Early Jaina epistemology: a study of the philosophical chapters of the Tattvārthādhigama; With an English translation of the Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya I, II.8 25, and V

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2. The Historical Position of the *Tattvārthādhigama* and the *Bhāṣya*

The *Tattvārthādhigama* (TA) is regarded as the oldest extant philosophical treatise of the Jaina tradition. The style and content of the TA deviate from earlier Jaina sources and the text reflects new developments in Jaina thought. Even though some older Jaina texts also deal with the theory of knowledge and the objects of knowledge, the TA is the first text that presents a systematic account of Jaina philosophy, including a clear presentation of Jaina epistemology and ontology. Moreover, the TA is the first Jaina treatise in Sanskrit and differs in this respect from the canonical texts, which are all composed in Prākrit. Despite the fact that the TA signifies a break with the older tradition, it was well received by the Jaina community. It strongly influenced other Jaina thinkers and the text is still accepted as an authoritative treatise by the different Jaina sects. This raises the question as to why the TA, which deviated from the existing tradition, was so well received. And which need the TA filled for the Jaina community at the time of its composition?

Although there is no scholarly consensus about the exact date of the TA and the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya* (TABh), it is safe to say that the text became an important philosophical treatise in the Gupta Period (ca. 320 – 550 CE).[25] Unfortunately, it is notoriously difficult to reconstruct the history of the Jainas in the Gupta Period due to a paucity of sources. Given our limited knowledge of the Jainas in this era, it is far from easy to identify the motives behind the composition of the TA and the historical factors that explain the positive reception of this innovative text. In this chapter, I will investigate the intellectual and socio-historical landscape of the Jainas in the Gupta Period in an attempt to situate the TA and the TABh in their historical context.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of Jaina philosophy in the Gupta Period. The second section deals with the socio-historical situation of the

[25] Most scholars agree that the TABh was composed in the Gupta Period. However, there are different views on the relationship between the *sūtra* and the commentary and the proposed dates for the TA range from the 2nd to the 5th cent. CE. Since there is no external evidence for the TA that predates the 5th cent. CE, it is challenging to date the TA more accurately. See § 2.3 for a discussion of the date of the TA and the *bhāṣya*. The way in which the term 'Gupta Period' is used in this study is explained in § 2.2.

Jainas in the Gupta Period. In that section, I will discuss the main scholarly accounts of this part of the history of the Jainas and will assess whether these accounts can help to identify the historical motives that lead to the composition of the TA. I will argue that our present understanding of the history of the Jainas in the Gupta Period is strongly limited and that the available source materials do not provide enough evidence to reconstruct the historical background of the TA in a convincing way.[26] The last section of this chapter discusses the date and authorship of the TA and the TABh. This section contains an overview of the different scholarly positions on this issue and includes some outcomes of my textual analysis in chapter 3 of this study that are relevant for the date and authorship of both texts.

[26] This does not imply that there is nothing to say about the intellectual milieu of the TA. As I will demonstrate in the third chapter of this thesis, it is possible to trace several explicit and implicit debates with rival intellectual movements in the text of the TA and the TABh and these textual elements do provide some clues about the environment of the composers of the TA and the TABh.

2.1 Jaina Philosophy in the Gupta Period

The development of Jaina philosophy

If we want to understand the historical significance of the TA, we need to situate the TA and the TABh in the larger development of Jaina thought. Yet, there are very few scholarly accounts that provide an overview of the history of Jaina philosophy. One of the few studies that deal with the history of Jaina philosophy in general is K.K. Dixit's *Jaina Ontology* (1971). Even though the dates of authors and texts in Dixit's work are often speculative or omitted altogether, his work is still widely read and the way in which he differentiates several historical layers in the philosophical literature of the Jainas has strongly influenced the work of others scholars in the field of Jaina studies.

Dixit's work divides the history of Jaina philosophy in two periods, which he labels as 'the age of Āgamas' and 'the age of logic'. Dixit characterises the 'age of Āgamas' as a period in which the philosophical ideas of the Jainas become gradually more systematic. The term 'age of Logic' is used by Dixit to describe the period in which writers use 'logical faculties' to analyse philosophical problems.[27] He mentions Siddhasena, Mallavādin, and Kundakunda as the first authors who wrote in this style. Both periods are further divided into three stages.[28] The three stages of the 'age of Āgamas' are represented respectively by:

i. [T]he old parts of the *Bhagavatī* and by the philosophical parts of the *Ācāraṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and *Daśavaikālika* (5th – 2nd cent. BCE)

ii. [...] *Prajñāpanā* (plus the new parts of the *Bhagavatī*) and by the philosophical parts of *Jīvājīvābhigama*, *Rājapraśnīya*, *Uttarādhyayana* (minus chapter 28) (2nd cent. BCE – 1st cent. CE).

iii. [T]he *Tattvārthasūtra* (plus the *Uttaradhyāyana* chapter 28) and by the *Anuyogadvāra*, *Nandī*, *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, and *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (1st – 6th cent. CE).[29]

[27] Dixit 1971: 9.
[28] Ibid., 7 – 10. The different stages have no specific names and are simply labelled as 'first stage', 'second stage', and 'third stage'.
[29] Ibid., 9. The dates of the different stages of the 'age of Āgamas' are mentioned on p. 31.

The stages of the 'age of Logic' are described as the stages that are represented respectively by the writings of:

i. Mallavādin (5th cent. CE)
ii. Vidyānandin (8th – 9th cent. CE)
iii. Yaśovijaya (18th cent. CE)[30]

Following Dixit's classification, we can say that the Gupta Period signifies the transition from the third stage of the 'age of Āgamas' to the first stage of the 'age of Logic'. Even though it is somewhat artificial to draw a hard line between the two periods that Dixit identifies, it is indeed rare to find any formal arguments in the texts that predate Siddhasena and the general style of most texts that are written in the 'age of Logic' differs from the style of the canonical texts that were written in the 'age of Āgamas'. In a further qualification of the 'age of Logic', Dixit remarks that authors in this period start to criticise the views of the different Brahmanical and Buddhist schools in an effort to establish the validity of their own doctrine of non-one-sidedness (*anekāntāvāda*).[31] In other words, the philosophical activity of the Jainas does not only get a new style during the Gupta Period but it also has a different aim.

The ontological and epistemological theories that can be found in Jaina texts that predate the TA are usually presented in the form of lists that specify the different types of substance, the varieties of knowledge, etc. The texts do not typically provide arguments for these positions and do not explain how these positions relate to the philosophical ideas of other schools. By contrast, the texts that are composed after the TA frequently refer to other schools and try to demonstrate the superiority of the Jaina theories. Even though we know that this transformation happened during the Gupta Period, it is not evident what accounted for these changes.

The fact that the Jainas also started using Sanskrit for their philosophical works since the Gupta Period suggests that the change cannot be explained in terms of an internal development alone. In the rest of this section, I will provide a short overview of philosophical Jaina texts that illustrate the transition from the canonical period, i.e., Dixit's 'age of Āgamas', to the period in which Jaina thinkers started to

[30] Ibid., 10 - 11. The dates represent the dates that Dixit suggests.
[31] Ibid., 10.

compose argumentative philosophical treatises, i.e., Dixit's 'age of logic'. After listing the different philosophical texts, I will critically assess Dixit's model of the development of Jaina philosophy.

Early philosophical Jaina texts

According to Dixit, the following Jaina philosophical texts were composed in the third stage of the 'age of Āgamas' and the first stage of the 'age of Logic':[32]

Early Philosophical Jaina Texts mentioned in Dixit 1971		
	Title	Author
'Age of Āgamas', third stage	*Anuyogadvārasūtra*	-
	Nandīsūtra	-
	Āvaśyakaniryukti	-
	Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama	-
	Tattvārthasūtra[33] (*sabhāṣya*)	Umāsvāti
'Age of Logic', first stage	*Sanmati*	Siddhasena
	Nayacakra	Mallavādin
	Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya	Jinabhadra
	Pañcāstikāya	Kundakunda
	Pravacanasāra	
	Samayasāra	
	Āptamīmāṃsā	Samantabhadra

Dixit writes that several theoretical innovations took place during the third stage of the 'age of Āgamas'. He mentions the development of exegetical models (*anuyogadvāra*s and *nikṣepa*s) and the theory of viewpoints (*naya*s), the Jaina perspective on the means of cognition (*pramāṇa*s), and the doctrine of *karman* as the main contributions of this period.[34] With the exception of the TA, Dixit does not provide dates or any information about the authorship of the texts in 'the age of

[32] Ibid., 65 – 87, 89.
[33] The titles of texts in this table correspond with the titles that Dixit mentions. In the rest of this study, I use the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*', which is mentioned in the introductory verses (*sambandhakārikā*s) that accompany the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya.*
[34] Ibid., 65.

Āgamas'. His differentiation of the three stages is mainly based on the content of the different texts. Dixit seems to assume that there is a linear development of Jaina philosophy and that philosophical models and concepts become more systematic and advanced over the course of time.

The different developments that Dixit associates with the third 'age of Āgamas' lead up to Umāsvāti's work, which he describes as the 'crowning achievement of the age of Āgamas'. In his view, the chapters of the TA 'lucidly summarize the Āgamic position on different important questions related to philosophy, ethics and mythology'.[35] The TA plays an important role in Dixit's analysis of the development of Jaina philosophy since it closes the 'age of Āgamas' and makes way for the 'age of Logic'. Yet, he supposes that the TA primarily summarises the Jaina views that were developed in texts such as the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* and *Nandīsūtra.*

The fact that he situates the TA at the very end of the 'age of Āgamas' seems to result from his idea that philosophy evolves in a linear way and that theories become more coherent over time. This assumption might have some heuristic value but can be misleading. It is likely that the individual texts that are associated with Dixit's third stage of 'the age of Āgamas' contain different historical layers.[36] Moreover, the composers of the Jaina philosophical texts sometimes favour traditional theories over theories that are more recent. As such, the conceptual development of ideas does not necessarily follow a linear path. There are good reasons, therefore, to question Dixit's idea that the TA comes at the very end of the 'age of Āgamas' and that the TA only summarised the positions that were already present in canonical texts.

Moreover, the labels that Dixit uses to describe different periods in the history of Jaina philosophy are somewhat misleading. The way in which Dixit distinguishes the texts in the 'age of Āgamas' from those in the 'age of Logic', suggests that all texts before the TA are mostly doctrinal and that the philosophical texts after the TA are non-doctrinal treatises that are composed in a "proper" philosophical style.

[35] Ibid., 83.

[36] Dixit is well aware of the fact that the canonical Jaina texts often contain later interpolations. He mentions several interpolations in his discussion of the evolution of *pramāṇa* theory (Dixit 1971: 22).

Apart from Dixit's work, there are very few studies that deal with the general history of Jaina philosophy and Dixit's work is still valuable, despite the fact that the organisation of the material is largely based on his idealistic view on the development of philosophy. Over the last decades, some scholars have made important contributions to our understanding of the history of Jaina philosophy by focusing on the history of particular texts, authors, and concepts. These studies indicate that the history of Jaina philosophy is more complex than Dixit suggests.[37]

The complexity of the matter is clearly shown in the first volume on Jaina philosophy in Potter's *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies.*[38] The encyclopedia briefly summarises the Jaina texts that deal with philosophical issues and introduces these texts with a short discussion of their date and context. These short introductions often highlight how little is known with certainty about the date and authorship of most texts that predate the 7th century CE. Nevertheless, by putting the different texts together, it is possible to see some general trends in the development of Jaina philosophy.

In the table below, I have listed those texts that are dated before the 7th cent. CE in Potter's work. The encyclopedia mentions considerably more texts than Dixit, including other works by Umāsvāti, Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Siddhasena Divākara, and Jinabhadra Gaṇi. However, Potter's encyclopedia omits all the texts that Dixit situates in the 'age of Āgamas' with the exception of the TA. In order to make the overview of early Jaina philosophical texts more comprehensive, I have added the texts that Dixit mentions in his discussion of the third stage of the 'age of Āgamas'. The table contains the title of the works, the name of the author (or the name that is traditionally associated with the text), the sectarian affiliation of the author, the language of the text, and the date that is mentioned in Potter's encylopedia. In some cases, I rely on other sources for the dates of the texts. In these cases, the sources are specified in the footnote. In addition, I have added a brief description of the content of the texts, which provides insight into some general trends in the development of Jaina philosophy between 300 and 600 CE, which I will discuss below.

[37] For example, Balcerowicz's study of the development of the Jaina theory of knowledge convincingly shows that newer ideas were frequently replaced by traditional theories (Balcerowicz 2016d).
[38] Malvania 2007.

I. Early Philosophical Jaina Texts (300 – 600 CE)				
Title	Author	Affil.[39]	Lang.	Date
i. *Tattvārthādhigama*	?[40]	Švet./Dig.	Skt.	350 (?)
	Treatise on epistemology, ontology, *karman*, conduct, and liberation.			
ii. *Anuyogadvārasūtra*	Āryarakṣita[41]	Švet.	Pkt.	400-450[42]
	Treatise on exegetical methods, including the theory of viewpoints (*naya*).[43] Canonical text belonging to the 'outer corpus' of the Švetāmbara canon.[44]			

[39] For some of the early texts, such as the *Tattvārthādhigama*, the sectarian affiliation of the author is a matter of debate. In fact, it is possible that some early philosophical texts predate the split between the different Jaina sects. Nevertheless, the early texts are usually only seen as authoritative by one of the two sects that are mentioned in the table, with the exception of the *Tattvārthādhigama*.

[40] The TA is usually attributed to Umāsvāti. The name 'Umāsvāti' appears for the first time in the *praśasti* that accompanies the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya.* However, the date of the *praśasti* is uncertain and it is unlikely that Umāsvāti was the composer of the TA. See also the discussion of the authorship of the TA and the TABh below. For a discussion of the *praśasti*, see Part II.

[41] The *Anuyogadvārasūtra* is traditionally ascribed to Āryarakṣita but there is no evidence for the authorship of the text (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 69).

[42] It is unclear when the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* was composed. The *Tattvārthasūtrabhāṣya*, *Nandīsūtra*, and *Anuyogadvārasūtra* seem to borrow from each other and the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra* are composed in a similar style. It is plausible, therefore, that they were composed in roughly the same period. Puṇyavijaya claims that the text predates the 4th century CE since the discussion of the *pramāṇa*s does not follow the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika model (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 72). This is an unconvincing argument since other Jaina texts that postdate the *Nyāyasūtra*, such as the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya*, also present a theory of *pramāṇa*s that differs from the model that was propounded by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tradition.

[43] The text mentions the different sources of knowledge at the beginning and focuses on testimonial knowledge (*śrutajñāna*) (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 45).

[44] The text mentions at the beginning that it is a commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 45). The *Āvaśyakasūtra* deals with the six obligatory (*āvaśyaka*) duties of a mendicant (Dundas 1992: 75, see Dundas 1992: 169-173 for a description of theses duties). However, the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* mainly deals with other topics and only refers to the *Āvaśyakasūtra* in examples (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 45).

iii. *Nandīsūtra*	Devavācaka[45]	Śvet.	Pkt.	400-450[46]
	Discussion of the different sources of knowledge.[47] Canonical text belonging to the 'outer corpus' (*aṅgabāhya*) of the Śvetāmbara canon.			
iv. *Āvaśyakaniryukti*	Bhadrabāhu[48]	Śvet.	Pkt.	450[49]
	Commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra*. The text begins with a discussion of knowledge and discusses a wide variety of topics, including the relationship between faith and conduct.			
v. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*	Puṣpadanta & Bhūtabali[50]	Dig.	Pkt.	400-500[51]
	Treatise on the soul and karmic theory. Oldest sacred text for the Digambara tradition.[52]			
vi. *Tattvārthādhigama-bhāṣya*	Umāsvāti[53]	Śvet.	Skt.	400-450
	Commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama.*			

[45] The name of Devavācaka is mentioned for the first time as the author of the *Nandīsūtra* in the *cūrṇi* (Prākrit prose commentary, 7th cent CE), which is attributed to Jinadāsa (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 41, Dundas 1992: 24).

[46] According to Puṇyavijaya, the *Nandīsūtra* was composed before 523 V.S. (i.e., 466 CE) (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 42-44).

[47] Some passages in the *Nandīsūtra* are derived from the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* (Puṇyavijaya 1968: 41). It is unclear how the different Jaina philosophical texts that predate the 5th cent. CE relate to each other and the dates of these texts are hard to determine. Since different models of the sources of knowledge can be found in a single text, it is likely that the texts were composed over a longer period.

[48] The *niryukti*s (verse commentaries on canonical Śvetāmbara texts) are traditionally attributed to Bhadrabāhu. Most scholars agree that there were different Bhadrabāhus and there is much confusion about this name. For a brief summary, see Wiley 2004: 50.

[49] Ohira dates Bhadrabāhu II, the author of the *niryukti*s, in the 5th century and situates the *niryukti*s in the later 5th century CE (Ohira 1982: 71, 137). Given the unstructured organisation of the material, Dixit assumes that the text was not written by a single author (Dixit 1971: 75).

[50] The text is traditionally associated with the oral teachings of the monk Dharasena, who lived in the 2nd century CE and who passed on his knowledge of the sacred scriptures — that are now lost, according to the Digambara tradition — to the monks Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali (Dundas 1992: 63-64).

[51] The date of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* is matter of sectarian dispute. The different ideas about the date are summarised in Wiley 2008: 57, n. 36. Wiley refers to the position of Hiralāl Jain and A.N. Upadhye, the editors of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, who date the text 'around 993 V.N. (466/568 CE)' (Wiley 2008: 57, n. 36).

[52] The Digambara tradition does not accept the Śvetāmbara canon as an authoritative body of texts.

[53] As I will discuss in § 2.3, it is unlikely that the TABh is an auto-commentary. Yet, the TA and the TABh are both attributed to Umāsvāti in the Śvetāmbara tradition.

vii. *Praśamarati-prakaraṇa*	Umāsvāti[54]	Śvet.	Skt.	400-450
	Treatise on non-attachment, *karman*, conduct, and liberation.			
viii. *Pañcāstikāyasāra*	Kundakunda	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)[55]
	Treatise on ontology, *karman*, the self, and liberation.			
ix. *Pravacanasāra*	Kundakunda	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)
	Treatise on the self, equanimity, omniscience, ontology, and monastic rules.			
x. *Samayasāra*	Kundakunda	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)
	Treatise on the self, which is one and untouched by *karman.*			
xi. *Niyamasāra*	Kundakunda	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)
	Treatise on the self, ontology, conduct, repentance, concentration, equanimity, knowledge and worldview.			
xii. *Aṣṭaprābhṛta*	Kundakunda (?)[56]	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)
	Collection of verses, praising right vision, the Jaina *sūtra*s, right action, monasticism, purity of mind, liberation, nudity of the ascetic, and moral conduct.			
xiii. *Dvādaśānuprekṣā*	Kundakunda (?)	Dig.	Pkt.	400 (?)
	Discussion of twelve topics on which a monk should reflect, including the unbound character of the soul and the causes of *saṃsāra*.			
xiv. *Sarvārthasiddhi*	Pūjyapāda	Dig.	Skt.	480[57]
	Commentary on *Tattvārthādhigama.*			
xv. *Iṣṭopadeśa*	Pūjyapāda	Dig.	Skt.	480
	A collection of aphorisms on the emancipation of the soul and a variety of moral topics. The aphorisms contain many similes.			

[54] The authorship of the work is uncertain. Jinadāsamahattara's *Niśīthacūrṇi* (7th cent. CE) attributes the work to Umāsvāti (Malvania 2007: 66).

[55] Malvania & Soni situate the works of Kundakunda ca. 400 CE. However, the date of Kundakunda is quite uncertain, and the proposed dates range from the 2nd to the 8th cent. CE (Dundas 1992: 107). Given the subject and style of Kundakunda's writings, the date that Malvania and Soni suggest seems to be rather early.

[56] The *Aṣṭaprābhṛta* and *Dvādaśānuprekṣa* are traditionally ascribed to Kundakunda. According to Malvania & Soni, it is unlikely that Kundakunda composed these works (Malvania 2007: 94).

[57] Malvania & Soni date Pūjyapāda's works ca. 480 CE. This corresponds with the view of Bronkhorst, who situates Pūjyapāda shortly after 455 CE (Bronkhorst 1985: 161). Balcerowicz proposes a later date and situates Pūjyapāda ca. 540 – 600 CE (Balcerowicz 2016e: 477).

xvi. *Samādhitantra*	Pūjyapāda	Dig.	Skt.	480
	Treatise on the self, meditation, and liberation.			
xvii. *Sanmatitarka*	Siddhasena Divākara	Śvet.	Pkt.	450-500[58]
	Treatise on epistemological topics (e.g., theory of viewpoints, awareness of the omniscient, and sevenfold predication) and ontology (e.g., theory of substance, atoms, and categories).			
xviii. *Dvātriṃśikā*	Siddhasena Divākara[59]	Śvet.	Skt.	550
	A group of short metrical texts of 32 stanzas each, discussing a variety of topics, such as eulogies of Mahāvīra and the refutation of rival views, including Nyāya and Sāṃkya theories.			
xix. *Nayacakra*	Mallavādin	Śvet.	Skt.	550
	Refutation of different philosophical doctrines, written as a debate between 17 disputants. The text deals with *Sāṃkhya*, *Buddhist*, and *Vaiśeṣika* theories amongst others.			
xx. *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*	Jinabhadra Gaṇi	Śvet.	Pkt.[60]	600
	Commentary on (the first chapter of) the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*.			
xxi. *Dhyānaśataka*	Jinabhadra Gaṇi	Śvet.	Pkt.	600
	Treatise on meditation, discussing four types of concentration (*ārta*, *raudra*, *dharmya*, *śukla*).			
xxii. *Āptamīmāṃsā*	Samantabhadra	Dig.	Skt.	600 (?)[61]
	Treatise on ontology (being, unity, permanence, causality), knowledge (realism and idealism), liberation, and ethics. Advocates *nayavāda* and *anekāntavāda*, and criticises rival theories.			
xxiii. *Yuktyanuśāsana*	Samantabhadra	Dig.	Skt.	600 (?)
	Treatise about substance, qualities, and the problem of change. Advocates *syādvāda.*			
xxiv. *Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī*	Siṃhasūragaṇi	Śvet.	Skt.	600
	Commentary on Mallavādin's *Nayacakra*.			

[58] Balcerowicz 2016d: 996.

[59] See Fujinaga 1999a for a discussion of the authorship of the different works that are attributed to Siddhasena. Fujinaga argues that there were two Siddhasena's.

[60] The (auto-)commentary on the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* is in Sanskrit.

[61] Malvania & Soni date Samantabhadra ca. 430 CE. However, they date Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsā* ca. 600 CE. Balcerowicz situates Samantabhadra ca. 530 – 590 CE (Balcerowicz 2016e: 477).

The information in the table above provides several reasons to rethink Dixit's account of the early history of Jaina philosophy. First, Dixit's idea about the role of the TA in the development of Jaina philosophy seems inaccurate. In Dixit's account, the TA and the TABh — which he attributes to the same author — summarise the traditional philosophical viewpoints that were developed during the 'age of Āgamas' and form the last texts of this period. However, it is highly unlikely that the TABh was written as an auto-commentary and there is no hard evidence that the TA was written after the composition of the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra.*[62] Since the TA responds in many passages to issues that are raised in the *Nyāyasūtra* but never refers to discussions in the *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya*, there is a good reason to assume that the text was composed well before the 5th century CE.[63] This means that the TA was probably not only a summary of the positions that are found in the later canonical texts. If the TA indeed predates the latest strata of the Jaina canon, it is more likely that the TA played a rather innovative role and influenced texts such as the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra*. As such, it makes sense to regard the TA as the first philosophical texts of the Jainas.

Second, it is quite problematic to draw a line between the 'age of Āgamas' and the 'age of Logic'. Dixit writes that texts from the 'age of Āgamas' are characterised by a 'closed door atmosphere'.[64] He explains that none of these texts ever refers to a rival view that is known from other literature. By contrast, texts from the 'age of Logic' explicitly name and criticise non-Jaina schools, and the standpoints that are mentions are 'always followed by more or less cogent arguments supporting them'.[65] In other words, texts in the 'age of Logic' differ in two respects from the previous texts according to Dixit: they are explicitly refuting non-Jaina schools and they use philosophical arguments to support their own standpoints.

However, the idea that the early philosophical texts of the Jainas do not respond to positions of other schools is inadequate. The TA does clearly respond to Nyāya positions, even if this school is not mentioned explicitly. In order to see the underlying debates, one has to examine the positions in the text carefully and

[62] For a detailed discussion of the argument, see § 2.3.
[63] See chapter 3 for a discussion of the relationship between the TA, TABh and the *Nyāyasūtra*.
[64] Dixit 1971: 88.
[65] Ibid., 89.

compare these views with positions in contemporary texts. Dixit is right when he says that only later texts mention the other schools by name but one could say that this is simply a matter of style. On the other hand, there is considerable number of Jaina philosophical texts that postdate 'the age of Āgamas' that do not deal explicitly with other schools. For example, Pūjyapāda's *Samādhitantra* and Jinabhadra Gaṇi's *Dhyānaśataka* deal with meditation and liberation, and these texts have little to do with the refutation of other views.

Furthermore, the idea that the positions in these later texts are always supported by proper arguments only applies to some texts, such as Mallavādin's *Nayacakra*. Most other texts in the table, however, consist for the main part of statements for which no explicit arguments are given in the text.

Even though Dixit's model has some heuristic value to reconstruct the development of Jaina philosophy, it cannot be used to order the texts in a chronological way. Texts that lack a clear structure, which are not dealing with rival views, and which do not contain proper arguments, do not necessarily predate those texts that have the opposite characteristics. It is important to realise that Dixit's ideas about the development of Jaina philosophy can be misleading if we want to understand the history of early Jaina philosophy. Since Dixit's work is one of the most comprehensive studies about Jaina philosophy, it had a strong influence on other scholars. In fact, the division between the 'age of Āgamas' and the 'age of Logic' also appears to have influenced the organisation of the first volume on Jaina philosophy in Potter's *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*. It does not deal with any texts from the 'age of Āgamas' except for the works that are attributed to Umāsvāti. In his introductory chapter on the Jaina canon, Potter writes that 'the philosophical literature of the Jainas proper may be said to begin' after the composition of the canonical texts.[66] Commenting on the selection of texts that are discussed in the encyclopedia, he explains that the commentaries on the canonical works are 'for the most part ignored'. Instead, the work focuses on 'independent texts and commentaries on them' that try to develop the Jaina worldview in a rational way.[67]

It is unclear to me why it is relevant for the historiography of philosophy to separate the texts that were codified in the Jaina canon and the commentaries thereon from the 'independent' texts. The fact that a text is accepted as an

[66] Malvania 2007: 41.
[67] Ibid.

authoritative scripture does not necessarily entail that the text itself differs from non-canonical texts. Potter's approach reinforces the idea that there is no 'real' philosophy in the canonical texts, such as the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, and that there is a hard divide between philosophical speculation in the Jaina canon and the 'independent' work of later authors who wrote 'proper' philosophy. This seems to echo Dixit's division between the 'age of Āgamas' and the 'age of Logic'.

The information in the table above clearly shows that the history of Jaina philosophy did not develop in a straight line from doctrinal thought towards rational philosophy. Treatises on proper ascetic conduct and meditation were written at the same time as treatises on epistemology and ontology, and both topics are often discussed in the same sources. Moreover, authors such as Jinabhadra Gaṇi wrote commentaries on canonical works and composed autonomous treatises as well. In short, the relevance of canonical thought for the development of Jaina philosophy did not end with the TA and independent thought went hand in hand with traditional writings.

Nevertheless, Jaina philosophy did change over time. The texts that are written in a later period show several characteristics that were rarer at the earlier stages and vice versa. For example, the canonical literature and some early philosophical texts are composed in Prākrit and the later philosophical texts are mostly written in Sanskrit, even though some later authors also wrote in Prākrit. The TA is a significant text in this respect, since it is the oldest extant text in Sanskrit in the Jaina tradition. Apart from this linguistic shift, there is also a shift in the content of the works. Although the early works do reflect some developments in other philosophical traditions, there are more treatises in later times that explicitly refute the positions of other schools.

Even though we know that these changes took place during the Gupta Period, it is not entirely clear how these changes can be explained. Some scholars have linked these developments with major changes in the Jaina community, such as mass migration. Others have suggested that these changes were caused by the need for royal patronage.[68] In order to understand why Jaina thinkers started to favour Sanskrit for their philosophical texts and why they became more vocal in their criticism of other philosophical traditions, we need to situate the history of Jaina philosophy in a larger socio-historical context. For this purpose, I will discuss the

[68] See § 2.2 for a discussion of these theories.

history of the Jainas in the Gupta Period in the next section (§ 2.2). After my discussion of the socio-historical situation of the Jainas, I will address the date and authorship of the TA and the TABh (§ 2.3).

2.2 The Jainas in the Gupta Period[69]

As I will discuss in § 2.3, it is safe to assume that the TA and the TABh were composed in the Gupta period. Even if the composition of the TA itself would slightly predate the 4th cent. CE we know that the TA became an important text for the Jaina community during the Gupta period, since the different Jaina traditions wrote influential commentaries on the TA in the Gupta age. The fact that the style, content, and language of the TA substantially diverge from older Jaina texts raises some important questions: What urged the author of the TA to transform traditional ideas and present them in a way that strongly resembles philosophical works from non-Jaina movements? And why did this particular text become such an important text for the Jainas? It is tempting to conjecture that this intellectual development reflects a change in the social position of the Jaina community. In order to investigate this hypothesis, this section will address the socio-historical situation of the Jainas in the Gupta period. My analysis is mainly based on the scholarly accounts of the history of the Jainas under the Guptas written by Suzuko Ohira, Johannes Bronkhorst, and Paul Dundas.[70] After analysing their views, I will discuss the explanatory value of these accounts with respect to the composition of the TA.

[69] In this chapter, the term 'Gupta period' refers to the time during which the Gupta dynasty flourished in South Asia, i.e., from ca. 320 CE, when Candragupta I laid the foundations of the Gupta empire, until ca. 550 CE, when the reign of Viṣṇugupta ended (see, e.g., Agrawal 1989). However, the geographical scope of this chapter extends beyond the range of the Gupta Empire, and includes areas under the control of contemporary dynasties, such as the Vākāṭakas and Kadambas. The fact that 550 CE is used to indicate the end of the Gupta Period does not imply that there was a Gupta empire until that date. Even though there were still some Gupta kings after the middle of the 5th century CE, the heydays of the Guptas were already over by that time (Bakker 2015: 25). For a history of the later Guptas, see also Willis 2005.

[70] I will limit my overview of the existing literature to scholarly accounts that deal primarily with the history of the Jainas in the Gupta Period and I will focus on those accounts that are particularly relevant for the understanding of the development of early Jaina philosophy. In order to understand the significance of the changes that happened to the Jaina community in the Gupta era, a larger study is needed that contextualises the history of the Jainas in the history of the Gupta Period in general.

Existing scholarship

In her study of the TA, Ohira gives the first comprehensive account of the Jainas in the Gupta period.[71] Although she portrays the Gupta period in general as an age of 'long stabilized peace and prosperity', bringing out 'the most creative period in the history of India in all its fields of its cultural activities', she concludes that it was 'one of the darkest ages' for the Jainas.[72] Moreover, she holds that the Jaina community underwent significant changes during the Gupta period. She summarises the overall situation as follows:

> [T]he social impact of the days drove them to the other parts of India from the North, which ultimately became, together with the accidental factor of the natural calamity of long famine inviting the call of the Third Valabhī Council, the cause of the great schism into the present day Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras.[73]

But what is the basis of Ohira's extremely negative analysis of the situation of the Jainas in the Gupta period? And what does she mean exactly by 'the social impact of the days' in the passage cited above? In her general overview of the Gupta age, she characterises the period between 320 CE and the end of the 5th cent. CE as 'the golden age of the Hindus'.[74] To underpin this view, she mentions the records of Faxian (法顯), a Chinese Buddhist monk who travelled to South Asia in the early 5th

[71] Ohira 1982: 113-134.

[72] Ohira's general account of the Gupta period is mainly based on R. C. Majumdar's *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3), published in Bombay in 1954. This explains her overly optimistic characterisation of the Gupta period, even though she describes the Gupta period as a dark age for the Jainas. As Upinder Singh observes, it was common for 'Indian historians who lived during the period of nationalist resistance to colonial rule' to portray the Gupta period as a golden age, as a reaction to 'imperialist historiography', highlighting the 'political unification of a large part of the subcontinent' and the efflorescence of art and literature (Singh 2009: 473). In his review of *The Classical Age*, written in 1954, Louis Renou already points out that there is 'a certain amount of fallacy' in the presentation of the Gupta period as a classical age (Renou 1954: 125). He mentions that 'the obscurities and gaps in our information concerning the previous epochs' and the fact that 'the history of India has been constructed out of literary material [...] composed by holders of the Brahmanic ideals' seriously hinder our understanding of the Gupta period (Renou 1954: 126).

[73] Ohira 1982: 113. The last part of this section addresses Ohira's account of the supposed migration and the sectarian division of the Jainas.

[74] Ibid.

cent. CE and portrays the Gupta Empire as very peaceful and prosperous.[75] Further, she points to the promotion of Sanskrit under the Guptas. Unlike the inscriptions from the previous Mauryan and Kuṣāṇa period, which are mostly written in Prākrit or hybrid Sanskrit, the Guptas established Sanskrit as the official language of the state. Sanskrit authors composed numerous works in this era, ranging from poetry to history, philosophy, and mathematics. However, unlike the Buddhists, who adopted Sanskrit at an early stage, the Jainas continued writing in Prākrit, and Ohira points out that Umāsvāti's choice to use Sanskrit must be a response to the patronage of Sanskrit writing under the Guptas.[76] She also suggests that the attachment of the *praśasti* [77] to the TA, which is the first *praśasti* in the history of Jaina literature, reflects the composition of royal genealogies in the *purāṇa*s.[78] Further, Ohira links the 'longstanding peace' and patronage of scholarship to the systematisation of thought and commentarial activities in the various philosophical schools. She claims that the TA was the Jaina response to what she describes as 'the call of time', i.e., the systematisation of the different philosophical traditions.[79]

In her discussion of religion in the Gupta era, Ohira portrays the Guptas as tolerant towards all religions, even though Vaiṣṇavism was the official religion. At the same time she suggests that the Buddhists and Jainas must have 'suffered from the loss of royal patronage which they had enjoyed in the Mauryan and Kuṣāṇa dynasties'. Nevertheless, she writes that the Buddhists, unlike the Jainas, still enjoyed royal favour but the evidence that she provides for this difference is problematic. Ohira contrasts the paucity of epigraphical evidence for Jaina patronage with the information in the Chinese travel records of Faxian and Xuanzang, which portray a favourable attitude of the kings towards the Buddhists.[80] However, as previously noted, it is highly problematic to interpret these travel

[75] Ibid., 114. Recent scholarship problematises the decontextualised use of historical Chinese travel reports, such as those of Faxian (法顯) and Xuanzang (玄奘). After all, these records are based on the experience of Buddhist monks who went as pilgrims to the land of the Buddha and whose targeted audience was in their homeland (e.g., Deeg 2012).

[76] Ibid.

[77] A short text with the details of the author. See § 3.5 for an analysis of the *praśasti*. A translation of the *praśasti* can be found in Part II.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., 115. She mentions the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, the *Mīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya*, and the *Nyāyavārttika* as examples of this 'historical trend'.

[80] Ibid., 115-116. There is some evidence for royal patronage of the Jainas under the Guptas. For example, there are three well-known Jaina images that were found in Dujanpur (Vidiśā), which were commissioned by Rāmagupta (Ohira 1982: 118).

records as accurate descriptions of the historical situation.[81] Despite this, she rightly observes that the paucity of Jaina inscriptions in the Gupta period strongly contrasts with the abundance of Jaina inscriptions in Mathurā under the Kuṣāṇas.[82]

In order to explain this change, Ohira discusses the history of the Jaina community in Mathurā, an important commercial centre along the trade route between Pāṭaliputra and Takṣaśila (Taxila). Mathurā is the main source of Jaina antiquities from North India. The first epigraphical evidence of Jainas at Mathurā dates from the 2nd cent. BCE and the number of inscriptions culminates under the Kuṣāṇas, especially during the reign of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (2nd cent. CE).[83] Ohira suggests that the Jaina community in Mathurā acquired an important economic position under the Kuṣāṇas due to their activities as bankers (*śreṣṭhin*), traders (*sārthavāha*), and merchants (*kulika*), which is supported by the fact that most Jaina inscriptions of this period relate to lay donations, mostly found on images.[84] The Mathurā inscriptions also suggest that the Jaina community under the Kuṣāṇas came from all over Northern India and that Mathurā became a centre of Jainism around the 2nd cent. CE.[85]

It is interesting that the Jaina inscriptions of this period outnumber the Buddhist inscriptions, even though Kaniṣka and Huviṣka both favoured Buddhism.[86] However, there is a sudden decrease of Jaina images and inscriptions from Mathurā at the beginning of the Gupta period, which leads Ohira to the conclusion that 'the Jaina activities at Mathurā [...] suffered a sudden blow with the entry of the Gupta era' after which the Jainas migrated 'en masse' to places in South and West India,

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[81] Ohira mentions that Xuanzang refers to *nirgranthas* (interpreted as Jaina mendicants) in Kapiśa, Lanpo, and Siṃhapura but not in North India proper (see also Ohira 1982: 118). However, it is far from clear whether the term '*nirgrantha'* in Xuanzang's text actually refers to Jaina mendicants, and whether these remarks were based on his own observation. For example, he mentions that there were numerous *nirgranthas* in Eastern Bangladesh (Salles 1995: 535, n.11). However, there is no archaeological evidence for the presence of large groups of Jainas in this region.

[82] Ohira 1982: 116.

[83] Ibid., 119. See Falk 2001 for a discussion of the dates of the Kuṣāṇa kings.

[84] Ibid., 120-121. The inscriptions by lay donors include the names and lineages of their preceptors, which shows that the lay communities 'were under the guidance of particular spiritual teachers' who were dependent on the lay community for their subsistence (Ohira 1982: 124).

[85] Ibid., 119. Ohira's claim is based on an analysis of the names of monastic lineages (*gaṇas*, *kulas*, and *śākhās*) mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions (Ohira 1982: 43-44).

[86] Ohira mentions Lüders's study of 159 Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā, out of which 87 are Jaina, 55 Buddhist, and 17 'non-sectarian' (Ohira 1982: 119). See also Lüders 1913.

'which have continued to be centres of Jainism up to the present age'.[87] But what could explain such a dramatic change?

Ohira writes that the commercial activities of the Jainas were organised in powerful guilds (*śreṇi*) and that the representatives of these guilds had an influential position in the local government. However, the Guptas were Vaiṣṇavas and Ohira conjectures that Mathurā, as the mythical birthplace of Lord Kṛṣṇa, was handed over to the Vaiṣṇavas in the wake of the 'Hindu revival movement'.[88] Interestingly, by the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Balarāma appear in Jaina images as the attendants of Neminātha, the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara*. Moreover, the Kṛṣṇa theme makes its entrance in the Jaina canonical literature from this era, albeit in a non-divine role.[89] This leads Ohira to the conclusion that there was an aggressive religious struggle going on between the Hindu and non-Hindu sects during the late canonical and post-canonical period, which resulted in the decline of Jainism in Mathurā.[90] She states that the subsequent migration of the Jainas was initiated by the move of the mercantile class and that the 'exodus of the lay Jaina communities from Mathurā naturally caused the migration of the ascetic *saṅgha*s as well because the latter had to depend on the former for their material needs'.[91]

From Mathurā, the Jainas moved to important commercial centres in the South and West, such as Kāñcī, Madurai, Ujjayinī, and Valabhi.[92] Unlike the Jaina communities in the West, the Jainas in the South managed to secure royal support in the Gupta era, as attested by land grants from the 4th to the 6th cent. CE. However, since there are no records of image donations in the South from this period, Ohira concludes that there were yet to be any Jaina temples. Moreover, she suggests that

[87] Ohira 1982: 120.
[88] Ibid., 121.
[89] Ohira lists the following canonical texts: *Uttarādhyayana* 22, *Antakṛddaśāḥ*, *Jñātādharmakathāḥ* 16, *Vahnidaśa* 1, and *Daśavaikālika*. Ohira argues that the Hindu literary works of this time make parallel moves. She refers to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in which Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthaṅkara*, appears as one of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s (Ohira 1982: 121-122). However, it is not entirely clear to me how this supports Ohira's argument since the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* seems to be of a much later date (perhaps 8th cent. CE). Dundas points out that the relationship with Vaiṣṇavism dates back to the 2nd cent. BCE, 'with the figure of Kṛṣṇa being assimilated to the biography of the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi' (Dundas 2006: 397).
[90] Ibid., 122.
[91] Ibid., 123.
[92] Ibid., 124.

the Jaina lay communities started to invite ascetics in order to win royal patronage, which is supported by epigraphical evidence from Karnataka.[93]

To sum up, Ohira characterises the Gupta period as a turbulent era for the Jaina community. The prevalent 'Hindu revival movement' directly threatened the powerful Jaina guilds in Mathurā. This prompted Jaina merchants to relocate to other commercial centres in the South and West, and the Jaina ascetics had to follow them given their dependence on the laity. Even though Ohira's account is quite comprehensive, there are some questions that remain unanswered. For example, she argues that the TA was composed in the early 5th cent. CE in Kusumapura, which is another name for Pāṭaliputra. However, her account of the Jainas in the Gupta period does not provide any information about the Jaina community in Pāṭaliputra. In general, Ohira presents a story that is well connected to the evidence but she tends to take the implications of the evidence, and the lack of it too far. For example, is it legitimate to conclude that there was a mass migration just because of a paucity of evidence in one place and a growing number of inscriptions elsewhere?[94] And can we assume that the Jaina merchants were indeed suppressed as a result of the Vaiṣṇava identity of the Guptas?

Unlike Ohira, Bronkhorst thinks that the TA was composed in the South and that the *bhāṣya* was written in Pāṭaliputra by a different author (see also § 2.3).[95] In a self-admittedly speculative article, Bronkhorst provides another account of the Jainas under the Guptas, in an effort to explain why the practice of *stūpa* worship disappeared from the Jaina tradition. His account has some valuable observations on the possible context of the TA and provides new hypotheses, especially with respect to the relation between the Jainas and the Buddhists. Based on an analysis of several concepts in the Śvetāmbara canon, such as the atomic nature of matter and the momentariness of all that exists, Bronkhorst claims that Jainism was strongly influenced by Sarvāstivāda Buddhism.[96] He suggests that this took place in north-western India during the 'final centuries preceding the Common Era and the first ones following it', adding that '[i]t seems to be a safe bet to conclude that it was in

[93] Ibid., 124-125.

[94] Ohira's account of the supposed 'mass migration' of the Jainas during the Gupta period and the way in which this event impacted the Jaina tradition will be discussed later on in this section.

[95] Bronkhorst 2010.

[96] See also Bronkhorst 2000.

Mathurā that the Jainas were confronted with these new ideas'.[97] This theory fits nicely with the presence of a large Jaina *stūpa* in Mathurā.[98] It seems that this practice of *stūpa* worship was shared with the Buddhists, even though it was later abandoned by the Jaina tradition. The question as to why relic worship mainly disappeared from the Jaina tradition has puzzled several scholars and Bronkhorst tries to answer this question in his article.[99] His main argument is that the Jainas in Mathurā responded to the competition with the Buddhists by abandoning relic worship and 'concentrating on other things'.[100] However, there is no direct evidence that indicates that *stūpa* worship was abandoned by the Jainas to distance themselves from the Buddhists. Therefore, Bronkhorst's theory should be treated with caution.

In order to understand the adoption of Sanskrit in the Jaina tradition, Bronkhorst draws a comparison with the Buddhist attitude towards Sanskrit in north-western India under the Kuṣāṇas. He suggests that the 'massive change from a Middle Indic language to Sanskrit' was just an aspect of the larger 'in-depth Brahmanization of Buddhism in this region'.[101] He claims that the underlying reason for the changing attitude towards Sanskrit is that the Brahmins 'had come to play central roles at and around the royal court' and that '[a]ll others who depended upon royal support had to be able to plead their cause in Sanskrit'.[102]

Yet, Bronkhorst believes that the Jainas, unlike the Buddhists, adopted Sanskrit 'many centuries after the Kuṣāṇas' and that Mathurā does not play a role in this process. He sees the TA, which he dates between 150 and 350 CE, as an

[97] Bronkhorst 2010: 2-3. His reason to situate this encounter in Mathurā is that Gandhāra and Mathurā were the main centres under the Kuṣāṇas, and that there is little evidence of the Jainas around Gandhāra (see also Dundas 2006: 405-406), while there is ample evidence of the Jainas in Mathurā.

[98] Ibid., 3. This *stūpa* was excavated from Kaṇkālī Ṭilā and is the centre of the archaeological and inscriptional evidence for the connection of the Jainas with Mathurā (Dundas 1992: 113).

[99] For a discussion of the history of relic worship, see Cort 2010.

[100] Bronkhorst 2010: 5-6. He also suggests that the later importance of vegetarianism in Jainism (see also Ohira 1994: 18-19), which seems to be a break with the practices mentioned in canonical texts, might be 'inspired by similar motives'. However, this argument seems to be flawed. If the abandonment of relic worship can be explained by the wish to be distinguished from the Buddhist, one can hardly claim that embracing vegetarianism has the same background, since vegetarianism does not distinguish the Jainas from the Buddhists.

[101] Bronkhorst 2010: 8

[102] Ibid., 9. Bronkhorst does not provide a source for this claim.

exception.[103] He points out that only two other Jaina texts written in Sanskrit before the 6th cent. CE have been transmitted, i.e., the TABh and the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Since the TABh was probably composed in Pāṭaliputra and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* somewhere in the South, Bronkhorst concludes that Mathurā did not play a role in the adoption of Sanskrit in the Jaina tradition.[104] This raises the question as to why the Buddhists and Jainas in Mathurā had a different attitude towards Sanskrit. Bronkhorst explains this by pointing out that the Buddhist community needed royal support in order to maintain their 'sometimes big monasteries' and *stūpa*s.[105] By contrast, the Jainas were moving away from *stūpa* worship and the presence of the temple-dwelling monks was a matter of debate. Moreover, the Jaina ascetics could rely on the wealthy lay donors, which 'left them relatively independent of the royal court, allowing them to continue using Prakrit rather than Sanskrit'.[106] This would explain why there is no epigraphical evidence from North India that refers to land grants. By contrast, the Jainas in the South had a 'different relationship to the royal court' and possessed 'caves and monasteries accompanied by substantial land endowments'.[107] Bronkhorst speculates that we have to situate the TA in this context; it was the need for royal support for the Jainas in South India that urged the Jainas to present their doctrines in Sanskrit at the 'brahmanized courts'.[108]

Bronkhorst's account diverges from Ohira's by situating the TA in South India instead of Pāṭaliputra. This reflects a more fundamental difference between their hypotheses: Ohira assumes that the Jainas in North India received royal patronage, while Bronkhorst thinks that the Jaina community in the North avoided dependence on royal favours, which distinguished them from the Buddhists. Further, Ohira thinks that the adoption of Sanskrit was an immediate response to the patronage of Sanskrit under the Gupta rulers. By contrast, Bronkhorst assumes that the change to Sanskrit happened in the South. Yet, both authors agree that the Jainas adopted Sanskrit in order to secure royal favour.

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[103] Ibid. See also § 2.3.
[104] Ibid., 10. See § 2.1 and § 2.3 for the date and origin of these texts.
[105] Ibid., 11. He cites a study by Gregory Schopen, which mentions that the maintenance of permanent quarters requires 'long-term relationships with donors', and Bronkhorst assumes that the royal court must have played a role in this.
[106] Ibid., 12.
[107] Ibid., 13.
[108] Ibid., 14.

While both Ohira and Bronkhorst tend to make large claims about the Jainas in the Gupta period based on rather fragmentary evidence, Dundas provides a more careful interpretation of the available data.[109] For example, in one of his more recent articles on Jainism in the Gupta period, he states that 'attempts to provide a firm chronological location within the Gupta period for Jain authors and their writings' are unsatisfactory, and he adds that we cannot even be sure that the TA was composed in the Gupta period.[110] However, his work contains valuable observations and suggestions with respect to the topics discussed by Ohira and Bronkhorst. In addition to the epigraphical and material evidence that forms the basis of Ohira's and Bronkhorst's accounts, Dundas brings in a wide range of literary sources in order to get a better understanding of the situation of the Jainas under the Guptas.[111]

In *The Jains*, Dundas' seminal handbook on Jainism, he explains how the early Jaina community moved from the Ganges basin, the place of its origin, to the West and the Dravidian South following the trade routes.[112] Even though there is an inscription from Hāthīgumphā, which shows that there were Jainas in the East before the beginning of the Common Era, Dundas states that it 'is the westward shift to the city of Mathurā and its environs which provides the best evidence for generalising about early Jain society'.[113] As mentioned previously, the *stūpa* of Kaṅkālī Ṭilā forms the centre of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence for the early presence of the Jainas in Mathurā. Dundas points out that an inscriptional reference to this *stūpa* from 157 CE, which mentions that the *stūpa* was 'created by

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[109] Relevant discussions of the Jainas under the Guptas can be found in Dundas 1996b, 2002, 2006, and 2014.

[110] Dundas 2014: 231. He writes that it is 'perfectly plausible' that the TA was written under the Kuṣāṇas, even though he writes that there is a 'strong possibility' that the TA was written during the Gupta period. This corresponds with his view in *The Jains*, where he states that the TA was written in the fourth or 5th cent. CE (Dundas 1992: 86).

[111] In the introduction to his chapter in *The Jains* on the history of the Jainas 'from early times to the late medieval period', Dundas writes: 'I would contend that it will only be possible to gain some sense of it if there is brought into play a wider range of source materials such as stories, legends, *belles-lettres*, clan and sectarian traditions, hagiographies and so on, not all of which constitute unimpeachable documentary evidence of the sort usually required in the writing of history but which nonetheless provide a distinctively Jain perspective on the religion's past.' (Dundas 1992: 112).

[112] Dundas 1992: 113. He remarks that even the Jains who are nowadays living in Bihar 'are descendants of those who migrated back from the West of India for economic reasons'.

[113] Ibid., 113. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of king Khāravela (ca. 1st cent. BCE) mentions the seizing of a Jaina image from another kingdom, which indicates that image worship was already practiced at this early stage of Jainism.

the gods', suggests that the *stūpa* 'by that period [...] was reckoned to be of considerable antiquity'.[114] Further, the donative inscriptions from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā prove that Jainism in this early stage was not just an ascetic movement and that the interaction of lay followers with the monks and nuns 'provided the means for the maintenance of the religion.'[115] Even though Dundas agrees with Ohira that substantial sections of the Jaina community from Mathurā drifted to the West during the Gupta period, he points out that a large Pārśva image was dedicated in Mathurā in 980 CE. This somehow nuances Ohira's portrayal of the 'mass migration' of the Jainas. Even though Dundas remarks that the *purāṇa*s reflect a negative attitude towards the Jaina ascetics, he does not think that there is evidence of Hindu persecution of the Jainas in the North.[116] He speculates that the Jaina community under the Guptas responded to external and internal 'political pressures' by gradually migrating to the West, which offered new business opportunities.[117] This shift from Mathurā to the West fits well with the fact that the penultimate Jaina council was held at Valabhī and Mathurā, while the last council was held in Valabhī alone.[118]

Although these important events took place in North and West India, Jaina culture was certainly not confined to this area; epigraphical evidence testifies the presence of Jaina laymen and ascetics in the South in the second and 1st cent. BCE.[119] It is far from clear what the place of this early Jaina community in the South exactly was, and there is a gap in the epigraphical evidence from the first centuries of the Common Era. Yet, based on the analysis of story literature, Dundas points out that the later literary tradition preserved 'some distant memory of wandering Jaina mendicants' who 'acted as transmitters of a northern, prestigious culture'.[120] Further,

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[114] Ibid. Dundas mentions a medieval story by Jinaprabha Sūri, in which the Buddhists and Hindus claim the *stūpa* for their own. Likewise, Somadeva (tenth cent. CE) writes how the *stūpa* was founded after rivalry with the Buddhists. These stories match the archaeological evidence for the cohabitation of different religious groups in Mathurā and the similarity of their religious architecture (Dundas 1992: 114).

[115] Ibid., 115.

[116] He writes that the 'archetypical heretic' in the *purāṇa*s is 'an amalgam of the Jain and Buddhist monk and a demonic and anti-social figure' (Dundas 1992: 115).

[117] Ibid. He mentions that the kingdom of the Maitrakas of Valabhī offered 'new overseas trading opportunities' from the 5th cent. CE onwards.

[118] For a study on the dates of the Jaina councils, see Wiles 2006.

[119] For an overview these early inscriptions, such as the Kalugumalai hill inscriptions and the cave inscriptions from Madurai, see Ohira 1982: 116-117.

[120] Dundas 1992: 116.

he claims that the 'religious and political ideologies' of the Jainas had a significant impact on literature and kingship in the South.[121] Even though the older Jaina texts say that ascetics cannot accept alms from kings, Dundas suggests that Jaina monks in the South 'forged close relationships with kingly patrons'. Interestingly, he remarks that 'there is no epigraphic mention in Karnataka of Jains of a mercantile or bourgeois background until the tenth century' and that 'the picture of Jainism up to this point is very much of a religion sponsored by kings and warrior aristocrats'.[122]

But what can Jaina ascetics offer these groups? Why would politically powerful persons want to be associated with the Jaina ideology, which focuses on the abandonment of worldly matters? Dundas argues that the Jaina ideology of 'heroic individualism and self-perfection' was often 'expressed in 'images of striving, battle and conquest'. This applies in particular to the Digambaras, who were the dominant sect in the South, and one can argue that this imagery must have been appealing to the ruling class.[123] Second, Jaina ideology might have been attractive for its association with 'prestigious northern culture', in contrast to the 'peasant, Hindu society' in the South. The fact that the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena (9th cent. CE) contains a prescription for the conduct of kings, might indicate that Jaina intellectuals actively tried to secure a connection with the royal court. In this account, the institution of kingship is presented as a 'necessary but potentially dangerous' institution, which requires the 'controlling presence' of 'Jain, rather than Brahman, advisers.' Nevertheless, Dundas remarks that it hard to prove that there were ever kings whose religious affiliation was exclusively Jaina.[124]

As Dundas discusses in his study of early Jaina history, titled 'A Non-Imperial Religion?', Jainism received 'a strong degree of bourgeois support but only sporadic royal sponsorship' during its first eight centuries.[125] This attitude was backed up by

[121] Ibid. Among the Jaina contributions to Tamil literature, Dundas mentions the earliest Tamil grammar, a collection of maxims (the *Tirukkuraḷ*), and the oldest Tamil epic (the *Śilāpaḍikkāram*) which he situates in the 5th cent. CE.
For a discussion of Jainism and kingship in medieval western India, see Cort 1998: 85 - 110.
[122] Ibid., 118.
[123] Ibid., 119. A good example of such imagery is the giant Bāhubali statue at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, which was dedicated by general Cāmuṇḍarāya in 981 CE. Yet, Cāmuṇḍarāya also dedicated temples to Viṣṇu and Śiva (Dundas 1992: 120).
[124] Ibid., 119-120. More generally, he states that kingship in the South seems to have 'transcended conceptual or religious boundaries'.
[125] Dundas 2006: 385.

texts, which 'are adamant that it is improper for monks to take alms from a king'.[126] Dundas points out that 'there are no depictions of *tīrthaṅkara*s on royal coinage' and that 'early Jain images lack royal insignia, such as the parasol'.[127] However, the mutual rapprochement of the Jaina community and the royal courts in the South seems to indicate a change in the social position of the Jainas. So, why did the Jainas in the South develop a different stance towards royal patronage?

As mentioned previously, Bronkhorst suggests that the Jaina ascetics in the South needed royal patronage since they owned properties, such as caves and monasteries. However, this explanation ignores the underlying question as to why the Jainas in the South had a different attitude towards property in the first place. According to Dundas, it was 'the institution of *dāna*, the giving of alms and temporary shelter by lay people to ascetics,' which developed into the donation of 'rock-cut caverns' and eventually the 'building alongside temples of monasteries which were accompanied by substantial land endowments'.[128] While some of the rock-cut caves in Tamil Nadu predate the Common Era,[129] Dundas states that the monasteries (*maṭhas*) 'begun to be built near temple complexes from about the fifth century CE'.[130] These monasteries gave shelter to the temple-dwelling monks (*caityavāsin*). It is hard to determine when Jaina monks started living around temples, but the practice might have begun around the 4th cent. CE.[131]

This change seems to be part of a wider transformation of Jaina practices during the Gupta period, in which image worship and *pūjā* became important elements of the ritual practice. Even though Jaina laymen and ascetics were both involved in image worship from an early period, there is evidence that this practice was subject to discussion in the Gupta era.[132] Dundas suggests that the emergence of

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[126] Dundas 1992: 118. He mentions Vaṭṭakera's *Mūlācāra* and Haribhadra's commentary on *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 153 (Dundas 1992: 292, n16). For a discussion of the ambivalent attitude of the Jaina community towards kings, see Cort 1998: 85 - 110. His account focuses on literary sources on Jainism and kingship in medieval western India.

[127] Dundas 2006: 391.

[128] Dundas 1992: 123.

[129] For an overview of early rock-cut caves in South India, see, e.g., Chatterjee 2000, vol. 1: 113ff.

[130] Dundas 1992: 123.

[131] Dundas writes that 'by Śvetāmbara reckoning, the temple-dwelling monks appeared in about the 4th cent. CE, but it is impossible to trace their early history beyond the odd reference such as that to a king of Pāṭan who banned non-temple-dwelling monks from his city' (Dundas 1992: 136).

[132] Dundas 1992: 249.

a story around the 5th cent. CE about an image of Mahāvīra, which according to the story had been made during his lifetime, can be seen as evidence of an attempt to refute those critics 'who claimed that it had no place in an authentic, textually based Jainism'.[133] Further, textual sources from the 6th cent. CE show a 'broad consensus' about the 'basic elements for the most common form of Jaina *pūjā*'.[134]

The fact that multiple texts discuss *pūjā* in a similar way indicates that *pūjā* became an important topic in the period preceding these texts. Even though Dundas writes that 'the origins of *pūjā* in Jainism are obscure', he claims that the practice of *pūjā* in Jainism reflects 'a common ritual culture shared and developed with Hinduism'.[135] This overlap with Hindu culture can also be seen in the fact that the Jainas absorbed local goddesses into their religion, which became prevalent from the beginning of the Common Era.[136] Eventually some of these goddesses became linked with specific *tīrthaṅkara*s. The first 'fully iconic example of this phenomenon' is a Ṛṣabha image with attendant goddesses from western India, which can be dated to 550 CE.[137] This suggests that that the Jaina community did not simply follow new religious trends but that they actively reframed significant elements from a wider cultural sphere, thus negotiating the Jaina identity.

In his article on the Jaina attitude towards Sanskrit, Dundas sketches a similar pattern with respect to languages. Instead of interpreting the gradual shift from Prākrit to Sanskrit as a passive process, in which the Jainas conformed to a dominant language, Dundas argues that Jaina authors started using Sanskrit in an attempt to reach a wider audience. Yet, texts that were intended for internal use, continued to be written in Prākrit.[138] He rejects the idea that Sanskrit was used by Jainas as a result of the conversion of Brahmans to Jainism, pointing out that the conversion of Brahmans also happened long before the first use of Sanskrit.[139] Instead, he proposes that 'it was the willingness of the Jains to countenance a form

[133] Ibid. The image is known as the Jīvantasvāmi.
[134] Both Digambara and Śvetāmbara authors agree on the eight substances used for the worship of an image (Dundas 1992: 206).
[135] Ibid., 206.
[136] Ibid., 212.
[137] Ibid., 213.
[138] Dundas 1996b: 147. He gives Siddhasena's *Nyāyāvatāra* and *Dvātriṃśikā* as examples of Sanskrit texts aimed at a wider audience, and the Prākrit *Sanmaitakka*, which deals with 'specifically Jain issues of epistemology', as a work for 'internal consumption' (Dundas 1996b: 147). However, he admits that his general distinction between the use of Sanskrit and Prākrit does not apply to the entire history of Jaina literature (Dundas 1996b: 148).
[139] Ibid., 146. Ohira suggests that Umāsvāti was a Brahmin convert (Ohira 1982: 53).

of Sanskrit – Prākrit bilingualism [...] which may have acted as a positive lure to many scholarly converts from the brahman cast'. Dundas suggests that this shift to Sanskrit took place in Mathurā, where there was a strong presence of brahman users of Sanskrit, spreading from there to the West and South.[140]

Situating the TA in the history of Jainism

The above summary of the different scholarly accounts of the Jainas in the Gupta era shows that there is wide variety of ideas about the history of the Jainas in this period. The different authors all suggest that the Gupta Period was a transformative time for the Jainas but they have different hypotheses about the nature of the supposed changes. Ohira argues that the Jainas used to receive royal patronage in the North but were forced to migrate 'en masse' to the South and the West as a result of the Hindu revival under the Guptas. This forced the Jainas to seek for royal patronage in these new areas. By contrast, Bronkhorst does not think that the Jainas suffered as a result of a Hindu revival. Instead, he proposes that the Jainas mainly changed their practices in order to compete with the Buddhists. For this reason, the Jainas in the North moved away from *stūpa* worship. He further speculates that the Jainas in the South began to rely on royal patronage for their rock-cut caves and monasteries. Dundas agrees that the Jaina ascetics in the South needed patronage for their caves and monasteries but he does not think that they relied on royal patronage. Instead, he suggests that these practices were sponsored by the lay community. He also agrees with Bronkhorst that the Jainas were not forced to move from the North because of a Hindu revival. Instead, he suggests that they migrated to the West because of business opportunities and a declining political climate in the North.

[140] Ibid., 146-147.

Even though there are significant differences between these three accounts, there are several elements that reoccur in their theories. First, they all try to explain why the evidence for Jaina activity in the North declines while there seems to be an increase of sources from the West and the South. Second, the different accounts suggest that there are some changes in the religious practices of the Jainas. *Stūpa* worship declines, the first temples are built, and there seems to be a rise in monastic activity. There is no consensus, however, about the causes for these changes.

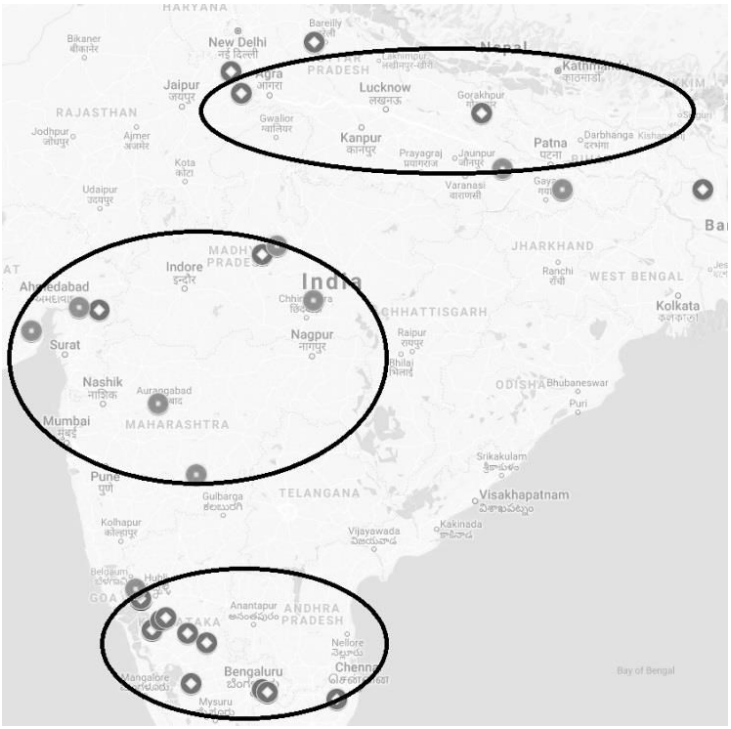
One of the main problems for the historiography of Jainism in the Gupta Period is that it is unclear how the available evidence relates to the actual historical situation. For example, the fact that the number of inscriptions from Mathurā declines during the Gupta Period does not necessarily imply that the Jaina activities in Mathurā radically changed. Even if the number of images and inscriptions in a certain region declines while there is an increase of such sources in another region, there is no need to assume that there was a mass migration going on. In the end, the number of historical sources that relate to the Jainas in the Gupta Period is so limited that it can be highly misleading to reconstruct a larger narrative on the basis of apparent patterns in the data.

A comprehensive overview of the material evidence of the Jainas in the Gupta Period can be found in the first volume of Asim Kumar Chatterjee's study on the history of Jainism. In his overview, he discusses approximately 20 stone inscriptions and copperplates that relate to the Jainas from the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 6th cent. CE.[141] A few other inscriptions are mentioned in Ram Bhushan Singh's study of Jainism in early medieval Karnataka but Chatterjee argues that these are later forgeries.[142] Apart from these inscriptions, which mainly relate to land donations, Chatterjee discusses a couple of Jaina images. Some of these images contain inscriptions as well.

[141] Chatterjee 2000, vol. I: 79-132.

[142] Singh 1975: Appendix A. Singh mentions the Altem copper plates of Pulakeśin I and the copper plates of the Gaṅga king Avinīta found at Mercāra. Chatterjee suggests that both sets are from a later date (Chatterjee 2000, vol. I: 121, 127).

The inscriptions and images that relate to the Jainas in the Gupta Period were found in different places, ranging from the North to the South of the Indian subcontinent. The map below provides an overview of the places where the evidence was found.[143] As can be seen on the map, most of the evidence derives from three different regions. The first region is situated in the Northeast and stretches from Mathurā to Pāṭaliputra. The second region stretches from Vallabhī in the West to Nāchnā in Madhya Pradesh. The third area stretches from Palāśikā in Karnataka to Kāñcī in Tamil Nadu. The map suggests that there is a concentration of activity in Karnataka. However, this is mainly due to the fact that several sets of copper plates were found together in Palāśikā (Halsi). It is hard to tell whether this indeed indicates that there was more Jaina activity in this region or whether it was just a matter of luck that a larger number of items were found in this region. Taking into account that most of the pre-Gupta evidence comes from the North, it is easy to see why some scholars believe that there was a movement of the Jainas from the North to the West and the South.[144] However, the present number of available sources is simply too limited to get an accurate idea of the actual movements of the Jaina community and the changes that happened to the Jainas in the Gupta Period.[145]



[143] The map indicates the sites that are mentioned as the finding places of the stone inscriptions and copperplates that are discussed in Chatterjee 2000, vol. I. Since it is possible that the finding places of some of these objects differ from the places from where they originate, it is dangerous to draw any conclusions based on this map. The main purpose is simply to show the geographical spreading of the evidence.

[144] For example, there are 172 surviving *jina* images from Mathurā that predate the Gupta Period (Dundas 2006: 398). This number forms a sharp contrast with the few surviving Jaina images from the Gupta Period.

Although Ohira claims that the author of the TA was clearly responding to 'the call of time',[146] there is not enough material evidence to see which historical circumstances could have urged the Jainas to come up with their first compendium of Jaina thought. The inscriptions from the Gupta Period mostly consist of land grants and they do not indicate that there was, for example, some rivalry with either the Buddhists or the Hindus. Moreover, it is hard to infer any regional differences on the basis of the inscriptions and there is nothing in the content of the text that indicates that the TA should be situated in a specific region.[147] In short, it seems that the material evidence does not provide enough information to make an educated guess about the situation in which the TA was composed.[148]

Apart from the material evidence, there are some literary sources that could be relevant for our understanding of Jainism in the Gupta Period, such as the latest layers of the Śvetāmbara canon. Yet, thorough textual analyses of these sources are needed in order to derive any historical clues from these documents and the number of available studies on these texts is too small to facilitate a more general overview.[149]

In short, the present status of scholarly work on the material evidence and literary sources is insufficient to create a larger historical narrative that has actual explanatory value and that would allow us to situate the TA in the socio-historical context of Jainism in the Gupta Period. Even though the number of scholars in the field of Jaina studies is growing and many valuable studies on the Jaina tradition

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[145] This does not imply that that the available sources cannot be used at all. By contrast, more studies on these sources are needed in order to develop new ideas and to test some existing hypotheses about the Jainas in the Gupta age. Dundas's study of the *Titthogālī* (Dundas 2014) is a relevant example.

[146] Ohira 1982: 115.

[147] The situation is different for the TABh since the TABh is accompanied by a *praśasti* that situates the composition of the text in Pāṭaliputra. For a discussion of the validity of the information in the *praśasti*, see § 2.3.

[148] The paucity of historical sources has led R.W. Williams to describe the early history of the Jainas, i.e., from its beginning to the 5th cent. CE, as the 'dark age' of Jainism (Williams 1963: xii.). As pointed out by Dundas, this label is somewhat misleading. The 'huge corpus of literature' that was composed in this early phase, suggests that Jainism was a flourishing cultural and religious movement (Dundas 2006: 383). Yet, Dundas rightly remarks that 'if darkness connotes obscurity, then Williams may be deemed to have been partially correct, for the huge textual culture of early Jainism and the manner and context in which it was produced have generally eluded adequate scholarly interpretation' (Dundas 2006: 383).

[149] Dundas's study of the *Titthogālī* (2014) is a relevant example of the way in which literary sources can be explored in order to get a better understanding of the historical context of these texts.

have been published over the last decades, most parts of the history of Jainism are still heavily understudied. It is, therefore, not surprising that the scholarly accounts that try to provide a general narrative of Jaina history in the Gupta Period tend to be highly speculative. For this reason, I am reluctant to add another layer of speculation to the existing accounts by linking the composition of the TA with specific historical trends that are identified in these studies. Yet, this does not imply that we cannot say anything about the historical context of the TA at all. In the third chapter of this study, I will discuss how the content of the philosophical chapters might provide some clues about the historical context of the TA and the way in which the TA fits in the larger development of the history of Indian philosophy.

2.3 Date and Authorship

Even though the TA is widely regarded as a seminal text in the history of Jaina philosophy, there are strongly divergent ideas about the date and authorship of the TA and the TABh. In this section, I will discuss the date and authorship of both texts. Apart from an overview of the different positions in the scholarly literature, I will also include some of the outcomes of my textual analysis from chapter 3.[150]

Is the TABh an auto-commentary?

The first issue that needs to be addressed in order to situate the TA and the TABh is the question as to whether the TABh is an auto-commentary or not. The Śvetāmbara tradition assumes that the TA was written by Umāsvāti, who is also regarded as the author of the TABh. By contrast, the Digambara tradition does not accept the TABh as an authoritative commentary and regards Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi* as the first commentary on the TA.[151] Over the last decades, scholars have defended both positions. Most of the arguments for the same authorship of both texts can be found in Sanghvi 1974, Ohira 1992, and Dhaky 1996. The counterarguments can be found in Williams 1963, Phoolchandra 1997, Zydenbos 1983, Balcerowicz 2008, Bronkhorst 1975 & 2010.[152] None of the individual arguments that have been put forward are strong enough to prove beyond doubt whether the TABh is an auto-commentary or not. Nevertheless, there are enough arguments that cumulatively suggest that the TABh was written at a later stage.

[150] My discussion primarily deals with the views in the following studies: Williams 1963, Sanghvi 1974, Phoolcandra 1997, Ohira 1982, Zydenbos 1983, Dundas 1992 & 1997, Dhaky 1996, Balcerowicz 2008, and Bronkhorst 1985 & 2010. Other scholarly discussions of the dates of the TA and the TABh usually refer to the views that are expressed in these sources.

[151] The Digambara tradition favours the variant name 'Umāsvāmin' instead of 'Umāsvāti', even though the name 'Umāsvāti' is also used (Sanghvi 1974: Introduction, p 14). Some ideas that are mentioned in the *bhāṣya* go against traditional Digambara views. I will discuss these aspects in my discussion of the sectarian affiliation of the author(s) of the TA and the TABh below.

[152] Most contemporary scholars assume that the TABh is not an auto-commentary. I am not aware of any study on this topic that postdates Dhaky's article and which claims that the TABh is an auto-commentary.

The scholars who think that the TABh is an auto-commentary have provided the following main arguments:[153]

i. The *praśasti*, a short composition of six verses that accompanies the *bhāṣya*, mentions that the '*Tattvārthādhigama*' was written by '*vācaka* Umāsvāti'. Haribhadra's *Śāstravārtasamuccaya* cites a passage of the TABh, which he attributes to Umāsvāti. This suggests that not only the TA but also the TABh was written by Umāsvāti.[154]

ii. Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā* contains some remarks that suggest that the *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* were composed by the same person.[155] Devagupta's commentary on the *sambandhakārikā*s makes the same claim.[156]

iii. Some expressions in the TA suggest that the author of the *sūtra* composed the *bhāṣya* as well. For example, TA 1.23 reads '*yathoktanimittaḥ ṣaḍvikalpaḥ śeṣāṇām*'.[157] The expression '*yathokta*' seems to refer to a specification that is given in the *bhāṣya* (see TABh 1.21.1). If the *bhāṣya* was not written together with the *sūtra*, the *sūtra* cannot refer to a passage in the *bhāṣya*. Hence, one could argue that both texts must have been composed together.[158]

iv. The *bhāṣya* and the introductory verses (*sambandhakārikā*s) use terms such as '*vakṣyāmi*' and '*pravakṣyāmi*'[159] to refer to passages in the *sūtra*. As such, the composer of the *bhāṣya* suggests that he is also the author of the *sūtra*.[160]

v. Some authors argue that the *bhāṣya* does not deviate from the theory in the *sūtra*s, which is seen as evidence for the same authorship of both texts. This is further supported by the fact that the *bhāṣya* does not suggest any alternative readings of the *sūtra*s.[161]

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[153] This is not an exhaustive list of the arguments but it summarises the most relevant arguments that reoccur in the studies mentioned above.

[154] See Part II for a translation and analysis of the *praśasti*. Umāsvāti is mentioned as the author of the work in the fifth verse of the *praśasti*.

[155] Sanghvi 1974, Introduction: 31. The relevant passages are listed by Sanghvi.

[156] Ibid.

[157] 'The other [beings] [have cosmic perception] that is caused as it is said. [This variety of cosmic perception has] six forms.' See also the translation in Part II.

[158] Ohira 1982: 33-34.

[159] 'I will teach'. See, e.g., *Sambandhakārikā*s 22 and 31.

[160] For some similar expressions in the TABh, see Bronkhorst 1985: 169.

[161] See, e.g., Sanghvi 1974, Introduction: 32.

vi. Several studies mention that the language and style of the *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* are similar. Ohira also argues that both works reflect similar historical circumstances.

Most of the arguments mentioned above have been convincingly refuted by Zydenbos.[162] For this purpose, Zydenbos analyses the debate between Sukhlal Sanghvi and Phoolchandra Shastri about the authorship of the TA and the TABh. Since Sanghvi writes from a Śvetāmbara view — which traditionally accepts the TABh as an authoritative auto-commentary — it is not surprising that he argues in favour of the same authorship of both texts in the introduction to his own commentary on the TA. By contrast, Phoolchandra adheres to the Digambara perspective. Since the Digambaras do not accept the *bhāṣya* as an authoritative work — even though the TA has a quasi-canonical status for them — Phoolchandra rejects all arguments by Sanghvi in the introduction to his edition of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. It is important to realise that the different positions in these studies have a sectarian background and one cannot take the analyses in these works at face value.[163]

The first argument mentioned above is certainly not conclusive. The argument hinges on the assumption that the *praśasti* was composed by the author of the *bhāṣya*. However, it is not clear at which point in history the *praśasti* was added to the *bhāṣya*. As I will demonstrate in the third chapter of this study, the *praśasti* contains several odd historical references that do not correspond with any other sources.[164] Furthermore, if we look at the manuscripts of the TA, there are good reasons to question whether the *praśasti* was composed by the author of the *bhāṣya*. Ohira's study provides an overview of the manuscripts of the 'western version' of

[162] Zydenbos 1983: 10-12.

[163] The discussion often has a polemical character and many 'arguments' are merely rhetorical in nature. For example, Sanghvi writes that Phoolchandra's view is 'as much contradicted by logic as it goes against the findings of history' and 'that he is so much bent upon establishing his position that a clear meaning of words either does not occur to him or is ignored by him'. By contrast, Sanghvi characterises his own position as 'the only royal road to truth' (Sanghvi 1974, Introduction: 10, 18).

[164] See § 3.5 for an analysis of the *praśasti*. Ohira claims that the *praśasti* contains 'the authentic record of Umāsvāti'. However, her analysis of the names and lineages that are mentioned in the *praśasti* clearly shows that the different historical sources on the lineage of Umāsvāti are contradicting each other. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that she concludes her investigation by confirming that the *praśasti* is a trustworthy source of information about Umāsvāti (Ohira 1982: 42-53).

the TA, with and without the *bhāṣya*.[165] The oldest of these manuscripts is a palm leaf manuscript from 1303 V.S. (i.e., 1246 CE). Apart from one other palm leaf manuscript, which seems to be a copy of the oldest manuscript, all other manuscripts are paper manuscripts that postdate the 16th century.[166] Only four of the seventeen manuscripts that Ohira consulted are accompanied by the *bhāṣya*. Three of the four manuscripts that have the *bhāṣya* also contain the *praśasti*. The *bhāṣya* is not included in the two early manuscripts but one of these early manuscripts includes two verses of the *praśasti* at the end of the verses that conclude the last chapter of the TA.[167] This might indicate that the *praśasti* has its own history and that it is not necessarily composed by the author of the *bhāṣya*.

Of course, this evidence is not conclusive but the manuscripts do not provide sufficient ground to assume that the six verses of the *praśasti* were written at one moment in time and that it was composed together with the *bhāṣya*. Nevertheless, Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā* comments on the full version of the *praśasti*, which shows that the complete *praśasti* already accompanied the *bhāṣya* at the time of the composition of the *ṭīkā* (9th cent. CE). However, if we do not know for sure whether the *praśasti* was written by the author of the *bhāṣya*, we should be hesitant to accept the claim that is made in the *praśasti* about the authorship of the TA.

The fact that Haribhadra attributes some verses of the *bhāṣya* to Umāsvāti shows that the *bhāṣya* was associated with the name 'Umāsvāti' at Haribhadra's time. However, Haribhadra's works date from the 8th cent. CE, which is three centuries after the composition of the *bhāṣya*.[168] It is perfectly possible that Śvetāmbara scholars at the time of Haribhadra attributed the *bhāṣya* to Umāsvāti but this does not prove anything about the actual authorship of the text.

The same goes for the second argument. The fact that Devagupta and Siddhasenagaṇi suggest that the *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* were composed by the same

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[165] The southern tradition has the Digambara version of the TA, which does not include the *Sambandhakārikā*s, *bhāṣya*, and *praśasti*. The manuscripts from the western tradition include Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions, and several manuscripts have mixed characteristics (Ohira 1982: 1-4).

[166] Ohira 1982: 1.

[167] Ibid., 3-4.

[168] Sanghvi raises some doubts about the identification of Haribhadra, the commentator on the TABh, with the famous Śvetāmbara writer Haribhadra. He mentions that Haribhadra's commentary was written by at least three different authors, and that this commentary follows Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā.* This would imply that the commentary is of later date (Sanghvi 1974, Introduction: 56-57).

person is not a strong reason to believe that this was actually the case. It is not clear who Devagupta actually was and his date is quite uncertain. He must predate Siddhasenagaṇi since he included Devagupta's commentary on the *sambandhakārikā*s in his own *ṭīkā*.[169] However, Siddhasenagaṇi probably wrote his *ṭīkā* in the early 9th cent. CE.[170] If we take into account that there was a sectarian dispute about the authority of the *bhāṣya*, it is clear that the opinion of a 9th century Śvetāmbara author cannot be used to prove that the *bhāṣya* is an auto-commentary.[171]

The third argument is also not conclusive. It is indeed odd that the *sūtra* seems to refer to a passage in the *bhāṣya.* However, as I will show in the third chapter, it is most likely that the expression '*yathokta*' in TA 1.23 originally referred to a part of the *sūtra* that was accidentally moved to the *bhāṣya*.[172] This explanation is supported by the fact that the expression to which TA 1.23 refers is included in the *sūtra* text in the *Sarvārthasiddhi.*

The fourth argument, about the fact that the forms '*vakṣyāmi*' and '*pravakṣyāmi*' are used in the *sambandhakārikā*s with reference to the *sūtra*, is also not conclusive. It is not unusual for commentators to write from the perspective of the composer of the *sūtra*. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* uses similar forms, even though it is obvious that Pūjyapāda is just the commentator and not the author of the TA.[173]

The fifth argument is quite problematic. The idea that the *bhāṣya* does not deviate from the *sūtra* has been convincingly refuted by Bronkhorst, who identified a list of ideological differences between the *sūtra* and the *bhāṣya.*[174] Bronkhorst also suggests that the author of the *bhāṣya* intentionally modified the *sūtra* at several

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[169] Ohira 1982: 25.

[170] For the date of Siddhasenagaṇi, see Bronkhorst 1985: 155-157.

[171] In fact, Siddhasenagaṇi was well aware of the problem of the authorship of the *bhāṣya*. He raises this issue in his commentary on TABh 1.11.2. This passage of the *bhāṣya* writes about the author of the *sūtra* in the third person (see Part II, TABh 1.11.2). However, he concludes that the author of the *sūtra* and the *bhāṣya* are nevertheless the same.

[172] See my discussion of TA 1.21 – 1.23 in § 3.2 *Cosmic perception, mental perception, and absolute knowledge*.

[173] Zydenbos 1983: 10-11. Zydenbos's refutation is based on Phoolchandra's discussion of this phenomenon.

[174] For example, the *bhāṣya* lists 11 classes of gods, even though *sūtra* 4.4 mentions that there are only 10 classes of gods. Likewise, *sūtra* 2.41 – 2.43 explains that each soul in *saṃsāra* has a *taijasa* body, which is denied in the *bhāṣya*. For a detailed discussion of the disagreements between the *sūtra* and the *bhāṣya*, see Bronkhorst 1985: 163-168.

points.[175] This could explain some of the differences between the Śvetāmbara version of the *sūtra* and the Digambara version, which is not accompanied by the *bhāṣya*. As such, the fact that the *bhāṣya* does not offer any variant readings of the *sūtra* certainly does not entail that the *bhāṣya* is an auto-commentary.

Likewise, the idea that the similarity of the language of the *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* indicates the same authorship is not very strong. In fact, the *bhāṣya* uses a different vocabulary at several points in the text, which suggests the opposite.[176]

Lastly, Ohira's claim that the TA and the TABh reflect the same historical circumstances is quite farfetched. This argument is based on the fact that the composer of the introductory verses that accompany the TABh stresses how difficult it is to summarise the words of the *jina* in a brief compendium. Ohira argues that this statement is only 'comprehensible in the historical context wherein the author was placed', i.e., the Gupta period. Ohira argues that the Jainas in the Gupta period did not have a standard text, unlike the other schools. Therefore, the author of the TA was facing a difficult challenge. She adds that it would be impossible for a later interpolator to write about these challenging circumstances.[177] This argument is rather weak. The introductory verses simply state how difficult it is to summarise the teachings of the *jina* in a short compendium. There is no reason to assume that a later writer could not write such an introduction.

To summarise, there is no hard evidence for the position that the *bhāṣya* is an auto-commentary, even though it seems that some elements in the *bhāṣya* and the verses that accompany the *bhāṣya* try to suggest that both works derive from the same hand. This might be explained as a matter of style but there could also be another motive. It is not unlikely that the *sambandhakārikā*s and the *praśasti* were composed in order to establish the *bhāṣya* as an authoritative auto-commentary at a time in which several aspects of the *bhāṣya* had become a matter of sectarian disagreement.[178] However, the fact that the *bhāṣya* uses a different vocabulary and

[175] Bronkhorst 1985: 174.

[176] For example, TA 1.19 and 1.22 use the word '*anindriya*' and the commentary on these passages uses the peculiar word formation '*noindriya*' (see also § 3.2 *Ordinary cognition*). For an overview of some other diverging choices of words, see Bronkhorst 1985: 168.

[177] Ohira 1982: 28-29.

[178] I will discuss this idea further in § 3.5.

contains several ideas that are not in line with the *sūtra* strongly suggests that the *bhāṣya* was written by a later author.[179]

As I will demonstrate in my analysis of the *bhāṣya* in chapter 3, it is often easier to explain some problematic passages in the *bhāṣya* if we assume that we are dealing with the commentary of a different author. Furthermore, if we accept that the *bhāṣya* was not composed as an auto-commentary, it is also easier to understand why the Digambaras did not accept the *bhāṣya* even though they accepted the TA as an authoritative text. It would be difficult, however, to explain how the text could get this status if it was accompanied from the start by an auto-commentary that contained unacceptable doctrines. In such a case, one would expect that the author of the whole text would be regarded as a heretical thinker.[180]

In short, there is no single argument that is strong enough to prove that the *bhāṣya* is an auto-commentary. If we assume that the *bhāṣya* is not an auto-commentary, we are in a better position to explain some textual and theoretical problems, such as diverging word choices and some doctrinal differences. Moreover, this assumption makes it easier to understand why the *bhāṣya* is not accepted by the Digambaras. Therefore, if we want to get a better understanding of the development of early Jaina philosophy, there is sufficient reason to treat the TA and the TABh as two independent texts that were written at different stages in the history of Jaina philosophy.

Authorship of the TA and the TABh

As I have argued above, it is likely that the TA and the TABh were composed by different authors. However, it is still unclear who the composers of these texts actually are. The TA is usually attributed to a writer with the name Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmin but very little is known with certainty about this figure. Moreover, the fact that the *praśasti* mentions Umāsvāti as the composer of the TA does not necessarily imply that this is a historical fact. As I will demonstrate in § 3.5, there are

[179] At some points in the text, it is doubtful whether the author of the *bhāṣya* fully understands the meaning of the *sūtra*. For example, the commentary on TA 1.20 fails to explain the meaning of '*matipūrva*' and merely rephrases the text of the *sūtra*. See also the discussion of TA 1.20 in § 3.2 *Testimony*.

[180] Of course, it is not impossible that a community accepts one part of a text and rejects the other part. However, it is simply more likely that a community rejects a commentary from another author.

good reasons to assume that the *praśasti* was a later addition to the *bhāṣya*, which might have been added to give some authority to the TA and the TABh at a time when the TABh had become a subject of sectarian dispute. As such, we should not only question the authorship of the *bhāṣya* but also of the TA itself. In the following section, I will discuss the identities of the authors of the TA and the TABh. In the first part, I will focus on the author of the TA and his sectarian affiliation. Thereafter, I will discuss the profile of the author of the *bhāṣya*.

The last two verses of the *praśasti*, which is the only part of the *praśasti* that accompanies the oldest Śvetāmbara manuscripts of the TA, provide the following details about the name of the author and the title of the work:

> ***idam uccairnāgaravācakena sattvānukampayā dṛbdham |***
> ***tattvārthādhigamākhyaṃ spaṣṭam umāsvātinā śāstram* ||5||**
> ***yas tattvādhigamākhyaṃ jñāsyati ca kariṣyate ca tatroktam |***
> ***so 'vyābādhasukhākhyaṃ prāpsyaty acireṇa paramārtham* ||6||**
>
> This compendium (*śāstra*), called '*Tattvārthādhigama*', was composed (*dṛbdha*) in an intelligible way out of compassion for the living beings by *vācaka* Umāsvāti of the *uccairnāgara* [*śākhā*].
>
> He who will know [this compendium] called '*Tattvādhigama*' and also does what is said therein, he will soon attain the highest goal, [which is also] called unimpeded happiness.[181]

Even though the TA is nowadays commonly known as the '*Tattvārthasūtra*' or '*Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*', the fifth verse of the *praśasti* describes the work as a '*śāstra*' with the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*'. Nevertheless, the Sanskrit word '*dṛbdha*' (lit. 'tied' or 'strung'), which I translate as 'composed', might indicate that the TA was regarded as a *sūtra* (lit. 'thread' or 'string') at the time of the composition of the *praśasti*.[182] This goes against the view of Zydenbos and Phoolchandra, who suggests that the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*' was used for the *bhāṣya* and that the root text was titled '*Tattvārthasūtra*'.[183]

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[181] See Part II for a full translation of the *praśasti* with notes on the translation.

[182] The word '*dṛbdha*' is not commonly used with the meaning of 'composed'. One would expect '*saṃdṛbdha*'.

[183] Zydenbos' argument is based on the following observations that are made by Phoolchandra. The Digambara commentaries use the title '*Tattvārthasūtra*' with reference to

It is somewhat odd that the sixth verse mentions the title '*Tattvā*dhigama' instead of '*Tattvārthā*dhigama'. Even though the words '*tattva*' and '*tattvārtha*' are used as synonyms in the TA, it is still curious that the *praśasti* refers to the work in two different ways.[184] *Sambandhakārikā* 22 uses the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*', which corresponds to the title that is mentioned in the fifth verse of the *praśasti.* It describes the work as a short text (*laghugrantha*) and as a summary (*saṃgraha*) of 'some of the words of the *arhat*' (*arhatvacanaikadeśa*).[185] This suggests that the composer of this verse uses the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*' with reference to the root text. In the end, it would be strange to characterise the commentary as a 'short text' and as a 'summary' since the *bhāṣya* is a relatively long text and certainly not a summary.[186]

The *praśasti* does not only mention the title of the TA but also provides the name of the author, i.e., Umāsvāti. There are good reasons, however, to question the validity of this attribution. If the TA significantly predates the *bhāṣya*, it is possible that it was unclear at the time of the composition of the *praśasti* who actually composed the TA. Moreover, since there was sectarian disagreement about the status of the commentary, the attribution of the TA to Umāsvāti might have been a strategic choice.[187]

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the root text. This title is also used in the colophons (*puṣpikā*) at the end of the work. By contrast, the *puṣpikā*s at the end of each chapter of the *bhāṣya* mention the title '*Tattvārthādhigama*' (Zydenbos 1983: 11-12). However, it is unclear when the *puṣpikā*s were added to the text since the oldest manuscripts date from the 14th century CE. Moreover, the oldest manuscript that has the last two verses of the *praśasti* does not include the *bhāṣya*. This suggests that the titles that are mentioned in the *praśasti* refer to the root text and not to the commentary. As such, the observations by Phoolchandra only indicate that various titles were used to refer to the root text and the *bhāṣya* over the course of time.

[184] For the use of the terms '*tattvārtha*' and '*tattva*' in the TA, see, e.g., TA 1.2 and TA 1.4 in Part II. Since the *praśasti* is composed in verse, it is possible that the author abbreviated the title for the sake of the metre.

[185] See Part II for a translation of the *sambandhakārikā*s.

[186] Since my study primarily deals with the version of the TA that is accompanied by the *bhāṣya*, I refer to the root text as the '*Tattvārthādhigama*' (TA), corresponding with the title used in the *sambandhakārikā*s and *praśasti*. It cannot be ruled out that the TA was already known as the '*Tattvārthā(dhigama)sūtra*' at the time of the composition of the TABh. However, since the TABh, the *sambandhakārikā*s, and the *praśasti* do not refer to the TA as a '*sūtra*', there is insufficient reason to assume that the text was already known as the '*Tattvārthā(dhigama)sūtra*'.

[187] For example, if Umāsvāti was known as the author of the *bhāṣya*, it would make sense for the Śvetāmbaras to attribute the TA to the same person since they view the *bhāṣya* as an auto-commentary. Unfortunately, there are not enough sources to determine who Umāsvāti was exactly.

Apart from the name 'Umāsvāti', various other names have been connected with the TA in the Jaina tradition. A valuable overview of the historical references to the name of the author of the TA can be found in M.A. Dhaky's study of the authorship of the TA and the TABh.[188] Dhaky's article discusses how the 'southern' and the 'northern' tradition have dealt with the authorship of these texts.[189] It seems that the southern tradition did not have a clear idea about the authorship of the TA for a long time.[190] Akalaṅka's *Tattvārthavārttika* (8th cent CE) does not say anything about the name of the author and some later sources attribute the work to a certain 'Gṛdhrapicchācārya'.[191] The first text that mentions this name as the author of the TA is Vīrasena's Dhavalāṭīkā (9th cent. CE). The same name is mentioned in Vidyānanda's *Tattvārthaślokavārttika* (10th cent. CE) and in several other texts that date from the 10th to the 11th cent CE.[192] Some southern manuscripts mention the variant name 'Umāsvāmi' instead of 'Umāsvāti'. This seems to be a late development that starts with Śrutasāgara's *Tattvārthavṛtti* (15th – 16th cent. CE).[193]

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[188] See Dhaky 1996.

[189] The southern recension is the version that can be found in the Digambara tradition and the northern version is the version that is favoured by the Śvetāmbara tradition. Since it is not clear when the split between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects happened exactly, it makes sense to refer to the two versions of the TA as the southern and northern (or, in Ohira's terminology, 'western') tradition. The differences between the two versions might predate the split of the two sects. Ohira's overview of the western manuscripts shows that the western manuscripts often include elements of the southern recension (Ohira 1982: 2-4).

[190] Dhaky mentions that Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi*, which is the first commentary on the southern recension of the TA, refers to the author as 'some Nirgrantha pontiff' (*kaścid ... nirgranthācārya*), which would confirm that Pūjyapāda did not know the name of the auhor of the TA (Dhaky 1996: 53). However, Dhaky's comment seems to be based on an erroneous reading of the opening lines of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, since '*kaścid*' does not refer to the compound '*nirgranthācārya*'. Instead, it refers to '*bhavyaḥ*' (souls that are suitable for liberation) (Piotr Balcerowicz, personal communication). See, e.g., Phoolchandra 1997: 1.1, §1.

[191] There is a later legend that tells that Umāsvāti flew through the air to Videha and dropped his peacock-feather broom. He then took the feathers of a vulture (*gṛdhra*) that was flying in the sky, which explains the name 'Gṛdhrapiccha' (lit. 'tail feather of a vulture') (Ohira 1982: 141).

[192] Dhaky 1996: 53-54.

[193] Ibid., 54. The name 'Umāsvāmi' is used in many contemporary Digambara sources. Balcerowicz attributes the TA to 'Umāsvāmin' and the TABh to 'Umāsvāti' (Balcerowicz 2008:35, n. 23). Williams makes a similar distinction between Umāsvāmin, the author of the TA, and Umāsvāti, the author of the *Śrāvakaprajñapti* (Williams 1963: 3, n4). Since the name 'Umāsvāmi(n)' only appears after the 15th cent. CE, it is quite unlikely that this was the name of the composer of the TA.

Apart from the textual sources, there are also some inscriptions that are relevant for the authorship of the TA. A group of seven inscriptions from Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa mentions the name 'Gṛddhrapiñcha', which must be the same as the name 'Gṛdhrapicchācārya' that is mentioned in the texts. These inscriptions date from 1115 CE to 1409 CE. Five of these inscriptions are located at Candragiri and two at Vindhyagiri. The five inscriptions at Candragiri predate the inscriptions at Vindhyagiri. They all contain a verse that mentions 'Gṛddhrapiñcha' as an alias of 'Umāsvāti'.[194] However, these five inscriptions do not mention anything about the TA. By contrast, the two inscriptions from Vindhyagiri mention that Umāsvāti was the author of the '*Tattvārthasūtra*'. The first of these two inscriptions (1398 CE) mentions that Gṛddhrapiñcha was a disciple of Umāsvāti. The other inscription (1409 CE) provides the same information as the five inscriptions from Candragiri. Apart from the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa there is one other inscription that mentions the TA. This inscription, which is located in Humcha, attributes the TA to a certain 'Āryadeva'.[195]

In short, none of the southern sources that predate the 9th cent. CE mention the name of the author of the TA. After that, the name Gṛdhrapiccha appears in textual sources as the author of the TA. From the 12th cent. CE, the name Gṛdhrapiccha/Gṛddhrapiñcha is mentioned in inscriptions as an alias of Umāsvāti. However, the first inscription that identifies this Umāsvāti as the author of the TA dates from the end of the 14th cent. CE. Since the TABh is not accepted in the southern tradition, there are no references to the authorship of the TABh in the southern sources.

There are no inscriptions from the northern tradition that refer to the TA.[196] Yet, several literary sources that postdate the *praśasti* identify the author of the TA. Agastyasiṃha's *cūrṇī* on the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* cites two passages from the TA and two passages from the TABh and attributes them to Umāsvāti.[197] As mentioned previously, Haribhadra's incomplete commentary on the *bhāṣya* and Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā* both attribute the two works to Umāsvāti. From the 12th cent. CE onwards, Umāsvāti is frequently mentioned as the author of the TA and the TABh

[194] '*abhūd Umāsvāti munīśvaro asau ācāryā śabdottara gṛddhrapiñchaḥ*' (Dhaky 1996: 51).
[195] Dhaky 1996: 52.
[196] Ibid., 57.
[197] Ibid., 59.

in brief eulogies.[198] In short, the sources in the northern tradition unequivocally attribute the TA and the TABh to Umāsvāti. However, there are no sources that refer to the author of the TA that predate the *praśasti.*

Given the consistent attribution of the TA and the TABh to Umāsvāti in the northern tradition, Dhaky's study concludes that both works were written by Umāsvāti. He speculates that the southern tradition came up with a different name, i.e., *Gṛdhrapiccha*, since they realised that Umāsvāti did not belong to the Digambara sect.[199] However, Dhaky's conclusion rests on the assumption that the TABh is an auto-commentary. As I have argued previously, it is rather unlikely that the TA and the TABh were composed by the same person. This implies that we cannot take the information in the northern sources for granted, since they all attribute the TA and the TABh to the same person. If the *bhāṣya* is not an auto-commentary, it is still a possibility that either the TA or the TABh was written by Umāsvāti but at least one of these attributions must be wrong.

If we suppose that Umāsvāti did not compose the *bhāṣya* but only the TA itself, it would be difficult to explain why the southern tradition completely forgot the name of the author, even though the Jainas in the North were well aware of his name. In the end, it is safe to assume that there was contact between the northern and southern tradition.[200] Dhaky's idea that the Digambaras in the South consciously avoided to use Umāsvāti's name since they knew that he was not a Digambara seems to be a bit farfetched. In such as case, it would be hard to understand why they accepted the TA as an authoritative text in the first place.

Therefore, it seems more plausible that the name of the composer of the TA was not known in the North and the South when both traditions wrote their first commentaries on the text.[201] This suggests that there was a considerable amount of time between the composition of the TA and the first commentaries. Otherwise, it would be somewhat odd that the name of the author was so quickly forgotten. If Umāsvāti did not write the TA, it is still possible that he wrote the *bhāṣya*. Since the

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[198] Ibid., 57.

[199] Ibid., 55.

[200] The fact that a substantial number of manuscripts of the TA from the North contain elements of the southern recension, shows that the two traditions did not evolve completely independent from each other.

[201] In chapter 3, I will demonstrate that the TA was probably the outcome of a longer process and that the text contains several historical layers. This would also explain why the text is not consistently associated with one author.

bhāṣya was a matter of sectarian dispute, it would make sense if the northern tradition tried to legitimise the *bhāṣya* by claiming that the two texts were written by the same hand.

Even though it is more likely that Umāsvāti was the author of the *bhāṣya* instead of the *sūtra*, it is also possible that the *bhāṣya* was composed by a different author whose name is unknown to us. There is very little information about Umāsvāti in the Jaina sources, and the information about the teachers and lineage of Umāsvāti in the *praśasti* does not match the records in other texts.[202]

According to the *praśasti*, Umāsvāti stayed for some time in Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra). As I will discuss later in this section, it is most likely that the TABh was composed in the first half of the 5th cent. CE. If Umāsvāti was indeed the author of the *bhāṣya* and if the information in the *praśasti* is correct, we can reasonably assume that the *bhāṣya* was composed in Pāṭaliputra during the Gupta Period. Given the problematic status of the *praśasti*, however, there is very little that can be said with certainty about the author of the *bhāṣya*.[203] The same goes for the composer of the TA itself. If his identity was already unclear at the time of the composition of the first commentaries, it is unlikely that we will ever precisely know who the author of the TA was.[204]

Sectarian affiliation of the TA and the TABh

Even if we cannot identify the names of the authors of the TA and the TABh with certainty, it is still possible to investigate some aspects of their identity based on the

[202] Ohira has argued that the information about Umāsvāti in the *praśasti* is valid (Ohira 1982: 42-53). However, it is quite clear from her discussion that the sources are in fact contradicting each other and she admits that the historical genealogies disagree with each other 'to a great extent' (p. 49). Her reconstruction of the lineage of Umāsvāti is partly based on the identification of the name 'Umāsvāti' and the name 'Svāti'. However, this identification seems to have its origin in the 16th cent. CE (Dharmasāgaragaṇi's *Tapāgaccha paṭṭāvali*) and is, therefore, not very reliable. For an overview of the relevant *paṭṭāvali*s, see Ohira 1982: 45-48.

[203] See § 3.5 for a further discussion of the biographical information in the *praśasti*.

[204] Zydenbos also argues that Umāsvāti was not the author of the TA. Nevertheless, he suggests that Umāsvāti did compose the TABh (Zydenbos 1983: 10-11).
Bronkhorst has suggested that the TA was composed 'in the South'. His main argument for situating the TA in the South is his observation that the TA has some Digambara and Yāpanīya features (Bronkhorst 2010: 10). However, this suggestion has not led to any further clues about the identity of the composer. See also the discussion of the sectarian affiliation of the composer of the TA below.

ideas that are expressed in the texts themselves. On the basis of some doctrinal issues in the TA and the TABh, scholars have tried to identify the sectarian affiliation of the composers. Since the TA has some characteristics that go against Digambara views but also do not fit completely within the Śvetāmbara framework, the scholarly views on the sectarian affiliation of the TA are divided. This debate is further complicated by the fact that the Digambara recension of the text differs from the Śvetāmbara version. Since the manuscripts all postdate the first commentators, who might have changed the text, it is hard to determine which version of the text is older.[205]

Sanghvi argues that the TA is a Śvetāmbara work. In his argumentation, he first eliminates the possibility that the composer of the TA belonged to the Digambara sect. He argues that the *Uccairnāgara śākhā*, which is mentioned in the *praśasti* as Umāsvāti's branch, cannot be situated in the Digambara tradition since this *śākhā* is not mentioned in the Digambara sources.[206] However, as I have previously argued, it is unlikely that Umāsvāti composed the TA, which invalidates Sanghvi's first argument. Sanghvi further claims that several passages, such as TA 5.38 which states that time (*kāla*) is a substance, go against Digambara views. However, even if later Digambara sources have different views on these matters, we do not have to assume that their theories never changed. Pūjyapāda's commentary on TA 5.38, explicitly confirms the view that time is a substance and even provides additional arguments for this idea. Hence, it seems that Pūjyapāda, who belonged to the Digambara tradition, did not have any problems with this idea at all.

After discussing why the TA cannot be a Digambara work, Sanghvi tries to show that the TA must be a Śvetāmbara work. His arguments for this claim are rather weak. Again, he refers to the *śākhā* and lineage that are mentioned in the *praśasti*, which both appear in some Śvetāmbara *paṭṭāvalīs.*[207] Even though this suggests that the *praśasti*, and perhaps also the *bhāṣya*, was composed in a Śvetāmbara milieu, it does not solve the problem of the sectarian affiliation of the TA

[205] In her discussion of the differences between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara version of the TA, Ohira suggests that Pūjyapāda revised the TA in his *Sarvārthasiddhi* (Ohira 1982: 20). However, as I will demonstrate in the third chapter, some problems in the text suggest that the composer of the *bhāṣya* changed the text of the TA. For example, the last verse of the first chapter of the TA (TA 1.35) only exists in the Śvetāmbara version of the text and seems to have been added by the commentator (see also § 3.2).

[206] Sanghvi 1974, Introduction: 31.

[207] Ibid., 34.

itself. He further argues that no 'ancient or modern Śvetāmbara masters' have challenged the authority of the text, unlike 'their Digambara counterparts'. Further, he argues that some aspects of the *Praśamarati*, which is often attributed to Umāsvāti, deals with the clothes and utensils of monks in a way that is only acceptable for Śvetāmbara ascetics.[208] However, the authorship of the *Praśamarati* is far from clear and even if it was written by Umāsvāti, we cannot use this argument to say anything about the TA if Umāsvāti did not compose the TA.

Contrary to Sanghvi's view, R. Williams argues that the TA cannot be a Śvetāmbara work. His claim is based on the discussion of lay practice in the seventh chapter of the TA. This chapter contains several rules that are only found in Digambara sources and some of them contradict the rules that are mentioned in the Śvetāmbara canon.[209] He even argues that the development of the corpus of rules for the layman (*śrāvakācāra*) 'is only understandable if the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* is regarded as belonging originally to the Digambaras'.[210] Just as in the case of Sanghvi, Williams seems to assume that rules and doctrines within a particular tradition do not change over time, and that the canonical scripures cannot be contradicted in later literature. However, even though Williams thinks that the TA is a Digambara work, he writes that the TABh is 'markedly Śvetāmbara in tone'.[211] If the chapter on lay conduct had gone against the Śvetāmbara views at the time of the composition of the *bhāṣya*, it is hard to explain why a Śvetāmbara composer would write a commentary on the TA without even modifying the text.[212]

Since the TA has some characterics that do not correspond with traditional Śvetāmbara views and some other features that go against some later Digambara ideas, some scholars have argued that the author of the TA did not belong to the Śvetāmbara or Digambara sect. Instead, they situate the text in a Yāpanīya context.[213] This position is favoured by Bronkhorst (1985, 2010).[214] He proposes

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[208] Ibid.

[209] Williams 1963: 2.

[210] Ibid., 3.

[211] Ibid., 2, n1.

[212] Two *sūtra*s that are part of the Digambara recension of the TA (TA 4 and 8) are included in the *bhāṣya* in the Śvetāmbara recension. Apart from this, there are no differences between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara version of the chapter on lay conduct (Williams 1963: 2).

[213] Wiley's *Historical Dictionary of Jainism* provides the following information about the Yāpanīyas: The Yāpanīya sect is an 'early mendicant lineage that combined features from the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions'. They appear in 'numerous inscriptions from the 5th through the 14th centuries, primarily in Karnataka'. Some scholars believe that a number of

that the TA is close to the Digambara perspective but he points out that it is unacceptable from a Digambara perspective that a *jina* would eat or drink. Nevertheless, TA 9.11 mentions that there are eleven sufferings (*pariṣahā*) that a *jina* must bear. Two of these sufferings are hunger (*kṣudh*) and thirst (*pipāsā*).[215] Bronkhorst concludes, therefore, that it is unlikely that the TA is a Digambara work.

Bronkhorst further argues that the views of the Yāpanīyas were very close to the Digambara ideas. However, the Yāpanīyas did not believe that a *jina* cannot eat or drink and they would not have any problem with the reference to the eleven hardships in TA 9.11. This leads Bronkhorst to the conclusion that the TA was probably a Yāpanīya text.

Since the TA has some aspects that do not fit perfectly in the Śvetāmbara or Digambara realm, it would be an attractive solution if we could situate the TA in a sectarian context that was neither Śvetāmbara nor Digambara. The Yāpanīya sect is an interesting candidate for this purpose since we do not have any information about the views of the Yāpanīyas that contradicts the doctrines in the TA. Nevertheless, the attribution of the TA to the Yāpanīyas is certainly not a problem free solution. First, there is not a single historical source that associates the TA or even Umāsvāti with the Yāpanīya sect. Second, our understanding of the views of the Yāpanīyas is very limited. Apart from the fact that they have no problems with the partaking of food of the *jina*, we simply do not know whether the views of the Yāpanīyas correspond with the views in the TA. There are only some minor issues that complicate the identification of the TA as a Śvetāmbara or Digambara text, and one can easily imagine that we would have similar problems if we had more sources from the Yāpanīyas. Third, the composers of the TABh and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* did not change the text of TA 9.11.[216] If this passage had radically opposed the views of

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Kuṣāṇa images from Mathurā are associated with the Yāpanīyas. Unlike the Digambaras, they believed 'that women can attain liberation' and that 'an omniscient (*kevalin*) being partakes of food'. There are only two extant texts that are associated with the Yāpanīyas, which deal with the liberation of women and 'the taking of food by an omniscient being'. Their lay followers, who were apparently 'quite affluent', 'built a number of temples in northern Karnataka' (Wiley 2004: 238-239).

[214] Several other scholars hold similar positions. Nathooram Premi and A.N. Upadhye even claim that not only the TA but also the TABh is a Yāpanīya work (Dhaky 1996: 62).

[215] Bronkhorst 1985: 177.

[216] See Ohira 1982: 21-23 for a discussion of both commentaries on TA 9.11. It seems that the verse was problematic for Pūjyapāda since he tries to alter the meaning of the verse in a somewhat forced manner. Ohira suggests that the verse only applies to a '*sayoga kevali*' and

both sects at the time of the first commentaries, it is difficult to understand why the commentators would not have changed the text or rejected the TA altogether. It is also hard to imagine why the Śvetāmbara and Digambaras would accept the TA as a compendium of Jaina thought if the text had evident Yāpanīya characteristics. Fourth, as mentioned previously, it is unrealistic to expect that the ideas of particular traditions do not change over time. The fact that a group like the Yāpanīyas could emerge and that they had slightly different ideas precisely indicates that the views of the Jainas in general were subject to change. As such, we cannot rule out that the view in TA 9.11 was acceptable for different Jaina groups at the time of the composition of the TA.

Although we cannot rule out the possibility that the author of the TA belonged to the Yāpanīya sect, there are other ways in which we can deal with the fact that the TA does not perfectly match the Śvetāmbara or Digambara views. Taking into account that the history of the split of the different Jaina sects is far from clear, some scholars have suggested that the TA predates the hard schism of the Jaina community. For example, Dhaky suggests that the TA was composed by a 'pre-Śvetāmbara or non-Śvetāmbara [...] Northern Nirgrantha holyman'.[217] As discussed previously, Dhaky assumes that the TABh is an auto-commentary. This probably explains why he still tries to connect the text with the Śvetāmbara tradition, albeit in a somewhat vague manner.[218] Holding a somewhat similar position, Dundas writes that 'although a case can be made for *Umāsvāti* having been a *Śvetāmbara*, it seems better to assume that he was writing at a time before the sectarian traditions had fully crystallised'.[219] Even though Dhaky and Dundas both propose that the TA predates the hard division between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara communities, they still suggest that there are reasons to assume that the text was close to the Śvetāmbara realm. However, this idea seems to rest on the assumption that the TA and the TABh were composed by the same hand. Since it is rather unlikely that the TABh is an auto-commentary there is no need to link the TA with the (pre-)Śvetāmbara community although it seems plausible that the *bhāṣya* was written in an early Śvetāmbara context.

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not to an '*ayoga kevali*' (Ohira 1982: 21). However, there is nothing in the text of the TA that suggests that this is indeed the intending meaning.

[217] Dhaky 1996: 62.

[218] It is unclear to me what the expression 'non-Śvetāmbara' in Dhaky's analysis could possibly mean.

[219] Dundas 1992: 86-87.

Given the lack of clarity about the sectarian identity of the composer of the TA and given the wide acceptance of the TA in the different Jaina sects, there is a strong case to be made for the view that the TA was composed before a hard ideological schism had appeared in the Jaina community.[220]

Date of the TA and the TABh

Apart from the fact that there is much uncertainty about the identity of the composers of the TA and the TABh, there is also no consensus about the dates of the texts. Since there is no reliable information about the authors that can be used to date the texts, scholars have come up with different arguments to situate the TA and the TABh in time. The suggested dates for both texts range from the 1st to the 5th cent. CE.[221]

Bronkhorst's article 'On the Chronology of the Tattvārtha-sūtra' contains a detailed analysis of the dates of the TA and the TABh. Bronkhorst concludes that the TA was composed between 150 and 350 CE and that the TABh is likely to have been composed at some point during the 4th cent. CE. His argument is based on a textual analysis of the TA and the TABh and the dates of Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā* and Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi*. He argues that Siddhasenagaṇi's *ṭīkā* can be dated to the first half of the 9th cent. CE, which implies that the TA and the TABh must predate the 9th cent. CE.[222] However, there is more evidence that suggests that both texts were written in a much earlier period. Bronkhorst's article situates Pūjyapāda's life not long after 455 CE, which means that the TA at least predates the middle of the 5th cent. CE.[223] It is doubtful whether the date of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* can be used as an upper limit for the *bhāṣya* as well. Ohira writes that it is 'self-evident' that the *bhāṣya*

[220] In the same article in which Bronkhorst suggests that the TA was written by a Yāpanīya author, he also admits that it is strange that the TA does not say anything about the liberation of women, which was a fundamental issue for the Yāpanīyas. Therefore, he does not rule out the possibility that the text was perhaps 'composed in a time when there was no disagreement as yet on this topic, or even in the time before a split had occurred between the Yāpanīyas and the Digambaras' (Bronkhorst 1985: 178).

[221] An overview of the different positions can be found in Balcerowicz 2008: 35, n23. Another brief overview can be found in Zydenbos 1983: 12. Zydenbos mentions that the dating of the TA is a 'difficult matter' and he does not provide a further analysis of the possible date of the text.

[222] See, e.g., Williams 1963: 7 and Bronkhorst 1985: 157.

[223] Bronkhorst 1985: 161.

predates the *Sarvārthasiddhi* but her arguments are not fully convincing. She writes that the explanations of technical terms are more clear in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, and that Pūjyapāda's text refers more often to other schools. In Ohira's view, this demonstrates that the *Sarvārthasiddhi* was written after the TABh and that Pūjyapāda had the TABh in front of him when he composed his commentary.[224]

It does make sense to say that the style of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* seems to be of a later date but Ohira's argument is certainly not conclusive. Yet, Bronkhorst provides another argument that enables us to date the TABh before the middle of the 5th cent. CE. Based on a citation from a version of the Dhātupāṭha that predates 450 CE that appears in the TABh, Bronkhorst infers that the TABh must have been composed before 450 CE.[225] He concludes his analysis of the date of the TABh with the idea that the *bhāṣya* was probably written in 4th cent. CE. He writes that this century 'saw the establishment of the Gupta empire in and around Pāṭaliputra', which is mentioned in the *praśasti*, and that this period was characterised 'by the increased use of Sanskrit' and 'religious tolerance'. This last part of his analysis is somewhat speculative and does not necessarily imply that the TABh was actually composed before the 5th cent. CE. Since Bronkhorst attributes the TA to the Yāpanīyas, he argues that the TA must postdate the origin of the Yāpanīya sect, which he dates to 150 CE. Hence, he concludes that the TA was composed 'in all probability' between 150 and 350 CE. [226]

Even though some older studies suggest earlier dates for the TA, most studies from the last decades have suggested dates for the TA and the TABh that are largely similar to Bronkhorst's proposal. The main difference exists between those studies that regard the *bhāṣya* as an auto-commentary and others that assume that the works were composed by different authors. The last group often dates the TA itself earlier in time, although both groups agree that the *bhāṣya* belongs to the 4th or 5th cent. CE. For example, Ohira suggests that the TABh was composed 'somewhere in the late middle' of the 5th cent. CE.[227] Dhaky, who also assumes that the TABh is an

[224] Ohira 1982: 40. Bronkhorst writes that 'no evidence is known' that Pūjyapāda 'was acquainted with' the TABh (Bronkhorst 1985: 172).
[225] Bronkhorst 1985: 161-163.
[226] Ibid., 178.
[227] Ohira's analysis is mainly based on the relationship between the TA and the TABh and other philosophical works. The fact that she assumes that the TA and the TABh were both written by Umāsvāti makes her analysis problematic. She also argues that the TA and the TABh show clear influences of the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, among other

auto-commentary dates both texts to 350-375 CE.[228] Leaving the question of the authorship of the *bhāṣya* aside, Dundas dates the TA to the 'fourth or fifth' cent. CE.[229]

The exact date of the TABh will probably remain unclear unless further evidence is discovered but the general scholarly consensus suggests that it is safe to situate the TABh somewhere between 350 and 450 CE. The date of the TA itself is a difficult matter. Since the TA is clearly responding to some passages in the *Nyāyasūtra*, we can be quite sure that the TA postdates the *Nyāyasūtra*.[230] The strong focus on epistemological matters in the first chapter of the TA also indicates that the TA was written at a moment when the theories of knowledge became a popular philosophical theme. Therefore, I am inclined to situate the TA not too far from the rise of epistemological works in the Buddhist and Hindu traditions in the 5th cent. CE. As I have argued previously, it is likely that some time passed between the composition of the TA and the TABh. It seems, therefore, reasonable to accept Balcerowicz's position, who summarises his view as follows:

> [W]hen we take into consideration the structure of the text, simplicity of lucid Sanskrit, a moderate level of philosophical depth, clear influence of ideas present in the *Nyāya-sūtra* (but not in the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*), no reference to later philosophical ideas, we can assign Umāsvāmin's *Tattvārtha-sūtra* to c. 350-400, and Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-bhāṣya* to c. 400-450 (there are strong reasons to believe that the Bhāsya was written by a different person than Umāsvāmin, the author of TA). The upper limit for the *Tattvārthādhigama-bhāṣya* is the Council of Valabhī (between 450-480; traditionally in *Vīra Saṁvat* 980 or 993, i.e. in 453 or 466 C.E.), presided over by Devarddhi-gaṇin Kṣamā-śramaṇa, where the Śvetāmbara Canon was finally codified (TBh 1.20 reflects an earlier list of the Canonical works).[231]

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works (Ohira 1982: 135). Since there are no direct quotations of these works in the TA and the TABh, it is not evident that the composers of the TA and the TABh were actually acquainted with these works.

[228] Dhaky 1996: 61.

[229] Dundas 1992: 86.

[230] See chapter 3 for an analysis of the relationship between the TA and the *Nyāyasūtra*. There is no evidence that the composers of the TA and the TABh were acquainted with the *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya*. This is another reason to situate the TABh before the middle of the 5th cent. CE.

[231] Balcerowicz 2008:35, n. 23. For a discussion of the wrong attribution of the TA to 'Umāsvāmin', see § 2.3 (*Date of the TA and the TABh*).

The upper limit that Balcerowicz proposes is based on the fact that the *bhāṣya* provides a list of the canonical works, which deviates from the canon that was established during the third Jaina council. This argument has some strength, even though we cannot be sure that the outcomes of the council were immediately accepted and represented in all texts that were written after this event.[232] Nevertheless, Balcerowicz's proposal largely corresponds with the ideas of the majority of recent scholarly studies and his dating of the TA and the TABh seems to be a plausible account in the light of the available evidence.

To sum up, it is reasonable to situate the composition of the TA at some point between 350 and 400 CE. We do not know the name of its author and it seems that he wrote his text at a point in time when the boundaries between the different Jaina sects were not as pronounced as at the time of the first commentaries. The TABh was probably composed between 400 and 450 CE. Umāsvāti might have been the author of this commentary. If the record in the *praśasti* can be trusted, we can situate him in a Śvetāmbara milieu in Pāṭaliputra. Since it is hard to determine the date of the *sambandhakārikā*s and the *praśasti* and since there are good reasons to assume that the composer(s) of these verses tried to legitimise the authority of the *bhāṣya*, we should treat the claims in these verses with caution. Hence, as long as no further evidence for the authorship of the TA and the TABh emerges, scholars will have to accept that our understanding of the history of both texts remains a matter of speculation.

[232] For an overview of the works listed in the commentary on TA 1.20, see § 3.1.

2.4 Conclusion of the Historical Analysis

The aim of the foregoing sections was to get a better understanding of the historical position of the TA and the TABh. The first section (§ 2.1) provided an overview of the development of early Jaina philosophy (300 – 600 CE). This survey shows that Jaina philosophy did not develop in a linear way and that the distinction between the 'age of Āgamas' and the 'age of Logic', made by Dixit, is quite problematic. It is clear that the TA played a seminal role in the developments of Jaina thought but it certainly did not form the end of the 'age of Āgamas', as suggested by Dixit. The texts that were written by the Jainas after the TA had a diverse character and doctrinal ideas went hand in hand with rational analysis. Moreover, the later canonical texts seem to contain different historical layers and it is likely that the TA influenced some of these scriptures, such as the *Nandīsūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra*. The idea that the TA simply summarises the positions in the canonical texts is, therefore, untenable. Likewise, there is no sudden shift from Prākrit to Sanskrit. The TA is an important text in this development, given its status as the oldest extant Sanskrit text of the Jainas. Yet, authors such as Kundakunda, Siddhasena Divākara, and Jinabhadra Gaṇi wrote several treatises in Prākrit, which clearly shows that Sanskrit did not replace Prākrit as a philosophical language after the TA.

The second section (§ 2.2) discussed the position of the Jainas in the Gupta Age. This section shows that the Gupta Period was a transformative era for the Jainas even though there is no scholarly consensus on the nature of the changes that took place. There available evidence suggests a decline in increase of activity in the North and a rise of activity in the West and South. Ohira links this phenomenon to the Hindu revival movement under the Guptas, Bronkhorst suggests that there was some rivalry with the Buddhists, and Dundas suggests that there was a general decline in political stability in the North and a more promising business climate in the West. Their views about the position of the Jainas in the South are also different. While Ohira and Bronkhorst believe that the Jainas were actively looking for royal patronage, Dundas thinks that the support was mainly provided by the mercantile class. Even though some scholars have suggested that the TA was composed in order to compete with other movements for royal patronage, there is not enough evidence to link the composition of the TA with a particular need of the Jainas at that time.

The third section (§ 2.3) investigated the date and authorship of the TA and the TABh. This section shows that it is highly unlikely that the TABh has been composed as an auto-commentary. This has some implications for the reliability of the *sambandhakārikā*s and *praśasti*, which seem to claim the opposite. I also argued that there is no reason to assume that the TA was composed by the Umāsvāti, although he might have been the composer of the *bhāṣya*. When it comes to the sectarian affiliation of the texts, I have argued that there is insufficient evidence to situate the TA in an Yāpanīya context, and that it is more likely that the TA predates the hard split between the different sects. Yet, the TABh seems to be written in a Śvetāmbara context. Even though the dating of both texts remains a matter of speculation, I propose to date the TA at some point in the 4th cent. CE and the TABh in the first half of the 5th cent. CE.

The analysis of the historical context of the TA and the TABh leaves many questions unanswered. It is hard to interpret the evidence of the Jainas in the Gupta Period and it is even more complex to situate the composition of the texts in this context. For this reason, I have argued that it is more promising to investigate the texts themselves in an attempt to uncover the aims and strategies of their authors and to get a better understanding of their intellectual surroundings. The next chapter contains the results of my research into these aspects, together with an exploration of the philosophical content of the TA and the TABh.