SOAS
University of London

Centre of Jaina Studies Members

SOAS MEMBERS

Honorary President
Professor J. Clifford Wright
South Asia Department

Chair/Director of the Centre
Professor Peter Flügel
Department of History, Religions and
Philosophies

Dr Crispin Branfoot
Department of the History of Art
and Archaeology

Professor Rachel Dwyer
South Asia Department

Dr Sean Gaffney
School of History, Religions and Philosophy

Professor Werner Menski
School of Law

Dr James Mallinson
South Asia Department

Professor Francesca Orsini
South Asia Department

Professor Ulrich Pagel
School of History, Religions and Philosophy

Dr Peter D. Sharrock
Department of Art and Archaeology

Dr Renate Söhnen-Thieme
South Asia Department

EXTERNAL MEMBERS

Paul Dundas
(University of Edinburgh)

Dr Naomi Appleton
(University of Edinburgh)

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Professor Mark Allon
(University of Melbourne)

Professor Lawrence A. Babb
(Amherst College)

Professor Nalini Balbir
(Sorbonne Nouvelle)

Dr Ana Bajželj
(UC Riverside)

Professor Piotr Balcerowicz
(University of Warsaw)

Nicholas Barnard
(Victoria and Albert Museum)

Dr Rohit Barot
(University of Bristol)

Professor Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya
(Viśva-Bhāratī-University, Śāntiniketan)

Professor Frank van den Bossche
(University of Ghent)

Dr Shivani Bothra
(Rice University, Houston)

Surendra Bothra
(Prakrit Bharati Academy Jaipur)

Professor Torkel Brekke
(University of Oslo)

Professor Johannes Bronkhorst
(University of Lausanne)

Professor Christopher Key Chapple
(Loyola University, Los Angeles)

Professor Christine Chojnacki
(University of Lyon)

Dr Anne Clavel
(Aix en Province)

Professor John E. Cort
(Denison University)

Professor Eva De Clercq
(University of Ghent)

Dr Gregory Clines
(Trinity University)

Professor Donald R. Davis Jr.
(University of Texas at Austin)

Dr Robert J. Del Bontà
(Independent Scholar)

Dr Brianne Donaldson
(University of California, Irvine)

Dr Saryu V. Doshi
(Mumbai)

Professor Christoph Emmrich
(University of Toronto)

Professor Fumio Enomoto
(Osaka University)

Dr Anna Aurelia Esposito
(University of Würzburg)

Dr Sherry Fohr
(Converse College)

Janet Leigh Foster
(SOAS Alumna)

Dr Lynn Foulston
(University of Wales)

Dr Yumi Fujimoto
(Sendai, Japan)

Professor Sin Fujinaga
(Miyakonojō Kōsen, Japan)

Dr Richard Fynes
(SOAS)

Professor Jonardon Ganeri
(University of Toronto)

Dr Jonathan Geen
(University of Western Ontario)

Dr Marie-Hélène Gorisse
(Ghent University)

Professor Phyllis Granoff
(Yale University)

Dr Ellen Gough
(Emory University, Atlanta)

John Guy
(Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Dr Julie Alyssa Hanlon
(University of Chicago)

Professor Julia Hegewald
(University of Bonn)

Professor Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber
(Shandong-University)

Dr Kazuyoshi Hotta
(Otani University, Kyoto)

Dr Deepak Jadhav
(Barwani)

Professor Anupam Jain
(Holkar Science College Indore)

Professor Dharmacand Jain
(Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur)

Dr Prabha Jain
(Jaipur)

Professor Prem Suman Jain
(Udaipur)

Professor Rajaram Jain
(Prakit Shodh Sansthan, Vaishali)

Professor Rishabh Chandra Jain
(Muzaffarpur University)

De Heleen de Jonckheere
(University of Montreal)

Dr Yutaka Kawasaki
(University of Tokyo)

Dr M. Whitney Kelting
(Northeastern University Boston)

Dr Laurent Keiff
(University of Lille)

Dr Patrick Krüger
(University of Bochum)

Dr Kornelius Krümpelmann
(Münster)

Dr Hawon Ku
(Seoul National University)

Muni Mahendra Kumar
(Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, India)

Professor James Laidlaw
(University of Cambridge)

Dr Basile Leclère
(University of Lyon)

Professor Jeffery D. Long
(Elizabethtown College)

Dr Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg
(University of Frankfurt)

Professor Adelheid Mette
(University of Munich)

Gerd Mevissen
(Berliner Indologische Studien)

Dr Andrew More
(University of Toronto)

Dr Catherine Morice-Singh
(Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris)

Professor Hampa P. Nagarajaiah
(University of Bangalore)

Dr Amruta Natu
(Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Pune)

Professor Thomas Oberlies
(University of Göttingen)

Dr Andrew Ollett
(University of Chicago)

Dr Leslie Orr
(Concordia University, Montreal)

Dr Jean-Pierre Osier
(Paris)

Dr Lisa Nadine Owen
(University of North Texas)

Professor Olle Qvarnström
(University of Lund)

Dr Pratapaditya Pal
(Los Angeles)

Dr Jérôme Petit
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France,
Paris)

Dr Alessandra Petrocchi
(University of Oxford)

Dr Adrian Plau
(Wellcome Institute)

Sādhvī Unnata Prabhā
(JVBI Ladnun)

Professor Samaṇī Kusuma Prajñā
(JVBI Ladnun)

Samaṇī Dr Pratibhā Prajñā
(JVB Ladnun, SOAS)

Dr Shahid Rahman
(University of Lille)

Dr Aleksandra Restifo
(University of Oxford)

Dr Josephine Reynell
(Oxford)

Dr Susan Roach
(SOAS)

Professor Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma
(Düsseldorf)

Dr Fabien Schang
(State University of Moscow)

Dr Maria Schetelich
(University of Leipzig)

Professor Atul Shah
(City University London)

Dr Bindi Shah
(University of Southampton)

Ratnakumar Shah
(Pune)

Professor Dinanath Sharma
(Gujarat University, Ahmedabad)

Dr Kalpana Sheth
(Ahmedabad)

Dr Shalini Sinha
(SOAS Alumna, University of Reading)

Dr Kamal Chand Sogani
(Apabhraṃśa Sáhitya Academy, Jaipur)

Dr Jayandra Soni
(University of Marburg)

Dr Luitgard Soni
(University of Marburg)

Dr Herman Tieken
(Institut Kern, Universiteit Leiden)

Professor Maruti Nandan P. Tiwari
(Banaras Hindu University)

Dr Himal Trikha
(Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Dr Tomoyuki Uno
(Chikushi Jogakuen University, Fukuoka)

Dr Anne Vallely
(University of Ottawa)

Dr Tine Veekemans
(University of Ghent)

Dr Steven M. Vose
(Florida International University)

Kenji Watanabe
(Tokyo)

Dr Royce Wiles
(Nan Tien Institute, Wollongong)

Dr Kristi L. Wiley
(University of California Berkeley)

Professor Michael Willis
(The Royal Asiatic Society)

Dr Lidia Wojtczak
(SOAS)

Dr Juan Wu
(Tsinghua University, South Asia Department,
Beijing)

Dr Ayako Yagi-Hohara
(Osaka University)

Dr Natalia Zheleznova
(Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy
of Sciences, Moscow)

Professor Robert Zydenbos
(University of Munich)

Jaina Studies
NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

Contents:

On the Cover

Jain Parable, Man Above a Snake Pit
Jaipur, *circa* 1890
Opaque watercolour and gold on paper
IS. 43-1990
Victoria and Albert Museum
(See also 'A Jaina Allegory?', this volume)

Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

We now witness a changing-of-the-guard of international Jaina scholarship. Leading scholars such as Nalini Balbir, John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Phyllis Granoff, Sin Fujinaga, Thomas Oberlies, Olle Qvarnström, and others are retiring from university duty, while new posts funded by the US Jaina community are being created at an unprecedented scale. This involves at the same time a redirection to teaching almost exclusively to questions of applied Jaina ethics and spirituality.

Growing interest in education is also reflected in the increasing number of research fellowships offered in Jaina Studies, such as the *Kanji Swami Fellowship* at SOAS, funded by the Kanji Swami Society, and the forthcoming exhibitions: *Being Jain: Art and Culture of an Indian Religion*, at the Rietberg Museum in Zurich in collaboration with the Center for Religious Studies at Ruhr-University Bochum, and *Pure Soul: The Jaina Spiritual Traditions*, at the SOAS Brunei Gallery.

A preview of the Rietberg Museum exhibition by Marion Frenger and Patrick Krüger, with a focus on Śatruñjaya paintings, is offered in the present volume, which also features two contributions by J.C. Wright: an attempt at decoding the narrative content of the mysterious painting on the cover of our *Newsletter*, and a research article on 'Prakrit prosody'. Other research reports include information on the said existence of Jaina bone relics from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at the State Museum of Lucknow, and on the main findings of the doctoral dissertations of Sander Hens on Nayacandra Sūri's 15th c. *Hammīramahākāvya*, and of Seema K. Chauhan on 'Representations of Brahmanism in Sanskrit Jaina Purāṇas'.

A number of articles supplement the abstracts of the 23rd CoJS Jaina Studies Workshop on *Jaina Knowledge Systems*: Edward Weech's information on Jain collections at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, Mansi Dhariwal's on the libraries of the Sādhumārgī Sthānakavāsī tradition in India, and Anish Visaria's overview of *Jain Quantum*, his magnificent search engine for the texts of the JAIN elibrary.

The current volume is rounded up by reports on Jaina Studies conferences or panels held in 2021. Masahiro Ueda reports from Japan, and Marie-Hélène Gorisse summarizes the papers on Jaina Studies presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion and at the European Association for the Study of Religion.

Last but not least we have Vinod Kapashi's appreciation of the contribution of the late Natubhai Shah (1932-2022), the 'stalwart of the UK Jain community', whose accepted offer of funding for part-time teaching of a course in Jainism to SOAS turned out to be the seed for the CoJS and the start of the *Jaina Studies Newsletter* as well.

Peter

Bābā Padma Prabhudevā shrine, Pisanahārī Maṛiyā Kṣetra, Jabalpur
(Photo: Peter Flügel 22.12.2018)

The 21st Annual Jaina Lecture

The End of the Word

Andrew Ollett
(University of Chicago)

Thursday 9 June 2022
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

Jaina Knowledge Systems

### 23rd Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Friday, 10 June 2022
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Manuscripts and Books

9.15　John E. Cort
To Print the Canon or Not? Rāy Dhanpatisiṃh Bahādur of Murshidabad and the Āgam Saṅgrah

9.45　Kalpana Sheth
Jaina Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Gujarāt and Rājasthān

10.05　Prathibha Parshwanath & Hampasandra Nagarajaiah
Digambara Libraries in South India

10.30　Mansi Dhariwal
Sādhumārgī Jaina Libraries

10.45　Tea and Coffee

Second Session: Collecting and Classifying

11.15　Nick Barnard
Jain Manuscripts in an Art Museum: Collecting and Classifying at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

11.45　Adrian Plau
Jain Manuscripts at Wellcome Collection

12.15　Camillo Formigatti
Famous People in the FAMOUS Project: Authority Files for South Asian Digital Catalogues and Others

12.45　Book Launch: *Spectrum of Classical Literature in Karnataka*, by Hampa Nagarajaiah

12.55　Group Photo

13.00　Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite
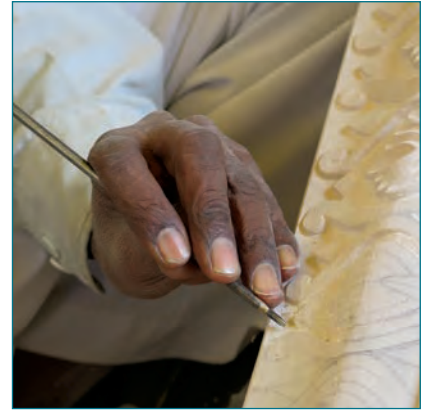
Masonry work, Śīthalanātha Tīrtha, Jabalpur
(P. Flügel 21.12.2018)

Third Session: Inscriptions, Books and Databases

14.00　Amruta Natu (presenting) & Shreenand L. Bapat
Religious Ideas as Gleaned from the Jaina Inscriptions of the Early Kadambas and Early Calukyas

14.30　Michael Willis
Prosopography and Inscriptions in Malwa: The Siddham Database

15.00　Anish Visaria
Walkthrough and Applications of Jain Quantum: A Jain Literature Search Engine

15.30　Tea and Coffee

Fourth Session: Art as a Knowledge System

16.00　Peter Flügel
Jaina Art as Knowledge System: The Problem of Classifying Jina Images Revisited

16.30　Tillo Detige (presenting), Patrick Krüger & Jessie Pons
Towards a Database of Jaina Metaphors of Divine Corporeality

Fifth Session: Distinctions

17.00　Seema K. Chauhan
The Inconsistent Other: Sanskrit Textual Practices according to Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*

17.30　Shree Nahata
Akalaṅka's Theory of Perception: A Jaina Critique of Buddhist Idealism

18.00　Closing Remarks

ABSTRACTS

Jain Manuscripts in an Art Museum: Collecting and Classifying at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Nick Barnard (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Within its first decade of existence the India Museum (c.1801 – 1879), established by the East India Company at its London headquarters, was collecting Jain sculptures, but the information recorded in the surviving inventories seems rudimentary at best. The approach at the newer South Kensington Museum, which opened in 1857 and was renamed Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in 1899, was very different, carefully recording details of objects acquired and, initially, the reasons why they were believed to exemplify aesthetic criteria of good design that the Museum was set up to promote, but no Jain objects were collected in its first two decades. When over 19,000 objects were transferred in 1879-80 from the India Museum to the South Kensington Museum, they included the Jain sculptures but no Jain manuscripts, which were retained in the India Office Library (now part of the British Library). The journey of Jain manuscripts in the eyes of the Victoria and Albert Museum from religious texts to art objects of potential interest to the visiting public only began in 1914, when two pages of a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript were purchased from Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, whose publications that year and later helped to raise the profile of Jain manuscript illustrations among western audiences and demonstrate their art-historical importance. The changed view of Jain illustrated manuscripts and their concomitant commercial value among art dealers led to the dispersal of manuscripts for sale, as when in 1931 the Museum selected only a few pages with the best-preserved illustrations from two *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts. Later decades saw a move away from this practice and three complete manuscripts, again selected for the interest of their illustrations, were collected in their entirety between 1959 and 1972. Registered descriptions in the Museum's inventories of the manuscripts had become more detailed and informative than in 1914 but remained heavily focussed on their illustrations, with little attention paid to the text. In recent times, publications and displays have drawn attention to certain pages in the collection, the manuscripts have been included in a catalogue of the much larger collections of the British Library and digital formats, and notably the *JAINpedia* website, have enabled a more comprehensive view of the manuscripts to be made available to the public, offering scope for more detailed information to be presented.

The Inconsistent Other: Sanskrit Textual Practices according to Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*
Seema K. Chauhan (University of Oxford)

During the first millennium of the Common Era, Brahmanical authors produced a proliferation of Sanskrit textual practices that were often at odds with one another. On the one hand, the school of Vedic exegesis, Mīmāṃsā, erected a system of hermeneutics that would defer to the authority of Vedic injunctions over and above all non-injunctive statements, including narratives. On the other hand, Brahmanical *purāṇa*s proclaim themselves to be an extension of the Veda, epics and legal treatises. The diverse nature of these Sanskrit textual practices, and their attendant representations of Brahmanical systems of knowledge, was deeply problematic to Jainas, who asked: How do we make sense of one religious community producing multiple, inconsistent textual practices in Sanskrit?

This paper brings to light the ways in which one particular Jaina text, Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (8th century CE), grapples with this question. Focusing on one narrative that describes the origins of Brahmanical religion, I demonstrate how Jinasena's narrative connects Mīmāṃsā hermeneutics, with Vedic descriptions, and Epic narratives into a single religious identity that is defined by inconsistent interpretations of a common set of religious terms. Having demonstrated this representation of Brahmanical textual practices, I conclude with some reflections on the ways in which Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s at the end of the first millennium were attempting to consolidate their own system of textual practices through representations of those belonging to the religious other.

To Print the Canon or Not? Rāy Dhanpatisiṃh Bahādur of Murshidabad and the Āgam Saṅgrah
John E. Cort (Denison University)

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the wealthy Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak layman Rāy Dhanpatisiṃh Bahādur of Murshidabad sponsored the publication of the first printing of the Mūrtipūjak canon, the Āgam Saṅgrah, in twenty-three *pothī* and codex volumes. Together with the contemporaneous publications of Bhīmsiṃh Māṇek in Bombay, this was one of the first two sustained Jain publication undertakings using movable type technology. The first dozen books of the Āgam Saṅgrah were printed in Calcutta between 1874 and 1879, and most of them were edited by a *yati* named Bhagvānvijay Sādhu. Between 1880 and 1890, seven books were printed in Banaras, and mostly edited by several Nāgorī Loṅkā Gacch *yati*s based in that city. The other four books were printed in Bombay (1880 and 1900), Ahmedabad (1883) and Calcutta (1887). Dhanpatisiṃh printed between 500 and 1,000 copies of each book for distribution to Jain libraries all over India. His massive undertaking was not without criticism, however. In several of the early volumes he included extensive introductions defending the publications, and a close reading of his defense gives us insight into the arguments advanced against the undertaking. An investigation of the Āgam Saṅgrah allows us to see an important transformation in modern Jain knowledge systems.

Sādhumārgī Jaina Libraries
Mansi Dhariwal (Bikaner)

The Jain tradition has been generously contributing to Indian culture, although it encountered crises throughout the millennia which resulted in a great loss of Jaina wisdom and its literature. Part of the modern efforts in uplifting the Jaina tradition involves the construction of dedicated Jaina libraries.

The Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha contributed in different fields since pursues the objective of all-inclusive development. The academic sector benefited as well. This paper provides brief information regarding libraries associated with the Sādhumārgī sect in different regions of India, including prominent and old libraries like Śrī Gaṇeśa Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāra in Ratalāma and Āgama, Ahiṃsā - Samatā evaṃ Prākṛta Saṃsthāna in Udayapura. It will describe their histories and collections and introduce some of the remarkable manuscripts preserved.

The lack of suitable sources of information produces an inefficient research environment. The Sādhumārgī Saṃgha is therefore engaged in digitisation, preservation and cataloguing of the preserved manuscripts. Accordingly, we would like to invite scholars to use these new resources.

Towards a Database of Jaina Metaphors of Divine Corporeality
Tillo Detige (presenting), Patrick Krüger, Jessie Pons (Ruhr University Bochum)

At the Center for Religious Studies at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 'Metaphors of Religion' just got underway, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The large-scale, long-term project with a strong digital humanities component sets out to study religious meaning-making through metaphors in various Eurasian religious traditions. One of its sub-projects focuses on anthropomorphism and the human body as metaphor of the divine in Jainism and other South Asian religious traditions. Metaphors transfer meaning from one semantic area to another, typically from a concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain. Religious metaphors more specifically often use familiar elements from fields of immanence to 'point out' or 'access' the unknown, unsayable transcendent. In the current project, metaphors of selected Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu texts are annotated following a standardised, formal analysis. The metaphors are fed into a database which links to both a conceptual thesaurus and a repository of the complete source texts. The amassing and systematic analysis of individual metaphorical utterances can shed light on the deeper-laying, conceptual metaphors which are constitutive of people's world-construction. It also facilitates a comparative study of metaphors in various traditions, eras, and areas, and is expected to lead to theory formation on the role of religious metaphors within semiotic processes. The South Asian sub-project specifically seeks to study the role of metaphors in two well-known, parallel but seemingly opposite dynamics observed from around the turn of the Common Era to about 500 CE, the manifestation of Hindu deities in human form and the deification of the Jina and the Buddha. Analysing and comparing metaphors on the bodies of the Jina, the Buddha, and Viṣṇu's human avatāras Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, the project examines how the transcendent nature of the body of the Jina is constructed, how the latter compares to that of the Buddha, and how both in turn overlap or differ from the manner in which the human physicality of Viṣṇu is presented. This talk introduces the methods and goals of the research centre and presents a sample of the metaphor analysis.

Jaina Art as Knowledge System: The Problem of Classifying Jina Images Revisited
Peter Flügel (SOAS)

The paper argues that Jaina art and architecture can be analysed as knowledge systems that are coupled with religious and political systems. Decoding iconographic syntax and semantics previously relied on Prototype Theory. Prototype Theory treats features that do not match core criteria of a model type as 'deviations' or 'irregularities' or invoke 'residuals', 'fuzzy types', even 'fuzzy periods', for 'unclassifiable' entities. An additional problem is the unclear relationship between 'real types' and 'historical developments'. The paper argues that the method of 'consecutive sub-divisions' developed by K. Bruhn in his work on the identification of Jina images resonates with the 'analytic-synthetic' approach of colon classification pioneered by S. R. Ranganathan, which permits, even requires, an object to be classified from multiple points of view. It is therefore not surprising that Bruhn's method faces similar problems as Ranganathan's, namely perceived arbitrariness of classification and complexity of syntactical notation, both of which are inconsistent with the stated aims of balancing the necessity of reducing complexity and the desire of creating complete descriptions. Bruhn's lastly proposed dual investigation of the 'style' ('variety') of 'groups of entire images', on the one hand, and iconographic 'motif-statistics,' on the other hand, further complicated the notation, without addressing the basic problems of the theory of classification. The chosen method was deliberately experimental. It prepared the ground for future synoptic classificatory schemes and workable models for the identification and relative dating of Jina images, which still remain a desideratum, and are the subject of the paper.

Famous people in the FAMOUS project: Authority Files for South Asian Digital Catalogues and Others
Camillo Formigatti (Bodleian Libraries, Oxford)

Finding Archives and Manuscripts Across Oxford's Unique Special Collections (FAMOUS) is a 3-year project aiming to realize a connected, user-friendly, robust, and adaptable digital environment for the University of Oxford's manuscripts and archives, including the material held in the University's colleges. In this paper I will briefly present the challenges faced in the creation of a cataloguing template for Oriental manuscripts in the Text Encoding Initiative standards. In particular, I will focus on the creation of authority files for works, people, and places mentioned in South Asian manuscripts, presenting case studies from the collections of Jain manuscripts from the Bodleian Libraries and the Cambridge University Library.

Akalaṅka's Theory of Perception: A Jaina Critique of Buddhist Idealism
Shree Nahata (University of Oxford)

While scholars have produced significant surveys of Akalaṅka's philosophical system and its place in the history of Jaina logic, a constructive reading of individual arguments in Akalaṅka's works is still in its infancy. This paper takes a step in that direction by presenting Akalaṅka's analysis of sensory perception (*indriya-pratyakṣa*) and his subsequent critique of Buddhist idealism.

Drawing on Akalaṅka's *Laghīyastraya* and *Nyāyaviniścaya*, I show how many of Akalaṅka's arguments against Buddhist idealism, such as the argument from the restricted nature (*niyama*) of perception and the argument from perceptual error, are well-known objections anticipated by the Buddhists themselves. Akalaṅka's unique philosophical contribution, instead, lies in his refutation of Dharmakīrti's central argument for idealism: the rule of simultaneous perception (*sahopalambhaniyama*).

In taking Akalaṅka's refutation of Buddhist idealism as my case study, my paper highlights the foundational role of sensory perception as the building-block of all higher-order knowledge within the Jaina worldview. Akalaṅka's meticulous analysis of sensory perception suggests the realist and empiricist orientation of Jaina philosophical knowledge-systems. With this in mind, my paper shows how Akalaṅka's polemics against Dharmakīrti's 'absurd' idealism seeks to carve out a unique Jaina philosophical identity in the intensely competitive milieu of Śāstric debate in early-medieval India.

Religious Ideas as Gleaned from the Jaina Inscriptions of the Early Kadambas and Early Calukyas
Amruta Natu (presenting), Shreenand L. Bapat (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune)

Kadambas of Banavāsī and Calukyas of Bādāmī ruled the Western Deccan in succession from the 4th to the 8th century CE. Both dynasties offered patronage to Jainism next to Hinduism. Evidently, their core territories housed major Jaina centres. Land-grants of the two dynasties made to the Jaina establishments enumerate various religious practices, such as daily worship with *akṣatā*, *gandha*, *puṣpa*, etc., offering into fire (*ahar-iṣṭi* or *havis*), occasional anointment of the idol with *caru* (rice gruel), etc. Along with construction of temples (*jinālaya*s or *caityālaya*s) and houses of charity (*dāna-śālā*s), provisions are made for their repairs and maintenance. One of the Kadamba charters offers a village, divided into three equal portions, for the benefit of a temple of Mahājinendra, and Śvetapaṭa and Nirgrantha *saṅgha*s. Yāpanīyas also make their appearance in another charter. Āgamic literature that precedes these inscriptions does not seem to expound on these ideas and practices. It is the Jaina, Purāṇa and Kathā literature, having its beginnings in the 7th to 8th centuries CE, that spells them out. Considering these aspects, a detailed study of the inscriptions shall be presented in this paper.

Digambara Libraries in South India
Prathibha Parshwanath, Hampasandra Nagarajaiah (Bangalore)

The motivating spirit of Jaina literature has been both religious and social. Jains have nurtured tastes and tendencies conducive to the development of *jñāna* (knowledge). Jaina monasteries were houses of scholars, and monks were almost knowledge personified. Thus, the Jaina tradition has attached great importance to the copying, recitation, and worship of sacred texts. There are *vidyādevī*s (goddesses) exclusively of learning, besides Sarasvati, and most importantly Śrutadevī, the 'Presiding deity of scripture', also referred to as '*jina-vāṇī-māta*'. Digambara Jains celebrate annually the fifth day of the waxing moon of Jyeṣṭha (June) as *śruta-pañcamī* (the scripture-fifth holy day). This festival is symbolic to commemorate the holy day in CE 150 when Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta, the two disciples of Dharasenācārya, first put the *Ṣaṭ-khaṇḍa-āgama* scripture into written form.

The *Śrutāvatāra* of Indranandin, teacher of the Kannada poet Ponna (965), containing 187 *śloka*s was composed in 930 at Maḷkheḍ (Mānyakheṭa). It narrates the origin and development of *śruta-jñāna* (canonical knowledge). Indranandin also wrote *Śruta-pañcamī,* which provides information about the history of the festival. It was mandatory for Jaina votaries, monks and nuns to read literature on the scripture. Hence

votary's houses and *jina-mandira*s were invariably equipped with a *śruta-bhaṇḍāra* (library of canonical texts). Palm-leaf manuscripts, neatly covered with cloth were preserved in *jākāyi-peṭṭige*, big boxes made from nutmeg tree wood (which is soft, aromatic and durable). Important religious centers of learning possessed well-maintained huge *śruta-bhaṇḍāra*s where manuscripts on various subjects were housed.

Jaina libraries are not restricted exclusively to Jaina works and they are a treasury of invaluable books of various religions, topics, languages and philosophies. Mūḍabidrī flourished as an important nucleus of old palm-leaf manuscripts: 'Mūḍabidrī in South Kanara is known for preserving rare Jaina Mss. In fact the monastic library is one of the major depositories of hundreds of most prized Jaina Mss. The crowning glory of the collection of palm-leaf Mss. in Mūḍabidrī is the ancient Dhavalā Mss.' (Nagarajaiah 2019: 36).

Pandit K. Bhujabali Shastry was a pioneer in preparing an authentic catalogue of all the then (1948) available palm-leaf manuscripts at Mūḍabidrī. The Kannaḍa-*prāntīya Tāḍapatriya Granthasūci*, written in Devanagari script, is invaluable for research scholars. Bhujabala Shastry read and recorded details of virtually hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the local Jaina library attached to the Jaina *Maṭha*, Mūḍabidrī. His catalogue gives the technical data of each Ms., including its title, author, language, prose or poem or *śāstra-grantha*, number of folios, date of copying, number of lines in each page, condition of the Ms. etc. He also worked for some time as Chief Librarian of the Jaina Sidddhānta Bhavana, Arrah. He helped many scholars including A.N. Upadhye, by providing useful information about required manuscripts in Sanskrit. A.N. Upadhye (*Upadhye Papers* 260, 261, 273) has acknowledged the help of Bhujabali Shastry for obliging him. Similarly, D.L. Narasimhachar and Beḷḷāve Venkatanāraṇappa have profusely recorded their gratitude to K. Bhujabali Shastry for lending the rare Mss. of Vaḍḍārādhane and Paṃpabhārataṃ respectively.

Apart from Mūḍabidrī, the *śruta-bhaṇḍāra*s in Jaina *maṭha*s at Huṃca (Shivamogga district), Karkāla (South Kanara), Kolhāpur (Maharashtra), Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (Hassan district), and Varanga (South Kanara) have preserved Mss. written in Kannada and Devanagari characters. Devakumara Shastri has prepared a catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the *śruta-bhaṇḍāra* at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. The Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana at Arrah deserves a special mention. In addition to these Jaina Institutes, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, Karnataka Research Institute Dharawada, and the University of Mysore, Dharawada, Bengaluru and Madras, and the Ms. Library at Dharmasthaḷa (South Kanara) also contain ancient Jaina Mss. and their printed Catalogues provide essential technical details.

Padmarāja Paṇḍit of Chamarajanagara was a precursor in starting a library of Jain palm-leaf Manuscripts in Mysore: 'Padmarāja Paṇḍit started a library (named) Jinamata-Grantha-Ratnākara (Ocean of Books on Jainism), in the premises of Jaina Brāhmaṇa Vidyārthi Nilaya at the Cāmarājapura extension in Mysore on 26-05-1925, by donating 94 palm-leaf manuscripts from his personal collection. Its importance was such that the pontiff of Shravanabelgola. R. Shamashastry, Director of Archaeology, Pontiff of Melukote Yatiraja Matha. R. Narasimhachar, Director of Archaeology and many other contemporary celebrities visited and appreciated the rare collection of *tāḍa-patra*s (palm-leaf manuscripts)' (Nagarajaiah 2009:43). Among the individual collections we cite the example from Sāligrāma in the Mysore district where the Śarāph ('banker') Padmarājaiah had maintained a palm-leaf manuscript library. He had edited and published two books with the help of palm-leaf manuscripts from his own library: i. *Cikka Śravakācārādi Paṃca Gramthagaḷu*, and ii. *Jaina Nityakriya Saṃgrah* (Saligrama, 1936). He was so meticulous in maintaining his library that he used to get the mutilated old manuscripts recopied. Among the seven Mss. that D.L. Narasimhachar (1948) referred for editing, four belonged to Śarāph Padmarājaiah, and one of them was so unique that it was copied in 1434 (Nagarajaiah 2016). The family of Yajamān Rājappa of Tovinakere in the Tumkur district had maintained a Ms. library up to the 20th century, and in 1972 a big box full of Mss. was donated to the manuscript section of the Bangalore University.

It is astonishing to note that Jain library management has not taken interest to get the preserved Mss. digitized.

The End of the Word
Andrew Ollett (University of Chicago)

There are many stories about the transmission of texts in the Jain tradition. Many of them complicate, if not reverse, the binary categories of 'preservation' and 'loss' as they are usually deployed (in reference, for example, to the beliefs of Śvētāmbara and Digambaras regarding the *aṅga*s). This talk will review two relatively well-known stories of textual loss: that of Sthūlabhadra, from the Śvētāmbara *Titthōgālī*, and that of Dharasēna, from the Digambara *Dhavalā*. Preservation accompanies loss in both of these stories, but in different ways, owing in part to a different understanding of the textual object and the medium of its transmission. I close by gesturing to the lessons these stories hold for thinking, in particular, about the continuation of texts in time, with which philologists are professionally concerned, and more generally about conceiving of, and relating to, the inevitable disappearance of traditions of human knowledge.

Jain Manuscripts at Wellcome Collection
Adrian Plau (Wellcome Institute, London)

Wellcome Collection holds what is possibly the largest collection of Jain manuscripts outside of South Asia. In this talk, as Wellcome's Manuscript Collections Information Analyst, I will provide background to the histories of collecting and cataloguing at Wellcome, give samples of the range of manuscripts in the Jain collection, and present current plans for making the collection more accessible and discoverable to a wider range of audiences.

Jaina Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Gujarāt and Rājasthān
Kalpana Sheth (Ahmedabad)

Manuscripts are the best media for the preservation of our cultural heritage. Before the printing press manuscripts were used to spread and preserve knowledge. The system for composing and copying texts was well developed in the Jaina community from early on. As a result, there are many Jain libraries today where manuscripts are found in good quantity and well-preserved. Where paper was not available texts were written on palm-leaf.

My paper is about Jaina palm-leaf manuscripts in Gujārat and Rājasthan. Gujārata and Rājasthana are the areas where hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts are preserved in places such as Khambhāt, Pātaṇ, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, Bikāner, Jesalmer Jāvāl, Devagiri, etc. Jains adopted palm-leaves as writing material from the 6th to the 15th centuries CE. After the 12th century CE paper was introduced, but we can still find palm-leaf being used untill the 15th century. Some of the Mss. are composite, with a number of different texts, i.e., 1-50 texts can be found in one bound manuscript. Palm-leaf manuscripts are found in different languages and scripts. Many are written in Tāmil, Kannaḍa, Śāradā, Grantha, Devanagāri and other languages. Some of the writings have been engraved, while others have been written in pen or with a feather quill.

There are many illustrated manuscripts. Some illustrations have been composed with gold and silver ink. Those are very beautiful, rare and valuable. Various subjects are covered in these texts: languages, literature, Jain canons, philosophy, logic, narratives, *prakīrṇaka*s, dogmatics, ethics, prosody, epics, hymns, monastic discipline, medicine, engineering, and many more. My paper provides a description and analysis with focus on illustrated manuscripts.

Examples of ancient palm-leaf art can be found from 1000 to 1400 CE. We know that Jaina canons were written in the 5th century during the period of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamākṣmaṇa, but we still get a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* written in V.S. 927 and copied in V.S. 1427 as preserved in a private library in Ahmedabad.

We have reference to three palm-leaf manuscript libraries in the period of King Kumārapala. From the colophons of these Mss., we can have some historical knowledge of that time, including the king, kingdom, ship building, state policy, ministry, *śramaṇa*s, their sects, tradition, etc. Illustrations from Jain canonical texts, depicting *tīrthaṅkara*s, Demigods and goddesses and many more illustrations will be discussed in my paper.

Walkthrough and Applications of Jain Quantum: A Jain Literature Search Engine
Anish Visaria (JAIN eLibrary)

Jain Quantum is a literature search engine built on the foundation of the JAIN elibrary, which provides a comprehensive digital catalogue of Jain literature. Launched in August 2020, *Jain Quantum* has quickly garnered interest globally by all types of users from academia to individual, casual use. *Jain Quantum* was created out of a need for detailed search within scanned texts, something that would be impossible without the OCR and computer vision technologies of today. The primary aim of *Jain Quantum* is to provide an accessible search experience over large volumes of text that significantly help users find information that would otherwise be hidden within pages of literature.

Prosopography and Inscriptions in Malwa: the Siddham Database
Michael Willis (Royal Asiatic Society, London)

The *Asia Inscriptions Database* – otherwise and for short *Siddham* – is an online resource for languages with substantial epigraphic traditions: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, Pyu, Burmese, Mon, Khmer and related languages. The database embraces south, central, and south-east Asia with a chronological horizon from the early centuries BCE to the nineteenth century. An open-access resource built collaboratively by contributors, the database allows researchers to harvest epigraphic data across varied themes, regions and languages. *Siddham* aims to advance interdisciplinary research in the languages, literatures, histories, geographies and cultural ecologies of Asia.

CENTRE OF
JAINA STUDIES

Jaina Knowledge Systems: Speakers

Shreenand L. Bapat
Registrar and Curator
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
812, Shivajinagar, Pune 411004, India
shreenandbapat@gmail.com

Nicholas Barnard
Curator of South Asian Art
Victoria and Albert Museum
n.barnard@vam.ac.uk

Dr Seema K. Chauhan
Asoke Kumar Sarkar Early Career Fellow
University of Oxford, Balliol College
Broad Street
Oxford OX1 3BJ, United Kingdom
seemachauhan490@gmail.com

Professor Emeritus John E. Cort
Department of Religion
Denison University
Granville, OH 43023, USA
cort@denison.edu

Tillo Detige, PhD Candidate
CERES - Center for Religious Studies
Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Universitätsstr. 90a 44789 Bochum, Germany
tillo.detige@rub.de

Mansi Dhariwal
Institute of Jainology, Aarugga-Bohi-Labham
Bikaner 334403
Rajasthan, India
Tel.: (+91) 70249 52077
22mansidhariwal@gmail.com

Professor Peter Flügel
Centre of Jaina Studies
SOAS, University of London
Thornhaugh Street
London WC1H OXG, United Kingdom
pf8@soas.ac.uk

Dr Camillo A. Formigatti
Information Analyst, Oriental Collections - FAMOUS Project
The Weston Library | Bodleian Libraries
Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BG
camillo.formigatti@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Dr Patrick Felix Krüger
Research Associate
CERES - Center for Religious Studies
Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Universitätsstr. 90a
D-44789 Bochum
Patrick.Krueger@rub.de

Shree Nahata
DPhil Candidate in Oriental Studies
University of Oxford, Balliol College
Broad Street
Oxford OX1 3BJ, United Kingdom
shree.nahata@balliol.ox.ac.uk

Dr Amruta Natu
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
812, Shivajinagar, Chiplunkar Road
Pune - 411004, India
amrutanatu@gmail.com

Dr Andrew Ollett
Neubauer Family Assistant Professor
The University of Chicago
5801 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637, USA
ollett@uchicago.edu

Professor Prathibha Parshwanath
Principal, Government First Grade College
K R Puram, Bengaluru – 560036, India
prathibhaparshi@gmail.com

Dr Adrian Plau
Wellcome Collection
215 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE
A.Plau@wellcome.org

Professor Jessie Pons
CERES - Center for Religious Studies
Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Universitätsstr. 90a 44789 Bochum, Germany
jessie.pons@rub.de

Dr Kalpana Sheth,
C-6/1203 Waterlily
Adani Shantigram
Nr. Vaishnav Devi Circle
Ahmedabad – 382421, India
kalpana_sheth8@hotmail.com

Anish Visaria
Director of Innovation
JAIN eLibrary (JEI)
509 Carriage Woods Circle
Cary, NC 27513-6469, USA
quantum@jainelibrary.org

Dr Michael Willis
Research Fellow
Royal Asiatic Society
14 Stephenson Way
London NW1 2HD, United Kingdom
mwroyalasiaticsociety@protonmail.me

Jain Manuscript Cover Showing Fourteen Dreams of Trishala
Western India, 19th century, Painted and lacquered
IS.50-1983
Victoria and Albert Museum

Jaina Studies in Japan 2021: Conference Reports

Masahiro Ueda

On 4 and 5 September 2021, the 72nd Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS) was hosted online by Otani University. A total of four papers on Jainism were presented.

Hiroaki Korematsu (Toyo University) presented a paper entitled "Criticism of Other Schools in Jain Meditation Theory." He analysed the meditation theory taught in Chapter 21 of the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena (*c.* 770-850). According to Korematsu, the chapter can be divided into two parts. The first part explains the definition of meditation in Jain doctrine, and the second part criticises other schools of thought and explains the validity of Jain meditation. In the second half, there is a description of methods of yoga, and according to Korematsu, Jinasena tried to place the system of yoga within Jain doctrine by explaining the terms of yoga in Jain terminology, citing the *Tattvārthasūtra*. Jinasena also asserts the legitimacy of Jain meditation by criticizing the ideas of other schools. Korematsu pointed out that Jinasena links meditation theory to the *anekānta* theory of Jainism.

In "Jinadatta and Jain Hagiographic Literature," Tomoyuki Yamahata (Hokkaido University) took as his subject the writings of Jinadatta, a 12th-century Jain monk and leader of the Jain order Kharataragaccha, and showed the relationship between these writings and the

Yutaka Kawasaki (University of Tokyo)

changes in Jain literature since the 12th century. All of Jinadatta's writings are in Apabhraṃśa, but they are different in content from other Apabhraṃśa literature. Most Apabhraṃśa literature is either hagiographic or tantric, but Jinadatta's writings teach the correct way of Jainism. Yamahata pointed out that this characteristic of Jinadatta's writings is highly related to the Old Gujarati literature that was developing during his time. He concluded that Jinadatta's writings differ from the characteristic of traditional Apabhraṃśa literature up to his time, in contrast to those of Hemacandra, who was active in the same period and region and had written many treatises on traditional Apabhraṃśa literature.

In "Non-violence of the Jain Layperson: A Definitional Explanation of Non-Violence," Kazuyoshi Hotta (Okayama University of Science) reviewed the definition of non-violence for the Jain layperson. First, based on what is taught in Verse 8 of Chapter 7 of the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (TAAS), Hotta stated that the definition of violence is "the taking of life by the act of a careless person" and that the prohibition of this is non-violence. Then, analysing Umāsvāti and other TAAS commentaries in the Śvetāmbara tradition, as well as Pūjyapāda's and Akalaṅka's commentaries in the Digambara tradition, he clarified that the definitions of non-violence are composed of the words *pramatta*, yoga, *prāṇa*, and *vyaparopana*, and offered a detailed explanation of these terms. Hotta pointed out that the same words are used in the depiction of non-violence in the Śrāvakācāra literature, such as the *Cāritrasāra* and the *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, which describe the right conduct of the layperson, and that it has been therefore greatly influenced by TAAS and its commentaries. Finally, he mentioned other factors in defining non-violence of the Jain layperson. According to him, there are nine types of violence, including the three types of actions (physical, verbal, and mental) that one performs oneself, causes others to perform, or permits others to perform, as well as an expanded list of 27 or 108 types of violence. Another important element, he pointed out, is the reference to the difference between movable

Hiroaki Korematsu (Toyo University) next to the banner for the 70th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS) at Bukkyō University, 7-9 September 2019.

(*trasa*) and immovable (*sthāvara*) living things and the prohibition of killing movable ones that is the basis for the distinction between the ascetics' vows and the laypersons' vows.

In "Is the Cutting of the Clothes Violent?" Yutaka Kawasaki (University of Tokyo) analysed the debate depicted in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* (BKBh) vv. 3922-3952 on whether the cutting of clothes is violent or not. Those who prohibit the cutting of clothes deny all physically occurring intentional acts as violent ones that prevent liberation. On the other hand, those who affirm the cutting of clothes criticise them, saying that their insistence on stopping the cutting is also an intentional act, and if, as they say, any intentional acts prevent liberation, then their insistence as "an intentional act" itself will also prevent liberation. They also dismiss the idea of those who deny the cutting on the grounds that physical violence is not considered violence if it is not mentally indulgent. In the BKBh, the former is considered to be a different theory and the latter to be the correct theory. The prohibition of all intentional acts as violent is a consequent and legitimate attitude given the Jain principle of non-violence, but if ascetics are too concerned with such principles, they may become obstacles in their ascetic life and lead them to deviate from their original purpose, i.e. liberation (*mokṣa*). Kawasaki also concluded that this example shows how flexible the Jains were in their interpretation of their scriptures.

36th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies

On 16 October 2021, the 36th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies was held online. Three papers were read at this conference.

In "Jain Doxography: On Merutuṅga's *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya*," Kazuyoshi Hotta (Okayama University of Science) analysed Merutuṅga's *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya* (SDN). He began with an overview of the dates of Merutuṅga as 1345/46-1413/14 CE and his works, based on previous studies. Then, by comparing its content, structure, writing style, and types of citations with other doxographies such as Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, he clarified the characteristics of the SDN. He pointed out that the SDN differs significantly from other Jain doxographies in that it discusses the four *varṇa*s and four *āśrama*s before discussing the six philosophical schools. Hotta also identified the *Vajrasūcī* (VS) of Aśvaghoṣa as a possible influence on Merutuṅga's style. This is because VS is known for its stance that it does not quote texts of its own tradition (i.e. Buddhist texts) but uses the texts of its opponent (i.e. ones of Brahmanism/Hinduism), to criticise them. A similar stance can be found in the SDN. According to Hotta, the SDN tries to criticise its opponents with their own texts and to prove the views of Jainas with the texts of the opponents. Previous studies have argued that these characteristics of the SDN are based on the tolerant attitude of Jainism. However, Hotta pointed out that

Kazuyoshi Hotta (Okayama University of Science)

Merutuṅga realized that any scripture could be used both to argue for the validity of his own school and to criticise the views of others, and to criticise his own school and to defend others, and that Merutuṅga had a view of the inerrancy and ambiguity of the scriptures.

In "On Jaina Meditation Theory in Chapter 21 of the *Ādipurāṇa*," Hiroaki Korematsu (Toyo University) presented a more extended version of his presentation at JAIBS, and clarified the characteristics of the first half of Chapter 21 of the *Ādipurāṇa* (ĀP). The doctrine of meditation in the first half of this chapter seems to rely mostly on the definition in the *Tattvārthasūtra* (TAS) 9.27 and its commentary by Pūjyapāda. However, while the object of meditation in the TAS is mainly the content of Jain doctrines (*dharma-dhyāna*), the meditation theory of the ĀP emphasises that the Jina itself should be the object of meditation. This, he analysed, is the difference between the TAS and the ĀP.

In "Adaptation to Japanese Society among Jains Living in Tokyo," Sumiko Yamamoto (Toyo University) clarified the current situation of the Jain community in Japan. She reviewed the history of the Jain community in Okachimachi, a part of Tokyo that is famous for its jewelry businesses, and then compared the difference in attitudes between the younger generation and their parents' generation. She pointed out that the parents' generation had a hard time adjusting to Japanese society (especially with food) and did not develop very deep relationships with the Japanese people around them. The activities of their jewelry industry in Japan were closely related to India. Unlike their parents' generation, the next generation, both those who attended international schools and those who were educated in India up to high school, have formed close friendships with Japanese people and have adapted to Japanese society while retaining to some extent the Indian culture of their parents' background in terms of religion, food, and language.

Masahiro Ueda is an adjunct lecturer at Ritsumeikan University. His research centres on the study of the exegetical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas. He is presently editing the unpublished text of the Cūrṇi commentary on the Vyavahārabhāṣya *and translating Malayagiri's Ṭīkā commentary.*

Jain Studies at the American Academy of Religion

Marie-Hélène Gorisse

After a fully online conference in 2020 and the decision to postpone for one year most of the events related to Jain Studies, this 2021 American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual meeting held partially on site in San Antonio, Texas, was nonetheless largely also conducted online.

The panel, "Jain Philosophy: Perspective on Non-One-Sidedness," co-sponsored by the Jain Studies, Philosophy of Religion and Hindu Philosophy Units, was the first panel on Jain philosophy at the AAR. Conceived as a step towards the constitution of a collaborative research network on Jain philosophy, a field in which scholarship has chiefly been developed in isolation, the panel was also designed to initiate a dialogue with the more established networks in Buddhist philosophy and in Hindu philosophy, the multi-disciplinary platform of the AAR providing a welcome opportunity to do so.

Acknowledging that an important issue in Jain philosophy nowadays is that it is presented as a homogeneous whole, this panel aimed at suggesting means to remedy this situation by presenting Jain philosophy as a dynamic and multifaceted process, starting with the doctrines of non-one-sidedness, *anekāntavāda*, and viewpoints, *nayavāda*, which are central to Jain philosophy and which have been influential in the history of South Asian philosophy. In order to implement this, the lectures of this panel reflected the diversity of issues addressed by authors from different time-periods and contexts, especially concerning their conceptions of temporality, common sense, denotation and authority.

The first paper, by Ana Bajželj (University of California, Riverside), "Being in Time: *Tattvārthasūtra* and Its Commentaries on Non-One-Sidedness and Temporality," explored the relationship between non-one-sidedness and temporality in Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthasūtra* (*c*. 350–400), and two of its influential Digambara commentaries, namely Pūjyapāda Devanandin's *Sarvārthasiddhi* (6th century) and Akalaṅka's *Tattvārthavārttika* (8th century). She showed that Pūjyapāda Devanandin and Akalaṅka tried to dispel concerns about the validity of the basic metaphysical framework propounded by Umāsvāti, according to which substances are essentially originating, decaying and persisting. Doing so, they ended up presenting reality as a complex network of non-one-sided existents, within which causal operations are central and heavily dependent upon one's conception of time. Considered as a substance by the Digambara Pūjyapāda Devanandin and Akalaṅka, time here functions as a supportive cause of all temporal events, and itself undergoes the same developments as the other non-one-sided substances.

The next paper, "Contradiction and Common Sense in Haribhadrasūri's Victory-Flag of Non-One-

Caturmukha shrine, Vallabha Smāraka, Delhi (I. Schoon 18.12.2019)

Sidedness," by Anil Mundra (University of Chicago), investigated the *Anekāntajayapatākā* of Haribhadrasūri (8th century), as a witness of the gradual construction of the doctrine of non-one-sidedness and viewpoints in the Śvetāmbara tradition. In this paper, Mundra showed that Haribhadra conceives non-one-sidedness as the thesis according to which real objects admit of contrary properties. This, in turn, is an article of common sense, "accepted even by cowherds and women" (*āgopālāṅganādiprasiddha*), inasmuch as it amounts to the expression of the basic fact that things are what they are, and that they are not what they are not. Our language and concepts are such that we need to be able to say that, for example, with respect to its own substance, that of being made of clay, this pot exists, but with respect to another substance, say that of being made of threads, it does not. The goal of this presentation was to see how Haribhadra's approach to common sense appeals to intersubjective agreement, while remaining philosophically critical.

Moving our investigations to a time in which the Jain doctrine of perspectives has received its full-blown technical articulation, Marie-Hélène Gorisse's (Ghent University; University of Birmingham) paper "Is Rāvaṇa the Universal Emperor? Questions of Reference in Prabhācandra's Semantic Perspective" examined how, in his *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* (980–1065), the Digambara scholar-monk Prabhācandra employs the doctrine of perspectives to resolve contemporary debates on the nature and function of universals and particulars. The lecture focused on the semantic perspective (*śabdanaya*), the perspective of

those who focus on the word to know the world, and on Prabhācandra's presentation of the grammarians as representative of an erroneous radicalization of this perspective. There, grammarians are depicted as developing universal semantic distinctions relevant to give an account of the way we speak while, speech being too complex to be approached in a one-sided way, we actually need rules that describe one aspect of the use of an expression without refuting its other aspects.

This panel concluded with "The *Anekāntatā* of *Anekāntavāda*: Dialectic of Non-One-Sidedness in Hemacandra's Philosophical Hymns." In this paper, Lynna Dhanani (University of California, Davis) explored the exposition and rhetoric of *anekāntavāda* in three philosophical hymns of the twelfth-century polymath Hemacandra: the *Anyayogavyavacchedadvātriṃśikā Mahāvīrastavana*, his *Ayogavyavacchedadvātriṃśikā Mahāvīrastavana*, and the *Vītarāgastotra*. Such a comparison reveals how one Jain thinker distilled and systemized *anekāntavāda* and its corresponding methods of assessment (*nayavāda*, *syādvāda*, etc.) in different literary genres, notably to promote Jain thought over opposing schools and to assert the authoritative character of Mahāvīra's teaching. For example, the successive refutations of other schools' theses in hymns also functions as a devotional assertion of the supremacy of the Jinas. Besides, there is an efficiency of mirroring strategies between narrative episodes in which, for example, only Jain devotees are conscious of what is really in a box, and philosophical expositions in which only Jain thinkers theorize the non-one-sided object.

After these four presentations, the panel respondent, Parimal Patil (Harvard University), affirmed the importance of bringing these authors to the fore. He asked each participant a central philosophical question: What is time for Umāsvāti and his commentators? What is the metaphysical significance of non-one-sidedness understood as common sense in Haribhadrasūri? Is Prabhācandra right in his criticism of the fact that grammatical rules are not context-sensitive as they should be, and what would be an answer from the grammarians to this criticism; and What is the philosophical significance of ridicule? Finally, he addressed two common questions to all of the panelists: What do the Jains want to teach us with these doctrines? and Why were these confronted to a relative absence of reaction from the other traditions? These seminal questions led to rich discussions, which will undoubtedly lead to more collaborative work in the future, so stay tuned!

Besides this panel, around ten individual papers were delivered on Jain Studies in other Units, with no less than four papers engaging with the effect of the COVID-19 crisis on Jain practices.

COVID-19 Crisis

In the panel devoted to "South Asian Religious Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic," Heleen De Jonckheere (University of Chicago) presented "A True Jain [Sings]: Do Not Fear from It! Religion, National Sentiment and Social Media in the COVID-19 Pandemic." Her lecture analysed the reception of a Jain song on COVID-19, called "Corona se Darona" (Do not fear the Coronavirus) by Vicky D. Parekh. Observing that the world is shaking because of a virus, this song enjoins to embrace Jain values, including to stop hugging and instead to fold one's hand while saying "Jai Jinendra." First aimed at the Jain community, this song achieved greater success, as a result of which it was emptied of its religious component and re-appropriated by the narrative towards national unity, thereby showing how this narrative of national unity regularly dominates in India nowadays. De Jonckheere illustrated this trend further by quoting the Digambara monk Muni Premsāgar Jī Mahārāj: "bigger than individual religion, is national religion."

Next to this, in the Interreligious and Interfaith Studies Unit, Sherry Fohr's (Converse College) work gave a lecture on "Jains and Interfaith Work in the US (2019-2020)." Drawing on interviews conducted before and after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic and social unrest of 2020, this presentation offered a survey of Jain involvement in interfaith dialogue and cooperation in the United States, starting in the late twentieth century. First, Fohr showed that this substantially manifold involvement notably included collaborations with interfaith organizations promoting politically progressive values such as racial, economic, social and environmental justice; as well as an increased presence in higher education and on the internet. Second, she noticed a shift of focus in the Jain interfaith effort before and after the pandemic, from the promotion of peace and *ahiṃsā* (non-violence) thanks to *anekāntavāda* (many-sidedness of truth) as a sure means to enhance mutual understanding, to a will to help those who are harmed.

Then, in a panel on "Social Justice, Resistance, and Religious Ethics in the Time of COVID-19" in the Comparative Religious Ethics Unit, Brianne Donaldson (University of California, Irvine) further assessed Jain responses to the pandemic in her "Medical Service, Ecological Advocacy, and International Fundraising as Transcultural Belonging Among North American Jain Responses to COVID-19." She argued that during the pandemic, North American Jains adapted their religious practices to unify the diasporic Jain community beyond sect and caste. They did so notably, by empowering the whole community to follow national health guidelines; by both spearheading local philanthropy and proliferating transnational collaborations with India through public fundraising; by seeing the pandemic as an opportunity for moral reset; by translating Jain ideals to all using the epistemic frameworks of ecological well-being, self-development, and social equity; and by capitalizing upon their online fluency to proliferate responses for community-building.

Finally, in a panel on Emerging Scholars' Research

in Gender, Religion, Poverty and Inequality Shivani Bothra's (Rice University) lecture "Zoom: Technology Empowering Jain Laywomen for Religious Education" investigated the consequences of the current crisis having required laywomen to resort to using technology in novel ways. She showed that Jain laywomen in India embraced technology and explored various social media platforms for the continuity of religious education in diverse ways, such as conducting workshops on Jain scriptures, or organising prayers, Jain yoga and meditation sessions on social media. From this, Bothra demonstrated that this new tech-literacy enables them to transcend their earlier emphasized "domestic" roles, and foregrounds contemporary Jain laywomen as potential agents of change in shaping modern Jainism

Jainism's Engagement with Global Culture
Jain scholars' engagement in this year's AAR comprised lectures tackling interfaith issues in other panels, too. In *The Mahābhārata and Classical Hinduism Seminar*, Simon Winant (Ghent University) in "Redemption or Death: Jain Reinterpretations of the Slaying of Kīcaka," discussed different Jain adaptations of the famous episode of Vālmīki's epic in which Kīcaka molests Draupadī and is then killed by Bhīma. Jinasena Punnāṭa's first Jain retelling in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* offers a version in which Kīcaka is obsessed with Draupadī as a result of being karmically linked with her in previous lives. Then, feeling remorseful, he becomes disgusted with worldly existence, enters the Jain monastic path and is liberated. Winant shows that despite the continued influence of this work on later literature, the liberation of Kīcaka does not have the same fate in terms of celebrity, the reasons of which might have something to do with the fact that it is not well perceived in a Vaishnava cultural milieu to have a character who becomes liberated before Kṛṣṇa is.

In the *Global-Critical Philosophy of Religion: Topics, Categories, Questions Seminar*, as part of a roundtable in which each participant was doing the same for his or her area of focus, Marie-Hélène Gorisse spoke on "A Jain-tailored Manual of Philosophy of Religion," offering ways of envisioning the topics, questions and problems of philosophy of religion if one was to start one's investigations with Jainism. This thought experiment notably showed that the attention of Jains is on the concept of Self (*jīva*), not on that of God; that metaphysics is foremost conceived as providing an ethical background; that tensions were on issues different than the ones traditionally displayed in a manual of philosophy of religion, for example, on the way to reconcile systematic epistemology and the conception according to which omniscience is reached thanks to the elimination of karma; or that expressions usually kept in Sanskrit, like karma, are a good sign of a conceptual framework that resists direct mapping because the problem spaces are not the same ones.

Within the Body and Religion Unit, engaging with the branding of a globalized Jainism, in "Globalized

Guru, Nationalized Icon: Representing the Body of Śrīmad Rājacandra in a Jain Guru Movement in Contemporary India," Steve M. Vose (Colorado College) analyzed the iconography and ritualized uses of statues of Śrīmad Rājacandra (1867-1901) made by the Shrimad Rajchandra Mission of Dharampur (SRMD) in Gujarat. First, Vose showed how the realistic bodily presentation of the statues of Rājacandra fit with modern trends in the representation of the bodies of famous monks. Second, he argued that the SRMD relies on conceptions of Rājacandra as the 25th *tīrthaṅkara* to authorize these statues to receive slightly modified *pūjā*s. Third, Vose suggested that the ashram's impetus for making the 34-foot bronze colossus of Rājacandra was to be connected with other recent colossal images of religious and political figures across India. And finally, he concluded by reflecting on the global appeal of the SRMD, attracting both diaspora and Indian Jains, creating a new Jain "public" that is supplanting traditional, caste-based forms of Śvetāmbara religious authority.

Tantric Studies Unit
In the Tantric Studies Unit Jainism was once again well represented. First, in the *Tantric Goddesses and Public Esotericism in Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism* panel, in her talk "The Śrīyantra in Jainism," Ellen Gough (Emory University) compared some popular modern tantric diagrams of the Jain goddess Padmāvatī with some *yantra*s outlined in the eleventh-century Jain Sanskrit text the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa* (BPK). She showed that the meditative practices, mantras, and deities of the BPK reflect general tantric trends common to medieval Jain and non-Jain texts, but that the text does not seem to be particularly influential today. From this, she argued that we should stop privileging the BPK as representative of Jain tantric texts, and that scholars should even avoid calling the text a "tantra," since there is no category of Jain text called *tantra*. Instead, we can put the text in conversation with similar sources, Jain and non-Jain, by calling it what it is: a *kalpa*, or ritual manual.

Next, in the panel on Discursive Transgression: Tantra and Ritual Language, in "Simple Sexy Style: Erotic Magic in Jain Tantras," Aaron Ullrey (University of California, Santa Barbara) also focused on the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, as well as on the *Jvālāmālinīkalpa*. Ullrey noticed that, while tantricized Jainism, with *yantra*s and mantras to destroy karma, is inherently Jain, the magic tantra rituals examined here do not bear a stamp of Jainism. He agrees that these texts should not be called "Jain tantra," and that they share content with non-Jain sources, especially Śaiva tantras. Ullrey further observes that erotic rituals in Jain versions are not softened as, for example, the slaying rituals are; that they display a Sanskrit register very simple compared to other chapters; and that they are less structured. These features are interpreted as the sign that authors were unwilling to even adapt such rituals to a Jain contact.

Roundtable Discussion

Finally, worth mentioning in a review on Jain Studies is the roundtable *Renouncing the World While Staying at Home: A Critical Engagement with Grhastha: The Householder in Ancient Indian Religious Culture.*" This roundtable was initiated by Stephanie Jamison's (University of California, Los Angeles) recent observation that the Sanskrit term used to refer to the householder in classical Hindu texts, *gṛhastha*, does not appear in the Vedic corpus and is a term clearly borrowed from non-Hindu Śramaṇic traditions whose advocates wrote in the vernacular. This simple observation has far-reaching consequences, as it calls into question previous theses concerning the early connections between and mutual influences among Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. In this seminal roundtable, Claire Maes (University of Tübingen) notably explained that *gṛhastha* and close expressions were rare in early Buddhist and Jain sources, and that the tension between leaving for the wilderness and staying at home was central. Reacting to this, Patrick Olivelle suggested that the hypothesis according to which the expression *gṛhastha* originated not in the Śramaṇic traditions, but in dialogue with them in the Brahmanical discourse should be investigated.

To conclude, from the appraisal of Jain responses to contemporary challenges, such as the consequences of globalization or the COVID-19 crisis, to the reassessment of the relationships between the main traditions of ancient India, by way of the constitution of a research network on Jain philosophy, this 2021 edition of the AAR annual meeting was yet another example of the vibrant engagement of scholars of Jain Studies in collaborative networks, tackling the hot topics of our times in an essentially inter-disciplinary setting. That so many lectures were presented there is indicative of the continued bright development of Jain Studies, and a sign of more to come in the coming decades.

Marie-Hélène Gorisse is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Birmingham in the project Global Philosophy of Religion *supported by the John Templeton Foundation. She specializes in Jainism and in the way its epistemology and hermeneutics developed in dialogue with other South Asian philosophico-religious traditions. She also works on the contemporary relevance of Jainism as a contributor to global philosophy and global philosophy of religion.*

SOAS
University of London

24TH JAINA STUDIES WORKSHOP

PURE SOUL: KANAJĪ SVĀMĪ AND THE DIGAMBARA JAINA TRADITION

14-15 April 2023

Papers addressing Kanajī Svāmī and the Digambara Jaina Tradition are invited.

For further information please see:

www.soas.ac.uk/jainastudies
Inquiries: jainastudies@soas.ac.uk

10th or 11th c. Śāntinātha image, Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra, Bahorībanda (Photo: Peter Flügel 23.12.2018)

Jain Studies at the European Association for the Study of Religion

Marie-Hélène Gorisse

For this year's gathering of the European Association for the Study of Religion (EASR) on resilience, Heleen De Jonkheere, Basile Leclère and Tine Vekemans organised the panel *Yes, We Jain! Overcoming Crises in the Jain Tradition*. In the course of a full day of lectures and discussions, over four sessions fifteen presenters assessed Jainism's ability to transform and adapt to changing circumstances, while at the same time guarding continuity within the tradition, and successfully supporting and engaging with its followers, even in less than ideal situations. Designed to bring together contributions from scholars from different backgrounds, this panel approached Jainism from a broad range of perspectives and disciplines. It took place in a hybrid format, with most participants online, and the others in Pisa, Italy, with substantial representation from Ghent University and from the University of Chicago.

Session One

The panel opened with a session entitled *Regional Resilience: Jains Claiming Their Grounds in the Vernacular Age*, which focused on historical episodes of counter-reaction that were especially formed by the emerging vernacular environment. First, a presentation by Heleen De Jonckheere (University of Chicago) on *Internal Controversy and Literary Heritage: A Discussion of Two Śvetāmbara Dharmaparīkṣā Adaptations* assessed the ways in which the constitution of a literary heritage helped to overcome an internal religious crisis. The *Dharmaparīkṣā*, a popular narrative addressing the shortcomings of surrounding religious groups, was composed and first circulated among Digambara Jains. De Jonckheere investigated its retelling by Saubhāgyasāgara and Padmasāgara, two 16th-century Śvetāmbara authors, who condensed Amitagati's prestigious version in a close paraphrase more adapted to a Śvetāmbara audience. Some examples of this 'Śvetāmbarisation' are quotes of the Śvetāmbara canon; the fact that only treatises composed within a correct Śvetāmbara lineage are considered as leading to good dharma; different names for Ṛṣabha's wives; or the absence of criticism of Draupadī's polygamy. All these elements contributed to claiming a literary heritage that strengthens one's group identity.

Pursuing the theme of negotiation of identity happening in the retelling of the *Dharmaparīkṣā*, Itamar Ramot (University of Chicago) in *Being a Kannaḍiga, Being a Jain: Sanskrit as a Site of Contestation in the 14th-century* examined Vṛttavilāsa's version of the narrative in Kannaḍa. This first vernacular adaptation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* happened at a time of identity crisis, as Śaivism gradually replaced Jainism as the predominant tradition in the region. There, Vṛttavilāsa uses Sanskrit as a mark of antiquity and of otherness when he quotes from Brahmanical lore. At the same

Aboo Jain Temple; 19th-century photograph by Francis Frith; Whole-plate albumin print from wet collodion glass negative; Victoria and Albert Museum, E.208.21-1994

time, he cannot disregard altogether the role that Sanskrit had already played for his translocal Jain community. In this dynamic, he composes new verses in Sanskrit, thereby also acknowledging that he is part of this literary culture. However, he considers only the Kannada language as the internal voice for his community. Furthermore, he uses the *campū* verse, which is not the contemporary choice, but which gained prestige at the hands of the early Jain actors of the Kannada literary culture. All these linguistic and literary choices are used by Vṛttavilāsa to define what it means to be a Jain poet from the Kannaḍa speaking region.

Continuing on the investigation of the ways in which Jain communities negotiated their identity in the South, *Jainism in South India's Middle Ages: Decline, Revival, Endurance* by Tiziana Lorenzetti (International Institute of South Asian Studies, Rome) focused on architectural sources to offer an overview of the many concurrent factors explaining episodes of decline of Jainism from the 7th century onwards, and the survival strategies that have been used until today. Julia Hegewald (University of Bonn) attended the panel and appreciated the peculiar modalities of conversion from Jainism to Vīraśaivism, as new evidence of the Jain faith's morphed endurance in South India. The paper is now included in Hegewald's edited volume *Dependency and Freedom in the Jaina Culture of Medieval Karnataka* (forthcoming).

This session ended with a multi-disciplinary paper,

Histories of Shatrunjaya and Making of Jain Identity in South Asia by Shalin Jain (University of Delhi) who, making use of architectural evidences, along with sociological and textual studies, questioned the narratives around the sacred site of Śatruñjaya, as both a symbol of crisis and a constant assertion and construction of Jain identity through time. More precisely, his paper showed how Śatruñjaya was simultaneously invaded, as well as patronized by political forces having allegiance to other religions and how, at the same time, this sacred site was regularly constructed to soften sectarian conflicts and project a homogeneous Jain community. These different moments were especially apparent in the patterns of patronage, practices of destruction, claims of renovation, and narratives of pilgrimage

Session Two
The second session, *Doing It Right, Telling It Right: Jain Corrections of Adverse Realities*, examined more precisely how Jains, either by religious practice, or through narratives, dealt with challenges to their ideals stemming from Brahmanical and Islamic environments. In consideration of this dynamic, Seema Chauhan's (University of Chicago) *The Construction of Brahminhood in Jaina Narratives* addressed ways through which Jains use the category of 'Brahminhood' for reimagining the contours of the lay/householder identity. She focused on three retellings of the creation of the Brāhmaṇas by Ṛṣabha's son, Bharata. Crowned universal emperor, Bharata first desires to give his wealth to the Jain ascetics, but remembers that they will not accept possessions. Instead, he donates it to the Jain householders. While in the Vāsudevahiṇḍī's retelling of the story, 'Brahmin' is a label for the Jain lay status, it is confined to the Hindu priesthood and presented as hierarchically inferior to even the lowest Jain in the *Padmacarita*, and it identifies a broader social class of householders that includes both Jain and Hindu householders in the *Ādipurāṇa*. The long history of adaptations of these tales indicates a steady concern for the meaning and definition of brahminhood in Jainism and challenges us to rethink it as a more fluid category through which the identity of the Jain householder in social, religious and even political realms was defined *vis-à-vis* Hindu ones.

Moving on to the monastic ideal, in *Naked Ideals Dressed Up: The Resilience of Practice in the Early Modern Digambara Jaina Tradition*, Tillo Detige (Ruhr Universität Bochum) demonstrated that even in the absence of naked ascetics – the ideal Digambara ascetics – at periods during which they were persecuted, the ascetic ideal retained its priority at the heart of Digambara practice and that this is a sign of the deep continuity of the latter. There is a fundamental role of devotion in Digambara Jainism, and the clothed *bhaṭṭāraka*s were recipients of this devotion in the absence of the naked ascetics. To show the continuity of Digambara devotional practices, Detige presented the proximity between the practices of the clothed *bhaṭṭāraka*s and that of the naked *muni*s, notably the fact that it is a later construction to think that the former had a more clerical role than the latter, as well as the similarity in the way in which they are worshiped in ritual practice, texts and architecture, notably with similar *pūja*s and with *pādukā*s.

After the ideal ascetic and the ideal layman, this session concluded with characterisations of the ideal ruler in troublesome times. In *The One Death and Many Lives of King Kumārapāla: Biography and Resilience in Jainism*, Basile Leclère (University of Lyon III) expounded the gradual shaping of the vast narrative literature on Kumārapāla and explained how the way of dealing with the loss of this great figure, who offered unprecedented royal patronage of Jainism, was a means of defining the ideal Jain ruler. In *prabandha*s, Kumārapāla was a secondary character, his spiritual master Hemacandra being in the spotlight. But gradually, Kumārapāla became the main character of elaborated biographical *kāvya*s. At the same time, his life story was more and more embedded in a series of previous and future rebirths pointing to a spiritual progress up to his universal sovereignty and deliverance in the next cosmic era. Being part of a wider Jain literary tradition, the figure of Kumārapāla became an equivalent with the illustrious characters of the Jain universal history and the remembrance of his reign ceased to be that of a loss, to become a message of hope.

Session Three
Focusing on contemporary practices, the third session, *Flexibility as a Mode of Resilience: Contemporary Jain Practice in a Global Context*, brought together papers dealing with challenges inherent to the current globalized world and their transformative effect on contemporary practices in India and in the diaspora. To start with, Shivani Bothra (Rice University, Houston), in her presentation on *Jain Migrants in North America: Emerging Trends in the Continuity of Traditional Religious Education* explored emerging and modern forms of *svādhyāya* (self-study) in the diaspora, examining how a traditional concept of reading scriptures translated into new forms of religious education to suit changing contexts. After a brief overview of *svādhyāya* and of the historical and cultural factors in which migrant American Jains have founded diverse religious *svādhyāya* (study) groups, Bothra addressed the main driving factors of adult religious education, as well as the continuities with practices in the homeland. She notably examined the Jain Center of Southern California (JCSC), where *svādhyāya* is not merely a weekly or a monthly affair but a daily commitment, as witnessed by the following quote from a laywoman of the JCSC: "When I was living in India, I did not engage in *svādhyāya* but now I feel it imperative to attend religious education discourse for a fulfilling life." Examples like this indicate that involvement in adult religious education, besides strengthening the

orientation towards Jain soteriological goals, also eases the challenges of assimilation within immigrant groups.

Investigating the current development of and need to rely on new technologies, Tine Vekemans (Ghent University), in *Crisis and Continuation: The Digital Relocation of Jain Socio-Religious Praxis During the COVID-19 Pandemic* considered the ways in which Jain organizations in London resorted to digital media to continue to engage with their members during the pandemic. She assessed longer-term effects of such a relocation to the digital realm of religious activities and of socio-cultural life in general. First, this especially had an impact on the type of audience, notably since participants are not bound to a particular geographical area. In this respect, the relocation to the digital realm at times reproduced hyperlocal practices, and also at times occasioned the development of a globalized practice which facilitated new collaborations and strengthened the ideas of a unified Jain community. The marked digital turn during the pandemic also impacted the types of practice, favouring and transforming the ones more translatable to a digital environment, such as *pravacan*s and lectures, *pratikraman*s, *bhāv yātrā*s, *pāṭhśālā*s, *satsaṅg*s, *bhakti* musical programs or livestreamed *ārtī pūjā*s. The full version of this paper is now available in *Religions 2021*, 12.

Also developed into a publication in *Religions 2021*, 12 was the next presentation by Christopher Miller (Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles) and Jonathan Dickstein (University of California, Santa Barbara): *Jain Veganism: "Cautiously Integrating" Ahiṃsā into A Globalized Movement*. This paper was concerned with the ways in which the environmental crisis is addressed in Jain contemporary practices. The authors examined how Jain veganism represents a contemporary integration of the ideal of *ahiṃsā* within global society, through a case-study of the UK-based Jain Vegans and the Swiss-based Beyond Animal organizations. While Jain dietary restrictions do not necessarily include the interdiction of consuming dairy products, more and more Jains become vegan, as they share with the current transnational movement of veganism the aspirations for the protection of the animal, of the human, and of the environment, notably by seeing the abstinence from animal-derived products as a way to assure the boycotting of factory farming. Now, these Jains also associate veganism with their religious practice, as is manifest in the Jain Vegans' 'give up dairy for Paryushan' campaign. First, Miller and Dickstein argued that while it is true that contemporary diasporic Jains avoid animal-derived products more out of compassion than in order to secure self-control, this fact is not a new one and can also be seen in historical Jain perspectives on what should not be eaten, so there is no major discontinuity here. Second, they showed that contemporary diasporic Jains also associate these practices with the soteriological goal of self-control. In order to illustrate this point, they gave the example of the association Jain Vegans,

which emphasizes the benefit of giving up dairy to help one cultivate self-control. The authors also conducted a survey, in which half of the participants claimed that their decision to become vegan was induced by considerations of karma binding.

Session Four

This panel on Jain Studies concluded with the fourth session: *Meetings and Meanderings: Fundamental Jain Concepts in the Broader South-Asian Context*, which featured papers examining how key philosophical and ethical concepts in Jainism – such as intention, non-violence, and non-one-sidedness – developed and were occasionally re-articulated in an oppositional or dialectical relationship with other systems of thought. Ana Bajželj (University of California, Riverside) opened this line of investigation with the paper *Redefining Harmful Actions: The Concept of Intention in Umāsvāti's Tattvārthasūtra and Its Commentaries*, which analyzed the gradual introduction of intention as a factor of karmic bondage in the Jain ethics of non-violence. She notably focused on the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, in which an action is divided into three parts, each of which attracts karma: (1) the intention to act (*saṃrambha*), the act of preparation (*samārambha*), and the execution of an act (*ārambha*). First, this classification according to which intention is karmically burdening is not new, but already found in the canonical *Uttarajjhāyā*. Second, an investigation of Digambara commentators such as Pūjyapāda and Akalaṅka and of Śvetāmbara ones such as Umāsvāti [!] and Siddhasenagaṇin shows that Jain authors have gradually complicated the mechanism of performing actions and their karmic retribution, which practically provided some flexibility for accommodations in practice. In this process, intention plays a role on different levels, not only in attracting karmic matter, but also as a factor that decides the duration of karmic bondage.

The second presentation of this session was Pragya Jain's (International School of Jain Studies, Pune) *Crisis of God, an Automated Universe and the Three Virtues*. Jain argued that Jain conceptions of worshiped beings stand out from the conceptions of other traditions, notably in terms of their complexity. More precisely, the fact that liberated beings cannot, by definition, interact with us in any way, led to an active engagement with other types of figures, like the monastic community, divinities, or saints. Besides, this picture is complexified by the fact that anyone who realizes her true self possesses the same attributes as the liberated being namely, according to Pragya Jain, non-attachment, omniscience, and being a promulgator of the right path. This, in turn, has for consequence that revered figures such as the *arihanta*s, *siddha*s, *āyariya*s, *uvajjhāya*s and *sāhu*s are actually states more than they are persons.

Then, Agnieszka Rostalska (Ghent University) in *The Fundamental Virtue of Indian Ethics? The Concept of Ahiṃsā in Early Yoga, Jainism and Gandhi's Philosophy*

compared the concept of *ahiṃsā* in early Jainism, in classical Yoga, and in the last century by Gandhi. First, she showed that for Gandhi, the concept of non-violence was part of a broader project which was political as much as moral and soteriological, and it involved an active attitude of protection of all living beings. Second, the *Yogasūtra*s of Patañjali likewise embedded this concept within a broader project, here one of self-realisation, where it encompassed the precepts of non-violence itself, as well as those of truthfulness, not stealing, *brahmacarya* and non-possession. There, non-violence bears the first fruits of the yogic discipline, since enmity ceases for the ones mastering it. Rostalska then turned to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* in which nonviolence is more literally interpreted as the abstention from causing harm to other living beings. This discussion of three different approaches which give a central importance to non-violence led her to question the larger background anchorage of such a concept and to ask whether non-violence was an especially cherished virtue in South Asia.

To end this session, Marie-Hélène Gorisse (Ghent University), in *The Camel and the Curd: Strategies of Jain Philosophers to Have a Voice in the South Asian Inter-Doctrinal Debating Hall*, questioned the interpretation of the celebrated non-absolutist stance of Jainism in terms of a resilient strategy of Jain philosophers to reinterpret the philosophical theses of other systems and to posit them in a framework within which Jainism is prevalent. After a brief overview of the developments of non-absolutist doctrines in Jainism, starting with the method of *śramaṇic* teachers who analyzed philosophical assertions by making explicit their context of assertion, passing through Jain ways of accounting for both persistence and change, up to the classification of seven main epistemic perspectives that one can adopt, she concluded that the non-absolutist doctrines of the Jains were not coined to adapt other systems of thought, nor were they the favoured means to participate in inter-doctrinal philosophical discussions. However, they not only teach that everything that exists has to adapt while keeping its essential nature, but also, the developments of these doctrines thorough Jainism are a vibrant sign of the ability of Jains themselves to adapt to their milieu.

As the panel was coming to an end, all participants were reminded that the next EASR meeting will take place from June 25 to July 1, 2022 in Cork, Ireland on *Religions and States of Freedom*. For this workshop, a Jain Studies panel *Tensions of Freedom in the Jain Tradition* is being organized by Ana Bajželj, Marie-Hélène Gorisse and Tine Vekemans. We are all looking forward to continuing our discussions at this occasion!

SOAS
University of London

Kānjī Svāmī MPhil/PhD Scholarship

The Centre of Jaina Studies offers 1 fully funded MPhil/PhD scholarship in the study of the Digambara Jaina Tradition with focus on Kānjī Svāmī. The scholarship is generously funded by the Kānjī Svāmī Society. The Kānjī Svāmī MPhil/PhD Scholarship will contribute to fees and living costs and is paid for 3 years.

The Centre of Jaina Studies would like to cast the net widely and invites students who approach Jaina Studies from different disciplinary backgrounds, for example, historical, philosophical, anthropological or from within the study of religions to apply.

Eligible Programmes
• Full-time MPhil / PhD (new admissions only, starting in September 2022) in the following fields of Jaina Studies, i) Kānjī Svāmī Studies, ii) Digambara Jaina Studies (with or without relevant languages), at the Department of History, Religions and Philosophies.

Deadline: 2 April 2023

For enquiries, please:
Email: scholarships@soas.ac.uk
Telephone: +44 (0)20 7074 5091/ 5094

Centre of
Jaina Studies

A Search for Jaina Bone Relics from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at the State Museum of Lucknow

Peter Flügel

It remains an open question when and where Jainas first started to preserve and venerate bone relics of prominent mendicants in purpose-built *stūpa*s in spite of their doctrinal rejection of this practice.[1] A.A. Führer's (1892: 141) "List of accessions to the Lucknow Museum during the month of March 1890" records "10 pieces of old pottery filled with the ashes of some Jaina monks." (Figure 1) These had been "excavated from the Kankâlî Tîlâ; Mathurâ," (Figures 2) and donated by the "Assistant Archaeological Surveyor North-Western Provinces and Oudh Circle," that is, Führer himself, who was also Curator of the Provincial Museum in Lucknow from 1885 to 1892.[2] When in 2010 I discussed the cited text I noted:

> If the ashes came indeed from the location of the stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, which according to Jinaprabha Sūri's unlikely account [in his 14th c. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*] was repaired in the eighth century on the instructions of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri,[3] rather than from the two [adjacent] Jaina temples apparently destroyed in the twelfth century, or from other locations nearby, then this would be the oldest archaeological evidence for Jaina bone relic worship. Unfortunately, no further details are given, and it remains uncertain whether the relic vessels are still in existence, if they ever were.[4]

Map of excavations of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā *ca*. 1889 (Edward W. Smith 1901, Plate I) (See also Figure 2, below)

I also remarked that my "efforts to trace these reliquaries which usually contain bone relics have been without success. It is unclear why Führer refers to 'Jaina monks'."[5] Since no-one seemed to have scrutinised this intriguing piece of information, after two unsuccessful attempts,[6] I travelled for a third time to Lucknow on 14-15 October 2014 to see for myself whether the recorded pots are preserved in the vaults of the State Museum

---

1 Empirical evidence for this practice was first published in this journal. See Flügel 2008.

2 I owe this reference to my late colleague Andrew Huxley (1948-2014). On A. Huxley, see D. Campbell 2014.

3 He is dated between V.S. 800 and 895: https://jaina-prosopography.org/person/901.

4 Flügel 2010: 442. A single "*stūpa* made by the gods at Mathurā," *madhurāe deva-ṇimmaya-thūbho*, is mentioned in Jinadāsa's 6th c.

Nisīha-cuṇṇi and in Saṃghadāsa's 7th-8th c. *Nisīha-bhāsa* 2927 as a destination for pilgrimages in North India, besides the birthplaces (*janma-bhūmi*) of the *tīrthaṅkara*s, and their "living images" (*jiyanta-pratimā*) at Kośala, etc. For sources stating the existence of five Jaina *stūpa*s in Mathurā see Shah 1955/1998: 63 who regarded the evidence as "certain."

5 Flügel 2010: 442 n. 146.

6 In the years before 2014 the museum was closed for an extensive period because of renovation work.

Figure 1. (Left) List of accessions to the Lucknow Museum during the month of March 1890 (A.A. Führer 1892: 141)

Figure 2. (Above) Excavations of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā *ca*. 1889 (Photo: Edward W. Smith 1901, Plate II)

Lucknow[7] to which the archaeological collections of the former North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, that is, the Lucknow Provincial Museum, were transferred in about 1949.[8]

The mound of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā near Mathurā was first identified as a Jaina site by A. Cunningham, who found many fragments of Jaina sculpture at the western side of the mound in 1871,[9] following earlier visits and an excavation by Harding in 1870, which yielded only "mutilated Buddhist statues."[10] (Figures 3 and 4) Further excavations of the northern side of "Jaini Tila,"[11] since long ago and even today dedicated to the "goddess Kankáli,"[12] took place under F.S. Growse in 1873-74, A. Cunningham in 1882-3, and – on the pleading of G. Bühler[13] – of the eastern side by J.A.S. Burgess in 1888-89. This was before A.A. Führer's team discovered on the eastern side the first Jaina brick *stūpa*, "two Jaina temples," and "ashes of some Jaina monks" in 1889-90, leading to two further explorations in 1890-91, and a final one in 1896.[14] Dates of the *ca.* 110 Jaina inscriptions unearthed at the site vary between 150 BCE and 1077 CE (Vikram Saṃvat 1134[15] or 1234).[16] Thus, uninscribed pots of ashes and bone fragments reportedly excavated at this historical Jaina site could plausibly be associated with Jaina ascetics, but not clearly dated.

Like G. Bühler (1892a, 1892b, 1894a, 1894b), who published translations of most of the inscriptions,[17] H. Lüders (1912: 157), in the course of his study of the inscriptions of the Jaina sculptures at the Lucknow Provincial Museum in 1909, noted that many objects were of "unknown origin." K.L. Janert (1961: 41), in his concise summary of the history of the excavations and work on the inscriptions of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,[18] highlighted

that "no record of all these operations has ever been published, so there is almost no proof as to the exact finding places of the objects of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā." There are also no records about the exact locations of objects excavated at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā under A.A. Führer in 1888-91.[19] Certain is only that most of the objects found by him at the site were moved to the Lucknow Museum and that, according to Vogel (1910: 5), "the bulk of sculptures in the Lucknow Museum are from one site, namely, the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā," that is, "more than eighty pieces […] mostly broken or defaced" (p. 41, cf. pp. 66-82).

In his chapters on "Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā" and "Antiquities in the Lucknow Provincial Museum," Janert (1961: 39, 196-8) detailed the "uncertain" sites of origin of individual inscriptions and reproduced several of the surviving fragments of Lüders' translations and comments on the inscriptions under "Antiquities lost" (pp. 210ff.), concluding:

In the Museums, especially in Lucknow and Mathurā, there are numerous (often inscribed) Jaina antiquities from Mathurā of more or less uncertain origin which may belong in the majority of instances also to the sanctuary of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā site. They may partly have been excavated in the course of the above-mentioned operations, partly carried off by the inhabitants of the region (after the decay of the ancient sanctuary) from the Kaṅkīlā Ṭīlā to their recent places of discovery in the City or in the environs of Mathurā. Examinations of the collections especially of Lucknow and the Mathurā Museums yielded several inscriptions just characterized (ibid., 43f.).

---

7 I would like to thank the Directorate of the State Museum, Lucknow for its support of my research in 2014, in particular Mrs. Renu Dubey, who at the time was Assistant Director and Head of the Pottery Department.

8 The previous site, location No. 3 of the collection, is hard to locate and now apparently ruined. Allen 2008/2011: 33f. identified it as a building called the Gulistan-i-Iram, though I was pointed to another, functional, building near the Law Courts.

9 ASI Annual Report 17, 1884: 111; Vogel 1910: 11.

10 Cunningham 1873: 19-21.

11 Growse 1883: 116.

12 Ibid., p. 117. For the site today, see Flügel 2010: Fig. 18.

13 Huxley 2010: 494.

14 Smith 1901b: 6, 40 n. 1, and Janert 1961: 40f. saw no clear evidence for the existence of two Jaina temples at the centre of the site to the west of the "Jaina stūpa" claimed by Führer to be "Śvetāmbara" and "Digambara" respectively because of the nude Jina images found at the latter site.

15 Growse 1883: 119; Führer, in Smith 1901b: 3f., 5, 54: "The image dated V. S. 1080, A. D. 1023, previously described (Plate XC, figure 3), was dedicated by the Digambara sect, and was found near their temple to the west. These two colossal images, dated 1038 and 1134 were found in December 1889 near the more central temple, which seems to have belonged to the Śvetâmbara sect."

16 Vogel, in Janert 1961: 42 n. 6. Smith 1901b: 5 dated the inscriptions at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā between 52 BCE. and 1077 CE.

17 See also: R.D. Banerji (1909-10) and H. Lüders (1904, 1909-10, 1912, 1937–38, 1961), F.S. Growse (1874/1880: 108, 1883: 117), V. Smith (1901b: 2) and J.P. Vogel (1910: i, 10, 6f., 66, 166).

18 Growse 1883: 117: "There is no doubt as to the inscriptions, and this is the only point of any importance." His report still reflects early confusion of Jaina and Buddhism objects: "Another inscription, containing the name of King Kanishka, with date 'Sambat 9,' was

---

discovered the same day on the mound itself below a square pillar carved with four nude figures, one on each f ace. This is of special interest, inasmuch as nude figures are always considered a distinctive mark of the Jain sect, which was supposed to be a late perversion of Buddhism; an opinion, however, which most scholars have now abandoned" (ibid.).

19 "On these important excavations no other information is available than the brief notes contained in Dr. Führer's Annual Progress Reports and in the Museum Reports for those years" (Vogel 1910: 16). The latter are reproduced in Smith 1901: 2-4.

Figure 3. Pedestal of Mahāvīra image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, ca. 114-115 CE, Lucknow Museum J.2 (cf. Quintanilla 2007: 246-8, 265, Fig. 309-310) (Photo: Peter Flügel, October 2014)

C. Allen (2008/2011: 69, cf. 242) suspected lack of funds to be the main reason for the absence of archaeological records. The fact that accurate recording was not common practice at the time is illustrated by the lively report of F.S. Growse (1874/1880: 108, 1883: 117) on his excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in 1873/4.[20] It offers an eyewitness account of the frequently forgotten practical reasons for the inability of allocating individual finds to one or other of the many mounds in the vicinity, given that "the adjoining fields for a considerable distance were strewn with fragments applied to all sorts of vile purposes" (p. 119).[21] Growse's narrative, rich in fertile speculations and old-fashioned cross-cultural comparisons, contains the only vivid description of the site before the discovery of the foundations of the Jaina *stūpa* by Führer's team in 1889-90:

It is worthy of remark that no definite line of foundation has ever been brought to light nor any large remains of plain masonry superstructure: but only a confused medley of broken statues without even the pedestals on which they must have been originally erected. This suggests a suspicion that possibly there never was a temple on the site, but that the sculptures were brought from different places in the neighbourhood and here thrown into a pit by the Muhammadans to be buried. They clearly belong to two very different periods. The more ancient are roughly carved in coarse red sandstone and whenever there is any lettering, it is in Páli; the more modern display much higher artistic skill, are executed in much finer material, and all the inscriptions are in the Nagari character, one being apparently dated in the twelfth century after Christ. But upon the whole I conclude that the discovery of no foundations in situ is rather to be explained by the fact that the mound has long served as a quarry, and that bricks and small blocks of stone, being more useful for ordinary building purposes, would all be removed, when cumbrous and at the same time broken statues might be left undisturbed. […] Unless the object be to discover the relics, it is ordinarily a waste of labour to cut deep into its centre; for the images which surmounted it must have fallen down outside its base, where they have been gradually buried by the crumbling away of the stupa over them and will be found at no great depth below the surface. But, in the case of a temple or monastery, the mound is itself the ruined building; if Muhammadans were the destroyers, it was

generally utilized as the substructure of a mosque. The Upagupta monastery, it is true, is said to have comprised a stúpa also, but it would appear – from the way in which it is mentioned to have been comparatively a small one: it may well have formed the raised centre of the KankaliTila, into which I dug and found nothing.[22]

The great significance of Führer's subsequent discoveries at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is beyond doubt,[23] despite the ongoing debate on the authenticity of some of the inscriptions published in his name[24] and in the case of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā of the translator G. Bühler's, resulting in Führer's premature release from Government Service in 1898.[25] Interestingly enough, though his audacity is well documented, Führer never publicly claimed to have uncovered bone relics in Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. His record of pots of funerary relics of Jaina mendicants excavated in Mathurā hidden in the difficult-to-access accession lists of the Lucknow Provincial Museum therefore comes as a surprise. At the time the discovery of such evidence for Jaina relic veneration would have caused great excitement in scholarly circles, who already accepted that Jains must have built and venerated *stūpa*s early on, but assumed they rejected relic worship, because no Jaina relic casket had ever been found.[26] The question remains why Führer did not present this new evidence to a wider academic audience. His focus was clearly

---

20 See also Smith 1901b: 2 on the finds of Cunningham at the site in 1882-3: "Unfortunately the collection in the Museum at Mathurâ has never been catalogued or properly arranged, and no record was kept of the spot where each object was found." Cunningham 1885: 35 noted: "Amongst the sculptures collected at the Mathura Museum, there is one of undoubted Jaina origin, which is believed to have been brought either from the Kankâli mound, or from one of the mounds in that direction." See the later catalogues of Vogel 1910, 1913-14/1971, Agrawala 1950.
21 Cf. Flügel 2021: 214 on comparable sites in M.P.

22 He also notes: "It is possible that here may have stood the Upagupta monastery, mentioned by Hwen Thsang. As there is no trace of any large tank in immediate proximity, it was more probably the site of a monastery than of a stúpa. For a tank was almost a necessary concomitant of the latter: its excavation supplying the earth for the construction of the mound, in the centre of which the relics were deposited. Hence a different procedure has to be adopted in exploring a [119] mound believed to have been a stúpa from what would be followed in other cases." Ibid.
23 Huxley 2010: 495.
24 See BL documents: IOR/Q/2/8/ & IOR/V/24/3049, Smith 1901a: 3ff., Lüders 1912: 161ff., Allen 2008/2011: 176-8, Huxley 2010, Falk 2013: 44f., 67, and others.
25 Cf. Natu's 2019: 42f. comments on Allen 2008/2011: 173ff., Falk 2013: 68.
26 Bhagwānlāl 1885: 143f.

Figure 4. Pedestal of a Mahāvīra image, *ca.* 2nd ccentury, Lucknow Museum J.53 (Photo: Peter Flügel, October 2014)

set on inscriptions, which greatly interested his mentor G. Bühler, and he planned to publish a larger study on the relics of the Buddha, and the uncertain Jaina evidence seemed less significant by comparison. These circumstantial factors may indicate the reasons for not making more of this discovery. Or, was he in doubt about his record or attribution?

The present whereabouts of the pots, if ever they existed, are unclear. In 2014, the Lucknow Museum had no copy of Führer's (1892) "Curator's Report for March 1890" and even after receipt of a scan was not able to identify pots of this kind, because the report "does not contain accession numbers." Assistant Director and Head of the Pottery Department R. Dubey concluded: "Such type of pottery and ashes of a Jain monk is not in this Museum. If you can provide the Accession no. of this, it will help to trace that whether it is in this Museum or not."[27] In fact, it seems that no such accession numbers ever existed.[28]

The inspection in 2014 of the two vaults at the Lucknow Museum holding Führer's surviving archaeological discoveries from excavations at Kaṅkālī

---

27 E-mail communication from R. Dubey, 23.8.2014.
28 V. Smith 1901, *Preface*, did not investigate the Lucknow collection, because: "Unfortunately no catalogue of the valuable Archaeological collections in the Lucknow Museum exists. The collection is housed in a dark crypt and very inadequately displayed." On the collection see Agrawala 1940, Trivedi 1997. For the documentation system of the Museum today, see Zarrin 2016.

Figure 5. Pottery found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (Photo: Peter Flügel, October 2014)

Figure 6. Storeroom of sculpture from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Lucknow Museum (Photo: Peter Flügel, October 2014)

Ṭīlā, one for sculptures the other for pottery, eventually agreed by the Director, revealed the pottery collection to be in disarray. (Figure 5) Because of the lack of labels, it can probably never serve as a source of reliable data other than for carbon dating and similar investigations of the materials used. None of the preserved pots contains ashes or other objects, nor can the pots be clearly linked to the excavated Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā. The dislocation of the collection from the old site of the Provincial Museum to its new site near the Lucknow Zoo around 1949 may have involved some loss of records and objects. Sadly, no information is available at the Lucknow Museum about the exact date and circumstances of this shift of location, and no further details could be discovered elsewhere to date.

The best pieces from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā are displayed in the publicly accessible part of the Lucknow Museum and do not feature Jaina relic vessels. The room in the basement of the Museum dedicated to fragments of sculpture from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is in a good condition. (Figures 6 and 7) The objects are numbered and thereby linked to the local register referred in the literature. The fact that some of the fragments of Jina status with inscriptions[29] have been mounted on wooden bases with labels conveying information on whereabouts and dates, indicate that they had once been on display but were subsequently removed from public view.[30]

I draw the following conclusions from my investigations of the whereabouts of the "10 pieces of old pottery filled with the ashes of some Jaina monks" mentioned by Führer in the "List of accessions to the Lucknow Museum during the month of March 1890": (i) there are no pots with ashes and bones in the store rooms dedicated to the finds at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at the Lucknow Museum; (ii) there are no pots inscribed with the names of Jaina monks; (iii) if in future such pots could ever be identified at the Museum, because of the lack of labelling, only the number of "10 pots" could possibly indicate that Führer's record was accurate; (iv) if they existed, it could not be established with certainty that they actually came from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā; (v) in my view, it is likely that they have never existed, and that Andrew Huxley's suspicion was right as far as the "Jaina" bone relics from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā are concerned:

> The more I read about the Mathura 'Jain stupa' the less persuasive I find the 'built by the Gods' description. I'm presently digging up the records of [the] Lucknow Museum for the 1898-1910 period. My hunch is that many scandals were

buried there, many more than Lueders exposed in his 1912 article.[31]

Given the significance of the site, it may be worthwhile re-investigating Kaṅkīlā Ṭīlā with modern archaeological tools.

References

Records
IOR/Q/2/8/6 Papers regarding the curatorship of the provincial museum in Lucknow and the Royal Commission's decision not to enquire into it (Indian Office Records and Private Papers)

IOR/V/24/3049 Annual Report on the Working of the UP Provincial Museum Lucknow 1885-1912

Bibliography

Agrawala, Vasudeva S. *A Short Guide-Book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*. Allahabad, Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, 1940.
——."Catalogue of Mathura Museum: Jaina Tīrthaṅkara and Other Misc. Figures." *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* 23, 1–2 (1950) 35–147.
Allen, Charles. *The Buddha and Dr Führer: An Archaeological Scandal*. London: House Publishing, 2008/2011.
Banerji, R.D. "New Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian Period." *Epigraphia Indica* 10 (1909–10) 106–121.
Bhagwānlāl, I. "The Hâthigumphâ and Three Other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves near Cuttack." *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Tenu en 1883 à Leide. Troisième Partie, Section 2: Aryenne*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885: 132–180.
Bühler G. "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892a) 371–393.
——. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892b) 393–397.
——. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* 2 (1894a) 195–212.
——. "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* 2 (1894b) 311–323.
Campbell, Duncan. "Andrew Huxley Obituary." *The Guardian* 9.12.2014: www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2014/dec/09/andrew-huxley
Cunningham, A. *Archaeological Survey of India. Volume III. Report for the Year 1871-2*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent for Government Printing, India, 1873.
——. *Archaeological Survey of India. Volume XX. Report of A Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent for Government Printing, India, 1885.

---

29 Whether or not some of the inscriptions are fabrications is still being discussed on linguistic grounds, though it is widely acknowledged that ancient inscriptions are not always syntactically sound.
30 Interesting in the context of current research is sculpture No. S4,155 portraying a woman with flower and (male) child, as commonly placed on door-jambs of medieval Jaina temples. On the "female with flower and child motif" see Flügel 2021: 278-82. Cf. Smith 1901: Plate LX and LXI on a variant motif, which could be called "women under tree standing on a dwarf": – "The trees under which the women stand are in each case of a distinct kind. I cannot venture to identify the trees" (p. 38). Quintanilla 2007 speaks of "yakṣīs."

---

31 E-mail communication from Andrew Huxley, 3 March 2012.

Falk, H. "The Ashes of the Buddha." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 27 (2013) 43−75.

Flügel, Peter. "Jaina Relic Stūpas." *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 3 (2008) 18-23.

——. "The Jaina Cult of Relic Stūpas." *Numen* 57, 3 (2010) 389-504.

——. "Jaina Non-Tīrthas in Madhyadeśa II.1: Sites of Non-Memory." *Berliner Indologische Studien / Berlin Indological Studies* 25 (2021) 213-308."

Führer, A.A. "Curator's Report for March 1890." *The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow. Minutes of the Managing Committee from April 1889 to March 1891*. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, for the Committee of Management, 1892, pp.136–144.

Führer, A.A. [Summary by Journal Editor] "Abstract from Dr. Fuhrer's Article on 'Indo-Scythic Architecture and Sculpture of the Mathura School'." *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 5 (1894) 108 & Plates 85-87. [triratna as "principal Jaina symbol of the Mathura school" JIna dharma saṃgha]

Growse, F.S. *Mathurá, a District Memoir*. Third Edition. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, (1874) 1883.

Huxley, A. "Dr Führer's Wanderjahre: The Early Career of a Victorian Archaeologist" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* N.S. 20 (2010) 489-502.

Janert, K. "Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā." In: H. Lüders 1961: 39-44.

Nis = *Niśīthasūtram. Sthavira-Puṅgava Śrī Visāhagaṇi Mahattara-Praṇītaṃ, Sabhāṣyam. Ācārya-Pravara Śrī Jinadāsa Mahattara-Viracitayā Viśeṣa-Cūrṇi Samalaṃkṛtam*. Sampādaka: Upādhyāya Kavi Amarmuni & Muni Kanhaiyālāl "Kamal." Vol. 1-4. Vārāṇasī: Amar Pablikeśan, 1957-1960/1982/2005.

Lüders H. "Epigraphical Notes." *Indian Antiquary* 33 (1904) 33-41, 101-109, 149-156.

——. "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions From the Earliest Times to about 400 A. D. with the Exception of those of Aśoka." *Epigraphia Indica* 10 (1909–10) Appendix 12–226.

——. "On Some Brahmi Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1912: 153–179.

——. "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity." *Epigraphia Indica* 24 (1937–38) 194–210.

——. *Mathurā Inscriptions. Unpublished Papers*. Ed. K.L. Janert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 47).

Natu, A. "Georg Bühler's Death: Perceptions and Possibilities." *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 14 (2019) 42-43.

Quintanilla, S. R. *The History of Stone Sculpture at Mathura c. 150 B. C.-100 A. D*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007.

Shah, U.P. *Studies in Jaina Art*. Varanasi: Pārśvanātha Vidyāpīṭha, 1955/1998.

Smith, V.A. "Prefatory Note." In: P.C. Mukherji. *Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the Region of Kapilavastu; during February and March 1899. With a Prefatory Note of Vincent A. Smith*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1901a (Archaeological Survey of India 26, Part 1 of the Imperial Series): 1-22.

——. *The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathurâ*. Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Volume XX. North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Volume V. Muttra Antiquities. Allahabad: Frank Luker, Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1901b.

Trivedi, S.D. *A Guide Book to the Archaeological Section of the State Museum, Lucknow*. Shivam Arts. Lucknow: State Museum, 1997.

Vogel, J.P. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*. Allahabad: F. Luker, Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, [completed 1908] 1910.

——. *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1971 (Reprint: ASIAR 1913–14 = Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports, 1913–14).

Zarrin, Ameena. "Documentation and Conservation Status of Avian Collection of State Museum Lucknow: A Case Study." 2016: https://cidoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2018/12/Ameeza_Zarrin.pdf

Figure 7. Inscribed pedestal of a broken Jaina sculpture from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Lucknow Museum (Photo: Peter Flügel, October 2014)

Representations of Brahmanism in Sanskrit Jaina *Purāṇa*s

Seema K. Chauhan

Although Jaina texts are replete with stories about Brahmanical religion – that is, beliefs, practices, and followers that defer to the Veda – Jaina *purāṇa*s composed from the fifth century onwards are read as an especially important domain of such stories because they, according to Jaini (1993), constitute a "*purāṇic* counter tradition" in which Jainas rewrite tales from the Brahmanical epics and purāṇas and co-opt the label "*purāṇa*" to signify the texts containing these retellings.

But narratives about Brahmanism found in Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s are not in conversation with Brahmanical epics and *purāṇa*s alone. The earliest extant Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s, incidentally all written by Digambara Jainas, were composed between the seventh and the ninth centuries. They include Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacarita*, Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, and Jinasena II's and Guṇabhadra's *Mahāpurāṇa*. That these *purāṇa*s examine contemporaneous Brahmanical philosophy has gone unnoticed, as have their sustained examinations of the relation that ties together Brahmanical scriptures, philosophy, and narratives. Moreover, the innovations that Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s make to earlier Prakrit representations of Brahmanism remain ambiguous. My dissertation, *(Mis)Understanding Hinduism*, rereads early Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s through the broad network of texts that they engage. In doing so, I cast Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s as an archive through which Jainas unify diverse Brahmanical texts, discourses, and practices into a single religion before the rise of systematic doxography.

Whereas previous studies examine how principal characters (such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa) from Brahmanical narratives are represented by one or more Jaina *purāṇa*s,[1] I analyse Jaina tales of Parvata – a character relatively unknown among Brahmanical texts – because these tales describe the creation of Brahmanism. In all Jaina retellings, Parvata authors the *Veda*, declares the validity of his scripture and its ritual injunctions over those expressed by the Jina, and attracts followers who distinguish themselves from Jainas by adopting the title "*brāhmaṇa*." I reconstruct the literary history of Parvata's tale across Sanskrit and Prakrit texts in the first millennium to reconstruct a history of Jaina narrative representations of Brahmanism.

I begin by comparing Parvata's tale in Prakrit Jaina texts with versions retold by Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s. I demonstrate that earlier Prakrit retellings from the *Paümacariya* and *Vasudevahiṇḍī* are reminiscent of narratives about Brahmans from the Jaina *āgama* insofar as they caricature Brahmans as violent sacrificers without examining the breadth and depth of representations that were produced by Brahmanical texts themselves. In contrast to these short, surface-level portrayals, retellings in Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s

Garland bearing *vidyādhara*s in knee-flight between the *bhāmaṇḍala*s of a *dvi-maṭrikā* Jina image, Jain Museum Khājurāho (Photo: P. Flügel 22.12.2018)

insert long dialogues in which characters debate Brahmanical *śāstra*. They also employ narrative devices – character portrayals, tropes, plotlines, language and setting – to examine the *Veda*, Brahmanical *śāstra*, and Brahmanical narratives. This shift in the breadth and depth of engagement with Brahmanical texts, concomitant with the shift from Prakrit to Sanskrit, suggests that Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s aim to examine the proliferation of Sanskrit Brahmanical texts, discourses, and practices that contemporaneous Brahmans were using to reconfigure Brahmanical identity in the first millennium. Moreover, these shifts suggest that Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s aim to participate in interreligious philosophical debates that arise contemporaneously through Sanskrit *śāstra*.

Each retelling in Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s expresses a distinct representation of Brahmanism. To extrapolate each representation, I identify Brahmanical intertexts (which are not distinguished as such) by comparing the retelling with representations from Brahmanical texts,[2] before reading the tale through these intertextual dialogues. According to Raviṣeṇa's seventh-century *Padmacarita*,[3] Parvata is reborn as a demon in exile after he rejects the Jina's teaching. In his demonic rebirth, Parvata declares himself to be the universal creator. He authors the *Veda* and propagates animal sacrifice. Many people take Parvata and his *Veda* as authoritative, unaware that Parvata will sacrifice his followers in the same manner that they sacrifice

---

1 For examples, see Jaini 1977; Geen 2006, 2009; De Clercq 2005, 2008; Appleton 2016.

2 Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s never identify their representations of Brahmanical narratives, discourses, and practices as belonging to Brahmanical texts or schools of thought in the way that later Jaina narratives, such as the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and *Dharmaparīkṣā*, do.

3 *PC* 11.10-105

animals. Comparing this narrative with Brahmanical texts reveals that the *Padmacarita* reinterprets Vedic representations of Brahmā/Prajāpati as the paradigmatic sacrificer and the *Mahābhārata*'s representation of Brahmā as the reliable author of the *Veda* in order to jettison the authority of Brahmā, the *Veda*, and the Brahmanical texts that represent them. The *Padmacarita* then introduces followers who believe that the *Veda* is authorless and that this renders it authoritative.[4] These followers express arguments that parallel those of the seventh-century Mīmāṃsaka, Kumārila. During a dialogue with these followers, the Jaina monk, Nārada, demonstrates that Mīmāṃsā commitments to the authorless *Veda* are not only ungrounded, but contradict other Brahmanical texts, and indeed, the perception of the *Padmacarita*'s characters that understand the *Veda* as authored.[5] Thus, the *Padmacarita* paints Brahmanism as a religion defined by Vedic epistemologies that are individually unjustifiable and collectively inconsistent.

Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* retells the tale of Parvata in the eighth century.[6] It maintains the *Padmacarita*'s view that Brahmanism is a religion made up of inconsistent discourses. But it represents these inconsistencies as the product of diverging interpretations of a common set of scriptural terms. Through the dialogue between Parvata and Nārada, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* suggests that Parvata, who voices Mīmāṃsā commitments, interprets scriptural terms, such as "*dharma*" and "*yaj*," in ways that diverge from their use in the *Veda* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.[7] The dialogue unifies Brahmanical texts that employ the same terms and recasts these texts as invalid because they interpret the same terms differently. Through the plot in which the dialogue is located, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* uses the topic of scriptural hermeneutics to reimagine the relation between Brahmanism and Jainism. Parvata and Nārada debate the meaning of terms and scriptures that are accepted by both parties in the same kingdom. After losing the debate, Parvata compiles his (false) interpretations in a new scripture, the *Veda*, and convinces a neighbouring kingdom to sponsor rituals prescribed by his *Veda*. The plot reimagines Brahmanism as a sectarian religion of Jainism because Parvata creates new scriptures, discourses, and practices through his reinterpretations of the Jina's words. Thus, whereas the *Padmacarita* presents Brahmanism as the most distant religious other – a status that is personified by its demonic founder in exile – the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* presents Brahmanism as a proximate religious other to Jainism.

Comparing the *Mahāpurāṇa*'s retelling authored by Jinasena II and Guṇabhadra in the ninth century with retellings from earlier Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s discloses two shifts. First, the *Mahāpurāṇa* portrays Parvata's followers as those who share institutional spaces, clothing, fire rituals, and rites of passages

with Jainas. Second, the *Mahāpurāṇa* distinguishes followers of Parvata from followers of the Jina on the grounds that the former believes in the existence of a creator deity (*īśvara*).[8] Through dialogue, creationism is presented as the primary, consistent belief that hallmarks Brahmanical philosophy, ritual practices, and narratives. The *Mahāpurāṇa* therefore moves away from earlier Jaina *purāṇa*s that represent Brahmanical philosophy as rooted in the atheistic commitments of Mīmāṃsā. By reconfiguring Brahmanism as a religion rooted in a theistic philosophy, the *Mahāpurāṇa* reflects Brahmanical *śāstra*, which similarly abandons atheism and defends creationism in the ninth century.

Differences among retellings from the Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s demonstrate that Jaina texts – even those written by Digambaras in the same language and genre– do not understand Brahmanism in identical ways. Each representation of Brahmanism differs because it is embedded in a distinct text-historical context. Nevertheless, Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s are consistent in using Parvata's tale to examine and unify Brahmanical texts, discourses, and practices into a single religion, represented literally and literarily through the plot of Parvata's tale. This finding revises our understanding of premodern Brahmanism. Confining the study of Brahmanical identity to Brahmanical texts, as scholars from Monier-Williams (1883) to Bronkhorst (2016) have done, leads one to conclude that Brahmanism is not represented in the first millennium as a unified religion. Related to this claim is Nicholson's study (2010), which suggests that in premodern South Asia, the unification of discourses, texts, and practices into distinct religious identities is articulated primarily in post-twelfth century systematic doxographies. Tales of Parvata from early Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s reveal that representations of Brahmanism as a unified religious identity circulated in the first millennium, and that Jainas regularly employed narratives in the first millennium to achieve similar generic effects as systematic doxography in the second millennium.

Finally, my research draws on recent scholarship that places Jaina *purāṇa*s in their literary and discursive context.[9] However, I locate Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s in the history of interreligious debate and the history of Brahmanical discourses. My research contributes to our understanding of Jaina *purāṇa*s vis-à-vis Jaina *śāstra*. It suggests that in the first millennium, Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s were as significant a site for examining Brahmanical beliefs as Jaina *śāstra*. In addition, I build on Granoff (2021) who argues that from the tenth century onwards, Jaina writers of *śāstra* began to read and interpret Brahmanical scriptures, philosophy, and narrative texts as a single corpus that ought to be consistent. My findings establish that such methods of reading are already found in Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s between the seventh and the ninth centuries. Thus, in

---

4 *PC* 11.164-70
5 *PC* 11.172-252
6 *HvP* 17.41-162. The tale continues in *HvP* 23.1-154.
7 *HvP* 17.99-145

8 The *Mahāpurāṇa*'s retelling is narrated across several sections of the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Uttarapurāṇa*. See *ĀP* 4.1-40; 38.3-47; 40.188-91; 41.46-54; *UP* 67.258-473.
9 Taylor 2016, Clines 2018, and Plau 2018.

moving beyond structural comparisons between Jaina *purāṇa*s and Brahmanical epics and *purāṇa*s, and recasting Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s in a broader network of dialogues, my dissertation repositions Sanskrit Jaina *purāṇa*s as an indispensable object of research for the study of Brahmanism, Jainism, and South Asian literature.

Seema K. Chauhan completed her PhD at the University of Chicago Divinity School, and currently holds the Asoke Kumar Sarkar Early Career Fellowship in Classical Indology at the University of Oxford. Her research interests include Jainism, Hinduism, South Asian narratives, and philosophy.

References

ĀP　　*Ādipurāṇa* by Jinasena II. 2 vols. Ed. Pannālāl Jain with Hindi commentary. Nayī Dillī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, 1963-65.

HvP　　*Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena I. Ed. Pannālāl Jain with Hindi commentary. Nayī Dillī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Prakāśana, 1978.

PC　　*Padmacarita* by Raviṣeṇa. 3 vols. Ed. Pannālāl Jain with Hindi commentary. Nayī Dillī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Prakāśana, 1959-77.

UP　　*Uttarapurāṇa* by Gunabhadra. 2 vols. Ed. by Pannālāl Jain with Hindi commentary. Vārāṇasī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha Prakāśana, 1968.

Appleton, Naomi. *Shared Characters in Jain, Buddhist and Hindu Narrative: Gods, Kings and Other Heroes. Dialogues in South Asian Traditions: Religion, Philosophy, Literature and History*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Bronkhorst, Johannes. *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Vol. 30. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Clines, Gregory. "The Lotus' New Bloom: Literary Innovation in Early Modern North India." Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2018.

De Clercq, Eva. "The Paümacariya, Padmacarita and Paümacariü: The Jaina Rāmāyaṇa Purāṇa." In *Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Helsinki, Finland, 13-18 July, 2003*, Ed. Petteri Koskikallio & Asko Parpola, 597-608. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2005.
———. "The Jaina Harivaṃśa and Mahābhārata Tradition – A Preliminary Survey." In *Parallels and Comparisons in the Sanskrit Epics and Puranas*, Ed. Petteri Koskikallio, 399–421. Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2008.

Geen, Jonathan. "Jaina Origins for the Mahabharata Story of Draupadi's Past Life." Asiatische Studien 60, 3 (2006) 575-606.
———. "Krsna and His Rivals in the Hindu and Jaina Traditions" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, 1 (2009) 63-99.

Granoff, Phyllis. "Unspoken Rules of Debate in Medieval India and the Boundaries of Knowledge." In *Les Scholastiques Indiennes: Genèses, Développements, Interactions*, Ed. Émilie Aussant & Gérard Colas, 165–84. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2021.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. "Jina Ṛṣabha as an 'Avatāra' of Viṣṇu." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 40, 2 (1977) 321–37.
———. "Jaina Purāṇas: A Purāṇic Counter Tradition." In *Purāṇa Perennis: Reciprocity and Transformation in Hindu and Jaina Texts*, Ed. Wendy Doniger, 207–49. Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Monier-Williams, Monier. *Religious Thought and Life in India*. Princeton Theological Seminary Library. London: John Murray, 1883.

Nicholson, Andrew. *Unifying Hinduism: Philosophy and Identity in Indian Intellectual History. South Asia across the Disciplines*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Plau, Adrian. "The Deeds of Sītā: A Critical Edition and Literary Contextual Analysis of the *Sītācarit* by Rāmacand Bālak." Doctoral dissertation, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2018.

Taylor, Sarah Pierce. "Aesthetics of Sovereignty: The Poetic and Material Worlds of Medieval Jainism." Doctoral dissertation, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2016.

Non-Jain Jain Poetry? Nayacandra Sūri's Playful and Innovative Voice in the History of Indian Literature

Sander Hens

In early fifteenth-century Gwalior, in the context of a literary contest held at the court of Vīrama Tomar (1402-1423), the Jain poet-monk Nayacandra Sūri composed his masterpiece, *Hammīramahākāvya* (HMK), the first fully-fledged epic rendering of the story of Hammīra Chauhan, the legendary Rajput ruler of Ranthambhor and his defeat against the Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji. At the end of his poem (14.43) Nayacandra tells us that the courtiers of the Tomar king had claimed that no one could compose a Sanskrit epic like the poets of old. Nayacandra took up the challenge, with his mind shaken or swayed by a "play of rashness" (*cāpala-keli-dolita-manāḥ*), moving him to create this new poem about King Hammīra (*kāvyam idaṃ hamīra-nṛpater navyaṃ*).[1]

At the heart of this statement lies a nod to a famous Kālidāsa verse from the introduction to his *Raghuvaṃśa* (1.9), where the author playfully ridicules the limits of his own intellect to compose a poem about the great rulers of the Raghu dynasty. Kālidāsa explains that it was an act of rashness (*cāpala*), that impelled him to take up his epic endeavour.[2] More than a millennium later, Nayacandra adopts and adapts Kālidāsa's self-ridicule to explain how he was similarly moved by a "play of rashness" (*cāpala-keli*) to take up the difficult task of composing a Sanskrit epic poem like the poets of old. But the allusion itself – and therefore the seemingly self-deprecating statement – is the proof of Nayacandra's success; it is a concluding reminder of his skillful emulation of the great poets of old, who always managed to create something new and keep the tradition alive, precisely through their playful and often parodic engagement with the works of their predecessors.

Apart from giving us the first – or at least earliest extant – epic version of the (once) immensely popular Hammīra legend, the literary-historical significance of HMK lies in its innovative tragic-historical plot, which may have been unprecedented in the history of *kāvya* literature and its preference for "happy endings." An intertextual analysis shows how Nayacandra draws heavily on three quasi-successive trends of historical literature: the genre of patron-centered court epic (fl. 11th-13th c.), with its more overtly eulogistic, triumphalist poetics and format (which includes the Jain tradition of poems about Kumārapāla and the Jain minister Vastupāla);[3] the Jain *prabandha* literature (13th-16th c., which self-consciously and critically

Illustration to *Hamir Hath*: Ala-ud-din with Ladies
Guler, c. 1800-1810
Painting, opaque watercolour on paper
IS.453-1950
©Victoria and Albert Museum

reflects on the former); and the newly emerging tradition of tragic-historical bardic poetry (15th c. onwards) about kings such as Pṛthvīrāja, Jayacandra, and of course Hammīra, composed in vernacular languages and forming the material for the later rāso literature.

Nayacandra's poetry evinces a somewhat parodistic relation to these trends. For example, he both adopts and goes way beyond the "poetics of ambivalence" that seems a hallmark characteristic of the patron-centered epic.[4] The ambiguity of Nayacandra's voice often transforms into fulsome royal criticism, radically hollowing out the heroic-eulogistic frame of the *carita* genre, without, however, completely overthrowing it. Especially striking is the poem's harsh critique on Hammīra's complete lack of discrimination (*viveka*). His tendency to mistake friend for foe turns him into what he tries to prevent throughout the poem: to become remembered as inane (*dur-mati*, 13.1010) and an object of great ridicule (*mahad bhāvi viḍambanam*, 13.142). Nayacandra deepens the irony of this tragic process through his consistent play on names and their *nomen-est-omen* logic. For example, Hammīra unjustly blinds and castrates his righteous minister Dharmasiṃha "Lion Dharma" – a clear comment on the king's own blindness and impotence – while supporting the would-be-traitor Ratipāla "Protector of Pleasure" – who is called Rāyapāla or Rāmapāla in other versions of the legend.

Nayacandra's subversive attitude seems directed to what he calls the emergence of a wide-spread tradition of poems (*kāvya-paraṃparām*, 14.1) about Hammīra. These poets present the Chauhan king as a truly good,

---

1 References are from Jinavijaya Muni (1968, 1993). Nayacandra's poem was composed several years before the start of the large sculptural project under Vīrama's successor Dūṅgarendrasiṃha, under whose patronage the flanks of the impressive Gwalior hill-fort were adorned with colossal images of the Jinas, as discussed in (Granoff 2006).

2 See Kale (1922, 2014), 1.

3 I have adopted the term "patron-centered epic" from McCrea's (2010) discussion of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (c.1085-1089) as a seminal work in this genre.

4 The idea of a "poetics of ambivalence" is taken from Bronner's article (2010) on Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. It is also evident in the vernacular historical poetry discussed by Busch (2005: 41; 2012: 311-15) and Pauwels (2009: 199f.).

selfless and courageous (*sattva*) hero. This is also how Hammīra is referred to in the genealogical list appended to Rājaśekhara Sūri's *Prabandhakośa* (1348).[5] Nayacandra purposefully subverts the significance of this heroic remembrance, presenting Hammīra's kingship as a new variation of the flawed kingship of his infamous predecessor Pṛthvīrāja – the excessively sleepy ruler of the Jain *prabandha* literature.[6] HMK thus subsumes Hammīra's personal tragedy into a much grander, expanded historical narrative about the tragic conditions leading to the complete destruction of the once powerful Chauhan dynasty. Especially fascinating is the constant interplay between various, often mutually contradicting truths and visions, offering multiple perspectives on "the reason behind the destruction of the entire family" (*kulasya sarvasya vināśa-hetuḥ*, 8.74).

We could see this concern as an expression of a Jain monk, using the Hammīra legend to convey his vision on the complex, multifaceted nature of reality (*anekāntavāda*). Indeed, Nayacandra clearly takes pride in his position as a spiritually and intellectually advanced Jain monk, a Sūri, heading a Śvetāmbara sect called Kṛṣṇa(rṣi)-gaccha.[7] Although the theme or tone of Nayacandra's work is not specifically Jain, his HMK does present itself as intended to enable a transformative, purifying experience of

some transcendent reality or inner truth. However, the vocabulary used is clearly meant to appeal to a religiously diverse audience. This is evident from the poem's opening and concluding verses, the former addressing the importance of attending to the Upanishadic "Supreme Light" (*paraṃ jyotir upāsmahe tat*, 1.1), which the wise say is full of the supreme *brahman* (*para-brahma-mayam yam āhuḥ*, 1.2).

Although the Jain *tīrthaṅkara*s are also evoked, simultaneously through *śleṣa* with the principle Hindu deities, the verses seem actually to make a point about his devotion to Sarasvatī (1.8). Jain poets such as Nayacandra may have felt that as devotees of Sarasvatī, rather than as advocates of a religious tradition, they could make a more lasting imprint on Sanskrit literary culture. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Nayacandra evokes the Jain poet-monk Amaracandra as a model, along with non-Jain authors such as Śrīharṣa, whose voices – according to the Jain copyist of the text in 1485 – come back to life (*jīvante*) in the wonderful elixir that is Nayacandra's poetry (*nayacandrakaveḥ kāvyam rasāyanam ihādbhutam*).[8] Both deliberately choose to avoid imbuing their work with explicit Jain doctrinal and thematic elements, perhaps precisely in order to make their poetic voices heard beyond Jain circles.[9]

What makes the poem truly powerful as a Sanskrit *mahākāvya*, is perhaps not so much the depth and originality of Nayacandra's narrative vision – the tragic story itself – but how the poetry makes the tragedy felt as an impressive auditive and cognitive experience. Nayacandra's carefully selected lexical, metrical and syntactic choices make us hear and feel the various

---

5 It adds to the date of the last Chauhan ruler Hammīra, who was killed in battle in V.S.1358 (1301 CE), that this king was endowed with *sattva* (*prabhuḥ sattvavān*). See: Jinavijaya Muni 1935, 134.

6 An earlier version of the *Pṛthvīrājaprabandha* (edited, or rather compiled, in Jinavijaya 1936: 86-7, from a mss. from 1470 and another from the early 16th c.), may have inspired Nayacandra's own account of Pṛthvīrāja, or vice versa, as evidenced by the many shared details. Cynthia Talbot (2016: 54-6) has recently discussed the similarities and difference in these texts, also noting that some borrowing must have occurred.

7 Probably founded in the early fourteenth century by the Jain poet-monk Jayasiṃhasūri, whom Nayacandra praises as his *kāvyaguru*, calling himself his son in terms of poetic descent, and his grandson in terms of the sect's lineage (14.27). We know from the colophon of Jayasiṃha's *Kumārapālabhūpālacarita* that in 1365 Nayacandra himself, still a young *muni*, completed the first transcript of this historical *kāvya*. See Dvivedi 1973: 33.

8 In a six-verse long *praśasti* on Nayacandra's poetry, appended to the end of HMK.

9 Amaracandra Sūri (13th c.) earned fame beyond Jain circles with his epic *Bālabhārata*, which stays true to Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*. A.K. Warder (2004: §6887), in discussing the poetry of Amaracandra Sūri, states that this poet, unlike other Jain *kavi*s, avoids direct religious teaching and was capable of composing a "real epic" with his famous *Bālabhārata*. This seems to resonate with the gist of the *prabandha* of Amaracandra in Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa*, translated and discussed in Granoff (1994:180-4, 189).
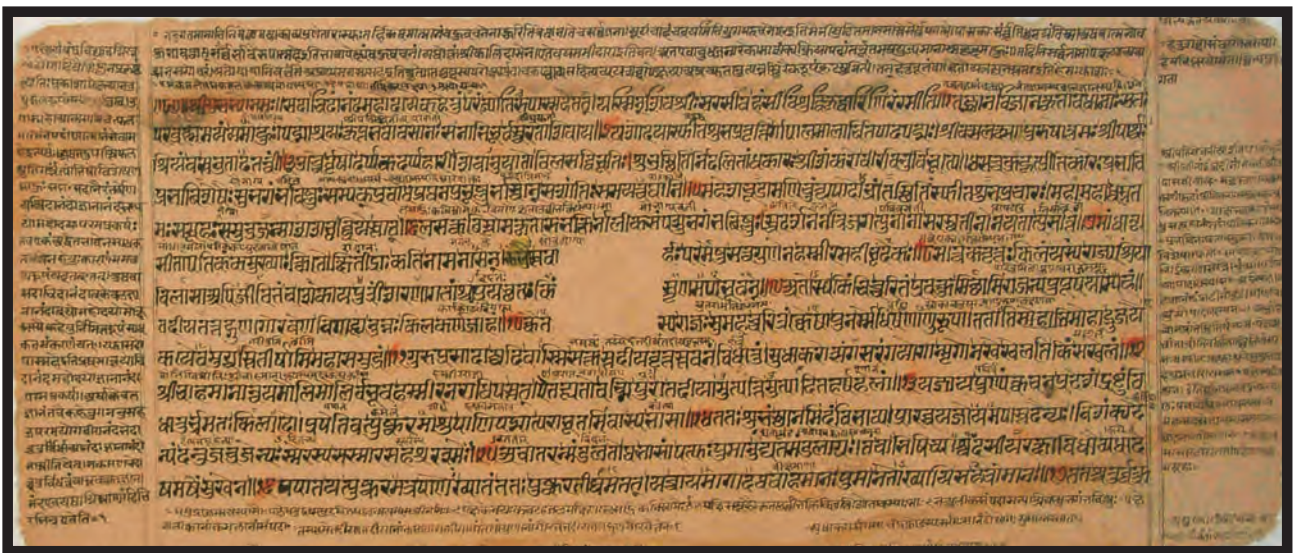
First folio of *Hammīramahākāvya*, from undated manuscript. ©Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur

effects of Fortune's and Time's swinging motion and restless dance. In doing so, HMK purposefully models itself on Kālidāsa's work, clearly sharing its concern with making felt a certain vision of temporality in order to awaken the reader or listener, to activate Śrī.[10] For example, in one ominous verse about the degenerative aspect of time (8.127) – asking how long the goose-like Hammīra will play in the pond-like kingdom – we can actually hear the pulse of time slowing down, only to resume itself powerfully in the next verses.

In Nayacandra's poem the rhythm of time and fortune is modelled in its own, novel tragic-historical and deeply intertextual mode. The deeds from the Chauhan heroes – belonging to the morally more degenerate *kaliyuga* – are meant to be more unstable, "shakier" and sleepier than those in Kālidāsa's poetry. Nayacandra's nod to Kālidāsa, his being shaken or swayed by a "play of rashness" (*cāpala-keli*), can be interpreted as a concluding meta-poetic statement about HMK's playful, tragic and intertextual poetics. Indeed, all the important structuring themes relating to the Chauhan's tragic history – fame, fate, fortune, time – are constantly explored and poetically expressed in terms of the unsteady (*capala, tarala, cañcala*), multi-directional movements denoted by notions of play and dance. Importantly, such movement is also suggestive of the playful nature and flow of poetry itself, of Sarasvatī's playfulness (*vānī vāṇīvilāsāt prasarati*, 14.40) and her "restless eyes" (*capala-dṛśām*, 14.29), moving back-and-forth between the poem's opposing narrative modes, perspectives and enormous corpus of intertexts. Nayacandra's poetry functions like the destructive *tāṇḍava* dance in one of the poem's seminal episodes, intensifying and animating the feeling of life (*jīvabhāvam ajījivat*, 13.25).

To conclude, my PhD dissertation – and book in progress – titled "Shaking Hammīra: Playfulness and Tragedy in a Sanskrit Historical Epic" showcases Nayacandra's innovative and playfully subversive voice in the history of Indian literature. It has been partly conceived as a complementation to the almost exclusively historiographical interest in Nayacandra's HMK and as a critique of the applied socio-political mode of analysis, presenting the work as a rather one-dimensional eulogy, composed to promote the martial values and political agendas of an emerging Rajput elite.[11] In this report I have highlighted what a more sensitive, literary reading reveals about Nayacandra's poetic project. Indeed, in modern times the text has never been read and valued for what it is: a daringly novel and multi-layered work of Sanskrit literature. The

avoidance of an explicit Jain tone or thematic may say something about how some Jain poets sought to leave their mark on "mainstream" Indian literary culture by deliberately choosing to not foreground their Jain identity, and thus go against the tendency to present alternative, more overtly "Jain versions" of popular stories.[12]

Sander Hens is an FWO post-doctoral researcher, Ghent University. His doctoral dissertation "Shaking Hammīra: Playfulness and Tragedy in a Sanskrit Historical Epic" (2020) was supervised by Prof. Dr. Eva de Clercq, Ghent University. His new book-project focuses on Jayānaka's Pṛthvīrājavijaya *(12th c.), the influential literary itinerary of "sleepy" Pṛthvīrāja and the figure of the poet-historian.*

References

Bednar, Michael Boris. "Conquest and Resistance in Context: A Historiographical Reading of Sanskrit and Persian Battle Narratives." PhD dissertation, University of Texas, 2007.

———. "Mongol, Muslim, Rajput: Mahimāsāhi in Persian Texts and the Sanskrit *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 60, 5 (2017) 585–613.

Bronner, Yigal. "The Poetics of Ambivalence: Imagining and Unimagining the Political in Bilhaṇa's 'Vikramāṅkadevacarita.'" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 38, 5 (2010) 457–483.

Busch, Allison. "Literary Responses to the Mughal Imperium: The Historical Poems of Keśavdās." *South Asia Research* 25, 1 (2005) 31–54.

Dvivedi, Hariharnivas. *Tomaroṃ Kā Itihāsa. Gvāliar Ke Tomār*. Vol. 2. Gwalior: Mandir Prakāśan, 1976.

Granoff, Phyllis. "Mountains of Eternity: Raidhu and the Colossal Jinas of Gwalior." *Rivista Di Studi Sudasiatici* I (2006) 31–50.

———. "Ritual and Biography: The Case of Bappabhaṭṭasūri." In *Other Selves: Autobiography & Biography in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, 150–206. Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1994.

Jinavijaya Muni (ed.). *Hammīramahākāvya of Nayacandrasūri*. Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhāna, 1968/1993.

——— (ed.). *Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekharasūri*. Śāntiniketana: Adhiṣṭhātā Singhī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1935.

---

[10] My analysis of how Nayacandra often achieves a remarkable iconicity between sound and meaning was deeply inspired by David Shulman's reading (2014) of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* as a vast, multi-dimensional expression and activation of Time's rhythmic pulse and uneven flow.

[11] See Bednar 2007 and 2017; Talbot 2016; Sreenivasan 2002. Such modern interpretations have been highly influenced by the useful but misleading English paraphrase of the text prefacing the first edition of HMK in 1879 where the editor chose to sift the valuable historical information from the important "bushels of poetical chaff," "poetical nonsense" and "fanciful conceptions." (Kirtane 1879: v and xi).

---

[12] For example, Nayacandra's *Rambhāmañjarī*, an erotic play in the *saṭṭaka* genre about King Jayacandra of Kannauj, is similarly devoid of Jain elements. This king is also briefly (and subtly) mentioned at the end of HMK as the "cripple Jaitra" (14.11), one of the many historical kings who ended up making a fool of himself – not unlike the Chauhan heroes of his Sanskrit epic.

Jinavijaya Muni (ed.) *Purātana Prabandha Saṅgraha: A Collection of Many Old Prabandhas Similar and Analogous to the Matter in the Prabandhacintamani.* Calcutta: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1936.

Kale, M.R. (ed.). *Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa: With the Commentary (the Sañjīvanī) of Mallinātha ; Cantos I-X ; Edited with a Literal English Translation and Copious Notes.* 1922. Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2014.

Kirtane, Nilkanth Janardan. *The Hammīra Mahākāvya of Nayachandra Sūri.* Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1879.

McCrea, Lawrence. "Poetry Beyond Good and Evil: Bilhaṇa and the Tradition of Patron-Centered Court Epic." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 38, 5 (2010) 503–518.

Pauwels, Heidi. "The Saint, the Warlord, and the Emperor: Discourses of Braj Bhakti and Bundelā Loyalty." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52, 2 (2009) 187–228.

Shulman, David Dean. "Waking Aja." *Innovations and Turning Points: Toward a History of Kāvya Literature.* Ed. Yigal Bronner, David Dean Shulman & Gary Alan Tubb, 35–69. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Sreenivasan, Ramya. "Alauddin Khalji Remembered: Conquest, Gender and Community in Medieval Rajput Narratives." *Studies in History* 18, 2 (2002) 275–296.

Talbot, Cynthia. *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Cauhan and the Indian Past, 1200–2000.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Warder, Anthony K. *Indian Kāvya Literature. Vol. 7 (I-II). The Wheel of Time.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1996-2004.
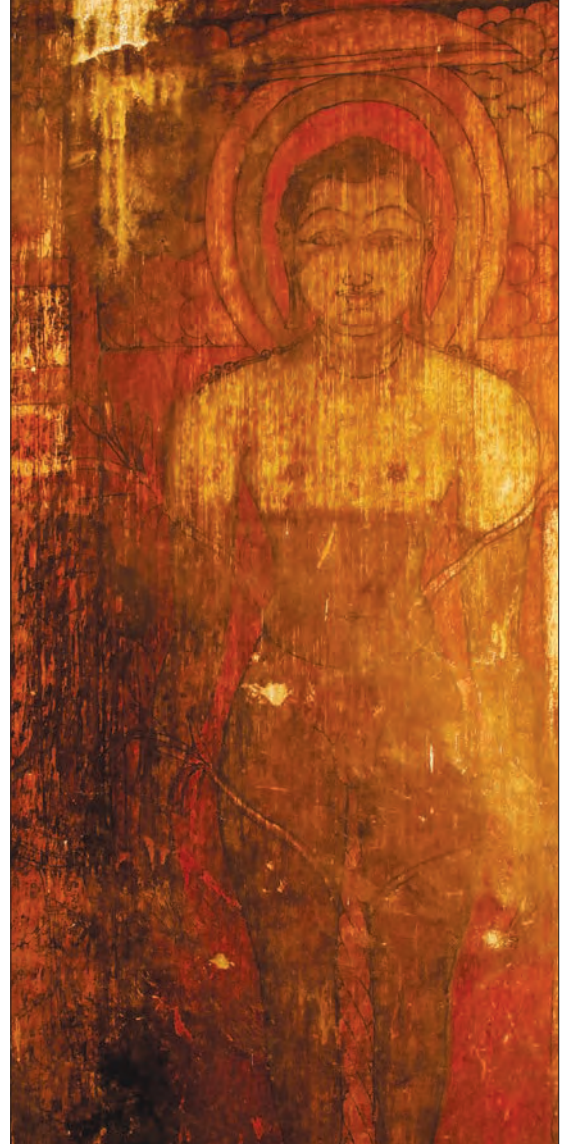
Bāhubali Mural at Ellora

Bāhubali on the wall to the right of the entrance to the *garbhagṛha*. [h. 230, w. 100] Bāhubali is naked and stands in *kāyotsarga* with his arms down along his sides and his legs straight. His body is narrow around the waist, his hips are comparatively large, his shoulders and upper arms massive. His eyebrows are thin, prominent and heavily curved, his hair straight, with a suggestion of an *uṣṇīṣa*. His earlobes are large with big holes. His hips are wide and his shoulders broad. His halo is most probably red, green and yellow, and above it there is a parasol partly intersecting the top of the outer ring of the halo. Creepers surround his legs. A small painting has been inserted into the right side. It shows a male figure, probably a prominent layman or donor. He wears a diaphanous loincloth and trousers extending slightly below his knees.

Excerpt: Olle Qvarnström & Niels Hammer. "Joyful Celestials: Jain Murals of Ellora." *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)* 17, 1 (2021) 57-59, Fig. XXIII.

Śatruñjaya Paintings in the Collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich

Marion Frenger and Patrick Krüger

The changes in how Śatruñjaya has been depicted in paintings over time evince how Jainism, and particularly the Jain laity, has adhered to traditional practices of pilgrimage and temple worship, while at the same time adapting the common notions and changing self-conceptions of the cultural elites of India. It is significant, therefore, that among the latest acquisitions of Jain art in the Museum Rietberg, Zurich,[1] are four large paintings, datable to the 19th and 20th centuries, representing the temple fortress of Śatruñjaya.[2] Together they allow us to follow the development of this particular type of image that rose to popularity in Rajasthan and Gujarat in the 18th century. This development includes changing styles and modes of perspective, along with the changes in the landscape depicted from the colonial era until the early decades of an independent India.

Śatruñjaya (victory over the enemies) is a range

1 The origins of the collection of Jain art in the Museum Rietberg go back to the 1970s. The Museum's first acquisitions were initiated by then director, Eberhard Fischer. Fischer also organised the first major exhibition of Jain art in Switzerland, held in 1974 in the Helmhaus in Zurich. (See: Fischer, Eberhard and Jyotindra. *Jain Kunst und Religion in Indien: 2500 Jahre Jainismus*. Zürich: Museum Rietberg. 1974) The collection was expanded through donations and acquisitions in recent years and will be featured in a large-scale exhibition on Jainism beginning in November 2022.

2 For the first comprehensive documentation of the site see James Burgess. *The Temples of Śatruñjaya, the celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage, near Pàlitaṇà in Káṭhiáwáḍ, with historical and descriptive Introduction*. Bombay: Sykes & Dwyer 1869 (reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976).

Figure 1. Pata, India, 1850–1900, 194 x 119 cm (without the frame), Museum Rietberg, 2019.437, purchased with funds of the Rietberg Association © Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Photo: Rainer Wolfsberger

Figure 2. Tirtha Pata, India, 1850–1900, 234 x 190 cm, Museum Rietberg, Collection Leander Feiler, 2021.12, purchased with funds of Zurich City © Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Photo: Rainer Wolfsberger

of hills near the city of Pālitāṇā on the Kathiawar – or Saurashtra – peninsula in southern Gujarat. It is considered a sacred Jain site and is an important pilgrimage centre in Western India. According to tradition this is the site where the Jina Ṛṣabha delivered his first sermon. On the hilltops there are numerous temples and shrines, which were built since the Middle Ages. Their centre is the fortified temple area that grew around the temple of Adinātha Ṛṣabha at the western end of the range. The paintings, traditionally executed on cloth and often more than 2 x 3 metres in size, show the important temples with their numerous Tīrthaṃkara sculptures as well as the topographical particularities of the site.

Mapping Pilgrimage

The paintings reflect the act of pilgrimage that is of crucial importance to image-worshipping Jain communities not only as an act of piety, but also as a social and shared experience within the lay community that leaves the individual pilgrim with deep physical and spiritual impressions and reinforces collective identity.[3] Therefore, the depiction of the paths leading up the hills

3 On the meaning and importance of the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya see Luithle-Hardenberg, Andrea. *Die Reise zum Ursprung. Die Pilgerschaft der Shvetambara-Jaina zum Berg Shatrunjaya in Gujarat*, Indien. München: Manya 2011.

Figure 3. Shatrunjaya Pata, India Gujarat, 1958, 59 x 87 cm, Museum Rietberg, 2021.421, purchased with funds of Zurich City, © Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Photo: Rainer Wolfsberger

and from one temple to the next are as prominent in these paintings as the temples themselves and the rocky landscape in which they are placed. Neither the rock formations nor the paths of the pilgrims are marginal elements as one might expect from the depiction of a group of large temples such as this.

Permanent roaming has always been integral to the lifestyle of Jain monks and nuns; they certainly visited sacred sites, which according to tradition were related to the life and actions of the Jinas. In many cases a shrine or temple had been erected in these places. In the Middle Ages some of these sacred sites became the focus of particular pilgrimages that were undertaken not only by monks and nuns, but also increasingly by lay people who either accompanied the ascetics or went on their own. Pilgrimage thus became an important part of Jain religious practice.[4] The so-called *tīrtha paṭa*s (Skt. cloth [painting] of a pilgrimage site) visualise this pilgrimage and the topography of the respective pilgrimage site.[5]

The Rietberg Collection

Representations such as those in the Rietberg Collection were mostly produced in Rajasthan and Gujarat in the 18th and 19th centuries. They were either displayed in Jain temples or in private homes of the very wealthy. The works served as an *aide-mémoire* to recollect the experiences made during the pilgrimage, and also as a means to enable viewers to follow the path mentally and thus share the experience on a spiritual level.[6]

A large painting on cloth dateable to the 19th century was acquired by the Museum in 2019 (Figure 1);[7] it shows the right part of the fortified temple area. The topography is shown in top view while buildings and individual figures are represented frontally; this combination of different perspectives is characteristic for the earlier paintings of this type. The scene is dominated by the extensive temple complex with numerous buildings and shrines and is embedded in a mountain-scape inhabited by different animals. The pilgrimage route is accentuated in golden paint and is distinguished from the open areas between the buildings where numerous pilgrims are depicted. The painting shows attention to every detail, be it the temples and pilgrims or the surrounding landscape. This is particularly obvious in the animals represented in the Persian-style rock formations along the upper edge of

4 For a concise discussion of the history of Jain pilgrimage see for example Granoff, Phyllis. "Jain Pilgrimage: In Memory and Celebration of the Jinas." *The Peaceful Liberators. Jain Art from India*. Ed. Pal, Pratapaditya 63-75. New York/London: Thames & Hudson 1994.

5 For the development from generic *tīrtha* representations to *tīrtha paṭa*s representing Śatruñjaya see Ku, Hawon. "Representations of Ownership: The Nineteenth-Century Painted Maps of Shatrunjaya, Gujarat." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*. 37:1 (2014), 3-21; see also Pal, Pratapaditya. *The Peaceful Liberators. Jain Art from India*. Cat. No. 117a-c, 1994, and Alphen, Jan van. *Steps to Liberation. 2500 Years of Jain Art and Religion*. Cat. No. 54. Antwerpen: Etnografisch Museum. 2000.

6 Luithle-Hardenberg, Andrea. "Reading Śatruñjaya Paṭas as Mnemonics: Performing Mental Pilgrimages of Devotion (Bhāva Yātrā)." *Jain Painting and Manuscript Culture. In Memory of Paolo Pianarosa*. Ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald. 269-302. Berlin: EB 2015.

7 Beltz, Johannes and Patrick Krüger. "Jainistisches Pata." *MRZ Jahresbericht*, 2019: 56-57; available online at https://rietberg.ch/en/press/downloads

the painting. The upper part of the painting was replaced or rearranged at an unknown point in time; the painting style of both parts corresponds closely. The remaining edges were also trimmed. This and the missing floral border indicate that the entire piece may have been considerably larger originally. That particularly the lower edge of such large-scale cloth paintings was prone to damage can also be seen in the second painting.

This earlier representation of Śatruñjaya, datable to *circa* 1900, was acquired in 2021. (Figure 2) The painting on cloth in bright colours, resembles the earlier piece in combining top view and frontality. Despite the difference in style between the two paintings, prominent elements of the temple fort, such as the rounded corner of the fortification in the lower right or the flight of steps in the centre of the area, are recognisable in both depictions. The temple fort is embedded in a landscape of scale-like rock formations with scattered bushes and smaller shrines.

It is remarkable that this painting seems to unite painting styles of different eras. The red background of the plain below the rocks refers to the painterly traditions of early modern Western India, as does the river Śetruñjī which flows south of the range. In this case it is shown along the upper edge of the image and seems to replace the horizon commonly shown in this position. The pictogram-like depictions of individual elements, such as water pools and parts of the fortification, also seem to go back to this painting style, while the trees closely resemble those in Rajput paintings of the 17th century. The geometric rendering of the rocks may be characterised as a folk adaptation of the originally highly fissured rock formations seen in the earlier example. Such an eclectic manner of painting combining different older styles while at the same time demonstrating modernity in the use of bright, modern pigments, may tentatively be called "Indian historism" and can be interpreted as an attempt to connect spiritually to different heydays of Jain culture.

The continuation of the *tīrtha pata* tradition into the time after Indian independence and its modernisation

that led to the use of new, smaller formats and different materials such as board instead of cloth is documented by two more images of Śatruñjaya.

The older of the two is dated VS 2015 =1958 CE in an inscription on the lower margin. (Figure 3) The site is identified in a Hindi inscription as "Śatruñjaya [being the] first among [the] pilgrimage sites" (*tirthādhirāj śrī śatruṃjaya*). Unlike the two older paintings, this example shows a bird's eye view of the site. In the background several other important pilgrimage sites are depicted, among them in the upper right part of the image, Mt. Girnār, another Jain stronghold in Gujarat.[8] The path to the hilltop is peopled by numerous pilgrims, monks, nuns, and laity. Again, the temple area and the fortifications are clearly recognisable, individual shrines and temples are identified by inscriptions and even the smaller shrines in the surrounding mountains and coppices are named. In the left half of the painting the river Śetruñjī – not yet dammed in 1958 – is represented. An inscription in the top margin and an image in the lower left corner refer to a Jain nun to which the painting may have been dedicated. The signature in the lower right corner identifies a "Mahavir Studio" in Pālitāṇā as the producer of the painting.[9]

The most recent painting, dated to V.S. 2017 (1961), was executed in a rather popular style. (Figure 4) As in the slightly earlier painting, Mt. Girnār occupies the top right corner. Sun and moon at the upper margin may refer to the eternal, cosmic dimension of the scene. Again, the painting provides a bird's eye view of the site. The individual buildings are less naturalistic and tend towards more geometric shapes. Some pilgrims are disproportional in size. They represent the India of

---

8 The inclusion of these pilgrimage sites may reflect their growing importance in the wake of the disputes between the Jain community and the local Hindu Thakur in the 1920s and the perception of Śatruñjaya as being embedded in a network of local and regional sites; see Ku, Hawon. "Transferring a Tīrtha: From Śatruñjaya to the Replicas at Kadambagiri." *CoJS Newsletter* (2019) 14: 21-23.

9 The practice of commissioning representations of Śatruñjaya continues until recent years; see an example from *ca.* 1998 in Luithle-Hardenberg (2015) fig.10.4, and another one from 2003 in Ku (2014) 20, Pl. 5.

Figure 4. Shatrunjaya Pata
India Gujarat, 1961, painted area: 84 x 113 cm
Museum Rietberg, 2021.391
Purchased with funds of Zurich City
©Museum Rietberg, Zurich,
Photo: Rainer Wolfsberger

the 1960s as do the automobiles in front of the entrance which replace the horse-drawn carriages hitherto used by the visitors. Among the visitors there is – apart from monks, nuns and lay pilgrims – a group of boy scouts. The individual shrines with their Jina images or foot prints are delicately drawn in gold, contrasting with the light blue of temples and fortifications. Shrines and temples bear Gujarati inscriptions and the river Śetruñjī in the left part of the scene now is dammed by the barrage completed in 1959.

Conclusion

The changing depictions of Śatruñjaya are precious documents of how Jainism and particularly Jain laity adapted traditional practices of pilgrimage and temple worship to the evolution of Indian society over time. While the 19th-century image is still firmly rooted in a homogenous earlier artistic tradition, the turn-of-the-century example seems to reflect the conscious historic eclecticism of a cosmopolitan, well informed Jain elite certainly aware of and maybe influenced by the roughly contemporary European historicism. This painting draws on artistic models from different historic periods deemed heydays of the respective cultures though employing highly desirable, state-of-the-art materials such as the bright pigments. The mid-20th-century versions reflect the modernisation of India in their representation of the site as well as in the painting styles they use. In these representations the composition and technical execution follow established models of format and style less closely than before; replacing the traditional horse carriages with automobiles, including boy scouts among the pilgrims and painstakingly representing the newly built Pālitāṇā dam are but a few expressions of the new, future-oriented attitude characteristic for the art and society of the young independent India. The two most recent paintings thus bear witness to Jainism being an active part of Indian society willing to embrace and promote changing artistic and cultural views.

The pilgrimage maps of Śatruñjaya are just one example of how art represents the attitudes of Jainism to life and its perspectives on the world. The special exhibition on Jaina art and religion at the Museum Rietberg, opening in November 2022, will not only showcase pilgrimage maps of Śatruñjaya, but also artworks and paraphernalia of contemporary Jain practice from the Rietberg Collection, and loans from museums in India. The exhibition aims to offer new perspectives on the rich heritage and current practice of Jainism.

Marion Frenger is an independent scholar of Indian Art History.

Patrick Felix Krüger is Research Associate at the Center for Religious Studies (CERES) at Ruhr University Bochum.

PURE SOUL: THE JAINA SPIRITUAL TRADITIONS

14 April to 24 June 2023
SOAS Brunei Gallery

The exhibition presents SOAS research on the aniconic and spiritual Jaina traditions that are hardly known to the wider public though a third of all Jains are adepts of these varieties of Jaina religiosity.

Organised by the CoJS

CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

A Jaina Allegory?

J. C. Wright

The intriguing allegorical picture on our front cover belongs to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Although evidently a modern copy, somewhat garbled in the writing of the rubrics, it seems very likely that it is basically of Jaina inspiration. The prominent *paramesvara kā* genitive and dotted *va* in *deva* at the outset are northern, but (presumably Indra's) associated *bivāṇa* (< *vimāna*) with cerebral *-ṇ-* would seem to imply a Gujarati origin, as also the persistent *rupī* for *rūpī*, and *cuvāha* (versus Hindi *cū(h)ā*) for the rats; and, below the tree, the apparent tense form *rahī cha*. The curiously inverted form of the *rūpaka* compounds, *kāla-r[ū]pī hāt[h]ī* (ostensibly 'elephant in the form of death') where one would expect *hāt[h]ī-r[ū]pī kāla* 'death in the form of an elephant', are possibly evidence of a Prakrit background, given the inversions that are frequently found in Prakrit compounds (e.g., *amaravahū-viṇijjiya-rūvasohā* in the *Namicariya*, which is not intended to mean 'with beauty eclipsed by goddesses'). Spellings like *hātī* for *hāthī*, and *lobarupī* beside *lobha*, betray an (Urdu-based?) unfamiliarity with the script.

The allegory is centred on the *saṃsārarupī vaṭavracha*, intended to mean 'Saṃsāra in the form of a banyan'. Its impressive complex metaphor contrasts strongly with the simple metaphor 'tree of Saṃsāra' which is familiar, with various nuances, since the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Nītiśāstra*. In the former (3.25.11):

> *taṃ tvāgatā 'haṃ śaraṇaṃ śaraṇyaṃ,*
> *svabhṛtyasaṃsārataroḥ kuṭhāram.*

> So I have come to thee, a safe refuge,
> an axe for the tree of the continued existence
> of thy servants.

The latter (*Ind. Spr.*, 6636):

> *saṃsāraviṣavṛkṣasya dve phale amṛtopame,*
> *kāvyāmṛtarasāsvāda ālāpaḥ sajjanaiḥ saha.*

(corrupt variants tend to imply an original reading *-kaṭuvṛkṣa-*) states that the bitter tree of existence

Jain Parable, Man Above a Snake Pit; Jaipur, *circa* 1890; Opaque watercolour and gold on paper; IS. 43-1990; Victoria and Albert Museum

nevertheless bears two sweet fruit, good literature and pleasant conversation. A commentary on *Ānandavallī Upaniṣad* (*Ind. St.*, II, 214) *ahaṃ vṛkṣasya [p]rerivā[n]* identifies the tree as the fatal tree of existence (*ucchedātmakasya saṃsāravṛkṣasya prerayitā. antaryāmṇā.ātmanā*).

These mere *rūpaka* compounds go no farther than many another metaphor in Hindu Sanskrit literature: the ocean of Saṃsāra, the path of Saṃsāra, etc. The artist in question here has assembled a complex metaphorical image that features the four familiar errors, *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, and *moha* at the foot, with perhaps a hint of Jaina *leśyā* coloration in their representative serpents, and in the dark elephant of death below and light elephant of devotion (*bhajana*) on high. The latter elephant could be the inspiration for the denouement of King Nami's story in the commentary on *Uttarajjhāyā*, chapter 9, where Nami, whose life was influenced at the outset by an elephant that came rushing on like Kālānta, god of death, dreams of himself as sojourning in a heavenly *vimāna* and flying on a white elephant above Mount Mandara. Or *seyaṃ* is not 'white' but denotes *śreya*s 'salvation', since a second elephant, a ceremonial 'white elephant', had symbolized Nami's achieving Cakravartin status. The colour contrast recurs in the dark and light rats, which together seem to be creatures symbolizing greed (*lob[h]ar[ū]pī sata*, i.e., *sattva*), and separately representing the results of indulgence (*dīna* 'miserable') and abstinence (if the meaningless *rāta* is a miscopying of *sāta* in the Jaina sense of 'bliss'). If so, the rubrics have possibly been interchanged: the self-indulgent rat should surely be black and the abstinent one white. Is the man, who represents the transmigrating soul (*jīvar[ū]pī ādmī*), trying to lasso, and exterminate, greed?

Apart from something obscure that represents man's family and adherents (*jīva kā kuṭ[u]m[b]arupī*?) and something connected with the amaranth flowers (*pāparupī kurabaka-*) that (in one of the *Satttasaī* poems) represent immorality, there remain the two elephants. A pun is apparently involved in the black elephant (*kālar[ū]pī hāt[h]ī*), representing Death, or rather Nirvāṇa, since it is engaged in uprooting the tree of Saṃsāra. This may explain the long-standing use of the word *kāla* to signify death. The Petersburg Dictionary was non-committal as regards the choice between 'black' and 'time', but Monier-Williams, for no obvious reason, opted for 'time'. The pun in our allegory seems to favour 'black'. It provides a literary and artistic basis, rather than the purely mythological one, for the town, *tīrtha*, and Śaiva temple called Kālahastī, near Tirupati. The light-coloured elephant is in the form of a vehicle of salvific devotion to a supreme being, depicted as a non-sectarian Indra.

Perhaps our readers can decipher the remarks in the bottom right-hand corner, and can possibly reconcile the imagery with some specific Jaina text.

J.C. Wright *is Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit at SOAS.*

Pārśvanātha Mural at Ellora

Pārśvanātha on the front wall to the left of the entrance to the *garbhagṛha*. [h 120, w 90] The lower part of the painting is ruined, but the torso and especially the head are still comparatively well preserved. The posture in which he is standing is a typical *kāyotsarga* with the hands held down by the sides and the legs straight. His body is 'hourglass-shaped', i.e. with a narrow waist, comparatively wide hips and broad shoulders. He looks straight ahead, his lips are full, his nostrils prominent, his eyes large, and his upper eyelids very large. His eyebrows are highly arched and his hair is tightly curled; a comparatively small *uṣṇīṣa* appears on the top of his head. His earlobes are long, with huge holes in them. Seven hoods of a cobra appear around his head, and on either side of his upper body there are three stylized serpent coils. Around his head there is a large halo, red just around his head and brownish in the outer ring.

Jain Collections at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

Edward Weech

The Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823, and for two centuries it has upheld its original purpose: to promote the academic study of Asian histories and cultures, and advocate for the place of Asian studies in British intellectual culture and public life. It has sought to realise these objectives through several core areas of work, including book and journal publishing, lectures and events, and developing its membership network. But one of its main priorities has always been developing and providing access to its heritage collection.

The creation of a library was one of the Society's founding objectives. This reflected the aspiration that members might donate their own collections of books, manuscripts, artworks, and so on, so that these might be made available to other scholars engaged in the study of Asian civilizations. The first decades of its existence saw the Society receive numerous important donations, including major collections of manuscripts and art from leading scholars such as William Jones, Stamford Raffles, and George Thomas Staunton.

The majority of the Society's early collections pertained to the Indian subcontinent, and it acquired hundreds of manuscripts from a variety of different literary traditions, including Persian, Rajasthani, Keralan, and Nepali. Among the most significant collections was that of Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod (1782-1835), who was employed by the British East India Company and was based for the first two decades of the nineteenth century in north-west India, eventually serving as the Company's Political Agent in Rajasthan between 1818 and 1822. (Figure 1) Tod developed a passionate interest in the history and culture of the Rajput kingdoms, and he amassed a large collection of manuscripts and artworks which he hoped would establish the foundation for a work explaining Rajput history to Western audiences. This collection later formed the basis for Tod's major treatise, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, which was published in two volumes between 1829 and 1832; another work, *Travels in Western India*, was published posthumously in 1839.

Tod was a founding member of the Royal Asiatic Society and served as its first librarian between 1823 and 1831. He donated many books, manuscripts, and objects to the Society during his lifetime, and after his death, a large number of artworks from Tod's collection were presented by his executors.[1]

Tod's collection contains a series of artworks, forming a topographical record of his expeditions in Rajasthan, that were made by his cousin, Captain Patrick Waugh (1788-1829). Waugh's attractive watercolours depicting major sites in Rajasthan formed the basis for many magnificent engravings in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities*. Many of the watercolours and engravings can now be found in the RAS collection, including the Jain temple at Kumbhalgarh.[2] (Figure 2)

Tod also amassed a substantial collection of Indian art, notably Rajasthani paintings, which were perhaps the first works of this genre to reach Britain. Many were collected during Tod's residence at Udaipur, when he served as Political Agent to the Western Rajput States, and when, Andrew Topsfield observes, 'Mewar and its people had become a second homeland to him'.[3] Tod collected Rajasthani paintings not as a connoisseur, but as a historian seeking visual sources to illustrate and accompany his literary work. The finest paintings in Tod's collection were contained in a Ramayana

1 Head (1991) 107-110.
2 See also RAS 037.022-024
3 Topsfield (2007) 19.

Figure 1. James Tod (1782-1835) Painting from frontispiece of 1920 edition of *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* Volume 2, edited by William Crooke (Oxford University Press, 1920).

Figure 2. 'Jain temple in the fortress of Komulmer' Watercolour view by a professional British artist, preparatory to engraving and publication in Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society 037.023 © Royal Asiatic Society

Figure 3. *Kālikācāryakathānaka*, folio 17a. Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, Tod 34. © Royal Asiatic Society

manuscript given to him by Maharana Bhim Singh (1768-1828), which is now at the British Library. Indeed, while Tod's Rajasthani collection included many portraits of Rajput nobility, it also contained paintings of scenes notable for their mythological or cultural interest. Tod also employed a local artist, Ghasi, who made architectural drawings for him as well as copying portraits, a number of which would later appear as engravings in *Annals and Antiquities*.[4]

If Rajput history was Tod's chief concern, he was also alive to the complexity of contemporary Rajasthani society. Lawrence A. Babb notes that Tod was positively disposed towards Rajasthan's trading communities, reflecting his favourable view of trade and commerce generally. Tod was particularly interested in the Jains, who played a key role at the centre of Rajasthani trade and social life. Babb notes that Tod was fascinated by Jain architecture and that he also admired their respect for learning,[5] a trait embodied by Tod's Jain informant, the Kharataragaccha Yati Gyanchandra (Jñānacandra, ca. 1780-1840),[6] who he described in *Travels in Western India*.

[M]y friend and tutor, 'the moon of intellect' […] who had been with me from my subaltern days, and who, during more than half the period of my sojourn in India, was one of the great comforts of my exile. […] He enjoyed as much as I did these ramblings in search of the relics of past days, and to his great historical knowledge, and patience in deciphering inscriptions, I am indebted for my chief discoveries.[7]

At the same time, Tod's actual understanding of Jainism was very limited, and (in common with many Europeans in the early nineteenth century) he conflated it with Buddhism.[8]

In addition to visual sources, Tod also collected a large number of Rajasthani manuscripts, in a variety of languages. Tod received many of these as gifts from Rajput rulers, either as original works or as copies made to satisfy his well-known curiosity about Rajput

history. Rima Hooja notes, for example, that Maharana Bhim Singh ordered the transcribing of numerous texts from his personal library for Tod's use.[9] These became important research materials for Tod's historical work, and he would draw upon their genealogical or mythological content.

The Society has about 150 manuscripts that were owned by Tod, and – reflecting Tod's respect for the Jain community – perhaps 60 of these manuscripts pertain to Jainism and Jain people. Indeed, one of Tod's finest manuscripts was a Jain text, a copy of the *Kālikācāryakathānaka* (Figure 3), based on the life of the Jain preceptor Ācārya Kalika,[10] which is in Prakrit with Sanskrit annotations, and dates from 1404 CE.[11] A catalogue of the Tod Collection was published in 1940 by Lionel Barnett, Sanskrit Lecturer and Librarian at SOAS.[12] In 2002, Rima Hooja completed a major project to examine the collection once more, thereby adding new information to Barnett's catalogue.[13]

All the Society's Jain manuscripts came from Tod, but it does have other Jain materials that arrived from independent sources. Among the most striking is an *Aḍhāī-dvīpa*, a representation of Jain cosmography. (Figure 4) This work features a considerable amount of text in Sanskrit and Rajasthani, giving it some of the characteristics of a manuscript; but it is usually described as a painting, and its format means that for practical purposes most institutions would find it easier to consider it part of their art collection. The *Aḍhāī-dvīpa* was composed in 1817 by Pandit Tilokacanda Dayacanda, and it was donated to the Society in 1837 by Major-General William Miles (d. 1860), who received it from a Jain priest in Marwar, Rajasthan. It was digitized several years ago and made available on the *Jainpedia* website, where you can also find an explanation of its cosmological significance.[14]

4 Topsfield (2007) 23.
5 Babb (2007) 111-112.
6 See 'Jñānacandra', https://jaina-prosopography.org/person/3578
7 Tod (1839) 444–445.
8 Babb (2007) 114.

9 Hooja (2007) 75.
10 See 'Kālika', https://jaina-prosopography.org/person/1879
11 Hooja (2007) 71.
12 Barnett (1940) 129-178. See also "Titles of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Todd and Whish Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oct. 1890) 801-813.
13 The catalogues by Rima Hooja are available via the RAS Library. The results of the two cataloguing projects were integrated onto the Society's online catalogue by Kathy Lazenbatt, my predecessor as RAS Librarian (records available via https://ras.koha-ptfs.co.uk/).
14 *Aḍhāī-dvīpa* (069.001) https://jainpedia.org/manuscript/ras-jain1-4/ (Retrieved 2 March 2022).

In recent years, the Society has made consistent efforts to make more of its collections freely available online to people around the world. This has involved numerous digitization projects, conducted in partnership with a variety of external organizations, and most of the resulting digital collections have been drawn together on our Digital Library.[15] Launched in 2018, the value of the Digital Library was brought into sharp focus by the coronavirus pandemic, when it became much harder for people to visit and see our collections in-person. We are mindful that many of our collections are of great interest to people who live in Asia, or other parts of the world, who may find it difficult to visit our physical premises even during 'normal' times. That is one reason why digitization and online accessibility have been priorities for us over the past several years.

One major project which the Society was able to deliver before the pandemic was the digitization of all our palm leaf manuscripts. This was carried out between 2018 and 2019 by the Internet Archive, with the support of the Kahle/Austin Foundation. As a result, over 400 RAS palm leaf manuscripts can now be viewed in their entirety via the Internet Archive.[16] Among them can be found, for example, an early copy of two Jain poems, *Upadeśa-rasāyana* and *Dharma-rasāyana*, by Jinadatta.[17] (Figure 5)

Another manuscript from the Tod Collection which can be enjoyed on the Society's Digital Library is RAS Tod 109, where Jain poetry, including the *Gaja-siṃha-caritra*, is bound alongside notes on the genealogy of the Rajput Rathore clan.[18] This volume therefore presents some of Tod's chief interests side-by-side.

The Society will celebrate its bicentenary in 2023, with planned activities including an exhibition at the

Figure 4. *Aḍhāī-dvīpa* by Pandit Tilokacanda Dayacanda Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society 069.001 © Royal Asiatic Society

SOAS Brunei Gallery and the publication of a new edition of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, under the editorship of Norbert Peabody. In addition to our ongoing efforts to digitize our collections and make them more accessible, we hope that this programme will help shine further light on the Society's Jain collections and the early history of Jain Studies in Britain. We also welcome suggestions for new projects and initiatives to help deepen our understanding of these and other subjects pertaining to the Society's interests.

Edward Weech *has been Librarian at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland since 2014. He completed his doctorate at SOAS in 2020, which was an intellectual biography of Thomas Manning, a member of the Romantic movement and one of the first Englishmen to learn Chinese.*

15 The Royal Asiatic Society Digital Library is available via https://royalasiaticcollections.org/

16 See https://archive.org/details/royalasiaticsociety. These manuscripts are also accessible via the RAS Digital Library.

17 *Upadeśa-rasāyana* and *Dharma-rasāyana*, or *Caccarī*, by Jinadatta. https://archive.org/details/rastod114/page/n1/mode/1up. (Retrieved 2 March 2022). See also https://jaina-prosopography.org/person/373.

18 '[RAS Tod MS 109] [Miscellaneous Incomplete Works, Mainly Jain Poetry]'. https://royalasiaticcollections.org/ras-tod-ms-109-miscellaneous-incomplete-works-mainly-jain-poetry/. (Retrieved 2 March 2022)

Figure 5. *Upadeśa-rasāyana* and *Dharma-rasāyana*, by Jinadatta. Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, Tod 114. © Royal Asiatic Society

References

Babb, Lawrence A., 'Tod and Traders', in *James Tod's Rajasthan: The Historian and His Collections*, edited by Giles Tillotson. Mumbai: Marg, 2007.

Barnett, Lionel, 'Catalogue of the Tod Collection of Indian manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1940)*, 2, pp. 129-178.

Head, Raymond, *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Busts in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1991.

Hooja, Rima, 'The Tod Collection of Indian Manuscripts at the Royal Asiatic Society', in *James Tod's Rajasthan: The Historian and His Collections*, edited by Giles Tillotson. Mumbai: Marg, 2007.

Tod, James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. London: Smith, Elder, 1829-1832.
——*Travels in Western India*. London: W.H. Allen, 1839.

Topsfield, Andrew, 'Tod's Collection of Rajasthani Paintings', in *James Tod's Rajasthan: The Historian and His Collections*, edited by Giles Tillotson. Mumbai: Marg, 2007.

Online Collections
Catalogue descriptions for Jain manuscripts at the RAS
https://ras.koha-ptfs.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl?idx=kw&q=jain&sort_by=relevance_dsc&limit=itype:MS

Jaina Prosopography Database
https://jaina-prosopography.org/

Jainpedia
https://jainpedia.org/

Royal Asiatic Society Digital Library
https://royalasiaticcollections.org/

Royal Asiatic Society Collections on The Internet Archive
https://archive.org/details/royalasiaticsociety

Jaina Libraries of the Sādhumārgī Tradition: An Overview

Mansi Dhariwal

The Sādhumārgī sect belongs to the Sthānakavāsī Śvetāmbara tradition. In 1822, Hukmīcanda (1803-1960), the disciple of Ācārya Lālacanda of the Koṭā Sampradāya, laid the foundation stone of this tradition with the objective of re-establishing moral asceticism. The eighth *ācārya* of his line was Ācārya Nānālāla (1920-1999). He assigned the authority to Ācārya Rāmalāla to be his successor as leader of the Sādhumārgī Sect. Thereafter two lineages emerged, the Śānta-Krānti Saṃgha, and the Arihantamārgī Saṃgha. This report provides an overview of all Sādhumārgī libraries of the Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha (no. 1-3),[1] of the present followers of the Sādhumārgī tradition (no. 4-7), the libraries of the Śānta-Krānti Saṃgha (no. 8-9) and of the Arihantamārgī Saṃgha (no. 10). (Table 1)

1. Śrī Gaṇeśa Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Ratalāma

This library was established on 6th June 1973 in commemoration of the seventh successor of the Hukmīcanda tradition, Ācārya Gaṇeśīlāla (1890-1963), and it was named after him as "Śrī Gaṇeśa Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāra." It is the Central Library of the Sādhumārgī Sect, which is situated in a multi-story building. The very first catalogue of the collection of approximately 75,000 print publications was compiled by Rikhabacanda Katāriyā (†1993), who amassed the books by approaching personal collections.[2]

Works are categorized under distinct sections such as *Āgama* (Canons), *Pravacana* (Didactic literature), *Cikitsā* (Medical literature), *Sāhitya* (Literature), Prākṛta, Saṃskṛta, *Kāvya* (Poetry), and Gujarātī *Kathā* (Narrative literature).

Coordinators after Rikhabacanda were Pūnamacanda Ghoṭā (1930-2015), Śrīcanda Koṭhārī (1939-2017), and now Suśīla Gorechā. Recently, the Śruta Saṅgama organization has taken up the charge to prepare a revised digital version of the catalogue.[3]

The diverse of collection of 10,000 manuscripts includes Jain canonical texts, commentaries and other genres such as *vṛtti*, *ṭīkā*, *dīpikā*, *avacūrṇi*, *bālāvabodha*, and *ṭabbārtha*;[4] poetic literature, for example, *lāvaṇī*, *stavana*, *ḍhāla*, and *sajjhāya*; non-Jaina literature such as the *Vedānta Chandāvalī*, the *Bhagvadgītā*, and the *Purāṇaślokasaṃgraha*; astrological literature such as *Jyotiṣacakra*, and *Jyotiṣakaraṇḍaka* with commentary; historical literature including *Mevāṛa itihāsa*, *paṭṭāvalī*s, and *Dillī kī bībī kā gānā*; grammatical works such as *Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana*, *Sārasvataprakriyā*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and *Siddhāntakaumudī*; lexicographical works including *Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā*, *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (*Amarakośa*), and the *Nighaṇṭusamaya* of Dhanañjaya.

This collection features a manuscript of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* with *ṭabbā* copied by Hukmīcanda, which is of great importance to the Sādhumārgī tradition. (Figure 1)

A team from the Śruta Bhavana Research Centre in Pune completed the digitisation of these manuscripts in the year 2018 and now catalogues the digitized works.[5]

---

1 For more information about the Sādhumārgī sect, see https://sadhumargi.com

2 Later, the library of the Jain Godāvata Gurukula in Choṭī Sādaṛī was incorporated after its termination (the year is unknown).

3 https://shrutsangam.org/index.php/home

4 The *Ācārāṅgasūtra* with *Ṭabbārtha* by Dharmasiṃha Ṛṣi and the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* with *Ṭabbārtha* by Pārśvacandrasūri are noteworthy.
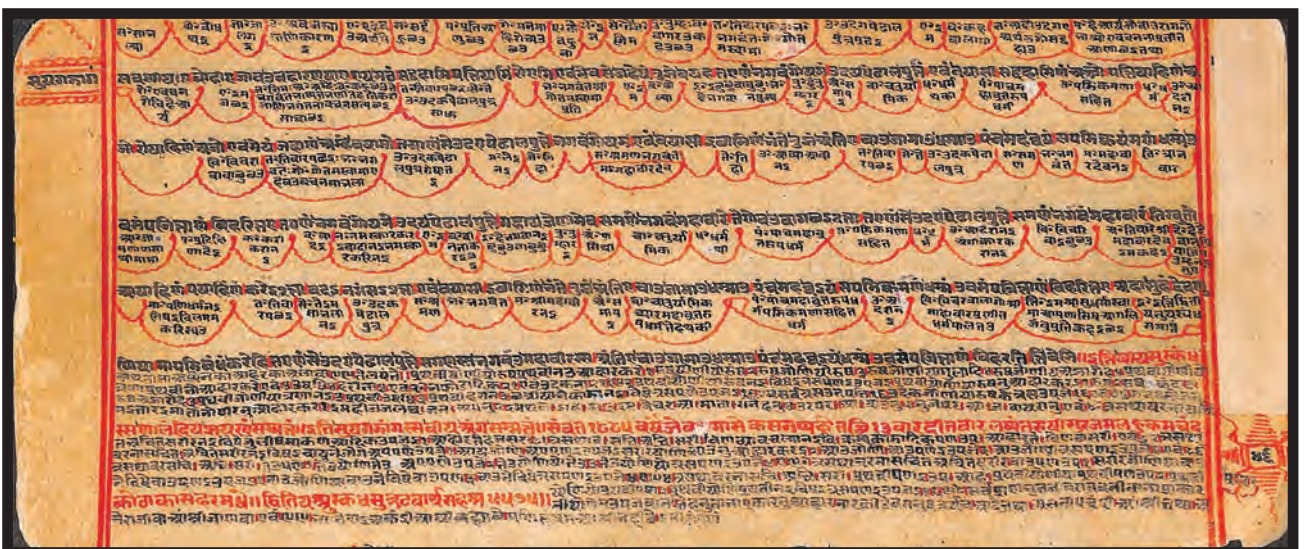
5 www.shrutbhavan.org/index.php

Figure 1. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* with *ṭabbā* (Gaṇeśa Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Mss. no. 675), copied by Hukmīcanda *mahārāja*, founder of the Sādhumārgī sect, in V.S. 1885.

2. Āgama, Ahiṃsā-Samatā evaṃ Prākṛta Saṃsthāna, Udayapura

Ācārya Nānālāla arrived in Udaipur in the year 1981 for his *cāturmāsa*. His thought-provoking oratory motivated university scholars and local dignitaries, which resulted in the establishment of the Āgama, Ahiṃsā-Samatā evaṃ Prākṛta Saṃsthāna which opened in the year 2004.

The organization coordinates projects, seminars and workshops based on Jaina Studies, the publication of research papers, and edition, translation and publication of significant texts, such as the first bi-lingual translation of the *Prakīrṇaka*s based on the edition by Muni Puṇyavijaya, and the preservation of manuscripts.

Its research library features critical editions and old volumes of Indological research journals. The total number of books is about 10,000. With the financial assurance of the Ahkila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha, the Department of Jainology and Prakrit was established at the Mohanalāla Sukhāḍiyā University, Udayapura.

Around 1,500 manuscripts preserved here stem from the donated collection of Bhīkhamacanda Govindarāma Bhansālī Pārmārthika Saṃsthāna, Bīkānera.[6] It comprises a manuscript of the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra* (VS 1568) used for the critical edition of the forthcoming publication by the Saṃsthāna, *Āgama-pāṭhanirṇaya-paddhati*, work performed under the auspices of Ācārya Rāmalāla by his disciple Upādhyāya Rājeśamuni. (Figure 2) The collection includes several other significant manuscripts as well. The digitization of these has been accomplished in 2018 and it is planned to publish a printed catalogue.

3. Samatā Bhavana Library, Bīkānera

The Samatā Bhavana Library is situated in the head office of the Ahkila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha in Bīkānera, the nerve centre of the Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha. The library holds publications of canonical literature, grammatical works, works on *karman* philosophy, works by Indian philosophers, historical works on various Jaina sects, etc. It also operates Sādhumārgī Publications, which has, for example, published the *Śrīmajjavāharayaśovijayakāvyaṃ* (by Kāśīnātha), *Jiṇadhammo* (in Gujarātī and Hindī), *Jambudvīpa* (research-based, illustrated, with detailed explanation), *Nāneśavāṇī* (the speeches of Nānālāla), and *Rāma Uvāca* (speeches by Rāmalāla).

4. Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Bhīnāsara

"Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ" was founded in 2013 by a charitable trust in Bengaluru and in 2016 shifted to Bhīnāsara (Rājasthāna), to facilitate teaching and training for any individual interested in practising austerity, meditation and the study of Jaina philosophies. The Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ Jñānabhaṇḍāra maintains a collection of 25,000 printed works in several languages. The stock of approximately 8,000 manuscript comprises the gifted collections of Hazārīmala Bahāduramala Bānṭhiyā (donated by Jinendra Bānṭhiyā), the Rāṅgaḍī Cauka Collection (from the old office building of Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha), the Sardāraśahara Collection (a private collection donated by Phūsarāja Baraḍiyā), etc. The reason behind merging smaller collections into larger ones is in order to preserve them and to expand their accessibility.

There are several special manuscripts in the collection, including the *Tiryañca Pratikramaṇa*, *Saptatikācūrṇi* (Śaka 1499), *Piṅgalaśāstra* (VS 1651), *Śālibhadramahāmuni Caupāī* (illustrated), *Līlāvatī caupāī* (with a picture of Sarasvatī on the first folio), and the *Aṣṭādaśasahasraśīlāṅgaratha*. (Figure 3)

Significantly, with the support of the Śruta Bhavana Organization, Ārugga-Bohi-Labhaṃ has been able to digitise manuscript collections like the Jaina Javāhara Pustakālaya in Nokhā (founded by Mūlacanda Pārakha in 1957), part of the collection of the Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya in Bīkānera (founded by Agaracanda Nahāṭā [1911-1983] and Bhavaralāla Nahāṭā in 1985), etc.
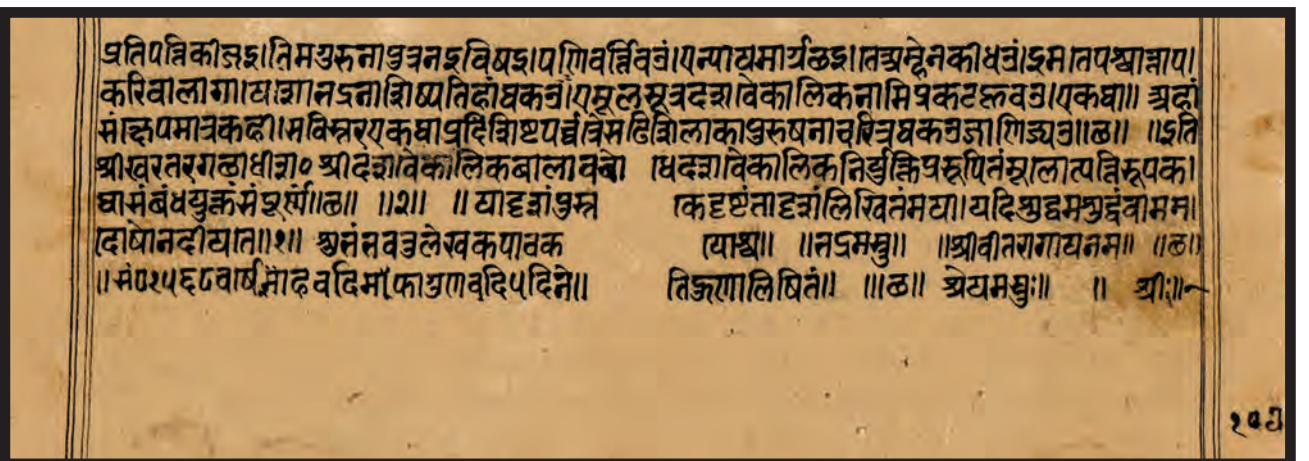
---

6 Govindarāma Bhansālī (1876-1964) was a scholar and relative of Agaracanda Seṭhiyā and Bhairodāna Seṭhiyā.

Figure 2: *Daśavaikālika Sūtra* (V.S.1568) used for the critical edition of the *Śri Daśavaikālikasūtra* in "*Āgama-pāṭhanirṇaya-paddhati*," Mss. no. 495, Āgama, Ahiṃsā-Samatā evaṃ Prākṛta Saṃsthāna, Udayapura

Figure 3: *Aṣṭādaśasahasraśīlāṅgaratha*, Mss. no. 6659, Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Bīkānera

Figure 4: The first folio of *Vasudhārādhāriṇī* (V.S 1704), Mss. no: 919, Seṭhiyā Jaina Library, Bīkānera

5. Seṭhiyā Jaina Library, Bīkānera

The Agaracanda Bhairodāna Seṭhiyā Jaina Pārmārthika Saṃsthāna was founded in 1912 on the initiative of brothers Agaracanda Seṭhiyā and Bhairodāna Seṭhiyā, who aimed at the creation of a platform for the well-being of society. In 1922 the organisation established the Seṭhiyā Jaina Library, which now comprises around 18,000 printed books and 2,000 manuscripts. Many of these manuscripts are of great importance, for example, *Candronmīlana, Ratnaparīkṣā, Sarvasiddhāntapraveśa, Nyāyabindudharmottara Ṭippaṇaka* by Dharmakīrti, *Dravyālaṅkāra*,[7] *Kalpānatarvācya* (VS 1674), *Vāgbhaṭṭālaṅkāra* with *ṭīkā* (VS 1522) and *Vasudhārādhāriṇī* (V.S 1704). (Figure 4)

In former times, the Saṃsthāna had a publication house. Noteworthy publications include *Thokaḍā* (concise work dealing with Jaina Elements) and *Jaina Siddhānta Bola Saṅgraha* (a numerical encyclopedia of Jaina fundamentals).

6. Javāhara Pustakālaya, Bhīnāsara

Javāhara Vidyāpīṭha was established by Campālāla Bānṭhiyā (1902-1987) on 16 April 1944 in memory of the sixth *ācārya* Javāharalāla (1875-1943), who contributed to the independence of India and the elimination of various social malpractices. His speeches were published by the Vidyāpīṭha under the title *Javāhara Kiraṇāvali*.

The library named Javāhara Pustakālaya holds 5,000 books categorized under religious literature, novels, narrative literature, poetic literature, didactic literature, Jaina geography, biographies, autobiographies, canonical literature, meditation, astrology, etc. Its collection of 500 manuscripts spans the 16th to 20th

---

7 Muni Jambuvijaya, in the preface of *Dravyālaṅkāra*, mentioned its great significance.

	Name	Owner	Contact
1.	Āgama, Ahiṃsā-Samatā evaṃ Prākṛta Saṃsthāna	Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha	Aacharya Shree Nanesh Dhyan Kendra Sundarvaas, Ranapratap Nagar Road Udaipur 313001 Rajasthan, India 0294-2490717 asndkudaipur2018@gmail.com
2.	Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ Jñānabhaṇḍāra	Jain Trust	Aaruga-Bohi-Labham Behind Jawahar Vidyapeeth Kismidesar, Bhinasar 334403, Bikaner Rajasthan, India Vijaylaxmi +91 93581 70222 labhamgyan@gmail.com
3.	Gaṇeśa Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍāra	Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha	Samta Bhawan, Nolaipura, Ratlam 457001 Madhya Pradesh, India Sushil Gorechha +91 98272 60760 rmgorecha@gmail.com
4.	Javāhara Pustakālaya	Sumati Banṭhiyā	Jawahar Vidyapeeth Bhinasar 334403, Bikaner Rajasthan, India Sumati Banthia +91 98292 45151 banthiasumatilal@gmail.com
5.	Samatā Bhavana Library	Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Sādhumārgī Jaina Saṃgha	Samta Bhawan, Aacharya Shree Nanesh Marg, Nokha Road, Gangasahar 334401, Bikaner Rajasthan, India Dilip Rajapurohit +91 72319 33008 dili_4_u@yahoo.com
6.	Seṭhiyā Jaina Library	Surendra Seṭhiyā	Marothi Sethia Mohalla Bīkānera 334001, Rājasthāna, India Surendra Sethia +91 94141 37432
7.	Śvetāmbara Sādhumārgī Jaina Hitakāriṇī Saṃsthā	Rajendra Golachā	Marothi Sethia Mohalla Bīkānera 334001, Rājasthāna, India Rajendra Golchha +91 9414143069 rajendragolchha000@gmail.com
8.	Hukmaguru Granthālaya, Udayapura	Śānta-Krānti Saṃgha	Head Office Navkar Bhawan 279-H, Sector 3 Hiran Margi Udaipur 313002, India jainshantkranti@gmail.com 0294-2461588
9.	Vijayajñāna Granthāgāra, Byāvara	Śānta-Krānti Saṃgha	Navkar Bhawan Krishna Colony Beawer 305901 Rajasthan, India Santosh Surana +91 9269169190
10.	Arihanta Jñānabhaṇḍāra, Dillī	Arihantamārgī Saṃgha	Head Office Arihantmargi Jain Sangh 19/20, Ground Floor, Left side Sanjay Nagar, Gulabi Baag Delhi-85, India shri.arihantmargi@hotmail.com 011-23644577

Table 1. List of Libraries of the Sādhumārgī Tradition

centuries and includes Jaina canonical works and their exegetical literature, and vernacular poetic works. Recently, Mahāvīr Jaina Ārādhanā Kendra, Koba[8] digitised the manuscript collection and the catalogue is in progress.

7. Śvetāmbara Sādhumārgī Jaina Hitakāriṇī Saṃsthā, Bīkānera

In memory of the fifth successor of Hukmīcandra, Ācārya Śrīlāla (1869-1920), the Śvetāmbara Sādhumārgī Jaina Hitakāriṇī Saṃsthā, a social organisation, was established in VS 1984 by Bhairodāna Seṭhiyā (1865-1961) and Kānīrāma Bānṭhiyā. It published works such as *Vṛttabodha*, *Śrī Lālanāmamālā*, *Śivakośa* (A concise dictionary of Sanskrit), *Nānārthodayasāgara*, and *Mukhavastrikāmīmāṃsā*.

The library holds various rare and special manuscripts such as *Chandakośa* with *ṭīkā* by Candrakīrtisūri, the *Karmavipākasūtra* (with *yantra*), *Pañcāśakavṛitti* (VS 1652), *Karmavipākāvacūri* (VS 1636), *Puṇyachatrīśī* by Samayasundara (VS 1669), *Yogaśāstra*, *Daśavaikālikacūlikā* with *bālāvabodha* (VS 1624), *Sandeśarāsaka* (VS 1633), *Nāracandrayantrakoddhāra* by Sāgaracandrasūri (VS 1474), *Karpūramañjarī* (VS 1547), *Daśadṛṣṭānta* (VS 1597), and the *Upāsakadaśasūtra* (VS 1570). All the manuscripts have been digitised and cataloguing is proceeding.

These collections discussed above retain some of the original manuscripts composed by Sādhumārgī *ācārya*s and their pupils. The collective information of these scripts offers the possibility of analytical examination of the tradition on the basis of the manuscript colophons of the texts.

8-10. Hukmaguru Granthālaya in Udayapura, Vijayajñāna Granthāgāra in Byāvara, Arihanta Jñānabhaṇḍāra in Delhi

After Ācārya Nānālāla, two more lineages emerged in the Sādhumārgī tradition. These lineages possess three libraries. The Hukmaguru Granthālaya in Udayapura and the Vijayajñāna Granthāgāra in Byāvara are libraries of the followers of the Śānta-Krānti Saṃgha, and the Arihanta Jñānabhaṇḍāra in Delhi is a library for the followers of the Arihantamārgī Saṃgha. These libraries do not possess any manuscripts. The Hukmaguru Granthālaya in Udayapura stores 8,000 printed books.

Conclusion

In this modern era everyone desires immediate access to information. In the last four years digitisation of the manuscripts at the libraries of the Sādhumārgī tradition has been carried out and cataloguing nears completion. The Sādhumārgī sect contributes to knowledge-sharing and urges scholars to utilise the materials that have been made available in digital form.[9]

---

8 www.kobatirth.org

9 To access the digital material, please email: sadhumargilibraries@gmail.com

Mansi Dhariwal is currently studying Navya-Nyāya in the Jaina Institute Ārugga-Bohi-Lābhaṃ in Bīkānera and recently started managing an ongoing project of digitisation and cataloguing of the manuscript libraries associated with the Sādhumārgī tradition.
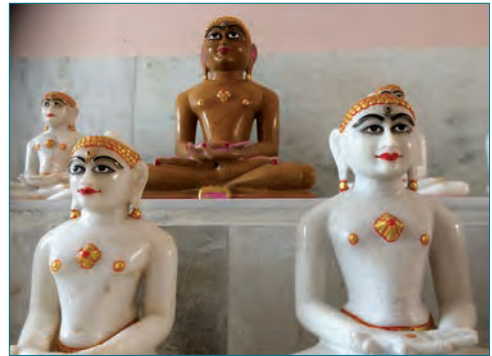
Prakrit Prosody

J.C. Wright

The transition from Vedic to Prakrit prosody remains something of a mystery, despite the admirable analyses of L. Alsdorf in 'Itthīparinnā' (*IIJ*, 2, 1958), etc., and A. K. Warder (*Pali metre*, 1967). It seems, however, that both the mātrāchandas (Vaitālīya, etc.) and gaṇacchandas (Āryā, etc.) metres can be fairly simply explained as modifications of the Anuṣṭubh akṣaracchandas.

Taking an appropriate Āryā specimen from the *Namicariya* in Jacobi's *Erzählungen*, p. 42, we have in a second line:

<div align="center">

taṃ teṇa veiyavvaṃ ni/mitta-mettaṃ paro hoi

‒ ‒ ◡ ‒   ◡ ‒ ‒   ◡ / ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒   ◡ ◡ ‒ ◡

</div>

which, discounting the retracted caesura, can immediately be seen as two very normal Anuṣṭubh pādas (with resolution of the long fourth syllable). They are combined, however, in a revolutionary manner. Two prior-pāda cadences of the classical Anuṣṭubh are juxtaposed in a manner that occurs neither in the Ṛgveda nor in classical usage. The caesura between the pādas has been moved so as to fall between gaṇas, rather than within the fourth gaṇa (-*ni/mitta*-) as in the Old Āryā (Alsdorf, op. cit., 252: 'there follows after the 3rd gaṇa a final syllable that may be long or short, which shows, as Jacobi rightly remarks, that we have to do with the end of a real pada'). A fifth gaṇa (-*mettaṃ*-) is followed by the surviving Anuṣṭubh cadence (*paro hoi*).

The gradual expansion of the final syllable of the prior pāda into a full 4th gaṇa has long been observed. Alsdorf's edition of 106 lines of Old Āryā in Sūyagaḍa I, 4 provides an illustration of the process (4th and 6th gaṇa italicized):

1.13ab avi dhū.yarā*hi. suṇhā.hi*. / dhāī.*hi aduva*. dāsī.hi   (the only instance of an unexpanded 4th gaṇa)
1.31ab nīvāram e*va bujjhejjā* / *no* icche a*gāra*m āgantuṃ   (regular - 61% - four-mātrā 4th gaṇa)
1.18ab suddhaṃ ra*vaī parisāe* / *aha* rahasam*mi dukka*dā karei   (regular - 15% - four-mātrā 4th gaṇa)
1.26ab adu sāviyā-*pavāeṇa* / *aṃsi* sāham*miṇī ya* samaṇāṇam   (regular - 16% amphibrach 4th gaṇa)

There are eight instances of the addition to the final Anuṣṭubh syllable of a complete regular four-mātrā 4th gaṇa, and one of an added amphibrach 4th gaṇa:

2.12cd kosaṃ ca mo*ya-mehāe* / *supp'uk*khalagaṃ *ca khāra*-galaṇam ca
1.3ab pāse bhisaṃ *nisīyanti* / *abhikkha*ṇaṃ po*sa-vatthā* parihinti

The inference is that, despite the apparent earlier attestation of the Old Āryā, the standard Āryā, with its anomalous one-mātrā 6th gaṇa in the second line, reflects a stage intermediate between Anuṣṭubh and Āryā. Indeed it is impossible to believe that the 6th gaṇa, once established in both lines, would be arbitrarily truncated in the second. The full 7½-gaṇa structure of the Vaitālīya would encourage the completion of a 6th gaṇa within the Āryā before affecting line 6 Sūyagaḍa. Nor does it seem unlikely that the standard Āryās embedded in the canonical literature and in early narrative would antedate Sūyagaḍa I, 4, with its sermon promulgating an unqualified misogyny that is far from typical of the story literature.

The further development of the Āryā, its resolution of long syllables and fusion of short syllables, and the expansion of the fourth and sixth gaṇas in the first line has obscured its actual origin, as witness such a line as (again from *Namicariya*, p. 42):

<div align="center">

pāṇivahâliya-paradhaṇa-mehuṇaya-pariggahāṇā veramaṇaṃ.

‒ ◡ ◡/ ‒ ◡ ◡/ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡// ‒ ◡ ◡/ ◡ ◡ ‒ / ◡ ◡/ ‒ ◡ ◡/ ◡◡

</div>

Another development was the creation, in the eventual standard form of the metre, of a notional eight-mātrā gaṇa structure throughout the strophe by means of an expansion of the fourth gaṇa in the first line, hand in hand with the completion of a sixth gaṇa in the Old Āryā and Gīti. The result is a tendency towards a Vedic Virāj rhythm as in ṚV 9.109.1d / pūṣṇé bhágāya /, albeit with much resolution of long syllables. The Vedic background to this 8-mātrā structure is not observed in Warder's discussion of the matter (*Pali metre*, § 219). One stanza in *Namicariya*, p.45, achieves four of the possible five Virāj combinations:

<div align="center">

amare/*hi narava*//rehi ya/ *parūvi*//yā hon/*ti rāya*//nī/o,
loven/*ti jattha* // te-cciya/ *ko do*//so tat/tha / iyarā/ṇaṃ.

</div>

The final double gaṇa remains incomplete with six mātrās. Hence, no doubt, the evolution of the Gīti with a completed eighth gaṇa (which has long obscured the Anuṣṭubh basis of gaṇa- and mātrāchandas, by wrongly implicating the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī in their evolution).

Noting that an initial regular Anuṣṭubh pāda very frequently arises in the Old Āryā, Alsdorf, p. 252, gave the impression that this was a chance occurrence; and where an Anuṣṭubh pāda occurs which cannot be construed in gaṇas, he saw this as a whim on the part of the poets. It is surely more reasonable to see this as a licence carried over from the Anuṣṭubh, rather as Vedic Anuṣṭubh cadences maintained an irregular existence as Vipulās in the classical śloka. A verse like Uttarajjhāyā 26, 9:

<blockquote>
pucchijja pañjaliuḍo   kiṃ kāyavvaṃ mae iha,

‿ – – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿   – ‿ – – ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿

icchaṃ nioiuṃ bhante   veyāvacce va sajjhāe.

‿ – – ‿ – ‿ – – –   – – ‿ – ‿ – ‿ –
</blockquote>

shows that the author retains, from the formative period, a licence to combine two prior pādas in the second line of an Anuṣṭubh. When, however, he likewise combines two prior pādas in the first line of an Anuṣṭubh (*ibid*., 30, 2):

<blockquote>
pāṇavaha-musāvāyā   adatta-mehuṇa-pariggahā virao,

‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ – ‿ – –   (‿ – ‿) – ‿‿ ‿ – ‿ ‿ – ‿‿ –

rāībhoyaṇavirao   jīvo havai aṇāsavo.

‿ – – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ –   – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿‿ –
</blockquote>

he feels himself obliged to add a fourth gaṇa (*adatta*) in the manner of the Āryā, and at liberty to waive the Anuṣṭubh ruling for the second and third syllables of the pāda. There is rather more logic in his procedure than first meets the eye.

The case seems proved when it is observed that the Āryā combination of four late Vedic prior pādas is a natural corollary of the evidently older Vaitālīya mātrāchandas, which is based on the combination, frequent in the Ṛgveda, of four pādas with the regular iambic cadence, e.g. (RV 9.100.5):

<blockquote>
krátve dákṣāya naḥ kave   pávasva soma dhā'rayā,

‿ – – ‿ – – ‿ ‿ ‿ – ‿   – – ‿ – ‿ – ‿ –

índrāya pā'tave sutó   mitrā'ya váruṇāya ca.

‿ – – ‿ – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ –   – – ‿ – ‿ ‿ ‿ –
</blockquote>

In the Vaitālīya group, the sixth gaṇa (of the 7½) is naturally complete in both lines. The 'syncopated' forms appear, not in the even gaṇas, but in the third and seventh. Thus, by a similar process, and allowing for many resolutions of long syllables, the Vaitālīya group had arrived at an even looser hint of the alternative Virāj rhythm, as in RV 9.109.19a /ásarji vājī'/, e.g. (Sūyagaḍa I, 2 *Veyāliyajjhayaṇa*,1.1):

<blockquote>
saṃbuj/jhaha kiṃ // na bujjha/ha   saṃ//bohī / khalu pec//ca dulla/hā,

‿ – – / ‿ ‿ – ‿ – // ‿ – ‿ – / ‿ –   – // ‿ – ‿ – – ‿ ‿ – / ‿ – ‿ / –

no hû/vaṇaman//ti rāi/o   no // sulabhaṃ puṇarā//vi jīviyaṃ.

‿ – ‿ / ‿ ‿ ‿ – // ‿‿ ‿ / ‿ –   – // ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ / ‿ ‿ ‿ – //‿ ‿ ‿ ‿/‿
</blockquote>

The final syllable of the prior pāda (*saṃbujjhaha*) still counts as long, but the option of a short vowel seems to have been as rarely exercised as the option of an initial iambus in the Āryā. Beside 1.1a *bujjhaha*, 2a *pāsaha*, a spelling *pāsahā* is registered in 3.2c and 3.8a; otherwise in the 150 lines of *Veyāliyajjhayaṇa* we find only artificial lengthening as in 2.18c *-āihiṃ* and in several cases of an *-ī*. An ostensible 3-mātrā gaṇa, such as *ha saṃ*, can be a factor in the occurrence of 3-mātrā fourth gaṇas in the evolution of the Āryā.

It has long been obvious that the development of moric metres from syllabic metres is a result of the tendency in Prakrit towards a proliferation of short vowels. Similarly, the fact that the Avestan equivalents of the Sanskrit Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh failed to develop quantitative rhythms, but retained a form of *Stabreim* like Germanic verse, correlates with its dearth of short syllables. The later development of Indo-Aryan verse seems to include a tendency to bolster the individual elements of the Vedic trimeter, so that Vasantatilakā: – – / ‿ – ‿/ ‿ ‿ ‿ / ‿ ‿ ‿ /‿ – ‿ would be a Triṣṭubh: – – ‿ –   – / ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ with completed medial gaṇas that enhance its Virāj moric structure. A more complex elaboration of each element of the Triṣṭubh, exploiting the prevalence of short syllables that arises even in later Sanskrit may be seen in the Sragdharā:

<blockquote>
– – – – ‿ – – / ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ – / – ‿ – – ‿ – –
</blockquote>

where the opening, the break, and the cadence have all undergone a measure of duplication.

The implications of this analysis are encouraging. A steady development can be observed in the Indo-Iranian dimeter, i.e., lines of 7-9 syllables with generally four accented syllables and with an iambic tendency in Vedic. Brahmanical orthodoxy adopted a couplet structure, with a spondee (a comma, so to speak) after eight syllables and an iambus (a colon or full stop) after sixteen. The colloquial Prakrits preferred at first to standardize the Vedic iambic cadence: hence the Vaitālīya group with their consequent amphibrach ('syncopated') 3rd and 7th gaṇas. The Brahmanical Anuṣṭubh, however, suggested a happier solution: standardizing its final spondeic cadence provided the Āryā group with scope for amphibrachs in their 2nd, 4th, and 6th gaṇas. Since, by disregarding resolution of long syllables, etc., the Prakrit mātrā and gaṇa metres can be seen to be catalectic Virāj tetrameters, rather than arbitrary sequences of 7½ gaṇas comprising from one to four mātrās, they are arguably more true to the tendencies of Vedic evolution than is the 'epic' Anuṣṭubh. Encouraging too is the inference that, when the redactors of canonical Jaina *āgama* texts built strictly Anuṣṭubh prior pādas into their Āryās, they were not offending prosody but were exercising a licence akin to that of the Sankrit author who incorporates an occasional Vipulā prior pāda into a Pathyā Anuṣṭubh composition.

***J.C. Wright** is Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit at SOAS.*

Detail: Mangoes held by the *yakṣiṇī* Ambikā, Jain Museum Khājurāho (Photo: Peter Flügel 24.12.2018)

Jain Quantum: A Jain Literature Search Engine

Anish Visaria

One of the defining characteristics of the Information Age is the ability to obtain vast amounts of information extremely quickly. In the context of Jain literature and other religious literature in general, many of the digital texts are scanned works that were written before the advent of computers. It can be a laborious task to find information within these texts and tedious to type out manually. *Jain Quantum* aims at solving this problem with the help of modern search and text recognition technologies.[1] The current process of going through titles of various books and reading each one that might be relevant to one's interest will not be efficient in most cases. The ability to search information within texts in an accessible manner is the primary goal of *Jain Quantum*.

Accessibility and search experience are important factors in finding information, and this was not previously available for Jain literature in any significant capacity. For example, many Jain texts have different spellings of the same word, which quickly becomes a challenge for a user guessing the variations. This is even more cumbersome for romanizations in English translations.

What pushed me to the limits and strengthened my determination to build *Jain Quantum* was that the internet and human digital interactions are filled with inaccuracies and misinformation. I would notice especially within religious communities that people would bend facts and distribute these across social networks and messaging apps. The danger here is that in future this might cause central religious principles to become fabricated. Over time this phenomenon could affect the beliefs of future generations and change how religion is perceived. Despite all this, I realized that the core literature of a religion does not change. With this came an opportunity to build a system of verifiable information that people can reference easily. *Jain Quantum* attempts at solving this problem, although there is no perfect solution.

The Technological Effort

Building a search engine for scanned texts is not easy, especially due to the various components involved. Since the majority of the texts in the JAIN eLibrary catalog are scanned, there is no plain text available to search directly. Optical character recognition (OCR) technologies would have to be leveraged to generate plain text from books. The second component is the ability to search in a "fuzzy" manner with various misspellings and variations of the same term. In addition, given the large quantity of information (around four million pages), the system needs to be optimized enough to respond to search queries in ideally less than

1 https://jainqq.org/

one second. My goal was to provide a search experience that would respond as you type, so speed and accuracy were both important in building *Jain Quantum*.

The circumstance of building *Jain Quantum* was unique in that the ideation and implementation occurred in synergy. Having studied computer science at university, I took it on myself to build the system from the ground up. I did not feel the vision of *Jain Quantum* would be possible if the implementation was not custom-built with the original motivation in mind. That being said, I had to go through countless iterations of each component to get a satisfactory result.

The OCR started off with powerful cloud machines using the Tesseract library until I realized the results were not sufficient for this purpose. OCR technologies can produce many word-segmentation errors and improper recognitions, so I had to re-evaluate and use different methods. After some experimentation, I settled with Google OCR for increased accuracy. The total OCR of over four million pages took a few months of continuous computing time.

The search engine itself took many attempts to build with efficient performance and sufficient accuracy. I had to take into account variations of terms, ranking of results, and handle multi-language text. The term variation was managed by pre-computing different possibilities (e.g. storing links between *mahavir*, *mahavira*, *mahaveer*). This was pre-computed for approximately thirty million words from the JAIN eLibrary corpus. The ranking and display of results evolved over time, but currently the relevance of a result is calculated with the Okapi BM25 ranking function and phrase proximity over the page text, title, author, and other fields. The multilingual search support took into account exact scripts, in addition to transliterations formats. Presently, *Jain Quantum* supports transliterations in the Harvard-Kyoto convention and finding exact terms for all unicode characters. All in all, the challenge was not using the individual components but finding the right balance between technologies to achieve the desired results.

Usage and Next Steps

Regardless of how *Jain Quantum* was built, it was important to understand whether it was actually helping anyone find information. Since it was launched in August 2020, *Jain Quantum* has had over 200,000 users globally, mainly from India, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The main source of traffic to *Jain Quantum* is other search engines, which index the content of the pages on *Jain Quantum*. Ultimately, I do feel the underlying motivation was achieved, in that people are able to find adequate information for their interests in Jain literature.

Despite the progress, *Jain Quantum* still has a long way to go to cover all cases. For example, currently *Jain Quantum* only searches the JAIN eLibrary catalog, but there are vast amounts of literature beyond this repository. An ability to search other literature or mediums could enhance the functionality. Additionally, there is no scholarly or canonical literature filtering for research purposes. Lastly, the overall relevance and experience of the search can always be improved to include the results that are more likely to match the query.

Looking back at the entire process it is worth noting that there is no other period in history when someone could independently put together the type of capability such as *Jain Quantum*. The value of cloud computing and open-source software have made it possible even for seemingly difficult projects to be implemented with some effort and time. In addition, absolutely none of this would be possible without the metadata and files from JAIN eLibrary, accumulated over the past decade and beyond.[2] The core of a search engine is information, and without information nothing can happen.

Lessons for the Future

The essence of Jain Dharma is to conquer one's inner obstacles and fears. It is easy to succumb to the status quo and think in the conventional way, but difficult to go beyond the normal boundaries. The ideation and implementation of *Jain Quantum* involved struggles, setbacks and at times the desire to give up. At many points I questioned whether anyone would care to use *Jain Quantum* and whether all the efforts would go to waste. Overcoming these obstacles was an important step in making Jain literature more accessible for any instance. The future may present even more advanced technologies which may make the current ways obsolete, which indicates that keeping an open mind will help us all.

Anish Visaria *has a degree in computer science from Georgia Tech, USA. He is currently the Director of Innovation at JAIN eLibrary, where he works on building technology such as* Jain Quantum *to make Jain literature more accessible to the world.*

2   I wish to thank Pravin Shah from JAIN eLibrary, who gave me permission to use their existing catalog. In August 2020, after hundreds of hours of work and with the support of JAIN eLibrary and Young Jains of America (YJA), *Jain Quantum* was released.

Natubhai Shah: Stalwart of the UK Jain Community

Vinod Kapashi

The passing of Natwarlal (Natubhai) Keshavlal Shah (16.9.1932-6.3.2022) is not only a severe blow to the Jain Network, the organisation he founded, also but a devastating loss to the entire Jain Community of the UK, which has lost one of its pillars.

Natvarlal Keshubhai Shah was born on 16 September 1932 in Mahemudpur, a very small town in the state of Gujarat in India. He went to school in nearby Palanpur, to Poona for his college education, and then came to Mumbai for his MBBS. He became a medical doctor in 1963. His first job was in a place called Dahod, Gujarat and he practised there from 1963 to 1968. This was the period when many young graduates wanted to go to the UK or the USA for further study, or in search of a better job. The same urge of finding a better prospectus brought him to the UK, and he settled in Leicester.

The organisation called Jain Samaj Leicester had bought an old church there in view of converting it into a temple for the local Jains. Shah started taking interest in Jain Community matters and soon became the president of that organisation. He was a man who would not be satisfied with the small temple and an organisation which would only serve the local community. The organisation's name was changed to Jain Samaj Europe and by his foresight and hard work the old church was converted in to a modern Indian style temple. Moreover, he made this a place for all Jain sects.

In 1996 Shah retired and was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in 1998. He moved to London, where he was planning to establish a Jain Centre. He managed to buy a rundown commercial site in Colindale North London. The old building is now demolished and a new, multi-story Jain Centre is being built there. Shah's untiring work and enthusiasm were exemplary, and it is indeed a pity that he did not live to see his dream fulfilled.

Natwarlal (Natubhai) Keshavlal Shah (16.9.1932-6.3.2022)

Throughout his life Shah worked tirelessly to promote good values of the Jain faith. Besides many awards, in 2012 Shah was awarded MBE in recognition of his contribution to Interfaith relations and services to the Jain Community. He founded many Jain organisations and took a keen interest in interfaith matters. He was trustee of more than ten organisations. He also took an active interest in founding educational programmes, including having been instrumental in the creation of the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS.[1] Shah himself earned a PhD in Jaina Studies and authored a two-volume book: *Jainism: World of Conquerors*.[2]

As a medical doctor, Shah always gave valuable and balanced suggestions to the people who sought his advice in health matters. His sincerity and innate passion enabled him to conceive, plan and execute his special projects. Shah's straightforward and practical approach earned him many likeminded friends. His convictions were unshakable, and he firmly promoted his projects. One had to admire his enthusiasm and the keen focus he possessed – even at the ripe old age of 90! He will be sorely missed.

Vinod Kapashi is the founder trustee of the Mahavir Foundation and was instrumental in establishing a Jain temple in Kenton, Middlesex. He is also trustee of Navjivan Vadil Kendra, which works for the betterment of senior citizens. Kapashi takes keen interest in Interfaith activities and has served as a trustee in the World Congress of Faiths. He is the author of twenty-one books, including a volume on Nava-Smarana, which was the focus of his PhD research. He was awarded OBE in 2019 for his services to Jainism.

Natubhai and Bhanuben Shah at their home in London.
(Courtesy: Nita Shah)

---

1 It is thanks to his enthusiasm and patronage that the first volume of the present journal was published.
2 Natubahai Shah. *Jainism: World of Conquerors*. Sussex Academic Press, 1998.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF JAINA STUDIES

Volume 10-13 now available in print

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF JAINA STUDIES

Volume 10-13
2014-2017
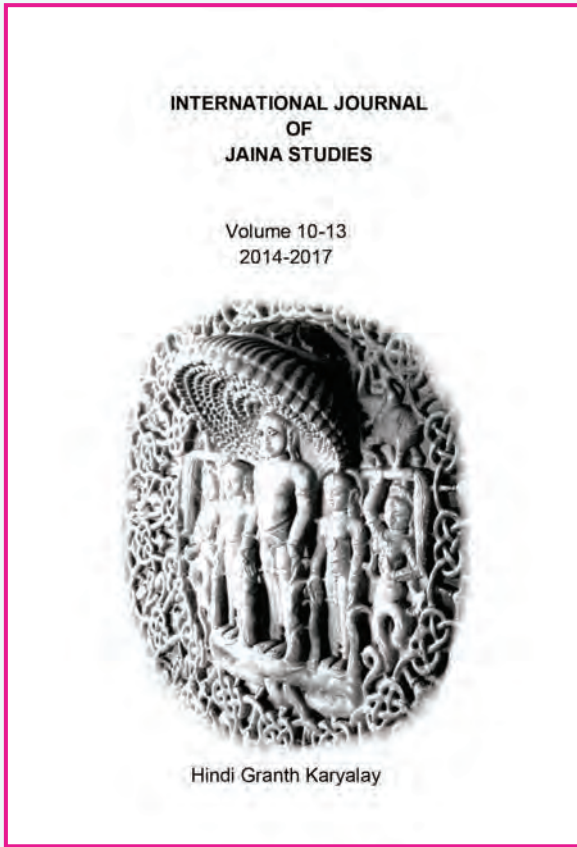
Hindi Granth Karyalay

Centre of Jaina Studies

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Editor:
Peter Flügel

Editorial Advisory Board:

Mark Allon
Lawrence A. Babb
Nalini Balbir
Piotr Balcerowicz
Bansidhar B. Bhatt
Johannes Bronkhorst
Frank van den Bossche
Christine Chojnacki
John E. Cort
Eva De Clerq
Paul Dundas
Christoph Emmrich
Anna Aurelia Esposito
Sin Fujinaga
Phyllis Granoff

Julia Hegewald
Whitney M. Kelting
Kornelius Krümpelmann
James Laidlaw
Padmanabhaiah Nagarajaiah
Olle Qvarnström
Josephine Reynell
Maria Schetelich
Renate Söhnen-Thieme
Jayandra Soni
Royce Wiles
Kristi L. Wiley
Clifford R. Wright
Robert Zydenbos

Submissions:
Manuscripts should be submitted to the editor via e-mail attachment: ijjs@soas.ac.uk
Style conventions are specified on the internet pages of the IJJS: www.soas.ac.uk/ijjs

SHUBHA MAJUMDER
Understanding the Archaeological Contexts and Iconic Details of Jaina Antiquities from Rakṣatpura and Śaṅkā, District Puruliā, West Bengal

LUITGARD SONI
Jaina Modes of Dying in Ārādhanā Texts

JOHN E. CORT
Jain Perceptions of Nāth and Haṭha Yogīs in Pre-Colonial North India

RUTH SATINSKY
What can the lifespans of Ṛṣabha, Bharata, Śreyāṃsa, and Ara tell us about the History of the Concept of Mount Meru?

DIPAK JADHAV
A Specific Rule in India for Common Difference as Found in the Gommaṭasāra of Nemicandra (c. 981)

MARIE-HÉLÈNE GORISSE
The Taste of the Mango: A Jaina-Buddhist Controversy on Evidence

WILLEM B. BOLLÉE
Review of Early Asceticism in India: Ājīvikism and Jainism

JOHANNES BRONKHORST
Jaina Versus Brahmanical Mathematicians

MONIKA HORSTMANN
Nāth and Dādūpanthī Critique of Jains

KAZUYOSHI HOTTA
On Corresponding Sanskrit Words for the Prakrit Term Posaha: With Special Reference to Śrāvakācāra Texts

CATHERINE MORICE-SINGH
The Treatment Of Series In The Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha of Mahāvīrācārya and its Connections to Jaina Cosmology

BASILE LECLÈRE
Architectural Science in Jain Poetry: The Descriptions of Kumārapāla's Temples

YUTAKA KAWASAKI
Haribhadra on Property Ownership of Buddhist Monks

Subscriptions and orders for the IJJS should be sent to the publisher:

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF JAINA STUDIES (ONLINE)

Recent Articles:

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)
Vol. 18, No. 1 (2022) 1-61
JOHN E. CORT
Who is a Yogi? Depictions of the Yogi in
Classical and Medieval Digambara Jain
Literature

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)
Vol. 17, No. 1 (2021) 1-66
OLLE QVARNSTRÖM & NIELS HAMMER
Joyful Celestials: Jain Murals Of Ellora

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)
Vol. 17, No. 2 (2021) 1-13
PAUL DUNDAS
The Jains in the Colonial World: A Review

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)
Vol. 16, No. 1 (2020) 1-9
ALEKSANDRA RESTIFO
Disentangling Poetry from Profit in Jain
Monks' Literary Works

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)
Vol. 16, No. 2 (2020) 1-25
BASILE LECLÈRE
The Gold of Gods: Stories of Temple Financing
from Jain Prabandhas

SOAS
University of London

Published by the Centre of Jaina Studies SOAS

ISSN: 1748-1074

About the IJJS

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

The *International Journal of Jaina Studies* is a publication of the Centre of Jaina Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. It is available in two different forms: online at: www.soas.ac.uk/ijjs and in print by Hindi Granth Karyalay. Articles published online should be cited: *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)*, and articles published in print: *International Journal of Jaina Studies.*

www.soas.ac.uk/ijjs/index.html

SOAS CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES DIGITAL RESOURCES

SOAS
University of London

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

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

https://digital.soas.ac.uk/COJS

SOAS
University of London

Postgraduate Courses in Jaina Studies

Yoga and Meditation in the Jaina Tradition

The course offers an introduction to yoga and meditation in the the context of the Jaina path of liberation. The historical roots of contemporary Jaina practices of asceticism and meditation will be explored with refenrence to their metaphysical and soteriological rational and institutionalisation in Jaina mendicant and lay traditions in India and the UK. The later influence of Patañjali and later Hindu philosophy and yoga practices on medieval Jaina philosophers writing on Jaina-Yoga will be demonstrated. The course concludes with a survey of the new teachings and techniques of competing modern schools of yoga and meditation.

Prakrit

Prakrit is an important language of Ancient and Medieval India, developed from a pre-classical form of Sanskrit. Its various dialects are the basis of modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is used in the oldest written historical and literary documents (inscriptions of Asoka etc.; dramas, anthologies of lyric poetry, etc.), as well as in the vast canonical and narrative literature of the Jains.

After a brief introduction to the linguistic structure of Prakrit and to its role in Indian literary and religious tradition, some basic grammar exercises will be followed by study of extracts from the Jain narrative text Manipaticarita. This includes verse in both the classical Maharashtri and old Magadhi dialects. Roman script will be used throughout the module.

The introduction into the basic linguistic features of Prakrit will lay a foundation for the understanding of Prakrit components of the classical Indian tradition (e.g. classical Sanskrit dramas) as well as Middle-Indic historical documents (inscriptions etc.).

The syllabus of the part two of the course Readings in Prakrit will include selected stanzas from Hala's *Sattasai* as well as excerpts from Classical Indian dramas, exemplifying its use of different Prakrits in prose and poetry; selected Prakrit inscriptions in Kharosthi and Brahmi scripts, exemplifying the earliest Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu historical records of India; and selected passages from important Jaina texts, such as the *Ayaranga*, *Kalpasutra*, etc. from the Svetambara canon, and/or Puspadanta's *Mahapurana* from the Digambara texts. (Xeroxed copies will be provided.)

Special emphasis may be put on one of these text categories according to the specific interest of the individual students / student groups (including MA and MPhil/PhD students from other faculties).

Familiarity with the Prakrit languages and its texts, acquired through practice, will enhance the understanding of Prakrit components of the classical Indian tradition (e.g. classical Sanskrit dramas, Indian aesthetic theory, etc.) and increase the accessibility of Middle-Indic historical documents (inscriptions, etc.).

Contacts:
Dr Renate Söhnen-Thieme (rs2@soas.ac.uk)
Professor Em. J. Clifford Wright (cw4@soas.ac.uk)

SOAS
University of London

PhD/MPhil in Jainism

SOAS offers two kinds of Research Degrees in the Study of Jainism.

PhD. This involves at least three years of full-time study, leading to a thesis of 100,000 words and an oral examination. The thesis must be an original piece of work and make a distinct contribution to knowledge of the subject.

MPhil. This entails at least two years of full-time study, leading to a thesis of 60,000 words and a viva. It should be either a record of original research work or a critical discussion of existing knowledge.

Why choose SOAS?

The Centre of Jaina Studies
The unique activities of the Centre of Jaina Studies provide an ideal research environment for Jaina Studies and a vibrant forum for debate.

The SOAS Library
SOAS has one of the best libraries for Asian and African Studies, with nearly a million volumes. Students have access to other world-class libraries in walking distance, such as the British Library, which hosts one of the largest collections of Jaina texts in the world.

Languages and Cultures
SOAS has a uniquely cosmopolitan character. Central to the School's identity is the study of Asian and African languages and the relationship between language, culture, religion and society.

Funding
The fees of SOAS are very competitive compared to other Ivy League universities. The School offers nine Research Student Fellowships each year. Awards are also available from funding bodies such as the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK.

For further details please contact:

Centre of Jaina Studies
jainstudies@soas.ac.uk
www.soas.ac.uk/jainastudies

SOAS Registry:
registrar@soas.ac.uk
020 7898 4321

COURSES IN

JAINA STUDIES

AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
SOAS

The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) offers undergraduate, postgraduate and research opportunities at the Centre of Jaina Studies (CoJS).

The aim of the CoJS is to promote the study of Jaina religion and culture by providing an interdisciplinary platform for academic research, teaching and publication in the field.

TAUGHT UNDERGRADUATE
- **Introduction to Jainism**
- **Jaina Scripture and Community**
- **Non-Violence in Jaina Scriptures, Philosophy and Law**
- **Introduction to Prakrit**
- **Readings in Prakrit**

TAUGHT POSTGRADUATE
- **Jainism History, Doctrine and the Contemporary World**
- **Jaina Scripture and Community**
- **Non-Violence in Jaina Scriptures, Philosophy and Law**
- **Introduction to Prakrit**

POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH
- **MA Jaina Studies**
- **MA Prakrit Studies**
- **Three-year PhD in Jaina Studies**

The CoJS organizes the annual SOAS Jaina Studies International Conference and regular lectures and seminar series.

The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, is one of the world's leading institutions of Higher Education with a unique focus on the study of Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Courses in Jaina Studies can form part of a BA or MA in Study of Religions, taken as part of our interdisciplinary Asia Area Studies programmes. PhD programmes are also available. Study of Religions at SOAS can also be combined with law, social sciences, languages or humanities subjects.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

For further details about studying at SOAS please contact the Student Recruitment Office:
Tel: 020 7898 4034   Email: study@soas.ac.uk   www.soas.ac.uk

SOAS
University of London

Shri Vidhyasagar Guruvey Namah

CENTRE OF
JAINA STUDIES

SOAS
University of London