

Jaina Studies

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On the Cover

Seated Jina
Unknown artist, Madhya Pradesh or Gujarat
12th century, 1108 CE
Black stone
25 x 20 1/2 x 13in. (63.5 x 52.1 x 33cm)
Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Katherine
Kittredge McMillan Memorial Fund 98.211
Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art



Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

The present volume of the *Newsletter* is dedicated to the appreciation of the important contributions of Professors Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Bansidhar Bhatt, Klaus Bruhn, and Madhusudan A. Dhaky. With the sad demise in 2016 of these four towering men of letters, Jaina Studies has suffered an irreplaceable loss of scholarship at its highest level, which will prompt significant changes.

At the same time the field is expanding. This is reflected in the great number of conference reports in this volume, which also offers the programme and the abstracts of the 19th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS, on *Jainism and Buddhism*, an important subject that remains curiously under-researched despite more than 200 years of specialised academic scholarship in both fields of study. The Centre of Buddhist Studies at SOAS has co-funded the CoJS workshop at this occasion, and the bi-annual Pali Text Society meeting at SOAS will be held in conjunction with the workshop to enable scholars specialising in both fields to engage in great numbers.

This *Newsletter* features new research findings by J.C. Wright on *The Jain Prakrit Origin of the Vetāla*, and by P.S. Jaini on *A Rare Letter of a Bhaṭṭāraka of Malayādri*, and offers work-in-progress reports on two long-term research projects: *The Hindu Reception of Perso-Arabic Traditions of Knowledge and the Role of Jainism in Cultural Transmission* by Olle Qvarnström and Martin Gansten of the University of Lund, and *Jaina-Prosopography: Monastic Lineages, Networks and Patronage* by Peter Flügel and Kornelius Krümpelmann of SOAS in association with collaborators the in the UK and India.

Tillo Detige of the University of Ghent reports on *Manuscript Collections of the Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭārakas*, and Narmada Prasad Upadhyaya of Indore on *Significant Jaina Murals in the Eastern and Western Malwa Region*. The latter's apparently unique documentation of murals which were destroyed solely on account of renovations is indicative of an ongoing trend of self-destruction of Jaina cultural heritage in the name of modernisation and progress. Nalini Balbir and Johannes Beltz offer a glimpse into the *Jain Art at the Museum Rietberg in Zürich*, which is currently preparing an exhibition on this subject.

Finally, it is worth pointing to the 20th 'Jubilee' Jaina Studies Conference at SOAS in 2018, which will be dedicated to the theme *History and Current State of Jaina Studies* which invites reflections on the achievements and future prospects of our specialised field of study in times of technological, economic, political, cultural and generational change.

Peter Flügel



Kṣetrapālājī, Dādābāṛī Amadābād (Photo: P. Flügel 26.12.2015)

THE 17TH ANNUAL JAINA LECTURE

Nidāna, A Word with Different Meanings

Sin Fujinaga
(University of Miyakonojō Kōsen)

Friday 17 March 2017
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

19th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Saturday, 18 March 2017
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session

9.15 **Patrick Krüger**
The Making of the Cult Image: New Aspects of
Interaction of Buddhism and Jainism in Ancient
Indian Art

9.50 **Charles DiSimone**
Mūlasarvāstivāda Dīrghāgama Manuscript
Found at Gilgit that Deals with Jainism in the
Eyes of Buddhists

10.25 **Christopher Key Chapple**
The Conversion of Jaina Women to the Buddhist
Path According to the Pali Canon

11.00 Tea and Coffee

Second Session

11.30 **Juan Wu**
The Buddhist Salvation of Ajātaśatru and the
Jaina Non-Salvation of Kūṇika

12.05 **Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber**
Ekapoṣadha and Ekamaṇḍalī: Some Comparative
Notes of Jaina and Buddhist Monastic Rules

12.40 Group Photo

13.00 Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite

Third Session

14.00 **Kazuyoshi Hotta**
On Corresponding Sanskrit Words of Prakrit
Posaha: With Special Reference to Śrāvakācāra
Texts and Buddhist Texts

14.30 **Yumi Fujimoto**
About Vasati in Vyavahārabhāṣya I-II in
Comparison to Buddhist Texts



(Right) Seated Jina. Madhya Pradesh or Gujarat, India, 12th century, 1108 CE. Black stone. 25 x 20 1/2 x 13in. 63.5 x 52.1 x 33cm). Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Katherine Kittredge, McMillan Memorial Fund 98.211. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art. (Left) Seated Buddha Amitabha statue, west side of Borobudur, ca. 1863-1866. Source=http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/manoa/v012/12.1van_kinsber-gen_art01.html Date=c. 1863-1866 Author=en:Isidore van Kinsbergen

15.00 **Yutaka Kawasaki**
Haribhadra's Criticism of Buddhism on the
Concept of Possession (*parigraha*)

15.30 Tea and Coffee

Fourth Session

16.00 **Samaṇī Kusuma Prajñā**
Identity Issues of Buddhist Monks in the
R̥ṣibhāṣitāni

16.30 **Lucas Den Boer**
Jaina and Buddhist Epistemology in Umāsvāti's
Time

17.00 Brief Break

Fifth Session

17.15 **Jayandra Soni**
The Digambara Vidyānandin's Discussion with
the Buddhist on *svaṣaṃvedana*, *pratyakṣa* and
pramāṇa

17.45 **Heleen De Jonckheere**
Examination of the Buddhists in Amitagati's
Dharmaparīkṣā: A Reflective Look on Jaina
Criticism

18.15 Final Remarks

The conference is co-organised by Peter Flügel (CoJS), Jane Savory and Yasmin Jayesim (SOAS Centres and Programmes Office) with generous support from the V&A Jaina Art Fund, the SOAS Centre of Buddhist Studies, the Jivdaya Foundation, the Faculty of Arts & Humanities at SOAS, and private sponsors who wish to remain anonymous.

ABSTRACTS

Jaina and Buddhist Epistemology in Umāsvāti's Time Lucas den Boer, Leiden University, The Netherlands

Existing studies on the Jaina theory of knowledge recognise that the epistemological innovations in the *Tattvārthasūtra* (TS) were partly motivated by encounters with other philosophical movements. However, the precise circumstances that urged Umāsvāti to rework the Jaina epistemological account are far from clear. Although several studies have dealt with the role of the TS in the internal development of Jaina epistemology (e.g. Clavel, Balcerowicz), much remains to be done concerning the investigation of the TS in the context of its broader intellectual milieu. Given the divergent views on the date of the TS, it is still an open question as to who Umāsvāti's intellectual rivals actually were. However, it is clear that the Buddhists played an important role in the philosophical developments in the period in which the TS was written and, as Ohira has observed in *A Study of Tattvārthasūtra with Bhāṣya*, we can assume that Umāsvāti was well acquainted with Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. My paper, therefore, explores whether Buddhist theories of knowledge might have influenced the epistemological account of the TS. For this purpose, I will investigate references to other philosophical movements in the epistemological parts of the TS and its *bhāṣya*. Even though these texts only occasionally refer to other schools by name, there are several implicit references to existing debates and positions that throw some light on the intellectual surroundings of the TS. My analysis will show that the text is not so much concerned with Buddhist epistemology, but rather positions itself in relation to Nyāya thought. This outcome leads to important questions about the role of Nyāya thought and the actual encounters between Jaina, Buddhist and Nyāya intellectuals in the time of the TS and its *bhāṣya*. Further, by examining the way in which the *bhāṣya* comments on the sūtras, my study will contribute to a better understanding of the relation between these texts.

The Conversion of Jaina Women to the Buddhist Path According to the Pali Canon

Christopher Key Chapple, Loyola Marymount University, USA

The *Therīgāthā*, which provides accounts of the early Buddhist nuns, includes two stories of women who had been members of Jain religious orders before converting to Buddhism. Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā, who had born into a 'financier's' family and trained as a Jaina nun, eventually became a master of debate, travelling from village to village as a religious teacher. She was convinced to follow Buddhism by Śāriputra. Nanduttarā, who had been born into a Brahmin family, similarly became skilled in debate, and became a Buddhist nun after an encounter with Moggallāna. This paper will speculate on how these two narratives characterize, from a Buddhist perspective, early conversations between Buddhists and Jainas.

Teacher Evaluations: Jains and their Doctrines as Portrayed in (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Sūtra Literature

Charles DiSimone, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

The Gilgit *Dīrghāgama* manuscript is a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda text containing a collection of ancient canonical Buddhist sūtras, composed in Sanskrit with some Prakrit and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit elements and written on birch bark folios in the Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II script, also known as Proto-Śāradā. This collection had been lost for centuries and was recently rediscovered in what is thought to be the border area of Afghanistan and Pakistan in the late 20th century. Like the *Dhīrganikāya* of the Theravāda tradition preserved in Pali and the 長阿含經 (*Cháng āhán jīng*) of the Dharmaguptaka tradition preserved in Chinese, the *Dīrghāgama* is rife with examples of intertextuality and its author(s) either influenced or borrowed — or most likely, both influenced and borrowed — from other Buddhist texts. While the *Dīrghāgama*, *Dhīrganikāya*, and 長阿含經 (*Cháng āhán jīng*) often parallel one another, there are numerous differences and the three collections often disagree on topics and content. What does the death of Mahāvīra have to do with Śāriputra extolling Gautama? Upon first glance the beginnings of the *Prasādika-* and *Prasādanīya-sūtras*, now edited and translated for the first time, appear to introduce texts with disparate themes and concerns, sharing similarity only in their titles. However, these two paired sūtras from the *Yuganipāta* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama*, set near the end of the Buddha's career, are directly related in setting forth the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin positions on what makes a teacher and his doctrines successful. In the course of laying out these positions, Jains, referred to as the Nigranthas, are employed as the chief example of a group of *anya-tīrthikas* (adherents of another faith) whose positions are well-founded but ultimately do not meet the standards of perfection set forth by Gautama. This paper will examine the representations of the Jains and their views as they were interpreted — or perhaps more accurately, misinterpreted — by the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and demonstrate how they were used as narrative foils to further the ends of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda tradition as it was preserved in Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries of the Common Era.

About Vasati in Vyavahārabhāṣya I-II in Comparison to Buddhist Texts

Yumi Fujimoto, Japan

Vasati (a house; an abode) sometimes appears in the *Vyavahārabhāṣya* as a dwelling place of Jain monks. Although detailed descriptions are not available, *Vyavahārabhāṣya* I and II has several textual parts which show characteristics of *vasati*. There are also some other words which will lead a better understanding of it (for example, *śayyātara*, *vihāra*, *abhiśayyā*, and

abhiṣaisedhikī). This paper will refer to textual parts of these words and try to explain characteristics of *vasati* based on *Vyavahārabhāṣya* I and II. Rules in the Buddhist order will be mentioned for comparison and consideration.

Nidāna: A Word with Different Meanings

Sin Fujinaga, Miyakonojō, Miyazaki, Japan

As a part of an introductory remark, an overview of the general meaning of the word *nidāna* in Buddhism and Jainism as well as in Hindu texts is given, followed by an explanation of how modern scholars understand it. In general, the term designates a cause, and especially that of rebirth. The Jains use it in this particular context. The main part of the lecture explores Jaina texts focusing on the term *nidāna*: *Āyāradasāo*, *Vavahāra*, *Tattvārthasūtra*, *Samāiccakahā*, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, and others. Through an understanding of the uses of the word *nidāna* in various fields of Jaina literature the nature of this fundamental concept in Jainism can be grasped. In conclusion some points for further research on this term are discussed, the reason why Jains use this word in different ways, and the necessity for further studies of Jaina texts.

On Corresponding Sanskrit Words of Prakrit Posaha: With Special Reference to Śrāvākācāra Texts and Buddhist Texts

Kazuyoshi Hotta, Otani University Kyoto, Japan

In Brahmanism the purification rite called *upavasatha* has been practiced on the day before the Vedic ritual is performed. For example, we can read the description of this type of purification rite in *Taittirīyasamhitā* 1.6.7.3, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 1.1.1.7, etc. Jainism and Buddhism have adapted the rite in different ways and called it *posaha* or *uposatha* in Prakrit and Pāli. Buddhism mainly has developed the rite as a ritual of the mendicant group. On the other hand, Jainism mainly has developed the rite as a practice of the layperson.

In this presentation, we will survey the corresponding Sanskrit words of Prakrit *posaha* and its etymological meaning seen in the Śrāvākācāra texts. In this field, the study of Robert Williams (*Jaina Yoga* 1963) will be referred to initially. However, it has been over fifty years since its publication, so it should be corrected in some respects. Firstly, we will examine his two opinions as follows. One is that there have come into existence a number of false sanskritizations, such as *pauṣadha*, *proṣadha*, *poṣadha*, for the Prakrit *posaha*. The second point is that the word form *poṣadha* seems to have attained the most general currency. On the first point, his opinion is mostly right. But we can add that the word form *upoṣadha* is seen in the printed text of *Vratodyotanaśrāvākācāra* as the only exception. The word form *upoṣadha* can be seen in the Buddhist texts such as *Divyāvadāna*, too. As to the second point, his assumption is not sufficient. Nevertheless, many modern

scholars (for example, P. S. Jaini, Willem Bollée, Kristi Wiley, etc.) seem to consider that the word form *poṣadha* has attained the most general currency. By investigating approximately sixty kinds of Śrāvākācāra texts, it can be said that the word form *poṣadha* has attained the most currency. Furthermore, we can precisely point out the tendency according to the sect. That is to say, the Śvetāmbara use *poṣadha* or *pauṣadha* and the Digambara use *poṣadha*.

The paper will also investigate the etymological interpretations of the respective word forms seen in Śrāvākācāra texts, especially focusing on texts not discussed by Robert Williams. In Jainism, the original word form *upavasatha* has been re-sanskritized via the Prakrit form *posaha*, so they have lost sight of the preverb *upa* and assumed that $\sqrt{puṣ}$ etc. are the etymological origin. Here, we examine the etymological meaning included in the respective word forms, comparing it with the etymological interpretation seen in Brahmanical texts and Buddhist texts.

Ekapoṣadha and Ekamaṇḍali: Some Comparative Notes of Jaina and Buddhist Monastic Rules

Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, Freiburg, Germany

Both the post-vedic religions of Jainism and Buddhism show analogies in many aspects. In a book published in 2016 (*Sambhoga. The Affiliation with a Religious Order in Early Jainism and Buddhism*), I investigated the essential term *sambhoga*, which is largely used with the same meaning of ‘alms district’ by Jains and Buddhists. The present paper aims to analyse some further similarities concerning the monastic rules of both religions, with focus on two technical terms: *ekapoṣadha* of the Buddhists and *eka-maṇḍali* of the Jains.

The Buddhist *uposatha/poṣadha* ceremony had been presumably carried out by the historical Buddha himself, along with the fortnightly recitation of the old part of the *Pātimokkha*. The earliest reference is attested in three versions of Aśoka’s so-called *Schism-Edict* found in Kauśāmbī, Sāñci and Sārnāth. According to some early Buddhist sources such as the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Vinayaṭīka* of the Mahāsāṃghika and the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, it is evident that the Buddhists actually adopted the *poṣadha* ritual from ‘ascetics of different faith’ (*anyatīrthikaparivrājaka*), among those the *nigaṇṭhūposatha* is explicitly referred to.

Comparing the above mentioned Buddhist texts with some early sources of the Jaina canon (*Viyāhapannati*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, etc.), my paper intends to discuss the usage of certain technical terms in both monastic systems and their relationship to each other. For instance, both religions differentiate between the *pauṣadha/poṣadha* ceremony for the members of a religious order and those for the laity.

The Jaina boundary *eka-maṇḍali* (‘in one district only’) ensures the common supplies (*sambhoga*) for the clerics as well as their ritual immaculateness, because all monks or nuns who are staying within this *maṇḍali*

have to confess their possible offences before taking the meal jointly. Analogically, the Buddhist *Vinaya* prescribes (*saṅgho etehi nimittehi sīmaṃ sammannati samānasamvāsam ekuposatham*) that only one *uposatha/ poṣadha* ceremony is allowed to be held in one residence of monks in order to guarantee the purity of the *saṅgha*. The district of a Buddhist order is defined by a *sīmā* (boundary) which corresponds to the Jaina term *maṇḍalī*.

Examination of the Buddhists in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*: A Reflective Look on Jaina Criticism Heleen De Jonckheere, Ghent University

The *Dharmaparīkṣā* by the Digambara monk Amitagati, written at the beginning of the eleventh century, is a satirical text that mainly criticizes the Brahmanic tradition through narrative. Although this work emphasizes the faults and flaws of the Purānic tradition, some space is also reserved for the Buddhists. I will discuss what is said about the Buddhists in this text and why it is important to mention them. I will show that by opposing the Buddhists, Amitagati puts them within the philosophically relevant world for the Digambara Jain community, and that by characterizing them he is actually also revealing something about his own community.

Haribhadrasūri on Property Ownership by Buddhist Mendicants

Yutaka Kawasaki, The University of Tokyo

Past studies have revealed that the eminent Śvetāmbara monk Haribhadrasūri (8th century) had a good knowledge about various kinds of Buddhist philosophical and epistemological concepts, and that he inveighed against the theory of momentariness, the concept of consciousness-only (*viññaptimātratā*), Dharmakīrti's epistemology, and so on. Besides, it is also well known that Haribhadrasūri was a bitter critic of the daily practices of Buddhist mendicants in their monastic life. We can find one such criticism in his treatise written in Prakrit, the *Dhammasaṅgahaṇi*. According to the *Dhammasaṅgahaṇi* verse 986, an opponent is said to assert that Buddhist mendicants can possess various types of property in villages because their owning of such property leads to the growth of the 'three jewels (buddha, dharma, and sangha)', that is, Buddhism. After this assertion, Haribhadrasūri starts disputing with his opponent over the legitimacy of the property ownership by Buddhist mendicants until verse 1015. This paper, after briefly touching upon the concept of 'non-possession' (*aparigraha*) in Jainism, will explore how Haribhadrasūri criticizes his opponent's claims and how his opponent argues back against Haribhadrasūri in order to legitimate property ownership by Buddhist mendicants. Through a careful reading of this dispute, which probably reflects some historical facts, this paper will reveal the different understandings on the concept of 'possession' (*parigraha*) between Jainism and Buddhism. It will also shed new light on the actual conditions of the

management of the Buddhist monastery in the medieval period.

The Making of the Cult Image: New Aspects of Interaction of Buddhism and Jainism in Ancient Indian Art

Patrick Krüger, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany

It is well-known that both the Jain religion and Buddhism arose from an ascetic movement, whose members refused any worldly possessions. For this reason it seems remarkable, especially from Jainism, that an image tradition originated, which was probably adopted by the Buddhists a little later. Previous research has explained the creation of early images of the Jina and the Buddha from the art historical perspective, where images are mostly perceived as depictions based on a literary tradition. From a media perspective, however, making objects means to visualize religious themes and beliefs and in a sense the image changed and formed the religion. The paper will present new perspectives of the origin and meaning of the early Jina image and the religious culture of the Jains in Mathura.

Identity Issues of Buddhist Monks in the *Rṣibhāṣitāni* Samañi Kusuma Prajñā, Jaina Vishva Bharati Institute Ladnun, India

The *Rṣibhāṣitāni* is the only Indian ancient work which contains the traditional and practiced knowledge contributed by the three renowned religious streams viz. Jaina, Buddha and Vedic. This text, researched by Schubring, Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvaniya, Sagarmal Jaina and other scholars, will be debated from different perspectives. Serving as an excellent example of liberal thinking and religious tolerance, the text raises more questions than answers, for its status in the Jaina canon is disputed, its author is unknown and furthermore, the saints in the text reveal disputed identity. This paper will deal with this identity issue of Buddhist monks.

This work contains the preaching of all the four types of saints: Royal saint (*rājarṣi*), Divine saint (*brahmarṣi*), Godly saint (*devarṣi*) and Supreme saint (*paramarṣi*). It has been considered that twelve of the saints belong to the Nirgrantha (Jaina) tradition, five from the Buddhist tradition, and seventeen from the Vedic tradition. Different factors create dispute and question this probability. Furthermore, there are other saints explained here, but the tradition they belong to not recognized. In the paper I focus on the monks found in the *Vrajikaputra* (chapter 2), *Mahākāśyapa* (chapter 9), *Mātāṅga* (chapter 26), *Sāciputra* (chapter 38), and *Indranāga* (chapter 41), as these saints seem to be 'related with' Buddhist tradition.

The reasoning behind delegating them as merely 'related to' Buddhism rather than making a factual claim of being Buddhist saints will be investigated. My research will undertake a philological and philosophical analysis of the text itself, investigate the commentary of the

unknown author and revisit the research of scholars such as Schubring and others. For example, Schubring, and Sagarmal Jain consider the saint Sāiputta to be Buddhist, yet each of them employs a different rationale behind the argument in their pursuit of philological investigation. Debate gets intensified when different scholars designate Sāiputta as Buddhist, but identify Sāiputta as different Buddhist saints.

Just to analyse Sāiputta, the unknown commentator analyses the word ‘*bhikṣu*’ used with Sāiputta as tagged with Buddhist tradition, while Schubring translates Sāiputta in Sanskrit as ‘Svātiputra’. Sagarmal Jain has acknowledged Sāiputra as the main disciple of Buddha by translating Sāiputta as ‘Sāriputra’, but the Sanskrit meaning of Sāiputta should be ‘Sāciputra’, which is one of the names of Lord Buddha. The name of Lord Buddha’s mother was Māyā. According to Sanskrit dictionaries Sāci is the synonym of Māyā. Therefore, Sāciputra (the son of Sāci) like Māyāsuta (the son of Māyā) should also have been used for Lord Buddha. Another main reason behind considering Sāiputta as Buddha is that out of the mentioned 44 saints, Lord Buddha’s name is not among them (if Sāiputta is excluded). It seems inappropriate to include the names of disciples, ignoring the name of the guru. Therefore, it can be said that Sāiputta must have been used for Lord Buddha. Overall the disputed journey of investigating the original tradition will be presented in the paper. Difficulties to discern the original tradition become intensified for the discourse of these saints who do not fit to one specific tradition. Such and other issues will be dealt exploring why a few are ‘related to’ Buddhist tradition rather than being Buddhist.

This identity issue of Buddhist monks will quintessentially also unveil the identity problem of saints in general in the text, the question of conversion and the question of the notion of ‘standardised philosophy’ in three traditions.

The Dīgambara Vidyānandin’s Discussion with the Buddhist on Svasaṃvedana, Pratyakṣa and Pramāṇa Jayandra Soni, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Two of the terms in the title are from Vidyānandin’s *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika* (Tśv, 1, 6, 11), which is his commentary on Umāsvāti’s *Tattvārtha-sūtra* (TS). Sūtra 6 of the TS is: *pramāṇa-nayair adhigamaḥ* (‘Knowledge — of the seven categories — is attained by the instruments of knowledge and the standpoints’). Vidyānandin’s commentary on this sūtra 6 entails a total of 56 ślokas, with his own prose *vārttika* on each of them in varying lengths. Tśv 1, 6, 1–8 deal with particulars and universals, for which he uses the synonymous pairs *aṃśalaṃśin* and *avayava/avayavin*. That he is attacking the Buddhist position regarding this age old theme in Indian philosophy, is evident also in that he quotes Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇa-vārttika*. By the time he comes to his Tśv 1, 6, 6, he establishes that an object as a whole is open to perception and that the Buddhist also accepts perception as a valid means of knowledge, but does not

accept the perception of an object as a whole.

From Tśv 1, 6, 11 onwards Vidyānandin continues with the same theme, elaborating his attack of the Buddhist view even further, in terms of *svasaṃvedana*, *pratyakṣa* and *pramāṇa* (self-awareness, perception and valid means of knowledge). The presentation will attempt to deal with these concepts in order to see how Vidyānandin vindicates the Jaina position vi-à-vis the Buddhist one. This presentation will continue from my previous study of Vidyānandin’s Tśv 1, 6, 1–10.

The Buddhist Salvation of Ajātaśatru and the Jaina Non-Salvation of Kūṇika

Juan Wu, Leiden University / Tsinghua University

Buddhism and Jainism, as cousin traditions, not only show remarkable similarities in beliefs and customs, but also share a good number of common narrative characters. One example of such a shared character is King Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika of Magadha, who is widely featured in both Buddhist and Jaina literature. In comparing Buddhist and Jaina sources, previous studies have mostly focused on the parallelism between Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina descriptions of how Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika imprisons his own father and causes his death. Rather less attention has been devoted to exploring how or why Buddhist and Jaina narrative traditions of this character differ.

This paper will demonstrate a stark contrast between Buddhist and Jaina attitudes toward the salvation of Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika. While a number of Buddhist texts predict that Ajātaśatru, after his next birth in hell, will be released from there and finally become a *pratyekabuddha* or a buddha, the Jainas texts only state that Kūṇika was killed by a cave deity and fell into hell, without saying when he will be released from hell, or whether he will ultimately attain liberation. Moreover, while the Buddhists offered various solutions to Ajātaśatru’s sinful condition, the Jainas proposed no remedy for Kūṇika’s bad karma. The Buddhist prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s liberation indicate that some Buddhists in ancient India were particularly concerned with the salvation of morally corrupted or karmically trapped ones such as the patricide Ajātaśatru. The Jaina silence on Kūṇika’s future destiny after his life in hell indicates that the Jainas in general had little interest in bringing him to liberation, and deemed him to be one who is never able to overcome his *mithyātva* (false view) due to his strong passions.

Buddhism and Jainism, as cousin traditions, not only show remarkable similarities in beliefs and customs, but also share a good number of common narrative characters. A significant part of those shared characters is formed by royals who are said to have lived at the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Among them, King Pradyota of Avanti is well known in both Buddhist and Jaina sources. Both Buddhists and Jainas speak of the cruelty of Pradyota, dubbing him *Caṇḍa-pradyota* (Pradyota, the fierce). Both tell stories about his romantic affairs and political career. Both narrate the marriage between

Pradyota's daughter Vāsavadattā and King Udāyaṇa of Vatsa. Yet the two religions associate Pradyota with the Buddha/Mahāvīra in different ways: In the Buddhist tradition he was brought to faith by the Buddha's disciple Mahākātyāyana, while in the Jaina tradition there seems to be no story about his conversion and he is mainly connected with a sacred image of Mahāvīra.

This paper provides a comparative survey of Buddhist and Jaina stories of Pradyota, with particular attention to the accounts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Kṣudrakavastu* and the Āvaśyaka commentaries. Its purpose is not to offer an alternative political history of early India, but to discover the shared imaginaire of Buddhists and Jainas about the ancient world in which the Buddha and Mahāvīra lived, and to explore the different ways in which Buddhist and Jaina storytellers used royal narrative characters to express their visions of the relationship between courtly and renunciatory cultures.

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Jainism and Science: 18th Jaina Studies Workshop, SOAS 18-19 March 2016

Samañī Unnataprajñā

The Workshop was organized by the CoJS in collaboration with the Gyansagar Foundation, based in New Delhi.¹ Professor Anupam Jain from the Government Degree College in Indore opened the proceedings with the 16th Annual Jaina Lecture at SOAS on *Newly Discovered Jaina Mathematical Manuscripts*. He started with a reference from Mahāvīrācārya's *Gaṇitasāra Saṃgraha* 1/16: 'Whatever there is in all three worlds, comprising moving and non-moving beings, all that indeed cannot exist as apart from mathematics'.

The renowned historian of Indian mathematics B.B. Datta first used the term 'Jaina School of Mathematics' in his publication of 1929. Jaina ācāryas wrote texts of a high mathematical content, many of which are still unknown to the academic world. A. Jain provided an extensive survey conducted during thirty-five years of researching in numerous Jaina libraries to discover texts dedicated to mathematics (including astronomy). He gave an overview of the published non-canonical Jaina mathematical literature and unpublished manuscripts as well.

Jain discussed the Triśatikā manuscript, available in the British Library, also published by S.D. Dwivedi in 1899 and by Sudyumna Acharya in 2004 with the Sumedhā commentary.

Jain also reviewed the *Jyotirjñānavidhi* of Śrīdharācārya, which is crucial for finding the auspicious time through astrological analysis. He discussed the contrasts to the Hindu astrological method of choosing the lunar day. Further he discussed the *Ṣaṭatrimśikā* or *Ṣaṭatrimśatikā* of Mādhavacandra Traividya (11th century CE). With regard to the *Uttarachattīstī Tīkā* of Gaṇitasāra, Jain presented the logical rationale for providing the formulae $x/0=x$ which is otherwise denied in mathematics. He also discussed other manuscripts: *Lokānuyoga* by Jinasena I (783 CE), *Trailokyadīpaka* of Pt. Vāmadeva (14th c. CE), *Trilokadarpaṇa* of Kavi Khadagasena (1656 CE), and *Gaṇitasāra* of Hemarāja (17th century CE). Finally, he emphasized the necessity of gathering copies of such manuscripts from the *bhaṇḍāras*, digitizing and make them accessible for further research, thus bringing to light the Jaina mathematical contributions.

The papers of the next day seemed to validate Mahāvīrācārya's declaration that mathematics is 'an intrinsic part of Jaina reality'. The diverse presentations ranged from fields such as metaphysics, human science (physiognomy), astronomy, numbers, architecture, arithmetic, geometry, time, etc.

In the first panel, 'Evidence and Proof in Jaina Science & Philosophy', Muni Mahendra Kumar from the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, presenting via Skype, discussed *The Enigma of the Cosmogony*, with reference to his recent book of the same title. According to the Jain



Ratnakumar Shah (Pune)

canonical texts, the universe (the cosmos) is beginningless with respect to time. In modern scientific cosmogony, several hypotheses articulating similar alternatives to the 'big bang theory' are proposed by scientist such as J.V Narlikar, Saurya Das, Fred Hoyle, Hermann Bondy and Thomas Gold, who proposed the theory of the "steady state universe". Muniśrī discussed Jaina cosmogony as an eternal interplay of intangible and tangible realities. He then discussed the mode of interaction, the causal factors of the disparity.

Following this, Marie-Hélène Gorisse (SOAS & Ghent University, Belgium) considering the role of *Scientific Knowledge in Jainism*, specifically discussed induction. She analysed commentaries of the *Tattvārthasūtra* by Siddhasena and Akalaṅka. Articulating the characteristics of scientific knowledge as propositional knowledge, she discussed problems in terms of Bertrand Russell's refutation of induction, David Hume's theory of 'universality of nature being requisite for faith' etc., and Karl Popper's attempt to redefine science 'as a method for solving problems' based on the process of falsification. Hence, metaphysical and religious claims being non-falsifiable truths, will be tagged as 'non-scientific'. Gorisse then compared Jainist propositions to Kantian apriori conditions, which are non-falsifiable as well. Comparing Dignāga's three conditions as a proof of induction with Jainas 'invariable concomitance' (*anyathā-anupapatti*), being only possible condition for induction, she argued that the postulation of a necessary relation between the universal and the particular in Jainism, allows them to survive with one condition. Yet, she concluded that though it seems a solution for Jaina philosophy, it only shifts the problem to a higher level, raising a question whether *anyathā-anupapatti* is the only unconditional condition for induction.

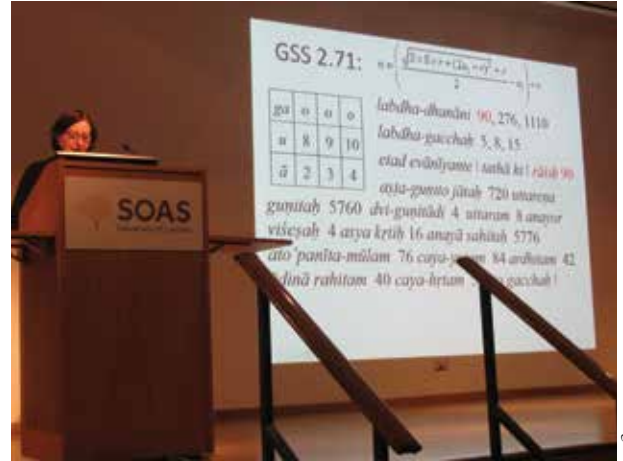
Ana Bajželj (Postdoctoral Polonsky Academy, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel) then focused on the development of concepts as an attempt to scientize reality. Her paper, *Upakāra in Akalaṅka's Tattvārthavārtika*,

¹ The conference presentations are available at <https://youtu.be/6HQgndezOGg>

discussed a passage of the *Tattvārthasūtra* (TS5.17-22) detailing the various kinds of assistance (*upakāra*) provided by the six basic substances. Comparing Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi* with the *Rājavārtika* of Akalaṅka, she traced the influences of the former on the later. Akalaṅka emphasizes that the assisting functions of substances are unique to themselves and can never lose their inherent capacities even in the absence of the recipients. Bajželj argued that the Jaina doctrine of causality developed as part of a 'scientific' endeavor to systematically and rationally explain the nature of reality. Presenting the influential conceptual development of *upakāra* she emphasized the metaphysical implications rather than mere empirical significance of assistance.

The second panel dwelled on the 'Jaina Theories of Time'. On behalf of Rājmal Jain (Kadi Sarva Vishvavidyalay, Ahmedabad), who was unable to attend in person, Anupam Jain presented the paper, *Space and Time: In the Perspectives of Jainism and Science*. It was an attempt to attribute scientific significance to several Jaina concepts such as the values of six Jaina eons (*kāla cakra*), *yojana* (a traditional measure), distance and zodiacal extensions of sun, moon, stars, etc. The paper attempted to define *vyavahāra-kāla* (empirical time) as the function and energy of *nīścaya-kāla* (transcendental time), and further dealt with critical issues such as relationship between the concepts numerable (*saṃkhyāta*), innumerable (*asaṃkhyāta*), and infinite (*ananta*), and the significance of the number 84. His discussion of the equivalence of the space unit (*pradeśa*) with the time unit (*samaya*) was based on the *Tiloyapannatti* of Yativṛṣabha (2nd century CE). Overall, it was a mathematical presentation of the conceptual philosophical ideas, advocating for more research.

Samani Unnata Pragya (SOAS, Jain Vishva Bharat Institute, Ladnun) then argued that Jaina concepts are not always grounded in mathematics, and at times are beyond measurements. In her paper *Jain Theory of Timelessness* she investigated the theory of timelessness (*śūnya-kāla*) based on Jaina metaphysics and epistemology. Time as per Anuogadārāim is both existential reality and a measurement. The unit of time (*samaya*) therefore has a dual role of being transcendental and an empirical unit of measurable time. She researched dispersed textual references of timelessness related to both aspects of time. She illustrated with examples three kinds of timelessness analysed from different aspects drawn from Bhagavāi, Pannavaṇā, Pañcāstikāya, etc. Firstly, 'immeasurable-timelessness' originates due to epistemological issues as observed in *asprīśada gati* (a journey in space without touching the intermediate space units) where the intermediate point of the journey is not cognizable. Secondly, 'beyond time measure' are the intrinsic modes (*artha paryāya*) which exist in the now with the dynamism of change, a metaphysical state. Finally, 'existence without time' in supra-cosmos, is relatively acknowledged, for nothing but space exists outside cosmos. Hence, she argued, though zero time is absent in the Jaina lists of time values, the Jaina conceptualization



Cathérine Morice-Singh (Paris)

of the intrinsic nature of reality and cognition by default cannot go without the presupposition of the notion of timelessness.

The next paper by Cathérine Morice-Singh (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle–Paris 3) was about *The Treatment of Series in the Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha of Mahāvīrācārya and its Connections to Jaina Cosmology*. The *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya (9th century CE) teaches the addition and subtraction of series, presenting arithmetic and geometric progression. His arithmetic progression is an amplified version of what Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta had already discussed under the designation *średhī vyavahāra*. Morice-Singh presented various mathematical terms, such as stride (*gaccha*), step (*pada*), value of the accumulation for the common difference (*uttara-dhana*), value of all (*sarva-dhana*), value of the accumulation for the first term (*ādi-dhana*), etc., and convenient methods for difficult problems. Then, relating this to Jaina cosmography, she presented examples of arithmetic progressions for the mathematical description of *loka*, hell, etc. and the formulae to calculate the holes, widths, the heights of the holes, etc., of hell. Using formulas from geometric progression, she explored calculations of different cosmological areas, such as the innumerable islands and oceans found in *madhya loka*, and further the differently arranged hellish holes, etc. She concluded that the computation of series receives a special place in the GSS because they play a great role in Jaina cosmographical calculations.

The third panel on 'Jaina Mathematicians' started with Ratnakumar Shah's (Pune) paper on *Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāsramaṇa: Computational Wizard of Sixth Century C.E.*, which rendered light on the mathematical work of the great Jaina saint-scholar, a close contemporary of Āryabhaṭa I. In Shah's view he employed almost modern methods of arithmetical processes, such as using a decimal system with zero having place value, showing great proficiency in dealing with big numbers addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, extraction of square roots, operations with fractions, mensuration of triangle, trapezium, circle, and use of rule of three, etc. Although in his works *Bṛhatkṣetrasamāsa*, *Bṛhatsangrahaṇi*, and

Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya numbers are expressed in words and no symbols for numerals appear therein. He argued that in the processes described, numbers uttered digit-wise and calculations involving very large numbers leave not an iota of doubt that some conception of zero was existing by then. Shah also rendered examples from JB's work such as square roots of large numbers, formula for the area between two parallel chords of a circle, area and volume of the Lavaṇa sea, etc. He argued that it corresponded to the pre-calculus method of indivisibles adopted by Cavalieri and Roberval in the 17th c. CE. Even elements of the modern modular arithmetic could be traced in his works. Jinabhadra's work presented not only the earliest use of zero place value in decimal system and symbols for 10 digits (0 to 9), his precision and ease with such big numbers rightly marks him a computational wizard of his era.

Since the announced next presenter Alessandra Petrocchi (University of Cambridge, UK) was unable to attend and present her paper on *Simhatilakasūri's Mathematical Commentary (13th c. CE) on the Ganitatilaka*, we had a presentation by L. C. Jain (Government Engineering College, Jabalpur) on *Non-Absolutism (Anekānta) and Modern Physics*, a paper which discussed *anekānta* and its posited close association with physics.

The last paper of this panel by Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne, Switzerland) *Jaina versus Brahmanical Mathematicians*, took a different approach of analysing the critique of Brahmanical mathematicians of their heterodox tradition. He primarily demonstrated that Bhāskara I's *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya* (7th century CE) on geometrical theorems survived with errors as they lacked proof of it. Bronkhorst then presented a rare passage in the *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya* which reveals an implicit criticism

presented in Pāli language presumably addressed to the Jainas, as Buddhists were silent in this field. His research revealed that though the formulae of π rendered by the Jainas, which was critiqued by Bhāskara, have an error, Bhāskara's refutation is flawed as well. Debate arose in the context of the calculation of the length of the arch of a circle. Bhāskara argued that, if the π value of the Jainist is used, the calculation does not yield correct results. But Bronkhorst's research showed that the prediction of Bhāskara finding fault in the π value was illogical as even with his π value the problem persisted, which meant that the error was not mainly about the π value of the Jaina but the formulae. Concluding, Bronkhorst suggested that the geometry practiced at the time of Bhāskara I in different schools concentrated on their own traditional teachings. If these traditional teachings were incorrect, they were preserved for lack of criticism. Criticism of different schools confronting each other, were unfortunately too infrequent, and did not allow a general atmosphere of criticism to become part of the traditions.²

The first paper of the last session 'When Science Meets Fiction', *Architectural Science in Jain Poetry: Descriptions of Kumārapāla's Temples* was delivered by Basile Leclère, (Université de Lyon 3, France). The Caulukya king Kumārapāla (r. 1143-73), influenced and converted by the Śvetāmbara monk Hemacandra, ordered Jaina sanctuaries to be erected throughout his dominion. He was duly praised by Hemacandra in the concluding section of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-caritra*. Many other Jaina writers from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries extolled Kumārapāla as a great builder. Basile Leclère researched these temples assisted by contemporary texts such as *Mahārājāparājayā*, etc. Discussing the difficulties of terminology, he cautioned that terms used in

2 Published in the *IJJS (Online)* Vol. 12, No. 1 (2016) 1-10.



Gian Radcliffe

the chosen guidebook might be anachronistic to the work being compared. He analysed texts such as Mahāvīrā's composition *Kumāra Vihāra Praśasti*, *Kumāra Vihāra Śatakā* by Rāmacandra, and Somaprabhā's poem *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, and presented examples to prove their expertise and precision in the use of architectural terms. He concluded that these texts instead of merely detailing the idols, extol the technical expertise of architecture, and hence must be taken more seriously for analysing Jaina sacred architecture.

In her paper *When Science Meets Fiction: On Technical Passages in Jain Medieval Novels*, Christine Chojnacki (University Lyon) presented further research on a novel subject: physiognomy, a study of a person's facial or at times bodily features or expressions, especially when regarded as indicative of character or ethnic origin. The earliest research in this field was by K. G Zysk on Hindu materials. Chojnacki's research in Jainism identified four types of relevant sources: the *Garga Saṃhitā* (1 CE) an astrological text, Varamihirā's *Vṛhad Saṃhitā* (6 CE), one of the earliest extant systematically presented texts, a compendium titled *Samudrikā Śāstra* by King Dolavarāja and his son Jagadeva, and the Purāṇa texts. First, she discussed problems of tracing the historical development of Jaina physiognomy, beginning with the dating of texts such as the Purāṇas. A great deal of variation in the description of body parts, numerological details of symbols on the body, etc., exists in the sources. She then compared three long narratives: Udyotanā's *Valayamālā* (Pkt.) (1779 CE), Siddhārṣī's *Upamiti Bhāvaprapaṇca Kathā* (Skt.) (905 CE), and Vijayasimṃhasūrī's *Bhuvanāsundari* (Pkt.) (918 CE). Finally, relating to Jaina religion, she discussed the great men (*śalākḥa puruṣa*), descriptions of the deity Padmāvātī, etc. She concluded that Jaina monks had produced treatises on physiognomy from the 6th to 11th centuries CE and that Udyotanā and Siddhārṣī's had access to sources prior to Varahamihira.

Peter Flügel withdrew his announced paper on *Jainism and Science: History and Ontology of the 'Soul'* to accommodate in the program Hampasandra Nagarajaiah to present his research on *Pacchakkhāna Leading to Sallehaṇā*, which seemed to be relevant at this time when the Jaina community is facing a related court case against it in India. In his paper Nagarajaiah discussed in detail



ESSAY & DISSERTATION PRIZES IN JAINA STUDIES

Presented by: Prof J.C. Wright, President, Centre of Jaina Studies, SOAS. Helen Poulter, SOAS, UG Jain Essay Prize Winner. Photo: Glen Radcliffe

the definitions, methods and antiquity of the practice.

The conference concluded with a round table discussion, which was chaired by Shamil Chandaria (London). The other panelists were Johannes Bronkhorst, Kalyan Gangwal (Pune), Anupam Jain, Laxmi Chandra Jain (Government Engineering College, Jabalpur), Mukul Shah (London), Ratnakumar Shah, Sanjeev Sogani (Gyan Sagar Science Foundation, New Delhi), and Samani Unnata Praga.

While there was general consensus about Jaina mathematics, physics, atomic theory, etc. being compatible with scientific theories, there were some words of caution that the terms and concepts used by both need to be intensively investigated before making claims of similarity. The panel concluded with Prof. Bronkhorst's pragmatic and prudent statement that the comparison between science and religion might not lead to any new truth.

Samañī Unnataprajñā is a PhD student at SOAS.



Roundtable on the question 'Is Jaina philosophy compatible with the modern sciences?'



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 prospective 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) and an annual journal: *Journal of Gyan Sagar Science Foundation*. The first volume was published 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 committed to five years of sponsorship of *Jaina Studies*, Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS.

For more information please contact: gyansagarsciencefoundation@gmail.com
Please visit our website: www.gyansagarsciencefoundation.in



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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.

The certificate is of particular value for individuals with an interest in Jainism who are not yet in the university system, who do not have previous university qualification, or who do not have the time to pursue a regular university degree. It provides an opportunity to study Jainism at an academic level and is flexible to meet diverse personal needs and interests.

For information please contact: jainastudies@soas.ac.uk



Ingrid Salomon

Jaina Studies in Japan: Conference Reports

Masahiro Ueda

The 67th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS)

The 67th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS) was held at the University of Tokyo, on 3-4 September 2016. Although the papers on Jaina Studies were not assembled in a single session, seven presentations in total dealt with Jainism.

In *The Present and Future of Jaina Studies—and Its Significance*, Akihiko Akamatsu (Kyoto University) spoke on the research history of Jaina Studies. He first introduced ten points that Alsdorf raised in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1965. Akamatsu observed that since then the history of Jaina Studies has advanced in response to these issues. He examined the efforts that have been made to address each problem thus far and concluded that recent scholarship in the field has responded to these issues.

In *Problems on the 59th Verse of the Āptamīmāṃsā*, Kiyokuni Shiga (Kyoto Sangyō University) examined the historical relationship of the *Āptamīmāṃsā* (ĀM) of Samantabhadra and Kumāriḷa's *Ślokavārttika* (ŚV). He focused on verses ĀM 59 and ŚV 23 which have been quoted in Buddhist texts as arguments to be criticised in the context of the question of the definition of existence. His analysis concluded that the ontology of Kumāriḷa is likely to be based on Samantabhadra.

In *On the Interpretation of the Aparigraha-Vrata of Jainism*, Yutaka Kawasaki (Tokyo University) compared Śvetāmbara and Digambara interpretations of non-possession (*aparigraha*). He found that both are common in terms of their interpretation of *aparigraha* as 'persistence in mind' but differ with regard to the items that one is allowed to possess, especially clothes. He explored the argument in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaṇi* of Haribhadra, Digambara criticism and Haribhadra's counterarguments.



Hiroaki Korematsu (Tōyō University)

The present author, Masahiro Ueda (Kyoto University) presented a *Study on the Exegetical Literature of Śvetāmbara Jains*. Based on Malayagiri's commentary on the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*, using five handwritten manuscripts, he provided examples of the procedure for editing the unpublished *Vyavahāracūrṇi*. He analysed the relationship between Malayagiri's *Ṭṭkā* and the *Cūrṇi*, and pointed out that the former is likely to have been composed as an alternative commentary of the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*.

Kazuyoshi Hotta (Ōtani University) read a paper entitled *Seven Vyasanās of Lay People: On the Śrāvakācāra Literature*. In addition to the previous study in Williams' *Jaina Yoga*, he provided new sources and examined seven *vyasanās* in the *Śrāvakācāra* literature. He pointed out that the seven *vyasanās* appear only in the relatively new works, especially by Digambaras, and also in non-Jaina literature. He concluded that the concept of seven *vyasanās* is not unique to Jainism, since it has been popular in India in general. At a certain stage, the general idea entered in the *Śrāvakācāra* literature.

In *Early Rāso Literature Unrelated to the Biographies*



Participants of the 31st Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies at Ōtani University

of *Jaina Saints*, Tomoyuki Yamahata (Hokkaido University of Science) looked at three stages in the history of Prakrit literature and discussed the relationship between them. The first period considered was the literature of Apabhraṃśa during the 9th to 12th centuries, preceding the era of the early Rāso literature. In this period, the tales of Jain saints were created. He pointed out that they display a characteristic form called *saṃdhi-bandha*. Also in the following period of the early Rāso literature, works on Jaina saints and doctrines were created successively. They have a form called *rāsā-bandha*, which is influenced by *saṃdhi-bandha*. At a later period, tales of war not related to Jainism appeared in Rāso literature, but they are not related to *saṃdhi-bandha*.

In *Identification with All Things in Jainism*, Kenji Watanabe (Taishō University) focused on the expression *sarva-bhūta-ātma-bhūta*, which is commonly found in the *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. He pointed out that this *bahuvrīhi* compound implies that all things and the self are identical, and introduced Hajime Nakamura's view that early Jaina thought had a close relationship to Vedānta and the Upaniṣads. Watanabe quoted phrases in the *Āyārāṅga*, the *Uttarajjhāyā* and the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* as further examples of this identification.

31st Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies

On 24 September the 31st Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies was held at Ōtani University, Kyoto. Three papers were read at this conference.

In *Non-idolatry of Digambara Tāraṇ Panth*, Hiroaki Korematsu (Tōyō University) reported on the history and current state of the Tāraṇa school of Digambara Jainas. According to Korematsu, the Tāraṇa school is known as non-idolatrous, but the doctrine itself is attributed to authors from the early 20th century. Korematsu pointed out that in the works by Tāraṇ Svāmī, the founder of the school, there is no passage denying idolatry.

Nobuyuki Sugioka (Kindai University) presented a paper entitled *Six Sentient Beings in Jainism – Sattha and Daṇḍa*. He pointed out that the definitions of the terms *sattha* (*śāstra* in Sanskrit) and *daṇḍa* are different in Jainism and Buddhism. He examined the meaning of these words in the early Jaina canonical texts, especially the *Āyārāṅga*, the *Sūyagaḍaṅga* and the *Dasaveyāliya*. He analysed the classification of six sentient beings found in these texts and concluded that the cause of the difference between Jainism and Buddhism is their means of classifying living beings.

Michihiko Yajima (Komazawa University) spoke on *Establishing Jaina Maṇḍala and Tīrtha: Report on the Mahāpañcakaryāṅga Ritual*. He reported on fieldwork he conducted on the rituals held in Bhilai (Chhattisgarh) and Bhopal (M.P.) in January and December 2010. These rituals were performed by Terāpanth Digambaras and aimed to reproduce the five auspicious events in the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. He explained the procedure



Michihiko Yajima explaining his photo exhibition at Ōtani University

of the ritual, and provided illustrations from the photo exhibition that was held at the conference.

100th Annual Lecture of the Association of Philosophy, Kyoto

On 3rd November 2016 the *100th Annual Public Lecture* of the Association of Philosophy, Kyoto, was held at the Kyoto University Clock Tower Centennial Hall. The lecture was open not only to members, but also to the general public. The speaker was Akihiko Akamatsu, a professor in the Faculty of Letters of Kyoto University.

The lecture was entitled *Problems between Tolerance and Relativism in Jainism*. After providing an overview of Jainism, Akamatsu pointed out that Jainas practice tolerance towards other schools, which can be seen in the concept of neutrality (*madhyastha*). Based on the dialogues in the *Hīrasaubhāgya Mahākāvya* and the *Vijayaprasasti Mahākāvya*, he demonstrated how Jainas adopted neutral or tolerant attitudes towards Islam as its powers expanded. Furthermore, he showed three doctrines that form the relativism of the Jainas, namely *anekāntavāda*, *syādvāda* and *nayavāda*. Introducing the conventional opinion that the principles embodied within *ahiṃsā* were transformed by Jaina thinkers into respect for other schools (tolerance) at the intellectual level, he concluded that it might be necessary to be tolerant in order to practice such a relativistic attitude as Mahāvīra preached on the ontology and the theory of *karman*.

The presentations on Jaina Studies held in Japan this year covered a broad range of topics. The circle of Japan-based researchers is expanding more and more in conjunction with related fields such as Buddhism, modern India, linguistics, etc.

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.

The Constitution of a Literary Legacy and the Tradition of Patronage in Jainism

Natalia Zheleznova

The international workshop *The Constitution of a Literary Legacy and the Tradition of Patronage in Jainism*, organized by Christine Chojnacki and Basile Leclère, and hosted by Jean Moulin (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, Institute of Philosophical Research), was held on 14-17 September 2016.

The first day of the workshop was opened by H. Nagarajaiah (Bangalore University), who spoke on the patronage of a cultural legacy in Karnataka, dealing with the extensive literature on Kannaḍa language from the 7th to the 13th centuries. He drew attention to the poets Ravikīrti, Śrīvijaya, Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, who made a great impact on Kannaḍa poetry and whose patrons were kings of different dynasties in Karnataka. H. Nagarajaiah emphasized the role of royal patronage during the Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasties in supporting the Jain community, which helped the Jainas to preserve their palm-leaf manuscripts in libraries (*śrutabhaṇḍāra*) and to build many temples (*basadi*). Peter Flügel (SOAS) in *Information on Patronage of Jaina Literature in Manuscript Catalogues* explored some of the earliest meta-data on patron-client relationships in standard manuscript catalogues, focussing on the indices of Albrecht Weber's (1886, 1888, 1891) *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Zweiter Band*; Johannes Klatt's (1892/2016) *Jaina-Onomasticon*; Hiralal R. Kapadia's (1954) *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute XVII, V*; and the *New Catalogus Catalogorum of the University of Madras* (1949ff.). Flügel compared the data models of recent Indological data-bases such as PANDIT and the Koba Library Catalogue. On the basis of a preliminary statistical analysis of data on patronage in Klatt (2016), he argued that comparing the different methodological approaches of the great cataloguers of Indian literature may help to generate a set of categories for the computer-supported exploration of sociology of Jaina knowledge production. He then presented a new data model that he had used in his own research on Sthānakavāsins.

This was followed by Rajyashree H. Nagarajaiah (Bangalore), who focused on life stories of two noble ladies from Karnataka—Ravideviyakka and Malliyakka—as examples of female patronage in preserving palm-leaf manuscripts of the *circa* 2nd-century Digambara scripture on karma theory *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgāma* (The Scripture in Six Parts).

The paper by Piotr Balcerowicz (University of Warsaw) was entitled *Royal Patronage of Jainism between the Fourth-Second Centuries BCE*. Balcerowicz questioned the story about Candragupta Maurya, who is believed to have been converted to Jainism by Bhadrabāhu and, following a famine in Ujjayinī, accompanied the latter to Śravaṇabelāgoḷa where he performed the *sallekhanā* rite of a ritual suicide nature. According to

Balcerowicz, there is no evidence that would allow one to establish any link between the founder of the Mauryan Dynasty with Jainism, and with Bhadrabāhu in particular. Analysing the literary sources as well as paleographic and archaeological data, Balcerowicz came to the conclusion that the first ruler of note in South Asia who patronized Jainism was King Khāravela, as is indicated in the Hāthīgumphā inscription.

Next, Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne) spoke on *No Literature Without Patronage: Weak Royal Patronage and its Effect on the Constitution of the Jaina Canon under the Kuṣāṇas*. Bronkhorst showed that five absences characterize the Jainas under the Kuṣāṇas: absence of royal patronage, absence of monasteries, absence of Sanskrit, increasing absence of stūpa worship and absence of an established canon. He argued that they are organically related.

Annette Schmiedchen (Humboldt University of Berlin) in *Religious Patronage in Favour of Jain Literary Traditions: The Epigraphic Evidence* argued that most of the donative inscriptions for the benefit of the Jaina community describe either the erection of a sanctuary (*vasati*) or an endowment to maintain such an institution; but even complex grants hardly ever mention the copying of religious manuscripts amongst the purposes they were to serve. Schmiedchen pointed out that in contrast to Buddhist grants, which were usually bestowed upon local monastic orders, but not upon individuals, Jaina donations were meant to sponsor the religious activities of particular groups and certain spiritual milieus.

The first day of the workshop was concluded by two papers on textual transmission in Jaina philosophy. The first was presented by Natalia Zheleznova (Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences) on *Akalaṅka Bhaṭṭa's Rājavārttika: An Example of Textual Transmission in the Digambara Philosophical Commentary Tradition*. The second paper was read by Himal Trikha (Vienne Academy of Sciences), *On the History of the "Jaina Logicians" and the Transmission of Their Works*. Both speakers gave some examples that illustrated the ways of transmissions of different epistemological and philosophical concepts and doctrine in the case of Akalaṅka Bhaṭṭa's *Rājavārttika* and Vidyānandin's texts respectively.

The second day of the workshop was opened by Arathi H. Nagarajaiah (Bangalore) who focussed on the life story of Attimabbe (10th -11th cc.) as an example of a noble Jaina patroness and benefactor. Christine Chojnacki (University of Lyon 3) in *Monks, Kings and Laymen: Transmission of Literary Works in Medieval Gujarat (11th-14th centuries)* explored the typical contents of the final eulogy (*praśasti*) of the literary works of this period, showing how these help to explain why the Jainas were particularly active in the preservation of the manuscripts and why they succeeded in doing so. Eva De Clercq (Ghent University) in *Promoting,*

Creating and Completing Apabhramśa Treasures: Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśaḥkīrti discussed Apabhramśa literary compositions, which were ordered by wealthy patrons from the lay community. De Clercq drew a detailed picture of the activities of Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśaḥkīrti (15th century, Gwalior), in order to establish his position in and significance for the history of the Jaina literary heritage, especially in Apabhramśa literature. De Clercq argued that aside from arranging the patronage for several of the layman Rāidhū's more than thirty compositions and writings of Apabhramśa epic poetry by himself, the *bhaṭṭāraka* famously completed the work *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* of one of the greatest Apabhramśa poets, Svayambhūdeva, which had been left unfinished by the author.

In *Behind the Curtain: Who Commissioned Medieval Jain Plays?* Basile Leclère (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3) investigated why and how Jaina writers, despite the austere Jaina doctrine prohibiting entertainments such as theatre, dance, music, etc., eventually adopted the genre of theatre in the 12th-14th centuries. During this period, no less than twenty-two plays were written by Jaina poets in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and perhaps even more if we surmise that a part of this production slipped into oblivion thereafter. Leclère pointed out that in medieval times it had become quite common for a dramatist to mention the name of his patron and the special occasion of this work in the prologue of the drama. This could be helpful in order to understand why this sudden and radical shift in the literary habits of Jaina writers took place.

The paper by Olle Qvarnström (Lund University) was *Patronage and the Construction of a Jaina Self-Image: The Nābhinandanajinoddhāraprabandha of Kakkasūri*. Qvarnström analysed how Kakkasūri, in an attempt to create a self-image of his own tradition in response to the polity of the Delhi Sultanate, tried to construe crucial elements for establishing a Jaina identity of the Upakeśagaccha and to find *modus vivendi* for the peaceful relations with his co-believers as well as with those who had different political and religious views.

In *Historical Literature at a Turning Point in North*

India's Literary Culture: The Unconventional Poetry of Nayacandra Sūri, Its Influences and Aftermath, Hens Sanders (Ghent University) spoke on the Śvetāmbara monk Nayacandra Sūri, who composed two remarkable works of literature: the *Hamṃīramahākāvya*, a Sanskrit epic poem about the Cāhamāna King Hammīra of Ranthambhor (r. 1282-1301) and the *Rambhāmañjarī*, a humorous love-play in the rare *saṭṭaka* genre composed in a mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit, about King Jayacandra of Kannauj (1173-1193). Sanders argued that Nayacandra's poetry could be taken as a sign of the rise of vernacular languages which was considered a step forward for the development of both Jaina and non-Jaina historical narratives. He discussed the influences of *prabandhas* and early *rāso* texts on Nayacandra's work, and others thereafter, such as Padmanābha's old-Gujarati epic *Kanhaḍade-prabandha* (1455), and the Jaina author Amṛtakalaśa's old-Gujarati *Hamṃīraprabandha* (1518).

The last paper, *Literary Circles and Manuscript Culture of the Early Modern Bhaṭṭāraka Saṅghas of West India*, was presented by Tillo Detige (Ghent University). Detige's presentation provided a broad overview of the literary production, manuscript culture, and patronage of the *bhaṭṭāraka saṅgha* litterateurs of West India, particularly on the basis of manuscript eulogies (*praśasti*) and colophons (*puṣpikā*). He also examined some specific *bhaṭṭārakīya* manuscript collections (*bhaṇḍāras*), and the texts, genres, and languages represented in them, as valuable sources for the writing of 'localized literary histories', and provided a statistical breakdown of patronage to particular types of Digambara ascetics on the basis of the manuscript catalogues of North India.

The workshop ended with two roundtables that focussed on the conclusions of the papers read, and on a discussion about the future Jaina research in Europe.

Natalia Zheleznova is a Senior Research Fellow in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. She specializes in Jaina Digambara Philosophy. She is author of three books and a number of articles on different aspects of Jainism.



Mahāvira, Mahārājaya Kobātirthā 2015

Relocating Jainism

Tine Vekemans and Anja Pogacnik

In Helsinki, on the last day of a very stimulating conference of the European Association for the Study of Religion,¹ scholars from around the world gathered to discuss the latest developments in the study of contemporary Jainism. With the aim of furthering the discussion on Jainism as a lived religion within the arena of religious studies, Tine Vekemans (University of Ghent) and Anja Pogacnik (University of Edinburgh) organised a bipartite panel titled *Relocating Jainism*, which incorporated a range of papers on Jain communities around the world into a narrative of migration, translation, and alteration.

The first session subtitled *Exploring New Frontiers, Settling New Places* focused on cases in which Jainism broke new ground and settled in new places, while the second session, *Adapting, Re-appropriating, and Transmitting Tradition*, continued with an examination of how Jainism subsequently evolved and how Jain customs and culture were negotiated and transmitted in new places of settlement.

The first three presenters took us on a journey across the world—from Mahārāṣṭra via Switzerland to digital *derasars* in the USA. The paper that set the panel in motion was ‘Locating Jainism: Building a Jain Maharashtra’ presented by M. Whitney Kelting (Northeastern University, USA), who focused on a case study of a newly built Jain temple in Teḷagaon, just outside Pune, Mahārāṣṭra. Approaching the temple-building process in reverse (building the temple last, after all the supporting structures such as the *upāśraya*, *bhojanśālā*, and *dharamśālā* have already been built) and establishing new patterns of patronage through encouraging small donations instead of seeking rich patronage, the Teḷagaon Śrī Pārśva Prajñālay Tīrtha complex opened its doors for worship in 2006. As there are no places linked to auspicious events in the lives of the Jinās (*kalyāṇak bhūmī*) in Mahārāṣṭra, Mahārāṣṭrī Jains have taken to other narratives to construct a ‘Jain Mahārāṣṭra’. Instead of focussing on the historical significance of Teḷagaon, they proudly proclaim the recent transformation of wasteland and jungle into a Jain space worthy to be considered a *tīrtha*, a place of pilgrimage. By claiming the status of a *tīrtha* even before its completion, Śrī Pārśva Prajñālay Tīrtha challenged the conventional criteria and sought to establish visibility and identity for the Mahārāṣṭrī Jain community.

The next presenter, Mirjam Iseli (University of Berne, Switzerland) transported the discussion to a diasporic setting with her paper ‘Jains in Switzerland: Establishment of a Supra-Denominational Community’, which focussed on a group of twenty to twenty-five Jain families, who have settled in Switzerland. Given the smallness of the Swiss Jain community, there is no established Jain centre in Switzerland and people mostly meet in homes or rented halls for cultural events and

¹ 28 June-1 July 2016, Helsinki, Finland



Hemacandrācārya, Pārśvanātha Daheṛasar Pātan (Photo: Ingrid Schoon 28.12.2015)

bigger religious festivals (particularly for Mahāvīra Jayantī and Dīvālī). Due to the low numbers of Swiss Jains and the absence of religious experts ensuring a transfer of traditional knowledge, sectarian identifications have become marginalised in favour of accentuated commonalities between different branches of Jainism. Through participation in religious activities organised on a non-sectarian basis, a supra-denominational Jainism is being constructed in Switzerland.

Then our journey of exploration took us to the digital dimension. Tine Vekemans (Ghent University, Belgium) presented a paper titled ‘Digital Derasars: Online Ritual in the Jain Diaspora’, which presented a case of online or computer mediated rituals and their use among Jains living in the USA. Computer mediated rituals such as live *darśan* and online *pūjā* are perhaps the most intensely virtual of online activities offered to Jains. Whilst most Jains living in diaspora find accessing downloadable Jain literature, lectures, and music acceptable, many approve only conditionally of the performance of rituals through the screen of a personal computer. They see online *darśan* and *pūjā* to be acceptable for the young, the elderly, and those living far away; in essence those who have difficulty accessing local temples. Otherwise, they express dissatisfaction with the absence of sensory and social elements in computer mediated rituals. However, these online tools are regularly used in alternative ways, primarily in educating children about Jain rituals and

inviting relatives and friends living abroad to participate in their religious celebrations through online livestreams.

The second session of the day, *Adapting, Re-appropriating, and Transmitting Tradition*, focussed on particular social institutions originating in India, but finding a different life in Jain communities abroad, that is, children's religious education, youth's religious engagement, and food symbolism. Shivani Bothra (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand) opened the second session with 'Jain Pāṭhśālās of North America: Changes and Continuities in Contemporary Times', in which she examined the development of modern methods and curricula used in the Jain *pāṭhśālās* (religious classes for children) of North America. Early initiatives took the form of lectures by pundits, usually invited from India, and magazines such as the *Jaina Studies Circular*. These materials were then used in the first *pāṭhśālās*, but failed to capture the attention of children and youngsters. In 1995 the umbrella organization Jain Pāṭhśālās of North America (JPNA) was formed to provide an official curriculum and teaching materials. Bothra argued that the subsequent shifts in content and teaching methods can inform us on important contemporary trends developing within Jainism, both in India and abroad. Today, North American *pāṭhśālās* are typically interactive and child-centred, and the content of the classes is meant to be free from sectarian bias, as opposed to the traditional sectarian *pāṭhśālās* of India.

Starting from questions relating to the place of religion and religious organizations in the lives of Jain immigrants, Bindi Shah (University of Southampton, UK) compared the aims and role of Jain youth organisations oriented towards second-generation Jains in Britain (Young Jains UK (YJUK)) and North America (Young Jains of America (YJA)). Although both organizations profile themselves as places for discussion of Jainism-related topics and their relevance in contemporary society, as well as spaces for networking and social support, Shah argued that whereas in North America, YJA consistently focuses on the ethical aspects of Jainism and on community building, YJUK has experienced a shift in focus from the ethical to more philosophical and doctrinal matters. Moreover, the community-building function that is clearly present in YJA is less strong in YJUK, as the organizational landscape in the UK is more diverse and caste and language association already perform that function.

The last paper 'The Role of Food in Jain Communities in India and Abroad' by Anja Pogacnik (University of Edinburgh, UK), related how the importance of food consumption is subtly different amongst Jains in the UK and in India. Based on fieldwork in Jamnagar (Gujarat) and Leicester (England) her paper explored and contrasted the role of food in both settings. Pogacnik found that while in Gujarat the Jain food proscriptions are followed relatively rigidly and work primarily to demarcate Jains from the majority Hindu population, the Jains living in England do not follow the dietary rules as strictly. Although English Jains are still overwhelmingly vegetarian, following the Jain dietary proscriptions functions more as an indicator of an individuals' religiosity

and hints at one's status in the Jain community. Pogacnik further suggested that knowledge and practice of Jain dietary proscriptions function as Bourdieu's embodied cultural capital and can in some contexts translate into symbolic capital, bringing more observant Jains prestige and authority within their religious communities.

Each of the papers presented during our panel *Relocating Jainism* was followed by a stimulating discussion spanning everything from online dating sites and temple building in London to influences of sectarian differences in *pratikramaṇa* and the role of grandparents in knowledge transmission. This panel was rather unique in that it brought together researchers working on contemporary aspects of Jainism. We hope to see this network expand in the future, so that panels such as the one organised in Helsinki, will become a staple in all major conferences on religious studies.

Anja Pogacnik is a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh examining how the practice and interpretation of religion change through the process of migration and life in diaspora. Her research centres around the Jain communities in Leicester (England) and Jamnagar (Gujarat), where she explores intergenerational change in religious practice and the influence of the wider society on religious communities.

Tine Vekemans is a doctoral researcher at the Department of Languages and Cultures of Ghent University in Belgium, currently involved with the FWO-funded project Online religion in a transnational context: representing and practicing Jainism in diasporic communities. Her research interests include contemporary Jainism, the Jain diaspora, and the interactions of religion, migration, and digital media.



Yakṣī, Pārśvanātha Daheṛāsar Pāṭaṇ (Photo: Ingrid Schoon 28.12.2015)

Jains and Jainism in South India: Jaina Studies at the AAR

Gregory Clines and Steven M. Vose

On 20 November 2016, the Jaina Studies Group met at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) in San Antonio, Texas to explore “Jains and Jainism in South India.” The panel evaluated literary and historical depictions of relations between Jains and other religious traditions in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu from both Jain and non-Jain perspectives. The papers were pre-circulated for the first time, facilitating a workshop-style session.

Sarah Pierce Taylor (Oberlin College) and Shubha Shanthamurthy (SOAS) spoke on *Theorizing a South Asian Religious Commons: Jains and Śaivas in the Medieval Deccan*. They explored the fact that behind evidence of animosity between Jain and Śaiva communities in the Kannada-speaking regions of pre-modern India, lies each group’s intimate knowledge of the other. Contact between the two groups, they argued, cannot be reduced to modern, liberal notions of religious pluralism or an uncritical narrative of constant animosity. In attempting to understand the nature of this contact, Taylor and Shanthamurthy introduced the idea of a religious commons, “an improvised assemblage of practices and ideas legible and appropriable by all traditions, but not owned by any of them.” Taylor and Shanthamurthy argued that this religious commons was a space in which Jains and Śaivas, “mutually shaped... ways of thinking, forms of expression, and even ritual and spatial lives.” In support of this idea the authors provided epigraphical examples that gestured towards each groups’ knowledge and use of a common stock of religious vocabulary and ritual idioms.

Gil Ben-Herut’s (University of South Florida) paper, *Arguing with Vaiṣṇavas, Annihilating Jains: Two Religious Others in Early Kannada Śivabhakti Hagiographies*, examined the processes by which early Viraśaiva hagiographical literature creates “others” out of Vaiṣṇava Brahmins and Jains. Ben-Herut looked specifically at the *Śivaśaraṅara Raḡaḡaḡu* (Poems in the Raḡaḡ Meter For Śiva’s Saints), a thirteenth-century collection of hagiographical stories written by Hampeya Harihara in Hampi. He argued that Harihara deemed Vaiṣṇava Brahmins an “opponent other,” a group with whom Śiva *bhaktas* shared enough theological or cultural common ground to negotiate and argue with them. By contrast, Jains were depicted as “wholly other,” completely separate, alien, and therefore irredeemable. The wholly other can only be converted or destroyed as seen in narratives of violent massacres and forced temple conversions. Ben-Herut argued that the process of creating Jains as the Śaivas’ “wholly other” conceals the on-the-ground intimacy between the two groups. Nowhere is this better seen than in the domestic sphere; Harihara simultaneously rails against Jain-Śaiva intermarriage—indeed, some of the most violent encounters between the two groups occur in intermarried homes—while also



Tirthankara Munisuvrata decorated with a bodice (*aṅḡ*), Dādābārī Amadābād (Photo: P. Flügel 26.12.2015)

presenting it as commonplace. Ben-Herut concluded by arguing that Harihara’s goal in portraying the Jains as the wholly other served to create a distinctly Śaiva collective self-identity.

Christoph Emmrich’s (University of Toronto) *Being North, Facing North, and Enacting the Other, or, How Tamil and How Jain Do Jains Who Speak Tamil Think They Are?* explored how modern Jains in Tamil Nadu think of themselves both as Jain and as Tamil. Emmrich began with a meditation on the topic of the panel itself: devoting a panel to Jains and Jainism in the South signifies its marginality in the field of Jain studies as a whole. Indeed, Emmrich pointed out how unlikely the topic “Jains and Jainism in the North” would be at the AAR. Emmrich further argued that the moniker of “Tamil Jain” itself implies relationships with languages other than Tamil and geographic regions other than Tamil Nadu, and that these relationships need to be explored in order to understand the limits of the moniker itself. For example, Emmrich pointed to the phenomenon of Digambara nuns (*mātājīs*) increasingly traveling to Tamil Nadu from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra

(the “north”). These nuns, popular among Tamil Jains, are learning Tamil and establishing relationships with Jain communities, thereby expanding the traditional landscape of Tamil Jainism.

Finally, Anne Monius’ (Harvard University) paper, *‘Plucking My Head Like a Bilberry Bush’: The Fate of Jains as Religious Others in Tamil Śaiva Literature*, examined the function of the “poetic ‘I’” in the works of the seventh-century Tamil saint Appar (Father). Monius questioned readings of Appar’s poetry that depict him as a former Jain monk rescued from a futile life of severe asceticism and filth by Śiva’s grace. Instead of being strictly autobiographical, Monius argued that Appar’s first-person account of his former life as a Jain monk marks one pole of a spectrum of possible human folly, a pole that is oftentimes contrasted with its opposite, a similar first-person account of Appar as ensnared in worldly pleasures, including a wife and family. The “poetic ‘I,’” then, when referring to Appar’s past life as a Jain monk, serves as a marker for the problem of living a life too dedicated to asceticism. On the other end of the spectrum, the “poetic ‘I’” that references Appar as entangled in worldly pleasures and human relationships serves as a marker for a life led too indulgently. It is a life dedicated to devotion to Śiva that emerges in Appar’s poetry as a middle ground and the most prosperous and fulfilling life to lead.

Lisa Owen (University of North Texas) delivered the response to the papers, adding to the discussion an examination of the visual record of the complex interactions between Jain and non-Jain communities in South India. Owen pointed out the importance of place in helping to shape interactions between religious communities, citing examples of seemingly civil relationships between Jains and Brahminical groups at courtly institutions and on sacred mountains. In another particularly enlightening example, Owen discussed a donor portrait from one of the Jain caves at Ellora. The carving featured a Jina in the center, surrounded by monks and nuns. Portrayed near the congregation of ascetics was the lay donor, whose name, Śivadevapati, was given in a Sanskrit inscription below the carving.

In addition to the Jain Studies Group panel, there were several other papers on Jain topics presented at the AAR on separate panels.

Clines (Harvard) presented the paper, *Plagiarized Purāṇas? Jain Textual Composition in Early Modernity*, examining the phenomenon of *purāṇic* narrative copying among Digambara Jains in pre-modern north India. Building on previous arguments made by Padmanabh Jaini about plagiarism among early-modern Digambara Jains, Clines investigated the fifteenth-century *Padmapurāṇa* of Brahma Jinadāsa, and pointed out that it was in large part copied from Raviṣeṇa’s seventh-century work of the same name. Clines argued that the act of textual copying functioned as an accepted form of sectarian argumentation, especially concerning issues of lineage and institutional authority, rather than textual theft.

In the Tantric Studies Group panel, Ellen Gough (Emory University) presented *Worshipping the Sisters of Śiva in a Jain Tantric Diagram*. Gough discussed the use of cloth diagrams (*paṭa*) such as the *Vardhamānavidyā* among Śvetāmbara monks in secret rituals. She focused on four goddesses in particular—Jaya, Vijaya, Aparājita, and Jayantā—who have been described as “Sisters of Tamburu,” a form of Śiva first mentioned in a seventh-century *tantra*. Gough traced depictions of these sisters in Buddhist and Jain literature, and included observations from her own fieldwork in Gujarat in 2013. She argued that, in addition to being liberation-seeking ascetics, Jain monks took on the role of protectors of the lay community, facilitated by their ability to command these powerful tantric *vidyās*.

Finally, Claire Maes (University of Texas at Austin) presented *To Be or Not to Be Naked? An Examination of Identity Negotiation in Early Jainism*, a comparative analysis of nakedness as an ascetic requirement in early Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts. Maes also compared Jain and Buddhist sources on the practice of ascetic nudity. She argued that the practice of nakedness was a “signifying practice around which boundaries could be drawn and identities negotiated.” Maes brought Jain perspectives on asceticism to bear in the development of new theorizations of the premodern religious identity formation, showing how mapping synchronic and diachronic discussions of a single practice can help scholars to trace the shifting meanings of premodern religious identities among South Asian religious communities.

Papers on Jainism at the 45th Annual Conference on South Asia

In late October, four papers on Jainism were presented in the panel, “Rethinking the State of Jain Communities Under ‘Muslim Rule,’” at the 45th Annual Conference on South Asia, hosted by the University of Wisconsin’s Center for South Asia. The theme of the conference was “decay,” which each scholar addressed as a key problematic in previous depictions of Jainism in this period.

Steven M. Vose (Florida International University) started the proceedings with *A Less Fated Kali Yuga: The Politics of Time in a Fourteenth-Century Jain Pilgrimage Text*. Vose examined the trope of the Kali era in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, an enigmatic collection of narratives by the Kharatara Gaccha monk Jinaprabhasūri. Often used in studies of the medieval sacred geography in South Asia, Vose argued that the recurrence of the theme of the degeneracy of time, and Jains’ efforts to overcome recent calamities, ties the otherwise disparate chapters together and gives the text a coherent rhetorical project. He argued that recent vicissitudes, while the result of time’s decay, can be overcome through the efforts of devoted Jains and lead to a new era of prosperity for the community. According to Vose, the text’s message culminated in

two chapters that detail the meetings between the author and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, in which the monk secured a number of edicts protecting Jains and Jain pilgrimage sites. The text argued for Jains to see the new polity as ushering in a new era of prosperity.

Lynna Dhanani, (PhD candidate Yale University), presented a section of her dissertation research on the production of Jain hymns in Gujarati from the fifteenth century onward: *The Continuation of Hymn-Making in Old Gujarati during Muslim Rule*. This period is characterized by the emergence of an independent sultanate in Gujarat, which coincided with an explosion of Jain hymns, narratives and other genres in the emerging linguistic medium of Gujarati. Dhanani argued that these new literary forms participated in a vibrant, inventive literary culture emerging at the time, contrary to earlier depictions of Jain intellectual life having gone into an isolationist retreat in this period. Dhanani demonstrated the ways in which Apabhramṣa poetic forms were marshaled to create new literary modes of expression that both show Jain poets' intellectual and poetic bonafides as well as their ability to adapt new linguistic registers and poetic styles into their work.

Gregory Clines (PhD candidate at Harvard University) spoke on *Digambara Jain Expansion in Fifteenth-Century North India*. Clines offered a careful reconstruction of the status of the Digambara tradition in Gujarat in this period, addressing the near total lack of scholarship on Digambara communities of western India in this period. He demonstrated that several new centers of monastic power emerged in this period, such as Idar, Bhanpur and Surat, each producing new literary works that reveal competition, growth and innovation in the Digambara traditions. His comparison of Sanskrit *purāṇas* (*Harivaṃśa* and *Padmapurāṇa*) and Gujarati *rāsas* by the Digambara monk Jinadāsa show a new division of labor of concerns of works in each language—Sanskrit works concern themselves with social order, while Gujarati works focus more on poetic renderings of beloved figures such as Jambūsāmī and Yasodharā. By showing the new concerns that emerged in both the classical and vernacular literature, he countered narratives of decline that have often characterized historiography on Jainism's encounters with Islam, and added a note of caution to avoid making arguments about Jain "exceptionalism" in our use of the literature of this period to write the history of this encounter.

In *Telling the Story: The Historiography of Jain Communities in Mughal India* Audrey Truschke (Rutgers University-Newark) argued that recent efforts to counter older historical narratives of decay and decline with narratives of cooperation and coexistence between Jains and Muslim rulers have elided the serious problem of the power imbalance between the two groups. Truschke discussed two narratives found in the *Hīrasaubhāgyamahākāvya* of Devavimala that highlight moments when Akbar made his Jain guests offers they could not refuse. To highlight just the first, Truschke discussed Akbar's gift to Hīravijayasūri of his

predecessor's library, which he had kept in anticipation of meeting a Jain monk worthy to receive it. The monk was reluctant to accept the books until an advisor pointed out that refusing would cause him a great deal of trouble. The fact that their interactions were not between equals should caution historians not to offer sanguine historical depictions in place of demonizing ones, but to develop nuanced readings that attend to questions of power.

Anne Monius, Harvard University, offered the response, with a lively discussion of the papers afterward.

Steven M. Vose is the Bhagwan Mahavir Assistant Professor of Jain Studies and Director of the Jain Studies Program at Florida International University. Vose's PhD dissertation focused on late medieval Śvetāmbara literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Old Gujarati to understand how mendicants' intellectual practices facilitated the encounter between Jains and the Delhi Sultanate in the early fourteenth century.

Gregory Clines is a PhD candidate in the Committee on the Study of Religion at Harvard University. His research interests include Jain purāṇic literature and early-modern Digambara Jainism in north India.



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Jaina-Prosopography: Monastic Lineages, Networks and Patronage

Peter Flügel

In the last two and a half millennia the itinerant Jaina mendicant tradition exerted an important influence on Indian culture and society. From its region of origin in modern Bihar it spread across most parts of South Asia. In the process it segmented into numerous schools, sects, and lineages, which emerged and differentiated in complex interaction with local social and political configurations. Considerable advances towards the reconstruction of the history of the Jaina monastic tradition have been made through the publication and analysis of inscriptions and monastic chronicles. Yet, the social history of Jainism remains imperfectly understood. This is because the principal source, a vast corpus of published bio-bibliographical data embedded in manuscripts and inscriptions, has thus far not been systematically investigated.

Background

The need for more historical information on Jaina mendicants, texts and patrons has long been felt. Until the belated publication in 2016 of Johannes Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon* (Leverhulme RPG-2012-620),¹ however, only data on selected individuals or lineages were published. Klatt offers comprehensive information, but makes no attempt at cross-referencing and interlinking data. The interrelations and socio-geographical contexts of the documented texts, temples, mendicants and patrons, have never been studied systematically, though suitable materials and analytical strategies abound.

New Methodology

A new research project of the CoJS at SOAS, funded by Leverhulme Trust Research Project Grant RPG-2016-454, now explores the relationships between Jaina mendicant lineages and their supporters, focusing on the nexus of monastic recruitment, geographical circulation of monks and nuns, their biographies and literary production, and patronage of mendicant inspired religious ventures. The project is inspired by the overall vision to reconstruct the social-history of the Jaina tradition. It introduces a novel sociological approach to Jaina studies for the analysis of Jaina monastic lineages, networks and patterns of patronage as documented in colophons of manuscripts and inscriptions, using prosopographical methods, advanced digital technology and visualization techniques.

Prosopography is a research tool for studying patterns of relationships, based on the collection and analysis of biographical data about a well-defined group of individuals. It is a useful tool to discern trends and

¹ Peter Flügel & Kornelius Krümpelmann, eds. (2016) *Jaina-Onomasticon* by Johannes Klatt. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Jaina Studies 1).



The Leverhulme Trust

relations that are not clearly visible, and enables the socio-historical study of groups, such as the Jains, where a vast amount of scattered biographical information instead of extensive life histories of historical individuals is available. Jaina texts present biographical information in formulaic pre-processed formats (birth, family, renunciation, teachers, monastic offices, peregrinations, significant accomplishments and encounters, death, disciples) which are particularly suited to computer-supported analysis. The project will integrate and analyse such pre-processed data from five different sources. The computer-assisted prosopographical investigation of the socio-religious history of the Jaina tradition is essential for any future research in this area. It will synthesise and help analysing hitherto unconnected resources.

Aims and Objectives

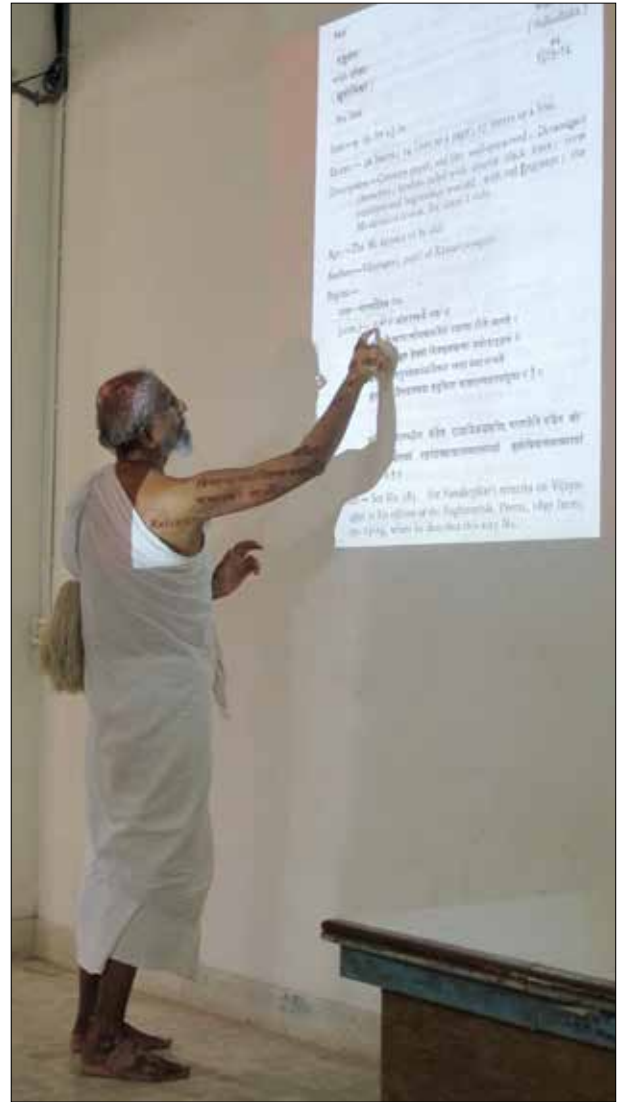
The specific aim of the project is the sociological investigation of Jaina monastic lineages and relationships between Jaina mendicants and lay-followers by integrating and analysing previously unconnected evidence from different bio-bibliographical sources on more than 30,000 Jaina mendicants, scribes and sponsors from medieval times onward. An innovative data-model and comprehensive prosopographical database developed in collaboration with the Acharya Shri Kailasagarsuri Gyanmandir in Koba, the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute in Ladnun, and the HRI Digital at Sheffield University will provide rich data for the planned socio-historical analysis of monastic networks and patronage. The open access database will also offer an unparalleled wealth of historical data for future projects on Jaina history and culture.

The employment of the data assembled in manuscript catalogues and compilations of inscriptions for systematic sociological research is just beginning. *Sociobibliography* in the age of electronic data promises to revolutionise the way in which manuscript catalogues are used. In digitised form the aggregate data embedded

in expertly produced catalogues can be used for historical and sociological analysis on a large scale, once the information is transformed into databases that can be used for a multitude of research projects. The approach requires interdisciplinary and international collaboration.

Peter Flügel, principal investigator, and Kornelius Krümpelmann are researchers and co-editors of the resulting data-base, which will be developed by Michael Pidd and Katherine Rogers and hosted by DHI Sheffield, and shared with collaborating institutions. Advisors to the project are Professor J.C. Wright and Dr Renate Söhnen-Thieme (SOAS), Burkhard Quessel (The British Library), Professor Yigal Bronner (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Professor Karin Preisendanz (Universit of Vienna), and Dr Himat Trikha (Mondes Iranien et Indien, Paris).

An initial project seminar, organised by the CoJS and hosted by the Acharya Shri Kailasasagarsuri Gyanmandir in Koba on 13-15 February 2017, brought together research teams of SOAS (Dr Peter Flügel, Dr Kornelius Krümpelmann), Koba (Acharya Ajaysagarsuri, Dr Hemantbhai Shah, Dr Kalpana Sheth), Jain Vishva Bharati Institute at Ladnun (Dr Vandana Mehta, Dr S.N. Bhardwaj), the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Pune (Dr Amruta Natu), and The Digital Humanities Institute of the University of Sheffield (Michael Pidd, Katherine Rogers). The seminar focused on the development of a suitable data-model offering enhanced analytical possibilities, while assuring compatibility with already existing data-models of digital manuscript catalogues and prosopographical data-bases. In this way suitable electronic data can be imported from other data-bases, which in turn will be able to freely use the *Jaina-Prosopography* data.



Peter Flügel



The Hindu Reception of Perso-Arabic Traditions of Knowledge and the Role of Jainism in Cultural Transmission

Olle Qvarnström and Martin Gansten

The religious, literary, and scientific exchanges between the Perso-Arabic and Indian cultural spheres during the medieval period are of vital importance for understanding the intellectual history of Asia—and, by extension, of Europe, which became the recipient of Arabized scholarship during and following the Islamic Golden Age. Nevertheless, comparatively little research has been done in this field, nearly all of it focussing on the Perso-Arabic reception of Indian (predominantly Hindu) traditions of knowledge. The purpose of this ongoing research project, funded by the Riksbankend Jubileumsfond, is to examine the flow of ideas in the opposite direction, that is, Hindu reception of Perso-Arabic knowledge systems, from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

The Perso-Arabic reception of Indian knowledge systems, the focus of the current international research project *Perso-Indica*, spans a number of disciplines including religion, philosophy, mathematics and natural science. By contrast, the Hindu reception of Perso-Arabic learning is concentrated to a few areas of central importance. These include Islamic adaptations of Galenic medicine, known as *yūnānī*; but above all, the reception is dominated by *jyotiḥśāstra* or astronomical-astrological disciplines. The transmission of these disciplines is of fundamental importance for the history of religion. The divinatory system and metaphysical presuppositions of horoscopic astrology, springing partly from Mesopotamian astral religion, partly from the syncretic milieu of the Hellenistic era, became deeply embedded in Hinduism after reaching India from the Greek-speaking world in the early centuries CE, supplanting indigenous forms of astral divination dating back at least to the beginning of the first millennium BCE. In pre-Islamic Persia, astrological beliefs similarly formed essential parts of Manichaeism as well as Zoroastrian religion. Following the Muslim invasion, Persian astrology was modified to conform to Islam; and it was in this Arabized form that it reached India and was once again adapted to a new religious framework.

At some point between the tenth and thirteenth century, roughly contemporaneously with the arrival of Arabic-language astrology in Christian Europe via al-ʿAndalūs, the established Hindu astral disciplines were thus challenged by the formulation of this independent school, known as *tājika-śāstra* or ‘the Persian teaching’ and comprising a Sanskritization of Perso-Arabic traditions. Despite the initial censure of Brahmins who found its extra-Indian origins unacceptable on grounds of religious purity, the Tājika system still survives in India today, particularly in the northern parts of the subcontinent.

To a large extent, this transmission of Perso-Arabic knowledge systems influenced by Islam to the Sanskrit-language cultural sphere was accomplished by the

mediation of Jaina scholars. Trade routes between the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula on one hand and northwestern India on the other—in particular, the Saurāṣṭra area of present-day Gujarat—were well established long before the time of the Delhi Sultanate; and a prominent part in these contacts was played by Jaina merchants, who dominated the areas of finance and coinage in the region. Influential Jaina families were thus the natural allies of the Sultanate in financial and administrative matters, and, by extension, Jaina intellectuals became intermediaries between Perso-Arabic and Sanskritic traditions of knowledge. By this mediation of ‘familiar strangers’, Islamic astronomy-astrology was made accessible to the Brahmanic intellectual majority. The perhaps earliest preserved Sanskrit work on *tājika-śāstra*, the *Trailokyaparakāśa*, is said to have been authored by Jaina scholar Hemaprabhasūri in 1248; and in 1370, around the time when Geoffrey Chaucer wrote his *Treatise on the Astrolabe* in the English vernacular, Mahendrasūri—another Jaina—composed the first Sanskrit manual (the *Yantrarājāgama*) on this sophisticated astronomical instrument introduced into India by Muslim astronomer-astrologers.

The current project thus consists of two mutually dependent lines of research: on the one hand, the broader issues of Jaina perceptions of Islamic culture and mediation between Islamicized and Hindu systems of knowledge; and on the other, the more specialized enquiry into the Hindu reception of Perso-Arabic astral knowledge traditions (*tājika-śāstra*). For the latter, a major focal point is the encyclopaedic work *Hāyanaratna*, composed at the court of Shāh Shujāʿ at Agra in 1629 by his Brahman court astrologer Balabhadra; for the former, the fourteenth-century work *Nābhinandana-jinoddhāraprabandha* by Kakkasūri, depicting the interaction between the Muslim regime and local Jaina merchants, is proving a particularly fruitful source text. The research so far indicates that the Prāgvaṭa community (known today as Porwad, a mixed Jaina-Hindu group) played a major part in the early transmission process.



Martin Gansten and Olle Qvarnström of Lund University outside the Oriental Research Institute in Mysore, where they were looking for additional source material. Photo: Anna Gansten

A Rare Letter of a Bhaṭṭāraka of Malayādri (=Malayakheḍa>Malkhed)

Padmanabh S. Jaini

Years ago, Bhuvanendra Kumar, editor of the *Jinamanjari* (published in Canada, now defunct), gave me a copy of the first page of a letter, written on 11x14 paper, to decipher. It is written in Marathi in Moḍī (cursive) lipi, which was used mostly for correspondence and bookkeeping during the eighteenth century in Maharashtra (Figure 1). The subsequent pages, which would have given us the contents of the letter, are missing. Bhuvanendra Kumar has returned to India and is not available to answer questions about where he obtained it, or if he has more pages of this letter.

In December 2004 I sent this page to (the late) Subhāścandra Akkoḷe, editor of *Sanmati Māsik* at Bāhubali, to find someone at Kolhapur who could read it. He found an old *brāhmaṇa paṇḍit* able to reproduce it in Nāgarī. I have made a romanized copy of the same here for publication along with the original in Moḍī lipi (Figure 2).

This letter with two seals, one of the office of a *bhaṭṭāraka* and one of his name, together with its date (1870 CE) and its place of origin (Sātārā), is addressed by a *bhaṭṭāraka* to a large number of members of a single Jaina community, known as Kāsāra (kaṃsa-kāra= copper/bronze-smith), living in Puṇe, Maharashtra. It is unique in the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition because, to the best of my knowledge, it is the only extant letter from a *bhaṭṭāraka* to his lay disciples.

The letter begins:

From: Rājendrakīrti *bhaṭṭārapaṭṭācārya*, the supreme head of the Balātkāraḡaṇa.

To: the group [of Kāsāra-s], the dearest and foremost among his true (*khare*) disciples, all of whom (*tamām*) are devoted to the religion (*dharma*) of the Jinās.

This is followed by names of twenty-five such householders, serial numbers appearing before their names.

The letter continues:

To all Somavaṃśī Kṣatriya Kāsāras resident (*mukkām*) in Puṇe: auspicious blessings for the increase in your piety (*dharma*). Moreover, today, [our] stay [begins] here at Sātārā [south of Puṇe and north of Kolhapur, possibly for the four months (*cāturmāsa*) of retreat, during the rainy season] engaged in recitation of holy prayers and study of the scriptures. We wish constant spiritual welfare for your families. After this, from here [Sātārā], this letter to you, today, in the month of Āṣāḍha, fifth day of the bright half of the month, Śaka year 1792 (=1792+78=1870 CE).

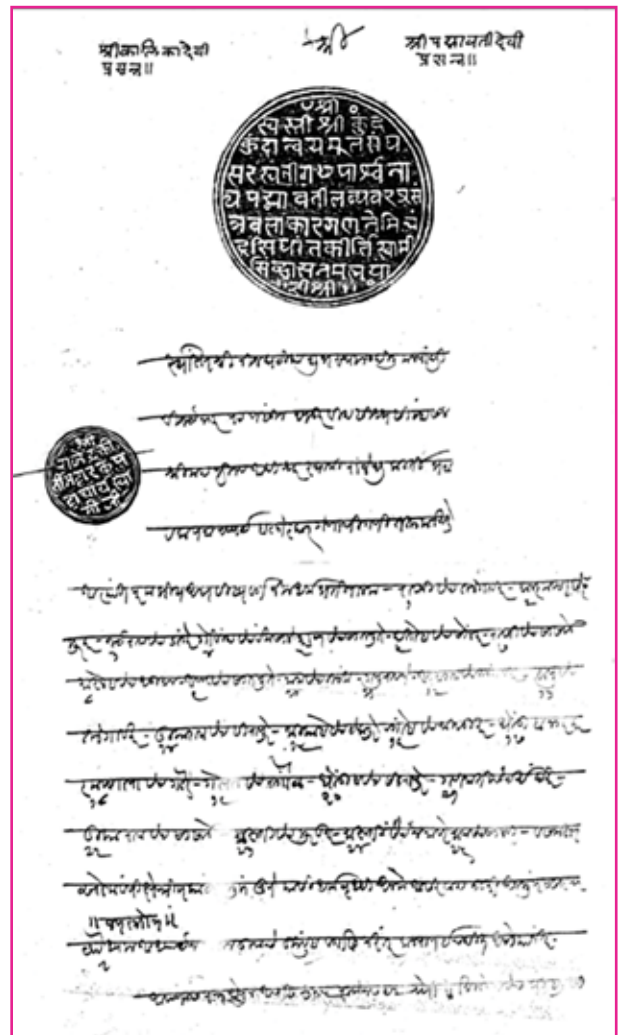


Figure 1. The original letter in Moḍī script. Photo courtesy of Bhuvanendra Kumar.

The letter ends on this page. The remaining pages are yet to be discovered.

Given the large number of wealthy Kāsāra merchants (Marathi *seṭa*/-*seṭha*-s) who are named, these pages might reveal a grand project (e.g., renovation of the old temples) of the Bhaṭṭāraka Rājendrakīrti, himself, most certainly, a Kāsāra Jaina, like several of his predecessors on the Malkhed-piṭha.

I will now comment on a number of important points raised by this document regarding the official seals and the community to whom this letter is addressed.

Malayādri=Mānyakheṭa>Malayakheḍa>Malayādri>Malkhed

Nathuram Premi (1956: 229) gives a brief history of Malkhed, a village with two ruined Jaina temples, in the Gulbarga District of Karnataka state. Malkhed was the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III in 966 CE. Around this time, the famous (Śaiva turned) Jaina

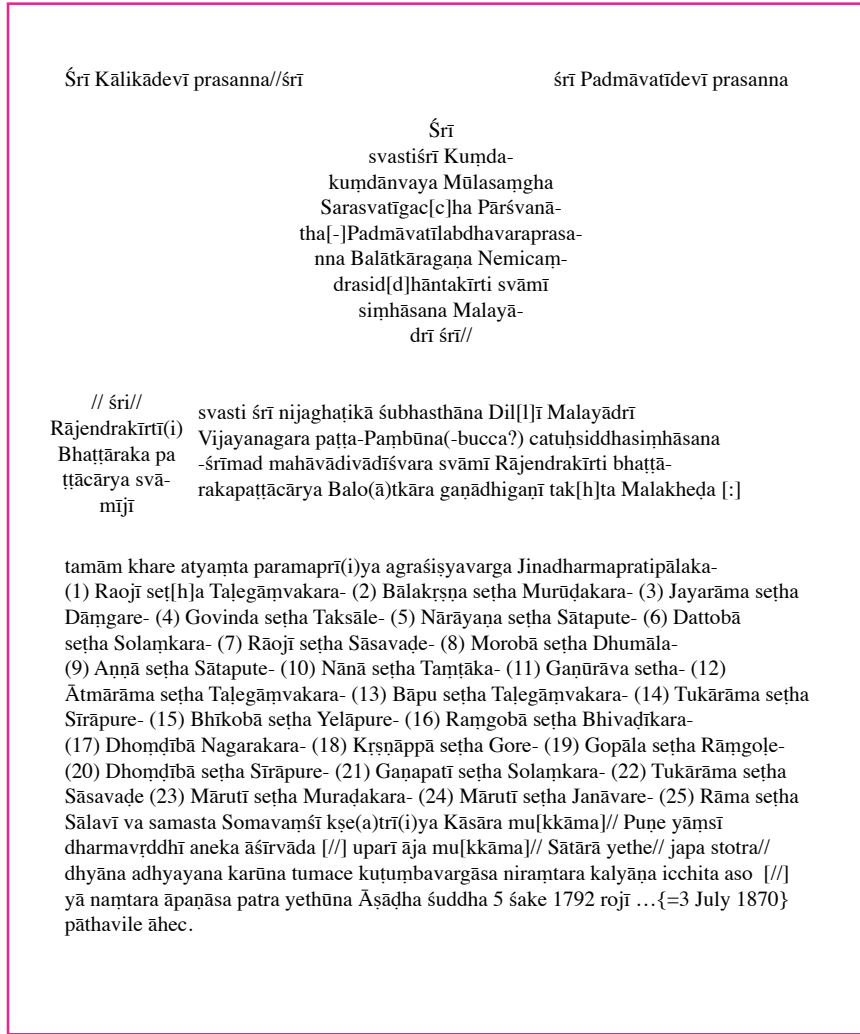


Figure 2. Transcription of Figure 1

poet Puṣpadanta, the author of the Apabhraṃśa Prakrit *Mahāpurāṇa*, mentions how this city (Mānyakheṭa/ Maṇṇakheḍa) was looted and burned by the Paramāra King Siyaka-Gurjararāja in Śaka 894 (=972 CE). However, there is no mention of a *bhaṭṭāraka* seat there in Puṣpadanta's works. Long after the reconstruction of the city, it was called Malayakheḍa, and according to Desai (2001: 323), in an inscription (1393 CE) at the Neminātha temple, it was called Malayādri. Now it is the small village called Malkhed.

Details Regarding the Balātkāragaṇa at Malkhed

According to Joharapurakar (1956: §§73–74) the Balātkāragaṇa *pīṭha* was established in Karanja from the time of Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmabhūṣaṇa (early 18th century) onwards. Prior to this, the seat was located at Mānyakheḍa (Malayakheḍa). However, Detige (2015: 149) notes that it was established earlier: “According to Chavare, it was Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmacandra who established the Balātkāragaṇa-pīṭha in Karanja in saṃvata 1575 (=1518 CE), as the first branch of the Mānyakheḍa-pīṭha.” Thus, the Balātkāragaṇa at Mānyakheḍa may go back to about 1400 CE.

Śrī Mūlasaṃgha-Balātkāragaṇa and the Change from Balakāra to Balātkāra

The Balātkāragaṇa as well as the Senagaṇa both call themselves Mūlasaṃgha. Sometimes the word Balātkāragaṇa is dropped; only Mūlasaṃgha is retained. Detige (2015: 148, n. 26) suggests: “The preference for Mūlasaṃgha elsewhere might also be dependent on the negative primary meaning of the word *balātkāra* in modern Hindi (violence, rape).”

It is unlikely that the learned Digambara Jains, both in the north and south, would not have been aware of such negative meanings of the word *balātkāra*, and yet they chose to use it. It is necessary to see if this name was newly adopted, in preference to the original Kannada name Baḷagāra, the meaning of which may have been forgotten.

I venture to suggest that instead of *balātkāra* the original word might have been *balakāra* = *balagāra*: from Skt. *valaya-kāra* = bracelet / bangle-maker and seller; Kannada *baḷegāra*, and according to Joharapurakar, there is inscriptional evidence in support of this, as discussed below.

In tenth-century Karnataka, there was a large community of Digambara Jains engaged in this business, in the neighborhood of Malkhed, notably at Mudhol, 190 kilometers from Gulbarga. The Kannada Jain poet Ranna (=Ratna, 993 CE), in his *Ajitatīrthāṅkara-purāṇa tilakam*, calls himself a proud member of this *baḷagāra* community:

Beḷugare nāḍoḷ puṭṭida
Baḷegārara kuladoḷ ereda Ajitaśāsanamaṃ/
beḷaguva cakreśvara ma-
ṇḍaḷeśvaraṃ besase negaḷda kaviRatnaṃ//12.45.¹

The famous (*negaḷda*) poet Ratnam (Ranna) was born in the Beḷugare province. He belonged to the caste (family) of Baḷegāra (bangle seller). He (Ranna) wrote the excellent (*ereda*) *Ajitaśāsanamam* (*Ajita Tīrthāṅkara Purāṇa*) on the command of the lustrous *cakreśvara* (emperor) and *maṇḍaḷeśvara*.

A community of *baḷagaras*, with a Jaina poet of such eminence, might also have produced Jaina *munis* who would travel north and would be known as *munis* of the Balagara/Balakara/Balākāra-gaṇa. For example, śrī Mūlasaṃghada Balakara-gaṇada; Baḷagara-gaṇada (Nagarajaiah 1998: 17).

Joharapurakar (1956: §89 and §91) states:

In old inscriptions (§§87–88) only Balātākāraṇa is found. But it appears that the original form is Baḷagāra-gaṇa [an inscription from the north Karnataka city Beḷagaum] §89 ‘rājadhāni Bellgāviya śakavaṛṣa 970 (=1048 CE) Baḷagāra-gaṇada Devanandi bhaṭṭārakaśiṣyarappa Keśavanandi aṣṭopavāsi bhaṭṭāraru...’ Jain *Śilālekhasaṃgraha*, II. 220.

Premi (1956: 245), as early as 1921 in *Jaina Hitaiṣī* (article reprinted in 1956), had explained at length the reason for the adoption of the name Balātākāraṇa:

It appears that there was once, at some time, a debate on Mount Gīrnāra between the Digambaras and Śvetāambaras concerning the disputed ownership of the tīrtha (the holy place) and that the Digambara Muni Padmanandi [in the line of the disciples of Padmanandi-Kuṃḍakuṃḍācārya] had forced [balātākāra = with his mantra-power] the stone image of goddess Sarasvatī to speak and declare the Digambaras to be victorious in that debate. Because of this, the group (gaṇa) led by Padmanandi Muni was known as [Kuṃḍakuṃḍānvaya] Sarasvatīgaccha and Balātākāra-gaṇa.

Premi (1956: 473) quotes the following from the *Nandisaṃgha Gurvāvalī*:

Padmanandī gurur jāto Balātākāraṇāgraṇī/
pāṣānaghaṭitā yena vādītā śrī Sarasvatī//36//

¹ Text and translation by Nagarajaiah.

Ujjayantagirau tena gacchaḥ Sārasvato bhavet/
atas tasmai munīndrāya namaḥ śrī
Padmanandine//37//

Padmanandi’s time given in this *Gurvāvalī* is from Vikrama saṃvat 1385 to 1450 (=1328 to 1393 CE). This Padmanandi of *Nandisaṃgha Gurvāvalī* must therefore be “*abhinava*, i.e. later” than the one appearing elsewhere in Premi (1956: 288): Dhārā meṃ Balātākāraṇe śrī Padmanandi Nandisaṃgha saṃvat 1087(=1030 CE)

A Humcha copperplate (1515 CE) confirms the emergence of Balātākāraṇa from the Nandisaṃgha: “Śrī Mūlasaṃghe jani Nandisaṃghas tasmin Balātākāraṇo ’ti ramyah” (Nagarajaiah 1997: 122).

Premi (1956: 81) provides a date for when names ending in *-kīrti* might have begun: Śrī Kundakunda Sarasvatīgaccha Balātākāraṇe Śrī Devendrakīrti, saṃvat 1416 vaṛṣe (=1369 CE).

Once the word *balātākāra* was seen in its right context, it gained currency. It replaced the word *balakara/baḷegara*, the origins of which were most probably forgotten in the north. In Karnataka, it probably was perceived as a Sanskritized form of the same (similar to Kāryaranjakapura for Karanja), as well as an honorific title of their gurus, gained at the holy Mount Gīrnara.

Paṭṭāvalī at Malkhed

Nemichandra-Siddhāntakīrtiswāmī

“The present line of Malkhed gurus claims its foundation by the pontiff Abhinava Nemichandra Siddhāntakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka” (Desai 2001: 323). Obviously this refers to Ācārya Nemicandra of Śravaṇabelgoḷa, the renowned teacher of Cāmuṇḍarāya, and author of *Gommaṭasāra Jīva- and Karma-kāṇḍa*. These two texts were known as *siddhānta*, and a *muni* or a *bhaṭṭāraka* mastering them was given the title “Siddhānta-cakravartī.” The Malkhed *bhaṭṭārakas* appear to have used this as part of the hereditary title of their seat.

Desai (2001: 328) writes:

The *paṭṭāvalī* of Malkhed *gurus* in my possession was taken down as it was recited by a priest of the Malkhed Neminātha Temple some 20 years ago (=in 1936). The priestly line of the Malkhed pontiffs runs as follows: (1) Nemicandra Siddhāntakīrti (2) Buddhisāgara (3) Mantravādi Devendrakīrti (4) Daṇḍa Devendrakīrti (5) Candrakīrti (6) Mahendrakīrti (7) Śrī Dhanakīrti (8) Devendrakīrti (9) Rājendrakīrti (10) Ratnakīrti.

Rājendrakīrti

Rājendrakīrti, the *bhaṭṭāraka* of this letter, appears to be the same as the 9th *bhaṭṭāraka* of the above list. This also happens to be the name of a *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha in North India (patronized by the Agravāla Jains) in the years from 1853 to 1872 (Joharapurakar 1956: §§618–620).

Traditionally (like Cārukīrti at Śravaṇabelgoḷa and Mūḍabidī) the official name of this *pīṭha* appears to have been Devendrakīrti (the same as that of the Humcha *bhaṭṭāraka* even to this day): “Maḷe(a)ayakheḍa siddhasiṃhāsānādīśvara śrīmad Devendrakīrti-bhaṭṭārakadevaru” (Nagarajaiah 1997: 127). The title “Pārśvanātha-Padmāvatī-labdharaprasanna” in the seal also hints at the possibility that the *bhaṭṭārakas* of Malkhed were confirmed at the Padmāvatī-devī shrine at Humcha.

Rājendrakīrti’s titles

There are two words common to the titles of the *bhaṭṭārakas* of the Balātkāraṅga: (1) *nijaghaṭikāsthāna* = religious headquarters or a seat of higher learning and (2) *siddha-siṃhāsana* = primeaval pontifical throne (Desai 2001: 330). Some of his titles (*birudāvāḷi* in Kannada) can be compared with those of his predecessor (8) Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (ca. 1500): “Svasti śrīmad rājaguru vasundharācāryavarya mahāvādī vādīśvara rāyavādīpitāmaha ... śrī Mūlasaṃgha-Kuṃḍakuṃḍānvaya-Sarasvatīgaccha-Balātkāraṅga-mukhya ...!” (Nagarajaiah 1997: 127).

The Last *Bhaṭṭāraka* of Malkhed

Rājendrakīrti’s letter is dated 1870 C.E. The dates of his successor Ratnakīrti (no. 10) are not known. However, the *Jaina Bodhaka*, a Marathi newspaper from Solapur, dated May 1889, carries an article on the tenth *bhaṭṭāraka*, Ratnakīrti. After Ratnakīrti there seems to have been a period of uncertainty for a number of years.²

The Malkhed temple was renovated in 1948 by the Jaina community from the cities in the surrounding areas such as Sedam and Gulbarga, both in Karnataka. The *bhaṭṭāraka-ji* was appointed at the Malkhed *bhaṭṭāraka pīṭha* in the year 1950–51 by the Humcha *bhaṭṭāraka-ji*, who named him Devendrakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka. He is originally from Miraj, of the Kāsāra-Jaina community. He was on the *pīṭha* from 1950 until 1961. He left the *pīṭha* [probably for want of Jaina householders in Malkhed] and went back to Miraj.

Community Members to Whom the Letter is Addressed

All of the members of the community addressed in this letter are called *seṭha* (Skt. *śreṣṭhin*) meaning “a rich moneylender,” but it is also an honorific term often applied to a merchant. The names show that many of them have come from neighboring areas: Sāsavaḍe,

² I am indebted to Chandramohan Ratanchand Shah and Chandraneel Jaderia for the information in the *Jaina Bodhaka* as well as for the above quotation, which was verified from the records of the Humcha Maṭha.



Figure 3. A non-Jaina image of Kālikādevī at Nekkūr, Beed, Maharashtra. Photo courtesy of Neelamohan Jaderia.

Taḷegāva-kar, Murkū-kar, Taksāle-kar, Soḷaṃ-kar, Bhivaṇḍī-kar, Nagar-kar, Aundha-kar, to settle (*mukkām*) at Puṇe. Their names reveal a predominance of Vaiṣṇava names, (e.g., Bālakṛṣṇa, Jayarāma, Govinda, Nārāyaṇa, Dattobā, Tukārāma, Gopāla, Gaṇapati, and Māruti), common probably in those days among the Jaina Kāsāras and Vaiṣṇava Kāsāras (who allow intermarriage, similar to the Jaina and Vaiṣṇava Agravālas in the north).³

Over two hundred years from the time of Rājendrakīrti, the names of Jaina Kāsāras, in cities like Solapur and Kolhapur, have changed considerably. Yet in their middle names (usually of fathers for men) one finds such non-Jaina names as Gajānana, Gaṇeśa, Gaṇapati, Paṇḍhari, Dattātreya, Śāṅkara, and Tukārāma, a practice of a past generation only.

³ I am indebted to Nemināth Śāstrī for providing me the following names of some prominent members of the Jaina Kāsāras in and around Kolhapur and Solapur: Pavan Jayakumār Bāgvāḍe, Manoj Bahirṣeṭ, Rameś Civate, Praśānt Dongare, Gajānan Bāburāo Dorle, Vilās Durugkar, Amar Bhūpāl Gargaṭṭe, Sambhājī Bāburāo Hajāre, Gaṇeś Candu Heravāḍe, Udaya Bābājī Jamadāḍhe, Pradīp Kāḍuskar, Śāntināth Gaṇapati Kāsār, Dilīp Śāntināth Khobre, Uday Lengāḍe, Madhukar Lokhaṇḍe, Ravikiran Maīndargī, Vasanta Baṇḍobā Māmlekar, Abhinandan Bāpusāheb Pokāḷe, Pradīpa Phaltāṇe, Paṇḍhari Rājārām Mohare, Nemināth Candrakānt Nille, Padmākar Vidyādhār Rāṅḷe, Śrīkānt Dattātraya Rokāḍe, Vardhamān Śāntināth Ruikar, Mohan Śankar Sāḷavī, Anil Sāsavaḍe, Murlidhar Kisanlāl Sātāpate, Māṅikarāo Tangā, Bharamā Tukārām Vaṇakudre, Vasant Dhonḍīrām Vaṇakudre.

Kāsāras

As the Baḷaḡaras (bangle-makers) of the tenth-century poet Ranna's time developed their skill in working in copper and bronze, mostly producing household utensils (*pātra*) and temple bells and so forth, they came to be known as Kāsāras (from Skt. *kaṃsakāras*), workers in copper or brass, bell-founders. They became wealthy merchants by the 19th century as testified by Bhaṭṭāraka Rājendrakīrti's letter. They were spread all over major cities of southern Maharashtra, from Pune/Kolhapur in the west, to Solapur/Mudhol in the east. The Śrī Pārśvanātha Kāsāra Jaina Mandira, in Shukravar Peth at Solapur, was established in ca. 1300 CE. Another major temple is in Kolhapur, called Śrī Candraprabha Digambara Jaina Kāsāra Mandira, distinguished by its images of the *yakṣīs* Jvālāmālīnī, Padmāvati, and most conspicuously, the Kālikādevī, discussed below.

In addition to providing *bhaṭṭārakas* to the Malkhed-pīṭha, the Kāsāra community has, in the last century, produced a number of Digambara *munis* in the lineage of Ācārya Śāntisāgara: Pāyasāgara, Vimalasāgara, Hemasāgara, Jayasena, Jayakīrti, and Anantakīrti.

Somavaṃśī Kṣatriya-Kāsāra

The legend of the lineage of Somavaṃśa (from Bāhubali, the second son of the first *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha) of the Kāsāras and their self-identity as being of the warrior (*kṣatriya*) *jāti*, probably derives from the early 18th-century *Kālikā Purāṇa* of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti.⁴

⁴ See Akkole 1968: 175–78. For the numbers of Kāsāras in the population, see Sangave: 1980: 120.



Figure 5. Close-up of the image of Kālikādevī=Kālī Yakṣī (of Supārśva Jina) (far-right image in figure 4) at the Śrī Candraprabha Digambara Jaina Kāsāra Mandira, Kāsāra Gali, Kolhapur. Photo courtesy of Suhas Duge.



Figure 4. (left to right) Two images of Padmāvati Yakṣī of Jina Pārśva (possibly identified with Kālī Yakṣī of Jina Supārśva) and an image of Kālikādevī=Kālī Yakṣī (of Supārśva Jina) at the Śrī Chandraprabha Digambara Jaina Kāsāra Mandira, Kāsāra Gali, Kolhapur. Photo courtesy of Suhas Duge.

Identity of the Goddess Kālikā Invoked at the Top of the Letter

Śrī Kālikādevī prasanna// śrī Padmāvatidevī prasanna//

The *bhaṭṭāraka* invokes blessings of these two goddesses (*devī*) by placing them on the left and right side, respectively, at the head of the letter. Non-Jaina images of wholly vegetarian Kālikādevī are found in Maharashtra. (Figure 3) She is not widely known as a Jaina goddess and hence her presence here needs explanation.

P.B. Desai (2001: 189) observes: “Icons at Malkhed stand in the temple of Pārśvanātha, in one side Dharaṇendra, in another Padmāvati. The third image is that of Kālī, locally known as Kāḷammā. This should be identified with the Vidyādevī of the pantheon” (right upper: *varada*, right lower: *khadga*, left upper: shield, left lower: fruit).

Kālī Devī does appear in the list of *vidyā-devīs* (Varni 1976: vol. 3, 552): Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛmkhalā, Vajraṅkuṣā, Jāmbūnādā, Puruṣadattā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Jvālāmālinī, Vairoṭī, Acyutā, Mānasī, Mahāmānasī. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3/34-35. But Kālikā Devī was probably seen as a *yakṣī*, bearing not weapons but *pāśa* and *ankuśa* only in her two raised hands, by some *bhaṭṭāraka* of Malkhed. She was identified with Kālī-Yakṣī, of the 7th Jina Supārśva in Jaina tradition, according to the *Indranandisaṃhitā* (Shastri 2000: 81).⁵

In the Śrī Candraprabha Digambara Jaina-Kāsāra Mandira at Kolhapur (ca. 1935) there are two *devī* images of special interest in tracing Kālikā Devī’s progress to Kālī Yakṣī.

One image has on its head (not inside, but) in front of the crown, a seated medium size image of a Jina with a very small hood. (Figure 3 and Figure 4, far right) This image is called Kālī (=Kālikā) *yakṣī* [of Supārśva-Jina]. The icon of Supārśva with a hood might have been modeled on the image of Pārśva.

The second image is an imitation of the same. But it is distinguished by a hood above the small image of a Jina, and a much larger hood of a snake above the *yakṣī*’s head. This I propose to be the image of the same Kālikā Devī/Yakṣī, now possibly integrated with Padmāvati Devī, the *yakṣī* of Jina Pārśvanātha.

Such integration might explain the statement made in the sixteenth-century Marathi metrical *Kālikā-purāṇa* (48 chapters, over 7000 *ovī*-s) that Kālikā Devī is the same as Devī Padmāvati. The author of this *purāṇa*, Devendrakīrti, himself a Kāsāra Jaina, was a *bhaṭṭāraka* of Balātkāragāṇa at Latur (see Akkoḷe 1968: 76–78). Akkoḷe does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the image of Kālikā Devī in the Kolhapur Kāsāra Jaina temple, but the existence of this image may substantiate Devendrakīrti’s statement.

⁵ Cakreśvarī(1) Rohiṇī(2) ca Prajñaptir(3) Vajraśṛmkhalā(4)/ Varadattā(5) Manovegā(6) Kālī(7) Jvālādimālinī(8)//Mahākālyabhidhā devī(9) devī Mānasikāhvayā(10)/ Gaurī(11) Gāndhārikā(12) devī devī Mānasikāhvayā(13)/tathāAnantamatī(14) Mānasī(15) Mahāmānasī(16) Jayā(17)//Vijayānyā(18) Aparājītā(19) Bahurūpīny(20) abhīṣṭhitā/ Cāmuṇḍākyā(21) ‘tha Kūṣmāṇḍī(22) Padmā(23) Siddhāyīnī(24)ca//

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The Jain Prakrit Origin of the Vetāla

J. C. Wright

The etymology, and hence the basic meaning, of the word Vetāla is unknown. The demon's representation in art is particularly gruesome. On the basis of its most explicit literary application, the Sanskrit *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā* stories, it was described in the Böhrling-Roth dictionary (1871), and was still so glossed in Mayrhofer's etymological dictionary (*KEWA*, II, 1976), as a demon that takes possession of dead bodies. In Wikipedia it is being defined even more specifically as 'ghost-like ... spirits inhabiting cadavers and charnel grounds. These corpses may be used as vehicles for movement (as they no longer decay while so inhabited); but a vetala may also leave the body at will'. This Vetala was necessarily depicted as an emaciated corpse, leaving to the imagination the disembodied spirit within.

This is in spite of Monier-Williams's more guarded 'a kind of demon ... (esp. one occupying a dead body)'. He and Mayrhofer gave due prominence to the still more non-committal nature of the earliest attestations. The *mātr* Vetāla-jananī (MBh. 9.45.13) is one of a large number of supernatural beings summoned to combat Asuras, and described collectively as ranging from tree- and spring-dwellers to the inhabitants of crossroads and cemeteries. The Vetālas are variously listed among such supernatural beings in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (2.10.39 ... *vetālān yātudhānān grahān api*; 7.8.38 *yakṣāḥ kiṃpuruṣās, tāta, vetālāḥ siddhakiṃnarāḥ*); Vetālī is an epithet of Durgā in the *Harivaṃśa*. On the other hand, a comparable name, Vaitāla (or Vetāla) in the *Bhāgavata* and Vaitālika (or Vaitālaki) in the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, appears in the list of transmitters of the Ṛgveda; Vetālabhaṭṭa is named as Nītiśāstrin and jewel of Vikramāditya's court; and the Pali Vetālika, Epic Vaitālika, and Classical Vaitālīya attend upon royalty. The rite called *vetāla-* or *vaitālīya-karman* was understood by M. R. Bhat in his edition and translation of *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* as 'the 'raising of goblins' (*vetālotthāpana* in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*): a simpler and perhaps more original version of the notion, 'raising of the dead' (*matasarīruṭṭhāpanam*) appears in the Pali commentary on *vetālam* in DN 1.6, where it in fact features amongst a list of innocent but proscribed entertainments. In Jātaka VI, 277, the *vaitālika* similarly accompanies *māyākārā* and *sobhikā*, illusionists and showmen.

Can it be that a single etymology links these disparate phenomena? That the solution is to be found in Jain Prakrit should have been clear from the start. The *Nijjuttī* on *Sūyagaḍaṅga* I, 2, explains the name of the chapter, *Veyāliyam*, as signifying both a composition in Vaitālīya metre and *vaidārika* 'destruction (of Karma)'. Sanskrit *dal-* is a dialect form of *dr-* (Mayrhofer, *KEWA*, II, 24), presumably Magadhi Prakrit. In reporting this, it did not occur to Jacobi to infer that, if *vaidārika* could appear as *veyāl-*, it would readily appear also by a Sanskritization as the demonic and prosodic *vetāl-*.

The etymology of the demonic epithet *vetāla* is still deemed to be in doubt. The Sanskrit tradition offered

'abiding in the dead': *aveta* (casuistically identified with *preta* 'dead') + *ālaya* 'domain'. Via the literary association of the demon with decomposition, H. Petersson in 1922 sought a connection with Anglo-Saxon *wīdl* 'filth', English *widdle*. J. Charpentier suggested a **vaitāda* 'dashing to pieces', but in possible consonance with PTSD ('of dialectical origin') he was willing to allow it to be non-Aryan. Association with Jain Prakrit *veyāliya* obviates such suggestions. Sanskrit *vidalanam* 'bursting (intrans. and trans.)' and *vidāraka*, *vaidārika* 'destructive' give the basis. The use of *-īya* in chapter names, especially in *Uttarajjhāyā*, and the pervasive *ta-śruti* of Jain linguistic tradition explain Sanskritized *vaitālīya*. The commentaries explain *Veyāliya*, the name of the second chapter of *Sūyagaḍaṅga*, as treating of *vidālanīyam karma* 'the karma that is to be destroyed' and *karma-vidalanam* 'the destruction of karma', and the text sums itself up in the final verse of the first lesson as a definition of *veyāliya-magga* 'the path of such destruction'. It can then be that the appellation and name Vetāla has been inferred from the adjective, Sanskritized as *vaitālika*, and employed either as an epithet for a class of demons or as a synonym of Vaitālika as a designation for Vedic and Shastric teachers in the sense of destroyers of error. Ad *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 87.12, M. R. Bhat reported a gloss on *vaitālika* as 'naked preceptor' (though the context implies rather percussionists); and Vaitālīya-karma and Vetāla-karma as the art of conjuring can represent a contamination of Jain *kamma-veyāliya* and *veyālanīyam kammaṃ* due to the proliferation of Vetāla mythology.

That *vaitālīya*, the name of the originally rare metre in which the *Veyāliyajjhāyā* is composed, is really a different word, as Jacobi thought, is open to doubt. The chapter could have given its name to its metre, rather than have punningly adopted the metre so named, for it is hardly likely that a complete coalescence of **vaidālika* with *vaitālīya* could have occurred as early as the composition of *Sūyagaḍaṅga*. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the watchman and panegyrist, the *vetālika* of Dīghanikāya and the *vaitālika* of later Epic, are in any way associated with that particular metre. Perhaps he takes his name rather from the inclusion of Vetāla among the supernatural attendants on the gods, coupled with the tendency (in Dīghanikāya and elsewhere) to connect the word with percussion, despite the derogatory implication 'breaking the rhythm' of the word *vetāla*.

Since Alsdorf has shown that Āryā verses are always intrusive in the older canon, the inclusion of Vaitālīya metre in the canonical text *Sūyagaḍaṅga* is further confirmation that Vaitālīya is the older invention of the two. After all, Vaitālīya with its two $\sim - \sim -$ cadences largely resembles a fairly common Ṛgvedic Anuṣṭubh combination, whereas Āryā, with twice $\sim - - -$ as its prevalent cadences, unheard of in conjunction in the Anuṣṭubh, implies deliberate innovation. Since metres

grow, rather than shrink, the Anuṣṭubh seems the likely model for both. By completing a fourth gaṇa, and resolution of long syllables, the Vaitālīya evolved a 7½ gaṇa structure with Jagatī rhythm for the most part, and retaining amphibrachs (˘-˘) in the third and seventh gaṇas: it tended towards:

atha tasya vivāhakautukaṃ laliṭaṃ bibhrata eva pārthivaḥ (Raghuvamśa 8.1)
 ˘ ˘ - / ˘ ˘ - / ˘ ˘ - / ˘ ˘ - / (˘ ˘) / - / ˘ ˘ - / ˘ ˘ - / ˘ ˘ - /

Apart from the resolutions, and completion of a fourth gaṇa, it remains a Ṛgvedic Anuṣṭubh.

The Āryā produced in the end a contrasting result, 7½ gaṇas with the probability of amphibrachs in all the *even* gaṇas, and no consistent tendency to complete a fourth gaṇa; finally a shift of the caesura obscured its pseudo-Anuṣṭubh origin:

ālānakhambhabaddho ciṭṭhai katṭheṇa giṅhae bhoge (Mañivaicariya 286 ab)
 - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / - (˘ ˘) / - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / - / - /

āgamma so nisanno khattāe, tiṅ bhāsio: sāmi (ibid. 655 ab)
 - - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / - (˘) / - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / ˘

eyassa vāhaṇaṃ jeṇa avassaṃ bhaveyavvaṃ (ibid. 291 cd)
 - - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / - ˘ ˘ / - / - / ˘ / - / - / - /

ānesu tena tatto puriṅ ghoṣāviyaṃ etthaṃ (ibid. 1068 cd)
 - - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / ˘ - ˘ / - / - / ˘ / - / - / - /

Survival of an Anuṣṭubh cadence in both cases means that there is really no call to distinguish between Āryā as gaṇacchandas and Vaitālīya as mātrāchandas.

In the absence of any other plausible etymology, there is thus reason to believe that the Vaitālīya metre takes its name from the subject-matter of its most important attestation in Jain literature, i.e., the destruction (*vidāraṇa*) of Karma. It is precisely in Jain Prakrit that we find, coupled with vestiges of Magadhi *-l-* for *-r-*, an orthographic *-t-* replacing *-d-* and the other lost intervocalic stop consonants. Appropriately, the early canonical text *Uttarajjhāyā* 20, v. 44, presents the *veyāla* as a purely destructive demon, murderous if not exorcised (*avipanna*). The word *vetāla* would be basically a conventional epithet that, like so many essential epithets of gods and demons, has taken on a measure of individuality, in this case a corpse-haunting spirit, beneficent when propitiated. Durgā's epithet Vetālī in *Harivaṃśa* would survive more authentically in the demoness Vidāri-nāmā of *Brhatsaṃhitā* 53.83 (*-ri* is for the sake of an amphibrach gaṇa in Āryā metre), Vidārakī in *Gṛhyasūtra*, Vidārikā in *Agnipurāṇa*.

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Loliem Vetal
Goa

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Manuscript Collections of the Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭārakas

Tillo Detige

Bhaṭṭāraka lineages proliferated throughout Western and Central India especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, and continued to flourish and multiply in the 17th to 18th centuries. Though by the 19th century they seem to have lost much of their influence, most lineages were discontinued only in 20th century. The age of the manuscripts in the collections (*bhaṇḍāra*) discussed here parallel the rising and declining fortunes of the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages themselves. The majority date from the 16th to 18th centuries, less to the 15th and 19th centuries, and yet fewer earlier or later than that. The *bhaṭṭārakas'* *bhaṇḍāras* typically contained a broad range of texts, including various genres of literature, ritual and devotional compositions, philosophical works, texts on conduct, grammar and poetics, mathematical, astrological and ayurvedic works, and small numbers of non-Jaina texts.

The seats of most *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages are known to have shifted regularly between various cities and towns, presumably according to political conditions, or more directly following patterns of lay migration, which in turn depended on changing economic opportunities. From the colophons it is clear that many of the texts were composed, or copies made, at various consecutive seats or yet elsewhere. We can safely assume that when relocating their seats, *bhaṭṭārakas* often took along their manuscript collections or at least parts thereof.

Guṭakās or bound manuscripts make up an important part of most *bhaṭṭāraka bhaṇḍāras*. Often thought of as having been personal notebooks, *guṭakās* were typically anthologies of miscellaneous, short compositions ranging from devotional and ritual to philosophical texts, and sometimes included literature not found elsewhere. Though thus far little studied, they form a particularly interesting source for the study of the former usage of manuscripts, and of early modern Digambara renunciants' practices more broadly.

In an earlier issue of *Jaina Studies*, Balcerowicz (2015) reported on Digambara manuscript collections from across the length and breadth of India. The present article adds information on the manuscript libraries of some *bhaṭṭāraka* seats of Western and Central India visited by the author in the past years. I first report on a number of collections connected to the Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāraṅga, and then add shorter references to known Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha and Senagaṅga *bhaṇḍāras*. While a thorough study of the general contents of these libraries and a discussion of specifically noteworthy texts preserved therein lies beyond the scope of this report, it is hoped that sharing information on the collections' whereabouts will contribute to their further exploration.

Jaipur

Most *bhaṭṭāraka bhaṇḍāras* are still preserved in their traditional setting, at the *mandīras* where the last incumbents of the various lineages had their seats. A single exception is the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra in Jaipur, one of the best known and most regularly consulted Digambara manuscript collections in the region.¹ The nucleus of the current collection is the *bhaṇḍāra* of the former Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāraṅga branch referred to by Joharāpurakara (1958: 97-113) as the Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā, which before the foundation of Jaipur in 1727 was located at nearby Āmera. Apparently in the 1940s, after a period of neglect,² a collection of 1,600 (remaining?) manuscripts was brought to Jaipur from the former *bhaṭṭāraka* seat in Āmera, the Nemiṇātha Sāmvalajī Mandira. The manuscripts were first deposited for some years in a layman's house, then

1 Kāsalīvāla (1949) catalogues both the original *bhaṭṭārakīya bhaṇḍāra* of Āmera and the collection of the Mahāvīrajī. In Kragh (2013), the Āmera library stands as a case-study for 'localized literary history'.

2 See Kāsalīvāla (1949): a-ī; Kragh (2013: 20-1).



A *guṭakā* of the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra wrapped in protective cloth (*veṣṭāṇa*), with index card informing of the manuscript's general contents and the date of its preservative treatment. February 2013.

shifted to a dedicated building, the Mahāvīra Bhavana, where a research institute and a publishing house were established, the Jaina Vidyā Saṁsthāna. Manuscripts were brought over from the pilgrimage site Atīśaya Kṣetra Mahāvīrajī, the seat of the last Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* Candrakīrti (died 1968/9 CE), and added to the collection. In 1988, the collection and research institute shifted to the Digambara Jaina Nasiyām Bhaṭṭārakajī at Narayan Singh Circle (Detige, 2014), where the Apabhraṁśa Sāhitya Akādāmī was established, a centre of research and teaching on Apabhraṁśa, Prakrit, and Jainism directed by Kamalacanda Sogāṇī. For several years, plans have been underway for a new building with improved facilities a few miles further South in Mālavīya Nagara, and the relocation should be underway at the time of this publication. The collection has been further expanded with endowments from private collections, and is now nearing 6,000 manuscripts, including more than 700 *guṭakās*.³ Rarely available elsewhere, a handwritten catalogue volume of the *guṭakās* produced in the 20th century lists in detail their contents, disclosing this collection of *guṭakās* in its totality as a resource for the study of local literary history, practical or ritual canons, and book history.

Ajmer

Different paths of the development of Jaina manuscript libraries are exemplified by the *bhaṇḍāras* of the two *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages referred to in sum by Joharāpurakara (1958: 114-25) as the Balātkāragaṇa Nāgaurāśākhā, which ultimately settled in Ajmer and Nagaur respectively. The Ajmer lineage's last incumbent was Bhaṭṭāraka Harśakīrti, who was still active in the mid-20th century. The manuscript collection of this lineage is preserved at its former seat, the Digambara Jaina Mandira Baṛā Dhaṛā (Bābājī kā Mandira) in the Sarāvagī Mohallā neighborhood in Ajmer (26°27'30.6"N 74°37'50.3"E). *Bhaṇḍāras* kept at *mandiras* are typically managed by the elected temple trust. As is often the case elsewhere, the Ajmer collection has most recently been catalogued by a specialized outsider organization, in this case the Satśruta Prabhāvanā Trāṣṭa Bhāvanagara, referred to in short as the 'Bhāvnagarvāle'. Their catalogue contains over 2,000 loose folio manuscripts and 450 *guṭakās*. While modest in comparison to both the previous and the following *bhaṇḍāras* discussed here, this is a substantial collection in its own right, filling more than two cupboards (*alamārī*) with well-preserved bundles of manuscripts wrapped in the distinct red cloth.

Nagaur

The second Balātkāragaṇa Nāgaurāśākhā branch ended after the death of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti in 1966-7. Its vast manuscript collection is currently housed in an annex to the former seat, the Bīsapantha Baṛā Mandira in Nagaur (27°12'06.6"N 73°44'21.3"E). An



An opened manuscript *alamārī* in a side room of the Baṛā Dhaṛā Mandira, Ajmer. February 2013.

epigraph above the entrance indicates the repository was built by Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti in 1953, naming it the Bhaṭṭāraka Munīndrakīrti Digambara Jaina Sarasvatī Bhavana, apparently in homage to a late 19th-century predecessor. Before its split into the Ajmer and Nagaur branches, the Nāgaurāśākhā first had its main seat in Nagaur under two consecutive 17th-century incumbents. Before that and again afterwards, until it came to settle in Nagaur, the seat of the 'Nagaur' branch shifted between other towns in the Śākambharī region (Joharāpurakara, 1958: 124). Much of the collection of 15,000 manuscripts (P.C. Jain, 1981: xxv), amongst which more than a thousand *guṭakās* (P.C. Jain, 1985) can be expected to have been composed or copied elsewhere. In size, the Nagaur collection surpasses even the Āmera-śāstra *bhaṇḍāra*, and is particularly important for its rich collection of Apabhraṁśa texts. At the time of a visit to Nagaur in February 2013, I was only permitted 'darśana' of the manuscript *alamārīs* and a few bundles of manuscripts. The available catalogue volumes (P.C. Jain, 1981, 1985, 2009), however, show this *bhaṇḍāra* to be tantalizingly rich.

Īḍara

Another important Balātkāragaṇa collection was developed by the so-called Īḍaraśākhā (Joharāpurakara, 1958: 136-58), which together with its sister lineage the Bhānapuraśākhā (Ibid.: 161-8) was active in the Vāgaḍā

³ Personal communication, K. C. Sogāṇī, 25.11.2016.



Maṇḍapa of the Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Prācīna Jinālaya in Īḍara, still hosting the *grantha-bhaṇḍāra* of the eponymous Balātkāragaṇa Īḍaraśākhā. January 2014.

region. Īḍara was the seat of later-day incumbents of the former lineage, but it seems to have been based further North at first, in Sāgavāḍā in the 16th and 17th centuries and possibly in Udaipur in the early 18th century. The Īḍaraśākhā was discontinued at the turn of the 20th century, after the death of the lineage's last full *bhaṭṭāraka*, Kanakakīrti. At the Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Prācīna Jinālaya (23°50'52.9"N 73°00'04.7"E), the seat in Īḍara, the lineage's manuscript collection is preserved in a dedicated room named after its founder, the Bhaṭṭāraka Ācārya Sakalakīrti Prācīna Śrūta-bhaṇḍāra. According to the local caretakers, a substantial part of the collection was lost in previous decades, allegedly stolen. Yet the *bhaṇḍāra* remains an important one. A handwritten catalogue available onsite lists numerous compositions, possibly autographs, by the prolific litterateurs for which this Balātkāragaṇa lineage is reknown, *bhaṭṭārakas* as well as *brahmacārīs*.

Sonagiri

A *bhaṇḍāra* at the important Digambara pilgrimage hill (*siddha-kṣetra*) Sonagiri was formerly under the custody of the eponymous Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāragaṇa Sonagiriśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* (Joharāpurakara, 1958: 233, 235). The lineage was originally connected at least as strongly to Gwalior, but later settled to the south in Sonagiri. It was discontinued, and in practical terms replaced by a lay trust, after the death in 1974 of Bhaṭṭāraka Candrabhūṣaṇa, the penultimate *bhaṭṭāraka* of West and Central India. At the central courtyard of the former *bhaṭṭāraka* seat, referred to as the Bhaṭṭāraka Koṭhī (*mandira* no. 8-9), a room is still marked as having formerly been the 'depository of handwritten scriptures' (*hastalikhita śāstra bhaṇḍāra*). By the time of my visit

(December 2013), the collection had been transferred to a more recent building across the road (*mandira* no. 11-12, 25°43'11.7"N 78°22'44.9"E), where *caraṇa-chatarīs* of four Sonagiri *bhaṭṭārakas* are also found. The collection had been catalogued earlier on, and a set of CD-roms was shown to me containing scans of several dozen rare, old, or otherwise noteworthy manuscripts. In its new location, however, the bundles had been placed out of order and no catalogue could be produced. Worst of all, many of the *alamārīs* did not close properly and were infested with bugs. Left without proper care, *bhaṇḍāras* may be lost within a short span of just a few years. Though precise information is missing, the collection I was able to only randomly consult comprised at least a few thousand manuscripts.

Kārañjā and Nagpur

Named after its seat at Kārañjā (Maharashtra), the Balātkāragaṇa Kārañjāśākhā saw its last incumbent in Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti, who died in 1916. Now managed by a few enthusiasts and local laymen, and containing over 1,100 paper and some 50 palm-leaf manuscripts, its *bhaṇḍāra* is still kept at the former seat, the Mūlasaṅgha Candranātha Svāmī Balātkāragaṇa Digambara Jaina Mandira (20°28'48.6"N 77°29'30.5"E). This collection's condition is superb, all manuscripts which I saw being unblemished copies. At the time of my visit acid-free inlay sheets had just been fitted between the folios of each manuscript to prevent the pages from sticking together over time. At the Pārśvaprabhu Digambara Jaina Moṭhe Mandira in the Lāḍapurā neighbourhood in nearby Nagpur (21°09'05.6"N 79°06'37.7"E), a temple connected to the same *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage, a modest manuscript library

is also found. This collection largely consists of more recent manuscripts, and has been catalogued by the Kundakunda Jñānapīṭha in Indore.

Further Balātkāragaṇa *bhaṇḍāras*

A small *bhaṇḍāra* at the Digambara Jaina Mandira in Aṭera (26°44'57.7"N 78°38'26.5"E) was probably related to the so-called Balātkāragaṇa Aṭeraśākhā. Nothing is known about its contents and about the (assumed) existence, current location, and fate of the manuscript collections of further Balātkāragaṇa lineages and sub-lineages, notably the two branches of the Sūrataśākhā and the sub-lineages of its earlier offspring, the Jerahaśākhā, which spread through Malwa.⁴

Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha and Senagaṇa collections

So far, I have discussed manuscript collections of Balātkāragaṇa lineages. I now turn to a more brief discussion of *bhaṇḍāras* of a few other *bhaṭṭāraka* traditions. Kārañjā, to start travelling North again from there, is known to have been home to no less than three *bhaṭṭāraka* seats (Detige, 2015). A substantial *bhaṇḍāra* is found at the Digambara Jaina Pārśvanātha Svāmī Senagaṇa Mandira, a seat of the Mūlasaṅgha Senagaṇa for several centuries, and the Senagaṇa's only branch in the region under discussion here. References are found to various Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha lineages at Kārañjā's Candranātha Svāmī Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Digambara Jaina Mandira, yet it's manuscript library is more modest (Ibid.: 156-9).

A single manuscript *alamārī* is preserved at the Mahāvīra Svāmī Digambara Jaina Mandira in Aṅkleśvara (near Surat), a temple that was connected to the Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha. A larger manuscript collection related to the Nandītaṭagaccha is found in Rṣabhadeva-Kesariyājī, an important pilgrimage site to the South of Udaipur. It is kept at the Bhaṭṭāraka Bhavana (24°04'36.5"N 73°41'27.6"E), the residence of Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti, who was also connected to Pratāpaṅga and died in 1978 CE as the last *bhaṭṭāraka* North of the Godavari river. I could not consult the collection, but Kasliwal (1967: 116) reported it contains over a thousand manuscripts.

Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha and Māthuragaccha lineages branched out across the region not unlike those of the Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāragaṇa. Their history, however, is still far less well documented, and accordingly less is known about the existence and location of further Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha *bhaṇḍāras*. It is possible that their collections never developed to the same extent as their Balātkāragaṇa counterparts, given that the Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha seats seem to have been relocated at least as frequently, and seemingly more widely, than those of the Balātkāragaṇa.

⁴ A *bhaṇḍāra* of the Sūrataśākhā might be among the twelve collections in Surat listed by Kasliwal (1967: 33-4), though most of these seem to be Śvetāmbara.

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All photos are by Tillo Detige.

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Klaus Bruhn (22.5.1928 – 9.5.2016)

Peter Flügel

With the passing of Klaus Bruhn Jaina Studies has lost one of its most significant pillars and innovators, who nurtured the field over a period of 65 years.¹ Born in Hamburg as the only child of the Classical Philologist and *Gymnasium* teacher Dr Christian Bruhn (17.12.1884 – 2.2.1960) and his wife Ilse Bruhn (née Gürich, 16.2.1897–1.6.1983),² he served as an air force auxiliary at the age of 16 during the bombing of Hamburg in 1944-45. After the war, between 1947 and 1954, he studied Indology, Philosophy and Theology (later: Indo-European Studies) at the University of Hamburg. His main teachers were Walther Schubring, who retired in 1951, and Schubring's former pupil and successor Ludwig Alsdorf. Both attracted him to Jaina Studies, which would become the focus of his professional life.

Ludwig Alsdorf, a specialist of Prakrit and Pali prosody and Jaina legendary-historical literature, inspired the theme of Bruhn's doctoral dissertation on Jaina universal history, *Śīlānka's Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina-Universalgeschichte* (Hamburg: De Gruyter, 1954). Having procured photographs of two palm leaf and one paper manuscript of Śīlānka's Prakrit text from Muni Puṇyavijaya, Alsdorf proposed that Bruhn undertake a comparison of the *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* with Hemacandra's Sanskrit *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. Yet, other versions of the universal history, especially the older *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, needed to be taken into account as well. An important contribution of Bruhn's resulting study to Indology was the systematic application of the comparative method, focusing on structural patterns, literary forms, and the question of the degree of 'combination', 'mixture', 'fusion' or 'duplication' of traditions, which he analysed with the help of conspectuses. Form analysis would remain one of the principal concerns throughout Bruhn's career.

In addition to the well-known pattern of 'nested' stories, Bruhn discovered the principle of 'entanglement/disentanglement', which he found frequently employed in early biographical texts, where life-stories are not always narrated in their natural sequence, but split up into parts, which then are re-assembled in different ways. The main focus of his form analysis was the careful distinction between the individual and the typical. The challenge was to take account of the Jaina 'inclination for typification', leading to 'multiplication' as well as to 'division', both resulting in the creation of 'series', such as biographies representing features of the type besides individual features, or of variations of themes. In the course of his typological investigations, Bruhn developed

1 For K. Bruhn's biography and bibliography see P. F. Krüger & G. J. R. Mevissen. 'Obituary: In Memory of Klaus Bruhn (1928-2016)'. *Berliner Indologische Studien* 23 (2017) 7-14.

2 The younger brother of his father, Dr Hans Bruhn, was a Classicist as well.



Figure 1. Klaus Bruhn and the family of Shri Ram Dayal Jain, Pūjārī of the Jaina temples at Deogarh (Photo: Krishna Bruhn 1963).

the firm conviction that a single text cannot be properly understood without considering parallel texts.³ Jaina universal history as a whole and its parts must also be seen in the light of non-Jaina parallels. Bruhn concluded that Jainism had become the stereotypical 'religion without dogmatic development' because it constrained its own options by developing an increasingly systematised philosophical framework, which in turn exerted an influence on the narrative religious literature.

Another major outcome of the study was the analysis of the structure and development of the biography of Mahāvīra, presented in the context of the overall evolution of the Tīrthankara biography and the systematisation of Jaina universal history. Because an English summary of this pioneering work was published only as an introduction to A. M. Bhojak's subsequent full text edition of the *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya*, a publication well-known only to Prakrit specialists,⁴ Bruhn's findings on the history of the Mahāvīra biography, though of fundamental importance for the history of religions, are still not widely known, nor are they reflected in the textbooks that appeared after Glasenapp (1925) and Schubring (1935).

After his doctorate Bruhn spent three years at the

3 See W. B. Bollée & K. Bruhn 'Prakrit Jñānabhārati International Awards 2005-2006 Ceremony: Addresses by Prof Dr Willem Bollée and Prof Dr Klaus Bruhn'. *Jaina Studies – Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 4 (2009) 18-21, p. 20.

4 K. Bruhn, 'Introduction to Śīlānka's Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya'. *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyam by Ācārya Śrī Śīlānka*. Ed. Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak, 1-31. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1961.

Deccan College in Pune, sponsored by a scholarship of the Government of India, and in the village of Deogarh (M.P.) to conduct fieldwork for his Habilitation on the iconography of its ancient Digambara temples. The topic had been inspired by U.P. Shah, whom he had visited in Baroda in 1954 only to find out that the former had already started a project on the links between the Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi and Jaina iconography which Alsdorf had suggested to Bruhn. On his return from India, Bruhn was appointed as Alsdorf's University Assistant. After a fourth visit to Deogarh in 1963 (Figures 1 and 2), now together with his then recently wedded wife Dr Krishna Bruhn (née Swarup), a Humboldt Fellow whom he had met in Hamburg, the work *Die Jina-Bildnisse von Deogarh* was finally completed in 1964, and published in 1969 in an English translation by Michael McDonald: *The Jina-Images of Deogarh* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969). For Bruhn, moving from the study of post-canonical Jaina literature to the history of Jaina iconography did not represent a major change of orientation, because for him the study of Jaina iconography was intrinsically connected with the study of Jaina literature.

His second major work was not only an impeccable documentation of important cultural relics, which already in 1957 had begun to be destroyed by art thieves and by renovation. It introduced an entirely new approach to Indian Art History, giving account for the unusual stylistic complexity of the evidence, namely, an analytical vocabulary for the formal description of the Deogarh material, based on the identification of concrete iconographic and stylistic types through an exhaustive classification of recurring elements and variations. The method was an adaptation and elaboration of his earlier approach to Jaina narrative literature. Because the 'types of types', the analytical categories generated through the identification of (partial) similarities of characteristics between two or more 'forms', 'systems', 'attributes' and 'form-principles', differed from the terms found in old 'art-theoretical' Sanskrit texts, Bruhn's innovative chapter on method was entirely ignored by reviewers in Indian Art History, and found few followers beyond the circle of his immediate disciples. The same can be said of his later refinements of the method of concrete description, introducing 'frame-' and 'slot-filler' analysis, etc., in a series of pioneering articles on 'Distinction in Indian Iconography' (1960), 'Wiederholung in der indischen Ikonographie' (1973), 'The Identification of Jina Images' (1985), 'The Analysis of Jina Images' (1986), 'The Grammar of Jina Iconography I & II' (1995, 2000), 'Early Jaina Iconography (an Overview)' (2010), and works on Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India (2004, 2005, 2006, 2010), amongst others. Bruhn's work on Jaina iconography was far ahead of its time and will almost certainly be re-discovered by a new generation of scholars.

In 1965, the Freie Universität Berlin (FU-Berlin) appointed Bruhn as a temporary replacement for Schubring's disciple Frank-Richard Hamm (1920-1973),



Figure 2. Klaus Bruhn and children of Deogarh (Photo: Krishna Bruhn 1963).

and in 1966 as his successor to the Chair for Indology at the Institute of Indian Philology and Art History, a position he held until his retirement in 1991. As Chair, Bruhn initiated important research collaborations, particularly in Jaina Studies. In the years 1968-76 he received successive grants from the German Research Foundation (DFG) for the creation of a concordance of verses of the vast but little-studied early Jaina exegetical literature, the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣyas* and related (Digambara) texts. The aim was to trace parallels, to find out to what extent these largely anonymous, heterogeneous works are independent texts, and as a tool for the creation of critical editions and sample studies of works such as the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, which Ernst Leumann had begun to investigate in the 19th century. The project *Erstellung einer Konkordanz zur Jaina-Literatur* was completed in Berlin together with Chandrabhāl B. Tripathī and Bansidhar Bhatt.⁵

Work was conducted in a pragmatic spirit. Hence, the Sthānakavāsī Muni Phūlcand's (Pupphabhikkhu) edition of the *Siddhānta* was utilised, because at the time it was the only easily available complete imprint of the primary sources, despite the fact that all references to temples had been eliminated by the editor. First, all texts were photocopied, then individual verses cut out, glued on individual punch cards, and finally cross-referenced. The original plan to use computers was abandoned as far as possible 'because only the editors themselves could cope with the textual criticism of the uncommonly numerous variant readings'.⁶ The resulting alphabetically structured punch-card-catalogue was presented by Bruhn to visitors

5 Bruhn, K. & C. Tripathi. 'Jaina Concordance and Bhāṣya Concordance'. *Beiträge zur Indieforschung. Ernst Waldschmidt zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Hg. H.Härtel, 67-80. Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst, 1977.

6 E. Strandberg, 'Lexicography of Middle-Indo-Aryan'. *Wörterbücher - Dictionaries - Dictionnaires: Ein Internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie*. Ed. F. J. Hausmann, O. Reichmann, H. E. Wiegand, L. Zgusta. Vol. 3, 2497-2507. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991, p. 2503.

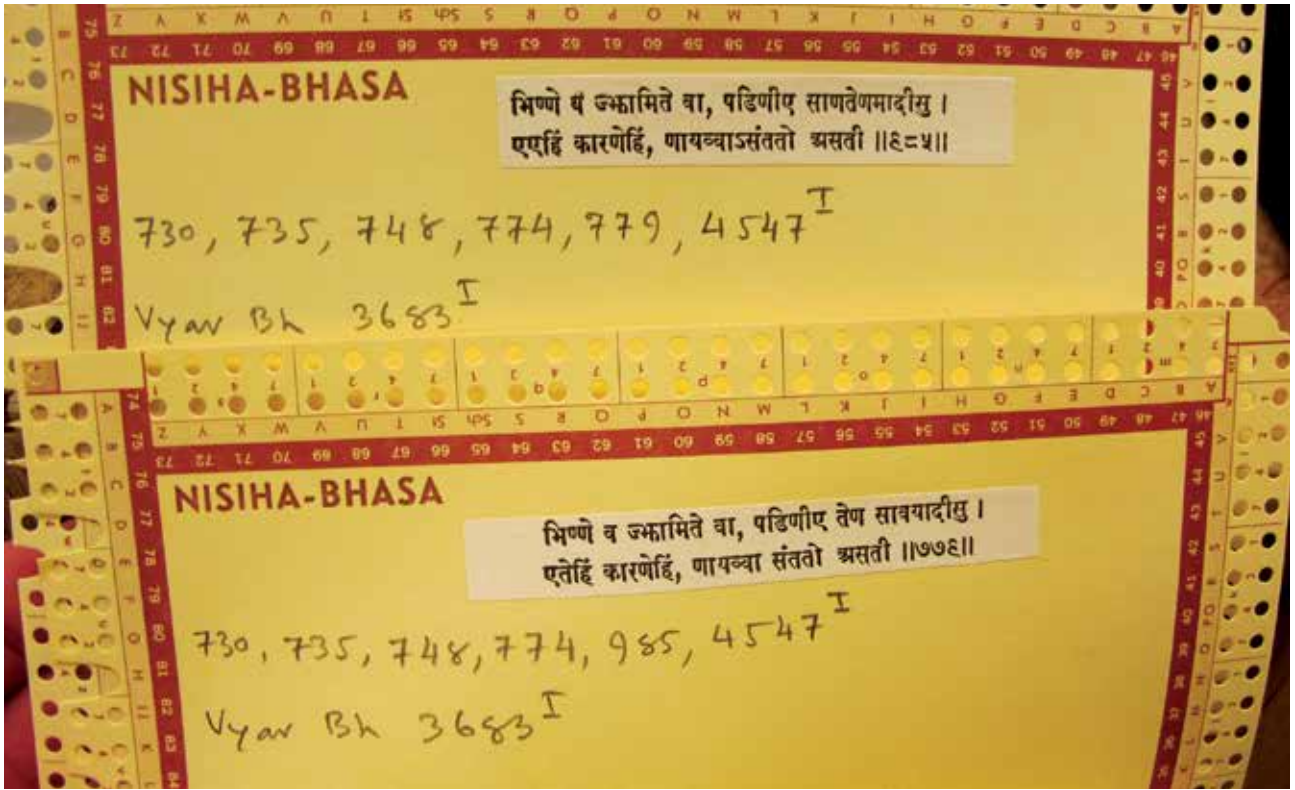


Figure 3. Punch-Cards of the Berliner-Konkordanz at the British Library. (Photo: Peter Flügel 7.2.2017)

as the showpiece of the Institute. After the tragic closure of the Institute in 2008, and hence the end of Indology in Berlin for the foreseeable future, the eight cabinets, containing drawers holding the cards of some 50,000 cross-referenced verses, were in 2009 bestowed by Bruhn to the British Library, because the authorities of the FU-Berlin had refused to host them.⁷ (Figure 3)

In the 1980s and 1990s, Bruhn published important research articles related to the Jaina-Concordance. Most significant were his two expansive essays 'Āvaśyaka-Studies I' (1981) and 'Repetition in Jaina Narrative Literature' (1983), followed by two kindred works on 'Das Kanonproblem bei den Jainas' and 'Soteriology in Early Jainism' (1987). Using the punch cards as tools for 'micro-studies' to good effect, Bruhn also produced 'The Kaṣāya Concept in Jaina Soteriology' (1992), and 'The Concept of Māna (Pride) in Jaina Dogmatics' (1993). Yet, he never mustered 'the courage', he later wrote, to take up the work on the Āvaśyaka-literature where Leumann had left it in 1900, despite its significance for Jaina universal history, philosophy, and ritual.⁸ Bruhn officially terminated his own investigations of the old exegetical literature with 'Ludwig Alsdorf's Studies in the Ārya' (1996) and finally with the 'Bibliography of Studies Connected with the Āvaśyaka-Commentaries' (1998).

Bruhn collaborated extensively with other scholars and inspired much research in Jaina Studies and beyond. With Herbert Härtel he started the series *Indologia*

⁷ On recommendation of the present writer, Michael O'Keefe, Head of South Asia Collections of the British Library, secured the preservation of this important research tool.

⁸ Bollée & Bruhn (2009: 21).

Berolinensis in 1969, which published five outstanding doctoral dissertations and habilitations in Indology and Art History at the FU-Berlin, the last two of them in Jaina Studies (M. Horstmann 1969, P. Werner 1972, M. Pfeiffer 1972, C. Tripathi 1975, B. Bhatt 1978). In 1985, the first volume of the *Berliner Indologische Studien* (BIS) appeared, a journal established by Bruhn and his colleagues, in the name of the Institute of Indian Philology and Art History, to facilitate swift publication of essays, some of which would not easily fit into existing Indological or Art Historical journals. Effectively, BIS was his own publication series, and was run with the help of his assistants. Bruhn dedicated an extraordinary amount of time and effort to the editing of the *Indologia Berolinensis* and on the contributions to BIS, which he tended to discuss almost line by line with authors in extensive phone calls. The current culture of publishing quickly and point-scoring was not on his radar. From 2007 he officially signed on as editor of BIS together with Gerd J. R. Mevissen, not least, because from this time onward the publication was completely self-financed. In this way its continuity was secured after the closure of the Institute in 2008.

More than any other scholar in the field of Jaina Studies, and arguably in Indology and Indian Art History in general, Bruhn wrote in a methodologically self-reflective way. Though he rejected abstract theorising in favour of detailed formal description, he identified the problem of (provisional) reduction of complexity as one of the main tasks of Jaina Studies, and became increasingly concerned with questions of delineating viable research strategies for the field as a whole. Though

fiercely defensive of the historical-philological method of Classical Indology, compared to the canon-oriented approach favoured in the Study of Religions, and the formalistic approaches of Linguistics or the Social Sciences, he began to advocate 'experimental learning' and methodological pluralism, while increasingly appreciating the advantages of collaborative, even interdisciplinary approaches for a comprehensive investigation of the Jaina materials. At the same time, he privileged micro-studies of strategically selected phenomena, which he called *Probebohrungen*, in his own case mainly focussing on Jaina ethics. In order to give 'Jaina Studies' a sound methodological foundation, and to relate macro- and micro-research strategies in non-arbitrary ways, he devised the concept of 'Sectional Studies' for Jainology (1991, 1993). The basic idea was to pragmatically divide a 'frame subject' such as 'Jainism' into thematic sub-subjects or 'sections', concrete or abstract, to be studied to the required depth, step by step. This was done by 'segmentation' of given data, a whole work or group of works, into manageable portions, leading to viable research-schemes. In Bruhn's view, only the conscious segmentation of the material, involving the construction of classifications and concrete models, permitted the systematic study of different aspects of (for instance) Jaina culture in a methodologically controlled way, and significantly expanded analytical possibilities, compared to the approaches of Classical Indology or the Study of Religions. Although his proposed tabulations seemed rather tedious and artificial to many scholars, hence 'typically German', for the first time in the field, the usually unarticulated decisions that have to be taken in the actual process of research were explicated and laid open for discussion.

Notable outcomes of Bruhn's work on the section 'Jaina Ethics', besides an online translation of 'Five Vows and Six Avashyakas: The Fundamentals of Jaina Ethics' (1997-8), were three magisterial articles, which should be required reading for any university course on Jainism: the belatedly published essay 'Die Ahimsā in der Ethik des Jaina-Autors Amṛtacandra' (2007), 'Ācārāṅga Studies' (2004-5), and his truly pioneering work on 'The Mahāvratas in Early Jainism' (2003). His study on Jaina ethics concluded with 'Two Overviews [I. Structure of Jainism (sects and schools); II. Terms in Jaina ethics (the canon)]' (BIS 2012).

Professor Klaus Bruhn was a scholar of rare acumen, dedication and integrity, an explorer in the true sense of the term. Always dissatisfied with his own considerable knowledge, and the very slow advances in his field of study, he never sat comfortably on a task accomplished or a halfway solution reached. He seemed to experience a sense of despair in the face of the overwhelming mass of yet unstudied sources, which he had to leave behind to new generations of researchers. His research articles reflect this even more than his second book, on Deogarh, which he described as an 'inventory' instead of a 'monograph'. Rather than offering translations or a coherent argument on a selected point of interest,

his publications always sought to address entire fields of complex facts, and to open up new questions for future investigations. They were deliberately opened conspectuses, providing sometimes hard to ingest mixtures of highly detailed evidences and playful experiments with new interpretative perspectives. The intended readership of these avant-garde treatises was clearly limited. Occasionally, Bruhn seemed to speak mainly to himself when he noted changes in his views in response to new publications in the field, which he extensively commented upon. Despite having published mainly in English, the work of Klaus Bruhn received less attention than it deserved, principally because of its complexity and style. Reviewers showed little understanding of his innovations. However, Bruhn's self-confidence and enthusiasm for Jaina Studies helped him cope with his splendid isolation at the apex of the field.

Bruhn was by no means an ivory-tower academic. He was the founding co-chair of the *Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft Berlin*, which was established in 1971, and regularly interacted with the local Indian communities. He also engaged critically, and publicly, with some of the anti-liberal excesses of the reform agenda of the radical German student movement of the 1960s and 1970s, including those of the 'Red Cell Indology' at the FU-Berlin, which he tolerated.⁹ His intellectual response was the short work *Die zweite Reform* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), which he composed together with the Berlin musicologist Rudolph Stephan, offering a 'phenomenology of progressiveness', a discourse analysis of the reductive asymmetric binary oppositions which were frequently used by 'progressives' (and anti-progressives) to provide easy answers, at the cost of 'explosions of synonyms'. The small tractatus put forth the case for the preservation of the 'small disciplines' in the Humanities and for academic freedom, which in the view of the authors was endangered by quantitative reduction, instrumentalisation by the (Marxist) social sciences, and the so-called second reform, that is, the re-definition of the curriculum in the name of student participation and emancipation. At the same time, the authors advocated for 'impartiality vis-à-vis the new possibilities' that were opened by the loosening of ossified structures and the introduction of new methodologies. Better than in any of his methodological articles, sometimes composed in an extremely condensed telegram style, the credo of Bruhn's scholarly approach is expressed here: not reducing but expanding analytical possibilities, generating further insight rather than settling for final truths, looking at a chosen phenomenon from as many perspectives as are fruitful and necessary. In one of his articles he characterised himself with the help of an expression of A. O. Lovejoy as 'habitually sensible of the general complexity of things'.

Throughout his life Bruhn had always been

⁹ K. Bruhn, 'Das Institut für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte'. *Die Altertums- und Kunstwissenschaften an der Freien Universität Berlin*. Ed. K. Kubicki & S. Lönnendonker, 39-49. Göttingen: V&R, 2015, p. 40.

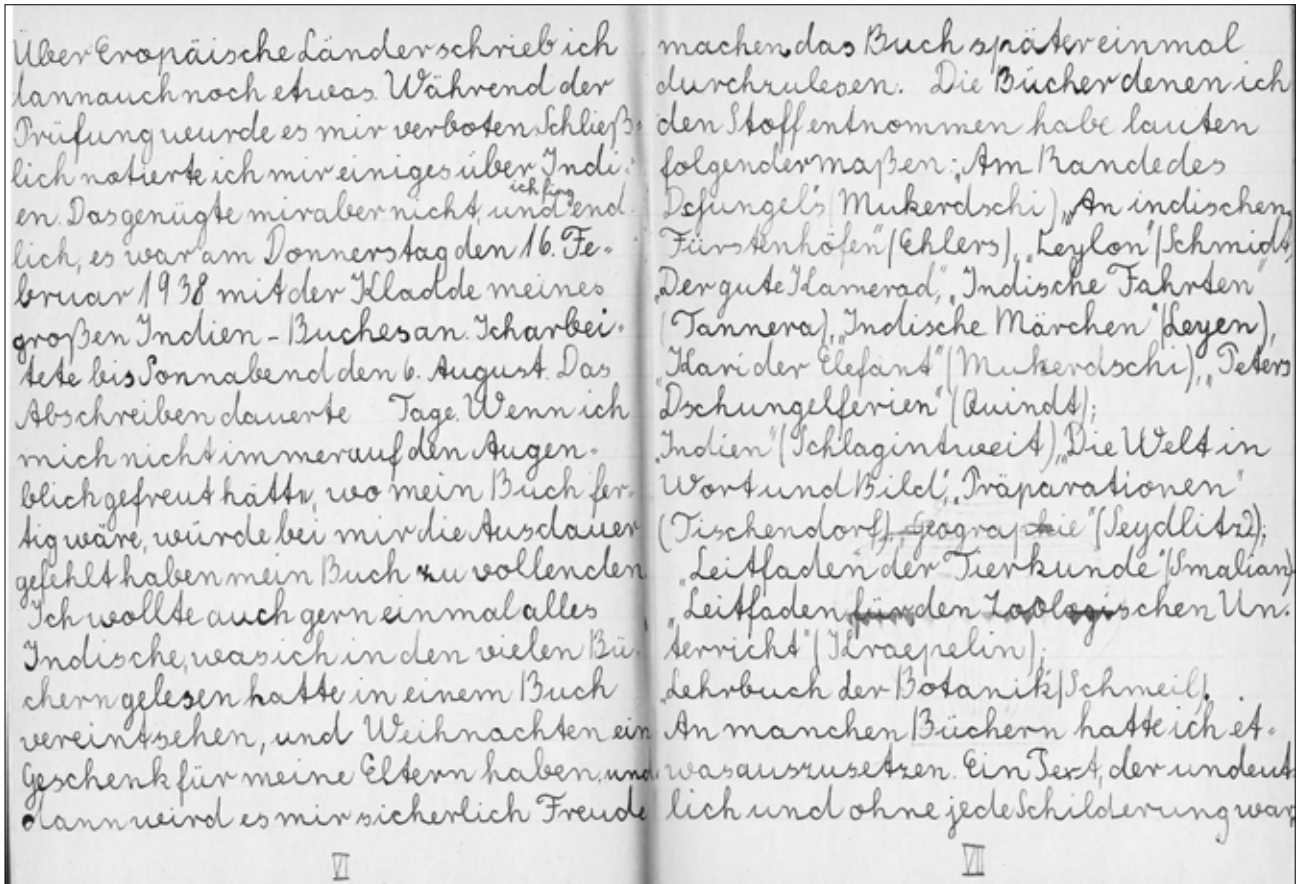


Figure 4. Excerpt from 'Indische Geographie' (1938), written by Bruhn at the age of ten. In response to the author's query, he related that his fascination with India had been awakened when he was a boy by adventure novels set in the Subcontinent (Institute of Ethnology, FU-Berlin 21.11.1998). His wife Krishna Bruhn reported on 31.1.2017 that their daughters Malini Bruhn and Nandini Bruhn unexpectedly found in his literary estate four book manuscripts which their father had written as a boy: 'Walter in Indien' (1937), 'Indische Geographie' (1938), 'Eine kurze Schilderung der Indischen Geschichte und der Freiheitsbestrebungen der Inder' (1941), and 'Gedanken zur Indischen Kunst' (1942). In the manuscript of 1938, he listed the books that had influenced him: first of all William Quindt's *Peters Dschungelferien: Was ein deutscher Junge in den Wäldern Indiens erlebte* (Stuttgart 1934) and Maximilian Kern's *Im Labyrinth des Ganges* (Stuttgart 1907), followed by Dhan Gopal Mukerdschi's (Mukherji) *Am Rande des Dschungels* [Hari, the Jungle Lad] (Berlin 1927), and *Kari, der Elefant* [Kari, the Elephant] (Frankfurt 1929), travel literature such as Otto E. Ehlers's *An indischen Fürstenhöfen* (Berlin 1894), as well as Emil Schlagintweit's *Indien in Wort und Bild* (Leipzig 1880-81) and other non-fiction works.

enthusiastic about matters Indian. (Figure 4) He also supported non-academic initiatives and marginal figures who produced valuable work. Likely he regarded himself sometimes as a fringe figure as well, because he straddled disciplinary boundaries and published articles that did not easily fit in the traditional Indological format. Bruhn did not leave any extensive translations, but rather case studies and specimens, focused on comparative analysis of textual and iconographic materials, with indications even for desirable social scientific research. For his teachers W. Schubring and L. Alsdorf he published three important edited volumes: Schubring's mildly over-edited *Kleine Schriften* (1977), *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus: Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf* (1981), and, with Magdalene Duckwitz and Albrecht Wezler, *Ludwig Alsdorf and Indian Studies* (1990), while he himself was presented with a *Festschrift* with contributions from disciples, friends and colleagues, edited by Nalini Balbir and Joachim K. Bautze (1994).

In 2006 Bruhn was awarded the Prakrit Jñānabhāratī International Award by the National Institute of Prakrit

Studies and Research at Śravaṇabelāgoḷa.¹⁰ He donated the prize money to a children's hospital in India and to a charity benefitting impoverished women and children around the world. His last book, *The Predicament of Women in Ancient India*, was published both online and in print in 2008.¹¹

Klaus Bruhn was an example to us all. In his very unique ways he represented in the best possible sense the cultural type associated with the city of Hamburg: modest, restrained, upright, learned, open minded, and good humoured. The words of one of his colleagues at the FU-Berlin characterise him very well: Klaus Bruhn was *ein feiner Mensch*.

¹⁰ See Bollée & Bruhn (2009).

¹¹ See his personal webpage: www.klaus-bruhn.de/pageID_4920145.html

Madhusudan Amilal Dhaky (31.7.1927 – 29.7.2016)

Maruti Nandan Tiwari

Professor M.A. Dhaky, who immortalized Indian temple architecture, passed away after brief illness at his residence in Ahmedabad on 29 July 2016. With his demise we have lost one of the greatest scholars of Indology, loved and respected both by senior and young scholars in India and in other parts of the world.

Dhaky was born on 31 July 1927 into a Svetambara Jaina family in Dhank, village of Porbandar in Gujarat. His father, Sri Amilala Jivanbhai Dhaky, was a horticulture officer. He received his surname Dhaky from his native village Dhank. After completing his primary and secondary education at Porbandar, Dhaky graduated in Geology and Chemistry from Ferguson College, Pune, affiliated to the University of Bombay, in 1948. It is rather surprising that being a science graduate, Dhaky independently cultivated an expertise in the field of Indological studies, especially Archaeology, Art History and Prakrit.¹

In 1951 Dhaky established an Archaeology Research Group in Porbandar and started writing on Solañki art and architecture. He ultimately joined Junagarh Museum as its Curator and Archaeological Officer. This was the turning point of his life. During this period he met his mentor Professor B. Subbarao and joined him during his excavations at Patan in Gujarat. After stepping into the field of Indian Architecture, Art History and Nirgrantha Studies, Dhaky followed the path shown by three great scholars of Indian sculpture, architecture and painting namely, V. S. Agrawala, C. Sivaramamurti and Moti Chandra.² Moti Chandra was aware of the academic potentials of young Dhaky and brought him to the American Academy of Banaras (which subsequently became the American Institute of Indian Studies and shifted from Varanasi to Gurgaon). The writings of Moti Chandra on Indian Art and Culture particularly *Kāśī Kā Itihāsa* inspired Dhaky to adopt a holistic approach, and the writings of C. Sivaramamurti inspired him to make full use of original texts in the study of Indian Art. In Varanasi he also came into contact with V. S. Agrawala. Dhaky was greatly influenced by the writings of Agrawala, ranging from Vedic-Puranic to other texts (*Matsya-purāṇa*, *Harṣa-carita*) and early Indian Art. Under this influence and guidance he wrote his book *The Vyāla Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India* in 1965.

In 1966 Dhaky joined the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), Gurgaon (Haryana), and became its Research Director in 1976. Although he held no postgraduate degrees, on the basis of his scholarship

¹ Some of the information contained herein was provided by Professor Dhaky in an interview conducted in my presence by Dr. Shivakant Bajpai of the Archaeological Survey of India at his residence in Ahmedabad on 20 November 2008 (published in the magazine *Kalaśa*).
² This was expressed by Prof. Dhaky in a personal interview with the present author.



M.A. Dhaky in the interior of the Navalakha temple, Ghumli, Gujarat. Photographed in 1952. Photograph courtesy Parul Pandya Dhar.

he was appointed by the L D Institute of Ahmedabad as Professor of Indian Art and Archaeology in 1996.³ Dhaky's expertise was recognized globally and he acted as supervisor and adviser for doctoral theses on Indian Art and Architecture at Universities in India, London and Berlin.

Dhaky retired in 1996 but stayed on in Gurgaon from 1996 to 2005 as Emeritus Director. From 2005 he lived in Ahmedabad.

Prof. Dhaky's works on architecture saw early-medieval and medieval Indian temple architecture from a unique lens, because he brought fresh methodologies to his analysis. For instance, he categorized Western Indian Temple Architecture into Mahā-Māru, Mahā-Gurjara and Mārugurjara, the latter being an amalgamation of the former two schools. More importantly, he sought to bring to the study of architecture an approach that was

³ See: Dave, Hemant. "Bibliography of M. A. Dhaky's Publications." *Temple Architecture and Imagery of South and Southeast Asia. Prasādhani: Papers Presented to Professor M. A. Dhaky. Foreword* by Kapila Vatsyayan. In cooperation with Indian Art History Congress and Devangana Desai. Edited by Parul Pandya Dhar & Gerd J. R. Mevissen, lix-lxxii. New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2016.



M.A. Dhaky & Werner Menski at the SOAS Workshop on *Jainism and Society* (Photo: P. Flügel 13.3.2006)

not connected to dynastic histories. He saw architecture from an aesthetic viewpoint as well.

Dhaky wrote in English, Gujarati and Hindi with equal command and fluency. In addition to having edited four out of fourteen volumes in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, his publications include eleven books and over three hundred research articles. The clarity, accuracy and perfection in his writings on Indian monuments, combined with his knowledge of architecture and sculpture, made Dhaky truly an embodiment of the god of architecture (*vāstu-puruṣa*). His books on *Chronology of Solāṅki Temples of Gujarat* (1961), *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat* (1963), *The Embroidery and Beadwork of Kutch and Saurashtra* (1966), *Bhāratiya Durga-Vidhāna* (1971), *The Temples of Kumbhāriyā* (2001), *The Indian Temple Traceries* (2005), and *Studies in Nirgrantha Art and Architecture* (2012) not only continue to inspire scholars of Indian art but also serve as models for the study of Indian temples in terms of the architectural framework and also the symbolic, religious, aesthetic and social contexts.

Of particular note is his publication on *Indian Temple Traceries*. This was a groundbreaking monograph in its extensive treatment of the subject of Indian temple traceries (*jālas* or grilles) together with an in-depth discussion in light of relevant medieval *Vāstuśāstra* passages in Sanskrit. Besides identification, classification and description of the different grille types as well as their forms, features and ornaments, it investigates their purpose and relationship with the environment as well as their functional engagement with the building of which each example is an integral part. It likewise traces the origin with its earliest incidences together with the development, of Indian grilles.

Overall, Dhaky always evinced deep admiration for the aesthetic and conceptual quality of ancient and mediaeval South and South-East Asian monuments. Some of his writings bring the South-East Asian regions in dialogue with Indian expressions and a few even primarily on South-East Asian Art.

He also wrote on the history and chronology of ancient and mediaeval Jaina literature (including the *Āgamas*, their commentaries and ancient and mediaeval hymns) as well as determined the dates of the famous authors

of Nirgrantha (Jaina) texts. He was an erudite scholar of Prakrit literature, for which the *Prākṛt Jñānabhāratī Award* was bestowed to him in 1993. Some of his most significant contributions pertain to Jaina *ācāryas* Bhadrabāhu, Umāsvāti, and Kundakunda.

Professor Dhaky was a multi-talented genius with a deep understanding of aesthetics, Jaina Philosophy and Metaphysics, Prakrit, Jaina Hymnology, Indian classical music (both North Indian and Carnatic), horticulture, gemology and embroidery. He contributed immensely to the understanding of different aspects of Indian art and architecture, including Jainism and Jaina art. He was the recipient of several gold and silver medals, including the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, the R. C. Parikh Gold Medal of the Gujarat Itihas Parishad, Ahmedabad, and the Hemacandrācārya Award from the Jaswanta Dharmarth Trust Delhi. For his long and invaluable contributions to Indian Art and Culture and Jaina Studies he was awarded prestigious Padma Bhūṣaṇa — National Award by the President of India in 2010.

Prāsadanidhi, the *Felicitations Volume of Prof. M. A. Dhaky* (Editors: Parul Pandya Dhar & Gerd J. R. Mevissen) was published in 2016. Its contributions by both foreign and Indian scholars reveal how dear he was to the field of Indian Art History. The point of satisfaction is that the *Felicitations Volume* could be published in his lifetime.

Dhaky was humble and unassuming but in academic matters he was firm and clear. He was a man of commitment and knew how to nurture and educate a young scholar. He used to spend hours discussing academic issues, and editing research papers of upcoming scholars. [4] He stressed the significance of using the standard technical vocabulary in Sanskrit and also the information we find in inscriptions.

Dhaky combined profound scholarship with extraordinary human qualities, including a fine sense of humour. His wife Śrīmatī Gītāben was in a true sense his best friend. A Jaina by faith, he was free from all narrow sectarian prejudices. The demise of Professor M.A. Dhaky is a great loss felt by many people the world over. He will always live with us in his *yaśaḥ-śarīra*, or body of glory. I offer my respectful obeisance to the memory of this Great Soul.

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Bansidhar Bhatt (1.6.1929 – 4.9.2016)

Kornelius Krümpelmann

With the passing away of Professor Bansidhar Bhatt, who was born on 1 June 1929 in Veda (Gujarat) and died on 4 September 2016 in Jaipur (Rajasthan), the international community of Indologists has lost a renowned scholar and a highly esteemed colleague.

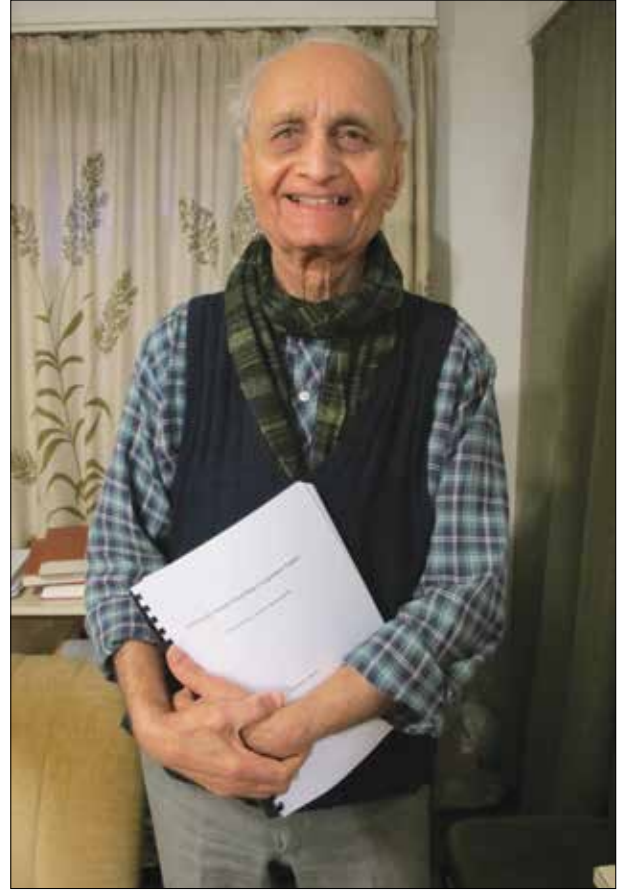
Already in his student days Bhatt's great talent and unflinching dedication to his studies were honoured with university grants and scholarships in India and Germany. To mention only two: the Vedānta Prize (1955, University of Gujarat) and the Doctoral Scholarship (Graduiertenförderung, 1971-1974, Freie Universität Berlin). Honours followed throughout his career, for example the International Pārvaṭī Jaina Award (1984, Punjab) and the B. A. Shah Gold Medal (1998, Ahmedabad).

After his matriculation at the University of Bombay in 1946, Bhatt studied classical and modern languages and literature of India. In 1952 he acquired a bachelor's degree and in 1955 a master's degree. From 1957 until 1969 he was employed as Lecturer of Sanskrit at L. D. Arts College in Ahmedabad and at the School of Languages at the University of Gujarat.

It was a great and decisive step in his life when in 1969 he became a student at the Institut für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte at the Freie Universität Berlin (financed by the India Foundation Loan Scholarship, Pune; he was one among the seven India-wide selected candidates for higher studies abroad). There he studied Sanskrit and Prakrit under Klaus Bruhn, Pali under Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow, Indian art history under Herbert Härtel, and Veda and Indo-Iranian studies under Bernfried Schlerath. In 1976 he passed the doctoral examination in Indian philology, Indian art history and Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). For his dissertation *The Canonical Nikṣepa. Studies in Jaina Dialectics*, published in 1977, Bhatt was awarded the *summa cum laude* degree.

In July 1976 he returned to India and was nominated Government of India Pool Officer for two years. He continued to work in his chosen scientific field at the Centre for Jaina Studies at the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur. In July 1978 he was appointed Professor (Mahāvīra Chair for Jaina Studies) at the Punjabi University in Patiala.

From 1 April 1985 until his retirement on 31 July 1995 he worked as Lector (Studienrat im Hochschuldienst) for Hindi and Gujarati at the Institut für Indologie at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. In addition to his teaching, he tirelessly continued his Jaina studies and published numerous essays. Early in 2010 his health started to deteriorate. When his beloved wife Vasudhaben, who had always supported his work, died in Münster on 28 November 2012, he returned to his family in India. In his last years his research focused on the



Bansidhar Bhatt with the manuscript of his last book at his home in Münster (Photo: P. Flügel 2.2.2013)

question of the historicity of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha. Death came to him shortly after the completion of this work.

It was his teacher Klaus Bruhn (1928-2016), who led Bhatt on the path of Jaina Studies. Guided by his guru, he found his ultimate scientific orientation: the exploration of the Āgama texts of the Jainas and their commentaries. He adopted the historical-critical method and investigated the ancient texts thoroughly and comprehensively, both in terms of their historical origins and development. Due to his most accurate analysis of these extensive and difficult to read text materials — especially the so-called Āvaśyaka corpus — he gained new and significant insights into the field of Jaina religion and philosophy.

In his book on the canonical *nikṣepa*, an interpretive technique used by Jaina *ācāryas* to discuss a subject or a word from different angles as a means of explaining the sacred scriptures to pupils, Bhatt collected and analysed almost all relevant material found in the old sacred texts of the Jainas, especially in the *Bhagavattī*, *Jīvābhigama*, and *Prajñāpanā*. His classification of the different forms of the *nikṣepa* and related phenomena, and his discussion

of their historical development, was a great step to a proper understanding of Jaina scholastic methodology.

Another significant contribution to the history of Jainism is his work on the Jina Pārśvanātha (Bhatt 2017), the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, who according to Jaina tradition lived about 250 years before Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara and contemporary of the Buddha (Siddhārtha Gautama). Bhatt studied minutely the canonical texts and their commentaries and came to the conclusion that Pārśvanātha is not a historical figure, as some Indian and Western scholars still argue today, but a later invention to explain differences in the mode of asceticism emerging from a reform movement that took place in Jainism in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE.

Bhatt was a humble and friendly person, who loved to help his students and colleagues with patience and passionate commitment. Devoted to work and duty, he lived a very secluded and modest life. But when it came to scholarship, he knew no compromises. The search for truth stood above everything else. His radical attitude to any kind of interference or restriction of academic freedom led to his rejection of many offers of employment from privately financed institutions in the USA and India. He also did not shy away from public debates with Indian colleagues, who, biased by their religious beliefs, criticized his findings without evidence-based arguments.

All visitors to his home in Münster were enthusiastic about his ginger tea and the snacks that his wife had prepared. And when he offered somebody a candy in the library of the Institute, with an encouraging smile and the words “für die gute Laune” (for the good mood), this always brought about the intended effect.

He will certainly be very much missed by his colleagues, students and friends.

Kornelius Krümpelmann holds a doctorate from the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (Germany), and was lecturer of Sanskrit and Prakrit at the Department of Indology and Buddhist Studies, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Germany). He is currently Research Assistant at SOAS (London) in the project Jaina Prosopography: Monastic Lineages, Networks and Patronage.

Bansidhar Bhatt **Main Publications in English**

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The Canonical Nikṣepa: Studies in Jaina Dialectics. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977 (Indologia Berolinensis 5). ‘Ācāra-cūlās and Nirvyukti. Studies I.’ *Indologica Taurinensia* XIV (1987-88) 95-115.

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‘Ācāra-cūlās and -Nirvyukti. Studies II (Mahāvīra-Biography).’ *Jain Studies in honour of Jozef Deleu*. Ed. by Rudy Smet and Kenji Watanabe. Tokyo: Honno-Tomosha, 1993, pp. 85-121.

‘On the Epithet: nātaka for the Samayasāra of Kundakunda.’ *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India: Essays for Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain*. Ed. by Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, 431-462. New Delhi: Manohar, 1994.

‘Twelve Aṇuvekkhās in Early Jainism.’ *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*. Ed. by Nalini Balbir and Joachim K. Bautze. Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1994, pp. 171-193.

‘Early Jainism and Śaivism: Their Interaction and Counteraction.’ *Sambodhi* XXXV (2012) 12-32.

Early Sources of the Jaina Tradition: A Critical Survey of Sources Revealing Pārśva the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara as a Legendary Figure. London: Routledge, 2017 (Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies 7).

[Many of Prof. Bhatt’s articles written in English are reprinted in *Jñāna-Gangoṭrī. Collected research articles of Prof. Dr. Bansidhar Bhatt*. Ed. by Jitendra B. Shah. Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi (Ahmedabad). Volume 6. Ahmedabad 2005.]

Satya Ranjan Banerjee (4.6.1928 – 10.12.2016)

Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya

Professor Satya Ranjan Banerjee was born in Umedpur, a village in the Faridpur District of the Dhaka division (now in Bangladesh). At a very early stage of life he came to Calcutta (Kolkata) and settled there with his family and started his school education. After earning his bachelor's degree with honours in Sanskrit from the University of Calcutta in 1952, Banerjee gained a master's degree in Sanskrit with specialisation in Prakrit, including Pāli, Apabhraṃśa and Inscriptional Prakrits in 1954. He completed a second master's degree at the same university in Comparative Philology at the Department of Linguistics where he studied and wrote his dissertation on Indo-European languages, including Avestan, Old Persian and Greek. His first PhD was from the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University in 1964, on the Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians. He completed a second PhD on *A Comparative Study of the Greek and Indian Perfect Tenses with Special Reference to Homeric Greek* at the University of Edinburgh in 1972. Before his doctoral research at University of Edinburgh, Banerjee studied Modern Linguistics: Descriptive, Structural and Generative-Transformational Linguistics along with Indo-European Philology. He was also recognized as a scholar of Sanskrit in the traditional Indian system and earned the title of *Madhyamā* in Pāṇinian grammar and also in Kāvya literature from the Board of the Sanskrit Association, Government of West Bengal. He received the honour of Prākṛta Vidyā-Manīṣī from Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun in 1990 and a D. Litt. (*Honoris causa*) from Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata in 2010.

At the early stage of his professional life Banerjee taught Sanskrit in local Sanskrit colleges and at the Universities of Calcutta and Jadavpur. Later, in 1970–72, he taught Sanskrit at the University of Edinburgh and at the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London. In 1972–75 he also taught at the Institute of Languages in London. With extensive teaching experience and knowledge of western pedagogical methodology to his credit Banerjee joined the faculty of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Calcutta, where he taught from 1975–98. Apart from his regular teaching in Linguistics in other departments he also taught subjects such as Sanskrit, Bengali and French.

In 1978 he spent a year as a visiting Professor at the Center for South Asia, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. He delivered numerous invited lectures and attended many academic gatherings, not only at Indian universities, but also abroad, frequently attending international conferences and delivering lectures at many universities in Europe, North America and Latin America. In 1980 he was invited as a fellow by the Swiss National Foundation for Scientific Research to work on an Indo-Greek Lexicon at Bern, Switzerland and Athens, Greece.



S.R. Banerjee at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkatta (Photo: P. Flügel 19.11.2007)

During his career, Banerjee authored more than 80 books and over 400 research articles, published in India and abroad. His works include: *The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians* (1977), An edition of Kramadīśvara's *Prākṛtādhyāya* (1980), *Indo-European Tense and Aspect in Greek and Sanskrit* (1983), *Mrcchakaṭīka or the Toy-Cart of King Śūdraka – A Study* (1984), *A Handbook of Sanskrit Philology* (1987, 2000), and *Narrative Tales in Jaina Literature* (2008). He also contributed to edited volumes with articles such as: 'An Edition of the Paspasā-āhnika of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya' (1998), 'Albrecht Weber's Sacred Literatures of the Jainas' (co-authored with G. Lalwani) (1999), 'The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini' (2003), 'The Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita' (2005), 'Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛta-sarvasva' (2007), and 'Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra' (2010). A number of books were in preparation, and several books are still in press: *A Handbook of the New Indo-Aryan Philology*, *Prakrit Textual Criticism*, *A Handbook of Prakrit Grammar*, *Prakrit Chrestomathy*, and *Linguistic Studies in Sanskrit Grammar*.

Banerjee's research articles covered almost all disciplines of Indological Studies, but his prime focus was on language and grammar. He was the recipient of many academic awards, including Ācārya Vidyāsāgar Sāhitya Puraskār, 1982; Ācārya Sukumar Sen Puraskār,

1998; and Ācārya Hemacandrasūri Puraskār, 2000. He was awarded the Certificate of Honour by the Honourable President of India, 2002; became Associate Member of the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS, 2006; received the Ācārya Tulsī Prakrit Puraskār, 2006; and the Prakrit Jñānabhāratī Puraskār in 2016.

Banerjee often recalled the days of his student-life and shared his memories with his students. He would mention the names of professors to whom he was forever indebted. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Professor Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee and Professor Prabhat Mukherjee were his main sources of inspiration, but most frequently he quoted the name of Prabhat Mukherjee. He was very also much influenced by A.N. Upadhye and Hiralal Jain in the fields of Prakrit and Jaina Studies.

Banerjee was popularly known as ‘Sir’ to all pupils. He possessed a great understanding students’ psychology. In his lectures he emphasized vital points just as they were about to rise in the mind of the students. A bachelor in his personal life, he dedicated his whole life to teaching and research. A detailed record of his life and works has been preserved in two Festschriften: *Studia Indologica* and *Indological Essays* edited by his students and friends in 2007 and 2014 respectively. Scholars from India and abroad contributed articles to these volumes.

For some years, due to his age, Banerjee’s movement was restricted, and he attended academic programmes only locally. He was quite active in writing even at the last stage of his life. He left the mundane world with a smiling face after having made a major contribution to academic scholarship. He will live on forever in the hearts of students of Indology.

Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya is Professor at the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, West Bengal.



CENTRE OF
JAINA STUDIES

**VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
JAIN ART FUND
Research and Travel Grants**

The Victoria and Albert Museum Jain Art Fund was created as a result of the exhibition ‘The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India’ (1994-96), jointly organised by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The V&A Jain Art Fund, in association with the Nehru Trust for the Indian Collections at the V&A, offers a series of research and travel grants, which are administered under the auspices of the Nehru Trust, New Delhi.

The Jain Art Fund grants support study, research or training in the field of Jain cultural, historical and art historical studies. They support both Indian-based scholars and museum curators spending time in the UK, and UK-based scholars and curators visiting India for study and research purposes.

Scholarships are offered in each of the following categories.

1. UK Visiting Fellowship

For a period of further professional training in the UK

One award per year, to provide airfare and maintenance

2. UK Travel Award

For a short visit to the UK

One award per year, to a maximum of £1000

3. India Travel Award

For a short visit to India

One award per year, to a maximum of Rs. 80,000/-

4. Small Study and Research Grant (UK)

For acquiring essential research materials in the United Kingdom

One or more grants per year, to a maximum of £500

5. Small Study and Research Grant (India)

A number of small grants

The deadline for applications is normally 15 February for awards beginning in April of the same year.

For further details and application forms, see www.nehrustrustvam.org



Jain Art at the Museum Rietberg

Nalini Balbir and Johannes Beltz

The Museum Rietberg in Zurich is Switzerland's only museum of non-European art. Right from its creation in 1952 it was conceived as an art museum and not as an ethnographic collection. The founding mission of its donator Eduard von der Heydt (1882-1964) and its first director Johannes Itten (1888-1967) was indeed to present world art: According to Von der Heydt a work of art created by an Indian, Chinese or African artist should be considered to be as important as Western art. His motto was: *Ars Una* (there is only one art). This specific mission distinguishes the Museum Rietberg even today from other Swiss ethnographic museums. In addition to this historic fact there is another point of importance to note. The Museum Rietberg has always been a collector's museum, its holdings mainly received from donors, who were themselves collectors.

These two points need to be kept in mind in order to understand the specific history and the extraordinary quality of the Jain collection at the Rietberg. As mentioned above, the earliest acquisitions go back to Eduard von der Heydt, who in 1952 donated four stone sculptures to



Figure 1. Head of a Tirthankara
India, Mathura, 1st or 2nd century
Sandstone, 33.5 x 23 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, RVI 2
Gift Eduard von der Heydt
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg



Figure 2. Rṣabhanātha
India, Rajasthan, Chandravati, 11th or 12th century
Marble, 161 x 57 x 25 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, RVI 213
Gift Eduard von der Heydt
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg

the Museum. Among them is the head of a Jina, an early example from Mathura.¹ (Figure 1) Also especially of note is a sculpture of Rṣabhanātha.² (Figure 2) The white marble sculpture is likely to have been carved in the 11th or 12th century in Southern Rajasthan or Northern Gujarat and it is the Museum's most important holding of Jain art.³ In 1970 the Swiss artist Alice Boner (1889-1982) donated three sculptures of the goddess Ambikā, a fragment of a Jina and thirteen paintings to the museum (all illustrations from *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts).

There was a major change in 1972, when Eberhard Fischer became Director of the Museum Rietberg. Fischer was especially interested in Jain art. In 1974 he and his colleague Jyotindra Jain curated an exhibition

1 See J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *Indische Skulpturen der Sammlung Eduard von der Heydt*, Zürich: Museum Rietberg, (1964), pp. 22-24, Fig 1; Härtel, H., *Indische Skulpturen*, Band 1, Berlin, 1960, Fig 11; H. Härtel, J. Irwin & R. Skelton, *Indische Kunst*, Stuttgart: Württembergischer Kunstverein/ Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg: Dr. Cantzsche Druckerei, 1966, Abb. Kat. Nr. 43, p. 1.

2 See J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *Indische Skulpturen der Sammlung Eduard von der Heydt*, pp. 110-117.

3 See for example Karl With, *Bildwerke Ost- und Südasiens aus der Sammlung Yi Yuan*, Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1924, Fig 90-93; W. Cohn, *Asiatische Plastik, China, Japan, Vorder-, Hinterindien, Java: Sammlung Eduard von der Heydt*, Berlin: Bruno Cassierer, 1932, p. 127-31; H. Härtel, J. Irwin and R. Skelton, *Indische Kunst*, Hrsg. von Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Stuttgart: Dr. Cantzsche Druckerei, 1966, Fig. 91, p. 31; Phyllis Granoff (ed.), *Victorious Ones, Jain Images of Perfection*, New York: Rubin Museum of Art 2009, p. 110.



Figure 3. Siddhacakra
India, Rajasthan, late 18th century
Pigments, copper, diameter 12 cm
Museum Rietberg, RVI 916
Gift Barbara and Eberhard Fischer
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg



Figure 5. Tirthankara
India, Rajasthan, dated 1295
Stone, 66 x 55 x 20 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2016.35
Gift Melitta Schachner and Iso Camartin
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg

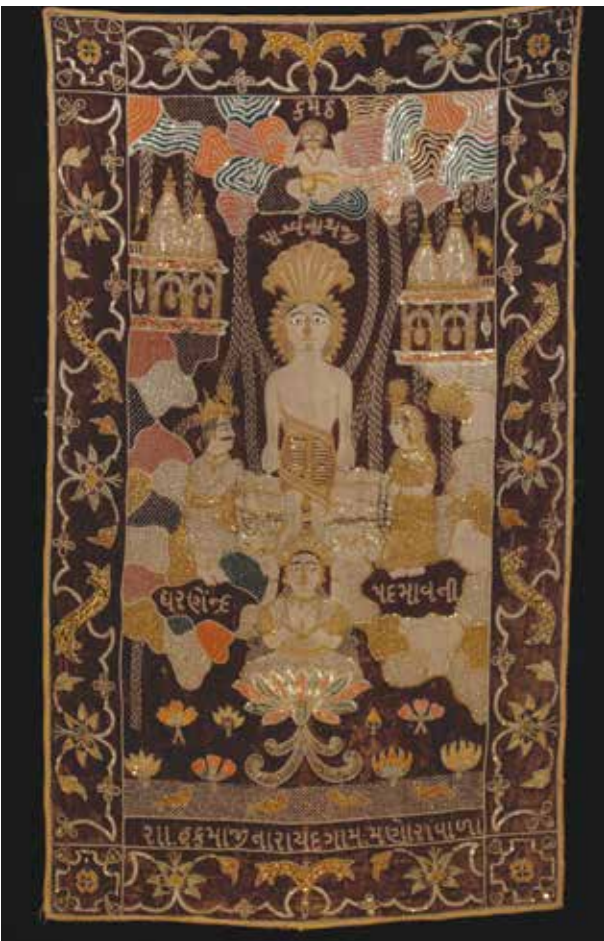


Figure 4. Parśvanātha resisting attacks depicted on a chor
India, Gujarat, first half 20th century
Embroidery, 140 x 78 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2012.104
Gift Barbara and Eberhard Fischer
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg

on the art and religion of the Jains.⁴ They also published a book on Jain iconography.⁵ Over the years Fischer continued to expand the Museum's collection of Jain art with a focus on Jain paintings. Today the Museum holds almost two hundred pieces of Jain art, comprising paintings and embroideries (Figures 3 and 4), sculptures and ritual objects.⁶

As the Museum Rietberg plans a new exhibition on Jain art in the next couple of years, it has started to expand its collection of Jain objects. In 2016 a stone Jina was donated by Melitta Schachner and Iso Camartin (Figure 5). Unfortunately the inscription is unclear and iconographic markers are missing, so we cannot say who is depicted. However, the inscription refers to the year 1295 and mentions the donor Muni Shanta Rudra.

Also of note are some new acquisitions from the Kaufmann collection in Vienna. These include a group of six Jain bronzes, with images of Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra among them (Figure 6). Also of particular interest is a sculpture which can be identified through its inscription at the back as the third Jina, Sambhavanātha. (Figure 7). The peculiarity here is that there are two distinct inscriptions from two different hands at the back of the image. The one in smaller script has a date, but it is hardly legible. It is suspected that this inscription might have been written at a later stage and may not be authentic. The other inscription, on the other hand, conforms to a general pattern and does not arouse

4 E. Fischer and J. Jain, *Kunst und Religion in Indien: 2500 Jahre Jainismus*, Wien: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1976.

5 J. Jain and E. Fischer, *Jaina Iconography*, Leiden: Brill 1978.

6 For velvet hangings such as Fig. 4 see Nalini Balbir, 'Une forme d'art religieux jain d'aujourd'hui: les tentures cérémonielles (chor)', *Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes* 33 (2015, publ. 2016), pp. 185-243.

suspicion. The language is Sanskrit and the script is Jain Devanāgarī, a variety of Nāgarī used among Jains in Western India. The inscription is not clear, but from the discernible information we know the following: In 1491 CE (1548 of the Vikrama era) in Maṇḍapadurga, identified with modern Mandu in Madhya Pradesh, the image of Sambhavanātha (*śrī Sambhavanāthabimḃaṃ*) was commissioned (*kāritam*) by a pious Jain laywoman named Padamāī. She was the wife of one Amarā who was the third son of the couple Moghara (not sure) and his wife Ramāī. The family belonged to one of the main Jain castes known as Śrīmāla. At the end it is said that the image was installed (*pratiṣṭhitam*) by a Jain monk (*sūriṇā*), whose name is not legible.

All new acquisitions are published in the online museum database, which for the time being is only accessible in German.⁷ Ultimately these works of Jain art are not only an important new addition to the Museum Rietberg's existing collection, but a perfect prelude to the upcoming Jain exhibition.

Nalini Balbir is Professor of Indology at Sorbonne-Nouvelle University, Paris and member of UMR 7528 «Mondes iraniens et indiens»; **Johannes Beltz** is Deputy Director, Head of Collections and Art Education, Curator of South and Southeast Asian Art, Museum Rietberg, Zurich.

⁷ www.rietberg.ch/de-ch/sammlung/sammlung-online.aspx



Figure 6. Rṣabha and Mahāvīra
India, 15th century
Copper alloy, 18 x 10.5 x 7 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2016.58
Purchase: Ganesha-Foundation
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg



Figure 7. Sambhavanātha
India, 15th Century (V.S. 1548)
Copper alloy, 27 x 10 x 9 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2016.56
Purchase: Rietberg-Kreis
Image © Rainer Wolfsberger, Museum Rietberg

Significant Jaina Murals in the Eastern and Western Malwa Region

Narmada Prasad Upadhyaya

Malwa (Mālavā) has a rich heritage of Indian painting, including Jaina subjects. The famous Bāgh caves in Malwa were painted in the style of the Ajantā tradition in the 5th-6th centuries. Kālidāsa (ca. 5th century), who is considered to be a native of Ujjain, wrote in detail about painting. Rājā Bhoja (11th century CE), a scholar and Paramār ruler of Malwa, wrote about painting in his famous work on architecture, *Samarāṅgaṇāsūtradhāra*. According to the art historian Rai Krishna Das, the painting tradition continued until the reign of Rājā Udayāditya in the 11th to 12th centuries.¹ Although many examples are no longer extant, it can be concluded that the tradition of painting, particularly wall painting, flourished in Malwa at different times. This conjecture can be further supported by the following evidence of murals from the late medieval period, which to date have not yet been described.

Śāntinātha Digambara Jaina Atiśaya-Kṣetra Bajaraṅgagaḍha

Bajaraṅgagaḍh (Bajranggarh), also known as Jhārakona, a small village located 7 km south of the city of Gunā in Madhya Pradesh, is known as an *atiśaya-kṣetra*, or site of miracles. The miraculous idols of the Tīrthaṅkaras Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha in standing postures were sculpted by one Śreṣṭhī, named Pādaśāha, in Vikram Saṃvat 1236 (1179 CE). They were enshrined

in a temple known as Śāntinātha Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra Bajaraṅgagaḍh, which was constructed by one Śreṣṭhī, named Pādaśāha, in Vikram Saṃvat 1236 (1179 CE).²

The paintings on the walls of the main temple in which the statues of the three Tīrthaṅkaras were enshrined offered a panoramic view of the pilgrimage site Sammedśikharajī. Its name was inscribed in Nāgarī as *Śrī Sammedsikharajī kau Nakasā (Naqṣā)*, 'Map of Sammedśikharajī'. A section of this mural depicted a scene of worship (Figure 1). In one mural, the welcoming and veneration of the Jina by the fourfold community was shown, with the Jina placed in a golden halo, representing enlightenment, and uniquely depicting two groups of monks, Digambara and Mūrtipūjaka, as well as groups of female and male devotees. Adjacent to this one, a naked Tīrthaṅkara in a sitting posture was shown, encircled by members of the fourfold Jaina community along with animals, all welcoming and venerating him. In another mural, a Tīrthaṅkara was shown. There was a dividing line between the groups and 'Kalpavāsa' was inscribed on the wall. *Kalpavāsa* means to live with forbearance, and the same was pictured on the walls.

These paintings appeared to have been influenced by the Bundelkhaṇḍ idiom. The moustaches were identical to those in the paintings of Orachā, Dātiyā and Ajayagaḍh, where many paintings on paper and on walls were created during the medieval and early modern periods. The costumes, ornaments and jeweled crowns over the heads

2 In 2003 the present author was able to view and photograph these murals for the first time and again in 2009.

1 Kṛṣṇadāsa, Rāya: *Bhārata kī Citrakalā*. Ilāhābāda: Bhārati Bhaṇḍāra, (1939) 1974, p. 28.



Figure 2. Mural in the Śāntinātha Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra in Bajaraṅgagaḍh, 2009.



Figure 1. Mural in the Śāntinātha Digambara Jain Atīśaya Kṣetra in Bajarāṅgaḡadh (M.P.), 2009.

of the devotees were painted with attention to fine detail (Figure 2). They were depicted wearing *mālās* or small garlands of pearls around their necks. The profiles were proportionate and their slim, young bodies were painted in light red. The men wore a long cloth, an *uparṇā* or *dupaṭṭā*, over their right arm. The costumes of some devotees were painted in green.

The motifs of the Orachā painting tradition were also copied with little variations. We observed fine inlay work in the depiction of the Tīrthaṅkara in a sitting posture. There were conical bricks, hoisting flags, peacocks and unique floral designs.

It may be concluded that these murals were painted either in the last decades of 18th century or in the early 19th century. During this period Bajarāṅgaḡadh was under the domination of the Khīcī rulers of Rāghogaḡadh, which explains why these paintings were influenced by the style of Rāghogaḡadh. This style was an amalgam of influences from Bundī, Koṭā and Mevār (Mewar). The paintings would have been produced by the artists of Rajasthan, and by the local artists of Rāghogaḡadh. Rajasthani features were particularly evident in the emerging banana trees, the signature symbol of the Bundī and Koṭā styles. Thus, this remarkable work was the product of artists of eastern Malwa, representing the assimilation of Bundelkhaḡ, Rāghogaḡadh and Rajasthani painting styles, particularly those of Bundī and Koṭā of Rajasthan.

Śāntinātha Jain Temple in Ratlām

The western region of Malwa is adjacent to the Mewar region of Rajasthan. The Malwa and Mewar painting traditions have influenced each other to a great extent over centuries. In the western Malwa region the Mewar style is dominant.

There is a Jain temple in Ratlam, which is known both as the Agarajī Mandira and the Śāntinātha Jain Mandira. It was built in 1790 CE by Agarajī, an ascetic (*jaṭī*) under the patronage of the royal court (*darbār*) of Ratlām, which also made a grant of a share of certain custom charges to the temple in 1790 and 1796. It also provided a grant of rent-free lands (*māḡī*) for the maintenance of the temple. There is an inscription on the gate that includes the name Mahārāja Parbat Singh (r. 1800-1825), indicating that he might have made additional grants to the temple. There are murals on the walls, painted in red, showing the influence of Rajasthani wall paintings. This is not unusual as Ratlam is adjacent to Bānsvārā and Udaipur. These murals are likely to have been painted in the earlier decades of 19th century, influenced by the Mewar style. Paintings were also produced in niches.

The main features of this style are stout human figures, lush vegetation and Rajasthani architecture. Many of the depictions are of traditional Hindu subjects, but Jain subjects are also evident, for example an image of Ambikā shown with a deer next to a child who is looking towards her. We also find depictions of Jain monks,



Figure 3. Painting of Jain temples at Pāvapuri and of Śivaite hermits engaged in yoga, Bare Bābājī Temple, Ratlām.

Tīrthaṅkaras and *yakṣīs* having wings that have been proportionately painted. A monk is seated and preaching to disciples standing before him. The Tīrthaṅkara is sitting in *padmāsana* and two worshippers, a male and female, a royal couple, are seen standing left and right of the Tīrthaṅkara.

Bābājī Temple in Ratlām

An example of a Jain temple with murals that are still preserved and in good condition is the Bābājī Mandira, situated in the center of Ratlam. These paintings, likely painted in the early decades of 19th century, have a clear Mewar influence. The exact history of the temple is not known, but it is likely that the temple was constructed in the 18th century. The murals would have been executed later, probably in the first half of the 19th century.

The main walls of the temple are painted and the colours are still vibrant. (Figure 3) A painting of Pāvāpurī, the place where Mahāvīra's reached *nirvāṇa*, is well executed with 'Pāvāpurī' inscribed on it. There are small figures of the pilgrims visiting this temple depicted on the wall, and scenes of the temple showing the hoisting of flags, towers, trees and women, painted in Mewar style. The Śreṣṭhīs are shown in traditional dresses. In one painting a goddess is seen enshrined and two royal ladies are worshipping her. The use of magenta is typical of the style adopted by medieval artists in the central Indian region, particularly Rāghogaḍh. This style then travelled from Malwa to the Deccan, and continued to be employed.

The murals in this temple depict a number of activities.

We find the idol of Bhagavāna Pārśvanātha enshrined, and a couple worshipping it. There are chariots, ponds and houses surrounded by banana and banyan trees. In the surrounding fields four Śivaite hermits are depicted engaged in their meditation in yoga postures. In another painting a furious elephant can be seen along with some spectators looking at the animal with fear. There are boats in the pond and number of activities are shown in the lower panel of the painting.

As discussed above, the paintings of Bajaraṅgaḍh are now unfortunately no more in existence but it is clear that the painting style of the eastern Malwa region was distinct in many ways from the Jain murals painted in the western region of Malwa. The eastern Malwa Jain murals were influenced by the Orachā mural tradition and Bundī, Koṭā and Rāghogaḍh as well, while the paintings of Ratlam though late, have an apparent influence of the Mewar idiom. The survey of Malwa Jain paintings opens new gates for the observation and study of the rich heritage of the Jain community of Malwa.

Narmada Prasad Upadhyaya is an independent researcher of Indian miniature paintings, particularly central Indian paintings. He has written extensively on the Jain painting tradition and is currently working on the illustrated manuscripts of the Bhaktamara Stotra. He lives in Indore (Madhyapradesh). E-mail: upadhyayanarmada@gmail.com

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