriarchs were exclusively meant for mendicants or open to lay worshippers as well, however, remains unclear. An intriguing line in the NS *cūrṇi* (on *bhāṣya* v. 3216) of Jinadāsa (ca. seventh c. CE), however, does mention that lay people should be included in part of these proceedings:

Pajjosavaṇāsu varisiyā āloyaṇā dāyavvā varisā-kālassa ādīe maṅgalaṃ kataṃ bhavati, saḍḍhāṇaṃ ya dhamma-kaḥā kāyavvā |

During Paryuṣaṇā, the annual atonement (*varisiyā āloyaṇā/vārsika ālocaṇā*) is to be performed (*dāyavvā/dātavyā*). It is auspicious to do this at the beginning (*ādīe*) of the rainy season (*varisā-kālassa*). Religious stories (*dhamma-kaḥā*) should also be given for the lay supporters (*saḍḍhāṇaṃ/srāddhānām*).

The NS *cūrṇi*, furthermore, gives an example of how the original rule mandating the recitation of the text only at night first became modified through an exceptional case:

*Pajjosavaṇā-kappo divasato kaḍḍhiṃ ṇa ceva kappati | jattha vi khettaṃ paḍucca kaḍḍhiṃ | jahā divasato Āṇandapure mule cetiya-ghare [Pajjosavaṇa-kappo] savva-jana-samakkhaṃ kaḍḍhiṃ, tatha vi sāhū ṇa kaḍḍheti, pāssatho kaḍḍhati, taṃ sāhū suṇejjā, ṇa doso | Pāsathāṇa vā kaḍḍhakassa asati ḍaṃḍigeṇa vā abbhataṭṭhio saḍḍhehiṃ vā tāhe divasato kaḍḍhati |*⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁸ NS *cūrṇi*, commenting on NS *bhāṣya* v. 3220: *divasato ṇa caiva kappati |* [The *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*] is not at all allowed [to be read] during the day.

To recite (*kaḍḍhiṃ*) the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* is not at all allowed (*ṇa ceva kappati*) during the day (*divasato*). [Further], only whenever (*jattha vi*) a place to stay [for the rainy season] has been arranged (*paḍucca/pratīya*) can it be recited.

[An exception to this rule], for example (*jahā*), is when it was recited (*kaḍḍhijati*) during the day (*divasato*) in Ānandapura in the main temple sanctum (*mule cetiyaghare/caityagrhe*) before the entire public (*savva-jana-samakkham*). Still, in that case (*tatha vi*), a devout monk (*sāhū*) was not allowed to recite it (*ṇa kaḍḍheti*), a lax monk (*pāssatho/pārśvastha*) recited it (*kaḍḍhati*). [If] a devout monk (*sāhū*) should hear (*sunejjā*) him (*taṃ*) [recite it], however, this constitutes no transgression (*ṇa doso*). In the absence (*asati*) of a reciter (*kaḍḍhakassa*) among the subordinate monks (*pāsathāṇa*), a candidate (*abbhaṭṭhio*) [selected] by someone possessing authority (*ḍaṃḍigeṇa*) or by householders (*saḍḍhehiṃ/srāvakaiḥ*) can then (*tāhe/tadā*) read it during the day.

This oblique reference to events which are alleged to have taken place in the city of Ānandapura give us our first indication of how the tradition of recitation and reception began to become transformed into a more inclusive cross-community event. Not only is it said that the recitation took place “during the day” (*divasato*), but what’s more, that it was delivered “before the entire public” (*savva-jana-samakkham*). It is revealing, however, that in order for the recitation to take place during the day before non-monastics, the stipulation was given that the reading not be performed by a *sādhu* (devout monk), but only by a *pārśvastha*, a so-called low-ranking lax monk.⁴⁹⁹ Aside from the single reference to this exceptional case, however, no other details emerge from the *cūrṇi* literature regarding the circumstances which led to this particular suspension of the rules other than that it allegedly took place in Ānandapura.

Fortunately, later commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* do present more information on this precedent-setting case and mark it as a transformative historical moment in the performative life

⁴⁹⁹ On *pāsathā* or *pārśvastha*, see Madhu Sen (1975: 303-304): “Among the Śvetāmbaras also there were the monks following the *Jinalkalpa* or the *Sihavirakalpa* mode of life and also the ascetics of the lower grade known as *Pāsathā*, *Kusīla*, *Osanna*, *Samatta* and *Nitiya* because of their respective mental attitude or spiritual status. *Pāsathas* were originally the followers of *Pārśva*, but the term *Pāsathā* later came to be used in the sense of the ascetics of loose moral conduct.”

of the text.⁵⁰⁰ Among these commentaries, the account given in Samayasundara's *Kalpalaṭā Ṭīkā* (ca. 17th c. CE) presents the most interesting and detailed version of this purported event which is said to have taken place in the city of Ānandapura sometime in the middle of the first millennium of the Common Era. This account is given in the first lecture (*prathama vyākhyā*) of the commentary where an outline of the present-day Paryuṣaṇā festival is being given. Here we are told that this event happened in the court of the Vallabhī king Dhruvasena in Ānandapura (loc. Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat):⁵⁰¹

And so previously this illustrious *Kalpa Sūtra* used to be read on the night of the fifth day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada. After performing the rite of *pratikramaṇa*, a monk (*pārśvasthaḥ*) would recite the *Kalpa Sūtra* at night.⁵⁰² All the other mendicants would stand at attention and listen. This was the custom in the past but it was discontinued nine-hundred and eighty (980) years after Lord Mahāvīra. [At that time] there was a King Dhruvasena who resided in the city of Ānandapur, now named Vaḍanagara. He had an extremely dear son, Senāṃgaja, who, by fate (*devāt*), happened to die at the arrival of Paryuṣaṇā. The king was so grief-stricken that he no longer came to the temple for religious services. Following the adage “Just as the king, so the subjects,” all the bankers and merchants stopped coming to the temple as well. Having seen the damage being done to the religion, the chief monk went to King Dhruvasena and said, “Oh Majesty, due to your grieving the whole city and country have become overwhelmed with sorrow. But you must remember that the physical body is fleeting (*anitya*), wealth is

⁵⁰⁰ All the important medieval-era commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* mention this event in the context of commenting on the meaning of the date 980/993 AV given at the conclusion of the *Mahāvīra Caritra*. Among other possibilities, they speculate that this date may refer to when this event took place in Ānandapura. See the Appendix for extracts from some of these commentaries.

⁵⁰¹ Based on inscriptions, it is known that a king by name of Dhruvasena I of the Maitrika Dynasty ruled from Vallabhī during the years 519-549 CE. There is no indication, however, that he was Jain. In fact, all the evidence suggests he was a Vaiṣṇava. However, it is also said that he was charitable towards other religious groups such as the Buddhists and Jains. For more information on the Maitrikas and Dhruvasena I, see K.J. Virji ((1955: 31-35).

⁵⁰² The word used by Vinayavijaya for the monk appointed to recite the text in this sentence is *pārśvastha*. However, as we just saw (fn. 47), it is stated in the *Niśītha Sūtra* literature that a *pārśvastha* was considered a lax monk who was allowed to recite the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* only during the day as an exception to the rule of reading the text only at night. In this passage, however, Vinayavijaya claims that in previous times it was the *pārśvastha* who was appointed to read the treatise at night. Since this seems to contradict the rules stated in the *Niśītha Sūtra*, I have neutrally translated *pārśvastha* in this case as simply “monk.” It should also be made clear that by “*Kalpa Sūtra*” Vinayavijaya intends to mean the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. Also see S.B. Deo (1956: 175) for *pārśvastha*.

impermanent (*aśāśvata*), life is precarious (*caṃcala*), and the world is vapid (*asāra*). It is not proper for a king like you who is learned in the Jain faith to be so overcome with sorrow. Right now (*atha*) a great benefit is being bestowed (*pradīyate*) to you: we are reciting (*śrāvayāmaḥ*) a sacred work (*śrutam*) [you] have not yet heard (*aśrutam*). The eighth chapter [from the *Daśāśrutaskhanda Sūtra*] which was extracted from the ninth *Pūrva* by the illustrious master Bhadrabāhu is named the *Kalpa Sūtra*. It is a special sacred work (*viśeṣa-śāstram*) that brings prosperity and causes the destruction of karma. If you come to the temple it is now being read. The king agreed and then the text and its nine sermons were ceremoniously (*sa-prabhāvanā*) read aloud in front of His Majesty and the court. In this way the tradition [of reading the *Kalpa Sūtra*] before the public was instituted by our elders, just as it is now also read by us before you.⁵⁰³

While granting that there is almost no evidence to establish whether this inaugural reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* before king, court, and community actually happened or not, still the impact of this lore on the historical imagination of the Jain commentators cannot be denied. All the later commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, in fact, mark it as a decisive moment in the performative history of the text as it began to be transmitted beyond the bounds of the monastic organization and into the public domain.⁵⁰⁴ In this way, the story provides a compelling example of the *Kalpa*

⁵⁰³ *tathā ayam Śrī Kalpaḥ (Kalpa-sūtra) purvaṃ Bhādrapadasūdīpañcamyāṃ rātrau vācyamāno 'bhūt | ekaḥ pārśvastho rātrau pratikramaṇānamtaram Kalpasūtram pāṭhato vācayati | anye sarve 'pi sādavaḥ kāyotsargaṃ kṛtvā śrīvanti | ayam vidhiḥ purvaṃ āsīt, sa tu vyava[vi]cchinnaḥ, tadanaṃtaram tu Śrī Vīrāt saṃ 980 varṣe Śrī Ānandapure sāmpratam nāmnā Vaḍanagare Dhruvaseno rājā abhūt | tasya putro Senāṃgajo rājño 'tīva-vallabhaḥ, sa ca devāt Paryuṣaṇāgame mṛtaḥ | rājā 'tīva-sokākrānto abhūt. dharma-sālāyāṃ nāgacchati, tasya anāgamane "yathā rājā tathā prajā" | iti hetoḥ anyepi śreṣṭī vyavahāriṇo lokāḥ nāgacchanti | tataśca dharmahānir jāyamānām drṣṭvā gurubhir Dhruvasenarājāsamīpe gatvā proktaḥ: "he rājan, tyayi śoke kriyamāne sarvaṃ nagaram sadeśāṃ śokāturaṃ jātam | [paramtu] śarīram anityam, vibhavo 'pi aśāśvataḥ āyusca caṃcalam, asāra saṃsāro 'sti | na bhavādrśāṃ jnātajinadharmāṇām adhikaśokakaraṇam yuktaṃ | atha ca bhavatām lābhaḥ pradīyate. aśrutam śrutam śrāvayāmaḥ | Śrī Bhadrabāhusvāmipādair navamapūrvād aṣṭamam adhyayanam Kalpasūtranāmakaṃ uddhṛtam asti | tacca maṅgalabhūtam mahākarmaḥṣaya-kāraṇam viśeṣaśāstram vartate | yadi dharmasālāyām āgamayate tadā vācyate | rājñā ca angīkṛtam | tato rājādisabhā samakṣam navabhir vācanābhīḥ saprabhāvanābhīr vācītam | tataḥ prabhṛti lokasamakṣam Kalpasūtravācanapravṛttir jātā | tato guruparamparayā asmābhir api bhavat samīpe vācyate | Samayasundara, Kalpalatā, 8b-9a.*

⁵⁰⁴ The later commentaries generally give their remarks on King Dhruvasena while discussing the dates 980 and 993 (AV) found at the conclusion of the Mahāvīra biography in the *Kalpa-sūtra* (see Appendix 1 for these remarks which I have translated). Modern-day scholars, too, have also made mention of this event in various studies. A bewildering amount of unverifiable information, however, attends to their

Sūtra embodying one of the basic qualities of “scripture” put forward by W.C. Smith wherein a special sacred work becomes integral to both the “personal piety” of its patrons as well as the “corporate polity” of the wider religious community.⁵⁰⁵ To be sure, this notion of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a special sacred work in the religious life of the community and its individual members is explicitly stated in Samayasundara’s account itself when he refers to it as a “*viśeṣa-śāstra*.” In accounts such as this we are therefore able to witness another stage in the process of “scripturalization” outlined by Smith in which new forms of religiosity and socio-spiritual belonging become constructed around the reception of a sacred text. In other words, the legend gives us insight into scripture-formation and the emotional, devotional, and salvational power of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s oral performance in the eyes of the later tradition.

Thus, regardless of whether the event which reportedly took place in Ānandapura is folkloric or factual, the story has been installed in Jain memory as a turning point in the historical trajectory of the *Kalpa Sūtra*’s reception by the community. At the same time, if we grant the authenticity of this account, it is still far from clear just what “version” of the text would have been recited at this time. The NS *cūrṇi* on *bhāṣya* v. 3220, however, does appear to indicate that the recitation of the “text” at this time (ca. 5th c. CE) still specifically meant the monastic rules alone rather than the stories of the Jinas and list of patriarchs.⁵⁰⁶ In any case, as was pointed out

remarks. For example, Weber (1893: 4) claims that it was King Dhruvasena himself who “commanded that the *Kalpasutram* should be recited publicly.” P.S. Jaini (1979: 63), on the other hand, says that the recitation was conducted by none other than the redactor Devardhigaṇi who “chanted” the *Kalpa Sūtra* “before King Dhruvasena of Vallabhī to relieve the latter’s grief over the death of his son.” Hastimāla ([1974] 2001: 692), without naming any sources, alleges that the reciter was the Ācārya Kālaka (the IVth). Vinaya Sāgar (1984: xxvii) endorses Hastimāla and adds that Kālaka did this under the epithet “Gītārtha,” a detail he claims is stated in s. 291 of the *Kalpa-sūtra Tippaṇṇaka* of Pṛthvīcandra. I am, however, unable to locate this specific reference in the only printed edition of the *Tippaṇṇaka* edited by Puṇyavijay.

⁵⁰⁵ W.C. Smith (1993: 48).

⁵⁰⁶ *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa-kaḍḍhaṇe imā Sāmāyārī* (With regard to the reading (*kaḍḍhaṇe*) of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, this means the [reading of the] *Sāmācārī* [rules of conduct]). Samayasundara’s use of the title

in Chapter 3, since we do know that some version of the *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvalī* already had established links with the recital of the monastic rules by at least the 2nd century CE, it is not inconceivable that all three of these works could have been presented together in some informal fashion during the regnal years of Dhruvasena I (519-549 CE). Since it is also believed that the text as it is known today consisting of these three sections (*Jina Caritras*, *Sthavirāvalī*, and *Sāmācārī* rules) was put into writing and compiled into a single work around this very time, the legendary events occurring at Ānandapura serve as a logical launching point for discussing the current Paryuṣaṇā ceremony and the ways in which it was organized around the *Kalpa Sūtra* after it became transformed into a fixed scripture. As it was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the current ceremony is now in the form of an eight-day festival (*aṣṭāhnikotsava*) and culminates in the procession of the scripture along with its ritual reading. The worship of the text in the form of a book thus becomes one of the most striking and enduring features of today's tradition.

6.4 Curriculum of the Current Ceremony

For information on the current ceremony, we shift from the older commentarial layers of the *niryuktis*, *bhāṣyas*, and *cūrṇis* in Prakrit and turn to a different set of scholastic works on the *Kalpa Sūtra* composed in Sanskrit. Among these commentaries, the most important emerge in the late medieval period with Jinaprabhasūri's *Sandehaviṣaṣadhi* (1307 CE) and progress into the early modern era with Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā Ṭīkā* (1639 CE), Dharmasāgara's *Kiraṇāvalī* (1571 CE), Samayasundara's *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā* (ca. mid-17th century), and

“*Kalpa Sūtra*” to describe the text being recited in the court of Dhruvasena (ca. 5th c. CE), then, is technically an anachronism as it reflects the parlance of the later time in which he composed his account (17th c.) when that title had long since replaced “*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.”

Lakṣmīvallabha's *Kalpadrumakalikā* (ca. 18th c.).⁵⁰⁷ These select commentaries are identified as the work of Mūrtipūjaka monastic scholars belonging to either the Kharatara Gaccha (Jinaprabhasūri, Samayasundara, and Lakṣmīvallabha) or the Tapā Gaccha (Vinayavijaya and Dharmasāgara). Despite their sectarian differences, however, the commentaries draw heavily upon one another and display only minor points of disagreement.⁵⁰⁸ Most importantly, each analyzes the text from the perspective of its fixed and fully compiled tripartite form. As the opening of the *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā* announces:

Here with regard to the Noble *Kalpa Sūtra* there are a collection of three subjects to be read... 1. the Biographies of the Jinas (*Jina Caritras*), 2. the Lineage of Patriarchs (*Sthavirāvalī*), and 3. the Monastic Rules for the Illustrious Festival of Paryuṣaṇā (*Paryuṣaṇāparva-Sāmācārī*).⁵⁰⁹

Having established the discursive dimensions of this “vulgate” form of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a key task of the later commentators was to organize their analysis of its manifold contents in a methodical way. Although Jinaprabhasūri's *Sandehaviṣṇauṣadhi* has the distinction of being the first of the later class of commentaries to expound upon the *Kalpa Sūtra* in immeasurably more detail than the mere explanatory notes of its predecessors (e.g., the *niryukti* and *cūrṇī*), it was the *Subodhikā* of Vinayavijaya that appears to have initiated the now standard commentarial

⁵⁰⁷ These commentaries in Sanskrit represent only a small fraction of the large trove of later commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the more recent ones being composed in vernacular languages such as Gujarati and Hindi. For the most comprehensive list of *Kalpa Sūtra* commentaries, see Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa* (1944: 74-79).

⁵⁰⁸ This is mainly evident in technical discussions such as whether there were five (Tapā Gacch) or six (Kharatara Gacch) *kalyānakas* in the life of Mahāvīra. On the whole, however, the commentaries appear mostly uniform and maintain a common Mūrtipūjaka point of view.

⁵⁰⁹ *atra śrī Kalpa-sūtre adhikāra-trayaṃ vācyam vartate... 1. Jinānāṃ Caritāṇi, 2. Sthavirāvalī, 3. Śrī Paryuṣaṇāparva-Sāmācārī ca* | Samayasundara, *Kalpalatā Ṭīkā*, 1b. Cf. *Subodhikā*, 8a-8b (*athātra Śrī Kalpa-sūtre triṇī vācyāni...*).

convention of dividing the exposition of the book into nine separate lectures (*vācanā* or *vyākhyāna*). This method of teaching the text through a series of nine religious discourses (*vākhyāna-paddhati*)⁵¹⁰ would become the model for the myriad of commentarial works on the *Kalpa Sūtra* subsequent to the *Subodhikā*. Based on my analysis of these early modern commentaries, the nine sermons involve everything from interpreting key passages found in the root-text to the use of didactic “example stories” (*dr̥ṣṭāntas*) to illustrate points of doctrine and their practical application. Our first objective in this part of the chapter will accordingly be to describe the form and format of these discourses and how they were distributed over the course of the eight-day ceremony.

Again, among these later commentaries, the *Subodhikā* of Vinayavijaya is perhaps the most well-known and among the first to structure itself into the fashion of nine discourses by means of its division into nine chapters. According to Vinayavijaya himself, however, this methodology predated his own work and was merely incorporated into the commentary. He, in fact, explicitly links this method of dividing the text into nine separate discourses to the time of its legendary first public reading in Ānandapura at least a thousand years previously:

*sāmprataṃ ca paramparayā gurvādiṣṭe kṣetre caturmāsīsthitāḥ sādavaḥ śreyonimittam
Ānandapure sabhāsamakṣam vācanādanu saṅghasamakṣam pañcabhir divasair
navabhiḥ kṣaṇaiḥ śrī Kalpa-sūtram vācayanti |*

These days (*sāmprataṃ*), according to tradition (*paramparayā*), ever since the recital (*vācanād-anu*) [of the text happened] in Ānandapura before the court (*sabhā-samakṣam*), monks (*sādavaḥ*) now recite (*vācayanti*) the glorious *Kalpa Sūtra* for five days (*pañcabhir divasair*) in nine intervals (*navabhiḥ kṣaṇaiḥ*) before the entire community (*saṅgha-samakṣam*) for their salutary benefit (*śreyo-nimittam*) while residing together during the rainy season (*caturmāsī-sthitāḥ*) in the location appointed by the head of the monastic organization (*gurvādiṣṭe kṣetre*).⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ *Kalpalatā*, 1a.

⁵¹¹ *Subodhikā*, 1a; cf. *Kiraṇāvali*, 2 and 17.

To start off with, a first point of interest to be taken from this passage is that the nine discourses are here said to have been distributed over the course of five days. This original five-day period of studying and reciting the *Kalpa Sūtra* appears more than likely traceable to the original directive discoverable in the older commentaries to recite the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text for five nights. This rule, in turn, seems itself to be a vestige of the five-day period of time calculated to fall between *parva* days (i.e., any 5th, 10th, or 15th lunar day) granted to monks to initiate their Paryuṣaṇā proceedings in case they were unable to locate a proper rain-resort by the tenth bright day of Āṣāḍha.⁵¹²

While both the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapā Gaccha favor the use of commentaries belonging to their own respective schools of thought, the curriculum of topics followed by each tradition is nevertheless strikingly the same. The following sketch of the subjects deployed in the discourses belonging to each sect will therefore reveal a shared set of stock topics and talking points. First, I survey the subject-matter making up the nine *vācanās* of the *Subodhikā*:

1. (*prathamam vyākhyānam*) Outline of the Paryuṣaṇā festival: the ten religious practices (*daśa-kalpas*) incumbent on ascetics; anecdote of King Dhruvasena and the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra*; five duties for ascetics during Paryuṣaṇā; example story (*dr̥ṣṭānta*) of Nāgaketu (*Nāgaketu-kathā*) illustrating the value of various religious observances during festival time; suitable sites for mendicants to resort to during the rainy season; praises to *Paryuṣaṇā Parva* and the *Kalpa Sūtra*; beginning of the analysis of the *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 1-16): the five *kalyāṇakas* up to *Śakra-stavana* (Indra's song of praise to Mahāvīra), example story of Meghakumāra (*Meghakumāra-kathā*) on maintaining steadfast devotion and discipline in ascetic practice
2. (*dvitīyam vyākhyānam*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 16-36): *Śakra-stavana*, examples of ten miraculous events; Mahāvīra's twenty-seven previous births; transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from Devānanda to Triśalā, Triśalā's first three dreams

⁵¹² Recall PK *niryukti* (v. 16) and its analysis discussed in the present chapter on p. 265 (*ettha u paṇagam paṇagam, kāraṇiyam jā savīsatiṃmāso | suddha-dasamī thiyāṇa va, Āsāḍhī puṇṇimosavaṇam ||*).

3. (*trītiyaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 37-67): Trīśalā's remaining eleven dreams and entrance of the dream diviners
4. (*caturthaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 68-96): interpretation of the dreams up to Mahāvīra's nativity; Trīśalā's sorrow and joy; Mahāvīra's vow (*abhigraha*) to remain with parents; Trīśalā's resolve to protect her pregnancy (*garbha-poṣaṇa*)
5. (*pañcamaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 97-116): birth celebrations (*janmotsava*); discussion of Mahāvīra's name (*nāma*), clan (*gotra*) and family (*kula*) background; the *āmalī-krīḍā* (or *āmalakī-krīḍā*) story illustrating the eight-year-old Mahāvīra's fearlessness in the face of danger; story of Mahāvīra as a child in school (*lekha-śālā*) demonstrating his supreme intelligence and literacy; Mahāvīra's decision to renounce; giving away his wealth for one-year (*vārṣika-dāna*); ordination ceremony (*dikṣābhiṣeka*)
6. (*ṣaṣṭhaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 117-147): adversities while wandering; discarding of clothing and all possessions; science of reading auspicious body marks (*sānudrika-śāstra*); anecdote of Mahāvīra and the demonic *yakṣa* Śūlapāṇi illustrating the Jina's strong spiritual fortitude; short anecdotal stories of incidents happening during Mahāvīra's first twelve years of wandering (subduing the serpent Caṇḍakauśika, attack by Sudāḍha and rescue by the Nāga princes Kambala and Śambala, association with the monk Gośālā, attack on Mahāvīra by Saṅgam, etc.); attainment of omniscience (*kevala-jñāna*); first eleven disciples (*gaṇadharas*); final salvation (*nirvāṇa*); discussion of the dates 980/993 AV and their relation to the *pustakārohaṇa* (writing down of the canon).
7. (*saptamaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Pārśvanātha Caritra*: summary of Pārśva's five *kalyāṇakas*; comments on birth, renunciation, enduring adversities; short tales involving the *yakṣa* Dharaṇendra (Pārśva's protector); attainment of omniscience; first eight disciples; extent of Pārśva's community; final salvation and passing away; calculation of time since Pārśva's passing
- Neminātha Caritra*: summary of Nemi's five *kalyāṇakas*; comments on the descent and birth; Nemi's exceptional strength as a child and youth; story of Nemi's wedding ceremony and his compassion for animals to be put to slaughter for the marriage-feast; Nemi's renunciation and attainment of omniscience; Nemi's nine previous births; extent of Nemi's community of followers; final salvation and passing away; calculation of the interval of time between Nemi and the writing down of the scriptures (*śrī-Nemi-pustakā'ntaraṃ*)

Jināntara Caritras (intervening Jinās): calculation of the interval of time between the remaining Jinās and the writing down of scriptures (*śrī-jinānām pustaka-likhanasya cā 'ntarāṇi*)

Ṛṣabhanātha Caritra: summary of Ṛṣabha's four *kalyāṇakas*; comments on the descent and birth; establishment of the Ikṣvāku dynasty; Ṛṣabha's lineage (*vaṃśa*); marriages to Sunandā and Sumaṅgalā; Ṛṣabha's coronation and rule; Ṛṣabha teaches the seventy-two arts for men (*puruṣa-kalā*), the eighteen scripts (*haṃsa-lipy-ādy-aṣṭadaśa-lipi-vidhānam*), the teaching of "Brāhmī" script to his daughter Brāhmī and the science of numbers to his daughter Sundarī; the sixty-four arts for women (*strī-kalā*); the one-hundred crafts (*śilpa-śata*) and the three professions; names of Ṛṣabha's one-hundred sons (*śata-nandana-namāni*) and twenty kingdoms (*rājya-deśa-namāni*)

8. (*aṣṭamaṃ vyākhyānam*) *Sthavirāvalī*: Mahāvīra's nine groups of disciples (*śrī Vīrasya gaṇādi*); expounding the names of the original eleven disciples (*gaṇadhara-vācanā*); the *gaṇadharas* and the construction of the original collection of twelve canonical texts; the legacy of Sudharma's line of pupils to the current community; Sudharma's disciple Jambū (*śrī-Jambū-svāmī-svarūpam*); Jambū's disciple Prabhava; Prabhava's disciple Śayyambhava; Śayyambhava's disciple Yaśobhadra.

Details on the "short reading" (*saṃkṣipta-vācanā*) of the *Sthavirāvalī*: Yaśobhadra's disciples Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadrabāhu; the legend of Bhadrabāhu and his rival brother Varāhamihira; incidents in the life of Sambhūtavijaya's disciple Sthūlabhadra (*śrī-Sthūlabhadra-vṛttam*); the story of Bhadrabāhu teaching Sthūlabhadra the lost *Dṛṣṭivāda* texts; Sthūlabhadra's disciples Mahāgiri and Suhasti; King Samprati and the spread of Jainism. Details on the "comprehensive reading" (*vistara-vācanā*) of the *Sthavirāvalī*

9. (*navamaṃ vyākhyānam*) *Sādhu Sāmācārī*: *Sāmācārī*: Reasons why Mahāvīra observed Paryuṣaṇā 1 month and 20 days after Āṣāḍh sud 14/15, that is, on Bhādrapada 5th (*Śrī Vīrasya Paryuṣaṇā-kālas tadhetuśca*); how the *gaṇadharas* follow the example of Mahāvīra (*Śrī Vīravat gaṇadhara tacchiṣya-sthavirāṇām Paryuṣaṇā*); Kālakasūri's change from 5th to 4th day of Bhādrapada (*Paruṣaṇā Bhādrapada-pratibaddhā*); when to observe rules for Paryuṣaṇā during a leap year (*māsa-vṛddhi-carcā kalpa-vyavasthā*) on the second Bhādrapada (*dvitīya-Bhādrapade Paryuṣaṇā*);

Discussion of the actual rules listed in the *Sāmācārī* now begins: rules relating to gathering alms during the rainy season (*avagrahaḥ bhikṣācārya-gamana-vicāraśca*); distances monks and nuns are limited to; following orders given by one's leader regarding when to accept or reject items from donors (*gurvājñayā dāna-grahaṇa-vyavasthā*); rules for healthy mendicants obtaining items for the infirm (*hrṣṭānām*)

vikṛtīnām kalpyatā); rules on maintaining relations with householders; rules on fasting and water consumption; rules on donation (*datti-vidhi*); rules on not accepting festive meals (*saṃkhaḍi-varja-vidhi*); rules on begging during rain (*vr̥ṣṭau bhikṣāgamanādividhiḥ*); rules on begging and sheltering during intermittent rain; rules on accepting food before and after arrival (*vr̥ṣṭau pūrva-paścād-āyuktādi-vidhiḥ*); rules on monks sheltering with nuns; rules on seeking alms for other mendicants without their permission (*aparijñaptāsanādyaśananiṣedhaḥ*); rules on taking food if one's body is wet (*ādrekarādāvabhojanaṃ saptasnehāyatanāni*); rules on being aware of the eight kinds of minute beings during the rainy season (*aṣṭasūksmāṇi*); rules on receiving permission from one's troop leader before making begging rounds, etc. (*ācāryādy-ājñayā gamanādi*); rules on receiving permission to eat contaminated food, obtaining medical cures, fasting to death, etc. (*vikṛtacikitsātapaḥ saṃlekhanā-vidhiḥ*); rules on monastic equipment; rules on hair plucking (*loca-vidhiḥ*); prohibition on using harsh words after the start of Paryuṣaṇā (*adhikaraṇa-niṣedhaḥ*); on seeking forgiveness on the very day of Paryuṣaṇā (*taddināparādha-kṣamaṇā*); rules on lodging places (*vasati-vidhiḥ*); rules on keeping the same route when seeking alms; the value of observing these rules (*kalpārādhanaphalaṃ*); conclusion describing Mahāvīra's presentation of these rules (*upasaṃhāro Vīroktatā*)

As it can be seen from the above abstract, the majority of lectures are devoted to the life of Mahāvīra (six out of nine). This focus on the *Mahāvīra Caritra* is standard in all the later commentaries and, furthermore, is not unexpected given the centrality of the saint's story to the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself and the relevance of his life to the making of the current community. The emphasis on explaining his hagiography in a series of what might be best described as short *dharma-kathās* or “homilies” is also one clearly tied to the specific target audience commentators had in mind consisting of lay people who were viewed as especially receptive to this type of moral instruction.⁵¹³ The *Subodhikā* accordingly provides numerous anecdotes, parables, legends, and “example” stories (*dr̥ṣṭāntas*) that help to illustrate the meaning and

⁵¹³ This idea is summed up by Jinadāsa's comment found in the *cūrṇi* on NS *bhāṣya* v. 3216 mentioned earlier where he says that at the time of Paryuṣaṇā “*saḍḍhāṇaṃ ya dhamma-kahā kāyavvā*” (religious stories should also be given for the lay supporters).

practical application of the doctrinal materials being discussed in the biographies. The sheer amount of *dr̥ṣṭāntas* diffused throughout each lecture aptly underscores the basic didactic function of early modern *Kalpa Sūtra* commentaries. The use of *exempla* in the form of didactic *dr̥ṣṭāntas* to illustrate particular points of doctrine related in the exemplary lives of the Jinas was thus a powerful pedagogical tool used to educate and inspire the Jain public on ethical and spiritual principles during Paryuṣaṇā. For instance, to mention just a few such *dr̥ṣṭāntas*, the short story of Nāgaketu (*Nāgaketu-kathā*) is invoked in the first lecture to illustrate the merits of performing the *aṭṭham tap* (*aṣṭama-tapa*) fast during holy periods such as Paryuṣaṇā. Another example from the first lecture is the story of Meghakupāra (*Meghakupāra-kathā*) which is cited to reinforce the message that devout Jains should maintain steadfast devotion and discipline for spiritual progress.

For the sake of comparison with Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā*, we next look at Samaysundara's *Kalpalatā*, a commentary preferred by members of the Kharatara Gacch.⁵¹⁴ While a cursory survey of its contents reveals that it largely follows the same itinerary of topics seen in the *Subodhikā*, on closer inspection it can be seen that the *Kalpalatā* devotes one more *vācanā* to the life of Mahāvīra (six instead of five). A further distinction is that since the Kharatara Gaccha endorses the idea of six miraculous events in the life of Mahāvīra events instead of five, the *Kalpalatā* (as well as the other commentaries associated with this sect like the *Kalpadrūmakalikā*), use the first *vācanā* as a space for theological argumentation to justify the existence of this extra event. Having said that, the overall division of discourses and their topics within the *Kalpalatā* are distributed in a manner quite similar to that of Vinayavijaya's

⁵¹⁴ Also important to the Kharatara Gaccha is *Kalpadrūmakalikā* of Lakṣmīvallabha, a commentary which, according to my field notes taken in Jaisalmer in 2019, was being used as the primary commentary for the Paryuṣaṇā proceedings at the Kharatara Gaccha temple I visited in Jaisalmer.

Subodhikā. Before proceeding with my own survey of the *Kalpalatā*'s contents, it is first worth revealing how Samayasundara himself summarizes the arrangement of his nine *vyākhyānas* at the start of the final lecture:

(1) Beginning with the first *vācanā*, the *Namsakāra Mantra* was expounded and then the six miraculous events of Mahāvīra were discussed in brief; (2) with the second *vācanā*, Mahāvīra's miraculous descent and transference between wombs were explained; (3) the fourteen dreams [of Trisālā] were next explained by means of the third *vācanā*; (4) the miraculous birth of Mahāvīra was explained with the fourth *vācanā*; (5) Mahāvīra's ordination, enlightenment, and final salvation were expounded upon with the fifth *vācanā*; (6) next, the five miraculous events in the lives of the Jinas Pārśvanātha and Neminātha were explained in the sixth *vācanā*; (7) the intervening period [of Jinas] and Ṛṣabha's five miraculous events were explained by means of the seventh *vācanā*; (8) the *Sthavirāvalī* was next explained through the eighth *vācanā*. In the ninth *vācanā* the *Sādhu-Sāmācārī* is explained.⁵¹⁵

I provide a more detailed catalogue of the *Kalpalatā*'s contents below:

1. (*prathamam vyākhyānam*) Outline of the Paryuṣaṇā festival: ten religious practices (*daśa-kalpa*) for ascetics; example stories illustrating the virtues of religious discipline; the thirteen excellent qualities for rain-resorts; praises in honor of *Paryuṣaṇā Parva* and the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s greatness; story of King Gaṅgādhara and the origin of the fast for Ṛṣi-pañcamī; five duties (*kartavya*) for ascetics during Paryuṣaṇā; annual duties for lay worshippers during Paryuṣaṇā; *Nāgaketu-kathā* illustrating the merits of performing the *aṣṭhama-tap* fast during Paryuṣaṇā; narrative of King Dhruvasena and the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra*; analysis of the *Namaskāra Mantra* (the salutation opening the *Kalpa Sūtra*); *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 1-16): discussion of the six *kalyāṇakas*; Mahāvīra's twenty-seven previous births; the six time cycles (*ṣaḍārakāṇām svarūpaṃ*); Mahāvīra's descent (*ŚrīVīrasya cyavana-kalyāṇakaṃ*); Devānanda's fourteen dreams; the thirty-two distinguishing marks of a Jina (*dvātriṃśallakṣaṇāni*); *Śakra Stavana*; example story of Meghakumāra (*Meghakumāra-kathā*)

⁵¹⁵ *pūrvam prathama-vācanayā śrī pañca-parameṣṭhi-namaskāro vyākhyātaḥ. punaḥ Śrī Mahāvīradevasya saṃkṣepa-vācanayā ṣaṭkalyāṇakāni vyākhyātāni* (1), *dvitīya-vācanayā ca Śrī Mahāvīrasya cyavana-kalyāṇakaṃ garbhāpahāra-kalyāṇakaṃ ca vyākhyātam* (2), *trītiya-vācanayā ca caturdaśa-svapnā vyākhyātāḥ* (3), *caturtha-vācanayā ca Śrī Mahāvīrasya janma-kalyāṇakaṃ vyākhyātam* (4), *pañcama-vācanayā ca Śrī Mahāvīradevasya dīkṣā, jñāna, nirvāṇa-kalyāṇaka-trayaṃ vyākhyātam* (5), *ṣaṣṭha-vācanayā ca Śrī Pārśvanātha-Śrī Neminātha-tīrthaṅkarayoḥ pañca-kalyāṇakāni vyākhyāni* (6), *saptama-vācanayā ca antara-kālah, Śrī Ṛṣabhadevasya pañca-kalyāṇakāni vyākhyāni* (7), *aṣṭhama-vācanayā ca Sthavirāvalī vyākhyātā* (8) | *atha navama-vācanāyāṃ Sādhu-Sāmācārī vyākhyāyate* | Samayasundara, *Kalpalatā Tīkā*, 241b.

2. (*dvitīyaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 16-29): *Śakra Stavana* cont.; examples of ten miracles; transfer of the embryo from Devānanda to Triśalā, justification of six *kalyāṇakas*; anecdote of King Mandhātā (*Mandhātotpāti-kathā*) given as a precedent for miraculous birth stories

3. (*trītiyaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 31-46): analysis of each object found in Triśalā's fourteen dreams

4. (*caturthaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 47-96): interpretation of the dreams by dream-diviners; story of Gāṅgātailī; Triśalā's sorrow and joy; Mahāvīra's vow (*abhiḡraha*) to remain with parents; Triśalā's resolve to protect her pregnancy (*garbha-poṣaṇa*); birth and nativity

5. (*pañcamam vyākhyānaṃ*) *Mahāvīra Caritra* (ss. 97-147): Birth celebrations by the gods (*janmotsava*); ten-day felicitation of the new-born baby as heir to the royal throne (*sthiti-pratījyā*); discussion of Mahāvīra's name (*nāma*), clan (*gotra*), and family (*kula*) background; the *āmalī-krīḍā* (*āmalakī-krīḍā*) parable; story of Mahāvīra's intellectual feats at school (*lekha-sālā*); death of parents; decision to renounce; giving way wealth for one-year (*vārṣika-dāna*); the gods celebrate Mahāvīra's renunciation (*dīkṣā-mahotsava*); departure of Mahāvīra (*dīkṣā-grahaṇa*); praise of Mahāvīra's ascetic virtues (*sādhutva*); Mahāvīra's freedom from all impediments; first twelve years of wandering and adversities (attacks on the Jina by the *yakṣa* Śūlapāṇi and the serpent Caṇḍakauśika; association with Gośālā; attack by Sudāḍha and rescue by Kambala and Śambala; story of the rescue of Candanabālā and Mahāvīra's spiritual powers through fasting); attainment of omniscience (*kevala-jñāna*); first eleven disciples (*gaṇadharas*); final salvation (*nirvāṇa*); omniscience of Indrabhūti Gautama (Mahāvīra's chief disciple); the extent of the four-fold community at the time of Mahāvīra's passing away; discussion of the dates 980 and 993 AV found at the conclusion of the story and their relevance to the composition of the story (*kalpa-vācanā-kāla-nirṇaya*)

6. (*ṣaṣṭhaṃ vyākhyānaṃ*) *Pārśvanātha Caritra*: descent to earth and birth; ten previous births; last incarnation, five *kalyāṇakas*; first disciples; comments on the dates since the passing of Pārśva in relation to the writing down of the canon (*Śrī Pārśva-nirvāṇa-pustakārūḍha-siddhāntayoḥ antaram*)

Neminātha Caritra: five *kalyāṇakas*; story of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃsa; Nemi's marriage ceremony with Rājamatī and his ; renunciation and omniscience; extent of Nemi's community; final salvation; comments on the date since passing of Nemi in relation to the writing down of the canon (*Śrī Nemi-nirvāṇa-pustakārūḍha-siddhāntayoḥ antaram*)

7. (*ṣaṣṭham vyākhyānam*) *Jināntara Caritras* (intervening Jinas) and the *Ṛṣabhanātha Caritra* (see the *Subodhikā* above)
8. (*aṣṭamaṃ vyākhyānam*) *Sthavirāvalī* (see the *Subodhikā* above)
9. (*navamaṃ vyākhyānam*) *Sādhu Sāmācārī* (see the *Subodhikā* above)

Despite the general uniformity between the two commentaries shown above, the *Sobodhikā* and *Kalpalatā* nevertheless each represent two different scholastic traditions for giving instruction on the *Kalpa Sūtra*. One school is hence represented by Tapā Gaccha commentaries like the *Subodhikā* and Dharmasāgara's *Kiraṇāvalī* while the other by Kharatara Gaccha works such as the *Kalpalatā* and *Kalpadrumakalikā*. Despite the fact that Jacobi does not mention the role played by sectarian schools in the organization of the commentarial literature on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, he nevertheless did astutely note that there appeared to be two basic typologies at work in the texts available to him. "Usually, the life [sic] of Mahavira is divided into six *vācanās*, whilst the rest of the *Jinacaritra* [i.e., the remaining Jina stories] makes up the seventh *vācanā*: or the life of Mahavira contains five *vācanās*, and the rest of the *Jinacaritra* two. The *Therevali* and the *Sāmācārīs* are reckoned as one *vācanā* each." Based on the detailed analysis of the two commentaries above, we can now more accurately say that it is the *Subodhikā* tradition which Jacobi presumably here takes as the standard scheme of *vācanās* by ordering Mahāvīra's life into six lectures, and so on. Beginning with the *Kalpalatā* of Samayasundara, however, we saw that the saint's life was subsequently divided into five lectures while the remaining Jina stories were presented in the sixth and seventh.

At the same time, these two schemes were not the only ones used in the commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, nor was the number of lectures fixed at nine. In fact, there appears to have been scope for almost any number of lectures. The printed edition of the *Kalpalatā*, for instance,

includes editorial notes such as the following one attached to the end of the fifth *vācanā* giving instruction on how lecturers are able to divide and expand upon the basic nine discourse format given in the text:

iyam pañcamī vācanā ativistarā jātā 'sti, param yadā Kalpa-sūtrasya ekādaśa-vācanāḥ triyodaśavācanāḥ pañcadaśavācanāḥ saptadaśavācanāḥ vā bhavanti tadā pañcamī-vācanāyāḥ vācanā-dvayaṃ kāryaṃ |

This fifth lecture is produced in great detail; however, when there are eleven, thirteen, fifteen, or seventeen lectures, then the fifth lecture can be divided in two.⁵¹⁶

Other directives contained in the *Kalpalatā* give further suggestions on how to modify the number of lectures according to need.⁵¹⁷ We should therefore think of the scheme of nine lectures as more of an ideal assortment of topics that lecturers could use as a guideline and improvise upon for their own sermons rather than view it as a fixed formula suitable for all occasions and audiences.

Another point regards how these discourses were to be distributed throughout the course of the eight days of the festival in the Mūrtipūjaka traditions being discussed. As it has been already pointed out, originally five days were designated for reciting the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa/Kalpa Sūtra*. However, ever since the festival expanded to eight days, the first three days have been, at least in theory, reserved for sermons on the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna*, a work which details the duties for Jains during Paryuṣaṇā as well as annual duties for laypeople the calendar year. These sessions are, in effect, used to prepare congregants for the upcoming series

⁵¹⁶ *Kalpalatā*, 160a. The division of the fifth lecture into two, in fact, is essentially the method adopted by Vinayavijaya in his *Subodhikā*.

⁵¹⁷ For example, see *Kalpalatā*, 241a. Here it is advised that if a lecturer wants to present a sermon on the *Kālakācārya-kathā* then they should include it in the eighth *vācanā* on the *Sthavirāvalī*. If more than nine lectures are needed, however, these two discourses can be made separate.

of religious discourses on the *Kalpa Sūtra*.⁵¹⁸ Folkert reports that at the ceremony he witnessed in Samī, Gujarat in 1985 “the subjects of the sermons for the first three days are the five duties for Paryuṣaṇ and the eleven annual duties enjoined upon all lay Jains.”⁵¹⁹ He also notes that recitations for the *Kalpa Sūtra* lasted for a total of four days.⁵²⁰ According to Cort’s account, the recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* at the Sāgar Upaśrāy (Tapā Gacch) in Pāṭaṇ, Gujarat in 1986 is said to have taken four days and was also preceded by three days of sermons on the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna*.⁵²¹ My own experience at the Śrī Śvetāmbara Jain Dādā Bārī (Kharatara Gacch) temple complex in Jaipur, Rajasthan in 2019 was that recitations and sermons on the *Kalpa Sūtra* took place over the course of six days, a schedule that was preceded by two days of instruction on the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna*. The number of days specifically reserved for reciting and expounding the *Kalpa Sūtra* does not therefore appear to be fixed for all traditions or regions.⁵²² Ultimately, based on the different accounts cited above, the most judicious thing to say regarding the various schedule of sermons for Paryuṣaṇā is that out of the

⁵¹⁸ The schedule of events for Paryuṣaṇā proposed by Pravin Shah, Chairman of the Jaina Education Committee (a non-denominational organization based in North America), has the first three days of the festival be “preparatory days” reserved for discussion of material related to the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna* (duties for lay worshippers during Paryuṣaṇā) while the next five days are to be exclusively devoted to the *Kalpa Sūtra*. See P. Shah (2012b: 11-12).

⁵¹⁹ Folkert (1993: 190).

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ See Cort (1992: 177) and (1989: 163; 170-179). This is at least the case for Tapā Gaccha communities. The five duties discussed in the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna* are: *amārī pravārtan* (practice of non-killing); *sādharmik vātsalya* (support for fellow Jains); *kṣamāpanā* (practice of forgiveness); *aṭṭham tap* (fasting for three days); and *caitya paripāṭī* (“temple touring” or pilgrimage). Among the eleven duties (*dharma-kṛtyas*) for laypeople are: *saṅgh pūjā*, *sādharmik vātsalya*, *yātrā*, *snātra*, *dev-dravya*, *mahāpūjā*, *rātrī-jāgaraṇ*, and *śruta-jñāna-bhakti*.

⁵²² The schedule of events for Paryuṣaṇā posted by Pravin Shah, Chairman of the Jaina Education Committee, proposes that the first three days of the festival be “preparatory days” reserved for discussion of material related to the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna* (duties for Paryuṣaṇā) while the next five days are to be exclusively devoted to the *Kalpa Sūtra*. See P. Shah (2012b: 11-12).

original baseline of five days scheduled for discourses on the *Kalpa Sūtra* now somewhere between four to six days are devoted to it during the festival.⁵²³

In the context of the “preparatory” sermons from the *Paryuṣaṇāṣṭāhnikā Vyākhyāna* mentioned above, it is also important to note that the religious duties and vows for lay people it discusses not only have a relationship to Paryuṣaṇā but also have direct relevance to the worship of scriptures such as the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Here I am referring to religious duties such as *śruta-jñāna-bhakti* (worship of scriptural knowledge) and, more specifically, *rātri-jāgarāṇa*. In the specific context of Paryuṣaṇā, the latter refers to the night (*rātri*) vigil (*jāgarāṇa*) to be performed in honor of the *Kalpa Sūtra* when a copy of the book is brought to the home of a congregation member whose family has won the right to worship it overnight. In the first lecture of the *Kalpalatā* by Samayasundara, among all the religious duties for lay worshippers listed, it is *rātrī-jāgarāṇa* that is specially singled out. While the other duties are merely named, the performance of *rātri-jāgarāṇa* is conversely given great descriptive detail. Below I present a translation of Samayasundara’s comments made by the Rev. John Stevenson who composed the much maligned first translated edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in 1848.⁵²⁴ Despite the harsh criticism leveled against his work, Stevenson’s translation of the rite of *rātri-jāgarāṇa* is well-considered:

⁵²³ At the time of this writing I am not at all certain whether these discrepancies in the schedule of sermons is based on regional (Rājasthān/Gujarāt), sectarian (Kharatara Gaccha/Tapā Gaccha), or other miscellaneous factors. More research on this particular matter is therefore needed.

⁵²⁴ While Stevenson’s translation is specifically intended to be on the text of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, he was nevertheless discerning enough to remarkably include in the Introduction to his translation a portion of the first *vācanā* from Samayasundara’s *Kalpalatā* where material such as the duties for lay supporters are given. Stevenson, however, here fails to ever mention exactly which commentary it is that he is translating from and only obliquely refers to its composer as the “Annotator.” Since he furthermore only gives a partial translation of this unspecified work in the Introduction and provides almost no original text (aside from a few footnotes), identifying the work he used has been problematic. However, after closely analyzing his translation and comparing it to the available *Kalpa Sūtra* commentaries, I have determined that it can only be the *Kalpalatā* of Samayasundara in view of all the correspondences his translation has with it.

The book of the *Kalpa Sutra* [supply: which was bestowed by Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa in the past] should then be presented with religious reverence, that is to say, after having brought the book into the house, and the people there having continued watching all night, in the morning, having called the inhabitants of the city, and having cast on them saffron powder, and given them betel-nut, the book is to be put into the hands of a youth mounted on an elephant. The whole multitude are now to accompany it with music and singing, and to place it in the hands of the spiritual guide, for the purpose of being read, while a suitable present to procure necessaries for the reader is also to be made. He who presents the volume of the *Kalpa Sutra* with all these ceremonies, and complete in all its letters, listening also to it when read, obtains emancipation at least after the eighth transmigration.⁵²⁵

A remarkable description of *rātri-jāgaraṇa* is given by Margaret Sinclair Stevenson who presented her eye-witness account of Paryuṣaṇā festivities for the 1908 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Here she presents a vivid picture of the night vigil and the *pūjā* procession (*julūs*) of the *Kalpa Sūtra* scripture which takes place the following morning:

In many towns, on the third day of Pajjusaṇa, the Śvetāmbara community organize a procession in honour of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a Scripture which they hold in peculiar reverence. Some wealthy Jain, who has outbidden the others when the privilege was up for auction, takes the temple copy of that *Sūtra* (which is preferably written, not printed, and should be illustrated) to his house in the evening. It is placed on a little table and covered with a rich cloth, and all night long, the inmates of the house and their friends continue what an English-speaking Jain called ‘Harmony-Barmony,’ singing songs in its honour and playing on as many instruments as they can get. Next morning the procession is formed to return the book to the temple in state. The details would, of course, vary in different places, but when the writer saw it, it was arranged as follows:

The procession was headed by a drummer on horseback, lent for the occasion by the Rājā, followed by other drummers on foot, who preceded the *indrādhvaja*, a painted wooden trolley surmounted by a gaudy wooden elephant bearing on its back tier upon tier of red and blue flags ornamented with gold brocade. A *pūjarī* (officiant), who is generally of the Brāhman caste, followed, bearing a silver mace, and four boys walked behind him

⁵²⁵ Stevenson (1848: 18-19). I have matched Stevenson’s translation to the following passage from the *Kalpalatā* (1939: 6b): *Kalpapustakaṃ Kṣamāśramaṇadānapūrvam gṛhe samānīya rātrijāgaraṇaṃ kṛtvā prātir nāgarikajanān ākārya Kāsmīrajanmacchaṭācchoṭakaraṇapūrvam tāmbūlādi dattvā, gajārūḍhakumāarakarasthaṃ vidhāya, gītagānatānamānapūrvam gurūṇāṃ haste datvā vācanā kārayitavyā. vācanāyāṃ ca sāhāyāṃ dātavyāṃ | anena vidhinā ayaṃ kalpaḥ sarvākṣaraiḥ śrutāḥ ārādhitaḥ san aṣṭa-bhavānāṃ madhye mokṣa-dātā bhavati |*

carrying smaller silver sticks, their parents having paid heavily for this privilege and the spiritual advantages accruing from it. A portion of the crowd wedged themselves in at this point before the main figure of the procession, the carrier of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, appeared. The proud distinction of being the carrier is accorded to some child connected with the house in which the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been kept. The child, in this case a little girl of seven or eight, arrayed in her grayest silken garment, was seated on a herae [sic., horse?]; in her hands she held the *Kalpa Sūtra* wrapped in silk, and on the book lay a coconut marked in red with the auspicious Svāstika sign. She was followed by more of the crowd playing on musical instruments, and by boys who had paid for the honour of carrying the *ārati* lamps which they held in their hands. The last places in the procession were given to groups of women singing songs in honour of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.⁵²⁶

To end this section, below I present one such song in honor of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the ceremony described above. This particular hymn is taken from the large corpus of spiritual songs sung during Paryuṣaṇā which are known as *Paryuṣaṇā Stavanas*:

puṇyanuṃ poṣaṇa pāpanuṃ śoṣaṇa, parva Pajusaṇa pāmījī,
Kalpa dhare padharāvo svāmī, nārī kahe śira nāmījī;
kumvara gayavara khamdhe caḍhāvī, ṭola niśāna vajaḍāvī,
sadguru saṃge caḍhate raṃge, Vīracaritra suṇāvōjī.

Enriching virtue and evaporating vice, the Paryuṣaṇa Festival has arrived (*pāmī*).

On *Kalpa-dhar* day,⁵²⁷ husband and wife of the household install (*padharāvo*)
 [a copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra*] and bow their heads in supplication;

A young boy [receives the book and] mounts the back (*khamdhe*) of an excellent elephant
 (*gayavara*), banners (*niśāna*) fly (*ṭola*) and bands play (*vajaḍāv*),

In the company of the guru (*sadguru saṃge*) the life of Mahāvīra is recited with colorful
 felicitations (*caḍhate raṃge*).

⁵²⁶ Margaret Sinclair Stevenson (1908: 876). Unfortunately, Ms. Stevenson does not specify which community of Jains she is describing.

⁵²⁷ The day of the festival when the copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is taken out in procession is known colloquially as “*Kalpadhar*.”

6.5 Concluding Remarks

As it can be seen from the above analysis, the ceremony surrounding the *Kalpa Sūtra* and its reception by the community is one that for time immemorial has long been inextricably tied to the holy period of Paryuṣaṇā. Indeed, the development of the text over the centuries and the expansion of the ceremony appear to have been mutually constitutive. First we saw how in ancient times the ceremony originated out of the monastic injunction to remain in one place for the duration of the monsoon season when travel was considered injurious to mendicant life. The retreat from the rains, however, was not a time in which monastics retreated from the rigors of their daily disciplinary practices. A whole code of conduct for this four-month long period, in fact, was formulated to help members of the monastic order make the transition to sedentary life while living in proximity to lay people. As a rule, this code of conduct—the old *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, now more popularly known as the *Sāmācārī*—was accordingly recited at the very commencement of this season to inculcate a sense of discipline and order among the mendicant ranks. In its origin, then, the ceremony surrounding Paryuṣaṇā was intended to uphold orthopraxy among ascetics. In light of this we saw how the recitation of the rules was rigorously restricted according to time, place, and membership in the monastic order. At the same time, the rules were not viewed as iron-clad edicts to be injudiciously observed under adverse or inauspicious conditions. Various amendments to the rules were accordingly introduced over time to make room for the myriad of extenuating circumstances facing ascetics as they approached Paryuṣaṇā. In short, it was out of these amendments that the current form of the ceremony arose to include non-monastics. Paryuṣaṇā hence gradually went from being a solemn all-monastic affair to a festive community-wide event in which Jains annually forge bonds with their fellow co-religionists.

In this chapter we next saw how this social and spiritual expansion of the ceremony was connected with rise of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a sacred book at the center of the festival. While the original proceedings for Paryuṣaṇā were keyed to the recitations of the old orally-based text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* and the practice of penance in the ritual of *Sāṃvatsarī Pratikramaṇa* (the Annual Confession and Atonement), the current ceremony has been transformed into a multivalent performative tradition involving varying degrees of devotionism and didacticism directed towards the book (spiritual hymns, artistic illustrations, ritual reenactments, oral performances, religious discourses, *pūjā* processions, etc.). Indeed, the full apotheosis of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a sacred scripture in the form of a holy book is perhaps one of the most distinguishing feature of today's Paryuṣaṇā tradition. I have therefore tried to demonstrate how new forms of textuality, religiosity, and sociality connected with the popular reception of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the community were coextensive with its "scripturality" or newfound status as a sacred book at the center of the publicly performed liturgical services held during Paryuṣaṇā. These practices therefore strikingly illustrate the ways in which the scripture of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, more than any other sacred work in the milieu of the Mūrtipūjaka Jains, occupies an illustrious place at the intersection of the sacerdotal and the social.

Conclusion

Mapping the Epic within the Epoch: Drawing a Macrohistorical Map of the Era and the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s Position of Power

The aim of this dissertation has been to trace the history of the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition in Mūrtipūjaka Jain scholastic and religious life. While the majority of studies involving the *Kalpa Sūtra* begin with its later religious or artistic history long after it had already become a fully-formed and fixed work at the apex of the Mūrtipūjaka canon, my study complicates the pristine picture of the scripture generally assumed. This was demonstrated by investigating the extensive prehistory of the *Kalpa Sūtra* which, upon close examination, reveals multiple historical layers to its long development over the centuries. My dissertation thus delved into the lesser studied and largely untold dimensions of the scripture that helped propel it to a supreme position in the pantheon of forty-five Mūrtipūjaka canonical works. To conclude this “micro-history” of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and its extensive textual tradition, I would accordingly like to now take a more macroscopic view of the complex socio-textual territory covered by the dissertation.

First, taking inventory of the early history of the *Kalpa Sūtra* entailed analyzing its inception in the form of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, a relatively short exposition of rules (*kalpa*) of conduct meant for monks and nuns during the time of year designated “Paryuṣaṇā” when they reside in close proximity to the lay community. This exposition of rules was originally composed as a chapter within a much larger work on monastic discipline known as the *Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*, a work whose overall theological program details different kinds of merit and demerit for mendicants. Since knowledge of this larger overarching work was rigorously reserved for members of the monastic order, an extremely important component of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s early history as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* was the process by which it began to emerge out of the provenance of the priests and enter into the worldly realm of the lay population. Indeed, the story

of the monumental transformation of the text from an esoteric treatise produced for ascetics that for centuries exclusively circulated within the sacerdotal sphere to becoming the most widely transmitted and treasured scripture of upwardly mobile Mūrtipūjaka Jain communities flourishing mostly in Gujarat and Rajasthan is remarkable in the annals of Indian religious history.

I have demonstrated that this transformation of the text was due to the increasing importance of the period of Paryuṣaṇā as a holy time of interaction and introspection for both mendicants and congregants. That is, while today's Paryuṣaṇā festival is commemorated by the entire congregation, in earlier times it was a much more insular affair confined to the ascetic order. It was in this earlier closed context of Paryuṣaṇā that the practice of reciting the bare *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* rules by monastics at the start of the season became an established time-honored tradition. In time, the recitation of some form of the *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvalī* became constituted as an integral part of these proceedings. The earliest evidence for these separate texts having an association with one another can be first seen in a verse (v. 62) found in the *niryukti* (2nd-3rd c. CE) on the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, its oldest commentary. While the exact nature of the association between these textual units at this early point in time is not clearly understood, my close comparative reading of the *niryukti* with the *cūrṇi* (6th c. CE) showed that the root-text of the current *Kalpa Sūtra*—that is, the so-called *Bārsā* (1200) *Sūtra* containing all three units—took official shape in the interim between these two commentaries. Thus by triangulating the evidence contained in the old *niryukti* and *cūrṇi* with the contents of the current *Kalpa Sūtra* I was able to formulate a well-grounded timeline for its overall development.

I next accordingly turned my attention from the discussion of the rules (which formed the foundation of the text) to the development of the *Jina Caritra(s)* as a genre as it took root in the

rarified realm of the old *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. Given the specific importance of Mahāvīra's life story in the evangelical enterprise of the *Kalpa Sūtra*'s compilers, I detailed the development of the saint's story through a critical reading of its two oldest versions found in the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra* and *Kalpa Sūtra*. I showed that these two early versions of his life-story appear largely parallel with one another but also contain significant departures as well. Whereas the story of Mahāvīra's life in the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra* seems to have been produced to valorize the monastic vocation (and was hence ostensibly composed for an ascetic audience), the version in the *Kalpa Sūtra* was decidedly different and crafted for a more demotic and devotional audience. I demonstrated that the new devotionalism in the Mahāvīra story appears to have been a direct outcome of the increasing influence and affluence of the Jain lay estate. This evidence was first of all based on clues contained in the narratives themselves. For example, compared to the version of the saint's story found in the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*, in the *Kalpa Sūtra* we see a greater interest in narrating episodes from Mahāvīra's early life prior to his renunciation. In other words, while the ascetic imperative to renounce society appears at the forefront of the version of the tale from the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*, a strong counter-current to this was identifiable in the *Kalpa Sūtra* where we saw more of a compromise than conflict between social and spiritual duty. I gave a concrete example of this type of socio-spiritual synthesis by presenting and translating the episode of Mahāvīra's first vow made while still in his mother's womb to never abandon his parents while they are living. This scene has hardly ever been touched upon but my analysis presented a wealth of anecdotal evidence showing how it resonated strongly with the lay values of the domestic sphere. I then linked scenes such as this in the *Kalpa Sūtra* to the sociological self-fashioning project of the Śvetāmbara Jains taking place during the first millennium when the lay apostolate was becoming increasingly more powerful in terms of prestige and patronage. Evidence external

to the text that corroborated the internal elements just mentioned highlighting the enterprising role of the laity in the religious sector can first of all be seen in their unprecedented popular sponsorship of manuscripts such as the *Kalpa Sūtra* itself. Other evidence relating to the influence and impact of the lay community in the expansion of the ritual world of the *Kalpa Sūtra* was seen in various donative and devotional practices that evolved around its reception (e.g., the *rātrī jāgaraṇa* and *svapna darśana* ceremonies centering on worshipping the *Kalpa Sūtra* during Paryuṣaṇā). In these ways, the *Kalpa Sūtra* thus appears to have become a multivalent site for inscribing a number of socio-religious issues important to Jains.

A further example of this was seen in the inclusion of the *Sthavirāvalī* in the second section of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Here I highlighted the ways in which this list of early church elders and their disciples was important from the standpoint of legitimizing the Śvetāmbara Jain community in the competitive sectarian atmosphere not only within Jainism but outside of it as well. The list also appears to have been incorporated here due to the ritual value of reciting the names of the senior leaders who descended directly from the time of Mahāvīra. Once again, my discussion centered on how the official incorporation of narrative material such as the *Sthavirāvalī* appears to have been part of the project to cast the *Kalpa Sūtra* as a charter document central to the institutional underpinnings of the tradition.

The festival period of Paryuṣaṇā turns out to be single most important factor in this entire history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. For it was this spiritually restorative event held every year that provided the entire ritual basis for the text to begin with and helped ensure the scripture's enduring religious value. I showed how the old practice of reciting the rules for Paryuṣaṇā by monastics in fact supplied the basis for the whole performative tradition that grew around the reception of the text by the community. This reception has grown from an event originally

lasting five days to an eight-day festival involving a special curriculum of lectures in place for instructing the text. In this context I discussed how the need to give proper instruction on the *Kalpa Sūtra* to lay worshippers during Paryuṣaṇā led to the production of a vast number of commentaries that explain the system of presenting and performing the text. I concentrated on just a few of the most important of these commentaries in order to detail the nature of these proceedings that have been in force since at least the late medieval period but perhaps even earlier.⁵²⁸

Given all these modalities involved in the scripture's long history, the very basis of the dissertation has been to show that the *Kalpa Sūtra* represents an ideal case to study the development of Jain institutions and ritual practices. For the historical patterns and processes we see taking place in the long development of the *Kalpa Sūtra* reveal a great deal about Jain society as it developed during the epoch in which the text was composed and the scripture compiled. Diachronically mapping out the patterns of social and religious change happening within the domain of the Jains during this epoch has thus been key to understanding the historical forces that shaped it. At the same time, we should also be cognizant of the domains outside of the bounds of the Jain tradition that impacted them as well. For the Jains were not isolated historical actors operating in some insulated geo-cultural arena of action but, like all groups, were in dialogue with a wide range of historical agents and institutional agencies whom they both influenced and were continually influenced by. To properly conclude this study, then, we should

⁵²⁸ I want to reiterate here that it is impossible to say exactly when these pedagogical programs involving instruction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* to lay audiences actually began. According to the tradition, however, this began with the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the court of King Dhruvasena (ca. 6th c. CE). However, two of the oldest surviving medieval-era commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the *Ṭippanaka* of Pṛthvīcandrasūri (11th c.) and the *Sandehaviṣaśadhi* of Jinaprabhasūri (12th c.), do not incorporate the standard format of nine lectures assumed by later commentaries such as the *Subodhikā* of Vinayavijaya (15th c.). This seems to indicate that the standardized system of lectures was perhaps still in the process of development at least prior to the 15th century.

at this point take a moment to widen the scope of inquiry beyond the immediate frame of the Jains and identify some of the major cultural and historical determinants that exerted a direct influence on the direction their religious tradition took in the first millennium. This will put us in a better position to appreciate how the patterns we have seen taking place in the *Kalpa Sūtra* described above were also a part of and propelled by larger forces of history.

First, the span of time we have been principally concerned with when it comes the tracing the era in which the *Kalpa Sūtra* took shape has been conceptualized by various scholars as the “Between the Empires” epoch in Indian history (ca. 300 BCE-400 CE).⁵²⁹ This epoch unsurprisingly bore witness to vast changes in the religious and political landscape of South Asia. Among them, the rise of new unorthodox religious traditions (Jainism and Buddhism) as well as the reformation of older more orthodox ones (Vedic Brahmanism into Puranic forms of Hinduism) were key developments that set the stage for the emergence of sectarian charter narratives like the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The success and well-being of these religious franchises was furthermore spurred by the development of a robust lay population who began to serve more prominently as pious sources of support and sponsorship for works such as this. In particular, the rise of the mercantile community as a hub of power had an immeasurable galvanizing effect on the growth of the religious sector in Indian society during this epoch. The expansion in trade and the growth of new economies of exchange correspondingly facilitated as well as accelerated religious commerce. The rise of new political elites and their polities throughout North India (Śaka, Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, Ikṣvāku, Kṣatrapa) moreover created unprecedented opportunities for

⁵²⁹ See the essays collected in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). This era is so named as a reference to the period between the Mauryan and Gupta Empires. Shailendra Bhandare essay in this volume (“Numismatics and History: The Maurya-Gupta Interlude in the Gangetic Plain”) also refers to this time as the “Early Historic” period in India (p. 67).

the patronage of various new religious groups, especially upstart organizations such as the Buddhists and the Jains.⁵³⁰ In short, the increased mobility of both mendicants and merchants, together with the support of royal elites, provided the fertile ground for the development of a dynamic and highly competitive socio-religious sphere.

If we now narrow the focus of our inquiry back to the Jains, we can see how these trends specifically impacted their early society. Paul Dundas has usefully traced the “the general trajectory of Jain history” spanning the centuries just before and after the beginning of the Common Era and reports the following general patterns of development.⁵³¹ I will cite his expert analysis before demonstrating how each of the points he brings up specifically related to the rise of the *Kalpa Sūtra* textual and scriptural tradition and helped position it as the ideal “case-study” I have proposed it to be. These development are, first, “the emergence of connected ascetic lineages by the fourth century BCE;” second, “the identity of this ascetic community being formed and steadily reinforced by a growing body of behavioral rules;” third, the transformation of Jainism “from a local to a transregional phenomenon;” fourth, “the gradual emergence of a fully self-conscious lay community;” fifth, “the appearance of a style of devotionism involving ritual and liturgy, initially centering on ascetic teachers and then becoming image-oriented;” and, sixth, the development of “an elaborate textual culture enshrining the intellectual, ethical, and imaginative ideals of the community.”⁵³² If we take each of these points into consideration, we

⁵³⁰ Early royal support for the Jains can be seen already in the time of Mahāvīra with monarchs such as Śreṇika (Bimbisāra) and Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) in the fifth century BCE as well as with imperial dynasties such as the Nanda and Mauryan empires ruling in North India and the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan during the last centuries before the Common Era. There is also a strong connection between the Jains and the Kalinga King Kāravela in the first or second century BCE in Eastern India. Royal support for the Jains, however, was far less extensive compared to groups such as the Buddhists in the so-called “Between the Empires” period under examination.

⁵³¹ See Paul Dundas, “A Non-Imperial Religion? Jainism in its ‘Dark Age,’” in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE* (see footnote above for publishing information), 383-414.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 384-385.

are in a position to see how the textual history of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, perhaps more than any other single Jain document, represented a culmination of all these socio-religious forces.

For example, we have seen how Dundas' second point, the formation of a "body of behavioral rules" for ascetics was a first necessary step in the development of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Indeed, it was the establishment of the set of rules for the rainy season known as the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* that served as the cornerstone for the construction of the scripture (lest we forget that its full title is actually the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa-sūtra*). It is reasonable to conclude at this point that without this small yet highly significant manual on monastic conduct there would have been no *Kalpa Sūtra* textual tradition to begin with. Without a doubt, the recording of the rules for Paryuṣaṇā served as the original impulse behind its eventual rise as a sacred scripture.

Dundas' third point regarding the transition of the community "from a local to a transregional phenomenon" is further reflected by the wide circulation and patronage of the *Kalpa Sūtra* throughout North India. The extent of its sphere of circulation in the form of manuscripts, in fact, remains unrivaled in the history of Jain communicative media. In this connection, its function as a vehicle for promoting Jain religious beliefs, teachings, and practices was one of the keys to the transregional spread of the community, particularly in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The success of the scripture was furthermore predicated on the next point made by Dundas, the "emergence of a fully self-conscious lay community." For example, we saw how the text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* became dramatically transformed by the addition of the *Jina Caritras*, an element I have argued was crucial to the fame and fortune of the text within the wider community beyond the ascetic order. While the rules for rainy-season supplied the ritual rationale for the text, it was the stories of the saints that served as the engine that would propel its circulation and reception among the lay community for the following centuries.

The connected fifth point made by Dundas, that is, the rise of an “image-oriented” devotionalism “involving ritual and liturgy” that centered “on ascetic teachers” hardly needs further explanation when it comes to the *Kalpa Sūtra*. Its status as an iconic object of worship in the dynamic ritual and visual world of the Mūrtipūjakas (lit., “image-worshippers”) has remained one of its most enduring features. The installation of the *Jina Caritras* and *Sthavirāvalī* as the first two sections of the work, furthermore, clearly accords well with Dundas’ other closely related point regarding how worship of the tradition’s ascetic leaders and their lineages marked a key feature of this era. Finally, his last point concerning the emergence of texts that inscribe the “intellectual, ethical, and imaginative ideals of the community” resonates most of all with the optics of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as the “crown jewel” of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon and its ethnoreligious function as a multivalent carrier of communal identity. In these myriad ways, then, the *Kalpa Sūtra* can be seen as the ultimate repository of the diffuse trends emerging out of this wide matrix of history. Taking this into account, the *Kalpa Sūtra* is more than just a “work” but, rather, represents a *network* of multiple sacred and social codes.

Lastly, I would like to end where this study began with a reflection on the conceptual contours of key terms like “sacred book” and “sacred text” commonly applied in fields such as religious studies. While these terms are to a great extent used almost interchangeably in scholarship, we saw how they nevertheless, on a deeper level, encode different nuances of meaning. The recent call by a number of scholars of religion to critically re-examine the uses (and abuses) of the related term “scripture” can be seen as part of this overall effort to deconstruct the conceptual and ideological bases (and biases) underlying this nomenclature. In response to this call, I have made it a point in this study to draw attention to the various textual forms, discursive domains, and contexts of composition in which the different layers of the

Kalpa Sūtra developed through the centuries. We accordingly saw how the sacred text of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* gradually became transformed over the time into the sacred scripture known as the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The ongoing process by which the *Kalpa Sūtra* became established as a scripture has thus been at the forefront of the dissertation.

In this connection, I have shown how the textual history of the *Kalpa Sūtra* affords us a prime example of “scripturalization” in the sense put forward by scholars such as Wilfred Cantwell Smith. In short, scripturalization describes the process through which the holy Word becomes transformed into holy Writ. In more comprehensive terms, it refers to the dynamic religio-historical process by which an authoritative sacred text (or set of texts) becomes enshrined as a holy book(s) at the locus of the private and public life of a religious community. At the same time, while the written modality and materiality of a given sacred text is an essential component of its scripturality, it hardly constitutes the full measure of its meaning(s). As a model of inquiry, to view the life of a scripture through the lens of scripturalization is to understand the variety of devotional, functional, and communal roles played by holy books in the social and spiritual world of those who cherish it. In this sense, William Graham has stated, “The study of a text as scripture...focuses upon its contextual meaning, interpretation, and use—that is, the ongoing role the text has played in a tradition, not only in formal exegesis, but in every sector of life.”⁵³³ To study the ways in which a sacred work becomes scripturalized, then, is to take into account much more than the bare fact of its being put into written form. We would accordingly do a grave injustice to the study of the *Kalpa Sūtra* scriptural tradition if we were to neglect the other formative factors that went into making the text sacred to begin with.

⁵³³ William Graham (1987: 6).

In the dissertation I have therefore attempted to emphasize the “pre-scriptural” life of the *Kalpa Sūtra* as well in order to highlight the process through which it became superposed at the apex of the canon as a supreme scripture. Again, in this connection, we saw how it was the rich ritual world of the old orally-based *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* text that made the *Kalpa Sūtra* scriptural tradition possible to even begin with. I therefore made a point to show how it was no accident that the stories of the Jinas (*Jina Caritras*) and list of church elders (*Sthavirāvalī*) became prefixed precisely here to the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. The recital of these time-honored rules for the rainy-season during Paryuṣaṇā, the holiest time of the year for Jains, thus provided the “pre-text,” as it were, for the later ceremony centering around the world of worship surrounding copies of the *Kalpa Sūtra*.

As William Graham has noted, these points emphasize the challenges of establishing a universally applicable and uncomplicated definition of scripture.⁵³⁴ In the end, the real arbiter in determining the scriptural status of a text is the community that experiences and perceives it as meaningful. It is in the eyes and ethos of the people of faith who cherish and maintain its living tradition where final authority must rest. The story of the textual tradition of the *Kalpa Sūtra* is thus one that is ultimately about the community of Jains who have piously sponsored, produced, and performed this holy work for millennia. I accordingly close with a verse found in the vast collection of hymns sung during Paryuṣaṇā that respectfully pays homage to the *Kalpa Sūtra* and its community of worshippers:

sahu sūtra śiro-maṇi, Kalpa-sūtra sukhakāra |
te śravaṇe suṇīne, saphala karo avatāra ||

Crown-jewel among all *sūtras*, the *Kalpa Sūtra* brings elation;
To those householders who hear it, may they find fulfillment in this incarnation.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. (1987: 5).

Chart Showing the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara Jain Canon of 45 Works⁵³⁵

Group 1 11 <i>Aṅgas</i> (Limbs) Ascribed to the <i>Gaṇadhara</i> Sudharma	Group 2 12 <i>Upāṅgas</i> (Subsidiary Limbs)
1. <i>Āyāraṃga-suya</i> (<i>Ācārāṅga-sūtra</i>) Text on Conduct Part I (5th-4th c. BCE): 8 chapters Part II (2nd-1st c. BCE): 16 chapters	1. <i>Uvavāiya-sutta</i> (<i>Aupapātika-sūtra</i>) Text on Realms of Rebirth (<i>upapāta</i>) 1st-2nd c. CE
2. <i>Sūyagaḍa-suya</i> (<i>Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra</i>) Text on Opposing Views Pt. I (4th-3rd c. BCE): 16 chapters Pt. II (post 3rd c. BCE): 7 chapters	2. <i>Rāya-paseṇaijja-sutta</i> (<i>Rāja-praśnīya-sūtra</i>) Text on the Questions of King [Prasenajit]
3. <i>Ṭhāṇaṃga-suya</i> (<i>Sthānāṅga-sūtra</i>) Enumerations of Various Subjects (10 chapters) 2nd c. BCE-3rd c. CE	3. <i>Jīvājīvābhigama-sutta</i> (<i>Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra</i>) Treatise on Sentient and Insentient Entities
4. <i>Samavāyaṃga-suya</i> (<i>Samavāyāṅga-sūtra</i>) Collection (<i>samavāya</i>) of Various Subjects	4. <i>Pannaṇā</i> (<i>Prajñāpana-sūtra</i>) Text on Metaphysical Knowledge (36 chapters) Ascribed to Ārya Śyāma (1st c. CE)
5. <i>Viyāha-pannatt-suya</i> (<i>Vyākhyā-prajñapti-sūtra</i>) Text of Explanations (41 Sections)	5. <i>Sūriya-pannatti-sutta</i> (<i>Sūrya-prajñapti-sūtra</i>) Treatise on the Sun (20 chapters) 2nd-1st c. BCE
6. <i>Nāyā-dhamma-kahā-suya</i> (<i>Jñātā-dharma-kathāṅga-sūtra</i>) Stories of Knowledge and Religious Practice (19 Chapters)	6. <i>Jambuddīva-pannatti-sutta</i> (<i>Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-sūtra</i>) Text on the Continent of Jambū (7 chapters)

⁵³⁵ I include additional information (e.g., date of composition, number of chapters, author) when possible.

7. <i>Uvāsaga-dasāo-suya</i> (<i>Upāsaka-dasāṅga-sūtra</i>) Ten Chapters on Rules for the Laity	7. <i>Canda-pannatti-sutta</i> (<i>Candra-prajñapti-sūtra</i>) Treatise on the Moon 2nd c. BCE
8. <i>Antagaḍa-dasāo-suya</i> (<i>Antakṛd-dasāṅga-sūtra</i>) Ten Chapters on Achieving the Final Goal	8. <i>Nirayāvaliyāo-sutta</i> (<i>Nirayāvali-sūtra</i>) Narratives on Beings Reborn in Hell (10 chapters)
9. <i>Aṇuttarovavāiyya-dasāo-suya</i> (<i>Anuttaraupapātika-dasāṅga-sūtra</i>) Ten Chapters on Arising in the Highest Heavens	9. <i>Kappāvaḍaṃsiāo</i> (<i>Kalpāvataṃsika-sūtra</i>) Narratives on Beings Reborn in Heaven (10 chapters)
10. <i>Paṇha-vāgarāṇa-suya</i> (<i>Praśna-vyākaraṇa-sūtra</i>) Text of Questions and Explications	10. <i>Pupphiāo-sutta</i> (<i>Puṣpika-sūtra</i>) Stories of Divine Beings
11. <i>Vivāga-suya</i> (<i>Vipāka-sūtra</i>) Text on the Results of Karma	11. <i>Puppha-cūliāo-sutta</i> (<i>Puṣpa-cūlika-sūtra</i>) Appended (<i>cūlikā</i>) Stories of Divine Beings
12. <i>Diṭṭhivāda</i> (<i>Drṣṭivāda</i>) Text on Disputation about Views *no longer extant	12. <i>Vaṇhi-dasāo-sutta</i> (<i>Vṛṣṇi-dasā-sūtra</i>) Stories of the Vṛṣṇi Princes (12 chapters)

Group 36 *Cheda Sūtras* (Disciplinary Texts) Ascribed to Bhadrabāhu I (3rd c. BCE)1. *Āyāra-dasāo* (*Daśā-śrutaskandha-sūtra*)

-10 Chapters on Conduct

Ch. 8 (*Aṣṭama Adhyayana*)
Pajjosavaṇā-kappa (*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*)
(Rules for the Rainy Season)

Ch. 8 expanded into the
current *Kalpa Sūtra*:
1. *Jina Caritras*
2. *Sthavirāvalī*
3. *Sāmācārī*
(i.e., the original
Rainy Season rules)

2. <i>Bihā-kappa</i> (<i>Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra</i>) Great Code of Conduct (6 chapters)
3. <i>Vavahāra</i> (<i>Vyavahāra-sūtra</i>) Codes of Monastic Law (10 chapters)
4. <i>Nisītha</i> (<i>Niśītha-sūtra</i>) Text on Prohibitions for Monastics (20 chapters)
5. <i>Jīya-kappa</i> (<i>Jīta-kalpa</i>) Text on Penances for Monastics (103 verses)
6. <i>Mahānisītha</i> (<i>Mahāniśītha-sūtra</i>) Text on Conduct for Monastics (6 chapters)

Group 4 4 <i>Mūla-sūtras</i> (Root Texts)
1. <i>Dasaveyāliya-sutta</i> (<i>Daśavaikālika-sūtra</i>) Ten Evening (<i>vaikālika</i>) Chapters on Modes of Monastic Life (10 chapters, 2 appendices) Ascribed to Ārya Śayambhava (ca. 4th c. BCE)
2. <i>Uttarajhayaṇa-sutta</i> (<i>Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra</i>) The Excellent Instruction on Modes of Monastic Life (36 chapters) 2nd/1st c. BCE
3. <i>Āvassaya-sutta</i> (<i>Āvaśyaka-sūtra</i>) Text on Obligatory Duties
4. <i>Piṇḍa-nijjutti</i> (<i>Piṇḍa-niryukti</i>) Verses on Alms (671 verses) and <i>Ogha-nijjutti</i> (<i>Ogha-niryukti</i>) Verses on Monastic Life (811 verses)

Group 5 2 <i>Cūliyā-suttas</i> (<i>Cūlikā-sūtras</i>) (Appendices)
1. <i>Nandī-sutta</i> (<i>Nandī-sūtra</i>) Exposition on Various Subjects
2. <i>Aṇuogaddārāṃ</i> (<i>Anuyogdvāra-sūtra</i>) Exposition on Various Subjects

Group 6 10 <i>Prakīrṇakas</i> (Miscellaneous texts), 4th-5th c. CE
1. <i>Cau-saraṇa-sutta</i> (<i>Catuḥ-śaraṇa-sūtra</i>) Text on the Four Refuges (63 verses)
2. <i>Āura-paccakkhāṇa</i> (<i>Ātura-pratyākhyāna</i>) Text on Renunciation by People Suffering Afflictions (70 verses)
3. <i>Bhatta-parinnā-sutta</i> (<i>Bhakta-parijñā-sūtra</i>) Text on Renouncing Food (172 verses)
4. <i>Samthāraga-sutta</i> (<i>Samstāraka-sūtra</i>) Text on the Deathbed (123 verses)
5. <i>Tandula-veyāliya-sutta</i> (<i>Taṇḍula-vaicārika-sūtra</i>) Contemplation on Grains of Rice (139 verses)
6. <i>Canda-vejḥhaya-sutta</i> (<i>Candra-vedhyaka-sūtra</i>) Text on Conscious Death (175 verses)
7. <i>Devinda-tthaya-sutta</i> (<i>Devendra-stava-sūtra</i>) Hymns by the King of the Gods (Indra) to the Jinas (307 verses)
8. <i>Gaṇi-vijjā-sutta</i> (<i>Gaṇi-vidyā-sūtra</i>) Preceptor Knowledge Pertaining to Monastic Activities (82 verses)
9. <i>Mahāpaccakkhāṇa-sutta</i> (<i>Mahāpratyākhyāna-sūtra</i>) Great Renunciation (142 verses)
10. <i>Vīra-tthava</i> (<i>Vīrastava</i>) Praises to Mahāvīra (43 verses)

Chart Outlining Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka Jain Sects⁵³⁶

Mūrtipūjaka Jain Sectarian Units
<p>1. Kharatara Gaccha</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - founded by either Vardhamāna Sūri (11th c. CE) or Jinadatta Sūri (12th c. CE) - According to Glasenapp, Vardhamāna Sūri's "pupil Jineśvara, who was made master (Ācārya) in 1022, got the honorary title "Kharatara" (very sharp) because he remained victor in a battle of words with Surācārya, the leader of Caityavāsīs in a disputation in the court of King Durlabha of Anahilavāda in Gujarāt (1023 A.D.). It is said that his title was transferred to the Gaccha."⁵³⁷
<p>2. A(ñ)cala Gaccha/Vidhi Paksa (f. 1156)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "The name of the sect is derived from the practice that in it the seam (<i>Añcala</i>) of the garment can be used in place of mouth-cloth."⁵³⁸
<p>3. Āgamika/Tristuti Gaccha (f. 1193)</p>
<p>4. Tapā Gaccha (f. 1228) *largest Mūrtipūjaka sect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - founded by Jagatcandra Sūri (1228 CE) - 2 branches (<i>śākhās</i>): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vijaya Śākhā - Sāgara Śākhā <p>(these two branches are further divided into 20 <i>samudāyas</i> or sub-groups)</p> - The name derives from an incident in which the founder (Jagatcandra or Jagaccandra) was seen by a king while engaged in <i>tapas</i> (austerities) and so he "gave the school the name Tapā-gaccha."⁵³⁹
<p>5. Vimāla Gaccha (f. 1495)</p>
<p>6. Pārśvacandra Gaccha (f. 1515)</p>

⁵³⁶ I base my information on studies by Peter Flügel (2006: 312–398) and Glasenapp ([1925] 1999: 388–392).

⁵³⁷ Glasenapp ([1925] 1999: 389).

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 390.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 389.

Appendix: Extracts from Various Commentaries on *Kalpa Sūtra* s. 148

The following extracts are taken from four commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*: Jinaprabhasūri's *Sandehaviṣaṣadhi* (1307 CE), Dharmasāgara's *Kiraṇāvalī* (17th century), Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā* (1639 CE), and Lakṣmīvallabha's *Kalpadrūmakalikā* (18th c.). The material under examination concerns the meaning of a fragment of text appended to the conclusion of the hagiography of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa Sūtra*. This addendum or "postscript" mentions two dates, 980 AV and 993 AV, but provides no further details about what they may refer to.⁵⁴⁰ Given the importance of the biography in Jain religious history, and the fact that dates such as this were not as a rule inserted into root-texts by earlier redactors, the later commentators on the text ardently speculated on its possible meanings. While much of the material in the selected commentaries is repetitive (a feature of the exegetical genre in general), a few of the commentaries nevertheless furnish details missing from the others. In summary, the commentators name a number of possible events that the dates in question may refer to. These are 1) the written redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into a book by the preceptor and chief redactor Devardhigaṇi; 2) the redaction of the entire Jain canon into books by Devarddhiḡaṇi; 3) the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the city of Ānandapura (Gujarat) in the court of King Dhruvasena I; and 4) the change of the dates of the festival of Paryuṣaṇā by the patriarch Kālakasūri.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ The abbreviation "AV" is used as a notation for "After Vardhamāna" or "After Vīra" (Mahāvīra) and signifies the dating of events according to the traditional Jain calendar. Since the traditional date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* is reckoned as being in the year 527 BCE, corresponding dates in the Common Era are calculated by subtracting 527. The abbreviation "VS" for "Vīra Saṃvat" is also used. However "VS" is less preferable here since this can be confused with "Vikram Saṃvat" (calculated from 57 BCE) which is also abbreviated "VS." Also abbreviated as VNS (Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṃvat).

⁵⁴¹ At the end of his translation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (270) in the *Sacred Books of the East* series, Hermann Jacobi sums up the information found in these commentaries with these remarks: "To what fact the two dates in this paragraph relate, is not certain. The commentators confess that there was no fixed tradition, and bring forward the following four facts, which are applied at will to either date: 1. The council of Valabhi under the presidency of Devarddhi, who caused the Siddhanta to be written in books. 2. The

To repeat, the passage under examination is inserted at the conclusion of the biography of Mahāvīra. It is presented in the following manner:

Kalpa Sūtra, s. 148:

samaṇassa bhagavāo mahāvīrassa jāva savvadukkhappahīṇassa navavāsasayāiṃ viikkaṃtāiṃ dasamassa ya vāsasayassa ayaṃ asīme samvacchare kāle gacchati.

vāyaṇaṃtare puṇa ayaṃ teṇaue samvacchare kāle gacchati iti dīsai.

Translation:

Nine (*nava*) hundred (*sayāiṃ*, *n. pl./śatāni*) years (*vāsa/varṣa*) have passed (*viikkaṃtāiṃ/vikrānta*) since (*jāva/yāvat*) the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was liberated from all pain (*savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa/sarva-duḥkha-prahīṇasya*) and (*ya*) this (*ayaṃ*) [is the] 80th (*asīme/aśītītama*) year (*samvacchare kāle*) of the 10th (*dasamassa/daśamasya*) century (*vāsa-sayassa/varṣa-śataka*) [that] is now passing (*gacchai*) [i.e., 980 AV].

But (*puna*) according to another redaction/reading (*vāyaṇaṃtare/vācaṇā-antare*)⁵⁴² it is seen (*dīsai/dīśyate*) [that] this (*ayaṃ*) [century] is in the 93rd (*te-ṇaue/tri-navatau*) year (*samvacchare kāle/samvatsare kāle*) [i.e. 993 AV].

council of Mathura under the presidency of Skandila, who seems to have revised the Siddhanta. 3. The public reading of the *Kalpasutra* before king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura, to console him on the death of his son... 4. The removal of Pajjusaja by Kalakacarya from the fifth to the fourth Bhadrpada.” The only point of contention I have here is that mention of the council of Skandila is only brought up by one commentator, Lakṣmīvallabha in the *Kalpadrūmakalika*, and so this is more of an outlier than part of any general consensus among the other commentaries.

⁵⁴² A key point in looking at these commentaries will be to determine the precise meaning of the word *vācanā* and its derivatives. For example, the commentators seem to use the terms *vācaṇā*, *vācanā*, *vācana*, *vacana* to describe activities associated with either reading, oral recitation/instruction, or written redaction. Some of the standard dictionary renderings of these words are the following: *vācana*, n. the causing to recite ŚrS.; the act of reciting, recitation Yājñ. Vārāhīt.; the act of reading Bālar.; the act of declaring or designating; (*ā*) f. a lesson, chapter (MW); Pkt. *vāyaṇā/vācanā* स्त्री [वाचना] † पठन, गुरु-समीपे अध्ययन (उप २९, †) २ अध्यापन, पढ़ाना (सम १०६; उव) ३ व्याख्यान (पव ६४) ४ सूत्र-पाठ (कप्प) (Seth, *Pāia Sadda Māhaṇavo*); *vācanā*, (f.) [fr. *vāceti*] recitation, reading; °*magga* way of recitation, help for reading, division of text (into chapters or paragraphs) Tikp 239; KhA 12, 14, 24. (*Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*)

1. *Samdehaviṣauṣadhi* of Jinaprabhasūri (1307 CE) on *Kalpa Sūtra* 148

In the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi* Jinaprabhasūri first links the year 980 AV with the written redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by the preceptor and chief redactor Devarddhigaṇi. He then states that the date could also be connected with the first public recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the city of Ānandapur (Gujarat) by Dhruvasena I, a king identified with the Maitraka Dynasty. He goes on to cite another older unnamed source in Prakrit which presents another possibility that this reading of the text in King Dhruvasena's court didn't occur in 980 AV but rather a century later in 1080 AV. He next looks at the date of 993 AV and explains that this is when the Jain leader Kālakācārya changed the dates of the Paryuṣaṇā festival from the 4th day of Bhādrapada to the 5th. Finally, he cites a text called the *Tīrthodgāra* as an older source to back up this last claim.

Text:⁵⁴³

“navavāsaṣayāim” ti Śrī Vīranirvṛter navasu varṣaśateṣv aśītyadhikeṣu vyatīteṣv iyaṃ vācanā jāte ’ty arthe vyākhyāyamāne na tathā vicārācāturīcaṃcūṇāṃ cetasi prītir asya sūtrasya Śrī Vardhamānānantaraṃ saptatyadhikavarṣa-śatenotpanna śrī Bhadrabāhusvāmipraṇītāt | tasmād iyati kāle gate iyaṃ vācanā pustakeṣu nyaste ’ti sambhāvyaṭe |

Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇair hi Śrī Vīranirvāṇān navasu varṣaśateṣv aśītyuttareṣv atīteṣu granthān vyavacchidyamānān drṣṭvā sarvagranthānām ādime Nandyadhyayane Sthavirāvalī-lakṣaṇaṃ namaskāraṃ vidhāya granthāḥ pustakeṣu likhitā ity ata evā ’tra granthe Sthavirāvalī-prānte Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇasya namaskāraṃ vakṣyate |

pūrvaṃ tu guruśiṣyāṇāṃ śrutādhyayanādhyāpanavyavahāraḥ pustakanirapekṣa ev’ āsīt | kecit tv idam āhur yad iyat kālātikrame Dhruvasenanṛpsya putramaraṇārtasya samādhim ādhātum Ānaṃdapure sampratīkāle Mahāsthānākhyayā rūdhe sabhāsamakṣam ayaṃ grantho vācayitum ārabdha iti |

*“Samaṇassa ṇaṃ Bhagavao Mahāvīrassa jāva savvadukkhappahīṇassa Dhuvaseṇarāiṇo putta-
maraṇe ege vāsasahasṣe asīti vāsāhie vatikkaṃte”*

ity api kvacid ādarṣeṣu drṣṭaṃ, bahuśrutā vā yathāvad vidanti |

⁵⁴³ For the text of the commentaries I use the excerpts given by Jacobi (1879: 114-118).

trinavatiyutavarṣanavaśatapakṣe tv iyatā kālena paṃcamyās caturthyāṃ Paryuṣaṇā-kalpaḥ pravavṛte:

*teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ /
samaikkamṭehi Vaddhamāṇāo ||*

*Pajjūsavaṇacautthī |
Kālayasūrīhiṃto ṭhaviyā ||*

*vīsahi diṇehi kappo /
paṃcagahāṇī⁵⁴⁴ ya kappa-ṭhavaṇā ya ||*

*nava-saya-teṇauehiṃ /
vucchinnā saṃgha-āṇāe ||*

*Sālavahaṇeṇa raṇṇā |
saṃghāeseṇa kārio bhayavaṇṇ ||*

*Pajjūssavaṇacautthī |
cāummāsaṃ caudasīe ||*

*caumāsaga paḍikamaṇaṃ /
pakkhiyadivasammi cauviho saṃgho ||*

*nava-saya-teṇauehiṃ /
āyaraṇaṃ taṃ pamāṇamti ||*

iti Tīrthodgārādiṣu bhaṇanāt ||

Text with Translation:

“nava-vāsa-sayāiṃ” ti Śrī Vīranirvṛter navasu varṣaśateṣv aśītyadhikeṣu vyatīteṣv iyaṃ vācanā jātā

[Regarding the passage starting with the words] “900 years” (*nava-vāsa-sayāiṃ ti*) [it means that] this recitation (*iyaṃ vācanā*) was made (*jātā*) when 900 plus 80 years (*navasu varṣa-śateṣu aśīty-adhikeṣu*) had passed (*vyatīteṣu*) since the death (*nirvṛter*) of Mahāvīra [i.e., 980 AV].

ityarthe vyākhyāyamāne na tathā vicārācāturīcaṃcūṇāṃ cetasi prītir asya sūtrasya Śrī Vardhamānānantaraṃ saptatyadhikavarṣaśatenotpannena Śrī Bhadrabāhusvāmipraṇītāt /

In other words (*ityarthe*), when [this *sūtra*] was in the process of being codified through oral recitation (*vyākhyāyamāne*) [under Devarddhigaṇi], [the reading] was not satisfying (*prītiḥ*) to

⁵⁴⁴ *paṃcaga-hāṇīhiṃ* in the printed version of the *Samdehaviṣauṣadhi* (Śrī Mahāvīra Jain Ārādhanā Kendra, 1913), 119.

the minds (*cetasi*) of those discerning (*caṃcūnām*) deliberators (*vicāra-cāturī*). This was due to the fact that from the time of the composition (*praṇītatvāt*) of this sūtra (*asya sūtrasya*) by the master Śrī Bhadrabāhu (*Śrī Bhadrabāhu-svāminā*)⁵⁴⁵ more than 700 years (*saptaty-adhika-varṣa-śatena*) had arisen (*utpannena*) after Mahāvīra (*Śrī Vardhamāna-anantaram*).⁵⁴⁶

tasmād iyati kāle gate iyaṃ vācanā pustakeṣu nyaste 'ti sambhāvyaṭe |

Therefore (*tasmād*) it is believed (*sambhāvyaṭe*) [that] when so much time had passed (*iyati kale gate*)⁵⁴⁷ [980 AV] this [current] reading (*iyaṃ vācanā*) was fixed (*nyaste*) into books (*pustakeṣu*).

Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇair hi Śrī Vīranirvāṇān navasu varṣaśateṣv aśītyuttareṣv atīteṣu granthān vyavacchidyamānān dṛṣṭvā sarvagranthānām ādime Nandyadhyayane Sthavirāvalī-lakṣaṇaṃ namaskāraṃ vidhāya granthāḥ pustakeṣu likhitā ity ata evā 'tra granthe Sthavirāvalī-prānte Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇasya namaskāraṃ vakṣyate |

For (*hi*) texts (*granthāḥ*) were written (*likhitā*) in books (*pustakeṣu*) by Śrī Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇ when 900 years (*navasu varṣa-śateṣv*) [and] 80 (*aśīty-uttareṣv*) had passed (*atīteṣu*) [from] the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra after he saw (*dṛṣṭvā*) texts (*granthān*) were getting lost (*vyavacchidyamānān*). After composing (*vidhāya*, gerund) the salutation (*namaskāraṃ*) [to the lineage of elders] designated the *Sthavirāvalī* (*Sthavirāvalī-lakṣaṇaṃ*), [which is found] among all the sacred texts (*sarva-granthānām*) in the original (*ādime*) recension of the *Nandī Sūtra* (*Nandy-adhyayane*).⁵⁴⁸ Therefore (*iti*) here (*atra*) in this text (*granthe*; i.e., the *Kalpa Sūtra*) at the end of the *Sthavirāvalī* (*Sthavirāvalī-prānte*) the homage to Devarddhikṣamāśramaṇa will be stated (*vakṣyati*).

pūrvam tu guruśiṣyāṇām śrutādhyayanādhyāpanavyavahārah pustakanirapekṣa ev' āsīt |

For it was previously the case (*pūrvam tu*) [that] for teachers and students (*guru-śiṣyāṇām*) the practice was (*āsīt*) to study and teach sacred oral texts (*śruta-adhyayana-adhyāpanavyavahārah*) without any regard for books (*pustaka-nirapekṣa eva*).

kecit tv idam āhur yad iyat kālātikrame Dhruvasenanrpsya putramaraṇārtasya samādhim ādhātum Ānaṃdapure sampratikāle Mahāsthānākhyayā rūdhe sabhāsamakṣam ayaṃ grantho vācayitum ārabdha iti |

Yet, on the other hand (*tu*), some others (*kecit*) have said (*āhuḥ*) that (*yad*) [when] much (*iyat*) time had elapsed (*kāla-atikrame*), this text (*ayaṃ granthi*; the *Kalpa Sūtra*) began (*ārabdha*) to

⁵⁴⁵ The published version (1913) of this passage reads: *śrī Bhadrabāhusvāminā praṇītatvāt*

⁵⁴⁶ In other words, approximately seven hundred years have passed since the time of Bhadrabāhu (the traditionally assigned author of the *Kalpa Sūtra*) in the 3rd-2nd c. BCE and Devarddhigaṇi (the traditionally assigned redactor of the text) in the 4th- 5thc. CE.

⁵⁴⁷ Locative absolute (*iyati kale gate*).

⁵⁴⁸ The author is referring to the lineage of Jain patriarchs found in a text known as the *Nandī Sūtra*. This text is by a Jain scholastic named Devavācaka who has been identified as Devarddhigaṇi by some commentators. While Jinaprabhasūri appears to here invoke this connection between Devavācaka and Devarddhigaṇi, there is no evidence to support the idea that they are one and the same person.

be recited (*vācayitum*) before the public assembly (*sabhā-samakṣam*) in the city of Ānandapura (*Ānaṃda-pure*)—[which] now at this time (*samprati-kāle*) is widely known (*rūdhe*) by the name of Mahāsthāna City (*nagara-mahāsthānākhyayā*)—[in order] to bring (*ādhātum*) relief (*samādhim*) to the grief of King Dhruvasena due to the death of his son (*Dhruvasena-nrpasya putra-maraṇa*).

[Next Jinaprabhasūri presents a citation from an unnamed commentary in Prakrit which gives another possible date (1080 AV) for King Dhruvasena’s alleged public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* mentioned above]

“*Samaṇassa ṇaṃ Bhagavao Mahāvīrassa jāva savvadukkhappahīṇassa Dhuvaseṇarāiṇo putta-maraṇe ege vāsasahassee asīti vāsāhie vatikkaṃte*”

ity api kvacid ādarśeṣu dr̥ṣṭaṃ, bahuśrutā vā yathāvad vidanti |

Or (*vā*) learned men (*bahuśrutāḥ*) correctly (*yathāvat*) know (*vidanti*) [that]) in some other commentaries (*kvacid-ādarśeṣu*) it is seen (*dr̥ṣṭaṃ* [that] “in the matter of the death of [the] son (*putta-maraṇe*) of King Dhruvasena (*Dhuvaseṇa-rāiṇo*, abl/gen), 1000 years (*ege vāsa-sahassee*) plus 80 years (*asīti-vāsāhie*) [i.e., 1080 years] have passed (*vatikkaṃte*) since the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra (*Samaṇassa Bhagavao Mahāvīrassa*) was liberated from all pain (*savva-dukkha-ppahīṇassa*).”

[The commentator next turns to the date of 993 AV]

trinavatiyutavarṣanavaśatapakṣe tv iyatā kālena paṃcamyās caturthyāṃ Paryuṣaṇā-kalpaḥ pravavṛte:

Further still (*tu*) in the case of [the date] 93 years plus 900 (*tri-navati-yuta-varṣa-nava-śatapakṣe*) [i.e., 993], [it is also said that] after this much time (*iyatā kālena*) the rules for Paryuṣaṇā (*Paryuṣaṇā-kalpaḥ*) began (*pravavṛte*) [to be practiced] on the 4th [day of the month of Bhādrapada] [after being changed] from the 5th day.

[Jinaprabhasūri now cites four *gāthā* verses in Prakrit he says derive from older texts in support of his previous statement]⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁹ The *Tīrthodgāra* (ca. 5th c. CE) is a work found in the so-called “*prakīrṇaka*” (miscellaneous) class of Jain scriptures. The name *Tīrthodgāra* is a Sankritized form of the title which better known in Prakrit as the *Titthogāliya*. As it was first mentioned in Chapter 2, the *Titthogāliya* discusses various subjects, especially the decline of knowledge in the current age. According to Dalsukh Mālvanīyā, in “Study of the *Titthogāliya*” (p. 131), “the author proposes to write in short about the degradation of the *Tittha* (*Titthogali*) (4b). Originally this was preached by Lord Mahavira at Gunasila Caitya in Rajagraha (5-6).” Although this work has been published (*Titthogālī Paiṇṇaya*. Jalore: Śvetāmbara Jain Saṅgh, 1975), I cannot locate the verses cited above in this edition.

teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ
samaikkamṭehi Vaddhamāṇāo |

Pajjūsavaṇa-cautthī
Kālayasūrīhiṃto ṭhaviyā ||

[When] 993 (*teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ/trinavati-nava-śataiḥ*) [years] had passed
(*samaikkamṭehi/samatikrāntaiḥ*) since Vardhamāna (*Vaddhamāṇāo*) [i.e., Mahāvīra],

the 4th (*cautthī/caturthī*) [day of the month of Bhādrapada] was established (*ṭhaviyā/sthāpitā*) by
Kālakasūri (*Kālaya-sūrīhiṃto/Kālaka-sūryāḥ*) [for the observance of] the Paryuṣaṇā
(*Pajjūsavaṇa*).

*vīsahi diṇehi*⁵⁵⁰ *kappo*
*paṃcaga-hāṇī*⁵⁵¹ *kappa-ṭhavaṇā ya |*
nava-saya-teṇauehiṃ
vucchinnā saṃghāṇāe ||

The rule of twenty days, and also that of spending five days only,
was also rescinded by order of the Assembly 993 years after Mahāvīra.⁵⁵²

Sālavahaṇeṇa raṇṇā
saṃghāeseṇa kārio bhayavaṃ |

Pajjūsavaṇa-cautthī
cāumāsaṃ caudasīe ||

⁵⁵⁰ The variant *vīsehiṃ diṇehiṃ* is found in a manuscript of a text called the *Gacchoṭpattiprakīrṇaka* which cites these same four *gāthā* verses. See P. Peterson's *Reports on a Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1887: 303). Here Peterson includes the extract of these *gāthās* from this manuscript because, as he says (3), the “verses give dates for some important events in early Jain annals.” He also provides a partial translation into English of the four verses as well.

⁵⁵¹ *hāṇīhiṃ* in the 1913 edition of the *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi*; *hāṇīe* in P. Peterson (see above fn.).

⁵⁵² This line presents a number of interpretive difficulties, mostly due to the economy of expression required for the *gāthā* meter. In any case, the verse here may be making reference to the rule of “twenty days” discussed at the beginning of the section on rules of conduct for the rainy season (s. 1, *Sāmācārī*) in the *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Samāṇe Bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre vāsāṇaṃ sa-vīsai-rāe māse viikkamṭe vāsāvāsaṃ pajjosavei*/The Reverend Renouncer Mahāvīra began his rain-resort when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had passed). If this is the meaning, then we must supply “plus one month” to the “twenty days” mentioned in the verse to complete the sense. As it was discussed in Ch. 6 (6.2), this is the number of days (fifty)—counting from Āṣāṛdha *sudi pūrṇimā* (the full moon day of the month of Āṣāṛdha)—monastics had to locate a place to spend their retreat from the monsoon rains. The next segment of verse mentioning the repeal or “loss” of “five” [days] (*paṃcaga-hāṇī*) is also difficult to interpret but may refer to an *apavāda*, an exception to a rule. In this case, it could denote the practice of rescinding the original rule (*utsarga*) that ascetics had to recite the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* “for five days” from Āṣāṛdha *sud daśamī* (10th) to Āṣāṛdha *sudi pūrṇimā* (15th) before commencing their end of the year penances (*Sāmvatsarī Pratikramaṇa*). See NS *cūrṇi* 3153 for the rule. But I am not at all certain about these interpretations.

[In other words], because of King Śālavāhana, the Venerable One (*bhayavaṃ*; i.e., Kālakasūri), by official decree of the Assembly (*saṃghāeseṇa*), changed the date of Paryuṣaṇā [from the 5th] to the 4th day (*cautthī*) [of Bhadrāpāda] and [the start of the] four-month rain-resort (*cāumāsaṃ*) to fall on the 14th (*caudasī*) [day of Āṣāḍha].

caumāsaga paḍikamaṇaṃ |
pakkhiyadivasammi cauviho saṃgho ||

nava-saya-teṇauehiṃ |
āyaraṇaṃ taṃ pamāṇaṃti ||

And in 993 AV, the fourfold community (*cauviho saṃgho*) established (*pamāṇaṃti/pramāṇayanti*) the practice (*āyaraṇaṃ/ācaraṇa*) that the four-monthly *pratikramaṇa* rites take place every fortnight (*pakkhiya-divasammi*).”

iti Tīrthodgārādiṣu bhaṇaṇāt.

[And so it goes] according to the statement (*bhaṇaṇāt*) in the *Tīrthodgāra* and other works.

2. Kiraṇāvalī of Dharmasāgara (17th century) on Kalpa Sūtra 148

In this commentary Dharmasāgara (Tapā Gaccha) repeats much of what was stated previously in Jinaprabhasūri’s *Sandehaviṣaṣadhi*. He first mentions that 980 AV could be connected with the production of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into a book, and further, that this happened during the time when the written redaction of the Jain canon by Devarddhigaṇi was taking place. Next, just like Jinaprabhasūri, he then presents the possibility that this date also could refer to the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* in Ānandapura at the court of King Dhruvasena. Dharmasāgara then explains that the other date of 993 AV could refer to the changing of the dates of Paryuṣaṇā by Kālakasūri. While he largely restates the same ideas present in the *Sandehaviṣaṣadhi*, Dharmasāgara goes a bit further than Jinaprabhasūri in attempting to trace the *floruit* of Kālakasūri. He also claims that 993 AV could just as well refer to the public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* on behalf of King Dhruvasena. Finally, he seems to conclude that these two dates

don't refer to two separate events (i.e., one happening in 980 AV and the other in 993 AV) but that they allude to a single event which has been calculated differently according to a different calibration of the calendar years since Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.⁵⁵³

Text:

yady api cūrṇikāreṇa kuto 'pi kāraṇān na vyākhyātam, avāptajīrṇatīkaikadeśe tv asyā vācanāyā ity evaṃ vyākhātam; tathāpi aśīty-adhika-nava-śate varṣātikrame sarvān granthān vyavacchidyamānān dr̥stvā pustakeṣu nyasadbhiḥ Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇaiḥ Śrī Kalpa-sūtrasyā 'pi vācanā pustake nyaste 'ti kecit sambhāvayanti |

tathā punar iyat kālātikrame Dhruvasenanṛpasya putramaraṇārtasya samādhiṃ ādhātum Ānandapure sabhāsamakṣaṃ Śrī Kalpa-vācanā 'py ajanī 'ti kecit;

tattvaṃ tu bahuśrutagamyam iti |

trinavati-yuta-nava-śata-pakṣe tu |

*teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ |
samaikkamṭehi Vaddhamāṇāo ||*

*Pajjūsavaṇa-cautthī |
Kālayasūrīhīṃto thaviyā ||*

ityādi sammatim udbhāvye 'yatkalātikrame bhādrasitacaturthyām Paryuṣaṇā-parvapravṛttir iti kecīd vyākhyānanti |

evaṃ vyākhyāne kriyamāṇe śatruśaṃśayanirāsaka-Gardabhillocchedakāri-Kālakasūrito 'yam bhinna eva sampadyate |

na caivam, yataḥ Prabhāvaka-caritra-Kālakācārya-kathā-prabhṛtigrantheṣv eka evo 'ktaḥ.

tathā Kalpa-cūrṇi-Niśītha-cūrṇy-ādiṣu tu Balamitra-Bhānumitrayor mātulena Paryuṣaṇā-parva caturthyām pravartitam;

Balamitra-Bhānu(mitra)-Tīrthodgāra-prakīrṇādiṣu Śrī Vīrajina Vikramāditya-rājnor antarālavartināv api Vikramāditya-pratyāsannāv uktau;

tatrāpi kiyatkalavartināv api Vikramādityakālabhāvināv api sambhavataḥ, tathā Śālavāhana-Vikramāditya-prabandhādiṣu tayor yuddhasaṃgatiś ca |

kiṃ ca cūrṇikārā api: katham idānīm aparvarūpāyāṃ caturthyām paryuṣaṇe?

'ti śiṣyanodanāyāṃ: yugapradhāna-Kālikasūri-vacanād eve 'ty evam uttaraṃ dattavantaḥ na punaḥ:

⁵⁵³ This version of the *Kiraṇāvalī* selected by Jacobi differs greatly from the published account (1989). A comparative analysis between these two versions is thus required.

“vāyaṅamtare puṇa ayaṅ teṅaue saṃvacchare kāle gacchai tti” pravacanavacanene ’ty ādi svayam ev’ ālocyam |

tasmād aśīṭ-pakṣe Dhruvasena-nṛpā(nu)grahāt Paryuṣaṇā-kalpaḥ parṣadi vācayitum ārabdhah |
tri-navarti-pakṣe tu pancakāpekṣayā kāla-naiyatyena parṣadi Kalpa-sūtra-vācane pravacana-
maryādābhanga

iti paryālocanayā:

1) abhivardhite varṣe viṃśatyā dinair gṛhijnāta-Paryuṣaṇā,

2) pancake hānyā svābhigrhīta-Paryuṣaṇā ce ’ty ubhayam api vyucchedya sanghādeśād ekai ’va vācanā caramapañcake vyavasthāpīte ’ti vastugatyā vyākhyānīkriyata iti vastugatyā vyākhyāne kriyamāṇe parṣadvācanātaḥ pañcakahānyādivyavacchedenai ’va caramapañcake yā vācanā sā vācanāntararam ity arthasaṃgatir api |

kecit tu vicāryamāṇaṃ yad aśīṭi-pakṣe tad eva vācanāntareṇa trinavati-pakṣe ’pi yuktisaṃgataṃ drśyate |

katham anyathā, “ii dīsai tti” akathayiṣyat?

tattvaṃ tu śrutadharagamyam praṣṭavyā vā pravacanarahasyavidah

Translation:

yady api cūrṇikāreṇa kuto ’pi kāraṇān na vyākhyātam, avāptajīrṇatīkaikadeśe tv asyā vācanāyā ity evaṃ vyākhyātam, tathāpi aśīṭy-adhika-nava-śate varṣātikrame sarvān granthān vyavacchidyamānān drṣtvā pustakeṣu nyasadbhiḥ Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇaiḥ Śrī Kalpa-sūtrasyā ’pi vācanā pustake nyaste ’ti kecit sambhāvayanti |

Although (yady api) for some reason (kuto ’pi kāraṇāt) [this was] not commented upon (na vyākhyātam) by the Cūrṇī commentator (cūrṇi-kāreṇa), still (tu) in one portion of an available old commentary (avāpta-jīrṇa-tīkā-aika-deśe) of this reading (asyāḥ vācanāyāḥ) it has been explained in this way (ity evaṃ vyākhyātam). Some consider it possible (iti kecit sambhāvayanti) [that] when 900 plus 80 years had passed (aśīṭy-adhika-nava-śate varṣa-atikrame) the recension of the Kalpa Sūtra too (Śrī Kalpa-sūtrasyā ’pi vācanā) was fixed into a book (pustake nyaste) by Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇa (Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇaiḥ) while he was arranging (nyasadbhiḥ, present ppl) [the other sacred texts] into books (pustakeṣu) after he saw (drṣtvā) all the texts becoming lost (sarvān granthān vyavacchidyamānān).

tathā punar iyat kālātikrame Dhruvasena-nṛpasya putramaraṇārtasya samādhiṃ ādhātum Ānandapure sabhāsamakṣaṃ Śrī Kalpa-vācanā ’py ajanī ’ti kecit;

Further still (tathā punar), some [say] (kecit) after much time had elapsed (iyat kāla-atikrame) the recitation of the Kalpa Sūtra too (Śrī Kalpa-vācanā ’py) was made (ajani, aorist jan) in Ānandapura (Ānandapure) in front of the court (sabhā-samakṣaṃ) in order to give relief (samādhiṃ ādhātum) to King Dhruvasena (Dhruvasena-nṛpasya) who was suffering due to the death of his son (putra-maraṇa-ārtasya).

tattvaṃ tu bahuśrutagamyam iti.

The real truth (*tattvaṃ*), however (*tu*), is accessible only to wise people (*bahuśruta-gamyam*).

trinavati-yuta-nava-śata-pakṣe tu:

As (*tu*) for the case (*pakṣe*) of 900 (*nava-śata*) [years] plus (*yuta*) 93 (*tri-navati*) [it is said:]

[Dharmasāgara now cites the same four *gāthā* verses in Prakrit that were given by Jinaprabhasūri previously]

“*teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ |
samaikkaṃtehi Vaddhamāṇāo ||*

*Pajjūsavaṇa-cautthī |
Kālayasūrīhiṃto thaviyā ||*”

“[When] 993 (*teṇauya-nava-saehiṃ/trinavati-nava-śataiḥ*) [years] had passed (*samaikkaṃtehi/samatikrāntaiḥ*) since Vardhamāna (*Vaddhamāṇāo*) [i.e., Mahāvīra],

the 4th (*cautthī/caturthī*) [day of the month of Bhādrapada] was established (*thaviyā/sthāpitā*) by Kālakasūri (*Kālaya-sūrīhiṃto/Kālaka-sūryāḥ*) [for the observance of] Paryuṣaṇā (*Pajjūsavaṇa*).”

ityādi sammatim udbhāvye ’yat-kālātikrame bhādrasitacaturthyām Paryuṣaṇā-parva-pravṛttir iti kecid vyākhyānanti |

Having expressed (*udbhāvya*) agreement with the previous explanation, etc. (*ityādi-sammatim*), some other [commentators] (*kecid*) give the interpretation (*vyākhyānanti*) [that] after much time had passed (*iyat-kāla-atikrame*) the Paryuṣaṇā festival began (*Paryuṣaṇā-parva-pravṛttir*) [to be practiced] on the 4th day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada (*bhādra-sita-caturthyām*).

evaṃ vyākhyāne kriyamāṇe śatru-saṃśayanirāsaka-GardabhillochedakāriKālakasūrito ’yam bhinna eva sampadyate |

It being explained thus (*evaṃ vyākhyāne kriyamāṇe*), this (*ayam*) [date] became (*sampadyate*) changed (*bhinna eva*) because of Kālakasūri (*Kālakasūrito*) who uprooted [the ruler of Ujjain] Gardabhilla (*Gardabhilla-ucchedakāri*) and removed the worry of enemies (*śatru-saṃśaya-nirāsaka*).⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ The phrase “removed the worry of [his] enemies” *śatru-saṃśaya-nirāsaka* must refer to the enemies of Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain, who is characterized in Jain chronicles as being a wicked ruler and the prime adversary of Kālaka in the *Kālakācārya-kathā*. However, the dates in question are quite confounding. Gardabhilla’s reign is reported elsewhere to have begun in the year 453 AV (74 CE) which doesn’t match the dates being discussed here in the commentary (980 AV/453 CE and 993 AV/466 CE) when the starting date of Paryuṣaṇā was allegedly changed by Kālaka. W. Norman Brown in the *Story of*

na caivam, yataḥ Prabhāvaka-caritra-Kālakācārya-kathā-prabhṛtigrantheṣv eka ev' oktaḥ /

[Introducing an objection] But it is not so (*na ca evam*) since (*yataḥ*) in texts beginning with *Kālakācārya-kathā* and *Prabhāvaka-carita* (*Prabhāvaka-caritra-Kālakācārya-kathā-prabhṛtigrantheṣu*) only one [date] is mentioned (*eka eva uktaḥ*).

tathā Kalpa-cūrṇi-Niśītha-cūrṇy-ādiṣu tu Balamitra-Bhānumitrayor mātulena Paryuṣaṇā-parva caturthyām pravartitam;

And furthermore (*tathā*) in [commentaries] beginning with the [*Paryuṣaṇā*]-*kalpa cūrṇi* [and] *Niśītha cūrṇi* (*Kalpa-cūrṇi-Niśītha-cūrṇy-ādiṣu*) [it is stated that] the Paryuṣaṇā festival (*Paryuṣaṇā-parva*) was initiated (*pravartitam*) on the 4th (*caturthyām*) by the uncle (i.e., Kālaka-sūri) of [the Kings] Bhānumitra and Balamitra (*Balamitra-Bhānumitrayor mātulena*).⁵⁵⁵

Balamitra-Bhānu(mitra)Tīrthodgāra-prakīrṇādiṣu Śrī Vīra-jina-Vikramāditya-rājnor antarāla-vartināv api Vikramāditya-pratyāsannāv uktau;

[While] Balamitra and Bhānumitra (*Balamitra-Bhānu(mitrau?)*) [are known] to have lived [sometime] between (*antarāla-vartināv*⁵⁵⁶ *api*) śrī Vīrajina (Mahāvīra)⁵⁵⁷ and King Vikramāditya⁵⁵⁸ (*Śrī Vīra-jina-Vikramāditya-rājnoḥ*), [nevertheless] beginning in miscellaneous category texts (*prakīrṇa*)⁵⁵⁹ [such as] the *Tīrthodgāra* (*Tīrthodgāra-prakīrṇa-ādiṣu*) it is said (*uktau*) [that they are] closely connected to [King] Vikramāditya (*Vikramāditya-pratyāsannau*).

Kālaka (1933: 7-8) presents a possible solution to this problem by postulating the existence of at least five individuals named “Kālaka” to make better sense of the chronology. According to Brown, the “year of Kālaka II is given as 453, meaning possibly the year of accession to the position of *sūri*.”

⁵⁵⁵ Kālaka is said in some Jain chronicles to be the uncle of Kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra. Yet Brown (1933: 7-8) states that since “the dates of this king [Gardabhilla] in the usual Jain chronology are in the years 453-466 of the Vīra era, he [Kālaka I] could not have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhānumitra (reigned 353-413) as is sometimes stated.” Yet Brown further states, “If we accept the year 993 Vīra era as that in which the change of the Paryuṣaṇā festival date was effected, we must suppose that the story of Kālaka III has become confused in the *Kālakacāryakathā* with that of Kālaka I, the only one of the three Kālakas who could have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhānumitra, consistently with the dates given these kings in Jain tradition (353-413 Vīra era).”

⁵⁵⁶ *antarāla-vartin*, adj. [f.-ī] (person) present, i.e. standing in between (two other persons); being in the middle; (entity) being in the intermediate space; (person) being or living in the intermediate space (between heaven and earth); occurring between (two verbal elements); persisting or continuing in the middle; falling between (two known categories); remaining inside; being, i.e. carrying out in the intervening time.

⁵⁵⁷ I am uncertain if “śrī Vīra-jina” refers to śrī Mahāvīra or a king named Vīrajina. But I am unable to locate the name “Vīrajina” in any dynastic lists of regnal names. There do, however, exist precedents for the use of “Vīrajina” as a name for Mahāvīra. See M. Mehta, K.R. Chandra and D. Malvania, *Prākṛit Proper Names* (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute), 576. The reference the authors give here for this particular moniker of Mahāvīra is the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Nirukti*. The use of *śrī* as an honorific preceding the name also supports the idea that “Jinavīra” here must refer to Mahāvīra.

⁵⁵⁸ The Vikramāditya ‘era’ or *Vikram Saṃvat* is said to begin in 57 BCE.

⁵⁵⁹ “*Prakīrṇa*” texts are a category of Jain scriptures dealing with miscellaneous topics.

tatrā 'pi kiyatkālavartināv api Vikramāditya-kālabhāvināv api sambhavataḥ, tathā Śālavāhana Vikramāditya-prabandhādiṣu tayor yuddhasaṃgatiś ca |

It is possible these two existed (*sambhavataḥ*) at that time as well (*tatrā 'pi*) [after] so much time [has passed] (*kiyat-kāla-vartināv*) and were indeed living at the time of Vikramāditya (*Vikramāditya-kāla-bhāvināv api*). Because (*tathā*) in narrative works on the lives of Vikramāditya and Śālavāhana⁵⁶⁰ (*Śālavāhana-Vikramāditya-prabandha-ādiṣu*) [it is stated that at this time] war was waged between these two (*tayor yuddha-saṃgatiḥ*).

kiṃ ca cūrṇikārā api: katham idānīm aparvarūpāyāṃ caturthyām Paryuṣaṇe?

Further still (*kiṃ ca*) [on this topic of the dates], the Cūrṇī commentator also (*cūrṇikārā api*) [asks the question]: why (*katham*) at this time (*idānīm*) was Paryuṣanā (*paryuṣanā*) [fixed] on the 4th (*caturthyām*) [day of the lunar month] [which] does not have the form of a *parvan* [lunar festival day] (*aparva-rūpāyāṃ*)?⁵⁶¹

'ti śiṣyanodanāyāṃ:⁵⁶² yugapradhāna-Kālikasūrivacanād eve 'ty evam uttaram dattavantaḥ na punaḥ:

Prompted by students [?] (*śiṣyanodanāyāṃ*), the answer (*uttaram*) they give (*dattavantaḥ*) is [that] [“it is] only due to the command of the leader of the age Kālika Sūri (*yugapradhāna-Kālikasūri-vacanād eva*), and not otherwise (*na punaḥ*).

“vāyaṇāntare puṇa ayaṃ teṇaue saṃvacchare kāle gacchai tti” pravacanavacanene 'tyādi svayam evā 'locyam |

It is to be considered according to this very statement itself: [citing *Kalpa Sūtra* s. 148:] “But (*puna*) according to another reading (*vāyaṇāntare/vācaṇā-antare*), this (*ayaṃ*) [century] is in the 93[rd] (*te-ṇaue/tri-navatau*) year (*saṃvacchare kāle*) [that] is now passing (*gacchai*).”

tasmād: aśītipakṣe Dhruvasenanr̥pā(nu)grahāt Paryuṣaṇākalpaḥ parṣadi vācayitum ārabdhaḥ.

Therefore (*tasmād*) as for the case (*pakṣe*) of 80 (*aśīti*) [i.e., 980 AV], the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* began to be recited (*vācayitum ārabdhaḥ*) in the assembly (*parṣadi*) due to the favor of King Dhruvasena (*Dhruvasena-nr̥pa-a(nu)grahāt*).

trinavartipakṣe tu pancakāpekṣayā kālanaiyatyena parshadi Kalpasūtravācane pravacanamaryādābhanga

But (*tu*) as for the case (*pakṣe*) of 93 (*tri-navati*) [i.e., 993 AV], with regard to the 5th (*pancaka-apekṣayā*), there was a break with the custom of exposition (*pravacana-maryādā-bhanga*) with regard to the recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Kalpasūtra-vācane*) [before the public] in the

⁵⁶⁰ Also spelled Śālivāhana.

⁵⁶¹ Here the *Kiraṇāvali* appears to refer to *sūtra* 16 in the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa Sūtra cūrṇi*.

⁵⁶² *nodanam* -1 Impelling, driving, urging onward. -2 Removing, driving away, dispelling. -3 Cutting, splitting (Apte); *nodana*, mfn. driving away, removing Kāvyaḍ.; n. = *noda* BhP.; impelling, impulse ib. (MW)

assembly (*parṣadi*) and [a break with the custom of reciting it] according to the prescribed time (*kāla-naiyatya*):⁵⁶³

3. *Subodhikā* of Vinayavijaya (1696 CE) on *Kalpa Sūtra* 148

Vinayavijaya first acknowledges the comments made by previous commentators and links 980 AV with the production of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into a book. He next gives the same interpretation as Jinaprabhasūri and Dharmasāgara by claiming that this date also may signify the first public recitation of the text in Ānandapura. But his interpretation slightly differs from the previous commentators when he seems to connect the written redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* to the first public reading of the text. Vinayavijaya's supposition for this is that in order for the text to have been publicly recited it must have first been put into a fixed form: *tām jnāpayitum idam sūtram nyastam iti, tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti*“The wise ones know the real truth: in order to make the reading (*tām*) known (*jnāpayitum*) the sūtra (*sūtram*) was put into fixed form (*nyasta*).”

Vinayavijaya, however, only presents this as one possibility among many and ultimately states that, on the basis of previous commentators, these events could also have happened separately (i.e., the redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into a book happened in 980 AV and the public reading of the text in 993 AV). Among all the commentaries presented here, the *Subodhikā* is the only one that doesn't mention Kālakasūri and the changing of the dates of Paryuṣaṇā as a potential possibility of the dates.

Text:

yady api etasya sūtrasya vyaktatayā bhāvārtho na jnāyate, tathāpi yathā pūrvaṭīkākārair vyākhyātām, tathā vyākhyāyate | tathā hi: atra kecid vadanti yat Kalpasūtrasya pustakalikhana-

⁵⁶³ *nai-yatya*, n. the being settled or established, Sāṅḍ. Comm.; necessity, obligation Rājat.; self-command. (MW)

kārajñāpanāya (Ms jñānānām paya) idaṃ sūtram Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇair likhitam | tathā cāyam artho yathā Śrī Vīranirvāṇād aśītyadhikanavavarṣaśatātikrame pustakārūḍhaḥ siddānto jātas, tadā Kalpo 'pi pustakārūḍho 'pi jātaḥ iti. tatho 'ktam:

*Valahī-puraṃmi nayare
Devadḍhippamuhasayalasaṃghehim |*

*putthe āgama lihio
nava ya aśīyāo vīrāo ||*

anye vadanti: nava-śatāśīti-varṣe Vīrāt Senāngajārtham Ānande sanghasamakṣam mamahaṃ (!?) prārabdham vācayitum vijñaiḥ, ityādyantarvācyavacanāt: Śrī Vīranirvāṇād aśītyadhikanavaśatavarṣātikrame Kalpasya sabhāsamakṣam vācanā jātā, tāṃ jñāpayitum idaṃ sūtram nyastam iti, tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti | tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti. “vāyaṇamtare puṇe” 'tyādi vācanāntare punar ayam trinavatitamaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ kāle gacchatī 'ti dṛśyate. atra kecit vadanti 'vācanāntare' ko 'rthaḥ? pratyuttaram (Ms pratyamtare): “teṇaue tti” dṛśyate; yat Kalpasya pustake likhanam parṣadi vācanaṃ vā aśītyadhikanavavarṣaśatātikrame iti kvacitpustake likhitam, tat pustakāntare trinavatyadhikanavavarṣaśatātikrame iti dṛśyate, iti bhāvaḥ. anye punar vadanti: ayam aśītamah saṃvatsara. 'iti ko 'rthaḥ? pustake Kalpa-likhanasya hetubhūtaḥ ayam Śrī Vīrād daśamaśatasya aśītamasaṃvatsaralakṣaṇakālo gacchatī 'ti | “vāyaṇamtare” ko 'rthaḥ? ekasyāḥ pustakalikhanarūpāyā vācanāyā⁵⁶⁴ anyat parṣadi vācanarūpaṃ yad vācanāntaram tasya punar hetubhūto daśamaśatasya ayam trinavatitamaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ | tathā ca 'yam arthaḥ: navaśatāśītitamavarṣe Kalpasya pustake likhanam navaśatatrinavatitamavarṣe ca parṣadvācane 'ti | tatho 'ktam Śrī Munisundarasūribhiḥ svakṛta-Stotraratnakoṣe:

*Vīrāt trinandānkaśarady acīkarat
tvaccaityapūte Dhruvasenabhūpatiḥ |*

*yasmin mahaiḥ saṃsadi Kalpavācanām
ādyāṃ tad Ānandapuraṃ na kaḥ stute? ||*

pustakalikhanakālas tu yatho 'ktaḥ pratīta eva: Valahīpuraṃmi nayare ityādivacanāt; tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti |

Translation:

yady api etasya sūtrasya vyaktatayā bhāvārtho na jñāyate, tathā 'pi yathā pūrvaṭīkākārair vyākhyātam, tathā vyākhyāyate |

Even though the true meaning (*bhāva-arthaḥ*) of this sūtra is not (*na*) clearly (*vyaktatayā*) understood (*jñāyate*), nevertheless (*tathāpi*) just as (*yathā*) [it] has been commented upon (*vyākhyātam*) by previous commentators (*pūrva-ṭīkā-kārair*), so too (*tathā*) it is commented upon (*vyākhyāyate*) [here by me].

⁵⁶⁴ I am not sure if the phrase *ekasyāḥ pustakalikhanarūpāyā vācanāyāḥ* constitutes a genitive absolute or not.

tathā hi: atra kecid vadanti yat Kalpasūtrasya pustakalikhana-kāljānāpanāya (Ms jnānānām paya) idaṃ sūtram Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇair likhitam |

For example (*tathā hi*), regarding this matter (*atra*) some (*kecid*) say (*vadanti*) that (*yat*) this sūtra (*idaṃ sūtram*) was written (*likhitam*) by Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇa (Śrī Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇair) in order to explain the time of the writing of the book (*pustakalikhana-kāla-jnāpanāya*) of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Kalpa-sūtrasya*).

tathā cā 'yam artho yathā Śrī Vīranirvāṇād aśītyadhikanavavarṣaśatātikrame pustakārūḍhaḥ siddhānto jātas, tadā Kalpo 'pi pustakārūḍho 'pi jātaḥ iti |

And thus (*tathā ca*) this meaning (*ayam arthaḥ*) [is that] just as the entire canon (*siddhāntaḥ*) became (*jātaḥ*) fixed into book-form (*pustakārūḍhaḥ*) when 900 plus 80 years had passed (*aśīti-adhika-nava-varṣa-śata-atikrame*) after Śrī Mahāvīra's nirvāna (*Śrī Vīra-nirvāṇād*), at that same time (*tadā*) the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] too (*Kalpo 'pi*) became (*jātaḥ*) fixed into a book as well (*pustakārūḍho 'pi*).

tatho 'ktam:

therefore (*tathā*) it has been said (*uktam*):

*Valahī-puraṃmi nayare
Devaddhi-ppamuha-sayala-saṃghehiṃ |*

*putthe āgama lihio
nava ya aśīyāo vīrāo ||*

“900 and 80 [years] (*nava ya aśīyāo/nava-śata aśīti*) after [Mahā]vīra (*vīrāo*) sacred texts (*āgamo*) were written (*lihio/likhita*) into books (*putthe/pustake*) by the entire *saṅgha* led by Devarddhi (*Devaddhi-ppamuha-sayala-saṃghehiṃ*) in the city of Vallabhī (*Valahī-puraṃmi nayare*).”

anye vadanti: navaśatāśītivarṣe Vīrāt Senāngajārtham Ānande sanghasamakṣam mamahaṃ (!?) prārabdham vācayitum vijñaiḥ,

Others (*anye*) say (*vadanti*) [that] 900 [and] 80 years (*nava-śat'-aśīti-varṣe*) after Vīra (*Vīrāt*) [the *Kalpa Sūtra*] began (*prārabdham*) to be recited (*vācayitum*) by learned people (*vinjaiḥ*) in Ānanda[pura] (*Ānande*) before the community (*sangha-samakṣam*) [by King Dhruvasena] [by King Dhruvasena] for the purpose of [Dhruva]sena's son (*Sena-anga-ja-artham*);

ityādyantarvācyā-vacanāt:

according to this other statement from the *antarvācyas*:⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁵ An *antarvācyā* is another type of commentary used in *Kalpa Sūtra* exegesis.

Śrī Vīra-nirvāṇād aśīty-adhika-nava-śata-varṣātikrame Kalpasya sabhāsamakṣam vācanā jātā,
 “The reading (*vācanā*) of the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] (*Kalpasya*) happened (*jātā*) in front of the assembly (*sabhā-samakṣam*) when 80 plus 900 years had passed (*aśīty-adhika-nava-śata-varṣa-atikrame*) after Śrī Mahāvīra (*Śrī Vīra-nirvāṇād*).

tām jnāpayitum idaṃ sūtraṃ nyastam iti, tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti |

In order to make the reading/*vācanā* (*tām*) known (*jnāpayitum*) the *sūtra* was put into fixed form (*nyasta*).”

tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti |

But (*punaḥ*) the omniscient ones (*kevalinaḥ*) know (*vidanti*) the truth (*tattvam*).

“vāyaṇāntare puṇe” ’tyādi vācanāntare punar ayam tri-navatitamaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ kāle gacchatī ’ti drśyate |

[Once again citing *Kalpa Sūtra* 148:] “...but according to another reading” (“*vāyaṇāntare puṇe*”): it is also seen (*iti drśyate*) [that] “nevertheless (*punar*) according to another reading (*ityādi-vācana-antare*) this (*ayam*) [reading happened when] 93 [plus 900] years (*saṃvatsaraḥ*) in time (*kāle*) passed (*gacchati*).”

atra kecit vadanti “vācanāntare” ko ’rthaḥ?

Regarding this (*atra*) some others (*kecit*) say (*vadanti*), “What (*kaḥ*) is the meaning (*arthaḥ*) [of] “according to another reading?” (*vācanā-antare*)

pratyuttaram (Ms *pratyāntare*):⁵⁶⁶ “*teṇaue tti*” *drśyate*;

The answer to the question raised (*pratyāntare*) is understood (*drśyate*) as “93” (*teṇaue tti/tri-navati iti*).

yat Kalpasya pustake likhanam parṣadi vācanam vā aśīty-adhika-nava-varṣa-śatātikrame iti kvacit pustake likhitam, tat pustakāntare tri-navaty-adhika-nava-varṣa-śatātikrame iti drśyate, iti bhāvaḥ |

It is written (*likhitam*) in some book (*kvacit-pustake*) that (*yat*) [either] the writing (*likhanam*) of the *Kalpa*[-*sūtra*] (*Kalpasya*) into a book (*pustake*) or (*vā*) the reading (*vācanam*) [of the *Kalpa Sūtra*] in the assembly (*parṣadi*) [happened] when 80 plus 900 years had passed (*aśīty-adhika-nava-varṣa-śat-’atikrame*), [and] in another book (*pustaka-antare*) it is seen (*drśyate*) [this happened] when 93 plus 900 years had passed (*tri-navaty-adhika-nava-varṣa-śata-atikrame*), such is the sense (*iti bhāvaḥ*) [of “*vācanāntare*”/ “in a variant reading”].

⁵⁶⁶ Jacobi (1879: 116) supplies “*pratyuttaram*” as a better reading than the “*pratyāntare*” found in his manuscript copy of the *Subodhikā*. However, the meaning of “*pratyāntare*” in the sense of “in another (*antare*) manuscript copy (*prati*)” also seems appropriate in the context of this passage.

anye punar vadanti: “ayam aśītamaḥ saṃvatsara” |

But others say: “this (*ayam*) [was] the 80th (*aśītamaḥ*) year (*saṃvatsara*).”

iti ko 'rthaḥ?

What is the meaning [of this]?

pustake Kalpa-likhanasya hetubhūtaḥ ayam Śrī Vīrād daśama-śatasya aśītama-saṃvatsara-lakṣaṇakālo gacchati 'ti |

This (*ayam*) [refers to] the cause (*hetu-bhūtaḥ*)⁵⁶⁷ of the writing of the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] (*Kalpa-likhanasya*) into a book (*pustake*) [and] the current year (*kālaḥ gacchati*) since Śrī Mahāvīra (Śrī-*Vīrād*) [which is] designated as the 80th year (*aśītama-saṃvatsara-lakṣaṇa*) of the 10th century (*daśama-śatasya*).

“vāyaṇantare” ko 'rthaḥ?”

What is the meaning of “according to another reading” (*vāyaṇantare/vācaṇa-antare*)?

ekasyāḥ pustakalikhanarūpāyā vācanāyā anyat parṣadi vācanarūpaṃ yad vācanāntaram tasya punar hetubhūto daśamaśatasya ayam trinavatitamaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ |

As for a “different *vācana*” (*vācanāntaram*), the reason for that is one had the form of a recitation (*vācana-rūpaṃ*) in an assembly (*parṣadi*) [but] is different (*anyat, f.*) from one having the form of writing in a book (*pustaka-likhana-rūpāyāḥ*), and as for its origin (*tasya punar hetu-bhūtaḥ*) this (*ayam*) was the 93rd (*tri-navatitamaḥ*) year (*saṃvatsaraḥ*) of the 10th century (*daśama-śatasya*).

tathā cāyam arthaḥ: navaśatāśītitamavarṣe Kalpasya pustake likhanaṃ navaśatatrīnavatitama-varṣe ca parṣadvācane 'ti |

And so (*tathā ca*) this (*ayam*) is the meaning (*arthaḥ*): the writing (*likhanam*) of the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] (*Kalpasya*) into a book (*pustake*) [happened] in the 900 [and] 80th year (*nava-śata-āśītītama-varṣe*) and (*ca*) its recitation in the assembly (*parṣad-vācanā*) was in the 900 [and] 93rd year (*nava-śata-trī-navatitama-varṣe*).

tathoktaṃ Śrī Munisundarasūribhiḥ svakṛtastotraratnakośe:

As it is stated by Śrī Munisundarasūri in his composition [*Jina-*] *stotra-ratna-kośa* (*svakṛta-stotraratnakośe*):

*Vīrāt trinandānkaśarady acīkarat
tvaccaityapūte Dhruvasenabhūpatih |*

⁵⁶⁷ I'm not at all sure about the meaning of *hetubhūta* (“as a cause/reason”) here so I gloss it as “origin” since it seems to make the most sense.

*yasmin mahaiḥ saṃsadi Kalpavācanām
ādyāṃ tad Ānandapuram na kaḥ stute? ||*

“Who (*kaḥ*) doesn’t praise (*na stute*) that city of Ānandapura (*tad Ānandapuram*) where (*yasmin*) in the year (*śaradi*) 993 (*trinanda-aṅka*)⁵⁶⁸ after Mahāvīra (*Vīrāt*) King Dhruvasena (*Dhruvasena-bhūpatiḥ*) caused (*acīkarat*)⁵⁶⁹ the first (*ādyām*) reading of the *Kalpa* [*Sūtra*] (*Kalpa-vācanām*) to be made with great festivities (*mahaiḥ*) in the assembly hall (*saṃsadi*) [in Ānandapura] [which had been] purified with your (i.e., a Jina’s) monuments (*tvac-caitya-pūte*).⁵⁷⁰

pustakalikhanakālas tu yathoktaḥ pratīta eva: Valahīpurammi nayare ityādivacanāt;

As for the time of the writing of the book (*pustaka-likhana-kālas tu*), as (*yathā*) it was just previously (*pratītaḥ eva*) stated (*uktaḥ*), [it is known] from the reading beginning (*ityādivacanāt*) “in the city of Vallabhī...” (*Valahī-purammi nayare/Vallabhī-pure nagare*).

tattvam punaḥ kevalino vidanti |

But (*punaḥ*) the Omniscient ones (*kevalinaḥ*) know (*vidanti*) the truth of the matter (*tattvam*)

4. *Kalpadrūmakalikā* of Lakṣmīvallabha (18th c.) on *Kalpa Sūtra* 148

The *Kalpadrūmakalikā* starts out by positing a possible connection between the redaction of the Jain canon by Devarddhigaṇi with the fixing of the *Kalpa Sūtra* into a written text in the year 980 AV. Lakṣmīvallabha supplies the standard trope of a twelve-year famine as the impetus to save Jain canonical texts from extinction. On the basis of previous commentaries, he also holds out the possibility that this date signifies the first public reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* text. He then offers more interpretations of the dates on the basis of previous commentators. For example, he

⁵⁶⁸ The date here appears in in the form of a “mixed” chronogram where *tri* has its standard numerical meaning of “three” but the words *nanda* and *aṅka* here both stand for the number nine. For types of chronograms used in Jain manuscripts see the appendices in the *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the British Library, Vol. 1*, 169.

⁵⁶⁹ *acīkarat* (causative of *kṛ*, 3rd p. s.).

⁵⁷⁰ *pūta*, mfn. cleaned, purified, pure, clear, bright RV. &c. &c.; m. (L.) a conch-shell; white Kuśa grass (MW). The meaning of the compound *tvaccaityapūte* in the locative case isn’t entirely clear to me or how it functions in the passage of verse. But since this citation comes from a *stotra* text this explains why the line is addressed to someone in the second person (*tvad*). And given that the title of the text from which the verse derives is the *Jinastotraratnakośa* the “you” here presumably must refer to one of the Jinas. But this is far from certain until the excerpted lines of this verse can be seen in their full context.

remarks that it's possible that first the redaction of the *Kalpa Sūtra* happened in 980 AV and then the changing of the dates of Paryuṣaṇā by Kālakasūri took place in 993 AV. In other words, like the other commentators, Lakṣmīvallabha just takes an inventory of all these events and ultimately leaves the issue unresolved regarding the matter of the dates. He also holds out the possibility that Skandila arranged the canon into books in 980.

Text:

Śramaṇasya Bhagavato Mahāvīrasya muktigamanāt paścāt navaśata-aśīti 980 varṣeṣu gateṣu Devarrdhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇena kālaviśeṣasya vuddhihīyamānaṃ (read buddhiṃ hīyamānāṃ) jñātvā siddhāntavicchedam bhāvinam vicintya prathamadvādaśavārṣakasya (read varṣikīya-durbhikṣasya) prānte sarvasādhūnām (supply sanghaṃ) sammīlya (!) Vallabhīnagaryām Śrī siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu kṛtaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ; pūrvam sarvasiddhāntānām pāṭhanam ca mukha-pāṭhenaivāsīt, tataḥ paścād gurubhiḥ pustakena siddhāntaḥ śiṣyebhyaḥ pāṭhyate, iyaṃ rītir abhūt | kecid ācāryā atra evam āhuḥ: bhagavato muktigamanānantaram nava-śata-aśīti-varṣair Dhruvasenasya rājnāḥ putrasōkanirvāraṇāya sabhāsamakṣam Kalpasūtram śrāvitaṃ; punar nava-śata-trinavati-varṣaiḥ Śrī Vīranirvāṇāt Śrī Skandilācāryair dvitīyadvādaśavarṣikīyadurbhikṣaprānte Mathurāpuryām sādūn sammīlya (!) siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ | yato Sthavirāvalī procyate; anyo 'pi yaḥ kaścit parasparam siddhāntaiḥ (vi)saṃvādo dṛśyate, sa sarvo 'pi vācanāyā eva bhedaḥ | punar atra pūrvācāryāḥ kecid evam āhuḥ: Śrī Vīranirvāṇāt nava-śata-aśīti-varṣaiḥ siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ, nava-śata-trinavati-993-varṣaiḥ Kālakācāryeṇa pancamītaḥ caturthyām Śrī Paryuṣaṇāparva kṛtam | atra bahavo viśeṣāḥ santi, te gītārthāḥ jānanti | Śrī Āvaśyakasūtre pancavidham pratikramaṇam uktam: 1 devaśikam (?), 2 rātrikam, 3 pākṣikam, 4 caturmāsikam, 5 sāmvaṣṭarikam | yadā caturthyām Paryuṣaṇāparva sthāpitaṃ, tadā tu pāṣī (read pākṣī) caturdaśīdine caturmāsikam api ekatraiva sthāpitaṃ, yataḥ granthe uktam asti: caumāsaga paḍikamaṇam pakkhiya divasaṃmi ... evam pāṭhaḥ katham milati? tasmād evam jñāyate: pākṣikam caturdaśyām, caturmāsikam pūrṇimāyām, etad ubhayam api pākṣīdine ekatra kṛtam | etasya paramārthas tu prathama-sāmācāryām ca vyākhāto 'sti |

Translation:

Śramaṇasya Bhagavato Mahāvīrasya muktigamanāt paścāt nava-śata-aśīti 980 varṣeṣu gateṣu Devarrdhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇena kālaviśeṣasya vuddhihīyamānaṃ (read buddhiṃ hīyamānāṃ) jñātvā siddhāntavicchedam bhāvinam vicintya prathama-dvādaśa-vārṣakasya (read varṣikīya-durbhikṣasya) prānte sarvasādhūnām (supply sanghaṃ) sammīlya (!) Vallabhī-nagaryām śrī siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu kṛtaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ;

The entire collection of sacred texts (*śrī siddhāntaḥ*) was made (*kṛtaḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) [and/or] written down (*likhitaḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) by Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇa (*Devarrdhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇena*) after he realized (*jñātvā*) the minds (*buddhiṃ*) of those at this particular time (*kāla-viśeṣasya*) were becoming weakened (*hīyamānāṃ*), [and so] having thought

(*vicintya*) that the loss of the collection of sacred texts (*siddhānta-vicchedam*) was imminent (*bhāvinam*) the entire community of monks (*sarvasādhūnām sanghaṃ*) was gathered together (*sammīlya/sammīlya*) in the city of Vallabhī (*Vallabhī-nagaryām*) at the end (*prānte*) of the [twelve-]year famine (*varṣikīya-durbhikṣasya*) when 980 years had elapsed (*navaśata-aśīti varṣeṣu gateṣu*) after Lord Mahāvīra's (*Śramaṇasya bhagavato Mahāvīrasya*) liberation (*muktigamanāt paścāt*).

pūrvam sarvasiddhāntānām pāṭhanam ca mukhapāṭhenai 'vā 'sīt, tataḥ paścād gurubhiḥ pustakena siddhāntaḥ śiṣyebhyaḥ pāṭhyate, iyaṃ rītir abhūt |

Previously (*pūrvam*) the recitation (*pāṭhanam*) of the entire collection of sacred texts (*sarvasiddhāntānām*) was (*āsīt*) only through oral instruction (*mukha-pāṭhena eva*), then (*tataḥ*) later on (*paścāt*) sacred texts (*siddhāntaḥ*) were instructed (*pāṭhyate*) by preceptors (*gurubhiḥ*) to disciples (*śiṣyebhyaḥ*) by means of the book (*pustakena*). This (*iyam*) became (*abhūt*) the convention (*rītiḥ*).

kecid ācāryā atra evam āhuḥ: bhagavato muktigamanānantaram nava-śata-aśīti-varṣair Dhruvasenasya rājñāḥ putraśokanirvāraṇāya sabhāsamakṣam Kalpa-sūtram śrāvitam;

Regarding this (*atra*) some preceptors (*kecid ācāryāḥ*) have thus (*evam*) said (*āhuḥ*) [that] after the liberation (*mukti-gamana-anantaram*) of the Lord (*bhagavataḥ*) by 980 years (*nava-śata-aśīti-varṣaiḥ*) the *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Kalpa-sūtram*) was caused to be recited (*śrāvitam*) before the people and the court (*sabhā-loka-samakṣam*)⁵⁷¹ in order to remove the grief for the son (*putraśoka-nirvāraṇāya*) of King Dhruvasena (*Dhruvasenasya rājñāḥ*).

punar nava-śata-trinavati-varṣaiḥ Śrī Vīranirvāṇāt Śrī Skandilācāryair dvitīya-dvādaśa-varṣikīyadurbhikṣaprānte Mathurā-puryām sādḥūn sammīlya (!) siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ. yato Sthavirāvalī procyate;

But (*punar*) as (*yataḥ*) the *Sthavirāvalī* says (*procyate*) after the passing of Śrī Mahāvīra (*Śrī-Vīra-nirvāṇāt*) by 993 years (*nava-śata-trinavati-varṣaiḥ*) the collection of sacred texts (*siddhāntaḥ*) was written down (*likhitaḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*) after the monks (*sādḥūn*) were gathered together (*sammīlya/sammīlya*) in the city of Māthurā (*Mathurā-puryām*) by the preceptor Śrī Skandila (*Śrī Skandilācāryaiḥ*) at the end of the second twelve-year famine (*dvitīya-dvādaśa-varṣikīya-durbhikṣa-prānte*).

anyo 'pi yaḥ kaścit parasparam siddhāntaiḥ (vi)saṃvādo dṛśyate, sa sarvo 'pi vācanāyā eva bhedaḥ |

But whichever (*anyo 'pi yaḥ kaścit*) disagreement (*visaṃvādaḥ*) with the collection of sacred texts (*siddhāntaiḥ*) was seen (*dṛśyate*) among the monks (*parasparam*) [so there was] a complete splitting (*sa sarvo 'pi bhedaḥ*) of the redaction (*vācanāyāḥ*) [into two factions].

⁵⁷¹ I'm not sure about how to resolve the internal *sandhi* of this compound. It could either be *sabhā-loka-samakṣam* (before the people of/and the court) or *sabhā-āloka-samakṣam* (before the sight of the court).

punar atra pūrvācāryāḥ kecid evam āhuḥ: Śrī Vīra-nirvāṇāt nava-śata-aśīti-varṣaiḥ siddhāntaḥ pustakeṣu likhitaḥ, nava-śata-trinavati-993-varṣaiḥ Kālakācāryeṇa panca-mītaḥ caturthyām Śrī Paryuṣaṇā-parva kṛtam |

But here (*punar atra*) some previous preceptors (*pūrv'-ācāryāḥ kecid*) have said (*āhuḥ*) thus (*evam*): with [the passage of] 980 years (*nava-śata-aśīti-varṣaiḥ*) after Śrī Mahāvīra (*Śrī Vīra-nirvāṇāt*) the collection of sacred texts (*siddhāntaḥ*) was written down (*likhitaḥ*) into books (*pustakeṣu*), [and] with [the passage of] 993 years (*nava-śata-trinavati-varṣaiḥ*) [after Mahāvīra] the lunar date of Śrī Paryuṣaṇā (*Śrī Paryuṣaṇā-parva*) was made (*kṛtam*) on the 4th (*caturthyām*) from the 5th (*pancamītaḥ*) by Kālakācārya (*Kālakācāryeṇa*).

atra bahavo viśeṣāḥ santi, te gītārthāḥ jānanti |

Those who are well-versed in scripture (*gīta-arthāḥ*) know (*jānanti*) [that] regarding this (*atra*) there are (*santi*) many peculiarities (*bahavo viśeṣāḥ*).

Śrī Āvaśyaka-sūtre pancavidham pratikramaṇam uktam: 1 devaśikam (?)⁵⁷², 2 rātrikam, 3 pākṣikam, 4 caturmāsikam, 5 sāmvaśarikam |

[For example,] in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (*Śrī Āvaśyakasūtre*) 5 types (*panca-vidham*) of penance (*pratikramaṇam*) are stated (*uktam*) [to exist]: 1. daily (read: *daivasikam*), 2. nightly (*rātrikam*), 3. fortnightly (*pākṣikam*), 4. seasonably (*catur-māsikam*), 5. annually (*sāmvaśarikam*).

yadā caturthyām Paryuṣaṇā-parva sthāpitam, tadā tu pāṣī (read *pākṣī*) *caturdaśī-dine cāturmāsikam api ekatrai 'va sthāpitam,*

When (*yadā*) the festival day (*parva*, n.) became fixed (*sthāpitam*) on the 4th (*caturthyām*) [day of the lunar month] then (*tadā*) *pākṣī* [and] *cāturmāsika* became established (*sthāpitam*) [as being] in one place (*ekatrai 'va*) on the 14th day (*caturdaśī-dine*) as well (*api*).⁵⁷³

yataḥ granthe uktam asti: caumāsaga paḍikamaṇam pakkhiya divasammi...

Therefore (*yataḥ*) in the text (*granthe*) it is (*asti*) stated (*uktam*) [that] “penance (*paḍikamana/pratikramaṇa*) [is to be performed] on the same day (*divasammi*) for *caturmāsika*

⁵⁷² The meaning is clearly “daily” or *daivasika* so I’m not sure why Jacobi places the question mark here.

⁵⁷³ My sense of this passage is that when the date of Paryuṣaṇā Parva was changed from the 5th to the 4th day of Bhādrapada this necessarily caused changes in the dates on which these other “penances” or “expiations” listed here were practiced. In other words, when Paryuṣaṇā Parva was rescheduled a day earlier on the 4th day of the month this meant that the other dates too were similarly now one day ahead of schedule and had to somehow be consolidated. So previously when the penances conducted on the day of the full moon (or *pūrṇimā*) were on the 15th, now they had to be done a day earlier on the 14th. In other words, previously *pākṣī* would have been practiced on the 15th every lunar month but now it is practiced on the 14th.

(“every 4 months” type penance) [and] *pākṣika* (“fortnightly” or “once every two weeks” type penance).”

evam pāṭhaḥ katham milati?

So (*evam*) how (*katham*) does this reading (*pāṭhaḥ*) agree (*milati*)?

tasmād evam jñāyate: pākṣikaṃ caturdaśyām, cāturmāsikam pūrṇimāyām, etad ubhayam api pākṣīdine ekatra kṛtam |

Because (*tasmāt*) it is known (*jñāyate*) to be the case (*evam*) [that] *pākṣika* (“fortnightly” penance) [is done] on the 14th day [of the lunar month] [and] *cāturmāsika* (“every 4 months” penance) [is done] on the day of the full moon (*pūrṇimāyām*) [on the 15th], these very two [days] (*etad ubhayam api*) became fixed (*kṛtam*) in one place (*ekatra*).

etasya paramārthas tu prathamāsāmācāryām ca vyākhāto 'sti.

The ultimate sense (*parama-arthaḥ*) of this (*etasya*) is (*asti*) explained (*vyākhātaḥ*) in the original *Sāmācārī* (*prathama-sāmācāryām*).

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