

**WHO IS A YOGI?
DEPICTIONS OF THE YOGI IN CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL DIGAMBARA JAIN LITERATURE**

John E. Cort*

The study of yoga in South Asian history actually involves the study of two overlapping yet discrete religio-cultural categories: yoga, and the *yogin* or *yogī* (hereinafter in its English spelling of yogi). The study of yoga involves the study of metaphysical and philosophical systems, and also of postural, breathing and meditative techniques and practices. The study of the yogi involves the study of people who are defined and labelled in various ways by their connection to or practice of yoga, although many of the practices and attainments that characterize a yogi stretch commonplace definitions of yoga. Works such as David Gordon White's *Sinister Yogis* (2009),¹ James Mallinson's two articles in conjunction with the 2013-14 exhibition *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* (2013a, 2013b), and the chapters in *Yogi Heroes and Poets* edited by David N. Lorenzen and Adrián Muñoz (2011) all make wide-ranging contributions to the study of yogis. In an earlier article (Cort 2015), I discussed depictions of the ideal Digambara Jain yogi in the vernacular songs (*pad*) by early modern north Indian lay poets.² In that article I briefly indicated that these depictions had predecessors stretching back a thousand years. In the present article I expand on that passing reference, and look at depictions of the yogi in classical and medieval Digambara texts in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhramsha.³ The texts in question date from the first millennium CE, and this is by no means an inclusive survey. In particular, I focus on a conjoined set of four liturgical texts in Prakrit and Sanskrit known as the *Yogi-Bhaktis*. I present a translation of them in the Appendix.

* This paper emerges from an online presentation at the SOAS Centre for Yoga Studies on May 5, 2021. I thank James Mallinson and Theo Wildcroft of SOAS CYC for the invitation and organizing the talk, and to the international audience for the stimulating questions. Seema Chauhan and Andrew Ollett helped me access important sources. I also thank Kristi Wiley and Ellen Gough for their invaluable feedback on an earlier draft. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

¹ Here I avoid entering into an evaluation of White's work, on which see Mallinson 2014. I simply note the importance of White's decision to focus on yogis as a cultural and literary theme in addition to yoga.

² See also Cort 2019, a closely related study of the overlapping theme of the ideal Digambara guru in early modern vernacular hymns.

³ I use "classical and medieval" as a convenient shorthand for the period from which the texts in this article come, i.e., roughly the second through fifteenth centuries. I am fully aware of the increasing disquiet among historians with the use of such periodizing terms, imported from European history, to describe India. For two recent trenchant judgments on the value of "medieval," see Daud Ali 2012: 11, who writes, "the category of medieval has gradually been evacuated of any definitive substance"; and Richard M. Eaton 2019: 17, who writes, "the term 'medieval' when applied to India as a whole has become something of an orphan - repeatedly invoked, but lacking meaning."

These texts have been almost entirely ignored by scholarship on both the Jains and yoga. Even though these texts as liturgies have ritual functions within Digambara Jain mendicant practice, I choose to engage in a content analysis of them, to show what they tell us about the complex Digambara Jain conceptions of the yogi. My goal is to introduce the reader to material hitherto largely ignored in histories of yoga and yogis, and in the scant literature on Jain yoga as well. Bringing this Jain material into the broader study of yoga and yogis expands these histories in fruitful ways, and shows that the categories of yoga and yogis are both more varied (and contested) than a reading of “Hindu” material alone might suggest. It also shows that the Jains have been active participants in the religio-cultural categories of “yoga” and “yogi,” and so just as the Jain material on yoga is essential for a more fully adequate history of yoga, it is also essential for a more fully adequate history of the Jains.

What sources can we turn to in order to study yogis in South Asian history? James Mallinson (2013a, 2013b), Tamara Sears (2013, 2014) and Seth Powell (2018) have recently shown how the rich archives of visual and material evidence - paintings, archaeological remains, temple sculptures - from medieval and early modern India are invaluable sources. More often scholars have turned to textual sources, in some cases technical manuals for yogic practitioners, but also narratives, hymns, and exhortative texts that provide either fictionalized depictions of yogis in all their variety, or else normative depictions of who a yogi is and should be. In this article I follow the latter approach by a close reading of the *Yogi-Bhaktis*. However, as multiform as the depictions in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* are, there have also been countervailing voices within the Digambara tradition. I briefly introduce this alternative perspective by looking at Apabhramsha texts by Yogīndu, an important representative of the medieval Digambara mystical tradition. Yogīndu expressly criticized the practices detailed in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* as rooted in an attachment to external form that prevents the yogi from experiencing the true nature of his Self. Taken together we see five different themes emerge in the Jain discussion of the ideal yogi: he is (1) a Digambara mendicant following the many rules of Jain mendicant conduct, and locating his practice firmly within the constitutive elements of Jain cosmology and soteriology; (2) a renouncer living in the open in all seasons in the forests and atop mountains and practicing fierce asceticism; (3) a practitioner of postures (*āsana*) and other yogic techniques; (4) a possessor of supranormal powers (*rddhi*); and (5) a seeker of spiritual knowledge (*jñāna*) who rejects the formal practices found in the other four depictions.

I follow my texts in using the term yogi in a fairly general sense. Here I acknowledge James Mallinson (2013a: n. 6; 2013b: 81n.1), who said of the word that it exhibits a “lack of specificity [...] in many historical sources, both within the yogi tradition and without. Thus it refers to an ascetic - someone who has renounced the norms of conventional society in order to live a life devoted to religious ends - who may or may not practice the techniques commonly understood to constitute yoga.” I do not try to translate yogi into English; most available options carry with them extensive cultural baggage which I prefer to avoid, and any translation narrows the sense of the term in a manner that hinders an exploration of precisely the wide range of people to whom the term refers in Jain texts.

Jain texts use *yogi* interchangeably with many other terms, and a brief look at these gives us a sense of the semantic field within which Jains have located the cultural category of the *yogi*. Some of these terms are found exclusively (or almost so) in Jain contexts, or else have a specific technical meaning within Jain practice and doctrine, and so we know that the author is a Jain who is discussing specifically a Jain *yogi*. Among these are *muni*, *sādhu* and *yati*, used in Jain contexts for a formally initiated renouncer; *śramaṇa*, the ancient term for a non-Brahmin renouncer; and *digambara*, specifically referring to a naked Digambara renouncer. Other terms have general, non-specific connotations also found in other South Asian religious and literary cultures, and as a result there is often nothing about some passages or verses to indicate that either the author or the subject matter is Jain. Two such terms are *ṛṣi* (“seer” or “sage”), used in Jain texts for any spiritual adept⁴; and *jñānī* (“knower”), used for anyone who is spiritually knowledgeable or a seeker after ultimate spiritual knowledge. Finally is the term *guru*, used in some cases in the generalized sense of a religious teacher in which it is found in all Indian religious traditions, but also in its specific Jain meaning of a person more advanced on the spiritual hierarchy to whom a Jain owes regular ritual veneration (*guru-vandana*).

The Yogi-Bhaktis

The *Yogi-Bhaktis* are a set of Prakrit and Sanskrit liturgical texts in verse and prose from the first millennium CE.⁵ They are part of the larger corpus of *Bhaktis*, often called the *Ten Bhaktis*, (Skt. *Daśa-Bhakti*), usually said to be eight in Prakrit and ten in Sanskrit, although some manuscripts and printed editions expand the number of Sanskrit *bhaktis*. Tradition attributes the Prakrit *Bhaktis* to Kundakunda and the Sanskrit *Bhaktis* to Pūjyapāda, two foundational authors for the Digambara intellectual tradition, although as I indicate below, in my estimation both these attributions are highly unlikely. The *Bhaktis* have been largely ignored in scholarship on the Jains, and the best summary of them in English remains that of A. N. Upadhye in his 1935 study of Kundakunda. The *Bhaktis* are recited by mendicants as part of their daily and other regular rituals. For those *Bhaktis* for which all the parts survive, there are four parts⁶: a set of Prakrit verses (*gāthā*), a set of Sanskrit verses (*śloka*), a Prakrit prose passage (*aṃcalikā*, literally “border” or “hem”), and several additional verses in Sanskrit and/or Prakrit, described as both *kṣepaka* (interpolated) and more often simply as *laghu* (short). The Prakrit and Sanskrit verses are descriptive in nature. In the case of the *Yogi-Bhaktis*, the Prakrit verses are fairly pedestrian, while the Sanskrit verses exhibit more literary

⁴ While *ṛṣi* is generally associated with the Vedic tradition to mean “sage” or “seer,” it is also found to refer more widely to sages in the Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions, as in the early Śvetāmbara *Isibhāṣiyāim* (Skt. *Ṛṣibhāṣitāni*), “Sayings of the Seers/Sages,” on which see Balbir 2014.

⁵ My discussion of the *Yogi-Bhaktis* is based on the texts as found in ten modern collections, none of them critically edited. See Appendix.

⁶ It is possible, and even likely, that for some *Bhaktis* there never were all four parts.

flourishes. The prose passage is in the form of an oral statement in which the person reciting the text states to his guru his intention to perform the *Yogi-Bhakti* while in the distinctive Jain standing meditative pose known as *kāyotsarga*, and by this praise of Jain yogis to wear away karma and attain a higher spiritual state. The additional verses overlap in content with the two longer verse parts, and provide an abbreviated text for recitation.

The ritual logic behind the *Bhaktis* is that by reciting the relevant text while in a state of meditation, the practitioner generates an internal state of devotion to the relevant Jain sacred being or concept, and through that devotion wears away karma.⁷ The extant Prakrit *Bhaktis* are dedicated to devotion of (1) the twenty-four Jinas (Pkt. *Titthayara-Bhatti*, Skt. *Tīrthāṅkara-Bhakti*); (2) the perfected Selves (Pkt. *Siddha-Bhatti*, Skt. *Siddha-Bhakti*); (3) the Jain scriptures (Pkt. *Suda-Bhatti*, Skt. *Śruta-Bhakti*); (4) correct conduct (Pkt. *Cāritta-Bhatti*, Skt. *Cāritra-Bhakti*); (5) the Jain yogi (Pkt. *Joi-Bhatti* or *Jogi-Bhatti*, Skt. *Yogi-Bhakti*) or homeless renouncer (Pkt. *Aṇagāra-Bhatti*, Skt. *Anagāra-Bhakti*); (6) the mendicant leader (Pkt. *Āyariya-Bhatti*, Skt. *Ācārya-Bhakti*); (7) liberation (Pkt. *Nivvāṇa-Bhatti*, Skt. *Nirvāṇa-Bhakti*); and (8) the five figures in the Jain spiritual hierarchy (*Jina*, *siddha*, *ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*; Pkt. *Paṃcaparametṭhi-Bhatti*, Skt. *Pañcaparameṣṭhī-Bhakti*, also *Pañcamahāguru-Bhakti*). The two additional Sanskrit *Bhaktis* are dedicated to devotion of (9) the continent of Nandīśvara where the gods regularly gather to celebrate the eternal Jina icons there (Skt. *Nandīśvara-Bhakti*)⁸; and (10) peace (Skt. *Śānti-Bhakti*). Three additional Sanskrit *Bhaktis* beyond the traditional list of ten are found in many texts: (11) Jina icons and temples (Skt. *Caitya-Bhakti*); (12) Mahāvīra (Skt. *Vīra-Bhakti*); and (13) death in meditation (Skt. *Samādhi-Bhakti*). Prakrit prose *aṃcalikās* exist for all five Sanskrit verse *Bhaktis* for which there are not Prakrit verse *Bhaktis*, but given the highly formulaic nature of these passages these five are not necessarily as old as the other prose passages. Finally, there are short (*laghu*) versions of the *Siddha*, *Śruta*, *Cāritra*, *Yogi*, *Ācārya*, and *Caitya Bhaktis*.⁹ The *laghu-bhaktis* are mostly Sanskrit, but include some Prakrit verses.

Precisely because they are liturgical texts, the *Bhaktis* exhibit great variability across manuscripts in terms of spelling, orthography and the number of verses. None of the printed versions is critically edited, and liturgies on the whole constitute a genre that can resist critical editing. Upadhye (1935: XXVIII) says that there are two strata to the *Bhaktis*, the prose and the verse. I would expand on this, and say that the Prakrit and Sanskrit verse texts themselves form two strata. The prose texts, as Upadhye has observed, “remind us of closely similar

⁷ I discuss this at greater length in Cort 2002b.

⁸ On Nandīśvara see Cort 2010: 81f.

⁹ The fluidity of the *Bhakti* corpus is seen in that the encyclopaedist Jinendra Varṇī 1993: 3: 197 gives a slightly different list of the ten, including *Caitya-Bhakti*, *Vīra-Bhakti* and *Samādhi-Bhakti*, while saying that *Nirvāṇa-Bhakti*, *Nandīśvara-Bhakti*, and *Śānti-Bhakti* are the three additional ones. Contemporary manuals exhibit further divergences. The manual edited by Gaṇinī Āryikā Jñānmatī, for example, includes *Laghu* versions also for the *Pañcamahāguru*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Śānti* and *Samādhi Bhaktis*. But this textual uncertainty need not concern us, for the *Yogi-Bhakti* texts are stable across all the printed books I have been able to consult, except for differences in spelling and orthography.

passages in Śvetāmbara canonical texts, in their *Pratikramaṇa* and *Āvaśyaka Sūtras* and texts like *Paṃcasutta*.” These similarities indicate that the prose *Bhaktis* belong to a liturgical layer of Jain texts “which antedates the division of Jaina church, and [...] has been inherited, with modifications here and there, independently by Digambaras as well as Śvetāmbaras.”¹⁰ The prose texts are statements of intention made by the reciter to his or her mendicant superior, in which the reciter states the intention to perform certain ascetic and devotional rituals to a specific Jain virtue in order to improve one’s karmic status. The Prakrit verse *Bhakti* devoted to the twenty-four Jinas, is also found in both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions, and so also comes from an early date (Cort 2002: 74f.). The other Prakrit verse *Bhaktis* also give evidence of early date, and we will see that the Prakrit *Yogi-Bhakti* has extensive overlap in content with other Digambara texts datable to the middle of the first millennium CE. The traditional attribution of authorship assumes that the Sanskrit verse *Bhaktis* came after the Prakrit verses, and Upadhye (1935: XXIX) follows this in surmising that the Sanskrit texts were composed “to supplement the Prakrit *Bhaktis* and to keep pace with the growing popularity of classical Sanskrit among the Jaina monks.” While the relative dating of the Prakrit and Sanskrit verses is open to question, it is not a matter of great concern for this article; suffice to say that both sets of verses date from sometime in the first millennium CE, and most likely a century or two after the middle of that millennium. At the same time, the agglomerative nature of these liturgical texts means that some of the verses may well be centuries older.

Digambara tradition attributes the Prakrit verse *Bhaktis* to Kundakunda and the Sanskrit verse *Bhaktis* to Pūjyapāda. Both the dating of Kundakunda - estimates range from the first through eighth centuries CE - and the attribution of texts to him - between three and twenty-six - have been subject to much scholarly debate.¹¹ Pūjyapāda has been more confidently dated to between 540 and 600 CE (Balcerowicz 2020: 837). But the authorship of the *Bhaktis* by either of them is unlikely, and so the issues of the dates of the putative authors and the dates of the texts need to be separated. Upadhye (1935: XXVIII-XXIX) accepts that Kundakunda wrote the Prakrit *Bhaktis* only grudgingly, saying “it is just imaginable that Kundakunda might have composed, or rather compiled, the metrical [Prakrit] *Bhaktis* to explain and amplify the prose *Bhaktis*, which, too, as traditional relics, he retained to the end. In the course of amplification Kundakunda might have put together many suitable verses from early tradition as inherited by him.” Upadhye is similarly cautious about the Sanskrit text when he says that Pūjyapāda “appears to have composed the Sanskrit *Bhaktis*.” These attributions come many centuries after the texts themselves, in the *Kriyā Kalāpa* commentary composed by Prabhācandra. We do not know who this particular Prabhācandra was—there have been many Digambara authors by this name—nor where or when he lived. Pandit Phūlcandra Śāstrī (1997: 83-84), in a discussion of Pūjyapāda, notes that Prabhācandra quotes from Āśādhara’s

¹⁰ The evident intertextuality of these early Digambara and Śvetāmbara texts was also noted by Ernst Leumann 1934, 2010 in his posthumous *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*, published in 1934 only a year before Upadhye’s study.

¹¹ Soni 2020 provides the most recent overview of the issues.

mid-thirteenth century *Anagāradharmāmṛta*, so he lived sometime after this. Nalini Balbir (2010: ix) has expressed the opinion that Prabhācandra was “probably from Southern, Kannara, origin,” an estimate that is supported by the extant manuscript evidence. At the conclusion of his commentary on the *Siddha-Bhakti*, Prabhācandra simply said, “All the Sanskrit *Bhaktis* were composed by Pūjyapāda, and the Prakrit by Kundakunda.”¹² In my estimation, it is highly unlikely that these two major Digambara authors composed these texts. These attributions reflect the extent to which by the medieval period Kundakunda was viewed as the foundational figure in the Digambara Prakrit philosophical tradition, and Pūjyapāda occupied a similar position in the Digambara Sanskrit philosophical tradition. But the authorship of the texts is also immaterial for my discussion; regardless of who authored them, they are texts from the first millennium CE in which we find elaborate depictions of the Digambara yogi.

Despite romantic notions of the life of Jain renouncers as one of open-ended wandering, in practice their lives are highly regulated. Their lives are structured so that they need to make very few decisions, which reduces the karmic bondage that inevitably accompanies the intentions behind *any* decision, no matter how seemingly insignificant. As part of their vows of renunciation, Jain renouncers are understood to be in a permanent state of meditative mindfulness to minimize karmic influx. This means that the life of a renouncer is closely structured by rituals, on daily, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, annual and lifetime cycles. In the life of a Digambara renouncer, all of these temporal cycles are punctuated by the recitation of one or more *Bhaktis*. Contemporary manuals for routine renouncer practice detail which *Bhaktis* to recite for several dozen rituals. These lists are taken from medieval manuals of mendicant conduct. Looking at the occasions on which one of the *Yogi-Bhakti* texts is recited gives us a sense of the place of these depictions within Digambara renouncer culture. In contemporary practice, most renouncers recite the Sanskrit *Bhakti*, and only a handful recite the Prakrit *Bhakti*. This fits with the widespread dependence on Sanskrit for renouncer liturgies in contemporary Digambara ritual culture, in contrast to the significant role of Prakrit in Śvetāmbara ritual culture. Different published manuals prescribe either the full *Bhakti* or the *Laghu Bhakti* for different rituals; I have avoided that detail here.¹³

Recitation of the *Yogi-Bhakti* accompanies two different rituals related to dietary practices: as part of the vow to perform a specific fast, and, if the renouncer is travelling in the company of an *ācārya* (a mendicant leader), before proceeding on the daily food-gathering round. It is also part of the recitations at the end of the day before the renouncer retires for the night. The *Yogi-Bhakti* is recited as part of the annual observances of the five cardinal events (*kalyāṇaka*) in the life of each Jina: conception (*garbha*), birth (*janma*), renunciation

¹² *saṃskṛtāḥ sarvāḥ bhaktayaḥ pādapūjyasvāmikṛtāḥ prākṛtāstu kundakundācāryakṛtāḥ*. Prabhācandra, *Kriyā Kalāpa*, p. 167, slightly amended following Upadhye 1935: XXVI n.5.

¹³ This information comes from the two compilations of liturgies by L. Jain et al. 1982: 108-12 and P. Jain and S. Jain 1999: 608-12, as well as the encyclopaedia entry by Varṇī 1993: 2: 138f. N. Shāntā 1985: 498-501, 505, 508f. describes a few of these rituals.

(*dīkṣā*), omniscience (*jñāna*) and liberation (*nirvāṇa*). The other annual ritual in which the *Yogi-Bhakti* is recited is the commencement of the four-month rainy season retreat (*varṣāyoga*). It is recited on the occasion of the regular pulling out of the hair (*keśa-locana*). The *Yogi-Bhakti* is recited on the occasion of three major events that happen once in the life of a renouncer: at the time of initiation (*dīkṣā*), the adoption of any special practice on a permanent basis, and the death of a renouncer.¹⁴ We can see that the recitation of the *Yogi-Bhakti* punctuates the life of a renouncer, and is especially part of rituals that define a Digambara yogi such as initiation, fasting, pulling out the hair and other ascetic practices, and death.

The *Bhaktis* have been included in Digambara manuals of mendicant rituals for the past millennium. As Upadhye noted, manuscripts of these manuals show great variety, indicating their function as practical sources for the texts mendicants recited. In addition to the texts of required cyclical rituals and rituals performed on special occasions in a mendicant's career, such as the *Bhaktis*, manuscripts usually also included a number of devotional and philosophical hymns (*stotra*), and key doctrinal texts. These manuscripts were often entitled *Kriyā Kalāpa*, "Ritual Manual." This was also the title given to the one extant Sanskrit commentary on the *Bhaktis* by Prabhācandra. The production of such manuals has been revived in the modern period in connection with the revival of the institution of the naked *muni* in the past century. The mendicants who initiated the revival of the naked *muni* tradition in the early twentieth century either initiated themselves by removing their clothes in front of a Jina icon, or received initiation from a semi-renouncer of lesser rank, in contrast to the contemporary highly regularized ritual of initiation at the hand of another naked renouncer. No research has been done on the ritual routines of the early revivers, nor on the details of how the detailed structure of rituals that Digambara mendicants follow in the twenty-first century developed. It would appear that some of the leading more intellectually oriented Digambara mendicants, sometimes with the assistance of lay *paṇḍits*, engaged in a thorough study of key medieval manuals,¹⁵ and from them compiled the printed manuals in use today. Most distinct mendicant lineages have printed their own manuals for the use of the mendicants in that lineage.¹⁶ All six of the modern manuals I have consulted for this article (see Appendix) contain the Sanskrit *Bhaktis*, but only three contain the Prakrit *Bhaktis*. This is

¹⁴ Gough 2019: 254-57 provides the most extensive discussion of their use in the rite of initiation as practiced today, and also shows that their recitation as part of the initiation ritual dates back at least one-thousand years.

¹⁵ Four medieval Sanskrit manuals in particular seem have been most important in providing the detailed structure of contemporary mendicant practice. These are the *Cāritrasāra*, composed around 1000 CE by the layman Cāmuṇḍarāya; the c. 1100 CE *Ācāravṛtti* by Vasunandī, a commentary on the Prakrit *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera (dated by Gough 2021: 33 to the first half of the first millennium CE); the mid-twelfth century *Ācārasāra* by Vīranandī; and the *Anagāradharmāmṛta*, composed in the mid-thirteenth century by the layman Āśādhara. The last of these would appear to have played the greatest role in structuring contemporary rituals. The very close correspondence between contemporary mendicant daily rituals, as described to me in interviews with Digambara mendicants, and the textual prescriptions, confirms the central role of the earlier manuals in the development of contemporary daily and other mendicant ritual structures.

¹⁶ Ellen Gough 2021: ch. 5 notes a similar phenomenon among the contemporary mendicant lineages in the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka Tapā Gaccha.

in line with the significantly lesser usage of Prakrit in Digambara rituals in contrast to the Śvetāmbara traditions, a situation that appears to have been the case for many centuries. In her study of contemporary Digambara mendicant initiation rituals, Ellen Gough (2019) confirms that only the Sanskrit *Bhaktis* are recited.

While I have indicated the role of the recitation of the *Yogi-Bhaktis* in the ritual life of a Digambara renouncer, my focus in this article is not on the liturgical function of the texts. I engage instead in a literary analysis of the multiple ways that a Digambara yogi is depicted in them. Liturgical function and literary content are not completely separable, of course, since the regular recitation of the *Yogi-Bhaktis* means that the descriptions of a Digambara yogi are deeply imprinted in the tradition, and in turn inform conduct. Four themes emerge from a literary analysis of the *Yogi-Bhakti* texts. The Digambara yogi is an orthoprax renouncer who follows and embodies key aspects of Digambara doctrine. He is also a renouncer who resides in the wilderness, practicing fierce asceticism in harsh conditions to wear away karma and advance along the path to liberation. The texts provide several glimpses of the technical details of the Digambara yogi's practice, glimpses that augment our understanding of the practice of yoga in the first millennium. This asceticism also generates many supernormal powers (*rddhi*), indicating an important way that traditional yogic regimes in South Asia arguably differed from many of the expectations of contemporary practitioners of global postural yoga.

The two sets of metrical *Bhaktis* are quite different types of texts. While the Prakrit *Yogi-Bhaktis* are metrical, as texts they are very pedestrian. For the most part the text consists of lists of categories, with the metrical form allowing for easy memorization and recitation. But the lists in their very brevity require prior knowledge of the content, and so an analysis of them requires reading them in tandem with other contemporaneous Digambara texts. The Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhaktis* exhibit more of a literary flourish, and describe the Digambara yogi living in the wilderness in more poetic terms. They also lack the plethora of doctrinal detail.

The Yogi as a Digambara Mendicant who follows all the Rules and Prescriptions.

After an initial two verses that express praise and veneration of the homeless renunciators and the virtues they personify, the Prakrit *Yogi-Bhakti* (hereinafter *PYBh*) devotes seven verses to a numerically structured explication of the ideal yogi, increasing from two factors to fourteen. This is a common literary device in South Asian texts, and among classical Jain texts it is best-known in the Śvetāmbara canonical *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (Pkt. *Ṭhāṇāṃga Sutta*), which is entirely structured around a long set of concepts in order of increasing number from one to ten items in a set. The seven verses of the *PYBh* do no more than simply enumerate a large number of sets; the person reciting the liturgy is expected to know the specific contents of each set. Some of the sets are detailed by Prabhācandra, while for others we must turn to other early Digambara doctrinal texts.

PYBh describes the yogi as free from the two faults (*doṣa*) of attraction (*rāga*) and aversion (*dveṣa*).¹⁷ He no longer commits harmful acts in the three ways of mind, speech and bodily action, and is pure in all of them. He is free from the three thorns (*śalya*) of illusion (*māyā*), wrong faith (*mithyātva*, *mithyādarśana*) and desire for future gain (*nidāna*). He lacks the three forms of pride (*garva*) as found in wealth (*rddhi*), aesthetic pleasure (*rasa*) and enjoyment (*svāda*). He works to destroy the four forms of passion (*kaṣāya*): anger (*krodha*), pride (*māna*), deceit (*māyā*) and greed (*lobha*). He rightly fears the four possible realms of rebirth, as a hell being (*naraka*), a plant or animal (*tiryāñca*), a human (*manuṣya*), or a heavenly being (*deva*). He has conquered the five senses (*indriya*), and prevents the five modes of karmic influx (*āsrava*), which are wrong faith (*mithyātva*), lack of restraint (*avirati*), carelessness (*pramāda*), passion (*kaṣāya*) and activity (*yoga*). He has rejected the six wrong bases (*āyatana*) for a spiritual life: the three mistakes of wrong faith (*mithyādarśana*), wrong knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) and wrong conduct (*mithyācāritra*), and contact with those who promote these three mistakes.

So far the list mostly describes some of the many obstacles to the path to liberation that the yogi must overcome. In other words, this is a negative list, in the sense that it describes the yogi by who he is *not*. In the set of sextets, though, we do get a set of positive virtues. The yogi expresses compassion (*dayā*) toward living beings in all six possible forms of embodiment: earth (*pṛthivī*), water (*āpas*), fire (*tejas*), air (*vāyu*), plant (*vanaspati*) and mobile flesh (*trāsa*) bodies.

Next are two more sets of things the yogi has overcome. There are the seven kinds of fear (*bhaya*): fear of this world (*ihaloka*), fear of other worlds (*paraloka*), fear of lack of shelter (*atrāṇa*), fear of that which is not protected (*agupti*), fear of death (*marāṇa*), fear due to physical feeling (*vedanā*) and fear of the unexpected (*akasmāt*). He has destroyed the eight kinds of pride (*mada*), stemming from caste (*jāti*), family (*kula*), strength (*bala*), sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), physical beauty (*rūpa*), asceticism (*tapas*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and artisanship or skill (*śilpa*). He has also destroyed the eight kinds of karma: karma that obscures knowledge (*jñānāvaraṇīya*), obscures perception (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), produces feelings of pleasure and pain (*vedanīya*), causes delusion (*mohanīya*), determines lifespan (*āyus*), determines the form of the body (*nāma*), determines birth status (*gotra*) and causes obstructions (*antarāya*).

Also in the list of octets is another more positive accomplishment, for the yogi has attained the eight supernormal powers (*rddhi*). We return to a fuller discussion of supernormal powers below, where we see that Jain texts, including *PYBh* itself, specify more than just eight supernormal powers.

Chastity (*brahmacarya*) is central to Jain renunciation and asceticism, so it is no surprise that the yogi's chastity is described as ninefold: in mind, speech and body, and in each of these through the three karmic modalities of acting oneself, commissioning another to act,

¹⁷ Although the text is in Prakrit, I give all the terms in their Sanskrit forms, both for ease of reference for readers more familiar with Sanskrit than Prakrit, and in following standard Jain practice of using Sanskrit for such references.

or approving of the actions of another. The Digambara yogi is also trained in Jain epistemology, here detailed as consisting of nine perspectives (*naya*). Seven of these are the well-known sevenfold predication (*saptabhaṅgī*) of Jain logic: (1) comprehensive (*naigama*), (2) collective (*saṅgraha*), (3) empirical (*vyavahāra*), (4) direct or instantaneous (*rjusūtra*), (5) verbal or synonymous (*śabda*), (6) etymological (*samabhirūḍha*) and (7) factual (*evambhūta*) viewpoints. To these, according to Prabhācandra, the *PYBh* adds the two main headings under which the seven are classified. The first three are found under the substance expressive (*dravyārthika*) perspective, and the other four under the mode expressive (*pariyāyārthika*) perspective.¹⁸

In the Digambara tradition, *dharma* is often described as tenfold; so central is this formulation that the autumnal Digambara Paryuṣaṇ observance is more commonly called the *daśa-lakṣaṇa-parva*, the Observance of the Ten Forms of Righteousness, with each day focusing on one of the ten. As listed in *Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.6, they are to observe the highest (*uttama*) (1) forbearance or forgiveness (*kṣamā*), (2) modesty or humility (*mardava*), (3) uprightness or straightforwardness (*arjava*), (4) purity (*śauca*), (5) truthfulness (*satya*), (6) restraint (*saṃyama*), (7) austerity (*tapas*), (8) renunciation (*tyāga*), (9) nonattachment (*kiñcanya*) and (10) chastity (*brahmacarya*).¹⁹ The other decade in *PYBh* expands on one of the ten *dharmas*: the ten forms of restraint (*saṃyama*) involve protecting living beings in bodies that have from one through five senses, and to control one's own five senses.

The next two sets indicate that the yogi is thoroughly versed in Jain scripture. He knows the eleven Jain canonical *Aṅga* texts, and also the twelve *Aṅgas*. While the Digambaras deny that the eleven *Aṅgas* found in the Śvetāmbara tradition are valid, they nonetheless agree on the titles of the eleven *Aṅgas*. Both sects agree that the twelfth *Aṅga*, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, has long been lost.²⁰ Also twelve are the forms of asceticism (*tapas*) in which the yogi engages, distinguished in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (9.19-20) and other texts into two sets of six each of external (*bāhya*) and internal (*uttara, abhyantara*). The external austerities are (1) fasting (*anaśana*), (2) reduced diet (*avamaudarya*), (3) limiting the variety of food and the number of dwellings visited for it (*vṛttiparisamkhyāna*), (4) abandoning stimulating food (*rasaparityāga*), (5) staying in desolate locations (*viviktaśayyāsana*), and (6) bodily mortification (*kāyagleśa*). The internal austerities are (1) penance for transgressions of conduct (*prāyaścitta*), (2)

¹⁸ These are translated according to Piotr Balcerowicz 2020 and Anne Clavel 2020. In the two cases of alternative translations, the first term is from Balcerowicz and the second from Clavel.

¹⁹ The ten are as translated by Padmanabh S. Jaini 1979: 248 and Nathmal Tatia 1994: 221.

²⁰ The reference both to the eleven extant *Aṅgas* and the twelve *Aṅgas* that include the lost *Dṛṣṭivāda* would seem to indicate that the *PYBh* was compiled at an early time when Digambara authors were more cognizant of the names and contents of the eleven *Aṅgas* and had not conclusively rejected the versions preserved by the Śvetāmbaras as inauthentic. Fujinaga Sin 2007: 1 has noted that it is not clear when the Digambaras explicitly rejected what is now the Śvetāmbara canon. He quotes from Pūjyapāda (sixth century), Akalaṅka (eighth century) and Nemicandra (tenth century) to show that they knew both the names and the contents of the *Aṅgas*, although Vidyānandī (ninth century) would appear not to know this. The evidence advanced by Fujinaga would seem to confirm the dating of the *PYBh* to the middle of the first millennium CE.

reverence to senior mendicants (*vinaya*), (3) service to other mendicants (*vaiyāvṛtṭya*), (4) study (*svādhyāya*), (5) renunciation (*vyutsarga*) and (6) meditation (*dhyana*). The life of a yogi is also structured by thirteen mendicant ritual rules. These are the five great vows (*mahāvratā*) taken at the time of formal initiation into mendicancy, i.e., non-harm (*ahiṃsā*), speaking only the truth (*satya*), not taking what is not freely given (*asteya*), chastity (*brahmacarya*) and non-possession (*aparigraha*); the five self-regulations (*samiti*) of conduct, i.e. to be constantly aware in walking (*īryā*), speaking (*bhāṣā*), accepting alms (*eṣaṇā*), picking up and putting down any object (*ādāna-nikṣepaṇa*), and performing excretory functions (*utsarga*); and the three restraints (*gupti*) of body (*kaya*), speech (*vacas*) and mind (*manas*). These thirteen are also mentioned as virtues of a yogi in the second verse of the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti*.

The first set of fourteen returns to compassion (*dayā*). This list categorizes bodies of one through five senses according to whether they are subtle (*sūkṣma*) or gross (*bādara*), developed (*pariyāpta*) or undeveloped (*aparīyāpta*), and thinking (*saṃjñī*) or unthinking (*asaṃjñī*), to come up with fourteen different modalities of embodied existence, toward all of which the yogi exhibits compassion.²¹ The yogi has overcome fourteen forms of inner bondage (*sugrantha*). These are (1) wrong faith (*mithyātva*), the nine subsidiary passions (*no-kaṣaya*) of (2) laughter (*hāsyā*), (3) sense pleasures (*ratī*), (4) sense displeasures (*arati*), (5) sorrow (*śoka*), (6) fear (*bhaya*), (7) disgust (*jugupsā*), (8) sexual cravings for men (*pumveda*), (9) sexual cravings for women (*strīveda*), (10) sexual cravings for hermaphrodites (*napuṃsakaveda*), and the four passions (*kaṣāya*) of (11) anger (*krodha*), (12) pride (*māna*), (13) deceit (*māyā*), and (14) greed (*lobha*). A final set of scriptures is mentioned, as the yogi knows the fourteen ancient texts known as *Pūrvas* or Old Texts, more texts that both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras agree have long been lost. Finally, the yogi is free from the fourteen impurities (*mala*) that come from accepting food offerings that include (1) fingernails, (2) hair, (3) flesh, (4) bone, (5) wheat or other grain husk, (6) rice husk, (7) pus, (8) skin, (9) blood, (10) meat, (11) seeds, (12) fruits, (13) sprouts and (14) roots.

PYBh references all of this in shorthand in just seven verses. I suspect that many readers will have at best skimmed the mind-numbing minutiae that are a hallmark of such lists. Readers will also give a nod of thanks when I say that there are many other lists of virtues that the text could have included to characterize the Digambara Jain yogi. But the weight of the many technical terms from Jain doctrine drives home an important point. The Digambara Jain yogi exists firmly within a ritual space defined by Jain metaphysics, epistemology, scripture, ethics, conduct and soteriology. He has taken the great restraining vows (*mahāvratā*) of a Jain renouncer, and every moment of his life is structured by the rules of Jain mendicancy. The yogi as described in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* is very much a Jain yogi.

²¹ See Varṇī 1993 II: 342 for a detailed discussion of the fourteen.

The Yogi as a Renouncer in the Wilderness

The dominant theme of the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti* (hereinafter *SYBh*) is the yogi as an ascetic in the forest or mountains, living outdoors throughout the year despite the harsh conditions of the heat in the summer, and snow, freezing rain and cold in the winter. This description is also found in several of the Prakrit verses, the prose Prakrit *Aṃcalikā*, and the majority of the verses of the *Laghu-Yogi-Bhakti*. It is therefore a major theme from all chronological levels of the *Yogi-Bhaktis*.

The Digambara depictions of the yogi withstanding the rigors of nature through all the seasons lie at the intersection of two cultural strands. One of these is the long-standing South Asian literary tradition of the elaborate description of landscapes, in particular mountains and forests, and the closely related literary tradition of the description of the round of the seasons. Descriptions of landscape and seasons is expected in South Asian long poetry (*mahākāvya*), epics (*itihāsa*) and mythic narratives (*purāṇa*). Separate sections are devoted to covering each of these topics in anthologies of short poems (*subhāṣita*). In many cases the geographical and temporal themes are combined, so that an author will describe the different landscapes during different seasons. These detailed depictions of the external state of nature also provide insight on the internal state of the hero or heroine.

The other cultural strand is the specifically Jain one of detailing the many hardships that each of the Jinas underwent during his ascetic career, and therefore that a Jain renouncer should also expect to endure, coupled with detailed analyses of the forms of asceticism (*tapas*) that are essential parts of the path to liberation. The combination of these two strands in the depictions of the Jain yogi enduring many hardships in the wilderness resulted in a theme that lent itself to religious poetry, and so we see that the verses in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* devoted to this theme exhibit a degree of poetic flair lacking in the verses that tend simply to enumerate the virtues and practices of the Jain yogi.

Descriptions of non-urban spaces as more suitable for renouncers than cities are found throughout the religious literatures of South Asia from the past two thousand years. In some cases the descriptions are more pastoral and bucolic, as nature is portrayed as a pleasantly suitable place for spiritual pursuits, without the distractions of life in a city. To give just one example, we can look to the Buddhist *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. The eight-century Śāntideva describes the spiritual adept as longing to escape to the forest or mountain caves, and viewing rock surfaces and forest breezes as soothing aids to his meditation:

Staying in an empty shrine, at the foot of a tree, or in caves, when shall I go,
free from concern, without looking back?

When shall I dwell in vast regions owned by none, in their natural state, taking
my rest or wandering as I please?

On delightful rock surfaces cooled by the sandal balm of the moon's rays, stretching wide as palaces, the fortunate pace, fanned by the silent, gentle forest breezes, as they contemplate for the well-being of others.²²

Other texts describe nature as difficult and fearful, but for that very reason a suitable location for practicing the most difficult of austerities, by which the adept seeks to develop an inner resolve of fearlessness and equanimity. This is the kind of description we find in the Jain texts. To give again just a single non-Jain example, the following is from one of the greatest Sanskrit poems, the c. fourth-fifth century *Kumārasambhava*, in which Kālidāsa describes the asceticism (*tapas*) of Pārvatī by which she generates the spiritual power needed to win the love of Śiva.

She broke her fast only with water that came down
of itself and with the rays of the moon,
which is full of divine drink. Her practice
was no different from the way of living of the trees.

As she lay on stone, homeless in the months
of constant rain and rising bursts of wind,
the nights seemed to be watching her with open eyes
of lightning, like witnesses for the great tapas.

She passed the nights of the cold season standing
in water, as the winds were blowing sheets of sleet,
and she felt pity for the pair of cakravāka birds
somewhere near her, parted and crying out for each other.²³

The poetic images of the Digambara Jain yogi are also rooted in standard depictions of the hardships and asceticism of the Jinas and renouncers. The ninth chapter of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, a foundational text of Jain doctrine that can be dated to the first half of the fifth century CE,²⁴ provides a discussion of seven processes by which a Jain renouncer can both stop the influx of new karma and wear off previously acquired karma. These are essential for the path to liberation, which in turn is the subject of the tenth and final chapter of the text.

²² Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 8.27, 28, 96, translated by Crosby and Skilton 1995: 297 and 325.

²³ Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava* 5.22, 25-26, translated by Heifetz 1985: 70f.

²⁴ The date and authorship of the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (more properly the *Tattvārthādhigama*) have been the subjects of extensive scholarly discussion. The latest analysis of the subject is den Boer 2020: 47-67, who argues that the text should be dated to the second half of the fourth century CE. He also argues that the name of the author is actually unknown, and not likely to be Umāsvāti; but this argument does not affect my discussion of the text, and I will retain the use of Umāsvāti as a convenient shorthand.

While the entire chapter - and for that matter, the entire text - could be described as a textbook for how a Jain yogi can traverse the path to liberation, two of the seven processes help us situate within the specifics of Jain practice the depictions of the yogi practicing asceticism in the wilderness. Enduring a set of twenty-two hardships (*parīṣaha*) leads to blocking karmic influx (*Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.8-9), while the twelve forms of asceticism (*tapas*) block new karma and wear away accumulated karma (*Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.19-20). One of these twelve forms of asceticism is mortification of the body (*kāyagleśa*). While the aphoristic style of the *Tattvārtha* provides no details of these processes, the more extended treatment in the commentaries shows how these practices lend themselves to the more poetic language of the *Yogi-Bhaktis*. In particular, we see that the details provided by the two earliest of the Digambara commentaries, the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda (sixth century CE) and the *Rājavārttika* (*Tattvārthavārttika*) of Akalaṅka (eighth century CE), bear close similarities to the *Yogi-Bhaktis*.

One of the hardships is to withstand cold. Pūjyapāda describes this as follows:²⁵

Without garments and habitation the ascetic lives on rocks and so on underneath trees like birds. And when he is beset by extremely cold wind or suffers from frost, he does not think of remedies enjoyed by him formerly, but dwells in the inner apartment of the house of knowledge. This is proclaimed as endurance of cold.

Akalaṅka says largely the same thing, and most likely closely followed Pūjyapāda. He adds that the yogi also lives in caves.²⁶

The next hardship is to withstand the heat. As Pūjyapāda describes this:²⁷

In summer there is no breeze, no abundance of water, and the leaves get dried up by the scorching heat of the summer sun and fall off from the trees. The ascetic enters such a wood and suffers from thirst because of internal causes such as fasting. And, owing to forest-conflagration, scorching wind and oppressive heat of the sun, his throat and palate become parched.

The renouncer is subject to insect bites, an affliction not mentioned in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* but found in later texts.²⁸ He stays in empty houses and temples, and in burning grounds, as

²⁵ *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.9, pp. 330-31. Translation S. A. Jain 1992: 251.

²⁶ Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 609.

²⁷ *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.9, p. 331. Translation S. A. Jain 1992: 251. See also Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 609.

²⁸ For example, the eighteenth-century Braj Bhasha poet Dyānatrāy, the eighteenth-century Dhundhari poet Jagrām Godikā, and the nineteenth-century Dhundhari poet Budhjan all wrote about the yogi's ability to withstand the affliction (*parīṣaha*, *parisa*) of being bit by horse-flies (*ḍaṃsa*, *ḍāṃsa*) and mosquitoes (*machar*,

well as in trees, caves and groves.²⁹ He sleeps on the hard ground.³⁰ Other continuities between the *Tattvārtha* and the prose *Yogi-Bhakti Aṃcalikā*, which I discuss below, are that he engages in the *vīrāsana* (seated hero's pose) and *utkutikā-āsana* (squatting pose), and that he sleeps on one side.³¹

Pūjyapāda explains that the ascetic practice of mortification of the flesh involves standing in the sun (*ātapasthāna*), dwelling at the roots of trees (*vrkṣamūlanivāsa*), sleeping in the open without any covering (*nirāvaraṇaśayana*) and performing various bodily postures (*bahuvīdhapratimāsthāna*). Akalaṅka adds that the yogi withstands all these mortifications in silence (*mauna*). Both authors explain that while mortification of the body seems similar to the afflictions (*parīṣaha*), the latter happen by chance whereas the renouncer intentionally endures the mortifications in order to develop a state in which he pays no attention to bodily sufferings or pleasures.³²

We return to many of these descriptions of the renouncer in the *Bhaktis*. The prose *Yogi-Bhakti Aṃcalikā* briefly mentions that the yogis are firm in disciplines (*yoga*, Pkt. *joga*), and says that these include “standing in the heat, at the roots of trees, covered [only] by clouds, in silence.”³³ The first half of verse 12 of *PYBh* similarly describes the yogi, using many of the same words: “They stand, observing a vow of silence, covered [only] by the clouds, and at the roots of trees.”³⁴ In his commentary, Prabhācandra says that this means that the yogis are living outside during the rainy season.

SYBh expands upon this. The text specifies that the yogis are naked (*digambara*). They “stand on the peaks of the mountains facing the rays of the sun” and “sit on a pile of rocks heated by the rays of the sun.” They “sit at the roots of trees in the fearsome night,” and are unafraid even though they are covered by a “dark row of blue-black clouds the color of a peacock's throat” that thunder and let down cold rain. The rain stings them as if they were struck by arrows. During the winter they stand at a crossroads in the rain and snow, with a harsh wind blowing on them.

The images are repeated in the *Laghu-Yogi-Bhakti*. In the rainy season they “sit at the roots of trees amidst the rain and lightning,” and in the hot season they “stand on the tops of

masaka). All of them use the same nouns as the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (*daṃśa, maśaka*), indicating that they took this image directly from the earlier Sanskrit text.

²⁹ *Sarvārthasiddhi*, p. 332; Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 610.

³⁰ *Sarvārthasiddhi*, p. 333; Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 610.

³¹ *Sarvārthasiddhi*, p. 333; Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 610.

³² *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tattvārtha Sūtra* 9.19, p. 345 (see also S. A. Jain 1992: 262f.); Akalaṅka, *Rājavārttika*, p. 619.

³³ *ādāvaṇarukkhamūla-abbhovāsaṭhāṇamoṇa*.

³⁴ *ṭhāṇī moṇavadīe abbhovāsī ya rukkhāmūlī ya*.

mountain peaks heated by the sun's rays." They sleep outside in the cold of winter. These naked *yogis* live on mountain peaks and in caves.

Throughout these verses there are clear indications that these are Digambara Jain yogis who are being described. They are naked (*digambara*). They pull out their head and facial hair, the characteristically Jain mendicant practice of *keśa-locana*. They accept alms-food using their hands cupped in the shape of bowls, a practice still followed today by Digambara mendicants.

Given the centrality of the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* to the Digambara tradition, it is likely that it along with the commentaries by Pūjyapāda and Akalaṅka served as one basis for later depictions of the Digambara yogi. It may well be that the similarities between the *Tattvārtha* and commentaries and *SYBh* argue for the latter being written later than at least Umāsvāti's and Pūjyapāda's texts. But there is much material in the *Tattvārtha* that predates Umāsvāti, who in many places was synthesizing the tradition as it had come down to him and not presenting new material. Here we need to remember that the text is accepted as orthodox by both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, and quite possibly was written before the gradual differentiation of the two had developed to the point that they were identifiable as distinct sects (den Boer 2020: 59-64). A number of scholars have pointed out that the *Tattvārtha* contains content that contravenes Digambara doctrine. One such item in particular is directly relevant here. *Tattvārtha* 9.11 states that a Jina experiences only eleven of the twenty-two *parīśahas*. Commentaries indicate that these include hunger and thirst, but Digambaras have long averred that after attaining omniscience, the still embodied *kevalin* cannot experience either of these (Dundas 1985). The *Tattvārtha* is the earliest text cited by the Digambara encyclopedist Jinendra Varṇī (1993 III: 33-5) in his discussion of *parīśaha*, but the concept clearly predates the *Tattvārtha* and, as we have seen, Umāsvāti may well have incorporated the concept into his text from what we would now identify as Śvetāmbara sources. Ratnachandra (1988: 3: 516) in his Śvetāmbara dictionary of Ardha-Magadhi cites six Śvetāmbara canonical texts that discuss the *parīśahas* (Pkt. *parīśaha*). One of these is the second lecture in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (Pkt. *Uttarajjhayaṇa Sutta*), the forty-six verses of which detail the *parīśahas*. This portion of the *Uttarādhyayana* is judged by scholars to be in the oldest layer of extant Jain texts, and so predates the *Tattvārtha* by several centuries (Ohira 1994: 1).³⁵ In other words, while it might not be possible to date to any Digambara text earlier than the *Tattvārtha* some of the imagery of the yogi found in later Digambara texts, the evidence of both the *Tattvārtha* and the prose *Yogi-Bhakti* argues for the imagery belonging to an early, pre-sectarian stratum of Jain literature. What we can say with certainty is that the image of the Digambara yogi withstanding hardships in the wilderness in all kinds

³⁵ The *Uttarādhyayana* also devotes an entire lecture (30) of thirty-seven verses to the twelve austerities, six external and six internal, the other framework within which the *Tattvārtha* depicts the Jain yogi undergoing asceticism in the wilderness. While Ohira does not include this in the oldest layer of the *Uttarādhyayana*, it is still possibly older than the *Tattvārtha*, and so may be the source for Umāsvāti's enumeration of the twelve austerities.

of weather has had a robust presence in Digambara literature in the centuries after the *Tattvārtha* and the *Yogi-Bhaktis*, as the following examples show.

Guṇabhadra was the disciple of the famous ninth-century Jinasena. Like his teacher, he was associated with the Rāṣṭrakūta court in South India. He is best known for writing the Sanskrit *Uttarapurāṇa*, the second part of the Universal History (*Mahāpurāṇa*) begun by Jinasena. He also composed the Sanskrit *Ātmānuśāsana* (Instructions on the Self), a 269-verse text on the need to orient the spiritual life inwards on the self (*ātman*). Guṇabhadra describes the ideal renouncer in verse 151. He is naked and stays in a cave. He prefers asceticism to material food, is committed to the scriptural virtues in lieu of a wife, and seeks only to attain a state of complete dispassion.

gehaṃ guhāḥ paridadhāsi diśo vihāyaḥ
saṃvyānamīṣṭamaśanaṃ tapaso'bhivṛddhiḥ /
prāptāgamārthaṃ tava santi guṇāḥ kalatram
aprārthyavṛttirasi yāsi vṛthaiva yāñcām

Your home is a cave, you wear the directions and the sky for clothes.
Your preferred food is persevering in asceticism.
For a wife you take the virtues taught in the scriptures.
You only desire to travel the path of no desires.

Śubhacandra also lived somewhere in the Karnataka region, probably in the eleventh century.³⁶ He was the author of a distinctive text on meditation and other contemplative practices, the Sanskrit *Jñānārṇava*, that had subsequent influence on both Digambara and Śvetāmbara writers. He devotes one verse (5.21) to a description of yogis living in the wilderness. Again, he describes them living in caves and sleeping on rock slabs. Śubhacandra follows Guṇabhadra in describing asceticism (*tapas*) as their food, and adds that they use wisdom (*vijñāna*) as drinking water. They live among the deer, and whereas Guṇabhadra says that the Jain virtues (*guṇa*) were their wives, Śubhacandra allegorizes their wives as compassionate friendship (*maitrī*). His statement that real wealth (*dhana*) is to be found in asceticism in the wilderness, and not in worldly material pursuits, is one also found in later vernacular descriptions of the yogis (Cort 2016).

vinhyādrinagaraṃ guhā vasatikāḥ śayyā śilā pārvatī
dīpāścandrakarā mṛgāḥ sahaśarā maitrī kulīnāṅganā /
vijñānaṃ salilaṃ tapaḥ sadaśanaṃ yeṣāṃ praśāntātmanāṃ
dhanyāste bhavapaṅkanirgamapathaproddeśakāḥ santu naḥ //

³⁶ The most recent discussion of Śubhacandra's dates is Hooper 2020: 43-7.

Their city is the Vindhya Mountains,
 their homes are caves
 their beds are rock-slabs.
 Their lamps are the moon's rays
 their companions are deer
 their honorable wives are compassion.
 Their [drinking] water is wisdom
 and their real food is asceticism.
 Their selves are at peace.
 May those wealthy ones show us that path
 - so difficult to find -
 out of the mud of rebirth.

A third Digambara author from the Karnataka region who wrote on this theme was Padmanandī, who lived sometime in the early twelfth century. His *Pañcaviṃśati* is a collection of twenty-six shorter texts. The fifth is the *Yatibhāvanāṣṭaka*, “Eight Verses Contemplating the Renouncer.” While the entirety of this short chapter is worth study for what it says about the medieval Digambara ideal renouncer,³⁷ I mention here only those places in which he describes the yogi in the wilderness. The yogi has taken the vows (*ādāya vratam*), gone to the forest (*vanam gatvā*), and is unmoving like a mountain (*niṣkampā girivat*) (v. 1). The yogi proclaims, “For the sake of liberation I stay in the proper ritual way in equanimity in *paryañka* [posture] in an empty solitary mountain cave” (v. 2).³⁸ He sits in the lotus posture (*paryañkamudrā*), naked (*vimuktavasanaṃ*), colored grey by dust (*dhūlīdhūsaritam*) and looking like a rock (*utkīrṇam dṛṣadīva*) (v. 3). Padmanandī describes the yogi's wife as forbearance (*kṣanti*), his food as asceticism (*tapas*), and his wealth (*dhana*) as spiritual contentment (*unnata*) (v. 4). Finally is a verse (6) that A. N. Upadhye (1983: 271), one of the editors of the text, rightly said bears close resemblance to several of the verses in the *Yogi-Bhaktis*:

grīṣme bhūdharamastakāsritaśilāṃ mūlaṃ taroḥ prāvṛṣi
 prodbhūte śīṣire catuṣpathapadaṃ prāptāḥ sthitiṃ kurvate /
 ye teṣāṃ yamināṃ yathoktatapasāṃ dhyānapraśāntātmanāṃ
 mārge sañcarato mama praśaminaḥ kālaḥ kadā yāsyati //

³⁷ For example, verse 2 is an obvious nod to the opening of Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtras*, when Padmanandī wrote of the stoppage of the fluctuations of thought (*cetovṛttinirodhana*). Several verses mention specific yogic postures, and the anonymous and undated Sanskrit commentator interpreted “they stand, have attained the joy of solitariness because their minds are not moved by the winds of thoughts” (*ye tiṣṭhanti manomaruccidacalaikatvapramodaṃ gatā*) as referring to breath practices.

³⁸ *paryañkena mayā śivāya vidhivacchūnyaikabhūbhṛddarī-madhyasthena*. Paṇḍit Bālcandra Śāstrī, the Hindi translator, glosses *paryañkāsana* as the lotus posture (*padmāsana*).

They remain firm
while seated on rocks atop mountains in the summer
and at the roots of trees in the rainy season.
When winter comes they go to a crossroads and stand there.
They restrain themselves with the appropriate asceticism.
Their selves are at peace in meditation.
When will the time come for me to follow that path
and find peace?

The imagery of the yogi practicing in the wilderness continued in Digambara literature into the early modern period. During the period of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries dozens of Digambara laymen composed thousands of vernacular songs (*pad*). Among the themes that many of them addressed was the yogi in the wilderness (Cort 2016). The songs describe the yogi through all the seasons: drenched by monsoon rains, standing in the blazing summer sun and the rain and snow of winter. He lives in forests, atop mountains, in caves, and on river-banks. His only companions are wild animals. He stands naked in the distinctively Jain *kāyotsarga* posture.

This particular yogi imagery has also informed one ideal of the contemporary Digambara naked *muni*. As I describe above, in practice the life of a Digambara mendicant is highly regulated by daily, fortnightly, four-monthly and annual rituals. They rarely travel on their own.³⁹ Since they are dependent on lay Jains for shelter and food, and in other ways interact closely with the laity as teachers and objects of devotion and veneration, at any given time most Digambara mendicants can be found either in cities and towns or at Jain pilgrimage sites. But the ideal of the yogi practicing in the wilderness nonetheless plays an important role in the contemporary Digambara religious *imaginaire*. The late Ācārya Vimalsāgar (1915-1994) was a prominent supporter of Digambara intellectual activities, and a photograph of him is found in the front matter of many books to indicate that he has given his blessings (*āśīrvād*) to the publication.⁴⁰ Almost inevitably the photograph is of him standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture on a small wooden meditation platform in a rocky landscape, with his peacock-feather broom and his *kamaṇḍlu* water-pot made from a coco de mer nut on the ground in front of him. In the background, however, one can see the whitewashed outer-wall of a Digambara temple, indicating that the photograph was carefully staged at a Digambara pilgrimage shrine [Figure 1]. The late Muni Cinmayasāgar (1961-2019) was popularly known as “Junglewale Baba” because of his regular practice of staying in forests, coming into nearby towns and villages only in order to engage in his food-gathering round and grant *darśan* (auspicious sight)

³⁹ Unlike Śvetāmbara mendicants, for whom the rules of mendicant conduct in theory proscribe travelling alone, some Digambara mendicants do travel by themselves. This is not the norm, however, and most Digambara mendicants travel in groups.

⁴⁰ For information on him, see <https://digjainwiki.org/wiki/aacharya-shri-108-vimalsagar-ji-1915-ankalikar/> (accessed April 23, 2022).

to his devotees. Photographs of him show him in standing and seated meditation both in the forest and atop rocky hillsides. [Figure 2]⁴¹

Postures and other Yogic Practices

Many Jain texts contain references to bodily postures (*āsana*), breathing practices (*prāṇāyāma*), meditative practices (*dhyāna*) and other yogic practices. James Mallinson and Mark Singleton in *Roots of Yoga* translated passages from two Śvetāmbara texts, the canonical *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* and the twelfth-century *Yogaśāstra* and autocommentary of Hemacandra, and David Gordon White included two articles on Jain meditation in his *Yoga in Practice*, but for the most part scholars of the history of yoga in South Asia have paid little attention to Jain texts. The *Yogi-Bhaktis* contain references that will be of interest to scholars of the history of yoga.⁴² The almost offhand way in which these references are incorporated in the Jain texts tells us that yogic practices were integral to Jain practice, and that our scholarly understanding of the history of yoga would benefit greatly by an extensive investigation and cataloguing of yogic practices in Jain literary, visual and material cultures.

As mentioned above, the prose *Aṃcalikā* of the *Yogi-Bhaktis* contains textual material and refers to ritual actions that overlap with the Śvetāmbara *Āvaśyakas*, and therefore can be dated to the early, pre-division period of the Jain tradition. One of the overlaps with the Śvetāmbara *Āvaśyakas* is the form of the text itself: the person first recites the *Yogi-Bhakti* while standing in the posture of *kāyotsarga*, and then recites the *Aṃcalikā* to the physically present or imagined spiritual leader, stating the intention that the ritual performance will result in wearing away karma and lead to attaining liberation. This posture can be seen in Figure 1. The person stands erect, forming two parallel vertical alignments from the shoulders through the hips to the feet. The hands hang down to the side, with the palms facing inward. The posture is held either for the duration of one or more recitations of a liturgical passage, or a specified number of breaths.

The text of the *Aṃcalikā* actually begins after the person has recited the *Yogi-Bhakti* while performing *kāyotsarga*; this verbal confirmation of the ritual action that has just been completed is important, because the level of karmic impact of an action is directly dependent upon the degree of intention that went into the action. The person then states the intention to perform the twice-daily ritual of *ālocana*, confession of karmically harmful deeds, statements and thoughts since the previous confession, again so that the karmic impact of them is significantly reduced.⁴³ The person says that they will adore, worship, venerate and

⁴¹ For information on him, see <https://jainworld.com/2019/11/09/samadhi-of-rastra-sant-munishree-108-chinmay-sagar-ji-maharaj-jungle-wale-baba/> (accessed April 23, 2022).

⁴² Yogīndu's texts, which I discuss briefly below, also contain material of interest to historians of yoga, such as mention of *yantras*, *maṇḍalas*, *mudrās*, *dhāraṇā*, as well as breathing and meditative techniques, on which the thirteenth-century commentator Brahmadeva adds additional information of interest.

⁴³ *Ālocana* is linked to *pratikramaṇa*, the entire ritual of confession of karmically harmful deeds, words and thoughts. On the two, see Williams 1983: 203-7.

praise the yogis, who are described as being in three postures (*āsana*): the heroic posture (*vīrāsana*), sleeping on one side (*ekkapāsa*) and the cock posture (*kukkuḍāsaṇa*). The second of these strictly speaking is not an *āsana*; but its being listed between the other two that are specifically called *āsanas*, and the fact that it is in effect a bodily posture, I think allows us to characterize it as an *āsana*.

Identifying *āsanas* in ancient and early medieval texts such as the *Aṃcalikā* is notoriously difficult. Different names are applied to the same pose, and the same name can be applied to multiple poses. Rarely is the pose described. One sometimes can find descriptions in commentaries, but these are often from as much as a millennium after the original text. The *vīrāsana* is an example of a posture that is described quite differently by different authors, a situation that is explicitly acknowledged by the twelfth-century Śvetāmbara author Hemacandra in his *Yogaśāstra*. In his discussion of various *āsanas*, he defines the *vīrāsana* as follows (4.126; tr. Qvarnström 2002: 98): “That posture in which the left foot is placed on the right thigh and the right foot is placed on the left thigh is called *vīrāsana*, and is considered appropriate to a Jina.” He explains the posture more fully in his auto-commentary: “This hero’s pose is suitable for ford-makers (*tīrthakara*) and other heroes, not for the timid. The placement of the upper hand is as in the couch [*paryaṅka*] pose. Some call this the lotus [*padma*] position. When just one foot is put on top of a thigh it is the half-lotus (*ardhapadmāsana*)” (tr. adapted from Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 102).

But he then says (4.128; tr. Qvarnström 2002: 99), “If the seat were removed and one still were sitting in the same way mounted on the lion-seat [*siṃhāsana*], some people call it *vīrāsana*.” He expands on this in his auto-commentary as well: “When one sits on a chair with the feet on the ground and the chair is taken away and one remains as one was, that is the hero’s pose. The ‘others’ who say this are orthodox teachers (*saiddhāntikas*) who have taught it in the context of austerities which bring suffering to the body” (tr. Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 102). The latter definition is confirmed by Ratnachandra (1988 IV: 484) in his *Ardhamagadhi* dictionary; he cites five passages in the Śvetāmbara canon that use the term *vīrāsana*, and gives an illustration of this difficult sitting posture [Figure 3]. We also find two definitions of the *vīrāsana* in Digambara texts. Śivārya (c. 200 CE) in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* (223) includes the *vīrāsana* in a verse that otherwise lists seven postures in which the renouncer should sleep. Śivārya himself does not describe the posture, but the commentator Aparājitasūri (c. eighth century) describes it as a posture in which the legs are spread apart (*jaṅghe viprakṛṣṭadeśe kṛtvāsanaṃ*).⁴⁴ In a much later text, the thirteenth-century *Anagāra Dharmāmṛta* (8.83), Āśādhara describes the *vīrāsana* along with the *padmāsana* and the *paryaṅkāsaṇa*, and for him the three were closely related. The three are described in terms of the increasing level of flexibility required (8.83):

⁴⁴ Nāthūrām Premī 1956: 56-86 judged that the authors of both the root text and the commentary were members of the Yāpanīya Saṅgha, an extinct branch of the Jains that was active in South India until at least the fourteenth century, and occupied a position in between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras on many matters of doctrine and practice.

padmāsanaṃ śritau pādaḥ jaṅghābhyāmuttarādhare /
te paryaṅkāsaṇaṃ nyastāvūrvo vīrāsanaṃ kramau //

In the *padmāsana*, the two feet meet on the shins. In the *paryaṅkāsaṇa*, the two shins are placed one atop the other. In the *vīrāsana*, the two feet are placed on top of the shins.

Āśādhara quotes three texts in his auto-commentary to explain the postures in greater detail: a text by an unidentified author, the *Śrāvākācāra* of Amitagati (eleventh century) and the *Śvetāmbara Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra (twelfth century). The editor and Hindi translator Kailāścandra Śāstrī in his extensive Hindi commentary adds the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (ninth century) and the *Upāsakādhyāyana* of Somadeva (tenth century). The overlap among these three postures is also seen in medieval Śvetāmbara literature. Helen Johnson (1937: 8 n. 18), in a long note on Hemacandra’s description of postures, notes that the eleventh-century Abhayadeva, in his commentary on the canonical *Sthāṅga Sūtra*, said that “*paryaṅkāsaṇa* and *padmāsana* are synonymous in conventional use and are the postures of the Jinas,” and further that for Hemacandra in the *Yogaśāstra* - a text that, as we have seen, Āśādhara quoted - “*vīrāsana* is the term that really describes that posture.”⁴⁵

The other *āsana* mentioned in the *Aṃcalikā* creates equal difficulties in identification. The text in all printed editions says that this posture is the cock posture (*kukkuḍāsaṇa*). If this is accurate, it is important for the history of postures. James Mallinson has written that the earliest reference to this pose (in its more common spelling *kukkuṭāsana*) of which he knows that describes the balancing pose as practiced nowadays is from the *Ahīrbudhnyā Saṃhitā*, a Pāñcarātrika tantra from perhaps the twelfth century. Two Śaiva texts from roughly the same period, the c. tenth-eleventh-century *Kubjikāmata* and the c. twelfth-thirteenth-century *Matsyendra Saṃhitā*, describe it differently, as a seated pose.⁴⁶ The *Yogi-Bhakti* reference would therefore predate other known references to postures with this name by as much as five centuries.

However, as I noted above, the *Bhaktis* have never been critically edited, and there are significant differences among manuscripts. I suspect that somewhere in the transmission of the *Aṃcalikā* a scribe substituted *kukkuḍāsaṇa* for the widely documented early Jain posture called *ukkuḍukāsana* (also *ukkuḍuyāsana*, *ukkuḍāsana*, *ukkuḍiyā*, *ukkuḍuyā* and *ukkuḍugāsana*) in Prakrit and *utkuṭukāsana* and *utkaṭikāsana* in Sanskrit. Ratnachandra (1988: 2: 172f.) gives references to this posture in four Śvetāmbara canonical texts, and

⁴⁵ Abhayadevasūri’s comment, in his commentary on *sūtra* 400 of the *Sthāṅga Sūtra* (p. 519) is, *paryaṅkā jinapratimānāmiva yā padmāsanaṃ rūḍhā*. This *sūtra* lists the following five postures: *ukkuḍuti* (Skt. *utkuṭuka*), *godohita* (Skt. *godohika*), *samaḥapāyaputa* (Skt. *samaḥpādaputa*), *palitaṅka* (*paryaṅka*), and *addhapalitaṅka* (*ardhaparyaṅka*); see immediately following on the first two.

⁴⁶ E-mail to the author, 6 May 2021.

Dīpratnasāgar (2001 I: 422) references eight Śvetāmbara canonical texts.⁴⁷ The illustration of the posture given by Ratnachandra (Figure 3) shows the person squatting with both heels on the ground while the buttocks are not touching the ground, elbows resting on the knees, and hands folded in a prayer position in front of the slightly bowed face. It is somewhat similar to another ancient Jain posture, the *godohikā* (Pkt. *godohiyā*), in which the heels remain off the ground, and the person balances on just the balls of the feet and the toes. Hemacandra in his autocommentary to the *Yogaśāstra* said that it was in the *utkaṭikāsana* that Mahāvīra attained omniscience. (Most Śvetāmbara texts instead say that he attained omniscience in the *godohikā* posture.) While most of the early references to the *ukkuḍukāsana* are from Śvetāmbara texts, it is included in a list of postures in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhānā* (226) that includes the *paliyaṅka* (Skt. *pariyaṅka*), *godohiyā*, *magaramuha* (Skt. *makaramukha*), *hatthisuṇḍī* (Skt. *hastisuṇḍikā*), and the *addhapaliyaṅka* (Skt. *ardhapariyaṅka*). This posture is also found in texts of the Buddhist Pali canon as *ukkuṭikappadhāna*,⁴⁸ and so it may be one of the repertoire of “self-mortifying physical practices of the ascetics” that Mallinson and Singleton (2017: 89) indicate were a hallmark of the early Śramaṇa tradition.

Postures are mentioned in only two verses of the Prakrit *Yogi-Bhakti*, and not at all in the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti*. In verse 11 of the Prakrit text, the person reciting the text venerates yogis who are described as practicing various standing postures: *bahuvihapaḍimaṭṭhāī. Paḍimā* (Skt. *pratimā*), which more generally simply means an image or likeness, refers more specifically to a three-dimensional icon, and so is used in Digambara texts to refer to a Jina icon and by extension to one of the two postures of a Jina icon, standing or sitting. The yogi is also described as sitting in the *vīrāsana* and sleeping on one side, which, as I argued above, can be taken in these Digambara texts as a formal posture. In verse twelve the text repeats that the yogi is standing (*ṭhāṇī*), while in this case observing a vow of silence (*moṇavadīe*). In his commentary, Prabhācandra says that this means that the yogi is standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture.

While the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti* makes no mention of postures, it does refer in one verse to meditation. In verse 8 the text says that the yogi engages in the foremost form of *samādhi*. The commentator Prabhācandra not surprisingly glosses this as the specifically Jain form of meditation known as *śukla dhyāna* (pure meditation), which is an essential aspect of attaining omniscience.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See also Ghatage 2009: 267f. for an extensive listing of Digambara and Śvetāmbara classical references to the variants of the term.

⁴⁸ I thank James Mallinson for this point; see note 46.

⁴⁹ See Hooper 2020a on *śukla dhyāna* and other specifically Jain forms of meditation.

The Yogi as Possessing Supernormal Powers

Most yoga texts, starting with Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtras*, describe a wide range of supernormal powers that can result from the practice of yoga. As Mallinson and Singleton (2017: 359) observe, "Yoga's ability to bestow supernatural powers upon its practitioners has always been central to its textual descriptions."⁵⁰ They give a long list of these powers, such as the ability to fly, to see and hear at great distance, change one's shape and size, and to find buried treasure. These powers can also include exerting control over others. While such powers may be embarrassing to modern supporters of yoga who want to emphasize its scientific basis and include it in public school curricula, in many ways the claims for the power-bestowing aspect of yoga in classical Indian texts are different only in kind, and not necessarily in degree, from the claims of modern yoga teachers that yoga will give the practitioner health, strength, rejuvenation, longevity and even improved sexual performance.

We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that the Jain *Yogi-Bhaktis* contain an extensive listing of the supernormal powers of the Jain yogi. Descriptions of these powers are found in various early Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts. They are usually called *laddhis* (Skt. *labdhis*; attainments) in Śvetāmbara texts and *iddhis* (Skt. *ṛddhis*; wealth, abundance) in Digambara texts, although the specific powers do not vary significantly between the two traditions (Wiley 2012: 145 n. 1). These powers have been discussed extensively by Jinendra Varṇī (1993 I: 446-57), Kristi Wiley (2012) and Ellen Gough (2021: 20-41), so here I will focus largely on the powers presented in the *Yogi-Bhaktis*.

The list of powers in *PYBh* overlaps closely with the content of two other Digambara texts in Prakrit also from the early to middle first millennium CE, although the previous scholarly discussions by Varṇī, Wiley and Gough of the powers as found in Digambara texts have not availed themselves of *PYBh*.⁵¹ There are also discrepancies among the three texts in the number of powers discussed. The *Chakhaṇḍāgama* (Skt. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*; hereinafter *ṢKhĀ*) is a detailed study of Jain karma theory that is traditionally dated to 156 CE, and can be dated safely to sometime in the first half of the first millennium CE. According to Digambara history, it contains the only surviving parts of the original Jain scriptures, committed to writing by the monks Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali. Like the *Bhaktis*, it contains much that overlaps with early Śvetāmbara texts. It is also the earliest Digambara text to mention the powers (Wiley 2012: 157). It is the subject of an extensive ninth-century commentary by Vīrasena, the *Dhavalā Ṭikā*. The *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (Skt. *Trilokaprajñapti*; hereinafter *TP*) of Yativiṣabha, from

⁵⁰ See also Jacobsen 2012 for extensive discussion of such powers. While Mallinson and Singleton call these powers "supernatural," I follow Kristi Wiley 2012: 151 and prefer supernormal: "In Jainism the terms *labdhi* and *ṛddhi* are understood in a broad sense, with certain attainments that are unique to Jainism. . . . although the terms supernatural, miraculous, or magical powers are sometimes appropriate, in order to encompass the range of attainments, these terms are best understood in a more general sense, as a capacity that is beyond the ability of most people." See also Gough 2021: 220 n. 4, who writes, "I avoid the translation "supernatural" to acknowledge the belief that these powers are within the realm of the laws of nature (*dharmatā*)."

⁵¹ See Wiley 2012: 157-59 for other Digambara texts in Sanskrit and Prakrit that give lists of the powers.

the sixth-seventh century, details Jain cosmography, as its name (“Exposition on the Triple World”) implies. It is the oldest Digambara text on this subject. It also includes a list of supernormal yogic powers.

The powers as found in *ṢKhĀ* are included in a lengthy *maṅgala*, a long litany of praises to Jinas and other accomplished Jain adepts to whom the powers are attributed; its focus on powers is seen in that it is called a *ṛddhi-maṅgala*, an “auspicious praise of powers.” Forty-one powers are listed.⁵² The ninth-century commentator Vīrasena quoted an anonymous Prakrit verse that divided the powers into seven categories: powers of (1) intellect (*buddhi*), (2) austerity (*tapas*), (3) changing bodily form (*vikriya*), (4) healing (*auśadhī*), (5) making ordinary food tasty, (6) physical strength (*bala*) and (7) making food and dwellings inexhaustible (*akṣīṇa*) (Gough 2021: 26; Wiley 2012: 157).⁵³ The *TP* expands this list of categories to eight by the addition of the power to travel through the air and in other special ways (*kriyā*).⁵⁴ It also expands the total number of powers to sixty-four. *PYBh*, in contrast, lists thirty-four powers, and, as we see below, includes several not found in the other two texts.

PYBh mentions eight powers in verse 6, among the set of various eightfold attributes of the yogi. Prabhācandra in his commentary says that this refers to a different set of eight powers than either *TP* or Vīrasena. These are the powers to (1) make the body minute (*aṇimā*), (2) make the body huge (*mahimā*), (3) make the body weightless (*laghimā*), (4) spread one’s fingers to touch anything in the universe (*prāpti*), (5) spread everywhere like water on the earth (*prāgāmya*), (6) have lordship over the three worlds (*īśitva*), (7) bring all beings under one’s influence (*vaśitva*), and (8) assume whatever bodily shape one wants (*kāmarūpitva*). *TP* (4.1024-25) lists these eight powers under the *vikriya* power, and adds three more: the power to (9) make the body heavier than a thunderbolt (*garimā*), (10) resist being struck by a counter-blow (*apratighāta*), and (11) become invisible (*antardhāna*). *PYBh* itself does not indicate to which of the sets of eight powers it refers, and I do not think that we can necessarily follow Prabhācandra, given the existence of the alternate set of eight found in the *TP* as well as the significant time-lag between the original text of *PYBh* and Prabhācandra.

In verses 15-21 *PYBh* engages in a much more extensive cataloguing of the special powers of the Digambara yogi. In verse 15 the text says that the yogi practices five special kinds of asceticism, each of which Prabhācandra explains. These same five are also found in *TP* (4.1049-60), which adds two more; *TP* calls them the seven asceticism powers (*tavariddhi*, Skt. *tapasṛddhi*). In fierce asceticism (*uggatava*, Skt. *ugratapas*) the yogi fasts on the fifth, eighth and fourteenth day of each fortnight. Blazing asceticism (*dittatava*, Skt. *dīptatapas*) burns up the body. *TP* (4.1052) says that due to this form of asceticism the brilliance of the

⁵² See Gough 2021: 26-9 for a translation of the entire *maṅgala*.

⁵³ Vīrasena on *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* 4.1.7; Vol. 9, p. 58:
buddhi tavo vi ya laddhī viuvvaṇaladdhī taheva osahiyā /
rasa-bala-akkhīṇā vi ya laddhīo satta paṇṇattā //

⁵⁴ *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* 4.968a:
buddhī vikiriyakiriyā tavabalavosahirasakkhidī riddhī /

body expands like the sun. Burning asceticism (*tattatava*, Skt. *taptatapas*) is like pouring a drop of water on a hot griddle. As a result of this form of asceticism, food that has been eaten is destroyed, and therefore the yogi produces no bodily wastes like feces and urine. Great asceticism (*mahātava*, Skt. *mahātāpas*) involves fasting for a fortnight or a month. *TP* (4.1054) adds that through the powers of the four modes of correct knowledge (*mati-jñāna*, sensory knowledge; *śruta-jñāna*, language-based knowledge; *avadhi-jñāna*, clairvoyant knowledge; and *manahparyāya-jñāna*, telepathic knowledge), the yogi is able to do extensive fasts such as the “Line of Merus” (*mandarapanti*). Fearsome asceticism (*ghoratava*, Skt. *ghoratāpas*) brings us back to the description of the yogi practicing in the wilderness. It involves the yogi going to frightening places such as mountains and caves that are inhabited by lions and tigers, and where there are cold monsoon winds, and withstanding all these hindrances. It can also involve being able to practice asceticism despite bodily fevers and pains. The two additional special forms of asceticism found in *TP* (4.1056-59) are fearsome valor asceticism (*ghoraparakkamatava*, Skt. *ghoraparākramatāpas*) and non-fearsome chaste conduct (*aghorabamhacāritta*, Skt. *aghorabrahmacāritva*). The former gives the yogi the power to destroy the three worlds, the ability to rain down thorns, rocks, fires, mountains, smoke and meteors, and the power to instantly dry up all the water in the oceans. The latter results in there being no thieves, plague or wars where the yogi practices. Bad dreams are eliminated due to the wearing away of *cāritramohanīya* karma (the karma that obscures proper conduct). Finally, the yogi can maintain complete chastity.⁵⁵

In verse 16 the reciter venerates the yogis who have attained medicinal powers (*osahiriddhi*, Skt. *auśadhi-ṛddhi*). Through their ascetic practices the yogis have such powers that contact with them can heal a person. *PYBh* lists five such medicinal powers. *ŚKhĀ* (4.1.30-34; Gough 2021: 28, 234 nn. 48-52) lists the same five, whereas *TP* (4.1067-73) lists eight. The first is touch medicine: *āmosahi* in Prakrit. Prabhācandra reads this as equivalent to Sanskrit *āma*, “mango,” and says that this power is like the ability of uncooked fruit to cure disease. The other two texts read this differently. *TP* (4.1068) glosses *āma* as Prakrit *āmarisa*, “touch,” and Vīrasena in his commentary on *ŚKhĀ* 4.1.30 (pp. 95-96) reads it as equivalent to Sanskrit *āmarśa*, which also means touch. In other words, the mere touch of a powerful yogi has healing powers. This latter reading makes much more sense, in light of the other medicinal powers; I think we have here an instance in which Prabhācandra is unreliable. The second healing power is saliva medicine (*khelosahi*, Skt. *kṣelauśadhi*): the saliva of a yogi has healing power. Third is sweat medicine (*jallosahi*, Skt. *jallauśadhi*): the sweat from the yogi’s limbs has healing power. Urine and excrement medicine (*vipposahi*, Skt. *vipruśauśadhi*)⁵⁶ is the fourth medicinal power. Finally there is comprehensive medicine (*savvosahi*, Skt. *sarvauśadhi*).

⁵⁵ See Gough 2021: 27f. and 233-34 nn. 40-47 for further discussion of these forms of asceticism and their attendant powers.

⁵⁶ I have given the Prakrit and Sanskrit of this term as found in *PYB* and Prabhācandra. *TP* also reads *vipposahi*, although the Hindi translator gives *viprauśadhi* for the Sanskrit. *ŚKhĀ* and Vīrasena give Prakrit *viṭṭhosahi*, for which the Hindi translator gives *viṣṭhauśadhi*.

Prabhācandra says that this includes bodily products such as urine, excrement, snot and hair. *TP* (4.1073) adds that wind and water that have come into contact with these bodily products also have medicinal power. Vīrasena in his commentary on *ṢKhĀ* 4.1.34 (pp. 97f.) further expands the list of bodily products that are curative to include just about every bodily product (Wiley 2012: 174f.; Gough 2021: 234 n. 52). To this list of five medicinal powers *TP* adds three more. Dirt medicine (*malosahi*, Skt. *malaṣadhi*) is a mixture of dirt from the tongue, lips, teeth, nostrils and ears. Merely from the mouth medicine (*muhanivissa*, Skt. *mukhanirviṣa*; also *vayaṇa-ṇivvisa*, Skt. *vacana-nirviṣa*) indicates that merely hearing the speech of the *yogi* is curative, and similarly merely seeing medicine (*diṭṭhi-ṇivvisa*, Skt. *dṛṣṭi-nirviṣa*) indicates that one can be cured simply by seeing the *yogi*.

PYBh 17 refers to a special power often associated with Gautama Svāmī, the disciple of Mahāvīra who is credited with possessing many special powers, and as a result is also associated with many Tantric practices.⁵⁷ Among the most famous of these is the unfailling kitchen (*akkhīṇamahāṇasa*, Skt. *akṣīṇamahāṇasa*). Both Prabhācandra and *TP* (4.1089-90) explain this with an example: the food left over from a *yogi*'s meal if placed in a bowl will be sufficient to feed the entire army of a world-emperor, and still never be exhausted. Related to this power, *PYBh* 17 says that the *yogi* is a stream of nectar, honey, milk and ghee (*amayamahukhīrasappisavi*; Skt. *amṛtamadhukṣīrasarpīśravī*). Prabhācandra explains this by saying that common food placed in the palm of a *yogi* becomes one of these four excellent foods. *TP* (4.1080-87) and Vīrasena (pp. 99-101, on *ṢKhĀ* 4.1.38-41) add that it can mean that hearing the word of the *yogi* is pleasing, just like eating one of these foods.

PYBh also describes three strengths (*bala*, *bali*) that the *yogi* possesses, powers called strength powers (*balariddhi*, Skt. *balarddhi*) by *TP* (4.1061-66): strengths of mind (*maṇabali*, Skt. *manobala*), speech (*vacabali*, Skt. *vacobala*) and body (*kāyabali*, Skt. *kāyabala*). Prabhācandra does not explain these three, so we must turn to *TP* and Vīrasena (pp. 98-9, on *ṢKhĀ* 4.1.35-37). Mind strength means that the *yogi* can think upon and know the whole of scripture, as a result of the wearing away of the two kinds of karma known as *śrutajñānāvaraṇīya* (karma that obscures scriptural knowledge) and *vīryāntarāya* (karma that obscures one's energy). Speech strength means that the *yogi* can know and recite the whole of scripture, as a result of the wearing away of four kinds of karma: *jihvendriyāvaraṇīya* (karma that obscures the operations of the organ of the tongue, and so obscures knowledge through taste), *noindriyāvaraṇīya* (karma that obscures the operations of the organ of the mind, and so obscures knowledge through the mind), *śrutajñānāvaraṇīya* and *vīryāntarāya*. Body strength means that the *yogi* without difficulty performs *kāyotsarga* for the four-month rainy-season retreat, and can lift up the three worlds with the tip of his little finger and place them elsewhere. This is the result of the wearing away of *vīryāntarāya* karma.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ In addition to Gough 2021 and Wiley 2012, see Dundas 1998, who discusses the role of Gautama in medieval Śvetāmbara mantra practice.

⁵⁸ Wiley 2012: 188f. discusses these connections between mental powers and karma.

PYBh 18 mentions six more powers related to perception and knowledge. Through storehouse (*kuṭṭha*, Skt. *koṣṭha*) power, according to *TP* 4.978-79, the yogi retains knowledge of many subjects that have been taught him by his guru, like seeds stored in a storehouse. *TP* 4.975-77 explains that through seed (*bīya*; Skt. *bīja*) power the yogi can comprehend the entirety of the teachings from just the seed-syllable of one foot of a text, due to the wearing away of *noindriyāvaraṇīya*, *śrutajñānāvaraṇīya* and *vīryāntarāya* karmas. Closely related to this is following one word (*padāṇusārī*; Skt. *padānusārī*) power. *TP* 4.980-81 says that the yogi can understand an entire text from just a single word (*pada*) at the beginning, middle or end of the guru's teaching. Through breaking the boundary of hearing (*bhīṇṇasodāra*; Skt. *saṃbhinna-śrotāra*) power the yogi can hear sounds that originate outside the range of normal hearing.⁵⁹

PYBh then adds two phases of sensory perception (*abhinibodha*, *matī*) that are not included in either *TP* or *ṢKhĀ*. According to Piotr Balcerowicz (2020: 840), "the historically earliest part of Jain epistemology is the classification of cognition (*jñāna*) into a range of varieties in a hierarchical sequence." The earliest model, which he says is evidenced as early as the first century BCE, classified cognition according to five types: (1) sensory cognition (*abhinibodha*, *matī*), (2) testimonial cognition (*śruta*), (3) clairvoyant cognition (*avadhi*), (4) telepathic cognition (*manaḥparyāya*), and (5) omniscient cognition (*kevala*). In a further development, by the fourth century CE, sensory cognition came to be analyzed into four consecutive stages, all happening in a very short moment. The four are (1) sensation (*avagraha*), (2) cogitation (*īhā*), (3) perceptual judgment (*avāya*, *apāyaya*), and (4) retention (*dhāraṇā*) (Balcerowicz 2020: 840f.). *PYBh* says that the *yogī* possesses the first two of these four, through which, according to Prabhācandra, the yogi is "proficient in absolutely understanding the essential nature of a thing."⁶⁰ He adds that these two are joined with perceptual judgement and retention, in accordance with what was by then the orthodox understanding of sensory perception. Why the latter two are not mentioned in *PYBh* is not clear, although it may represent an early stage in the development of the Jain theorization of cognition, and again point to the earliness of this text.

In verse 19 *PYBh* again adds to the list of powers found in *TP* and *ṢKhĀ*, when it lists the five forms of knowledge or perception (*jñāna*) as given in the previous paragraph. While *PYBh* does not specifically describe these as powers (*riddhi*), that they are found in a set of verses dedicated to enumerating the powers of a yogi indicates that we can view them as powers.⁶¹ This is confirmed in part by *TP* 4.969, which includes clairvoyant, telepathic and omniscient cognition among the eighteen types of intellect power (*buddhī-riddhi*).

⁵⁹ See Wiley's 2012: 168f. detailed explanation of this power; she also provides information on four related powers that *TP* describes that are lacking in both *PYB* and *ṢKhĀ*. *TP* 4.980-83 further divides *aṇusārīṇī* into three types.

⁶⁰ *Padārthasvarūpaniścayakuśala*.

⁶¹ Wiley 2003: 92-97 gives an extensive discussion of clairvoyance in Jain epistemology.

The final two verses of *PYBh* devoted to listing the powers of the yogi describe various extraordinary ways that the yogi can travel through the air. The power of bodily flight has long been among the most sought after of yogic powers, from descriptions of flying adepts in ancient South Asian texts to the Yogic Flying promised by the contemporary TM-Sidhi program. As Kristi Wiley (2012: 176-80) has commented, and shown by her extensive discussion, this is also a topic of great interest to Jains. There are discussions and descriptions of flying in many doctrinal and narrative texts in both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions.⁶² The list of forms of aerial travel in *PYBh* is actually rather modest, as the text refers to only eight of them in verses 21 and 22. Vīrasena in his commentary on *ŚKhĀ* (quoting an anonymous Prakrit verse) also lists only eight, but Akalaṅka lists ten forms in his *Rājavārttika* commentary on the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, and *TP* lists thirteen. In these three texts, most of the forms of flying are discussed under the broader category of *cāraṇa* (travel) while the other major form of flying, *ākāśagāmitva* (sky-travel), stands alone. Akalaṅka defines the latter as “going in the sky while seated in a meditational posture, standing upright, or having assumed a similar position. It means going in the sky without walking (or lifting or lowering one’s feet)” (Wiley 2012: 178). *TP* 4.1033-34 gives the same definition.

PYBh 20 lists sky-travel (*āyāsa*; Skt. *ākāśa*) not as a separate power but simply as one of five types of flying. The others are thread (Pkt. and Skt. *tantu*), water (Pkt. and Skt. *jala*), peaks (*seḍhi*, Skt. *śreṇi*) and thigh (Pkt. *jaṃgha*, Skt. *jaṅgha*) travel. For explanations of the first three of these we must turn to *TP* and Vīrasena. *TP* 4.1045 defines thread travel as the ability to travel along a fine spider’s thread. The same text (4.1036) defines water travel as the ability to walk and run in the middle of the ocean without one’s feet harming any beings that have water-bodies. Vīrasena (pp. 78-81, on *ŚKhĀ* 4.1.17) gives essentially the same definitions for thread and water travel. *TP* 4.1041 defines peaks travel (which it calls *aggisihācāraṇa*, Skt. *agrisikhācāraṇa*) similarly as the ability to travel along high mountain peaks without harming beings that live there. Vīrasena (p. 80) slightly expands the meaning, as he says that peaks travel is the ability to travel over not just mountains but also smoke, fire and trees - i.e., anything that rises high into the air. Thigh travel is the ability to travel long distances without bending the knees, at a height of four fingers above the ground (*TP* 4.1037).

PYBh specifies the ability to travel four fingers off the ground separately, in verse 21. This is the type of travel that Akalaṅka calls thigh travel (Wiley 2012: 178), and Vīrasena (p. 80) calls sky travel (*āgāsacāraṇa*).⁶³ *PYBh* concludes its list of forms of travel with fruit (Pkt. and Skt. *phala*) and flower (*phulla*, Skt. *puṣpa*). The former is the ability to run across various kinds of forest fruits without harming the lives therein (*TP* 4.1038; Vīrasena, p. 79), and the latter the similar ability to walk across various kinds of flowers without harming the lives therein (*TP* 4.1039; Vīrasena, p. 79).

⁶² In reference to the *PYBh*, see especially Wiley 2012:178-80 on aerial travel in Digambara texts.

⁶³ Vīrasena (pp. 79-80) defines thigh travel as the ability to travel many hundreds of leagues (*jojana*; Skt. *yojana*) without harming any of the beings living in the earth.

In verse 20 *PYBh* specifies that there are two categories of beings who are masters of these powers of travel: wizards⁶⁴ or literally possessors of spells (*vijjāhara*, Skt. *vidyādhara*) and wisdom-strivers (*pañña-samaṇa*, *pañña-savaṇa*, Skt. *prajñā-śramaṇa*).⁶⁵ Both of these, but especially wizards, are found throughout Jain literature, especially narratives located within Jain universal history.⁶⁶ Jinendra Varṇī (1993 III: 545-46) gives a long list of the cities of the wizards as found in four Digambara texts: in addition to the *TP*, these are the Prakrit *Trilokasāra* of Nemicandra Siddhāntacakravartin (eleventh century), the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena II and Guṇabhadra (ninth century), and the Sanskrit *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena I (eighth century). As Ellen Gough (2021: 202) has noted, becoming a *vidyādhara* was very much a part of the early Jain path to liberation, and *vidyādharas* are frequently included among orthodox and orthoprax Jain mendicants.

Both wizards and wisdom-strivers are humans who through their practice have acquired supernormal powers. These powers are not essential on the path to liberation, but neither are they harmful to it. Both *TP* (4.137) and *Vīrasena* (pp. 77f., on *ṢKhĀ* 4.16) say that there are three kinds of spells, attained through caste (*jāī*, *jādi*, Skt. *jāti*), lineage (both Pkt. and Skt. *kula*) and ascetic practice (*TP*: *sāhiya*, Skt. *sādhita*; *Vīrasena*: *tava*, Skt. *tapas*). *Vīrasena* further explains that caste spells are inherited from the mother's family, lineage spells from the father's family, and ascetic spells through the practice of extended fasts such as six and eight days. Both texts give lengthier definitions of wisdom-strivers. *TP* (4.1017-21) and *Vīrasena* (pp. 81-84, on *ṢKhĀ* 4.18) explain that the wisdom-striver spell arises due to the wearing away of *śrutajñānāvaraṇīya* and *vīryāntarāya* karmas. Without any studying, the wisdom-striver knows fully and in detail the contents of the fourteen *Pūva* scriptures. His conduct fully follows rules, and he knows the details of karma theory. He may attain these spells due to powers attained in a previous life, favorable karmic conditions resulting from his birth, conforming his conduct to the twelve *Aṅga* texts, or performing a fast of six months.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ I borrow this translation of *vidyādhara* from van Buitenen 1959.

⁶⁵ This connection between these two types of beings and powers of air travel are also made evident in *ṢKhĀ*, which alternates listing these two types of beings (4.1.16 and 18) with types of sky travel (4.1.17 and 19).

⁶⁶ A thorough study is needed of these two classes of beings, especially wizards, in Jain doctrine and narrative. For example, in medieval histories of the Upakeśa Gaccha, a Śvetāmbara mendicant lineage that anachronistically traced its origin back to the dispensation of the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, in contrast to all other lineages, both Śvetāmbara and Digambara, that have traced their descent to Mahāvīra, several of the early leaders are described as *vidyādharas*, who travel through the air all around western India (Cort 2008). Medieval western India also saw the existence of another Śvetāmbara mendicant lineage known as the Vidyādhara Gaccha (Śivprasād 2010). Not much is known of this lineage, but epigraphical and textual evidence indicates that it was in existence from at least the mid-sixth century CE until the mid-sixteenth century. According to the *Sthavirāvalī* (List of Elders) section of the canonical Śvetāmbara *Kalpa Sūtra*, which was not committed to writing until the fifth century but contains older material that had been transmitted orally, the Vidyādhari Śākhā was established by the otherwise unknown mendicant Vidyādharagopāla (Jacobi 1884: 293); whether this was just a name or indicated that he possessed the powers of a *vidyādhara* is unclear.

⁶⁷ See also Wiley 2012: 171 on these two types of beings. *TP* adds a single verse (4.1022) on a third kind of person with special powers, the solitary awakened one (*patteyabuddhī*; Skt. *pratyekabuddha*), who is able to quiet his

The Yogi as a Seeker of Spiritual Knowledge who Rejects the Practices found in the Other Four Depictions

In the different depictions that I have detailed above, we see that Digambara yogis were characterized by a large number of practices and rules that made them orthodox Jain mendicants and situated them within larger patterns of yogic practice in South Asia. Even the supernormal powers fit neatly into Jain orthodoxy. But these depictions of the Jain yogi did not go unchallenged. Other Digambara texts dismissed this rule-bound behavior, and argued instead that the true yogi is a *jñānī*, a seeker after spiritual knowledge who transcends formal rules and sectarian markers. For this perspective we turn to a different set of texts than the *Yogi-Bhaktis*: the Apabhramsha verses of Yogīndu (Apa. Joindu). In his verses we see a voice arguing that what I have presented above in fact denoted an ignorant attention to external details that lead the spiritual seeker away from the true path of seeking, seeing and experiencing the sole reality of one's eternal and omniscient Self. In the effort documented in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* and other texts to keep ascetic and yogic practices within clearly defined boundaries we see a concern to defend the boundaries of orthodoxy. But just as all religious traditions exhibit near constant concern to police their practitioners and maintain the authority of the established rules (and the authority of those who proclaim the rules), there is a near-universal human tendency to resist rule-bound strictures, on the grounds that undue conformity to rules leads away from true experience. Yogīndu very much fits this pattern.

Yogīndu was one the most important authors in what scholars have termed the Digambara mystical tradition (Dundas 2002: 107-10). He has been assigned to a wide range of dates, between the sixth and tenth centuries. While A. N. Upadhye (1973: 75) has said "in all probability Jōindu flourished in the 6th century A.D.," and Nalini Balbir and Colette Caillat in their publications and translations of his works have followed this date, more recent scholarship has moved him later in time. H. C. Bhayani (1997: 88-94) argued on linguistic grounds that he cannot be earlier than the tenth century CE, and Ellen Gough (2021: 258n72) has reached the same conclusion on the basis of his use of meditational terms not found in Digambara texts before this date. Friedhelm Hardy (1994: 18 n. 21) and Paul Dundas (2002: 110, 2020: 748) have also come to similar conclusions. We know even less about where he lived. All discussion of him therefore relies upon the two collections of Apabhramsha verse that scholars agree can reliably be attributed to him, the *Paramātma-Prakāśa* (Apa. *Paramappa-Payāsu*; Light on the Supreme Self; hereinafter *PP*) and the *Yogasāra* (Apa. *Jogasāra*; Essence of Yoga; hereinafter *YS*). Of these, the former has played a more important role in Digambara history, in large part because of the Sanskrit commentary by Brahmadeva, composed probably in the thirteenth century CE (Upadhye 1973: 81), on which in turn vernacular commentaries such as that in Kannada by Maladhāre Bālacandra (mid-fourteenth

karmas without any instruction from a guru, and as a result makes progress in both correct knowledge (*samññāṇa*; Skt. *samyajjñāna*) and asceticism.

century CE) and in Dhundhari Hindi by Daulatrām Kāslīvāl (mid-eighteenth century CE) were closely based.

Yogīndu belongs to a trans-sectarian tradition of Apabhramsha poets who composed short verses in the *dohā* genre that celebrate the spiritual path as one of inner experience, and accordingly criticize an undue adherence to rituals and sectarian identities. This tradition also includes medieval Buddhist poets such as Saraha, Kāṇha and Tilopa (Jackson 2004), and can be extended to include texts such as the Sanskrit *Carpaṭa-Śataka* of the Nātha tradition (Upadhye 1969), and the well-known early Hindi verses of Kabīr (Vaudeville 1993) and other *sants*.

The works of Yogīndu are of direct relevance to the history of yoga due to his extensive use of the term *yogi* (Apa. *joi*) to characterize the spiritual adept; it is the term most commonly found in his poems. As summarized by Colette Caillat (2003: 239), Yogīndu in his poems strives “to teach his disciple how to become a *yogin*.” But whereas the *yogi* described in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* is a distinctly Digambara Jain *yogi*, the *yogi* described by Yogīndu transcends such a sectarian identity. Yogīndu also makes a linguistic move of interest to all scholars of yoga, for instead of deriving the Apabhramsha noun *joi* from the Old Indo-Aryan root *vyuj*, “to yoke,” as other authors and scholars both classical and contemporary have done for the Sanskrit nouns *yogi* and *yoga*, he derives it from the root *vdhot*, “to shine” (Caillat 2003: 244-47). Instead of the *yogi* being someone who follows a discipline, he is someone who sees, watches, and closely examines the truth (see also Balbir 1998a: 266). The *yogi* according to Yogīndu is a seer and a knower; he is illuminated. Yogīndu also uses verbs and nouns derived from the Old Indo-Aryan roots *ṽjñā*, “to know,” and *ṽman*, “to think,” creatively using the latter as the root for the noun *muṇi* (Skt. *muni*), the common designation of a Jain mendicant. As Caillat remarks (2003: 243-44), “no word is bound by its etymology. As it often happens, especially in the Indian traditions, historically well-established etymologies on the one hand, and, on the other hand, philosophical or religious concepts and reasoning do not necessarily tally.”

In YS (41-45) Yogīndu criticizes popular religious activity such as pilgrimage and worshipping images in temples, saying that the wise person instead should know, “The Jina God is in the temple of the body - use your intelligence to know this.”⁶⁸ Study of scripture also comes in for censure (PP 1.21). He criticizes the more specialized rituals associated with Tantra as well. In *Paramātma Prakāśa* (1.23) he says,

jāsu ṇa dhāraṇu dheu ṇa vi jāsu ṇa jantu ṇa mantu /
jāsu ṇa maṇḍalu mudda ṇa vi so muṇi deum aṇantu //

For him there is neither mental concentration [*dhāraṇā*] nor the objects of meditation [*dhyeya*],
he practices neither *yantras* nor *mantras*.
He practices neither *maṇḍalas* nor *mudrās*,

⁶⁸ *dehādevali deu jiṇu so bujjahi samacitti* (YS 44b).

he only contemplates on the eternal God.⁶⁹

Two of the defining characteristics of a Jain renouncer are the act of pulling out one's hair (*keśa-locana*) as a ritualized sign of equanimity and having transcended the dualities of pain and pleasure, and the use of a peacock-feather broom (*picchī*) to sweep the ground to ensure that one doesn't step on any minute living being. In *YS* (47) Yogīndu rejects both of these, as well as study and another common practice among Digambara mendicants in medieval South India, residing in a monastery (*maṭha*):

dhammu ṇa paḍhiyaïṃ hoi dhammu ṇa potthāpicchiyaïṃ /
dhammu ṇa maḍhiyapaesi dhammu ṇa matthāluñciyaïṃ //

Dharma is not found by studying
nor is dharma found in books and *picchīs*.
Dharma is not found by entering a monastery
nor by pulling out the hair.

In another verse (*PP* 2.90) he adds even nudity - here designated as "the external marks of the excellent Jina" (*jiṇavaraliṅga*) - to the list of identity markers that can become mere external signs to which the yogi in his ignorance can become attached:

keṇa vi appaü vañciyaü siru luñcivi chāreṇa /
sayala vi saṅga ṇa parihariya jiṇavaraliṅgadhareṇa //

The one who pulls out his hair with ashes
in order to adopt the external marks of the excellent Jina
but does not abandon all attachments
deceives himself.

In the next verse (*PP* 2.91) Yogīndu puts the matter even more strongly, saying that the mendicant who adopts the external sign of nudity without internal transformation is like someone who eats his own vomit:

je jiṇaliṅgu dharevi muṇi iṭṭhapariggaha lenti /
chaddi kareviṇu te ji jiya sā puṇu chaddi gilanti //

Those *munis* who adopt the external marks of the Jina
but hold on to desires and attachments,

⁶⁹ Brahmadeva glosses mental concentration as including breath-control techniques such as *kumbhaka*, *recaka* and *pūraka*.

o Self, are like a person who vomits
and then eats that vomit.

His criticism of these defining characteristics of a Digambara mendicant are part of a broader rejection of the external marks (*liṅga*) of all religious traditions (*PP* 1.88)⁷⁰:

appā vandaü khavaṇu ṇa vi appā guraü ṇa hoi /
appā liṅgiu ekku ṇa vi ṇāṇiu jāṇai joi //

The Self is neither a Buddhist nor a Digambara,
nor is the Self a Śvetāmbara.
The Self doesn't have distinguishing marks.
The yogi just knows the knower.

Other aspects of the Digambara *yogi* that are praised in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* also come in for direct criticism. We saw above that the *yogi* should practice in the wilderness in order to learn how to become indifferent to all manner of bodily afflictions (*kāyakileśa*, Skt. *kayākleśa*). This is one of the twelve forms of asceticism enjoined by several foundational texts. Yogīndu says that both this practice and the related practice of fierce asceticism (*uggatavo*, Skt. *ugratapas*) are useless unless there is an inner transformation as well (*PP* 2.36*1)⁷¹:

kāyakileseṃ para taṇu jhijjai viṇu uvasameṇa kasāü ṇa khijjai /
ṇa karahiṃ indiya maṇaha ṇivāraṇu uggatavo vi ṇa mokkhaha kāraṇu //

Bodily afflictions weaken the body,
but the passions are not eliminated unless there is calming.
Fierce asceticism does not cause liberation
unless the senses and mind are brought under control.

Concluding Observations

The detailed description of the Jain *yogi* that we find in the *Yogi-Bhaktis* has much in common with depictions of the *yogi* found in other South Asian traditions. He engages in fierce ascetic practice in the wilderness, engages in postural, breathing and meditative practices, and acquires supernormal powers. At the same time, throughout these texts the *yogi* is clearly a

⁷⁰ Writing in the thirteenth century, Brahmadeva expands on the list of those yogis who are attached to their external signs to include *ekadaṇḍis*, *tridaṇḍis*, *haṃsas*, *paramahaṃsas*, *saṃnyāsīs*, *śikhīs* and *muṇḍīs*, and gives an extensive catalogue of the marks that distinguish each.

⁷¹ The asterisk indicates that this verse is in the recension of *PP* as found in the Kannada commentary by Maladhāre Bālacandra (mid-fourteenth century), but not in the recension as found in the Sanskrit commentary by Brahmadeva (thirteenth century).

Jain yogi, and even more specifically a Digambara Jain yogi. He adheres to the many details of Jain metaphysics and soteriology. He is naked, eats one meal a day in his cupped hands, carries a peacock-feather broom, and pulls out all of his hair.

The argument behind this paper is precisely in the details. In her review of the 2016 *Yoga in Jainism* edited by Christopher Key Chapple, Ellen Gough (2017) pointed out that incorporating Jain materials into the study of yoga leads to an expanded definition of this central category in South Asian religious history. By looking at one relatively small cluster of Sanskrit and Prakrit texts, this article does just that, and gives the student of yoga a good introduction to Digambara Jain understandings of yoga and the yogi from the first millennium CE. The examples and explanatory materials I have brought in from other Digambara texts of this period indicate that the *Yogi-Bhaktis* are representative of these Jain understandings, and are deeply rooted in Jain doctrine and practice. The countervailing portrait of the yogi as found in the Apabhramsha texts of Yogīndu remind us that no South Asian tradition presents a single monolithic understanding of yoga and the yogi. Any one tradition presents multiple, often contradictory and contested answers to the question, Who is a yogi?

Appendix: The Yogi-Bhaktis, Text and Translation

I present here the original Prakrit and Sanskrit texts of the *Yogi-Bhaktis* together with an English translation. These are offered in the spirit of the valuable extensive collection of translated texts on yoga provided by James Mallinson and Mark Singleton in *Roots of Yoga*. Expanding the number of texts readily available in translation is an essential task in advancing the study of yoga (and yogis). The following is not intended as a critical text of the Prakrit and Sanskrit originals. As I indicated above, to date no one has done the kind of manuscript work that would be needed for a critical edition; and liturgical texts of this type are often highly resistant to critical editing, since they are living ritual texts that are apt to change as the rituals themselves change, and as copyists add notes and new material of relevance to the performance of the liturgies. I have based the Prakrit and Sanskrit texts here on the published editions, although I have been unable to see what would appear to be the earliest published version of the *Yogi-Bhaktis*: Pt. Jindās Pārśvanāth Phaḍkule, ed., *Daśabhakti* (Sholapur, 1921).⁷²

Only the edition by Pt. Pannālāl Sonī (*Kriyā Kalāpa*; Agra: Mahāvīr Pres, 1936) includes the Sanskrit commentary by Prabhācandra. This is also the only printed edition I have seen that presents three of the individual texts sequentially together: Prakrit *Yogi-Bhakti*, Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti* and Prakrit *Aṃcalikā*. Prabhācandra commented only on the two verse texts, not

⁷² Phaḍkule's Marathi translation of the Sanskrit *Bhaktis* was published (or republished) in 1981 in Sholapur. The prefatory matter by Bālcand Devcand Śahā of the Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh contains the same information on the occasions when each *Bhakti* should be recited as I have given above, indicating that in the opinion of this modern Digambara intellectual at least the performance of the *Bhaktis* can be in any language. This contrasts with contemporary Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka insistence that a number of such regular liturgies should be recited only in the original Prakrit.

on the prose *Aṃcalikā*, nor on the *Laghu Yogi-Bhakti*. Unfortunately this version is poorly edited, although the inclusion of Prabhācandra's commentary allows for a fairly easy correction of many of the editorial mistakes.⁷³ Sonī gives no details of the manuscripts he used, nor of any textual variants. It would appear (see his *prastāvnā*, p. 2) that he used several manuscripts from the Ailak Pannālāl Sarasvatī Bhavan, also known as the Ailak Pannālāl Digambar Jain Granth Bhaṇḍār, in Beawar.⁷⁴

Other printed versions of the *Bhaktis* fall into two types. On the one hand I have been able to consult six modern *Kriyā Kalāpas*, compilations of texts that are regularly recited by mendicants. All of them include the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti*, while the other three texts are included less consistently (see below). Of these, only the 1991 *Municaryā* edited by Āryikā Jñānmatī appears to have involved consulting original texts, which Jñānmatī was able to do in 1958. She spent the rainy-season retreat in Beawar, where she also consulted the Ailak Pannālāl collection (see her *prastāvnā*, pp. 26-29). It would appear that the edition published by Brahmācārī Sūrajmal Jain Śāstrī in 1962 is also based on the texts as edited by Jñānmatī (see his *prastāvnā*, pp. *ka-ga*). The collections made by Lallūlāl Jain and three mendicants (*Humbuja-Śramaṇa-Siddhānta-Pāṭhāvali*, 1982), Bramācārīṇī Prabhā Jain and Sañjay Jain (*Prabhu Bhakti Saṅgrah*, 1999), and Āryikā Syādvādmātī (*Vimal Bhakti Saṅgrah*, c. 1985; and *Vimal Bhakti: Vimal Jñān Prabodhinī Ṭīkā*, c. 2016) all appear to have been compiled from existing publications. In most of these collections the *Bhaktis* are found scattered in different places in accordance with their liturgical function.

Due to the attribution of the Prakrit *Yogi-Bhaktis* to Kundakunda, they are also found in collections of his texts. The collections by Pt. Kailāś Candra Jain Śāstrī (*Kunda-kunda Prābhṛta Saṅgrah*, 1960), Pt. Pannālāl Sāhityācārya (*Kundakunda-Bhāratī*, 1971), and Bhagchandra Jain “Bhaskar” (*Kuṃḍakuṃḍaganthāvalī*, 2006) all are based on previous publications. They only include the verse Prakrit *Bhaktis*.

In preparing the text I have started with Sonī's edition, solely because of the presence of Prabhācandra's commentary. Of all the other editions, those by Jñānmatī and Syādvādmātī demonstrate the most careful editing, and so I have turned to them when Sonī's text seems deficient.⁷⁵

⁷³ There were two twentieth-century Digambara scholars by the name of Pannālāl, which can cause confusion. Pt. Pannālāl Jain (1911-2001), often called by the additional title of *sāhityācārya*, was based in Sagar, and was a widely published editor and Hindi translator of Digambara texts. See the short biography of him in Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pannalal_Jain (accessed April 23, 2022). The Pt. Pannālāl who edited the *Kriyā Kalāpa*, and often published giving his last name as Sonī, but sometimes simply as Jain, was a scholar based in Beawar in Rajasthan.

⁷⁴ For several decades in the early twentieth century this collection was in Bombay, and provided important manuscripts for some of the early published editions of classical Digambara texts in the Mānikcand Digambar Jain Granthmālā. I do not know when the owners of the collection transferred it to Beawar in Rajasthan. Unfortunately the owners have resolutely not allowed scholars access to it for many decades (see Balcerowicz 2015: 48).

⁷⁵ Āryikā Jñānmatī (b. 1934; on her, see Shāntā 1985: 513-16) and Āryikā Syādvādmātī (b. 1953) are both well-trained and widely published authors, the former in the lineage of Ācārya Śāntisāgar Dakṣiṇ through Ācārya Vīrsāgar and the latter in the lineage of Ācārya Ādisāgar through Ācārya Vimalasāgar. They are Digambara

Following is the bibliographic information of all of these versions. A number of them include Hindi translations. The only English translation of which I am aware is that by Dashrath Jain (2017) of the Sanskrit *Yogi-Bhakti*; it is very unreliable. The following English translations are all by me. While printed editions give the *Aṃcalikā* after the verse texts, I present the *Aṃcalikā* first since I present the four texts in what would appear to be their rough chronological sequence, while recognizing that they are also agglomerative texts.

<i>HŚSP</i>	<i>Humbuja-Śramaṇa-Siddhānta-Pāṭhāvali</i> . Ed. Lallūlāl Jain. 1982.
<i>KK</i>	<i>Kriyā Kalāpa</i> . Ed. Pannālāl Sonī. 1936.
<i>KKBh</i>	<i>Kundakunda-Bhāratī</i> . Ed. Pt. Pannālāl Sāhityācārya. 1971.
<i>KKG</i>	<i>Kuṃḍakuṃḍaganthāvalī</i> . Ed. Bhagchandra Jain “Bhaskar.” 2006.
<i>KKPS</i>	<i>Kunda-kunda Prābhṛta Saṅgrah</i> . Ed. Kailāś Candra Jain. 1960.
<i>MC</i>	<i>Municaryā (Yatikriyākalāpa)</i> . Ed. Gaṇīni Āryikā Jñānmatī. 1991.
<i>PBhS</i>	<i>Prabhu Bhakti Saṅgrah</i> . Eds. Bra. Prabhā Jain and Sañjay Jain. 1999.
<i>VBhS</i>	<i>Vimal Bhakti Saṅgrah</i> . Ed. Āryikā Syādvādmātī. N.d. (c. 1985).
<i>VJPT</i>	<i>Vimal Bhakti: Vimal Jñān Prabodhinī Ṭīkā</i> . Ed. Āryikā Syādvādmātī. N.d. (c. 2016).
<i>YKM</i>	<i>Yati-Kriyā-Mañjarī</i> . Ed. Bra. Sūrajmal Jain Śāstrī. 1962.

The following gives the individual *Yogi-Bhakti* texts as found in printed sources. In some cases a text is found in two or more locations in the same book, and is so noted.

Prakrit prose *Yogi-Bhakti Aṃcalikā*

- HŚSP*, p. 126.
- KK*, pp. 210; 304.
- KKG*, p. 293.
- MC*, pp. 81-2, 152, 284, 482, 542, 558.
- PBhS*, p. 414.
- VBhS*, pp. 80, 247.
- VJPT*, p. 338.
- YKM*, pp. 243-44.

Prakrit verse *Yogi-Bhakti*

- KK*, pp. 197-205.
- KKBh*, pp. 374-78.

examples of what has become an increasing presence of scholarly female mendicants in almost all the Jain mendicant communities. This is a notable break with the past 2,500 years of Jain history, and a subject in need of further research.

KKG, pp. 290-93.
KKPS, pp. 162-68.
MC, pp. 538-43.
YKM, pp. 2.241-43.

Sanskrit verse *Yogi-Bhakti*

HŚSP, pp. 124-25.
KK, pp. 206-10.
MC, pp. 171-75, 480-83.
PBhS, pp. 413-14.
VBhS, pp. 245-47.
VJPT, pp. 331-35.
YKM, pp. 2.41-42.

Sanskrit and Prakrit verse *Laghu Yogi-Bhakti* or *Yogi-Bhakti Kṣepaka*

HŚSP, p. 125.
KK, pp. 303-04.
MC, pp. 81, 151, 282, 558.
PBhS, p. 414.
VBhS, pp. 79-80.
VJPT, pp. 336-37.
YKM, p. 2.42.

Prakrit prose *Aṃcalikā*

icchāmi bhaṃte yogi-bhatti-kāüssaggo kao tassāloceuṃ
aḍḍhājjadīvadosamuddesu paṇṇārasakammabhūmisu ādāvaṇarukkhamūla-
abbhovāsathāṇa-moṇa-vīrāsaṇekkapāsa-kukkuḍāsaṇa-
caūchapakkhakhavaṇādi-joga-juttāṇaṃ savva-sāhūṇaṃ ṇiccakālaṃ aṃcemi
pūjemi vaṃdāmi ṇamaṃsāmi dukkha-kkhao kamma-kkhao bohilāho sugaī-
gamaṇaṃ samāhi-maraṇaṃ jiṇa-guṇa-saṃpatti hou majjhaṃ

O lord,
having performed *kāüssagga* of the *yogi-bhakti*,
I seek to make confession.
I daily adore, worship, venerate and praise all those mendicants,
in the fifteen *karma-bhūmis* of the two-and-a-half continents and the two
oceans,
who are firm in their disciplines (*joga*) such as

standing in the heat,
at the roots of trees,
under [only] clouds,
in silence,
in the heroic posture (*vīrāsaṇa*),
sleeping on one side (*ekkapāsa*),
in the cock posture (*kukkuḍāsaṇa*),
eating only every fourth meal.

Having by this [adoration, etc.] worn off my suffering and worn off my karma,
and having obtained wisdom,
may I go to the best state,
may I die in *samādhi*,
and may I obtain the wealth of the virtues of the Jinas.⁷⁶

Prakrit verse *Jogi-Bhatti (Yogi-Bhakti)*

thossāmi guṇa-dharāṇaṃ aṇayārāṇaṃ guṇehiṃ taccehiṃ /
aṃjali-maūliya-hattho abhivaṃdaṃto savibhaveṇa //1//

With my hands folded like an opening bud, having venerated as I am able, I
praise those virtuous homeless ones through their supreme virtues. (1)

sammaṃ ceva ya bhāve micchābhāve taheva boddhavā /
caīūṇa micchabhāve sammāmmi uvaṭṭhide vaṃde //2//

⁷⁶ I have broken up the Prakrit prose so that it is easier to see the component parts of this description of the Digambara yogi.

Bhaṃta is a term shared with the early Buddhists.

Kāūssagga (Sanskrit *kāyotsarga*) is a distinctive Jain form of meditation, in which the person stands erect, with hands hanging down and palms folded inward. This pose is held for a specific number of breaths, depending on the specific meditation. See Illustration 1.

Ālocana (confession) is the regular act of confessing to anything karmically harmful that one has done, commissioned, or acquiesced to, in thought, speech or action. Mendicants perform the rite on a regular basis, to acknowledge faults of the previous day, the previous night, the previous fortnight, the previous four months, and the previous year.

According to Jain cosmography, human birth is possible only on the innermost two-and-a-half of the many circular continents that comprise the middle realm of the cosmos; these two-and-a-half circular continents are divided by two circular oceans. On these two-and-a-half continents there are fifteen *karma-bhūmis* where karma is fully operative, and therefore where living beings can most effectively act upon their karmic status (Caillat and Kumar 1981: 34-5).

On the heroic (*vīrāsaṇa*) and cock postures (*kukkuḍāsaṇa*), see my discussion above.

Know that there are some with correct intention (*bhāva*) and others with incorrect intention (*mithyābhāva*). I reject those with incorrect intention, and praise those who are established in the correct. (2)⁷⁷

do-dosa-vippa-mukke ti-daṇḍa-virade ti-salla-parisuddhe /
tiṇṇiya-gāra-rahīye ti-yaraṇa-suddhe ṇamaṃsāmi //3//

They are free of the two faults, they have ceased the three modes of harm, they have purified themselves of the three thorns, they are devoid of the three forms of pride, and they are pure in the three modes of instrumentality. I honor them. (3)⁷⁸

caūviha-kaśāya-mahaṇe caūgai-saṃsāra-gamaṇa-bhayaḥīe /
paṃcāsava-paḍivirade paṃciṃdiya-ṇijjide vaṃde //4//

They churn the four forms of passion, they fear going to the four states of rebirth, they have blocked the five modes of karmic influx, and have conquered the five senses. I venerate them. (4)⁷⁹

chajjīva-dayāvaṇṇe chaḍāyadaṇa-vivajjide samidabhāve /
satta-bhaya-vippamukke sattāṇabhayaṃkare vaṃde //5//

They are compassionate toward beings in the six forms of embodiment, they have rejected the six (wrong) supports, their intentions (*bhāva*) are at peace,

⁷⁷ *Bhāva* is a quite complex term in Jainism. In many cases it can mean affect or sentiment, in ways that overlap with *bhakti*. It can mean an internal disposition that is essential for any ritual action (or inaction) to be fruitful in terms of either wearing away karma or leading to an increase in meritorious and auspicious karma. In this verse I translate it as “intention” to indicate this semantic range.

⁷⁸ The two faults (*doṣa*) are attraction (*rāga*) and aversion (*dveṣa*). The three modes of harm (*daṇḍa*) are by mind, speech and bodily action. The three thorns (*śalya*) are illusion (*māyā*), wrong faith (*mithyā*) and desire for future gain (*nidāna*). The three forms of pride (*garva*) are pride in wealth (*rddhi*), aesthetic pleasure (*rasa*) and enjoyment (*svāda*). The three modes of instrumentality (*karaṇa*) are by mind, speech and body.

⁷⁹ The four forms of passion (*kaśāya*) are anger (*krodha*), pride (*māna*), deceit (*māyā*) and greed (*lobha*). The four states of rebirth are as a hell being (*naraka*), a plant or animal (*tiryāṅca*), a human (*manuṣya*) or a heavenly being (*deva*). The five modes of karmic influx (*āsrava*) are wrong faith (*mithyātva*), lack of restraint (*avirati*), carelessness (*pramāda*), passion (*kaśāya*) and activity (*yoga*).

they are free of the seven kinds of fear, they free other beings from fears. I venerate them. (5)⁸⁰

ṇaṭṭhaṭṭha-mayaṭṭhāṇe paṇaṭṭha-kammaṭṭhaṇaṭṭha-saṃsāre /
paramaṭṭhaṇiṭṭhiyaṭṭhe aṭṭha-guṇaddhīsare vaṃde //6//

They have destroyed the eight positions of pride, they have extensively destroyed the eight kinds of karma and therefore rebirth (*saṃsāra*), they are focused on the supreme value (*mokṣa*), and they are masters of the eight powers. I venerate them. (6)⁸¹

ṇava-baṃbhacera-gutte ṇava-ṇaya-sabbhāva-jāṇage vaṃde /
dahaviha-dhamma-ṭṭhāī dasa-saṃjama-saṃjade vaṃde //7//

They are shielded by the ninefold chastity, and they know the essence of the nine perspectives. I venerate them. They are firm in the ten-fold dharma, and they strive in the ten restraints. I venerate them. (7)⁸²

⁸⁰ The six forms of embodiment are earth (*pṛthivi*), water (*āpas*), fire (*tejas*), air (*vāyu*), plant (*vanaspati*), and mobile flesh (*trāsa*) bodies. The six wrong supports are wrong faith (*mithyādarśana*), wrong knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) and wrong conduct (*mithyācāritra*) and those who promote these three mistakes.

Prabhācandra does not explain why the text includes intentions (*bhāva*) between the list of sixes and sevens. He simply says that the person has calmed the transformations (*pariṇāma*) of anger (*krodha*), etc.

The seven kinds of fear are fear of this world (*ihaloka*), of other worlds (*paraloka*), of lack of shelter (*atrāṇa*), of that which is not protected (*agupti*), of death (*maraṇa*), due to physical feeling (*vedanā*) and of the unexpected (*akasmāt*).

⁸¹ The eight positions of pride (*mada*) are pride due to caste (*jāti*), family (*kula*), strength (*bala*), sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), physical beauty (*rūpa*), asceticism (*tapas*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and artisanship or skill (*śilpa*). The eight kinds of karma are those that obscure knowledge (*jñānāvaraṇīya*), obscure perception (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), produce feelings of pleasure and pain (*vedanīya*), cause delusion (*mohanīya*), determine lifespan (*āyus*), determine the form of the body (*nāma*), determine birth status (*gotra*) and cause obstructions (*antarāya*). See above on the eight powers (*ṛddhi*).

⁸² The ninefold chastity (*brahmacarya*) is in mind, speech and physical action; and through doing, commissioning or encouraging others in each of the three. The nine perspectives (*naya*) are the seven different types of viewpoints, i.e. (1) comprehensive (*naigama*), (2) collective (*saṅgraha*), (3) empirical (*vyavahāra*), (4) direct or instantaneous (*rjusūtra*), (5) verbal or synonymous (*śabda*), (6) etymological (*samabhirūḍha*), and (7) factual (*evambhūta*), in the two categories of (8) substance expressive (*dravyārthika*) and (9) mode expressive (*paryāyārthika*).

The ten *dharma*s are (1) forbearance or forgiveness (*kṣamā*), (2) modesty or humility (*mardava*), (3) uprightness or straightforwardness (*arjava*), (4) purity (*śauca*), (5) truthfulness (*satya*), (6) restraint (*saṃyama*), (7) austerity (*tapas*), (8) renunciation (*tyāga*), (9) nonattachment (*kiñcanya*) and (10) chastity (*brahmacarya*). The ten restraints (*saṃyama*) are to protect beings in the five categories of one-sensed to five-sensed, and to control one's five senses.

eyārasaṃga-sudasāyara-pārage bārasaṃga-sudaṇiṇe /
bārasaviha-tava-ṇirade terasa-kiriyādare vaṃde //8//

They have crossed over the ocean of the eleven-limbed scripture, they are skilled in the twelve-limbed scripture, they are absorbed in the twelvefold asceticism, and they are attentive to the thirteen observances. I venerate them. (8)⁸³

bhūdesu dayāvaṇṇe caūdasā caūdasā-sugaṃtha-parisuddhe /
caūdasā-puvva-pagabbhe caūdasā-mala-vajjide vaṃde //9//

They are compassionate toward the fourteen types of living beings, they are purified from the fourteen forms of inner bondage, they know the fourteen *Pūrvas*, and they are devoid of the fourteen impurities. I venerate them. (9)⁸⁴

⁸³ The eleven-limbed scripture consists of the eleven *Aṅgas*. The twelve-limbed scripture consists of the twelve *Aṅgas*, i.e. the eleven and the *Dṛṣṭivāda*.

The twelvefold asceticism (*tapas*) consists of the six external (*bāhya*) forms of asceticism, (1) fasting (*anaśana*), (2) eating only a partial meal (*avamodarya*), (3) eating a limited number of kinds of foods (*ṛttisaṃkṣepa*), (4) not eating tasty foods (*rasaparityāga*), (5) avoiding temptations (*saṃlīnatā*) and (6) not protecting the body from the weather (*kāyakleśa*); and the six internal (*antaraṅga*) forms of asceticism, (7) confession (*prayaścitta*), (8) veneration of mendicants (*vinaya*), (9) service to mendicants (*vaiyāvṛtṭya*), (10) study (*svādhyāya*), (11) meditative abandonment of the body (*kāyotsarga*) and (12) meditation (*dhyāna*).

The thirteen observances (*kriyā*) are the five great vows of a mendicant (*mahāvṛata*), i.e., non-harm (*ahiṃsā*), adhering to the truth (*satya*), not taking what is not freely given (*asteya*), chastity (*brahmacarya*), and keeping no personal possessions (*aparigraha*); the five self-regulating rules of conduct (*samiti*), i.e., care in walking (*īryā*), speaking (*bhāṣā*), accepting alms (*eṣaṇā*), picking up and putting down things (*ādāna-nikṣepaṇa*), and excretory functions (*utsarga*); and the three restraints (*gupti*), i.e., restraint of mind/thoughts (*manas*), body/actions (*kaya*), and speech (*vacas*).

⁸⁴ There are four types of one-sensed beings: the two types of minute (*sūkṣma*) and gross (*bādara*), of which each in turn is divided into developed (*paryāpta*) and undeveloped (*aparyāpta*). The categories of two-, three- and four-sensed beings are each divided into developed and undeveloped, for a total of six types. Five-sensed beings are divided into thinking (*sañjñī*) and unthinking (*asañjñī*), and each of these in turn is divided into developed and undeveloped, for a total of four types. These total fourteen. (Varṇī 1993: 2: 342)

The fourteen forms of inner possessiveness are (1) wrong faith (*mithyātva*), (2-10) the nine subsidiary passions (*nokaṣaya*) of laughter (*hāsyā*), sense pleasures (*rati*), sense displeasures (*arati*), sorrow (*śoka*), fear (*bhaya*), disgust (*jugupsā*), sexual cravings for men (*pumveda*), women (*strīveda*), and hermaphrodites (*napuṃsakaveda*), and (11-14) the passions (*kaṣāya*) of anger (*krodha*), pride (*māna*), deceit (*māyā*), and greed (*lobha*).

The fourteen *Pūrvas* are fourteen extinct texts, understood to precede the *Aṅgas*.

Prabhācandra quotes *Mūlācāra* 484 to explain the fourteen impurities (*mala*):

ṇaharomajaṃtuatṭho kaṇakuṃḍayapūyacammaruhiramamsāṇi /
bīyaphalamūlā chiṇṇāṇi malā caūddasā hoṃti //484//

vaṃde caūttha-bhattāḍijāva-chammāsa-khavaṇa-paḍivaṇṇe /
vaṃde ādāvaṃte sūrassa ya ahimuhaṭṭhide sūre //10//

I venerate those who fulfill the fasts such as eating only every fourth meal for six months. I venerate those who stand facing the sun from dawn to dusk. (10)

bahuviha-paḍima-ṭṭhāī ṇisijja-vīrāsaṇekkavāsī ya /
aṇiṭṭhivakaṃḍuyavadvive cattadehe ya vaṃdāmi //11//

They stand in various postures (*pratimā*), and they are sitting in *vīrāsana*, and (sleeping) on one side. They neither spit nor scratch. They have abandoned their bodies. I venerate them. (11)

ṭhāṇī moṇa-vadīe abbhovāsī ya rukkha-mūlī ya /
dhuva-kesa-maṃsulome ṇippaḍiyamme ya vaṃdāmi //12//

They stand, observing a vow of silence, covered only by the clouds, and at the roots of trees. They pull out their head and facial hair, and avoid all medicines. I venerate them. (12)⁸⁵

jalla-malla-littagatte vaṃde kamma-mala-kalusa-parisuddhe /
dīha-ṇaha-maṃsulome tava-siri-bharie ṇamaṃsāmi //13//

Their bodies are smeared with dirt all over and on individual limbs, but they are free of the impurity of karmic dirt. I venerate them. Their nails and their facial hair have grown long, they are full of the Śrī of asceticism. I praise them. (13)

ṇāṇodayāhisitte sīla-guṇa-vihūsie tava-sugaṃdhe /
vavagaya-rāya-sudaḍḍhe sivagai-pahaṇāyage vaṃde //14//

They bathe in the water of knowledge (*jñāna*), they are adorned with morality (*sīla*) and virtue (*guṇa*), and they are fragrant with asceticism (*tapas*). Attractions (*rāga*) have all left, and they are full of learning (*śruta*). They are leaders on the path that goes to liberation (*śivagati*). I venerate them. (14)

They are the fourteen *mala-doṣas* (faults of impurity) to be avoided by a mendicant in accepting food: (1) fingernails, (2) hair, (3) flesh, (4) bone, (5) wheat or other grain husk, (6) rice husk, (7) pus, (8) skin, (9) blood, (10) meat, (11) seeds, (12) fruits, (13) sprouts and (14) roots.

⁸⁵ Prabhācandra adds that they stand in the *kāyotsarga* posture, and that clouds indicate the cold season.

ugga-tave ditta-tave tatta-tave mahā-tave ya ghora-tave /
vaṃdāmi tava-mahaṃte tava-saṃjamaiddhi-saṃjutte //15//

They perform the fierce asceticism, the blazing asceticism, the burning asceticism, the great asceticism, and the fearsome asceticism. I venerate these great ascetics, whose asceticism is conjoined with equanimity of the senses. (15)⁸⁶

āmosahie khelosahie jallosahie tava-siddhe /
vipposahie savvosahie vaṃdāmi tiviheṇa //16//

The successful ascetics are touch medicine, saliva medicine, sweat medicine, urine and excrement medicine, and comprehensive medicine. I venerate them in the three ways. (16)

amaya-mahu-khīra-sappisavīe akkhīṇa-mahāṇase vaṃde /
maṇabali-vacabali-kāyabaliṇo ya vaṃdāmi tiviheṇa //17//

They are a stream of nectar, honey, milk and ghee, they are an undiminishing kitchen. I venerate them. They have the power of mind, the power of speech and the power of body. I venerate them in the three ways. (17)⁸⁷

varakuṭṭha-bīyabuddhī padāṇusārīya bhiṇṇa-sodāre /
uggahaīha-samatthe suttattha-visārade vaṃde //18//

They have the excellent storehouse, seed, following one foot, and breaking the boundary [powers of intelligence (*buddhī-riddhi*)]. They have sensation (*avagraha*) and cogitation (*īhā*) [forms of sensory cognition (*abhinibodha*, *mati*)] and they are skilled in the meaning of scripture. I venerate them. (18)

ābhiṇibohiya-suda-ohiṇāṇi-maṇaṇāṇisavvaṇāṇī ya /
vaṃde jagappadīve paccakkha-parokkhaṇāṇī ya //19//

⁸⁶ See above on the five asceticisms (*tava*, Skt. *tapas*), as well as the specific powers listed in the next six verses.

⁸⁷ The three ways are by thought, speech and bodily action.

They possess *mati-jñāna*, *śruta-jñāna*, *avadhi-jñāna*, *manaḥparyāya-jñāna*, and *sarva-jñāna*. They light up the universe. They know through direct cognition and indirect cognition. I venerate them. (19)⁸⁸

āyāsa-taṃtu-jala-seḍhi-cāraṇe jaṃgha-cāraṇe vaṃde /
viüvaṇaiddhi-pahāṇe vijjāhara-panṇasavaṇe ya //20//

They travel in the sky, along a fine thread, in the water, and along mountain peaks, they do thigh travel. I venerate them. They are masters of these powers. They are wizards and wisdom-strivers. (20)

gaīcaūraṃgula-gamaṇe taheva phala-phulla-cāraṇe vaṃde /
aṇuvama-tava-mahaṃte devāsura-vaṃdide vaṃde //21//

They travel four fingers [above the ground], and they do fruit and flower travel. I venerate them. I venerate these great ascetics, who are venerated by the gods and demi-gods. (21)

jiya-bhaya-jiya-üvasagge jiya-iṃdiya-parīsahe jiya-kasāe /
jiya-rāya-dosa-mohe jiya-suha-dukkhe ṇamaṃsāmi //22//

They have overcome fear (*bhaya*), they have overcome hardships (*upasarga*), they have overcome the afflictions caused by the senses (*indriya-parīśaha*), they have overcome the passions (*kaṣāya*), they have overcome attraction (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), they have overcome pleasure (*sukha*) and suffering (*duḥkha*). I honor them. (22)⁸⁹

evaṃ mae abhitthuyā aṇayārā raga-dosa-parisuddhā /
saṃghassa varasamāhiṃ majjhavi dukkha-kkhayaṃ diṃtu //23//

Thus those who are purified of attraction and aversion are praised by me. May they give the congregation the best *samādhi*, may they give me the destruction of suffering.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The five *jñānas* are *mati-jñāna*, sensory knowledge; *śruta-jñāna*, language-based knowledge; *avadhi-jñāna*, clairvoyant knowledge; *manaḥparyāya-jñāna*, telepathic knowledge; and *sarva-jñāna*, omniscience.

Direct cognition (*pratyakṣa*) and indirect cognition (*parokṣa*) are the two basic types of cognition in Jain epistemology. See Balcerowicz 2020: 842.

⁸⁹ The four passions (*kaṣāya*) are anger (*krodha*), pride (*māna*), deceit (*māyā*) and greed (*lobha*).

⁹⁰ Prabhācandra glosses *samādhi* (Pkt. *samāhi*) as the distinctively Jain form of meditation which leads to omniscience known as pure meditation (*śukla-dhyāna*). On this see Hooper 2020a: 550-58.

Sanskrit verse *Yogi-Bhakti*

Jāti-jaroruroga-maraṇātura-śoka-sahasra-dīpitāḥ
duḥsaha-naraka-patana-santrastadhiyaḥ pratibuddha-cetasāḥ /
jīvitamambubindu-capalaṃ taḍidabrasamā vibhūtayaḥ
sakalamidaṃ vicintya munayaḥ praśamāya vanāntamāśritāḥ //1//

The *munis* go to the forest for refuge, to find peace.
They burn in thousands of sorrows caused by the suffering of birth, old age,
disease and death.
Their minds are now fully awake due to the fear of falling into the
unbearableness of hell.
They have become aware that all life is as fleeting as a drop of water,
or as lightning from thunder-clouds. (1)

vrata-samiti-gupti-saṃyutāḥ śiva-sukhamādhāya manasi vīta-mohāḥ /
dhyānādhyayana-vaśaṅgatā viśuddhaye karmaṇāṃ tapaścaranti //2//

They are conjoined with the *vratas*, *samitis* and *guptis*.
Their minds are fixed on the pleasure of liberation,
and they have defeated delusion.
They are disciplined by meditation and study.
They practice asceticism to purify their karmas. (2)⁹¹

dinakara-kiraṇa-nikara-santapta-śilānicayeṣu niḥsprhāḥ
mala-paṭalāvalipta-tanavaḥ śithilīkṛta-karma-bandhanāḥ /
vyapagata-madana-darpa-rati-doṣa-kaṣāya-virakta-matsarāḥ
giri-śikhareṣu caṇḍa-kiraṇābhimukha-sthitayo digambarāḥ //3//

The sky-clad ones stand on the peaks of the mountains facing the rays of the
sun.
They show no concern,
seated on a pile of rocks heated by the rays of the sun,
their bodies smeared by a coating of dirt,
working to cool the karma that binds them.

⁹¹ An alternate for *śivasukhamādhāya*, “on the pleasure of liberation,” is *śamasukhamādhāya*, “on the pleasure of equanimity.” See above on the five *vratas*, five *samitis* and three *guptis*, which collectively structure the life of a Jain mendicant.

They are indifferent to the attractions of desire (*madana*), pride (*darpa*), lust (*rati*), faults (*doṣa*), and passions (*kaṣāya*), for all of these have left. (3)

sajjñānāmṛta-pāyibhiḥ kṣānti-payah sicyamāna-puṇya-kāyaiḥ /
dhr̥ta-santoṣacchatrakaistāpastīvro'pi sahyate munīndraiḥ //4//

The *muni*-lords drink the nectar of right knowledge.
Their auspicious bodies are moistened by the water of forgiveness.
They are sheltered by the parasol of forbearance.
They maintain their sharp asceticism. (4)

śikhigalakajjalālinair-vibudhādhipacāpacitritaiḥ
bhīmaravair-viṣṣṭa-caṇḍāśani-śītala-vāyu-vṛṣṭibhiḥ /
gaganatalaṃ vilokya jaladaiḥ sthagitaṃ sahasā tapodhanāḥ
punarapi tarutaleṣu viśamāsu niśāsu viśamkamāsate //5//

Those fortunate ascetics sit at the roots of trees in the fearsome night,
with all their doubts gone,
despite the dark row of blue-black clouds the color of a peacock's throat,
the multi-colored rainbow,
the frightful roar of the thunder,
the cold wind and rain,
and the rainclouds that suddenly cover the vault of the sky. (5)

jaladhārāśaratāḍitā na calanti caritrataḥ sadā nṛsimhāḥ /
saṃsāra-duḥkha-bhīravaḥ pariśahārātighātinaḥ pravīrāḥ //6//

These man-lions are forever firm in their conduct.
They do not move even though struck by arrows from the rain-clouds.
They are heroes in the face of the fearsome sorrows of rebirth,
and destroy the afflictions that are their foes. (6)⁹²

avirata-bahala-tuhina-kaṇa-vāribhir-aṅghriḥ-patra-pātanaiḥ
anavarata-mukta-sātkāraravaiḥ paruṣair-athānilaiḥ śoṣitagātrayaṣṭayaḥ /

⁹² Jain texts list twenty-two standard afflictions (*pariśaha*). As found in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (9.8-9) these are, in the translation of Nathmal Tatia, hardships arising from: (1) hunger, (2) thirst, (3) cold, (4) heat, (5) insect bites, (6) nudity, (7) ennui, (8) women, (9) travel, (10) seat and posture for practicing austerities, (11) sleeping place, (12) indignation for reproach, (13) injury caused by others, (14) seeking alms, (15) lack of gain, (16) physical ailment, (17) touch of thorny grass, (18) dirt, (19) honor and reward, (20) learning, (21) lack of intelligence, (22) loss of faith.

iha śramaṇā dhṛti-kambalāvṛttāḥ śiśiraniśāṃ
tuṣāra-viṣamāṃ gamayanti catuḥpathe sthitāḥ //7//

At night in the winter season the *śramaṇas*,
covered only by a shawl of forbearance,
stand here in the crossroads in the fearful snow,
in the steady snow and freezing rain,
the leaves falling from the trees,
amidst uninterrupted howls,
their bodies emaciated and exhausted from the harsh winds. (7)

iti yogatraya-dhāriṇaḥ sakala-tapaḥ-śāliṇaḥ pravṛddha-puṇya-kāyāḥ /
paramānanda-sukhaiṣiṇaḥ samādhim-agryaṃ diśantu no bhadantāḥ //8//

Thus they maintain the three disciplines.
They abound in all forms of asceticism,
their bodies are greatly virtuous.
They seek the supreme bliss and happiness (*paramānandasukha*).
May those respected mendicants show us the foremost *samādhi*. (8)⁹³

Laghu Yogi-Bhakti or *Kṣepaka* (Interpolated verses)⁹⁴

yogīśvarān jinān sarvān yoganidhūrtakalmaṣān /
yogais-tribhirahaṃ vande yoga-skandha-pratiṣṭhātān //1//

I venerate all the yogi-lords and Jinas by means of the threefold yoga.
They have overcome all faults by their *yoga*, and are established in the yogas.
(1)⁹⁵

⁹³ Prabhacandra glosses “three disciplines” (*yogatraya*) as mind, speech and body. He glosses “foremost *samādhi*” as the specifically Jain form of pure meditation, *śukla dhyāna*.

The term *bhadanta* (Pkt. *bhayanta*), here translated as “mendicant,” is a term more commonly found in the Buddhist tradition, and so indicative of the influence on the *Bhaktis* of formulations from the earlier *śramaṇa* traditions.

⁹⁴ The number of verses presented in the seven sources that include the *Laghu Yogi-Bhakti* varies between two and four, as I indicate in my notes on each verse.

⁹⁵ This Sanskrit verse is found only in *MC* (and only on p. 558, whereas the other three verses are found in three other places in the book), *PBhS* and *VJPT*. In diction and style this verse would appear to be much later than the other three. Threefold yoga is by thought, speech and action.

prāvṛṭkāle savidyut-prapatita-salile vṛkṣa-mūlādhivāsāḥ
hemente rātri-madhye pratavigatabhayāḥ kāṣṭhavat-tyakta-dehāḥ /
grīṣme sūryāṃśutaptā giri-sikhara-gatāḥ sthāna-kūṭāntarasthāḥ
te me dharmam pradadyur-muni-gaṇa-vṛṣabhā mokṣa-niḥśreṇibhūtāḥ //2//

They sit at the roots of trees in the rainy season amidst the rain and lightning.
In the winter in the middle of the night,
with all their fears banished,
they abandon their bodies like mere sticks of wood.
In the hot season they stand on the tops of mountain peaks heated by the sun's
rays.
May those groups of bull-like *munis*,
who have climbed the ladder to *mokṣa*,
grant me *dharma*. (2)⁹⁶

gimhe giri-sihara-tthā varisāyāle rukkha-mūla-ramaṇīsu /
sisire bahira-sayaṇā te sāhū vaṇdamo ṇiccaṃ //3//

Every day I venerate those *sadhus*
who stand on mountain peaks in the hot season
and at night at the roots of trees in the rainy season,
and who sleep outside during the winter. (3)⁹⁷

giri-kandara-durgeṣu ye vasanti digambarāḥ /
pāṇipātra-putāhārāste yānti paramāṃ gatim //4//

The sky-clad ones on mountain peaks and in caves,
who take their food using their hands as bowls,
go to the highest state. (4)⁹⁸

⁹⁶ This Sanskrit verse appears in five printed sources, as it is not included in *HŚSP* or *YKM*.

⁹⁷ This Prakrit verse is found in all seven printed sources.

⁹⁸ This Sanskrit verse is found in all seven printed sources. Using the cupped hands as a bowl to receive food is standard practice for Digambara mendicants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources (Including Modern Anthologies)

Ācārasāra of Vīranandi. Ed. Pt. Hemcandra Jain Śāstrī, with Hindi Translation by Āryikā Supārśvamatī Mātā. Ajmer: Digambar Jain Samāj, 1981.

Anagārā Dharmāmṛta of Āśādhara, with his *Bhavyakumudacandrikā Ṭīkā*. Ed. Pt. Banśīdhar Śāstrī & Pt. Manoharlāl Śāstrī. Bombay: Māṅikcand Digambar Jain Granthmālā Samiti, 1919.

Anagārā Dharmāmṛta of Āśādhara, with anonymous *Jñānadīpikā Pañjikā*. Ed. and Hindi tr. Pt. Kailāścandra Śāstrī. Varanasi: Bhāratīya Jñānpīṭh, 1977. Second ed. 1996 cited.

Ātmānuśāsana of Guṇabhadra, with *Ṭīkā* of Prabhācandra. Ed. and Hindi tr. A. N. Upādhye, Hīrālāl Jain & Bālcandra Siddhāntaśāstrī. 3rd Edition. Np: Bhāratvarṣīya Anekānt Vidvat Pariṣad, 1961/2004.

Bhagavatī Ārādhana of Śīvārya, with *Vijayodayā Ṭīkā* of Aparājitasūri. Ed. and Hindi tr. Pt. Kailāścandra Siddhāntaśāstrī. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1978.

Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva. Tr. Kate Crosby & Andrew Skilton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Daśabhakti of Pūjyapāda. Marathi tr. Pt. Jindās Pārśvanāth Phaḍkule as *Āryā-Daśabhakti*. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1981.

Daśabhakti of Pūjyapāda. Eng. tr. Dashrath Jain as *Dasha-Bhakti*. Delhi: Jain Granthagar, 2017 (Gems of Jaina Wisdom 9).

Humbuja-Śramaṇa-Siddhānta-Pāṭhāvali. Ed. Lallūlāl Jain, collected Muni Padmanandi, Muni Devanandi, & Āryikā Kulbhūṣaṇmatī Mātā. Jaipur: Śrī Digambar Jain Kunthu Vijay Granthmālā Samiti, 1982.

Jñānārṇava of Śubhacandra. Ed. and Hindi tr. Pt. Pannālāl Bāklīvāl. 2nd Printing. Bombay: Paramaśruta Prabhāvak Maṅḍal, 1907/1913.

Jñānārṇava of Śubhacandra, with *Ṭīkā* of Nayavilāsa. Ed. H. L. Jain, A. N. Upādhye & Kailāś Candra Siddhāntacārya. Hindi tr. Pt. Bālcandra Śāstrī. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1977.

Kriyā Kalāpa. Ed. Pannālāl Sonī. Agra: Mahāvīr Pres, 1936.

Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa. Tr. Hank Heifetz as *The Origin of the Young God*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Kuṃḍakuṃḍaganthāvalī. Ed. Bhagchandra Jain “Bhaskar.” Shraavanabelagola: National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research, 2006.

Kundakunda-Bhāratī. Ed. and Hindi tr. Pt. Pannālāl Sāhityācārya. 2nd Printing. Phaltan: Cāritra Cakravatin Śrī 108 Ācārya Śāntisāgar Mahārāj Digambara Jain Jinvāṇī Jīrṇoddhāra Saṃsthā, 1971/2007.

Kunda-kunda Prābhṛta Saṅgrah. Ed. Kailāś Candra Jain. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1960.

Mūlācāra of Vaṭṭakera, with *Ācāravṛtti* of Vasunandi. Ed. Pt. Kailāścandra Śāstrī, Pt. Jaganmohanlāl Śāstrī & Pannālāl Sāhityācāra. Hindi tr. of commentary by Āryikā Jñānmatī. 2 vols. 3rd Printing. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānpīṭh, 1984/1999.

Municaryā (Yatikriyākalāpa). Collector and Hindi tr. Gaṇīni Āryikā Jñānmatī. Hastinapur: Digambar Jain Trilok Śodh Saṃsthān, 1991.

Pāhuḍadohā of Rāmasiṃha Muni. Ed. and Hindi tr. Hīrālāl Jain. Karanja: Karanja Jaina Publication Society, 1933. Karanja Jaina Series III.

Pāhuḍadohā of Rāmasiṃha Muni. Ed. and Hindi tr. Devendrakumār Śāstrī. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānpīṭh, 1998.

Pāhuḍadohā of Rāmasiṃha Muni. English tr. Colette Caillat as “The Offering of Distics (Dohāpāhuḍa), Translated from Apabhraṃśa with Critical Notes.” *Sambodhi* 5, 2-3 (1976), 175-199.

Pāhuḍadohā of Rāmasiṃha Muni. French tr. Colette Caillat as “L’Offrande de Distiques (Dohāpāhuḍa), Traduction de l’Apabhraṃśa.” *Journal Asiatique* 264, 1-2 (1976), 63-95.

Pañcastotra Saṅgrah. Lucknow: Bhāratvarṣīya Anekānt Vidvat Pariṣad, 2004 (fourth printing).

Pañcaviṃśati of Padmanandi, with anonymous *Ṭīkā*. Ed. A.N. Upādhye & H. L. Jain, Hindi tr. Bālcandra Siddhāntaśāstrī. Second ed., Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1962/1977.

Pañcaviṃśati of Padmanandi, with Hindi tr. Pt. Gajādhar Lāl Jain Nyāyśāstrī. Hastinapur: Digambar Jain Trilok Śodh Saṃsthān, 2007. First ed. Banaras: Jain Bhāratī Bhavan, 1914.

Paramātma Prakāśa of Yogīndu. French tr. Nalini Balbir and Colette Caillat as *Lumière de l’Absolu*. Paris: Éditions Payot et Rivages, 1999.

Paramātma Prakāśa (Paramappapayāsu) of Yogīndu, with *Vṛtti* of Brahmadeva & *Bhāṣāṭīkā* of Daulatrām Kāslīvāl. Ed. A. N. Upadhye as *Śrī Yōgīndudēva’s Paramātmaprakāśa and also Yōgasāra*. Rev. ed. Agas: Parama-Śruta-Prabhāvaka Mandala, Shrimad Rajachandra Ashrama, 1973.

Prabhu Bhakti Saṅgrah. Eds. Bra. Prabhā Jain and Sañjay Jain. Jabalpur: n.p., 1999.

Rājavārtika of Akalaṅka. 2 vols. Ed. and Hindi tr. Mahendra Kumār Jain. 8th Printing. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānpīṭh, 1953-57/2009 ().

Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda. Ed. and Hindi tr. Pt. Phūlcandra Śāstri. 7th Printing. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Jñānpīṭh, 1955/1997.

Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda. English tr. S. A. Jain as *Reality: English Translation of Srimat Pujyapadacharya’s Sarvarthasiddhi*. 2nd Printing. Madras: Jwalamalini Trust(), 1960/1992.

Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, with *Dhavalā Ṭīkā* of Vīrasena. 16 vols. Ed. Hīrālāl Jain et al. Amaravati: Jain Sāhityoddhāra Faṇḍ Karyālay, 1939-59. Rev. ed. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1984-95.

Sthāṇāngasūtra, with *Vṛtti* of *Abhayadevasūri*. 3 vols. Ed. Muni Jambūvijay. Mumbai: Śrī Mahāvīr Jain Vidyālay, 2002-04.

Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti. English tr. Nathmal Tatia as *That Which Is*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994.

Tiloyapaṇṇattī of Yativrṣabha. 2 vols. Ed. A. N. Upādhye & Hīrālāl Jain. Hindi tr. Pt. Balcandra Siddhāntaśāstrī. 2nd Printing. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1943/1951-56.

Uttarādhyayanāsūtra. Ed. Jarl Charpentier. New Delhi: Ajay Book Service, 1922/1980.

Vimal Bhakti Saṅgrah. Ed. Āryikā Syādvādmātī. Delhi: Bhāratvarṣīya Anekānt Vidvat Pariṣad, n.d. (ca. 1985).

Vimal Bhakti: Vimal Jñān Prabodhinī Ṭīkā. Tr. Āryikā Syādvādmātī. Kodarma: Bhāratvarṣīya Anekānt Vidvat Pariṣad, n.d. (ca. 2016).

Yati-Kriyā-Mañjarī. Ed. Bra. Sūrajmal Jain Śāstrī. ŚrīMahāvīrjī: Śrī Śāntisāgar Jain Siddhānt Prakāśinī Saṁsthā, 1962.

Yogasāra of Yogīndu. With *Chāyā* and Hindi tr. Jagdiścandra Śāstrī. Ed. A. N. Upādhye as *Śrī Yōgīndudēva's Paramātmaprakāśa and also Yōgasāra*. Rev. ed. Agas: Parama-Śruta-Prabhāvāk Mandal, Shrimad Rajachandra Ashrama, 1973.

Yogasāra of Yogīndu. French tr. Nalini Balbir as "Le *Yogasāra* de Yogīndu." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 16 (1998) 233-47.

Yogaśāstra of Hemaçandra. New English Translation by Olle Qvarnström. In: *A Handbook on the Three Jewels of Jainism: The Yogaśāstra of Hemaçandra. A 12th-Century Jaina Treatise on Yoga*. Mumbai: Hindi Granth Katyalay, 2002/2012. (Pandit Nathuram Premi Series Volume 29).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Ali, Daud. "The Historiography of the Medieval in South Asia." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 22, 1 (2012) 7-12.

Balbir, Nalini. "Glossaire du *Paramātmaprakāśa* et du *Yogasāra*." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 16 (1998a) 249-318.

Balbir, Nalini. "Le *Yogasāra* de Yogīndu." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 16 (1998b) 233-247.

Balbir, Nalini. "Introductory Essay." Ernst Leumann, *An Outline of the Āvaśyaka Literature*, v-xx. Tr. George Baumann. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 2010.

Balbir, Nalini. "The Language of Ascetic Poetry in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* and its Parallels." *Buddhist and Jaina Studies: Proceedings of the Conference in Lumbini, February 2013*. Edited by J. Soni, M. Pahlke and C. Cüppers, 137-169. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014.

Balcerowicz, Piotr. "Digambara Jaina Collections of Manuscripts." *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 10 (2015) 48-50.

Balcerowicz, Piotr. "Extrasensory Perception (*yogi-pratyakṣa*) in Jainism and its Refutations." *Yoga in Jainism*. Edited by Christopher Key Chapple, 109-124. London: Routledge, 2016a.

Balcerowicz, Piotr. "Extrasensory Perception (*yogi-pratyakṣa*) in Jainism, Proofs of its Existence and its Soteriological Implications." *Yoga in Jainism*. Edited by Christopher Key Chapple, 48-108. London: Routledge, 2016b.

Balcerowicz, Piotr. "Jain Epistemology." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut A. Jacobsen & Kristi L. Wiley, 837-856. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Bhayani, H. C. *Some Topics in the Development of OIA, MIA, NIA*. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1997.

Boer, Lucas den. "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." Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2020.

Buitenen, J. A. B. van. "The Indian Hero as *Vidyādhara*." *Traditional India: Structure and Change*. Ed. by Milton Singer, 99-105. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959.

Caillat, Colette. "Expressions de la quête spirituelle dans le Dohāpāhuḍa (Anthologie Jaina en Apabhraṃsā), et dans quelques Textes Brahmaniques." *Indologica Taurinensia* 3-4 (1975-76) 125-138.

Caillat, Colette. "The Offering of Distics (Dohāpāhuḍa), Translated from Apabhraṃśa with Critical Notes." *Sambodhi* 5:2-3 (1976a), 175-199.

Caillat, Colette. "L'Offrande de Distiques (Dohāpāhuḍa), Traduction de l'Apabhraṃśa." *Journal Asiatique* 264:1-2 (1976b), 63-95.

Caillat, Colette. "A Portrait of the *Yogi (joi)* as Sketched by Joindu." *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*. Ed. by Piotr Balcerowicz, 239-252. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.

Caillat, Colette & Ravi Kumar, *The Jain Cosmology*. Tr. R. Norman. Basel: Ravi Kumar Publishers; and New York: Harmony Books, 1981.

Clavel, Anne. "Jain Logic." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut A. Jacobsen & Kristi L. Wiley, 857-863. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Cort, John E. "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia." *History of Religions* 42 (2002a) 59-86.

Cort, John E. "Singing the Glory of Asceticism: Devotion of Asceticism in Jainism." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70 (2002b) 719-742.

Cort, John E. "Constructing a Jain Mendicant Lineage: Jñānsundar and the Upkeś Gacch." *Desert Temples: Sacred Centers of Rajasthan in Historical, Art-Historical and Social Contexts*. Lawrence A. Babb, John E. Cort & Michael W. Meister, 135-169. Jaipur: Rawat, 2008.

Cort, John E. *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Cort, John E. "When Will I Meet Such a Guru? Images of the *yogī* in Digambar Hymns." *Yoga in Jainism*. Edited by Christopher Key Chapple, 191-209. London: Routledge Press, 2016.

Cort, John E. "'No One Gives like the Guru': Devotion to the True Guru in Digambar Jain Hindi Literature." *Early Modern India: Literature and Images, Texts and Languages*. Edited by Maya Burger and Nadia Cattoni, 255-269. Heidelberg: CrossAsia-eBooks, 2019.

Dīpratnasāgar, Muni. *Āgama-Sadda-Koso*. 4 vols. Ahmedabad: Āgam Ārādhnā Kendra, 2001.

Dundas, Paul. "Jains and Language Use." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut Jacobsen and Kristi L. Wiley, 739-755. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Dundas, Paul. "A Digambara Jain Path to Deliverance." *Yoga in Practice*. Edited by David Gordon White, 143-61. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Dundas, Paul. *The Jains*. Second edition. London: Routledge, 2002.

Dundas, Paul. "Becoming Gautama: Mantra and History in Śvetāmbara Jainism." *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*. Edited by John E. Cort, 31-52. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Dundas, Paul. "Food and Freedom: The Jaina Sectarian Debate on the Nature of the Kevalin." *Religion* 15 (1985) 161-198.

Eaton, Richard M. *India in the Persianate Age, 1000-1765*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

Fujinaga, Sin. "Digambara Attitudes to the Śvetāmbara Canon." *International Journal of Jaina Studies* 3, 5 (2007) 1-11.

Ghatage, A.M., gen. ed. *A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature*, Vol. 4. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2009.

Gough, Ellen. "Tantric Ritual Components in the Initiation of a Digambara Jain." *Tantric Communities in Context*. Edited by Nina Mirnig, Marion Rastelli & Vincent Eltschinger, 233-273. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2019.

Gough, Ellen. *Making a Mantra: Tantric Ritual and Renunciation on the Jain Path to Liberation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021.

Hardy, Friedhelm. "Creative Corruption: Some Comments on Apabhraṃśa Literature, Particularly Yogînda." *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature*. Edited by Alan W. Entwistle and Françoise Mallison, 3-23. New Delhi: Manohar; and Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994.

Hooper, Giles. "Jain Meditative and Contemplative Practices." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut Jacobsen & Kristi L. Wiley, 543-561. Leiden: Brill, 2020a.

Hooper, Giles. "A Study of the 'Twelve Reflections' (*dvādaśa bhāvanāḥ*) as Depicted by the Eleventh-Century Jain Digambara Scholar Ācārya Śubhacandra in his 'Ocean of Knowledge' (*Jñānārṇava*) and an Analysis of his Contribution to the Development of Jain Meditation Practice." Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 2020b.

Jackson, Roger R., tr. *Tantric Treasures: Three Collections of Mystical Verse from Buddhist India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Jacobi, Hermann, tr. *Jaina Sūtras*, Part I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884. Sacred Books of the East 22. Reprint New York: Dover, 1968.

Jacobsen, Knut A., ed. *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities attained through Meditation and Concentration*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Jain, Hīrālāl. "Bhūmikā." *Pāhuḍadohā*, of Rāmasiṃha Muni, 9-46. Karanja: Karanja Jaina Publication Society, 1933.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. *The Jaina Path of Purification*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Johnson, Helen M. *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* [of Hemaçandra], or, *The Lives of the Sixty-Three Illustrious Persons*, Vol. 2. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1937.

Kelting, M. Whitney. "Tapas and Asceticism." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut A. Jacobsen & Kristi L. Wiley, 531-542. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Leumann, Ernst. *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Walther Schubring. Hamburg: Friederichson, De Gruyter & Co., 1934 (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 4).

Leumann, Ernst. *An Outline of the Āvaśyaka Literature*. Tr. George Baumann. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 2010.

Lorenzen, David, and Adrián Muñoz, eds. *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Naths*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011.

Mallinson, James. "Yogic Identities: Tradition and Transformation." Smithsonian Institute Research Online, 2013a. <https://asia.si.edu/essays/yogic-identities/>. Accessed April 19, 2021.

Mallinson, James. "Yogis in Mughal India." *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*. Edited by Debra Diamond, 35-46. Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013b.

Mallinson, James. "The Yogī's Latest Trick." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Third Series* 24 (2014), 165-180.

Ohira, Suzuko. *A Study of the Bhagavatīsūtra: A Chronological Analysis*. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1994.

Phūlcandra Śāstrī, Siddhāntācārya Pt. "Prastāvnā." *Sarvārthasiddhi*, of Ācārya Pūjyapāda, 17-90. 7th Printing. New Delhi: Bhāratiya Jñānpīṭh Prakāśan, 1955/1997.

Powell, Seth. "Etched in Stone: Sixteenth-Century Visual and Material Evidence of Śaiva Ascetics and Yogis in Complex Non-Seated Āsanās at Vijayanagara." *Journal of Yoga Studies* (online) 1 (2018) 45-106.

Premī, Nāthūrām. *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*. Bombay: Hindī Granth Karyālāy, 1956.

Ratnachandra, Muni. *An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1923/1988.

Sears, Tamara. *Worldly Gurus and Spiritual Kings: Architecture and Asceticism in Medieval India*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Sears, Tamara. "From Guru to God: Yogic Prowess and Places of Practice in Early-Medieval India." *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*. Edited by Debra Diamond, 47-57. Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013.

Shāntā, N. *La voie jaina: Histoire, spiritualité, vie des ascètes pèlerines de l'Inde*. Paris: O.E.I.L., 1985.

Śivprasād. "Vidyādhara / Vidyādhara Gaccha." *Jain Śvetāmbar Gacchoṃ kā Saṅkṣipt Itihās*, Vol. 2, 1227-1238. Surat: Ācārya Omkārsūri Jñānmandir, 2010.

Soni, Jayandra. "Kundakunda." *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut A. Jacobsen & Kristi L. Wiley, 898-903. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Upadhye, A. N. "Introduction." *Śrī Kundakundācārya's Pravacanasāra (Pavayaṇasāra), A Pro-Canonical Text of the Jains*, I-CXXVI. Bombay: Parama-Śruta-Prabhāvaka-Maṇḍala, 1935.

Upadhye, A. N. "Introduction." *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, of Yativṛṣabha, Vol. 2, 1-13. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1951.

Upadhye, A. N. "Introduction." *Pañcaviṃśati*, of Padmanandi, 13-33. Sholapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣak Saṅgh, 1962/1977.

Upadhye, A. N. "On Some Under-Currents of the Nāṭha-Sampraday or the Carpaṭa-Śataka." *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 18 (1969) 198-206.

Upadhye, A. N. "Introduction." *Paramātmaprakāśa*, of Yogīndu, 1-100. Revised Edition. Agas: Parama-Śruta-Prabhāvaka Mandal, Shrimad Rajachandra Ashrama, 1973.

Upadhye, A. N. "Pañcaviṃśati of Padmanandi." A. N. Upadhye, *Upadhye: Papers*, 260-278. Mysore: Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1983.

Varṇī, Jinendra. *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa*. Fourth Printing. New Delhi: Bhāratiya Jñānpīṭh, 1970-73/1993.

Vaudeville, Charlotte. *A Weaver Named Kabir: Selected Verses with a Detailed Biographical and Historical Introduction*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

White, David Gordon. *Sinister Yogis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

White, David Gordon, ed. *Yoga in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Wiley, Kristi. "Extraordinary Perception and Knowledge in Jainism." *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*. Edited by Piotr Balcerowicz, 89-109. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.

Wiley, Kristi L. "Supernatural Powers and their Attainment in Jainism." *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities attained through Meditation and Concentration*. Edited by Knut A. Jacobsen, 145-194. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012.

Williams, R. *Jaina Yoga: A Survey of the Mediaeval Śrāvakācāras*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963/1983.

Figures

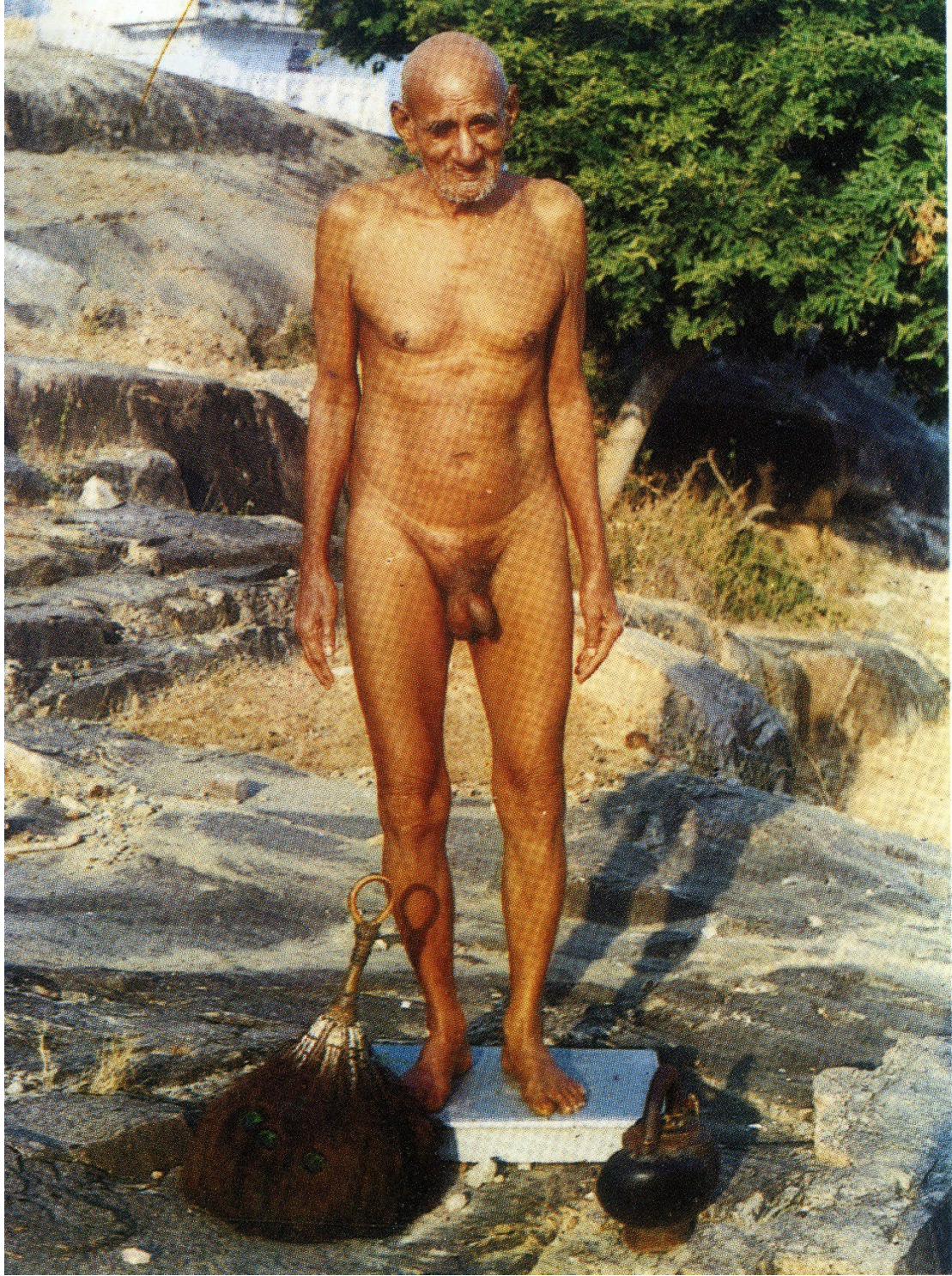


Figure 1: Ācārya Vimalsāgar in *kāyotsarga* posture.
From *Pañcastotra Saṅgrah*.



Figure 2: Muni Cinmayasāgar, aka “Jungle-wale Baba.” Photo courtesy Tillo Detige, 2015.

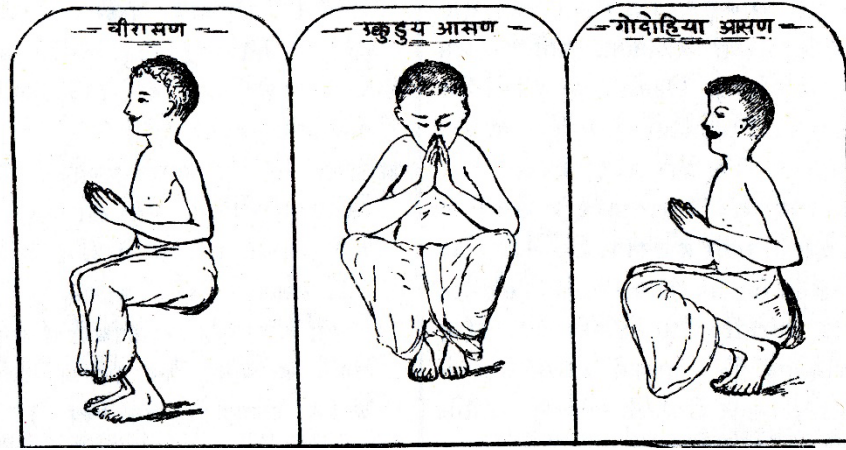


Figure 3: *Vīra*, *utkuṭukāsaṇa* (Pkt. *ukkuḍuya*), and *godohikā* (Pkt. *godohiyā*) *āsanas*. From Ratnachandra 1923/1988: 1: 104.