

# Jaina Studies

NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES



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# Jaina Studies

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Detail of a painted blueprint for a relief image of *sādhus* of the Tapāgaccha following Vijayavallabhasūri at the office of the Vallabha Smāraka Jaina Mandira in Alipore (Photo: P. Flügel 9.12.2019)



## Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

*Jaina Studies* celebrates its 15th year of publication in 2020, and I am pleased to report that it has new sponsor: Arham Dhyana Yog Social Welfare Foundation. Without sponsorship the *Newsletter* could not be produced, and we are very grateful for the financial support we have received over the years that has enabled our information circular to expand into the journal that it is today.

Cutting edge research in India currently centres on Jaina mathematics, where important new discoveries are made year on year, as the article of Anil Kumar Jain shows. Important contributions to this highly specialised subfield are also made in Europe and Japan. Alessandra Petrocchi's research report too testifies to the exemplary quality of the work in this area.

Two further trends are reflected in this issue of *Jaina Studies*: The growing body of work on the historical interface of Sanskrit and Persian literary cultures, as reflected in Jean Arzoumanov's article, and the increasing impact of information technology on Jaina Studies. The latter development is exemplified by the reports on digitisation projects at the LD Institute, at the National Library of France, and the article by Julie Hanlon on her statistical work on Jaina inscriptions in Tamil Nadu.

This volume also features several field reports. One by the present writer on Jaina "non-*tīrthas*" in Madhya Pradesh, includes a new Yoga inscription, deciphered in collaboration with Dániel Balogh, J.C. Wright and James Mallinson. Tillo Detige reports on the former status of Digambara *bhaṭṭārakas* as renouncers and Shivani Bothra on aspects of her research on contemporary changes in Jaina religious education.

Christopher Chapple reviews the history of sponsorship of Jaina Studies positions in the United States of America, evincing how this field is rapidly becoming a worldwide field of study. Another remarkable new development is the growing interest in comparative Jaina and Buddhist Studies in China. This is illustrated by Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber's conference report. Additional reports conference reports from SOAS, the USA and Japan demonstrate that interdisciplinary international research collaborations are now well established, and expanding.

Last but not least, this volume offers reports on the new *Catalogue* of the Tessitori manuscript collection in Udine by Nalini Balbir and on the recent exhibition of Jaina miniature paintings at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum Cologne by Patrick Krüger.

With best wishes,  
Peter Flügel



13th-century Digambara image-canopy (*pratimā-vitāna*) from Hiṅgalājagarḥ (Maṅḍasaur), Central Museum Indore (Photo: Ingrid Schoon 23.12.2020).

## THE 20TH ANNUAL JAINA LECTURE

From the Telling of Stories to the Teaching of Jain Doctrine:  
Religious Discourses in Long Medieval Narratives

**Christine Chojnacki**  
(University of Lyon, France)

Friday 20 March 2020  
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre  
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

## (NON) VIOLENCE

22nd Jaina Studies Workshop  
at SOAS

Saturday, 21 March 2020  
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Violence and Non-Violence

- 9.15 **Peter Flügel**  
The Non-Violence of Non-Violence
- 9.45 **Brianne Donaldson**  
The Hunter, the Bow, and the Arrow:  
Intentional Harm in the Early Jain Canon
- 10.15 **Samañi Pratibhā Prajñā**  
Ahimsā Praśikṣaṇa: A Socio-Religious Initiative

10.45 Tea and Coffee

Second Session: Imagined (Non-) Violence

- 11.15 **Patrick Krüger**  
The Visualizing of Torture and Pain:  
Depictions of Violence in Jaina Art
- 11.45 **Himal Trikha**  
84 Lakh Yonis: The Jaina Doctrine  
of 8.4 Million Embodiments
- 12.15 **Julie Alyssa Hanlon**  
(Non) Violence in Stone and Clay:  
A Consideration of Jain Lithic Inscriptions,  
Relief Images, and Ceramic Vessels
- 12.45 **Prakrit Jnanabharati International Award**

13.00 **Group Photo**

13.15 **Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite**

Third Session: Statehood and (Non-) Violence

- 14.15 **Olle Qvarnström**  
Jain Adaptation to Muslim Rule during  
the Delhi Sultanate



Meditation of Muni Sukamāla, depicted in a mural of the Ādinātha Porvāra Digambara Jaina Mandira in Maheśvara. (Photo: Peter Flügel, 25.12.2019)

- 14.45 **Tillo Detige**  
Rhetoric of Violence, Violent Rhetoric:  
The Sultanate and Mughal Era Flourishing  
of Digambara Jainism
- 15.15 **Jean Arzoumanov**  
Conflicting Descriptions of Jaina Monks in  
Indo-Persian Sources: Between Nonviolence,  
Magic and Snake Charming
- 15.45 Tea and Coffee
- Fourth Session: Jaina Narratives of Violence and Non-Violence
- 16.15 **Steven Vose**  
What to Do About All This Killing? Locating  
Jain Tantra in Medieval Indian Political and  
Social Life
- 16.45 **Basile Leclère**  
Teachings on Violence in Jain Prabandhas:  
The Tragic Death of King Ajayapāla
- 17.15 **Simon Winant**  
Justifying Violence & Redistributing Blame:  
The Implications of Devaprabhasūri's  
Narrative Choices in the Pāṇḍavacarita
- 17.45 **Richard Fynes**  
Violence and Humour in Hemacandra
- 18.15 **Closing Remarks**

The conference is co-organised by Peter Flügel (CoJS), Charles Taillandier-Ubsdell, and Angelica Baschiera (SOAS Centres and Programmes Office), and co-funded by the Śravanabeḷagoḷa Maṭha, and the Jiv Daya Foundation.

## ABSTRACTS

### **Conflicting Descriptions of Jaina Monks in Indo-Persian Sources: Between Nonviolence, Magic and Snake-Charming**

Jean Arzoumanov (University of Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3)

From the late 16th century to the early 19th century, Jaina monks were a recurring subject in various Indo-Persian historiographical and ethnographical writings. Persophone writers noted the importance of nonviolence for Jaina monks and described their concern with protecting all forms of life and the various practices this imperative entailed. But they were often also disparaged as repellent atheists and were sometimes associated with dark magical practices and in one particular case with serpent charming. In this paper I wish to present a comparative survey of these accounts and an analysis of the contradictory perception of Jaina monks in Indo-Persian sources.

### **From the Telling of Stories to the Teaching of Jain Doctrine: Religious Discourses in Long Medieval Narratives**

Christine Chojnacki (University of Lyon 3)

To preserve and transmit their tradition, the Jainas have developed an abundant literature between the beginnings of our era and the turn of the 1st millennium. To begin with, they have the canon and its exegesis with various layers of commentaries in verse or in prose, in Sanskrit or in Prakrit. They have also at their disposal treasuries of short stories illustrating such or such point of the Jaina doctrine in keeping with the canonical tradition of examples and parables. But also, less obviously, they may draw on long narrative works written in a variety of languages and styles. Indeed, the latter category of works is better known for its literary refinements (complex structures, metric virtuosity, lexical richness) that monks display thanks to their intensive training in the art of writing. However, these works also contain long religious discourses teaching the virtues of Jainism (non-violence, non-theft, sincerity, and other Jain principles) that are integrated into the narrative but which, though integrated into the narration, have often been overlooked in adaptations as well as in literary studies insofar as they were felt as an interruption in the narrative plot. However, these religious discourses seem to be one of the causes of the success of these texts, as is shown by the parallel effort to have them copied at gold prices at the same time as the canonical texts. One can explore, therefore, what role these works played in the transmission of the Jaina tradition and what reasons motivated their religious importance.

### **Rhetoric of Violence, Violent Rhetoric: The Sultanate and Mughal Era Flourishing of Digambara Jainism**

Tillo Detige (PhD Candidate)

Today, the Sultanate (1206-1526 CE) and Mughal (1526-1857 CE) eras are often thought of as a period when the Digambara tradition singularly faced decline and hostility. As assumedly parallel processes were the arising of the *bhāṭṭāraka* lineages which formed the backbone of Digambara Jainism throughout this period, and the disappearance of naked *munis*, conceived of as direct consequences of Islamic rule. Muslim rulers are depicted as fanatical zealots, pursuing a theologically motivated policy of temple destruction, and harassing and persecuting naked Digambara *munis*. As prevalent in popular understanding as un-nuanced, such tropes and the related historiographical periodization often spill over into scholarship, notably in the conception of the late medieval and early modern period as a distinct, and defective, '*bhāṭṭāraka* era', unfavorably contrasted to both the contemporary 'muni revival' and an imagined golden, ancient and early medieval past.

Evidence of actual persecution of ascetic and lay communities and of violence other than localized and probably mostly politically motivated temple destructions is however very scant. Ample counter-evidence instead shows that rather than withering away, the Digambara tradition flourished in the Sultanates and Mughal Empire. Recent research brings to light the continuity of the so-called '*bhāṭṭāraka* era' with both the earlier and the later Digambara traditions. A prime element here is the perception of early modern *bhāṭṭārakas* as ideal, venerable Digambara renunciators in the eyes of their contemporary devotees. Well into the Mughal era, the *bhāṭṭāraka saṅghas* furthermore also featured renunciators of the *ācārya* and *muni* ranks, generally thought to have disappeared in the Sultanate period. Instead of constituting a mid-way position between ascetic and layperson, the *bhāṭṭāraka* rank was added at the very top of the ascetic hierarchy.

Another argument for a revision of Digambara historiography is found in the distribution of the *bhāṭṭāraka* lineages proliferating throughout late medieval and early modern Western and Central India. Instead of fleeing from them, the frequently shifting *bhāṭṭāraka* seats were often attracted to Sultanate and Mughal capitals and centers. *Praśastis* and other sources also commonly hold attestations of Muslim rulers' benign relations with Digambara renunciators and laymen, indicating the former's typically pragmatic rather than theologically driven policies. Renunciators were received and honored at court; laymen were active as successful businessmen in the 'Muslim polities' or worked in state administration. Manuscript culture was thriving, and temple construction boomed, icons consecrated during the early modern period still populating most Digambara temples of sufficient antiquity.

The current rhetoric about the Digambara tradition's late medieval and early modern era, then, does perhaps more violence to the past than that this past was actually violent.

### **The Hunter, the Bow, and the Arrow: Intentional Harm in the Early Jain Canon**

Brianne Donaldson (University of California, Irvine)

The *Bhagavatī-sūtra* offers an early concept of mental intention as it relates to harm. The text not only describes *ārambhiyā-kiriyā*, that is, actions (*kiriyā*) that are premeditated, deliberate, or purposive, but also distinguishes actions as physical, instrumental, hostile, tormenting, and murderous, indicative of distinct mental intentions or dispositions. Distinguishing these various kinds of harmful actions represents a multiplication of the meaning of *ārambha*, or violence arising from any physical action, as described in the early strata of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*. Among the many examples in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, the text offers an instructive lesson regarding a hunter, his bow, and his arrow, each committing distinct forms of violence when aimed at an animal. In this paper, I will examine the multiplication of diverse actions involved in violence described in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, paying special attention to those related to mental intention, and explore possible reasons for this conceptual development.

### **The Non-Violence of Non-Violence**

Peter Flügel (SOAS)

“He who knows the violence done for the sake of special objects, knows what is free from violence; he who knows what is free from violence, knows the violence done for special objects” (*Āyāraṅga* 1.3.1.4). The apparent paradox, recognised in this and other canonical passages, that cognition of violence is a condition and hence integral part of a religious system aiming at the maximisation of non-violence, can be explained, with the help of the theory of autopoietic systems of N. Luhmann, as a consequence of the fact that all social systems constitute themselves through selective self-referential mechanisms, based on binary codes, programmes and routines, which constitute the elements of a system that function as its parts. The paper presents a theoretical interpretation of the Jaina tradition, arguing that, as a social system, the Jaina tradition reproduces itself with reference to a combination of an ontological code, *jīva/ajīva*, and a moral code, *ahiṃsā/hiṃsā*, implemented through programmes, that is, criteria, for the allocation of objects and processes to one or to the other side of the constitutive distinctions directrices. Jaina philosophy itself highlights the significance of binary categorisations. Only with the development of the *ahiṃsā*-reductionism, predicated on the mushrooming of synonymous (*a-*) *hiṃsā*-words, described by K. Bruhn and C. Caillat, and the crystallisation of a central binary code in medieval times, the Jaina tradition could develop into a stable

autopoietic social system, because all social systems are predicated on reductions of complexity. The paper argues that the self-differentiation of *ahiṃsā* through processes of semantic duplication and self-reference was the condition for the development of religious codes and programmes for their implementation, which still stabilise the Jaina system over time. As a social system, the Jaina religion is a relative late development.

### **Violence and Humour in Hemacandra**

Richard Fynes (SOAS)

Violence can be humorous and humour can be violent. We know this from our own reaction as spectators of violent acts depicted in films and cartoons. We also know how humorous badinage can develop into bullying and physical violence. Humour is often a surrogate for violence. Hemacandra in his vast epic, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, and its appendix, the *Sthaviravāṭīcaritra*, describes many acts of violence, of which some are surely intended to evoke a humorous response in his audience. Other acts of violence described by Hemacandra, however, are intended to evoke feelings of horror, disgust and also sympathy for those suffering the violence. My paper will discuss the different registers of violence in Hemacandra in the light of some recent philosophical and anthropological discussions of humour and violence. The paper will also survey Hemacandra's depictions of violence and humour within their setting of the Jain universe in an attempt to see if Hemacandra's nuanced approach to *hiṃsā* is mirrored by a similarly nuanced approach to *ahiṃsā*.

### **(Non)Violence in Stone and Clay: A Consideration of Jain Lithic Inscriptions, Relief Images, and Ceramic Vessels**

Julie Alyssa Hanlon (University of Chicago)

The granitic hills around the ancient capital city of Madurai were once home to communities of Jain monks. The names of some of these monks and their patrons are engraved on the exterior and interior surfaces of the caves and beneath stone relief images of *tīrthankaras* that adorn the granite escarpments. Archaeological survey of these hills in 2016 also revealed remnants of various ceramic vessels dated stylistically to the Early Historic to Medieval periods, i.e., contemporary with Jain occupation of the hills. This paper explores the histories of particular lithic inscriptions, relief images, and ceramic vessels in the lives of Jain monks and the contrast between the violence inherent in their creation and the vows of non-violence taken by Jain monastics and laity.

### The Visualizing of Torture and Pain: Depictions of Violence in Jaina Art

Patrick Krüger (University of Bochum)

Although non-violence is one of the essential principles of Jainism, violence is a recurring topic in Jaina art. The numerous depictions of the hells included in manuscripts of cosmological texts since the 17th/18th century in particular show violence, torture and pain. Most of these illustrations rely on an established visual language. This paper, however, will present a hitherto unpublished manuscript that contains illustrations deviating from the familiar visual language in multiple ways. It furthermore raises the question how the representation of violence – apart from the mere deterrence – may have served to reinforce the doctrine of non-violence in Jainism.

### Teachings on Violence in Jain Prabandhas: The Tragic Death of King Ajayapāla

Basile Leclère (University of Lyon)

According to the Jain chroniclers who authored the corpus of *Prabandha* texts, the famous Jain king Kumārapāla (r. 1143-1173) was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla (r. 1173-1176), under whose reign the Jain faith dramatically fell out of favour. Indeed Ajayapāla is said to have persecuted Jain monks and demolished Jain temples. However traumatic this period of disgrace could have been for the Jain community, it was at least shortened by the premature death of the king, who was murdered by members of the royal household after three years of rule. What seems interesting in this episode is that it reveals the dual purpose of the Jain *Prabandhas* recording historical events on one hand and imparting moral lessons on the other hand. As a matter of fact, there are in the accounts of the murder enough details that attest its historicity, but I will analyse how that violent demise came to be interpreted as a perfect illustration of the way violent actions eventually find their retribution.

### Ahimsā Praśikṣaṇa: A Socio-Religious Initiative

Samañī Pratibhā Prajñā (SOAS)

The generic term “*praśikṣaṇa*” refers to educating someone in a particular subject, or training or equipping someone with a certain skill. It is a common term that applies to all sorts of learning. When *praśikṣaṇa* is associated with a religious, ethical or social agendas such as *ahimsā* (non-injury or non-harm), it adapts to this specific purpose. Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920-2010) – a prominent Jain leader – initiated the *ahimsā praśikṣaṇa* in 1991 to promote nonviolence and interfaith harmony. The *ahimsā praśikṣaṇa* was a socio-religious initiative that employed a four-fold strategy: 1. studying the theory and history of nonviolence (*ahimsā: paddhatti-aura itihāsa*), 2. transformation of the heart (*hr̥daya-parivartana*), 3. attitudinal change (*dṛṣṭikoṇa-parivartana*), 4. change in lifestyle (*jīvanaśailī-parivartana*). It is argued that *ahimsā-praśikṣaṇa* is a modernised outlook of the

cardinal Jaina principle of *ahimsā*. This paper explores the innovative ways in which the guru can transform the ideology and conduct of the masses without religious conversion or a change in religious and cultural identity through the use of intermediate goals related to social and moral well-being. I term this sort of mass engagement of the guru ‘engaged spirituality’.

### Pilgrimage and Storytelling: Jain Adaptation to Muslim Rule during the Delhi Sultanate

Olle Qvarnström (Lund University)

This paper examines how the 14th-century Jain author Kakkasūri of the Upakeśagaccha in his *Nābhinandanajinoddhāraprabandha* views violence and non-violence as a natural part of a predetermined cosmic scheme involving religion, warfare, and the human condition.

### 84 Lakh Yonis: The Jaina Doctrine of 8.4 Million Embodiments

Himal Trikha (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The doctrine addresses the totality of possible objects for (*a*)*himsā*, i.e., all life forms re-cognized in the Jaina cosmos. The *Sāt Lākh Sūtra* enumerates such places of birth/origin (*yoni*) as follows:

There are seven *lakh* (places of origin for) earth bodies, seven *lakh* water bodies, seven *lakh* fire bodies, seven *lakh* air bodies. Plants with a single body have ten *lakh* (places of origin), plants with common bodies fourteen *lakh*. Beings with two senses have two *lakh*, with three senses two *lakh*, with four senses two *lakh*. Heavenly beings have four *lakh*, hellish beings four *lakh*, animals with five senses four *lakh*, humans fourteen *lakh*. In this way there are 84 *lakh* (places of origin).

(Pañca Pratikramaṇa, ed. S. Sanghavi, Āgrā 1921, p. 80)

The doctrine thus conceives a quintessentially animated phenomenal world, about which we have to be very careful, if we want our own embodiments ever to end.

The paper focuses on the aspect of the doctrine, which fixes the number of life forms to 8.4 million. The first part gives an overview of attestations in literatures of the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbaras and other South Asian ascetic traditions. The second part discusses alternatives for the age of the doctrine and hypotheses on the history of its development.

It is argued that the doctrine evolved from independent investigations in the nature of *yoni* on the one hand and in the nature of living beings on the other, and that results from these two divergent hermeneutic contexts were merged in the intellectual tradition, which is represented by Devanandin’s *Sarvārthasiddhi*.



### What to Do About All this Killing? Locating Jain Tantra in Medieval Indian Political and Social Life

Steven Vose (Florida International University)

The study of Jain “tantric” works produced between the 10th and 14th centuries has emerged as a new area of scholarly interest in recent years. However, the study of tantra in the Jain tradition remains fraught partly because modern scholarship has portrayed “tantra” as redolent of violent and antinomian practices that provide “shortcuts” to liberation (*mokṣa*), which are antithetical to the popular understanding of Jainism as essentially about practicing *ahiṃsā* by cultivating ascetic self-control. Additionally, contemporary scholarly models have hampered the study of tantra’s place in the social and political worlds of pre-modern South Asia. While the influential work of Alexis Sanderson has created valuable tools for understanding the corpus of tantric literature, it has yet to account for why ostensibly Śaiva tantric texts served as compelling models for such widespread “copying” by Buddhists and Jains.

This paper proposes a new approach to tantric studies that attends to the religious, social and political contexts in which tantric texts and practices operated. Using the works on rituals and mantras by the fourteenth-century Kharatara Gaccha *ācārya* Jinaprabhasūri (ca. 1261-1333) as a case study, it proposes viewing Jain tantric works through emic definitions of the genre and as part of a strategy of “self-fashioning” monks as leaders of mendicant orders and as leading intellectuals in the broader Śvetāmbara tradition. The paper points out the limitations of previous approaches to understanding tantra and proposes a new approach to the study of tantric texts and practices that views them as “technologies of power” contested among such figures in their capacities as religious, social, and political elites. Thus, we may write a social history of tantra in medieval India that contextualizes practices, such as the cultivation of mantras capable of killing, that have left many contemporary Jains uncomfortable and scholars puzzled about the inclusion of such works in the corpus of medieval Jain literature.

### Justifying Violence & Redistributing Blame: The Implications of Devaprabhasūri’s Narrative Choices in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*

Simon Winant (PhD Candidate)

This paper will explore how the Jain author Devaprabhasūri in his *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1213 CE) balances the occasional extraordinary faithfulness to the *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa with his own original narrative choices that justify and redistribute blame for violence. Since the 8th century CE, Jains have adapted the narrative of the *Mahābhārata*, incorporating the story of the Pāṇḍavas within works of Jain universal history. With his *Pāṇḍavacarita*, the Śvetāmbara author Devaprabhasūri was among the first Jain authors to compose Jain *Mahābhāratas* in which the story of the Pāṇḍavas is the main narrative as opposed to being

merely an episode within Jain universal history. In his Jain reimagining of the Pāṇḍavas’ exile at the court of Virāṭa and the slaying of Kīcaka, Devaprabhasūri cites lines found in the Critical Edition verbatim and includes small details with such a frequency as to evince his intimate awareness of *Mahābhārata* manuscript traditions. Yet Devaprabhasūri’s fidelity to MBh verses stands in stark contrast to several of his own narrative inventions. The Jain author’s narrative changes temper the violence of the ‘original’ and provide further justification for violence, distributing blame among gender lines.



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Shri Vidhyasagar Guruvey Namah

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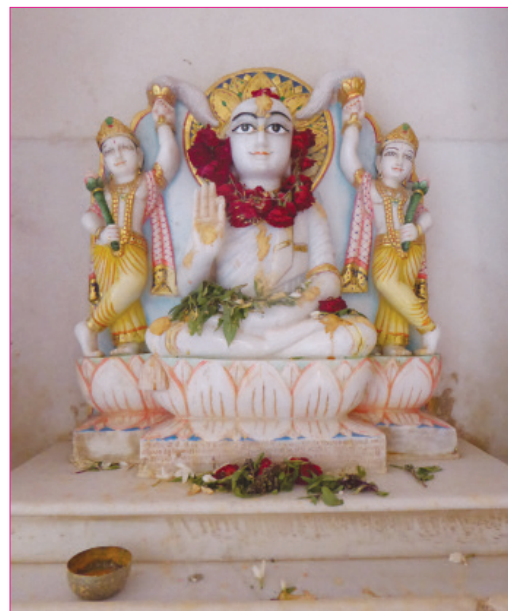


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Ingrid Schoon

## Jainism and Money: The 21st Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Heleen De Jonckheere

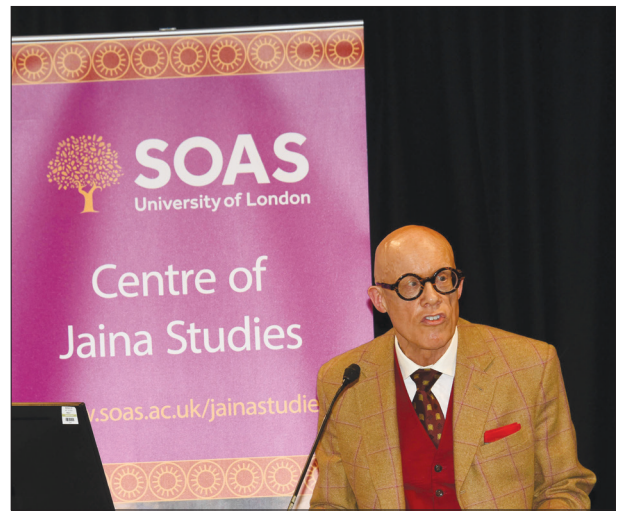
The theme of the 21st *Jaina Studies Workshop* held at SOAS 22-23 March 2019 was ‘Jainism and Money’. This occasion brought together people from different professional backgrounds to discuss the relationship between Jainism as an ideological system and economics.

### Annual Jaina Lecture

The event began on the evening of the 22 March with the *Annual Jaina Lecture*, given by Richard Fynes (SOAS). In ‘Jainism and Money: Precept and Practice’, Fynes elaborated on the question of how money shapes Jaina thought about the universe and how the Jaina conception of the universe helps shape how the Jains deal with money. Fynes illustrated his discussion by comparing the image of Mahāvīra in *kāyotsarga* with the image of Kubera, god of wealth in the Jaina universe, to point to the paradox in Jainism between following the ideal of non-attachment and cultivating wealth. Jaina scriptures suggest the importance of economic activity in the description of the declining cycle (*avasarpinī*) of which the three last eras are characterized by the waning power of the wishing-trees that provide humanity with basic material needs. Because of that human beings have to provide for themselves by their own efforts, and also engage in activities that are mediated by money. Fynes’ analysis of the Jaina conception of the universe, as such, provided a valid insight on the commercial and accounting characteristics of Jains in historical texts and in today’s society.

### 21st Jaina Studies Workshop Monks and Merchants

Continuing this theme, the second day opened with a session on ‘Monks and Merchants’ that discussed the economic aspects within the relationship between monks and merchants. Johannes Bronkhorst (University



Glenn Kadcliffe

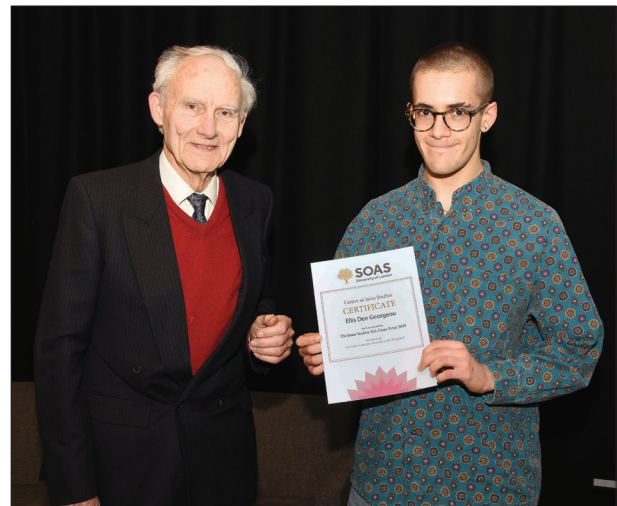
Richard Fynes (SOAS)

of Lausanne) started with a slightly diverging topic, as he discussed the historical conceptualisations of *anekāntavāda* (‘Two uses of Anekāntavāda’). He was inspired to tackle this topic because of the current preoccupation by certain Jain scholars to interpret Jain practices or concepts (such as *anekāntavāda*) along the lines of non-violence or non-attachment, wherein they do not necessarily use historically sound arguments. Instead Bronkhorst contextualised the understanding of *anekāntavāda* within the debating culture in India and the debating techniques it engendered. *Anekāntavāda* in its oldest sense referred to the conceptualization of the Jains of the idea present in all Indian traditions that for an argument to be sound each of its elements needs to be existent. Over time, the concept came to be associated with how the Jains theorized the arguments of other traditions in relationship to their own tradition, namely that Jain philosophy is more complete because it



Glenn Kadcliffe

J.C. Wright hands the CoJS BA Student Essay Prize to Jennifer Broome for her essay: *An Examination of the Jaina Vows and their Application for Laity and Ascetics*.



Glenn Kadcliffe

J.C. Wright presents the CoJS MA Student Essay Prize to Ellis Dee Georgeou for his essay: *Can Jains Consume Ethically in the Diaspora?*

incorporates the other traditions that are all only partially true. Bronkhorst's historical evaluation of *anekāntavāda* demonstrated two possible meanings of the concept and verified Melanie Barbato's recent claim that interpreting it as a spirit of non-violence is relatively modern. In addition it argued that *anekāntavāda* was primarily used for two purposes: '1) to solve the "paradox of causality", and 2) to classify non-Jaina systems of thought. The earliest texts in which the doctrine occurs present it as a solution to the paradox of causality. Only later do we find its use to classify non-Jaina philosophies.'

Next, in 'A Successful Investment: Jain Merchants and the Transmission of Long Medieval Narratives' Christine Chojnacki (University of Lyon 3) scrutinized the cost of copying a manuscript. On the basis of three different types of sources, Chojnacki calculated the proximate amount of *drammas* charged per folio for the copy of a manuscript. Firstly, manuscript colophons evince that manuscript copies were highly priced, as they relate, for example, that a manuscript is comparable in value to a jewelled bracelet. Secondly, Jaina *Prabandhas* are more detailed in their descriptions of money requirements and sometimes contain exact numbers of *crores* and *drammas* that were spent on manuscript copying. The third type of source, namely inscriptions and lineage records, enabled Chojnacki to elaborate her hypothesis by estimating the possible salary of a professional scribe. In this way, she elucidated the economic aspects of manuscript copying within Jaina communities both in relation to the patron as well as to the professional scribe.

Aleksandra Restifo (University of Oxford), whose paper was read out by Steven Vose (Florida International University), dealt with a similar topic from the perspective of professional Jain poets. Since writing a literary work was a professional occupation as well as a creative endeavour, Restifo questioned how Jain poets, in their compositions, went about balancing between poetic skill and fame on the one hand, and the interests of the patron and wealth on the other. By looking at medieval Śvetāmbara literary works in Sanskrit and Prakrit (by Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa and most elaborately Rāmacandra, among others) Restifo established that although patronage was an important consideration for Jain authors, truthfulness and fame remained the primary focus.

### Jaina Philanthropy

The second session of the Workshop focused on philanthropy in the Jaina community. Basile Leclère (University of Lyon 3) in his talk 'The Gold of Gods: Stories of Temple Financing from Jain Prabandhas' dealt with the theme in a historical perspective and analysed the generosity of Jain donors in medieval times with the activity of temple building. As neither inscriptions nor poetry seem to provide conclusive information, Leclère resorted to stories in Jaina *prabandha* literature to study this topic. He illustrated how anecdotes about prominent Śvetāmbara laymen like Vastupāla and Tejaḥpala, as told in the *Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha* or the



Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne)

*Prabandhakośa*, make mention of enormous amounts of money that were invested in building and decorating temples at Shatrunjaya, Girnar and Mount Abu. The same sources also suggest how the invested wealth would originate from some godly interference in order to 'reward' the outstanding merit of the Jaina patrons. As such, Leclère's presentation gave another interesting example of how the relation between wealth and religious virtue is negotiated in Jaina texts.

Bindi Shah's (University of Southampton) 'Enacting Contemporary Jain Religiosity through Philanthropy in the Diaspora' shifted the time-frame to contemporary philanthropy. Shah presented her conclusions from interviews with 24 Jains in the USA, the UK and Singapore on the motivations of Jains in the diaspora for giving *dāna*. Her findings revealed that these motivations merged classical understanding of *dāna* (as a disinterested gift) with a more 'Western' understanding of giving, invoking modern interpretations of *sevā* ('compassion in action'). The concerns of respondents to gift to non-profit organisations instead of directly offering *dāna*



Book Launch: J.C. Wright presents to *samaṇīs* Pratibhā Prajñā and Unnata Prajñā P. Flügel's *Askese und Devotion: Das rituelle System der Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina*.

to monks and nuns, and their religious projects, as is more traditional, illustrated such motivation. Another important finding was that several of Shah's respondents regarded *dāna* as essential in transferring Jain values from one generation to another. As such, she argued that the Jain tradition, like any living tradition, is flexible and negotiable as it transforms itself through different historical and geographical contexts.

The last presenter of the session, Christopher Chapple (Loyola University), discussed the history of the current support of Jaina lay organisations in the USA to the field of Jaina Studies in 'Jain Philanthropic Support of Higher Education in North America'. Simultaneous to the rise of Jaina Studies in the USA, local Jaina centres were established in several US cities in the 1970s and 80s. When JAINA was founded as the umbrella organisation of all these smaller centres, cooperations between scholars engaged in Jaina Studies and JAINA began to be established. This resulted in the organisation of undergraduate programs, conferences, summer schools and more recently the establishment of postdoctoral positions and professorships in select universities in the USA. The detailed report given by Chapple showed how the interaction between the Jaina Community and Jaina Studies has created opportunities for both parties.

### Money and Karma

The third session of the day addressed the theme of the relationship between karma theory and monetary practices of the Jaina community. Whitney Kelting (Northeastern University) explored the relationship between money and masculinity in Jain auctions of religious privileges. Kelting's empirical research revealed that at these auctions two different interests frame Jaina masculinity. On the one hand, winning an auction is important for the social status of male Jains, but on the other, winning an auction at monetary levels that are too high for the financial capabilities of the man's family affects his status as a Jain layman. Hence, auctions

tended to be won by the same individuals over and over again. Kelting also probed the impact of neoliberalism on masculinity through its impact on current Jain business culture. She argued that with the heightened neoliberal influence, expectations for Jains about consumptive amounts (including of religious goods) are also on the rise. This, in turn, puts relatively more stress on Jain men to uphold their status, because they are the central agents in Jain business culture.

The second speaker, William Clarence-Smith (SOAS), spoke about the prominent global role of Jains in the pearl economy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with special attention on the question of how they married Jain ideology with practices specific to the pearl business. As an example of *aparigraha*, he explained how Jains in the past sometimes ground the pearls into dust in order to demonstrate their non-attachment to the precious jewels. In terms of *ahimsā*, Jains in the pearl economy appear to have argued that they were only allowed to trade in the pearl, whereas the shell and the flesh of the dead molluscs were traded by Muslim and Chinese traders. Clarence-Smith suggested that this was perhaps because pearls were, like other gems, considered to be living beings.

Closing this session, Peter Flügel (SOAS) analysed the Jaina concerns with the extent to which transactors are implicated in the violence that is committed in the production of an item that is transacted, and the harm directly or indirectly caused by a transaction. Questions are voiced in several religious stories that highlight the value of detachment from possession, while at the same time connecting moral reputation, indeed the reduction of karman itself, with economic success. Flügel illustrated with many examples how the two fields of business and religion were conceptually linked to each other by being integrated into a hierarchy of values. This hierarchy enabled parallels to be drawn between karmic theory and economic rationalism, but at the same time clearly differentiated distinct goals and means between the two. Flügel concluded that rather than karmic theory being an



Glenn Radcliffe

economic theory, economic thinking in Jaina communities of the past benefitted indirectly from knowledge of the calculus of desire offered by Jaina karmic theory. This, he argued, is the closest one can get to an economic theory in traditional Indian status society, where economics was still embedded within the realms of politics, as its focus on individual psychology and emphasis on degrees of possessiveness, and, conversely, of renunciation, become the measure of value. He linked this to the theory of value of G. Simmel, who argued that detachment lies at the heart of economic rationality in general: ‘Only if there is a second object which I am willing to give away for the first, or vice-versa, does each of them have a measurable economic value.’

### Money, Wealth and Ethics

The fourth session was a Roundtable on *Money, Wealth and Ethics*. Discussants of the session were Abhay Firodia (Chair, Force Motors, Pune), Meghnad Jagdishcandra Desai (Economist at LSE and member of the House of Lords, London), Andrew McMurtrie (City of London) and Michael Mainelli (Chairman Z/ Yen, London), chaired by Sam Whimster (Sociologist at Metropolitan University, London, editor of *Max Weber Studies*). Discussants mainly tackled questions around the relationship between money or finance and religions in general. Desai and Mainelli referred to descriptions in the religious scriptures of the Abrahamic religions on how to deal with money. Desai explored the meaning of money in these religions, namely that it should not bear interest and be distinguished from profit. Mainelli pointed to views on practical issues in dealing with money that prescribe knowing your counterparty, being honest, not charging interest to your family, etc. The discussion then shifted to the question of how to imply these religio-ethical concerns in financial transactions. McMurtrie took the side of the free market, stating that the market contains in itself an ethicising mechanism, because the price decided by the market is influenced by the trustworthiness of a provider. Religions may serve as guide in economic decisions, but in the end the transaction will mostly be effected by interactions between individuals. In a similar sense, Firodia pointed out that Jains as businessmen, do not follow the same rules as Jain ascetics. Therefore, we should look at factors other than Jain ideology to understand their relationship with money. Mainelli, on the other hand, again called for the importance of ethics in financial transactions, but added that trustworthiness is not to be overlooked.

### Jaina Economics

The final session of the *Workshop* began with a lecture by Atul Shah (Suffolk Business School, Colchester) and ended with another Roundtable discussion. Shah, in ‘Aparigraha: Understanding the Nature and Limits of Money’, vouched for a way of conducting finance that is open to incorporating values that are inspired by religious morals. He gave the example of the Jains, and particularly the Young Jains of which he was the

founder, to show how religious values can be translated into a globalized economic context. According to Shah, Jains are relatively successful in business and finance because they build their economic activities on personal relationships and are willing to hold themselves accountable for their actions. These ‘rules of thumb’ in Jaina businesses reflect the Jaina value of *aparigraha* or non-possession. Broadening his perspective, Shah supported what is called ‘raw finance’, a way of doing business that is rooted in relationships and humble in its attitudes, and saw Jaina financial practices as a form of this.

Concluding the *Annual Workshop* was a Roundtable comprised of Jains employed in various concerns having to do with economics: Sagar Shah (*The Economist*, London), Bharat Dhanani (Chartered Accountant, London), Ashik Shah (Value Investor) and Miten Shah (Managing Director of Diampex, Antwerp). Also on the panel was Ellis Dee Georgeou (MA Student, SOAS) and the roundtable chair Peter Flügel. The main topic was how to accord a Jain religious identity with being a businessman. For Sagar Shah these two aspects of identity stand in direct opposition, which he also realized in his personal life as he left a job in rural banking to work for *The Economist*. Bharat Dhanani and Ashik Shah did not agree with this and explained how in their professional activities they could be inspired by Jain ethics. For example, Ashik Shah explained how he bases the choice of his investments on the ethical profile of what he would invest in. Miten Shah went even further and stated how he is not only influenced by his religion in his professional career, but also how he understands Jain religion in business terms. Giving some examples of the concerns he encounters in his daily affairs, Shah exemplified what kind of practical considerations go into doing business as a Jain.

The considerations expressed in the roundtable discussion prompted several interesting questions from the audience. Desai, for example, suggested the creation of a Jain Fund so that Jain investors could invest in projects that accord to Jain principles.

With a full day of diversified and very insightful talks and discussions, the *21st Jaina Studies Workshop* at SOAS provided new and interesting perspectives on the relationship between Jaina ideology and economics. Nevertheless, it is clear that the topic remains open for new questions to be researched and new interpretations to be scrutinized.

*Heleen De Jonckheere is currently finishing her PhD at Ghent University on the textual tradition of the Dharmaparīkṣā. Her research mainly involves practices of literary adaptation and narrative strategies of opposition in the Jaina tradition.*

## Jaina Studies in Japan: Conference Reports

Korematsu Hiroaki

### The 70th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS)

The 70th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS) was held at Bukkyō University, on 7-8 September 2019. In this conference, four papers on Jaina Studies were presented.

In the *Influence of Tantrism on Meditation (dhyāna) in Digambara Jainism: Methods of Meditation in the Jñānārṇava* Written by Śubhacandra (ca. 11th centuries), Korematsu Hiroaki (Tōyō University) recalled the four basic meditations in the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāmin: afflicted meditation (*ārtadhyāna*), wrathful meditation (*raudradhyāna*), virtuous meditation (*dharmyadhyāna*), and pure meditation (*śukladhyāna*). He spoke about Tantric virtuous meditation in the *Jñānārṇava*. In particular, he examined Śubhacandra's nondualistic attitude in the "meditation engaged in forms" (*rūpasthadhyāna*) which are also one of the Tantric virtuous meditations. In chapter 36 of the *Jñānārṇava*, most of the references to "the meditation engaged in forms" are various adjectives having to do with omniscience. Śubhacandra said this meditation enables a meditator to achieve omniscience. Furthermore, Śubhacandra used the Brahmanical word *so'ham* in this chapter. This word, which is based on non-dualism between individual souls and omnipresent reality, is incompatible with the pluralism of independent souls in Jainism, but it is possible that he chose this word upon understanding that identity between a meditating subject and meditational objects is an important concept of tantric practice.

Kawasaki Yutaka (University of Tokyo) read a paper entitled *About the Sthitakalpa Regulations in Jainism*. The *sthitakalpas* are ten regulations that reportedly monks in groups of Rṣabha and Mahāvīra observed thoroughly (*sthita*), but mendicants in the groups of other *tīrthaṅkaras* only somewhat loosely (*asthita*). Kawasaki compared the interpretation of the term "naked" (*acelaka*) in one of the *sthitakalpas* of the Śvetāmbara *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* 6364 and parallel verses in the extant Digambara texts, *Mūlācāra*, *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* and Āśādharma's *Dharmāmṛta (Anagāra)*. According to the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, truly "nude" Jain monks are *tīrthaṅkaras*, but others can also be considered "naked" monastics only when they are clad in rags. The designation "naked" in Digambara texts does not only signify a nude condition, but also an abandonment of every desire for possession (*parigraha*) and attachment (*grantha*).

In *Alteration of Carita-Literatures in Jainism and the Background*, Yamahata Tomoyuki (Hokkaido University of Science) examined the changing roles of hagiography in Jainism by making a comparison between the Carita-literature from the 5th to 12th centuries and new style



Digambara muni takes *darśana* of a Jina image at Siddhavarakūṭa (Photo: Peter Flügel 23.12.2019)

literature which became popular from the 12th century onwards, such as Rāso-literature. These literatures do not differ only in terms of languages and literary forms, but also in terms of content. The new style literature tends to emphasize specific founders (Neminātha or Pārśva and so forth). Also, an increase in works on the separation of lovers like in the *bārahmāsā* genre which were shown to be similar to the Bhakti-literatures. Yamahata said that this alteration is due to the changes in the situation of faith in Jainism. For example, stories of Bāhubalin and Bharata which connected kingship and war were composed by the 9th century, but declined since the 12th century. Stories of Śālibhadra and Bārahmāsā of Rājula became popular later. This shows that Jainism was connected to communities of merchants rather than kingship at a later period.

Kaneko Naoya (Tsukuba University) submitted a paper, *One Consideration Reading the Controversy between Buddhists and Jains about Non-Qualificative Cognition*, but the author could not attend this presentation due to conflicting schedules.



## The 34th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies

On 28 September, the 34th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies was held at Otani University, Kyoto. Four papers were read at this conference.

*A Look on a Body in a Digambara Yoga Text: Physiological Meditations in the Jñānārṇava* written by Śubhacandra, presented by Korematsu Hiroaki (Tōyō University), compared in detail the different roles of the body in meditative practices depicted in the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāmin and the *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra. He focused on descriptions of the “meditation engaged in material objects” (*piṇḍasthadhyāna*), which is the process of self-purification by concentrating (*dhāraṇā*) on the elements (earth, fire, wind, and water), the practice of the mother of letters (*varṇamātrikā*), of the “king of mantras” (*mantrarāja*), and of the “unbeaten” sound (*anāhata*), in chapter 35 of the *Jñānārṇava*, and of the “meditation engaged in words” (*padasthadhyāna*) and of “breath-control” (*prāṇāyāma*) in chapter 26. These practices make effective use of one’s own body in meditation, unlike meditation in the *Tattvārthasūtra*.

Fujinaga Shin (National College of Technology, Miyakonojō College) provided an outline of the features of commentaries on Śvetāmbara scriptures. This presentation had no title because he presented it in place of an absentee. He talked about four kinds of commentaries concerning canons, namely, Niryukti, Bhāṣya, Cūrṇi, and Vṛtti. Niryukti and Bhāṣya commentaries are written in metrical Prakrit languages, Cūrṇi commentaries are prose with a mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit languages, and Vṛtti commentaries are written in prose Sanskrit. Furthermore, he said that the Maṅgala-verses in commentaries are important to reveal why these commentaries are written in various forms.

Sugioka Nobuyuki (Kindai University) presented a paper titled *Concepts of Control and Power in Jainism: About vasa, vasī*. He examined the meaning of the word *vasa* in canonical Jain texts, especially in the *Āyāraṅga*, the *Sūyagaḍaṅga*, the *Dasaveyāliya*, and the *Viyāhapannatti*. He pointed out that the word *vasa* in Vedic and Upaniṣadic texts was used to designate external control by deities, Brāhmaṇas, kings, and so forth. In contrast, the word *vasa* in Buddhism and Jainism is connected with the control of internal problems such as aging, death, longing (*kāma*), and passions (*kaṣāya*).

*Jain Conceptions of Authority in Samantabhadra’s Āptamīmāṃsā*, presented by Marie-Hélène Gorisse (University of Ghent), addressed the question of the meeting point between logical and religious considerations in Jainism through a study of definitions of the reliability criterion of an authoritative discourse in the *Āptamīmāṃsā*, “Investigation on Authority,” written by the Digambara author Samantabhadra (530–590). First, this text offers a relevant case study to investigate the transition from a conception in which the reliability criterion of an authoritative discourse is the authoritative character of its utterer, like the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama,

to a conception in which the criteria of validity and soundness of the discourse itself are foremost. Gorisse said that authoritative speakers in Jainism are beings without passions and intention. Second, Samantabhadra is one of the first Jain authors to undertake and to logically prove the omniscience of the Jain teachers. Why are only Jain teachers considered authoritative, unlike teachers in other schools, who have epistemic abilities like Buddha, Kapila, and so forth? Gorisse concluded that Samantabhadra’s discrimination between reliable and non-reliable teachings is based on the theories of non-one-sidedness (*an-ekānta-vāda*) and of the viewpoints (*naya-vāda*). According to these theories, the object of knowledge is fundamentally complex and human epistemic faculties are such that men subsume diversity under unity, that is, they resolve this fundamental complexity. Samantabhadra approached these theories as tools to refute philosophical claims from other traditions as one-sided assertions.

*Korematsu Hiroaki* is a Doctoral student at Tōyō University. His dissertation centers on the study of the historical transition of meditation and tantric factors in Digambara Jainism. In particular, the *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra.



Relief of Vijayavallabhasūri at the Vijayavallabha Smāraka Jaina Mandira. (Photo: Ingrid Schoon 9.12.2019)

## Comparative Studies of Jainism and Buddhism: An International Symposium held in China

Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber

On 25-27 October 2019, the International Symposium *Comparative Religious Studies in the Context of Traditional Indian Culture and the Sinicization of Buddhism* took place at the Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China.

This symposium on comparative studies of Jainism and Buddhism was organized by the Director of the Center for Buddhist Studies at Sun Yat-sen University, Gong Jun, in cooperation with Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber (Max Weber Center for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies and Shandong University) and Peter Flügel (SOAS). The main aim was to draw attention to the importance of comparative religious studies, in particular to the great potential of historical sources kept in the Buddhist canons concerning the early relationship between Jainas and Buddhists. So far, this topic has not been given sufficient attention in the rapidly developing Buddhology in China. The grateful support given by the Faculty of Philosophy and its dedicated students, as well as the generous funding from the Liuzu-Temple in Sihui, made it possible to hold this fruitful conference.

Altogether fourteen scholars from six different countries were invited as speakers, who represented thirteen universities and research institutions. Many other colleagues and students in China took part in the symposium which opened with a talk by Sen Tansen (New York University Shanghai) on “The Idea of a Buddhist Cosmopolis: Conceptual and Methodological Issues.” Sen argued that the understanding of a Buddhist cosmopolis also aids the comprehension of the intricacies of intra-Asian interactions and the impact Buddhists had in fostering them.

Six papers discussed the interrelationship between Jainism and Buddhism past and present. Enomoto Fumio (Osaka University) began with a talk on “Some Remarks on the Importance of the Vedic and Jaina Texts for the Study of Early Buddhism.” With the example of *āśrava* and *ātman*, Enomoto showed that the original meaning of some important terms and phrases in early Buddhist texts could be closely related to early Jaina or Vedic texts.

This was followed by Peter Flügel on the “Symbolism of the Mythologies of the Worship of the Relics of the Jinas.” In contrast to Buddhism, there is no archaeological evidence for a continuous tradition of bone relic worship going back further than the twelfth century at best, at a time when Buddhism had lost its foothold in India and the once distinctively Buddhist practice of relic worship could be appropriated by other movements again. Flügel argued that the image of relic worshipping gods in canonical Jaina narratives served as a rhetorical vehicle for transforming instrumental forms of worship into symbolic forms of worship while offering at the same time imaginary wish-fulfilment as a substitute which allows the fulfilment of repressed desires under conditions of censorship.

In “On Hinduism’s Dissemination in China,” Li Jianxin (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) mentioned two Jaina temples in China built by Jaina merchants, one in Seaport Tianjin and another in Zhangzhou near Amoy. Hu-von Hinüber spoke about “Satyaka’s Challenge. A Debate between Jainas and Buddhists.” Based on a comparative reading of the *Majjhima-nikāya* in the Pāli canon and the Chinese *Āgama* texts, she analyzed how the different Buddhist texts, which had changed a lot over time, interpret the disputation between Jaina Satyaka and the Buddha Śākyamuni.

This was followed by “What happened in Nālandā in the year 642? The Divination of the naked Nirgrantha and its Influence on Xuan Zang’s Decision to return home,” in which Deng Jinhua (Sun Yat-sen University and Liuzu-Temple) focused on an event in Xuanzang’s life that had not yet been sufficiently considered.

In the paper that closed the symposium “Before the Tipiṭaka: Some Thoughts on the Earliest Arrangement of Buddhist Texts,” Oskar von Hinüber (Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz) pointed out that the first Buddhist council was held because of serious concerns had by the Buddhist Saṃgha: The true teaching of the Buddha might get confused after his death in the same way as that of the Jains after Mahāvīra died, because the latter failed to clearly instruct his pupils. There are traces of an older arrangement which preceded the *Tipiṭaka*. For, originally the Buddhists seem to have divided their texts into *aṅgas*, a text division obviously popular at the time, because it was also used in the Vedic tradition and became standard with the Jains.

Three further papers dealt with the indological influence in modern Asia and the Sinicization of Buddhism. Baba Norihisa (University of Tokyo) examined the story of “Shaku Sōen in Ceylon: How modern knowledge of Indian Religions produced ‘Mahāyāna Buddhism’.” Inspired by Indology and Buddhist Studies in 19th-century Europe, Shaku Sōen (1860-1919) learned Pāli in Ceylon as one of the first Japanese to do so. He created the concept of “Daijō/Shōjō Bukkyō” (Mahāyāna/Hīnayāna Buddhism) and influenced modern Buddhist Studies through D. T. Suzuki.

In his presentation “The Consciousness of Indology in Modern Buddhist Studies of China,” Gong Jun, discussed how traditional Buddhology in China had changed at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. Important scholars such as Liang Qichao and Tang Yongtong started to pay more attention to Indian Buddhism, for they realized that the study of Chinese Buddhism could not be separated from an understanding of the original Indian Buddhism. With special reference to the Sinicization of Buddhism, Zhang Dewei (Jinan University) emphasized in “The Buddhist Canon Under the Sociology of Knowledge View” that examining the characteristics of the Chinese canon from the “sociology of knowledge” perspective

will deepen our understanding of complex interactions between Buddhism and the state as well as the mobilization of Buddhism in East Asian society.

Two presentations concerned the Buddhist influence on ancient Chinese drama and painting. Zhou Guangrong (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) discussed the “Dramatic Attributes of Esoteric Buddhism and its Relation with Song and Yuan Dramas.” Using examples for the de-sanctification of esoteric rituals such as folk drama “Maudgalyāyana,” the speaker discussed the influence of Esoteric Buddhism on Chinese drama during the Song and Yuan dynasties (960-1368), especially from the point-of-view of the secularized folklorization of tantric rituals. Michael Cavayero (China Academy of Art) spoke about “Textual Research on Zhang Zao’s *Xinyuan* (‘Mind Fountainhead’).” The idea of “externally learning from Creation (Nature), and internally attaining the Mind Fountainhead (*citta-gocara/āśaya*)” represents the seminal painting theory proposed by the Tang-dynasty painter Zhang Zao (ca. 730~790). The paper demonstrated that the term *Xinyuan* emerged through the dissemination of Buddhism, and reached a height in its use by the Tang dynasty.

Finally, two Sanskritists presented their recent studies. In “A Comparative Study on the *Citrakarmaśāstra* and the *Kāśyapaśilpa*,” Wu Weilin (Shenzhen University) discussed the interrelationship between the Śaiva text

*Kāśyapaśilpa* (11th or 12th century) and the Buddhist text *Citrakarmaśāstra* (7th or 14th century). The latter, written in Sinhalese and found in Sri Lanka, is the only *śilpa* text so far discovered which deals exclusively with Buddhist monastic architecture and the art of modeling clay images. Liu Zhen (Fudan University) gave “Some Remarks on Kṣemendra’s *Bodhisattvāvadānakaḥpalatā*,” which is an influential poetic work (ca. 980-1065) within Indo-Tibetan Buddhist circles. Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and Lakṣmīkara translated it into Tibetan between 1260 and 1280. The only complete Sanskrit manuscript containing all of the 108 *Avadānas* is preserved in the Tibetan monastery Drepung. The speaker compared the different versions of the text in order to show how the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Tibet were once used by the above mentioned translators and the redactor Zha lu lotsāva Chos skyong bzang po.

The proceedings volume of the symposium will be published in Chinese or translation by Sun Yat-sen University in summer 2020.

*Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber* holds degrees in Indology and Buddhist Studies from Peking University (MA) and the University of Göttingen (PhD). Currently she is attached as professor-at-large to Shandong University and as senior researcher to the Center of Buddhist Studies of Peking University.



First row from left: Enomoto Fumio, Peter Flügel, Oskar von Hinüber, Gong Jun, Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, Baba Norihisa, Sen Tansen, Li Jianxin; Second row (from left): Zhang Dewei, a participant, Wu Weilin, Zhou Guangrong, Deng Jinhua, Michael Cavayero, Liu Zhen. Photo: Gong Jun

## Jaina Studies at the American Academy of Religion 2019

Steven M. Vose (with additional reporting by Gregory Clines, John Cort, Marie-Hélène Gorisse, Julie Hanlon and Heleen De Jonckere)

Jaina Studies were very much in evidence at the 2019 Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) in San Diego held November 23-26. There were an unprecedented twenty-two papers presented by eighteen different scholars on eleven panels across six program units.

### Jain Studies Unit

The Jain Studies Unit hosted three panels for the first time in its now decade-long tenure. “Padma Padma: New Studies in the Jain Rāma Tradition,” featured four papers. In “‘Did He Kill His Own Brother? For a Woman? In a Disgraceful Manner?’: Jain Approaches to the Death of Vālin,” Eva De Clercq (Ghent University), examined this key event in several classical Jain Rāma texts: the 3rd-5th-c. Prakrit *Paūmacariya* of Vimalasūri, the 7th-c. Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, and the 9th-c. Sanskrit *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. Following Kulkarni, she showed two lineages of Jain Rāma tellings that present strikingly different versions of the episode, showing how such variants have existed side-by-side in the tradition.

In “Crossing Boundaries: The *Padmacarita*’s Refutation of Kumārīla,” Seema Chauhan (PhD Candidate, University of Chicago) examined a scene in Raviṣeṇa’s late 7th-c. Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* in which Nārada criticizes the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. His criticism closely parallels Kumārīla’s defense of Vedic sacrifice in his *Ślokavārttika*, and so appears to be a direct response to it. Chauhan argued that this shows how a narrative text can serve as the location for a detailed and technical epistemological argument.

In “For Poetry Makes Nothing Happen: Toward an Understanding of Later Jain Rāma Composition,” Gregory Clines (Trinity University) compared Raviṣeṇa’s *Padmapurāṇa* and Brahma Jinadāsa’s 15th-century Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa*. Clines asked why Jinadāsa, in his attempt to make the older text “clear,” often presents in simple *purāṇic* language what Raviṣeṇa had written in ornate poetry (*kāvya*). Clines argued that what while Raviṣeṇa sought to demonstrate his poetic skill, Jinadāsa used narrative to cultivate Rāma’s virtues and to eliminate Rāvaṇa’s moral vices in the reader.

“The Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* as Kathā: Rāmcand Bālak’s *Sītācarit*,” presented by Adrian Plau (Wellcome Institute), examined a 17th-c. narrative about Sītā, a Jain *satī* (ideal laywoman), composed in Brajbhāṣā by a little-known Digambar lay author. Plau showed that Rāmcand expertly participated in the contemporaneous vernacular “*kathā* culture” of early modern North India. The *Sītācarit*, he argued, must be read alongside other Sufi, Hindu, and Jain narratives of that time and region, especially Tulsīdās’ *Rāmcaritmānas*, to be contextually understood.

Discussant Philip Lutgendorf (University of Iowa)

brought the Jain texts into conversation with a range of “Hindu” Rāma texts, not only Vālmiki’s and Tulsīdās’ but also the Sanskrit *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, Viṣṇudās’ Brajbhāṣā telling, and Rāidhū’s Apabhraṃśa rendition. He showed that many of the themes and critiques the Jain authors raised are also found in the many Hindu tellings. During the discussion, Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh) implored scholars to study Vimala’s Prakrit *Paūmacariya* and called attention to the 11th-century *Kahāvālī* by the Śvetāmbara Bhadreśvara (recently edited by Muni Kalyāṅkīrtivijay, 2 vols., Ahmedabad, 2012-2016), which contains a lengthy Rāma story.

Three first-time presenters organized the panel, “Jain Diaspora Temple Committees and Praxis.” First, Mirjam Iseli (PhD Candidate, University of Bern) presented, “Jains in Switzerland: Establishment and Dissolution of a Supra-Denominational Community.” Tracing the roughly thirty Swiss Jain families over an eight-year period, Iseli showed how the community sought common points of doctrine to teach to their children and developed rituals to overcome sectarian differences. Their efforts were to create a “universal Jainism” focusing on everyday praxis, rather than what Banks called a “neo-orthodoxy.” However, this proved to be their community’s undoing, as members were uninspired by discussions of doctrine.

Next, Venu Mehta’s (PhD Candidate, University of Florida) “Sectarian Negotiations among the Jain Religious Diaspora in the US” presented research extending from her MA thesis. Arguing that American Jains are inventing a new form of Jainism through their attempts to find (and forge) a common identity, Mehta showed the process of creating multi-sectarian temples and non-sectarian (or cross-sectarian) pedagogies for educating children—in part by identifying a “philosophical core”—has limited the influence of religious authorities from India and created a “new habitus” of thought and praxis.

Shivani Bothra (UC Santa Barbara) presented on her recently completed dissertation in “Jainism in Diaspora: Shift in the Transmission of Children’s Religious Education towards Negotiating Tradition and Continuity.” She argued that educational spaces (*pāthśālās*) and materials in the USA are geared to meet children in their own epistemic and technological spaces. Bothra found that such education is frequently more social than religious in orientation, as it seeks to create self-aware Jains who will marry within the community; see *ahimsā*, vegetarianism and even veganism as points of identity; have fluency in Hindi or Gujarati, and overcome their skepticism toward aspects of Jain thought and practice by seeing Jainism as scientific.

### Jain Studies and Tantric Studies Units

The Jain Studies Unit partnered with the Tantric Studies Unit to examine the “Genesis and Development of Jain Tantra.” Samani Rohini Pragya (Florida International

University; JVBI gave (*in absentia*) an historical overview of the *Namaskāra Mahāmantra*, better known as the *Navkār Mantra*, from its earliest iterations to its modern form. She theorized how it developed from a declaration of praise to assisting Jains in achieving liberation (*mokṣa*) and worldly wellbeing, examining the relationship of devotion to the operability of mantra and tantric praxis.

In “Taming Tantra: Toning Down Violent Ritual Results in the *Jvālāmālinīkalpa*,” Aaron Ullrey (UC Santa Barbara) argued that this tenth-century Jain tantra substitutes terms more widely known in Śaiva tantras in order to “soften” the effects a tantric adept may achieve through its mantras, preferring domination or control of “seizers” (*graha*) who effect desired outcomes over direct destruction through the practitioner’s own agency. While killing outcomes remain without comment or apology, the terminology is less absolutist, e.g., preferring “crushing” to “killing.”

“Situating the Jain Tantric Guide to Spells (*Vidyānuśāsana*),” presented by Michael Slouber (Western Washington University), took stock of this vast compendium of spells to assess a likely date and place of its composition. Slouber demonstrated unmistakable influence of several other genres of tantric texts, including *Bhūta* (possession), *Garuḍa* (snakebite), and *Bāla* (pediatric afflictions) in the Śaiva canon, but changing invocations to Jain figures; he posed the question of what we can productively learn about the Jain tradition of tenth-century Karnataka because of it. He noted that the text identifies deities more typically associated with the Śaiva pantheon, but shows a marked preference for goddesses that speak to now-lost practices and figures.

Venu Mehta’s second paper, “Making Jaina Tantric Cult of Padmāvati Public in Gujarat,” examined the devotional works to the Jain goddess, focusing on three emergent bodies of Gujarati compositions—*rās/garbhā*, *doha/chandā*, and *stuti/arati*—composed by lay and mendicant Jains and even non-Jains that frame her as a popular goddess for laywomen, especially brides, beginning in the seventeenth century. Mehta argued that these works brought the tantric goddess into popular devotional worship and celebration contexts.

Respondent Steven Vose (Florida International University) pointed out that the papers reveal the ritual-technological and medical commonalities between Jain and Śaiva tantras. Recalling Ellen Gough’s criticism of the overwhelming influence of Alexis Sanderson’s characterization of Jain tantra as a merely derivative tradition, he suggested that these papers will help scholars begin to contextualize the “work” these texts “do”—rather than characterize what the texts “are”—as a way to write the social history of premodern practices that include “tantra,” and “alchemy” to cultivate powers for medical, prophylactic, and other sublunary ends.

### Religion in South Asia Unit

The Religion in South Asia (RISA) Unit hosted four panels with Jainism-related papers. The panel, “Polemics and

Formations of Religious Identity in South Asia,” featured two papers on Jainism. First, in “Polemic and Doxography in Haribhadrāsūri,” Anil Mundra (PhD Candidate, University of Chicago) discerned several strategies Haribhadrāsūri uses to deal with the Buddhist claim, “all formations are momentary.” Stated unpolemically in the *Ṣaddarśanasamuccaya*, it is treated polemically elsewhere—indirectly in the *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya*; directly in the *Anekāntajayapatāka*. In the *Nyāyapraveśa*, the statement is treated as a fallacy. Mundra argued that ‘polemic’ and ‘doxography’ are thus not mutually exclusive genres but rather textual functions that enabled Haribhadra to “imagine a place for Jainism” both in opposition to and alongside other doctrines.

Lynna Dhanani (Yale; UC Davis) presented, “Eulogizing the Same, Distancing the Other: Hemačandra’s Polemical Strategies in Hymn and Narrative”, which examined the *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra* as a “network of genres.” Narrative passages cohabit with the *Vītarāga Stotra*, which, in turn, contains several philosophical passages. Focusing on two philosophical arguments—1) those proving the superiority of the teachings of the Jinas, and 2) those affirming that all schools agree with *anekāntavāda*—Dhanani suggests that the text extends polemical strategies into the literary domain.

On RISA’s “New Directions” panel, Heleen De Jonckheere (PhD Candidate, University of Ghent) discussed three *Dharmaparīkṣās* that engage with Amitagati’s humorous polemical text to address their own historical contexts, illustrating different reflective processes for engaging an authoritative literary object. First, Vṛttavilāsa’s fourteenth-century Kannada *campūkāvya Dharmaparīkṣe* adds sub-stories that engage with the early *Vīraśaivas* and *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*. Second, the seventeenth-century Brajbhāṣā *Dharmaparīkṣā* by Manohardās, makes “occasional divergences” to reflect upon its vernacular milieu. Finally, a Sankrit *Dharmaparīkṣā* by the Śvetāmbara Padmasāgara, while nearly a verbatim copy of Amitagati, shows awareness of its own sectarian context.

Ellen Gough (Emory University) presented (*in absentia*) “The Jain Monk Nandighoṣasūri and the Emergence of Tantra from Asceticism” on the RISA panel, “Ten Years of The Śaiva Age,” a retrospective on the impact of Alexis Sanderson’s monumental work. Gough encouraged scholars to examine “ascetic trends” that transcend traditions to understand the development of specific tantric practices. Gough showed how particular Jain tantric practices that arose since the medieval period (examining Jinaprabhasūri’s *Vidhimārgaprapā*) were “logical extensions” of the ascetic pursuit of karma destruction, which, while ultimately leading to liberation, have always been understood also to cultivate certain extraordinary powers ‘along the way’—and were thus not merely imitating a putative “Śaiva paradigm.”

Aleksandra Restifo’s (Yale), “The Presence of the Jina: Aesthetic Performance and the Significance of Pleasure” on the joint RISA-Religion in Southeast Asia panel devoted to Robert A. Orsi’s *History and Presence*

(Harvard Belknap, 2016), took up how to understand the liturgical, devotional, and aesthetic practices that treat the Jina as if “really present” in the temple image despite the “official doctrine” that the liberated Jina cannot be embodied in images. Restifo argued that the language of ritual suggests performers are aware that it is “designed to produce aesthetic pleasure in the devotees themselves.”

On RISA’s “Religious Didacticism in South Asia” panel, Steven Vose presented “Caste Prestige as Religious Piety: Women’s Virtue in Early Vernacular Jain Didactic Literature.” Focusing on the Gujarati “*Nammayāsundarī Kathā*” in Merusundaragaṇi’s fifteenth-century *Śilopadeśamālā-Bālāvabodha*, Vose argued that the vernacular retelling of the story, appearing earlier in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, ties a woman’s soteriological potential to the cultivation of “virtue” (*śīla*) by preserving sexual chastity through marital fidelity and by restoring lost family prestige. Focusing on the settings in which these stories were told gives us insight into the early impetus for composing in the vernacular, as mendicant leaders maintained their lineage’s (*gaccha*) authority by addressing concerns of caste elites.

#### **Anne Monius in Memoriam**

The Jain Studies and RISA Units partnered with the Hinduism Unit to co-host a session dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Anne Monius (Harvard), a co-founder of the Jain Studies Consultation (later, Unit), whose untimely passing last summer left many in our field stunned. Vose and Clines, both former students of Monius, offered their recollections of how she influenced their intellectual development and contributed to the growth of Jain Studies at the AAR and beyond.

#### **Comparative Studies in Religion Unit**

Three papers focused on Jain authors in the Comparative Studies in Religion Unit’s panel, “Religion and Humor in South Asia.” Lynna Dhanani’s second paper, “Destabilizing Religious Imagination: Polemical Humor in Hemacandra’s Literary Texts,” identified “a pervasive authorial voice full of sarcasm and irony.” Hemacandra’s portrayal of Śiva as lustful and violent in one Hindu hymn renders the god “humorous and absurd” in juxtaposition with Jain hymns. Dhanani argued that Hemacandra’s literary project did political work in twelfth-century Gujarat, as “Hemacandra’s use of humor...serves as an emotive polemical strategy...to destabilize the hold of *purāṇic* Hinduism on...his readers.”

Next, in “The Effect of Rāvaṇa’s Tricks: Comedy and Tragedy in Rāmacandra’s *Raghuvilāsanāṭaka*,” Aleksandra Restifo’s second paper demonstrated how Rāvaṇa’s “false tricks” (*kapaṭa-nāṭaka*) cultivate detachment in an aficionado audience member, who “sympathizes with the protagonist, on the one hand, and appreciates the antagonist’s humor...on the other.” In one scene, Rāma is tricked into believing Sītā has died and loses his will to fight; Rāvaṇa mocks Rāma’s anguish. Restifo argued that the spectator’s sentiments are split between empathizing with Rāma’s sorrow and

appreciating the humor of Rāvaṇa’s imitative antics, thus engendering detachment (*nirveda*).

Finally, Gregory Clines’s second paper, “How Jains Came to Make Dad Jokes: Hanumān’s Parents According to Two Jain Authors,” compares Hastimalla’s twelfth-century *Añjanāpavanañjaya* to Raviṣeṇa’s seventh-century *Padmapurāṇa*. While in Raviṣeṇa’s version the reader sympathizes with Añjanā alone, Hastimalla’s (sexually explicit) farcical comedy shifts the audience’s sympathy to the couple, who fall prey to the workings of karma. Hastimalla points out that it is the “very bonds of love and affection that keep us in the world of *saṃsāra*”; his goal is thus, Clines argued, to engender *vairāgya* in the audience.

#### **Global-Critical Philosophy of Religion Seminar**

The Global-Critical Philosophy of Religion Seminar, conceived to produce the first textbook on non-theistic philosophies, featured Marie-Hélène Gorisse’s (Ghent, SOAS) presentation, “Proper Acts, Knowledge and Categories in Jainism: Reshaping Traditional Distinctions towards a Global Framework.” Gorisse’s chapter uses Jainism to introduce renunciation as an inwardly focused fight using ascetic practices; and to assess the consequences of taking renunciation into account when envisioning the philosophy of religion globally. The characterisation of correct action, she argued, can bring about a meaningful categorization in which the distinction between philosophy and religion, or theistic and non-theistic traditions, loses its relevance.

#### **Space, Place, and Religion Unit**

In the Space, Place, and Religion Unit, in “Constructing Early Jain Monasticism: Exploration of Ancient Jain Hill Sites in Tamil Nadu, South India,” Julie A. Hanlon (University of Chicago) explored the ways in which Jain monks transformed granitic hills around Madurai into monastic spaces. She shared detailed maps of the caves, analyzing their spatial organization and architectural features. Utilizing a phenomenological approach, Hanlon highlighted the caves’ sensorial aspects, including inter-visibility, bodily orientation and movement within the caves, and how rock-cut pathways structured visitors’ experiences.

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## Jaina Non-Tīrthas in Madhyadeśa I: Fragments of Digambara Temples and A New Vaiṣṇava Inscription in Tumain

Peter Flügel, with J. C. Wright, Dániel Balogh, and James Mallinson

Many historical traces defy definition and delimitation. Areas featuring widely scattered largely unrecycled remains of one or more un-locatable fully disintegrated Jaina temples cannot even be described as ruins<sup>1</sup> or differentiated as distinct places from their surroundings.<sup>2</sup> Neither a site worthy of worship, a “tīrtha” in a wider sense,<sup>3</sup> nor an archaeological site, nor a tourist place,<sup>4</sup> or both,<sup>5</sup> such zones can at best be described as “non-tīrthas.”

A distinction between *tīrtha* and *atīrtha* has been drawn by the Jaina tradition itself, though ostensibly only by the Śvetāmbaras. In the Āgamas, the Prakrit word *tīthha* (Skt. *tīrtha*), “passage, ford,” is used metaphorically, and equivocally, to designate different constitutive elements of the Jaina tradition: the Jina’s “teaching” of the right way, his “fourfold community,”<sup>6</sup> and “pilgrimage sites” linked to the five principal life-events of the Jinas (*kalyāṇaka-kṣetra*), in particular liberation (*siddha-kṣetra*), or to miraculous events attributed to “astonishing” (*camatkārin*) Jina-images or extraordinary Jaina ascetics (*atiśaya-kṣetra*). The Jinas themselves, the *tīrtha-karas*, are considered to be both part of the *tīrtha*, in the sense of community, and *atīrtha*, “beyond the *tīrtha*.”<sup>7</sup> As a technical term, *atīrtha* was specifically introduced to theorise the possibility of liberation “outside the period of teaching of a *tīrthakara*.” Because the canonical theory of *atīrtha-siddha* ratified the possibility of liberation for laity, women, and even non-believers,<sup>8</sup> Digambara authors seem to have altogether ignored the opposition *tīrtha* / *atīrtha*.

Literally, the Prakrit word *atīthha* (Skt. *atīrtha*), “non-passage,” designates the absence (*a-bhāva*) of the right way or time. Logically, the concept points either to a state of affairs before or after the existence of the *tīrtha*, an amorphous immanence, or to a state of affairs judged to be outside the confines of the *tīrtha*, such as activities of “dissidents,” termed *anautthiyas* (Skt. *anya-tīrthika*). In both cases, the *atīrtha* comes in view only by comparison with the *tīrtha*. The state of non-existence indicated by the privative a-prefix is not meant to designate absolute nothingness, however conceived, but the relative absence of a known alternative. In Jaina universal history this is conveyed by the conception of alternating periods of decay and development.

1 Cf. Hegewald 2012.

2 Cf. Bruhn 1958: 1.

3 Bruhn 1959a, 1959b; B. Jain 1976.

4 Nagaraj 2001.

5 Many sites of ruined Jaina temples, demarcated and administered by the Archaeological Survey of India, are now reactivated by members of the Jaina community with permission of local branches of the ASI.

6 *Viy* 10.8.4b-5 (792a-792b).

7 *Viy* 25.6.8 (895a).

8 See *Paṇṇavaṇā* 1.16-17 for the distinctions *tīthasiddha* / *atīthasiddha* and *tīthagarasiddha* / *atīthagarasiddha*, which “make it crystal-clear” that adepts of the particular path can attain “liberation even without listening to the preachings and teachings of a spiritual teacher [...] They are known by the name *atīrtha*” (Punjavijaya et al. 1971: 248). See also Schubring 1935/2000 § 81.



Figure 1. Recycled fragments of a former Digambara temple in Māmōṃ.

In the following, the term “non-tīrtha” is used as an analytical category. In extension and one-sided accentuation of selected aspects of traditional Jaina semantics, it can function as an ideal-type, in the Weberian sense, to measure aspects and degrees of perceived “non-existence,” of “decay” or “renewal,” of a *tīrtha*. Schubring (1926: 910f., 1935/2000 § 12) noted that “the Jains can afford to be quite easy in stating the inevitable impendency of degeneration” since the expectation of times of decay is encoded in the *utsarpiṇī* / *avasarpiṇī*, *tīrtha* / *atīrtha*, and similar distinctions. However, the processes of expansion and contraction of the realm of the cultural unconscious have not yet been studied empirically, notwithstanding the ongoing recovery of historical evidence by modern archaeology and historical philology.

Non-tīrthas, here: *tīrthas* that have vanished or do not yet exist, can be subdivided into “nominal-,” “forgotten-,” “projected/potential-” and “virtual *tīrthas*.” In the present context, only “sacred sites” will be considered.

An example of the first variety are “Jaina temple and tourist places,” such as the Sahariyā Ādivāsin village of Māmōṃ (Bhāmauna), near Canderī,<sup>9</sup> which is listed in contemporary Digambara pilgrimage guides as a Jaina “place” (*sthāna*),<sup>10</sup> despite the fact that no active or ruined Jaina temple exists there anymore, only recycled building

9 24°48'10.2"N 77°58'17.1"E. The village was visited by Peter Flügel and Ingrid Schoon on 19 December 2019, under the guidance of Muzaffar Ansari of Canderī, locally known as Kallebhāi.

10 B. Jain 1997: 334, Nagaraj 2001: 49. In contrast, the Jains in neighbouring Canderī have disowned the place: “There is no Jain site in Māmōṃ.”

material and scattered rubble, products of natural decay, including displaced fragments of Jina statues, pedestals, friezes, coping stones, etc., spread all over the village and surroundings.<sup>11</sup> (Figure 1)

### Tumain

“Forgotten *tīrthas*,” are sites that once featured Jaina shrines, but are not recognised as Jaina places anymore, because their either submerged or fully disintegrated remains are now invisible and disremembered. A good example are the Digambara Jaina temples of Tumain, a small village in the District of Ashoknagar in Madhya Pradesh, located south of the bridge of State Highway 9 over the river Orr (Urvaśī).<sup>12</sup> Tumain was built on the ruins of the ancient town of Tumbavana, going back to the 5th century BCE,<sup>13</sup> located at a main junction of the ancient road network connecting Vidiśā with Mathurā and with Kauśāmbī, as stated in Buddhaghosa’s 5th-c. *Paramatthajotikā* (p. 194), which identifies the “forest” city of Vana-Savhaya, mentioned in the Pārāyana chapter of the *Suttanipāta* vv. 1011-1013, with Tumba-vana, describing it as a step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbī on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda to the Yamunā.<sup>14</sup> Tumbavana is also listed in Varāhamihira’s 6th-c. *Brhatsamhitā* 14.15,<sup>15</sup> and referred to in the Hindu Purāṇas, as well as in six c. 2nd to 3rd century votive inscriptions in Sanchi (Sāñcī), commemorating donations by citizens of “Tu(m)bavana.”<sup>16</sup>

Tumain, does not figure in any modern list of Jaina *tīrthas* or *sthānas*. Jaina literature, however, recognises Tumbavana as the birthplace of one of the “elders” (*thera*) of the Nirgrantha tradition, Ajja Vaira (Skt. Āryā Vajra) (c. 1st century CE), nowadays known as Vajrasvāmin, the last *daśapūrvadhara*, and academic teacher of Ajja Rakkhiya (Skt. Āryā Rakṣita), author of the canonised *Aṅugaddārāṁ*.<sup>17</sup> Tumain is thus a potential Jaina *tīrtha*. Yet, not a single Jaina family resides in the village today, and there are no active or ruined shrines or archaeological sites identified as “Jaina” in the vicinity. But the village and its surroundings are complete with relics of a vanished Jaina presence, which has not received the attention it deserves.

The historical remains of the ancient city of Tumbavana, have been recorded in parts by M. B. Garde (1918-19, 1920, 1941-2), K. D. Bapai and S. K. Pandey (1974, 1985), and N. K. Jain and S. K. Dwivedi (2007). Most significant was Garde’s discovery, in February 1919, of a Gupta-period (435-6 CE) inscription mentioning Kumāragupta I and Ghaṭotkacchagupta, “found stuck up

in a wall of a small dilapidated mosque at Tumain,”<sup>18</sup> now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Gwalior.<sup>19</sup>

The 1972-4 excavations at Tumain of the Department of Ancient Indian History, University of Sagar, under K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey (1985: 9-11), focussed mainly on the local Buddhist *stūpas* and on the historical stratification of the site. But it also recorded relics of the Jaina tradition. The researchers found that most of the Jina images discovered in and around Tumain had been produced between 600 and 1200 CE, under Gurjār-Pratihāra and Paramāra overlordship. They saw the “brisk rise” in the construction of temples and statues of high aesthetic quality belonging to “Vaishnava, Saiva, Sakta, Saura, Bauddha and Jaina faiths” in this period as testament for the continuing economic and cultural significance of Tumain in the post-Gupta era, and for its “tolerant atmosphere” (p. 4). According to Bruhn (1969: 223), who authored a series of short articles on “Jain Tīrthas in Madhyadesha” and a book on Deogarh, the outburst of artistic activity in Mālavā, particular in the 11th to 12th century, the “medieval period,” “is remarkable and cannot be explained by events in dynastic history,” while “one must be grateful for every photo of an early-medieval Jina in Central India that becomes available” (p. 222, cf. 11f., 52-4). In Tumain, several *tīrthanāra* images of the 9th to 10th century, Bruhn’s “early medieval period,” were located by Bajpai and Pandey.

The artefacts excavated by Bajpai and Pandey, “ranging from the 5th century BCE to the 18th century CE,”<sup>20</sup> are now kept in the Harisingh Gour Archaeological Museum of the University of Sagar. Amongst them are nine damaged Jina images and pedestals, mainly carved in ochre sandstone. Five of these objects have been placed in the 10th century, two in the 11th century, one in the 9th century, and the most important find, an impressive Pārśva image, in the 7th century. Two of the identifiable Jina images represent Pārśva and one Supārśva.<sup>21</sup> Most non-Jaina sculptures have also been dated between the 8th and the 12th centuries, the majority in the 10th and 11th centuries, with the exception of a number of older sculptures going back to Gupta and pre-Gupta periods, in one case even to the 1st century CE.

Later, a defaced *sarvatobhadrikā* (*caturmukha* or *caumukhī*) Jina image was discovered by a local farmer. It was placed in the 5th century CE by Jain and Dwivedi (2007: 195, Appendix: xvi), because its iconographic features resembled the Kuṣāṇa Jaina art of Mathurā,<sup>22</sup> whose style was continued in the Gupta period, and is widely in evidence in Tumain. This image, and the bulk of the archaeological relics discovered over the decades seem to remain in Tumain. A few of the ancient Jaina sculptures, including the *sarvatobhadrikā* image, are stored in the so-called “Tumen Museum,” a side-room of the impressive Vinḍhyavāsini Devī (“Mātā” or “Mām”)

11 According to an elderly local woman, “*nāgā bābās*,” Digambara *munis*, lived at the location. The main statue found in the village was relocated to the neighbouring Digambara *tīrtha* of Thūbon a while ago.

12 24°29'25.4"N 77°42'29.6"E.

13 Bajpai & Pandey 1985: 9f.

14 Garde 1941-42: 117, K.C. Jain 1997: 258.

15 Sircar 1967: 94 n.

16 Bühler 1894a: 99, 1894b: 384, 392.

17 For references in the canonical commentary and Āvaśyaka literature, see Mehta & Chandra 1972: 343. Tumbavana is also mentioned in PP 12.2-3. The sources record the following dates: *ācārya* V.N. 584 ~ 22 CE, death V.N. 584 ~ 58 CE.

18 Garde 1941-42: 115.

19 Garde 1920: 114f., CII III 1981: 76.

20 Bajpai & Renner 2012: 10.

21 Bajpai & Renner 2012, Cat. No. 9, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24, 226, 227, 232.

22 Bajpai 1948: 11.





Figure 2. Reconstructed “Baithadeva” Rṣabha image and fragments of smaller Digambara statues in Tumain.

temple, an “originally Vaishnavite” structure, dated “9th century” or later.<sup>23</sup> Yet, most of the historical relics of the once thriving but now extinct Jaina tradition in Tumain, going back to the Gupta period, and not just of the Jaina tradition, remain submerged underground or lie scattered throughout the village and its surroundings: “Numerous ruins of ancient temples are scattered all over the village” and “[a] large number of loose stone sculptures are scattered in the village here and there. Several are fixed on the walls of residential houses. Some beautiful carved ancient pillars have also been used in the modern houses” (Bajpai & Pandey 1985: 7f.). According to Rasavihārī Mīśrā, son of the Brahmin priest of the Vindhyavāsīnī temple, who disclosed some of the historical relics of the village and its surroundings: “If this village is excavated even today, many ancient remains will be found here.”

The Jina images excavated by the team of Bajpai and Pandey in 1972-74 pointed to the existence of at least one Jaina temple. But the remnants of the temple or temples are nowhere described in the published report, and apparently could not be identified with certainty. It emerged, however, that the city of Tumbavana was once divided into clearly discernible quarters:

The entire area was divided in three complexes,

<sup>23</sup> ASI 1918-19: 21. Marshall regarded Garde’s dating of this “only old structure that has survived” as “a little early” (ib.).

viz. Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical. This has been confirmed by the discovery of ancient relics (Bajpai & Pandey 1985: 5).

While the Buddhist area was located outside to the west of the main settlement in a self-enclosed space across the river, the Brahmanical quarter was situated in the centre of the town, and the Jaina quarter apparently to the south, where carved pillars were found, not far from a large, half-buried Jina image, thus pointing to the possible site of a Jaina temple:

*Jaina complex: Baithadeva* – on the southern end of the village stood a Jaina temple. A few carved pillars are still standing there. A colossal image of Jaina Tirthankara Mahavira is lying in the south of the village. The image is in the sitting posture (Padmasana) and is locally known as *Baithadeva*.<sup>24</sup> The pedestal of the image is buried in the ground. There is a possibility of the existence of a Jaina establishment at Tumain, which is borne out by several other remains (Bajpai & Pandey 1985: 7).

A photo of a platform, which likely was the foundation of the cella of a temple, has been published by Jain

<sup>24</sup> The same expression is used by villagers for the Digambara Rṣabha relief sculpture at Bhiyāmdāmta, or Rakhetrā, which is also named Bhīmasena. See Jain 1976: 104f. Cf. JS 14: 24.



Figure 3. Displaced *amalaka* in Tumain.

and Dwivedi (2007: Appendix: p. xvi plate 25.5). The platform does not feature any pillars, but because the *sarvatobhadrikā* image was found nearby, the researchers concluded, like Bajpai and Pandey before them, who possibly had a different site in mind, that this structure may have been part of a Jaina temple:

An interesting thing is also noticed a few meters away from the findspot of the image. It is a platform like throne cut in rock mass (Pl. 25.5). Such type of thrones are most frequently [196] used for installation of the Jina images during Pañchakalyāṇaka ceremony. It is quite simple. In front of it, a big ground is there as generally required for such type of ceremony for assembling the people. These both together suggest that the place was used for the Pañchakalyāṇaka ceremony of the above image before its installation in any temple over there. However, none of the temple remains is found at the findspot and around, but their possibility can not be denied if some excavations are being carried out (Jain & Dwivedi 2007: 195f.).

Dwivedi (2007: 233) states categorically: “It [the *sarvatobhadrikā* image] reveals the existence of a Jain temple at Tumain in the Gupta period.” S.K. Bajpai and Z. Renner (2012: 40), the authors of the catalogue of the Harisingh Gour Archaeological Museum, go one step further, by speculating about the type of Jaina and non-Jaina temples that must have been constructed in Tumain in the period of the dated finds: “In Tumain, no temples have survived; remains, however, show the existence of temple structures, probably of the type with a covered circumambulatory.”

A village tour led by Rasavihārī Miśrā on 20 December 2019 revealed a number of previously unrecorded facts regarding the Jaina heritage of Tumain. First of all, it

emerged that the “colossal image” of “Baithadeva,” a Rṣabha statue, has meanwhile been fully excavated, and restored with prostheses made of concrete for broken parts (apparently by the Jain community of Ashoknagar). It is now on public display in front of a farmhouse, on a concrete pedestal, under a corrugated iron roof. (Figure 2) The numerous fragments of Jaina statues, scattered across the terrain, are clear evidence for the conjecture of previous researchers that major (Digambara) Jaina temple structures must have existed in Tumbavana. It also evident that many non-Jaina temples existed side by side, since in at least two locations, surviving cellas of former Śiva and Vaiṣṇava temples are being re-used respectively for Śiva and Nāga worship. Further dilapidated ecclesiastical structures are clearly visible, as well as huge decorated pillars and *amalakas*, or “sun-discs” in the shape of a myrobalan, that are still used in north India to crown the spire of a temple, strewn in no particular order across farmyards and pathways. (Figure 3)

One of the most interesting features of Tumain is the way in which in a former temple district farmhouses were constructed on top of ruined shrines whose remnants are now rendered invisible from the outside. Villagers showed the dark interiors of three of these submerged structures, now used as storage – or work-rooms, which were lit up with the help of mobile phones. (Figures 5 and 6) A section of one of these farmhouses may turn out to be one of the long-sought, now forgotten Jaina temples, which must have existed in Tumain. The key evidence, unmentioned in previous reports, are two rooms covered by a relatively new roof, forming the annexe of a one-storeyed farmhouse: a well-preserved entrance to the double-storeyed structure which itself is in a derelict state and presently inaccessible, and an antechamber, made of re-erected richly decorated pillars featuring Digambara Jaina motifs. One can imagine parts

of a *pradakṣiṇapatha*, a passage round a cella used for circumambulation, to be preserved as well, though this is hard to verify without further investigation of the overall architectural design of the ruin, concealed under a farmhouse relatively recently constructed.

The fragments of disintegrated temples, such as this forgotten Digambara Jain shrine, whether they are invisible ruins, unearthed by excavation, scattered across open terrain, held in private possession, or dispersed across museums throughout the globe,<sup>25</sup> can in principle be digitally recorded and used either for speculative 3D remodelling of “virtual *tīrthas*” or for projected physical reconstruction.

#### A 10th- or 11th-Century Vaiṣṇava Inscription

A final previously unreported historical fact can be located in the relative well-preserved remnants of a Vaiṣṇava temple, now partly used as a Nāga shrine, inside a farmhouse located opposite the Jain site. (Figure 4) The former Vaiṣṇava temple, whose “door-jamb of extremely fine workmanship” attracted the attention of Bajpai and Pandey (1985: 8), who also mention the adjacent double-

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Stevenson 2019.



Figure 4. Farmhouse with Nāga shrine built over ruined Vaiṣṇava temple in Tumain.



Figure 5. Suspected cella of a Jain temple converted into a farmhouse in Tumain..

storied “remains of an ancient Brahmanical monastery.” According to their account, the Kumāragupta inscription “was found in this place.” A second double-storied “*maṭha*” near-by, described in their report, may have been the above-mentioned suspected former Jain temple, which, however, is not identified as such: “A number of door-jamb and other relics assignable to the medieval period were collected there. They depict various secular and religious scenes on them” (ib.).

Not recorded in the reviewed literature is a copper-plate inscription, attached to an ornamented pillar in a pitch-dark subterranean room of the former Vaiṣṇava temple. (Figure 7) The contents were unknown to the inhabitants of the village, but of great concern. The inscription is duly decoded here, with the help of Dániel Balogh, J.C. Wright and James Mallinson, and turns out to be of considerable interest. It is written in Sanskrit in a Nāgarī (Siddhamātrkā) script. In appearance it resembles the 11th-century Paramāra copper-plate land-grant inscriptions found near Indore, which are displayed in its Central Museum. It could even be older,<sup>26</sup> and, in any case, seems to be one of the earliest known inscriptions

<sup>26</sup> For 9th- and 10th-century donative inscriptions in Central India from the Pratihāra period, recording the erection of temples dedicated to Murāri, see K.C. Jain 1997: 365, and for 12th century epigraphs p. 501.



Figure 6. Reconstructed composite pillar featuring Digambara Jain and secular motifs..



Figure 7. Copper-plate inscription praising the sponsor of a new Vaiṣṇava temple and monastery.

Diplomatic transcription:<sup>1</sup>

- 1 yamaniyamasamādhidhyānatatvādidakṣair avi(c)[\*ali]
- 2 tamanobhir yogibhir mṛgyate yaḥ | nikhilaniviḍanā
- 3 ḍīcakramadhyaikavṛttis sa jayati jagadīśaś śāntamūrtti
- 4 r murāriḥ || satprāgvāṭakuṭumvake (h)aragalo<sup>2</sup> bhūd bhillamā
- 5 lānvayo deddākhyas tanayas tataḥ samabhavat tasmād abhūd īśva
- 6 raḥ | tasyaitasya maṭhaṃ hareḥ śikharavad dhāmaitad uṣṇatviṣaḥ kī
- 7 rttir bhadrapakramair anugato bhūyāt trayīva sthirā ||

Edited text:<sup>3</sup>

yama-niyama-samādhī---dhyāna-tatvādi-dakṣair  
 avi(c)[\*ali]ta-manobhir<sup>4</sup> yogibhir mṛgyate yaḥ |  
 nikhila-nibiḍa-nāḍī<sup>5</sup> ---cakra-madhyaikavṛttis  
 sa jayati jagadīśaś śānta-mūrttir Murāriḥ ||

sat-Prāgvāṭa-kuṭumbake (H)aragalo ḥbhūd Bhillamālānvayo  
 Deddākhyas tanayas tataḥ samabhavat tasmād abhūd Īśvaraḥ |  
 tasyaitat sa-maṭhaṃ Hareḥ śikharavad dhāmaitad-uṣṇa-tviṣaḥ  
 kīrttir bhadrā-pada-kramair anugatā bhūyāt trayīva sthirā ||

Translation:<sup>6</sup>

Hail to Murāri in his tranquil aspect, the lord of the world, who alone functions throughout the entire conglomeration of channels (*nāḍī*), [and] who is sought by adepts (*yogin*) of focussed mind, accomplished in self-control (*yama*), restraint (*niyama*), absorption (*samādhī*), meditation (*dhyāna*), the fundamental truths (*tattva*), etc.

By Īśvara, son of Dedda, son of Haragala in the lineage of Bhillamāla in the fine Prāgvāṭa community this abode (*dhāman*) to the blazing-rayed Hari [was constructed] with a spire (*śikhara*) and a residence (*maṭha*). May [Īśvara's] renown, couched in auspicious wording, be as permanent as the triple Veda.<sup>7</sup>

1 D. Balogh.

2 "It may be scribal error for Haragaṇa." (D. Balogh, E-Mail 28.1.2020).

3 J.C. Wright, J. Mallinson.

4 "There is a parallel in the *Mālatīmādhava* 5.1 [of Bhavabhūti 8th c.] which is cited in the contemporaneous *Kāvyaṭīkā* [...]: [...] *a-vicalita-manobhiḥ sādhakaiḥ mṛgyamāṇaḥ saḥ jayati pariṇaddhaḥ śaktibhiḥ Śakti-nāthaḥ* [...]" (J. Mallinson, E-Mail 21.2.2020).

5 "Here *nibiḍa* is a synonym of *nikhila*: both *khila* and *biḍa* (from *bila*) mean 'gap', and so the two words mean 'without gaps,' i.e. 'complete' or 'all'. The compound means 'who only occurs throughout all the channels.'" Here *cakra* means the totality of *nāḍīs* rather than a particular locus. [...] [I]t is that form (*sa*) of Kṛṣṇa which is sought by yogis" (J. Mallinson, E-Mail 16.2.2020).

6 J.C. Wright, D. Balogh, J. Mallinson, redactor P. Flügel.

7 "I [...] think there's a double entendre in *pada-krama*, which allude to the *padapāṭha* and *kramapāṭha* of the Veda, which in fact serve to preserve the Veda for eternity" (D. Balogh, E-Mail 17.2.2020).

pertaining to *yoga*.<sup>27</sup> The text records the erection of a temple for Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, complete with a spire and a residence for Vaiṣṇava ascetics or young brahmins, by a local member of the Prāgvāta (Poravāla) caste.<sup>28</sup> Only wealthy patrons could afford constructing a spire. The donor's family traced its origins back to southern Rajasthan, to the city of Bhīllamāla (Śrīmāla or Bhīnmāl), as reflected in the *gotra* name. The inscription contains references to Vaiṣṇava *yogins* and *yoga* terminology. Besides the mention of *nāḍīs* and *cakras*, pervaded by the tranquil form of Īśvara, the conceptual chain *yama-niyama-samādhi-dhyāna-tattva* is remarkable. It seems to vary four of the “eight limbs” (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* 2.29, in outlining a path of progressively more refined external and internal yogic practices, culminating in the realization of the fundamental truth (*tattva*) of Sāṃkhya philosophy. In this respect, it can be compared with the Jaina technique of meditative “internalization of important dogmatic subjects,”<sup>29</sup> as taught, for instance, in Umāsvāti's 4th c. *Tattvārthasūtra*.

Bajpai and Pandey (1985) must have taken note of this previously unpublished inscription, because in their report on the Tumain excavations of 1972-4 they infused a summary of the contents of the Kumāragupta inscription (435-6 CE) with information which only the 10th to 11th century Murāri inscription offers. The sponsorship (mentioned in line six of the Kumāragupta inscription) of a temple to god (*deva*), interpreted as Pinākin (Rudra-Śiva) by M.B. Garde, is presented as “construction of a magnificent temple of lord Viṣṇu,” with reference to the first part of the unmentioned Murāri inscription, which is identified with the Kumāragupta inscription, and hence associated with the Gupta period:

In the beginning of the inscription Vishnu is mentioned by the name of Murari, which is a clear identification of the temple being that of Vishnu. It is interesting to note that the fragments of several Gupta sculptures and a tastefully ornamented doorway of the 5th century A.D. are still preserved at the main Gupta site at Tumain (ib., p. 3).

This mix-up might explain why this important inscription has remained unpublished to date.

All photos by Peter Flügel, 19-20.12.2019.

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27 This conjecture is based on a cursory survey of the scarce literature on the archaeology of *yoga*, particularly the post 12th c. epigraphic evidence cited by White 1996: 94 and Sarde 2019: 20f., 75, 240-45. K.C. Jain 1997: 381 refers to the famous inscription of Harirājapāladeva in Thūban, dated 998-999 CE, further down the Urvaśī river, which mentions the Brahmin Sūrasvāmin, who possessed knowledge of “all branches of Yoga,” which may be read as a contemporary variant of a regional epigraphic *yoga* theme.

28 The members of the Prāgvāta (Porvāla) caste tend to be Jainas or Vaiṣṇavas.

29 Bruhn 1997/8, Āvaśyaka V.

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PP = *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*. See Hemacandra.

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## The *Gaṇitatilaka* and its Commentary by *Siṃhatilakasūri*: Two Sanskrit Mathematical Works

Alessandra Petrocchi

The history of Sanskrit mathematical sources is a field of study which continues to attract attention. In the present paper I provide an overview of my work on the *Gaṇitatilaka*, a versified treatise on arithmetic by Śrīpati (11th century CE), and its Sanskrit commentary by the Jaina monk *Siṃhatilakasūri* (13th century CE).<sup>1</sup> The *Gaṇitatilaka* has come down to us together with *Siṃhatilakasūri*'s commentary in a unique and incomplete witness, which was in private hands at the beginning of the 20th century and, despite my efforts, could not be located. The only edition available of both Sanskrit texts is by Kāpadīā (1937). *Siṃhatilakasūri*'s commentary on the *Gaṇitatilaka* is a key-text for the study of Sanskrit mathematical jargon and a precious source of information on mathematical practices of medieval India. To my knowledge, this is the first known Sanskrit mathematical commentary written by a Jaina monk about whom we have substantial information. In presenting the first annotated translation and analysis of these two Sanskrit mathematical texts, I have aimed at bringing to light linguistic aspects, rhetorical features, and textual data. I have also attempted to present new evidence to contextualise the commentator *Siṃhatilakasūri*, point out the challenges in establishing with certainty his monastic affiliation, and make observations about the textual transmission of both mathematical works.

Notably, the root-text written by the Hindu Śrīpati and its commentary by the Jaina *Siṃhatilakasūri* have been preserved through a Jaina line of transmission—given the fact that both works have come down to us in one only extant manuscript written in Jaina Devanāgarī script. The earlier *Gaṇitatilaka* by Śrīpati must have circulated in a separate line of transmission before the

<sup>1</sup> In *The Gaṇitatilaka and its Commentary: Two Medieval Sanskrit Mathematical Texts* (Routledge, 2019), I present the first fully annotated English translation and analysis of the *Gaṇitatilaka* by Śrīpati and its Sanskrit commentary by the Jaina monk *Siṃhatilakasūri*; the Sanskrit edition by Kāpadīā (1937) has also been critically revised.

commentary by *Siṃhatilakasūri* was composed. If on the one hand the existence of a common ancestor remains an open issue until other manuscripts are discovered, on the other hand the transmitted witness represents in itself a textual tradition—as there may have existed more than one—by which the *mūla*-text and its commentary were handed down together. The two texts must have been copied for use over centuries; works usually tend to become more corrupt as they descend from successive transmissions, and this is even more true considering the time gap between the dates of Śrīpati and *Siṃhatilakasūri* and the date ascribed by Kāpadīā to the manuscript (15th-16th century). Text-critical analysis shows that the Sanskrit text of the *Gaṇitatilaka* is almost intact, whereas that of the commentary is at times corrupt and presents distinctive aspects. This might be either due to the separate manuscript families to which each of the two works originally belonged and where the root-text has been preserved in a better state, or to different handwritings used in the exemplar(s) from which the last scribe was copying. Nevertheless, in the commentary textual consistency in language and style exclude the presence of literary strata.

The *Gaṇitatilaka* is a versified work on arithmetic (*pāṭīgaṇita*); it is a fragmentary text consisting of one hundred and thirty-three metrical stanzas containing procedural rules and sample problems which begin with basic arithmetic and end with investment computations.<sup>2</sup> The mathematical topics treated are: “operations” (*parikarman*) with integers, operations with fractions, arithmetic of zero, “classes” (*jāti*) of “simplification” (*savarṇana*) of fractions, “type-problems” (*jāti*)

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the term *pāṭī* is still open to question; Datta and Singh ([1935] 1962, 8) emphasize that calculations were probably performed on sand spread on the ground. The expression *gaṇitaśāstra* denotes the specialised body of knowledge on “mathematics.” The most comprehensive work on the history of mathematics in India is by Plofker (2009). A classic is Datta and Singh [1935] 1962).

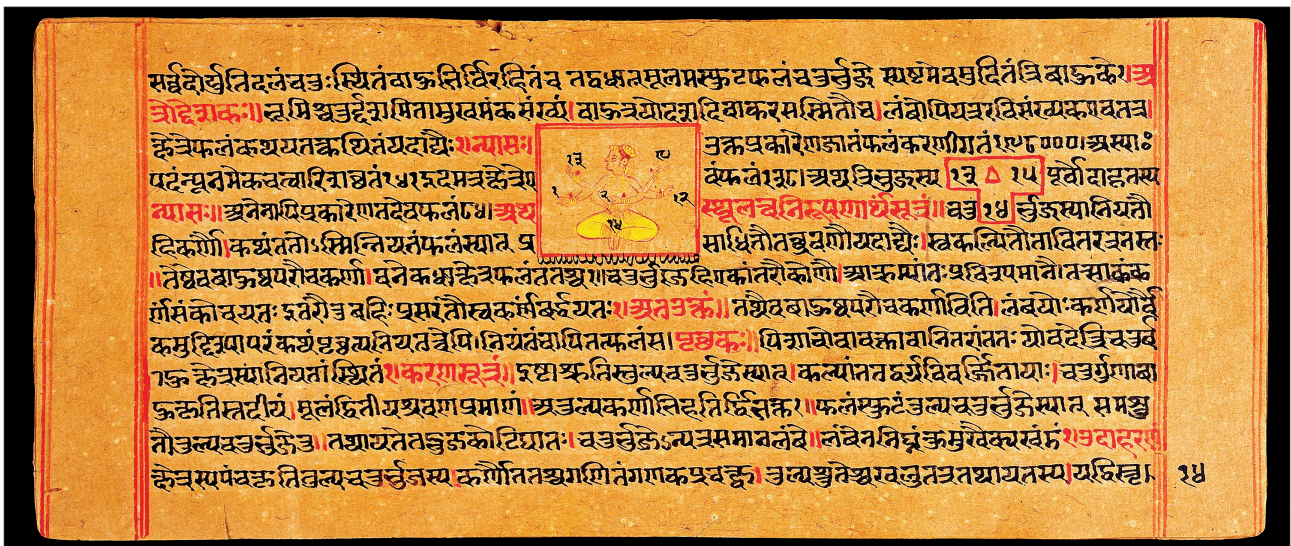


Figure 1. *Lilāvati* by Bhāskara II. MS OR Indic beta 249. Credit: Wellcome Collection. CC BY

of fractions, the procedure known as the “inverse operation,” the “rule of three” (*trairāsika*) and its derivatives, rules on “practices” (*vyavahāra*), which includes rules on interest, capital, conversion of several bonds into one, and equating installments of capital. Śrīpati provides numerous sample problems, along with the rules he enunciates, that describe a variety of situations drawn from the animal world, everyday life, and the marketplace. Sanskrit mathematical texts in verse were part of an orally transmitted textual corpus; they were meant to be memorized by heart and recited. In mathematical commentaries one finds the graphic figures that orally recited verse texts cannot present, commentators provide synonyms, state the meaning of words, paraphrase, provide analysis of grammatical complex, and show the execution of the sample problems enunciated in the root-text. Versified treatises and their explanatory prose commentaries represent two different textual forms complementing each other and responding to specific pedagogical, mathematical, and literary needs. As mathematical treatises and mathematical commentaries connote two distinct kinds of mathematical writings, I contend that they also denote two different pedagogical aids, and that the design of these texts is an indicator of reading and learning habits.

Mehta and Malvania claim that the mathematical commentary by Siṃhatilakasūri was written in VS 1330.<sup>3</sup> The analysis which I have carried out provides unquestionable evidence that Siṃhatilakasūri the commentator on the mathematical work by the Hindu astronomer-mathematician Śrīpati is also the author of the *Mantrarājarahasya*, the earliest available Śvetāmbara manual devoted to the use of the *sūrimantra* and the earliest Jaina source to mention the *devī* Kuṇḍalinī. In the colophon of the *Mantrarājarahasya*, Siṃhatilakasūri himself states that he composed the work in VS 1327 (c.1270 CE). The opening and closing verses in the *Mantrarājarahasya* and in Siṃhatilakasūri’s mathematical commentary tell us something about the author’s lineage. He mentions his teacher Vibudhacandrasūri, whose teacher was Yaśodevasūri.<sup>4</sup> Also, in both the commentary on the *Gaṇitatilaka* and the *Mantrarājarahasya* Siṃhatilakasūri worships the *devī* Kuṇḍalinī and uses the expression *sāhlādadevatā* as well as the peculiar spelling *adhi* (for *adhika*). In the dedicatory colophon at the end of the *Mantrarājarahasya*, the author specifies his own name, the date of composition, and that he himself also wrote a commentary upon it which is entitled *Lilāvati*. According to Dundas,<sup>5</sup> Siṃhatilakasūri, the author of the *Mantrarājarahasya*, who I argue is also the author of the mathematical commentary upon the *Gaṇitatilaka*, lived between the second half of the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th century in the area of Gujarat and Rajasthan, and was the leader of a group of religious mendicants.<sup>6</sup> Siṃhatilakasūri

was a Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka monk affiliated to the Kharataragaccha and involved in the codification of a Jaina ritual that can be styled as tantric.<sup>7</sup> Siṃhatilakasūri is also the author of works dealing with the drawing of mystical diagrams used in Jaina rituals and meditation. Gough underlines that his *Rṣi-maṇḍalayantrastotra* is the earliest datable text on the representation of the *rṣi-maṇḍala*, a ritual diagram which was developed in the medieval period.<sup>8</sup>

Siṃhatilakasūri’s mathematical commentary is uniquely precious as source of direct information about how medieval mathematics was carried out. The attention to the actual calculations is, in fact, a major characteristic of his pedagogical techniques. His explanatory style is meticulous and accurate in order for students to avoid ambiguities; rhetorical features constantly rotate around the configuration of the notational layout where quantities are arranged to be performed. The word *nyāsa* denotes the “setting down, presentation” of the numerical data, and it occurs throughout the various stages of the execution of an algorithm; *nyāsas* are extremely valuable to understand the computational practices they embody. The commentator shows in great detail the way numbers were displayed and manipulated to perform a computation algorithm. Notably, some of the uncommon grammatical forms found in Siṃhatilakasūri’s text represent instances of “vernacular Sanskrit.” The extensive repertoire of technical terms employed by the commentator reflects local jargon and characterizes Siṃhatilakasūri’s own idiom. The commentator often quotes from two authoritative texts on *pāṭiḡaṇita*: the *Triśatī* by Śrīdhara (8th-9th century CE) and the *Lilāvati* by Bhāskaračārya (12th century CE).<sup>9</sup> (Figure 1) His quotations supply alternative methods, clarify passages, and provide sample problems. Nevertheless, Siṃhatilakasūri does not always name the sources used. While on the one hand the commentator specifies his mathematical sources only when he supplies rules, on the other hand when he includes additional sample problems, most of which interestingly occur in the *Triśatī* and the *Lilāvati* too, the commentator does not designate his sources. In these cases, Siṃhatilakasūri uses the term *prcchaka* (literally “inquirer”) to denote the (unknown?) author of the sample problem. Sample problems were part of oral traditions and it is thus difficult to establish whether the authors of mathematical treatises are also the authors of the sample problems they present.

There is no doubt that Siṃhatilakasūri’s works represent invaluable sources of study for both the history of Jainism

*vadi* 8), which is a date too late for Siṃhatilakasūri the author of the mathematical commentary; so it might be a case of homonymy. Vinyasāgara (2005b and 2006) does not mention Siṃhatilakasūri and neither does the *Kharataragacchabhrhadgurvāvali* by Jinapāla (13th century, see Jinavijaya 1956). It is possible that Siṃhatilakasūri may have belonged to an early branch of the Kharataragaccha.

7 For a study on Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka monks see Cort (2001).

8 Gough (2012, 19).

9 Siṃhatilakasūri does not mention the mathematical treatise *Gaṇitasārasamgraha* by the Digambara Mahāvīrācārya (9th century CE), who hailed from South India (see Raṅgācārya, 1912). This silence proves that the circulation of mathematical manuscripts was not as uniform as one might assume.



and Indian mathematics; they embody the development of a variety of literary genres among medieval Jains, who were prolific and versatile writers. Notably, while the monk Siṃhatilakasūri is the author of a text on mathematics, which is a secular subject appreciated by a large audience that includes the lay community, his role as a committed monk is revealed by his religious writings. He is, in fact, the author of works meant to circulate exclusively within the Jaina Śvetāmbara monastic order and which testify Siṃhatilakasūri's role in consolidating the sectarian identity of his *gaccha* as interpreter of the *sūrimantra*. Bhāskarācārya is the author of the most famous Sanskrit mathematical work ever composed: the *Līlāvātī*, which is also the mathematical text more frequently commented upon. Textual authority is a dynamic, complex process which depends upon cultural practices of reception and appropriation. The popularity of Bhāskarācārya's treatises and the zeal with which these were copied in manuscripts might have contributed to the disappearance of earlier and later mathematical works. No longer being reproduced, they finally stopped. A similar fate, although perhaps for different reasons, has unfortunately characterised the *Gaṇitatilaka* and its commentary by Siṃhatilakasūri. It is hoped that these two interesting works will finally have the attention they deserve.

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## Whither the Bhaṭṭāraka Era?

Tillo Detige

**N**orth Indian Digambara Jainism (13th-17th century): *The Age of the Bhattarakas* was a study conducted by the present author from 2012 to 2018 at Ghent University.<sup>1</sup> The project represents the first sustained attempt at an in-depth study of the Digambara Jain *bhaṭṭārakas* of Western and Central India since Vidyādhara Joharāpurakara's seminal and still hugely useful *Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya* from 1958,<sup>2</sup> and the prolific work of Kastūracanda Kāsalīvāla (e.g., 1967).<sup>3</sup>

Featuring numerous site visits throughout the region, the study used newly discovered manuscripts and previously edited but freshly studied texts, including manuscript colophons and songs of praise of *bhaṭṭārakas*; epigraphic sources, inscriptions of temple icons as well as renunciators' memorial stones. (Figures 1 and 2) A systematic survey of commemorative monuments of *bhaṭṭārakas* and other early modern Digambara renunciators was conducted, and prosopographical work based on textual sources also yielded important insights.<sup>4</sup> The corpora of temple icon inscriptions and the textual archives of the manuscript collections (*bhaṇḍāra*) which developed at the *bhaṭṭāraka* seats are sheerly inexhaustible.<sup>5</sup> Only samples were taken of these latter sources, although a few specific finds came to play a crucial role for the overall argument developed through the study. Yet, rather than being flawed by the impossibility of an exhaustive study of all available sources, the hypotheses developed and conclusions reached are in fact validated by their easy, repeated confirmation by mere samplings of abundant source materials.

### Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭāraka Lineages

The number of *bhaṭṭāraka* seats and pupillary lineages in Western and Central India proliferated from the fifteenth century CE onwards. The Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāraṅgaṇa was the most widely distributed *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition in the region, followed by the Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha. The Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Māthuragaccha also had some presence in Western India, while the Mūlasaṅgha Senagaṇa never spread North of Maharashtra. Although many *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages continue to flourish in South India today, and new seats have been installed there in recent times, the Western and Central Indian seats have now all been discontinued. While these *bhaṭṭāraka*



Figure 1. *Niṣedhikā* of Bhaṭṭāraka Harṣacandra (s. 1726, front) and other Balātkāraṅgaṇa renunciators. Choṭī Naṣīyāṃ, Sāgavādā (Rajasthan), January 2014.

lineages were commonly thought to have ended shortly after the rise, formalization, and spread of the Terāpanth in the 17th and 18th centuries, the majority actually continued well into the 19th and 20th centuries, a few until the 1960s and 1970s.

### The Bhaṭṭāraka Era

Though never intended as a comprehensive history of the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages, the project did come to challenge some central assumptions about late medieval and early modern Digambara Jainism shared by scholarship and popular Jain self-perception. Prevalent historiography singled out the period as a distinct phase of the Digambara past, the '*bhaṭṭāraka* era', brought about singularly by the Muslim rule of India, and unfavorably contrasting to both an imagined golden, ancient and early medieval past and the contemporary 'muni revival', the gradual reappearance during the 20th century of Digambara *munis* who today firmly spearhead the tradition. The current research project however brought to light several aspects of continuity with both the earlier and the later Digambara traditions, right across the extended early modern period. Contemporary Digambara Jainism seems to have borrowed from its early modern manifestations more than generally thought. Rather than constituting a distinct and defective '*bhaṭṭāraka* era', late medieval and early modern Digambara tradition turns out to have

1 Project funded by the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO).

2 Joharāpurakara, Vidyādhara. *Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya*. Solāpura: Jaina Saṃskṛiti Saṃrakṣaka Saṅgha, 1958.

3 Kāsalīvāla, Kastūracanda. *Rājasthāna ke Jaina Saṃta: Vyaktitva Evam Kṛtīva*. Jayapura: Śrī Di. Jaina A. Kṣetra Śrī Mahāvīrajī, 1967.

4 Detige, Tillo. '*Satpātrāya samarpitam*: Manuscript Copies and the Early Modern Digambara Saṅgha'. In: Christine Chojnacki & Basile Leclère (eds.) *The Gift of Knowledge: Patterns of Patronage in Jainism*, 274–370. Bengaluru: Sapna Book House, 2018.

5 Detige, Tillo. 'Manuscript Collections of the Western and Central Indian Bhaṭṭārakas'. *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 12 (2017) 36–39.



Fig. 3. Shrine with portraits of Balātkāragana bhāṭṭārakas Ratnakīrti (d. 1897 CE, right) and Devendrakīrti (d. 1916 CE, center), scriptures wrapped in cloth, and table with ritual offerings. Pārsvaprabhu Moṭhe Mandira, Nagpur (Maharashtra), January 2015.

the performance of *keśaloñca*, the pulling out of the hair. The crucial element of the *bhāṭṭāraka* anointment was the transmission of the *sūri-mantra*, which granted *bhāṭṭārakas* the monopoly of consecrating temple icons.

### Early Modern Munis

Another main finding of the project concerns the constitution of the *bhāṭṭārakas*' pupillary circles. While these were thus far assumed to have included only celibate *brahmacārīs* and lay *paṇḍitas*, it is now clear that well into the Mughal era the *bhāṭṭāraka saṅghas* also featured male renouncers of the *ācārya* and *muni* ranks, generally thought to have disappeared in the Sultanate period, as well as female renouncers. *Munis* are attested until the first half of the 17th century, and *ācāryas* until the second half of the 18th century, although the latter rank might by then have changed signification. *Bhāṭṭāraka* songs of praise record the names of *munis* and *ācāryas* who were present at the *bhāṭṭāraka* consecrations. Considerable numbers of funerary monuments are found of early modern *munis* and *ācāryas*, and more rarely of female renouncers (*āryikā*, *bāī*, *kṣullikā*). Scribal colophons also regularly attest renouncers of all these ranks, notably as recipients of manuscript donations. Inscriptions and texts alike typically connect the *munis* and *ācāryas* to the *bhāṭṭāraka* lineages, often as pupils of specific *bhāṭṭārakas*, or as otherwise subordinate to them. They did not in other words flourish aloof from or in opposition to the *bhāṭṭārakas*, but formed part of their renouncer communities. At the time of the demise or retirement of the previous incumbent, a new *bhāṭṭāraka* would be elected from their midst. One song composition traces the career of a renouncer as rising up through the successive ranks, from *muni* to *upādhyāya* and *ācārya*, finally reaching the rank of *bhāṭṭāraka*. Far from being an administrator or a 'semi-renouncer' mid-way between renouncer and layperson, the *bhāṭṭāraka* rank was clearly added at the very top of the ascetic hierarchy in the late medieval period, and remained the paramount rank

throughout the early modern period. *Bhāṭṭārakas* were *munis*, more precisely *ācāryas*, with higher distinctions, further initiations, and additional ritual prerogatives.

To date little is known about the actual, practical significance of the *muni* and *ācārya* ranks in the early modern period, and which ascetic codes were applied to them, especially regarding nudity. It seems unlikely that naked *munis* and *ācāryas* would have been subordinate to clothed *bhāṭṭārakas*. *Kṣullaka*- and *ailaka*-ranked individuals are virtually unattested in the early modern period, and the fact that these preparatory stages to fully-initiated, naked monkhood were apparently deemed dispensable would seem to indicate that renouncers of higher ranks were typically clothed. While attestations of early modern *upādhyāyas* are very rare, another ascetic rank was in usage about which previously little was known, the *maṇḍalācārya*. While the degree of their autonomy and authority is not yet fully clear, especially with regards to the performance of icon consecrations, *maṇḍalācāryas* seem to have been specifically distinguished *ācāryas* who looked after outlying areas of a *bhāṭṭāraka*'s sphere of influence on behalf of the latter. Several *maṇḍalācāryas* later on became independent from their mother lineage, claiming *bhāṭṭāraka*-hood for themselves and also ascribing it to their *maṇḍalācārya*-rank predecessors in written sources.<sup>10</sup>

### Flourishing Digambara Communities

Today, the Sultanate and Mughal eras are often conceived as a period when Digambara Jainism, like, allegedly, other Indian religious traditions, faced decline and hostility. Widespread in popular thought, such un-nuanced notions and the related historiographical periodization also inform scholarship. Muslim rulers are depicted as fanatical zealots, pursuing a theologically motivated policy of temple destruction and persecuting naked Digambara *munis*. As assumedly counterpart

<sup>10</sup> Detige, Tillo. 'Satpātrāya samarpitaṃ: Manuscript Copies and the Early Modern Digambara Saṅgha'. 2018: 311-20.

been similar to contemporary Digambara Jainism in several crucial aspects, and to have flourished rather than withered.

**Venerable Renouncers**

The perception of the late medieval and early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* prevalent at the outset of the project, notably in Western scholarship, was that of ‘clerics’ or ‘administrators’. *Bhaṭṭārakas* were positively credited with the preservation of the Digambara tradition during the putatively adverse period of ‘Muslim rule’, the Sultanate (1206-1526 CE) and Mughal (1526-1857 CE) periods. As renouncers however, *bhaṭṭārakas* were conceived of as deficient and corrupted, taken to have been clothed and sedentary, lax with regards to ascetic codes, and overly ritualistic. As such, they formed a rhetorical contrast to an idealized conception of today’s naked and peripatetic *munis*.<sup>6</sup>

One finding of the project is that the Western and Central Indian *bhaṭṭārakas* were regarded and venerated as ideal Digambara renouncers by the communities connected to them, ascetic as well as lay. Vernacular songs of praise (*gīta*, etc.) of individual *bhaṭṭārakas* voice the deep devotion to the *bhaṭṭārakas* as ideal *munis*, venerable saints, and virtuous teachers.<sup>7</sup> Early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* as a rule seem to have been commemorated with commemorative pavilions (*chatrī*) featuring footprint icons (*caraṇa-pādukā*) or memorial pillars (*niṣedhikā*, Figure 1). At these places of commemoration, notably on their death anniversaries, deceased *bhaṭṭārakas*

were venerated with *pūjā* and *āratī* rituals.<sup>8</sup> Living *bhaṭṭārakas* also seem to have been ritually venerated as such,<sup>9</sup> just as today’s *munis*, especially the *ācāryas*, and even the South Indian *bhaṭṭārakas* still are.

Early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* seem to have followed many of the ascetic practices deemed proper for Digambara *munis* today. Most importantly, many Sultanate and Mughal period *bhaṭṭārakas* may well have been naked at least at times, and references are also found to their practice of rainy season retreats (*cāturmāsa*) and peregrination (*vihāra*). *Bhaṭṭārakas* also took the main vows of the fully-initiated Digambara *muni*, to wit, the five *mahāvratā* vows, the five *samiti* regulations, and the three *gupti* restraints. This is attested among others in some of the available sources on early modern *bhaṭṭāraka* consecrations (*paṭṭābhiṣeka*, *pada-sthāpanā*, *dīkṣā*). Their ritual proceedings and the surrounding festivities are now particularly well-documented, based on a combined reading of Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka* consecration manuals newly discovered in manuscripts from several *bhaṭṭāraka bhaṇḍāras*, and some of the vernacular song compositions on *bhaṭṭārakas*, which constitute historical accounts of individual *bhaṭṭārakas*’ consecration festivals. Further elements attested of early modern *bhaṭṭāraka* consecrations also closely resemble contemporary Digambara initiation praxis, and further confirm the status of early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* as full-fledged, high-ranking renouncers, notably the gifting to the initiand of ascetic paraphernalia such as the water pitcher (*kamaṇḍalu*) and whisk (*picchī*), and

6 Detige, Tillo. ‘Digambara Renouncers in Western and Central India, c. 1100–800’, 182-215. In: John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut Jacobsen, & Kristi Wiley (eds.) *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

7 Detige, Tillo. “‘Gūṇa kahūṃ śrī guru’: *Bhaṭṭāraka Gītas* and the Early Modern Digambara Jaina *Sanḅha*”. In: Maya Burger & Nadia Cattoni (eds.) *Early Modern India: Literature and Images, Texts and Languages*, 271–85. Heidelberg and Berlin: CrossAsia-eBooks, 2019a.

8 Detige, Tillo. ‘The Bhaṭṭārakas of Kārañjā (Lāḍa): Trivenī Saṅgama at Jaina Kāśī’. In: Luitgard Soni & Jayandra Soni (eds.) *Sanmati, Essays Felicitating Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, 143–76. Bengaluru: Sapna Book House, 2015; Detige, Tillo. ‘Worshipping Bhaṭṭārakas’. *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 9 (2014) 27–30.

9 Detige, Tillo. “‘Tataḥ Śrī-Gurus-Tasmai Sūrimantraṃ Dadyāt’, ‘Then the Venerable Guru Ought to Give Him the *Sūrimantra*’: Early Modern Digambara Jaina *Bhaṭṭāraka* Consecrations’. *Religions* 10/369 (2019b) 17.



Figure 2. Icons at the Baṛā Dhaṛā Mandira (Bābājī kā Mandira), Ajmer (Rajasthan), former seat of Balātkāraḅa *bhaṭṭārakas*. February 2013.

processes, the arising of the *bhaṭṭāraka* rank and the disappearance of naked *munis* are thought of as direct consequences of Islamic rule. Following a few anecdotal accounts, the so-called arising of the ‘institution’ of the *bhaṭṭāraka* is often ascribed to ascetic leaders taking to clothing when invited to court by Muslim rulers, or by the latter’s harassment of naked Digambara renouncers.

Precise evidence of actual persecutions of ascetic and lay communities is, however, scant, if not absent, and, as elsewhere, temple destructions and similar acts of violence probably were motivated by locally specific, political-economic factors. There is ample counter-evidence that rather than withering away, Digambara Jainism flourished in the Sultanates and in the Mughal Empire. Here, Muslim rulers no doubt followed pragmatic rather than theologically driven policies. Digambara renouncers were received and honored at court, and laymen were active as successful businessmen in the Muslim polities and worked in state administration. Manuscript culture thrived, temple construction boomed, and huge numbers of icons were consecrated. *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats, which were shifted between different locations far more frequently than commonly thought, were often attracted to Sultanate and Mughal capitals and centers, rather than fleeing from them. In this, the *bhaṭṭāraka* gurus no doubt followed in the wake of communities of lay supporters who had migrated there in search of newly arisen economic opportunities.

### Conclusion

Sources like Digambara commemorative monuments and *bhaṭṭāraka* songs were previously little-known, and little-studied, and even text-based prosopographical work had hardly begun. This can account for the fact that the prevalence of early modern *munis* and *ācāryas* was formerly overlooked. The former status of the Western and Central Indian *bhaṭṭārakas* as high-ranking, highly venerated renouncers, however, is also amply evident from far more numerous and easily available, textual and material sources, like manuscript colophons, lineage lists (*paṭṭāvalī*), icon inscriptions, and the *bhaṭṭāraka* thrones which are often still preserved in the temples where the seats were established (Figure 3). The rigidity and prevalence of the view of the *bhaṭṭārakas* as ‘clerics’ thus stands in stark contrast to an abundance of evidence to the contrary. A certain myopia seems to have ruled out an understanding of the *bhaṭṭārakas* as renouncers and impeded a correct reading of sufficiently straightforward sources. This probably depended on, firstly, implicitly persisting Orientalist presumptions of the inevitable decline and corruption of religious traditions at the hands of a sacerdotal class of ‘crafty priests’, the *bhaṭṭāraka* as previously conceived of corresponding to this Protestant theological archetype. Secondly, colonial constructions of the ‘period of Muslim rule’ as a time of despotism, religious fanaticism, and persecution of indigenous traditions, originally invoked to legitimize colonial rule, are continued in contemporary religious nationalist discourse.

The latter *a priori* obstructed from view the fact that Digambara communities, lay as well as ascetic, were thriving in the Muslim polities, which is evident from even a cursory look at the evidence. The narrative of the abrupt disappearance of naked, itinerant *munis* and *ācāryas*, and their sudden replacement by clothed and sedentary *bhaṭṭārakas*, precipitated by singular events at Muslim courts, was too simplistic to stand as historically plausible. The conceptualization of the late medieval and early modern *bhaṭṭāraka* rank as a cleric mid-way between renouncers and laymen was probably prematurely established based on the position of the contemporary South Indian *bhaṭṭārakas vis-à-vis* the renouncers of the new contemporary *muni saṅghas*.<sup>11</sup> However, even in the case of today’s *bhaṭṭārakas*, it applies only arguably so, as they too are still respected and ritually venerated as renouncers by the Bīsapantha laypeople who support them.

The venerability of the Western and Central Indian *bhaṭṭārakas*, their ascetic practices, and the long continued presence of *munis* and *ācāryas* in their *saṅghas* all form threads of continuity of the Digambara tradition throughout Sultanate and Mughal times, gainsaying the prevalent historiography of the period as a distinct ‘*bhaṭṭāraka* era’. Starting from this radically altered understanding of late medieval and early modern Digambara renouncers in Western and Central India, and of the Digambara tradition of the period in general, further studies are called for, of specific *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages, connecting their history to the political history of the regions they moved through; of the related history and migrations of lay communities and specific Digambara castes; and of individual manuscript collections and the epigraphic corpora of single temples. A comparative look at the medieval and early modern South Indian *bhaṭṭāraka* traditions not included in the present study is also required. The transition from the early modern *bhaṭṭāraka* as the most venerable, highest-ranking renouncer to the more modest, modern-day *bhaṭṭāraka* figure also needs to be studied. The vast and often still relatively unexplored archives are set to yield much further, and perhaps unexpected insights. Unlikely to bore or run dry, they are instead more likely to decay before being surveyed.

All photos are by the author.

*Tillo Detige* was the principal researcher for North Indian Digambara Jainism (13th-17th century): The Age of the Bhattarakas, conducted from 2012 to 2018 at Ghent University. He currently works as an independent scholar.

<sup>11</sup> On the latter see Flügel, Peter. ‘Demographic Trends in Jaina Monasticism’. In: Peter Flügel (ed.) *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, 312–398. London: Routledge, 2006..

## Jain Philanthropic Support of Higher Education in the USA

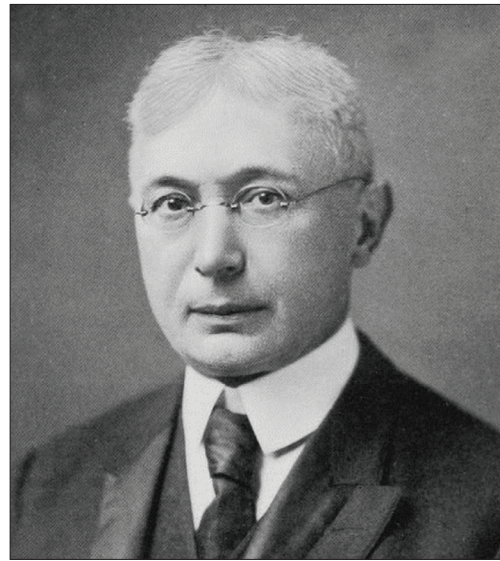
Christopher Key Chapple

Academic scholarship in Jaina Studies largely started in Germany in the 1850s.<sup>1</sup> In 1893, Virchand Raghvaji Gandhi addressed the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago and subsequently delivered hundreds of talks in North America and Europe that introduced Jainism to the new audiences. The first US scholar of Jainism was Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928).<sup>2</sup> Already renowned for his studies of the *Vedas*, from 1913 until his death Bloomfield became deeply involved with the study of Jain narratives. His student, W. Norman Brown (1892-1975), worked extensively with Jain narrative, theological texts, and Jain art. Helen M. Johnson (1889-1967), who studied with Bloomfield at Johns Hopkins University, having earned her PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 1912, published a six-volume translation in 1931 of the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*, *Lives of Sixty-Three Illustrious Saints*, by Hemacandra (12th century). Brown, Bloomfield, and Johnson spent a great deal of time in India interfacing with the Jain community. However, neither Brown nor Johnson nurtured a successor generation of Jain scholarship.<sup>3</sup> While Brown did become a founder of Indian Studies and also the American Institute of Indian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, Johnson spent her career teaching Latin in Missouri.

1 Albrecht Weber (1825-1901), Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937), Ernest Leumann (1859-1931), Johannes Klatt (1852-1903) Walther Schubring (1881-1969), and Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963).

2 John E. Cort, "Jain Studies in North America: Prospects and Obstacles." *Jain Digest*, Fall, 2003, pp. 8-10.

3 *Ibid.*



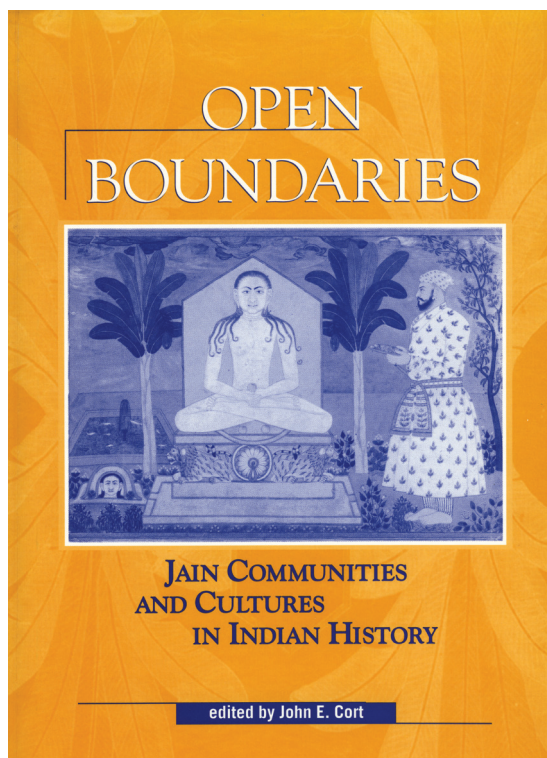
Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928)

Source: A Group of His Pupils, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920). Photographer unknown.

Jaina Studies in the USA began in earnest with the mid-career shift from Buddhist Studies to Jaina Studies of Padmanabh S. Jaini, first at the University of Michigan and then at the University of California at Berkeley. His two major works on Jainism, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (1979) and *Gender and Salvation* (1991), ushered in a new approach to Jaina Studies in the United States. Not until the doctoral work on Jain topics at Harvard of the late Kendall Folkert (1942-1985) and John Cort (dissertation 1989), did focused graduate work on Jainism emerge in the USA.

During a gathering at Amherst College in 1993, an international group of then-young scholars from various disciplines including Religious Studies, Theology, Art History, and Anthropology, met to discuss Jain topics. John Cort (Denison University) coordinated this effort. Whitney Kelting, a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin, was on her way to India for an eighteen-month study of women, music, and Jainism in Pune. Paul Dundas (Edinburgh) had just released his work with Routledge, *The Jains*, in 1992. Leslie Orr (Concordia, Montreal) shared her research on Jain epigraphy in south India. The late Anne Monius (Harvard) was conducting doctoral research that included discussions of the Buddhist-Jain interface. The present author was working on the finishing touches of a book on nonviolence in Asian religions and beginning a translation project on Jain Yoga. Olle Qvarnström (Lund University) discussed his translation of Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, and Peter Flügel (SOAS) shared his theoretical analysis of power and insight in Jaina discourse. The resulting book from this conference, *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, charted new directions for the current generation of Jain scholarship.<sup>4</sup> Between

4 John E. Cort ed., *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998).



1978 and 2003 twenty-one doctoral dissertations were written that included some aspect of Jaina Studies.<sup>5</sup>

Before the renaissance of Jaina Studies in the USA, the immigrant Jain community had begun to self-organize and declare its presence within the urban and suburban cityscapes. The passage of US immigration reform in 1965 allowed green cards and a pathway to citizenship for Asians and Africans, rather than exclusively for Europeans. A steady stream of Jains has immigrated to the USA since that time, largely as physicians, engineers, entrepreneurs, and business people. In 1966, a Jain Center was established in New York City and in 1971 Chitrabhanu began teaching in New York, establishing the Jain Meditation International Center in 1975. Jain Societies and Centers were founded during the 1970s in Boston, Chicago, Northern California, Detroit, Rochester (New York), Cleveland, and Raleigh. Āchārya Sushil Kumar established an ashram in upstate New York in the late 1970s that later moved to Blairstown, New Jersey. The first Jain Mandir was established in 1981 in a former Swedish Lutheran Church in Norwood, Massachusetts, outside Boston.<sup>6</sup> Another early Jain center was located in Queens, New York, and has since been rebuilt into a magnificent multi-story temple and cultural center. The Jain Center of Southern California opened in 1988. It housed a traditional Jain temple with images originally in the Śvētāmbara style installed according to *vastu* requirements. It has since been refashioned into a block-long intricately carved sandstone showpiece and two Digambara images were added in 2008. More than sixty-two Jain temples can now be found coast to coast in the USA, many in traditional architectural style.

The first national gathering of Jains took place in Southern California in 1981. This resulted in the formation of the Federation of Jain Associations in North America (JAINA). At a subsequent Jain workshop at Stanford University in 1991 various scholars began to interface with lay leadership within the growing community of US

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> When it hosted participants from the *Jainism and Ecology* conference at Harvard University in 1998, it still looked more like a church than a Jain Temple.



Signing ceremony to fund and establish Shrimad Rajchandra Chair in Jain Studies at University of California at Riverside.

Jains. Padmanabh Jaini delivered a keynote address, as did Michael Tobias (independent scholar). John Cort and the present author also attended and heard addresses by Atul Shah, now a professor of business at the University of London, and Sulekh Jain, then President of JAINA. A number of events that followed blended scholars and community members, notably conferences at the University of Toronto in 1994 and at the University of Lund hosted by Olle Qvarnström in 1998, celebrating the work of Padmanabh Jaini. In the mid-1990s, Sulekh Jain, Surendra Singhvi, and Jwala Prasad started offering an undergraduate class in Jainism at the University of Dayton, Ohio.

In 1994, two new organizations emerged: Mahavir Vision and JAFNA (Jain Academic Foundation of North America) to fund and support Jain academic endeavors in the USA. It was during a Chicago convention in 1995 that included a group of leaders of the Jain community and scholars that future prospects for the growth and maintenance of Jainism in North America were discussed, as well as and its potential niche within academia.<sup>7</sup> The result was the sponsorship by the Jain community of a conference on *Jainism and Ecology* as part of the series of conferences on Religions of the World and Ecology at Harvard University's Center for the Study of World

<sup>7</sup> This group included Dilip Shah of Philadelphia, Pravin K. Shah of Raleigh, and Sulekh Jain, then of Ohio, and the present author.



Jain donors and officials of the University of California at Irvine signing the documents to fund and establish the Parshvanath Presidential Chair in Jain Studies at the University of California at Irvine.

Religions in 1998. This resulted in the publication of *Jainism and Ecology: Nonviolence in the Web of Life*.<sup>8</sup>

In 2004, Tara Sethia established the Ahimsa Center at California Polytechnic University in Pomona.<sup>9</sup> The inaugural conference, heavily attended by members of the Jain community, resulted in the publication of a volume titled *Ahimsa, Anekanta, and Jainism*.<sup>10</sup> Also in 2004, Cromwell Crawford of the University of Hawaii and Sulekh Jain met in India with Jain *āchāryas*, scholars, and community leaders to establish the International School of Jain Studies (ISJS) under the leadership of Shugan Jain. Launched in 2005, this experience has been beneficial to many professors and scholars-in-training. Several alumni of the program have pursued higher degrees in the study of Jainism in the United States, Canada, and Europe and many have obtained positions as university professors.

In 2001, Unnata Pragma and Charitra Pragma, *samanis* from Jain Vishva Bharati in Ladnun, took up residence with Dilip and Sushma Parekh in Los Angeles. They offered workshops in *prekṣā-dhyāna* and audited an undergraduate class in Religion and Ecology at Loyola Marymount University (LMU). Based on the model that would later to be used for the 2007 implementation of the Doshi Professorship of Indic and Comparative Theology at LMU, a professorship was structured to support an existing faculty line, and additional funds for research. The *samanis*, who had already begun teaching at Florida International University (FIU), were inspired to support the Bhagwan Mahavir Professorship Endowment at FIU, established in 2010. The funds support the teaching of a course each semester by visiting *samanis*, and a full-time professorship. Since the implementation of this arrangement, other similar positions have been created, as listed discussed below.

From 2012-2014, the Jain community supported several activities at Claremont Lincoln University, in partnership with Claremont School of Theology and Claremont Graduate University. These included sending students to study at the International Summer School for Jain Studies. Three international conferences were convened at Claremont by Nitin Shah: “Bioethics: Religious and Spiritual Perspectives” in 2012, “Women’s Perspectives in Spiritual Traditions” in 2013, and “Business Ethics” in 2014.

Starting in the fall of 2015, with support from the Uberoi Foundation and members of the Jain and Sikh communities, Loyola Marymount University implemented a three-year Clinical Professorship of Jain and Sikh Studies. Building on the tradition that started at Florida International University in 2010, from 2017

to 2019 ten additional endowments were established on behalf of the Jain community:

- University of California at Irvine, Shri Parshawanth Presidential Chair
- University of North Texas, Denton, Bhagwan Adinath Professorship
- Rice University, Houston, Texas, Bhagwan Mahavir Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Jain Studies
- University of California at Davis, Mohini Jain Presidential Chair
- University of California at Riverside, Shrimad Rajchandra Chair
- Lyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Bhagwan Mallinath Professorship
- University of California, Santa Barbara, Bhagwan Vimalanath Lectureship in Jain Studies
- California State University, Fullerton, Bhagwan Shantinath Program in Jain Studies
- California State University, Northridge, Bhagwan Ajinath Endowed Professorship in Jain Studies
- San Diego State University, Bhagwan Sumatinath Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Jain Studies

With the participation of the Jain community, Jaina Studies is now firmly established in the USA. The emergence of Jainism as a field of academic inquiry in the United States of America has evolved over the past three decades, and the creation of many new professorships with a focus on Jainism has changed the contours of the discipline of Religious Studies.

Religion, of whatever faith or persuasion, works with human affect, with the best of human potential, informing and encouraging good works in the world. Jainism, with its philosophy and practice of non-violence, has much to offer, now and into the future. Those involved with Jaina Studies form a network with well-established traditions of convening conferences, collaborating with one another on research and teaching, bringing students to India and to the many Jain temples in the USA, and encouraging the publication of new works, including text translations and field studies. The economic support and encouragement of the Jain community remain important and appreciated for all these endeavors.

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<sup>8</sup> Christopher Key Chapple, ed., *Jainism and Ecology: Nonviolence in the Web of Life*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2000)

<sup>9</sup> In consultation with Manibhai Mehta and Nitin Shah, as well as Bipin Shah and Prem Jain.

<sup>10</sup> Tara Sethia and Satyaranjan Banerjee, *Ahimsā, Anekānta, and Jainism* (Motilal Banarsidass, 2004).



## Suburbanisation: A Case of Digambar Jains in Jaipur

Shivani Bothra

This report examines the Digambar Jains in Jaipur. It demonstrates that although Jaipur has been an important centre for Digambar Jains, they fear losing their culture and heritage in the twenty-first century. The suburbanization of Digambar Jains from the Old City to suburbs nearby has been a prime driver for their increasing concerns, which they have addressed through a shift in the treatment of children's religious education. Prior to suburbanisation, a symbiotic relationship had existed between the temple and the traditional *pāṭhśālā* as an important tool for the religious education of children and youth. This relationship fell apart with the dispersion of Digambar Jains in Jaipur.

Digambaras regard temples as vital for the continuity of their tradition as well as for the religious experience of children and adults. In *pāṭhśālās*, usually a Jain *śāstrī* (male scholar) was responsible for transmitting religious values. With the guidance of male scholars, children engaged in memorising religious texts and the Jain *tattvas* (fundamentals or realities). In addition to religious education, it was mandatory for children to go for *deva darśan* daily and also to participate in morning *pūjā* (ritual worship). Children accompanied their families to the temples and watched the rituals being performed. Highlighting the importance of ritual worship, a lay scholar claimed: "In order to retain the existence of Deva-Śāstra-Guru, an important elaborate Digambar *pūjā*, we need to train our children in rituals from an early age."<sup>1</sup> Children also saw their elders make daily offerings. Observing these offerings helped children develop the important virtue of *dāna* (charity) and become familiar with the principle of *aparigraha* (non-possession). It is clear that temples were well attended in the past, and my respondents often recalled how temples used to be overflowing with people across ages.

Scholars writing about Old Jaipur have further drawn attention to the fact that temples received special attention in Jaipur. Jaipur leads every other city in the number of Jain religious buildings, with more than two hundred Digambar Jain mandir (temples), sixty-five *caityālaya* (home shrines), and fourteen *nassiyān* (residential temple complexes). Digambar temples in Jaipur are important centres of pilgrimage for local Jains as well as those from the surrounding regions. John Cort observes: "No Digambar Jain lives more than a few minutes' walk from a temple."<sup>2</sup> Cort's observation suggests that the close proximity of Digambar Jain temples to one's residence notably characterises the walled city. Maps of the Digambar Jain temples inside the walled city show a quasi grid pattern with street arrangement.<sup>3</sup> These maps provide a general layout of Digambar Jain temples and



Children performing *pūjā* at the Digambar Pathshala.  
Photo: Shivani Bothra

*caityālaya*. A significant point to infer from these maps is the presence of clusters of temples in the close proximity of the houses. Moving to suburbs disrupted this kind of arrangement within the religious community, especially, temple-led traditional *pāṭhśālā* that were central to the religious practices of children prior to suburbanisation. The shift to suburbs in Jaipur interrupted access to traditional family temples and, thus, exacerbated fears that youth would abandon Jain religious practices.

Until the turn of the twenty-first century, most of Jaipur's population, including the Jains, lived within the walled city, with a little spill-over.<sup>4</sup> Since then, Jaipur experienced an upsurge in population, which had a direct consequence on the urban sprawl.<sup>5</sup> Many enterprising and progressive Jains have moved away from the walled city to nearby suburbs, leaving behind a community whose sense of a strong Jain identity seems to have eroded. My main Digambar Jain respondent, a businessman who prefers to live in the Old City, further reconfirmed this fact. There were approximately 7,000 Digambar Jain families in the walled city, which has in the past few decades reduced to an estimated 1,000 families. A key reason for this outward migration as reported by my respondents is that the Old City is very crowded and houses are old-fashioned. The moving out allowed Jains to live in a better house in an upscale residential area. This move has further added to their social status. The new residential areas, in contrast to the Old City, followed British town planning concepts rooted in garden city principles, also where English is the medium for mainstream education. The prospect of upward mobility beckoned Jain migrants away from the walled city in Jaipur into new suburbs.

With the suburbanisation of Digambar Jains, temples in the Old City faced two key problems. The physical distance from the suburbs to the temples in the Old

1 Anmol, Interview in Jaipur, 12 January 2016.

2 John E. Cort, "The Architecture of Domestic Devotion: Digambar Home Shrines in Jaipur," *Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies*, no. 10 (March 2015): 37.

3 Kasturchand Kaslival, *Jaipur Digambar Jain Mandir*. Shri Digambar Jain Mandir Mahasangh, 1990.

4 Balkrishna V. Doshi, "Vidyadhar Nagar: Continuity and New Opportunities for the Future of Jaipur," *Ekistics* 61, no. 368/369 (1994): 283.

5 Sébastien Gadal, "Remote Sensing Monitoring of Rural Urbanisation in Jaipur Region," *Rural Development* Vol. 4 (October 1, 2009): 222.

City was beyond walking distance, so disrupting the Digambar's attendance and regular contact with renunciants. In addition, the declining Jain population in the Old City struggled to support the traditional temples. In some cases, these temples remained virtually closed, while in others, those families that did not migrate took charge of maintaining them. The young were not interested in attending pathshalas after a whole day of formal school. Moreover, the youth engaged themselves with secular activities that came with the suburban exposure.

Interviewees referred to the detrimental effects that suburbanisation has had on children's religious participation. They connected suburbanisation with the disintegration of the extended family, dual-career homes, the increasing importance of mainstream education, and an emphasis on material success. None of this has been helped by out-dated traditional pathshala methods. As a consequence, the traditional pathshalas in the Old City were losing their vigour and needed a revival. The Digambar Jain identity, which was well grounded in the Old City, also needed a boost in the suburbs, dominated by a Hindu majority. The desire to sustain Jain practices and to re-create Digambar Jain identity prompted the first reforms in traditional *pathshalas*.

This article has presented one aspect of my PhD thesis,<sup>6</sup> Using in-depth curriculum analysis and formal interviews, I examined contemporary Jain religious schools for children in the image-worshipping Digambar tradition and the non-image worshipping Shvetambar Terapanth tradition in India, and mixed Jain traditions in the United States.

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<sup>6</sup> Shivani Bothra, "Keeping the Tradition Alive: An Analysis of Contemporary Jain Religious Education for Children in India and North America" (2018), <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/7986>.

**VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM  
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One or more grants per year, to a maximum of £500

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## Translating Digambara Jaina Philosophy into Persian

Jean Arzoumanov

In 1796 in Lucknow, Claude Martin (1735-1800), a wealthy French officer of the East India Company, commissioned a certain Dilārām to translate two classical texts of the Digambara Jaina philosophical tradition into Persian. This translation stands out as a unique specimen among Indo-Persian texts describing Jains and Jainism. Dilārām, who is otherwise unknown, described himself in the manuscripts as a Brahmin expert in Persian and Sanskrit.

Claude Martin gathered a vast collection of South Asian manuscripts in various languages. Despite this collection and his evident interest in intellectual and orientalist pursuits, he was not a scholar himself and did not contribute to the growing scholarship produced under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which he joined in 1799. His collection comprised a Jaina manuscript now held by the British Library (IO San. 2909) which contains two 17th-century commentaries composed in Agra by the Jaina Digambara author Hemrāj Pāṇḍe. As a *pāṇḍe*, Hemrāj belonged to a class of lay temple administrators employed by temples to perform rituals and give public discourses. He was close to the lay “spiritualist” (*adhyātmika*) circles animated by Banārsīdās who were attempting to counterbalance the then predominantly ritualist nature of Jainism with an emphasis on individual spiritual practice based on a deep knowledge of classical Digambara philosophical texts. *Adhyātmika* intellectuals were particularly active in making these texts available to the public through translations into vernacular languages. Hemrāj penned several commentaries in Braj Bhāṣā, a literary language based on the vernacular language of the Braj region. The commentaries contained in the British Library manuscript explain two treatises attributed to two of the most important Digambara philosophers, Kuṇḍakuṇḍa (c. 2-8 century) and Nemicandra (c. 11 century). The first, Kuṇḍakuṇḍa’s *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, concentrates on the soul (*jīva*) exploring its qualities, capacities and its relationship with karma. It finishes on the means to attain spiritual liberation, that is liberation from karma. The second, Nemicandra’s *Karmaprakṛti*, explores the technicalities of the complex Jaina doctrine on karma, where karmas are viewed as omnipresent particles endowed with various qualities which interact with the individual souls and obstruct their natural capacities.

Dilārām was commissioned to translate this specific manuscript into Persian. The British Library (London) and the Bodleian Library (Oxford) hold the unique four copies of the two translations. Notably, the Oxford copies had been purchased from the famous orientalist and Oxford Sanskrit Professor Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860). (Figure 1) Their content was bound to puzzle readers and cataloguers alike; one of whom described the London manuscript as “a curious book.” The original Sanskrit titles transliterated into Persian were certainly hard to decipher. The layout of the manuscripts was also extremely unusual since the text is alternately written

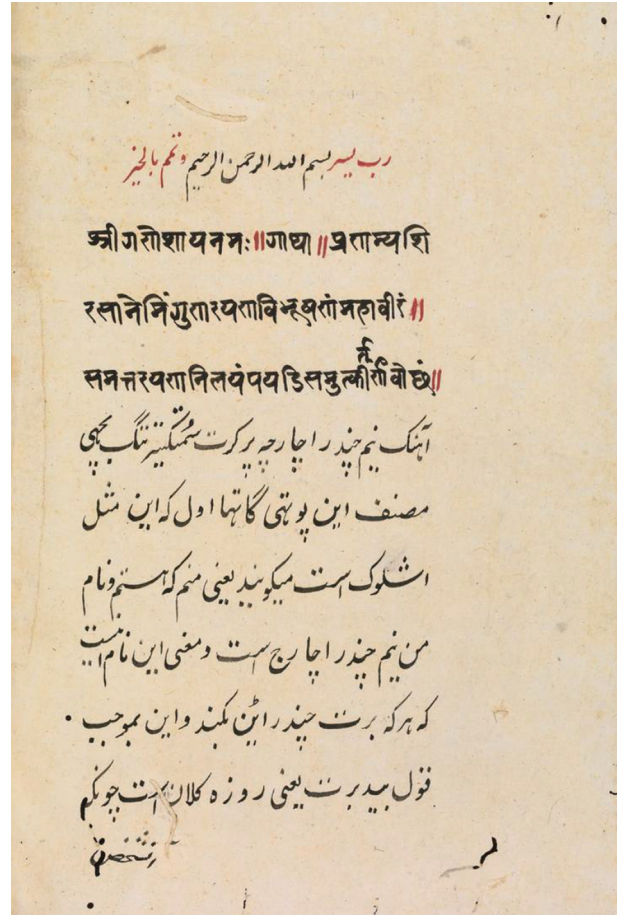


Figure 1. Dilārām, Persian translation of Hemrāj Pāṇḍe’s commentary on the *Karmaprakṛti*

c. 1796

Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: MS. Wilson 262, fol. 86v

© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

in Perso-Arabic and Devanāgarī scripts. Alongside with Persian, the manuscripts feature the original verses (*gāthā*) in Jaina Śaurasēnī – the middle Indic language used by Digambara philosophers in their versified work – and their Sanskrit “shadow” translation (*chāyā*).

Until the mid-19th century, Persian remained the dominant administrative and diplomatic language in North India and a major literary language both among Muslims and Hindus. Europeans were quick to adopt it in their proceedings with local officials and had an army of Persianized private secretaries (*munshi*) in their employ. Since the 17th century, a growing part of Hindu literati, mainly from the scribal (*kayastha*, *khatri*) and priestly castes (Brahmin), had developed high skills in Persian and worked at every administrative level. Dilārām was one of them but he probably did not go through a full curriculum since his Persian is not of a high grammatical and stylistic standard. The many digressions scattered in his translations make clear that his scholarship was broad. They touch upon Sanskrit grammar, Ayurvedic medicine, Quranic verses, Persian and *hindavī* (North Indian vernacular) poetry.

Dilārām translated only the parts of Hemrāj’s

commentaries which were written in Braj Bhāṣā. In reality, Hemrāj's commentaries would have been quite difficult for a reader to properly understand without oral guidance. They contain many technical Sanskrit words specific to the Jaina doctrine that are often not translated in an easily understandable vernacular form. They are also bilingual as they feature entire Sanskrit sentences, which are also translated into Braj Bhāṣā. Dilārām directly transcribed these sentences in the Perso-Arabic script. Due to the phonetic differences between Sanskrit and Persian, these transcriptions would have been almost undecipherable for any reader.

Dilārām first translated the *Pañcāstikāyasāra*. He probably deemed this work a success and later undertook to translate the *Karmaprakṛti*. Indeed the first translation is fairly intelligible but the second falls painfully short. Hemrāj's technical and often abstruse commentary had Dilārām struggling to the point where he abandoned the enterprise halfway through. Evidently, Dilārām was aware of Jainism as a distinct tradition but he lacked knowledge of its basic tenets, some of which had accurately been described by Emperor Akbar's vizir, Abū'l-fa'iz (1551-1602), in the *Institutions of Akbar (Ā'in-i akbarī)*, a seminal Persian encyclopedia on India.

His attempt at making intelligible the foreign and even strange elements of Jaina philosophy through glossing, interpreting and digressing reveals the complex and precarious conditions under which three radically different cultures – Jainism, Hinduism, Islam – could meet through the medium of Persian. Indeed, his interpretation of the two Jaina texts resorts to the Advaita Vedānta doctrine formulated in Muslim Sufi terms. This is epitomized by the triple religious invocation – Jaina, Hindu, Muslim – located at the beginning of the two texts.

The influence of the Advaita Vedānta doctrine on the nature of the world and its relation with the soul is pervasive throughout the translations. Dilārām himself avowed his preference for the Advaita Vedānta school. Based on the teachings of Śaṅkarācārya (c. 8th century), the “non-dualist” (*advaita*) school professed that the individual self (*ātman*) is identical with *brahman*, the absolute being behind the world's manifold manifestations, but that a cosmic power of illusion (*māyā*) hides this profound unity from ignorant individual souls. Only reflexive knowledge and perception of this truth permit them to realize the vanity of individuality and reach liberation from perpetual birth and suffering. This philosophical doctrine had reached an influential position amongst North Indian Hindus and its mark is evident in numerous Persian sources on Indian religions.

The unity that Dilārām sees between Advaita and Jaina, especially Nemicandra's doctrines may seem far-fetched, in particular since unlike idealist Vedantists, Jains consider the soul (*jīva*) as being endowed with a body constantly subjected to the inflow of harmful karmic particles. Yet there is a deep affinity between the two systems' conception of the self (*ātman*). In common with Advaita which equates *brahman* and “supreme

self,” classical Jaina authors (Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, Yogīndu) and “spiritualists” (*adhyātmika*) developed the concept of a supreme self (*paramātmān*, *adhyātmān*).

The picture of Advaita doctrine given by Dilārām is also permeated with Islamic Sufi notions. By the time of Dilārām's translation, Indo-Persian authors, both Hindu and Muslims, had been developing for several centuries a dialogue between Advaita Vedānta and Sufi mysticism. In brief, Dilārām's Vedantic and Sufi vision states that ignorant souls are bound to suffer in a transient and illusory world where they develop false attachments and fall prey to treacherous pleasures. Only gnosis enables the mystic to contemplate God and obtain salvation by being annihilated in God.

Through this persistent effort to make sense of two complex doctrinal texts from an unfamiliar tradition, Dilārām created unexpected and original intersections between three religious traditions: Jainism, Advaita Vedānta and Sufi Islam. His translations illustrate the fact that texts and knowledge circulated well beyond watertight religious environments and that appropriating unfamiliar knowledge was an essential feature of an intrinsically multifaceted India.

*Jean Arzoumanov is in the process of completing his PhD at Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3. His dissertation explores a set of Indo-Persian ethnographical texts dealing with Indian religious sects (1650-1850). The provisional title is: Les groupes ascétiques et monastiques indiens dans la littérature indo-persane, 1650-1850 : des savoirs indiens aux sources de l'orientalisme européen.*

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## The *Siribhūvalaya*: An Unexplored Treasure Trove of Knowledge and Creativity

Anil Kumar Jain

The *Siribhūvalaya* was scripted by Muni Kumudendu during the 9th century CE in the state of Karnataka. It remained obscure to *ācāryas* and scholars because of its indecipherable content. Muni Kumudendu worked out an exclusive writing system which was based on a code of numbers independent of any language-specific script. But as contents and uniqueness of this scripture are being revealed from the past seventy years, readers are wonder-struck not only by the multiplicity and profundity of knowledge contained in the text, but also by the unique and innovative styles of presentation and rendition. That is why Dr Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India, commented that the *Siribhūvalaya* should be regarded as the tenth wonder of world. Still there remains lot to be discovered as what is available now in the public domain is only a small fraction of the *Siribhūvalaya*.

Muni Kumudendu was a contemporary to King Nṛpatuṅga (Amoghavarṣa I) (800-878 CE) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty. Mallikābbe, the wife of one of Nṛpatuṅga's army officers, recognised the importance of Kumudendu's *Siribhūvalaya* and had copies of this great epic made, which were distributed among the Jain *ācāryas* of her time. One of these handwritten copies on *korī* paper survived until the twentieth century and was in the possession of a Jain scholar named Dharaṇendra Paṇḍit, who was resident of a village called Doddabele near Bengaluru in Karnataka. Yellappā Śāstrī, an Āyurvedic practitioner and scholar, was very curious to learn its contents, but was not allowed to do so. In his efforts to get access to this work, Yellappā Śāstrī married a niece of Dharaṇendra Paṇḍit and finally was able to acquire it in 1920 after the demise of the former.

Yellappā Śāstrī spent thirty years trying to unravel the mysteries of the *Siribhūvalaya*. At last, his dedication and hard work paid off. One day in 1950, he suddenly found that he had made a breakthrough in deciphering the verses. Three years later, in 1953, together with co-editors Karlamaṅgala Śrīkanthaiāh (a freedom fighter with an abiding interest in history and inscriptions, who had been working on the text with Yellappā Śāstrī since 1935) and Ananta Subbāraō (inventor of the Kannada typewriter), Yellappā Śāstrī released the first volume containing a compilation of their findings. A second volume was released two years later, in 1955. In these two publications, *adhyāyas* (chapters) 1 to 34 were decoded and detailed explanations of the contents were made available in Kannada. In 1956, Yellappā Śāstrī brought transcripts of all *cakras* (pages) along with few original manuscripts of the first *khaṇḍa* to the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for preservation and open access to all interested persons. Archived transcripts also included decoded texts of the remaining *adhyāyas* 34 to 59 in Kannada script. In April 1957 Yellappā Śāstrī moved to New Delhi to work closely with Ācārya Deśabhūṣaṇa for a Hindi translation and deliberations on this scripture. Unfortunately, he met with sudden death on

23 October 1957. Before his abrupt demise only fourteen chapters were ready and these were later published by the Bhūvalaya Prakāśana Samīti (Jain Mitra Maṅḍal) in Dharampura, Delhi.

In the *Siribhūvalaya*, one *cakra* contained only integer numbers arranged in a square matrix of 27 dimensions. The integer (in the range of 1 to 64) in each of the cells of the matrix represented one of the 64 *mūla varṇas* or phonetic alphabets as enumerated in texts of earlier *ācāryas* in the lineage to which Muni Kumudendu belonged: 27 *swaras* (vowels), 33 *vayṇjanas* (consonants) and four *yogavāhas* (special phonetic alphabets) comprised of these 64 *mūla varṇas*. (Table 1)

In order to decipher a *cakra* one is required to traverse these 729 cells of the 27 x 27 matrix in a distinct manner for each of the *adhyāyas*. The steps to deciphering are called *bandha*. Deciphered *cakras* reveal poetry in Kannada. It is claimed that multilingual poetry and verses, which are derived from the base Kannada text, comprise 718 dialects, including Prākṛta, Saṃskṛta, Telugu, Tāmil, Apabhraṃśa, and Pāli. The subject matter covers many topics of Indian philosophies and ancient sciences, including canonical scriptures of Jainism and other prevalent religions at that period. It also includes extensive deliberations on mathematics and Āyurveda (specifically Puṣpāyurveda or Lalitāyurveda). The entire contents of the *Siribhūvalaya* are segmented into nine volumes called *khaṇḍas* and each of *khaṇḍas* is further divided into *adhyāyas*. Each *adhyāya* is constituted with a number of related *cakras*. These *khaṇḍas* have been named by Muni Kumudendu as:

1. Maṅgala Prābhṛta
2. Śrutāvātāra
3. Sūtravātāra
4. Prāṇāvaya Pūrva
5. Dhavala
6. Jaya Dhavala
7. Vijaya Dhavala
8. Mahā Dhavala
9. Atiśaya Dhavala

In the first volume of the scripture there are 59 chapters with a total of 1, 263 *cakras* dispersed among these. Decoding of these *cakras* results in about 600,000 verses, while the remaining eight volumes are not yet in the public domain. It is likely that these are either held privately, or have been lost forever.

A distinctive feature of this epic is that text is not presented in a linear fashion (one dimension), i.e. following a sequence of alphabets starting from left to right or from top to bottom or similar order. Instead, encrypted *mūla varṇas* in form of numbers are arranged in two dimensions of a 27 x 27 matrix (termed as "*cakra*"). To decode verses, one needs to traverse the *cakra* as per a specified non-linear sequence (in two dimensions of rows



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1	59	23	1	16	1	28	28	1	1	56	59	4	56	1	1	47	16	34	1	7	16	1	1	7	56	1	60
2	53	54	47	28	1	47	45	28	7	4	59	41	4	45	1	30	47	47	45	42	53	28	51	1	52	1	1
3	1	22	1	30	2	1	2	55	30	1	7	45	47	52	1	4	1	47	1	1	1	1	53	1	52	59	52
4	59	30	2	55	55	13	16	2	53	60	1	4	16	47	48	45	16	56	56	43	45	1	56	1	4	1	13
5	47	45	1	1	22	30	51	1	2	56	38	30	4	1	1	56	1	1	16	1	57	7	56	56	1	22	1
6	54	52	52	45	1	7	55	48	1	58	52	35	28	55	1	38	45	30	55	4	47	7	45	38	45	38	1
7	1	1	1	28	13	56	55	51	54	1	1	1	1	42	2	4	4	1	43	16	47	7	1	13	4	51	4
8	28	53	47	22	8	1	53	59	38	7	43	40	1	52	59	54	30	1	45	16	1	28	23	50	7	43	43
9	1	2	45	51	30	1	52	58	48	59	47	54	4	4	1	47	45	47	56	28	1	45	1	13	7	7	7
10	55	1	53	47	56	1	1	7	1	1	2	60	48	56	1	1	16	1	1	54	1	52	17	30	54	45	45
11	59	56	52	1	45	1	55	28	52	28	1	2	1	52	54	4	43	60	48	28	1	16	23	8	53	7	1
12	2	1	53	52	43	23	2	4	16	52	44	54	1	2	42	7	1	7	47	30	28	48	47	1	54	52	16
13	45	54	23	4	28	45	45	30	1	59	1	56	28	2	54	53	38	2	2	1	28	55	40	60	4	50	28
14	2	13	47	1	1	4	17	45	1	56	1	52	56	51	1	47	55	55	45	7	2	54	1	56	7	1	1
15	23	4	53	54	59	48	13	56	1	47	23	1	2	55	16	1	1	47	40	54	16	52	1	47	60	43	60
16	45	16	43	1	7	47	1	7	1	4	54	54	1	43	28	28	7	1	2	7	52	30	1	4	47	4	13
17	42	1	54	13	1	28	1	45	42	5	48	56	1	1	1	52	54	7	1	1	2	56	56	2	43	1	1
18	56	43	22	45	56	43	2	2	56	1	8	48	59	59	7	16	53	55	53	48	1	1	46	2	30	53	1
19	47	45	1	2	54	56	56	2	55	51	4	16	7	13	30	16	1	1	4	52	52	4	54	47	2	38	1
20	1	54	60	56	54	1	60	1	1	16	40	38	17	1	47	56	33	55	1	1	59	48	1	53	7	1	1
21	1	52	16	1	60	1	30	53	30	7	47	13	13	22	8	13	45	59	54	1	2	42	54	47	53	52	53
22	16	30	1	4	52	47	56	1	28	16	1	22	59	51	1	1	7	28	53	60	7	1	16	16	1	1	58
23	4	53	56	1	52	2	13	52	38	30	45	7	1	30	56	16	1	1	1	30	48	56	54	54	55	28	45
24	1	47	47	1	28	22	1	47	1	1	45	46	1	1	47	53	55	52	1	1	7	43	2	1	1	1	43
25	1	4	53	1	45	43	16	55	52	4	47	55	45	22	51	56	1	38	13	30	2	28	56	13	56	28	55
26	4	16	46	1	1	16	1	1	1	1	1	47	59	4	8	38	58	1	1	48	1	7	22	1	1	1	60
27	52	4	30	56	53	52	54	1	30	52	1	16	54	7	58	1	30	54	1	56	51	53	56	57	56	4	60

Table 3. Transcript of the first *cakra* of the *Siribhūvalaya*. Decoding steps are further illustrated for the same *cakra* in accordance with *cakra-bandha* as shown in Table 2.

Below are the steps to decode this *cakra* in Table 3 in accordance with the traversal sequence as indicated in the *Cakra-Bandha* Matrix in Table 2. The result of each step is shown in Table 4.

Step 1: Locate sequence number 1 in the *Cakra-Bandha* Matrix (Table 2) in terms of rows and columns. For example, cell at row 1: column 14 contains sequence number 1 and cell at row 27: column 15 contains sequence number 2 and so on.

Step 2: Find the integer at the same location (row & column) in the *Cakra* Matrix (Table 3). For example, cell at row 1: column 14 contains integer 1 and cell at row 27: column 15 contains integer 58 and so on.

Step 3: Substitute this *cakra* integer with corresponding *mūla varṇa* from Table 1. For example, integer 1 represents *mūla varṇa* ‘a’ and integer 58 represents *mūla varṇa* ‘ṣ’ etc.

Step 4: Repeat steps 1 to 3 with the next sequence number until sequence number 729 is reached. Note down the result of each step as shown in Table 4.

The decoded text results in a string of *mūla varṇas*. Joining *mūla varṇas* into words and words into verses or *śloka* has to be done with a good knowledge of the Kannada language. *Mūla varṇas* which result into the first *śloka* are shown in Figure 1.

Sequence Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Row, Column as in Figure-2	1,14	27,15	26,16	25,17	24,18	23,19	22,20	21,21	20,22	19,23	18,24	17,25	16,26	15,27	14,1	13,2	12,3	11,4	10,5	9,6
Integer in same Row, Column as in Figure-3	1	58	38	1	52	1	60	2	48	54	2	43	4	60	2	54	53	1	56	1
Substitution of Integer with Mūla Varṇa in Figure - 1	अ	ष	ट	अ	म्	अ	ह	आ	प्	र्	आ	त्	इ	ह	आ	र्	य्	अ	व्	अ

Table 4. Result of steps in decoding procedure

अ ष ट् अ म् अ ह् आ प् र् आ त् इ ह् आ र् य् अ व् अ य् भ् अ व् अ द् इ न् द् अ अ ष ट् अ ग् उ ण् अ न्  
 ग् अ ळ् औ ळ् औ म् द् अ म् स् र् ष ट् इ ग् ए म् अ न् ग् अ ळ् अ प् अ र् य् आ य् अ द् इ न् इ त् अ अ  
 ष ट् अ म् अ ज् इ न् अ ग् ए र् अ ग् उ व् ए न् उ ॥1॥

Figure 1. This string of *mūla varṇas* constitutes the first *śloka* of the *Siribhūvalaya*.

In the *Siribhūvalaya* Muni Kumudendu expressed his sincere gratitude to Ācārya Vīrasena and identified himself as his disciple. Ācārya Vīrasena commenced his *dhavala* by offering prayers to Lord Candra Prabhu or Candra Nātha. In the same spirit, the Maṅgala Caraṇa invocation by Muni Kumudendu in the first *śloka* of the *Siribhūvalaya* is dedicated to the eighth Jina.

The following is a transcription of the decoded first *śloka* in Roman script along with its rendition in English.

*aṣṭa mahāprātihārya vaybhavadinda | aṣṭaguṇaṅgalō  
 aumdaṃ ||*  
*srṣṭige maṅgala paryāyadinīta | aṣṭama jinagera  
 guvenu ||1||*

Overwhelmed with immense external grandeur of the eight *mahāprātihāryas*, which are attributed to the *Arihanta Parameṣṭhin*, Muni Kumudendu further envisages the internal majesty of the manifestation of the *aṣṭaguṇa*, i.e. the eight infinite qualities which are derivatives of *om* and are attributed to the *siddha parameṣṭhin*. He pronounces that these two forms, i.e. *arihanta* and *siddha*, are hugely beneficial for the well-being of the whole of the universe. Thus, Muni Kumudendu commences *maṅgala prābhṛata* by bowing down to pay humble homage to the eighth Jina Lord Candra Prabhu or Candra Nātha.

Comprehensive reflections on multiple facets of the *Siribhūvalaya* divulge inimitable qualities of its creator. As a master mathematician Muni Kumudendu shone with brilliance in creating not only the intricate framework of *cakras* and *bandhas*, but also expressed mathematical interpretations on a variety of topics. It is very remarkable and noteworthy that his methods of encryption were reinvented recently, about fifty years ago, for use in modern cryptography. In contemporary terminology these are termed Block Cipher, Steganography and Visual Cryptography. The multiplicity of contents in the *Siribhūvalaya* reveal that Kumudendu was an eminent scholar of religious foundations, scriptures, practices and ancient sciences of diverse domains. By interweaving multilingual literature within base Kannada he has demonstrated that he was a highly competent linguist with proficiency in languages prevalent in India at that time. Compositions of verses in the *sāṅgatyā* style (verses that can be recited musically) demonstrate Muni Kumudendu's deep understanding of rhythm and melody, too.

An obvious question arises: Why did Muni Kumudendu choose to encrypt the *Siribhūvalaya*? There are no clear answers available so far. But there are a few plausible ones as described herewith. In that window of history, Jainism was under attack and there were incidences of largescale killings, demolition of temples and religious scriptures. Perhaps in anticipation of such Muni Kumudendu rendered the *Siribhūvalaya* manuscripts unintelligible so these might escape destruction. Another plausible explanation is that since Muni Kumudendu was a proficient mathematician and a linguist, besides being a great poet with multifaceted creativity, he chose to exhibit an innovative medium for poetry hidden inside a maze of numbers arranged as *cakras*. A third plausible reason may be an amalgamation of the above two: As a safeguard from destruction he used his creativity to craft this scripture in numerals.

There remain many undiscovered aspects of the *Siribhūvalaya*, which need further exploration by respective domain specialists. Ideally, these subject matter experts should form a team which should at least include scholars in Halle Kannada (Old Kannada), Prākṛta, Saṃskṛta, Jainology, mathematicians, computer scientists, etc.

All tables are by the author.

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CENTRE OF  
 JAINA STUDIES



## New Approaches to Studying the History of Jainism in South India

Julie A. Hanlon

In my doctoral dissertation, *Jain Monks, Merchants, and Kings in Early Historic South India* (University of Chicago, 2018), I utilized a multi-perspectival approach in which archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence were critically assessed and brought into dialogue in order to reconstruct the early history of Jainism in Tamil Nadu. Previous research on the history of Jainism in Tamil Nadu has been predominantly textual, comprised of translation, description, and analysis of literature and inscriptions. While more recent research has sought to engage the literary and epigraphic data in new ways and problematize earlier historical narratives,<sup>1</sup> the work of scholars such as R. Champakalakshmi, G. Jawaharlal, and A. Ekambaranathan has contributed additional archaeological perspectives and analysis of Jain sites.<sup>2</sup> My project builds upon this foundation of research, while also exploring new forms of analysis, such as geospatial and statistical analysis of Jain inscriptions and sites, and contributes new archaeological and spatial data about early Jain monastic communities in Tamil Nadu generated via archaeological survey. In this article, I will primarily highlight my interdisciplinary analysis of the epigraphic data, i.e. my geospatial and statistical analysis of the corpus of Jain inscriptions and in-situ analysis of the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

One of the goals of my project was to situate the literary and epigraphic evidence of Jainism within an archaeological landscape, i.e., a temporal geography comprised of archaeological material data. (Figure 1) To do so I drew primarily upon two compendiums, Ekambaranathan and Sivaprakasam (1987) *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu: A Topographical List* and Rajan et al. (2009) *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu*, which I classified and entered into simple table files (.xls or .csv). I then analyzed the data using the geospatial and statistical tools within ArcGIS and SPSS (along with additional applications such as Google Maps API).

1 John Cort, ed. *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Culture in Indian History*, SUNY Series in Hindu Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Peter Flügel, ed. *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies (London: Routledge, 2006).

2 R. Champakalakshmi, "From Natural Caverns to Rock-Cut and Structural Temples: The Changing Context of Jain Religious Tradition in Tamilnadu," in *Airāvati: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Iravatham Mahadevan* (Chennai: Varalāru, 2008); G. Jawaharlal, *Studies in Jainism: As Gleaned from Archaeological Sources* (New Delhi: Harman Pub. House, 2006); A. Ekambaranathan, *Jaina Archaeological Heritage of Tamilnadu* (Lucknow: Shri Bharatvarshiya Digamber Jain (Teerth Sanrakshini) Mahasabha, 2005). See also John Cort, "The Archaeology of Jina Images," in *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

3 A comprehensive overview of the key arguments and conclusions of the project may be found in Chapter 8 of the dissertation as well as Julie A Hanlon, "Ātāraṅkaḷai Orunkīṅaittal: Paṅṅait Tamil Varalāruil Camaṅaṅ Turaviyar Camūkaṅkaḷ," [Integrating the Sources: Jain monastic communities in ancient Tamil history.] *Maṅaṅkēni* 44 (2019), 5-29.

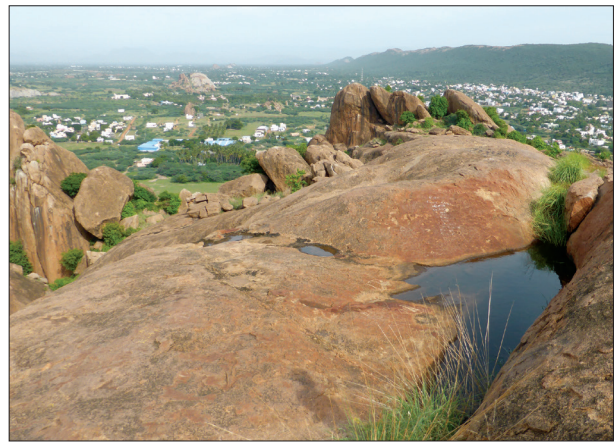


Figure 1. Summit of Samanar Malai facing north, with a view of Perumal Malai and some of the other Jain hills visible in the distance. Photo: Julie A. Hanlon, 5 September 2016.

With regard to geospatial analysis, beyond being able to represent the locations of archaeological sites and Jain inscriptions on a map, ArcGIS allows the user to identify spatial patterns and engage in predictive modeling. A number of interesting patterns emerged. First, it became clear that the majority of sites with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions fell along routes connecting the three major capital cities of the Early Historic period (c. 500 BCE-500 CE): Madurai, Karur, and Uraiyur. Moreover, of the early Jain sites located in Madurai District, all fell within 5 to 6 km of Early Historic archaeological sites, i.e., an ancient village or city. Conversely, not all archaeological sites are located within 5 to 6 km of another archaeological site – which is to say that this spatial distribution is not random. The Jain monks who chose these sites as the locations for their *paḷli* or monasteries,<sup>4</sup> did so for a reason. Given the significant place of merchants within these early inscriptions (see below), I argue that it was these mercantile links, and the desire to remain close to a steady stream of potential patrons which influenced these choices.

Hierarchical nearest neighbor analysis highlighted clusters of sites around Madurai for both Early Historic and Early Medieval periods, indicating the continued significance of Madurai as a center of Jainism in South India between the 3rd century BCE and the 10th century CE. (Figure 2) In addition, the calculated directional trend of the Early Historic sites is SW/NE. This is significant because, while some scholars have continued to argue that the arrival of Jains in Tamil Nadu took place via Karnataka, the directional trend of these sites instead suggests that they entered from the northeast and then spread southwest, with a large cluster of sites emerging around the Pandiyan capital and market center

4 The Jain cave sites are referred to as *paḷli* in 11 Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at these sites.

of Madurai.<sup>5</sup>

In examining the corpus of Jain inscriptions in Tamil Nadu, I sought to identify patterns in their content and context across space and time. (Figure 3) There are a number of notable temporal trends. First, the earliest Jain inscriptions, i.e., Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, are located in monastic contexts, i.e., at cave sites, and the donors are predominantly merchants. There are roughly 83 different named donors in the Jain Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Looking closely at the list of names, 22 are merchants or merchant guilds. In some cases, such as the inscriptions from Alagarmalai, the profession of the individual is clearly expressed (e.g., goldsmith or cloth merchant). In other cases, it is a title, like *antai* or *kaviti*, that suggests a merchant affiliation. The donated items are rarely specified, but their spatial context and phrasing suggest funds for the carving of the caves, drip ledges, and rock-cut beds. Notably, when I cross-tabulated the data to explore what relationship, if any, existed between the type of donor and the object donated, it became clear ( $p < 0.001$ , 99.9% confidence) that merchants predominantly funded the carving of beds (Figure 4), while elites predominantly funded the carving of the entire cave or monastery (*palli*).

From the c. 6th-8th centuries, the content and context of Jain inscriptions shifts. Instead of donations related to the care of monastics, most of the donations recorded in inscriptions are related to the carving of images, building of temples, and financing worship services (e.g., funds

to supply oil or support priests). While early inscriptions record the construction and elaboration of Jain monastic cave sites, inscriptions from c. 8th to 9th centuries record donations for the restoration and elaboration of old sites with new images and temples. Notably, these renovations and the carving of new images, are often associated with religious donors (monks, nuns, and their pupils).

In addition to analyzing the data remotely, via geospatial and statistical programs, in the summer of 2016 I also visited 20 Jain cave sites in Madurai District and conducted archaeological surveys at six of these sites as part of the Jain Caves of Madurai District (JCMD) project.<sup>6</sup> Careful examination of these sites suggests that the earliest architectural features were those related to water management: drip-ledges and water channels. Over time, additional modifications were made, including rock-cut beds for meditation and study and postholes to support organic superstructure. Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions at these sites attest to the support of the early Jain monastic communities by a combination of merchants, elites, villagers, and devotees. The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions not only commemorated the gifts of donors to the monasteries, but also ensured that the donor's name would remain in perpetuity to be read by the monks residing at these sites. Names carved upon rock-cut beds would have been seen by the monks daily, as they prayed, meditated, studied, and slept upon and in close proximity to these beds, no doubt conferring

5 This view is also supported by archaeological evidence. See Julie A Hanlon, "Early History of Jainism and Migrations to South India," *Śramaṇa* 64, no. 3 (2013), 1-23.

6 These and over 400 other Jain sites in Tamil Nadu have been recently photographed and documented in Nalini Balbir et al., *Jain Sites of Tamil Nadu*, (Pondicherry: French Institute of Pondicherry, 2018). 5.25 in. disc (514).

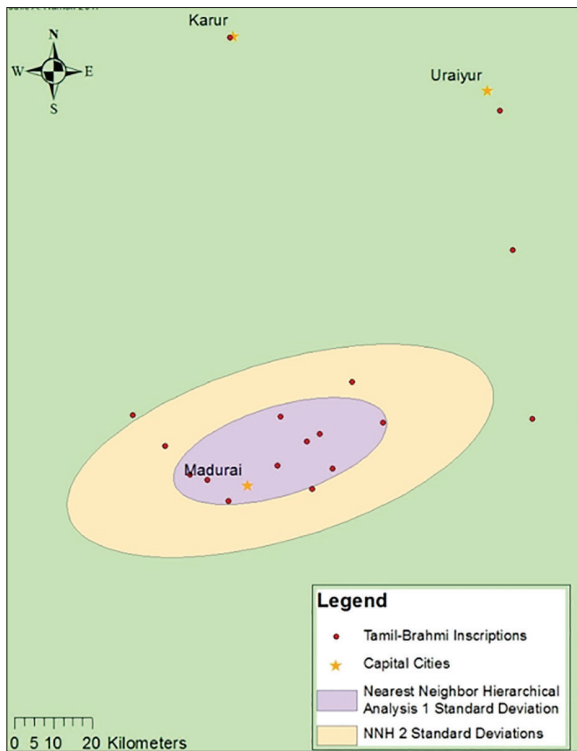


Figure 2. Map showing the significant clustering of early Jain cave sites with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Created by Julie A. Hanlon 2017.

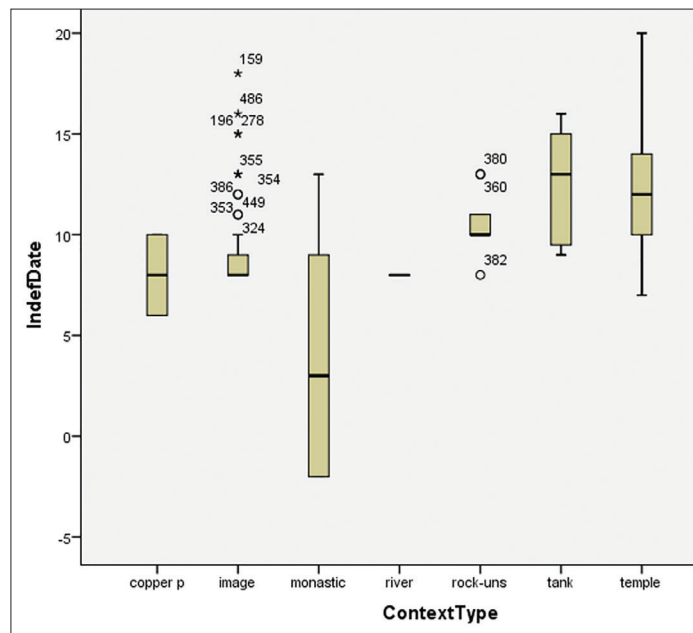


Figure 3. Distribution of Jain inscriptions over time. Indef Date indicates the century, with negative numbers representing BCE. Context Types include: copper plates, image (beneath an image), monastic (Jain cave site), river, rock-unspecified (rock not associated with temple or cave site), tank (water tank), temple, and village.



Figure 4. Two Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions engraved upon the “pillows” of rock-cut beds at Mettuppatti. From left to right: “A(n)tai of Pātiṅūr. The gift (*tāna*) of Kuvira[n] Antai Vēy.” Photo: Julie A. Hanlon, 6 July 2016.

additional spiritual merit (*punya*) for the donor.

Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions carved on the brows of the caves were more visible and public in nature. (Figure 5) It is these inscriptions that contain the names of political elites, prosperous merchants, and corporate donors (e.g., a village), which suggests that such inscriptions represent more significant donations, either in form and/or the status of their patron. The primary audience for the large exterior inscriptions may have been devotees and other visitors who primarily viewed the caves from their exterior. Thus, such inscriptions are not only records of meritorious donative acts, but also served to communicate these deeds to larger audiences of visitors, thereby accruing additional renown. On the other hand,

the exterior Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions are often carved below the drip ledge, which, while it would have shielded them from water erosion, makes them difficult to read today. Postholes located around the mouths of the caves and notches carved above are indicative of wooden canopies, which would have also obscured these inscriptions. Notably, the later Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions all occur above the drip ledge, often accompanied by relief images of Jinas, and have their own individual canopies, indicated by a series of horizontal notches in the rock above.

The arrangement and size of the rock-cut beds within the caves suggest a hierarchy of space. For example, at Kongarpuliyankulam and Vikkiramangalam there are



Figure 5. Cave at Perumal Malai (aka Mettuppatti) with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions visible under the drip-ledge: “The cave (*kāvi*) of Caiyaḷaṅ from Vintaiyūr.” Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions (c. 9th century) with relief images of Jinas visible far left. Photo: Julie A. Hanlon, 28 August 2016.

beds that are between 2-3 times larger than the others. Such beds fit descriptions of beds reserved for head monks articulated in the Jain *Āgamas*. A passage in the *Ogha-niryukti*, composed between 7th-8th century CE,<sup>7</sup> indicates that if sleeping in a “very extensive lodge” the monks should reserve a sleeping space three times bigger (*santhāragabhūmitigam*), for the senior monk or guru.<sup>8</sup> The rest of the monks were to sleep in rows (*āvalayā*), but with enough distance such that they would not brush up against one another.<sup>9</sup> Such rows of rock-cut beds are visible at most early Jain cave sites.

Part of my documentation of the Jain caves included the mapping of the floor plans of 14 caves. One of the largest of these caves is Cave 3 at Kongarpuliyankulam which contains nearly 70 beds. (Figure 6) From this map we can begin to assess the ways in which the monks may have inhabited and used these spaces, as well as the developmental history of the site. In the map included here, it is possible to determine the orientation the monks would have slept based on the locations of the “pillows.” You can also infer the order in which these rows of beds were carved, with the main group of 16 likely being the first set, and the singular beds carved last around the edges.

<sup>7</sup> *Oghanijuti / Oghaniryukti* date is from Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, Deccan College Dissertation Series (Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1956), 254. Cites *Ogha-N*. 202.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

Overall, there is much to be learned from these Jain cave sites. Moving forward, it is of some urgency that the rest of the Jain caves in Tamil Nadu be accurately mapped and all architectural and epigraphic features documented, as most are under threat of destruction due to mining operations. Specifically, accurate floor plans documenting the size, number, and orientation of the beds and locations of inscriptions, as well as maps of the hill sites indicating the spatial distribution of caves and other important archaeological features are needed. Such data are essential for reconstructing how Jain monks inhabited these spaces and identifying chronological and stylistic relationships across early Jain monastic sites.

**Julie A. Hanlon** (PhD University of Chicago 2018) is an archaeologist whose research combines quantitative and qualitative methods from across the humanities and social sciences. Her recent work explores the materiality of texts and inscriptions and the role of literature and landscape in negotiations of religious identity in first millennium South India.

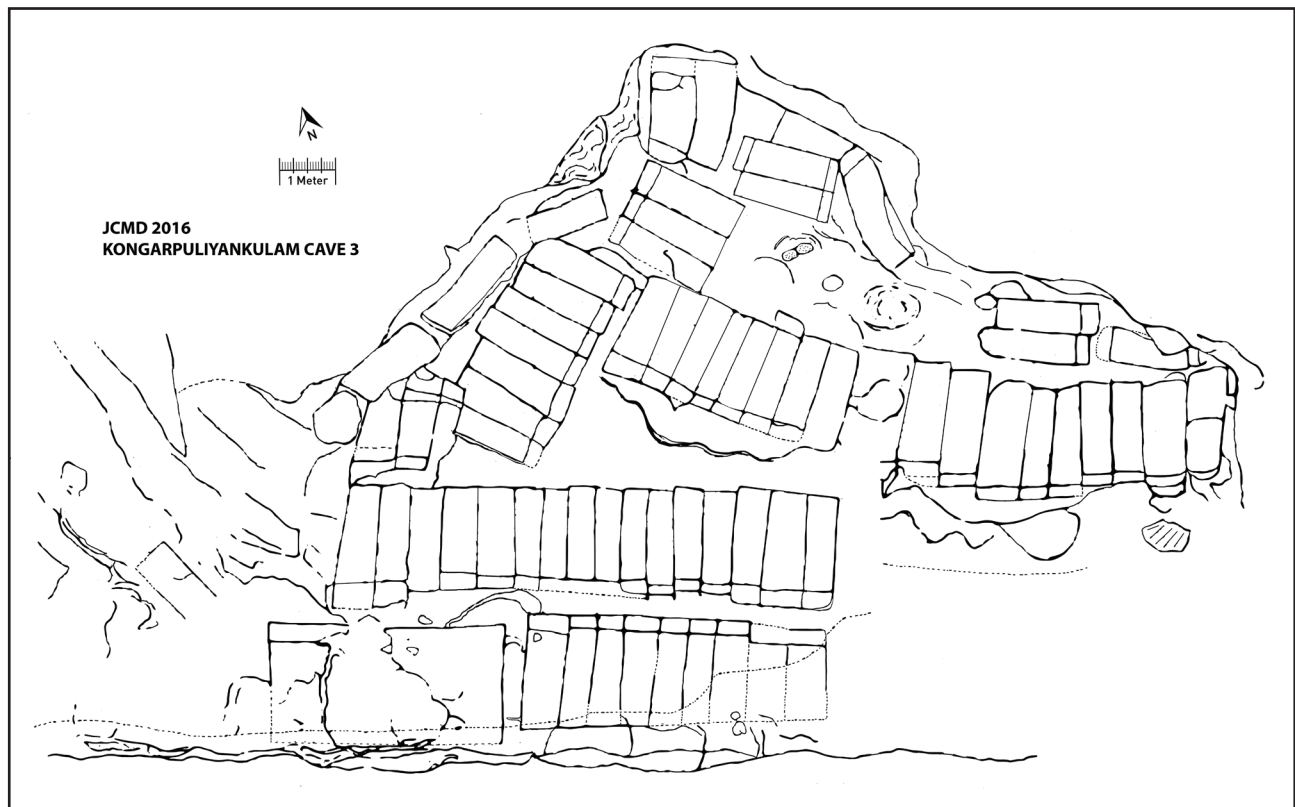


Figure 6. Map of the interior of Cave #3 at Kongarpuliyankulam. A pair of two large beds (damaged) are visible in the lower left. Created by Julie A. Hanlon 2016, updated 2019.

## The Luigi Pio Tessitori Collection of Indian Manuscripts at the Biblioteca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi” of Udine (Italy)

Nalini Balbir

Luigi Pio Tessitori crossed the world of Indology like a brilliant comet. He was born in Udine, Italy, on 13 December 1887 and died in Bikaner, India, on 22 November 1919, before his thirty-second birthday. In this extremely short life, he gained fame as a specialist of Indo-Aryan languages, of Rajasthani bardic literature, of Jaina Studies and as the discoverer of Kalibangan, an important site of Harappan culture in Rajasthan.<sup>1</sup>

Tessitori graduated from Florence University with a thesis comparing the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulsīdās with Vālmīki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* (1910) showing from the start his interest in the history of Indo-Aryan languages and vernacular literatures. In Florence he was a student of Paolo Emilio Pavolini (1864-1942). Tessitori’s curiosity soon led him to dive into the collection of Indian manuscripts that were preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, and to discover treasures of Jaina literature in Prakrit and also in Old Gujarati. Thanks to the action and connections of the Italian orientalist Angelo de Gubernatis, who had travelled to India in 1886, at the end of the 19th century Florence had become an important repository of manuscripts (especially from Western India) and objects

<sup>1</sup> See in particular ‘An Italian in India’ and ‘From Calcutta to Kalibangan’, pp. 148-196 in Nayanjot Lahiri, *Finding Forgotten Cities. How the Indus Civilization was Discovered*. London, New York, Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2013.

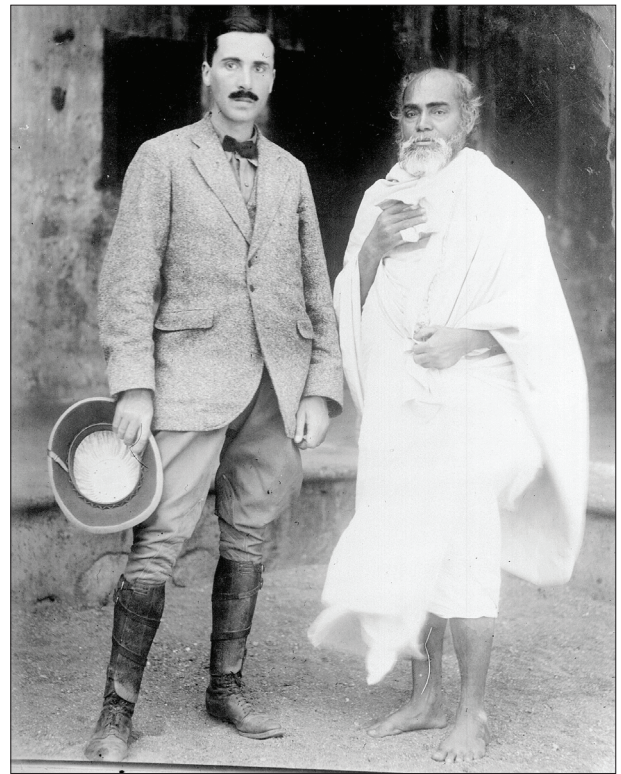


Figure 1. Luigi Pio Tessitori and Vijayadharmasūri at Talajo (Rajasthan). Photograph by L.P. Tessitori, March 1917 © Società Indologica “Luigi Pio Tessitori”



Figure 2: Vijayadharmasūri, Indravijaya and other monks on the road between Sadari and Ranakpur. Photograph by L.P. Tessitori, Ranakpur, 9 January 1915. © Società Indologica “Luigi Pio Tessitori”



Figure 3. Luigi Pio Tessitori in his studio, Bikaner, 18 February 1919. © Società Indologica “Luigi Pio Tessitori”

from the subcontinent.<sup>2</sup> In 1912 Tessitori presented a diploma consisting of a critical edition of Dharmadāsa’s *Uvaesamālā*, a fundamental didactic Jaina work in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī.<sup>3</sup> The Florence manuscripts were the main material he had at his disposal and were the basis of all his contributions, including his *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani, with special reference to Apabhraṃśa and to Gujarātī and Mārwārī*.<sup>4</sup> But he also occasionally used other manuscripts that were sent to him through the India Office Library or through the support of individual scholars. Among them was Ācārya Vijayadharmasūri (1868-1922), a Śvetāmbara reform-proned Jaina monk<sup>5</sup> who is well-known for his open mindedness and was in contact with several European scholars in the first two decades of the 20th century. Tessitori was among his most faithful correspondents; the monk was favourably impressed by the achievements, energy and enthusiasm of this young scholar and started

2 The intricacies of this story are documented and told in a very lively manner by Filipa Lowndes Vicente, *Other Orientalisms. India between Florence and Bombay, 1860-1900*. Translated from the Portuguese by Steward Llyod-Jones. Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2012.

3 *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 25 (1912), pp. 1-139. For the complete bibliography of Tessitori’s works see: Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori, *Tessitori Collection. I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi”, di Udine*. Udine, 2019, pp. 141-142. (Referred to hereafter as *Catalogue*.) Tessitori’s contributions to Jaina Studies (including a few unpublished ones) have been republished in *L.P. Tessitori, Studi Giainici. Presentazione di Gianfranco Fiaccadori, introduzione [in English] di Nalini Balbir*. Società Indologica “Luigi Pio Tessitori” Udine, 2000 (Bibliotheca Indica, Opera omnia di Luigi Pio Tessitori II).

4 *Indian Antiquary* 43-44 (1914-1915), pp. 1-106.

5 On whom see, of late, Appendix I pp. 1168-1171 in P. Flügel, *Askese und Devotion. Das rituelle System der Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jaina*, Band 2. Verlag J.H. Röhl, 2018.

lending him manuscripts. Tessitori was in search of an official appointment in India; Vijayadharmasūri offered him a position in a new institution he wanted to create in Palitana. But Tessitori had also impressed George A. Grierson and was finally called to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in order to be in charge of a project on the bardic literature of Rajputana. After Tessitori had settled in Rajasthan, he could finally meet Vijayadharmasūri and his monastic group on several occasions from August 1914 on and their contacts intensified. Tessitori also wrote a biography of the Ācārya and reviewed some of his works. (Figures 1 and 2)

From 1914 up to his untimely death in 1919 Tessitori was entirely immersed in organizing the search for manuscripts on bardic literature, in tours for acquiring them and in publication of catalogues or editions on this topic. (Figure 3) At the same time, though, he acquired manuscripts in Rajasthan on a personal basis, but, paradoxically, his life ended before he had the opportunity to use any of them for his own research. After his death Tessitori’s possessions, including books and manuscripts, were sent back to his sisters in Reana del Roale (near Udine) and remained with them until they decided (in 1923) to donate the books and manuscript collections to the Biblioteca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi”. These remained locked in a wooden cabinet, unused, until the time of the Tessitori revival. This started in 1987, the year of his birth centenary, under the impulse of the late Hazarimal Banthia, a Jaina Rajasthani *mécène* who, like many Indian scholars of Hindi and Rajasthani, had never forgotten Tessitori’s contribution, and the newly created Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori (led by Dr. Fausto Freschi). Preliminary observations (not always reliable) on the manuscript collection or on individual items appeared in proceedings of conferences connected to Tessitori (see *Catalogue* p. 143). In 1996, at a time when digital reproduction of antique material was still in its beginning, the Fondo L.P. Tessitori was part of the documents belonging to the Udine Civic Library that were treated by the electronic editor Glasor. In 2008 the only illustrated manuscript of the collection, a *Devīmāhātmya*, was restored and published in the form of a monograph containing an introduction, the text, a diplomatic edition, and translation (Italian and English) along with all the paintings.<sup>6</sup>

The present author was entrusted the task of preparing the descriptive catalogue of the full collection with the aim to have it published by November 2019, which marked the hundredth year of Tessitori’s demise, an event commemorated on 22-23 November in his native town through a conference and the presence of dignitaries.<sup>7</sup> (Figures 4-5)

6 *Devīmāhātmya. Il Ms. 4510 della Biblioteca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi” di Udine*. Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori, Udine, 2008. This was the work of Prof. Alessandro Passi (University of Bologna).

7 Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori, *Tessitori Collection. I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi” di Udine*. Udine, 2019. Introduzione [in English pp. 99-133, Italian translation pp. 35-69], catalogo [pp. 191-582] e indici [pp. 585-612] di Nalini Balbir. Contributi di Francesca Tamburini [“Luigi Pio Tessitori alla Bibliotheca Civica “Vincenzo Joppi”, pp. 11-18, English translation



Figure 4. Cover of the *Catalogue*. Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori, *Tessitori Collection. I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Civica «Vincenzo Joppi» di Udine*. Udine, 2019.

The collection has 225 manuscripts described under 409 entries.<sup>8</sup> Eighty-three percent are Jaina works, overwhelmingly Śvetāmbara (Part I: entries No. 1-342). The remaining seventeen percent are non-Jaina religious works (Part II: entries No. 343-369) or works belonging to *śāstric* disciplines that partly transcend sectarian boundaries (Part III: No. 370-409). A number of manuscripts are ‘multiple-text manuscripts’ (*Catalogue* pp. 156-172),<sup>9</sup> the largest of which includes thirty-eight items, some of them very short. The oldest dated manuscript goes back to VS 1475 and the most recent dated one, VS 1971 (= 1914 CE), is from Tessitori’s time (*Catalogue* No. 335): it is a modern copy on whitish paper executed by Bālā Rāma, who was one of the copyists temporarily engaged by Tessitori for the bardic literature project (*Catalogue* introduction pp. 106-107; Figure 6).

Jaina works found in Tessitori’s collection can be said to represent a practical canon, with an important emphasis

pp. 75-82], Andrea Cuna [‘Per un catalogo digitale dei manoscritti di Luigi Pio Tessitori’, pp. 19-26, English translation, pp. 83-90]. *Nota bibliografica di Fausto Freschi* pp. 27-30 [English translation pp. 91-94], *Presentazione di Alessandro Passi* [pp. 9-10, English translation pp. 73-74]. Società Indologica “Luigi Pio Tessitori” Udine, 2019 (Monumenta II), 612 p., map (p. 173), black and white photograph (p. 135), color insert (8 plates, 16 figs., between p. 304 and 305).

<sup>8</sup> See *Catalogue*: classified list of entries pp. 175-189 for the organisation.

<sup>9</sup> See also Nalini Balbir, ‘Functions of Multiple-Text Manuscripts in India: The Jain Case’ in A. Bausi, M. Friedrich, M. Maniaci (eds.), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Walter de Gruyter, 2019 (Studies in Manuscript Cultures vol. 17), pp. 3-35.



Figure 5. The room dedicated to Luigi Pio Tessitori in the Archaeological Museum of the castle of Udine. (Photograph by Nalini Balbir, 22 November 2019)

on Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī manuals mostly accompanied by a commentary in Gujarati, and a very small number of Ardhamāgadhī scriptures. Cosmological scriptures form a fairly well-represented section. (Figure 7) Among rarities is a manuscript containing Dharmaghoṣasūri’s *Jīyabhedabattīsī* (*Catalogue*, No. 87), a very technical and sophisticated treatise on the typology of living beings. The collection also includes a good quantity of short texts in Gujarati or Rajasthani which belong to narrative or devotional literature. These are hymns to the Jinās, praises of Jaina sacred places such as Shatrunjaya or Abu. A noteworthy poem is the *Arbudācalacaityaparipāṭī* by Somadevasūri (*Catalogue*, No. 323). The popularity of the twenty-third Jina, Pārśvanātha, in daily devotion, today and in the past, or that of Rājul, are echoed in the large number of texts dedicated to them in the manuscripts. Didactic and narrative works include various poems of the common Gujarati genres known as *rāsa*, *copāī* and *sajjhāya* devoted to a specific topic or to the story of one character. Tessitori’s collection gathers several works signed by Jaina glories of Rajasthan of the 16th century onwards: Samayasundara, Dharmavardhana alias Dharmasī / Dharmasimha, Jinaharṣa are among the authors who are represented here by several of their compositions. It is not a matter of chance that these three monks belonged to the Kharataragaccha because this is one of the most popular Śvetāmbara monastic orders in the region. In addition, it is worthy of note that Tessitori’s

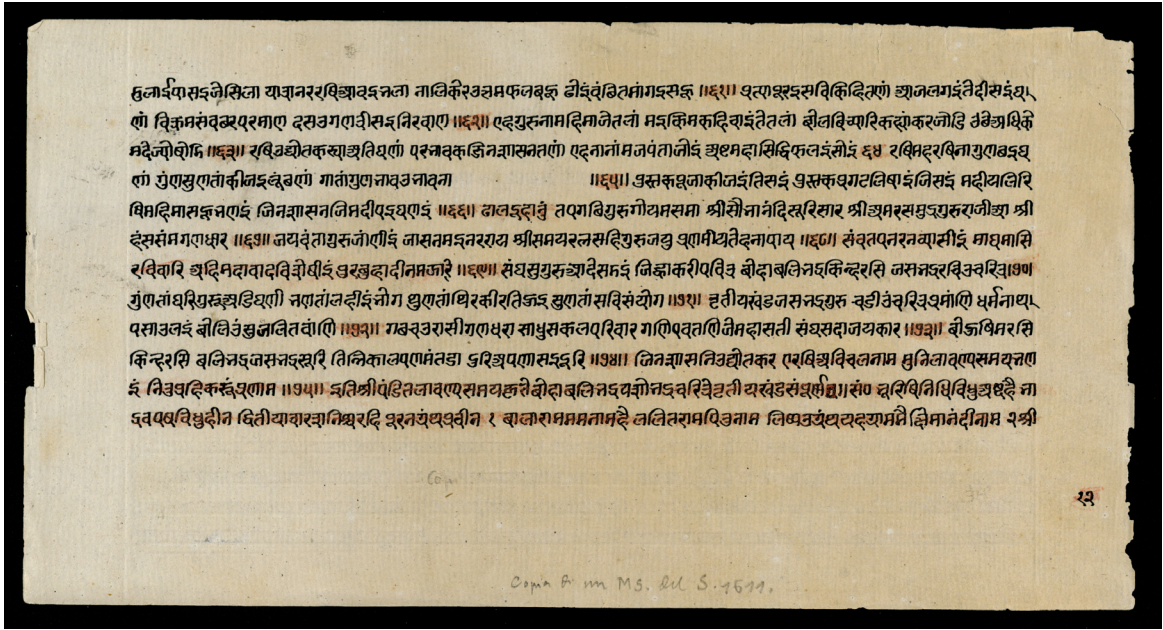


Figure 6. End of the Balibhadra-Yaśobhadrasūricarita by Lāvanyasūri copied by Balā Rāma in 1914 CE, ms. FP 4428, fol. 12v © Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi.



Figure 7: The shape of Mount Meru (left), model of the Pañcakavana at the top of Mount Meru; Uttarakuru and Devakuru on each side of Mount Meru, *Laghukṣetrasamāsa*, ms. FP 4450, fol. 7v and 8r © Biblioteca Civica Vincenzo Joppi



collection also contains a lot of writings coming from non-Mūrtipūjak (i.e., aniconic) Śvetāmbara monastic lineages, namely the Sthānakvāsins and the Loṅkāgaccha. Works by authors such as Jaimal, Cothmal, Rūpcand, Rājcanḍ or other *ṛṣis*, are prominent in this catalogue, while they are mostly not attested in manuscript collections found outside India, or even outside Rajasthan. These writers have contributed both to the development of Rajasthani language and to Jaina literature in its vernacular forms. Even for scriptures closely connected with the canon in the narrow understanding of the word, they did not use Prakrit, but vernacular languages only. One of the literary forms which tended to become extremely popular in the medieval and premodern periods is the didactic stanza (often labelled *aupadeśik pad* in Indian catalogues) which often hands down a striking teaching on impermanence, transience of life, etc., in a tradition similar to what the non-Jaina Sants do in their poetry. Such Jain *pads* are often found in multi-text manuscripts, as they are short. They are not conspicuous in manuscript collections outside India. A Rajasthani poem apparently written by a Jaina laywoman devotee as a praise of the religious career of a non-Mūrtipūjak female ascetic named Jūjī Mahāsati (not traced elsewhere) is noteworthy (*Catalogue*, No.

339), and Text 17 in FP 4505 is dedicated to the career of the Sthānakvāsi leader Varasīmhaḥjī (No. 340). These are remarkable examples of regional religious Jaina poetry. On the other hand, works authored by leading monks of the Terāpantha, a Śvetāmbara monastic order born in Rajasthan in the 18th century, are absent from the Udine collection, although we know that Tessitori had met the then head of the group in Sardarshahar and was acquainted with this section of the Jaina tradition.

The next project of the Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori (planned to be achieved in 2020) is to produce an interactive website, based on the present paper catalogue, which will allow direct consultation of the manuscript images along with the related contents, and will include links to corresponding digitised manuscripts in other collections.<sup>10</sup>

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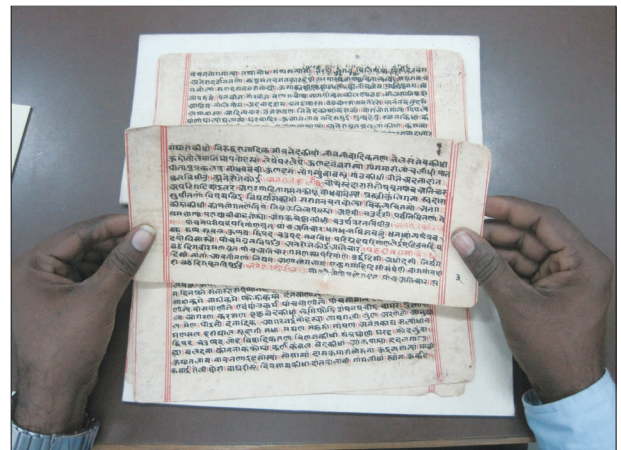
<sup>10</sup> See A. Cuna in *Catalogue* pp. 19-26 and 83-90.

## The Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology

*Tridip Suhrud*

The Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology has commenced a series of activities and measures to strengthen the Institute. This note seeks to outline these. The process to reimagine the Institute is in four areas: at the level of the organisational structure, upgradation of infrastructure, strengthening of the archives and the library and intellectual work. The Institute is endowed by the family of Kasturbhai Lalbhai and the family, including its various public trusts and industries, remain committed to the founding vision of the Institute and creation of adequate endowment funds. The Board of the Institute has brought the administration of the Institute under a Director who is ultimately responsible to plan, execute and envision for both the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology and the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum, including the N C Mehta Gallery. A newly formed standing committee of the Board, which includes two Trustees and the Director, meet once every fortnight to constantly evaluate the work and processes through which the work is carried out. This would, we hope, enable the Board to have a comprehensive long-term view of the directions that both these Institutions should have and of renewed synergies to be fostered between them.

Both the Institute and the Museum buildings have been designed by the Pritzker Prize winning architect Balkrishna Doshi. The Board of the Institute has along



Physical Verification of Manuscript

with the architect commenced a long-term programme to conserve and upgrade both the buildings, wherein the current and projected needs of the Institute guide the conservation and re-adaption processes. The structural conservation of the Museum building has been completed and the work on the Institute building is underway. This work is expected to be completed in a time bound manner within two years.

The core of the Institute and the real purpose for its existence are the collections of manuscripts and art



Digitisation Team

works: paintings, sculptures and other art objects. It is these collections that have attracted scholars and art aficionados alike to the Institute. The Board is deeply aware that their primary task is to preserve, protect and make available to scholars this collection that it holds in trust. The Museum's holdings are now being digitally catalogued with all fields of descriptions, including images which are required for better management of the collections and their display within the museum. This process is likely to be completed by end of this year and would also lead to re-organisation of display and enable the Museum to create more frequent temporary displays. The 80,000 plus manuscripts that the Institute holds are at the heart of the entire process. Three related sets of activities are ongoing at present: creation of an electronic database with large meta-data sets which would enable detailed and intuitive search facilities, physical conservation of the manuscripts that require restoration and digitisation of all the manuscripts. The Institute has now a Technical Action Group led by a technocrat with many decades of experience to carry out this task. This team comprises of software and hardware professionals and also a large team of external service providers who work with the manuscript department. The digitisation project is at an advanced level of execution. The team at the Institute has completed work on approximately thirty percent of its holdings. The digitisation process is done through image capturing devices and processed using customised software. The digitised images are subject to a process of verification. This process is designed such that each leaf of the manuscript is verified and not through a process of random sampling. We hope that we would be able to eliminate all errors and create a digital repository that is almost error free. The digitisation process also enables us to have a physical verification of each leaf of every manuscript and all those manuscripts or parts thereof which require physical restoration are segregated and restored in the conservation facility of the Institute.

Along with the digitisation of manuscripts the multi-lingual library of the institute, which holds over 65,000 titles, is also being re-organised and an electronic database created. This process when completed by March 2021 would give users a searchable database, and a physically re-organised library with adequate reading and consulting facilities.

The Institute is developing a Portal which would make electronic access to all the catalogues and holdings possible to users. This Portal is being developed with the help of a professional agency which is guided by a team of experts who provide their expertise and time to the Institute as their contribution to the effort. A trial version of this Portal will be ready with limited data by the end of this year.

The Institute hopes that the community of scholars both from within India and the rest of the world would continue to visit the Institute for scholastic work. The Institute is aware that it needs to create adequate infrastructure for visiting scholars. The Institute hopes to announce a limited number of residencies to consult the archives, the library and the art collection. The Institute is committed to the creation of facilities, including residences and work space for this purpose. We are working towards this and we hope to be able to announce this initiative by March 2022 by which time we hope to have completed the processes and tasks outlined above. Till such time the Institute will remain open and available for consultation as it has been in the past. We hope that the scholastic community would continue to be patient and generous with us as they have been all these years.

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## “Saints and Ascetics” Jaina Miniature Paintings at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum

Patrick Felix Krüger

In 2019 the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne received a donation of Jaina miniature paintings from the collection of Eva and Konrad Seitz, former German ambassador to India and China. The donation consists of about 150 miniatures from different periods and geographical regions, dateable roughly between 1375 and 1620 CE. A selection of these miniatures was recently shown in an exhibition “Heilige und Asketen – Miniaturmalerei der Jaina aus Indien” (Saints and Ascetics – Jaina Miniature Painting from India), that ran from 11 October 2019 to 16 February 2020, curated in cooperation with the Centre of Religious Studies (CERES) at Ruhr-Universität Bochum. The exhibition comprised a selection of miniatures from the Seitz donation, contextualized by additional works of art contemporaneous to the Jaina manuscripts: Jaina bronze sculptures on loan from the Langen Foundation, textiles from early modern Gujarat and Jain cosmological paintings from the Museum’s own collections, and medieval miniatures from a Christian book of hours on loan from the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.

The selection of objects from the Seitz donation was informed by the desire to represent the stylistic development of Jaina painting; beginning in medieval India with the formation of the so-called West Indian style, morphing in the late 15th century into the courtly Caurapañcāśikā style of the Hindu kingdom of Gwalior, and further differentiating in the late 16th century into the multitude of Rajput styles at the courts of Orchha, Datia and the Pahari region. Rajput and Mughal paintings were a major focus of the collectors, who regarded their Jaina holdings as an important supplement. Since these have governed the collectors’ decisions, an understanding of the stylistic developments of these schools of painting shall be briefly delineated.

The so-called West Indian style dominated painting in Gujarat and Rajasthan between the 11th and 16th centuries and can also be traced in other parts of India. The elements of these compositions are usually shown in a formulaic manner remaining unchanged over long periods of time. The two-dimensional execution is characterised by strong contours, stylised body proportions and a specific facial type usually shown in three-quarter profile with its second eye protruding from the contours of the head.

Gujarat was under Islamic rule since the end of the 13th century; during this time the character of donations changed; instead of temples donors now sponsored portable objects like bronze sculptures and manuscripts. Production of these objects increased and in manuscripts Islamic influences are particularly pronounced. Dedications in some manuscripts enable the chronological and regional attribution of their illustrations, and for the first time stylistic developments can be traced.



Figure 1. Episode of Pārśva and Kamaṭha including Pārśva after salvation

Detail from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript

Gwalior [?] c. 16th century

Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum Cologne (RJM 68193)

© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

Until about 1375/1400 CE manuscripts were written on palm leaves cut to shape. During the second half of the 14th century West Indian workshops – probably under Islamic influence – adapted paper for their manuscripts. The larger formats of the paper manuscripts permitted an expansion of content in the miniatures. Instead of individual figures the miniatures now comprised more complex narratives from Jaina legends. These illustrations are rich in detail with clear, elegant contours in front of a bright brick-red background. Bodies are depicted with almost naturalistic precision, garments show plain stripes, dots and gingham patterns. Colours are applied in thin, almost translucent layers. In their depiction of nature, the painters drew from Islamic motives.

Another change in the West Indian painting traditions can be observed around 1425-1450. While high-quality miniatures still show a delicate delineation, a certain solidification sets in and leads to a consolidation of visual patterns. Legendary figures can now be identified



View of the exhibition at Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum Cologne. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln.

by particular features such as white garments for monks. This coincides with a change of palette. The earlier yellow body colour is replaced by gold. In some cases the entire body shape is covered with gold foil before being outlined in black and coloured in a limited range of shades. Red still dominates the background but the costly blue lapis lazuli pigment fills more and more areas of the paintings.

From the middle of the 15th century onwards artists created a number of opulent manuscripts. The bright lapis lazuli blue now covered almost the entire background, causing the golden figures to radiate even more, while red was used only as an accent colour. Cloths are carefully depicted including pattern details like flowers, geese and zigzag lines. The combination of blue and gold as well as the elaborate borders can be traced back to Islamic paintings; the most elaborate paintings even include figural elements in their borders and separators. The background for the text is sometimes coloured and inscribed using gold or silver ink. Ornate lozenges mark the spot of the former thread holes.

In the 16th century Jaina painting reached its quantitative high point. Increasing numbers of painters facilitated production which in turn is reflected in the execution of the miniatures. The visual formulas still persist but the drawing becomes sketchy and the hitherto calm line management is hasty. The depiction of garments lacks details and is more repetitive while the at times careless application of paint speaks of a quicker production. A dull shade of brown is added to the red and the blue paint seems lighter than in earlier manuscripts. Textiles produced during the 14th to 16th centuries in Northwest India often show stylistic similarities to the paintings of the time. This is particularly true for the human figures depicted in some textiles, which display the characteristic protruding second eye and females wearing crowns and earrings similar to those in the miniatures. In addition, elements indicating an erotic



Figure 2. Episode of Pārśva and Kamaṭha  
Detail from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript  
Gujarat or Rajasthan, c. 15th century  
Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum Cologne (RJM 68186)  
© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

context such as a string instrument and a small parrot appear; these are also known from miniatures depicting heaven where they allude to the pleasures available to the gods.

The West Indian style of paintings can occasionally be found in North India, too. Members of Jaina communities in Jaunpur, Mandu, Delhi, and Gwalior had manuscripts created locally in a style familiar to them. The small number of manuscripts does not allow for general stylistic judgements. The composition of scenes follows West Indian traditions yet the borders show distinct Islamic

influence and an unusually wide range of colours. Human figures have large eyes and edgy, almost square heads shown in full profile; the second eye is hardly connected to the face contours anymore.

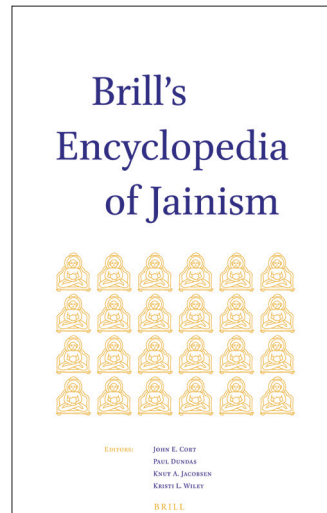
During the 17th century Rajput and Mughal schools of painting left their mark on Jaina miniatures. Changes occurred in drawing as well as in colouring. While artists adhere to the horizontal format of the manuscripts and the division of the painting into smaller registers with a flat, monochrome, preferably red background, the figural depictions lose their distorted proportions and exaggerated poses. The protruding eye is either re-integrated into the three-quarter-profile or is eliminated in favour of a full profile. Garments are colourful without much patterning; the male garb now consists of trousers, a Persian upper garment with belt and a turban.

Of particular interest in the Seitz collection is an almost complete *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (RJM 68193) probably produced in Gwalior in the middle of the 16th century. It consists of 95 folios with 34 miniatures. The pages are separated into two registers framed by delicate flower twines. A group of scribes executed the text in golden Jaina Nagari script. The miniatures illustrate episodes from the life of Mahāvīra and other Jinas. This particular visual language can be shown by comparing an illustration of the Pārśva legend (Fig. 2) from this manuscript with another miniature from the collection that follows the conventions of the West Indian style (Fig. 1).

This small but exquisitely presented exhibition not only highlights the beauty and splendour of Jaina miniature painting; by juxtaposing contemporary European book illustration and Gujarati export textiles it successfully widens the perspective on this particular type of painting. The exhibition is completed by a section on the materials – pigments and paper – used in the paintings that is based on examinations conducted by the Institute of Conservation Sciences at the Technical University of Cologne. A catalogue of the entire donation is currently in preparation.

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## NEW PUBLICATION



The print edition of *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism* is scheduled to be released in February, 2020. It is book 34 in the series Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 2: South Asia (ISBN-10: 9004297464; ISBN-13: 978-9004297463). Edited by John E. Cort (Denison University), Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh), Knut A. Jacobsen (University of Bergen), and Kristi L. Wiley (University of California, Berkeley), it contains 66 essays that are thematic in nature, with a focus on both historical and contemporary traditions:

The Human Condition: Cosmology, Jain Universal History, and Karman  
 Pantheon  
 Historical Perspectives  
 Jainism and Regional Cultures  
 Renunciation and Society  
 Ritual  
 Jain Devotion  
 Visual and Material Culture  
 Time and Space  
 Sacred Texts, Narrative Literature, and Language  
 Philosophy and Logic

It is anticipated that the online edition of the encyclopedia will be available in April 2020, at <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-encyclopedia-of-jainism-online> (ISSN: 2590-2768). It will include all articles from the print volume in a searchable, digital format. While all but a handful of illustrations in the print edition are black-and-white, Brill plans for as many of the illustrations as possible to be in color in the on-line version. It is the intent of the publisher for this version to be updated with new articles as they become available.

# Digitization of Jaina Manuscripts in Paris

Jérôme Petit

The Manuscripts department of the National Library of France (BnF, Paris) has digitized its complete collection of Jaina manuscripts. A physical description and some bibliographical elements are given in the online catalogue *BnF Archives et manuscrits*,<sup>1</sup> which has a link that allows users to consult the digitized version on *Gallica*,<sup>2</sup> the digital library of the BnF. *Gallica* makes available manuscripts from all over the world. It enables one to zoom on the pages in order to see details or smaller scripts. One can also rotate the pages if scribes or commentators wrote in different directions. It is also possible to download a part of a digital image or a full page in high resolution, which facilitates the comparison of manuscripts. Bibliographical data in our online archive will be augmented during the next few months with the aim of providing a detailed catalogue of the Jaina manuscripts in Paris, following the previous catalogues of similar collections held in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

1 <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>  
 2 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/>  
 3 Schubring, Walther. *Die Jaina-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek: Neuerwerbungen seit 1891*. Verzeichnis der Handschriften im Deutschen Reich. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1944; Tripāṭhi, Chandrabhāl. *Catalogue of the Jaina manuscripts at Strasbourg*. Indologia Berolinensis, Bd. 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975; Balbir, Nalini, Kanhaiyalal V. Sheth, Kalpana K. Sheth, and Chandrabhal Tripathi. *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the British Library: Including the Holdings of the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum*. 3 vol. London: British Library, 2006; Krause, Anett. *Die Jaina-Handschriften und weitere indische Handschriften in den Sprachen Avadhi, Bengali, Braj, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Prakrit, Sanskrit: sowie die tibetischen Handschriften und Blockdrucke der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (A 402, A 1500-A 1502, K1-K 171, Ms Gabelentz 97:3, 4, 6, 7, 21)*. Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. Neue Folge 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013; Società Indologica Luigi Pio Tessitori, *Tessitori Collection. I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Civica "Vincenzo Joppi", di Udine*. Udine, 2019. (See Balbir, this volume.)

The Jaina collection in Paris numbers 370 manuscripts. Three were collected in the mid-18th century by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731-1805), who had been in Gujarat to gather tools to learn Indian languages. Hemacandra's works on Prakrit and Sanskrit were part of those tools. In the mid-19th century, Charles d'Ochoa (1816-1846) went to Mumbai and Poona in order to collect material for a history of Indian literature. It seems that a Vaiṣṇava *paṇḍit* put into his hands some of the most important Jaina texts such as the *Kalpasūtra* and Jaina narrative stories such as the *Jñātādharmakathā* and Rājavallabha's *Citrasenapadmāvatīcaritra* with a Gujarati commentary. The heart of the collection comes from a mission led by Alfred Foucher (1865-1952) in North India. He was in contact with Bhagavandās Kevaldās, whose role in the discovery and buying of Jaina manuscripts in Europe has been shown as predominant. Foucher bought around 50 manuscripts at the end of the 19th century, but his Sanskrit teacher Émile Senart (1847-1928) acquired more than 300 through the intermediary of Kevaldās.

Canonical texts, philosophy, cosmology, rituals, anthologies for the lay community and narrative literature are the main topics covered by the collection. The oldest manuscripts are a *Gurvāvalī* and an *Upadeśamālāprakaraṇa* dated 1424 CE. (Figure 1) Among the dated manuscripts, there are 11 of the 15th century, 18 of the 16th century, 31 of the 17th century (Figure 2), 37 of the 18th century, and 29 of the 19th century. All are on paper in the *poṭhī* format. Some manuscripts are illuminated, sometimes with refined *citraprāṣṭhikā* ornamental pages (Figure 3), and three of them contain paintings. The state of preservation was problematic for a few manuscripts that needed to be analyzed by the BnF lab and restored by a conservator

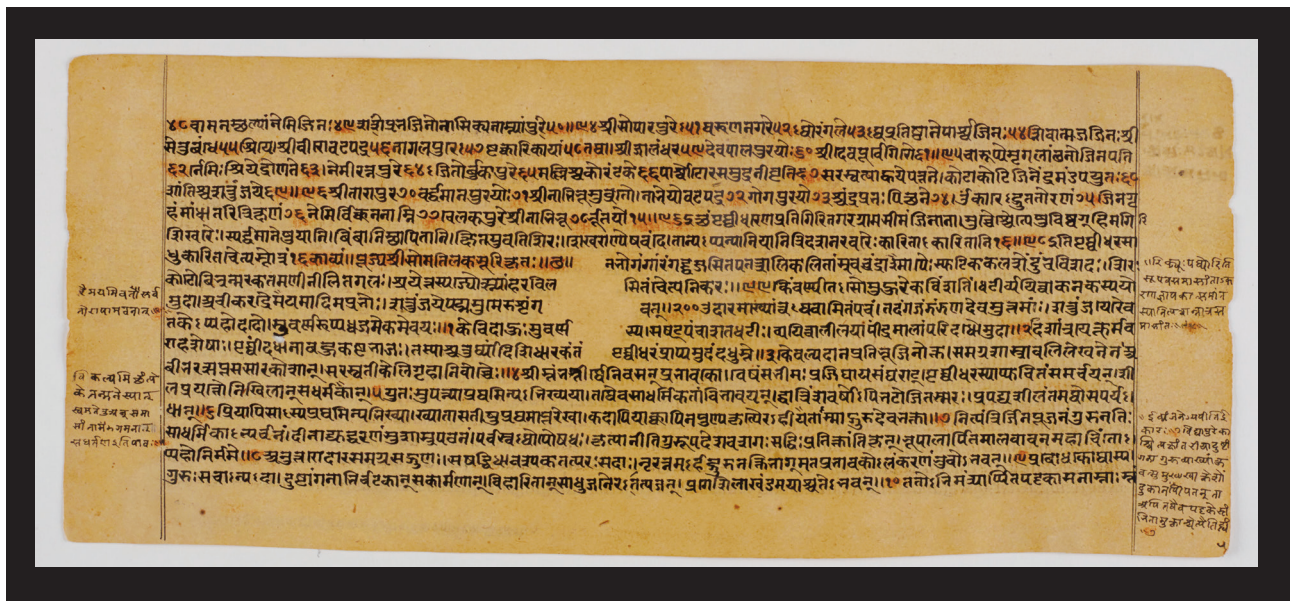


Figure 1. *Gurvāvalī* by Munisundara, dated samvat 1480/1424 CE (Sanskrit 1465, f. 2v) © Bibliothèque nationale de France

before the digitization process.

This ensemble will be part of a project of an online platform dedicated to the relations between France and India. *Gallica* hosts a “Shared Heritage Collection” that presents the BnF collection linked with the collections of other countries.<sup>4</sup> The France-India Digital Library will provide information on Indian culture in which Jainism and its manuscripts will have a good place.

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Figure 2. *Pañcapāṭha* manuscript of Jinavallabha's *Pinḍaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* with a Sanskrit commentary (Sanskrit 1603, f. 1v) © Bibliothèque nationale de France



Figure 3. *Citraprāṣṭhikā* on the final folio of a *Praśnavyākaraṇa* (Sanskrit 1735, f. 44v) © Bibliothèque nationale de France

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

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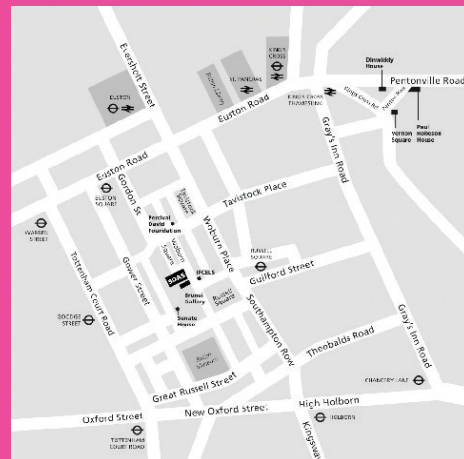
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