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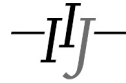
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A Digambara Jain Saṃskāra in the Early Seventeenth Century

Lay Funerary Ritual according to Somasenabhaṭṭāraka's *Traivarnikācāra*

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Abstract

This paper examines the description of the funeral ritual to be performed for a lay Digambara Jain which is provided by Somasenabhaṭṭāraka in his *Traivarnikācāra*, written in Maharashtra in 1610. This description represents the fullest textual account hitherto available of premodern Jain mortuary ceremonial for a non-renunciant. Despite Jainism's consistent rejection of brahmanical *śrāddha* ceremonies intended to nourish deceased ancestors, Somasenabhaṭṭāraka clearly regards the performance of these as a necessary component of post-funerary commemoration. The paper focusses on Somasenabhaṭṭāraka's references to *śrāddha* and the ancestors and suggests how categories deriving from brahman ritual ideology were maintained in a devalorised form in the Digambara Jain context.

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Keywords

Digambara Jainism; *śrāvākācāra*; *Traivarnikācāra*; funeral; *śrāddha*; hinduisation

Introduction

It is now approaching half a century since the publication of one of the most regularly cited works in the field of Jain studies, R. W. Williams' *Jaina Yoga: A Survey of the Medieval Śrāvākācāras* (= JY).¹ JY is a comprehensive overview of the extensive Śvetāmbara and Digambara *śrāvākācāra* literature

¹ Williams (1963).

produced from the beginning of the common era until the seventeenth century, delineating and synthesising in a series of overlapping thematic essays of disparate length the various facets of the many religious obligations incumbent on the Jain laity. The historical model followed is a loose mixture of the diachronic and synchronic, with issues of influence and indebtedness being briskly discussed in the introductory material on the forty-six Śvetāmbara and Digambara authors on whose *śrāvakācāras* JY draws. The result is a reference manual which can be consulted for authoritative guidance within a diffuse and often obscure body of material, a task now made easier since the one practical defect in JY's presentation, the lack of a comprehensive index, has recently been remedied.²

The salience of JY for the study of premodern Jainism is indisputable, and although, as its author well understood, the overall picture of duty and discipline which the survey mediates is highly idealised, not to say at times verging on the theoretical, the work has been regularly cited in ethnographic studies of the contemporary Jain community when its data are perceived to shed light on current practice. Yet, like many standard works, JY might also be adjudged to evince preconceptions which colour some of its broader interpretations, most notably in its claim that Jainism was gradually compromised in the course of its development by the introduction of customs and ritual practices of a 'worldly' (*laukika*), that is to say non-Jain, provenance which transformed it 'from a philosophy, a *darśana*, to a religion'.³ This process is deemed to reach its nadir at the close of the medieval period when, according to JY which refers with approval to the modern reforming paṇḍit Jugalkiśor Mukhtār who is associated with the promotion of an interiorised, purist brand of Digambara Jainism, 'elements contrary to the spirit of the religion are incorporated into the practice'.⁴ Of these 'late accretions from Hinduism', the ritual of *śrāddha* or *pitṛtarpaṇa*, the making of offerings to dead relatives, is held to be the most striking.⁵

In fact, despite its wide ranging conspectus of textual accounts of lay observance and ritual produced over more than a millenium, JY nowhere

² See Bollée (2008).

³ JY, xx.

⁴ JY, xxiv.

⁵ Ibid. For Mukhtār and his contribution to twentieth century Digambara Jainism, see Jain (2003). I borrow the term 'purist' from Carrithers (2000), 836. This perspective reflects the strong influence on northern Digambara Jainism from the seventeenth century of the Terāpanth, a lay tendency which expressed disquiet about various ritual institutions and practices such as the worship of 'worldly' deities. See Cort (2002), 50–66.

describes any sort of post mortem ceremonial as an actual feature of Jain practice, of whatever sect,⁶ and it can only be supposed that the aforementioned reference to *śrāddha* derives from an awareness that this subject was treated in Somasenabhaṭṭāraka's (henceforth Somasena) *Traivarnīkācāra* (= TVĀ), the latest extended Digambara source on lay activity to be utilised by Williams.⁷ This work is characterised by JY as presenting a 'picture of a very hinduized Jaina community in the Kannada country in the early seventeenth century', and Mukhtār is again referred to as supporting a purist perspective compared to which many of the practices described in the TVĀ would be regarded as 'contrary to Jainism'.⁸ Overall, the relatively few citations from Somasena's *śrāvākācāra* given by JY are intended solely to point a comparison with the well-known description of the *saṃskāras*, the central life-cycle rituals, described (albeit without any mention of funerary practice) by the ninth century Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa*.⁹

Aside from JY's cursory use of the TVĀ and a few passing references to the work by modern Jain commentators, Somasena's account of Digambara lay practice has remained largely ignored, no doubt partly owing to the rareness of the Bambaī edition of 1926 which seems to have found its way into very few libraries, but possibly also because the work's lateness and perceived unorthodoxy in its treatment of certain subjects may have rendered it in the opinion of Digambara modernist scholars and paṇḍits a marginal or even a suspect and maverick work.¹⁰ Notwithstanding this,

⁶ Neither 'death' nor 'funeral' are listed in Bollée's index to JY.

⁷ Śivakoṭī's short *Ratnamālā* may conceivably be later than the TVĀ. See JY, 31.

⁸ JY, 31.

⁹ JY, 276 and cf. Jaini (2001), 291–304.

¹⁰ In his fundamental study of premodern Digambara attitudes towards caste and society Phūlcandra Śāstrī cites the TVĀ only once, despite the fact that Somasena has much to say therein about *varṇa* hierarchy (see n. 26). See Phūlcandra Śāstrī (1999), 192 for TVĀ 7.142 which somewhat emollently describes the members of the four *varṇas* as differentiated in terms of behaviour but as being united as kinsmen within Jainism (*viprakṣatriyaviṣṭūdrā proktāḥ kriyāviśeṣataḥ/jainadharme parāḥ śaktās te sarve bāndhavopamāḥ*). A selection of verses from chapter eleven of the TVĀ (3, 4, 20, 24, 35–38, 40–41, 70–78, 82–83, 105, 174–176, 197, 199 and 204), which deals in detail with Jain marriage procedure, are cited in Champat Rai Jain's landmark work *The Jain Law*. Cf. JY, 283–284 and also Sangave (1980), 166. However, these TVĀ citations have been omitted without comment from the recent reprint entitled *Selections from the Jain Law*. Mukhtār (1946) is an authoritative attempt to establish the existence of an autonomous Jain marriage ritual which, despite referring to a range of Hindu texts, does not cite the eleventh chapter of the TVĀ. Ratankumār Jain in his study of Digambara Jain marriage from a historical and social perspective cites the TVĀ once (in Hindi translation and without specific reference) but under the title *Trivarnīkācāra*. See Jain (1963), 48. The TVĀ is conspicuously absent from Hīralāl Jain's

I propose to focus in this study upon the TVĀ's treatment of the various practices involved in the conduct of Digambara Jain funerary ritual, particularly in respect to its post-cremation commemorative dimension, and then to offer some remarks about how what are, from a Jain point of view, the apparent idiosyncracies of this description might be accounted for within the broader framework of South Asian religious culture. Firstly, however, because of the general unfamiliarity of the TVĀ I will attempt to contextualise the work historically beyond the meager information offered by JY by briefly discussing Somasena's identity, the nature of his *śrāvakācāra* and the identifiable influences upon it.

The Identity of Somasena

The 1926 edition of the TVĀ unfortunately provides no critical information about the text or its author beyond giving the date of its composition as 1610, as is mentioned in the *praśasti*. Paṇḍit Pannālāl Sonī, who is designated on the title page as the Hindi translator, does not present himself in his introduction as the editor of the TVĀ nor does he refer to any manuscripts or acknowledge any previous edition on which he has drawn.¹¹ JY, as mentioned above, merely locates the TVĀ geographically in the 'Kannada country', the reason for this being Somasena's mention of

multi-volume collection of Digambara *śrāvakācāras*, the *Śrāvakācārasaṃgraha*. The modern Digambara encyclopaedist Jinendra Varṇī simply refers to a work entitled *Trivarnācāra* which he attributes to Somadevabhaṭṭāraka. See Varṇī (1995) vol. 2, 400.

¹¹ Sonī, who edited and translated many Digambara works in the the early decades of the last century, is briefly characterised by Śāstrī et al. (1976), 348, without reference to any dates, as having been (at the end of his life?) a lower order renunciant (*ailaka*). In his Hindi rendering of the TVĀ Sonī often does not provide an actual translation so much as a paraphrase and running commentary advocating what he regards as correct purist practice for the modern Digambara Jain community. Frequently this takes the form of a recasting of the original or omission of details. Thus, when Somasena states (TVĀ 2.25) that the layman should not void his bowels and bladder while looking at fire, sun, moon, a cow, snake, twilight, water and a yogin, Sonī omits to include cow, snake and twilight in his translation, no doubt because they represented aspects of wordly, that is to say superstitious Hindu, practice. Cf. n. 32. The most marked intervention by Sonī into the text of the TVĀ is with regard to the subject of marriage, a controversial issue amongst Digambara Jains and Hindus alike in western India at the beginning of the last century. Sonī interprets as justifying child marriage (pp. 181–182) Somasena's stipulation (TVĀ 6.128; p. 182) that in order to advance the interests of Jainism a father should give his daughter in marriage to the son of a fellow layman even if he is impoverished, while Somasena's view (TVĀ 8.116–119) that a layman should be accompanied by his wife when performing a variety of rituals is interpreted (pp. 247–248) as supporting the impossibility of widow remarriage.

the *arkavivāha*,¹² the symbolic marriage to a plant prior to the contracting of a third marriage, which is described as a local custom of Karnataka by reference to M.N. Srinivas's ethnographic study *Marriage and Family in Mysore*.¹³ However, even if detailed scholarly study of the *arkavivāha* seems to be lacking, the ceremony has undoubtedly been regularly practised in various parts of north and west India and thus does not represent particularly compelling evidence for localising the TVĀ's place of origin to Karnataka.¹⁴

Most likely the fact that, judging by his full formal designation, Somasena was a *bhaṭṭāraka*, a type of celibate orange-robed cleric or abbot who functioned as an authority on ritual and acted as spokesman on behalf of the Digambara laity in a particular locale,¹⁵ encouraged JY in this view, since what are today the most celebrated *bhaṭṭāraka* thrones are situated in the south of Karnataka.¹⁶ In the *praśasti* of the TVĀ (13.213) Somasena describes himself as the pupil of one Guṇabhadrasūri and as a *muni*, 'monk' (a term here probably not so much designating a naked mendicant of classic prescription as a renunciant who has taken disciplinary vows appropriate to the domesticated position of *bhaṭṭāraka*)¹⁷ belonging to the Puṣkara order (*gaccha*) of the Mūla Saṅgha, the most prominent Digambara disciplinary lineage.¹⁸ No geographical reference is made. However, in the *praśasti* of

¹² TVĀ 11.204–205.

¹³ JY, 284 n. 5.

¹⁴ See Crooke (1896), 115–116.

¹⁵ See Cort (2002), 39–42, Flügel (2000), 344–347 and Sangave (1981).

¹⁶ See Chavan (2005) for their early history. A large number of *bhaṭṭāraka* thrones in north and west India became defunct in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹⁷ Cf. TVĀ 2.115 where the author gives himself the full title *śrībhaṭṭārakaSomasenamuni*. The terms *muni* (6.97 and 10.67), *bhikṣu(ka)* (7.23, 8.96, 10.29; defined at 10.137 as being a meditating ascetic), *ṛṣi* (2.109) and *yati* (6.43, 100 and 136 and 8.106) are used sporadically and apparently interchangeably throughout the TVĀ. The composition of the Digambara renunciant community at the beginning of the seventeenth century is obscure and it is probably justifiable to conclude that fully initiated naked mendicants were extremely rare by this time. See Cort (2002), 40. However, the renunciatory ideal remained a potent one. So in Somasena's description of the tonsure ceremony (*caulakarman*) performed for the layman's son (TVĀ p. 254) the father must enunciate a mantra expressing the aspiration that the boy attains the shaven head of a monk (*mama putro nigranthamunḍabhāgī bhavatu*). Chapter twelve of the TVĀ deals with renunciant practice which concludes the idealised lay career, albeit largely in terms of the conduct of *dāna* in which the layman is of necessity prominently involved. TVĀ 3.20–23 gives ten different interpretations of the term *nagna*, 'naked', nine of which relate to wearing partial or deficient clothing.

¹⁸ *śrīMūlasaṅghe vanaPuṣkarākhye gacche sujāto Guṇabhadrasūriḥ / tasyātra paṭṭe muniSomaseno bhaṭṭārako 'bhūd viduṣāṃ vareṇyaḥ*.

another work by Somasena, the *Rāmapurāṇa*, the author is more explicit in this respect, describing himself as having written the poem ‘in the temple of Pārśvanātha in the fine city of Jitvara in the delightful country of Varāṭa’.¹⁹ Varāṭa is the modern region of Berār in what is now eastern Maharashtra.²⁰ In his edition of this *praśasti* Johrapurkar glosses Jitvara with Jintura,²¹ clearly the modern Jintūr, a town not too distant from Kāraṃjā, a significant centre of Digambara learning in the east of Maharashtra which until the beginning of last century was the location of as many as three bhaṭṭāraka thrones.²² Johrapurkar elsewhere, albeit without any specific reference, points to the existence of four teachers called Somasena who were bhaṭṭārakas at Kāraṃjā.²³ Although he connects these with the Mūla Saṅgha sublineage, the Sena Gaṇa, rather than the Puṣkara Gaccha referred to in the TVĀ *praśasti*, it does not seem unreasonable to identify the author of the work to be discussed here as a prominent bhaṭṭāraka occupying one of the abbatial thrones at Kāraṃjā in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.²⁴ The presence of manuscripts of the TVĀ in Digambara libraries at Īḍār in north Gujarat and Jaipur in Rājasthān suggests that Somasena’s *śrāvākācāra* was not of solely local significance and circulated beyond the Jain community in eastern Maharashtra,²⁵ although it is impossible to assess to what extent its prescriptions were regarded as generally authoritative and enactable.

¹⁹ *Varāṭaviṣaye ramye Jitvare nagare vare / mandire Pārśvanāthasya siddho grantho śubhe dine.* A Hindi translation of the *Rāmapurāṇa* was made by Lālbahādur Śāstrī with the title of *Rām-Carit*. This publication contains an introduction by Kailāścandra Śāstrī who quotes (p. 5) this verse. Cf. Mukhtār (1954), 26, where Somasena is also described as the author of the *Trivarnācāra* and *Padmapurāṇa*, with the possibility raised of him being identical with Somadeva, the author of the *Tribhaṅgīśārāṅikā*.

²⁰ Cf. Sheth (1963) s.v. *Varāḍa / Varāḍaga / Varāḍaya*.

²¹ Johrapurkar (1958), 13 no. 39.

²² Sangave (1981), 63. For Kāraṃjā, see Jain (1978), 303–309 (with Somasena mentioned at p. 304 only as the author of the *Rāmapurāṇa*), and for Jintūr, see Jain (1978), 281–285 and Shah (2007), 153.

²³ Johrapurkar (1965), 85 and cf. Johrapurkar (1958), 32.

²⁴ A manuscript of the TVĀ dated samvat 1667 (and so possibly the autograph) located in the library of the Balātkāra Digambar Jain Mandir at Kāraṃjā might be regarded as confirming this (information supplied by Mr. Bhārat Bhore).

²⁵ See Velankar (1944), 163.

The Title and Subject Matter of the TVĀ

The TVĀ consists of 2017 Sanskrit verses (largely in anuṣṭubh metre) interspersed with 25 Prākṛit quotations and a large number of mantras. The title of the TVĀ denotes that the work deals with the practice (*ācāra*) of members of the three *varṇas*, which is to say the three upper twice-born classes around which Digambara Jainism organised society.²⁶ The term *ācāra* has usually been taken as a generic expression signifying the correct disciplinary behaviour to be followed by orthoprax Jain laypeople which can be gauged in circular fashion by observing the conduct of these very same individuals.²⁷ The broader significance of the expression might perhaps be defined more precisely by reference to its use within Hindu discourse. Drawing on the evidence of *dharmasāstra*, Davis explains *ācāra* as ‘local law’ or ‘community standards’, relating to ‘declared norms that are actually practised and put into practice by people with power over a delimited group’.²⁸ More specifically, the term refers to the ‘caste, life-stage and community-bound rules that together constitute the substantive rules of law pertinent to a individual and to the group to which he or she belongs’.²⁹ It is *ācāra*, effectively normative customary practice, whether or not taken in conjunction with more learned formulations, which determines the religious, ritual and social identity of an individual and the community to which he belongs, and, mutatis mutandis, it is *ācāra* in this sense of customary practice which Somasena as a prominent Digambara Jain intellectual is delineating in the TVĀ in the form of what is essentially an overarching model of daily and lifelong ritual obligation. As he puts it, ‘*ācāra* is the main religious quality of all who follow true religion’.³⁰

²⁶ The earliest evidence for the Digambara Jain *varṇas* and activities associated with them does not precede the eighth or ninth centuries (Phūlcandra Śāstrī (1999), 178), with the classic formulation occurring in the ninth century in the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena where it is made clear that status depends on moral qualities. TVĀ 1.10 asserts of the three twice-born *varṇas* in broad and unexceptional terms and without any reference to Jainism as such that brahmins practise vows and austerities, *kṣatriyas* protect those in difficulties and *vaiśyas* discern what is *dharma* and *adharmā*. Reference to a similar social structure in Śvetāmbara Jainism is less common, but can be found in the fifteenth century Vardhamanasūri’s *Ācāradīnakara*, e.g. pp. 7, 18 (cf. JY, 282) and 31.

²⁷ The term does, of course, occur in the title of the *Mūlācara*, attributed to Vaṭṭakera, which is an early common era text on renunciant behaviour. Somasena prefers to designate a layman by the term *śrāvaka* and not *upāsaka* which is used by earlier Digambara teachers.

²⁸ Davis (2010), 145.

²⁹ Davis (2010), 149.

³⁰ TVĀ 1.11a: *ācārah prathamō dharmo sarveṣāṃ dharmiṇām*.

In this respect, then, Digambara Jain society as presented by the TVĀ seems have to been no different from its Hindu counterpart in allowing for local custom as a basis for practice.³¹ However, it is noteworthy that the TVĀ only very rarely makes any serious distinction, as do some earlier Digambara writers, between popular (*laukika*) and non-popular observance, and the regime of orthopraxy delineated by Somasena, a picture of one particular variety of Jainism at a specific historical moment, is seldom contrasted with alternative or supposedly inadequate modes of ritual or behaviour.³²

Although Somasena states emphatically at the beginning of the TVĀ (1.21) that the only proper literary work (*grantha*) is that which deals with Jainism in doctrinal totality, he provides merely a skeletal account of basic Jain teachings (TVĀ 10. 7–126). In terms of its broad structure, the TVĀ is organised around two main areas of practice and experience involving a typical layman, envisaged as a brahman householder (variously styled *brahman*, *brāhmaṇa*, *dvija*, *dvijanman*, *vipra* and *śrotriya*) whose overall demeanour and moral aptitude are presented in terms of facility in ceremonial, study and teaching and the adoption of a temperate mode of life based on physical and ritual purity, correct dietary observance and emotional discipline.³³ The first (chapters 1–6) involves a daily regimen (*dinacarya*) consisting of morning awakening (with the assumption of appropriately Jain

³¹ At TVĀ 11.2 Somasena states that he will describe marriage ritual in accordance with Jinasena's *Ādipurāna* 'in order to establish popular custom' (*laukikācārasiddhaye*).

³² While TVĀ 7.174 urges that *laukikācāra*, worldly / popular practice, should not invalidate *dharma*, TVĀ 1.20 states that the best type of author of a *śrāvakācāra* is the one who takes this dimension into account (*laukikācārayukta*). After discussing the procedure for the worship of a *caityavṛkṣa* at TVĀ 9.4–50, Somasena asserts that engaging in *laukikācāra* of this sort need not be viewed as compromising Jain identity (9.51a: *evaṃ kṛte na mithyātvaṃ laukikācāravartanāt*). Sonī's lengthy Hindi commentary (pp. 267–268) reveals a purist unease about the possibility of just such an accusation.

³³ TVĀ 7.41–43. Cf. Jaini (2001), 288–291. Although the best layman is said (TVĀ 10.145) to be an advanced type of alms-eating, partially clothed ascetic just short of a fully initiated monk, the Jain brahman is presented in chapter four of the TVĀ as being an individual of some wealth, effectively an aristocrat, who lives in a mansion attended by various types of retainer and with the capacity to initiate the building of a temple. He is further described as having a household priest (*rtvij*), a pupil and a (family) preceptor (TVĀ 4.179). By contrast, Hindu brahmins are associated with greed and false teaching at TVĀ 6.143 (*mithyāśtreṣu yat proktaṃ brāhmaṇair lobhalampātaiḥ*). The duties of a housewife, a subject dealt with by *śrāvakācāras* only rarely, are delineated at TVĀ 7.5–32. They are perceived as involving strict maintenance of *ahiṃsā* in the course of carrying out household duties.

contemplative activity leading to extensive mantric recitation and reflection upon the Jina) and ensuing physical purification which is then followed by domestic and temple worship, while the second (chapters 8–13) consists of a ‘cradle to grave’ model of the lay vocation, including thirty-three *saṃskāras*, life-cycle rituals such as the depositing of the foetus in the womb by sexual intercourse (*garbhādhāna*), the birth ritual to engender a son (*pumsavana*), the initiation (*upanayana*) of the son and his investiture with the sacred thread, the taking of various householder and renunciant vows, and marriage and funerary procedures (*mṛtakasya saṃskāra*).³⁴ These two portions of the TVĀ frame a description (chapter 7) of the duties and appropriate means of gaining a livelihood of the members of the three twice-born *varṇas* (including the appropriate control of a state by a king) along with the *śūdras*.³⁵

Leaving aside its description of funerary ritual to be discussed below, the most striking feature of the TVĀ compared with Jain *śrāvakācāras* in general is its concern with physical purity as an index of orthopraxy and impurity as a possible vector of moral and social degradation.³⁶ Jainism’s

³⁴ The TVĀ presents many of these ceremonies (but not funeral ritual) as being overseen by a ritual specialist variously styled *guru*, *ācārya*, *sūri* and *gaṇanāyaka*. See, for example, TVĀ 4.167; 6.2, 73–75; 8.59–79, 114; 9.7, 27–28, 32–36; and 11.42, 58, 65, 100, 113, 128–132. TVĀ 4.184–190 also refers to *homa* offerings (see n. 167) being presided over by an *agnihotr*, the presence of whom in a kingdom is said to bring about prosperity and protection from supernatural assault. While titles such as *ācārya* and *sūri* might well designate a fully initiated senior renunciant, it is more likely that they refer to a *bhaṭṭāraka* such as Somasena himself or some sort of subordinate ritual specialist. Epigraphic evidence shows that by the twelfth century a Digambara temple priest was regularly called a *grhasthācārya*. See Owen (2010), 113. Śivakoṭi’s *Ratnamālā*, a late Digambara *śrāvakācāra* of uncertain date but perhaps roughly contemporary with the TVĀ, defines (v. 57) the *grhasthācārya* as follows: *kriyāsv anyāsu śāstroktamārgena karaṇam mat[am] / kurvann evam kriyām jaino grhasthācārya ucyate*.

³⁵ No sense is conveyed of the Digambara *vaiśya* engaging exclusively in what is usually regarded (from either a Śvetāmbara or an urban perspective) as the stereotypical Jain occupation of business, and agriculture is clearly viewed as a regularly followed pursuit (TVĀ 7.108). However, the fact that Somasena also stipulates that ploughing should not be engaged in when any sort of religious vow is being undertaken on the grounds that it destroys life-forms (TVĀ 7.109) and that neither trade nor agriculture should be pursued by a layman in the eighth disciplinary stage (*pratimā*) (TVĀ 10.138) shows that the *vaiśya*’s status and qualities as a Jain were regarded as potentially endangered through his occupation. It might be noted that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the status of high caste farmers was a controversial issue for Hindu intellectuals in Maharashtra. See O’Hanlon and Minkowski (2008), 397.

³⁶ The scepticism of Jain scriptural and medieval sources about the validity of notions of physical purity as defining social and religious status have led to the conclusion that Jainism

preoccupation from its beginnings with the dangers of water as containing myriads of life forms which might be destroyed by the act of bathing and its rejection of brahman claims about the sanctifying power of the water of holy places and rivers like the Ganges have most likely inhibited any serious integration of the moral necessity of physical purity into the descriptions of orthopraxy provided by *śrāvakācāra* texts, and the subject is accordingly rarely discussed at length in Jain literature.³⁷ Purity is no doubt enjoined in passing as obligatory by earlier Digambara *śrāvakācaras* like Somadeva's *Upāsakādhyayana*,³⁸ but it is the TVĀ which is by far the

was invariably reluctant to subscribe to untouchability as a marker of social exclusion. Nonetheless, Digambara tradition at least was arguably familiar with untouchability as a social category by the end of the first millennium CE. Jinasena seems to have been the first to have introduced the category of untouchability into a taxonomy of Jain society, and the near-contemporary stipulation of Somadeva, *Upāsakādhyayana* 3.127, that purification should be carried out after contact with Kāpālikas, menstruating women, untouchables and tribals (*śabara*) clearly echoes the preoccupations of brahmanical *dharmaśāstras* in the identification of a perceived threat to a layman's physical and thereby moral integrity from a variety of religious, gendered and social sources. By the first centuries of the second millennium Digambara teachers emphatically state that only members of the three upper *varṇas* can engage in ritual and receive renunciant initiation, with expiations being prescribed for teachers who give vows to *śūdras* who are clearly regarded as being on the same level as untouchable *cāṇḍālas*. See Phūlcandra Śāstrī (1999), 184 and 425–428.

Somasena is particularly sensitive to the possible polluting effects of contact with members of low castes and he identifies a wide range of types of individuals, along with animals and substances, which endanger purity, strictly prescribing the necessary physical distance which must be kept from such sources of pollution (TVĀ 2.10–18 and 4.4–10), going so far as to claim that a *muni*'s food is rendered inedible simply through being within range of noise made by an untouchable (TVĀ 12.51). It is conceded by Somasena that if *śūdras*, who as a class are not innately attracted to purity (TVĀ 2.115), do fall into the category of touchability and show compassion to living creatures, interaction with them can take place in terms of trade and commerce (TVĀ 7.133–135 and 140–141). Nonetheless, he also asserts that members of the upper three Digambara Jain *varṇas* should not eat the food of *śūdras* (TVĀ 6.218), take water from their wells (TVĀ 3.59), bathe in water disturbed by the hand of a *śūdra* (2.100), wear clothes washed by a *śūdra* (TVĀ 3.31), or dwell in a house built in the vicinity of *śūdras* (who are here equated with *cāṇḍālas* and foreigners) (TVĀ 4.14). Furthermore, Somasena states that it is possible for a member of the higher classes to become ritually degraded, either through not bathing (TVĀ 2.97) or through performing the twilight (*sandhyā*) ceremony at the wrong time (TVĀ 3.141), and so become transformed into a *śūdra*.

³⁷ Purification is only mentioned in passing by JY, 223 as a necessary prelude to *pūjā*. In the context of describing bathing the TVĀ provides (pp. 45 and 78) mantras addressed to the Ganges and Indus rivers, which are not normally invoked liturgically in Jainism. However, for an earlier Digambara example of this, see Aśādharma, *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 32b and 33a.

³⁸ The procedure for bathing is described at vv. 462–480.

most singular of Jain texts in its preoccupation with the minutiae of this subject which constitutes the predominant theme of chapters 2–4, where physical purification is firmly established as the necessary foundation in the Kali age (TVĀ 2.115) for the ritual and moral path to be followed by those who belong to the upper classes. Evil is specifically linked by Somasena to bodily impurity (*duṣkṛtaṃ pāpaṃ śarīramalasaṃbhavam*) (TVĀ 3.10) and physical purity is accordingly deemed to be essential for bringing Jain religious rituals to fruition (TVĀ 2.54).³⁹

Sources of the TVĀ

At TVĀ 1.9 Somasena mentions a number of eminent Digambara predecessors on whose works he has drawn. These include (in order of citation) Jinasena, Sāmantabhadra (more normally Samantabhadra), Guṇabhadra, Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka, Brahmasūri and Āśādhara.⁴⁰ Of these teachers the best known to scholarship are Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (ninth cen.) who are almost inevitably cited by Somasena as significant sources. Jinasena composed the first forty-two parvans of the *Ādipurāna* which was subsequently completed by his pupil Guṇabhadra who went on to supplement it with his *Uttarapurāna*, the two works taking the substantial composite form of the *Mahāpurāna*, the Digambara version of the Jain Universal History, which increasingly came to assume the role of central scriptural authority in the second millennium CE.⁴¹ The most obvious overlap between the TVĀ and the *Mahāpurāna* is Somasena's description of many of the rituals (*kriyā*) relating to the lay life which had earlier been set out by Jinasena, the first Digambara writer to fashion a structured path of life-cycle ceremonies for the layman.⁴² It is, however, Guṇabhadra who seems to be the source of the

³⁹ TVĀ 2.2–5 describes how the restraint required for serious advancement on the Jain path requires a body which is 'ritually constructed' (*samskṛta*) by cleanliness. Mantras to be recited when removing bodily and karmic dirt are juxtaposed at TVĀ p. 46. Such a parallel is particularly pointed in Jainism which views karma as a substance and the passions as a form of dirt (*mala*) (see Haribhadra, *Ṣoḍaśakaparakaraṇa* 3.2–3). Cf. the brahmanical *Mānavadharmasāstra* 11.94 (with Olivelle's note) for *mala* in the sense of 'filthy substance' and 'filth of sin'.

⁴⁰ In addition to these teachers, Somasena also refers at TVĀ 1.28 to the ninth century Śubhacandra's *Jñānārṇava* as the source for his account of contemplative activity and at 4.104 to the c. fourteenth century *Jinasamhitā* of Ekasandhi.

⁴¹ See TVĀ 4.219, 7.103 and 8.3 for the authority of the *Mahāpurāna* and cf. TVĀ 7.172.

⁴² Cf. n. 9. At TVĀ 3.120 Somasena refers to Jinasena as an authority on *japa*.

only specifically narrative reference found in the TVĀ. At TVĀ 6.123,⁴³ in the course of a description of inferior forms of giving (*kudāna*), Somasena refers to Muṇḍaśālāyana, the son of Bhūtiśarman, who at the end of the *tīrtha* of the Jina Śītala showed himself to be greedy for material objects. This story, which appears to have no obvious equivalent in the Śvetāmbara version of the Universal History, is given by Guṇabhadrā at *Uttarapurāṇa* 56.79–96.

Of the other authorities mentioned by Somasena, Samantabhadra (c. 5th cen. CE) was the earliest Digambara author to deal exclusively with the subject of lay behaviour and might naturally be expected to be a point of reference for any subsequent *śrāvakācāra*, but he is not invoked specifically in the TVĀ again.⁴⁴ Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka might most readily be taken to be the eighth century logician Akalaṅka, also known as Akalaṅka Bhaṭṭa.⁴⁵ Sonī, who is generally of no help in identifying any sources on which the TVĀ may have drawn,⁴⁶ claims without obvious warranty that Akalaṅka's *Rājavārtika* commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* provides corroboration of TVĀ 3.11 which makes reference to a particular type of *vyantara* deity which has to be propitiated with water to prevent it possessing human beings.⁴⁷ However, it is more likely that the Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka referred to by Somasena is the less well-known author of the *Prāyaścittagrantha*, a short Sanskrit work which describes lay expiations, particularly those to be carried out as a result of contact with social sources of pollution, and also deals with birth and death impurity (*sūtaka*), all topics of concern to the TVĀ.⁴⁸ On the basis of the

⁴³ *tīrthānte jinaśītalasya sutarām āviś cakāra svaya[m]lubho vastuṣu Bhūtiśarmananayo 'sau Muṇḍaśālāyanah.*

⁴⁴ In his Hindi translation of TVĀ 10.31 Sonī refers to Samantabhadra's discussion of superstition (*lokamūḍhatā*) as relevant to the interpretation of that verse. For Samantabhadra's *śrāvakācāra*, see Bollée (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ Varṇī (1995) vol. 3, 205 cross references the entry 'Bhaṭṭākalaṅka' to 'Akalaṅka Bhaṭṭa'. His other reference to a Bhaṭṭākalaṅka who was the author of a Kannada grammar dating from 1604 cannot be relevant here. Premī (1956), 30 uses the nomenclature 'Bhaṭṭākalaṅka-deva' to refer to the logician.

⁴⁶ He does, however, identify TVĀ 12.57–62 as deriving from Vaṭṭakera's *Mūlācāra*. Following Jñānamati's edition, the verses in question are 484 and 495–499.

⁴⁷ TVĀ p. 51 and see also note 129 below. Sonī uses the designation 'Akalaṅkadeva'. He is presumably referring to Akalaṅka's commentary on *Tattvārthasūtra* 4.11 (Digambara enumeration): *vyantarāḥ kinnarakimpuruṣamahoragagandharvayakṣarākṣasābhūtapiśācāḥ*. Somasena quotes a slightly truncated version of *Tattvārthasūtra* 6.8 after TVĀ 1.88.

⁴⁸ See TVĀ 9. 82–118 for expiations and 13.2–124 for *sūtaka*. Cf. *Prāyaścittagrantha* p. 166 ll. 3–4 for the necessary purification of a layman who has taken food in the house of an untouchable (*mātaṅga*), Muslim (*turuṣka*) or person of extremely low caste (*antanicajāti*) and p. 169 ll. 12–16 for the varying types of *sūtaka* involving members of the four *varṇas*.

authors quoted in the *Prāyāścittagrantha*, Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka can most likely be located to some time after the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Brahmasūri (also called by TVĀ 1.19 Sūridvija) is referred to later in the TVĀ as a brahman (*vīpra*) expert in matters relating to householders.⁵⁰ A writer of this name has been identified as the author of a work entitled the *Trivarnācāra* which dates from around the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and is quoted by Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka.⁵¹

The most influential scholar in the area of Digambara *śrāvākācāra* prior to Somasena was the layman Āśādhara (fl. 13th. cen.), whose *Sāgāradharmāmṛta* was unprecedented in its elaborate treatment of this subject, albeit largely omitting any description of life-cycle rituals.⁵² Four verses attributed to Āśādhara are included in chapter ten of the TVĀ (10.146–149), but I have not been able to identify these in his published works accessible to me. However, two slightly obscure unattributed verses in chapter six of the TVĀ

⁴⁹ See the brief historical characterisation by Premī in his introduction to the *Prāyāścittagrantha*.

⁵⁰ TVĀ 5. p. 155. v. 2. See also TVĀ 5.219 for Brahmasūri's authority. At TVĀ 3.150 Somasena describes himself as the jewel in the 'twice born lineage' (*dvījavamśa*) of Brahmasūri.

⁵¹ Premī (1921), 9 and (1956), 366 and 369. In his translation of TVĀ 13.51 Sonī states that the verse occurs in Brahmasūri's *Trivarnācāra*. So far I have not been able to discover details of any edition of this work; Velankar (1944), 163 refers only to manuscripts and in vague terms, while Upadhye (1937), 70 reports that Brahmasūri's *Trivarnācāradīpaka* and *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* have been erroneously attributed to the thirteenth century Brahmadeva. At TVĀ 11.206b, Somasena states that he has dealt with the topic of marriage 'having consulted the *purāṇa* written by Brahmasūtra' (*śrīBrahmasūtraprathitam purāṇam ālokyā*). In his Hindi translation Sonī makes the obvious correction of the name to Brahmasūri. However, at TVĀ 11.2 Somasena in paying homage to Jinasena states that he will describe marriage ritual in accordance with his *purāṇa*, that is the *Ādipurāṇa* portion of the *Mahapurāṇa* (see below and cf. n. 31). 'Brahma-' is no doubt an unusual name component for a Jain, but it and vernacular derivatives were common on the Karnataka-Maharashtra littoral, where the Digambara community flourished. See Ghosh (1993), 173. Note also the local Kṣetrapāl divinity worshipped under the name Brahmadev by Digambaras in the Kolhapur region of Maharashtra. See Carrithers (2000), 840.

⁵² See Bhatia (1970), 332–333 and JY, 27–28. At TVĀ 6.40 Somasena states that the layman should perform image installation 'according to the instruction of the teacher' (*gurūpadeśataḥ*). The teacher referred to, if not the layman's personal guru, may well be Āśādhara whose *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhara*, also known as the *Jinayajñakalpa*, became the seminal text for establishing Digambara temple ritual, transmitting an extensive repertoire of mantras to be deployed in image-related activity which finds a later counterpart in Somasena's heavy mantrification of virtually every aspect of the layman's daily regime. However, it can be noted that Brahmasūri was also credited with a work relating to *pratiṣṭhā*. See Premī (1956), 416.

(6. 119 and 145), which relate to rebirth as a result of acts of giving, are identifiable as *Sāgāradharmāmṛta* 2. 68⁵³ and 70.⁵⁴

The connection between TVĀ 10.129 and Āśādhara is slightly more complex in background. I give the TVĀ text with translation:

*brahmacārī grhī vānaprastho bhikṣuś ca saptame /
catvāro ye kriyābhedād uktā varṇavad āśramāḥ //*

‘The celibate student,⁵⁵ the householder, the forest dweller⁵⁶ and the monk—these are the four stages of life which have been described in the seventh in accord with difference of function in the same way as the classes.’⁵⁷

An unattributed Prākṛit verse which represents TVĀ 10.127⁵⁸ refers to the *brahmacārin* in the context of the ‘seventh’, and there the designation *sattamaṃ* clearly denotes a layman, rather than a student, who has reached the seventh disciplinary *pratimā* which involves the practice of celibacy, the eighth being referred to at TVĀ 10.138. However, the actual sense of *saptame* in TVĀ 10.129 can better be derived from Āśādhara’s *Sāgāradharmāmṛta* 7.20, with which it is identical apart from the third pāda, which reads *catvāro ’nge kriyābhedād*. Āśādhara glosses *saptame* with

53)

*saptottānaśayā lihanti divasān svāṅguṣṭham āryās tataḥ
kau naṅganti tataḥ padaih kalāgiro yānti skhaladbhis tataḥ /
stheyobhis ca tataḥ kalāguṇabhṛtas tārunyabhogodgataḥ
saptāhena tataḥ bhavanti sudṛgādāne ’pi yogyās tataḥ //*

54)

*bhogitvādyantaśāntiprabhupadam udayaṃ samyate ’nnapradānāc
Chrīṣeno ruṇiśedhād dhanapatitanayā prāpa sarvaśadharddhim /
prāk tajjanmArśivāsāvanasubhakaranāt śūkarah svargam agryaṃ
Kaunḍeśah pustakārcāvitaraṇavidhinā ’py āgamāmbodhipāram //*

Kailāścandra’s edition cites Samantabhadra’s *Ratnakaraṇḍakaśrāvakācāra* v. 118 as the source of the four exemplary stories referred to by Āśādhara. For these, see Bollée (forthcoming).

⁵³) TVĀ 10.128–134 describes five types of Dīgambara *brahmacārin* which range from student to celibate householder and quasi-renunciant.

⁵⁶) The *vānaprastha*, a social category seldom mentioned in Jain texts, is defined at TVĀ 10.136 as an individual following the eleventh *pratimā*, or disciplinary stage, who is dedicated to meditation and study and free from the influence of the passions (*kaṣāya*).

For the *pratimās*, see JY, 172–181.

⁵⁷) These four categories are mentioned at TVĀ 3.121 in the context of the procedure for recitation of the *pañcanamaskāra* mantra: *brahmacārī grhasthaś ca śatam aṣṭottaram jāpet / vānaprasthaś ca bhikṣuś ca sahasrād adbhikaṃ jāpet*.

⁵⁸) *puvvattanāvavihāṇaṃ pi mehuṇaṃ savvadā vivajjaṃto/icchakahāḍiṇivattī sattamaṃ brahmacārī so*.

*Upāsakādhyayanarūpe*⁵⁹ and quotes a verse⁶⁰ describing the Jain stages of life as ‘having emerged from the seventh limb’ (*saptamāṅgād viniḥṣṭāḥ*), that is to say they are described in the seventh section of the scriptural canon. This verse in fact occurs as verse 21 of Cāmuṅḍarāya’s *Cāritrasāra* (c. tenth century) where it is stated to be a quotation from the *Upāsakādhyayana*.⁶¹ No sign of this verse can be found in the *śrāvakācāra* work specifically entitled *Upāsakādhyayana*, the conventional designation of chapters 8–10 of the *Yasastilakacampū* by the tenth century Somadeva.⁶² However, it can be noted that the Digambara Jains, who have generally, albeit not exclusively, rejected the scriptural texts (*aṅga*) authoritative among the Śvetāmbaras, have maintained a tradition of their titles, and indeed the seventh Śvetāmbara *aṅga*, the *Upāsakadaśāḥ*, which contains stories about exemplary laymen, has been known among by the Digambaras since the time of the logician Akalaṅka as *Upāsakādhyayana*.⁶³ This designation may not so much represent an actual text as be a catch-all term or an imagined locus for traditional Digambara statements about lay behaviour. No doubt the verse under discussion may be regarded as immediately deriving from Jinasena’s *Ādipurāṇa*,⁶⁴ the standard Digambara source for the nature and composition of a Jain society, but the ultimate antecedent of all these versions is in fact non-Jain, namely *Mānavadharmasāstra* 6.87.⁶⁵

⁵⁹) Cf. Sonī’s translation of TVĀ 10.129.

⁶⁰) *brahmacārī grhasthaś ca vānaprasthaś ca bhikṣukaḥ / ity āśramās tu jainānām saptamāṅgād viniḥṣṭāḥ*.

⁶¹) I follow the text of *Śrāvakācārasaṅgraha* p. 257. Cf. Kailāścandra’s note on *Sāgaradharmāmṛta*, p. 288.

⁶²) The four *āśramas* are described at vv. 856 and 875 of Kailāścandra’s edition.

⁶³) See Fujinaga (2005–2007), 177. Cf. Jinasena, *Ādipurāṇa* 40.161 for the designation *Upāsakādhyayana*.

⁶⁴) *Ādipurāṇa* 39.152: *brahmacārī grhasthaś ca vānaprastho ’tha bhikṣukaḥ / ity āśramās tu jainānām uttarottaraśuddhitāḥ*.

⁶⁵) *brahmacārī grhasthaś ca vānaprastho yatis tathā / ete grhasthaprabhavās catvāraḥ pṛthag āśramāḥ*. Somasena cites as authoritative ‘monks such as the revered Gautama’ (*śrīGautamādyāḥ munayaḥ*) at TVĀ 11.201 when discussing the remarriage of a widower. Most likely this is simply to provide some sort of associative resonance, since Mahāvīra’s disciple Gautama can hardly represent a source for Jain marriage, while the brahmanical *Gautamadharmasūtra*, although discussing marriage at 4.1–5 and 18.15–23, does not actually deal with the topic in question. Another brahmanical authority, Gālava, is referred to at TVĀ 11.176a.

TVĀ 3.30 is an unidentified quotation (*uktaṃ ca*): *parānnaṃ paravastraṃ ca paraśayyā paraśriyaḥ / parasya ca grhe vāsaḥ śakrasyāpi śriyaṃ haret*. This appears to be brahmanical in origin and is in fact a variant of a ‘floating’ verse which represents v. 644 in Sternbach’s reconstruction of the *Cāṇakyanītisāstra*: *parānnaṃ paravastraṃ ca paraśayyā paraśriyaḥ / paraveśmanivāsaṃ ca dūrataḥ parivarjayet*. See Sternbach (1967), 393.

Funerary Ritual in the TVĀ: Background

It is in the area of funerary ceremonial and post mortem commemorative ritual that the TVĀ shows itself to be a particularly unusual exemplar of Jain practice. As Oskar von Hinüber has pointed out, there was a great deal of theorising about the conduct of funerals in ancient India, but very few descriptions of actual ceremonies can be found.⁶⁶ Jain sources from earliest times to the pre-modern period are undoubtedly deficient in both these respects⁶⁷ and the lacuna may be regarded as extending until very recently into scholarly research, for death and disposal of the dead have been largely ignored in ethnographic and historical discussions of Jainism, effectively reflecting the absence of any treatment of these matters by JY which merely points out that it is difficult to find reference to funeral customs or to impurity rituals (*sūtaka*) in *śrāvākācāras* written before the fifteenth century.⁶⁸ This would be to ignore the treatment of birth *sūtaka* as early as the sixth century by the Śvetāmbara teacher Haribhadra in his *Pañcāśakaparakarāṇa*,⁶⁹ but there can be little doubt that the infrequency of accounts of Jain mortuary practice as far as the *śrāvākācāras* are concerned is in fact understated by JY.

One of the main areas in which Jainism can in its earliest stages be differentiated from its near coeval Buddhism is in these traditions' respective attitudes towards death commemoration. Funeral rituals may not be built into Buddhism's basic practice as textually recorded, but archaeology and narrative demonstrate that control of and access to the dead represented basic functions of the role of Buddhist monks in respect to their lay followers, most clearly evinced in the early monastic willingness to participate in reconfigured brahmanical mortuary ceremonies.⁷⁰ Jainism, on the other

⁶⁶ See von Hinüber (2009), 37.

⁶⁷ Cf. Flügel (2010), 458.

⁶⁸ JY, xxiv. In the best ethnography of current Śvetāmbara Jainism, discussion of death is restricted to the brief description of the funeral of a renunciant. See Cort (2001), 115–116. Mahias (1985), 229–231 discusses the aftermath of the cremation of a lay Digambara only in terms of purificatory and culinary activity. The entire subject of death commemoration in Jainism has now been put on a totally different level by the recent appearance of Peter Flügel's revelatory study of the role of relics in the tradition. See Flügel (2010). Flügel's primary concern is, however, with the material aspects of the cremation of renunciants and he only engages in passing with post-mortem rituals for laymen.

⁶⁹ See Dundas (2002), 18–20.

⁷⁰ See Cuevas and Stone (2007), DeCaroli (2004), 55–58 and 96–103 and Langer (2007), 188.

hand, seems to have lacked the close association with the world of the dead found in Buddhism throughout much of its history, and funerals carried out exclusively by and for Jains, which clearly must have been conducted as soon as the followers of the tradition developed a sense of identity, play no significant part in the early textual, epigraphic or artistic legacy,⁷¹ nor have Jain monks appropriated to themselves any role as ritual participants in funerary matters.⁷² In addition, it may be observed that Jain renunciant culture did not privilege to any great extent the funeral ground as a locus of ascetic and esoteric attainment in the same manner as Buddhism.⁷³ This is not to say that death was not a significant concern of early Jainism, and the building of funerary monuments, the installation of images therein and ensuing acts of pilgrimage were during the medieval period an important means of establishing connection to the distinguished dead, most notably the Jinās but also deceased monastic leaders.⁷⁴ However, these modes of commemoration carried out or sponsored by rich and prominent members of the laity, no matter how important for public prestige and communal identity, were rather different from the ceremonies to be performed in the context of what might be styled ‘quotidian’ death, the unspectacular departure from this life of the average householder Jain acknowledged only by relatives and close associates.

Perhaps it was Jināsena’s failure to include the last rites in his otherwise comprehensive list of *saṃskāras* in the *Ādipurāṇa* which has been responsible for the reticence of later Digambara teachers on this subject.⁷⁵

⁷¹ The cremation of the twenty-fourth and last Jina, Mahāvira, is not described at any particular length in any textual source and as an event it does not seem to have exerted a hold on the Jain imagination in terms of inspiring regular artistic representation. As Flügel (2010), 432 n. 104 points out, the medieval Jain sources on monastic behaviour and ritual provides only the most rudimentary prescription for the disposal of the remains of renunciants.

⁷² Cf. Flügel (2010), 461. See Jaini (2000), 269 for Buddhist monks and funerals.

⁷³ See Schopen (2006), 327. Narrative examples like the monk Gayasukumāla (Skt. Gajasukumāra) who is described in the canonical *Antakṛddasāḥ Sūtra* as meditating in a funeral ground are not particularly common in early Jainism. See *Antakṛddasāḥ Sūtra* 6. Cf. also Jināsena, *Ādipurāṇa* 20.215 where the Jina Rṣabha is described as meditating beside a cemetery (*pitṛvanopānte*). However, the role of the *śmaśāna* in Jain *mantraśāstra* merits some study. Cf. TVĀ 1.112 which states that mantras to bring about evil (*duṣṭa*) results are to be recited in funeral grounds.

⁷⁴ See Granoff (1992) for a full study.

⁷⁵ Cf. Jaini (1998), 302. The description of the cremation of the first Jina Rṣabha in the *Mahapurāṇa* in fact occurs in the portion of the *Ādipurāṇa* (47.343–354) completed by Guṇabhadra. An undated but relatively recent and well printed Hindi and Sanskrit

However, lack of discussion of mortuary affairs in their broadest sense within Jain literature is arguably also attributable to the perception that, at least ideally, the ending of a span of life was only truly significant as an event when controlled in the rigidly circumscribed context of death in meditation (*samādhimaraṇa*), the climax of a progressive and conscious withdrawal from food and drink (*sallekhanā*).⁷⁶ The prestige of this heroic but exceptional and (historically) relatively rarely enacted mode of withdrawal from life has skewed much of the discussion of death in Jainism, not just in modern scholarship, for which the subject of religious suicide has had an abiding fascination,⁷⁷ but also in the normative pre-modern accounts of the *śrāvakācāras*, which are generally unwilling to conceptualise death as an event other than through the grid of *sallekhanā* and show no serious concern at all with post mortem commemoration. Although the description of a Digambara Jain funeral given by Somasena may be purely prescriptive and relate to an idealised layman who admittedly, albeit only suggested in passing and without any significant implications for mortuary ceremonial, has opted to end his life by the religious death,⁷⁸ quite simply the TVĀ presents the only textual model for the conduct of quotidian funerary ritual to be found in any Digambara Jain work and, I would suggest, effectively the only extended non-polemical treatment of the performance

pamphlet of seventy-two pages entitled *Soḍaś Saṃskār* (for a copy of which I am grateful to Professor Padmanabh Jaini), which is intended to instruct the modern Digambara laity in the conduct of the sixteen main life-cycle rituals, deals with death only in terms of the impurity entailed. Hindu ritual texts describing the *saṃskāras* also frequently omit reference to funeral ceremonies on the grounds of their inauspiciousness. See Knipe (1977), 114.

Oberoi (1994), 63 points to the absence of a set of life-cycle rituals distinctive to Sikhism prior to reforms initiated in the eighteenth century as stemming from the fluidity of Sikh identity which in the early modern period was grounded on a variety of local, regional, religious and secular identities. While a ‘multiple Jainisms’ model of Śvetāmbara and Digambara practice throughout history, one dimension of which is represented by the TVĀ, is highly attractive in that it guards against essentialist definitions, Jainism and the Jains have always been diligent in asserting their own distinctive cultural and religious identity, particularly when aspects of their practice seem to coincide with Hinduism. See below for further discussion of this issue.

⁷⁶ For a Hindi discussion citing a wide range of primary sources, see Kumār (2001).

⁷⁷ Hermann Jacobi’s article on death and disposal of the dead in Jainism in Hastings’ influential *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* deals almost exclusively with *sallekhanā* and has nothing to offer on the subject of funerary ritual. See Jacobi (1911).

⁷⁸ TVĀ 4.216 refers to *sannyāsa* climaxing the life of the layman which is to be concluded by *samādhimaraṇa*.

of post-cremation mortuary ceremonies in any classical Jain text.⁷⁹ On these grounds alone, this aspect of the TVĀ is worthy of scholarly consideration.

Funerary Ritual in the TVĀ: the Cremation

Somasena's description of funerary practice in chapter thirteen of the TVĀ is integrated within a broader discussion of *sūtaka* which is defined as being fourfold, that is to say relating to menstruation, birth, death and coming into contact with these three. The appropriate purificatory rituals in these areas are held to be a necessary prerequisite for members of the upper three *varṇas* who wish to engage in public activities like worship.⁸⁰ After a discussion of the various categories of death impurity entailed in terms of the status and situation of the deceased (parents, husband, daughter, child, menstruating woman etc.),⁸¹ Somasena describes how those who have committed suicide violently can only be cremated with the express permission of the local ruler,⁸² clearly differentiating such individuals from the advanced layman who has died the religious death.⁸³ The cremation proper is described at TVĀ 13.126–149, which I now summarise in detail.

The four pall-bearers (*vodhārah*), who must be of the same caste (*sajāta-yah*) as the deceased layman, are responsible for preparing and burning the corpse (*śava*).⁸⁴ After it has been taken outside the house to be washed, clothed in fresh garments and covered with perfume and flowers, fire should be kindled in a pot for use in the ceremony.⁸⁵ The pall-bearers are enjoined

⁷⁹ The only Śvetāmbara *śrāvākācāra* to touch upon this subject is Vardhamānasūri's *Ācāradinakara* of 1411, p. 72, where *antyakarma* is listed as the last of sixteen *saṃskāras*. The post-mortem ritual described by Vardhamānasūri is limited to cursory references to the depositing of bodily remains on a river bank on the third day, bathing and cessation of mourning by the relatives on the tenth day, followed by *caityavandana*, homage to a teacher and then, after the concluding formality of a sermon, resumption of normal affairs. Glasenapp (1925), 417 gives an expanded summary of this, adding a reference to a ten day period of impurity and the absence of *śrāddha* among 'rechtgläubigen' Jains. Cf. Flügel (2010), 436. Sangave (1980), 250 also summarises the *Ācāradinakara*'s account, including a reference to a ten day impurity period which suggests he may have been utilising Glasenapp's account.

⁸⁰ TVĀ 13.3–4.

⁸¹ TVĀ 13.48–109.

⁸² TVĀ 13.102–104.

⁸³ TVĀ 13.125 where this type of death is called *sannyāsavidhi*. In the case of both the suicide and the layman who dies by *sallekhanā*, cremation is signified by the forms *saṃskṛ-* and *saṃskāra*.

⁸⁴ TVĀ 13.135.

⁸⁵ TVĀ 13.126–134. Somasena describes how the type of fire employed is dictated by the status of the deceased. The *aupāsana* fire, which has to be kindled according to scriptural

to carry the palanquin (*vimāna*) with the head of the corpse facing the village and with one of their number carrying the fire pot. Close male relatives (*jñātayah*) should proceed in front of the palanquin, while the rest of the cortege, including female relatives, should follow. Half way on its journey, the corpse should be taken down from the palanquin so that its face can be uncovered and repeatedly sprinkled with water. The palanquin should then be lifted up again carefully to avoid any taking of life and so conducted to the funeral ground (*śmaśāna*).⁸⁶ The corpse should subsequently be deposited on the pyre facing east or north, with the seven orifices of its head being anointed with ghee and curd deposited with a golden implement and sesame and unhusked rice scattered over it. Three groups of relatives, the eldest first, should then successively lustrate the corpse with water from a pot, with the youngest assuming an attitude of overt mourning, with hair released and hands hanging down.⁸⁷ After performing a circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) of the pyre or the heap of firewood which the relatives have themselves piled up using *khadira* wood and other fuel,⁸⁸ the fire in the pot should be made to flare up by means of ghee and by gradually applying it to the wood the corpse should then be burnt.⁸⁹

These various ritual actions are punctuated by three Sanskrit mantras, all framed by the invocation ‘*om ... svāhā*’, relating respectively to the piling up of the firewood, the depositing of the corpse on the pyre and the igniting of the fuel.⁹⁰ When the fire has been set ablaze, all should proceed with the relatives (*sarve te jñātibhiḥ saba*) to the nearest water in order to bathe, with the exception of the pall bearers and the chief mourner (*kartṛ*) who must perform *pradakṣiṇā* of the pyre.⁹¹ When the skull of the

prescription in a ritually prepared (*prayata*) place, is to be used for the cremation (*samskāra-ṇa*) of learned and distinguished men. This fire differs from the ‘unsanctified’ (*laukika*) type employed in tasks like domestic cooking and which is to be used for cremating those who do not belong to the twice born *varṇas*. The *santāpa* fire, which is kindled with five heaps of *darbha* grass and then fully ignited with wood, is prescribed for the cremation of an unmarried girl (*kanyā*) and a widow, while the *anvagni* fire, which is a hearth fire kindled with dung, is used for the cremation of other categories of women.

⁸⁶ TVĀ 13.136–140.

⁸⁷ TVĀ 13.141–145.

⁸⁸ TVĀ 13.146: *tatah pradakṣiṇikuryāc citāpārśve paristaram/khādirair indhanair anyair atha vā hastavistṛtam*. I take Somasena to be contrasting a ready made funeral pyre and one constructed when the cortege arrives.

⁸⁹ TVĀ 13.147–148.

⁹⁰ Textually interposed between TVĀ 13.148 and 149.

⁹¹ TVĀ 13.149. Sonī renders *kartṛ* by *samskārkartā*. TVĀ 13.150–160 here interjects a discussion of the procedure to be followed if an individual dies on an inauspicious date or

corpse has been burnt, the chief mourner, the cremator (*dāhaka*) and the other relatives, male and female, should cut their hair, after which, while still clothed, they must immerse themselves in water up to the hips three times and then emerge to squeeze out their garments, rinse their mouths and perform *prāṇāyāma* to the accompaniment of mantras.⁹²

Somasena concludes his description of the cremation proper by prescribing that, out of goodwill (*vātsalya*) towards both the Jain religion and the relatives and on the grounds of the final departure of the deceased's body, which had supported the Three Jewels of the Jain religion (*ratnatrayasamāśrayam*), facilitated a fully religious death (*sannyāsamādhimṛtisādhanam*) and had been the cause of gaining an excellent rebirth (*utkṛṣṭaparalokasya*), a stone (*aśman*) should be set up as a memorial of it (*taddehapratibimbārt-ham*) on the bank of the river, or optionally in a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*), for the making of rice ball offerings (*pinḍādidattaye*). The chief mourner should then accordingly offer rice balls and sesamum-water (*tilodaka*) in front of the stone (*śilāgrataḥ*), while the other relatives should offer only sesamum-water. Bathing, this time with full immersion, must then be performed, after which all should return to the village, with the youngest relative leading.⁹³

Funeral Ritual in the TVĀ: Post-Cremation Ceremonies

Somasena continues by summarising at TVĀ 13. 172–176 the necessary rituals to be performed from the second to tenth days of the funeral ceremony. On the morning after cremation, the women of the family or other relatives should go to the funeral ground and sprinkle milk on the fire. After that, the ritual obligations are as follows; third day: final extinguishing of the funeral fire; fourth day: collecting the bones of the cremated corpse; fifth day: construction of an altar (*vedi*); sixth day: depositing of flowers; seventh day: making a formal offering (*balikarman*); eighth day:⁹⁴ planting a tree; ninth day: collection and deployment of the ashes (*bhasmasamskṛti*);⁹⁵

has not been cremated after a long time, and of expiations to be carried out by a son if his father dies in unusual circumstances.

⁹² TVĀ 13.161–166.

⁹³ TVĀ 13.167–171.

⁹⁴ Actual mention of this day is omitted at TVĀ 13.174a.

⁹⁵ At *Ādipurāna* 47.349–350, Guṇabhadra describes how after the cremation of the Jina Rṣabha the god Indra collects his ashes and deposits them on various parts of his body, expressing the desire to emulate the deceased.

and tenth day: purification of the house of which the deceased was head, its contents and the family clothing. After bathing himself, the chief mourner should see that the cremator is also bathed and then feed him in his house. Throughout this ten day period the chief mourner should daily offer rice balls and sesamum-water.⁹⁶ In addition, the chief mourner and his family must observe *pretadīkṣā* which involves avoidance of a range of activities.⁹⁷ At the end of the tenth day, since there is no longer any death impurity, the stone used when making the rice ball offerings (*piṇḍapāsāna*) should be thrown into water and the deceased's bones be deposited in an appropriate place.⁹⁸ On the eleventh day the men involved in preparing, carrying and burning the corpse should be bathed and fed.⁹⁹ On the twelfth day, to the accompaniment of worship of the Jinās, monks (*muni*) and relatives should be given *śrāddha*, which Somasena defines as 'the sincerely made gift of food to good people' (*śrāddhayānnapradānam tu sadbhyaḥ*).¹⁰⁰ The *śrāddha* ceremony must then take place on that day every month for a year and after that there should be for a period of twelve years an annual *śrāddha* ceremony for the departed relative (*pretagocaram*).¹⁰¹ Somasena stipulates finally that if it is a well-known (*suprasiddha*) man who has died by the religious death (*sannyāsadyāna*), then an image (*bimba*) of him should be erected in some such building as a pavilion in an auspicious place.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ TVĀ 13.177–178 describes the dimensions of the rice balls and the procedure for producing them. The relative making the offering should wear a shawl (*saṃvyānaka*) during the process and the rice balls should be deposited in a secluded (*gopita*) place. TVĀ 13.184–186 stipulates that the main agents in the ritual can, when necessary, be a group of *sapīṇḍa* relatives or a male who has not received initiation (*upanayana*) if he is assisted by the *ācārya*. For *sapīṇḍa* in the TVĀ, see n. 142.

⁹⁷ TVĀ 13.179–183.

⁹⁸ TVĀ 13.184–190.

⁹⁹ TVĀ 13.191.

¹⁰⁰ TVĀ 13.192–193a. Cf. TVĀ 13.206c: *śrāddhapūrvakam annadānakaraṇam śrāddham tathā nirmalam*. The term *śrāddha* is derived from *śrāddhā* which is conventionally assigned the meaning 'faith'. See Jurewicz (2000), 181, who refers to this sense in middle Vedic literature, and cf. Saindon (1998), 51 for the term signifying confidence in the efficacy of the rite. A more nuanced historical interpretation of *śrāddhā* would relate the original sense of the term to the obligations of hospitality owed to a guest, whether human or divine. See Jamison (1996), 176–184 and cf. Olivelle's note on *Mānavadharmasāstra* 3.202. The most common meaning of *śrāddha* in Śvetāmbara Jain tradition is in fact 'layman'. See the observations by Bothrā (2008), 79–80.

¹⁰¹ TVĀ 13.193b–194. Soni ignores the phrase *pretagocaram* in his Hindi rendering, presumably because the context here might suggest the, for Jainism, doctrinally unacceptable possibility of an entity suspended in an intra-rebirth state. See below.

¹⁰² TVĀ 13.195: *suprasiddhe mṛte pumsī sanyāsa[sic]dhyānayogataḥ / tadbimbam śhāpayet pūnyapradēse maṇḍapādike*. TVĀ 13.196–205 concludes the account of post mortem ritual

Hindu funeral practices became so complex and diverse over the centuries that it would be unwise to look for a canonical textual prescription,¹⁰³ but nobody familiar with even a limited range of brahmanical accounts of mortuary ritual will find anything particularly unusual in the various stages of the Jain ceremony delineated above.¹⁰⁴ Admittedly, compared to some brahmanical texts, not much is said by the TVĀ about attending to the corpse or the state of the funeral ground,¹⁰⁵ while the brief reference to avoiding carelessness (*pramāda*) when depositing the funerary palanquin clearly betokens a particularly Jain sensitivity to possible violence to smaller forms of life.¹⁰⁶ Somasena is slightly ambiguous about who presides over the ceremony: the cremator (*dāhaka*) is given some sort of performative status, although it is clear that there is no priestly or ritual specialist at hand to direct the cremation. Possibly of some significance is the fact that the skull of the corpse is not said to be broken open by the senior male relative in order to free the ‘soul’, as would appear to be the frequent practice among Hindus, but is merely described as being burnt.¹⁰⁷ Otherwise, most of the incidental features of what can be regarded as a typical Hindu cremation are to be found in Somasena’s description, such as the option of placing the head of the corpse to the east or the north¹⁰⁸ and the characteristic use of sesamum mixed with water.¹⁰⁹ The Digambara post mortem ritual is structured over twelve days in the conventional brahmanical style and, beyond the cursory references to worship of the Jinas, the feeding of monks instead

by outlining the duties of the widow, with her state being described (v. 198) as a form of *dīkṣā* equivalent to that of becoming a nun.

¹⁰³ See Kane (1953), 190.

¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, it largely conforms to a colonial administrative description of a typical performance of the ceremony by Jains in the Kolhapur district of Maharashtra in the nineteenth century. See Campbell (1896), 144–145. I owe my familiarity with this source to Flügel (2010), 451 n. 163.

¹⁰⁵ See Kane (1953), 202 and 204–205.

¹⁰⁶ TVĀ 13.140a: *pramādaparihārārtham parīkṣyaivam prayatnataḥ*. Cf. Thurston (1909), 37 for the Jains ‘placing the corpse on a stone in order to avoid taking the life of any stray insect during the process.’ Glasenapp (1925), 417 adds a reference to this in his short summary of the *Ācārādinakara*’s account of a cremation (see note 79).

¹⁰⁷ According to Mahias (1985), 229, the skull is broken in the modern Digambara cremation. For the *kapālakriyā* in the Hindu cremation, see Firth (1991), 69–71, Knipe (1977), 123 n. 15 and Parry (1994), 177 and 180–181.

¹⁰⁸ TVĀ 13. 141. Cf. Firth (1991), 60 for the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* prescribing the direction of the corpse’s head in the Hindu cremation as preferably north but also possibly east.

¹⁰⁹ See Kane (1953), 262 and 418–419.

of brahmins¹¹⁰ and the erection of a funerary monument (which is not a regular feature of brahmanical procedure),¹¹¹ there would appear to be no substantial difference from the standard Hindu funeral ceremony.¹¹²

Jain Attitudes to Ancestors and Śrāddha Ritual

It is in respect to the aftermath of the cremation where Somasena describes the commemoration of the departed relative and the offering of *śrāddha* that the student of Jainism's attention is caught. Undoubtedly it can easily be documented that in the medieval period Śvetāmbara Jains engaged in pious acts, ranging from the erection of temples to avowals in the colophony of commissioned manuscripts, in the clear belief that their deceased relatives could benefit from the merit generated by such undertakings.¹¹³ However, *śrāddha*, while obviously sharing a similar concern for the wellbeing of the dead, is of a different order from this type of transfer of merit in terms of its complexity, ritual style and underlying ideology. As is well known, in Hinduism *śrāddha* is the ritual process involving the offering of rice balls on a structured temporal basis along with the ceremonial feeding of brahmins by which a dead relative (*preta*) is provided with a temporary body and thereby inducted into and maintained within the world of the ancestors (*pitaraḥ*), which for each individual is constituted by his three immediate deceased relatives (namely father, grandfather and great-grandfather).¹¹⁴ JY describes the standard Jain attitude to this ceremony as follows: 'Now of all Hindu customs that which has been met with the keenest reprobation from Jainism has been the custom of *śrāddha* and the offering of sacrifices to the *pitṛs*.'¹¹⁵ According to Mahias, 'Les Jaina ne font pas non plus de culte

¹¹⁰ TVĀ 13.192. Feeding brahmins and others who are in attendance is described by TVĀ 9.44a (*brāhmaṇādīṃs tataḥ sarvān bhojayitvā yathāvidhi*) as a feature of the ceremonies which take place after the initiation of the layman's son as a student. Similarly, the performance of an expiation includes making gifts to brahmins (TVĀ 9.91), while giving fruit to brahmins is represented as a component of the marriage ritual (TVĀ 11.50b). In this latter context note the expression *datvā ca dakṣiṇām* at TVĀ 11. 51b which is rendered by Sonī by *brāhmaṇaṃ kī pradakṣiṇā dekar*.

¹¹¹ See Bakker (2007), 17, 40 and 42.

¹¹² Cf. also, for example, the building of a *vedī*, for which see Saindon (1998), 242.

¹¹³ See Cort (2003) and Granoff (1992), 184–187.

¹¹⁴ See Kane (1953), 334–335 and 340, Knipe (1977), 114–117 and Saindon (2000), 121–126. For the early conceptual background, see Jurewicz (2000), 181 and 184–185.

¹¹⁵ JY, 52.

aux ancêtres, *śrāddha* ou offrande *piṇḍa*.¹¹⁶ Jaini puts it still more firmly: ‘Whereas Jains have adopted many Hindu customs and ceremonies pertaining to such things as marriage, the coming of the new year, childbirth and so forth, they have never taken up what is perhaps the most important ritual in Hindu society, namely, *śrāddha*, the offering of food by a son to the spirit of his dead parent.’¹¹⁷

There can be identified two obvious difficulties for Jains in adopting *śrāddha* ritual. The first is social and relates to the necessary role of brahmins as intermediaries in the ceremony, for its success in creating a temporary body for the newly dead relative derives from their consumption of the food offerings as surrogates for the deceased, his ancestors and the supervising gods.¹¹⁸ While it may seem obvious that human corporeality and the maintenance of physical existence are the result of eating, the fact that Jainism has always envisaged the gross materiality of food in negative terms through its fundamental involvement in restricting the innately positive qualities of the *jīva*, or, loosely, ‘life monad’, would inevitably entail rejection of a ceremony in which various alimentary substances are ritually deployed and transformed with the aid of brahmins, the ideological foes.¹¹⁹ The second difficulty derives from a basic Jain doctrinal tenet, namely that when the *jīva* departs from the body in which it has been housed, it travels almost instantaneously under the impetus of its own actions to its next body, thereby rendering it an impossibility to affect its status or destiny through ritual means by the fashioning of some sort of new body.¹²⁰ It could be argued that this particular mode of envisioning rebirth was advocated by the Jains precisely to undercut and subvert the public authority of

¹¹⁶ Mahias (1985), 231. Mahias further reports that at the end of the complete funeral ceremony the deceased is regarded as totally gone. On the anniversary of the death, some Jains customarily give food to orphans, but there is no obligation to do so.

¹¹⁷ Jaini (2000), 135. See also Flügel (2010), 434. However, at p. 465 he notes without any further elaboration that while ancestor rituals are neither prescribed nor usually practised by Jains after the cremation of an ascetic, they are sometimes performed after the death of a lay person.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Jaini (2000), 135–136. According to brahmanical tradition, there are three categories of deities presiding over *śrāddha* offerings who are respectively aligned with the three ancestors (father, grandfather and great grandfather) of the eldest son. See Kane (1953), 334–335.

¹¹⁹ For negative Jain attitudes to food, see Jaini (2000), 281–296.

¹²⁰ See Jaini (2000), 303. It is in fact difficult to identify instantaneous rebirth as a component of the earliest statum of Jain teachings and this doctrine was more likely formulated in the middle canonical period (around the first century BCE–third century CE) as exemplified by the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*. See Ohira (1994), 1 and 121–123.

brahmans in a central area of human concern, but it nonetheless provides a powerful argument against the ideology underlying *śrāddha* ritual, that is to say the possibility of determining the destiny of a *preta* which would otherwise be located in an unfortunate intermediate state.¹²¹ If any further reason were required for the rejection of the practice of making libations to the ancestors, then the prescription in the classical Hindu *smṛtis* that the *śrāddha* offering should partly consist of animal flesh could not possibly be more opposed to the ethic of *ahiṃsā* and accordingly was regularly scorned by Jain teachers.¹²² In this light, the presence of *śrāddha* ritual in the TVĀ would seem to be anomalous by even minimal Jain standards.

Further References to Ancestors and Śrāddha Ritual in the TVĀ

At TVĀ 6.204 Somasena, in reiterating the time-honoured Jain interdiction against eating and drinking at night, refers sarcastically to the likely

¹²¹ According to Gutschow and Michaels (2005), 215, *preta* signifies the ‘ethereal form assumed by a dead man during the period between death and union with his or her [sic] ancestors’. However, the term can also signify little more than ‘corpse’. Cf. TVĀ 13.75c (*dāhen mantrāgninā pretam*) and TVĀ 11.189 where *pretānuyāna*, following a funeral cortege, is deemed inappropriate for one year after a marriage.

It may be noted that while Jainism did not subscribe to the possibility of a ritually created *ātivāhika* body which would encompass the *preta* as it moved to its next existence, the tradition postulated from the mid-scriptural period the existence of five types of body which were vehicles for the various physical facets and functions of the *jīva* after its rebirth. The standard formulation occurs at *Tattvārthasūtra* 2.37–43.

¹²² Amongst medieval Digambara critics see, for example, the tenth century Puṣpadanta, quoted by Bothrā (2008), 82, and the c. fifteenth century Vāmadeva, *Bhavasamgraha* vv. 43–60. Broadly speaking, Śvetāmbara teachers have been as explicit as their Digambara counterparts concerning the inappropriateness of *śrāddha* ritual and offering riceballs to the ancestors. So, for example, the fourteenth / fifteenth century Śvetāmbara Jinaprabhasūri lists in his manual of sectarian procedure, the *Vidhimārgaprapā* (p. 3 ll. 10–22), rice ball offerings and ancestor propitiation (monthly and annual) among an extremely wide range of practices and observances which he stigmatises as incorrect (*micchattḥānāim*). Cf. Bothrā (2008) p. 83, who provides only an abbreviated quotation of this list. Jinaprabhasūri would appear to be reproducing an earlier list of reprehensible worldly practices given by the fourteenth century Jinakuśalasūri in his commentary (pp. 59a–61a) on the *Caityavanadanakulaka* of Jinadattasūri (twelfth cen.). The negative judgements of these Śvetāmbara teachers could, of course, be interpreted as oblique evidence for the actual prevalence of such practices within the Jain lay community at that time.

It might also be argued incidentally that the strong Jain prejudice against honey, most usually explained on the grounds that its consumption involves destruction of life forms while also having aphrodisiac effects (cf. JY, 52 and 55), may have been originally prompted by the substance’s close association with brahmanical ritual offerings such as *śrāddha*, for which see Oberlies (2007).

consumption of *pretādyucchiṣṭa*, ‘the leavings of *pretas* and other things’, which seems to be a pejorative reference to food offerings to ancestors.¹²³ Given that the account of the Digambara funerary ceremony described above derives solely from chapter thirteen of the TVĀ which makes no specific reference to the ancestors, it might be asked what further evidence can be found elsewhere in the text concerning post-cremation ritual. Here I present various statements in earlier portions of the TVĀ (listed in order of occurrence in the work) which, if only in passing, bear upon the ancestors (*pitarah*) and the *śrāddha* and *piṇḍa* offerings.¹²⁴

Ancestors

Chapter three of the TVĀ, which deals with the morning ablutions, contains a group of verses prescribing the offering of water squeezed from his wet clothes by the layman when on the river bank:

*asamṣkārās ca ke cij jalāśāḥ pitarah surāḥ /
teṣāṃ santoṣatrṣṭyartham dīyate salilaṃ mayā ||* (TVĀ 3.11)

‘I give water to satisfy and delight those who have received no (formal death?) rituals (*samṣkāra*), the ancestor gods who hope for water.’¹²⁵

¹²³) *jalodarādikṛdyūkādyaṅkam apreksyajantukam / pretādyucchiṣṭam utsṛṣṭam apy aśnan niśy aho sukḥi*. ‘How happy is he who eats at night the abandoned left overs of *pretas* which are covered with insects and which bring about dropsy and the like and harbour invisible creatures’. In his Hindi comment on this verse (an actual translation is not given), Soni interprets the term *preta* as referring to low (*nīc*) deities such as *rākṣasas* and *piśācas*. TVĀ 1.20 includes *pretas* with *bhūtas*, *piśācas* and *yakṣas* as examples of worldly deities (*laukikadevatā*) whose shrines are not appropriate locations for voiding of the bowels, while TVĀ 4.193 states that offerings to *bhūtas* and *pretas*, amongst other supernatural beings, can be carried out in the course of worship of the Jina image. Mānātūṅga’s *Bhaktāmarastotra*, perhaps the most important Jain devotional hymn, familiar to Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras alike, refers (v. 41) to dropsy (*jalodara*) as the archetypal fatal disease which can nonetheless be cured by devotion to the Jina.

¹²⁴) TVĀ 8.7 includes *piṇḍadāna* and *śrāddha* separately in its enumeration of life cycle rituals.

¹²⁵) Soni takes the *samṣkāra* referred to in the verse as denoting the wearing of the ritual thread (*yajñopavīta*) characteristic of members of the Jain twice-born classes (see note 167) and claims that those who die without being invested with this are reborn as *pitarah surāḥ*, a class of *vyantara* deity. He refers, without specific citation, to Akalaṅka’s *Rājavārttika* commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* and the *Mahāpurāna* as sources for these deities. The category of *vyantara* can include a range of relatively benign demiurges from *gandharvas* to ghosts and malevolent demons. See note 47. Psychic and physical invasion by *vyantara* deities is a common theme in Jain narrative literature, ignored by Smith (2006) in his otherwise impressive study of divine possession in South Asia. For the ancestors

After squeezing the water in the southern direction of death to the accompaniment of the recitation of mantras (TVĀ 3.11), the layman should then say:

*ke cid asmatkule jātā apūrvavyantarāsūrāḥ
te grhñantu mayā dattam vastranispīḍanodakam || TVĀ 3.12*

‘Some in our family have been reborn as *vyantara* demons for the first time (?).¹²⁶ Let them receive the water from the squeezing of clothes which has been offered by me.’

After next establishing (TVĀ 3.17) that the layman should not rub himself after bathing because ‘there are as many millions of holy places (*tīrtha*) on the body as there are hairs’,¹²⁷ Somasena amplifies TVĀ 3.12:

*pibanti śirasō devāḥ pibanti pitaro mukhāt /
madhyāc ca yakṣagandharvā adhastāt sarvajantavaḥ || TVĀ 3.18*

‘The gods drink (water)¹²⁸ from the head, the ancestors from the mouth, *yakṣas* and *gandharvas* from the middle (of the body) and all (other) creatures from below.’¹²⁹

as divinities in Hinduism, see Saindon (1998), 178 and for the practice of libations to the ancestors after bathing as described in the *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra*, see Olivelle (2009a), 128.

¹²⁶ Somasena would appear to be making a distinction between rebirth into a class of non-violent deities (*sura*) mentioned in the previous verse and malevolent demons (*asura*) who can be classified as *vyantara*, both of which require propitiation with water. Cf. Varṇī (1995) vol. 1, 210 and vol. 4, 437. Sonī takes *vyantarāsūrāḥ* as a dvandva compound in the sense of *vyantar yā asur jātike dev hue* and ignores *apūrva*. My understanding of the latter form is very tentative: it may mean little more than ‘remarkable’. However, it is possible that Somasena is making an allusion to or deliberate contrast with the Hindu category of the *pūrvadevatāḥ*, ‘primeval deities’, the ancestors located at the beginning of creation, described at *Mānavadharmasāstra* 3.192–199 (see Olivelle’s note on 3.192), in which case *apūrva* may here correspond to something like ‘immanent’.

¹²⁷ *tisraḥ koṭyo ṛdhakoṭī ca yāvad romāṇi mānuṣe / vasanti tāvat tīrthāni tasmān na parimā-rjayet*. Sonī interprets *tīrthāni* as *pavitra sthān*. The verse links the presence of water with pure or sacred sites. Cf. note 130.

¹²⁸ Sonī understands the grammatical object as being ‘water dripping from’ (*se ṭapakte hue jal ko*).

¹²⁹ My translation of this verse is tentative, but it does seem to suggest that a hierarchy of beings is associated with consuming residual water from successively less pure parts of the layman’s body. Sonī omits the reference to *yakṣas* and *gandharvas* (demiurges who fall into the category of *vyantara* deities), expressing unease in his Hindi *bhāvārth* interpretation about the lack of authoritative textual warranty for what Somasena is describing and scepticism about the capacity of such beings to drink water. Cf. TVĀ 3.19: *surāpānasamaṃ toyam*

While the full import of these verses is by no means clear, it may be permissible to deduce from them that the category of ancestor is here being subsumed within the specifically Jain classes of deity or demiurge variously called *sura*, *asura* and *vyantara* within which a deceased relative is, or can be, reborn through his own agency. The stress on water as an offering may reflect a conscious distancing from the classical brahmanical *śrāddha* offering which involved meat. The designation at TVĀ 3.131b of the Jina Rṣabha (here Vṣabha) as one of the ‘good ancestors’ (*supitr*) to whom offerings of sesame-water should be made also suggests that the category of ancestor could be extended still further in Jainism to refer to the first teacher in this time cycle.¹³⁰

At the end of chapter three (TVĀ pp. 77–83) Somasena provides a series of increasingly complex mantras to be addressed to various authoritative figures as the layman brings the morning twilight ritual to a conclusion. The penultimate cluster of mantras, each having the shape *om hrīm arhaṃ tarpayāmi*, relates to an offering with sesame-water to the *pitṛs*.¹³¹ These are identified respectively as the parents (*pitaraū*) of each of the twenty-four Jinas of the current time cycle, the parents of the worshipper (*asmatpitaraū*) and *tatpitaraū*, ‘their parents’, that is, presumably, his grandparents. Three mantras of the same shape follow, with the offering directed to the layman’s various teachers, namely the *dikṣāguru*, *vidyāguru* and *śikṣāguru*.¹³² The final two mantras of offering are directed to

pr̥ṣṭhataḥ keśabindavaḥ/dakṣiṇe jāhnavītoyaṃ vāme tu rudhiraṃ bhavet (‘Water (which drips) from the back is like drinking wine, as are drops of water on the hair; on the right side of the body, it is Ganges water and on the left blood’). Sonī also expresses scepticism about this (*yah kaise thik mānā jā saktā hai*).

¹³⁰ *Vṣabhādisupitṛṇāṃ tilamīśrodakaiḥ param*. TVĀ 3.9 (the text of which is partially defective) would appear to describe the obligation of the layman, after emerging from his morning bath, to face south and make a *tarpaṇa* offering with sesame to the *tīrthapitaraḥ*, the ‘ancestors of the Jain religion’, such as Vṣabha. Sonī in his Hindi gloss interprets the verse by reference to the expression *pitṛtīrtha* which denotes the part of the hand with which the offering is made to the *tīrthapitaraḥ*, no doubt on the basis of the occurrence of the expressions *devatīrtha* and *ṛṣitīrtha* in a similar sense in TVĀ 3.7 and 8. See *Mānavadharmasāstra* 2.58–59 for the four parts of the palm being designated *tīrtha* and linked to Brahmā, Prajāpati, the gods and the ancestors. Olivelle notes on 2.58: ‘As a *tīrtha* on a river is where water comes into contact with the body, so the various parts of the palm are the *tīrthas* through which water enters the mouth and body.’

¹³¹ *atha pitṛṇāṃ tarpaṇaṃ kuryāt tilodakena*. For *tarpaṇa* as a water offering, see Saindon (1998), 51.

¹³² The *dikṣāguru* can be regarded as the teacher responsible for the youthful layman’s initiation.

the *pitṛs* of the three teachers and their preceding generations of ancestors (*pitṛtatpitṛtatpitṛtarāḥ*). Somasena concludes by stating that altogether there are thirty-two mantras directed towards offerings to the *pitṛs* (*pitṛnām tarpaṇārtham*).

In the seven following verses Somasena makes passing reference to the conditions under which rituals involving the ancestors should or should not be performed by the Digambara Jain layman and also to the ancestors as included among general objects of worship of varying categories:

*na kuryāt pitṛkarmāṇi dānahomajapādīkam /
khaṇḍavastrāvṛtaś caiva vastrārdhaprāvṛtas tathā* // TVĀ 3.38

‘One should not perform ancestor rituals (and other ceremonies) such as donation, fire offering and recitation of mantras when (inappropriately) dressed in a fragment of a garment or dressed in half a garment.’¹³³

*snānaṃ dānaṃ japaṃ homaṃ svādhyāyaṃ pitṛtarpaṇam /
naikavastro grhī kuryāc chrāddhabhojanasatkriyām* // TVH 3.39¹³⁴

‘A householder wearing (only) one garment should not engage in bathing, donation, recitation of mantras, fire offering, study, propitiation of the ancestors (with water) and the ceremony of offering *śrāddha* food.’

*japo homas tathā dānaṃ svādhyāyaḥ pitṛtarpaṇam /
jīnapūjā śrūtākhyānaṃ na kuryāt tilakaṃ vinā* // TVĀ 4.85

‘If not wearing a forehead mark, one should not perform recitation of mantras, fire offering, donation, study, propitiation of the ancestors, worship of the Jinas and recitation of scripture.’¹³⁵

¹³³ TVĀ 3.37 specifies that food should not be consumed or the gods worshipped while wearing only one garment.

¹³⁴ This verse, prefaced by *uktaṃ ca*, is a quotation substantiating the previous verse. A Hindu variant version (ascribed to the *Dharmasūtra* of Śaṅkhalikhita) is quoted by the seventeenth century Nandapaṇḍita in his *Keśavavaijayantī* commentary on *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (i.e. *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra*) 64.24: *śuṣkeṇāntarjale naiva bahir api ādravāsasā / snānaṃ dānaṃ japo homaḥ kartavyam pitṛtarpaṇam*. In fact Śaṅkhalikhita’s version reads *niṣpalaṃ* for *kartavyam*. See Kane (1926–1927), 132. *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra* 64.14 states that two garments should be worn after bathing. See Olivelle (2009a), 128.

¹³⁵ This must be the sense of the verse, despite its apparently ungrammatical structure. The *tilaka* forehead mark was a well-known matter of sectarian significance and debate within medieval Hinduism, but is not usually associated with Jainism. In the context of describing the conduct of *pūjā*, TVĀ 4.64–85 refers to six types of *tilaka* and their appropriate deployment by members of the Digambara *varṇas*.

*tatrāḍau vāyumeḡhāgnivāstunāḡāms tu pūjayet /
kṣetrapālaḡ gurum piṭṛṇ śeṣān devān yathāvidhi // TVĀ 4.120*

‘There (i.e. in the *homagraha*) at the start of the ritual one would worship the (deities of the) wind, clouds, fire, house and the *nāgas*, the local tutelary deity, the teacher, the ancestors and the remaining gods according to injunction.’¹³⁶

*cāṇḍālapatitebhyas ca piṭṛjātān aśeṣataḡ /
vāyasebhyo baliḡ rātrau naiva dadyān mahitale // TVĀ 4.197
tato ‘pi sarvabhūtebhyo jalāñjalim samarpayet /
daśadikṣu ca piṭṛbhyas trivarnaiḡ kramataḡ sadā // TVĀ 4.198*

‘One should not make an offering on the ground at night to untouchables and those fallen (into an impure state), to all those reborn among the ancestors without exception and to birds. Then one should make a water offering to all creatures and, continually, to the ancestors in the ten directions successively (in conformity) with the (hierarchy of the) three classes (?).’¹³⁷

Three verses seem to link the wellbeing of the ancestors with regular marital practice within the family. However, the sense of *pitaraḡ* here is probably not uniform and in TVĀ 11.196 may simply refer to senior male relatives:

*ṛtukālopagāmī tu prāpnoti paramāḡ gatim /
satkulah prabhavet putrah piṭṛṇāḡ svargado mataḡ // TVĀ 8.48
ṛtusnātām tu yo bhāryāḡ sannidhau nopayacchati /
ghorāyāḡ bhrūṇahatyāyāḡ piṭṛbhiḡ saha majjati // TVĀ 8.49*

‘He who has intercourse with his wife when she is fertile attains the highest state of rebirth. A son will be born who is of good family and regarded as giving heaven to the ancestors. He who does not approach his wife when she has bathed after menstruating sinks with the ancestors¹³⁸ into terrible destruction of the foetus.’¹³⁹

¹³⁶ TVĀ 4.121 continues by prescribing worship of the five supreme types of being (Jinas, *siddhas*, *ācāryas*, *upādhyāyas* and monks).

¹³⁷ I am uncertain about the sense of *trivarnaiḡ kramāt*. Possibly relevant here is the Hindu context in which the four lower categories of ancestor are worshipped by each of the four social classes respectively. See Saindon (1998), 42.

¹³⁸ In his Hindi rendering of both these verses Sonī takes the term *piṭṛ*, despite its plural ending, as referring to parents (*mātāpitāoḡ, matāpitāk[e]*). Cf. his rendering of TVĀ 11.196.

¹³⁹ For the term *bhrūṇahatyā*, see Wezler (1994). TVĀ 8.49 can be regarded as a variant of a verse which occurs in slightly different form throughout Hindu *dharmaśāstra* literature. The well known ritual digest of Kamalākaraḡhaṭṭa, the *Nirṇayasindhu*, dating from 1613 and so nearly exactly contemporary with the TVĀ, quotes the verse in the form *ṛtusnātām tu yo bhāryāḡ sannidhau nopagacchati / ghorāyāḡ bhrūṇahatyāyāḡ pacyate nātra saḡśayah* and ascribes it to the *Parāśarasmyti* (4.15 in the Gretil edition which reads *yuyate* for *pacyate*). The version of the verse at *Ratīśāstra* v. 221b substitutes brahman-killing for foetus-killing:

*asamskr̥tā tu yā kanyā rajasā cet pariplutā /
bhrātarah pitaras tasyāḥ patitā narakālaye // TVĀ 11.196*

‘If a girl is unmarried when she starts to menstruate, her brothers and her *pitarah* fall into hell.’

Śrāddha and piṇḍadāna

The following verses describing *śrāddha* and rice ball offerings in the context of other types of ritual observance are noteworthy precisely because of the perfunctory nature of Somasenā’s references to these practices.

*tīrthataṭe prakartayam prānāyāmaṃ tathācamam /
sandhyā śrāddham ca piṇḍasya dānam gehe ’iha vā śucau // TVĀ 3.77*

‘One should perform breath control, rinsing of the mouth, twilight worship, *śrāddha*,¹⁴⁰ and the offering of rice balls on the bank of a river, or at home, if it is clean’.

sa gacchen narakam ghoram brahmabheti tathocyate. See Zysk (2002), 58 and 129–130. The general sentiment of these verses can be traced as far as back as *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 4.1.17–18. JY, 277 refers to the TVĀ for the man and wife who do not approach each other during the *ṛtu* being ‘submerged with the *pitṛs* in a terrible hell’, but the lack of a specific reference suggests a conflation with TVĀ 11.196 (see below).

TVĀ 8.48 and 49 come towards the end of a section (8.28–51) dealing with the *samskāra* of *garbhādhāna* which is unique among Jain texts in the explicitness of its description of sexual intercourse between the layman and his wife (including mantras addressed both to the goddess dwelling in the *yoni* and to the five supreme types of being of Jainism). JY, 277 refers to the passage in passing as evidence of the ‘inroads of Hinduism’. Fourteen of the TVĀ verses do in fact have very close analogues in a seventeen verse section on the subject of marital love making in Narasiṃhācārya’s *Bhāvaprakāśikā* commentary (pp. 183–184) on the short work on Hindu householder orthopraxy, *the Sadācārasmyti* by Anandatīrtha, the thirteenth century founder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, who is better known as Madhva. So *Bhāvaprakāśikā* 3a (my numbering in the absence of any enumeration in Nagasampige’s edition) parallels TVĀ 8.48, although 3b reads *tatkālaprabhavaḥ putro piṇḍānam svargado bhavet*. The *Bhāvaprakāśikā* may well have circulated in the same area of western India as the TVĀ, but was written some six decades later in 1674. The Dvaita tradition does seem to have assimilated Digambara Jain influence in its early stages, for which see Zydenbos (1991), and *pace* JY it is tempting (at least for a Jain partisan) to argue for such influence here, but it is perhaps more likely that these very similar accounts of what both texts call *kāmayajña*, ‘the ritual offering of sexual congress’, may go back to a common source, quite possibly of a *kāmasāstra* type (see, however, TVĀ 6.138 for a warning against consulting a standard text, or group of texts, in the area of erotics, the *Kokasāstra*). More investigation into this particular textual connection will be carried out.

¹⁴⁰ Sonī omits reference to this in his Hindi paraphrase.

*ekādaśe pakṣāśrāddhe sapinḍapretakarmasu /
prāyaścitte na bhū[ñ]jīta bhuktaś cet sañ jāpej japam // TVĀ 6.219*

‘One should not eat on the eleventh day (after the death of relative), at the fortnightly *śrāddha* ceremony,¹⁴¹ in the course of funerary rituals for somebody with whom one has a *sapinḍa* relationship¹⁴² and while performing an expiation. If one does eat at these times, then one should recite appropriate mantras.’

*mṛtāśaucagate śrāddhe mātāpitṛmṛte ’hani /
upavāse ca tāmbūlaṃ divā rātrau ca varjayet // TVĀ 6.238*

‘One should avoid (eating) betel during both day and night when there is death impurity, when *śrāddha* (is being performed), on the day commemorating the death of one’s mother and father and when fasting.’¹⁴³

*garbhinyām api bhāryāyām vīryapātaṃ vivarjayet /
aṣṭa[ma]māsāt paraṃ caiva nāiva kuryāc chrāddhabhojanam // TVĀ 8.89*

‘When (the layman’s) wife is pregnant, he should avoid intercourse with her; after the eighth month of her pregnancy, he should not perform feeding (of guests) in a *śrāddha* ceremony.’

*ekam eva pituś cādyam kuryād deśe daśāhani /
tato vai mātrkaṃ śrāddham kuryād ādyādi ṣoḍaśa // TVĀ 13.78¹⁴⁴*

‘At the end of the ten day period of impurity, one should perform in the country (where he died)¹⁴⁵ one initial (*śrāddha*) for one’s father. Then he should perform all sixteen *śrāddhas* for his mother, beginning with the initial one (as in the case of his father) (?).’¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ See Knipe (1977), 117 for the fortnightly offering in the Hindu funeral ritual.

¹⁴² See also TVĀ 13.44–45, 56, 70 and 13.184–186 for *sapinḍa* relatives. Somasena does not clarify what is meant by *sapinḍa* in the Jain context and it seems to function in the TVĀ as a socially neutral expression. For brahmanical interpretations of its meaning, see Olivelle’s note on *Mānavadharmasāstra* 5.60. One of these possible meanings is ‘sharing bodily particles’, which seems to be the sense that Champat Rai Jain (1926), 20 assigns the term when it occurs in Jainism. He further claims that the Jains adopted the term *pinḍadāna* ‘to keep the Brahmana community pleased at the time of persecution’.

¹⁴³ Sonī takes the the verse as referring to a *śrāddha* observance for the layman’s mother and father (*apne mātā pitā ke śrāddh ke din*). Jainism is generally negative about the appropriateness of consuming betel, but TVĀ 6.219–240 is more ambivalent. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, *Nirṇayasindhu* p. 702, quotes the thirteenth century Hemādri for the necessity of the performer of *śrāddha* ritual avoiding betel.

¹⁴⁴ The verse relates to the ten day period of impurity ensuing when one’s father dies shortly after one’s mother.

¹⁴⁵ TVĀ 13.71–84 deals with variations in funerary ritual and impurity when the dead relative and the son are separated by some distance.

¹⁴⁶ My translation is very tentative. For the sixteen *śrāddhas*, see Kane (1953), 518.

*ata ūrdhvaṃ pretakarma kāryaṃ tasya vidhānataḥ /
śrāddhaṃ kṛtvā ṣaḍabdam ca prāyaścittam svasaktitah // TVĀ 13.82¹⁴⁷*

‘After this period of time the funerary ritual should be performed for him according to prescription; having performed *śrāddha* there should be a six year expiation according to ability (to carry it out).’

yaddine vartate śrāddhaṃ taddine tarpaṇaṃ japaḥ // TVĀ 13.205a

‘On the same day that *śrāddha* (for her husband) takes place, (a widow should carry out) offerings of water and recitation of mantras.’

The foregoing quotations, when taken in conjunction with the overall description of the funerary ritual in chapter thirteen of the TVĀ, make clear that the Digambara Jainism described by Somasena accepted within the standard ritual repertoire of the layman some sort of commemorative post-cremation ceremony called *śrāddha* involving the offering of rice balls and water, with libations regularly made to ancestors, who could be envisaged as lower order divinities or demiurges. However, no significant stress is put on the necessity of these practices nor is any serious interpretative justification of them made. When scholars such as Jaini state that the Jains have never subscribed to the making of *śrāddha* offerings to ancestors, they are correctly pointing to the fact that Jainism has never throughout its history formulated a doctrinal case supporting or comparable to the eschatological ideology of Hinduism which validates that ritual. The evidence above confirms this by indicating that while the range of procedures prescribed by the TVĀ for a Digambara Jain funeral clearly maintains or imitates a great deal of the outward performative shape to be observed in a typical Hindu version of the ceremony,¹⁴⁸ it is not informed, at least

¹⁴⁷ The context of this verse involves a son who does not hear of the death of parent for some time.

¹⁴⁸ The sketchy scholarly evidence available for the contemporary conduct of Jain post-cremation funerary ritual would appear to support this. Cf. Flügel (2010), 448, 449 n. 152 and 452. Sangave (1980), 252 and 345–346 adopts an avowedly sociological perspective on current funeral practice, but his lack of focus and contextualisation means that his data culled from various regions of India are of limited analytical value, other than to support his assertion (p. 252) that there is no uniformity of practice. Thus, while claiming (p. 345) that the Jains do not appear to assign much importance to observance of funeral rites and do not perform the *śrāddha* ceremony, Sangave also states that in Karnataka the *śrāddha* ceremony is carried out every month for one year. The post mortem offering of rice balls is reported as occurring amongst Jains in only one locality (pp. 354–356).

explicitly, by the rationale that underlies death and its aftermath in the brahmanical ritual. Although Somasena undoubtedly conveys that the layman is responsible for the wellbeing of his ancestors in terms of ensuring their gaining of heaven and avoidance of hell, this is to be practically effected solely through the generation of male offspring;¹⁴⁹ there is not conveyed any identifiable sense in which *śrāddha* and *piṇḍadāna* are to be understood as implicated in the ritual creation of a new body for a dead father or of the sustaining of a network of ancestors from which the layman has descended.

Approaches and Analogues to the TVĀ's Description of Digambara Funerary Ritual

As my supporting annotation above makes clear, it is difficult to discuss Jain funerary ceremonial in cultural isolation without reference to its brahmanical/Hindu counterpart. Whether the similarities involved are to be interpreted as the hinduisation of Jain practice, the jainisation of Hindu practice or as simply reflecting a longstanding post-Vedic consensus about the variety of ritual possibilities available in a South Asian funeral seems to me to be to a large extent a matter of individual scholarly perspective and interpretative predilection.¹⁵⁰ The following example may reveal this point in a rather more narrowly defined context.

At TVĀ 1.57ab, Somasena describes the universe as a theatre in which fine dramatic productions are mounted, with Viśvanātha as the audience, the soul the actor who assumes many roles and karma the director.¹⁵¹ If the basic metaphor employed here is hardly original,¹⁵² the name Viśvanātha can be interpreted from several angles. Hindus and Indologists alike will readily recognise Viśvanātha as a common epithet of Śiva in one of his most powerful manifestations, and its use by Somasena could easily be viewed as evidence of the penetrative influence of hinduisation on what

¹⁴⁹ TVĀ 8.51 describes *garbhādhāna* as a ritual for gaining a son to take one across *samsāra*.

¹⁵⁰ As described at the beginning of this study, JY clearly subscribes to hinduisation as the underlying dynamic involved. Cf. Flügel (2010), 434 and 436–437, who states that ‘Even today, Jain lay funerals tend to reflect local ‘Hindu’ practices in a jainized way without ever involving Brahmins and performing *śrāddha*’ and that the *Ācārādinakara* ‘prescribes jainized Vedic style cremation’.

¹⁵¹ *loko 'yaṃ nātyaśālā racitasuracanā prekṣako Viśvanātho/jīvo 'yaṃ nrtyakārī vividhatanudharo nātakācāryakarma.*

¹⁵² For *samṣṛtīnātakam*, see, for example, Āśādharma, *Anagāradharmāmṛta* 1.12.

had become by the seventeenth century a Digambara community both diminishing in numbers and deeply embedded in Hindu society. Those familiar with Jain sources, on the other hand, can point to the fact that Viśvanātha was employed by Digambaras as a name of the Jina (envisaged in general terms) and that the largescale occurrence in Jainism of nomenclature associated with Hindu gods but assigned to the *tīrthaṅkaras*, the saving teachers, might accordingly be taken either as an example of jainisation or of the common potentiality and potency of divine titles in South Asian devotional culture.¹⁵³ However, it could also be concluded that the invocation of Viśvanātha by Somasena has little more force than an utterance of the sort ‘God alone knows’ or ‘God is my witness’, without any specific theological significance or sectarian context involved, and so represent an underdetermined or neutral designation.¹⁵⁴

No doubt it would be unrealistic to insist excessively on any one of these interpretations at the expense of the others. However, scholars working in the field of Jainism in recent years have predictably argued for the consistent autonomy of the tradition as a socio-religious entity within South Asian civilisation and have been reluctant to accede to any form of hinducentric perspective which would envisage the Jains as regularly borrowing ritual, narrative themes, *bhakti* idioms and the like from the encompassing Hindu world.¹⁵⁵ This is a perfectly legitimate stance since, taken to extremes, the ‘borrowing’ interpretation would imply insufficient powers of agency on the part of the Jains throughout their history, encouraging the conclusion that Jainism is little more than one quasi-syncretic component of an enveloping, culturally dominant Hinduism.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, it is difficult to deny

¹⁵³ For Viśvanātha as a name of the Jina, see Āśādhara, *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 38a v. 79 and p. 121b v. 31. Interestingly Viśvanātha is not actually given as a title of the Jina in Āśādhara’s *Jinasahasranāmastotra*, for which see Osier (2008), despite section five of that stotra which is entitled *Nāthaśatam* containing seven designations beginning *viśva-*. Nor does the designation occur in the prototypical *Jinasahasranāmastotra* in chapter twenty-five of Jinasena’s *Adipurāna* which otherwise contains (vv. 100–104) eighteen names beginning with *viśva-* or a derivative. It does, however, occur at v. 28 in the fifteenth century *Jinasahasranāma* of Sakalakīrti.

¹⁵⁴ Sonī renders Viśvanātha at TVĀ 1.57 by *siddh paramātmā*, ‘the liberated supreme self’, an expression which often effectively represents the designation ‘God’ in modern Jain parlance.

¹⁵⁵ See the contributions in Cort (1998).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Standaert (2008), 210 with regard to the introduction of European funerary practices into seventeenth century China. Ruegg (2008) pp. 112–113 favours ‘symbiosis’ as a model for the interrelationship of Brahmanism/Hinduism and Buddhism in south Asia, irrespective of the borrowing and enculturation which occurred from time to time. Flood

that in certain contexts hinduisation remains a highly useful explanatory trope, reflecting the pragmatics at work in the easy accessibility to the Jains of *laukika* idioms of practice. Accordingly, without either jettisoning or endorsing what are effectively complementary perspectives, I would like in what follows to shift the emphasis slightly by means of two further examples, one specific and the other more general. These might support the view that the conduct of the Digambara Jain funeral described in the TVĀ need not be viewed solely as an assemblage of ritual practices which has been appropriated from the Hindu conceptual realm by one particular Digambara intellectual, the bhaṭṭāraka Somasena, perhaps to do no more than serve the practical needs of his own local community, but could also be interpreted as exemplifying broader processes for which a parallel, as much as a source, can be found in Hinduism.

As part of the gradual development of canonisation which began around the middle of the first millennium CE Digambara Jain tradition came to organise its textual corpus under the organisational rubric of four *anuyogas*, or expositions.¹⁵⁷ These are described at TVĀ 10. 60–63 as representing the locus of correct knowledge of Jain teachings (*samyagjñāna*). However, the *anuyogas* appear in a rather different context in chapter nine of the TVĀ. There Somasena describes (TVĀ 9. 3–38) the procedure to be carried out after a Jain brahman student (*baṭu*) has received initiation as a layman-to-be from his teacher. The boy is instructed to go out from his home with a bowl and, until the formal commencement of studying, beg from the houses of Jain brahmans in the prescribed manner and thus enable householders who follow the behaviour of the three twice-born classes to acknowledge him. The TVĀ continues:

*prathamakaraṇādī dvau caraṇadravyayugmakam /
anuyogās ca catvāraḥ śākhā vipramate matāḥ //
tāsām madhye tu yā śākhā yasya vaṃṣe pravartate /
tam ukṭvā grhiṇī tasmai sandadhyāt taṇḍulāñjalim // TVĀ 9.39–40*

(2009), 179, in discussing the interaction between Muslim and Hindu culture in medieval India, rejects notions such as syncretism and permeability on the grounds that they ‘occlude questions of agency, cognition and power’ and proposes ‘translation’ as an appropriate interpretative analogy for framing the relationship. For a more positive view of the analytical value of syncretism and the multivocality enacted in Jainism, see Flügel (2008), 88–93.

¹⁵⁷ Relevant primary references are collected by Varṇī (1995), volume one, 99–103; cf. Jaini (2001), 78–81.

‘The four *anuyogas*, namely the first two which involve what is Primary and Technical respectively and the pair which relate to Practice and Ontology, are regarded as branches (*śākhā*) in the doctrine of the (Digambara Jain) brahmans.¹⁵⁸ A housewife, having described (to the student) that branch of those four in whose familial tradition (*vaṃśa*)¹⁵⁹ she is located, should give him a handful of rice.’

Here Somasena would appear to be describing a phenomenon without any apparent antecedent in Digambara Jain social history, namely the location of familial descent groups around fictive branches or lineages emanating from scriptural recensions. The similarity to the brahmanical tradition of Vedic *śākhās* is obvious, but it is unclear whether Somasena is recording what had become by his time an established if localised feature of Digambara society or prescribing a potentially advantageous social innovation, perhaps against the background of the nascent debate about ritual and status which developed increasing momentum among brahmans in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁰

However, this implicit organisational and ideological alignment of the Digambara scriptures with the Vedas need not necessarily be interpreted as a clearcut example of what could be styled either ‘hinduisation’ or ‘jainisation’, since an analogous example can be located in mainstream Hinduism itself. I refer to the *Pāñcarātraraksā* of the influential fourteenth century Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher Vedānta Deśika. Near the beginning of this work, which is intended to establish the authority of the Pāñcarātra as a soteriological and ritual system, Vedānta Deśika describes how the textual corpuses of the Pāñcarātra, the *āgamasiddhānta*, the *mantrasiddhānta*, the *tantrasiddhānta* and the *tantrāntarasiddhānta*, are fourfold in the same way as the Veda (*nigama*) is divided into the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas and how they also, in similar manner to these timeless scriptures, are further divided and subdivided into branches (*śākhā*).¹⁶¹ Vedānta Deśika does not actually refer to familial descent from these scriptural branches and the TVĀ’s reference to this might admittedly be interpreted as evincing clearcut brahmanical influence. However, the alignment with the Veda in similar fourfold style by the otherwise unconnected textual traditions of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the

¹⁵⁸ Or, ‘according to (Digambara Jain) brahman doctrine.’

¹⁵⁹ My translation presupposes *yasyā(h)* for *yasya*. TVĀ 8. 21 describes how in the *garbhādhāna* ceremony the husband and wife undertake to increase their *vaṃśa*.

¹⁶⁰ See O’Hanlon and Minkowski (2008) and O’Hanlon (2010).

¹⁶¹ Vedānta Deśika, *Pāñcarātraraksā* p. 3 ll. 9–16.

Digambara Jains does appear to reflect a parallel situation in which various South Asian religious communities regularly sought to reframe and find new contexts for aspects of the discourse hegemonically established by brahmins in the first millennium BCE. Nowhere is this more noticeable than in my second example, the deployment by Digambara Jainism of one of the central terms of brahmanical ritual ideology, namely *yajña*.

In the specific context of Vedic ritual the term *yajña* signified concretely an act of sacrifice, which at the same time shaded into the more general sense of worshipping or honouring a divinity. In a recent illuminating study Gérard Colas has traced the development of *yajña* as an evolving conceptual ideal in medieval South Asian religions over the centuries, drawing attention to the term's semantic malleability and adaptability in a variety of settings whereby it came to refer both to an act of devotion and an offering which did not involve any taking of animal life and so eventually became largely emptied of its original meaning.¹⁶² Colas refers to the various metaphorical ways in which early Buddhism approached *yajña*, but unfortunately he has nothing to say of the fortunes of the term within Jainism.¹⁶³ In fact, notwithstanding its strong stance against the premises and practice of the Vedic sacrifice, Jainism, in common with various Hindu Vaiṣṇava traditions, from around the eighth century gradually incorporated terms derived from the verbal root *yaj* such as *yajña*, *ijyā*, *yāga* and *yaṣṭr* into its basic vocabulary of worship and reverence,¹⁶⁴ with the *Mahāpurāṇa* providing the first extended Digambara evidence of this process¹⁶⁵ and the lay intellectual Āśādharma confirming its general currency by the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Throughout this period a nexus of contingent ritual idioms

¹⁶² See Colas (2006).

¹⁶³ We may note the redefinition of aspects of the brahmanical sacrifice as early as chapter twelve of the *Uttarādhyaiana Sutra*, one of the *mūlasūtras* of the Śvetāmbara āgama.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. JY, 216. A noteworthy early medieval Śvetāmbara example of this is Haribhadra, *Ṣoḍaśakaparakaraṇa* 6.14, where building a temple is said to be a *bhāvayajña*, a 'spiritual offering'; cf. 8.7 for *ijyā* in the sense of *pūjā*.

¹⁶⁵ To give just a few examples, see Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* 25.120 (where the Jina Rṣabha is strongly identified with the term): *suyajvā yajamānātmā sutvā sutram apūjitaḥ | ṛtvig yajña-patir ayājyo yajñāṅgam amṛtam haviḥ*. Cf. *Ādipurāṇa* 24.28b (Bharata paying homage to Rṣabha): *iyāja yāyajūkānām jyāyān prājyejyayā prabhum*; 29.1a: *atha cakradharo jainīm kṛtvejyām iṣṭasādhanim*; 36.188–189 and 196 and Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* 67.194: *yajñāśābdābbidbeyorudānapūjāsvarūpakāt | dharmāt punyam samāvarjyam tatpākād divijeśvarāb*; and 200–212.

¹⁶⁶ For example, *Sāgaradharmāmṛta* 2.23a: *yajeta devam seveta gurūn pātrāni tarpayet*; and passim in the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, also known as the *Jinayajñakalpa*. The third section of Āśādharma's *Jinasahasranāmastavana* (vv. 31–46) is entitled *Yajñārhaśatam*.

also became domesticated in Digambara Jain practice.¹⁶⁷ It is then hardly surprising that we find the TVĀ deploying this vocabulary of sacrifice, with the terms *yaj-*, *yajña* and *yāga* used in a variety of contexts (e.g. 3.95, 97; 4.138; 5.7; 6.72, 79, 84; 8.51; 11.58, 72; and 13.90, 122 and 124), and with the layman being styled *yajamāna* (4.178–179),¹⁶⁸ the ancient designation *yajñasālā* being assigned to the site of *homa* offerings (4.152) and *yāgabhūmi* and *yāgorvī* being used of the part of the temple where the Jina image is installed (p. 125). By extension we may regard the funerary ceremonial described in the TVĀ as a similar if late exemplification of the evolution of a general South Asian religious idiom which drew on and at the same time recontextualised brahmanical ritual terminology.

¹⁶⁷ The most notable of these is the *yajñopavīta*, the sacrificial thread, to be worn by initiated members of the Digambara twice-born classes, described at TVĀ 2.27–29 and 33–34, 3.97, 4.61, 9.10–12, 24–25 and 53–70, 10.2 and 155 and 11.86 and 93 (also called *brahmasūtra* at 2.28 and 9.59, *yajñasūtra* at 4.86, *brahmaganthi* at 4.87 and 9.25 and *traivarnyācāragranthi* at 9.29). Premī (1956), 506–510 states that the *Ādipurāna* is the first text to use the designation *yajñopavīta* when prescribing the wearing of this ritual accoutrement, although earlier Digambara purāṇas such as the *Paumacariya* and the *Padmapurāna* are clearly referring to the same object when they employ the term *sūtrakantha*. Cf. Phūlcandra Śāstrī (1999), 201–208. See also Varnī (1995), vol. three, 369–370 and cf. Jaini (2000), 408 and JY, 282–286. Premī suggests (p. 509) that the *yajñopavīta* plays no role in Śvetāmbara Jainism. However, see Vardhamānasūri, *Ācārādinakara* pp. 21–30.

To be mentioned in the same category as the *yajñopavīta* is the *homa*, or fire offering. Finding its first serious mention by Jinasena, *Ādipurāna* 40.84–86, where the designations employed (*gārbhapatyā*, *ābhavaniya* and *dakṣiṇa*) clearly represent reconfigured versions of Vedic prototypes, the *homa* offering became a regular feature of Digambara ritual in the Deccan and the south. See Jaini (1998), 297–298 and Hegewald (2009), 196 and 198. On the basis of what are claimed to be authoritative earlier works the TVĀ presents fire offering as a component of the *pūjā* offered to the Jina by the layman and his wife (4.103–190) and as a feature of the Digambara marriage ceremony (11.130–140), which includes a benediction to the god Agni (11.145), a divinity rarely invoked in Jainism. As can be gauged by comparing the Buddhist evidence, for which see Strickmann (1996), 337–339, *homa* offering, for all its ultimately Vedic origins, evolved like *yajña* into an easily adaptable South Asian ritual category, to the extent that it might well be asked why it was that the Jains came to it so relatively late. Sonī, in commenting on TVĀ 4.115, justifies the practice of *homa* offerings by Digambaras on the grounds of correct intention and correlates the three fires with the *tirthaṅkaras*, disciples (*gaṇadhara*) and omniscient ones (*kevalin*) respectively. This interpretation would appear to be based on the description of the Jina Rṣabha's cremation at *Ādipurāna* 47.346–348.

¹⁶⁸ TVĀ 7.33–39 distinguishes the brahman from the *yajamāna* who presents the former with gifts after receiving Jain religious instruction from him.

Concluding Remarks

It has regularly been observed that the brahmanical funeral ritual harbours a fundamental incoherence or ambiguity in that the purpose of ancestor propitiation can only be questionable in a cultural context where by late Vedic times it had largely come to be accepted that rebirth determined by the quality of an individual's actions was the inevitable stage succeeding death.¹⁶⁹ In that light it could be held that the practice of post mortem funeral ritual centring on food offerings to the deceased is as inappropriate for Hindus as it is for Jains and that the Digambara funeral ritual described by Somasena, who admittedly has little to say about rebirth, evades that incoherence by simply ignoring the underlying ideology of *śrāddha*. The fact that the category of *śrāddha* was expanded in Hindu tradition not just to incorporate non-mortuary ritual procedures (in the form of *nandīśrāddha*)¹⁷⁰ but also became adapted and 'sanitised' by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to include vegetarian food offerings at the expense of those involving flesh¹⁷¹ could have ensured that engaging in these practices would not seriously compromise Jain identity or ethics. To that extent, to view the Jain practice of *śrāddha* and making offerings to the ancestors depicted in the TVĀ as simply representing, as JY would have it, a 'late accretion from Hinduism'¹⁷² seems no more persuasive from the historical point of view than the judgement made elsewhere by JY that *pūjā*, whose origins lie in a general context of domestic oblations of food and drink, particularly to guests, which was eventually remodelled as a standard, apparently non-sectarian idiom of reverence to an exalted person,¹⁷³ is 'manifestly one of Jainism's earliest conscious imitations of the Hindu world around'.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, Bayly (1981), 155–156 and 169, Flügel (2010), 464, Kane (1953), 339, Olivelle (2009b), 69–70, Saindon (1998), 3, 67–71, 154–156 and 68 and Saindon (2000), 161.

¹⁷⁰ See Kane (1953), 527–528. See TVĀ 9.12, 15 and 19 for *nandīśrāddha* in Digambara domestic ritual.

¹⁷¹ See Kane (1953), 422–425. For prohibition of meat in *śrāddha* offerings as a characteristic of the Kaliyuga, see Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, *Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 617.

¹⁷² JY, XXI.

¹⁷³ See Willis (2009), 113, 123 and 136, arguing for the full emergence of *pūjā* as most likely occurring in the Gupta period when the first concrete inscriptional evidence for it is found.

¹⁷⁴ JY, 216 and cf. Flügel (2008), 93. It is impossible to be confident about assigning historical priority in the devotional, image-related use of *pūjā* to any one religious tradition. It may be noted in passing that TVĀ 4.102 is highly unusual amongst descriptions of Jain

At the same time, it can hardly be objectionable to suggest that Jainism, which, like Buddhism, in its earlier stages had some ‘empty slots’ within its parasoteriological structure, most notably in the area of life-cycle rituals, might have been increasingly willing to share some ready-made practices, adapting, paring down or neutralising them where necessary through a process that could be styled either hinduisation or jainisation, as the tradition transformed its exclusively renunciatory ethos.¹⁷⁵ It is, however, unnecessary to conclude that Somasena’s version of Digambara Jain funerary ritual involved a conscious reconstruction to highlight a specifically sectarian teaching, as was the case in Śaiva Hinduism:¹⁷⁶ even the deployment of mantras which can serve as a performative means of imbuing a life-cycle ritual with a markedly Jain veneer has an extremely limited function in this particular ceremony. Rather, a consideration of the TVĀ suggests that just as there was throughout the medieval period a frequent devalorisation and relocation of aspects of brahmanical discourse such as *śākhā* and (most evidently) *yajña*,¹⁷⁷ so another significant and longstanding ritual category, namely *śrāddha*, may also have eventually become underdetermined both in meaning and function so that the early modern Digambara Jain funerary ceremony described by Somasena could uncontroversially utilise it for a purely commemorative or celebratory purpose.

As Bayly has shown, Hinduism itself gradually came in the modern period to emphasise the more austere aspects of *śrāddha* and many of the constituents of the ancient funerary ritual have been scaled down to the purely ceremonial.¹⁷⁸ Bayly attributes this to the influence of recent Hindu reforming movements and the wider Indian encounter with the various institutions and agencies of the colonial state. The evidence of the

pūjā in prescribing that the worshipper should deposit on his head the left overs (*śeṣā*; here feminine) of the offerings made at the feet of the image of the Jina. Cf. TVĀ 9.25 which asserts that the ritual thread and the hair tuft of the layman’s son are as purifying as contact with the *śeṣa* at the feet of the Jina (here Soni omits any reference to *śeṣa*).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Flügel (2008), 92–93. According to Flügel (2008), 91, ‘The Jain case shows that it is an empirical question whether a given form of popular religion appears to be predominantly accretive or syncretic.’

¹⁷⁶ The sixteenth century Śaiva teacher Nigamajñāna differentiates between a particular type of *śrāddha* performed for an initiate into Śaivism and the more standard *vaidika* type. See Ganesan (2009), 200. Cf. Davis (1988) for the Śaiva Siddhānta reconfiguration of brahmanical funeral ritual to incorporate a specifically sectarian soteriological perspective.

¹⁷⁷ Funerary ritual came to be subsumed under the category of *yajña* by Hinduism. See Parry (1994), 178–184.

¹⁷⁸ See Bayly (1981).

TVĀ shows that such a reconfiguration of funerary practice had already taken place centuries before in one particular Digambara Jain milieu and can be interpreted not as an isolated eccentricity but as representative of a distinctive style of ritual discourse situated in a wider South Asian commonality.¹⁷⁹

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¹⁷⁹ See Cort (1998), 12 for Jainism as ‘a style, one style (or family of styles) among many in South Asia’, and cf. Flügel (2010), 464. The almost banal point may be added that, given that funerals provide in all cultures an important public space for social interaction, the underdetermined content of the Digambara funerary ritual may have facilitated the participation of non-Jains, particularly those Hindus who might have intermarried with Jain families.

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