

Jaina Studies

NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES



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Jaina Studies

NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

Contents:

4 Letter from the Chair

Conferences and News

- 5 Jainism and Money: Programme
- 6 Jainism and Money: Abstracts
- 8 (Non) Violence: 22nd Jaina Studies Workshop 2020
- 10 Gyan Sagar Science Foundation
- 11 History and Current State of Jaina Studies: 20th Anniversary Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS
- 14 Jaina Studies in Japan
- 16 Jainism at the World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver
- 19 Jaina Studies at the American Academy of Religion

Research

- 21 Transferring a Tīrtha: From Śatruñjaya to the Replicas at Kadambagiri
- 24 Riddles of the Rock-Carved Hindu and Jaina Sculptures and Inscriptions at Rakhetrā
- 31 Jainism in Ancient Bengal: Some New Observations
- 34 Victoria & Albert Museum Jain Art Fund
- 35 Mapping the Jina's Path to Salvation: Illustrated Kalpasūtra Manuscripts from Berlin Collections
- 38 Components of Prekṣā Meditation
- 40 The Lotus' New Bloom: Literary Innovation in Early Modern North India
- 42 Georg Bühler's Death: Perceptions and Possibilities
- 44 Sītā in the Centre: Rāmcand Bālak's *Sītācarit*
- 46 Different Interpretations of Anekāntavāda
- 48 Digital Religion in a Transnational Context: Representing and Practicing Jainism in Diasporic Communities
- 51 Kanaiyalal V. Sheth

Publications

- 52 *International Journal of Jaina Studies* (Print)
- 54 *Askese und Devotion: Das Rituelle System der Śvetāmbara Terāpanth Jaina* (*Alt- und Neuindische Studien* 56, 1-2)
- 54 *Contributions to Jaina Studies: Jaina Schools & Sects*
- 55 *Memoirs of Padmanabh S. Jaini*: Book Review
- 57 *International Journal of Jaina Studies* (Online)
- 57 Digital Resources in Jaina Studies at SOAS

Jaina Studies at the University of London

- 58 Postgraduate Courses in Jainism at SOAS
- 58 PhD/MPhil in Jainism at SOAS
- 59 Jaina Studies at the University of London

On the Cover

Kubera, the God of Riches (Detail)
India, Karnataka, Varuna, circa 1050
Sculpture
Magnesian schist
36 x 24 1/4 x 12 in. (91.44 x 61.59 x 30.48 cm)
From the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection,
Museum Associates Purchase (M.69.13.8)
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Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

I would like to praise the exemplary financial support our *Newsletter* received over the last five years from the *Gyan Sagar Foundation* in New Delhi, under the leadership of Sanjeev Sogani. Without it, we probably would have had to close shop at a time when the publication had just morphed into a bulletin for conference reports and *comptes rendus* in Jaina Studies that began to be collected by the major research libraries in the field. Where else could the brief but important *réplique* of Amruta Natu to recent speculative forensic histories of G. Bühler's unexplained sudden death have been published and reached a wider readership?

The current issue abounds with reports of freshly completed PhD works across many academic fields, reflecting the quantitative expansion of research expertise in the field, and also on new publications. Amongst the latter, Padmanabh S. Jaini's memoir *Coincidences (Yogāyoga)* stands out, since as a personalised history of Jaina Studies covering almost an entire century, it will be of great interest for every reader of this *Newsletter*.

One of factors inspiring *Jainism and Money* as the theme of this year's SOAS Workshop is the ongoing *Jaina Prosopography* project at SOAS, which investigates patterns of patronage, amongst other relationship types to offer researchers a sophisticated tool for the reconstruction of the social, literary, artistic and religious history of the Jaina tradition. The current demand for a "Jaina Economics" and the continuing debate of the "Weber thesis" are other factors. Money has always played a role in organised religiosity. What are the solutions tested by the Jaina tradition for negotiating the conflicting demands of accumulation and renunciation in personal and community life?

Finally, I would like to recommend the extremely useful repository for e-prints of Indian PhD theses, including dissertations on Jainism, which has not yet gained the credit it deserves: *Shodhganga: A Reservoir of Indian Theses* at <http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in>.

I am sure you will enjoy Vol. 14.

Peter Flügel



View from Cittaurgarh Fort (Photo: Ingrid Schoon 3.1. 2016)

THE 19TH ANNUAL JAINA LECTURE

Jainism and Money: Precept and Practice

Richard Fynes
(SOAS)

Friday 22 March 2019
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

JAINISM AND MONEY

21st Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Saturday, 23 March 2019
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Monks and Merchants

- 9.15 **Johannes Bronkhorst**
Two Uses of Anekāntavāda
- 9.45 **Christine Chojnacki**
A Successful Investment: Jain Merchants and the
Transmission of Long Medieval Narratives
- 10.15 **Aleksandra Restifo**
Disentangling Poetry from Profit in Jain Monks'
Literary Works
- 10.45 **Tea and Coffee**

Second Session: Jainia-Philanthropy

- 11.15 **Basile Leclère**
The Gold of Gods: Stories of Temple Financing
from Jain Prabandhas
- 11.45 **Bindi Shah**
Enacting Contemporary Jain Religiosity through
Philanthropy in the Diaspora
- 12.15 **Christopher Chapple**
Jain Philanthropic Support of Higher Education
in North America
- 12.45 **Group Photo**
- 13.00 **Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite**

Third Session: Money and Karma

- 14.00 **Whitney Kelting**
Money, Piety, and Masculinity in Jain
Maharashtra



Kubera, the God of Riches
India, Karnataka, Varuna, circa 1050
Sculpture
Magnesian schist
36 x 24 1/4 x 12 in. (91.44 x 61.59 x 30.48 cm)
From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection,
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Los Angeles County Museum of Art LACMA

- 14.30 **William G. Clarence-Smith**
Jainism and the Pearl Economy, 19th and
20th Centuries
- 15.00 **Peter Flügel**
Selling and Buying: Karmic Fruits of
Transactions
- 15.30 **Tea and Coffee**
- Fourth Session: Money, Wealth, Ethics**
- 16.00 **Roundtable Discussion**
Sam Whimster (Chair), Meghnad
Jagdishchandra Desai, Abhay Firodia, Michael
Mainelli, and Andrew McMurtrie
- Fifth Session: Jainia Economics**
- 17.00 **Atul Shah**
Aparigraha: Understanding the Nature and
Limits of Money
- 17.30 **Roundtable Discussion**
Marcus Banks (Chair), Miten Shah, Sagar K.
Shah, Ellis Dee Georgeou, Bharat Dhanani, and
Ashik Shah,
- 18.30 **Final Remarks**

The conference is co-organised by Peter Flügel (CoJS), Richard Fynes (SOAS), and by Charles Taillandier-Ubsdell (SOAS Centres and Programmes Office).

ABSTRACTS

Two Uses of Anekāntavāda

Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne)

It is often claimed that *anekāntavāda* is rooted in *ahimsā*. This paper will present evidence to show that this is not the case. Instead it will present the thesis that, whatever its exact origins, the *anekāntavāda* was primarily used for two purposes: 1) to solve the “paradox of causality,” and 2) to classify non-Jaina systems of thought. Chronologically, the doctrine is first presented as a solution to the paradox of causality. Only later do we find its use to classify non-Jaina philosophies.

Jain Philanthropic Support of Higher Education in North America

Christopher Chapple (Loyola Marymount University)

This paper will give the history, context, and results to date of the creation of endowed professorships and chairs for the study of Jainism at several universities in North America, including the Bhagwan Parshawanth Presidential Chair at the University of California at Irvine, with a donation of \$1.5 million; the Bhagwan Adinath Professorship at the University of North Texas, Dallas, with a donation of \$500K; the Bhagwan Mahavir Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Jaina Studies at Rice University in Houston, Texas with a yearly donation of \$40K; the Mohini Jain Presidential Chair at the University of California at Davis, with a donation of \$1.5 million; the Shrimad Rajchandra Chair at the University of California at Riverside, with a donation of \$1.00 Million; the Bhagwan Mallinath endowed Professorship at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles with a donation of \$800K, as well as support given to California State Universities at San Diego, Fullerton, and Northridge. Other academic support will also be discussed such as the establishment of the Ahimsa Center at California Polytechnic University Pomona and various conferences and study abroad opportunities. Various markers for success will be examined, including publications and classes created.

A Successful Investment: Jain Merchants and the Transmission of Long Medieval Narratives

Christine Chojnacki (University of Lyon)

In India, Jain *bhaṇḍārs* are known to have kept important literary treasuries composed since the beginning of the medieval period. In the process of transmission, monks and merchants played a key-role. Indeed, while monks brought books to the notice of their audience during their sermons and actively promoted them, pious merchants were also important actors, since they invested much money in the copying of manuscripts as well as in the production of rich illustrations. While numerous copies of the preserved works are canonical works or short stories illustrating various religious practices, several

others are very long narrative works composed between the 8th and the 12th centuries which were destined to the aesthetic pleasure of the audience and at the same time to its education. Among these literary treasuries, beside the celebrated *Biographies of the Jinās* composed in the 11th century, two of the most famous texts are Haribhadra’s *Story of King Samarāditya* in Prakrit dating from c. 700 and Siddharṣi’s *Upamitibhavaprapaṅcākhā* written in 905.

Jains and the Pearling Economy, 19th and 20th Centuries

William G. Clarence-Smith (SOAS)

Jains have been among the greatest pearl merchants in the world in modern times. They were especially influential in Bombay, the globe’s pearling capital until WWII, and from there their influence spread as far as Kobe and Paris. That Jains would handle pearls is perplexing, as the principle of non-violence, *ahimsā*, would seem to conflict with dealing in a product that involved killing a living creature. While Gujarati Jains refrained from commerce in cowrie shells, live bullocks, meat and fish, they not only traded in pearls, but also in ivory and silk, both of which also entailed killing animate beings. And yet, Jains seem to have refrained from trading in shell, from which mother-of-pearl was extracted, perhaps by analogy with the ban on cowrie shells. In terms of *aparigraha*, the renunciation of worldly goods, some Jains frowned upon possessing or wearing pearls, but this did not extend to commerce. Attempts to find evidence for debates about this issue within the Jaina community have not borne fruit to date.

Selling and Buying: Karmic Fruits of Transaction

Peter Flügel (SOAS)

The paper discusses the putative karmic implications of handling money and types of business activity outlined in Jaina scriptures, with a focus on the theory of the *kriyās* exposed in *Vīyāhapannatti* 5.6, and revisits the questions raised by classical sociology as to the role of cultural factors in economic history.

Jainism and Money: Precept and Practice

Richard Fynes (SOAS)

Ānanda, the paradigmatic Jain layman, who is the subject of the first section of the Śvetāmbara canonical text the *Upāsakadaśāh*, is characterised by his extreme wealth or rather by his possession of money in the form of gold pieces: 120 million of them to be exact. Ānanda’s possession of such a large amount of money makes his eventual renunciation all the more impressive. In Jainism there is a symbiosis between wealth and renunciation. This paper seeks to explore this symbiosis in the light

of theoretical approaches to the sociology of money. The forms of money are protean; they range from Ānanda's tangible money in the shape of coins with a positive intrinsic value to today's largely invisible money, which depends on a negative concept, debt, for its value. The paper will attempt to survey the interface between Jain ethical values and money in its various forms

Money, Piety, and Masculinity in Jain Maharashtra

Whitney Kelting (Northwestern University, Boston)

Jain laymen have long participated in donation and temple patronage as a sine qua non marker of masculine piety. The model of the great patron of Jainism is reflected in religious narratives and prescriptive texts that instruct Jain laymen on their duties. Jain masculinity's close link to financial success and temple building programs provides a fruitful space for examining scholarly assumptions about masculinity, money, and religion. This talk will centre on how Jain men in Maharashtra navigate shifts in capitalist masculinity under neo-liberalism.

The Gold of Gods: Stories of Temple Financing from Jain Prabandhas

Basile Leclère (University of Lyon)

Since they are intended to recall to their audience the pious actions of illustrious religious and lay members of the Jain community from a more or less remote past, the medieval *prabandhas* logically devote an important space to the activity of temple building as it is probably one of the most expensive donations that could be made to the community. Thus, biographies of prominent Śvetāmbara laymen such as Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla include lists of religious edifices erected at their behest. If the generosity of the donors is commonly praised and emphasized by the precise mention of the amounts of money they spent or of the costly materials they paid for to enhance the beauty of the monument, it is noteworthy that, in several narratives, the funds do not derive from their personal income but are provided through the intercession of a deity. Although such a motif could first be taken as minimizing the role of human patrons, we intend to figure out its significance by replacing it in the broader context of Jain ritual practices.

Disentangling Poetry from Profit in Jain Monks' Literary Works

Aleksandra Restifo (University of Oxford)

This paper looks at three instances in medieval Jain literature that demonstrate how Śvetāmbara monks attempted to uncouple the production of poetry by court poets from the monetary reward of their patrons. It focuses on the three Jain authors—Bālacandra (13th century), Hemacandra (1089-1172), and Rāmacandra

(1093-1174)—who reject the idea that the poet writes poetry for the purposes of earning money and securing his patron's benevolence. In his *Vasantavilāsa* ("Vastupāla's Adventures," 1.13), Bālacandra states that Vālmiki did not get anything from Rāma for praising him in his epic, and hence one should not suppose that other poets produce poetry in order to receive a generous donation (*bhūridānaiḥ*). In a similar manner, Hemacandra criticizes Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (comm. to 1.3) for including wealth (*artha* glossed as *dhana*) among the goals of poetry and states that poetry does not guarantee money, which can be rather made through *śāstra* such as Cāṇakya's *Arthaśāstra*. Finally, Rāmacandra is particularly interesting in this context, as he pays special attention to the importance of independence and self-reliance in all of his surviving plays. The final verse of each play features an injunction to be independent or praises independence as the highest value. In a hymn of praise that is ascribed to him, the *Śrīnemiṅastava* (vv. 2, 14), Rāmacandra criticizes poets who compose works filled with laudatory lies about the king for a penny. This paper argues that these Jain monks used their criticism to set themselves apart from the other non-Jain poets, who engaged in what they implied was the foul practice of writing poetry for personal enrichment. While these monks, as well as Jains more generally, valorized wealth and riches for the purposes of spreading the Jain dharma, building temples, and worshipping the Jina, they denounced the reduction of the poetic skill to the fiscal benefits it can produce.

Aparigraha: Understanding the Nature and Limits of Money

Atul K. Shah (University of Suffolk)

We live in significantly turbulent times for both the practice and the science of business. Economics, the core foundation of business education, is drawing student rebellions and radical critiques. Neo-liberal capitalism is being seen as an engine of greed and fraud, rather than prosperity and equality. Evidence on climate change and environmental impact is showing that man is doing irreversible harm to the planet and we are living in the 'anthropocene'. Jain philosophy and science have shown an alternative sustainable way of living which has had a significant impact on the economic well-being of the community to this day. Among the Jains, we not only have a science of ethical living, but also a practice which has led to sustained success. This paper discusses this science and practice, revealing new insights into how economics can be redrawn. Clarity of purpose, reflexive thinking and leadership, non-possessiveness (*aparigraha*), long-termism and sensitivity to society and nature (*ahiṃsā*), combined with responsibility, are offered as a holistic framework for sustainable business practices. In this age of crisis, the world has much to learn from the lived wisdom and experience of the Jains. It has not been developed out of fear or desperation, but

through quiet introspection and a sustained track record of progress. Above all, its core science is not founded on the domination and plunder of nature, but on deep respect and reverence. It shows how business and humanity can leave a light footprint.

Enacting Contemporary Jain Religiosity through Philanthropy in the Diaspora

Bindi Shah (University of Southampton)

The roots of philanthropy amongst Jains can be linked to religious values and duties with regard to alms giving. Classically, *dān* is a disinterested gift, a gift without expectation of return, debt or reciprocity. In a hierarchical order of different types of gifts, a gift to a worthy recipient is the highest form of *dān* a lay person can make, to the only really worthy recipients, renunciators seeking liberation. While Jain ascetics renounce all worldly possessions and focus their life mission to work toward their own internal purification, the Jain nun who established Veerayatan, a Jain socio-spiritual organisation, has reinterpreted this ascetic path. She argues that compassion in action practiced through *sevā* is the key message of the Jain tradition. In reinterpreting the ascetic path as *sevā* and creating an institutional organisation through which to fulfil this worldly mission, the nun has allowed for the possibility of private voluntary philanthropy to Veerayatan. I draw on in-depth qualitative interviews with 24 diasporic Jains who have engaged in philanthropic giving to Veerayatan over an extended period of time to examine whether classical understandings of *dān* and the ethic of *sevā* or “Western” understandings of giving shape the motivations and sustainability of philanthropic donations to Veerayatan. As a Sociologist, I do not engage with the debate on the Jain theory of giving but focus on transformations in practices of giving among a small group of Jains in the diaspora, and what such giving means to them. *Dān* to temples and institutions is not new, but in this case, I argue that Veerayatan, the organisation run by Jain nuns, has become a worthy vessel for receiving *dān*, rather than the individual nuns that are part of the organisation. However, classical understandings of *dān* merge with “Western” ideas of giving, as is evident in displays of attachment to and concern for impact of the gifts. Overall, my respondents view philanthropy to Veerayatan as a way to enact Jain religiosity and be Jain in the modern world. Additionally, some regard such philanthropy as an important avenue to transmit Jain religiosity and norms of compassion among Jain children in the diaspora. This case study highlights that the practice of the Jain tradition, like any other living religious tradition, is not stable, transhistorical, or universal, and points to the ways in which it is being transformed.



22ND JAINA STUDIES WORKSHOP (NON) VIOLENCE

20-21 March 2020

Papers addressing the question of (Non) Violence are invited.

For further information please see:

www.soas.ac.uk/jainastudies
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Kubera, the God of Riches
India, Karnataka, Varuna, circa 1050
Sculpture
Magnesian schist
36 x 24 1/4 x 12 in. (91.44 x 61.59 x 30.48 cm)
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Gyan Sagar Science Foundation

With the blessing of Param Pujya Sarakodharak Acharya Shri 108 Gyan Sagar Maharaj Ji and his vision and the Gyan Sagar Science Foundation (GSF) came into being in September 2009 with the primary object of bridging Science and Society and to propagate ancient scientific knowledge for the wellbeing of mankind. The foundation aims to provide a national forum where different disciplines of Science (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture etc.), Society and Spirituality are converged and views are exchanged for sustaining life and harmonious living. The Foundation seeks to cultivate and promote value-based education of today's youth in proper perspective and a harmonious application of Science with Religion.

The work of this Foundation is dedicated to Sarakodharak Acharya Shri 108 Gyan Sagar Maharaj Ji who has tirelessly worked to propagate the eternal principles of SATYA (Truth) and AHIMSA (Non-violence) and to promote the culture of vegetarianism. He has been instrumental in holding seminars/conferences of students, teachers, doctors, engineers, chartered accountants, bank officers, bureaucrats, legislators, lawyers, etc. to instill moral values amongst people from all walks of life and work collectively for establishing peace in the world and progress for betterment of the country.

Activities of the Foundation include conferences (Bangalore, 29-31 January 2010; Mumbai, 7-8 January 2012; New Delhi, 8-9 February 2014; Sonagiri (MP) 5-6 December 2015, Vahalna (UP) 14-15 October 2017, New Delhi 11-February 2019). GSF is also organizing workshops for general societal awareness and bridging the gap. Most recently in New Delhi on 23 February GSF organised a workshop on "Discovery of Medicine and our Responsibility," which was well received. GSF also publishes an annual journal: *Journal of Gyan Sagar Science Foundation*. The first volume was released in April 2013 (available online: www.gyansagarsciencefoundation.in). This issue covered all abstracts presented during two conferences and some full-length papers. The papers were published after a peer review process.

To appreciate and recognize contributions of individual scientists to society, the Foundation has instituted an award. The award consists of a cash prize of Rs. 200,000 in the beginning, a medal and a citation. The first award was bestowed on Prof. Parasmal Ji Agrawal Jain for his paper "Doer, Deeds, Nimitta and Upadana in the context of Modern Science and Spiritual Science." It was presented at the 3rd conference in New Delhi.

GSF is also a regular contributor to the annual Jaina Studies conference at SOAS, and has now successfully completed a five year (2015 to 2019) contract for the sponsorship of *Jaina Studies, Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* thanks to all GFL executive committee team members and in particular to Dr Sanjeev for his valuable efforts.

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Jain courses are open to members of the public who can participate as 'occasional' or 'certificate' students. The SOAS certificate in Jaina Studies is a one-year program recognised by the University of London. It can be taken in one year, or part-time over two or three years. The certificate comprises four courses, including Jainism at the undergraduate level. Students can combine courses according to their individual interests.

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Ingrid Schoon

20th Anniversary Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS: History and Current State of Jaina Studies

Simon Winant

The 20th Anniversary Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS took place from the 23rd to the 24th of March 2018.

The conference started in the evening of 23rd March with the resident Terāpanth *samaṇīs* Pratibhā Prajñā and Unnata Prajñā (Jain Vishva Bharati Institute and SOAS) chanting the *Namokāra Mantra*. Afterwards, Peter Flügel took the floor and talked about the future of Jaina Studies, mentioning interesting current projects such as the *Brill Jaina Encyclopedia* and the *Jaina Prosopography Database*.

He then introduced Manish Mehta from Chicago, a representative of the Jaina Diaspora Committee Chair, who reported on several projects funded by the Jaina Diaspora, such as multiple professorships across several American universities. Before the *Annual Lecture* took place, the Honorary President of the CoJS, J.C. Wright handed the CoJS Student Essay Prize to Alex Maidment for her essay on the position of women in Jaina life.

Annual Jaina Lecture

Eva De Clercq, who had the honour of giving the *Annual Jaina Lecture on Jainism and the Rāmāyaṇa*, could not be physically present. Instead, she presented her lecture through a video call. Her lecture focused on Jainism's long-standing engagement with India's most famous story, the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Giving a historical overview of the principal Jaina versions of the epic, De Clercq discussed the two main principal forms of Jaina *Rāmāyaṇas*, namely the School of Vimāla and the School of Guṇabhadra. She also drew attention to various details shared across Jaina versions: the identification of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa with the Jaina triad of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva;



J.C. Wright hands the CoJS Student Essay Prize to Alex Maidment for her essay on the position of women in Jaina life.



Glenn Radcliffe

Manish Mehta, Detroit JAINA Diaspora Committee Chair

the transformation of the rakṣasas and vānaras, monsters and monkeys in Valmiki's version, into human beings with magical powers belonging the Vidyādhara-dynasty; the tendency of Jain versions to question the Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

20th Anniversary Jaina Studies Workshop

The lectures on the *History and Current State of Jaina Studies*, held on 24th March, were divided into the five following sessions:

- History of Digambara literature
- Brāj Bhāṣā*, Science and Technology
- Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*
- Jaina Studies and the Jaina Community
- Current State of Jaina Studies and Future Prospects

The first session was devoted to the literary production of the Digambara Jains. As the smaller subset of Jainism in demographic terms, Digambara Jainism has been somewhat neglected in academic research compared to Śvetāmbara Jainism.

Emeritus Professor Hampana Nagarajaiah (Bangalore) gave the first lecture of the first session, on 'Current Debates on the Influence of Jainism on Early Kannada Literature'. He argued how Sheldon Pollock in his *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2009) overlooked the importance of Jain authors in the establishment of Kannada literature. While Pollock does describe the rise of Kannada as literary language, several of his conclusions are incorrect according to Nagarajaiah. The earliest Kannada inscription at Halmiḍi did arise in a cultural milieu with a strong Jaina presence: out of the five dynasties mentioned in the inscription, two dynasties, the Sendrakas and the Kellas, were Jain. Furthermore, the earliest authors writing in Dravidian languages were to

be Jains. Even the three earliest works on the *Rāmāyaṇa* written in Kannada were authored by Jains.

In the second lecture, ‘Digambara Books of Discipline: A Study in Progress’, Nalini Balbir (Sorbonne III, University of Paris) presented her ongoing research on the Digambara *Chedasūtras*, texts which codify proper and improper conduct for Jain monks and nuns. The *Chedasūtras* of the Śvetāmbaras have been well-researched, yet their Digambara counterparts remain relatively unknown. Balbir focused on the rules of conduct in the *Chedapiṇḍa* and the *Chedaśāstra*, both Digambara *Chedasūtras*. Balbir compared these two texts with the treatment of atonement as depicted in the *Mūlacāra*, often nicknamed the *Digambara Ācārāṅgasūtra*. Especially the specific types of Jain fasts were of great interest in this exploration of Digambara rules of conduct.

The third and last lecture of the first session, ‘A Note on the Oeuvre of the ‘Collective Thinker’ Kundakunda. The Case of the Pañcāstikāya-saṅgraha (Paṃc’atthiya-saṃgaha)’, was delivered by Piotr Balcerowicz (University of Warsaw). Balcerowicz illustrated how the Digambara philosopher Kundakunda was likely not the sole author of the *Paṃcatthiyasaṃgaha*. This philosophical treatise on Jain ontology explains how the universe consists of five substances. Through a thorough analysis of the inconsistencies with regards to ontology and the ontological vocabulary in this treatise, Balcerowicz revealed that the *Paṃcatthiyasaṃgaha* consisted of multiple historical layers, each having its own particular ontological model. Kundakunda is therefore to be understood as a ‘collective thinker’ to whom Digambaras ascribed various texts dating from the 3rd century to the 8th century.

The main theme of the second session was the use of digital technology in Jain research. The first lecture, however, dealt with Jain literature: ‘Rāmcaṇḍ Bālak’s *Sītācarit*: A “New” Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* in Brajbhāṣā’ was presented by Adrian Plau (SOAS), to discuss his research on the *Sītācarit*, a Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* composed in Brajbhāṣā by Rāmcaṇḍ Bālak. Despite its popularity and great number of extant manuscripts, the *Sītācarit* has virtually been ignored in scholarship for two major reasons: the perception of Brajbhāṣā as a lesser language and being a language for Vaiṣṇava poetry. The content of the *Sītācarit* is particularly interesting because it refocuses a familiar narrative by foregrounding Sītā not just as the ideal of Indian womanhood, but as an exemplary Jain person as well.

Next up was Himāl Trikha (University of Vienna), who discussed the web application ‘Digital Corpus of Vidyānandin’s Works’ (<http://dipal.org>). He demonstrated how the TEI based string search function of the application, coupled with access to a digitised version of the entirety of the Vidyānandin’s oeuvre, greatly facilitates research.

The final presentation of the second session, given by Peter Flügel (SOAS), concerned the Leverhulme Trust funded *Jaina-Prosopography Database*, which is currently being developed at SOAS in collaboration with



Chern Radcliffe

Kornelius Krümpelmann and the Digital Humanities Institute of the University of Sheffield (www.dhi.ac.uk/jaina). The social history of Jainism has been relatively neglected; the sources that record the complex social history of Jainism are scattered across publications, catalogues, and indexes. By Johannes Klatt’s *Jaina-Onomasticon* (2016), by adding cross-referencing, based on a new taxonomy based on primary source terminologies, and by incorporating further source materials, the *Jaina-Prosopography Database* will map out the social networks of Jains and will create a collective biography of Jain lay communities and Jain monastic lineages and their cultural productions. The digital database will also allow for quantitative and statistical analysis, greatly facilitating scholars interested in the socio-historic aspects of Jainism.

The second session concluded with the book launch of *Jaina Studies. Select Papers from the Panel at Bangkok and Kyoto* edited by Nalini Balbir and Peter Flügel. Afterwards, Hampana Nagarajaiah awarded Paul Dundas

the Prakrit Jñāna Bhārati International Award and garlanded the Scottish scholar for his great achievements in Prakrit.

The third session consisted of a roundtable with John Cort (Denison University), Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh) and Kristi Wiley (University of Berkeley), co-editors of *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*, as the main participants. They identified future desiderata in Jaina scholarship and alternative perspectives on past scholarship. John Cort mainly stressed the huge gap in knowledge on Jaina history during the 18th and 19th century. He also mentioned the importance of regional Jaina Studies, e.g. the literature and lived traditions of Tamil-speaking Jains, which are often neglected in favour of broader trends which misrepresent Jainism as a monolith and gloss over the regional differences. Dundas proposed further research on the historicity of the 23rd *tīrthānkara* Pārśvanātha, following the argument proposed by the late Bansidhar Bhatt at an earlier CoJS Workshop (*Jaina Studies CoJS Newsletter* 4 2009: 6) and in a forthcoming publication. In the past, researchers have focused mainly on the differences of perception based on sectarian division, i.e. Śvetāmbara in opposition to Digambara Jainism, instead of taking historicity in itself as a valid research angle. He also emphasised the significance of collaborations in the field of Jaina Studies.

In the fourth session, Sin Fujinaga (Miyakonojō Kōsen) spoke on 'Paṇḍits and Monks in Jain Studies', which focussed on the overlooked endeavours of 19th-century Indian Jaina scholars writing in 'vernacular' languages, besides Sanskrit and Prakrit. Even though scholars such M.K. Jain and Muni Jambūvijaya remain relatively unknown outside of the scope of Jaina scholarship, their vernacular contributions to Indology at large are of importance.

Afterwards, in 'From Jainology to Jain Studies... and Back? Toward a Dialogic Approach to Scholarly Engagement with Jain Communities', Steven Vose (Florida International University, Miami) discussed

the impact of 'lived religions' approach on Jaina scholarship. Whereas researchers in the past usually approached Jainism from the perspective of its doctrine and philosophy, exemplified by the canonical scriptures, certain modern scholars argue that Jainism should be studied as it is 'lived', i.e. what Jain currently practice in their daily life, which texts lay people read and use during worship, which objects they use in worship, etc. In taking the 'lived religions' approach, scholars should try to move towards a dialogical model of speaking and writing about Jainism and try to engage with the various Jaina communities. This way, researchers will become more conscious of the changing dynamics of gender and class within the various Jain communities and improve their interactions with Jaina communities.

The final session was a roundtable discussion featuring Hampana Nagarajaiah (Bangalore), Olle Qvarnström (University of Lund), and Jayandra Soni (University of Innsbruck), which mainly reiterated the future desiderata in Jaina scholarship: underresearched areas in Jainism should be given priority.

Overall, the 20th Anniversary *Jaina Studies Workshop* was an interesting and fruitful event at which researchers presented their findings and mapped out potential future paths Jain scholars should pursue. The different backgrounds of the researchers, some of them Jains themselves, resulted in a stimulating exchange. The two most prominent themes that emerged during this *Jaina Studies Workshop* were the hitherto relatively neglected areas of Jaina literature, Digambara literature in particular, and the ongoing and upcoming digitalisation of Jaina scholarship.

Simon Winant is an MA student at Ghent University in Belgium and a fellow collaborator on the Jaina-Prosopography Database. His research interests include Jaina Narrative Literature, the Mahābhārata, early Kāvya authors, and historical linguistics.



Giem Radcliffe

Jaina Studies in Japan: Conference Reports

Masahiro Ueda

International Workshop on Jaina Studies: Aspects of Jaina Studies

On 7 and 8 September 2018 an International Workshop on Jaina Studies was held at the University of Tokyo.

On the first day, after the opening address by Yutaka Kawasaki (University of Tokyo), one of the organisers, Hampa Nagarajaiah (Bangalore) gave the keynote speech on *Jainism in South India*. He explained the importance of the Yāpanīya sect in South India that is known as the third sect of the Jains next to the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. He expressed this sect as a ‘golden bridge’ located between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. According to him, they had preserved the tradition of the Digambaras and engaged in ascetic practices naked, while they also had accepted the canon of the Śvetāmbaras and the possibility of women to achieve liberation.

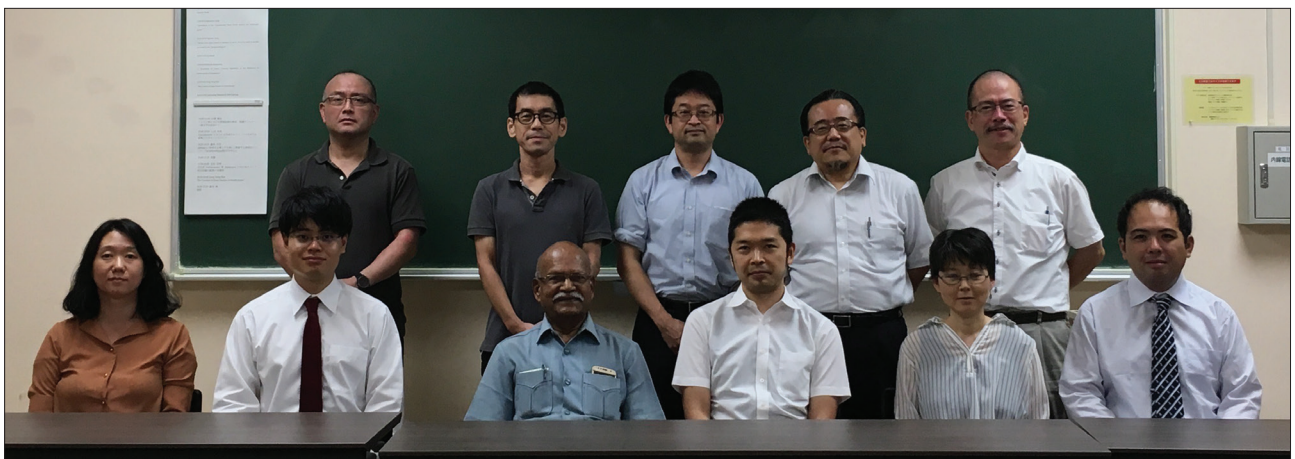
As the first speaker on 8 September, Tomoyuki Yamahata (Hokkaido University of Science) presented a paper entitled ‘Holy Sites for Early Medieval Jain Communities: From the Accounts of Early Gujarāti Works’. He mainly examined the history of medieval literature regarding three *tīrthas* in Gujarāt, namely, Gīrnār, Ābū and Śatruñjaya. In the 11th and 12th centuries, short works known as *rāso* were derived from the *caritas*, the all-embracing tales of the lives of great people. According to the speaker, this resulted from the fact that *carita* literature had swelled up unduly by incorporating various *rāso*-like elements until it was not anymore able to plausibly serve as a literary framework. He pointed out that this development was closely related to the collapse of the Solanki clan of the Chaulukya dynasty, which was supporting *carita* literature. This transformation of style is evident in the works on those three *tīrthas*.

In ‘Quotations in the *Vyavahāraṭīkā*: From which Sources Did Malayagiri Quote?’ the present author,

Masahiro Ueda (Kyoto University), compared two commentaries on the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*, the *Cūrṇi* and Malayagiri’s *Ṭīkā*. In his paper, he pointed out that, though the descriptions in Malayagiri’s *Ṭīkā* rely mainly on those of the *Cūrṇi*, in some parts, there are passages that are only found in the *Ṭīkā*. However, despite these differences, he established that, on the whole, the two texts do not differ much. Considering this, he suggested the possibility that Malayagiri added the passages that do not have parallels in the *Cūrṇi*. However, it was also possible that the *Ṭīkā* transmitted the original recension that was lost in the tradition that produced the *Cūrṇi*.

In ‘About Some Rules Related to *aṭṭhajāya* (A Monk who is in Need of Wealth) Provided in the *Vyavahārabhāṣya* II’, Yumi Fujimoto (Miyagi) focused on the definition of *aṭṭhajāta/aṭṭhajāya* discussed in the commentary on *Vyavahārasūtra* 2.18 (ed. Muncindrasūri). Parallel passages are seen in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* as well, but could not be discussed at that time. The *Vyavahārabhāṣya* prohibits to exile a monk who is both ‘*aṭṭhajāta*’ and sick from the group (*gaṇa*). The meaning of the word *aṭṭhajāta* here is discussed in detail by the Bhāṣya and Malayagiri’s *Ṭīkā*. Based on these commentaries, the paper interpreted the ‘*aṭṭha*’ in *aṭṭha-jāta* as ‘need’ (*prayojana*). In addition, referring to A. M. Ghatage’s *Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Language*, she set the *aṭṭhajāta* here as ‘a monk or nun on whom demands are made for money or wealth’. She also examined the five causes of this *aṭṭhajāta* that are mentioned in these commentaries.

In ‘A Peculiarity of Tantric Virtuous Meditation in the *Jñānārṇava* by Śubhacandra of Digambara’, Hiroaki Korematsu (Tōyō University) discussed the theory of meditation (*dhyāna*) in the *Jñānārṇava* (JA) by the Digambara monk Śubhacandra (11th century). This paper focused first on the description of the four types of meditation discussed in the *Tattvārthasūtra* (TS) by Umāsvāti. According to the author, his depiction of these



Back row, left to right: Mr Baba, Dr Kawasaki, Dr Hotta, Dr Uno, Dr Fujinaga.

Front row, left to right: Ms Yang, Mr Korematsu, Dr Hampana, Mr Ueda, Dr Fujimoto, Dr Yamahata.



Masahiro Ueda

Attendees of the 33rd Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies at Ōtani University, Kyoto, on 29 September.

four follows earlier Śvetāmbara canons rather than the TS. He then pointed out that, adopting the framework of the four meditations, Śubhacandra added new features to them, influenced by tantric thought. These tantric forms of meditation exploit physical characteristics of the body, and focus more strongly on the results of the meditations than the description in the TS. The meditational scheme puts stress on the identification between the subject and the object of meditation.

In ‘The Current of Jaina Studies in South Korea’, Yang Yong Sun (Dongguk University, South Korea) reported on the recent activities of Jaina Studies in South Korea. In a list presented by her, the achievements of the past decade were enumerated, covering an extensive range of topics, including philosophical themes such as *sarvajña* and *syādvāda*, doctrines of ascetic practices such as *sallekhanā* and *anaśana*, the comparative study of Jainism and Buddhism, the study of Jain literature, and so on. We, the Japanese participants, recognised that Jaina Studies in South Korea have been actively pursued and the benefits of future collaborative research.

Thereafter, there were closing remarks by Shin Fujinaga (National Institute of Technology, Miyakonojō), and the workshop finished successfully.

33rd Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies

On 29 September 2018, the 33rd Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies was held at Ōtani University, Kyoto. Three papers were read at this conference.

Kiyokuni Shiga (Kyoto Sangyo University) made a presentation titled ‘The Controversy between Jainism and Buddhism over *dravya* and *pariyāya*: Its Source and Progression’. He distinguished two theories of existence in Jainism, as recognised and criticised by Buddhist logicians. One is the model of three forms of existence, namely the idea that ‘existence has three aspects of occurrence, persistence, and extinction’. The other is the idea that ‘existence has the two properties of *dravya* and *pariyāya*’. He showed that both can be further sub-classified into three types each. According to him, although the six types were separately described by Arcaṭa, Śāntarakṣita and Kamaraśīla, it was Carṇakagomin who compiled

them. By Jitāri, the summary of the Jaina doctrine was finally completed.

In ‘The Meaning of *saṃjama* in the Śvetāmbara Canons’, Ayako Yagi (Kyoto) presented a comparative study between two terms, *saṃjama* and *saṃvara*. As terms designating (1) the inflow of *karman*, (2) stopping it, and (3) destruction of the remaining *karman* in the human body, (1) *āsava*, (2) *saṃvara* and (3) *nijjarā* are respectively used in the Śvetāmbara canons. However, it is known that the set of (*aṅ*-)*aṅhaya*, *saṃjama* and *vodāna* was also used in the earliest sources. She pointed out that, although ‘*saṃvara*’ is also found in the Pali canons, this word is seen only in few cases in both the Jaina and Pali canons. By contrast, ‘*saṃjama*’ is frequently evident there. Moreover, ‘*saṃjama*’ is deeply involved in non-violence. Initially, stopping the inflow of *karman* is produced by *saṃjama*, while the destruction of *karman* is generated only by penance (*tapas*). In some cases, it is said that the destruction of *karman* is also achieved by *saṃjama*.

In ‘Do Plants have Souls (*jīva*)? Arguments in the Śvetāmbara Literature’, Tomoyuki Uno (Chikushi Jogakuen University) examined the observations of Jainas on plants as ‘immovable’ living beings. According to Uno, the *Ācārāṅga* is the first text that states that plants have souls (*jīva*), since they also go through processes of birth, aging, sickness, and death, as human beings do. This idea was inherited by the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅgadāsa Gaṇi Vācaka. And this testimony of the life of plants was again arranged as a demonstrative formula in the *Vīśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* by Jinabhadra (505-609). The speaker mentioned that Saṅghadāsa and Jinabhadra are the earliest advocates to consider *dohada* (morbid desire of the plants) as a reason for plants to have sense organs other than tactual sense.

Masahiro Ueda is a PhD candidate at Kyoto University. His dissertation centres on the study of the exegetical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas. He is currently an adjunct lecturer at Kyoto University, and is presently editing the unpublished text of the Cūrṇi commentary on the Vyavahārabhāṣya.

Jainism at the World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver

Marie-Hélène Gorisse

The current flourishing of Jaina Studies was well represented at the 2018 World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver, with no less than 18 papers on Jainism. Most of these were in the Jain panel, co-organized by Eva De Clercq (University of Ghent) and Nalini Balbir (Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris).

The Jain panel opened with philosophy and most logically with the *Tattvārthasūtra*, traditionally presented as the first Jain text in Sanskrit. Jayandra Soni (IASS, Salzburg) in his lecture “The Concept of *manas* in Jaina Philosophy” investigated the nature and role of the mind (*manas*) in the exercise of the different types of cognition as presented in Umāsvāti’s work. Soni especially assessed the following issue: Umāsvāti distinguishes between indirect cognition, when knowledge happens through the mediation of organs of cognition, and direct cognition, when the Self knows without intermediaries. In this framework, the mind has an in-between status, since it is conceived as one of such intermediaries, working with the five senses, during sense perception (*mati*), which is an indirect type of cognition. However, it is also active during mental knowledge (*manah-paryāya*), which is a direct type of cognition. Soni suggests that these characterisations of the mind can be reconciled when it is realized that mental knowledge is only possible when an advanced stage of purification of the Self, that modifies the very nature of the mind, is reached.

Another matter subject to controversies concerning the *Tattvārthasūtra* is whether the same author has composed both the *sūtra* text and its *bhāṣya* commentary. In “The Authorship of the *āryās* in the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya*,” Lucas den Boer (University of Leiden) contributed to this discussion, first by sketching the history of the transmission of both works, then by analysing the style and topics of the *āryā* meters found in the *Tattvārthādhigamabhāṣya*, differentiating the meters of the introduction (*Sambandhakārikā*), the colophon (*Praśasti*) and the commentary itself (*Bhāṣya*). From these analyses, it became evident that the verses in *āryā* meters of the commentary itself refer to other previous Jain works in Sanskrit, therefore—in the hypothesis that the *Tattvārthasūtra* is the first Jain Sanskrit text—corroborating the idea that the *sūtra* text and its *bhāṣya* commentary do not have the same author. Furthermore, the style of the *āryā* meters of the introduction is not consistent and was probably later adopted in part to induce the idea of a common authorship. Den Boer concluded that the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* was probably composed before the 5th century; that the *Bhāṣya* commentary—transmitted in the North, not in the South—was probably the work of another author before the end of the 5th century, while its introductive *Sambandhakārikā* and *Praśasti* parts were probably composed by yet another series of authors before the 7th century.

The last paper on philosophy, “Evaluating the



Lucas den Boer (University of Leiden)

Reliability Criteria of an Authoritative Discourse in a Jain Epistemological Eulogy of the 6th c.,” was delivered by Marie-Hélène Gorisse (University of Ghent). This lecture showed that Samantabhadra’s conceptions of authoritative discourse as developed in his *Āptamīmāṃsā* (530–590) are the sign that philosophical works of this period are not primarily intended for a Jain audience only, but for a broader one. First, Samantabhadra’s text shows the hesitations of a transition from a conception in which the (external) reliability criterion of a discourse is the authoritative character of its utterer to a conception in which the (internal) criteria of validity and soundness of the discourse itself are foremost. This is the sign that systematic considerations co-exist with apologetic ones, therefore rendering one’s theory more easily exportable in inter-doctrinal discussions. Second Samantabhadra is amongst the first Jain authors to undertake to logically prove the omniscience of the Jain Saint teachers, using methods of legitimation accepted by all traditions. Third, he links these questions to the celebrated Jain epistemological theory of non-one-sidedness under which other epistemological traditions can be subsumed.

Next to these presentations focusing on Jain philosophy, the series of presentations that attracted the widest audience of scholars were investigations on Jain literature, especially on Jain adaptations of famous Indic narratives. First, two papers entered in an indirect dialogue, as they focused on the same episode staged in Jain dramas of the 12th and 13th c., namely the philosophical debate on mendicant nudity and on the spiritual liberation of women between the victorious Śvetāmbara Devasūri and the defeated Digambara Kumudacandra at the court of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja. In the first paper “Shutting Kumudacandra’s Mouth: Yaśāscandra’s *Mudritakumudacandra* as a Source for the Intra-Jain Debate at Aṇahillapaṭṭana in 1125,” Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh), offered hypotheses concerning the dating of the play *Mudritakumudacandra* and discussed the topics of the debate.

While Basile Leclère (University of Lyon), in his “A Controversy under Debate: On the Historicity of



Saloni Joshi (Gujarat University, Ahmedabad)

Kumudacandra's Defeat at the Cauluya Court," presented the appropriation of this episode in subsequent literature as a sign of its allegorically interesting—rather than historically accurate—aspects. This paper was presented not in the Jain panel, but within another overall fascinating panel on 'History, Art and Architecture, Epigraphy', featuring Johannes Bronkhorst on (the absence of) historical accounts of plague episodes in India, Ferenc Ruzsa on Buddhist accounts of great natural catastrophes and James McHugh on sugarcane liquor in Sanskrit texts.

Then, another series of literary studies—not duet, but quintet—was appreciated, featuring to begin with, two lines of research on Jain adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In "Forest Adventures Transformed in the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas*," Eva De Clercq established that Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* are especially meaningful when understood in the framework of the Jain universal history that tells the deeds of the 63 great men, including Rāma (called 'Padma'), who contributed to the making of the world as we know it. As an example, De Clercq indicated that Jain authors have transformed Rāma's forest-exile into a long period of conquest to gradually expand the dominion of Ayodhyā, and that the reason for this transformation is to see in Rāma the qualities of a universal emperor, a type of 'great man' whose biography includes a period of conquest.

Building on this, and working on Brajbhāṣā poetry, a literary genre of great importance understudied until recently, Adrian Plau (SOAS), in "Vernacular Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* as *satīkathās*: Jain Brajbhāṣā Poets, their *Rāmāyaṇas*, and their Relations to Sanskrit Literary Culture", demonstrated that it is typical in Brajbhāṣā literature that a switch happens from a focus on the deeds of Rāma as one of these great men to a focus on the virtuous qualities of Sītā. In Jainism, *satīkathā* is a literary genre featuring virtuous women dedicated to Jain ideals and illustrating a particular proper conduct meant for the instruction of laity. Plau showed that these women act not only as models, but also as worshipped beings for Jain practitioners.

In "Introducing Gujarati Jain Women to their Virtue in the 15th Century: The *Śīlopadeśamālābālavabodha* of Merusundaragaṇi," Steve Vose (Florida International

University, Miami) further examined how differences between retellings in this genre of Jain *satīkathā* are indications that in order to give an account for the emergence of languages, it is imperative to focus not only on political changes, but also on social evolution—here, on how instruction of Jain laity took place in different contexts. After having made it clear that Old Gujarati came to occupy a place in a framework in which it co-existed with Apabhraṃśa, Prakrit and Sanskrit, and that therefore the use of regional languages in this case did not supplant its "classical" literary counterparts, Vose used three tellings of the *satīkathā* story of Namayasundarī, a Jain woman who fights to preserve her virtue, in Old Gujarati, in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Apabhraṃśa, to show that each language is associated with a set of metrical and prosodic systems, as well as with preferred didactic methods. Especially, works in Prakrit respect the requirements of both the genres of poetry (*kāvya*) and prose. They are primarily didactic, envisaged as a source material for monks to use during sermons on the soteriological importance to preserve one's virtue whatever the circumstances are. In contrast with this, the terse presentations of Apabhraṃśa verses are even more formally a work of grand poetry and they largely focus on the disciplined performance of language. In turn, the Gujarati prose is fundamentally conceived as a commentary on Prakrit verses, meant to be accessed not only through the sermons of monks, but also directly by the laity.

Going back to the Jain appropriation of Puranic materials, in "Hari is not even satisfied by the 16000 Gopis! The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Amitagati as Jain Expression of a Puranic Mode," Heleen De Jonckheere (University of Ghent) investigated, by means of hilarious examples, strategies used by Jain authors in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* literary genre to transform Hindu stories in order to both, appropriate them and criticize them, regularly using ridicule.

Finally, in "Jainism depicted in allegorical Stories in Prakrit Literature (with Reference to two Texts of the 12th c.)," Saloni Joshi (Gujarat University, Ahmedabad) analysed the religious educational and philosophical input of the allegorical narratives of the *Candappahacariya* and of the *Kumāravālapaḍīboha*. She focused on the representation of the tension between the secretary of the king, personifying the mind, and his five ministers, personifying the five senses.

Let me here add the paper "Toward a new Poetics of History in Sanskrit *kāvya*: Tragedy, Irony and the Problem of Poetic Justice in Nayacandra Sūri's *Hammīramahākāvya*" that Sander Hens (University of Ghent) presented in the 'Poetry, Drama and Aesthetics' panel. There, Hens investigated the coinciding and conflicting roles of a historian and of a poet in the Jain epic historical poem of Nayacandra Sūri.

As has been indicated at several places, conceptions of the world deposited in philosophical or in narrative literature are primarily aimed at guiding correct practice. Another series of talks engaged more particularly with

this aspect of Jain texts. First, in “Between Ritual and Therapy: The *Bhaktamar Stotra* in Faith Healing,” Tine Vekemans (University of Ghent) discussed the evolution of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*. This devotional poem of the 6th c. has been commented by miracle narratives, associated with *mantras* and *yantras*, then temples were dedicated to it, and finally, a *pūjā* ritual and healing practices were associated with it. In concert, Vekemans investigated the place the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* takes in ritual and in spiritual healing practices in contemporary Jainism, with a focus on the diasporic Jain communities.

Another presentation on healing took place in the “Yoga and Ayurveda” panel, when Samani Pratibha Pragma (SOAS) traced the appropriation of the “*kāyakaḷpa*,” an Āyurvedic treatment of body regeneration known to cure ageing, in the Jain *prekṣā-dhyāna*, a modern form of meditation developed by Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920–2010).

Back to the Jain panel, in his “A Study of Śubhacandra’s Presentation of the Twelve Reflections (*dvādaśabhāvanā*) in the *Jñānārṇava* as an Example of ‘Premeditation’ in Jainism,” Giles Hooper (University of Sydney) interpreted the twelve topics of reflection (*anuprekṣā*, *bhāvanā*) notably listed in the *Tattvārthasūtra* and further described by the Digambara monk Śubhacandra (11th c.) in his *Jñānārṇava*, not as meditative, but as preparative techniques to be performed before entering meditation properly speaking.

Directly jumping to the highest forms of meditation, Luitgard Soni (University of Marburg) investigated the ways of dying a wise death in the Jain tradition of *ārādhanā* texts. The expression “*ārādhanā*” refers to the state of perfection of disposition and of acts. If achieved at the moment of death, it ensures a purification of the Self. Working on Śivārya’s *Mūlārādhanā* (conceivably 1st century CE), Soni focused on the section on the death of the best of wise (*paṇḍita-paṇḍita-maraṇam*), i.e., death that leads to final liberation, as the model of the whole path that highlights the most persisting types of *karmans*, as well as the highest types of meditation.

Next to this, our panel also featured studies on Jain textual traditions earlier than the first Sanskrit treatises. First, in her “Gāhāvāi and Gihattha: The Householder in the Early Jain Sources,” Claire Maes (University of Austin) examined the terms used to refer to householders in the oldest *strata* of the Jain canon, and their evolution, in order to contribute to the discussion prompted by the recent discovery by Jamison that Vedic literature used the expression “*grhapati*” for “householder”; while the expression “*grhastha*” is probably a neologism of the *Dharmaśāstra* texts, adopted from the śramaṇic discourse in which it occurs in a contrastive pair with the status of wandering ascetic.

Additionally, in his “Notes on *Uttarajjhāyā* 27,” Ruixuan Chen (University of Heidelberg) investigated the parable of Gagga (Gārgya), an elderly teacher who, facing unmanageable disciples, decides to leave to the wilderness to become an ascetic. During this presentation, Chen offered a philological analysis and

provided lines of interpretation to make sense of the moral of this parable, including the philosophical input of metaphors such as the Vedic one of the chariot and the bullocks, where the later are like the untamed senses from which the Self retreats, like the teacher retreats from the recalcitrant pupils. Chen indicated that this parable is also a perfect transition in the *Uttarajjhāyā*, from a chapter on the monk’s good conduct—here implemented by the warning of disciples against disrespectful behaviours—to a chapter on austerities informed by the ancient ideas of yoga, in which this allegory of the chariot is central.

Let us conclude with a paper on an unexpected—and resisting classification—topic, namely “Haribhadrasūri on Steya-/Caura-Śāstra” by Yutaka Kawasaki (Tokyo University). Kawasaki first posited the art of thievery in a cultural context in which such a calling makes sense, is brought about by fate and is subjected to rules. Kawasaki showed how, in such a situation, the Śvetāmbara Jain monk Haribhadrasūri (8th c.), in his *Dhammasaṅgahaṇi*, felt the need to refute point after point the desirability of this type of vocation. From a Jain perspective, such a controversy is especially the occasion to criticise theories for which everything is determined by fate. Indeed, theories according to which human beings have no control over their acts undermine ethical responsibility, which is central in Jainism.

All in all, the Jain panel occasioned many discussions and further collaborations. We look forward to the next World Sanskrit Conference that will take place in Canberra, January 2021!

Marie-Hélène Gorisse is a FWO postdoctoral researcher at Ghent University. Her areas of expertise include Jainism and South Asian epistemology, hermeneutics and theories of argumentation. After a PhD at Lille University, her previous appointments include being a Guest Professor and a BOF fellow at Ghent University, a Senior Teaching Fellow at SOAS, a Gonda fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden and a member of the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Indian Literature project in Paris.



Life-sized sculptures representing Rājendrasūri’s Jammotsava Darśana, Mohanakherā. Photo: Peter Flügel, 29.3.2015

Jaina Studies at the American Academy of Religion 2018

Ellen Gough

From November 17-20, 2018, scholars of religion gathered in Denver, Colorado for the annual American Academy of Religion Conference. Throughout the weekend, a total of ten papers were presented on various topics in Jaina Studies.

The four papers presented at the panel for the Jaina Studies Unit, “The Multiple Facets of Jain Stotras: Hymns at the Nexus of Devotion, Ritual, and Culture,” looked at some different motivations for the composition of pre-modern Jain texts of praise. John Cort of Denison University responded to the papers, raising important questions about genre, performance, and audience, asking what types of text should count as “praise literature,” and how we should distinguish between “genres” such as *mantra*, *stotra*, and *praśasti*.

Both Finnian Gerety of Brown University and Ellen Gough of Emory University looked at the integration of Jain *mantras* and *stotras*. In “The *Bhaktāmara Stotra* and the Domestication of Tantric Mantras,” Gough examined the components of the 48 geometric diagrams (*yantra*) associated with the famous Sanskrit praise poem to Rṣabha, the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*, to hypothesize a reason for Digambaras’ acceptance of 48 verses of the poem and Śvetāmbaras’ recognition of 44. Each *yantra*, she showed, contains a verse of the poem, a *mantra*, and a praise to a Jain practitioner with a superhuman power (*ṛddhi*). Early Jain texts associated these *ṛddhis* with the disciples of the *tīrthankaras*. By at least the tenth century, the *gaṇadharavalaya*, a circular diagram that represents Rṣabha’s Preaching Assembly (*samavasaraṇa*), was used in Digambara mendicant initiations, and the *ṛddhis* were inscribed in the 48 petals of the diagram to represent the disciples sitting in concentric rings around Rṣabha. Because the *ṛddhis* became intimately linked with Rṣabha in this way, in the sixteenth century, when the Digambara *bhaṭṭāraka* Śubhacandra first created *yantras* for the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*, he wanted to associate one *ṛddhi* with each line of praise to Rṣabha, so he expanded the poem to from 44 to 48 verses, and Śvetāmbaras later adopted these 48 *yantras* as well.

Gerety’s paper, “Syllables of Praise: OM and Techniques of Sacred Sound in Vedic and Jain *stotras*,” compared Sāmavedic and Jain *stotras* to see how seed syllables like *om*, *arham* and *hrīm* have been strategically inserted into Jain *stotras* that are “filled with *mantras*,” or *mantragarbhita*. He first showed how each of the twelve Sāmavedic *stotras* recited on the final day of the *agniṣṭoma* Vedic sacrifice combine *stobha*, “syllables of praise,” or verbal fragments such as *hum*, *om*, *āyi* and *ā*, with a R̥gvedic verse to fit a Sāmavedic melody. He then looked at how three Sanskrit hymns to Pārśva in the *Stotra Sandoha*—one unattributed, one attributed to Merutuṅga, and one attributed to Śivanāga—combine seed syllables and lines of praise in a similar manner to the Sāmavedic *stotras*. In Merutuṅga’s hymn, for example, he breaks up a *mantra* to Pārśva and inserts these *mantra* fragments

into different sections of a longer Sanskrit request to Pārśva. Gerety did not argue for direct Vedic influence on the Jain formation of *mantragarbhita stotras*, but he instead highlighted the shared aesthetic of interweaving lexical and non-lexical utterances to create texts called “*stotra*.”

Lynna Dhanani of Yale University and Sarah Pierce Taylor of Concordia University both examined how medieval Jain monks composed royal *praśasti*—encomiums or panegyrics—to fashion kings as ideal Jain rulers. Dhanani, in “Praśasti as Stotra: Examining Hemacandra’s Royal Panegyric in Light of Contemporary Hymn-Making Practices,” focused on the *praśasti* at the end of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, a Sanskrit universal history composed by the influential Śvetāmbara monk of the Caulukya court, Hemacandra (1089-1172). Of the 21 verses of this *praśasti*, Hemacandra devotes 14 verses to praising the virtues of the monks of his lineage, beginning with Jambū and ending with his own guru of the Vajrā lineage (*śākhā*), Devacandrasūri. Dhanani argued that this section of the *praśasti* may have been influenced by earlier lineage hymns of the Kharataragaccha at a time when Śvetāmbara sectarian identity was beginning to take shape. The final verses have King Kumārāpāla, who is named as an advanced Jain layman who has forbidden violence in his kingdom, request the composition of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. In this way, Hemacandra’s *praśasti* establishes Hemacandra’s lineage as ancient and illustrious and his king Kumārāpāla as Jain.

Pierce Taylor’s “Making a Jain by Praising a King: Encomiums for Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa’s Court” explored a variety of ninth-century Sanskrit encomiums produced by Digambara Jain monks affiliated with the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa. Specifically, she looked at praises of the king Amoghavarṣa found in Śākaṭāyana’s grammar, the *Śabdānuśāsana*, Jinasena’s commentary on the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, the *Jayadhavalā*, and his biography of Pārśva, the *Pārśvābhyaṅga*, and Mahāvīrācārya’s *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha*, a Jain mathematical treatise. Through these diverse set of genres, including grammars, literary texts, mathematical treatises, tracts on medicine, and scriptural commentary, these authors sought to imagine Amoghavarṣa as an ideal Jain king, a follower of the Jain doctrine of seven-fold predication (*syādvāda*), and, ultimately, a renunciate.

Research on Jainism was also present in panels beyond the Jain Studies Unit. Sarah Pierce Taylor presented another paper, “Non-Violent Counter Programming: Guarding against Dasara in the Kannada-Speaking Jain Community,” on a panel about the festival Navarātri. In this presentation, Pierce Taylor explored how Jains in the Kannada-speaking world have rejected the valorization of violence at the center of the festival of Dasara, which reserves the eighth day of the festival for *astra pūjā*, or the worship of weapons to commemorate Durgā’s slaying of the buffalo-demon. Digambara Jains have remade

this festival into Jīvadayā Aṣṭami, or the eighth day for compassion to all living beings. She examined a story that is told orally as part of Digambara worship ceremonies for this festival, the *Yaśodharacarite* by the Digambara Janna, a thirteenth-century version of the popular story of Yaśodhara. This story reminds worshipers of the consequences of sacrificing animals—real or faux—by describing the terrible rebirths King Yaśodhara and his mother Candramatī undergo because they sacrificed a model of a chicken made of flour.

Ellen Gough's paper for a panel on *mantras*, "Picturing Om̐ in Jainism," argued that the syllable *om̐* rose to prominence in medieval Jainism not as a powerful recitation, but instead as an icon: a visual representation of the *pañcaparameṣṭhin* that could be used in meditative practices said to destroy karma (*dharmyadyāna*). She looked at textual and physical depictions of two different Jain representations of *om̐*, (1) the so-called "Jain Om̐," a multicolored backwards "3" topped with a moon sliver and a dot that is often termed the "Sound of Brahman (*brahmasvara*), and (2) three lines traced around an uncolored "Jain Om̐," which is often termed the "Unstruck" or the *anāhata*. She discussed passages on meditation from Devasena's *Bhāvasaṃgraha* (10th century), Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* (ca. 1200 CE), Ratnaśekhara's *Sirivālacariya* (14th century), Śubhacandra's *Jñānārṇava* (11th century?), Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* (12th century), an undated Śvetāmbara Sanskrit hymn, the *Om̐kāravidyāstotra*, and an undated early-modern Sanskrit text on meditation, the *Yogapradīpa*.

Marie-Hélène Gorisse of Ghent University presented her paper, "Cosmology and the path to liberation in Jainism," in a comparative panel on "Philosophies of the Cosmos." Gorisse summarized the path to liberation presented in the *Tattvārthasūtra* to emphasize the inbuilt ethical concerns of cosmologies. While non-Jains might structure their components of the universe around other concerns, with biologists, for example, categorizing living beings in terms of ancestry, the *Tattvārthasūtra* categorizes components of the universe in terms of the path to liberation. The *Tattvārthasūtra*, then, presents the path to liberation through a description of contents of the universe—the seven elementary categories (*tattva*) of the universe, from (1) soul (*jīva*) to (7) a soul's complete separation from karma (*mokṣa*).

In a panel on Hindu humor, Gregory Clines of Trinity University presented his paper, "Drunk Parrots in the Pleasure Forest: Humor in the Jain Author Hastimalla's *Añjanāpavanañjaya*." The paper discussed the use of humour to inspire renunciation in Hastimalla's thirteenth-century Sanskrit drama about Hanumān's father, Pavanañjaya, and mother, Añjanā. Unlike in earlier Jain accounts of the tale such as the one in Vimalasūri's fifth-century Prakrit *Paumacariya*, in which Pavanañjaya cruelly rejects Añjanā, in Hastimalla's account, Hanumān's parents are portrayed as a loving couple, allowing for humor at the outset of their story. Clines argued that in the first two acts of the drama,

Pavanañjaya's intentional obtuseness, his sentimental exclamations in verse, and an outlandish sense of eroticism (*śṛṅgāra*) create a farcical opening to the story. The farcical humor in the first two acts, Clines suggested, makes the audience comfortable, thus intensifying the feelings of loss during the couple's separation in later acts and eventually inspiring aversion to the physical world and sensual experience (*vairāgya*).

In "Encounters and Reconciliations: 'Tolerance' and (Im)partiality in Two Jain Intellectual Lineages," Rahul Parson from the University of Colorado discussed how two Śvetāmbara thinkers—the eighth-century Haribhadra and the seventeenth-century Yaśovijaya—developed a sort of "tolerance" of the ideas of non-Jains by arguing that there is no need to see minor differences in religious teachings as irreconcilable. Parson gave several examples of texts in which Haribhadra and Yaśovijaya accepted the teachings of non-Jains and argued that a single truth can be heard in different ways. Yaśovijaya's articulation of some wrong paths (*unmārga*) in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, for example, shows that many religious teachings can be accepted by Jains, as long as they do not doubt the Jina's teachings and are impartial. Haribhadra and Yaśovijaya also both accept the author of the *Yogasūtra*, Patañjali, as being effectively Jain (*bhāvajainatva*) because he adopts teachings closely aligned with Jainism, the five vows and the idea of liberation as isolation (*kaivalyam*). In addition, Haribhadra's *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya* 130 also accepts that the terms "Eternal Śiva, Highest Brahman, Accomplished Soul, and Suchness" all refer to the same highest essence.

Finally, Unnata Pragma of SOAS, in a panel on *mantras* and *cakras*, presented her paper, "The Role of Jaina-Conceptualizations of Power-Centres within Explanatory Frames of the Process Projection of the Soul outside the Body (*Samudghāta*)." Through a study of Śvetāmbara canonical texts such as the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, *Prajñāpanāsūtra*, *Aupapātikasūtra*, and *Sthānāṅgasūtra*, she investigated the mechanisms of *samudghāta*, the Jaina concept of the soul's projection of itself outside of a living material body. She proposed to sub-categorize the seven types of projection with the help of a new taxonomy of "a-somatic" variants, which do not include the use of supernatural powers (*labdhi*) or the creation of new bodies in the projections, and "somatic" variants, which feature both elements. While later Jain texts agree with non-Jain texts about the development of the *cakras* as power centers in the body, in older Jain literature on *samudghāta*, the concept of power centers cognates with soul's projection outside the body.

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Transferring a Tīrtha: From Śatruñjaya to the Replicas at Kadambagiri

Hawon Ku

Kadambagiri is a small Jain site located by the village of Bodanones in Bhandaria, Gujarat, on the near southern side of the Shetrunji River. (Figure 1) Local histories of the site suggest that Kadamb Muni, a monk who achieved liberation at the site, was a disciple of the second *tīrthan̄kara*.¹ However, the site gains its significance rather as one of the *pañca tīrthis* of Śatruñjaya, which is located about 30 kilometres to the north. As one of the *pañca tīrthis*, it is included in the larger pilgrimage route around Śatruñjaya, which many Jains follow while visiting the main *tīrtha*. Thus, the larger temples housing a *mūrti* of Aḍīśvara or Aṣṭāpada, as well as several surrounding temples, were probably first built after the 19th century, when ritual use of Śatruñjaya and its *pañca tīrthis* was first recorded.²

This report examines not the larger temples of Kadambgiri, but a smaller set of shrines now located between these temples. Placed on a rocky boulder, these shrines face the hills of Śatruñjaya, which can be seen across the Shetrunji River on clear days. Several shrines can be identified as replicas of the temples at Śatruñjaya through their inscriptions and images, such as an Aḍīśvara Temple, Caumukh Temple, and the temple in the Motīśāh Ṭumk. These shrines were built as a substitute for Śatruñjaya, particularly for a period of two years from 1926 to 1928 during which pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya was brought to a halt.

While Śatruñjaya had been worshipped as a sacred site by the Jains from at least the 11th century, its location within the boundaries of Pālītāṇā, a small kingdom ruled

1 “Shri Kadambgiri Tirth,” at jainsite.in [http://jainsite.in/jain-tirth/kakandi-teerth/, accessed 16 Feb. 2019].

2 According to Jain, records of ritual use of Śatruñjaya, i.e. the sacred days for pilgrimage, the different ways to climb the hill, the various *pradakṣiṇās* (circumambulations) etc. are not mentioned in any early literary sources. Jain, 1980, 51.

by a Hindu Thakur from the 17th century onwards, led to several issues of ownership and taxation.³ By the 1920s, the relationship between the Jain community and the Thakur had soured considerably, and when a new proposal for a pilgrim tax was brought forward in 1926, the community immediately rejected it and sought alternate resolutions. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, descendant of the Nagarśeth of Ahmedabad and representative of the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāñjī Peḍhī, the trust managing Śatruñjaya, requested an interview with the Viceroy Edward R. Irwin and argued for a reduced tax as well as the right for the Jains to approach the Agency directly.⁴ Following this interview the Peḍhī called a meeting of all representatives of the Śvetāmbara Jains on July 27, 1926 in Ahmedabad. After this meeting Kasturbhai Lalbhai sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for India and stated that the Jains will not go on pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya “till the community obtains full justice and secures a satisfactory settlement of the Rakhopa payment and other disputes this meeting further calls upon every Sangh to take measures to give effect to the above injunction of the Sangh.”⁵ In addition, Bahadur Singh Singhi, the President of the Śvetāmbara Jain Conference (est. 1903) and H.N. Pandya, president of the Jain Mahasabha, both sent and published their letters to the Secretary of State of India protesting the decision of the British Agent of Western India, particularly emphasizing the grievances

3 For details of the legal cases on the ownership of Śatruñjaya, see Hawon Ku, “The British Courts and Rise of a Modern Jain Identity during the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Jaina Community, British Rule and Occidental Scholarship from 18th to Early 20th Century*, ed. Andrea Luithe-Hardenburg (Berlin: E.B. Verlag, Forthcoming).

4 “No. 439-P. From the Political Secretary to the Government of India; To His Majesty’s Under Secretary of State for India. Dated October 19, 1927.” India Office Records L/PS/10/1100.

5 “Telegram from Kasturbhai Lalbhai, to Secretary of State for India, dated Ahmedabad 29th July 1926.” India Office Records L/PS/10/1100.



Figure 1. Distant view of the temples at Kadambgiri, with the replicas of temples at Śatruñjaya on a white boulder located between the two larger pink temples. Photo: Hawon Ku, 2010.

of “loyal, peace-loving, and law-abiding citizens of the British Raj.”⁶ The press that was sympathetic to the Jains continued to publish editorials opposing the British decision, while Muslims and Hindus of western India also decided to stop pilgrimage to their holy sites until this act was withdrawn.⁷ Following these protests, the Viceroy finally intervened in 1928 and had the two parties sign a new agreement, with worshipers resuming pilgrimage to Śātruñjaya in April of that year.

During these two years, in order to persuade the lay community to refrain from pilgrimage, the Peḍhī sent letters to monks and nuns requesting their support. For devout worshipers who simply could not give up the pilgrimage, a “substitute” Śātruñjaya was built with a 1/500 scale model at Kadambgiri, outside the Pālītāṇā Thakur’s domain. According to S.M. Nawab, the shrines were built at the command of Sri Vijayanemi Suri of the Tapāgaccha.⁸ With the largest structure standing about 2.4 meters high, the layout of the temples is closely representative of Śātruñjaya itself. The two peaks of Śātruñjaya are reproduced, complete with the main temples with flying banners, walls, steps and reservoirs. (Figure 2) The shrines replicate the size of the original temples, with images and inscriptions reproduced for reference. The site was worshipped for two years; however, after the new agreement was signed, Kadambgiri reverted to its quiet status as one of the *pañca tīrthi*, another stop among many others.

Reproduction of sacred sites has not been a new phenomenon in Jain art, but one that has emphasized the religious significance of a particular site.⁹ As a result, stone reliefs, painted banners, or replicas of the universe and pilgrimage sites such as Śātruñjaya have been found in numerous Jain temples. Through such representations, worshipers enact pilgrimage to sites that are inaccessible, due to their mythical status or simple physical distance. However, compared with these reproductions, Kadambgiri is unique as it actually replaced Śātruñjaya due to the surrounding political and social circumstances, and thus had to be replicated with strong visual similarities with the site itself. I suggest that this transferal of *tīrtha* was possible through two powerful forces, which were working together during this period.

The first is the lay community, particularly the rich

6 “Letter of Bahadur Singh Singhi, President of the Shri Jain Swetamber Conference, to the Secretary State for India, Earl of Birkenhead, dated 5-8-1926.” India Office Records L/PS/10/1100.

7 “Letter of H.N. Pandya, President of Sabha of Rajkot, to Secretary of State of India, dated 15th August 1926.” India Office Records L/PS/10/1100. According to Pandya’s letter, it was decided at a meeting at Rajkot on the same date, that Hindus of all castes and Muslims would not go on pilgrimage until the Pālītāṇā case was solved. He adds “that this meeting thanks the Times of India and all other Journals that have justly shown their sympathy towards the Jain community in their present difficult situation; and it expresses its sorrow at the unwarranted reflections that the Honourable Mr. Watson has cast upon the integrity of the press as well as members of the Jain community.”

8 Sarabhai Manilal Nawab & A. S. Gadre, *Jaina Tīrthas in India and Their Architecture* (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai M. Nawab, 1944), p.53.

9 Julia Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual* (Berlin: GH Verlag, 2009), p.45.



Figure 2. Replica of temples at Śātruñjaya, with the replica of the Caumukh Temple on the northern peak surrounded by its high walls at the top of the hill. The *śikhara* of the replica of the main Ādīśvara Temple, which is on the southern peak of Śātruñjaya, can be seen partially behind the Caumukh Temple. Photo: Hawon Ku, 2010.

merchants of Ahmedabad who led the Śēth Āṇandjī Kalyānjī Peḍhī. As one of the first religious trusts to create a modern constitution (in 1880), the Peḍhī was given the power to represent the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak Jain community. This power was originally based on the traditional role of the head of the Peḍhī, who also held the position of the Nagarśēth of Ahmedabad. However, in addition to the role of this particular individual, the constitution of the Peḍhī claims that its powers come from the whole saṅgh, or the assembly of Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak Jains throughout India. This was provided by the support of Śvetāmbara Jains from various cities; when the meeting to propose a constitution was held in 1880, invitations were sent out to 103 cities, including those in other regions of India. Even though the participation of Jains from states other than Gujarat or Rajasthan was nominal, the fact that they were included provided sufficient justification for the actions of the Peḍhī. The fact that at this time, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, who was leader of the Peḍhī as well as the President of the Jain Śvetāmbara Conference, led the negotiations as well as the protest through shifting the *tīrtha*, supports this power of the trust. As David Sopher argues, pilgrimage circulation in Gujarat has been related to social characteristics and categories (such as wealth), rather than religious affiliation alone; thus the tightly knit group of merchants from Ahmedabad and Bombay, with similar backgrounds and closely related through marriage and trade, could arise as a powerful group to control pilgrimage and the ultimate creation of a sacred site.



Figure 3. Distant view of Śātruñjaya hill and its fortification across the Shetrunji from Kadambgiri. The main Ādiśvara Temple is seen in the foreground. In addition to the high walls with pointed merlons, the reservoirs behind the Ādiśvara Temple are also represented in miniature form. Photo: Hawon Ku, 2010.

However, this would not have been possible with only the Peḍhī or the Śvetāmbara Jain Conference, both essentially assemblies of lay persons. I suggest that the role of Jain ascetics, particularly the rise of charismatic, reform-minded ascetics during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were the forces behind such changes. Vijaynemi Suri, mentioned earlier as the ascetic behind the creation of the substitute Śātruñjaya, is counted amongst such examples. Born in Mahua, Saurashtra in 1872, Nemchand attended vernacular and English schools and apprenticed at a shop of a family friend, until he found interest in studying Sanskrit and religion, leading to his *dīkṣā* at 16 years of age. Now as Nemivijaya, he first studied with Vriddhichandra Suri at Bhavnagar, but soon became regarded as one of the most charismatic preachers, leading to his new appellation Vijaynemi Suri. During his lifetime, he was invited to spend his *cāturmās* at Ahmedabad, Khambat, Surat, and also led a *cha rī pālī saṅgh* (or a *saṅgh* which upholds the six *rīs*)¹⁰ to Śātruñjaya with the support of Śeṭh Vadilal Jethatlal in 1904.¹¹ While his role in the creation of Kadambgiri is not mentioned in detail, other incidents surrounding the Pālītāṇā Thakur lead us to believe that he was closely aware of his political surroundings, willing to influence the residents of Pālītāṇā as well as British court procedures.¹²

10 On these see Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg, *Die Reise zum Ursprung. Die Pilgerschaft der Shvetāmbara-Jaina zum Berg Shatrunjaya in Gujarat, Indien* (München: Manya Verlag, 2011).

11 Ramanlal C. Shah, *Prabhavak Sthaviro* (Mumbai: Shri Mumbai Jain Yuvak Sangh, 1992), pp. 410-422.

12 For example, the “Shoe Case” of Pālītāṇā began with the Jains

Thus, transfer of a living *tīrtha*, albeit for only two years, can be seen as the result of collaboration between the Jain merchants of Ahmedabad and Vijaynemi Suri, i.e., the leaders of a lay community and a powerful ascetic. However, with the legal cases surrounding Śātruñjaya, it was crucial that the “model” visually replicated the original but contested site, a feature not necessarily found in earlier replicas of sacred sites. (Figure 3) This was most likely inevitable due to the larger number of pilgrims who had actually visited the site, as well as the widespread use of photography and print material. Thus, it is possible to find a modern twist to the traditional cooperation between the lay community and religious leadership in creating a sacred site.

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protesting against the Thakur wearing leather shoes and smoking while climbing the hills of Śātruñjaya. Following futile protests, Vijaynemi Suri led the Jain community in an organized manner, by advising the leaders of the Śeṭh Āṇandjī Kalyānjī Peḍhī to approach the Thakur as well as the Political Agent of Rajkot, sending the Jain monks and nuns away to avoid further harassment, and influencing the shepherds of the hill to the Jains’ advantage. Shah, 1992, pp.429-430.

Riddles of the Rock-Carved Hindu and Jaina Sculptures and Inscriptions at Rakhetrā

Peter Flügel, with J. Clifford Wright, Dániel Balogh, Gerd Mevissen and Michael Willis

The archaeological site of Rakhetrā,¹ featuring a striking medieval rock-cut sculpture of Ādinātha, and epigraphic evidence of an unidentified Jaina monastic lineage, has not yet received the attention it deserves.² (Figures 1 and 2) The colossal Ādinātha image has been strategically placed at the sunset point next to an old Hindu cave shrine, and a collapsed cave temple, overlooking the fields alongside the river Orr (Urvaśī) near the village of Gadhelna (Gaderna). Located next to it is a rock-carved shrine displaying foot images (*pada-cihna*) in memory of the Jaina monk Viśālarāja, as indicated by an inscription above. A second Jaina inscription (Figure 3), carved on the cushion on which the Ādinātha is seated, was likely added some time after the creation of the sculpture, since it records the visit of a pilgrim in VS 1675 Āṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 8 “Śanivāra” (CE 15.7.1618), and contains references to Canderī and the village of Bithālā two kilometres to the north on the opposite side of the river. M. B. Garde (1925: 15f., 27, 33f.), the chief investigator of “Rakhetarā,” visited the site in 1924. He published a brief description, one photograph of the rare triptych of rock-carved sculptures of the Hindu gods Brahmā-Naṭeśa-Varāha, and summaries of three inscriptions, two of them Jaina, which he recorded under the labels “Rakhetra or Gadhelna” and “Rakhetra (Bhiyadant),” assuming that Rakhetarā (*Rakṣetrā), most likely a designation for the cliffs overlooking a strip of agricultural land near the river Orr, was another name for the village of Gadhelna. His report remained the only published record of this Government owned site to date.³

Google Maps mistakenly uses the tag “Jain caves” to identify the site, which in 2010 Digambara Jains had branded “Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra Bhiyādāṃṭa.”⁴ The archaeological record shows that the valley of the Urvaśī river was a thriving hub of Digambara Jaina religiosity in the 10th and 11th centuries, particularly the areas around Būrhī Canderī and Thūbana, which is still

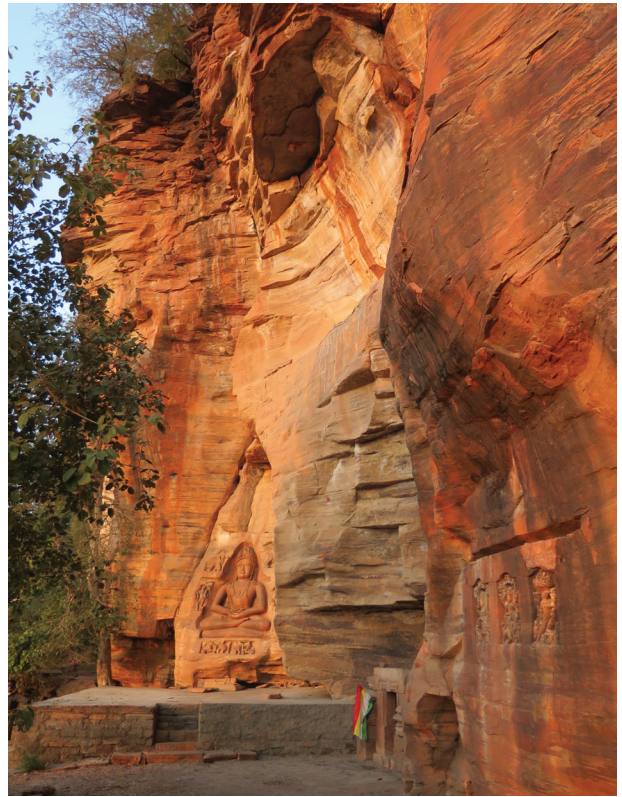


Figure 1. Rock-carved Ādinātha sculpture, cave temple and Hindu triptych at Rakhetrā.

an active pilgrimage site today. Yet, before the creation of the Jaina images, and today, the caves of Rakhetrā were and are primarily associated with Hinduism, as the locally used name Bhiyāṃdānta or Bhīmasena as a designation for the “monumental” Ādinātha sculpture still seems to claim.⁵ The Jaina rock-carved images are not located in caves, nor is there any evidence of previously existing Jaina “cave temples.” The only remaining, entirely featureless, cave at Rakhetrā is today marked out as a Hindu religious site, a claim that is underlined by eight older, historically and aesthetically significant rock-carved sculptures of Hindu deities north and south of the centrally located area of the cave and the Jaina images. Only a photograph of one of these images, the well-preserved triptych, has previously been published.⁶ The Hindu sculptures were placed by Garde in the same period as an important, hitherto unpublished⁷ set of inscriptions to the north of the Ādinātha image, recording waterworks organised by the Pratihāra king Vināyakapāladeva II,⁸ VS 999 Āṣvina Vadi 30 [3?] (CE 1.10.942), VS 1000

5 As a personal name “Bhīma” is also evident in the Jaina records. But I am not aware of any Jaina image being addressed in this way by Jains.

6 Garde 1925 Plate V (b) & Garde, in Blakiston 1927 Plate XLIII (e). Cf. Bruhn 1977 part II.

7 Images of all three inscriptions at Rakhetrā are now published in SIDDHAM under the Google-friendly keyword “Rakhetra” The historical information contained in the two Jaina inscriptions has been recorded in the JAINA PROSPOGRAPHY database.

8 Bhandarkar 1929: 2110, Puri 1957: 96, Bruhn 1969: 62, Willis 1996:

1 24°46'14" N 78°1'55" E.

2 The article is based by a chance visit to Rakhetrā (Ashoknagar District, Madhya Pradesh) on 28 December 2018, on recommendation of a local police officer stationed at the Digambara temples of Thūbonajī. A visit to the Jaina sites of the Canderī region was recommended by Michael Willis. They were explored with the help of Muzaffar Ansari, locally known as Kallebhāi.

3 While Day 1965: 439, Willis 1996: 42, 50 and Singh 2015: 44f., 180 summarize Garde's findings, Bruhn 1969, K. C. Jain 2010, G. Fussman, Sharma et al. 1999 I: 20, 2003 I: 68ff. (who abandoned the plan to conduct research on the local Jaina culture), and Sears 2015: 51, 60f. do not mention the site of Rakhetrā, though describing the ruins of the nearby 9th- to 11th-century Digambara Jaina temples of Devagarh (Deogarh), Būrhī (“Old”) Canderī (old Candrapura) and Thūbana (Thūbonajī).

4 Manjrekar (2016) documented the meanwhile removed dedication (*lokārpaṇa*) indicating that the path (*mārga*) leading up to the “temple” (*mandira*) and the platform (*cabūtarā*) in front of the Ādinātha image were constructed VS 2067 Caitra Badi 9 = CE 7.5.2010 by Gopālasinha Cauhān, former legislator (*vidhāyaka*) from Canderī, and by Gendālāla Sarāfa, former chairman (*adhyaṅga*) of the Caubīsī Digambara shrine of Thūbonajī.

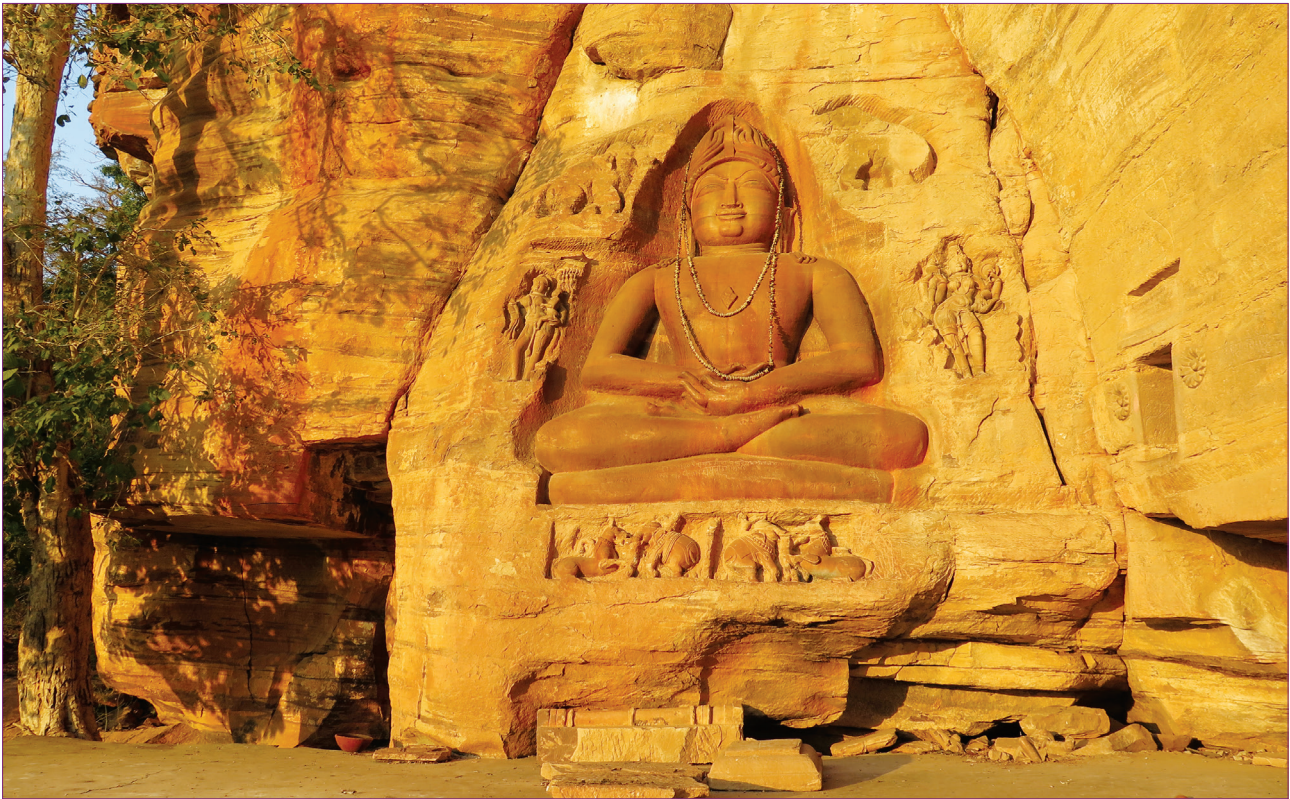


Figure 2. Ādinātha

Bhādrapada Sudi 3 (CE 7.8.943) and VS 1000 Kārttika (CE October 943). (Figure 6) Garde's (1927: 166f.) final report describes the site in the following way:

Within the limits of the village Rakhetra about two miles south-east of Bithla carved in the western face of a hill overlooking the Orr river is a series of rock-cut sculptures. The biggest sculpture in the group is a seated image of the Jaina Tirthankara Adinatha distinguished as such by a miniature figure of a bull carved on the seat and popularly known as Bhiyant or Bhimasena. The height of the image is 10' 6" and the width at the base 7' 6". The head-dress is somewhat uncommon for a Jaina sculpture inasmuch as it resembles the *jaṭā* or matted hair of Siva. The head is flanked on either side by an unfinished figure of an elephant and we notice on the right side of the Tirthankara an image of the goddess Padmavati and on the left that of the goddess Chakresvari. On the seat is an

inscription dated in V. S. 1675 and on the pedestal, a *dharmachakra* or the wheel of the law between two scenes of elephants fighting with lions.⁹

At the point where this sculpture is carved, the face of the hill is chiselled into a right angle. The sculpture of Adinatha described above is carved on the arm of the right angle which faces the south. On the other arm which faces the West is carved a small niche crowned with a spire and enclosing a pair of foot-prints of Sri Visalaraja as is recorded in an inscription dated in V. S. 1555. The back wall of the niche is decorated with lotuses carved in relief while a swastika is carved in the floor on either side of the foot-prints.

Sculptured on the façade of this same hill on both sides of the Jaina group are a number of niches sheltering images or groups of images of Brahmanical deities, mostly Saivite. The latter include figures of Ganesa, four-armed Parvati

⁹ The *gaja-sārdūla* motif.

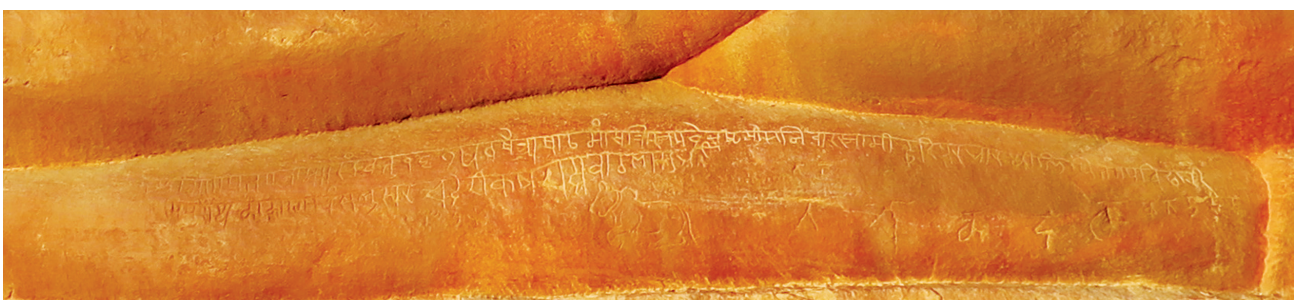


Figure 3. Inscription of VS 1675 under the Ādinātha sculpture, with the cognizance of Ādinātha.

seated on a crouching lion, groups of Hara-Gauri seated on their respective vehicles, Siva dancing (*tandava*) and a group, better finished than the rest, of the twelve-armed Siva dancing in the midst of his attendants and flanked on the right in a separate niche by Brahma and by Vishnu in the boar incarnation on the left (Plate XLIII (e)). These Brahmanical sculptures though smaller in dimensions are better works of art than their Jaina neighbours and some five centuries earlier in date as shown by the accompanying inscriptions which date from the middle of the 10th century A. D.

Garde (1925: 16) dated the Jaina images “more than five centuries later” than the Brahmanical images, primarily with reference to the accompanying inscriptions, though, stylistically, the Ādinātha image may be much older than its inscription and the *lāñchana* underneath. Likely, Garde also considered the similarities to the monumental 15th-century rock-carved Jina sculptures at Gvāliyar and Khandāragiri/Canderī, which may have served as prototypes, although smaller Jaina rock-cut sculptures are evident in the Gopakṣetra region already from the 13th century.

The fact that the recently renovated Jina image represents the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Ādinātha (Rṣabha), and not Śiva or Bhīmasena, is iconographically unambiguously indicated by the combination of the *padmāsana* posture, the elongated ears, the protruding matted hair, and the accompanying Jaina *yakṣiṇīs* Ambikā (not: Padmāvati), with a child and branch of mango-tree, to his right and Cakreśvarī to his left, with the four hand-attributes disc

(*cakra*), conch (*śāṃkha*), gesture of fearlessness (*abhaya-mudrā*), and lotus (*padma*).¹⁰ Because of their distinctive hairstyle, images of Ādinātha are sometimes mistaken to be representations of Śiva. Unsurprisingly, the statue of Ādinātha is locally associated with Hinduism (no Jains seem to live in the nearby villages), if not specifically with Śiva, and referred to as Bhiyāmdānta or Bhīmasena. Yet, Bruhn has shown that a similar “reduced-” or “smooth *jaṭā*” hairstyle, with lateral strands, is not uncommon for representations of Rṣabha, and evident in medieval Jina representations at Gvāliyar Fort and Devagarh.¹¹

The artificially extended cave is likely to have been used for centuries by Hindu ascetics as places of refuge, and by Jaina monks as sites for the performance of *sallekhanā*. This much can be deduced from the existence of an inscription placed above the niche carved into the sandstone rock, featuring foot images (*pādukā*) of the Jaina monk Upādhyāya Viśālarāja, who must have starved himself to death at this location, although this is not explicitly mentioned. (Figure 4) The rock-cut niche is framed by the outlines of an unfinished rock-cut shrine ornamented with a spire, three lotuses, a *svastika*, and two one-word long inscriptions (Figure 5), one of which, reading “*munirāja*,” contains a spelling mistake and could be interpreted differently (e.g. as Mu[ñ]jirāja).¹² The second one is unreadable. More or less legible are the following characters of the longer inscription on top

10 Cf. Shah 1987: 232 for a similar sculpture in Khajurao.

11 Bruhn 1969: 220, 116ff., 133 Fn. 1, 478-89, Figs. 105, 131, 354, cf. 323-41)

12 On the poet Muñjarāja, and other influential Śvetāmbara householders at Māṇḍū, the capital of the sultanate of Mālvā, see K. C. Jain et al. 2010: 928-39.



Figure 4. *Carāṇa-pādukās* of Upādhyāya Viśālarāja with inscription.

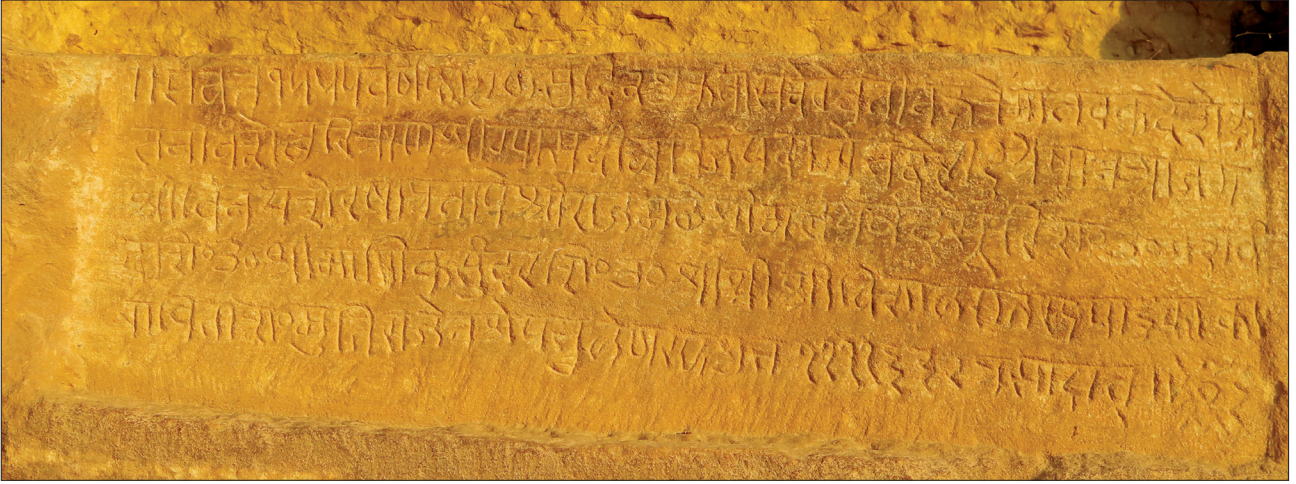


Figure 5. Munirāja inscription dated VS 1555

of the rock-cut niche presenting a date and six names:

- [1] saṃvat 1555 varṣe phāguṇa-sudī 2 śukra-vāsare
revatī-nakṣatre mālavakadeśe kṣa-
[2] lac[ī]¹³ -vaṃṣe suritrāṇa śrī gyāsud[d]īna¹⁴
vijayarāj[ye] ...
[3] śrī vinaya¹⁵... pratāpe śrī rājamaṇe śrī
malayacaṃdasūri-ś[ī]^o u^o... rva-
[4] ... -śī^o u^o śrī māṇikasūmdara-ś[ī]^o u^o śrī
viśālarājasya pādūkā kā-
[5] ... ś[ī]^o munirājena śreyas tu ... sā[kṣ]āt ||

If Garde's (1925: 33) summary reading of five names and of the abbreviated titles ś^o and u^o is accepted, and further imaginative guesswork is applied, the only partially legible text, written in corrupted Sanskrit in irregular script, can be tentatively reconstructed:

- [1] saṃvat 1555 varṣe phāguṇa-sudī 2 śukra-vāsare
revatī-nakṣatre mālavaka-deśe kṣa-
[2] laj[ī]-vaṃṣe suritrāṇa śrī gyāsud[d]īna-vijaya-rāj[ye]
...
[3] śrī vinaya [?śeraśā]-pratāpe śrī rājamaṇe śrī
malayacaṃdasūri-ś[īṣya]^o u[pādhyāya]^o [ke]śarva-
[4] [ddha]-śi[ṣya]^o u[pādhyāya]^o śrī māṇikasūmdara-
ś[īṣya]^o u[pādhyāya]^o śrī viśālarājasya pādūkā kā-
[5] ravitā-śi[ṣya]^o munirājena śreyas tu[leṇa] ra[ṇaśvata]
1111 ii ra | sā[kṣ]āt || §

The recorded date VS 1555 Phālguna Śukla 2 corresponds to “Tuesday” 12.2.1499 “U-bhadrapada Nakṣatra,”¹⁶ not to “Friday” (Śukravāsara = Śukravāra) “Revatī Nakṣatra” as the rest of the inscription seems to indicate. However, a revised date VS 1554 Phālguna Śukla 2 Śukravāra Revatī Nakṣatra yields precisely “Friday” 23.2.1498 “Revatī Nakṣatra.”¹⁷

13 The inscription has not been well executed. The word should read “kṣalajī.”

14 The name Ghīyāth al-Dīn, “alias Gayasuddin” (Jain 2010: 1208) has been written “Gyāsuddīna-” Nasīruddīna-Mahammada Khilājī II by Vairāgyarativijayagaṇi (in Sonī 2016: 17).

15 Maybe “vijaya.”

16 www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/

17 But maybe the PANCANGA calculates weekdays and lunar

As far as the historical substance of the inscription regarding the Jaina tradition is concerned, the main new piece of information that has not yet been published is the existence of a fifth member of the Jaina monastic lineage of Munirāja, who evidently recorded his *guru-śiṣya paramparā* at the time of the benevolent reign of Prince Muhammad (Mahamūda) “Ghiyās al-Din” (r. 3.6.1469-29.3.1501) of the Māṇḍū Mālvā Sultanate of the Khaljī dynasty (1436–1531).¹⁸ It is clear that the person missing in Garde's account, Malayacandasūri's disciple, whose name is illegible, was an *upādhyāya*. Some characters in the middle of the name are readable, but not the rest. Dániel Balogh has read the faint first character of line 4 as “ḍha” or “ddha” and looked for plausible Jain names to make up the rest of the name, particularly the first character that could be interpreted as “ja,” “je,” “te,” “re” or - more imaginatively - “ke.” His reading “Jaśarvaddha” or “Jaśavīddha” as vernacular designations for Jaśavṛddha or Yaśovṛddha seems less plausible than “Keśarvaddha,” a name that is in use in both Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions, though, for consistency, a Sanskrit name would be expected. Even the character “śa,” also read by Balogh, is not consistently used in the inscription in this form, and hence was left undecided by J. C. Wright, who deciphered most of line 1 and 2, as well as *sākṣāt* at the end of the inscription. Whatever the accurate name may be, fact is that the inscription records the existence of one further *upādhyāya* in the line of disciples between Malayacandasūri and Upādhyāya Mānikasundara, which Garde's report omitted:

Malayacandasūri
Upādhyāya [Keśarvaddha]
Upādhyāya Mānikasundara
Upādhyāya Viśālarāja
Munirāja

mansions for past years.

18 Day 1965: 220, 243 describes the reign of the regional king “Ghiyath Shah” as “A Period of Peace and Plenty,” during which the Jains, and other religious traditions, received generous patronage, “to restore confidence” and to attract merchants and credit (pp. 423-25). See also K. C. Jain et al. 2010: 928-39, 1207-11 on the mutually beneficial relation between “Gayasuddin Khilji” and the Jains.

The lineage record covers a period of at least 50 years. It is significant, because this lineage is presently not identifiable through other sources, and “remains to be explored” (Patil 1952: 114f.).¹⁹ Possibly, the inscription is the only surviving record.

An interesting question is whether the list represents a Digambara or a Śvetāmbara *guru-śiṣya*-lineage. At first sight, the question seems trivial. The titles *sūri*, *upādhyāya*, and *muni* were commonly used in both Jain traditions at the time, though a Digambara inscription of the 15th century would probably include the title *bhaṭṭāraka*. Almost all Jain archaeological relics of the Canderī region pertain to the Digambara tradition, which was dominant in the 9th-11th centuries at Būrhī Canderī, and later also in Canderī, which, after its creation in the 13th-14th century, was in the second half of the 15th century chosen by “Canderī Maṇḍalācārya” Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti for the (now defunct) *bhaṭṭāraka* seat of the Digambara Mūlasaṅgha Nandi Āmnāya. The holders and their following were almost exclusively recruited from the regionally prevalent Paravāra and Khaṇḍelavāla Jain castes.²⁰ In VS 1554 the Canderī Paṭṭa (later: Mālavā Paṭṭa) was occupied either by Devendrakīrti’s successor Tribhuvanakīrti (Vidyānandī Paravāra), who in VS 1522 consecrated the local Caubīsī Mandira, or by one of his successors Sahasrakīrti, Padmanandī or Yaśaḥkīrti (a contemporary of Ghīyāth al-Dīn), who altogether, under the inclusive rule of the Mālavā sultans, were instrumental in the creation of most of the early rock sculptures at nearby Khandāragiri (Khandā-giri),²¹ not least the recently reconstructed monumental standing Ādinātha image, carved in the “uncouth” and “uncomely”²² 15th-century Gvāliyar style.

And yet, names, titles and the style of the *pādukās*, taken together, could suggest a Śvetāmbara affiliation. While the Digambara Paravāra caste was dominant in the Canderī region in the 15th century, the most influential Jains at the Mālavā capital of Māṇḍū further south were migrants of the Śvetāmbara Osavāla and Śrīmāla castes from nearby Gujarat, who were attached to the mendicants of the Tapāgaccha and of the Kharataragaccha

that roamed in the region as well.²³

The fact that Śvetāmbara householders held important offices at the court at Māṇḍū could explain the existence of a small shrine for a Śvetāmbara monk who may have performed *sallekhanā* and died at Rakhetrā. However, the riddle of the history of the Jain rock-sculptures at Rakhetrā can only be solved, in part, if the lineage of the Jain monks can be identified through triangulation with an independent source. The iconography of the *pādukās* alone, depicting feet rather than footprints, provides no firm indication of the sectarian affiliation of the lineage of Malayacandasūri. Contrary to the argument accepted by a Privy Council judgement in 1933, that Digambaras accept only footprint-images, but reject representations of body-parts as objects worthy of worship,²⁴ the evidence shows that Digambara ascetics are also commemorated by means of foot-images.²⁵

A general question pertains to the religious significance of the numerous Jain rock-cut sculptures that in medieval times were mass-produced all over India. Were they created as objects for worship, as ornaments or as means of religious propaganda and demarcation of sacred spaces? Owen (2010: 2f.) rejected the first two options,²⁶ emphasizing the “power of place” and how “images and their boulders collectively define Jain sacred space.” The *pādukās* created in memory of a named Jain monk point, however, to the possibility that Rakhetrā was also regarded as a sacred spot, sanctified by a performance of *sallekhanā*.²⁷ Likely, the peregrinating Upādhyāya Viśālarāja chose to starve himself to death at this site, because of its remote location and the presence of the rock-carved Digambara image of a Jina in meditation.

Another riddle concerns the unfinished nature of most of the Hindu and Jain rock-carved sculptures at

23 K. C. Jain et al. 2010: 928ff., 1207ff., Bhadrabāhu Vijaya, in Sonī 2016: 21-5. If “vinaya” in line 3 of the inscription reads rather “vijaya” and turns out to be part of the full name of Malayacandasūri, then the lineage would likely be a branch of the Tapāgaccha.

24 “The Svetambaris, who prefer to worship the feet themselves, have evolved another form of charan [...] which shows toe-nails, and must be taken to be a representation of part of the foot. This the Digambaris refuse to worship as being a representation of a detached part of the human body” (AIR 1933 PC 193)

25 See Fig. 3, Carāṇa pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti, Kīrtistambh Nasīyān, Amer, in Detige 2014: 28.

26 See Bruhn 1969: 56 on Jina images as objects for worship and as architectural ornaments, and Owen 2010: 4f., 2012: 3 on the different functions of Jain rock-cut architecture and sculpture boulder-reliefs.

27 See Flügel 2006.

19 Inquiries amongst colleagues in India and Belgium have not yielded any results.

20 Cf. Willis 1996: 51ff.

21 K. C. Jain 2010: 918f., 1028f.

22 Bruhn 1969: 115ff., 1998: 102.

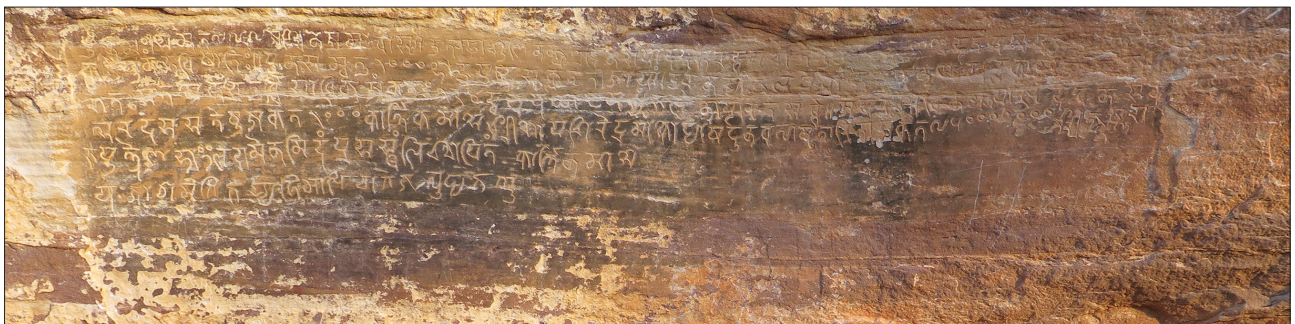


Figure 6. Inscriptions of Vināyakapāladeva II.



Figure 7. Unfinished ensemble of Śiva-Pārvaṭī (Hara-Gaurī) relief sculptures with a standing Viṣṇu in between.

Rakhetrā. An obvious answer would point to the volatile political conditions in the region at times, resulting in the sudden withdrawal of patronage for the commissioned artists; such as the end of Pratihāra rule, as far as the unfinished Hindu sculptures are concerned (Figure 7), and the end of the rule of Ghiyās al-Din in CE 1501, as far as the Jaina sculptures are concerned.²⁸

This leaves the conundrum whether the *pādukās*, commemorating a deceased monk, or the Jina image existed first at the site. The question can presently only be answered by way of dating the style of the Ādinātha sculpture, which seems perfectly in tune with 15th-century and older Dīgambara Jaina iconography.²⁹ The inscription under the Ādinātha sculpture has most certainly been added later.

In reply to the question, why stand-alone images of Jinas and rock-cut sculptures were mass-produced during the medieval period, three answers have been offered to date. Two of them focus on the motives for the creation of duplicate images and the demarcation of Jaina religious geographies, namely merit-making,³⁰ and the sacralisation of space. It has also been noted that there is an intrinsic Jaina interest in the serialisation and multiplicity of Jina representations as an effect of a doctrinal ideal motivating iconographic typification,³¹ and also an expression of the principle of mechanical solidarity one may add.

28 See K. C. Jain et al. 2010: 928-39, 1207-11 on the mutually beneficial relation between “Gayasuddin Khilji” and the Jains: “After Gayas Shah Khilji begins a period of immediate decline both for the Jaina subjects and the Sultan rulers.”

29 On iconographic grounds, Gerd Mevissen (E-mail 9.2.2019) suggested a date between the 11th and 13th centuries for the Ādinātha sculpture ensemble. From the 13th century, Jaina cave shrine sculptures carrying inscriptions existed in the Gopakṣetra region, as shown in Willis 1996: 11ff.

30 Bruhn 1969: 56, 1998: 111: “The great number of images [at Deogarh] is not the result of any concentrated scheme, but due to donations made over the centuries by pious Jainas, some rich and some without adequate means.”

31 Bruhn 1954: 134, Cort 2010: 59, Owen 2012: 44.

The mass-production of religious imagery in medieval India was also related to sectarian competition and competition for patronage. The cumulative effect of this was the demarcation of overlapping sectarian Jaina fields of influence through strategically placed images which, like the Aśoka inscriptions, were placed alongside important travel routes, such as rivers;³² in the present case the river route connecting Thūbonjī with Gvāliyar and Devagrha, and more distant centres. The preference for the creation of distant sacred sites, transcending concerns of local Jaina communities, has also a totalising function.³³ Whatever their intended effects were, the medieval Jaina religious sculptures at remote sites continue to provide incentives for personal pilgrimages even today, whether they are actively venerated or not, are historical relics or merely serve as symbolic statements signalling the association of a geographical area with a Jaina religious sphere of influence, as (re-)claimed today by Thūbonjī.

All photos are by Peter Flügel, 28.12.2018.

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32 See Sears 2015.

33 Flügel 2006.

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Jainism in Ancient Bengal: Some New Observations

Shubha Majumder

Numerous archaeological discoveries in the 19th and 20th centuries by several British administrators¹ and later on by Indian as well as foreign scholars² confirm that Jainism had a long history in different parts of ancient Bengal. Most of the earlier research, reporting of individual sculptural specimens, a temple or group of temples, has ignored not only the archaeological context of these findings, but also failed to undertake a comparative stylistic study with reference to other contemporary Jaina remains found from different sites. Often, while reporting the Jaina images from different parts of present study area, they have placed them within the early medieval/medieval time bracket without suggesting the stages of stylistic development.

The present author has attempted to investigate each and every nook and corner of the study area during his field surveys from 2011 to 2015 so as to bring to light archaeological sites/settlements which have some form of Jaina association, be it in the form of detached stray sculptures, ruins of temples or extant architectural remains, etc. As a result, it was possible to get a comprehensive picture about several aspects of Jainism in ancient Bengal *vis-a-vis* its gradual development and the features of Jaina art and iconography as well as temple architecture.

A prevalent idea among scholars was that Jaina antiquities of ancient Bengal exist exclusively in the western and north-eastern parts of ancient Bengal

1 Beavan 1865: 66-9; Dalton 1866: 186-95; Beglar 1878/1966.

2 Bandyopadhyaya 1933/1980: 144-8; Mitra, 1969; Dasgupta 1983: 81-4; Majumdar 1984: 122-29; Bhattacharyya et al. 1986: 127-75; Das 1997a: 107-24; Dutta 2004; Chattopadhyay 2010: 155-214; Majumder 2014: 1-32.



Figure 2. Dvi-tirthika Tirthankara from Charra, Puruliā. Photo: Shubha Majumder, 21 April 2014.



Figure 1. Tirthankara Dharmanātha from Baramoshya, Puruliā. Photo: Shubha Majumder, 22 April 2014.

(Rāḍha and Varendra regions). However, the present investigations show that, in addition to the above-mentioned areas, the Bhagirathi basin, including the alluvial plains and the coastal areas of study area, also has a fair share of Jaina antiquities. A good number of new archaeological sites/settlements in this region have been documented during my research project. New Jaina antiquities have been found in four different archaeological contexts.

It is apparent from the collected data that the most popular *tirthankaras* are Rṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. However, images of Candraprabha and Śāntinātha are also found in good numbers. The present study also brought to notice sculptures of Ajitanātha, Saṃbhavanātha, Padmaprabha, Suvidhinātha, Vasupūjya, Vimaṇanātha, Dharmanātha (Figure 1), Mallinātha, Muni Suvrata and Neminātha.

Earlier, only one *dvi-tirthika*³ type of Jaina *tirthankara* image was reported from this region. However, the author was successful in identifying five more sculptures of this variety. (Figure 2)

Depictions of planetary deities in Jaina *tirthankara* images⁴ are a common feature in the Jaina images of the study area and generally show eight or nine planetary deities flanking the main *tirthankara* image or depicted in the pedestal of the image. However, the recent

3 Bhattacharyya, Mitra & Bhowmick 1986: 147 Plate 22.

4 Mevissen 2000: 343-400.



Figure 3. Tīrthānkara Rṣabhanātha from Karcha, Puruliā. Photo: Shubha Majumder, 22 April 2014.

study shows that there is another variation regarding the representation of the planetary deities in the Jain *tīrthānkara* images. The Rṣabhanātha image from Karcha (Figure 3) has the depiction of nine planetary deities, but among them the first two deities (Sūrya and Soma) are depicted on the both sides of the *tīrthānkara*, while the remaining seven are depicted on the pedestal of the image.

In the present study area *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* figures are

not found engraved along with the *mūla-nāyaka*, while in other parts of the country this tradition was quite popular. During the present survey it was noticed that this is the case, i.e. the Rṣabhanātha image from Sitalpur and Panchra.⁵

The depiction of devotees in *namaskāra-mudrā* is commonly found in Jain images of the present study area. However, in two cases, both from the site of Pakbirra, eight devotees or donors are carved in this posture in the pedestal of the Jain images. (Figure 4) This iconographic feature may indicate that in some cases all the family members were jointly involved in the donation of Jain images, i.e. a ‘family donation’. The characteristics of the site lead us to postulate that perhaps the Jain establishment at Pakbirra and the area in and around had developed in to a well-known pilgrimage centre during the early medieval period.

Another interesting aspect related to the Jain images is the depiction of *ācāryas*. In two cases Jain *ācāryas* are depicted: in the Tīrthānkara Mallinātha image from the Ramkrishna Mission, Purulia and the Candraprava image from Tiluri.⁶ Depictions of *ācāryas* and monks indicate that in and around these localities the Jain monastic system had developed and Digambara Jainism had strongly penetrated the local level of society.

Different types of Jain *caumukhas* have been documented from the study area, and the *caumukha* from South 24-Parganas district, West Bengal is unparalleled.⁷ (Figure 5) This *caumukha* depicts four *tīrthānkaras* on the four sides of this miniature *deul*: Rṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and one unidentified *tīrthānkara*. All the *tīrthānkaras* are depicted standing in *kāyatosarga* posture except Neminātha; he is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a lotus seat. Below his lotus seat a female figure is

⁵ Majumder 2017a.

⁶ Majumder 2017b: 1-3, Figures 2-4.

⁷ Majumder 2012: 33-37, Figure 5.



Figure 4. Broken image of Tīrthānkara Rṣabhanātha from Pakbirra, Puruliā. Photo: Shubha Majumder, 21 April 2014.

depicted. This image is identified as the image of Ambikā, the *yakṣiṇī* of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. Another important iconographic feature of the specimen is the representation of planetary deities. The image of Ṛṣabhanātha is flanked by representations of the planetary deities. The eight planetary deities are arranged in two rows of four each on both sides of Ṛṣabhanātha on the pilasters.

Some inscribed Jaina sculptures have been documented and the features of the said inscriptions are in corrupt Sanskrit language, engraved on the pedestal. Interestingly, the inscriptions are characterized by the use of a localized variety of the Gauḍī script, which is highly cursive and at times even aberrant. It is likely that the artists who carved the images were entrusted with the task of engraving the epigraph as well, resulting in the use of the essentially cursive version of the script—not the normalized uniform version used by the specially employed *karaṇas* (scribes). All the inscriptions record the names of donors, some of them precisely designated as *dānapati*. For example, the image of Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha from Tumba mentions the name of the ‘*dānapati*’, i.e. *dānapati* Sanadeva. Contrary to the usual practice, there are instances where the term *dānapati* is suffixed to the name instead of being prefixed. Thus, the ca. 11th- to 12th-century image of Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha from Baramoshya reads *vejña-dānapati*, meaning ‘[This is the donation of the] munificent man Vejña’. Names of lay donors are also found to form such dedicatory inscriptions. On the whole, the names appearing on these images clearly reflect an overarching non-Sanskritic affiliation of the donors, explicitly implying the nature of the local patronage.¹

The present discoveries and extensive field work during the course of study helps one to postulate that from the ninth to tenth century onwards the Digambara sect of Jainism reached its zenith in the plateau region of ancient Bengal as well as in the adjoining areas. On the other hand, it also flourished in North Bengal. The eastern fringe area of Choṭānāgpur area, i.e. Puruliā, Bānkurā, western part of Burdwan and West Midnāpur, remained the nuclei, and the coastal area and north Bengal represented peripheral areas.

¹ Majumder 2017a.

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Figure 5. Miniature *Caumukha* depicting the image of Ṛṣabhanātha along with planetary deities from South Twenty-Four Parganas. Currently displayed in a local museum of Tulsicharan Bhattacharya Smriti Sangrahasala, South Bishnupur, South 24-Parganas district, West Bengal. Photo: Shubha Majumder, 13 May 2012.

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Mapping the Jina's Path to Salvation: Illustrated Kalpasūtra Manuscripts from Berlin Collections

Patrick Krüger

Jaina manuscript paintings are—compared to the wealth of scholarly publications on Mughal and Rajput paintings—a significantly understudied area of South Asian art.¹ This is particularly remarkable since the miniatures in Jaina manuscripts from Western India are among the oldest preserved examples of Indian book illumination; many motifs first traceable in these miniatures were perpetuated in the visual repertoire of later painting traditions. Early Jaina miniatures and their contents are, however, difficult to access for the Western beholder due to the peculiar metonymy of the medieval schools of painting; at first sight their formulaic repetition of certain compositions may seem monotonous and inanimate. A closer look, however, reveals the remarkable creative achievement of the illustrations and the expressive vigour of a style that combines a delicate delineation reminiscent of—roughly contemporary—Islamic miniatures with figures whose angular shapes are rather related to so-called folk art.

Early scholarly studies of Jaina manuscript illustrations were usually restricted to a brief interpretation of their contents based on the literary sources of the Jina legend, a style analysis of individual miniatures or manuscripts, and general stylistic comparison. The miniatures were often regarded as mere illustrations supplementing the content of the text and were therefore only judged on their conformity with the written part of the manuscript. This study proposes a different approach following the tradition established by E. Panofsky and A. Warburg. Based on the supposition that the miniatures cannot be understood or interpreted without a careful structured analysis it goes beyond the general identification of their visual content but rather starts with a comprehensive iconographical analysis of each image followed by an iconological interpretation before the historico-cultural context is established. The topic of the study are the miniatures in six Jaina manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* preserved in the Staatsbibliothek and the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin. These miniatures, executed in the 15th and 16th century in Gujarat and Rajasthan, belong to the so-called West Indian school of painting known for its clear, sometimes harsh contours, the staggered arrangement of figures and other picture elements and its dominant colours of bright red, blue and gold. The material selected for the study dates to a period that in terms of the large number of extant manuscripts

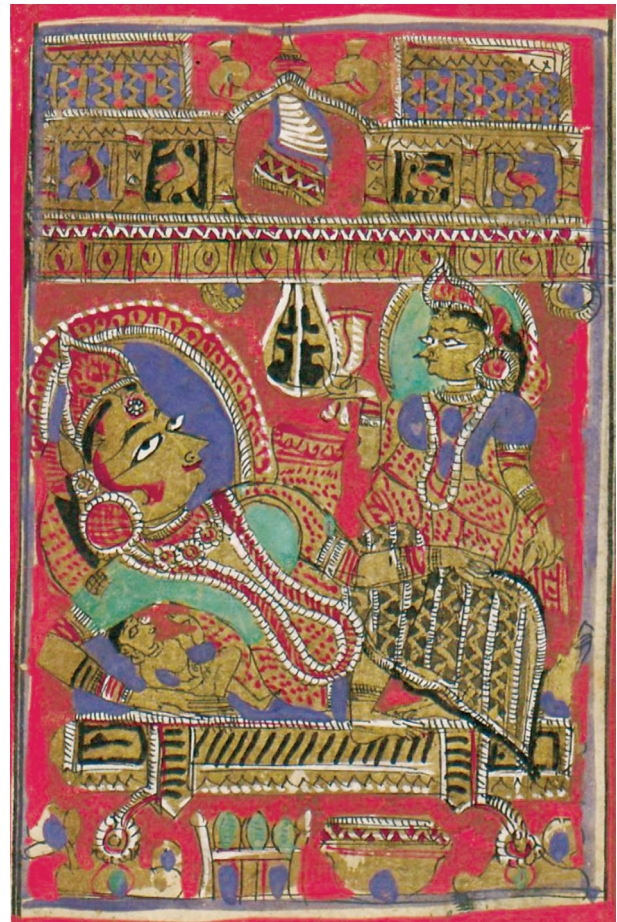


Figure 1. Birth of the Jina Mahāvīra. Illustration from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript, c. 15th century (courtesy Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, HS or. 10745, folio 56 verso)

and manuscript fragments can rightfully be called the heyday of medieval and early modern book production in Northwest India. Since illustrations of the *Kalpasūtra* constitute by far the largest part of the entire corpus of extant Jaina miniatures from this era the study is focussed on manuscripts of this text.

Additional manuscripts have been included in the study as comparisons and to illustrate the reach of the West Indian school of painting and its influence on North Indian miniature paintings of the 15th and 16th century. These manuscripts include first of all two more *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts produced outside the geographical region of West India. One manuscript from Mandu dated 1439 shows the influence of West Indian painting traditions on the neighbouring region of Malwa and bears witness to the close ties connecting the Jaina communities in this area with the centre of medieval Jainism in North India that at this time was located in Gujarat and Rajasthan.² How far the influence of the school of painting in Western India actually reached is demonstrated by the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript from Jaunpur dated 1465 which

¹ This article is based on research conducted for my doctoral thesis on Jain miniature painting at the FU Berlin, titled *Miniaturen mittelalterlicher Kalpasūtra-Handschriften. Eine ikonographische Betrachtung mit kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Anmerkungen* ('Miniature Paintings of Medieval Kalpasūtra Manuscripts. An Iconographical Examination and its Interpretation in the Context of Religious and Cultural History'). A revised version of this study is about to be published as a volume of the series of monographs on Indian art, archaeology and philology ('Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie') published by the Ernst Waldschmidt Foundation.

² First published and described by Chandra (1959) and by Khandalavala/Chandra (1959).

can be regarded as the easternmost extension of the West Indian style of painting.³ While the Jaunpur manuscript has been fully included in the iconographical study and is published in its entirety for the first time, the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* has merely been used for occasional stylistic comparison.

Two more manuscripts from the Oriental Collections of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin have been included in the study as points of reference, since they are related to the Jaina manuscripts under discussion and can serve to illustrate the interrelation between the paintings of the West Indian school and Indo-Persian paintings of the Sultanate period and the exchange of motifs between these schools of painting.

The style of Sultanate paintings developed from the encounter of Indian and Persian painting traditions and flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries; it was employed to illustrate a number of texts from Indian and Persian literature. Usually the term “Sultanate painting” denotes manuscripts—mostly of Indo-Persian texts—produced for members of the Sultanate courts. A *Hamzanāma* manuscript containing illustrations in some cases showing stylistic similarities with the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* manuscript can serve as an example of this group of manuscripts. Apart from these there are a number of illustrated manuscripts probably produced for non-Muslim patrons connected to the sphere of the Sultanate courts. The miniatures in these manuscripts combine stylistic elements from the Indo-Persian schools of painting with those of West Indian miniatures.⁴ Among the manuscripts of this group is a *Chandāyana* manuscript that is closely related in style to the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript from Mandu⁵ and was probably produced in North India—maybe Malwa—*circa* 1500 CE.⁶

In the course of the study it became obvious that many of the miniatures drew on much older pictorial traditions and that the Western Indian school of painting was an important hub of exchange in the mutual migration of pictorial motifs between neighbouring regions such as India and Persia and among the different religions of Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam.

The study employs a combination of art historical and Indological methods. It focusses on the individual motifs and their image content conducting an iconographical analysis and an iconological interpretation of the visual program; thereby it reconstructs the historic, cultural, and religious context of the images and individual motifs as well as their symbolism. In order to properly understand these motifs and the connections between the illustrations and the text they accompany, they were correlated not only to the *Kalpasūtra* itself but also to a wider corpus of ancient and medieval Jaina literature, in particular Śīlānka’s description of the lives of 54 great men (*Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya*) and Hemacandra’s

3 The *Kalpasūtra* manuscript located by the colophone to Jaunpur and dated 1465 was first published and described extensively by Khandalavala/Chandra (1962).

4 For a brief overview of the different currents of Sultanate painting see Chandra (1976: 31-49).

5 Krishna 1981: 275.

6 Krishna 1981: 284.

narration on the course of life of 63 important men (*Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*); furthermore, the study examined their connections with other areas of Indian art and parallels in Buddhist and Hindu painting traditions.

The comparison of the selected manuscripts shows that the visual presentation of the Jina legend during the 15th and 16th century is dominated by a canon of core motifs such as the “reclining queen,” a simple composition of a female resting on a low bed flanked by attendants. This basic image is adapted to represent several different scenes by the addition of characteristic iconographical elements like the pictograms of the auspicious dreams (Fig. 1) or the newborn child or by seemingly marginal elements like a twin-bottle or an incense bowl symbolizing the puerperium, etc. that are repeated again and again.⁷ Another example is that of the court, defined entirely by the person presiding over it; a worldly ruler or a deity.

At the same time the manuscripts show huge differences regarding the number of illustrations and the selection of motifs. Most *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts were donated to religious institutions by wealthy laymen hoping to gain religious merit; the amount of merit was determined by the manuscript value that varied according to the amount and quality of illuminations. Differences in number, complexity and contents of the miniatures included in a manuscript thus reflect the wealth and religious ambition of the donor, while the selection of scenes and motifs may have been also influenced by his personal preferences. Obviously certain motifs were regarded as indispensable for the visual narrative and are therefore included in almost all manuscripts while others could be included or left out at will. Among the motifs included in every image sequence of the Jina legend are those representing the five auspicious moments of his life. Their importance is highlighted by the fact that these moments are also part of the otherwise rigidly abbreviated representations of the lives of Mahāvīra’s predecessors.

Not much is known about manuscript production; a close examination of the manuscripts shows, however, that the calligraphers first executed the text and only afterwards the miniatures and other illuminations were inserted. The space for the miniatures was marked out before the calligrapher began his work and occasionally the title of the illustration was noted on the edge of the page. In the case of one manuscript kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin there even are small sketches besides the spaces reserved for the illustrations. Some of these small sketches have been painted over at a later stage, others are hardly visible any more, but

7 The *Mahābhārata* already contains the description of a room for a woman in childbed that—apart from white flower garlands—also was equipped with suspended water pots in the four cardinal directions (*apām kumbhaiḥ supūrnaiś ca vinyastaiḥ sarvatodiśam* [...], Mhb XIV.67.4). This tradition was continued into early modern times; it is therefore reasonable to consider a water pot suspended from a wall became a pictogram indicating birth in Jaina miniatures. It was, however, only during the 15th century that this water pot became an obligatory element of depictions of the birth of the Jina; in earlier miniatures the pot is missing and its place is either left empty or is filled with a lamp. This lamp can also be carried by a female servant; in rare cases the lamp and the water pot are shown side by side.

enough remains to determine that they contain the most prominent elements of the proposed scene and probably served as an aide memoire for the painter. Therefore, these sketches are of interest for the art historian; the elements highlighted in these small abbreviated pictures allow us to conclude how the full-fledged miniatures were viewed by the painters and probably also the other people involved in the creation of the manuscripts. Whether the anonymous painters involved in the creation of the manuscripts worked from physical templates or just drew from a repertoire of memorised motifs remains unknown. The image sequences of the manuscripts show a number of divergences; this may be the result of particular schools and workshops being more or less familiar with an individual image motif and of them cultivating preferences for certain motifs and the arrangement of scenes within the image programme.

As far as we know today, the artists working on the manuscripts were themselves not Jains. Therefore, it remains unknown if these painters knew the full content of the texts they illustrated or if they were familiar only with the individual motifs they painted repeatedly; in some cases they even seem to have added to an established composition at will. The workshops probably handed down knowledge about myths and legends that is reflected in the motifs and visual elements and influenced the execution of the illuminations in multiple ways. Unsurprisingly, the study has identified a number of miniatures containing motifs and symbols as well as employing compositorial strategies that are older than the manuscripts they belong to and in some cases even predate the texts they illustrate.⁸ The many individual iconographical analyses and historico-cultural interpretations gathered in the study altogether show the close connection of the image repertoire in the Jaina manuscripts under discussion is to what might best be called the common visual substratum of all Indian religions. They furthermore produced evidence of the independent rendering of literary and visual transmission and shows that at times the imagery included a change of ideas that cannot be traced equally in the text accompanied by the miniatures.⁹

⁸ One example, which has been discussed often, is the depiction of the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*). Another example is the crescent as a symbol for the place of the liberated souls called *siddhaloka* or *īṣatprāgbhārā*. It can be traced back to Vedic tradition, where the moon is the abode of the deceased souls (Oberlies 2012: 170). The concept of the crescent reflecting the shape of *īṣatprāgbhārā* refers to its name (slight inclining [area]) and is probably of later origin. Yet another example is the depiction of Brahmins who interpret the auspicious dreams of the Jina's mother. In some cases they are depicted with manuscripts to explain the meaning of her dreams, while in some other cases they use oracle sticks to prophesy. Here the direction of fall of the sticks (*śālāka* or *pāsaka*) provides the information about the meaning of the dreams. This type of soothsaying has a long tradition in ancient India and is depicted also on Buddhist bas-reliefs of Amarāvati and on the Buddhist wall-paintings of Ajanta.

⁹ Cf. the note on the depiction of the *jinābhiseka* ceremony (illustration of the Jina) in an earlier issue of this journal (Krüger 2013). Another example is the illustration of Mahāvīra's childhood. The *Kalpasūtra* does not contain any reference to the years before he renounced the world, yet the image sequence usually includes a miniature showing a childhood episode. The episode depicted in the *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts is derived from Hemacandra's narration of the Jina legend that includes his early life.

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Components of Prekṣā Meditation

Samani Pratibha Pragyā

This report summarises the findings of my PhD thesis “*Prekṣā Meditation: History and Methods*” which I completed in the Department of History, Religion and Philosophies at SOAS, in 2017.¹ The work focuses on the Terāpanth Ācārya Mahāprajña’s (1920–2010) construction of the system of *prekṣā-dhyāna*, or “perception-meditation,” which integrates elements of seven distinct sources: (i) Jaina textual accounts of meditative practices; (ii) Hindu yoga systems; (iii) Buddhist *vipassanā* meditation; (iv) Āyurveda; (v) Astronomy; (vi) modern science (especially Physiology); and (vii) reflections on personal experiences and explorations.

The guiding question of the thesis was how and why Mahāprajña adapted various Indic and western concepts to formulate a modern method of Jaina meditation that was different from ancient Jaina meditative practices; despite his occasional claim that the tradition of *prekṣā* meditation goes back to the practice of the legendary universal monarch (*cakravartin*) Bharata, who is said to have gained omniscience (*kevalī*) while perceiving his body in a meditative way. The claim that an ascetic tradition of meditational practice existed from the time of Mahāvīra in the 6th or 5th c. BCE is mostly based on early reports of bodily mortification, bearing extreme heat and cold and maintaining difficult postures, such as squatting or standing in meditation for a prolonged period and open-eye-gazing at a wall (*trāṭaka*), described in the ninth chapter of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*. However, it is clear that the extreme forms of physical asceticism present in early Jainism (see Bronkhorst 1993), and the earliest forms of Jaina meditational practice, are quite different from the characteristically non-ascetic features of present day *prekṣā-dhyāna*.²

Prekṣā-dhyāna also differs from the canonical four-fold classification of *dhyāna*, Haribhadra’s (8th c. CE) list of eight views (*drṣṭi*), which presented a new model for Jaina meditative yogic practice, and Śubhacandra (11th c. CE) and Hemacandra’s (11th c. CE) distinctions of four types of tantric Jaina meditation. Many Hindu tantric elements, which were incorporated in Jainism during the medieval period, were instrumental in the development of *prekṣā-dhyāna*. For example, Mahāprajña transformed the Hindu yogic-tantric method of awakening the “coiled power” (*kuṇḍalinī*), believed to be located at the base of the spine, into a meditational technique described as an “internal journey” (*antar-yātrā*), and re-designated its system of bodily power-points, the “circles” (*cakra*) or “lotuses” (*kamala*), “psychic centres” (*caitanya*

kendra). Tantric “colour visualisation” (*rāga-dhāraṇā*) was similarly re-designated “psychic colour meditation” (*leśyā-dhyāna*), and the mental technique of placing mantra syllables on various parts of the body (*mantra-nyāsa*) was similarly incorporated and transformed.

At the inception of the Terāpanth tradition in 1760, there was little evidence of meditative practice, beyond the canonical practices of *kāyotsarga* and *ātapanā*. The exception to this was Jayācārya (1803–1881), the fourth head of the Terāpanth sect, who composed three short works on meditation.

Mahāprajña retained three of the eight³ meditative practices associated with ancient Jaina tradition and modernised these: relaxation with self-awareness (*kāyotsarga*), reflection (*bhāvanā*) and contemplation (*anuprekṣā*). The *kāyotsarga* of the modern system of *prekṣā* meditation differs from ancient meditational practice in its non-ascetic and non-ritualistic character. The five stages of *kāyotsarga* claim to present a ‘scientific interpretation’ which uses the terminology of western relaxation techniques, the haṭhayogic prāṇa system, and the personal experiences of Mahāprajña.⁴ Thus, Mahāprajña mapped the system of “psychic centres” (*caitanya-kendra*) on the glandular system and explained the efficacy of this system and its techniques in terms of modern physiological theories of the workings of the hormonal system. Figure 1 is a table that presents the “scientific” mapping of *prekṣā-dhyāna* components.

Mahāprajña’s novel use of scientific concepts is an innovative step in modernising Jaina practices. The aim of synthesising original canonical elements with elements from other traditions, new interpretations and modern innovations was attempted towards packaging it as a modern meditation tool geared towards the “purification of the psyche,” the promotion of health and well-being, as well as liberation. These aims sought to appeal to both the laity and monastics, and created a “socio-spiritual” model of meditation at a remove from capitalist culture.⁵

Buddhist influence on the development of *prekṣā-dhyāna* is seen in Satya Nārāyana Goenkā’s influence which goes back to 1974–75. During this period, Goenkā organised three *vipassanā* meditation camps for Terāpanthi ascetics. Mahāprajña (1983: 81–84) accepted that the practices at the *vipassanā* camps proved instrumental in recapturing the lost links in the ancient Jaina meditation system. *Vipassanā* meditational practices were used to interpret and understand early concepts whose meaning had, ostensibly, been lost. As

1 <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/24340/> See also my earlier research report in *Jaina Studies* 8 (2013) 36–37.

2 Varied studies have been conducted on *prekṣā-dhyāna* by researchers such as A. Jain (2010, 2014), Qvarnström and Birch (2012) and Koṭhārī (2013). I have analysed *Prekṣā* Meditation through studying its historical development thus a very different approach compared to scholars such as Jain (2010, 2014) and Kothari (2013). Research conducted at JVBI on *prekṣā-dhyāna* is geared towards science and psychology, which I cannot list here. It can be found in the JVBI catalogue.

3 Eight-limbs of *prekṣā-dhyāna*: 1. relaxation (*kāyotsarga*), 2. internal journey (*antaryātrā*), 3. perception of breathing (*śvāsaprekṣā*), 4. perception of body (*śarīra-prekṣā*), 5. perception of psychic centres (*caitanya-kendra-prekṣā*), 6. perception of psychic colours (*leśyā-dhyāna*), 7. reflection (*bhāvanā*) and 8. contemplation (*anuprekṣā*).

4 In the context of *prekṣā-dhyāna* Mahāprajña uses for instance the traditional term *kāyotsarga*, but to appeal the global audience it is translated into English as “relaxation with self-awareness” rather than its literal translation as “abandonment of the body.”

5 A. Jain (2010, 2014) and Kothari (2013) argue that *prekṣā-dhyāna* is an expression of capitalistic approach which my thesis disproves.

Scientific Mapping of Prekṣā-Dhyāna	
Total relaxation (<i>kāyotsarga</i>)	Musculoskeletal system
Internal trip (<i>antaryātra</i>)	Central nervous system
Perception of breathing (<i>śvāsa-prekṣā</i>)	Respiratory system
Perception of body (<i>śarīra-prekṣā</i>)	Muscular, central nervous and endocrine systems
Perception of psychic centres (<i>caitanya-kendra prekṣā</i>)	Endocrine system
Perception of psychic colours (<i>leśyā-dhyāna</i>)	Neuroendocrine system
Reflection (<i>bhāvanā</i>)	Psychological states, subconscious and conscious mind
Contemplation (<i>anuprekṣā</i>)	Subconscious and conscious mind

Figure 1. “Scientific” mapping of *prekṣā-dhyāna* components.

such, these practices were essential for the development of *prekṣā-dhyāna* even if they were not replicated. My thesis demonstrates that the claim by both Goenkā and other scholars⁶ that *prekṣā-dhyāna* is nothing more than “modified *vipassanā*” has no solid basis.

The main similarities between *vipassanā* and *prekṣā-dhyāna* are that out of eight “limbs” or aspects of *prekṣā* meditation, *śarīra-prekṣā* resembles *kāya-vipassanā*, *śvāsa-prekṣā* appears identical to *ānāpānasati*—but with different philosophical goals and small, practical differences. The other six “limbs” of *prekṣā* are not found in *vipassanā*.⁷ Mahāprajña draws attention to the philosophical differences between the two traditions. He points to the “concept of eternal and transitory nature of reality” in Jainism and its goal of “self-realisation.”

The study finally compares *prekṣā-dhyāna* with six other modern forms of Jaina meditation, namely: the “Jain Meditation” of Citrabhānu (b. 1922), the “*Arhum Yoga*”⁸ (Yoga/meditation on Omniscient) of Ācārya Suśīlakumāra (1926-1994), the “*Samīkṣaṇa Dhyāna*” (Analytical Meditation) of Ācārya Nānālāla (1920-1999), the “*Sālambana Dhyāna*” (Support-Meditation) of Bhadrāṅkaravijaya (1903-1975), the “*Ātma-Dhyāna*” (Self-Meditation) of Ācārya Śivamuni (b. 1942) and the “*Sambodhi-Dhyāna*” (Enlightenment-Meditation) of Muni Candraprabhasāgara (b. 1962). These systems are not as well-structured and developed as *prekṣā-dhyāna*; they also rarely associated with modern science. *Prekṣā* meditation, on the other hand, attempts to be compatible with modern science and uses an empirical approach in pursuit of its goals of health and well-being. It advocates a dynamic, progressive or evolutionary model (*pragatīśīla*), in contrast to the static, non-progressive model of other modern forms of Jaina meditation, *Prekṣā* meditation. Owing to this perhaps, no further development of these systems of Jaina meditation has been seen, after the demise of their founders—unlike the development of *prekṣā-dhyāna*, which continuously developed even after the death of Mahāprajña in 2010.

⁶ According to Stuart (2016) *prekṣā-dhyāna* is a “vicissitude” of Goenkā’s *vipassanā*. My study provides historical evidence demonstrating that the *prekṣā-dhyāna* system was already under development before Mahāprajña’s encounter with Goenkā.

⁷ The *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *martra*, *mudra*, *bandha* and *trāṭka* are assisting tools for *prekṣā* meditation and approved practices, but in the case of *vipassanā* they are strictly prohibited.

⁸ Although Suśīlakumāra uses *Arhum Yoga* as the term for his method, it does not include various aspects of yoga. In his book *Song of the Soul* he noted four practices of meditation.

The analysis of the integration of components from other religious systems and modern science in *prekṣā* meditation refutes the notion that “all components of *prekṣā* meditation are already present in the *āgamas*” (Tulasī 1982: 10). On the contrary, my investigations reveal that although Mahāprajña was intent on maintaining a connection between traditional Jaina meditative practices and *prekṣā-dhyāna*, the latter represented a syncretic development that drew on a variety of historical sources. Scientific analysis of Jaina texts and practices and the process of redefining various concepts in the light of science is a path to modernity. Thus, the thesis asserts that *prekṣā-dhyāna* is fundamentally an expression of “Jaina modernism” (see Flügel 2012), whose key features are the scientificisation of religion and the belief in the superiority of the present over the past.

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The Lotus’ New Bloom: Literary Innovation in Early Modern North India

Gregory M. Clines

The *Lotus’ New Bloom: Literary Innovation in Early Modern North India* offers a comparative analysis of three Rāma narratives composed by two Digambara Jaina authors who were separated by over eight centuries and nearly 1,500 miles. The first is Raviṣeṇa’s (c. 7th century CE) Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* (“The Deeds of Padma”), the earliest extant Sanskrit Jaina Rāma narrative. The second text is another *Padmapurāṇa*, also in Sanskrit, composed in the 15th century by Brahma Jinadāsa, a member of the Digambara Balātkāra *gaṇa* who resided in the Vāgaḍ region that straddles the border of modern-day southern Rajasthan and northern Gujarat. The final text is also by Jinadāsa; it is titled *Rām Rās* (“The Story of Rām”) and is written in the early modern Vāgaḍ vernacular (*bhāṣā*). Working theoretically with Jonathan Z. Smith’s (2000) idea that comparison should highlight the differences between any given exempla, along with the concept of “adaptive reuse” as presented by Elisa Freschi and Philipp A. Maas (2017), I focus on two primary questions. First, why do authors rewrite stories in the same language; and, particularly, why did Jinadāsa feel the need to recompose the story of Rāma in Sanskrit? Further, what changes does Jinadāsa make to Raviṣeṇa’s text, and how does understanding those changes help scholars to make sense of the environments out of which each text emerged and the audiences to which each text spoke? Second, how does a story change when an author chooses to compose it in a different language? What differences can be seen between Jinadāsa’s Sanskrit and *bhāṣā* texts, and what may be the social or theological importance of those differences?

In answering these questions, I compare Raviṣeṇa’s and Jinadāsa’s Sanskrit works, first demonstrating—by pointing out that Jinadāsa tells the reader that it is the case—that Jinadāsa had at hand a copy of Raviṣeṇa’s earlier text when writing his own. Jinadāsa is clear in his introductory chapter that he wants to make Raviṣeṇa’s text “clear” (*sphutam*) and he does this by systematically removing the poetically complex and courtly, technical elements of Raviṣeṇa’s work, resulting in a grammatically simpler, shorter, and streamlined narrative. Next, it is argued that understanding the stylistic differences between Raviṣeṇa’s and Jinadāsa’s *Padmapurāṇas* further helps one to understand both the anticipated audiences of each work and how each text attempts to create ethical subjects. Comparing the texts shows that Raviṣeṇa’s *Padmapurāṇa* is a *kāvya*, a work of refined Sanskrit *belles lettres*. The text’s primary goal is to engender *śāntarasa*, or the peaceful sentiment, in a *sumanasa* (literally, “good-hearted” person), a morally upright connoisseur of fine poetry. In theories of *kāvya*, *śāntarasa* is brought about through depictions



CENTRE OF
JAINA STUDIES

of detachment from worldly pleasures (*vairāgya*) and fear of remaining in the world of perpetual rebirth (*samsārabhīru*); it is meant to encourage the reader to turn his or her attention to the attainment of liberation, or *mokṣa*.

In contrast, Jinadāsa's simpler Sanskrit text was likely meant to be read by other monastics, and perhaps advanced laypeople, who made up the Balātkāra community in the Vāgaḍ region. Jinadāsa's work is not a *kāvya*, and in place of attempting to engender *śāntarasa* in his reader, the moral work of Jinadāsa's text focuses on presenting the story's main characters as exempla of different positive or negative character traits. Rāvaṇa, for instance, is explicitly and consistently depicted as an exemplar of the dangers of unchecked egoism and pride. As a text seeking to form ethical subjects, then, Jinadāsa's *Padmapurāṇa* encourages its reader (or listener, or interpreter) to learn and incorporate into his or her own life the dangers of unchecked egoism or pride by tracking Rāvaṇa's precipitous downfall and pitiable death. Rāma, in contrast, is always depicted in terms of selflessness and giving. Similarly, the reader understands the value of those qualities by following Rāma throughout the story. Thus, in his project of clarifying Raviṣeṇa's earlier text, Jinadāsa simultaneously changes the mechanism by which the text is ethically edificatory.

Another comparison is Jinadāsa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* with his *bhāṣā Rām Rās*. It begins by tracing the ways in which Jinadāsa continues the trend of narrative abridgement in the *bhāṣā* text that was present in his re-composition of the *Padmapurāṇa*. Then, an examination of differences in plot and authorial emplotment, text properties like meter, and the history of vernacular literature in early modern Rajasthan and Gujarat, shows that Jinadāsa's *bhāṣā* text draws on local, pan-sectarian bardic traditions and was meant to be publicly performed, probably in temples. These performances encouraged improvisation and spontaneity and would be customized to meet the needs, desires, or demands of diverse audiences.

The Lotus' New Bloom thus contributes to a number of related academic fields. To Jaina Studies, it not only highlights the contributions of a heretofore understudied author, Jinadāsa, to the history of Jaina religious literature, but also examines how different iterations of a single story both anticipate different audiences and work on their respective audiences differently, that is, employ different modes of ethical instruction. It also contributes to a growing body of scholarship focusing on early modern South Asian literature and history. Jainas were not the only authors re-composing inherited narratives—not only in Sanskrit, but in vernacular languages as well—during the late medieval and early modern periods; it was a literary practice shared among the vast majority of religious communities in the sub-continent. Focusing particularly on the relationship between two Digambara works, brings to light one of the many possible motivations for the practice of literary re-composition and helps scholars to think about both where we look for literary creativity in pre-modern South Asian

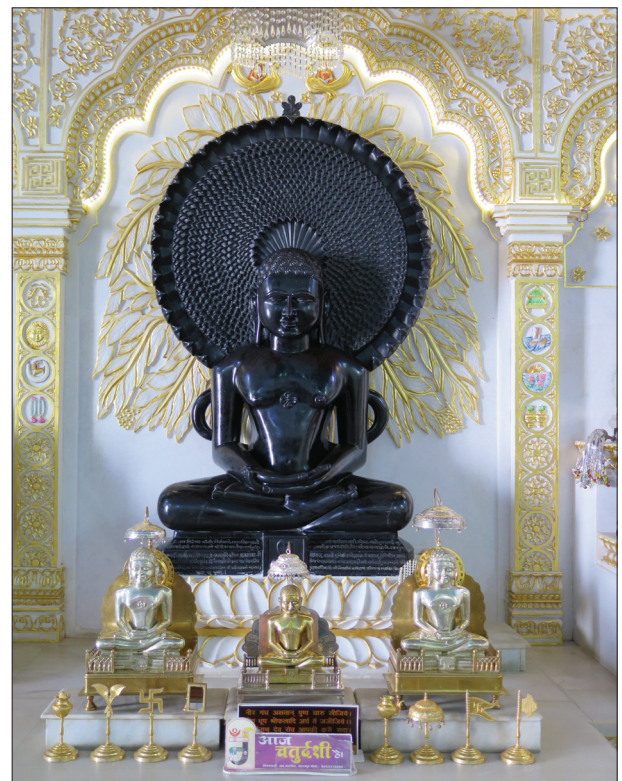
texts and how we evaluate that creativity. Finally, to the field of Religious Studies, this work is intended to model one strategy for reading literary texts, first with an eye towards reconstructing the social conditions in which they were composed and into which they circulated, and, second, for understanding the myriad ways in which religious texts work to form ethical subjects.

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Pārśvanātha image, Sarasvatī Prajñā Mandira, Jabalpur Peter Flügel 19.12.2018

Georg Bühler's Death: Perceptions and Possibility

Amruta Chintaman Natu

On 16th April 1898, the field of Indology was stunned by the news of death of Georg Bühler (1837-1898) by drowning in the Lake Constance. Bühler was travelling from Vienna to Zürich to spend the Easter vacation with his wife and son who were staying there with relatives. He left Vienna on 5th April and broke his journey at Lindau on Lake Constance. He was probably tempted by the fine weather and wanted to enjoy rowing before proceeding to Zürich (Winternitz 1898: 337). On the 7th, after rowing with a small hired boat, he returned to the hotel. On the 8th April he hired the same boat again to take another trip. He was last seen about 7.00 p.m. It is believed that he must have lost an oar and, in attempting to recover it, over-balanced the boat, and so, was drowned. Next day the boat was found floating bottom upwards on the lake, but no one knew who “the old gentleman” was that had been seen in the boat the night before. While his servants in Vienna believed him to be in Zürich, his wife thought that he had been detained in Vienna, though she was very distressed at receiving no reply to her letters.¹ After a week, on the 15th of April, it was ascertained that the occupant of the boat was Hofrath Georg Bühler of Vienna. The body was never recovered.

In recent years T. A. Phelps raised a question as to whether or not it was an accident. Charles Allen opined that Bühler must have committed suicide considering possible defamation for upholding and publishing forged material, particularly related with the discovery of Buddha's birthplace.

During the last years of his life, Bühler was connected to Alois Anton Führer (1853-1930), an archaeologist in the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), who had been working with ASI since 1885. “Führer was engaged in plagiarism evidently since 1882, the nature of which not only escaped from the notice of many scholars but on the contrary they considered it as a work of serious scholarship” (Huxley 2010: 490f.). While working with the ASI, he sent impressions of many inscriptions—supposedly found during the excavation—to Bühler in Vienna who deciphered the same and validated them in this way unknowingly.² Huxley (p. 495) sees this as a joint venture by Bühler and Führer. It should be noted that Bühler had no chance to see the originals of any of the inscriptions excavated by Führer. Führer even wrote false reports, e.g. he drew from Bühler's work of Sanchi and Mathura and inserted it in his Ramnagar account. As has been rightly pointed out by Phelps “this wholesale deception appears to have passed completely

unnoticed during this period, including, apparently, by Bühler himself” (Phelps 2008). Such statements of Huxley that Bühler and Führer must be co-authors and that they made an unwritten contract of partnership seem farfetched due to want of enough evidence to that effect. In view of the lack of evidence, it would be unfair to hold Bühler responsible for Führer's forgeries. The only fault that falls to Bühler's share is that he trusted Führer too much and too easily. Considering Bühler's long experience and expertise in epigraphy, if we judge Bühler's approach towards spurious grants, and that he failed to detect spurious nature of many in spite of his correct observations in that regard, the gullibility seems perfectly consistent.

Phelps remarked that “immediately following Führer's exposure in 1898, Bühler drowned in Lake Constance in mysterious circumstances, and since he had enthusiastically endorsed all of Führer's supposed discoveries, one cannot help but wonder whether this tragedy was accidental.” It is true that both the events took place in 1898, however, the question remains as to whether they had any cause and effect relation.

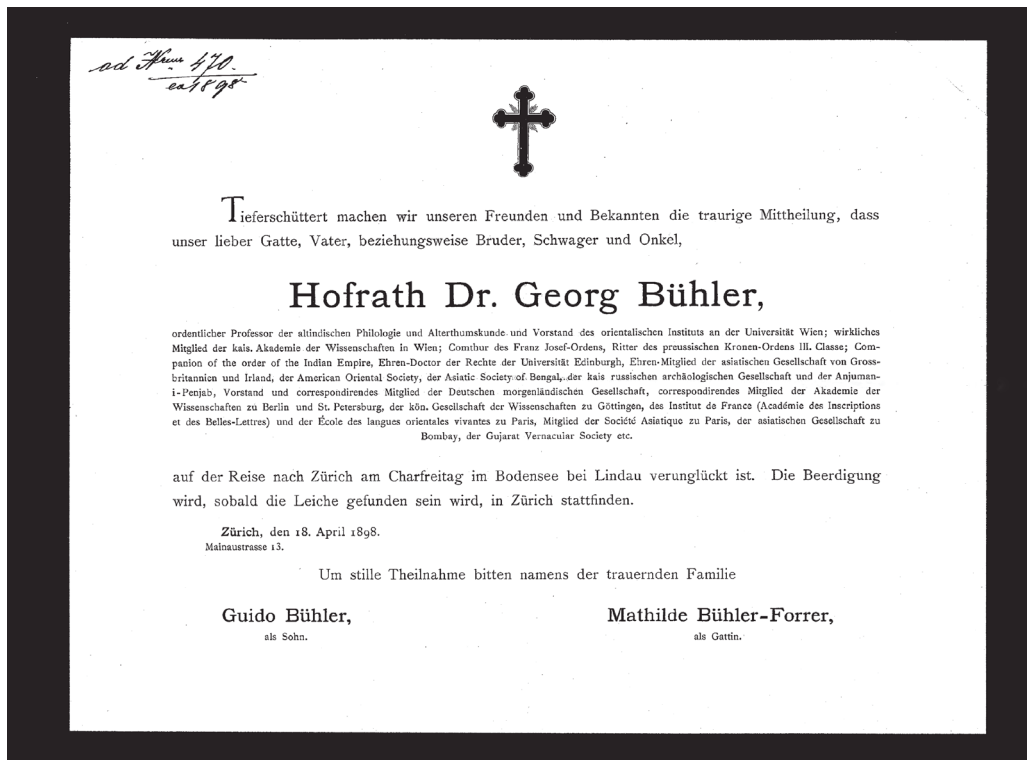
Charles Allen (2010: 161f.) suggested that Führer must have sent from Lucknow copies of his “preliminary brief report on the results of the Nepalese excavations ... of 1897-98” and proof copies of *Antiquities of Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place in the Nepalese Tarai* to Bühler in Vienna. If Bühler ever got a chance to compare the two documents, he would have realised that Führer's discoveries, which were fully endorsed and lauded in print by Bühler, were bogus (p. 165). Allen ascertained that Bühler had indeed taken his own life after he was led to believe that the Pripahwa inscription was another fraud by Führer (2010: 176).

From the available accounts it can be said that till Bühler's death on the 8th April, Führer was not exposed, in fact, was very much in the service of the ASI. It was in September 1898 that he was questioned by Vincent Smith and undesirous of facing stringent consequences, rather opted to resign from the service (Allen 2010: 177f.). Fortunately for Bühler, the “combination of revelations concerning” Führer was yet to become fully known at the time of his death. It is hardly possible that the copies of the “preliminary report” and the proof copies of *Antiquities* might have reached Vienna before Bühler left Vienna, i.e. 5th April. In the late 19th century it would take at least a day for a parcel from Lucknow to reach Mumbai or any port in India. The sea-mail used to take twenty days to reach places like Zürich or Vienna. Führer returned to Lucknow from Nepal in early March 1898. Then he wrote his “preliminary report.” Thus, if at all, as imagined by Allen, Führer had posted the said copies on the 16th March 1898 from Lucknow, it is unlikely that they would reach Vienna before 5th April.

As supposed by Allen (2010: 170), there might have arisen suspicion in Bühler's mind about Führer because of

1 Bühler had not informed his wife about his travel. She became restless having no communication from him for several days. After enquiring in Vienna, their maid informed her that some days had passed after he had left for Zürich. The maid presumably also informed that a letter revealing that Bühler was in Lindau had been received there. The information stems from a letter dated 17th April 1898, that has become available to me from Mr. Martin Bühler, great-grandson of Bühler's brother Karl. It is addressed to Karl by Frick Forrer, Bühler's relative from Zürich.

2 Later Lüders exposed Führer's forgeries of Mathura.



Courtesy: Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (AÖAW), Personalakt Georg Bühler

his correspondence with Burmese monk U Ma. But there is no evidence to show that he was aware of Führer's complete fraudulent nature. Bühler was not intentionally involved in Führer's hoaxes. Why would an intelligent man commit suicide in such a situation? If nothing else, committing suicide will definitely prove one's compromises with integrity. In fact, such a person would strive to live, at least in order to prove his innocence or non-relation with crime.

Kaegi (1898: 363) affirms in his *Postscript* to the obituary of Bühler that the possibility of suicide is out of question. Bühler did not have "a tendency to the negation of the pleasure of existence." His enthusiasm and interest in his line of research was unbeatable. According to Kaegi, Bühler's friends from Vienna denied most positively the possibility of any philosophical motive for suicide. On the 7th of April he was seen engaged in cheerful conversation with other visitors at the hotel. On the 8th, he was induced by the beautiful spring weather to stay one day longer, "in order to make a longer excursion," as he was heard saying. An unsent telegram to his wife in his handwriting was found in the hotel stating that he would reach Zürich the next day. Kaegi also asserts that there was no foundation for the hypothesis of a murder as "it being entirely uncalled for in view of the facts which have come to light."

Jolly (1899: 18) adds to what Kaegi says that since Bühler was prone to apoplexy, because of many hours of strenuous rowing an apoplectic stroke might have hit him. He also informs us that Bühler had already planned to visit India for archaeological excavations.

All these points are sufficient to refute the theory of suicide. The theory of homicide seems even more farfetched. What can be pointed to at the most, is an unusual nature of circumstances which form a backdrop

of any accident. However, any conjecture about backstage scenes must not rest only on speculative psychoanalysis.

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Sītā in the Centre: Rāmcand Bālak's *Sītācarit*

Adrian Plau

By the main courtyard of the Baḍā Terāpanthiyā temple in Jaipur's Old City there is a side-room where the temple's visitors can read and study together. One of its walls is covered by a large mural showing scenes from the Jain tellings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. In one, the exiled Rām and Lakṣmaṇa are roaming through the wild forests; in another, they are entering the fortress of Laṅkā. However, these are only smaller icons framing two large images at the mural's centre. In one, we see Sītā, Rām's wife, as she is about to descend into a pit of fire to prove her fidelity. In the other, the fire has vanished and the virtuous Sītā sits in splendour on a royal throne, receiving the praise of the gods. As a whole, the mural banishes the Great Men (*śalākāpuruṣa*) of Jain universal history to the sidelines of their own story. It is Sītā who claims the story's centre.

The mural, painted in 1976, draws on older traditions. Kelting (2009) shows that popular stories of virtuous laywomen, *satī-kathās*, have been shared amongst Jains for centuries. While it is now difficult to speak of *satīs* without conjuring up colonial-era images of self-immolating Hindu widows, the *satīs* of Jain legend are rather famous for their great feats of religious practice, forbidding of course the violence (*hiṃsā*) of self-harm. But Sita is today not typically thought of as a *satī* first and foremost, and the scholarly consensus on the Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* is in line with Kulkarni (1990: 248) in stating that it is primarily the story of the Great Men, including Rām, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa, and their place in Jain world history.

Yet the mural in the Baḍā Terāpanthiyā temple remains, and points towards earlier, popular traditions. One example of this tradition is the *Sītācarit*, a seventeenth-century version of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* written in Brajbhāṣā, an early precursor to today's Hindī, by Rāmcand Bālak, a Digambar about whom we know virtually nothing. While dozens of manuscripts of this work survive across North India, and scholars who have seen it write admiringly of it, it has till now never been available in print.

As part of my PhD thesis at SOAS, I visited research archives and temple libraries in Delhi, Varanasi, Agra, Bharatpur and Jaipur in search of manuscripts of the *Sītācarit*, and produced a critical edition of this text based on eight manuscript copies, ranging in date from 1711 to 1831. These were less than half of the manuscripts I accessed; many more will have been in circulation, indicating the popularity of the *Sītācarit* throughout at least two hundred years following its composition.

The *Sītācarit* deserves mention amongst the great works of early modern vernacular narrative literature in North India. Bālak brims with wit as he playfully rearranges the chronological structure of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* story, using advanced narrative techniques to highlight the religious implications of his tale. His distinctive style weds a complex use of the variety of poetical metres available to a skilled seventeenth-



Raja Ravi Varma's (1848-1906) painting *Sita Vanavasa* or *Sita in Exile*. Detail. Wellcome Collection, CC BY.

century poet of Brajbhāṣā verse with a tone of language that is straightforward and everyday-like, at times even reminiscent of modern Hindī. The combined effect is one of an artfulness that is not afraid of being accessible; it clearly is a composition that wants to engage its audience. The text shows an influence from the esotericism of his contemporary Bānarsīdās' *adhyātma* movement. Characters' realisation of ultimate knowledge is typically presented in terms similar to Bānarsīdās's, and there is little doubt that the two poets had a shared vocabulary of mystical experience. However, a strong current of *bhakti* also runs through the work, and Bālak is more likely to break out in devotional song praising those who have attained insight and acted accordingly, than to explain the finer points of that wisdom.

Nowhere is this clearer than with Sītā, the text's central character and a constant object of praise. In a literary operation reminiscent of what Genette (1997: 287) coined 'transfocalisation', where the centre of a story is shifted, Rāmcand Bālak opens his *Rāmāyaṇa* at the end, with Sītā, Rām and Lakṣmaṇa back in Ayodhya and Rāvaṇa defeated. The narrative begins with Sita's banishment into forest exile on the basis of flimsy rumours of infidelity. Her response when left in the forest is composed: Her misfortune, she states, is the product of her own actions, and no one but herself must endure their fruits. In Sītā's own words:

*kūna veṭau ko bhāi vāpa
kūna bharatā karatā hai āpa
vādhe karma bhogavai sahī
yaha sativānī sītā kahī*
SC.75¹

'Who is son, who brother, father?
Who is husband? You yourself are the doer.

¹ All citations from the *Sītācarit* are from the critical edition in my thesis, Plau (2018).

And so you are tied to the consequences of past actions.’
This is what the truthful Sītā said.

If anyone is to be mourned, she states, it is Rām, who, having rejected her simply ‘for the sake of what people say’, must be at risk of rejecting his *dharmā* too. This powerful opening clearly frames Sītā as an ideal of Jain insight and practice. Rām, on the other hand, despairs and ‘wrings his hands’ when he learns of her stoic response.

Sītā gives birth to her and Rām’s twin boys, Lavana and Añkuśa. They grow into young men and meet the sage Nārada who comments that they look a lot like Rām and Lakṣmaṇa. The twins, unaware of their parentage, ask who these men are, and Nārada obliges by telling them the Rāmāyaṇa, but with some twists. As Nārada says:

*sunuho deva kumāra yākau varnana kau kahai
pai vuddhi nija anusāra kachu ika varnana maiṃ kahūṃ*
SC.151

‘Listen, my godly princes, I’ll tell you about them!
But some bits I’ll tell according to my own mind.’

The disclaimer well describes Bālak’s own creative ingenuity in framing his over 2000-verse long *Rāmāyaṇa* within the context of Sītā’s forest exile. While his stated inspiration is Ravisena’s Sanskrit composition *Padma Purāṇa*, and he does at times follow this work closely, he does not hesitate to depart from it. This is most clear at the end, when Nārada finishes his story to the boys and we return to the narrative present. Now aware of their parentage and Rām’s actions towards their mother, Lavana and Añkuśa voice a critique of their father that is based on the *Padma Purāṇa*, but is much extended. And where the critique in the *Padma Purāṇa* is of Rām as a person, it is in the *Sītācarit* extended to include Rām’s kingship. With biting sarcasm, the twins comment:

*rāmacaṃda kaiṃ rāja suṣī jana sava kahaiṃ
yaha aciraja kī bāta duṣī hoyā hama rahaiṃ*
SC.2461

All the people say that the rule of Rām is joyful
It is surprising that we should have this sorrow.

The contrast is underlined as Sita returns to Ayodhya in splendour as a *satī*, and the climactic scene of her fire ordeal culminates with a united cosmos singing her praises. It is on this note that the *Sītācarit* concludes: Sītā is worshipped as a renunciate *satī*, while a dejected Rām finds solace in thinking of Sītā’s virtues. We learn nothing of his or Lakṣmaṇa’s fates as Great Men. The final image is reminiscent of the mural in the Baḍā Terāpanthiyā temple: Rām and Lakṣmaṇa are in the margins, Sītā in the centre.

That the *Sītācarit* later faded into obscurity may partly be due to a modern-day habit of overlooking Jain literature in Brajbhāṣā. Typically perceived as the

language of the famous Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* poets alone, the contributions of Jains to the literary canon of Brajbhāṣā have not been adequately acknowledged. Another conceptual blind has been the assumption that what primarily matters are works in Sanskrit and Prakrit. As Kulkarni (1990: 14) argued, vernacular works on the same themes probably only ‘repeat in their own language what the older Jain writers have already said’. And while I do not dispute the importance of the classical canons, it must be recognised that such assumptions can blind us to the innovative qualities of vernacular literatures. Would anyone today dismiss Milton’s *Paradise Lost* as a pale translation of the Bible? The same holds true for the early modern North Indian context. As Bryant (1978) has argued for the Kṛṣṇa poets of Brajbhāṣā, their works were not intended to introduce or popularise Sanskritic stories to lay audiences, but rather presumed that the audiences already knew these stories. Their art was in the ways they shed new and surprising light on familiar episodes or injected old tales with fresh emotion. The same holds true for Rāmcand Bālak’s *Sītācarit*, which presented Sītā the *satī* to its audiences in ways that could inspire the individual Jain to new reflections on how to face the challenges of his or her own life.

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Different Interpretations of Anekāntavāda

Melanie Barbato

Modern Jaina writers frequently point out their community's commitment to peacemaking, inter-religious dialogue and environmentalism. In this context they explicitly refer to the Jaina teaching of *anekāntavāda*. My doctoral research¹ examined how the concept of *anekāntavāda* has been used in different settings from the classical philosophical debates in India to contemporary presentations of Jainism on websites aimed at a potentially global audience, and sought to analyse how the interpretations of this teaching have shifted to address the needs of the different contexts. The results have been published as a book with the title *Jain Approaches to Plurality: Identity as Dialogue*.²

The key argument is that as dialogue partners changed, the interpretations of *anekāntavāda* also changed to suit the new situation. I argue that based on the teaching of *anekāntavāda*, Jainas have across history developed theoretical and practical approaches that allow them to engage with other discourses, and that this dialogical outlook has helped the Jaina community to both adapt and preserve its identity across time.³

I am suggesting different phases of how Jainas have (re-)interpreted *anekāntavāda*, which are, however, neither clear-cut nor strictly successive. On the most fundamental level I distinguish a classical understanding of *anekāntavāda* from modern understandings that became prominent from the 19th century onward. During the first stage, the concept of *anekāntavāda* was often only implied in the text passages, for example when Mahāvira spoke of the different senses in which the soul or the world are eternal or not. In the *Tattvārthasūtra* the word '*anekāntavāda*' does not yet appear but the commentary by Pūjyapāda uses the word '*anekānta*', possibly for the first time, in the sense of an ontological interpretation of *anekāntavāda*.⁴ The first conversation partners outside the Jaina community were other Indian schools of thought who attacked the Jain positions. Within a highly developed culture of philosophical debate, *anekāntavāda* was employed as a systematic tool for argument on epistemological, ontological and logical issues such as the relation between cause and effect or the status of universals. *Anekāntavāda* served Jaina philosophers such as Samantabhadra, Malliṣeṇasūri and Yaśovijaya to portray Jainism as superior to the fightings of the other

1 Dissertation: *Anekānta through the Ages: the Jaina Teaching of the Infinite Facets of Reality between Philosophy and Rhetorics* submitted in 2014 for a doctorate in Indology and Religious Studies at LMU Munich, Germany.

2 Barbato (2017).

3 By 'dialogical identity' I mean the willingness to engage in discussion with other world views in a benevolent way that entails the willingness to adapt certain aspects of one's self-presentation but not the core of what keeps one's community together. Chapple (1993: 27) referred in his discussion of Jainism's 'flexible fundamentalism' to 'cosmology, logic, and ethics' as the tradition's 'unshakable' fundamentals.

4 See Soni (2003:29ff). Soni (1996: 31) also states that 'Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Siddhasena Divākara and Akalaṅka [...] have given perhaps the earliest philosophical interpretations of *svādvāda*, even if indirectly'.



Peter Flügel

Kuṇḍalagiri 21.12.2018

schools, which were often equated with the different limited viewpoints of the *ṇayavāda*. The next stage was the shift from inner-Indian discourse to discourse with the West, mainly the colonial power Britain but also the USA. The Parliament of the World's Religions that was held in Chicago in 1893 can serve as an example of how *anekāntavāda* was repositioned to fit the new constellation. Virchand Gandhi told at the Parliament the story of the blind men and the elephant, the best known parable that Jainas use for *anekāntavāda*. This helped him to present his own religion as completely in line with the progressive programme of the World Columbian Exhibition of which the Parliament formed part, while balancing the expression of tolerance and interreligious appreciation with an implicit claim to inclusivist superiority.⁵ This interpretation of *anekāntavāda* has to be understood within the wider nexus of communication strategies that were during the unequal power relations of the colonial era employed also by other Indian religious figures, such as the Neo-Advaitin Vivekānanda.⁶

Since independence and certainly over the last decades, the external conversation partner has become a global audience, including a young generation of Jainas that has grown up in the diaspora and which may need to be attracted to a Jaina tradition about which it may not know much. Here the conversation partner is the scientific person who may or may not have an explicitly religious background. In this context, the reasonableness of *anekāntavāda* is emphasised. Sometimes the teaching is presented as a native theory of relativity or otherwise linked to scientific discourse. The attempt to combine Jainism with science can be seen as following a similar communication strategy as the interpretation as tolerance, although it presents a more problematic version that can also serve to highlight the possible pitfalls of dialogical identity construction.⁷

5 Halbfass (1988: 414) has referred to *anekāntavāda* as a form of horizontal inclusivism.

6 See the recent discussion by Altman (2017: 120–136).

7 See also Zydenbos (2006:69–82).

As part of my research I spoke to *bhāṭṭārakas*, community leaders, academics and lay followers, predominantly in Karnataka, about their understanding of *anekāntavāda*. The explanations I received tended to touch only to a very limited degree onto the philosophical context of the classical interpretation. Most frequently, *anekāntavāda* was explained to me through the story of the blind men and the elephant. At times, *anekāntavāda* was also presented as a general principle of taking more than one perspective into account, or even the general advice that other positions should not be judged.

With regards to other religions, two interpretations of *anekāntavāda* were put forward by the Jains I interviewed: the first interpretation was that *anekāntavāda* means that different religions are equally true, like two sides of a coin; the other interpretation was that although the other person's religious views are probably wrong *anekāntavāda* teaches that they should be treated respectfully, because *anekāntavāda* is a principle of intellectual non-violence.⁸ These understandings appeared at times to be held simultaneously by a single person. However, those who told me that *anekāntavāda* meant that all positions are in some respect true (which would amount to relativism) did not show any relativism that would contradict the fundamental outlook of Jainism when concrete examples were used. This was most apparent in our discussions about meat-eating, in which none of my conversation partners accepted that there would also be some perspective according to which meat-eating would be justified. Those cases where *anekāntavāda* appeared as relativism or where *anekāntavāda* was used while the Jaina background seemed completely lost should thus be interpreted as exaggerations, not inversions, of the general willingness to open up debate with a wide range of groups and topics. *Anekāntavāda* was always meant as a means to stabilise, not deconstruct Jaina identity.

To categorise the different interpretations of *anekāntavāda* today, I have divided them into four categories: (1) a philosophical understanding that reflects the classical context, (2) a conservative modern understanding that often presents *anekāntavāda* as a form of tolerance but remains integrated in a general Jaina context, (3) a modernist understanding that stands largely independent of the context of Jaina thought and prioritises for example, the value of science, and (4) a lay orthodox understanding that may not go beyond the story of the elephant but contains no heterodox elements either. Discussing the different interpretations *anekāntavāda* also touched on the problematic nature of the category 'religion' that is one of the most persistent issues in Religious Studies.⁹ In popular books Jainism is increasingly included in lists of the world religions, yet many Jains I spoke to did object to the statement that Jainism (or any -ism) was their religion. A lecturer at a Jainology department told me that he considered there to be only one true religion, and that would not be Jainism but non-violence. It equally makes a difference

if *anekāntavāda* is interpreted as part of 'Indian logic' or 'Jaina rhetoric', as a philosophical concept or a religious teaching that assumes the existence of the omniscient. Similar issues arise when scholars seek to evaluate the merit of the different interpretations of *anekāntavāda*.¹⁰ Here the scholar, too, participates to the production of different interpretations of *anekāntavāda*.

Melanie Barbato holds a Master in Oriental Studies and a doctorate in Indology and Religious Studies. Her research interest lies in (inter)religious communication strategies. From November 2019 she will be working at the University of Münster/ Germany on a DFG-funded research project about Hindu-Christian dialogue.

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⁸ See Cort (2000).

⁹ See my blog post on the topic at <https://criticalreligion.org/2014/04/07/words-dont-come-easy-an-example-from-jaina-studies/>

¹⁰ For example, Steven Vertovec (2000: 1) has observed that an 'authentic' homeland is often contrasted with a 'watered-down version of Indian culture' lived in the diaspora.

Digital Religion in a Transnational Context: Representing and Practicing Jainism in Diasporic Communities

Tine Vekemans

This report is a summary of a five-year research project which set out to explore the relationship between digital media and the Jaina diaspora using a combination of corpus analysis of websites and mobile apps and ethnographic fieldwork in Jaina communities in Belgium, the UK, and the USA.¹ Although a number of scholars have examined different aspects of diasporic Jainism, its entanglements with digital media have not yet been the focus of any research.

The internet as a diasporic space

When investigating sources on Jainism on the Internet, the criterion of ‘findability’ was central to the corpus compilation method. Using general search terms such as ‘Jainism’, ‘Jain’, in English, Hindi and Gujarati on a mainstream search engine (Google), the relevant results were listed, and examined for hyperlinks to other websites. These websites were then also added to the corpus, and examined for hyperlinks to other websites. Corpora were thus compiled in 2013 (270 websites) and 2017 (425 websites).

An examination of the 2017 website corpus reveals that 64 percent of findable websites are hosted outside India. (Table 1) This includes websites such as Wikipedia or pages maintained by academic institutions, but also a significant proportion of sites developed by Jaina organizations or individuals in the diaspora. Of the websites offering Jainism related content, 42 percent was diasporic. This includes a large amount of organizational websites, but also portals providing access to varied information and resources, humanitarian sites, etc. (Table 2) The small population of Jains living outside India (estimated between 250,000 and 300,000

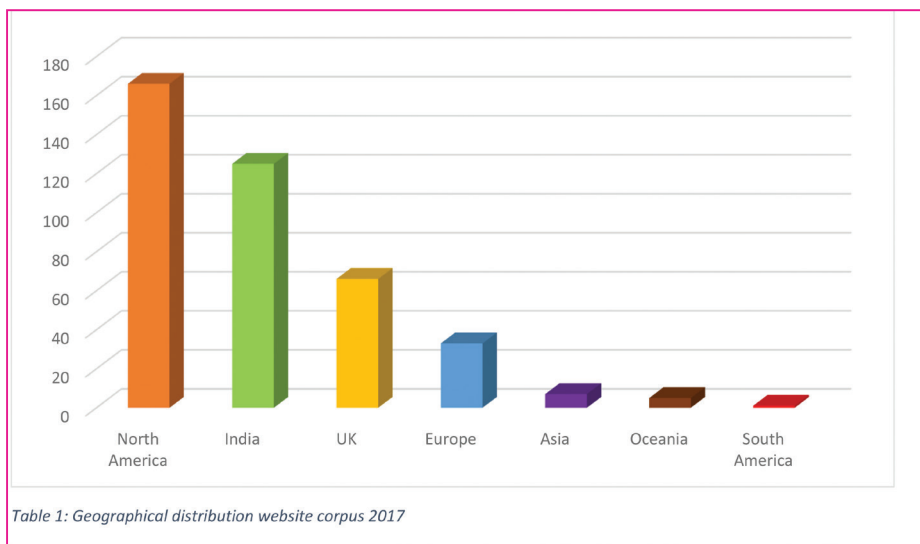
individuals, making up around five percent of the total Jaina population) are thus directly responsible for a disproportionately large amount of the content someone looking for general information on Jainism on the Internet—be they students or scholars, diasporic Jains, or Jains in India—is likely to find.

The reason for this state of affairs turned out to be dual. First, the Jains living in diaspora have become keen developers of digital content, as they have found digital media offer ways to mitigate some of the challenges of practicing Jainism and (re)building Jaina communities outside India (as will be discussed in more detail below). Second, the general linguistic and geographical bias inherent in search engines’ indexing and ranking algorithms creates a situation where any search on Jainism is more likely to include English-language content developed in the North American Jaina diaspora. Digital media to mitigate some of the challenges of migration

Existing research in the fields of migration studies and media studies indicates that the increased transnational communication and de-localized activity made possible online is one of the main factors influencing current cultural and religious changes, and hypothesises that this effect is especially poignant for migrant communities. How exactly this proposed effect takes hold and impacts upon religious development in diaspora communities has only rarely been explored.

The interviews and focus groups conducted as part of this research gauged individual digital media use and sought to contextualize this within Jain socio-religious praxis. They show that the most immediate way in which digital media have helped Jains living outside India face these challenges has been to provide access to knowledge and different knowledge sources. This includes both

¹ This report is based on my PhD dissertation entitled “Digital Religion in a Transnational Context: Representing and Practicing Jainism in Diasporic Communities.”



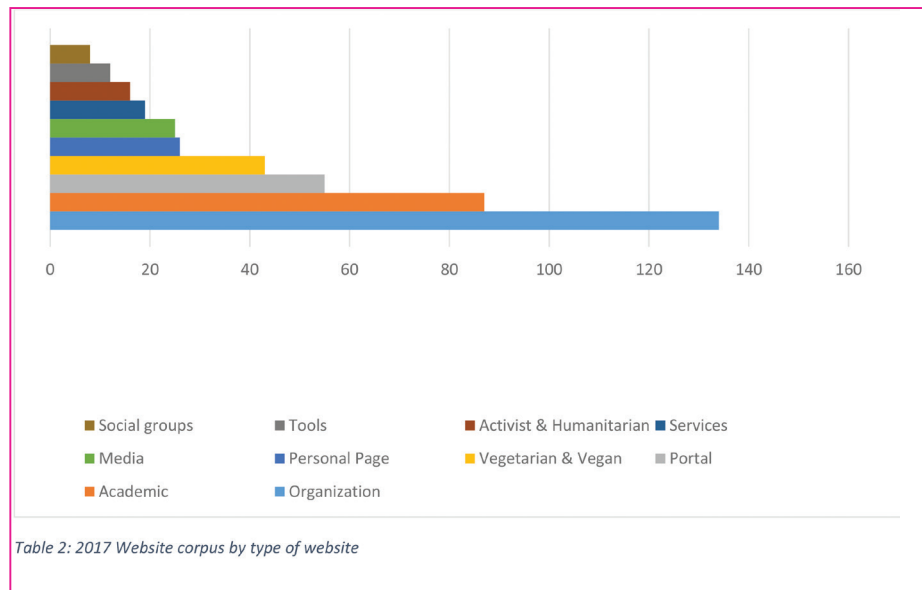


Table 2: 2017 Website corpus by type of website

practical information regarding local Jaina organizations and events and doctrinal information in the form of sūtras and secondary literature. In addition to this, digital media have also been a means to gain access to ascetics' pravacans, pandits' teachings, and gurus' daily messages. In these cases, access to doctrinal information is mixed with the devotional elements typical for the relationship between lay and ascetic communities and between lay followers and a guru. This digitally mediated rapprochement between the diasporic lay community and some Jaina ascetics in India is a major factor in providing a more fully rounded religious experience for lay Jains in the diaspora. Although many monks and nuns have now found a place online, the use by mendicants of electronic devices using digital media is still a topic of debate.

A second aspect of the diasporic experience where digital media have been especially impactful is in the organization of new communities. This works on three levels. First, digital media enable Jains living in or moving to an area to find each other. This is especially relevant in places where the density of the Jaina population is low and prior connections are rare or non-existent. Respondents explained how they would use the Internet to find other Jains and to find out whether there are any Jaina organizations in the area, often even before moving. Second, digital media help in expanding the community: keeping members informed and engaged, through regular newsletters, webcasts, chat groups, even when they do not visit the centre or the temple often. Third, internal communication and logistics are now often organized through different WhatsApp groups or custom-made apps.

Objections to digital religion

The affordances of different digital media platforms and formats (i.e. what a specific medium is particularly well-suited for) structure diasporic media-use. When it comes to obtaining practical information and organizing logistics, these affordances are the main factor in decisions

on what medium to use for a given task. However, when it comes to seeking doctrinal information or engaging in religious practices, ethical objections and religio-technical considerations regarding the appropriateness and feasibility of digitally mediated religion potentially outweigh the structuring force of affordances.

A first group of objections revolves around the content of digital sources. Respondents of all ages problematized digital media as a trustworthy source of information and indicated that they had found incorrect or biased information online. This was exacerbated by the prevalent omission of authorship, which raised strong questions regarding authority. A second group of objections centred on the question whether the digital realm—in the guise of a computer screen or mobile device—can be considered a sacred space. Some websites and 48 percent of the mobile applications included in this study offer the possibility of using digital media for ritual purposes, either directly through online *pūjā* or live-*darśan* or indirectly through the use of downloadable *bhajans*, *pūjā*-texts, or devotional pictures. Fieldwork suggests that the use of downloadable content in rituals at home or in the temple is wide spread, but the performance of Jaina rituals in the digital realm is rare. Online ritual was seldom denounced outright, but objections were frequently raised regarding the mind-set of the user and the purity of the digital device.

Although a number of respondents see the boom in Jainism-related websites and apps as a dilution of Jaina practice, the counter-argument—included in a number of websites' mission statements and app descriptions—is that it also entails a diffusion of accessible Jainism-related information and resources which paradoxically enable users to spend more time engaging with the Jaina tradition, even if the engagement thus created is less focussed or deep.

Differences within the Jaina diaspora

Because of its inclusion of multi-site fieldwork, this

study also brought to light differences in digital practices between different diasporic locations which can be attributed to differences in migration history, composition of the community, circumstances in the country of residence, etc. It proposes population density, internal diversity, and the local Jaina organizational landscape as key-factors in determining how local Jain organizations make use of digital media. The Antwerp community, for example, is very much a trade-diaspora community, with a very tight-knit network, a strong lingering link with India, and relatively little internal diversity. They rely on word of mouth, WhatsApp, and a physical notice-board at the temple for most of their organization and communication, and as such have very little digital presence and are not represented in the website corpora of this study at all. The Jaina community in London, on the other hand, has a strong link to the East African past, often more so than to India, the country their family left perhaps a century ago. Compared to the diamond merchants in Antwerp, the socio-economic background of the UK Jaina community is much more diverse. The large number of Jaina organizations active in North London, some of which do not have a permanent venue or location, mean that a digital presence and diversified communication strategy is needed to inform and attract members of the community to different activities. 16 UK-based Jaina organizations are represented in the website corpora, 12 of which are also on Facebook. The communities in the USA are similarly socio-economically diverse. In addition to this, they are more diverse when it comes to migrant history and region of origin. Although, within the diaspora, the North American Jains are by far the most numerous, the population density in most diasporic communities in the USA is also significantly lower than in North London or Antwerp. Therefore, communication strategies relying on word of mouth or physical notice boards are much less efficient, and a robust digital presence and communication strategy is necessary to help the local community develop and thrive. 70 North American Jaina organizations are represented in the website corpora, 54 of which are websites devoted to local Jaina centres, over 80 percent of which also have a Facebook page.

On an individual level, differences in digital media use between field-sites were less clear cut. In all three sites, the use of digital media for social reasons (to keep in touch with family in India and elsewhere and for socializing with community members and friends) was accepted and prevalent, with WhatsApp being hugely popular for socializing and practical organization. When discussing learning and doctrinal knowledge, it did become clear that Jains in the USA felt most inclined to use the internet to find religious information. Many Jains in the UK also admitted to using the Internet to look for doctrinal information but on the whole preferred to ask a local scholar's advice. Jains in Antwerp were most sceptical about looking for doctrinal information online, although they would look for digitized sources such as authored books, *sūtras*, and story books for children. They most often preferred to phone a pandit or ascetic

in India for advice, or indeed discuss matters with them directly during one of their frequent visits to India.

Conclusion

This exploratory study of the relationship between diasporic Jainism and digital media provides a multi-faceted account of websites and mobile apps dealing with Jainism, of patterns of negotiation and change in Jaina diasporic communities, and of the intersections of these two processes. As such, it touches upon a variety of themes relevant to contemporary Jainism, such as the academization of religion (20 percent of the sites in the 2017 corpus represents an academic institution, research project, or museum), the popularity of lay-centred reform movements (which tend to have an elaborate, strongly centralized and professionally maintained digital media presence), and the use of technology by ascetics (fieldwork revealed increased communication between Jains in the diaspora and ascetics in India through WhatsApp). Because of this study's broad scope, it leaves ample room for further research and discussion.

While acknowledging regional and individual variations in media use, this study concludes that the Jaina diaspora has left its mark on what can be termed 'digital Jainism'. They have done so by being involved in the production of digital content that can be accessed by Jains, non-Jains, practitioners, academics, migrants, and non-migrants. 'Digital Jainism' in turn plays an increasing role in contemporary diasporic Jainism by facilitating access to a wide range of information, broadening the scope of communication with other Jains and religious teachers in India and elsewhere, and providing on-the-go access to a variety of religious tools and activities from calendars, over devotional music collections, to live-*darśan*.

As the opportunities the Internet, social media, and mobile apps create are varied and constantly evolving, the relationship between the Jaina diaspora and digital media is likely to change and develop over time. However, based on an analysis of the situation between 2013 and 2018, this report illustrates that digital media use has now become integrated into many different aspects of Jaina religious praxis in the diaspora, and thus deserves more scholarly attention in any research on contemporary Jainism.

Tine Vekemans is a research assistant at the University of Ghent in Belgium. In addition to her research on contemporary Jainism and the Jaina diaspora, she has taught classes on the History of South Asia after 1900, and India and Modernity. This research-project summarizes her dissertation, which was made possible by a grant from the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO). It was coordinated and supervised by Prof Dr Eva De Clercq.

Kanaiyalal V. Sheth (25.11.1934 – 23.1.2019)

Nalini Balbir

Dr Sheth, 'Kanubhai' as he was always called, Kanumāmā ('uncle') as he was known to insiders, was the soul and the pillar of the manuscript department of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, for some 25 years.

Kanubhai was born in Lakhtar (Gujarat) in a Sthānakvāsī Jain family who settled in Surat when he was four years old. The young boy studied there, getting a B.A. in Gujarati with Sanskrit as subsidiary subject. He then taught Sanskrit at various schools in Gujarat, including Ahmedabad, and passed his M.A. at the Gujarat University. A dedicated student with great intellectual ambitions, he joined the L.D. Institute of Indology as a PhD student in 1964 and worked on the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* (or *Śīlavāṭīcaritrarāsa*), a Gujarati narrative poem composed in the 17th century by Jayavantasūri. The bulky thesis became a handy monograph.¹ It provides a critical edition of this hitherto unpublished text, a detailed analysis of the contents, an analysis of linguistic peculiarities, learned notes and a useful glossary. The introduction aptly underlines how the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* crosses the boundary between folk and scholarly literature, combining themes conveyed by Gujarati oral literature and *śāstric* developments (on riddles, on omens, etc.) embedded in the story. This work established Kanubhai as a leading scholar in Medieval Gujarati literature, indisputably one of his major fields. Later on, Sheth collaborated intensely with Harivallabh C. Bhayani (1917-2000) for editions and encyclopedic projects on Gujarati narrative literature of this period.²

1 Jayavantasūri's *Śṛṅgāramañjarī (Śīlavāṭīcaritra Rāsa)* ed. by Kanubhai V. Sheth, Research Officer. Ahmedabad, 1978 (L.D. Series 65).

2 *Nandabatrīsī*, ed. H.C. Bhayani and K.V. Sheth, Jodhpur, 1979 (Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute); *Madhyakālīn Gujarātī Kathākośa*, vol. 1, Gandhinagar, 1995; vol. 2, Gandhinagar, 2005.



Dr Kanaiyalal V. Sheth (25.11.1934 – 23.1.2019)

From the time of his PhD, Kanubhai had been associated with the L.D. Institute of Indology. The first purpose of this institution was to preserve the rich manuscript heritage of Gujarat in a proper manner as well as to encourage the production of catalogues of the manuscript collections and the study of artefacts. Muni Puṅyavijaya (1895-1971) was the direct inspiring force of this creation. In the magnificent building designed by the visionary architect Balkrishna Doshi, high caliber researchers and directors were appointed, one of the most memorable figures being the overall respected Pandit Dalsukh D. Malvania (1910-2000), and a manuscript department was installed in the basement. Sheth was appointed as researcher in 1973, and, a year later, as head of the manuscript department, also in charge of the museum. It is there that he was met by so many scholars and students from India and outside, until his



Dr. Sheth at his home, Ahmedabad, June 2006. Photo: Nalini Balbir.

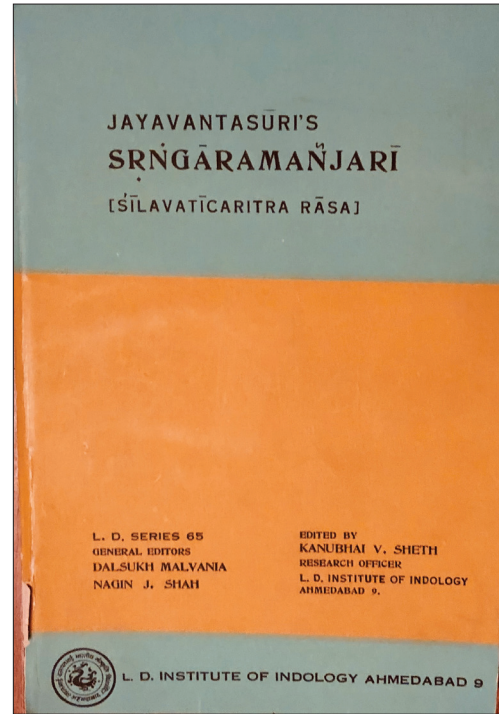
retirement in 1994. During 30 years, manuscriptology at the L.D. Institute became equal to Kanubhai. Humble and modest, he did his work peacefully and efficiently, never sparing his time to help in all possible ways, and overall a joyful person always available for information. His assistance went far beyond that, as he was eager to share Jain culture with anyone interested and did not hesitate to accompany scholars to field trips. If I may be allowed a personal memory, I will never forget my first stay at the L.D. Institute where I had come in search for manuscripts as a PhD student (1978), knowing nobody there. I used to sit every day at a table in front of Kanubhai's desk. This created some bonds and I will never forget a memorable trip we undertook to the village of Viramgam, where Muni Jambūvijaya was then staying for the rainy-season, or a Paryushan procession in the streets of Ahmedabad of which I would not have known anything, had Kanubhai not told me. As a manuscript specialist of renown, he was in close contact with all the leading monastics, especially those involved in critical editions or manuscript-collections management, such as Muni Jambūvijaya, Ācārya Vijayaśīlacandrasūri, Ācārya Municandrasūri or Ācārya Ajayasāgarasūri. In addition, with his friends and colleagues, in particular Ramesh D. Malvania and R.N. Mehta, Sheth participated in fieldwork explorations directed towards the photographic or textual documentation of the Jain temple heritage.³

Retirement did not stop Kanubhai's career as a manuscriptologist, on the contrary. Not only did he participate in conducting various workshops in India, in particular at the Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun. With the support of the Institute of Jainology (London and Ahmedabad, headed by Nemu Chandaria OBE, Harshad N. Sanghrajka, Kumarpal Desai) he collaborated in manuscript cataloguing projects outside India together with his wife, Kalpana K. Sheth whose scholarly abilities and eagerness could blossom freely now that the couple had led their three sons to successful adult lives. Kalpana

³ Cf. *Amadāvād Caitya Paripāṭī*, Ahmedabad: Śrī Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jain Boarding Trust, 1998.



From left to right: Kanubhai V. Sheth, Nalini Balbir, Colette Caillat (1921-2007), Kalpana K. Sheth in London, 1999. Photo: Peter Flügel.



had been encouraged on this path both by her mentor H.C. Bhayani and by her husband. Their mutual affection and deep intellectual friendship could not but strike all those who had the good fortune to know them. Between 1994 and 2004, both of them undertook several months' stay in London, Oxford and Florence to work on Jain manuscripts there. We three could bring to completion the *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts kept at the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum* which had been started by our common friend and teacher, Candrabhal B. Tripathi (1929-1996). It was published in 2006. In addition, Kanubhai and Kalpana worked together days long on the Jain manuscripts of the Wellcome Library and the Bodleian Library, and all the colleagues there have in mind the depth of their dedication. Some of them have expressed their affection and gratitude, others have offered research-articles in the Felicitation Volume⁴ which was published in honour of this deep scholar and delightful human being who always lived a simple life led by knowledge and spiritual ideals.

⁴ *Dā. śrī Kanubhāi Vra. Śeṭh Abhinandan Granth*, Sampādako Jitendra B. Śāh, Kalpanā Śeṭh. Ahmedabad: Śrutaratnākar, 2017.

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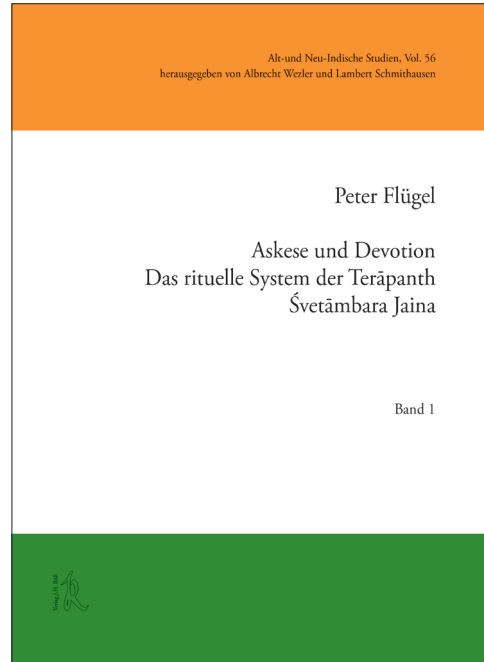
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Askese und Devotion: Das Rituelle System der Śvetāmbara Terāpanth Jaina (Alt- und Neuindische Studien 56, 1-2)

The two-part monograph *Asceticism and Devotion: The Ritual System of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina*, based on fieldwork and archival research mainly conducted in Rajasthan in 1992-93, describes history, philosophy, organisation, ritual system, and influence of a ‘protestant’ Jaina mendicant order that doctrinally rejects image-veneration and from 1949 onward pursued a modernist agenda. Jainism as a lived religion is analysed here for the first time as a dynamic social system with regard to an individual Jaina sect that self-referentially reproduces itself through selective networks of actions and communications connecting itinerant mendicants and their devotees. The work is both an ethnography and a contribution to the comparative sociology of knowledge. The empirical investigation focuses on the documentation and historical contextualisation of religious practices. The overall aim of the study is a better theoretical understanding of the effects of social forces on the structure of thought by way of an exemplary investigation of current processes of change and modernisation in the Jaina tradition.

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Askese und Devotion: Das rituelle System der Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina. Band I-II. Dettelbach: Röhl Verlag, 2018 (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, Vol. 56, 1-2), Vol. 1, pp. 547, Vol. 2, pp. 680, ISBN: 978-3-89754-549-6.

Contributions to Jaina Studies: Jaina Schools & Sects

The twelve articles assembled in this first volume of the author’s Collected Papers in Jaina Studies, written in English, were published as journal articles and book chapters between 1996 and 2016. They are reproduced here in almost identical form, though an attempt was made to eliminate typographical errors and minor mistakes. Three articles, chapters 2, 6, and 11, which, on request, were first published without the use of diacritical marks, have been changed back to their original format. In a few cases, the biographical data of recently deceased individuals were updated.

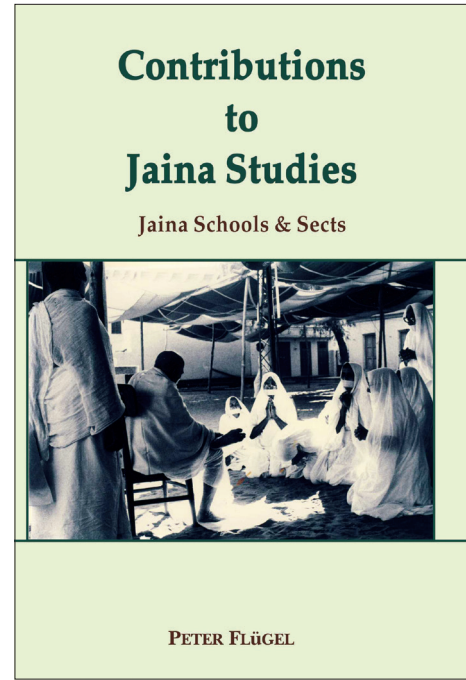
The articles address aspects of the history, doctrine, organisation, and ways of life in Jaina mendicant orders, sects and schools, following an overview of the contemporary monastic traditions. The majority are outcomes of a long-term research project, covering a period of over 30 years, on the aniconic or *amūrtipūjaka* Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions, which had been neglected by modern scholarship and, with the notable exception of the Terāpanth and the Śramaṇa Saṃgha, are still almost unknown even in India itself. Two articles pertain to the Akrama Vijñāna Mārga, a new syncretistic religious

movement, combining Sāṃkhya ontology with Jaina soteriology.

The articles are re-published in a thematic sequence. The original dates and places of publication are: (1) Flügel, P. (ed.) (2006), *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*. London: Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies, pp. 312-398; (2) Melton, J. G. & G. Baumann (eds.) (2002), *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, pp. 1221-1223; (3) Kimura, T. (ed.) (2014), *Indian and Buddhist Studies in Honor of President Dr. Shouou (Kiyoaki) Okuda in Recognition of his Lifelong Scholarship*. Osaka: Kosei Publishers, pp. 314-333; (4) Caillat, C. & N. Balbir (eds.) (2008), *Jaina Studies*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, pp. 181-279; (5) *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 11 (2016) 28-31; (6) Melton, J. G. & G. Baumann (eds.) (2002), *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, pp. 1266-1267; (7) *Bulletin D'Études Indiennes* 13 (1996) 117-176; (8) *South Asia Research* 23, 1 (2003) 7-53; (9) Qvarnström, O. (ed.) (2003), *Jainism*

and *Early Buddhism in the Indian Cultural Context: Festschrift in Honour of P.S. Jaini*. Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, pp 167-204; (10) *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 4 (2009) 24-29; (11) King, A. S. & J. Brockington (eds.) (2005), *The Intimate Other: Love Divine in the Indic Religions*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp 194-243; (12) *International Journal of Tantric Studies* 7, 1 & 7, 2 (2005) 1-43 & 1-28.

A significant number of the author's publications on the *amūrtipūjaka* traditions are issued in German, notably a monograph on the Terāpanth tradition (*Askese und Devotion: Das rituelle System der Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina*. Band I-II. *Alt- und Neuindische Studien* 56. Dettelbach: Röhl Verlag, 2018), and the first four of six instalments of a comprehensive study of the history of the Sthānakavasī traditions, published under the title 'Protestantische und Post-Protestantische Jaina-Reformbewegungen: Zur Geschichte und Organisation der Sthānakavāsī I-IV' in the *Berliner Indologische Studien* 13-14 (2000) 37-103, 15-17 (2003) 149-240, 18 (2007) 127-206, 20 (2012) 37-124. These publications should be read in conjunction with the articles presented in this volume.



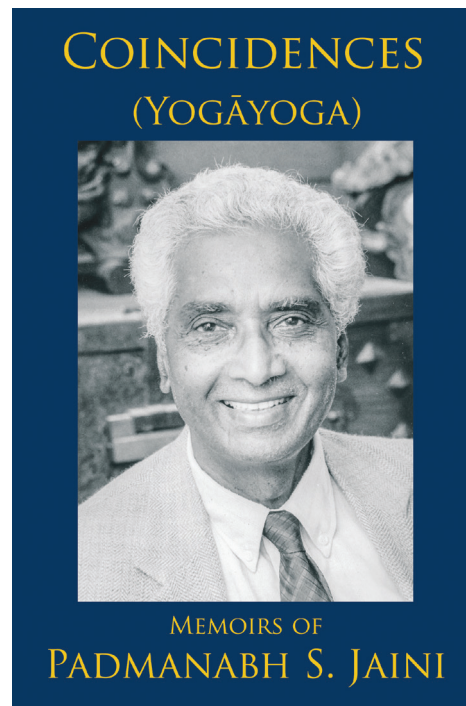
Contributions to Jaina Studies: Jaina Schools & Sects. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2019, pp. 567 + Index ISBN 978-81-208-4239-7

Memoirs of Padmanabh S. Jaini: Book Review

Peter Flügel

Professor Emeritus Padmanabha Shrivarma Jaini has produced a gem of a work, titled *Coincidences (Yogāyoga)*. It is an autobiography, written in the first person, which will delight many readers interested not only in P. S. Jaini's extraordinary journey through life, but also in the modern history of India, the Jaina community, Indology and Jaina Studies in the 20th and 21st centuries. Now in his 90s, P.S. Jaini has many extraordinary, sometimes perplexing memories to share, particularly on encounters with significant others, generally saints or scholars, which would go unrecorded without his rich and detailed account. Before the composition of the 137-page long work biographical notes were prepared with the help of Srinivas Reddy at Berkeley.¹ To get facts and figures right, the archive of SOAS was also consulted, since it holds records on the author's time at the School's Department of Indian Languages and Literature, between 1956 and 1967, as a Lecturer in Pali, PhD candidate, and finally Reader in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. In 1967, Jaini accepted an invitation to join the University of Michigan as a Full Professor in Sanskrit to teach courses in Buddhism, interest in which had reached new heights in the USA, both on and off campus, and he arrived with his family in Ann Arbor just in time for "the summer of love."

¹ This was done already for a short biography written in Kannada by Kamala Hampana (2016), named *Vidvatprabhe-ya Prof. P. S. Jaini*.



P.S. Jaini (2019) *Coincidences (Yogāyoga): Memoirs of Padmanabh S. Jaini*. With a Foreword of John E. Cort. Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay, 2019

The book presents the life-record as objectively as possible, in 88 paragraphs with summary titles, subdivided into two parts. The first and longer part covers the years 1923 to 1972 in 54 paragraphs, of which 36 are devoted to the early years in India. Arguably, this is the most interesting segment of the book. It contains vignettes of village and family life in Tuḷu Nādu,² including a memorable statement by the reformist English speaking father, a teacher by profession, warning the son of the nonsensical Christian practices of preserving a “single body” for the next life and “praying for others.” Also discussed are the educational system, meetings with monks and educators, with surprisingly clear memories of personal concerns, feelings and impressions, all richly illustrated with historical photographs. Setting out with a sociological paragraph on the “Tuḷunādu Jains,” the text explains the unusual career of the author, who, as a proud Digambara, crossed multiple sectarian boundaries on his path to become one of the world’s foremost scholars of Buddhism. The first part of the autobiography ends with a description of the life-changing encounters at BHU in Varanasi in 1955 with David Snellgrove of SOAS and thereupon John Brough, resulting in an invitation to join SOAS, his arranged marriage, and rather sudden migration to the West.

Part two records, in 34 paragraphs, his time at “beautiful” UC Berkeley, which in 1972 invited him to join its new programme in Buddhist Studies. The text, focussing on academic pursuits, culminates in the record of the conference organised by Olle Qvarnström in 1998 at the University of Lund *In Honour of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, which brought together an incomparable array of distinguished scholars in the fields of Buddhist and Jaina Studies. Events of the following 20 years are hardly mentioned, except for the celebrations of the author’s 90th birthday in form of a small conference at Berkeley. The book closes with a dedication to Shashi Prabha Jaini, his wife of 60 years, who died in 2015, aged 78. It ends with “some reflections.”

Five events are listed here which, in retrospect, seem determinant of the entirely unexpected life-course to the author, who never stops wondering about the contingency of life, how it can be that a single unlikely incident or a series of such incidents is able to determine a sequence of subsequent events, which could have easily turned out differently:

As I look back, Time (kāla) seems to be the major factor in promoting my career as a student and a professor. [...].

I have often wondered if Mr. Pasang had come in time to meet Dr. Snellgrove, the latter would not have met me at the Buddhakuti, in B.H.U. There would be no visit from Professor Brough, nor travel to London to join the SOAS. Nor would I be writing these memoirs. Who knows how slender are the links in the long chain of fortunes.

² See also the author’s article “A South Indian Jaina Rathotsava (Chariot Festival) at Nellikar in Tuḷunādu,” in: *Jaina Studies* (Newsletter CoJS) 13 (2018).

Ever the free thinker, reflecting on the constitutive factors shaping his own life, the author seems to conclude that it is not causality, or *karman*, but coincidence, that is the main determinant of the course of an individual’s life. The term P. S. Jaini uses for “coincidence,” *yogāyoga*, rather than *daivayoga*, is in itself interesting. Rabindranath Tagore (1927-28) published a book with the same title, translated into English as “Nexus.” According to the Sanskrit dictionaries, *yogāyoga* designates suitability and unsuitability, in Marathi opportunity and non-opportunity, and in Jaina philosophy a qualitative state, activity mixed with non-activity, which is associated with the 14th *guṇasthāna*.

Personal life and academic life are closely weaved together in the factual account of events, providing the reader with enough information to understand the contextual factors that led the writer to produce his impressive 17 single authored books and 84 research articles that are presented sequentially at the end of the text. Yet, the doubt evoked, what role *karman* might play in the life of an individual, remains unaddressed.

Coincidences may well turn out to be the *Ardhakathānaka* of the 21st century. Certainly, no comparable life-account exists from an Indologist’s own pen. The greatest difficulty for intellectual historians is the general lack of basic biographical information. While the field of lived religion abounds in confessional and biographical literature, the dearth of personal accounts is particularly painfully felt in Indology, which prides itself in cultivating an attitude of self-deprecating objectivity. If lines of discipleship can relatively easily be reconstructed, intellectual history cannot rely on official records documenting status transitions between birth and death, with mere skeleton information on family background, published output, and public honours, as collated in bio-bibliographical *onomastica*.³ If more autobiographies experimenting with truth such as this one would exist, then debates about scholarly motivations and epistemes would be less speculative. The insight that “the personal is political,” and biographical detail hence significant not only from a karmic perspective, has not yet made itself felt in the Jaina Studies. Our teacher and friend Padmanabha S. Jaini can therefore not be praised enough to have mustered the courage to write a book that opens up new insights in the subjective factors shaping the encounters between individuals that are individually experienced as coincidences or twists of fate, because they have their own dynamic, though the likelihood of “coincidences” is enhanced by objective conditions such as those recorded in this marvellous informative, thought-provoking and enjoyable book, to be recommended to a wide readership.

³ K. Karttunen (2018) *Persons of Indian Studies*: <https://whowaswho-indology.info>.

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The Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS established the *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)* to facilitate academic communication. The main objective of the journal is to publish research papers, monographs, and reviews in the field of Jaina Studies in a form that makes them quickly and easily accessible to the international academic community, and to the general public. The journal draws on the research and the symposia conducted at the Centre of Jaina Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and on the global network of Jaina scholarship. The opinions expressed in the journal are those of the authors, and do not represent the views of the School of Oriental and African Studies or the Editors, unless otherwise indicated.

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The Centre of Jaina Studies has launched its new website for Digital Resources in Jaina Studies on 23 March 2018 to allow open access publication of rare resources in digital form on its Website. These include journals and manuscripts. Materials acquired by the *AHRB Funded Project on Jaina Law* are in the form of digital images of manuscripts and printed texts. To make these materials publicly available, a section for Digital Jaina Resources was set up on the Centre website. There is also a monograph in the new series 'Working Papers of the Centre of Jaina Studies' (Vol. 1):

Flügel, Peter (2012) *Askese und Devotion: Das rituelle System der Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jains*. Centre of Jaina Studies Working Paper Vol. 1. London: Centre of Jaina Studies.

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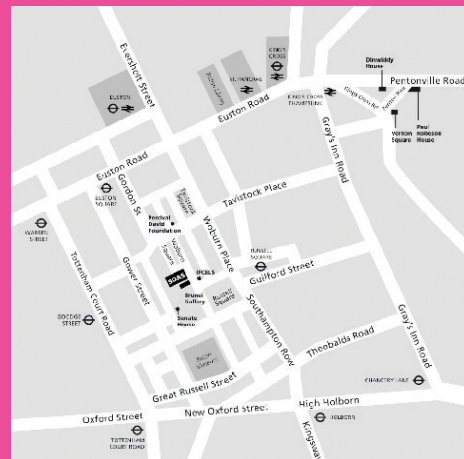
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