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The Cambridge Jain Manuscripts: Provenances, Highlights, Colophons

Abstract: This paper deals with the history of the Jain manuscript collection at the Cambridge University Library. It focuses on the actors who were involved in selling and buying manuscripts in Western India at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Among them the Gujarati Bhagvāndās Kevaldās and the British Cecil Bendall feature as prominent figures. The contents of the collection are then described, including the few illustrated manuscripts. The final section of the paper is devoted to the examination of some significant colophons. A group of them shows how manuscripts of Jain texts in Gujarati current in the 1820s were sponsored by the British Lieutenant Colonel William Miles (1780–1860) who then restituted their contents in his own study of the Jains. Thus the Cambridge Jain collection gives valuable insights into manuscript circulation among Jains or between India and the West, and into the modes of transmission of knowledge through Prakrit and Sanskrit as scholarly languages, or Gujarati as the language of oral informants.

1 Introduction

From the start, manuscripts produced among Jains, whether they are in Sanskrit or in other languages Jains used, have been an integral part of the digitization project of Sanskrit manuscripts initiated and supervised by Vincenzo Vergiani with the most efficient concourse of Daniele Cuneo and Camillo A. Formigatti. Several of them are visible on the website either as brief records (yet to be completed) or as detailed notices, often accompanied with images of their original pages. But, given the constraints of a website, the focus is on individual items. The present paper is intended as a way to contextualize the manuscripts within a broader perspective and could serve hopefully as a kind of introduction to the Jain manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, addressing questions such as: how was the collection built up? What does it contain and how does this content feature compared to other European collections of Jain manuscripts? What do some of the colophons teach us about the actors involved in the production process?

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2 How did Jain manuscripts enter the Cambridge University Library?

The majority of Jain manuscripts entered the Cambridge University Library at a time when the search for manuscripts in Western India, which largely meant Jain manuscripts, developed rapidly. It started in 1869–70 thanks to a systematic organization in the Bombay Presidency.[1] European scholars were on the lead, surrounded by an array of 'natives', whose assistance was recognized in varying degrees (see Balbir in the press with full bibliography). One of these members of the Indian staff was Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, a Jain from Surat. Born in 1850, he was recruited in his early twenties by Georg Bühler as an 'agent' and worked continuously for supplying manuscripts both to the Bombay Presidency and to individual libraries or scholars in the West until his death in 1900, at the age of 50. In the service of Bühler, Kielhorn and Peterson successively, he was at the interface of these scholars and of the Jain owners of manuscripts in temple libraries, being a native speaker of Gujarati and mastering English as well. He became instrumental in supplying manuscripts to all European libraries: Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig, London, Strasbourg, Paris, and Florence. When the search started, G. Bühler was on the lead and numerous copies of the same texts came to light. These duplicates started to be sent to European libraries, the first of which were Berlin and Cambridge (see below Bendall 1886, 34). A first batch of Jain manuscripts (Add.1755 to 1822), which entered the Cambridge University Library (UL) in 1878 (stamp dated 6 August 1878), reached Cambridge in this way, through the good offices of G. Bühler. On their paper envelopes one can read written in Devanāgarī script *jainīyam Kembridjasya* followed by the title of the work and sequences of numbers such as '16–13–1637' (Add.1766), meaning a manuscript with 16 folios, 13 lines per page, dated V.S. 1637 (= 1580 CE).[2] Sometimes we have indications on when and where the manuscript was acquired. The envelope of Add.1812, which has *Bikānera tā. 2-jā. sa.-1875*,[3] shows that this was part of what Bühler acquired during his tours in Rajputana (Bühler 1874, 1875, 1877).

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1 Before this peak period, the only notable collection of Jain manuscripts in the West was that gathered by Colonel James Tod (1782–1835) during his appointment in India between 1799 and 1823. The Tod collection is kept in the Royal Asiatic Society, London (see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1940: 129–178).

2 V.S. = Vikrama samvat, year in the Vikrama era, which is one of the main chronological system used in Indian manuscripts. Remove 57 in order to get the date in the Common Era, thus here = 1580 CE. http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01766/33 (Fig. 1); other examples would be Add.1783 (http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01783/1), Add.1800 (http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01800/11)

3 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01812/1

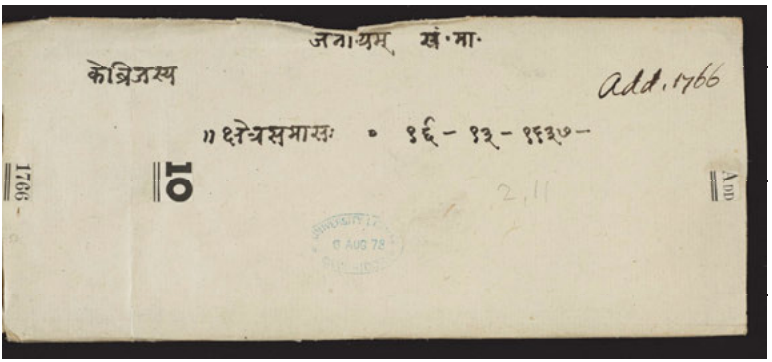

Fig. 1: Envelope of a manuscript bought from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās (Add.1766). © All images in this article are reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Now, for scholars visiting India in the 1880s and having an interest in Sanskrit manuscripts, meeting with Bhagvāndās Kevaldās in Bombay became a must, a necessary stop in their journey. Cecil Bendall (1856–1906) undertook a first tour in India and Nepal from 22nd October 1884 to 1st May 1885. Bombay was his port of disembarkation and embarkation. On his way back, he reports in *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research*:

> I met by appointment Pandit Bhagvān Dās, who has long been the energetic agent of the Bombay Government for the collection of Sanskrit MSS. By a minute of this Government the agent is allowed to sell duplicates of works in the Government collections for the use of certain institutions in this country, of which our University Library is one (Bendall 1886, 34).

The 'Rough list of MSS. purchased at Bombay' published in Bendall's *Journey* (1886, 49–51) is the fruitful outcome of the first meeting. It has 140 Jain manuscripts and 153 'Brahmanical and general MSS.', now kept in the Library of the University of Cambridge where Bendall taught from 1903 to 1906. These Jain manuscripts correspond to shelfmarks Add. 2252 to 2389. Bhagvāndās Kevaldās's handnotes are seen on some of the modern paper manuscript covers. Information useful for calculating the manuscript selling price is often summed up on their last pages, from his hand as well. Thus for instance '206–11–40 śl̥o. 5200' means 206 folios, 11 lines per page, 40 *akṣaras* per line. The last number is the total obtained through the following operation: number of folios x 2 (recto and verso) x number of lines x number of syllables divided by 32 (the *grantha* unit). Here 206 x 2 x 11 x 40: 32 = 5665; 5200 is an estimate, which could be deliberately less in order to take into account the variations in the number of *akṣara*s, which are counted on the basis of a sample. Beside this number, the material quality of the

Fig. 2: Example of grantha calculation (Add.2258).

manuscript or the rarity of the text copied are other elements which come into consideration for determining the price (see Balbir in the press).

During his second tour, in the winter of 1898, Bendall again met the Indian agent:

> I landed at Bombay on 23rd November 1898, and commenced search for MSS. by conferring with Bhagran [sic; read Bhagvān] Dās of Surat (Bendall 1900, 162).

In addition, Bendall's classified list of manuscripts personally collected also includes 74 Jain items marked as 'all from Rājputānā' (1886, 46), which entered the Cambridge collection as well. These are shelfmarks Add.2200 to 2247 and a number of manuscripts marked as 'Or.', which include some Digambara works Bendall had managed to get:

> At Jeypore the Digambara Jain pandit, Cimanlāl, not only gave me a full list of his valuable MS. library, from which copies can be made, but also presented me with several MSS. I further succeeded in obtaining some Digambara MSS. through my old friends amongst the brahmans of the city. (Bendall 1900, 162).

So a large number of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts were ultimately acquired through the offices of Bühler and then Bendall with Bhagvāndās Kevaldās as the common source in the background or the foreground. Yet there were a few isolated items that had entered earlier from other provenances; those which came later ultimately went back to Bendall's legacy. This is summed up in the following table arranged chronologically:

Add.1266	see below (W. Miles; bought by Reinhold Rost, entered UL on 15.10.1875)
Add.1755 to Add.1822	entered 1878, bought by G. Bühler in 1876–77
Add.2252 to 2389 ; Add.2558 to 2563	Bought by Bendall from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, 1885
Add.2200 to Add.2247	Bought by Bendall 'from Rajputana'
Or.73 to Or.80, Or.83 ; Or.106 to129	Bought by Bendall in 1898–1899 from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās in Bombay or Paṇḍit Ciman Lāl in Jaipur
Or.810–811, 813–820, 845	Presented by Mrs. C. Bendall in 1909
Or.812	Bought by Dr D. Wright in 1873–76 (according to the provenance indicated in the individual record, Or.812)

Bendall spent most of his career in London, where he was senior assistant in the department of oriental manuscripts and printed books in the British Museum from 1882 to 1898, and held the chair of Sanskrit at University College London from 1885 to 1903. It was only in 1901 that he returned to Cambridge where he was appointed university lecturer. In 1902 he became curator of oriental literature in the university library. Finally, in 1903 he was elected professor of Sanskrit as Cowell's successor. Yet, he was instrumental in getting most of the manuscripts kept in Cambridge University Library. The Jain manuscripts coming from him in London are only a handful (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 32–34).

3 Users of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts

The first user was Ernst Leumann (1859–1931). At a time when so few editions of Jain texts existed or were available, this pioneer in many areas of Indology, especially Jain studies, worked only on manuscripts and, with his very characteristic long-distance sight, was always keen on acquiring manuscripts of rare texts, which he felt were crucial for the history of Jain scriptures. For instance, he built the full edifice of what he termed 'Āvaśyaka literature' on texts that could be read only in this form. In a febrile quest for manuscripts, he used to borrow them from India, especially Poona, and managed to buy a lot for the Strasbourg University Library through Bhagvāndās Kevaldās. We have a direct testimony of their interaction in a person to person relation thanks to traces of the regular correspondence they had during seven years (Balbir in the press). Bhagvāndās Kevaldās's

letters are preserved at the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg, accompanied by handwritten notes of the contents of Leumann's answers attached to them (Leumann's original letters sent to India, however, could not be traced so far). Having never gone to India, Leumann had to do all this through letters, and could not let his Indian correspondent in peace! These letters are valuable documents on the mechanisms of manuscript search, discovery, acquisition and supply in a dual relation. We see from Leumann's correspondence that he did not always take for granted Bhagvāndās Kevaldās's prices and sometimes disputed his *grantha* calculation (see above).

But wherever Leumann could travel, he did so. Thus he used to tour the libraries of Europe in order to explore their new manuscript acquisitions and treasures. At that time this meant mainly libraries in England. So Leumann was a visitor of the then British Museum where he read several of the Jain manuscripts (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 40–42), of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian Library, and the Cambridge University Library. Leumann took notes of excerpts in more or less details in a large number of blue-covered notebooks kept at the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg (see Plutat 1998). The large majority of these notes have remained unpublished. They were preparatory.

Add.2203	Municandra Āvaśyaka-saptatikā mit Auszügen aus Maheśvara's Commentar. Nach d. Cambridge Ms. Add. No.2203	Plutat 1998 No. 51
Add.2350	Munipati-carita. Auszüge d. Cambridge-Ms.	Plutat 1998 No. 124
Add.2378	Āvaśyaka-vṛtti III, 128,1–XX,18/19,1: Cambridge Ms. No. 2378 and Āvaśyaka-vṛtti: Cambridge Ms.	Plutat 1998 No. 49 and No. 49/1
Add.2385	Sāmāyārī-vidhi in Bhāṣā Cambridge Coll. 136 (Add. 2385)	Plutat 1998 No. 109
Or.820	Kathākośa. Bendall's Ms. presented to him by Rāja Sivaprasād N.I.E. of Benares. – 9.	Plutat 1998 No. 94[4]

4 Leumann's pioneering work also extended to Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and central Asian languages. Thus he also left notes about Cambridge University Library Add. 1598, a manuscript of the *Avadānasārasamuccaya* (Plutat 1998, No. 388).

In addition, the symbol 'C' in his *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur* (1934) refers to the Jain manuscripts that had been bought by Bendall in 1885.

Otherwise, the Cambridge Jain manuscripts have hardly been known outside. Exceptions are very few. One of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kālakācārya-kathā* (Or.845) was used by the American scholar W. Norman Brown for his celebrated monograph on the topic (1933). Two manuscripts of the *Catuḥśaraṇa-prakīṃaka* (Add.1774 and Add.1816) were used by K.R. Norman, a specialist of Middle Indian philology who taught for many years in Cambridge, for his critical edition of the text (1974).

4 What are the contents of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts?

As is well-known, the oldest Jain manuscripts in Western India were first written on palm leaf, between the 11th and the beginning of the 14th century, when it was progressively replaced by paper. The libraries of Jaisalmer, Patan and Cambay, in particular, are famous for the large number of palm-leaf Jain manuscripts they keep, whether they are Jain or non-Jain works. Outside India, Western Indian palm-leaf manuscripts are exceptions – there are three of them in the British Library (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 31–32), for instance, which entered there just by chance, one in the Göttingen University Library, which came there through Kielhorn – but none in Cambridge.

According to my count, Jain manuscripts in Cambridge number 324.

Śvetāmbara literature works	**260**
Śvetāmbara canonical works	111
Other Śvetāmbara doctrinal works	89
Polemic works	7
Philosophy	2
Śvetāmbara narratives	30
Śvetāmbara hymns (*stotras*), pilgrimage places (*tīrthas*), rituals	19
Monastic lineages (*paṭṭāvalis*)	2
Digambara literature (all categories)	**21**
Belles-lettres and śāstric (scientific) disciplines	**38**
Varia	**5**
Total	**324**

I understand the phrase 'Jain manuscript' as referring to manuscripts where a Jain work is copied. This means religious scriptures of all kinds ('canon', liturgy, ritual, narratives, *stotra*s, etc.) and contributions by Jain authors to disciplines of knowledge such as grammar, lexicography, astronomy, mathematics, etc. In Cambridge, the works written by the 12th century polymath, the famous Hemacandra, feature well.[5] But in a broader meaning, Jain manuscripts also mean manuscripts of non-Jain works produced among Jains: the Cambridge collection has examples of śāstric works (grammar and science, for instance) and of commentaries of Sanskrit classics written or copied by Jain monks which testify to the wide intellectual range of Jain scholarship.[6]

The Cambridge collection is a typical European collection with a prevalence of copies of manuscripts containing works representing the Śvetāmbara tradition. This is the case in all libraries outside India, except Strasbourg where, as mentioned earlier, the collection was built with precise purposes in mind by Ernst Leumann. One of these purposes was to explore the points of contact between the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions in the areas of ritual and liturgy. Hence Leumann made all efforts to diversify the sources from where he could get the relevant material (Balbir 2015b).

Within Śvetāmbara manuscripts, copies of canonical scriptures are prevalent in Cambridge: they were the first to attract the attention of scholars in search of the 'old' Jain doctrine, whose primary aim was to get at least one exemplar of each of the Āgamas in their various groupings (Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Mūlasūtras, Chedasūtras, Prakīrṇakas). This was an obvious priority stated by Bühler right at the first stage of the search:

> Copies of all the forty five sacred works of the Jainas with the exception of three very small treatises have now been obtained and Sanskrit commentaries on most of them (Bühler 1872–73, 6).

Manuscripts acquired in Berlin and catalogued by Albrecht Weber (*Verzeichnis*) and Hermann Jacobi's collection (bought in 1897 by the then British Museum, today housed in the British Library, see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 34–37) show this focus as well. Forming one third of the whole in Cambridge, manuscripts of Śvetāmbara Āgamas are sometimes represented by more than one copy of the same text in

5 For example, portions of the *Śabdānuśāsana* (Add.2313, 2318, 2319, 2325, 2331), and copies of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (Add.2289, 2302).

6 For example, Add.2266 and 2296 (*Kumārasambhava*).

Ardhamāgadhī, and, usually, for each scripture a manuscript with one of the standard Sanskrit commentaries by Śīlāṅka, Abhayadeva or Malayagiri is available.[7] For us, in 2017, these copies are not necessarily crucial: the texts are available in print and well known, if not always critically edited. And for a critical edition, paper manuscripts such as the Cambridge ones could be useful, but not as much priorities as palm-leaf manuscripts would be. Nevertheless they are often interesting as objects, because they are rather old, or testify to sustained continuity in copying and collecting these texts through informative colophons. Late manuscripts of Gujarati commentaries, not absent from Cambridge either, are also significant in the transmission of scriptural knowledge through the vernaculars, which became the main current medium in the 17th–18th centuries onward (for example Add.1776, *Bālāvabodha* on the *Aupapātikasūtra*). The *Ṭabo* format where the Gujarati rendering is placed below the relevant Sanskrit or Prakrit phrases is close to a translation or paraphrase.[8]

The layout often takes the shape of compartments clearly delineated by red lines and then assists the reader visually.[9]

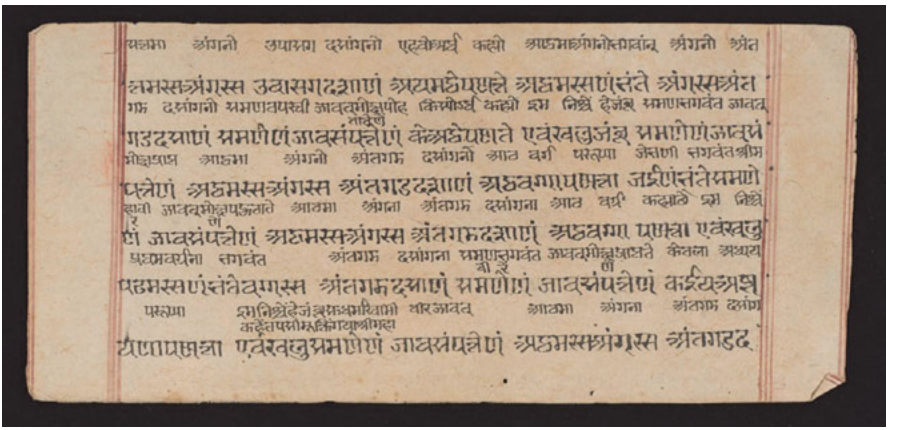

Fig. 3: Instance of a bilingual manuscript: Prakrit root-text and Gujarati quasi-translation as interlinear (Add.1779).

7 For example, Add.2355 or 1799, 1791 or 1808, 1820, 2254, 1801 or 2297, 2282, 2252 or 1813, 1773 or 2275, 1770 or 2255, 1797 or 2259, 2281 or 1817, 1805 or 1818, 1757 or 2232.

8 For example, Add.1779 *Antagaḍadasāo* with interlinear Gujarati commentary, dated V.S. 1801 (= 1744 CE), see Fig. 3; Add.1787 *Laghuniśīthaśāstra* dated V.S. 1794 (= 1737 CE); Add.1811 *Daśaśrutaskandha* with interlinear Gujarati commentary dated V.S. 1830 (= 1773 CE).

9 For example, Add.2209 *Vyavahārasūtra* with Ṭabo dated V.S. 1765 (= 1708 CE), see Fig. 4.

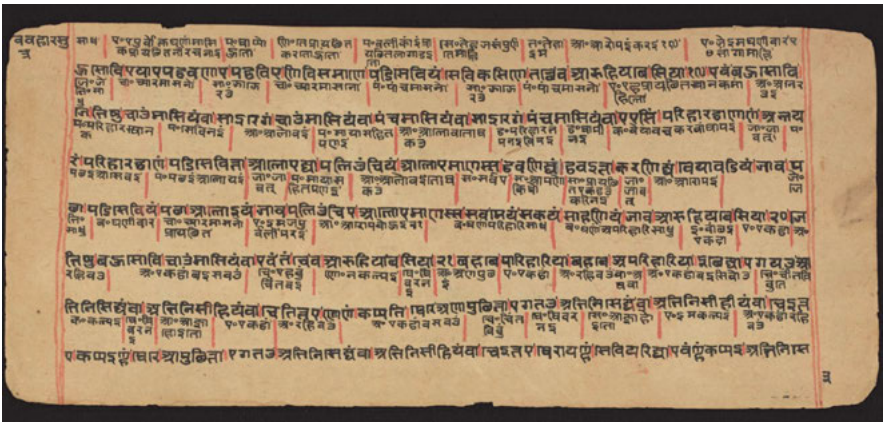

Fig. 4: Instance of an interlinear Gujarati quasi-translation in compartments (Add.2209, fol. 3v).

All major genres of Śvetāmbara extra-canonical literature are present in the collection. At least a few treasures deserve a special mention. The first two are treasures 1) because they contain Sanskrit commentaries of considerable size and importance that have never been published, even in India, and 2) because the Cambridge manuscripts seem to be the only ones available outside India. Today travels and digitisation have made access to manuscripts easier, independently from the location where they are housed. Thanks to improvement in management and new understanding of the advantages of communication in matter of manuscripts of which one may get photographs easily (like in exemplary Jain institutions such as the Koba Institute), knowing that a given unpublished text is available in western libraries may seem somewhat irrelevant, except when these manuscripts are of such a quality that they cannot be ignored. This is the case with the instances mentioned below.

Add.1775 contains the *Āvaśyaka-laghuvṛtti* by Tilakācārya, a massive Sanskrit commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* written in the 13th century (V.S. 1296 = 1239 CE).[10] The commentator, whose works remain little explored so far, is a specialist of technical Jain scriptures on monastic life (Balbir 2015a, 74–77). This specific commentary is valuable, in particular, for the Sanskrit verse rewritings of several illustrative stories that had first been transmitted in Prakrit commentaries (see Balbir 1993, 441–467). Leumann used the London manuscript (Or.2102) and does not seem to mention the Cambridge one. However, he used Add.2283 (Leumann 1934, 15), a manuscript of a still later Sanskrit commentary by Jñānasāgarasūri

10 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01775/2

that is the last noteworthy landmark in the long exegetical process centering around the Āvaśyaka corpus. For Leumann's ambitious project on the history of the Āvaśyaka literature and his investigation of the textual development of commentaries and subcommentaries, it was indeed an important witness.

Add.1758 relates to the category of Chedasūtras, or books on monastic discipline. In this category, the *Jītakalpa*, composed in Prakrit by Jinabhadragaṇi in the 6th century, more specifically deals with monastic atonements, a highly technical topic. Among the rewritings it generated there is a *Yatijītakalpa* by Somaprabha. The Cambridge manuscript is a bulky Sanskrit commentary on this latter work, composed at the end of the 14th century (V.S. 1456 = 1399 CE) by Sādhuratna of the Tapāgaccha.[11]

Add.2223 has Haribhadra's Sanskrit commentary, written in V.S. 1185 = 1128 CE, on the *Samayakhettasamāsa*, a cosmological text in Prakrit. Manuscripts of this text are rare in India, even rarer outside India. The Cambridge copy is dated and old, V.S. 1491 = 1434 CE. This commentary is unpublished, and was analysed only by Leumann in an unpublished notebook.[12]

Add.2304 is another noteworthy manuscript of a cosmological work. The *Narakhittaviyāra*, 'Reflection about the area of humans' (in the Jain universe) by Somatilakasūri, is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and has 388 verses. It was composed around 1340 CE and belongs to the intermediate phase of Jain cosmological writings (compared to the earlier one represented by Jinabhadragaṇi, 6th century, and the later one represented by Vinayavijaya in the 17th century). The Cambridge manuscript is very significant because of its relatively old age (V.S. 1474 = 1427 CE),[13] and because outside India manuscripts having the Prakrit text of Somatilakasūri without commentary, thus the verses in their full form, are relatively rare.

Debates between Jain monastic groups have been very lively since the emergence of different *gaccha*s from the 12th century onwards. The Cambridge collection can boast of a text that would deserve further exploration. It is the *Lumpākamatakuṭṭana* (Add.2224, shortly described in Bendall 1886, 63).[14] The main tenet of the Lumpakas is the rejection of image-worship. This apparently unpublished work makes use of Prakrit quotations from canonical texts, which are then explained and discussed in Gujarati, in order to show that image-worship is canon-based. Written in V.S. 1687 (*saṃvati muni-siddhi-rasa-śvetāśva-mite* = 1630 CE), it makes use of what had been transmitted by teachers of the Kharataragaccha such as Ratnaharṣa or Ratnasāra.

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11 Final page of the manuscript.

12 Final page of the manuscript; Plutat 1998, No. 204 *Kṣetrasamāsa (Kṣ[1]) mit Haribhadra's Comm.*

13 Final page of the manuscript.

14 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02224/2

Among the few and rare Digambara texts preserved in Cambridge is a modern manuscript of the *Indranandi-saṃhitā* (Or.2030), a work that has never really been investigated. Partly written in Jaina Śaurasenī Prakrit, it deals both with monastic life and with topics relating to daily practice, such as bath, worship, etc. in a style cognate to Dharmaśāstra literature.

Generally speaking, manuscripts in Prakrit and Sanskrit form the great majority, in contrast with vernacular commentaries (i.e. Gujarati), stories or hymns.[15]

5 Illustrated manuscripts

Illustrated manuscripts form a group usually attracting attention in collections of Jain manuscripts. The Cambridge collection cannot boast of any exceptional item. The classical themes and trends of Jain manuscript painting are very well represented though.

Indeed, the most often illustrated Jain work is the *Kalpasūtra*. This can be explained by its contents: the first part deals at length with the careers of four Jinas, in reverse order (Mahāvīra, Pārśva, Nemi, and Ṛṣabha), in tabular form for the remaining twenty, the second part praises the first Jain teachers and their lineages, the third one is devoted to specific monastic rules to be observed during the rainy season. But, even more, this work owes its popularity to its growing public use from the 14th century onwards. During the August-September festival of Paryushan, which centres around the notion of forgiving (*kṣamā*), manuscripts, and today printed editions of the *Kalpasūtra*, where this notion is central, are displayed in temples by monks who read the original text or narrate from it in the vernaculars. It became a prestige act for wealthy Jain families to commission new copies of the *Kalpasūtra* for this occasion, as we know from often detailed colophons (Balbir 2014). This might have been the case of the Cambridge manuscript Add.1765, but the last folio is a replacement. This undated manuscript could go back to the 15th or early 16th century on the basis of the script and style of paintings. It has a total of 47 illustrations, some of them accompanied by a short caption. The manuscript has a fairly developed iconographic programme covering all the text sections. The last

15 See below Add.1266 among notable exceptions. Other instances would be Add.2233, 2561, Or.818.

Fig. 5: Attacks on Mahāvīra's asceticism, caption *Ma° upasarga*, from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (Add.1765, fol. 52r).

one is depicted through stereotyped paintings of preaching monks or the fourfold Jain community. For their illustrations the painters draw inclusively on all available textual sources, the Prakrit text of the *mūla*, but also the commentaries that developed around it and contain a number of stories. Thus there is ample scope for variety in the paintings found in *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts. Cambridge Add.1765 thus has two scenes showing attacks on Mahāvīra before he reached Omniscience that are not depicted in all manuscripts (fol. 52r) (Fig. 5): he remains fast and steady while spikes are put into his ears by two malignant cowherds, or when lions threaten him. The section on early teachers is illustrated through one of his famous representatives, the monk Sthūlabhadra who had miraculously changed himself into a lion and was found in this shape by his frightened sisters as nuns (fol. 85v) (Fig. 6).

A sort of supplement to the *Kalpasūtra*, the *Kālakācāryakathā* narrates how the religious teacher Kālaka took the help of the Sāhis to recover the nun, his sister, who had been abducted by the malevolent king Gardabhilla (Add.2377, fol. 5v).[16] The story is connected to the *Kalpasūtra*, because Kālaka is given a role in fixing the date of the Paryushan festival. The eventful story has generated numerous versions in Prakrit, Sanskrit or Gujarati, and numerous illustrated manuscripts. Cambridge Add.2377 and Cambridge Or.845 are both an anonymous Sanskrit verse version widely circulated (Norman Brown 1933, 98–102), with respectively three and seven paintings. The pagination of the second one (fol. 145 to 156) strongly suggests that it came after a *Kalpasūtra* as the second text in the manuscript, as it often happens.[17]

16 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02377/10.

17 See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00845/1 for more details.

Fig. 6: The Sthūlabhadra story, caption *Sthūlabhadra*, from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (Add.1765, fol. 85v).

Another common corpus of illustrated Jain manuscripts is formed by those of works on cosmology. A noteworthy item is Add.1766 where the famous classic on the subject, Ratnaśekharasūri's *Laghukṣetrasamāsa* composed in the 14th century, was copied in V.S. 1637 (= 1580) by the nice hand of a Śvetāmbara monk (Harṣasiṃgha, disciple of Harṣakulagaṇi). Several outward signs point to the plan of making of this manuscript a distinctive object: red ink is used for verse numbers and *daṇḍas*, ornamental designs are formed with *akṣara*s and margins are carefully drawn. It opens with a bright picture of the Jambūdvīpa (fol. 1v)[18] and has a number of other illustrations of smaller size (folios 3v, 6r, 7v, 8r, 13r and 16v). Although there are many manuscripts of this work with many more illustrations, often occupying the full page, this one is striking by the extremely large number of charts and diagrams it includes. The verses of the text are often sequences of lists of items which have to be put in correspondence with each other, for instance, lists of the names of mountains and their respective number of summits, size, etc. (fol. 4v). They are thus appropriate for visualization in tabular form. This mode of transmission of knowledge finds its full development in the Cambridge manuscript.

18 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01766/2.

Fig. 7: The fourfold community as auspicious beginning of an *Uvāsagadasāo* manuscript (Add.1781, fol. 1r).

Finally, isolated illustrations at the outset of a manuscript tend to function as a *maṅgala*. They are generally non-narrative scenes emphasising the ideas of worship or teaching. The manuscript of the *Uvāsagadasāo* dated V.S. 1579 (= 1522 CE, Add.1781) has a beautiful painting in the classical style with blue background and use of gold pigment (Fig. 7).

On the upper register a Śvetāmbara Jain monk, clearly identified as such through his white-dotted monastic robe, is teaching seated in front of the *sthāpanācārya*, which is a symbol of the revered teacher and of the doctrine itself. In front of him a man, a Jain *śrāvaka*, is listening with cupped hands in a gesture of respect. On the second and third registers, other Jain laymen and laywomen as well as nuns similarly listen carefully. This is a common way to depict the fourfold community (*caturvidha saṅgha*) and a translation into images of the facing words where the teaching to come is staged: Sudharmasvāmin preaches the seventh Aṅga as answer to Jambūsvāmin's question. Right at the start, the undated manuscript of the *Vivāga-suya* (*Vipāka-sūtra*, *°śruta*) shows a brightly coloured scene where a man and a lady are shown in a temple pavilion paying homage to a Jina seated in *padmāsana* (Fig. 8). He can be identified as the sixteenth, Śāntinātha, through his *lāñchana*, the antelope shown on the pedestal. The *Vipāka-sūtra* is a narrative scripture, depicting in a lively mode first the result of good deeds, then the result of bad deeds, staging a lot of characters from different social strata who wander through the cycle of rebirths and the Jain universe. Thus the text has an important visual potential. Illustrated manuscripts of it are rare, though. Here, the image of a Jina is peripheral to the text and functions as an

Fig. 8: The sixteenth Jina Śāntinātha as auspicious beginning of a *Vivāgasuya* manuscript (Add.2376, fol 1v).

auspicious beginning embodying respect to the teaching and supporting the traditional fivefold homage (*pañcanamaskāra*) to teachers facing the image. The decorative ornamented red border of the folio underlines the wish to make of this manuscript a distinctive object.

The Cambridge collection has a good number of manuscripts that are enhanced by the presence of *citrapṛṣṭhikā*s. These 'illustrated pages' may be found as openings and closings, functioning like covers. Their origin is not known, and they are largely unexplored.[19] They show intricate geometric or floral motifs intertwined with each other. In contrast with wooden or cloth book-covers that may depict any type of scene or motif, these illustrated pages are always non-figurative (Figs. 9a and b). In Add.1812 or Add.1781, there is a red geometric motif of a simple type as opening that occupies a limited space on the page. In the *Vipākasūtra* manuscript just mentioned (Add.2376), both the opening and the closing illustrated pages occupy the full page. Both are bright red but use different decorative motives. Red, a colour viewed as auspicious, is the most frequently used, but there is no rule. On the contrary, this seems to be an area with freedom. The closing illustrated page of Add.2225 (Fig. 10) strikes the viewer by its elegant sophistication in the floral composition where yellow, blue and pink are used in addition to red. The finish of the painting almost gives it the texture of a soft cloth. Pink, brown and green, which are more unusual, are employed in the two *citrapṛṣṭhikā*s opening and closing the *Jñātadharmakathā* manuscript Add.2258[20] to

19 See Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, plate I for examples.
20 and http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02258/417

Fig. 9a: Instances of opening and closing illustrated pages in Jain manuscripts: Opening page of Add.2376.

Fig. 9b: Closing page of Add.2376.

produce slightly different shapes (Figs. 11 and 2). The recurrence of colours gives unity and consistency to the whole object.[21] Add.2252 and 2286, which are related through their colophons (see below), have opening or closing pages of similar types but in different colours.

21 Other examples would be the opening page of Add.1792 (*Uttarādhyayanasūtra*) or of Add.1805 (*Jīvājīvābhigama*).

Fig. 10: Closing page of Add.2225.

Fig. 11: Opening page of Add.2258.

6 What do some Cambridge colophons teach us?

Jain manuscripts have the overall reputation of often providing informative colophons. The simplest cases are those that are restricted to giving a date: *saṃvat 1662 Phālguṇa-vāda 5 soma-vasare* 'In V.S. 1662 (= 1605 CE) on Monday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa',[22] or *saṃvat 1665 varṣe Kārttika sudi 14 gurau laṣitaṃ / śrīr astu* 'Copied in V.S. 1665 (= 1608 CE) on Thursday, the fourteenth day

22 Add.1793, fol. 416r.

of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. May there be prosperity!'[23] The good reputation of Jain manuscripts in this respect is deserved, but this information has been made use of too less so far. I would like to give some examples of what colophons can teach us on the production process of manuscripts and social networks it involves. The Cambridge collection has some interesting cases.

Colophons may help documenting the history of Śvetāmbara Jain monastic groups and of their actors. Those of Add. 1800 belong to the Ancalagaccha:

> *saṃvat 1619 varṣe Caitra śudi 5 some śrīMevāta-maṃḍale Alavaragaḍha-mahādurgge śrīAṃcalagacche śrīDharmamūrttisūri-vijaya-rājye vā° śrīVelarāja-gaṇi-śiṣya-śrīPuṇyalabdhi-pāṭhaka-tat-śiṣya-śrīBhānulabdhi-pāṭhakena liṣāpitā sva-vācanāya ciraṃ naṃdatu // śubhaṃ bhavatu kalyāṇa-prāpti li° Garīvābīṇāpu°* (?) (fol. 5v).[24]

Bhānulabdhi, the instigator of the copying, is paid respect in the opening formula of the manuscript as well (*mahopādhyāya-śrīBhānulabdhigurubhyo namaḥ*). His name and the other ones as well recur in colophons of other manuscripts dating back to the same year or surrounding years (see 'Pārśva' 1968, 366–368) that were also produced in the same region of Rajasthan (Mewar) and feature in identical connections to each other. Dharmamūrti, the then head of the group, was born in V.S. 1585 and died in V.S. 1670 (= 1528 – 1613 CE). Nothing is known about the teacher Velarāja except for the group of his disciples, as mentioned here. They also appear in inscriptions found on the pedestals of Jina images consecrated through their good offices.

As they contain information about who gets a manuscript sponsored and for whom, colophons obviously throw light on the readership of some works. Add.2345 contains Yogīndu's *Paramātmaprakāśa*, an Apabhraṃśa verse text about the Absolute, in the tradition of mystical Digambara literature also showing common points with the Upanishadic tradition. This does not mean that it was a Digambara property. The Cambridge manuscript features the text circulating among Śvetāmbara monks belonging to the Kharataragaccha in 1630, renewing, if necessary, any misconception about sectarian boundaries.[25] It was copied by a monk in order to be read by his own disciple. The 17th century seems to have been a period of intense debates about the tension between ritual or external forms of religion and notions

23 Add.2268, fol. 81.

24 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01800/10

25 *saṃvata 1687 varṣe Caitra śudi 5 ravau śrīBṛhatkharataragacche | vācaka śrīVaralābhagaṇi-śiṣya-paṃ° śrīRājahaṃsagaṇi-śiṣya paṃ° śrīKhemakalaśa-gaṇi-śiṣya vā° Mahimāsāgareṇālekhi:/ śiṣyaŚivavijayamuni-vācanāya // śreyo stu // // śrīArggalapure lekhi: // śubhaṃ bhavatu lekhaka-pāṭhakayoś ca //*. See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02345/23

such as the Absolute, real truth, etc. Especially Agra, where this manuscript was copied, was a buzzing centre of discussion and brainstorming. The example of the merchant Banarsidas, who was born in a Śvetāmbara family affiliated to the Kharataragaccha and later rejected ritual practices in favour of inner contemplation, is the most famous case in point. Since the Śvetāmbara tradition is rather poor in texts of mystic or spiritual inspiration, interested readers would have to turn to other circles in order to satisfy their curiosity. We can also note that the actors involved in the Cambridge manuscript are *vācaka*s, so mendicants specialized in reading and study, and that the name of the then leader of the Kharataragaccha is not mentioned. Could this suggest that they read and copied this work without having received the caution of their hierarchy? Even asking the question, though, might be rightly regarded as overinterpretation.

Among the numerous manuscripts that were meant to be read by women stands Add.2225 which contains the *Navatattva* with an interlinear Gujarati commentary and was copied in V.S. 1753 (= 1696 CE). This is a basic work on the principal categories of Jain doctrine, which is thus available in a bilingual version.[26] The copyist is the monk Jinavijayagaṇi, whose details of spiritual lineage as given here are supported by other evidence as well.[27]

Manuscripts circulated and changed hands. Colophons occasionally testify to this broad phenomenon. Add.1812 has two successive colophons. The original one, written in red ink by the same hand as the rest of the text, is dated V.S. 1581 (= 1524 CE) and says that the manuscript of the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* was handed over (*vihāritam*) by a pious laywoman (*suśrāvikayā*) named Meghū to the monastic preceptor Cāritrasāra, a member of the Kharataragaccha, whose spiritual genealogy is detailed. This is followed by a second colophon, written in black ink from another hand. It reports that 24 years later (in V.S. 1605) this manuscript (*prati*) was handed over by a certain Khara for the benefit of a monk named Amaramāṇikya.[28]

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26 *likhitaṃ ca saṃvat 1753 varṣe Aśvina vadi 11 ravau sakalavācakāvataṃsa-mahopādhyāya-śrī-105-śrī-śrī-Devavijayagaṇi-śiṣya-paṃḍita-śrī19śrīJasavijayagaṇi-caraṇāṃbhoja-caṃcarīka-tulyaiḥ paṃḍita-śrīJinavijayagaṇibhiḥ // śrīSūratibaṃdira-vāstavya Prāgvāṭa-jñātīya-vṛddhaśākhīya Dośī Premajī bhāryā śīlālaṃkāradhāriṇībāī Vayajabāī putra Dośī Vimaladāsa bhāryā // dānāvahelita-kalpalatābāī Gorībāī paṭhanārthaṃ // śubhaṃ bhavatu śrīmal-lekhaka-pāṭhakayoḥ // śrīr astu*. See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02225/21

27 It is detailed in the colophon to the commentary part of the manuscript as: Vijayarāja – Vijayamāna – Yaśovijaya (or Jasavijaya). Jinavijaya is the author of several compositions, see JGK vol. 4, pp. 378-380.

28 *saṃvata 1581 varṣe śrīKharataragacche / śrīJayasāgara-mahopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīRatnacaṃdra-mahopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīBhaktilābhopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīCāritrasāropādhyāyānāṃ / paṃ° Cārucaṃdragaṇapādi-parivārasārāṇāṃ Meghū suśrāvikayā śrīSamavāyāṃga-sūtraṃ vihāritaṃ*

Mostly we lack any information regarding the cost involved in having a manuscript copied. But the fact that it was high could be one explanation why colophons testify to collective undertakings. Beside sharing expenses, the advantage would be to extend the prestige to a network. The Cambridge collection of Jain manuscripts has several noteworthy instances showing how such group sponsorship could take place.

As usual, the copying of the *Candraprajñapti* manuscript copied in V.S. 1571 (= 1514 CE ; Add.2338)[29] was done at the instigation of a monk, here Vivekaratnasūri, the then leader of the Āgamagaccha, one of the Śvetāmbara monastic orders that was particularly committed to spreading the scriptures. The commissioners were Parbata and Kānha, two businessmen (*vyavahārin*) brothers resident in the Gujarat coastal town of Gandhāra. So they could have been involved in sea-trade. They got the manuscript copied to commemorate another businessman named Dūmgara. What is noteworthy is that their names recur at several other places. So far, seven other manuscripts commissioned by them could be traced either in the same year or in surrounding years (see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, vol. 1, 144–146 for a detailed analysis).[30] The Cambridge manuscript contains one of the Upāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon. The other known ones have commentaries of canonical scriptures or Prakrit treatises. Hence they represent the 'higher' kind of knowledge rather than texts connected with daily practice. Indeed, one of the detailed verse colophons states that, following the advice of the religious teacher, they had decided to get all the scriptures copied.[31] Here, Parbata and Kānha are described as 'doers of several meritorious acts such as pilgrimage' (*tīrthayātrādi aneka-puṇya-karaṇīya-kārakābhyāṃ*). This is not a vague ornamental phrase, as this and various pious acts (such as organizing ceremonies for the promotion of religious teachers) they performed are praised in other colophons as well.

Modes of manuscript transmission of Śvetāmbara canonical texts can be approached through the examination of colophons. One should bear in mind that there is no manuscript that would contain the 45 scriptures comprising the Jain Āgamas as they are recognized by the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaks, the prevalent section among the Jains. What we have are mostly individual manuscripts for each

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// *śrīḥ* // *saṃvat 1605 varṣe sā Ṣarahathena vihāritā prati* // *vā° Amaramāṇikyasya puṇyārthaṃ*. See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01812/76

29 http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02338/1

30 There the equivalent date of 1494 CE should be corrected to 1514.

31 *Āgamagaccha-bibhratāṃ sūri-Jayānanda-sadguroḥ kramataḥśrīmadVivekaratnaprabha-sūrīṇāṃ sad-upadeśāt śaśi-muni-tithi (1571)-mita-varṣe samagra-siddhānta-lekhana-parābhyāṃ vyavahāri-Parvata-Kānhābhyāṁ sukṛta-rasikābhyāṃ* … (verses 32-33 in the *praśasti* of the two Ahmedabad and the Pune manuscripts, see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006).

text, or instances of 4 to 6 texts that are found together because they are related. This is the case with Aṅgas No. 6 to 11 which are predominantly narrative. But this situation is not that common either. Mostly, the texts have been copied individually – some available in numerous copies, others in fewer. In manuscript colophons, however, laypeople do claim their intention to form larger projects where one category of scriptures or all of them would be collected. Unfortunately, since the individual manuscripts have circulated in all directions, in India and outside, and are no longer *in situ*, we have access to them only in very partial form, as the scattered pieces of a *jigsaw* that we can try to collect without being able to assemble them all.

The actors involved in the production of Add.1781, a manuscript of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the seventh Aṅga, copied in V.S. 1579 (= 1522 CE), clearly regard it as belonging to the set of 11 Aṅgas (*śrī-ekādaśāṃgī-sūtra-pustakaṃ likhitaṃ*):

> *saṃvat 1579 varṣe śrīKharataragacche śrīJinavallabhasūri-saṃtāna-śrīJinabhadrasūri-śrīJinacandrasūri 1 śrīJinasamudrasūri-paṭṭa-pūrvācala-sahasrakarāyamāna-bhaṭṭāraka-prabhu-śrīJinahaṃsasūri-vijaya-rājye śrīUsavaṃsa-śraṃgāra-Āvavāḍīya* (sometimes read as *Ācavāḍīya*)*-gotra-labdhāvatāra maṃ. Nāgadeva, maṃ. Mūṃjāla, maṃ. Dharmmā, maṃ. Śivarāja, bhāryā Varaṇū, putra maṃ. Harṣā, bhāryā suśrāvikā Kīkā, putra maṃ. Mahipāla, bhāryayā Iṃdrāṇī suśrāvikayā śrī-ekādaśāṃgī-sūtra-pustakaṃ likhitaṃ vihāritaṃ ca śrīpūjebhya ciraṃ naṃditu // //*[32]

The lay sponsors are followers of the Kharataragaccha who have an elite social status. The syllable *maṃ°* prefixed to the names of the male members of the family stands for *mantrin* and suggests that they were, for several generations, something like political advisors or persons close to the ruling political power (unspecified, though). They got the manuscript copied to give it to the head of the monastic group (this is the meaning of the term *śrīpūjya*), not to an ordinary monk, which also points to their social importance. The sustained involvement of the family in getting the 11 Aṅgas copied is supported by another manuscript, four years before this one (V.S. 1575 = 1518 CE), which contains the fifth Aṅga, the *Bhagavatīsūtra* and its Sanskrit commentary by Abhayadeva (Punyavijayaji 1972, No. 1365). In this colophon, emphasis is on the first son of Śivarāja and Varaṇu, Dhaṇapati and his descendants, and we come to know that Harṣā, who is in focus in the Cambridge manuscript as the father of the main donor, Mahipāla, was the second son of the couple.[33] An additional sign of their multifarious investment in pious activities is provided by the fact that, a few years later, in V.S. 1584 (= 1527 CE), some of the family members

32 For another 11 Aṅga project as palm-leaf manuscript see Balbir 2006, 333 and 342–343.

33 They also recur in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1606 = 1549 CE; L.D. manuscript catalogue, Muni Punyavijaya's collection, Ahmedabad, 1968, No. 265, shelfmark 8784.

(Harṣā, his wife Kīkī, their son Mahipāla and the latter's wife Indrāṇī, now along with younger generations too) are involved in the donation of an inscribed Jina image of Sumatinātha (Vinayasāgar 2005, No. 1090).

In the 16th–17th centuries, the number of books considered as 'canonical' becomes a sign of sectarian identity among Śvetāmbaras. Mūrtipūjaks recognize 45 of them as authoritative, when Sthānakvāsins, the protestant Jains, recognize 32. Mūrtipūjaks are prevalent, and there are three signs showing their desire to promote their position:

1) There are more and more manuscripts in the form of lists, where the titles of the 45 books are just noted one after the other, or in the form of *stotra*s where they are celebrated. These are two efficient means to underline their cohesion as a totality.

2) At the instigation of some religious teachers, these 45 books are collectively the center of a *pūjā*, the *45-Āgama-pūjan*, where each of them is praised in the form of a short poem.

3) Finally, and this is the main point here, colophons of manuscripts produced in Gujarat have the recurring names of some individuals, inserted within a family lineage, who are said to have commissioned the copying of this or that book among the 45 with the plan to produce a complete collection. Ideally, we should be able to lay hands on such collections. But manuscripts have been sold or given, in India or abroad, with the result that pieces originally belonging together have been scattered. Reading manuscripts and their colophons, however, makes it possible to put at least some of them together again. One Jayakaraṇa, from Cambay in Gujarat, with his brother Kānajī and the rest of his family, from the Śrīmālī caste, commissioned in 1637 CE (V.S. 1694) such a collection of these 45 books that he meant as complete. Each colophon where these men occur, with the genealogical tree on two generations, has a precise date, with year, month and day. The same formula is used in each of the manuscripts, and the existence of this systematic project is mentioned in identical terms. The coherence is underlined by the mention of the serial number of the given text in the category (Aṅgas, Upāṅgas) where it belongs. So far, I had been able to trace five manuscripts commissioned by the Jayakaraṇa family, three of which have been examined directly; for the remaining two, only the colophons have been read, in a precious book where a lot of them are collected (Balbir 2006 and 2013, 307–311).

Now, the examination of the Cambridge collection has brought to light two more items:

– Add.2286: *Jñātādharmakathā*, 6th Aṅga, 133 folios.[34]

34 See cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02286/1 for the transliteration.

– Add.2252: *Antakṛddaśā*, 8th Aṅga, 33 folios.[35]

All these manuscripts are objects of good quality. The two Cambridge items are highlighted by elegant *citra-pṛṣṭhikā*s (see above). Further, it is also clear that all the seven manuscripts traced so far have distinct layouts and are from distinct hands. It thus seems that the family could have hired a team of scribes who were working simultaneously on the different texts, or they may have bought copies that were ready-made. The colophons indicate when the work was completed and when the manuscript was acquired (*gṛhītam*) in order to join and increase the family collection. This explains why the three Aṅga manuscripts are dated on the same day, the second day of the bright fortnight in Kārttika. The project was achieved progressively: the tenth Aṅga and the first Upāṅga are dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight in Kārttika, and the *Nandīsūtra*, which comes at the end in the traditional classification of the 45 canonical scriptures, is from the full moon of Poṣa, so about one month and a half or two months later.

Further, the last page of Jain manuscripts often has a kind of library number that gives their reference *in situ*. There are two problems with these numbers: they do not supply the library name (*bhaṇḍāra*). So they are meaningful only when they are found in their original location. Once they pass from hand to hand, sold and bought, as it was often the case,[36] and are transferred to another place, there is no means to know from where they come.

These indications are never reproduced in manuscript catalogues. I started introducing this practice for the British Library collections and, of course, in the Cambridge manuscript notices.

Four out of the seven Jayakaraṇa manuscripts that could be inspected directly have such library numbers:

– Add.2286, *Jnātādharmakathā*, 6th Aṅga : '73 poº 1 praº 10'
– Add.2252, *Antakṛddaśā*, 8th Aṅga : '73 poº 1 praº 13'
– Berlin, *Aupapātika*, 1st Upāṅga. '73 poº 1 praº 17'
– Berlin, *Rājapraśnīya*, 2nd Upāṅga, '73 poº 1 praº 18'.

'73' is likely to refer to the large manuscript box number where manuscripts are traditionally piled up one another. Even if this is relevant internally only, it shows that these manuscripts were once together at the same place. This seems logical, and would support the colophon references to the same family sponsors. 'Poº' is the usual abbreviation for *poṭalī* 'bundle' and 'praº' for *prati* 'manuscript'. 'Po' normally refers to the larger container (cotton envelope) in which several 'pra' could

35 See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02252/1 for the transliteration.

36 E.g. Add.1765 *Kalpasūtra*: *gṛhītā pustikā vikrītā*.

be put together. So 'po' would refer to the bundle of the 45 Āgamas, and 'pra' to each individual manuscript. This would explain why one of the numbers, 1, is identical, and why the other one varies as it is a serial number. These serial numbers follow each other when the texts follow in the traditional classification, for example the first and second Upāṅgas. If the sequence is fully consistent, it could be reconstructed as follows:

- (Aṅga 1 to 5 : *prati* 5 to 9; *prati* 1 to 4 would then have contained non-canonical texts)
- Aṅga 6 : *prati* 10
- (Aṅga 7 : *prati* 11 ?)
- Aṅga 8 : *prati* 13 (reading clear but problematic – why not 12?)
- (Aṅga 9 to 11 : *prati* 14 to 16)
- Upāṅga 1: *prati* 17
- Upāṅga 2 : *prati* 18
- (Upāṅga 3 and foll.: *prati* 19 and foll.).

The future examination of other Jain manuscript collections either in India or outside could provide missing items in the chain, in the same way the examination of Cambridge manuscripts brought to light two of them.

Finally, I turn to a group of manuscripts commissioned by a British officer *cum* intellectual as a source for his 19th-century exposition of the Jains. Their colophons are related. Each manuscript contains a text in Gujarati:

- Add.1266.6 *Jambūdvīpa no vicāra*, remarks on Jain cosmology in Gujarati prose;
- Add.1266.7 *Pancakāraṇa-bola-stavana*, a famous philosophical verse hymn in Gujarati;
- Add.1266.8 Hemrāj Pande's 84 *bol*, a discussion on 84 points of contention between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras in Gujarati prose;
- Add.1266.9 *Cauvīsadaṇḍa* and Guj. comm., a short and famous treatise on Jain cosmology and karma with a Gujarati prose commentary.

Each of them ends with a colophon that makes them connected at a first level: they were all copied in V.S. 1879 = 1822 CE, in the same place, the town of Palanpur in northern Gujarat. Two of them (Add.1266.6 and Add.1266.9) were copied by the same scribe, a Jain monk called Bhaktivijayagaṇi. Two (Add.1266.7 and Add.1266.9) were copied exactly on the same day, one by Bhaktivijayagaṇi, the second one by Paṃ Vīravijayagaṇi, the disciple of Rūpavijayagaṇi, but both for the same person. In one manuscript (1266.7) he is said to be the intended reader, in the other one (Add.1266.9) the sponsor of the copy. This person's name, written as *Mehala* in the first case and *Mahila* in the second, is followed by the title *sāhiba* (Add.1266.7; see Fig. 12).

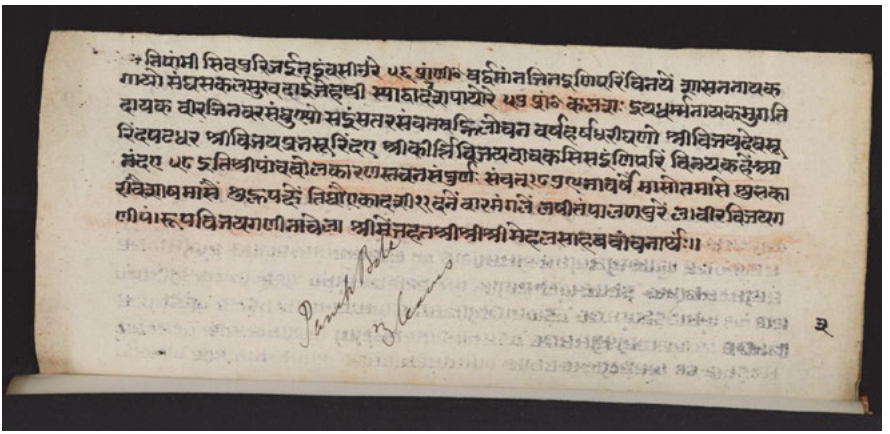

Fig. 12: Last page of the *Pancakāraṇabola-stavana* manuscript copied for Colonel W. Miles in V.S. 1879 = 1822 CE).

This would point to him as a British, as would the mention *kapatāṃna mehajara* (Add.1266.9), which is likely to stand for 'Captain Major'. This British sponsorship would be in accordance with the fact that the manuscripts are copied on European paper, although in the *pothī* format. I would strongly suggest that the person in point could be Lieutenant Colonel William Miles (1780–1860), although, admittedly, one would have rather expected something else than *Mehala* or *Mahila* as the Indian rendering of his name. William Miles had become captain in 1815 and major in 1821. He had captured the fortified town of Palanpur in 1817 and became the representative of British authority, the resident also known as political agent, in the Palanpur Agency created in 1819 and depending on the Bombay Presidency. When James Tod visited Palanpur (Palhanpoor, his spelling) in June 1822, thus one month after the two manuscripts mentioned were copied, 'Major Miles' as he calls him was 'the resident agent, through whose judicious superintendence the town was rapidly rising to prosperity' (Tod 1839, 139). Tod's account continues:

> I remained all this day and the next with Major Miles, and have seldom passed eight and forty hours more agreeable; for in him I not only found a courteous and friendly brother-officer, but one whose mind was imbued with the same taste and pursuits as my own. We had much to talk over and to compare, and our general conclusions as to the character of the dynasties of ancient days were the same (Tod 1839, 140).

Indeed, Lieutenant-Colonel William Miles also followed intellectual pursuits, with an interest both in Indian history and in Jainism. On the latter, he contributed one lengthy article 'On the Jainas of Gujerat and Marwar', read on 7 January 1832 at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and published in the *Transactions* vol. 3 (Miles 1833). This study provides a translation of sections of the *Mirāt i Ahmadī*, an 18th century Persian work by ʿAli-Moḥam-mad Khan 'a part of which is devoted to a description of the religion and customs of the Jainas'.[37] For the rest, it is based on observations he could make during his fairly long stay in Gujarat, or, through the phrase 'I am told', on oral information he got from the Jains themselves, although no detail is given as to the identity of any informant. In the course of his contribution, Miles gives the number of Jain 'priests', as he calls them, in various towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Significantly he specifies that all are estimates, with the exception of Palanpur – the place he knew best because of his official function. Without any title and with approximate transliteration, as the editor of the journal notes, he refers to 'Jain books' and gives gist of their contents. He writes, for instance:

> The (Jaina) priests appear fond of controversy, and I have often heard of books written by them exposing the absurdity of Hindu doctrines (Miles 1833, 346).[38]

He also broadly draws on the Jain lineage histories (*paṭṭāvalī*s), stating that he is acquainted with the various sects. It is difficult to know for sure the extent of William Miles's knowledge of languages and his ability to consult the sources on his own. Yet, his only published contribution on the Jains shows that he did not ignore their existence. Even more: one of the Cambridge manuscripts that was copied for him to read is the *Pañcakāraṇa-bola-stavana* (Add.1266.7), a polemic hymn in Gujarati discussing five emblematic notions along with their respective followers. Unable to solve their dispute as to which one is more important, the five go to Mahāvīra who explains that they are all crucial together. In Miles's contribution on the Jains, no title of original work is mentioned. But it is interesting to see that a detailed and reliable description of what corresponds to the contents of this *stavana* is given in his article. Thus, whether he had read the Gujarati

37 I am not able to assess the quality of this translation myself but I am told by Dr. Pegah Shahbaz and PhD. student Jean Arzoumanov, whom I thank for their help, that it is rather accurate.

38 See also: 'Each of the above has its Sri Puja or Acharya. The following account of the period and cause of the secession of the Gujerati Luncas from the other Jainas, is translated from a paper given to me by a priest of that sect' (p. 363) about the origin of the Lonkagaccha'.

hymn himself or, more likely, had it explained to him orally, he made use of the manuscript which was copied for him in his exposition:

> They maintain that there are five *cáranas* [= *kāraṇas*], or causes, which unite in the production of all events. The 1st of these is *Cála* [= *kāla*] or time. 2d. *Swabháva* [= *svabhāva*] or nature. 3d. *Nínt* [= *niyati*], or *Bhavitevitá* [= *bhavitavyatā*], fate, necessity. 4th. *Carma*, works or the principle of retributive justice. 5th. *Udyama*, strength and exertion of mind, or perseverance. They say that the learned were originally divided into five schools or sects, bearing the above titles, as *Cála-vádí*, *Swabháva-vádí*, &c, each of which maintained the supremacy of its favourite cause or principle; those of the first referring to the evident effects of time in the production and reproduction of all things. The second holding that the world and all it contains is derived solely from nature. The third, or those who adopted fate as their principle, maintaining that neither time nor nature have any control whatever in the occurrence of events, all being pre-ordained from eternity and immutable, and that no efforts can avert the decrees of fate. The fourth, or those who considered retributive justice as supreme, say that life revolves eternally through the four orders of beings before described, and that its transmigrations will be high or low, evil or good, in proportion to the worthiness or unworthiness of its actions; that life wanders through all the mutations of existence in conjunction with the eight carma, between which and the soul there is a secret but almost indissoluble connexion; and by their operation the most exalted being, as the *Chacravartí*s, may be degraded to the infernal regions; and the *dévatá*s, or divinities, become animals, insects, or even particles of matter; that this is effected by *carma*, to which all but the immortal *Sidd'ha* are subject The fifth sect are those who refer all to energy of mind. The advocates for the supremacy of this faculty as influencing: the condition of mankind, say that all motion and exertion, the *asi*, *masi*, and *crishi*, or, the arts of civilized life, all result from the strength of the mind: there is therefore, they say, no necessity for the intervention of the deity, time, *carma*, &c. It is related that the supporters of these doctrines all came before the *Jinéśwara* or *Tírthancara* of the age, and after respectively stating their arguments in support of their favourite principle, requested him to decide on their validity. The *Jinéśwara* after hearing all they had to say, desired them to forego their prejudices, and exert their understanding: he then explained to them that neither of these principles can do any thing of itself; but as the five fingers perform the work of the hand, so do these unite in the completion or perfection of all events, and that their influence may be traced in the production of every thing existing. This is the Jaina opinion on the subject (Miles 1833, 340–341).

Add.1266.8, another of the group copied in Palanpur in 1822, which provides a detailed account of 84 points of contention between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, does not have the name of Miles in the colophon. Yet, it would not be surprising that it was meant for him. A section of his printed account on the Jains is devoted to sketch some of the differences between the Tapāgaccha, the prevalent Śvetāmbara monastic order, and the Digambaras. The contents and the wording both betray a recourse to this manuscript as the source of information. Similar connections could be detailed between other manuscripts of this group and Miles's published account.

Thus we can assume that the following process took place. Miles had a function of authority in Palanpur, where the Jains, according to his own statistics, made a quarter of the whole population. He was in contact with representatives of the faith and, having taken interest in the topic, he was keen on giving an exposition of its tenets. Following the lead of Colebrooke, who, in 1807, had given his 'Observations on the sect of the Jains' on the basis of manuscripts that had been put at his disposal by a Jain turned Vaishnava, Miles also wanted to draw on textual sources. The texts that were copied for Miles were probably chosen by the 'Jain priests' with whom he was acquainted. This group of manuscripts forms a selection of works that present the basic Jain tenets either in themselves, or in relation with other creeds so as to problematize them and underline the points of contention and distinctive features. It is thus a valuable link between traditional Jain knowledge and its transmission by a British in the 19th century.

In short, the Cambridge Jain collection gives valuable insights into manuscript circulation among Jains and between India and the West, as well as into the modes of transmission of knowledge through Prakrit and Sanskrit as scholarly languages, or Gujarati as the language of oral informants.

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