

THE TERĀPANTH'S WORK ON THE JAIN ĀGAMAS

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Given the multiple dimensions of Āc. Mahāprajña's action and scholarship over 79 years of monastic life as Muni Nathmal (from 1931 to 1979), as Yuvācārya successor of Āc. Tulsī (from 4 February 1979 to 1995) and finally as the tenth Ācārya of the Terāpanth (1995-2010), with a total of thirty-one years in the last two important positions, there is a large panel of possible topics for presentation and discussion. Here are the three main reasons why the subject of Āgamas was chosen.

Why the Āgamas?

1. The Terāpanth is “strongly text-oriented.” The Āgamas are the ultimate source of knowledge of the Jain doctrine and the Terāpanthin Ācāryas hold them in high regard, considering them as authoritative texts guiding their spiritual practices and principles as they provide the foundation for shaping the way members of the group lead their lives. So dealing with how mendicants use them is not only a subject for past-loving philologists.

2. I have been using the Āgama publications produced by Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña for many years. I first became aware of them when Prof. Nathmal Tatia, participating in the Jain canonical and narrative conference organized in Strasbourg in 1981 as a representative of Āc. Tulsī, brought sets of the *Aṅgasuttāni* and copies of the *Āgamaśabdakośa* that had just been published (1980). Āc. Tulsī had sent a message for the occasion, a paragraph of which read:

¹ This paper has emerged from the Ācārya Mahāprajña Memorial Lecture which I delivered on 23rd March 2024 at SOAS, at the invitation of Peter Flügel and of the Terāpanth authorities. I am grateful to all for having organized this event and for having given me the opportunity to talk on such a special and prestigious occasion. - I would like to underline the efficiency and kindness of Samañī Niyojikā (Terāpanth) who kindly sent me several PDFs which were useful for this essay as well as for Balbir 2024 and Balbir in the press, all related to Terāpanth literary production. More generally, I am thankful to various Samañīs who, by presenting me with some Terāpanth publications, contributed to stimulate my preexisting interest for their work. A lot of the writings by the earlier Terāpanth ācāryas, who were very prolific, are not yet available in published form, although a lot has already been done by them to this aim and today we are fortunate enough to have several of them accessible in digital form at archive.org or on jainlibrary.org. - Unless otherwise specified, all translations, including those of modern Hindi secondary sources, are mine.

“My Order of monks and nuns has been exclusively devoted to the study of the Jaina canon and the exegetical literature for more than a quarter of a century under the supervision of Yuvācārya Mahāprajña, my successor-designate. It has now undertaken two great programmes, the Encyclopaedia of Jainism and the Jaina-Āgama-Kośa under the auspices of the Jaina Vishva Bharati which was established at Ladnun (Rajasthan, India) in 1970 for the promotion of higher studies and research in Jainism” (Tulsī 1983: 291).

These books were actually my first contact with the Terāpanth, and it was something really impressive. At that time, there were individual editions of the Āgamas produced in India or in the West, the first volumes of the critical editions published by the Mahāvīr Jain Vidyālay under the auspices of Muni Puṇyavijaya had started to appear. But the only collective edition commonly available was the *Suttāgame* by the Sthānakavāsī monk Muni Phūlacandra alias Puppha Bhikkhu (1954). It had the advantage of being handy (2 compact volumes) but it contained many flaws and was biased with sectarian orientation. Since this first acquaintance, my respect and admiration have only gone deeper for how Āc. Tulsī has made work related to the Āgamas a central project of his monastic order and how this project could be implemented because he had found in Muni Nathmal, then Āc. Mahāprajña, an ideal disciple, collaborator and successor with scientific vision, and because both, possessed with exceptional leading capacity, could develop a strategy involving all the mendicants of the Terāpanth. The task that has been achieved by this inseparable duo, which amusingly is reflected in Hindi in the phrase *Ācārya ŚrīTulsī-Mahāprajña*,² is undoubtedly tremendous.

3. Over the years, I developed an increased interest for textual as well as visual modes of presence of the Śvetāmbara canon and for what this term actually means. The results were first presented in a lecture given twenty years ago, for a volume that has unfortunately not yet seen the light of the day (2004). Then in an article on Illustrated Āgams I focused on the publication project of the Sthānakavāsī monk Amar Muni, which reflects thorough thinking on methods to make the Āgamas accessible and inviting, rather than intimidating (Balbir 2014a). I consider today's exploration on what the Terāpanth has been doing as an additional contribution to this multi-faceted subject. For this, I widely draw on prefaces, introductions and other para-texts that shed light on why and how a given publication was undertaken. This explanatory tendency seems to me a prominent characteristic feature of the Terāpanth activity.

² For instance Prastuti in Mahāprajña 2005: 21.

The Beginnings: Approach Through the Vernacular

The Terāpanth Āgamic work is closely connected with modes of access to and transmission of knowledge, as well as with language issues and choices. At the time of the founder Ācārya Bhikṣu (1726-1803), and also later at the time of the fourth ācārya, Jayācārya alias Jītmal (1803-1881), memorization of scriptures was the most important means of acquiring knowledge, and the ācāryas' memorizing capacities are often underlined by their biographers.³ The scriptures which were put to memory were obviously accessed only through manuscripts - not printed books -, mostly of commentaries in vernacular languages (Dulaharāj 2011: 73). Accessing these manuscripts itself was a problem and this is why Jayācārya took a strong decision: instead of keeping manuscripts with a sense of possession resulting in a situation where some groups of monks and nuns had many, and others very less, mendicants were instructed to hand them over to the ācārya so that they become collective (*samuccay*) and are accessible to all. He also acted so that the nuns were also part of this.⁴ This became a centralized process which did not exclude individual use, but excluded personal possession. Jayācārya also encouraged copying of manuscripts by mendicants.

Bhikṣu's and Jayācārya's original works have progressively been published in the last decades under the impulse of Ācārya Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña, often on occasions such as commemorations of important dates in the lives of these teachers. Even if more remains to be done, the available corpus is already challenging enough. Its language is Rajasthani or forms of it.

Ācārya Bhikṣu (VS 1783-1860 = 1726-1803)

The two volumes of *Bhikṣu Granth Ratnākar* (BhGR I and II) published by the Jain Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā in Calcutta (1960) include a total of fifty-five verse compositions.⁵ Two of them are also present in *Tattva Sāhitya* vol. 1 (BhTS) and in *Ākhyān Sāhitya* vol. 1 (BhĀS, both 2011) accompanied by modern Hindi translations.⁶ These works

³ E.g. Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 187 for Jayācārya.

⁴ Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981:114-116; Flügel 2018: 321.

⁵ Respectively thirty-four and twenty-one. The collection of prose writings is announced to form the third part: cf. BhGR I introduction: 11. The back-cover of BhTS 2011 lists a total of seventy-two compositions by Āc. Bhikṣu.

⁶ *Anukampā rī copāi* and *Bharata Carita*. See Appendix below for references. According to books.jvbharati.org, further volumes of *Bhikṣu Tattva Sāhitya* have been published: vol. 2 in 2013 and vol. 3 in 2024. Similarly for

are all in Rajasthani (here a deliberately general designation for the forms of language used), using the vernacular poetic forms current in the region. Thus, to remain at a very superficial level, they are divided in sections called *ḍhāls* preceded and followed by parts called *duhās*, all of varying lengths. The rhyme is a constraint throughout. They often include the date and place of composition in their final verses, or, mostly in long ones, at the end of individual *ḍhāls*.⁷ The dates range between VS 1831 (1744) and VS 1858 (1801) in various small towns or villages of Rajasthan (Mewar, Marwar, Dhundhar region).

Āgamas in Bhikṣu's works are first present through explicit retellings. In such cases, the author himself specifies, at the beginning of the work and/or at the end, or more rarely elsewhere in the work, that his composition is based on one or several specific Āgamic sources. They are referred to precisely with title and chapter or section number. This would suggest that the monk had direct access to the texts in their entirety. Was it only through memorization or in a written form, so through manuscripts? In case of the latter, was the access mediated through manuscripts of vernacular commentaries (*bālāvabodhas*, *ṭabos*, *ḍhūṇḍhārī* paraphrases, etc.) or of retellings, or directly through manuscripts of the original Prakrit? These questions have to remain without answers for the time being. Anyway, the method of explicit reference to a source for a new work is followed in short doctrinal compositions and overwhelmingly in most narrative compositions.

Both in the opening and the concluding verse of the *ḍhāl* on the tenth atonement,⁸ he writes that the Jina has enunciated this atonement in the third and in the fifth *sthānas* of the *Sthānāṅgasūtra*, the third Aṅga, and invites the reader to listen to his own presentation. However, in these sections of the canonical scripture the notion is divided into three or five categories, whereas each stanza of Bhikṣu's short composition (eleven verses) ends with the refrain *tiṇeṃ daśamo prāchit āveṃ* “to him comes the tenth atonement.” The list of ten atonements is of course well-known, in the tenth section of the *Sthānāṅga*, and the tenth is called *pāraṃciya* “reinitiation after temporary exclusion.” What is actually meant by Āc. Bhikṣu, then, is not very clear, especially because he never names the atonement dealt with.

Bhikṣu Ākhyān Sāhitya: vol. 2 in 2013, vol. 3 and 4 in 2020, vol. 5 in 2024. I had a limited access to these recent volumes.

⁷ The dates and places of composition of the various texts are conveniently indicated in the corresponding passages of the long and very useful introduction of BhGR I. BhGR II is more briefly presented and this information has to be retrieved from an individual reading of each of the twenty-one texts. See Appendix below for the survey.

⁸ *Dasveṃ prāchit rī ḍhāl* in BhGR I: 405.

A much longer poem is devoted to the “nine fences of virtue”⁹ with clear reference to its canonical source, tThe conditions of perfect chastity as explained in chapter 16 of the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*:

Uttarādhen re sol meṃ. baṃbh samāhī ṭhāṇ re (1.8).

This is stated again at the end of the composition:

Uttarādhenā solamāṃ majhāro, tiṇa ro leīneṃ anusāro (11.12)

Thus a monk should 1) not stay in the same place as ladies (ḍh. 2); 2) not talk with them (ḍh. 3); 3) not share a bed or a seat with them (ḍh. 4); 4) not look at them (ḍh. 5); 5) not listen to them or hear them (ḍh. 6); 6) not remember any enjoyment he may have had (ḍh. 7); 7) not eat savoury food (ḍh. 8); 8) not take food in excess; 9) not wear ornaments (ḍh. 10). In addition, 10) he should not care for sounds, colours, tastes, smells and feelings (ḍh. 11). Of course, the Rajasthani style of poetic composition gives a different flavour to these traditional contents and the author also adduces examples from the Jain literary tradition that are missing in the canonical source.

In the composition “Nine categories”¹⁰ (BhTS 8-185), the section on the twenty-three designations for *jīva* “living being, soul” is explicitly based on *Bhagavatīsūtra* 20.2:

*Bhagotī bīsamā sataka māhi, bījeṃ udeṣeṃ kahyoṃ Jiṇarāya
jīva rā tevīsa nāṃma, guṇa nipana kahyā cheṃ tāṃma (BhTS 10: ḍhāl 1.3).*

Twenty-one narrative works of Āc. Bhikṣu are available in published form (BhGR II).¹¹ In slightly more than two thirds of them (15) the explicit Āgamic source is mentioned and the author states that he is following it: *tiṇa anusāre hūṃ kahūṃ* is the recurring phrase. In four of them the source is not mentioned, but can be identified easily. One (no. 19) has no identifiable source, and the other (no. 21) dealing with the mother-in-law / daughter-in-law relationship, a theme of increasing popularity from the pre-modern period until today, cannot be said to have a traditional origin.

Among the narrative Aṅgas, the most important one in size and in the variety of its contents is the sixth, *Jñātā* or *Ginātā* in Āc. Bhikṣu's parlance, and is also his most common

⁹ *Śīl kī nava vāḍ*, BhGR I: 432.

¹⁰ *Nava Padāratha* in BhTS: 8-185.

¹¹ See below Appendix for details.

source: story of the nineteenth Jina, Malli (chap. 8; BhGR II no. 10), of Draupadī (chap. 16; BhGR II no. 12), of Thāvaccaputta (chap. 5; BhGR II no. 11), of Nandamañihāra (chap. 13; BhGR II no. 15), of Tetali (chap. 14; BhGR II no. 13), to which should be added the story of Jinarakṣita and Jinapālita, from chap. 9, and that of Puṇḍarīka and Kaṇḍarīka, from chap. 19, two examples where the source is not explicitly stated.

The other narrative Aṅgas are also drawn upon: the seventh, the *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, for the story of Sakaḍālaputra (BhGR II no. 5),¹² the ninth, the *Anuttaropapātika*, for the story of monk Dhanna (BhGR II no. 9),¹³ and the eleventh, the *Vipākasūtra*, for three stories (BhGR II nos. 6, 7, 8). It seems that the first one to have been composed was that of Uṃvaradatta (VS 1835; no. 8), a rewriting of the seventh story in the first part of the sūtra, where the lives of fictional heroes who behaved badly and had to endure the maturation of consequential sufferings (*dukhavipāka*) are narrated.

Then, fourteen years later (VS 1849), at the same place, Kelavā (mod. Kelwa), Āc. Bhikṣu wrote two more narratives coming from the eleventh Aṅga, during the same month, at an interval of twenty days. Chronologically, the story of Subāhu, illustrating the perfect donor, as the first story of the *sukhavipāka* section of the Aṅga, is the first (BhGR II no. 6). Then comes that of Mṛgāputra (*Mṛgāloḍhā ro vakkhāṃṇa* BhGR II no. 7), in full contrast, and again from the section on the maturation of sufferings (*dukhavipāka*, story 1).

Although not predominantly narrative, the fifth Aṅga, the *Bhagoṭī*, as Āc. Bhikṣu calls it, has several important stories. One of the best-known is the encounter and confrontation of Mahāvīra and Gośāla, in its long fifteenth chapter, which is the source of Āc. Bhikṣu's *Gosālā rī caupāī* (BhGR II no. 1), chap. 3.1, for the story of the foolish ascetic Tāmālī (BhGR II no. 3) and for that of King Udāyīn (BhGR II no. 4).

Among the Upāṅgas, the obvious source for the lengthy legend relating to the first Cakravartin, Bharata (BhGR II no.17) is the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, whereas the *Nirayāvalikā* is combined with the Bhagavatī for the retelling of Ceṭaka and Kūṇika story (BhGR II no. 2; see below).

One of the sources perhaps requires a special note: the *Jambupainna* (*Jambūprakīrṇaka*) specifically named by Āc. Bhikṣu among the old sources at the origin of his *Jambūkumāra carita* (BhGR II no. 18). The Prakīrṇaka class is not supposed to be recognized as authoritative by non-Mūrtipūjaka monastic orders who admit as canonical a list of 32 works and not of 45. In addition, this particular text is generally not regarded as belonging to the core of the Prakīrṇakas, a very fluid and unsteady class anyway, but counted

¹² The character Āc. Bhikṣu persistently calls *Sakaḍāla putara* is *Saddālaputta* in the Prakrit source (AS III: 490-513).

¹³ *Anuttaropapātika* III.1: AS III: 619-630.

among “super-numerary” Prakīrṇakas. This prose work has a pseudo-canonical style of narration with recourse to the usual cliché phrases and a Prakrit close to (or imitating) Ardhamāgadhī. Thus there seems to be a kind of paradox between a text whose place is marginal or at least not clearly defined and the importance it has for the tradition because it concentrates all available material on the life and career of a prominent early Jain teacher. Is this the reason why it features here as an explicit source and does this presence suggest Āc. Bhikṣu's and the Terāpanth's inclusive or flexible position about the boundaries between authoritative versus non-authoritative groups of scriptures?

The direct mention of an Āgamic source in Āc. Bhikṣu's narrative works is not just a formality. There are clear textual traces as well. The multi-recurring opening phrase *tiṇa kāle ne(m) iṇa same(m)* is a translation of the Prakrit corresponding phrase *teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ*. Highlight terms typical of a given canonical story are also kept identical in the retelling: for instance *praṇāmika pravajā* (BhGR II: 99, d. 8) “the bow-ordination” in Tāmalī's story.¹⁴ One can follow the units of the canonical narratives and the retellings in parallel, very closely, to the extent that all the cross-references meant to trace in its full version a specific development which is abridged in a given passage are also found in the retelling. For instance, in the story of Subāhu we read in the original *Vipākasūtra*:

*tae ṇaṃ sā Dhariṇī devī annayā kayāi taṃsi tārisagaṃsi vāsabhavaṇaṃsi
sīhaṃ sumiṇe. jahā Mehassa jammaṇaṃ taha bhāṇiyavvaṃ.*

“Then one night, while in this palatial sleeping room so described, queen Dhariṇī dreamt of a lion. [Subāhu's] birth should be told as that of Meghakumāra.”

In the corresponding sequence of the retelling we have:

*bhavaṇa ghara sejjādika supanā, pāṭhaka janmādika sāro
Meghakumara jyūṃ sarva visatāra, piṇa eka nāṃma Subāhukumāro
(BhGR II: 150 dh. 1. 9).*

¹⁴ From *Bhagavatīsūtra* III.1: AS II: 131ff. This is a non-Jain type of initiation where the self-promoted candidate bows down anybody he meets, whether a god, a human being or an animal (AS II: 133 sūtras 34 and following). Hence Tāmalī is an unwise ascetic (*bālatāpasa*). Therefore he also features in Āc. Bhikṣu's *Mithyātī rī karaṇī rī caupaī*, BhGR I: 261 dh.2. 28.

“Palatial sleeping room, dreams, [dream-]interpreters, condensed version of the birth etc. All details like [for] Meghākumāra, except for the name: prince Subāhu.”

Meghākumāra is the name of the paradigmatic story found in the first chapter of the *Jñātādharmakathāṅga* where not only the birth but also the education of the prince is told at length. The method is the same in the case of other such references in this story and in others.¹⁵ All these examples of retellings keep alive and up to date the Jain literary heritage and show that the Āgamic teachings were perpetuated in all their diversity (doctrinal and narrative). But they go beyond change of language and change of literary form, as they are also a channel for the author to express views that are innovative. In the story of the ascetic Tāmālī (see above), Āc. Bhikṣu argues that *dharma* should be practiced only to annihilate karmas and not for any worldly motivation. One here recognizes a tenet for which he is well-known: the differentiation between mundane or social and supra-mundane, which applied to dharma, charity (*dāna*), and compassion as explained in his *Anukampā rī copāī*.¹⁶ The first type of compassion is blamable (*sāvadya*), the second one perfect (*niravadya*). Indeed, he was convinced that the protection of life could only count as an act of social compassion (*laukika*) but not as a religious act of liberation (*lokottar dayā*).¹⁷ This was, in fact, rather new in the Śvetāmbara tradition, whereas it more or less corresponded to the opposition between *vyavahāra* and *niścaya* drawn by Kundakunda, and it is significant to see that the Terāpanth Sādhvī Kanakaprabhā opens her booklet on *Acharya Bhikshu's Style of Discipline* precisely with this distinction (1994: 1-4). In the story of Mahāvīra's encounter with Gośāla, Āc. Bhikṣu regards as a mistake the fact that the not yet Omniscient Jina could take Gośāla as his disciple. This viewpoint, which the Terāpanth founder maintained despite oppositions he had to face, was in sharp contrast with the views of other Jains who, on the contrary, considered this as a marvelous happening (*āścaryabhūta*).¹⁸

As a hypothesis, one could suggest that some stories were chosen because they focus on a theme or an issue that are crucial in Āc. Bhikṣu's ideological perspective. Such is the case with

¹⁵ *Mahābala rājā taṇī* (BhGR II: 150 ḍh.1 vs. 9); *Koṇaka rāya taṇī* (d. 2); *Jamālī jima* (d. 3); *Diḍhapaina jima ho sagalo visatāra* (BhGR II: 164). In Uṃvaradatta story: *te Miragāputara nī pare, Uṃvaradatta no ho jāṃṇajo visatāra* (BhGR II: 199 ḍh. 5.5) is a cross-reference to the end of *Vipākasūtra* I.1 where the rebirths in hell of the character Mṛgāputra are detailed.

¹⁶The introduction of BhTS: 189-193 is worth reading in this perspective.

¹⁷ Flügel 1996: 126; 2018: 236-240; Tulsī 1985: 162-166.

¹⁸ BhGR II: introduction p. 2; the corresponding text is ḍh. 19, BhGR II: 31-33.

the story of Uṃbaradatta, who was in his past birth the cruel and sinful doctor Dhanvantari resorting to violence in all its aspects as he prescribed flesh from animals as remedies, with Tāmalī, centering on true asceticism and its application, or with Subāhu, centering on *dāna*. In the latter, the description of Subāhu's future births and his final liberation, where the canonical source ends, is followed by four verses where the author addresses his readers/listeners directly and prompts them to imitate the fictional character,¹⁹ by offering perfect gifts to deserving beneficiaries (i.e. Jain monks)²⁰, avoiding both miser (*kirapaṇa*, Skt. *kṛpaṇa*) and greediness (*lolapaṇa*).

This could be further supported by the fact that some of the stories available in the form of independent compositions also feature in much briefer versions in this or that discussion of the seminal *Anukampā rī copāī* where they are used as arguments. There are strong intertextual bonds between this work and the individual narrative poems. Cases in point are the encounter of Mahāvīra and Gośāla and the effect of the latter's attack on the not yet Omniscient Jina: see above, with re-use in AC ḍh. 1.8 and ḍh. 6.11-16. In the final sequence of the story where they feature, the two merchant's sons Jinarakhi (Jinarakṣita) and Jinapāla (Jinapālita) were about to escape the female deity Ratnadevī living on the island where they had taken refuge after a shipwreck, with the help of a benevolent yakṣa. But Jinarakṣita died at her hands because, instead of remaining steadfast, he could not resist the enticements of the female deity. Here, the canonical version unambiguously explains that he lost control over himself (*avase*) as his heart was infatuated with desire (*rāga-mohiya-māī*). Āc. Bhikṣu also uses the same adjective. But in his *Anukampā rī copāī*, he writes:

*Jiṇarakhīyeṃ kīdhī aṇukampā kīdhī, Reṇādevī tiṇa sāhaṃmoṃ joyo ...
ā aṇukampā sāvadaya jāṇṇoṃ* (ḍh.1.11).

“J. took compassion, he looked face to face at R. ... Know that this compassion is blamable.”

A clear shift seems here at work: the main agent in desire is an individual X, in compassion the focus is rather on the recipient. So, despite the presence of the canonical source, the Terāpanth author here expresses a new view of his own. It becomes a new doxa, as is shown by Āc. Tulsī's (1985: 165) analysis:

¹⁹ *dāṃna de de Subāhukumara jyūṃ* (ḍh. 11.14, BhGR II: 195).

²⁰ *supātara ho dāṃna dījo niradoṣa* (ḍh. 11.17, BhGR II: 199).

“The moral of the story is that the brother who was moved to pity of popular conception by the grief of the demoness cannot be supposed to have felt mercy in the true sense.”

An individual story deals with the fictional Nandamañiyāra from *Jñātādharmakathā* chap. 13 (BhGR II no. 15). He was so much infatuated with the superb pond he had got constructed that he was reborn as a frog. Then one day he joined Śreṇika and others who had gone to pay homage to Mahāvīra. Trampled by a horse, he died but was reborn as a god as his last thought was to worship the Jina (*namo tthu ṇaṃ*, etc.). He also features briefly in the *Anukampā rī copāī*:

*Naṃdana Miñīyāro deḍako huyanem, Vīra vāṃdana jāṃto māraga māṃhyo,
tiṇa neṃ cītha māryo Śreṇaka re vachem re, Vīra sādha sāhmāṃ melī kyūṃ na
bacāyo* (ḍh.8.37)

“While N. M., after having become a frog, was going on the way to pay homage to Mahāvīra, he died under the foot of Śreṇika's horse. Why did Mahāvīra not save him after having gathered the monks?”

In this context, the story is meant to explain that there should not be any interaction between monks and others, even in case of accidental death. The Ceṭaka Kūṇika story (BhGR II no. 2) narrates an immensely destructive war. The individual composition is a detailed narrative. In contrast, the five verses relating to the same characters in the *Anukampā rī copāī* (3.39-43) show the author's distanciation or at least questioning with the traditional narrative material on his way to creeping reinterpretation of compassion. Since so many people died in the two kings' fight, he writes, if true compassion would have been necessary, Mahāvīra would certainly have taken action for it. If he did not do anything, it means it was irrelevant because true compassion is part of dharma.

In narrative works based on Āgamic sources, Āc. Bhikṣu's style or choices of expansions also manifest the impact of regional vernacular literary forms and motifs. One instance is the long monologues of lamentations in lively style uttered by Subāhu's mother and wives trying to dissuade the young man from his decision to enter monastic life (BhGR II: 160-162). But detailed investigations of individual compositions would multiply the number of such cases and demonstrate the variety of adaptive innovations or insertions.

In addition, especially in long doctrinal compositions, the Āgamas are present through numerous precise references scattered throughout the developments, and are adduced to

support an argument or an exposition. In these configurations the subjects dealt with by Āc. Bhikṣu are traditional and find their ultimate source in various Āgamas, but no individual direct source shaping the whole work is explicitly mentioned at the outset. Their presence is manifested through phrases such as *Dasavikālaka saṃbhālo* (AC 2.17), “listen to the *Daśavaikālika*”, *tiṇa ro sākhi Ācārāṅga* (AC 2.19), “The Ā. testifies to this”. The term *sākhi* (Skt. *sākṣin*) is common as a way to adduce the references. Location statements are also very frequent, e.g., *Nasīta re bārameṃ udese* (AC 1.22; 2.8), “in the twelfth chapter of the *Niśīthasūtra*”, *pahilā adhena Ginātā māṃhi* (AC 1.3), “in the first chapter of the *Jñātādharmakathā*”, *Ācārāṅga cothā dhena majhāro jī* (AC 6.14), “in the fourth chapter of the Ā.” It is no surprise to see that in doctrinal compositions, the star canonical source is the *Bhagotī sūtara* (*Bhagavatsūtra*, fifth Aṅga), which is very often explicitly mentioned with reference to its main divisions: *śatakas* and *uddeśas*. The *Kālāvādī rī caupaī*, partly devoted to the discussion of spatial points (*pradeśas*) occupied by the *jīvas* has an inflation of such references (to Bhag. II.10, X.1, XVI.8, XI.10), then to *Daśavaikālika* chap. 4 about the six categories of living beings, to *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* chap. 34 about the *leśyās*, to the *Aupapātika* and the *Sthānāṅga* about the four meditations.²¹ Much more rarely, references are to verse-numbers in individual chapters of Āgamic sources.²²

Jayācārya (VS 1860-1938 = 1803-1881)

The list of Jayācārya's œuvre which can be regarded as official (Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 269-270) has a total of 126 works, all in Rajasthani.²³ A few of them are briefly mentioned or analyzed in Bhikāṃjī (1982). Ten of them, mostly in verses but sometimes interspersed with prose portions, are published, along with introductions (general and individual) in the book *Terāpanthī: Maryādā aur vyavasthā* (1993), which mentions the author's name neither on the cover nor on the title page. The common point of these ten compositions is that they pertain directly to monastic organization and rules and, therefore, have an immediate impact on practice. Indeed, Jayācārya is also well-known for his action as a manager of the community who instituted new usages still in force today (Flügel 2018: 224-228).

²¹ BhGR I: 99 (ḍh. 2.13-15: *jovo Bhagotī sūtara māṃya re*, etc.; *Daśavikālika cothāṃ adhena meṃ re*, 2.19; *jīvoṃ Uttarādhyayanasūtra cotīsa meṃ re*, *vale Pannāvaṇā leśyā pada saṃbhāla re*, 2.24); I: 100 (*Uvāi upaṅga neṃ Thāṇā aṅga me re*; *cyārū dhyāna taṇo visatāra re*, 2.32).

²² For instance BhGR I: 803 ḍh.7.39: *e Dasavikālika cothe adhene, āṭhamī gāthā arihaṃta bhāsi*; 7.40, 7.41; I: 263, ḍh.3.1: *Sūyagaḍāaṅga āṭhamā adhena me*, *doya gāthā kahī tiṇa māṃya*; 3.6 *teṃsamī gāthā taṇo*.

²³ For a sample-list see BhJ I introduction: 7-9.

Jayācārya's achievements in the field of Āgamic tradition, which are the only focus of this essay, take us one step further closer than Āc. Bhikṣu to the sources. As Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña report, the number of Āgamic manuscripts available in the monastic order had decreased from the time of Āc. Bhikṣu. Jayācārya was eager to collect them. Once, Jain *yatis* in Nāthdvārā called him to their vast libraries. He could then get works such as the Sanskrit commentary on the fifth Aṅga, the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* with a *Dīpikā*, etc. Then he went to Udaipur where he could get other works. In 1833, he could get from Jaipur a manuscript of the *Candraprajñapti* (Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 33-34). These might well look as details, but such a narration suggests that building a collection of manuscripts was for the Terāpanth leaders at that time a real struggle and a long process which involved tight discussions with the library-owners.

Like Āc. Bhikṣu, Jayācārya very often mentions several precise references to the Āgamas, providing the name of the work and the number of the relevant section with sub-section. This method is very conspicuous in the verse-units that make the *Paramparā nī joṛ* (PJ). This work in seven *dhālas*, composed between VS 1914 and 1916 (1857-58) in Ladnun, deals with aspects of monastic conduct and daily routine (alms-round, *gocarī*, from the angle of food but also from that of the donor, use of monastic implements), and discusses them largely on the basis of the Āgamic tradition, but also occasionally refers to Āc. Bhikṣu.²⁴ The main works mentioned are the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Sthānāṅga*, the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Daśavaikālika*, but also the *Niśītha*, the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* or the *Daśastrutaskandha*. These two works which belong to the Jain books of discipline (Chedasūtras) and deal with precise contexts of monastic life, with rules, infractions and atonements, are extremely important for monastic ethics and day-to-day behaviour and are particularly relevant for Jayācārya's concerns. Examples are:

Ācārāṅga dūje, prathamadhyayana pichāṇa / saptama aṣṭama uddeśe. vārū śrī Jiṇabāṇa (365 vs. 3)

Ācārāṅga dūjai śrutaskandhe panaramādhyena māṃhi (343 vs. 36)

Ṭhāṇāṅga daśameṃ ṭhāna (339 vs. 24)²⁵

aṭhāvīsa meṃ Uttarādhyayana meṃ ākhyo (347 vs 75)

Uttarādhyayana māṃya (345 vs. 56)

Daśavaikālika paṃcamā re pahile uddeśai (340 vs. 6)²⁶

²⁴ E.g. PJ 331 vs. 6; 332 vs. 4; 336 vs. 31.

²⁵ Other reference to this work, section 9: PJ 339 vs. 25.

²⁶ Other references to this work PJ 337 vs. 8; 338.

Brhatkalpa meṃ nyāya (354 vs. 29)
Naśūtha sūtra re uddeśe bīje (346 vs. 64)
Vavahārasūtra pāṃcamēṃ uddeśe (343 vs. 38).

All this corpus of references, which are precisely identified in the footnotes of the edition, would require an individual investigation to show how they are made use of, but their very existence is noteworthy as a mode of the presence of the Āgamas in Terāpanthin intellectual history during the 19th century. They point to a precise transmission of the texts. They are obviously not meant for showing off. They are a tool throughout the very rich literature of Jain polemic works, whether they follow a question-answer format (*Praśnottara* genre) or not. In this argumentative process, support of the scriptures proves indispensable and it is important for the authors to point to the exact passage adduced. A mere global reference would not do.

Jayācārya is no exception to this. Āgamic references are particularly numerous in the third *dhāla* of PJ (341-342), which is a systematic refutation of what a certain Rūpcand Akhairāmajī wrote in VS 1850 (1793) in order to point faults in Āc. Bhikṣu's positions. All along references to Āgamas also prove very central in the *Praśnottara Tattvabodha*, another polemic work of Jayācārya and a very bulky one (1500 *dohās*), which he wrote as an answer to a verse-letter containing a series of questions that had been asked by a group of Mūrtipūjak laymen from Azimganj in VS 1933 (1876).²⁷ For instance, references along with the use of reasoning led him to conclude about wearing the *mumhpatti*: “If a monk is very alert and does not bind the *mumhpatti* on his mouth but keeps it in his hand, I have no objection. I don't insist that it should be bound on the mouth.”²⁸ A viewpoint that did not prevail.²⁹

Direct quotation from Āgamic passages is another format that takes us even closer to the sources. In the *Paramparā rī Joṛ* we come across two such cases which are interdependent. The establishment of criteria for determining what is proper monastic behaviour is crucial in Jayācārya's argumentation throughout. The original Āgamic source is a long passage found in

²⁷ This is narrated by Tulsī and Mahāprajñā 1981: 212-213 on the basis of stanzas from the TP itself which they quote in footnotes. The published TP I had access to is very defective but has these passages on pp. 3-8. See also Bhikhāmji 1982: 603.

²⁸ Tulsī and Mahāprajñā 1981: 213 with reference to TP 16 [*recte* 19].19 (missing in the defective published TP).

²⁹ The titles of Jayācārya's following writings, and their brief description in Bhikhāmji 1982: 603-604, suggest that they probably proceed in the same way, using Āgamic references for refutation and justification: *Sandehaviṣṭasauśadhi*, *Kumatihīṇḍana*, *Praśnottara sārḍhaśataka*, *Caracā ratnamālā*.

the fifth Aṅga and identically in the *Sthānāṅga* and in the *Vyavahārasūtra*,³⁰ which is quoted *in extenso* by the author:

athā Bhagavatī, Ṭhānāṅga, Vavahārasūtra meṃ pāṃca vavahāra kahyā te pāṭha: kativihe ṇaṃ bhante vavahāre paṇṇatte? - Goyamā, paṃcavihe vavahāre paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā: āgame, sutam, āṇā, dhāraṇa, jīe. jahā se tattha āgame siyā āgameṇaṃ vavahāraṃ paṭṭhavejjā. ṇo ya se tattha āgame siyā, jahā se tattha sue siyā, sueṇaṃ vavahāraṃ paṭṭhavejjā (...) iccehiṃ paṃcahiṃ vavahāraṃ paṭṭhavejjā, taṃ jahā: āgameṇaṃ, sueṇaṃ, āṇāe, dhāraṇāe, jīeṇaṃ. jahā jahā se āgame, sue, āṇā, dhāraṇā, jīe, tahā tahā vavahāraṃ paṭṭhavejjā (PJ 333).

This extract edicts methodological principles regarding the use of five sources of authority and determines an order of priority in having recourse to them, “the following criterion always coming into force in default of the preceding one” (Deleu 1970: 152). They are, thus: Āgamas (including the Pūrvas), other scriptures, direct command of the teacher, interpretation based on the past, and, then jurisprudence coming from contemporary practice. This hierarchy is a guiding principle for Jayācārya, and therefore it is also found rewritten in Rajasthani verses in his own words at several places, starting with the initial verses of PJ itself.³¹ He applies it to the discussion of the other passage quoted in the original: two rather difficult stanzas from the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* dealing with the problem of accepting things especially prepared for mendicants (Pkt. *ahākammāṇi*) and the question to know whether it has, or not, any karmic effect.³²

The *Bhramavidhvaṃsanam*, although its title and internal colophons are in Sanskrit, is a combination of Rajasthani, as metalanguage, and of Ardhamāgadhī. It is made of 303 *bols* organized in (not sequentially numbered) twenty-five thematic sections (*adhikāra*) of varying lengths (having from four to forty-three *bols*), starting with unorthodox/heretical behaviour (*mithyātvikriyā*), ending with deceit (*kapāṭa*), dealing with the notions of charity (*dāna*), compassion (*anukampā*), as well as with food issues (*śītala-āhāra, nirgranthāhāra*), etc. The main textual unit is the *bol* and each one follows a more or less identical pattern: first comes

³⁰ *Bhagavatī* VIII.8.30, AS II: 364-365; *Sthānāṅgasūtra* V.2.124, AS I: 699; *Vyavahārasūtra* 10.6 (*Navasuttāṇi*: 656).

³¹ PJ 331; 336 dh.1.29-30 and also BhJ II 437 (dh. 149) where *Bhagavatī* VIII.8 is commented upon.

³² *Suyagaḍāyaga śrutaskandha dūjo adhyayana pāṃcamā meṃ ehavī gāthā kahī* (PJ 333) = *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* II.5.8-9 (AS I: 451).

an Āgamic passage which is quoted in the original Ardhamāgadhī. This is followed by a Rajasthani word-to-word commentary in the style of the *ṭabos*. Then finally comes the Rajasthani prose elaboration in the author's words. Hence, the reader is here put face to face directly and systematically with the text of the Āgamas. Instances of Jayācārya's direct rendering of Āgamic Ardhamāgadhī verses of the *Uttarādhyayana* or the *Daśavaikālika* into Rajasthani poetry also show his role as a translator-transcreator (see more on that below).³³ Quotations as well as occasional direct translations mark a decisively new step in the Terāpanthin encounter with the Āgamas.

Further, other formats of Jayācārya's Āgamic activity represent reading and understanding of the texts in their continuous flow and in their entirety, as he wrote several kinds of direct commentaries on Āgamic works. Their official list (Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 270) has the following works:

- Uttarādhyayana rī joṛ*
- Ācārāṃga rī joṛ*
- Ācārāṃga rī ṭabbo*
- Jñātā rī joṛ*
- Bhagavatī rī joṛ* (BhJ, the only one directly seen)
- Niśītha rī joṛ*
- Anuyogadvāra rī joṛ*
- Pannavanā rī joṛ*
- Caurāsī āgamādhikāra*
- Niśītha rī huṇḍī*
- Bṛhatkalpa rī huṇḍī*
- Vyavahāra rī huṇḍī*
- Bhagavatī rī samkṣipta huṇḍī*

Ṭabbos are vernacular quasi-translations of a Prakrit work specific to Western India and written in Rajasthani/Gujarati in prose form. They often focus on the literal meaning of the original in a word-to-word correspondence.³⁴ Material for exploring the actual functioning of the *huṇḍīs*, mostly found in Rajasthan, is hardly accessible, so silence is the best for the time being. *Joṛs* also need to be studied more, but we are fortunate enough to have the publication of Jayācārya's monumental *Bhagavatī Joṛ*, equipped with introductions and an

³³ Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 216.

³⁴ On the topic of translation / commentary explored on the basis of Gujarati Bālāvabodhas produced among Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaks see Cort (in the press).

adequate editorial apparatus, which is a noteworthy team achievement of Terāpanth leaders (Āc. Tulsī, Āc. Mahāprajña, and Sādhvī Kanakaprabhā, the head of the nuns).³⁵ The word *joṛ* is used in Rajasthani precisely to designate verse commentaries on Āgamas written in this language (BhJ 6: (7)). But past verbal forms, such as *joḍyo* (masc.), *joḍī* (fem.) are frequently found at the end of Āc. Bhikṣu's works in meaning “compose” and more precisely “compile” in writings where the author states that he followed a canonical source,³⁶ but which cannot be termed “commentaries.” In these usages, the word *joṛ* is a specialized meaning of Hindi *joṛ* “union, connection” from Pkt. *joḍei* and, although the etymological relation with root *yuj* may not be fully clear,³⁷ it suggests a semantic link similar to that of *niryukti*, Prakrit verse-commentary, and *yuj*. It thus means producing an association with a text A, and could also mean combining different textual components.

The story goes that Jayācārya composed the *Bhagavatī Joṛ* orally, while his words were noted down by the nun Gulābsatī (BhJ 7: (9); Fig. 1 below).³⁸ One can generalize: this was probably the usual process. Sādhvī Pramukhā Kanakaprabhā narrates how she similarly sat at the feet of Āc. Tulsī for the edition (introductions and rich annotation) of the *Bhagavatī Joṛ* (BhJ 1: (11); 5: (11)). During preaching, the ācāryas, whose talent as orators is very often emphasized, would improvise compositions that would be put to writing by fellow mendicants and later collected. This holds true even today: for instance, we know this to have happened for *ex tempore* poetic compositions by Āc. Mahāprajña suggested by various sights or encounters and created on various occasions during *vihār* or *caturmās*-stays (Balbir in the press). The Terāpanth's concern for their own history as well as their efficient organization guarantee that no word of their ācāryas is lost for posterity, and followers like to remember the number of verses the teachers authored - 350 000 for Jayācārya (BhJ 1: (5)). The original manuscript, about which the editors unfortunately say nothing, must be really an impressive sight especially as, they report, it contains more than 160 charts, tables or drawings (BhJ 6: (8); below fig. 2). Given the composition scenario delineated above, it might well have been multi-handed.

³⁵ The first volume appeared on the occasion of Jayācārya's death centenary commemoration in 1981 and was reedited in 2002. The contents are identical but the page-numbering of the introduction is different because of changes in the layout. For information on the genesis and the stages of the work see BhJ 1: (11)-(12) and Mahāprajña 1993: 28-29. BhJ 7: (10) announces a volume 8 with appendices and a study of the BhJ. It does not seem to have been published to date (and only vols. 1-7 are digitized on Jainelibrary.org).

³⁶ See for instance below Appendix under no. 15 and 18.

³⁷ Turner 1966: no. 10496. “Relation with *yuj* is obscure.”

³⁸ This, however, does not seem to appear within the text itself, neither at the beginning nor at the end.

In contrast with other Jain vernacular hermeneutical endeavours *cum* translations, Jayācārya's monumental work which took him five years to complete (VS 1919-1924 = 1862 to 1867) is predominantly in verse-couplets. In the concluding verses, he explains that he consulted Abhayadeva's *vṛtti* but also a commentary by the Sthānakavasī monk Dharmasīṃha (Dharmasī - not available today as far as I know) and other sacred scriptures.³⁹ Originally, he even joined (*joṛnā*) Āc. Bhikṣu's narration on Mahāvīra's and Gośāla's encounter (Appendix below no. 1) to the *Bhagavatī Joṛ* as a vernacular version for chap. 15 of the *sūtra*. His own rendering was written only about ten years after the whole work was completed, following the requests of his successor, Yuvācārya Maghavā (Magharāj) and of a group of leading citizens (BhJ 4: 380 note).

Jayācārya follows the original structure of the canonical work which is divided into 41 *śatakas*, each one (except no. 15) generally subdivided into varying numbers of *uddeśas*. But he superposes an organization in *ḍhālas* (501 in total) to match both the language and the poetical form selected and includes in his endeavour the *sūtra* together with its exegesis. Indeed, the page layout of the edition conveniently allows the reader to grasp at the same time the original Rajasthani of the author (on the left) and the corresponding Prakrit *sūtras*, as well as extracts from Abhayadeva's commentary (on the right). The latter is mostly often incorporated in the verse rendering, but, at some places, is rendered into plain Rajasthani prose. Like in his other works, Jayācārya refers to several Āgamic sources with precision (the editors providing the original text with identification of the precise reference). In agreement with what he states on his working method (see above and n. 39 *anya siddhāṃta taṇāṃ*), he does not confine himself to the sole *Bhagavatī* corpus. There are passages where there is an inflation of various references. The development about “opponents” (Pkt. *paḍiṇīya*) of *ācāryas* and *upādhyāyas*⁴⁰ is a starting point for five verses, each of them referring to a different passage:

Daśaśruta-khandha meṃ, kāṃi ācārya uvajjhāya (vs. 8)

adhyena satarameṃ ho Uttarādhyena meṃ, kāṃi ācārya uvajjhāya (vs. 9)

tījai ṭhāṇai udeśe tīsare, kāṃi guru-bhakta ūpara dveṣa (vs. 10)

Daśavaikālika navama adhyena meṃ, kāṃi ācārya no joya (vs. 11)

paṃcama ṭhāṇai udeśe dūsare, kāṃi ācārya uvajjhāya (vs. 12).

³⁹ *e joṛa Bhagavatī nī racī, sūtra vṛtti saṃpekha / Ṭabo Dharmasī yantra phuna, avalokī suviśekha anya siddhāṃta taṇāṃ valī, nyāya melyā ina ṭhāma / valī keika nīja buddhi thakī, artha kahyā abhirāma* (BhJ 7: 460, d. 1-2); Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 214. BhJ 1: 28 n. 2 lists passages of the BhJ where Dharmasī is referred to.

⁴⁰ Bhag VIII.8.1: AS II: 364, *sūtras* 295-300; BhJ 2: 434; Deleu 1970: 151.

The combination of sources may result into a dispute. There are cases where Jayācārya does not approve of Abhayadeva's understanding and includes a debate on a controversial point as part of his translation. Bhagavatī V.4 tells the story of the monk boy (*kumāra-samaṇe*) Atimuktaka, who was a disciple of Mahāvīra and achieved Liberation in his present life.⁴¹ The sūtra does not say anything about his age, but Abhayadeva explains that he could enter religious life because he was six years old. Jayācārya includes this in his translation, but disputes this position, taking the support of the tenth chapter of the *Vyavahārasūtra* which says that *dīkṣā* is not permitted below the age of eight:

*vr̥ttikāra ṣaṭa varṣe meṃ, pravrajyā kahi tāsa
 ṭhāma ṭhāma sūtra caraṇa, kahyaṃ adhika aṭha vāsa
 āṭha varṣa uṇā bhaṇī, dīkṣā kalpai nāmhi
 āṭha varṣa jājhe caraṇa, Vavahāra dasa māmhi* (BhJ 2:28, vss. 3-4).

He then adduces another passage of the *Bhagavatīsūtra* (*Bhagavatī, navama ikatīsam uddeśa*, vs. 5) where eight is also the right age. This leads him to conclude that the commentator's statement is contradictory with the doctrinal word (*ākhyā teha viruddha cha, samaya vacana thī tāsa*, vs. 8). This shows how a hierarchy is established to sort out conflicting sources. Jayācārya always gives priority to the sūtras, whatever they are, over the commentaries. This principle also guides him in passages where he discusses variant readings or difficult meanings, thus fulfilling the task of textual criticism (BhJ 1: 26). The very fact that Jayācārya addresses the vexed question of the hierarchical authoritativeness of sources and the rank of the commentaries therein seems to be new in the Terāpanth. In Āc. Bhikṣu's writings only the sūtras are used. The *Bhagavatī Joṛ* takes into account a number of commentaries in Prakrit (*niryukti* and *cūrṇi*), in Sanskrit (*ṭīkā*, *vr̥tti*) or in vernacular,⁴² and the *Paramparī rī Joṛ* contains one reference to the *ṭīkā* on the first Aṅga.⁴³ So Jayācārya faces the issues raised by a cumulative transmission of teachings and the difficulties unavoidable discrepancies may produce. The *Viśamvāda* section of his *Praśnottara Tattvabodha* is a text-unit where examples of such cases are analyzed in turn (Dulaharāj 2011: 70 and 67-68; Mahāprajña 2005: (27)). The general conception was that the commentators could be mistaken about the meaning of the sūtras because they lived in times very distant from them (Dulaharāj

⁴¹ AS II: 201, sūtras 78-82; BhJ 2: 28.

⁴² List in BhJ 1: 28: *Āvaśyakaniryukti; Niśṭhacūrṇi, Bṛhatkalpacūrṇi; Ācārāṅgavr̥tti, Sūtrakṛtāṅgadīpikā, Vyavahāravṛtti, Bṛhatkalpavr̥tti; Pārśvacandra's Ṭabo, Lūnkā kī huṇḍī.*

⁴³ PJ 346: *Ācāraṅga tīja adhyayana pahile uddeśe / ṭīkā meṃ kahyo* (vs. 62).

2011: 72). When Jayācārya was once asked about the number of Āgamas he admitted, he answered:

There are three kinds: the *sūtrāgam*, that is the root text (*mūl pāṭh*), the *arthāgam*, the commentary or explanation which agrees with the root text and the *ubhayāgam*, the conjunction of both. As for later Āgamas and commentaries, he investigated carefully about their authoritativeness or non-authoritativeness. (Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 45f.).

Jayācārya's *Bhagavatī Jor*, then, is a “transcreative” rendering, quite different from the mainstream of the prose vernacular commentaries or quasi-translations. Translation then plays an interpretative role and contributes to erect the sacred as a building where various levels add up to each other.⁴⁴

So, in pre-20th century history of the Terāpanth, the emphasis was on the use of the local language common in the area where the monastic order was born and anchored, namely Rajasthani. This also determined the type of literary form that the Terāpanth Āgamic productions took as we have seen. Printed texts of the Āgamas progressively started to be produced in India from 1876 onwards (Balbir 2004; Wiles 2018: 62ff.). For our perspective it is sufficient to say that, for a long time, they were not really editions, even though the one emanating from Ānandasāgarasūri under the auspices of the Āgamodaya Samiti was regarded as a progress. Printing translations in vernaculars (Gujarati, Hindi) was also being done. What the Terāpanth did in the Āgamic field between Jayācārya and Āc. Tulsī, more precisely between 1881 and the 1950s, has not been investigated by me for lack of material. But what is doubtless is that a new era started with Ācārya Tulsī.

The Era of Ācārya Tulsī and Ācārya Mahāprajña⁴⁵

Ācārya Tulsī addressed directly the challenge of the accessibility of the Āgamas and his motto was that their contents have to be widely known. On the other hand, his discourse, available through many editorial notes or prefaces, shows full awareness of scientificity and need for the use of sound philological methods. These two principles were guidelines for an intellectually ambitious project. We are lucky enough to have at hand a variety of para-texts written in Hindi by Terāpanthin monks themselves. They narrate the genesis of the plan and the making of, so-to-say, in a lively style, addressing the arising problems. The word *yātrā*

⁴⁴ See Balbir 2023 for more on the translation aspect of the work.

⁴⁵ A topic briefly dealt with in Wiles 2018: 73f.

“journey” in the title of Muni Dulaharāj's book (2011) is well-chosen to underline that it was a long process. The starting point in time and place is located clearly and the narration of how it all started is stamped with a dramatic tone. Āc. Mahāprajña writes (1993: 1):

In spring 1954 [VS 2011], Āc. Tulsī was wandering in Maharashtra. On the way to Pune towards the village of Narayan there was a halt in Mancar. The Ācārya stayed with a Jain family. There were several monthly magazines there. Having taken the permission of the owner, he started reading. It was the evening, around 6 o'clock. I came to him in order to show him some part of a letter. He was looking at the letters. As soon as I arrived, he signaled to the latest issue of *Dharmadūt* and asked: “Have you seen this or not?” - “Not yet.” He became very serious. He stopped for a while and said: “In it there is a very vast plan of editing the Buddhist baskets. The Buddhists have been doing a lot of work in this direction since the beginning and are still doing it. An edition of the Jain Āgamas on a scientific basis has not been done so far, and it is not even being thought of.” [...] All the monks were called. During the evening session the Ācārya said: “The resolution has arisen to rejuvenate the Jain Āgamas (*kāyākalp kiyā jāe*). It will be necessary to work hard to fulfil it. Who is ready?” All said in one voice: “All are ready.” The Ācārya. said: “For a great task great means are required. From tomorrow onward, set on preparations, each of you select a topic of your interest and advance in it.”

Dharmadūt, which is now very difficult to get, was a monthly magazine in Hindi published under the auspices of the Mahābodhi Society founded by the Buddhist monk Anagarika H. Dharmapala in 1892. It was started by the Sarnath headquarters “for the purpose of popularising the teachings of Lord Buddha among the Hindi-speaking people” in India, and freely distributed.⁴⁶ The idea of making the Buddha's teachings available in Hindi, had formed in pre-Independent India, but it got even more importance in the 1950s under the impulse of B.R. Ambedkar's movement. On the other hand, spring 1954, the time when our Jain story starts, was also the time when the Sixth Council (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana) was convened in Burma with 2500 monks, some from India, in order to re-examine the text of the Tipiṭaka. Thus several converging factors were present and visionaries such as Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña could not let the Jains remain outside this movement.

⁴⁶ *Mahabodhi* (The Journal of the Mahabodhi Society) 45, 1937: 247:

“The Buddha Day is a suitable occasion for us to remember how far we have been able to succeed in the preceding year in bringing the teaching of the Buddha to the masses in India for their acceptance. The educated classes have now access to the Buddhist scriptures either in translation or in the original Pali but the vast number of people who cannot read except in the vernacular have little means of knowing anything about Buddhism in a reliable manner. The Mahabodhi Society is publishing a monthly journal in Hindi, 'Dharmadut', mainly for the purpose of free distribution in addition to its activities for the publication of the Tripitaka in Hindi.”

The project, then, was publicly announced in Aurangabad on 5 April 1955. The plan (*yojanā*, planification was an important motto in the young Nehruvian Indian Republic of the time) was to complete it within five years for the celebration of the Terāpanth 200 years (i.e. in 1960). Reading the Āgamas being no ordinary task, its beginning was preceded by a three days fast undertaken by Āc. Tulsī: “Fasting increases the power of the soul. It reinforces the brilliance of the soul. It is a fruitful means to realize the purification of the soul” (Mahāprajña 1993: 5-6). Practical difficulties which were faced by the mendicants and could have easily put an end to the initial enthusiasm had to be overcome. One was to get enough time to devote to the project while simultaneously keeping with obligations of monastic life. This explains why the Ācārya's group decided to spend the 1955 rainy season in Ujjain rather than in Indore as planned initially. Then there was the question of having at one's disposal all the books required. All these obstacles could be lessened thanks to the charisma of Āc. Tulsī and thanks to a flawless organization where all forces were gathered and used. In Āc. Mahāprajña's booklet the names of all the mendicants (monks and nuns) who contributed in one way or the other to this or that phase of the project are duly listed (1993: 8-11). The Terāpanth strength really resides in the capacity to lead a true teamwork, to distribute the work⁴⁷ to the adequate persons and to acknowledge fully each one's individual participation. This is why the author-sections on the title pages of the Terāpanth books are so rich, always starting with the names of Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña, today with that of Āc. Mahāśramaṇa, and continuing with the name of the main editor (*sampādak*). One of the recurring figures in the context of Āgamic work is Muni Dulaharāj (1922-2011) who translated several texts in Hindi and got the title *Āgamamanīṣī* in 2004.⁴⁸

The plan was to be conducted in different steps. The first, Āc. Tulsī said, should be to produce a Hindi translation of the Jain Āgamas, as the language issue was a priority:

“Indeed, the language of the Āgamas is Prakrit, but their reading offers many difficulties. Indeed, along with times there have been change of forms (*rūpāntar*) - translations (*anuvād*) in the shape of *ṭīkās*, *ṭabbos*, etc. which are before us, but today their shape is such that one feels a lot of difficulty in reading these *ṭabbos*. There is also a cause to this. Their language is such that it is old and somewhat difficult to understand. Therefore today it seems necessary to get them translated into the peoples' language, into the national

⁴⁷ *Kām kā vibhājan*, BhJ 1: 11.

⁴⁸ See Āc. Mahāprajña's words about him in *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣyam* (2007): Āśīrvacan.

language Hindi so that both mendicants and laity can get the essence (*ras*) of them” (Mahāprajña 1993: 3).

The flexibility of the Jains in language use and their no-taboo attitude in this matter are well-known but they are expressed here without any ambiguity. Then, as a preliminary work to the critical edition of the original Prakrit, it was also decided to prepare an *Āgamaśabdakośa* (Mahāprajña 1993: 7). A council of monks and nuns was established and indexing work, followed by the preparation of cards, was allotted systematically (1993: 8-11). The word index of 32 Āgamas was completed in five months (1993: 11). An index of the ten Prakīrṇakas “Miscellany” was also prepared, even though this textual category does not belong to the Āgamas regarded as authoritative by the Terāpanth. Then an encyclopedia of the Āgamas was started. Work for this was done on cards. They became too many to be carried during the wandering life, so the work was stuck and rethinking was required. The main problem was this: how can an encyclopedia of the Āgamas be done if the readings of the texts are not purified (*saṃśodhit*, 1993: 14), i.e. correct. Thus the need for a critical edition of the original text in Ardhamāgadhī emerged (see below). Prefaces and editorial notes of Terāpanth publications honestly show how a large-scale project in the making is subjected to delays, remodelling or redesigning. All these also account for partial overlaps or repetitions in publications as some texts first appeared individually and were then again collected in a larger frame and vice-versa. Some landmarks in Terāpanthin Āgamic edition and translation are:

1957: *Daśavaikālikasūtra*: Prakrit text, Sanskrit chāyā, Hindi translation and notes.

1974: three volumes of *Aṃgasuttāṇi*: critical edition of the Prakrit text.

1980: vol. 1 of *Āgamaśabdakośa* (Word-Index of *Aṃgasuttāṇi*).

1985: *Navasuttāṇi*: critical edition of the Prakrit text (below for details).

1987: first part of *Uvaṃgasuttāṇi*

1989: second part of *Uvaṃgasuttāṇi*

Here are some stray remarks:

The fact that the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* came first in chronological order is not surprising given the importance of this text in the learning curriculum of Jain mendicants, independently from Śvetāmbara sectarian boundaries.

In this first long phase, the 32 Āgamas traditionally recognized by the Terāpanth were the scriptures that were edited. In 1989, they had all become available in critical edition format:

11 Aṅgas (three parts)

12 Upāṅgas (two parts)

9 Suttas (one part): three Mūlasūtras: *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Uttarādhyayana* + two methodological texts: *Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra* + four Chedasūtras: *Daśaśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa*, *Vyavahāra*, *Niśītha*.

In parallel, some of them were published individually and equipped with tools such as a Sanskrit *chāyā*, a Hindi translation, and various appendices. The Terāpanth's concern for accessibility and adaptation to audiences of various kinds accounts for an increased tendency to include English translations as well, and even Prakrit texts in Roman script.⁴⁹

The *Āgamaśabdakośa* (Mahāprajña 1980) is a full index verborum of the eleven Aṅgas, whereas the index of the nine Upāṅgas is contained in each part of their edition (US I: 545-774; II: 809-1093). They are a very important tool, typical of Āc. Tulsī's intellectual ambition and of his modern approach. This modernity is observed in the field of lexicography too. He takes note of the existence of the two main Prakrit indigenous lexica, Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā* (10th cent.) and Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (12th cent.) and does not deny their utility but rightly and clearly states that they are not helpful for research work in the field of Āgamas (Bhūmikā in Mahāprajña 1980). Similarly, he acknowledges the existence of available modern dictionaries (*Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṅṅavo*, the well-known Prakrit-Hindi dictionary by Hargovindas Sheth, the *Ardhamāgadhī* dictionary by Ratnacandra, the *Abhidhānarājendra*, an encyclopedic thesaurus). But he points to one of their defects: they are not based on a sound Prakrit text and are therefore not fully reliable. "For doing work in today's style a dictionary is the first requirement."⁵⁰

Indeed, the 800 pages *Āgamaśabdakośa* (and the 500 pages word-indices of the Upāṅgas) are a considerable step forward and fulfil a lacuna. For the lexicographer, they are an indispensable companion to the five volumes containing the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. Instead of having to consult one of the earlier dictionaries and then to trace the desired word in an edition which is not necessarily the same as the one available to the author of the dictionary, one can now find it conveniently by consulting the Terāpanthin edition itself. Each *Ardhamāgadhī* entry is accompanied by its Sanskrit equivalent, or labelled as *Deśī* if no immediate Sanskrit equivalent is at hand. In addition, the occurrences are presented exhaustively. Indeed, Āc. Tulsī's initial resolution (*saṃkalp* - a word that often comes under his pen) was to provide one book which would have covered all the words of the Aṅgas and

⁴⁹ Detailed references in Flügel 2018: 995-996.

⁵⁰ *Ādhunik śailī se kām karne ke lie sabse pahālī apekṣā śabdakośa hai* (Bhūmikā in Mahāprajña 1980).

Upāṅgas together. What is available has proved unique in its extent and invaluable in its quality.

It is only very recently (in February 2022) that online searchable Jain Āgamas have become available on the Jainelibrary website. Earlier there was nothing of the sort, when specialists of the Pali Tipiṭaka have so many resources at their disposal. In my opinion, even these searchable Āgamas will not supersede, at least for a time, the usefulness of the Terāpanth dictionaries as far as the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas are concerned.

Critical Editions of the Āgamas

Textual details of the Terāpanth Āgamic edition could certainly be discussed but it indisputably marks a real progress and reveals an awareness of the complexity of the material that has been handed down to us which was lacking in preceding editorial projects of the Jain scriptures. The first basic principle of a critical edition, which was not considered previously, is that manuscripts or other material have to be selected, identified, described clearly and mentioned in a critical apparatus. This is systematically done in the project under scrutiny. All the volumes have introductions where the manuscripts used are described (*pratiparicay*, *hastalikhitparicay*). Different manuscripts have to be used for different texts as there is no single manuscript which would include them all: they were often transmitted on an individual basis, and sometimes only, in small groupings. Further, apart from the manuscripts, one has to take into account the versions of the texts quoted or followed by the commentaries, along the centuries, whether they are in Prakrit or Sanskrit, not to speak of parallel passages which are repeated *verbatim* or with small differences from one work to another and need to be compared: Āc. Mahāprajña (1993: 49) takes the example of the second part of the *Ācārāṅga*, what he calls *Ācāracūlā*, and the *Niśītha*.

Editing means facing problems and implies choices. Āgamic editions produced by the Terāpanthin mendicants almost systematically devote an introductory section to the editorial method (*sampādan-paddhati*).⁵¹ The difficulties, in the form of variants, are adequately summed up and illustrated by Āc. Mahāprajña (1993: 54ff.). The variant readings have the following origins:

- A difference of tradition: see, for instance, the variants between the cūrṇi and the ṭīkā on the *Daśavaikālika*;

⁵¹ “Procedure adopted in editing the text”: for example US II: 42.

- Difficulties coming from graphic mistakes or confusions which give rise to new and persistent readings, then justified by the exegetical tradition;⁵²
- Changes having their origin in pronunciation;⁵³
- Mixture between the base text (*mūla*) and the commentary;
- Change in a reading of the commentary.

When Āc. Tulsī conceived his plan, about 1954-55, a new institution had recently been founded: the Prakrit Text Society in Varanasi in 1952. Its agenda included the publication of Āgamas as well. Thus, when the Terāpanthin *Daśavaikālika* edition appeared in 1957, Pandit Dalsukh Malvania, the then Secretary of the Prakrit Text Society, wrote a letter to the Jain Śvetāmbar Terāpanth Mahāsabhā.⁵⁴ He suggested that, since they had similar aims, Āc. Tulsī unites with Muni Puṇyavijaya (1895-1971) who was the monastic authority and inspiration of the Prakrit Text Society. This did not happen, with the result that two more or less competitive projects ran parallel, with volumes of Āgamas also being published under the name Jaina-Āgama-Series by the Prakrit Text Society from 1968 onwards. A somewhat polemical dialogue then took place between the two groups, traces of which are found in Āc. Mahāprajña's 1993 booklet. There were two seemingly irreconcilable parties. In the chapter *Samālocanā aur hamārā dr̥ṣṭikon* "Critique and our position" (pp. 80-99) the Ācārya answers the criticisms addressed at the Ladnun edition of the *Ācārāṅga* by Muni Jambūvijaya who edited the same work for the Jaina-Āgama-Series, and concludes that each of them has his own style because they both differ on the value assigned to the material they use (pp. 88, 46ff., 38ff.). The Ladnun edition of this work is based on rather recent manuscripts (16th-18th cent.) whereas the Jaina-Āgama-Series main characteristic is a systematic search for the oldest available manuscripts, so palm-leaf from Rajasthan or Gujarat. Later on, Āc. Tulsī and Mahāprajña also increasingly used reproductions of palm-leaf manuscripts. The latter assigns more value to the commentaries (both *cūrṇis* and *vyttis*, the former considered as more correct [p. 43]) than to the manuscripts, because they are older, and he firmly states:

"Muni Shri Jambuvijaya insists on the fact that one should keep exactly in the form it has the tradition which has been memorized for thousand years and the written form it has for thousand years. We have no objection to such a

⁵² E.g., *uddā / uṭṭā; addarūsaga / aṭṭarūsaga; candaṇa / vandaṇa; bhukkhā / lukkhā; pejja / thejja / dhejja* discussed in Mahāprajña 1993: 59-64.

⁵³ *ajjhattaḥ / ajjhatthaḥ; pamha / pamma*, cf. Mahāprajña 1993: 67-69.

⁵⁴ Mahāprajña 1993: 20f.

viewpoint, but the reality is that the uniformity (*ekarūpatā*) of the Āgamas is not available” (Mahāprajña 1993: 96).

The main issue of contention is the respective importance attached to the transmitted material: manuscripts versus commentary, and the way to decide in case of conflicting evidence, the difficulty being that it is virtually impossible to follow one and the same method all along. Such discussions are relevant because the motto of the Jain editors is the search for “correct reading” (*śuddha pāṭha; pāṭha-saṃśodhana*; Dulaharāj 1982). A search for something which is neither really defined nor really retrievable. For instance, explaining the “procedure adopted in editing the text” of the *Prajñāpanā*, Āc. Mahāprajña clearly states that the Jaina-Āgama-Series edition by Muni Puṇyavijaya was before them. But, he adds:

“We do not take for granted a single manuscript or edition for our work. The important basic points for us are the critical exposition of the commentary, other parallel āgamic texts and the meanings of words. Accordingly, the reader will find many a deliberation in our edition for the purpose of arriving at correct readings” (US II: 42).

And then he gives a few instances. Anyway, for the user who deals with texts that have been edited under both projects, it is advisable to apply *anekānta* and to study each case carefully. In brief, it is a strength to have two editions rather than only one, especially as both are the outcomes of work achieved with utmost thoughtfulness and care.

Non-sectarian Approach

When the Terāpanth decided to publish the Āgamas, voices among Jains rose to state their doubts, with some contempt. Āc. Mahāprajña narrates how Pandit Sukhlalji (1880-1978; Sukhlal Sanghavi), who was born in a Sthānakavāsī family but was known for his open-mind and non-sectarian attitude, once said: “What work on Āgamas will Terāpanthin mendicants do? Will they not give them a sectarian tinge?” (*sāmpradāyik raṅg*; Mahāprajña 1993:19). However, after he had seen the first product, the edition/translation of the *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, he completely changed his mind, writing:

“Now I am confident that you are the ones who will work for the development of Jain Āgamas and philosophy. Āc. Tulsī has genius (*pratibhā*) and reason (*sūjh-būjh*). He has around him a good group of scholars and young monks and

nuns. Therefore it is he who will be able to work for the development of Jain knowledge” (Mahāprajña 1993: 19)

The sectarian bias was a concern of which Āc. Tulsī was fully aware. In the initial meeting which had been organized for the public launching of the Āgamic editorial project he had clearly stated:

“We should fully keep to impartiality and do justice to the Āgamas so that there is no sectarian obstination whatsoever (*kahīm sāmpradāyik āgrah na ho*). In case there is somewhere some separate tradition in the basic meaning of the Āgama, we can mention it in a note” (Mahāprajña 1993: 7f.)

This attitude of textual criticism was not so obvious as it may seem. For example, when Āc. Tulsī met the German scholar Gustav Roth (1916-2008) who said he was using the Sthānakavāsi edition of the Āgamas by Puppha Bhikkhu, the two volumes called *Suttāgame* published in 1954, the Ācārya pointed to the multiple defects which were due to sectarian bias (Mahāprajña 1993: 12-13). This reinforced in him the notion of editing critically and identifying variants (*pāṭhsampādan*).

The thirty-two official Āgamas recognized by the Terāpanth are not the only ones that have been actually published by their mendicants. Their work has also covered texts that are traditionally not strictly recognized as authoritative by aniconic Jain groups, such as the *Isibhāsiyāim* “The Sayings of the Seers.” These philosophical poems have been a challenge for scholarship that has varied between considering them as very early or rather apocryphal. Here we meet a person who has been playing an extremely crucial role in giving access to Āgamic works in a rigorous way over the last three decades: Samaṇī Kusumprajñā (PhD, Professor at the Jain Vishva Bharati). Her critical edition and Hindi translation furnished with appendices of the poems of the *ṛṣis* (2011) is a model and contains numerous useful hints or parallels for the understanding of their often cryptic style.

I largely benefited from its perusal when I worked on poetic language and imagery of this text (Balbir 2014b), especially as, despite the earlier edition and German translation by Schubring and despite the critical edition of the Jaina-Āgama-Series, scholarship going into the details of the text has remained rather limited and has been concerned in the first place with identifying the names of the *ṛṣis* in a comparative perspective.

Samaṇī Kusumprajñā has been extremely hard-working and active in producing also critical editions accompanied with Hindi translations, introductions and impressive notes, of works belonging to the early exegetical strata on the Āgamas, namely the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣyas* in Prakrit, a corpus on which Terāpanth mendicants have laid their hands in a decisive

manner in the last decades with ever ongoing new publications. Some of these Prakrit verse commentaries had been edited previously but most often not critically and others, especially those on the books of discipline (Chedasūtras) were not accessible or contained only the text without any tool for the guidance, which, in the case of these difficult and technical texts, is utmost necessary. They are now furnished with welcome Hindi translations (mainly by Samaṇī Kusumprajñā, but also by other samaṇīs or sādhvīs and by Muni Dulaharāj). All these bulky books are landmarks for the understanding of these still neglected works. Samaṇī Kusumprajñā has also been actively involved in producing complementary aids for the reading of exegetical literature, in particular the dictionary of synonyms (*Ekārthakośa* 1984), whereas two sādhvīs (Siddhaprajñā and Nirvāṇaśrī 1984) prepared the dictionary of etymologies (*Niruktakośa* 1984). Both the dictionaries address the two main explanatory techniques used in Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas.⁵⁵ This is another instance showing how the Terāpanth systematically and intelligently plans their work, managing to publish original texts along with additional companion volumes.

Although it does not belong technically to the Āgamas, I would like to mention one of the latest achievements of Samaṇī Kusumprajñā: her critical edition with Hindi translation, notes and appendices of Nemicandra's *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (2022). This very important and synthetic 11th century treatise belongs so-to-say to the periphery of the Āgamas, for its 1599 Prakrit stanzas are a rewriting in a topic wise presentation of material that was found therein, with the aim to suit new audiences. In the line of Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas it resorts to programmatic verses (*dvāragāthā*) listing catchwords that are then expanded upon. This work had already been published several times, but here for the first time in a critical way and with valuable appendices such as a list of synonyms, of local words (*deśī*), of comparisons and examples. This also implies a thoughtful layout presentation (Fig. 3) and elaborate printing which, in recent years, has been taken care of by a major printing house at Udaipur (Payorite Print Media).

All these examples converge in showing that the 20th-21st century Terāpanth does not exclude investigation on any Āgamic scripture in principle. As far as I know, they have not published any of the Prakīrṇakas so far, although they had consulted some of them during their editorial work. This would not be surprising as this category, the Miscellany, is not even regarded as fully stable among the Mūrtipūjaks who, despite that, recognize the authority of ten of them. But, in fact, Prakīrṇakas had been announced in the Terāpanth Āgamic publication plan: “The work of editing other canons is in progress. They are likely to contain

⁵⁵ In the volumes of Niryukti/Bhāṣya literature edited by Samaṇī Kusumprajñā there are appendices recording synonyms and etymologies found in the individual texts: e.g., *Vyavahārabhāṣya* (1996: Appendices 105-112), *Jītakalpabhāṣya* (2010: 552-556).

prakīrṇaka, niryukti and bhāṣya” (US II (39)). So we wait and see. Anyway, the Terāpanth broad and inclusive approach in Tulsī-Mahāprajña(-Mahāśramaṇa) era is worth noting, especially if compared with the attitude of preceding ācāryas.

Tools for Understanding

Not only have the Terāpanthins achieved critical editions and translations of the Āgamas in Āc. Tulsī's and Āc. Mahāprajña's era. They have also shown genuine concern to produce side publications meant as aids for readers, especially in the format of dictionaries or encyclopedias. This undertaking is still ongoing. The area which has been covered at first is technical terminology relating to doctrinal concepts. This is done in the *Śrībhikṣu Āgam Viṣay Koś*, the title of which is probably a pun with the Terāpanth founder's name and is rendered into English as *Cyclopaedia of Jain Canonical Texts*. The first part (Mahāprajña 1996a) covers 178 subjects, based on five Āgamas: *Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika, Uttarādhyayana, Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra*. The second part (2005) covers 124 subjects, based on four Chedasūtras: *Niśītha, Daśāśruta, Kalpa, Vyavahāra* to which are added the *Ācārāṅgacūlās*, as they share a lot of common material with the *Niśītha*. The introduction to the first part mentions other dictionaries that had been produced among the Jains. The method of the Terāpanth encyclopedia as well as the typical layout (with a box providing a table of contents) and structure of the entries clearly suggest that the order wanted to produce a Śvetāmbara counterpart to the Digambara *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa* of Varṇī (1970-73), a fundamental resource. Entries such as *upadhi* “monastic equipment” (Mahāprajña 1996a: 150-154) or *mantra-vidyā* (pp. 505-508) are exemplary instances of detailed analyses. Through the volume dealing with Chedasūtra material, in particular, one has easy access to quotations with translations on issues that have been discussed among today Jains, such as the suitable age for initiation, the direct access of nuns to the Chedasūtras etc. (Mahāprajña 2005: 232-244 and 293-303 entries Chedasūtra and *dīkṣā*). The two volumes encyclopaedia was elaborated at a time when digital tools and search were still nascent. But I do think that these two volumes have not been superseded and, anyway, have to be at least checked as a primary resource.

Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña have encouraged an all-inclusive approach of the Āgamic contents with the idea to also emphasize its richness in terms of cultural information, going beyond religious vocabulary, and to underline the necessity of studying these contents thematically. This has been the starting point of three dictionaries (*kośas*) on *realia*: 1) of the plant world (*Vanaspati Koś*: Mahāprajña 1996b), 2) of animals (*Prāṇī Koś*: Mahāprajña 1999), 3) of musical instruments (*Vādya Koś*: Mahāprajña 2004). The problem which often rises with the vocabulary of these specific areas is to understand what the words cover and to identify the words with realities. As Āc. Mahāprajña rightly states, the Āgamas are replete

with lists (Hindi *tālikā*) for which the commentaries do not provide any explanation (and such lists are an important feature of Jain literature all along, illustrating the Jain concern to cover extensively all the aspects of the world and all areas of knowledge). Very often, the commentators dismiss such words with Sanskrit phrases like *lokato avaseyāḥ* “they should be understood from common usage” or *avyākhyāyās tu bhedāḥ lokataḥ pratyetyāyāḥ* “varieties cannot be commented upon, they have to be inferred from common usage” (Mahāprajña 1999: (4); 2004: (6)), perhaps suggesting that knowledge was lost already in their time. Any reader of the Āgamas stumbles upon this challenge, facing words that do not have any Sanskrit etymology or are not commonly mentioned outside lists where there is no supporting context. These thematic dictionaries give the Prakrit word with its textual references followed by equivalents in Hindi and, occasionally, other modern Indo-Aryan languages, supplementing them with descriptions in Hindi and, whenever possible, a picture. Rightly, the authors of these dictionaries have extended their search much beyond Jain sources, trying to find parallels and equivalents in special Sanskrit *śāstras* on the topics in point but also in specialized literature of our times. One word they claim to have solved is Pkt. *āmoḍa/āmoya*, one of the 49 musical instruments listed in the *Rājaprasnīya*, the second Upāṅga, when the god Suriyābha insists on magically creating a theatrical performance on the occasion of Mahāvīra's *samavasaraṇa* (US I: 104 sūtra 77). This word, they write, is used in regions close to Manipur and Tibet to refer to cymbals and they base the detailed description of the instrument on this identification found in “regional drawings” (Mahāprajña 2004: 2). There is no reason not to believe this. However, one would have liked to have more information on the sources used. An internet search gives reference only to the Terāpanthin dictionary. Since the identification adduced does not seem to belong to common knowledge, the reader feels slightly frustrated. But this seems to be an unfortunate isolated case as references are regularly provided otherwise. Anyway, one of the results achieved by the authors' careful investigation is to demonstrate how the Jain Āgamic lists preserve a number of terms which are rare but have been continuously attested throughout the development of Indo-Aryan languages and how these lists may designate instruments that have been used only at a regional level. One such case is Pkt. *vevā* (Mahāprajña 2004: 41) in a list with no explanation. Here establishing a link with modern Indo-Aryan *pepā* makes perfect sense. This word designates a horn reed which has been part of Assamese musical instruments and is still used today, apparently only in this area. It could suggest that the Jain Āgama has here preserved a very old word of Eastern Indian origin which would have been integrated into Ardhamāgadhī. In addition, by giving access to all the available data, the musical instruments dictionary conveniently allows to synthetically get an idea about the formation of this area of vocabulary and to observe how complex imitative words are central (e.g., *kirikiriya*, a snake-shaped instrument, *piripiriya*, a kind of flute, Mahāprajña 2004: 8 and 26). It is also clearly seen how these lists are repositories

which go beyond sectarian boundaries. For instance, the presence of *siṃg* “horn”, actually made of a buffalo horn, in Jain lists is not felt problematic although it is an animal part. Similarly, in the area of zoology, Āc. Mahāprajña and the co-author Muni Vīrendra Kumār single out examples of obscure designations which can be clarified if regional languages are taken into account (e.g., 1999: (vii) on *pakkhivirālī*, litt. “winged-cat” designating a species of night bird). All these books confirm the persistent interest of the Terāpanth teachers for the vocabulary of the Āgamas and their enduring efforts to grasp it in its complexities. One additional attempt is represented by the *Deśīśabdakośa* (1988) which, although not confined to the Āgamas, draws heavily on all their strata.

Sanskrit

As we have seen throughout, the Tulsī-Mahāprajña era intensely promoted the use of Hindi as the language of communication in order to mediate the Prakrit. Simultaneously, direct access was given to the original Āgamas in their original language. The 20th century Terāpanth has thus come a long way from the quasi-monolingual period of the first ācāryas with Rajasthani as the medium. Today, printed editions of Āc. Bhikṣu and Jayācārya's compositions open with prefaces stating that since Rajasthani is becoming difficult to understand, the original Rajasthani writings need to be equipped with Hindi translations.⁵⁶ Similarly, the extremely well organized Terāpanth has also managed to give an increasing place to English: Hindi introductions in Āgamic editions and translations are often followed by their English renderings. Several Terāpanth books originally written in Hindi have been translated into English, by their own monks (e.g. Muni Shri Mahendra Kumar, 1937-2023) or by various other people.

But what is, then, the position of Sanskrit? Learning Sanskrit has not always been prominent within the Terāpanth. The first seeds in this respect were sown by Jayācārya in the 19th century.⁵⁷ The story goes that at a time where various kings reigned in Rajasthan, Sanskrit was studied but it was the unique privilege of brahmins and knowledge was not shared easily. Young Muni Jītmal was very eager to learn the language, but there was no one to teach him. A Jain layman's son came to pay his respects and explained that he was studying it. The *muni* told him to come in the evenings and to speak to him what he had learnt during the day. So it went. Jītmal learnt by heart two grammatical works and later wrote Rajasthani renderings of them for the benefit of other people.⁵⁸ At the end of 12 years spent as mendicant,

⁵⁶ See for instance BhTS introduction: iv.

⁵⁷ Compare Flügel 1996: 132: “Jayācārya reintroduced Sanskrit literacy into monastic education.”

⁵⁸ The *Ākhyāt rī Jor* and the *Sādhanikā*, cf. Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 21 and 270, and Bhikhāmṃjī 1982: 604.

so at the age of 21, he had mastered Sanskrit and was able to use the Sanskrit commentaries for his own works (see, above, the *Bhagavatī Jor*).⁵⁹

Under the leadership of Āc. Tulsī and Āc. Mahāprajña, developing knowledge and practice of Sanskrit among Terāpanthin mendicants became a central item on the agenda. The eighth ācārya, Kālūgaṇi (1877-1937) wanted to increase it as he considered it was lacking within the monastic order and he had entrusted this task to Āc. Tulsī (Saṃgītaprajñā 2012: 16). Himself and his disciple Āc. Mahāprajña both handled Sanskrit with utmost dexterity and have composed a good deal of literary works in Sanskrit, from poetry *ex tempore* (*āśukavitva*) to hymns of praise (*stotra*) and *mahākāvyas*.⁶⁰

The development of Sanskrit knowledge within the Terāpanth has been the result of a clear and systematic project and has been achieved progressively. The presence of several Pandits who taught on an individual basis or, after 1991, within an institutional frame at the Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, has been instrumental. It was also supported by new Sanskrit grammars which had been composed by several Terāpanthin mendicants. As soon as 1975, Āc. Tulsī was in a position to write: “I had dreamt that several monks and nuns become experts in Sanskrit. My dream has come true. The monastic order has become a center of excellence in the field” (Tulsī's benediction in Nathmal 1975). Thirty-five years later, in 2010, Āc. Mahāprajña's successor, Āc. Mahāśramaṇa could confirm this:

“Sanskrit has known a praiseworthy development within the Terāpanth. Several gurus have become scholars in the gods' language. Ordinary mendicants also have acquired proficiency in it. On the other hand, nuns and samaṇīs have also appropriated the study of Sanskrit.”⁶¹

The final statement shows that this knowledge does not exclude any member of the order and has become pervasive.

In connection with the present topic, the Sanskrit *bhāṣya* on the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* composed by Āc. Mahāprajña (1994; English translation 2001) is an interesting undertaking,

⁵⁹ Tulsī and Mahāprajña 1981: 21 and Bhikhāṃjī 1982: 604.

⁶⁰ I have recently devoted to this aspect of Āc. Mahāprajña's production two articles, one on the *mahākāvya Aśruvīṇā* which focuses on *bhakti* and *śraddhā*, and tears as a means to express them (Balbir 2024), the other one on Āc. Mahāprajña's hymns of praise he has composed in honour of Āc. Tulsī when he was Muni Nathmal but also after he had himself become an ācārya (Balbir in the press).

⁶¹ *Terāpanthadharmasaṃghe saṃskṛtabhāṣyāḥ stutyo vikāsaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ. dharmasaṃghasya naike ācāryāḥ gīrvāṇavāṇyāḥ vidvaṃsaḥ saṃjātāḥ. munayo 'pi tasyāḥ vaiduṣyam alabhanta. sādhwībhiḥ samaṇībhiś cāpi devavāṇī svādhyāyasya viṣayīkṛtā:* Preface to *Prakṛtīvihāra* (Mahāprajña 2010) dated 11 August 2010. Several pages of Mahashraman 2019: 60f., 64-66 narrate some of the stages which led to this result.

which, as usual, resulted from of Āc. Tulsī's impulse. Says the author in one of the duly composed *praśasti* verses:

“Available here are *bhāṣyas* composed previously in Sanskrit language by experts. Do compose, in the language of gods a *bhāṣya* on the Ācāra which will be worthy of high praise, o you merits-wisher!”⁶²

In the Jain exegetical tradition on Ardhamāgadhī Āgamas, *bhāṣya* has a specific technical meaning and designates a Prakrit verse commentary, mostly in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Some of them are independent when some others combine *niryukti* and *bhāṣya* verses, and the distinction between both is not always clear.⁶³ Here, *bhāṣya* is not that. On the contrary, the idea is to place the *Ācārāṅga* in the mainstream of Sanskrit exegesis on sūtras or sacred texts such as the Upaniṣads. So far the only Jain text which had a commentary in this style was the *Tattvārthasūtra*. So Āc. Mahāprajña's work is a Sanskrit prose commentary systematically dealing with each sentence or phrase of the first part of the *Ācārāṅga*. The second part, which Terāpanth ācāryas name Cūlā “Appendix” and which deals with monastic life in a way that brings it close to the books of discipline, is not included in the commentarial process. In the line of most *bhāṣyas*, the discussions include questions and objections, as well as syllogistic argumentation of the classical format. In fact, Āc. Tulsī's plan was to get produced something similar to Śāṅkara's works for what is regarded as a fundamental Jain sacred text. One of the *praśasti*-verses underlines that the author has taken into account the full available Jain corpus of explanation on the *Ācārāṅga*:

“Having correctly examined the *cūrṇi* and the *vṛtti* and the sacred *joṛ* written by Jayācārya, and having put at the head the *sūtra*, Āc. Mahāprajña has applied his mind to the *bhāṣya*”⁶⁴

⁶² *bhāṣyaṃ purā saṃskṛtabhāṣiteṣu*
vinirmītaṃ labdham ihāsti vijñaiḥ
Ācārabhāṣyaṃ mahanīyam uccaiḥ
gīrvāṇavāṇyāṃ kuru puṇyakāma ! [upajāti] (*Acharanga-Bhasyam* 2001: 545 vs. 3).

⁶³ See above and below references for those edited by Terāpanthin mendicants.

⁶⁴ *cūrṇiṃ ca vṛttiṃ samavekṣya samyak*
‘Joḍaṃ’ Jayācāryakṛtāṃ prapūṇyāṃ
sūtraṃ ca sāḅṣāt pravīdhāya bhāṣye.
jātā Mahāprajñamanaḥpravṛttiḥ. (*Acharanga-Bhasyam* 2001: 546 vs. 5).

As far as I know, Jayācārya's *joṛ* is unpublished, but of course available internally in some form to the Terāpanthin Ācāryas.

So, a three-language corpus in Prakrit (*cūrṇi*), Sanskrit (*vṛtti* by Śīlāṅka) and Rajasthani (Jayācārya's transcreation). But this statement is far from doing justice to what the bhāṣya really covers. First of all, it includes many cross-references to Jain Āgamic texts other than the *Ācārāṅga*, to an extent that is hardly seen in traditional non-philosophical Jain exegesis. It also takes support from numerous stories found anywhere in the Āgamas. One step further: Āc. Mahāprajña's *bhāṣya* mentions and discusses many authors or sources that do not find place in traditional Śvetāmbara commentaries, starting with Kundakunda or other more distinctly Digambara authors and continuing with Sāṃkhya, Upaniṣads, Āyurveda, Arthaśāstra, Sanskrit epics or *kāvya*. A wide-read author, he also takes into account the achievements of modern scientists (*vaijñānika*), whether they are contemporary geologists (*idānīṃtanāh bhūvaijñānikāḥ*), psychoanalysts (*manovaijñānika*) such as “Freud-mahodaya” or biologists and neurologists. After all, Āc. Mahāprajña is also the inventor and promotor of Prekṣā Dhyān which is presented as based on modern science. Thus the Sanskrit *Ācārāṅga bhāṣya* is the work of a 20th century erudite thinker who does not exclude on principle any available source, whatever its provenance. This openness is the real originality and novelty of this enterprise and informs some of the detailed discussions on key-concepts which the work has to offer, on *ātman*, living beings and many more.

Let us note that Āc. Mahāprajña had composed another modern bhāṣya, this one on the *Bhagavatīsūtra*. But he writes: “We had written Bhāṣya on Āyāro in Sanskrit, but we have preferred Hindi for writing the bhāṣya on Bhagavaī.” Its English translation is included in the 2005 Terāpanthin edition with text in transliteration and English translation.

Concluding Observations

Under the leadership of Āc. Tulsī aptly continued by Āc. Mahāprajña through numerous developments, the Terāpanth has definitely acquired a very special and central place among Jain monastic orders in the field of Āgamic work. It has successfully produced tools in the form of books that are wide reaching to large audiences. These undertakings are praiseworthy as they are based on the idea that Āgamas are there to be understood in-depth rather than to remain shrouded in mystery and accessible for a limited group of persons. At the same time, Terāpanth mendicants in all their components have undoubtedly contributed to increase the level of scholarship in the field through their first and learned critical editions of Āgamic literature in its diversity furnished with detailed introductions, translations, notes and indices. In a way, their intellectual ambition and coherent large-scale project are in the line of the original Jain tradition where Pkt. *pavayaṇa* refers to an open teaching, that is accessible to all

and not restricted, in contrast with the Vedic teaching for instance. On the way, we have seen how Āc. Tulsī's inspiration, implemented by Āc. Mahāprajña, took the form of a multi-handed work in which a number of nuns and samaṇīs have been fully involved. The examination of the Terāpanth's work on the Āgamas from the 18th century, the time of the founder Āc. Bhikṣu, until today, also demonstrates the flexible attitude of the Terāpanth, and more generally of the Jains, towards the issue of sacred language: Ardhamāgadhī is the basic Prakrit of the Śvetāmbara Āgamas, but the vernacular(s) do(es) not lag behind in authoritativeness. In the premodern period (Āc. Bhikṣu, Jayācārya), Rajasthani was the current medium of the area where the teachers lived and worked, but, nevertheless, it was not considered minor, vulgar or inadequate for approaching the scriptures. Hence it did not lack any sacred character. On the contrary, its being used by Jain mendicants for an in-depth approach of the Jain scriptures contributed to its presence as a literary language materialized through a large number of compositions.

Let me conclude with a wish: that Western scholarship makes more systematic use of all the resources the Terāpanth has to offer in the area of Āgamic studies, and that, on their side, Terāpanthin ascetics perhaps take better note of the work that has been achieved on this side of the world beyond the time of Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937).

Abbreviations

AC = Ācārya Bhikṣu's *Anukampā rī copāī*

AS I to III = *Aṃgasuttāṇi*

BhĀS = *Ācārya Bhikṣu Ākhyān Sāhitya*

BhGR I or II = *Bhikṣu Grantha Ratnākar*

BhJ 1 to 7 = *Bhagavatī Joṛ*

BhTS = *Ācārya Bhikṣu Tattva Sāhitya*

d. = duhā

ḍh. = ḍhāl

PJ = *Paramparā rī Joṛ*

PT = *Praśnottara Tattvabodha*

US I-II = *Uvaṃgasuttāṇi*

vs. = verse

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Appendix

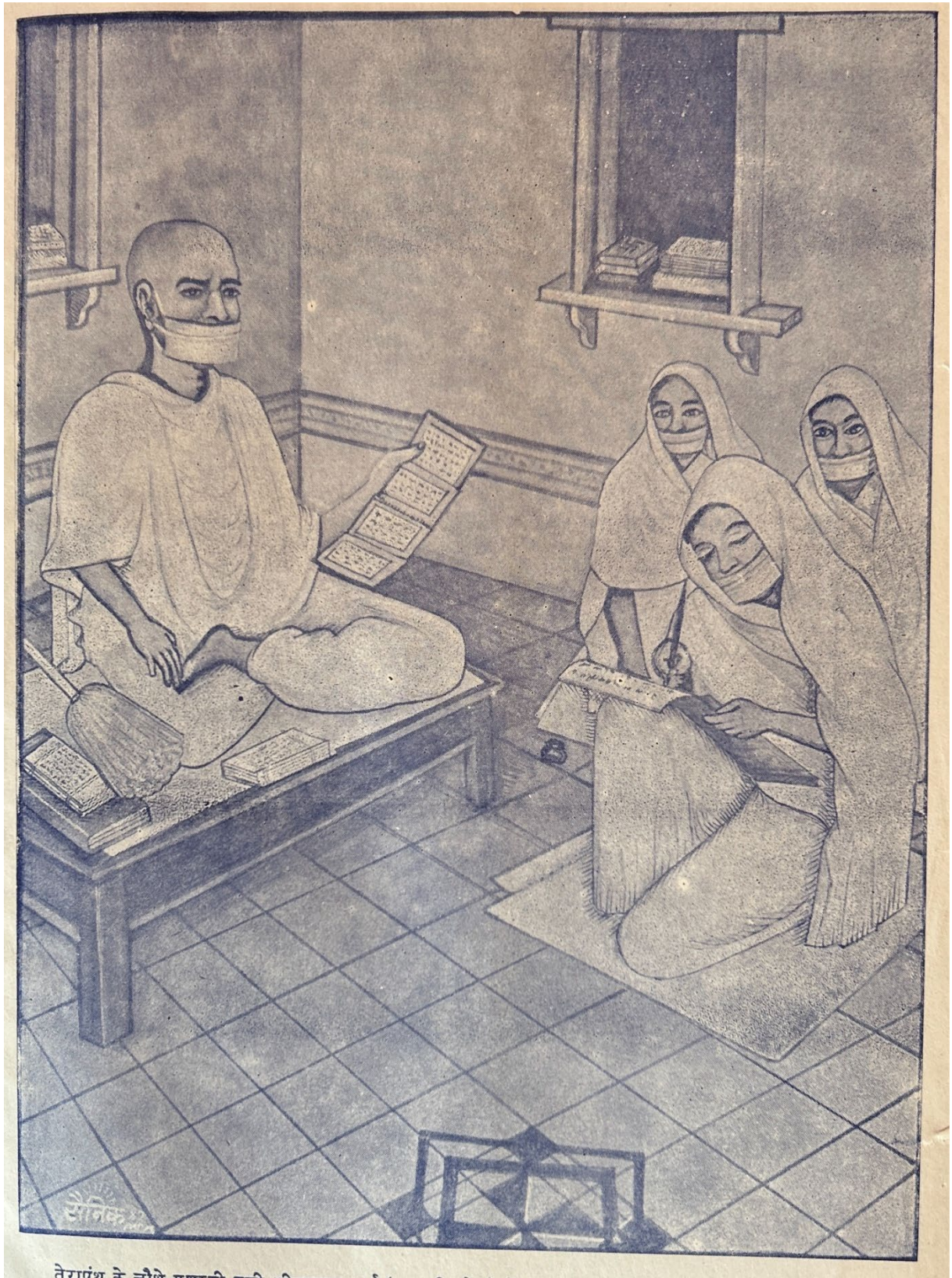
Overview of Ācārya Bhikṣu's narrative writings

Title	Edition	Date and place of composition	Canonical source(s) mentioned
1. Gosālā rī caupāī	BhGR II: 1-66. Also in BhJ 4: 383-429	VS 1846 at Kheravā (mod. Kherwa, dist. Pali)	<i>Bhagoṭī rā panaramā sataka meṃ Gosālā ro idhakāra/ tiṇa anusāre hūṃ kahūṃ, te sābhalajo visatāra</i> (d. 3, p. 3)
2. Ceḍā Koṇaka rī siṃgha	BhGR II: 67-93	VS 1843 in the village Saṇavara (mod. Sanwar, dist. Udaipur)	<i>siṃgha Ceḍā neṃ Koṇaka taṇī, Nirāvalakā Bhagoṭī māṃya / tiṇa anusāre hūṃ kahūṃ</i> (d.1), very close to AC 3.39: <i>Ceḍā neṃ Koṇika nī vāratā, Nirāvalikā Bhagoṭī sākha re</i>
3. Tāmālī tāpasa ro bakkhāṇa	BhGR II: 95-106; BhĀS 5 no. 1	VS 1849 at Kelavā (mod. Kelawa, dist. Jaisalmer)	<i>tiṇa rī vāta kahī Viradhamāna jiṇa, sūtara Bhagoṭī re māhi</i> (dūhā 4, p. 97)
4. Udāī rājā ro vakkhāṃṇa	BhGR II: 107-118; BhĀS 5 no. 2	VS 1842 in the village Goghūṃdā (dist. Udaipur)	[<i>Bhagavatīśūtra</i> XIII.6]
5. Sakaḍāla putara ro v.	BhGR II: 119-145; BhĀS 5 no. 3	VS 1849 at Kelavā (mod. Kelawa, dist. Jaisalmer)	<i>Upāsagadasā rā sātāmā adhena me, Sakaḍālaputara no idhakāra / te śrāvaka huṃto Gosālā taṇo, teha no kahūṃ visatāra</i> (d.1)
6. Subāhu kumāra ro v.	BhGR II: 147-165; BhĀS 5 no. 4	VS 1849 at Kelavā (mod. Kelawa, dist. Jaisalmer), Bhādrapada, dark fortnight 7, a Thursday [= Thursday 9 August 1792]	[<i>Vipākasūtra</i> II.1]

7. Mrgāloḍhā ro v.	BhGR II: 167-190	VS 1849 at Kelavā (mod. Kelawa, dist. Jaisalmer), Bhādrapada, bright fortnight 12, a Wednesday [= Wednesday 29 August 1792]	<i>Migāputara nīm vāratā, Dukhavipāka sūtara re māmya / te dukhe dukhe jāsi mugata me, tiṇa rī bāta suṇoṃ citta lyāya</i> (d. 3)
8. Uṃvaradatta ro v.	BhGR II: 193-199	VS 1835 at Ameṇṭa (Mewar)	<i>Vipākasūtara re adhenā sātame, Uṃbaradatta ro idhakāra / te jīva Dhanantara ro, te suṇayo visatāra</i> (d. 1)
9. Dhanā aṇagāra ro v.	BhGR II: 200-214	VS 1834 at Siriyārī (dist. Pali)	<i>visatāra kahyo Dhanāṃ taṇo e, Aṇuttarovāi re adhikāra</i> (p. 214 vs. 21)
10. Mallinātharī caupā	BhGR II: 215-264; BhĀS 2 no. 1	VS 1847 at Pura (Mewar), probably dist. Bhilwara	<i>Mallināthajī nī vāratā, sūtara Gināta māmya / āṭhama adhyayana taṇe majhe, bhākha jayā jinarāya</i> (p. 217 vs. 2)
11. Thāvacāputara ro vakkhāṇa	BhGR II: 265-317; BhĀS 2 no. 2	VS 1847 at Pura (Mewar)	<i>Ginātā rā pāṅcamāṃ adhenā me ... tiṇe aṇusāre</i> (vs. 1)
12. Draupadī ro v.	BhGR II: 319-370	VS 1834 at Paupāḍa (Marwar)	<i>Ginātā rā solamāṃ adhenā me, Draupadī noṃ adhikāra</i> (vs. 2)
13. Tetālī pradhāno ro v.	BhGR II: 371-396; BhĀS 5 no. 5	VS 1847 at Pura	<i>Ginātā rā cavadamā adhyayana me Tetālī pradhāna ro adhikāra</i> (vs. 1)
14. Jinarakkhi Jinapāla ro v.	BhGR II: 397-404	no date	<i>nāvā ro visatāra che, sūtra Jñātā māhyo re</i> (p. 400 vs. 11)
15. Nanda maṇiyāra ro v.	BhGR II: 405-413; BhĀS 4 no. 2	VS 1834 at Sīrīyārī (dist. Pali)	<i>Jñātā rā teramā adhenā meṃ, Nadamaṇiyāra ro iddhikāra / tiṇa anusāre hū kahū te puṇo visatāra</i> (vs. 1); also at the end: <i>Jñātā re anusārae, joḍyo Nadā ro idhakāra e</i> (dh. 4.27)

16. Puṇḍarīka Kuṇḍarīka ro v.	BhGR II: 415- 422	no date	[Jñātādharmakathā 19]
17. Bharata Cakravarti	BhGR II: 423- 554; BhĀS 1	VS 1848 at Mādhopur in Ḍhūṃḍhāra	<i>Bharata cakravarti nī vāratā, Jambūdvīpapannati māṃya / tiṇa anusāre hūṃ kahū te, suṇajo citta lyāya (vs. 1)</i>
18. Jambūkumāra carita	BhGR II: 555- 629; BhĀS 3 no. 1	VS 1840 at Copīpurā	<i>e copī joḍī Jambukumāra nī, jevo sūtra purāṇa Jambūpainnā kathā re anusāra ho (p. 629 vs. 21)</i>
19. Sudarśana carita	BhGR II: 631- 696; BhĀS 4 no. 1	VS 1845 at Nāthadvāra	No source identified.
20. Śreṇika ne Celaṇā ro adhikāra	BhGR II: 697- 704; BhĀS 4 no. 3	VS 1849 at Goguṃḍā (dist. Udaipur)	No direct source but characters of canonical background
21. Sās bahū ro coḍhāliyo	BhGR II: 705- 712; BhĀS 4 no. 4	VS 1848 at Mādhopur	--

Figures



तेरापंथ के चौथे गणपती गणपति श्रीगणेशाय नमः (BhJ 2: frontispiece page).
Fig. 1. Jayācārya speaking the *Bhagavatī Jor*, and the nun Gulābsatī writing it down (BhJ 2: frontispiece page).

१३. चउरासी शत सहस्र पद कांइ, तास परूप्या ताम ।
ए प्रत्यक्ष पंचम अंग विषे कांइ, वारू गुण नां धाम ॥
१४. अंग ते प्रवचन रूप जे कांइ, परम पुरुष नां दक्ष ।
अवयव छै तेहनै विषे कांइ, पद चौरासी लक्ष ॥
१५. प्रवचन रूपज जाणवो कांइ, परम पुरुष प्रत्यक्ष ।
तेहनां अवयव अंग विषे कांइ, पद चौरासी लक्ष ॥

आगमपुरुष

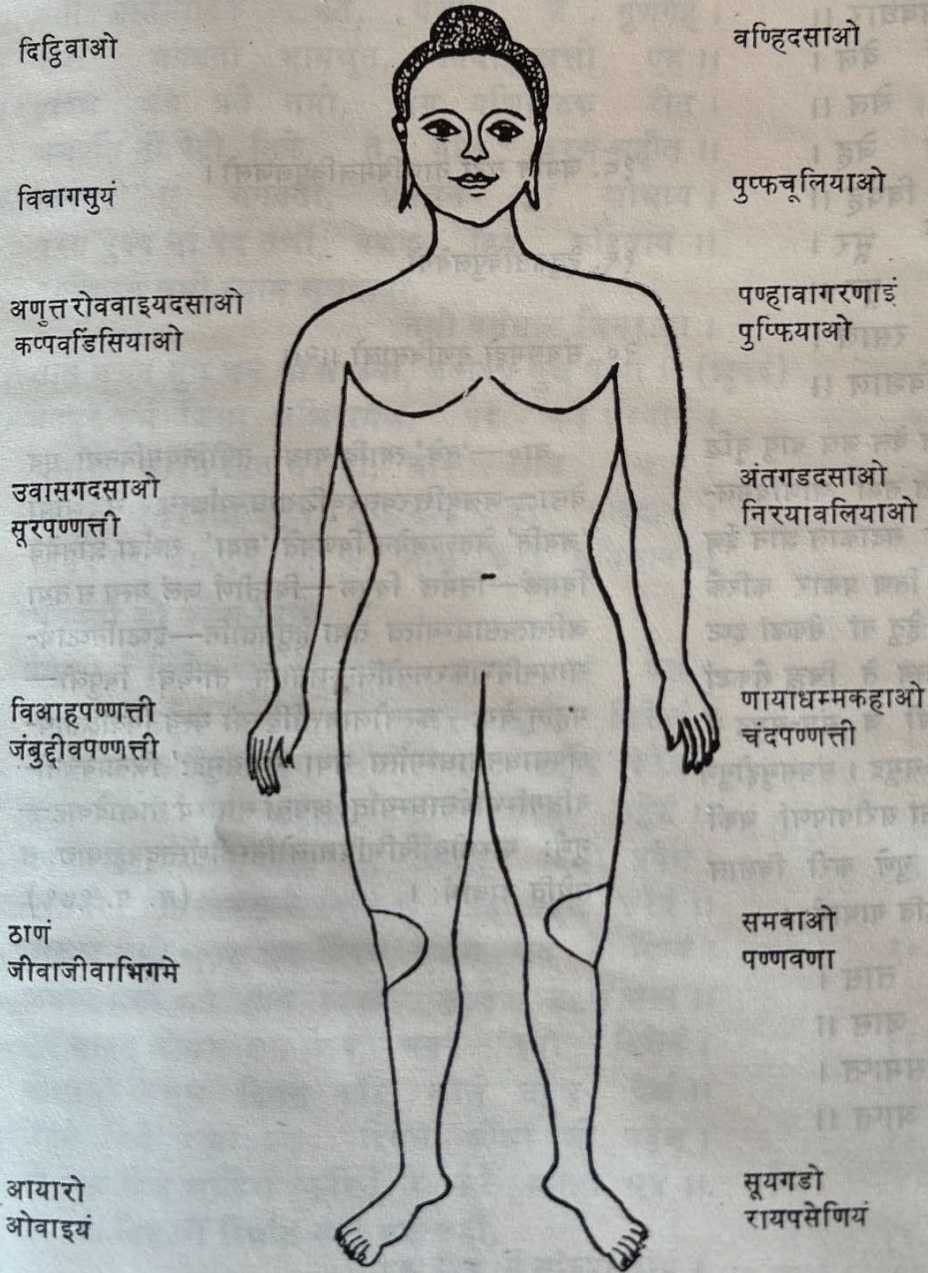


Fig. 2. Āgamapurusa yantra (BhJ 7: 455).

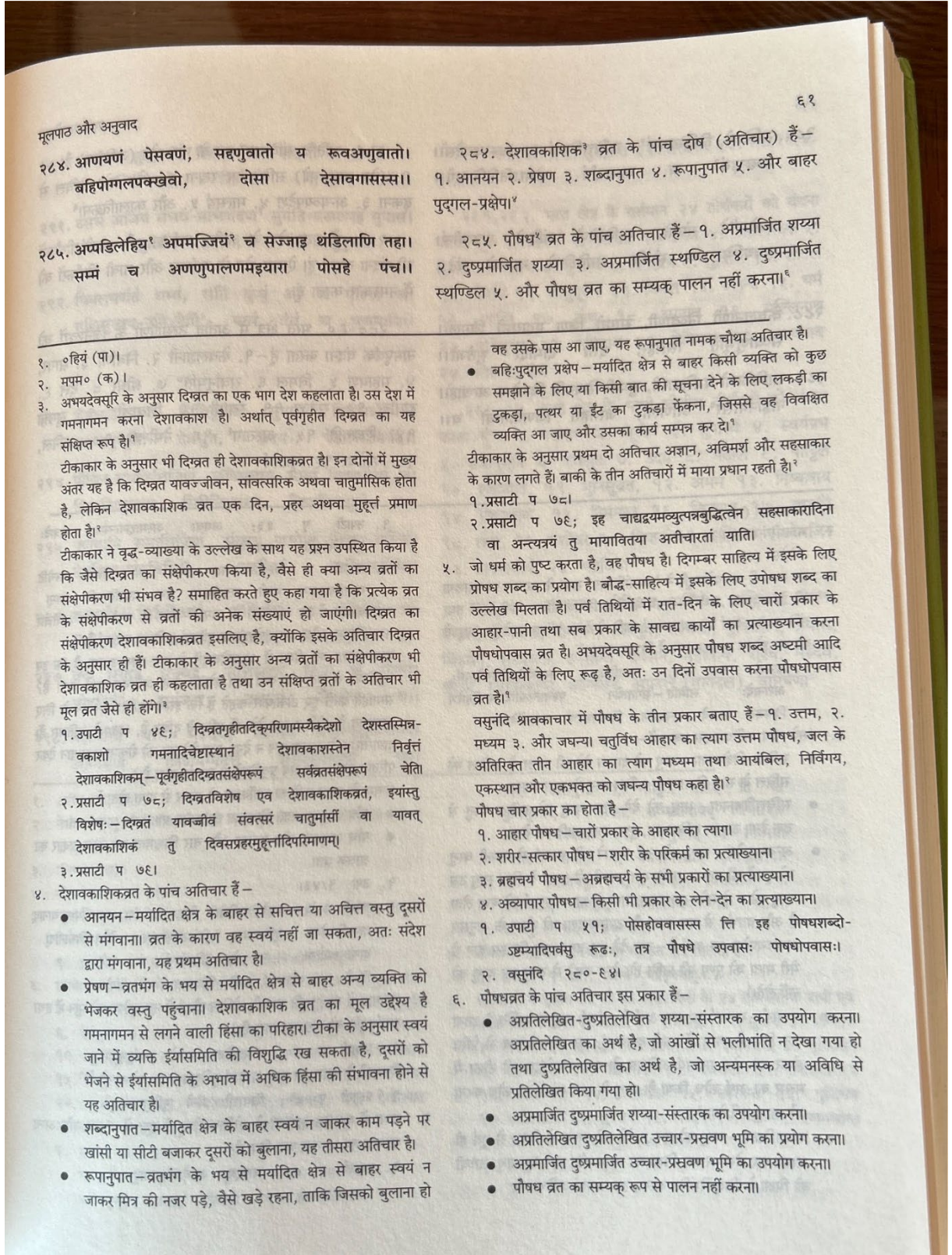


Fig. 3 Sample page of Pravacanasāroddhāra (2022) edited and translated by Samaṇī Kusumprajñā.