Jaina Studies
NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

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Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

This year we celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS, which was officially inaugurated in 2004. We are delighted that Dr Saryu Doshi from Mumbai has accepted our invitation to deliver the Annual Jaina Lecture at this memorable occasion. The Centre was established on the strength of an AHRC research grant on *Jaina Law and the Jaina Community in India and Britain* for Professor Werner Menski and the present writer. Professor Emeritus J C Wright kindly accepted the role as Honorary President. The infrastructural vision was to establish at SOAS an institutional platform for the ever threatened small but academically significant international network of Jaina scholars. All in all, most of the medium term strategic aims have been accomplished, though the long-term vision of creating an endowed chair for all posterity and endowed PhD grants remains to be realised. Yet without institutional backing of SOAS, in particular the Centres and Programmes Office, the enthusiasm of its members, and the efforts of our *Newsletter* co-editor and designer Janet Leigh Foster, the Centre would not be able to thrive. Most important, in view of the future, Jaina scholars and members of the Jaina community around the globe are recognising the benefits of the CoJS and continue to support its activities.

The contents of the present issue of our *Newsletter* and the list of speakers, and sponsors, of this year’s 16th Annual Jaina Studies Workshop are testimony to the broad based support the Centre receives both from the community and from academics. In 2013 e-publishing with the open-access *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)*, published in a print edition by Hindi Granth Karyalay in Mumbai, seems to have taken off. To enhance its impact further, the IJJS has begun publishing abstracts, which are reprinted in this issue.

A particularly notable contribution by Dr P. N. Narasimha Murthy informs us about the hardly legible Parkaḷa tablet, a chance find, publicised in India but hardly noted, which seems to furnish supporting evidence for a proposed re-dating of the history of Jainism in coastal Karnataka.

In addition to the research reports and reports on conferences or Jaina panels in Baltimore, Kyoto, London, Matsue, Würzburg and Berkeley — in honour of Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini’s 90th birthday, a special meeting at SOAS may be mentioned, since it is of general interest. On 27 February the South Asia Film Society of SOAS students, in collaboration with Professor Rachel Dwyer, arranged a ‘Conversation with Anand Gandhi’, director of Ship of Theseus (2012), an award-winning Indian film, one of whose main characters is the Śvetāmbara mendicant ‘Maitreya’.

With gratitude to all collaborators and supporters of the Centre of Jaina Studies we look forward to a second decade of discovery, publications and ever expanding knowledge of Jainism.

Peter Flügel

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Peter Flügel
THE 14TH ANNUAL JAINA LECTURE

The Lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras in Illustrated Jaina Manuscripts

Saryu Doshi

Thursday 20 March 2014
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

JAINA HAGIOGRAPHY
AND BIOGRAPHY

16th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Friday, 21 March 2014
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Early Jaina Hagiography and Biography

9.15 Bansidhar Bhatt
Phases 1-4-Type Biographic Verses in the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti as the Main Sources for Later Biographies of Tīrthaṅkaras in Jainism

9.45 Renate Söhnen-Thieme
Ṛṣabha and Bharata in Hindu Purāṇas

10.15 Ruth Satinsky
What the Lifespans of Ṛṣabha, Bharata, Śreyāṃsa, and Ara Can Tell Us about the History of the Concept of Mount Meru

10.45 Break

Second Session: Medieval and Early Modern Jaina Hagiography and Biography

11.15 Eva De Clerq
Biographies of Ṛṣabha and the Rise of Śatruñjaya

11.45 Anna Esposito
Why Narrate the Same Biography Twice? Tiviṭṭhu, Ayala and Asagāva in Saṅghadāsa’s Vasudevahinḍī

12.15 Steven M. Vose
A Kharatara Gaccha Monk in the Tapā Gaccha Imaginaire: Tapā Gaccha Retellings of the Life of Jinaprabhasūri

12.45 Group Photo

13.00 Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite

Third Session: Narrating Lives

14.00 Shin Fujinaga
Biography of the Jaina Monk Jambūvijaya

14.30 Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg
Rāmacandrasūri (1897-1992): A Life Between Consistent Asceticism and Political Controversies

15.00 Whitney M. Kelting
Great Nun as Mother: Hagiography and the Biography of Divyaprabhāśrījī

15.30 Break

Fourth Session: Analytical Perspectives

16.00 Luitgard Soni
Lifes’ Ends: Jaina Modes of Dying in Ārādhana Texts

16.30 Tillo Detige
Singing the Praises of the Bhaṭṭārakas: Hagiographic Writings on North-Indian Digambara Pontiffs

17.00 Peter Flügel & Kornelius Krümpelmann
Johannes Klatt’s Jaina Onomasticon

17.30 Brief Break

Fifth Session: Final Discussion & Remarks

17.45-18.00

The conference is co-organised by Peter Flügel (CoJS) Rebecca Trautwein and Jane Savory (SOAS Centres and Programmes Office) with generous support from the University of Gent, the V&A Jain Art Fund, the Jivdaya Foundation, the GyanSagar Foundation and private sponsors who wish to remain anonymous.
ABSTRACTS

Phases 1-4 Type Biographic Verses in the Āvaśyaka-Niruykti as the Main Sources for Later Biographies of Tīrthaṅkaras, etc., in Jainism
Bansidhar Bhatt (Ahmedabad, University of Münster)

Biographies of Mahāvīra (Mv) and Rśabha in the Āvaśyaka-Niruykti (ĀvN) start from their own dvāra-gāthās with some 1-9 simple life-events, such as birth, (birth) celebration, childhood, growth, marriage, children, renunciation, kevala-jiḥaṇa, etc. They are classified as Phase 1-type verses (vvs.). Other than the Phase 1-type verses are concerned with events of all the 24 tīrthaṅkaras. Phase 2-type ĀvN verses describe doctrinal themes taught by the first and the last tīrthaṅkara, and other doctrinal themes taught by the 2-23 tīrthaṅkaras. Such verses show an impact of the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya verses. Phase 3-type ĀvN verses present a variety of items including some doctrinal views, each to be distributed among the 24 tīrthaṅkaras. Also, Phase 3-type verses show different stages of development. In their last stage, we notice many strange and fantastic life-events of the tīrthaṅkaras. Phase 3- and Phase 4-type verses are of a similar nature. Phase 3-type verses are traced in the ĀvN text only. Those traced outside the ĀvN are, for the sake of brevity, called Phase 4-type biographic verses. Almost all biographies of individual tīrthaṅkaras, etc., that are found in the āgamic literature or composed by Jaina monk-authors borrow their life-events from Phases 3-4 and their pattern (events, their order, etc.) from Phase 1. Students of biographic literature should also study Phases 1-4 in order to show impacts of the latter on the former, and to sort out new elements or development in later biographies.

Biographies of Rśabha and the Rise of Śatruñjaya
Eva De Clerq (University of Ghent, Belgium)

The importance of the biography of the tīrthaṅkara is evident from its presence in the oldest and most authoritative texts, and in its central position in significant rituals. Herein far greater attention is given to the biographies of the first and the last tīrthaṅkara in the āgamas, the Jain purāṇas and other genres of Jain narrative literature, than to other tīrthaṅkara biographies. Medieval guidebooks for Jain pilgrimage, such as the Vividhatīrthakalpa (14th c.) of Jinaprabhasūri, also contain biographical material as they describe how the sacredness of some tīrthas was the result of its associations with a tīrthaṅkara. The most famous Śvetāmbara tīrthaṅka, Śatruñjaya in Gujarat, is traditionally associated with the first tīrthaṅkara Rśabha. This paper retraces the rise of Śatruñjaya as a sacred site for Śvetāmbaras by analysing and comparing different biographies of Rśabha.

Singing the Praises of the Bhaṭṭārakas: Hagiographic Writings on North-Indian Digambara Pontiffs
Tillo Detige (University of Ghent, Belgium)

Clothed, sedentary bhaṭṭārakas stood at the helm of the Digambara monastic lineages from at least the 13th century CE, and well into modern times. These bhaṭṭārakas are well remembered for their part in the consecration of images and the collection and preservation of manuscripts. As such, they are often depicted as clerics who guarded the Digambara tradition during the Muslim period, but were lax and defective vis-à-vis the ascetic ideal of the Digambara muni. When turning to the primary sources, however, what immediately speaks forth from these is their contemporaries’ devotion towards them.

This paper presents some unstudied hagiographic material related to the bhaṭṭārakas. The vernacular, eulogistic bhaṭṭāraka gītas sing the praises of individual bhaṭṭārakas with stock epithets we might usually expect to be used for fully initiated ascetics. The same is true for paṭṭāvalīs and gurvāvalīs, which construct the historical continuity of the monastic tradition in linking the bhaṭṭārakas with earlier ācāryas in extended lineages. Numerous surviving bhaṭṭāraka chaṭris (commemorative pavilions) and carana pādūkās (footprint carvings) furthermore bear witness to the worship of deceased bhaṭṭārakas. The latter is confirmed by textual sources, i.e. Sanskrit pūjā texts for the eight-fold worship of bhaṭṭāraka pādūkās.

While contemporary descriptions mostly offer limited appreciations of the bhaṭṭārakas, we thus find that in their own times they were invested with the full charisma of the Digambara ascetic. At least some individual bhaṭṭārakas seem to have been ascetically inclined and active. More broadly, the devotion to the bhaṭṭārakas might have preserved and perpetuated the ascetic ideal and the laity’s devotion towards it during a period when only very few munis were roaming.

The Lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras in Illustrated Jaina Manuscripts
Saryu Doshi (Mumbai)

The lecture will discuss the differences in approach of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects in illustrating the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Why Narrate the Same Biography Twice? Tiviṭṭhu, Ayala and Āsaggīva in Saṅghadāsa’s Vasudevahīṇḍī
Anna Esposito (University of Würzburg, Germany)

The biographies of Tiviṭṭhu, Ayala and Āsaggīva—the first vāsudeva, baladeva and pratīvāsudeva in our descending world period—are told twice in Saṅghadāsa’s Vasudevahīṇḍī (ca. 5th cent. CE). While the first version (Vh. 275.9-278.30) focusses on Āsaggīva and his enmity with his former minister Harimansu, the second version (Vh. 310.5-323.24) lays its emphasis on Tiviṭṭhu and Ayala, especially on their further spiritual development. Through the story of Tiviṭṭhu’s son-in-law Amiyatea, this narrative is embedded in the comprehensive account of the former births of Santi, Bharaha’s 16th tīrthaṅkara and at the same time 5th cakra-vartin. After comparing the two versions as well as their narrative embedding I will try to show that—in the context of the Vasudevahīṇḍī—there is good reason to refer twice to this same story.
Johannes Klatt’s Jaina Onomasticon
Peter Flügel & Kornelius Krümpelmann (SOAS)

For at least ten years, until he fell severely ill, the German Indologist Johannes Klatt (1852–1903) worked on the Jaina Onomasticon, his magnum opus. He never recovered to complete his task and left behind 5,338 pages, handwritten in English. To this day the manuscript, kept in the library of the Asia-Africa-Institute in Hamburg, is unpublished. It is good news for every scholar interested in the post-canonical history of Jaina literary, social and religious traditions that a print edition of Klatt’s encyclopaedic work is currently in preparation at SOAS, Centre of Jaina Studies (in 2012 the project of preparing the publication of the Onomasticon was awarded a three-year research grant by the Leverhulme Trust). It is hoped that an expandable electronic version of the text can be made available in the near future as well. In his manuscript, Klatt gives in alphabetical order a list of all proper names of Jaina authors, texts, gacchas, place names, etc. he could gather from primary sources (colophons of manuscripts) and secondary sources (catalogues, monographs, articles), adding to each entry relevant biographical and bibliographical data. The paper will discuss the position of Klatt’s work in the field of Jaina Studies in the 19th century, give a general overview of the sources he used, and describe his method of organizing and presenting the vast material he collected.

Biography of the Jaina Monk Jambūvijaya
Shin Fujinaga (Miyakonojō Kōsen, Japan)

The Jaina monk Jambūvijaya (1923–2009) was a world famous scholar in the field of Jaina Studies as well as in Indian logic, while enjoying enormous popularity among the Jains, especially among those in Gujarat. Few scholars know how popular Jambūvijaya was with lay people as well as Jain monks. Few scholars know how popular Jambūvijaya was with lay people and lay Jains may understand his ability as a scholar only vaguely. In this paper I would like to show both sides of him by describing some important events in his life.

Great Nun as Mother: Hagiography and the Biography of Divyaprabhāsrī
g Whitney Kelting (Northeastern University, Boston)

In the telling of Jain nun’s life stories, the models of biography ready-to-hand—those of monks—are mimicked and reconfigured to adapt to the particulars of the gendered experience of Jain women. Laywomen’s biographies struggle with finding a space within the Jain discourse where biographies glorify the Jinas and other religious exemplars, honour important Jain monks or highlight great layman donors and modify the layman’s biographies with satī discourse. The biography at the centre of this talk was written to commemorate Divyaprabhāsrī’s fiftieth year as a Jain nun. In this biography, the hagiographic narrative conforms closely to the ideal renouncer’s life and therefore the hagiographies of exemplary Jain monks serve as particularly productive models for comparison. Because of the relative conformity to the monks’ biographical template for Divyaprabhāsrī’s life, we can track the ways in which her virtue is constituted ingendered ways stressing her motherly care of her nun followers and lay women.

Rāmacandraśūri (1897-1992): A Life Between Consistent Asceticism and Political Controversies
Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg (University of Tübingen, Germany)

As the founder of one of the largest Tapā Gaccha samudāyas Rāmacandraśūri belongs among the most influential Jaina ācāryas of the 20th century. In 2012 the 100th anniversary of his initiation as a Jain śādhu was commemorated in splendid festivals in Gujarat and Mumbai. The paper presents findings of a recent ethno-historical research, including interviews with Rāmacandraśūri’s contemporaries and published and unpublished grey literature sources of the Tapā Gaccha. Accordingly, Rāmacandraśūri’s earlier years were determined by strict asceticism. In contrast to that the later parts of his biographies are linked to almost all crucial controversial issues, which were and are still publicly raised within the Jaina community and vis-à-vis external parties during the last 80 years. The controversies partly refer to widely acclaimed ritual issues which are mainly significant within the Jain community, such as the astrological determination of festivals within the ritual calendar (pancāṅga), the ritual veneration of senior ascetics (gurupājā) and the suspension of pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya during the rainy season (cāturmāsa). However, the issues which were discussed by Rāmacandraśūri and his contemporaries also intermingle with rather rarely mentioned political and interreligious conflicts such as his critique of Mohandās Gandhi’s interpretation and utilization of non-violence (ahimsā) for the svarāj movement, the abolition of the goat sacrifice in Ahmedabad’s Bhadrakāli temple during Navrātrī and protests against the legal ban of initiating children into Jain orders (bāl dīkṣā). In all issues Rāmacandraśūri was supported by influential lay organizations such as the Āṇandājī Kalyāṇajī Pedhī. The public discussion of these issues contributed considerably to shaping the Śvetāmbara community after independence and has been continued until today by his successors in the office of the gacchādhipati, Mahodāyasūri, Hembuṣansūri and Puṇyapalsūri. At the same time the grey literature and oral biographies of Rāmacandraśūri are important sources for comprehensively discussing Tapā Gaccha history during the 20th to 21st century, including the political strategies of Jaina Ācāryas in general.

What the Lifespans of Rṣabha, Bhārata, Śreyāṃsa, and Ara Can Tell us about the History of the Concept of Mount Meru
Ruth Satinsky (University of Lausanne, Switzerland)

The number 84 and its multiples are an important concept in Jaina cosmology. Rṣabha and his son Bhārata are held to have had lifespans of 8,400,000 pūrvas respectively; Śreyāṃsa 8,400,000 years; and Ara, 84,000 years. In addition, four out of the five Mount Merus to which
the fordmakers (tīrthaṅkara) are linked rise 84,000 yojanas above the earth (the fifth and central Meru rises 99,000 yojanas high, and has a base beneath the earth of an additional 1,000 yojanas). In a different context, the number 84,000 is for Jainas the sum total of conceivable birth-situations (yoni), in which souls may find themselves, over and over, as they circle through samsāra. I will propose why I think Rṣabha, his son Bharata, and the two other fordmakers’ lifespans are linked to the number 84 and its multiples, and will argue that the concept of the number 84 and its multiples, which is also found in Ajivikism and Buddhism, is a concept which originated in the milieu of Greater Magadha, thus providing evidence that the Brahmanical Mount Meru, rising 84,000 yojanas above the earth, was necessarily a later concept when it was introduced for the first time into Brahmanical literature in the Mahābhārata.

Rṣabha and Bharata in Hindu Purāṇas
Renate Söhnen-Thieme (SOAS)

Much has been written on how characters and features from the two great Sanskrit epics and the Harivamsa were transformed in corresponding works of the Jaina literature and were incorporated in the Universal History of the Jainas. Considerably less attention has been given to possible borrowings in the opposite direction, except for two articles by Padmanabh S. Jaini, discussing the adaptation of the Jina Rṣabha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the Bhagavatapurāṇa. My paper traces earlier references to Jina Rṣabha and his son Bharata in Hindu Purāṇas (especially the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which was an important source for the Bhagavatapurāṇa) and investigates what might have been their Jaina source.

Lifes’ Ends: Jaina Modes of Dying in Ārādhana Texts
Luitgard Soni (Innsbruck)

Many stories in the Ārādhana-kathā-kośas pay special attention to the various ways of dying and the crucial hour of death. These stories underline thereby the impact of the last phase of life for the further existences of the soul.

The doctrinal profile of the Jaina view of dying and death is embedded in the Ārādhana texts, as e.g. in the Bhagavattī-Ārādhana. The texts reveal the social setting, the monastic disciplines, the ritual structures, the knowledge of the human mind as well as of bodily processes, empathy and persuasive skills. The important function of telling the relevant stories at the right time and place is underpinned.

The stories of the Brhatkathākosa, the oldest extant collection of Ārādhana-kathās, exemplify the implementation of the Jaina doctrines and display various active and passive modes of dying, its endurance and performance. The paper will consider some of the striking aspects of this theme.

A Kharatara Gaccha Monk in the Tapā Gaccha Imaginaire: Tapā Gaccha Retellings of the Life of Jinaprabhasūri
Steven M. Vose (Florida International University)

Two narratives of the encounter between Sultan Muḥammad bīn Tughluq (r. 1325-1351) and Jinaprabhasūri (ca. 1261-1333 CE), acārya of the Laghu Śākhā of the Kharatara Gaccha, appear in the monk’s magnum opus, the Vividhatīrthakalpa (‘Chapters on Various Pilgrimage Places’). In these narratives, the sultan grants to Jinaprabhasūri several edicts (farmān) protecting Jains and Jain pilgrimage places, returns an image of Mahāvīra taken in an earlier military operation, and establishes a quarter in Delhi for Jains complete with a new temple and upāśraya. Jinaprabha claims his success with the sovereign rested on his skills as a poet and debater.

Over the next two centuries, Jinaprabhasūri’s story was to be retold several times, first by mendicants of his own lineage, and later by Tapā Gaccha monks. In several Tapā Gaccha narrative collections, his story begins to acquire new elements, detailing his special connection with the goddess Padmāvatī and, especially in the Tapā Gaccha narratives, his ability to effect minor miracles. Far from merely invented narrative elements, these details seem to coincide with a portrait of the monk that emerges when his entire oeuvre is taken into account. As one of the most prolific authors in Kharatara Gaccha history, Jinaprabhasūri composed roughly 100 hymns and 40 other works, including commentaries, works on grammar, poetics, and mendicant conduct, as well as several works on esoteric rituals, mantras, and astrology. Among his hymns one finds several dedicated to goddesses, including Padmāvatī. Jinaprabhasūri’s production became the stuff of legend in the Tapā Gaccha, as a tradition emerged that he gifted 700 of his own hymns to his younger counterpart, Somatilikasūri (1298-1367), claimed to be a goodwill offering between the two mendicant orders. These narratives also included miraculous happenings both in the sultan’s court and elsewhere, but also featured Jinaprabha’s confession to his Tapā counterpart that his involvement with the sultan had compromised his ability to keep the strict vows of a Jain monk.

This paper examines the fifteenth-sixteenth-century Tapā Gaccha narratives about the Kharatara Gaccha monk Jinaprabhasūri (1261-1333 CE) to argue that the order’s interest in him was a locus for discussing several aspects of mendicancy and leadership that the Tapā order faced throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In these narratives, we can follow the Tapā order’s emergence as the leading gaccha, having supplanted the Kharatara order in Gujarat as the most influential and numerous mendicant order after the demise of the Delhi Sultanate state and the establishment of an independent sultanate in Gujarat. Jinaprabhasūri’s narrative would provide the narrative structure for understanding Hīravijayasūri’s success with the Mughal emperor Akbar. It is only after the Tapā success in the Mughal court that Jinaprabhasūri’s story fades into obscurity, dealt its final blow when the Tapā polemistic Dharmasāgara exoriated the Kharatara monk and Tapā Gaccha monks who spoke favourably of him.
JAINA HAGIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY

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The SOAS Centre for Jaina Studies hosted the 15th Jaina Studies Workshop on 22 March 2013. The theme was Jaina logic. On the evening prior to the workshop, Piotr Balcerowicz (University of Warsaw) delivered the 13th Annual Jaina Lecture: Jaina Logic and Epistemology: Is This How It All Began?

Balcerowicz discussed the beginnings of Jainism and the origin of anekāntavāda. With this aim, he examined the relation between Jainism and the movement of the Ājīvikas, concluding that Jainism borrowed important concepts from this rival sect. Balcerowicz substantiated his claim by arguing that Mahāvīra was the disciple of the older Gosāla, from whom Mahāvīra adopted practices that are now associated with Jaina mendicancy. Other points of overlap between the Jainas and the Ājīvikas can be found in their systems of leśyās and abhijātīs (i.e. the classification of souls and people), the structure of both canons, and their mutual belief in 24 Tīrthaṅkara. Apart from these Ājīvika influences that played a role in the early development of Jainism, Ājīvikism seems to be the source of important philosophical concepts that came to play a vital role in later Jaina philosophy. Whereas the early Jaina texts only mention opposite terms (P and ¬P), the Ājīvikas acknowledge a third possibility (P, ¬P, P & ¬P). This threefold pattern can be recognised as the basis of syādvāda. Further, Balcerowicz showed that several concepts that are difficult to explain within the general Jaina framework, such as mokṣa, fit nicely in the deterministic perspective of the Ājīvikas. Although Balcerowicz acknowledged that some of his arguments require further research, he concluded that they cumulatively support the central thesis that Jainism is in many aspects indebted to the Ājīvikas.

The next day, Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne) opened the workshop with a closely related topic, namely the connection between anekāntavāda and Ājīvikism. He started his lecture with a discussion of the Jaina solution to the paradox of causality. According to the Jainas, this paradox can be solved by looking at it from the perspectives of shape, material, time etc. In this way, a pot can exist from the perspective of material without existing from the perspective of form. However, the Māṭharavṛtti mentions that the ‘jīvakāḥ’ (an epithet for the Ājīvikas) solve this problem by stating that an effect is both ‘existing and nonexistent’. This is remarkable for two reasons. First, it shows that the Jainas and Ājīvikas shared the anekāntavāda doctrine. Second, since the paradox of causality enters the philosophical arena centuries after Mahāvīra, it follows that Jainism and Ājīvikism remained in contact with each other for at least half a millennium since their beginning. Although Bronkhorst did not make the bold claim that anekāntavāda was ultimately derived from the Ājīvikas, he concluded that there was a mutual influence between the Jainas and the Ājīvikas.

Masahiro Ueda (Kyoto University) examined the concept of nikṣepa in the works of Akalaṅka. As a subset of anyyogadvāra, nikṣepa is one of the methods to investigate the words in sacred scriptures. Although previous work has been done on the clarification of nikṣepa in the age of Āgamas, the role and meaning of nikṣepa in the age of logic have not been studied so far. In this period, nikṣepa was regarded as a way of perception, similar to the concepts pramāṇa and naya. As a key player in the completion of Jaina logic, Akalaṅka paid special attention to nikṣepa. Ueda showed that Akalaṅka in his Tattvārthavārttika follows the definition and fourfold division that can be found in Pūjyapāda’s Sarvārthasiddhi. Ueda’s lecture concluded with a survey of Akalaṅka’s Laghīṭrayasūtra and Siddhinviniścaya, whereby he showed that both the description of nikṣepa and the relation of this concept with pramāṇa and naya underwent substantial change, which can be partly seen as an original contribution of Akalaṅka himself.

Peter Flügel (SOAS) questioned the relation between Jaina logic and the concept of time. He proposed a phenomenological approach to time to reconstruct the evolution of Jaina perspectivist logic. Earlier research on the Jaina notion of time gives the impression that this concept was not well developed; there is a multiplicity
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of views, which are not well integrated into the broader framework. However, Flügel argued that time is actually a crucial notion for Jaina philosophy and soteriology since causation, omniscience, and anekāntavāda cannot be fully explained without a concept of time. Moreover, without a systematisation of the notion of time, classical Jainism could not have been established as a recognised philosophical school. Flügel showed that the Jaina realist solution to the question of change, whereby time is considered as a substance without mass, only leads to circularity. Hence, he argued that a phenomenological approach, in which time is considered as an object of time-consciousness, would improve the consistency of Jaina logic.

Dharmchand Jain (Jai Narain Vyas University) gave a broad overview of Jaina epistemology. He sketched the development of Jaina epistemological doctrines, after which he elaborated on specific Jaina contributions to Indian epistemology. One of these contributions is the Jaina definition of pramāṇa, whereby pramāṇa is considered as illuminating both itself and its object. Further, from Umāsvāti onwards, the Jainas developed a unique categorisation of pramāṇas. In this system, Jaina philosophers established recollection (smṛti), recognition (pratyabhijñāna) and inductive reasoning (tarka) as independent pramāṇas. Another contribution that Jain highlighted is the detailed elaboration of the concept of the probans (hetu). He concluded that, given the mentioned contributions of Jaina thought to Indian epistemology, the Jaina literature is of crucial importance for our understanding of Indian epistemology in general.

Olle Qvarnström (Lund University) presented a debate between Jaina and Sāṃkhya philosophers on the relation between the self (puruṣa/ātman) and knowledge. Qvarnström discussed Haribhadrasūri’s Śāstravārtāsamuccaya and Yogabindu. Although the Jaina philosophers accepted the existence of the self, as did the Śāṃkhyas, they did not accept that the self is a non-active principle. In view of this controversy, Haribhadra discusses the Sāṃkhya idea that the self only knows an object after the intellect (buddhi) has ascertained it. This is explained by saying that the self is reflected in the intellect, whereby the intellect becomes transformed, as a result of which objects can be known. Haribhadra refutes this idea by pointing out that a non-material self cannot be reflected in a material intellect. After a clarification of the content of this discussion, Qvarnström defended that Haribhadra’s texts shed light on an aspect of Śāṃkhyas epistemology that hitherto has been unknown.

Marie-Hélène Gorisse (Ghent University) focussed on the five types of universal concomitance (vyāpti) that can be found in Māṇikyanandi’s Parīkṣāmukha. By contrasting this account with the Buddhist theory of inference in the tradition of Dharmakīrti, Gorisse illustrated the particularities of late Jaina theory of inference. A crucial difference between these two traditions is that the Buddhist philosophers hold that all cases of concomitance that allow for valid inferences can be reduced to identity of nature or causality. In contrast, Māṇikyanandi shows that these two relations are not sufficient to give a correct account of all justified inferences. For example, the inference of a certain quality on the basis of its co-existence with a perceived quality, such as the taste and visual aspects of a mango, is neither based on identity nor on causality. Further, Māṇikyanandi defends that succession should be seen as a separate type of concomitance. Gorisse concluded that reducing the number of Māṇikyanandi’s types of invariable concomitance would obstruct valid ways to gain knowledge from inference.

Anne Clavel (University of Lyon) addressed the structure of the Jaina theory of viewpoints (nayavāda), based on Prabhācandra’s Nyāyakumudacandra and Abhayacandra’s Syādvādabhūṣaṇa. She showed an interesting pattern that underlies the distinction between ‘object-bound viewpoints’ (arthanaya) and ‘word-bound viewpoints’ (śabdanaya). Whereas arthanayas are statements that are concerned with ontological matters, śabdanayas focus on linguistic matters. Clavel demonstrated that three parallels can be drawn between the śabdanayas and arthanayas. These parallels show that the śabdanayas are not purely linguistic viewpoints but address ontological aspects as well. Although the śabdanayas are mainly applied to determine to which

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extent a word is appropriate for expressing a particular thing, they presuppose ontological distinctions. Therefore, Clavel concluded that the śabdanayas embody a critical approach towards both language and ontology.

Laurent Keiff (Lille University) addressed the same topic as Clavel, albeit from a different perspective. He claimed that there is a parallel between nayavāda and the current empirical approach in modern linguistics. To support this claim, he first addressed how semantics and pragmatics are related. Whereas semantic information is encoded in what is uttered, pragmatic information is made relevant by an actor. However, semantics and pragmatics cannot be completely separated, since semantic information always needs a context. Keiff argued that at this point nayavāda shows similarities with modern thought. Next, he focussed on existential presuppositions and the way in which they are treated in dynamic semantics, in which the meaning of a sentence is regarded as its function in a context. He then showed how the nayas, as described in Prabhācandra’s Prameyakamalamārtanda, can be seen as guidelines to retrieve the meaning of a sentence in a specific context.

Fujinaga Shin (Miyakonojō) examined the origin and logical value of the Jaina system of sevenfold predication (saptabhangī). Fujinaga first discussed early Digambara and Śvetāmbara sources in order to reconstruct the development of the standard form of saptabhangī. He argued that Samantabhadra’s Āptamīnāmsā and Kundakunda’s Pañcāstikāyasāra can be seen as the first proponents of saptabhangī in the Digambara tradition. In the tradition of the Śvetāmbaras, Haribhadra is the first to mention saptabhangī in its complete form. Nevertheless, the first elements of saptabhangī can already be found in the canonical tradition, such as in the Bhagavatīsūtra. The second part of Fujinaga’s lecture was dedicated to an evaluation of the logical value of saptabhangī. Fujinaga showed that there is no logical reason to adhere to seven predications. He argued that Jaina philosophers developed the standard theory of saptabhangī by imitating the seven varieties of nayas.

Fabien Schang (Université de Lorraine) proposed a rational reconstruction of saptabhangī from the perspective of modern logic. Focussing on formal semantics, Schang proposed a one-valued approach to saptabhangī, whereby values are seen as ordered answers to initial questions about a sentence. In his approach, each element of saptabhangī is regarded as a statement about the semantic predicate of a given sentence. From this perspective, he reformulates ‘syād asty eva’ and ‘syān nāsti eva’ respectively as “the sentence α = ‘x is F’ is true from some standpoint” and “the sentence ~α = ‘x is not F’ is true from some standpoint.” After discussing the third semantic predicate (avaktyayam), Schang argued that anekāntavāda embodies a logic of ‘light inconsistency’ in which a sentence can be asserted and denied from different standpoints. He concluded his lecture with a comparison between saptabhangī and catuṣkoṭi, stressing the soteriological purpose of both systems.

Jayandra Soni (Innsbruck) commented on K. K. Dixit’s Jaina Ontology. Soni began with a discussion of the general assumptions that underlay Dixit’s discussion of the age of logic. Dixit divides the logical developments of Jaina philosophy from the 4th to the 17th centuries in three periods and links these periods with specific philosophical questions. However, this practical scheme led Dixit to important omissions and controversial opinions. Soni elaborated on a ‘mistake’ of Prabhācandra that is mentioned by Dixit. Dixit claims that Prabhācandra in his Nyāyakumudacandra misread the text of Akalaṅka and replaced ‘smṛti’ in a certain passage with ‘matiḥ’. However, by pointing to Akalaṅka’s
particular classification of *pramāṇas*, Soni defended that the error that Dixit sees in Prabhācandra’s work has to be reassessed in the light of Akalanka’s own words.

Himal Trikha (University of Vienna) examined the relation between Jaina perspectivism and rational critique with reference to Vidyānandin’s *Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā*. Although Jaina philosophy is often associated with intellectual tolerance, this notion plays no role in Vidyānandin’s work. In contrast, he attacks opposing views with the same rigor as Buddhist or Nyāya debaters. However, although saptabangī-statements are not explicitly mentioned, Trikha claimed that nayavāda and syādvāda are still relevant notions in Vidyānandin’s method. With the aid of visual diagrams, Trikha showed how epistemic pluralism can be combined with the falsification of dissonant epistemic alternatives. He argued that this is the method that can be found in Vidyānandin’s work. To illustrate how this works, Trikha summarised Vidyānandin’s examination of the relation of *jīva* and cognition. Of the four possible views regarding their (partial) difference and identity, Vidyānandin falsifies two views, after which the remaining epistemic events are established as part of a wider vision of the investigated object.

With a return to the first theme of the conference, Andrew More (Yale University) concluded the conference with a lecture on the legitimation of Jaina lay life, thereby readdressing the rivalry between Jaina and non-Jaina mendicants. He focussed on several early Śvetāmbara passages from the *Uvavāya* and the *Sīyagada*. Although the oldest Jaina texts present the life of the mendicant as a necessary condition for the attainment of liberation and do not mention a lay community, there must always have been a relation between mendicants and supporting householders. In *Sīyagada* 2.2 the lay community is positively described as a mixed category between *dhamma* and *adhamma*, whereby the lay mode of life is respectable insofar as it corresponds to the ideal. However, the non-Jaina mendicants are severely condemned in the same text. This seems to be inconsistent. More argued that the compiler of the *Uvavāya* reworked the mentioned passage from the *Sīyagada* in an attempt to solve this inconsistency.

In conclusion, the presented papers illustrated that Jaina logic is a multifaceted topic, which can be studied from many viewpoints. The conference showed the value of contemporary study of Jaina philosophy and demonstrated the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach in which philosophers and scholars from other disciplines play their part.

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*Glenn Reiss*
The Seventh International Würzburg Colloquium “Perspectives of Indian Studies”—Exploring Jain Narrative Literature, organized by Anna Aurelia Esposito and financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG), was held from 30 August to 1 September 2013 in Würzburg, Germany. Scholars from Austria, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, India and Canada participated in the conference, which took place at the picturesque Würzburg Residence. The intention of the colloquium was to concentrate on the various dimensions—theological, philosophical, didactic, etc.—as well as on the communicative strategies characterizing Jain narrative literature.

The conference was opened by Viveka Rai (Karnataka State Open University, Mysore / University of Würzburg), who focused on the concepts of ‘violence’ and ‘nonviolence’ in Yaśōdharacarite, a narrative poem written by the Kannada poet Janna (*1163 AD). After comparing the Yaśōdharacarite with previous works on the same theme—Haribhadra’s Sanarāicchakahā, Harīṣeṇa’s Bṛhatkathākośa, Somadeva’s Yaśastilakacampu, Puṣpadanta’s Jasaharacariu and Vadirāja’s Yaśodharacaritra—he elaborated on the different concepts and modes of violence in the Yaśōdharacarite: physical and barbaric brutality, mental torture, and the mere intention or thought of violence. The latter resulted in six reboirths and deaths of King Yaśōdhara and his mother Candramati as animals, before gaining again a human birth, embracing Jainism and becoming finally ascetics.

Peter Flügel (SOAS) examined Jain monastic biographies as sources for historical research. Starting with biographical texts from the late canonical period, he explained key changes in the paradigm of biographies. Furthermore, Flügel listed various sources for biographical information—besides literary works and personal narratives also songs, teacher- and succession lists, inscriptions or information beneath photos and paintings—and mentioned different strategies for manipulating genealogy. He convincingly showed that monastic biographies from the medieval period onward—even if mostly stereotyped—contain valuable historical and sociological information. With some difficulty, it is possible to reconstruct the social history of the Śhānakavāsī tradition on the basis of the biographical sources mentioned above.

Jonathan Geen (King’s University College, London Ontario, Canada) investigated the development of the Pāṇḍava story in the various Śvetāmbara versions. While the earlier versions were mainly buried within accounts of the more detailed and significant exploits of the vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, they became, beginning in the 13th century, more extensive. Geen explored some of the potential reasons for the rise in prominence of the Pāṇḍavas in Śvetāmbara tradition and pointed to two very different and distinct currents that ran through the medieval Śvetāmbara tradition of western India, beginning in the 13th century: The first of these currents was an increasing interest among Jaina poets in composing ornate courtly poems or dramas on subjects not at all, or only marginally, related to Jainism, that resulted in the liberation of the Pāṇḍavas’ biography from the suppressive constraint of the Universal History. The second current began in 1313 CE with the destruction of the temples on Mt. Śatruñjaya by the invading armies of Allauddin Khalji, the Tughlak Sultan of Delhi, and their restoration only a couple of years later. Here the very practical need for accessible, heroic stories related to Mt. Śatruñjaya as a place of pilgrimage and temple building favoured again the popularity of the Pāṇḍavas. Śubhaśīla’s Pāṇḍavacaritra, a part
of his larger Śatruṇjayakalpavṛtti (15th century CE), appears to reflect the intersection of both currents.

Eva De Clercq (Ghent University, Belgium) focused on a specific ‘difficult’ episode of the normative Rāma telling: the case of Śambūka, the śūdra who unlawfully practices asceticism, and is therefore executed by Rāma. As De Clercq explained, it would have been impossible for the Jaina authors to include this episode as it stands in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in their retelling. There would have been no severe objection against a Śūdra performing tapas, and it would have been very difficult to legitimate the hero Rāma killing a mendicant for no clear reason. But instead of simply omitting this incident some Jaina authors, starting with Vimalasūri, chose place it in the very centre of the story: By transforming the śūdra Śambūka into a young prince, the son of Rāvaṇa’s sister Śūrpanakhā, who performs heroic austerities before being killed accidentally by Lakṣmana, these Jaina authors raised Śambūkas death to be the catalyst for later events: It is to avenge the death of his nephew Śambūka that Rāvaṇa goes to the Daṇḍaka forest in the first place. De Clercq concluded convincingly that this transformation of the character, and the advancement of his story, can be seen as deliberate attempts by the Jaina authors to criticize the orthodox versions of the Rāma story and the broader Brahminical restrictions in religious activities for certain groups of people.

Tillo Detige (Ghent University) criticised the Western approach to Jainism based on its exclusive location of ‘true’ religion in its sacred scriptures; its universally presupposed dichotomy of ‘pure’/early vs later/ degenerated tradition; and its notion of religion as belief in doctrines. These preconceptions were not beneficial for the study of Jaina narrative literature, which was mostly excluded as a source for understanding the nature of Jainism. Detige, on the contrary, showed the centrality of narratives in the Jaina religious tradition. Furthermore, he convincingly argued for the importance of integrating them in our model of Jainism, that is, for taking the stories seriously and situating them in their commensurate place at the heart of Jainism.

Luítgard Soni (Philippus-Universität Marburg) expanded on Hariṣeṇa’s Bṛhatkathākośa, an important collection of tales completed in 931 CE. The Bṛhatkathākośa contains 155 stories of different origin, including some quite well known tales such as the stories of the merchant Carudatta or King Śrenika. Works like the Bṛhatkathākośa are mostly thought of as collections of artha- and dharma-kathās. While some stories cause samvega, others don’t fit into that theme. As Soni emphasized, these tales have are not only only didactic, there is an additional aspect: these stories are to be understood as ārādhanā-kathās—a fact that had been already stated by Hariṣena in his prāṣāsta. Whispered into the ear by the niryāpaka, they help the dying monk to endure the physical and mental pain and act as a kind of ‘drink’ for the dying person. In this way, Soni showed that we cannot really understand Hariṣena’s stories without taking into consideration the situation to which they are linked.

Starting from the first occurrences in the Śvetāmbara-canon, Adelheid Mette (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) compared various references to bāla-tapas/ bāla-tapasvin in Jaina canonical and philosophical literature. As Umāsvāti says in his Tattvārthādhigamasūtra VI.20, bāla-tapas is one way to gain a rebirth as a god; this is, as Mette showed, actually the case in the Viyāhapannatti for Tāmali, Pūraṇa and Vesiyāṇa and in the Āvassaya-tradition for Indana. In the light of these stories, she challenged the common translations of the compound bāla-tapas.
Jayendra Soni (Philipps-Universität Marburg) reported on Bhogilāla Jayacandbhāī Saṇḍesarā (1917-1995) and his contribution to Jaina studies. Interestingly enough, Saṇḍesarā did not come from a Jaina family. At the age of 14 he was introduced to Jaina literature by Muni Jinavijayajī and Muni Pūnayavijayajī and developed an extreme interest in the literature of Gujarāt, be it in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramša, in old and modern Gujarātī, or in Hindī. Soni gave an account of Saṇḍesarā’s immensely rich oeuvre, his academic activities, and the awards bestowed on him. Furthermore, Soni referred to his broad academic view, grounded in his expertise in a combination of history and literature, and his authoritative results, always based on reliable sources. A great desideratum is a complete annotated bibliography of Saṇḍesarā’s works; as many contributions are in Gujarātī, summaries and perhaps even translations of important parts would be indispensable—an immense task, which Soni is now working on.

The conference was concluded by Anna Aurelia Esposito (University of Würzburg), who concentrated on the transmission of religious as well as moral contents in Saṅghadāsa’s Vasudevahinīḍī, the oldest extant work of Jaina narrative literature (based on a project financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG)). Esposito characterized some strategies intended to communicate religious teachings. These included the use of the dialogue as legitimation, as proof for the absolute truth of the Vasudevahinīḍī; the accumulation of narrative layers and the narration of complex rebirth stories as an illustration of and recreation of the complex and incomprehensible nature of the world; and, finally, the negotiation of certain philosophical questions, such as the relationship between puruṣa and prakṛti or the existence of individual souls.

A generous time frame made it possible to discuss the participants’ presentations in depth in a serene atmosphere. A highlight was the presence of Professor Willem B. Bollée, who came with his wife Annegret from nearby Bamberg to attend part of the conference.

Anna Aurelia Esposito is assistant professor at the University of Würzburg, Germany. She is currently working on a project granted by the German Research Foundation about the transmission of religious and moral contents in Jain narrative literature.
Celebrating Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini’s ninetieth birthday and his pioneering contributions to the study of Jainism in the western world, a select group of academics from Europe and the United States congregated on Saturday, 26 October 2013 for a daylong symposium on Jainism hosted by the Center of South Asia Studies of the University of California at Berkeley (and supported by various other units on campus) to share their work on Jainism. This group included Professor Jaini himself, who continues to work and publish at the forefront of Jaina Studies even as a nonagenarian, more than forty years after his appointment as professor at Berkeley in 1972, which he joined after having held positions at SOAS and at the University of Michigan. In addition to his more technical contributions to the study of Jainism such as the book *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (1991) and his *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* (2000), Jaini has brought knowledge of Jainism to a broader public through his landmark volume *The Jaina Path of Purification* (first published in 1979).

Jaini’s presentation took the packed audience back to the region of Tuḷunāḍu in Karnataka, where he grew up. Focusing on the Digambara Jaina temple of the village of Nellikar and its annual chariot procession, he investigated the role of the ritual officiants and traced their origins, demonstrating that they descend from Vedic Brāhmaṇas who converted to Jainism. Staying in Karnataka, Peter Flügel (SOAS), likewise examined temple rituals and priests. For this he turned to the famous Padmāvatī shrine in the town of Humcha and the rituals Jains perform there with the assistance and under the control of the temple priests, including rites of divination. Moving north from Karnataka, John Cort (Denison University) focused upon the largely unexplored presence of Digambara communities in Gujarat, surveying their current spread and history. The engagement with the social dimension of Jainism was rounded off by UC Berkeley’s Alexander von Rospatt, the convener of the symposium, who expanded upon Jaini’s examination (1980) of why Jainism did not share the fate of Buddhism in India and vanish, probing into the social factors that allowed Mahāyāna Buddhism in Nepal uniquely to persist to the present.

The other presentations of this carefully balanced symposium were grounded in the study of literary sources. Phyllis Granoff (Yale University) dealt with the 17th-century debate on the treatment of Jaina images and how they encode the live story of the Jina without visually referencing particular episodes. Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh) examined the contribution of Jaina authors to the development of allegory in Indian literary history, focusing on the celebrated monk Hemacandra Maladhārin. Robert Goldman, who has been Jaini’s colleague at Berkeley for the past four decades,
On the Margins of Jainism: Jain Studies at the AAR

Chris Haskett

For the past several years, the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) has featured a panel on Jainism organized by the Jain Studies group. These panel sessions have been increasingly well-attended, and have sought to showcase new, innovative, and exploratory work in Jain Studies. In the midst of an enormous conference with hundreds of meetings and thousands of participants, the Jain Studies panel also serves as the one reliable place where North American scholars of Jainism can convene, and indeed, participants often reflect that a majority of the scholars working on Jainism are present each year. The 2013 annual meeting, held on 23 November in Baltimore, Maryland, included a Jain Studies panel entitled, ‘On The Margins of Jainism’, and showcased some fascinating new research.

The first paper was presented by Sarah Pierce Taylor (University of Pennsylvania, graduate student). Taylor began her paper by reporting that she, together with Steve Vose (Florida International University), had located a Jain temple in Karnataka with three fire pits for homa offerings set before a Jina image. Taylor’s paper then pointed to several places in the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena where Ādināth was equated with the sacrificial fires, and especially to a section of the fortith chapter in which Jinasena gave a seven-fold classification of fifty-three Jain āstikās, or life cycle rituals. He then went on to provide and explain several mantras that are solidly couched in Vedic terms. Taylor argues that while scholars have assumed that the text reflects a later brahmanization, a more convincing case can be made that Jinasena was in fact trying to ‘Jain-ize’ the rituals that Jains were already performing at the time. She points out that while rejection of brahmanic ideals and Vedic sacrifice have constituted defining elements of Jains and Jainism for some time, ‘[t]he much heralded Jain critique and rejection of the brahmanical ritual framework was always incomplete at best’. This then also explains why Jain authors have frequently invoked sacrificial metaphors in praising Jinas.

The second paper, by Lindsay Harlan (Connecticut College), examined the role of Jains in the aftermath of the seventeenth-century execution by Maharana Raj Singh of his son and heir-apparent, Sultan Singh. Sultan Singh, now recognised as a protector deity of Udaipur, is one of the many Sagesji, or powerful ones, remembered in the annual Sagesji Mahotsav festival. Harlan presented the results of collected oral and written narratives. In the first tale, Raj Singh learns from a pujari that to expiate his sin, he must construct a great lake, and then find a sati, or virtuous wife, to do puja in it to both the king and the deceased son. The sati he finds is a Jain woman, and she obeys her husband’s instructions to enter the lake. As the lake filled, the king ordered her to come out, but the sati only left the lake when her husband commanded. The king was so impressed with her virtue that, on the husband’s request, he built a Jain temple beside the tank, at a cost of five rupees less than that required to build the...
lake itself. The second tale features a jatīji, or tantric Jain mendicant, who brings the murdered Sultan Singh back to life as he is being carried to his funeral pyre. In both cases, the tales express the superior ability of Jains to effect the expiation of sin.

The third paper of the panel, by Michael Slouber (Western Washington University), examined ‘Love, Violence, and Healing in Jain Tantra’. Slouber began, as other panelists had, by pointing out the gulf between well-known norms of Jain doctrine and culture, namely ahimsā and renunciation of sexual desire, and the supposed foundations of tantra in sex, intoxicants, and the consumption of animal flesh. This seems at least on face peculiar, as the paper quickly turns to tantric content such as magical rituals for attracting a lover, which were taught by Jain monks. Still other passages instruct one to use a yantra while worshiping the Tīrthaṅkar Pārśvanātha in order to para-

lyze an enemy, or to use another yantra in worshiping Padmāvatī to deflect an enemy army. While other tantric rituals connected to healing and exorcism of malevolent spirits seem more in line with Jain ethical ideals, they too encourage violence. One possibility is that Malliṣenasuri, the compiler of at least one of the three works Slouber uses here, hoped that by knowing these mantras and rituals, Jain munis would be better prepared to circumvent others’ evil intentions. Slouber concludes by arguing, with Alexis Sanderson, that the Śaiva tantras have served as the source for much of this material, but also that Jain munis were often expected to have the same ritual powers and abilities that other holy men possessed in ancient and medieval India.

Kamini Gogri (University of Mumbai) and Anne Val-
lley (University of Ottawa) expressed the spirit of much of the research here presented when they explained, in the final paper, that the aspects of Jainism that their research addressed are ‘marginal’, ‘not so much [because] they posit propositional claims about the nature of reality or the self with which orthodox Jainism quarrels. Instead, and more crucially, they are marginal because they evince a willingness to engage with the world on terms that Orthodox Jainism rejects. It is their openness to worldly powers that makes them problematic from the perspective of the shramanic ideal of the solitary detached self’. Gogri and Valleys’s joint paper, read by Gogri, presented three ‘ethnographic vignettes’ surrounding the work of a Mumbai Jain woman, ‘Bimla Auntie’, who acts as a goddess medium. The medium’s mastery has become famous, and she is visited not only by Jains but also by Muslims, Hindus, and Christians.

In the first anecdote, a man is suddenly struck with depression and lethargy. When Bimla Auntie discovers that his recently deceased maternal grandparents are attempting to use him to communicate with the rest of the family, he is immediately cured—but his wife then succumbs to their influence. The medium eventually channels the family’s kuldevī, or family goddess, who prompts the family to return to their natal village and to conduct full funerals for the grandparents.

In the second vignette, Bimla Auntie approaches, unsolicited, a young woman who has recently had a tragic miscarriage. Auntie tells the young woman that an uncle, who had died suddenly, had been miserably wandering, and had thus decided to take human rebirth. His soul entered the young woman’s womb at the fifth month of her pregnancy, and he then died a purposeful death, thus freeing himself from his torment.

The third account concerns Bimla herself, and her shrine room, which contains massive altars to her kuldevī and very little sign of Jainism. She insists that the devī and the Jina operate in distinct jurisdictions. Gogri and Valley pointed out that while the shraman-
ic path urges separation from family and home, virtually every instance of healing that the devī works through Bimla Auntie relies on re-establishing and strengthening family ties. While orthodox moksa marg Jainism empha-
izes karma as the cause of sufferings, the ministrations of Bimla Auntie suggest that the kuldevī can be both the cause of suffering and the means of its relief. Where the moksa marg proposes the intentional ‘detached death’, the fact remains that most deaths are emotional and disrupt-tive affairs. In short, ‘[w]hereas Jainism presents an ideal worth striving for, the goddess concerns herself with how things really are’.

All four of these papers point to margins between Jain and non-Jain, where Jains participate in supposedly non-Jain activities, borrowing texts, rituals, and practices from their non-Jain others, but also appearing in the most important of Hindu and other activities and literature. All four papers suggest that our understandings of who Jains are and what Jains do have occluded our vision of what Jains actually are and how they behave, and that much of what we have most strongly believed to be ‘non-Jain’ has in fact played a central part in the history of Jainism. In keeping with this spirit, the panel’s respondent was Richard Davis (Bard College), a scholar who normally attends to topics in Hinduism. These papers also indicate that many topics which were once ‘on the margins’ of Jain Studies, have now become acceptable and indeed central concerns for many scholars in the field.

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tre College in Danville, Kentucky. His research interests include the philology and history of Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu canonical literature.
Report on Conferences in Japan, 2013

Kazuyoshi Hotta

In 2013, three academic conferences and seminars on Jainism were held in Japan. Below, I would like to provide a brief report on these meetings.

The 64th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Matsue

The 64th Annual Conference of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS) was held at Shimane Civic Center, Matsue, on 31 August and 1 September 2013. This large-scale annual conference comprises about ten sessions each year. For the first time in the history of this conference, an entire session was dedicated to papers on Jainism studies. (Unfortunately, a further paper on Jainism had been included in a different session by mistake.) Altogether nine papers on Jainism were read as part of this conference.

In ‘On Carelessness in a Jaina Definition of Violence (himsa)’, Tomoyuki Uno (Chikushi Jogakuen University) focused on the usage of the word ‘carelessness’ (pramāda) in the definition of violence found in the Tattvārthādhigamasūtra. Uno identified the sources of this definition and pointed out that Jainism regards mental violence as a more serious offense than physical violence.

Juan Wu (The University of Tokyo) read a paper entitled ‘Some Notes on Brahmacarya in Jainism’. According to Kobayashi, in the Sūtras and paraphrases. Siddhiviniścayaṭīkā quite common in Jaina treatises, but that Anantavīrya’s summary and paraphrases. The Śvetāmbara sect, standing in the tradition of Vinaya literature, treats celibacy separately from this approach. This is because the transgression of celibacy automatically presupposes that a person has desires and aversions.

In ‘Devī Worship in Jainism: The Padmāvatī Devī Pājā of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjakas’, Akiko Shimizu (The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute) reported on her fieldwork at Rūpnagar temple in Delhi. Shimizu provided a detailed discussion of the relation between the worshippers at Rūpnagar temple and Padmāvatī devī as well as the contents of the Padmāvatī devī pājā. Shimizu pointed out that devī pājā plays an important role in connecting the laity with Tīrthankara.

The present author, Kazuyoshi Hotta (The University of Tokyo), spoke on the ‘Examination of Newly-Arrived Monks in Jain Vinaya Texts’. Based on Malayagiri’s commentary of the Vyavahārabhāṣya, he analyzed the methods found in Chapter 1 of the Vyavahārabhāṣya that were employed to integrate newly-arrived monks into the new monastic community and test their purity.

In ‘The Readings of the Cūrṇi on the Āgamas: Āyāranga-sutta and Suttanipāta’, Kenji Watanabe (Taisho University) discussed the two variant readings ‘diṭṭha-pahe’ (the one who saw the path) and ‘diṭṭha-bhac’ (the one who saw fear) in the Āyāranga-sutta 1.2.6.2. By comparing them with the content of Suttanipāta 809 and Dhammapada 32, he concluded as follows. In Buddhism, these two expressions are transmitted separately, while in Jainism, one of them appears in the main text of the Āyāranga-sutta, while the other expression was given as a variant reading of the former in the Cūrṇi commentary.

In ‘Bhāva-pāhuḍa’, Kiyoaki (Seio) Okuda (Chief Abbot of Shitemōji Temple) analyzed the contents of Kundakunda’s Bhāva-pāhuḍa based on his Japanese

strains are associated with carelessness. However, the Śvetāmbara sect, standing in the tradition of Vinaya literature, treats celibacy separately from this approach. This is because the transgression of celibacy automatically presupposes that a person has desires and aversions.

Juan Wu (The University of Tokyo)
translation. He emphasized in particular the importance of the Twelve Reflections (*anupreṣā*) in this text. Since Okuda had already translated seven works belonging to the *Aṣṭapāhuḍa*, the present text completed his translation of the entire treatise.

**Nalini Balbir’s Special Seminar on Jaina Canonical Texts, Kyoto**

Between 30 September and 4 October, Nalini Balbir (University of Paris 3) held a special seminar on Jaina canonical texts at Otani University, Kyoto. This seminar was made possible by Shin Fujinaga, who invited Nalini Balbir, and the collaboration of Yutaka Kawasaki.

In the morning of the first day, Nalini Balbir lectured on Jaina narrative literature. This was followed by a guided reading of Chapter 6 of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*. Chapter 3 was read on the second day, and Chapter 7 and some paragraphs of the *Viyāhapannatti* on the third day. On the last day, we read a part of the *Kalpasūtra* and Chapter 22 of the *Uttarajjhāyā*.

At each session there were five to six participants, and the seminar lasted from 10 a.m. until 5 p.m. This was the first time that such a thorough seminar on Jaina canonical texts was held in Japan. As such, it was a precious opportunity for young Japanese researchers. We would like to express our deepest gratitude to Nalini Balbir.

**28th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies, Kyoto**

On 5 October the 28th Conference of the Society for Jaina Studies was held at Otani University, Kyoto. At this conference, the following three papers were read.

In ‘Jains in the Pāli Canon’, Masatoshi Hata (Osaka University) analyzed several descriptions of Jains in the Pāli Canon. He demonstrated that most of these descriptions are connected to the conversion of Jain laypersons to Buddhism. He further showed that Jains converted to Buddhism due to disputes held with the Buddha and his disciples, but also pointed out that despite this fact, much of the content of these disputes —for example, the problem of *karman*, omniscience, etc.— related to monks rather than to laypersons.

In ‘Is it Possible to Establish the Co-Inherence? Bhāvasena’s Critique of *Samavāya*’, the present author analyzed the arguments concerning *samavāya* theory seen in Bhāvasena’s *Viśvatattvaprakāśa*. He suggested the possibility that Bhāvasena’s view on *samavāya* was not only greatly influenced by the preceding Jain philosophers, but also by Kumārila.

Juan Wu (The University of Tokyo) read a paper entitled ‘Future Rebirths of Śreṇika Bimbisāra and Kūṇika Ajātaśatru in Buddhist and Jaina Literature: A Preliminary Survey’. Buddhists and Jains have similar views concerning the story of Śreṇika and Kūṇika, but differ considerably when it comes to the issue of determining their future existence. Wu discussed the differences in Buddhist and Jain versions of these stories about their future rebirths and what can be learned from these differences.

Compared with Buddhism, there are only a few scholars in Japan working on Jainism. However, the papers summarized above show the great thematic variety that exists in current Japanese Jaina Studies, from dealing with the Śvetāmbara canon, Digambara literature, philosophical texts, and narrative texts to fieldwork. We hope to have many more such conferences in the future.

Kazuyoshi Hotta received his PhD from The University of Tokyo in 2012 for his dissertation *Ethics and Posaha of Jain Laity: Mainly Based on Śrāvakācāra Texts*. He is currently project researcher at the Center of Death and Life Studies and Practical Ethics (DALSPE) at The University of Tokyo, Japan. His current research focus is the code of conduct for lay Jains.
Pioneer of Jaina Studies at SOAS: Robert Hamilton Blair Williams (1915-1975)

Peter Flügel

Hardly anything is known about the life of one of the pioneers of Jaina Studies in the 20th century: Dr Robert Hamilton Blair Williams, born 21.8.1915 in Buckland, East Tilbury, Essex, deceased at an unknown location in 1975. His second book Jaina Yoga: A Survey of the Medieval Śrāvakācāras became highly influential, particularly after the advent of field studies of the religious culture of Jaina laity in the 1980s, and is now widely used in research and teaching. In two brief obituary notes published by The Times in 1975, which are now virtually inaccessible, even the dates and places of his birth and death are not recorded. Regrettably, no details of his biography are traceable as yet which could elucidate the personal motives which informed his own or his academic teachers’ interest in the Jaina tradition, the study of which preoccupied him throughout his brief career at SOAS. Some of the few biographical traces that are preserved in the archives of SOAS1 and the British Library2 are presented in the following through his own and the voices of his contemporaries.

Robert H.B. Williams’s life story is remarkable in many respects. Not least, because he was the only ever ‘Teacher of Indo-Aryan and Jaina Studies’ at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies—a position still unique anywhere in the world, except for India, which he held for only a few weeks in the year 1962.3 Although he was a lecturer at SOAS for only eight years in total (1949-1953, 1958-1962), he had a long relationship to the School. From 1935 to 1938 he was a graduate student of Sanskrit and Pali under the historical linguist Sir Ralph Lilley Turner (1888-1983), Director of SOAS 1937-1957. Williams’ studies also included three years of Hindustani under University Reader Dr T. Grahame Bailey, financed through the Ouseley Scholarship for Hindustani. He completed his studies with a BA First Class Honours in Indo-Aryan.

Although Turner continued to tutor him in Prakrit,4 in 1939 Williams’s studies at SOAS were interrupted by what was to become a career of eleven years as Assistant Keeper at the Indian Office Library (1939-1946, 1954-1957). This included six years ‘on loan’ for service in Army Intelligence during WWII, for which he volunteered (1940-1945).5 He then spent a further twelve months ‘on loan’ to the Ministry of Works and Buildings (1945-1946), where he apparently stayed on for a few more years.6 After WWII, in 1949, Turner enticed Williams, who found himself no longer fit for academic life, back to SOAS to accept the position of ‘Lecturer, Section B, in Indo-Aryan’ in the Department of India, Pakistan and Ceylon under Professor John Brough (1917-1984).7 Williams held this position from 1949-1953, and during this period completed his PhD thesis: A Critical Edition of the Jaina Prakrit Text Muṇivaicariyaṃ, which was published in revised and expanded form in 1959 under

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1 SOAS/PO/01/Box 73.
3 Only after some 5 years' probation could one become ‘Recognized ‘Teacher of the University’ at the time.
4 ‘When he was appointed Assistant Keeper in the Library of the India Office he continued his work on Prakrit under my direction. The outbreak of the war prevented the completion of this work’ (Turner 11.5.1951).
5 Williams worked first for the Postal Censorship Department, Uncommon Languages Section, and then as head of the East European Section of the Monitoring Service at GHQ Middle East in Cairo.
6 There is no record of his continued employment in The India Office and Burma List after 1946.
7 ‘Though for some time after the war Mr. Williams felt he was no longer fitted for academic life, it was a view which I did not share, and in 1949 I persuaded him to accept a lecturership at the School. (…) Mr. Williams is modest about his very considerable attainments. I have found him always a man of solid and dependable character whom I grew both to like and admire. (…) I understand that though his period of service in the India Office Library as Assistant Keeper was short he was, after the war, offered the post of Librarian of the India Office in succession to Dr. Randle, but that he refused at the time for the reason I have indicated above’ (Turner 11.5.1951).
the title Two Prakrit Verses of the Maṇipati-Carita (the common form Munipaticarita was shown to be wrong). At the time, Turner clearly regarded Williams as his principal disciple, as testified by his response to Williams’s resignation letter of 22 June 1953, near the end of his first period as lecturer at SOAS, which had already been extended by the Department from 1953-1956:

Fate has been unkind to me in taking away the one English pupil of mine who I had so hoped would follow up my own work.

Williams had set his mind on an administrative post at the UN in New York, which he took up from 1953 to 1954. In a letter to Turner, he maintained that this had been for financial reasons only. In 1954 he returned to the UK to re-join the India Office Library as Assistant Keeper, since this would enable him to take care of his mother after the sudden demise of his father in July 1953:

The work here at the U.N. is trivial and monotonous and the conditions of life in New York far from pleasant. Even were they different I could never adapt myself to this country where only financial considerations retain me. As soon as they allow I want to return to England (Williams 12.2.1954).


Although he was able to complete the late C.A. Menon’s *Catalogue of the Malayalam Manuscripts in the India Office Library* in 1954, editorial work which he had started in 1951, with permission of SOAS, Williams was evidently not satisfied with the work at the Indian Office Library. In 1955/56 he applied unsuccessfully for the Headship of the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya, and in 1957 for the post of Keeper at the British Museum. He wrote to his mentor Turner, again, in desperation:

I must recognise that I am a very poor teacher. As any post which I might occupy would be primarily one of research that is perhaps not of critical importance. The other is a question of attitude. You once said to me—and the phrase impressed me profoundly—that for the academic life one should have a sense of vocation. That I have not got. In the last few years I devoted myself entirely to Indian studies, deliberately killing every other interest, but those studies represent only a substitute for what I would have sought, something to cover the bankruptcy of my life. With self-discipline I think I can do good work but the inner satisfaction is lacking. You know how much I desire to leave the Indian Office Library and in particular how dearly I would like to return to the School if only to retrieve my own reputation but I felt I had to say this (Williams 14.7.1957).

Finally, on recommendation of Turner, Brough offered him a second three-year lectureship at his department, now as ‘Lecturer, Section A, in Prakrit’. During this probation period (1958-1960) Williams published his PhD thesis, and started his now famed work on Jaina lay ethics and ritual on the basis of more than fifty predominantly Sanskrit printed texts available in the India Office Library. After his re-appointment as full time ‘Lecturer in Prakrit’, commencing on 1 January 1961, he completed this work in June.9 It was published in 1963 under the somewhat deceptive title *Jaina Yoga*, because structure and content of the text was inspired by Hemacandra’s celebrated 11th-century work *Yogasāstra*. Although Brough, like most European Indologists, did not think very highly of the literary value of Jaina texts, in general,10 he foresaw the significance of Williams’s *Jaina Yoga* in his recommendation for publication in the SOAS Oriental Series: ‘I have seen the typescript of this work and in my opinion it is a book which will be of great importance for future studies of Jainism’.

Due to chronic migraine, only one year after completing his book and securing a full time lectureship at SOAS, fifty days after his formal recognition as ‘Teacher of the University of London’ on 21 June 1962, Williams resigned his position on 10 August 1962, aged 47, and spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in early retirement. The only known photographic representation of Williams is found on the official 1953 staff photograph of SOAS.

Robert Williams was plagued by a history of ill health, in particular by problems with his eyesight. However, during periods of good health, after his retirement, he regained optimism, and started to work on a new project on Jaina iconography and temple ritual.11 This innovative re-direction of research anticipated developments which became dominant in the field only two decades later. Sadly, Williams’s literary remains have not survived, and nothing of his research in Jaina iconography and ritual was ever published. However, three short articles, related to previous work on Jaina śrāvakācārya literature, appeared after 1963.

In 1967, Williams briefly considered applying for academic positions in America. In his unsolicited letter of recommendation (10.1.1967), Brough found the following words of praise:

He is a very shy person and not at his best in lecturing to a large audience, but a good teacher where he has a very high regard for his scholarship: he is well versed in Sanskrit and Middle Indian and reads fluently several of the modern Indian languages, including Tamil. His main research interest in recent

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8 Turner (11.5.1951) recommended Williams to Malaya University. On 23.3.1962, before his resignation, SOAS also approved Williams’s application for Research Leave Overseas in India for the Session 1962-63. But it is not clear whether he ever travelled to India.

9 During this period, according to Brough (21.2.1962), in addition to teaching undergraduate students in Sanskrit and Prakrit, Williams ‘has also frequently assisted in the supervision of research students, and has read in particular Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions with them.’

10 ‘Although the literary value of the work [Maṇipaticarita] is slight, that is a characteristic which it shares with most Jaina literature, and as a part of the material which has come down to us on the more popular side of the religion, it will be extremely useful to have this work available in published form’ (Brough 1958/9).

11 ‘As for the last month or so my eyesight has allowed me to read Sanskrit without painful headaches, and in fact now seems to be at last completely normal, I have been working again on a major study of Jaina temple ritual and iconography’ (Williams 21.3.1964).
years has concentrated on Jainism, and I think it is hardly an exaggeration to say that he is by now the leading authority on Jainism in Western Europe.

In 1975 a brief obituary note by SOAS Emeritus Professor J.C. Wright, a former student and colleague of his, highlighting Williams’s academic achievements, was published anonymously in *The Times*:

Robert Williams, an Indologist and linguist of outstanding ability and exceptional range, died suddenly abroad last week at the age of 60. It was, however, in 1962 that his professional academic career as Assistant Keeper in the Library of the Indian Office (1938-9, 1954-57) and Lecturer in Indo-Aryan and Jaina Studies (1949-53, 1957-62) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, was tragically cut short by a severe affliction of the nature of migraine. He leaves a wife, Inès, and a step-daughter Ghislaine.12

He is remembered by his teachers as a scholar from Palmer’s School, Grays, Essex, who in the space of four remarkable years not only took First Class Honours in Sanskrit with Pali, held the Ouseley Scholarship in Hindustani and studied Prakrit at the School of Oriental Studies, but also edited an excellently produced *Catalogue of Malayalam Manuscripts* while studying Tamil to meet the exigencies of his post in the India Office Library. Despite a once privately confessed conviction that he was utterly without vocation as a teacher, he is remembered by his students as a first-rate academic tutor who simply expected, and received as a matter of course, dedication.

His achievement is a pioneering contribution to the study of the secular and religious literature of the Jains, the only such contribution ever made by a British scholar and one which tended to establish him as a leading authority on the subject in Western Europe.

His doctoral study and translation of *Manipaticarita* (1951; Forlong Fund Series, 1959), based on a unique evaluation of Prakrit and Gujarati versions of these popular tales, are of great interest for the comparative study of folklore. In *Jaina Yoga*, published in the School’s London Oriental Series (1963), he examined some fifty classical and mediaeval works on the rules of conduct for Jain laymen and the life of the community. Here he brought to the controversies prevalent in India, in the words of an Indian critic, ‘deep insight, seldom noticed in the views of the contending Jaina scholars, into the canonical background of the corpus of the lay doctrine’. Since his recovery, Williams’s research had been devoted to *puja*, i.e., to the structure, ritual, and iconology of the temples of the Jains.

Robert Williams was a research scholar. His short periods of work on the Malayam and Tamil collections were of inestimable value to the India Office Library; but he had little sympathy for library routine and policy. His utter dependability and sense of duty made him, after the war had disrupted his career, for some time a valued civil servant at home and with the United Nations; but he found the life ‘trivial and monotonous’. Though he was entirely devoid of worldly ambition, his abilities were of the very highest order.

One might deplore the excessive dedication to research and the excessive diffidence and sense of duty which fragmented his career: one should probably instead realize that his lonely and supremely confident mastery of the last remaining really arcane oriental literature was a task more than human. He was unusually shy and reticent, but he won respect for British scholarship among Jaina scholars. Those who were fortunate enough to be able to engage him in conversation were aware of the great range of his intellectual interests, the interests which dominated his life.

Wright’s was followed up by an additional obituary note by Nicolas de Watteville, published by *The Times* on 24 November 1975, which throws further light on Williams’ personality and praises his eccentricity:

As a close personal friend of Dr Williams, I would like to add a few remarks to your admirable obituary notice. This notice rightly stresses the profundity of his academic knowledge and hints at the many facets of his personality. He was a man of vast erudition in the history, the art, and the architecture of many civilizations. He was a fine conversationalist and a man of wit and generosity, totally devoid of interest in personal comfort and appearance.

There is one aspect of his character not referred to in your notice. Mr Stanley Sutton, formerly Director of the India Office Library and Records, writes:—‘Williams had remarkable linguistic gifts, for in addition to a profound knowledge of Indian linguistics, ancient and modern, he had an extraordinary mastery of the languages of Europe. Once asked how many he could read, for a moment he was at a loss to reply. Then, with genuine modesty he explained that he could not read Basque, Finnish, or Hungarian, but could manage most of the others.’

It was this knowledge of European languages that determined Robert Williams’s career in the last war. Having volunteered for Army Intelligence work he was granted an immediate commission and spent most of the war-time years as head of the East European Section of the Monitoring Service at GHQ Middle East. During these years in Cairo he acquired a profound knowledge of Arabic, both Classic and colloquial. He scarcely led the life conventional to a British Army Officer, choosing to

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live much of the time in a seedy suburb rather than a smart one and travelling to work on a local tram rather than on a GHQ bus.

His eccentricity and appearance were something of a legend in war-time Cairo. His absent-mindedness regarding the correct accoutrements of military attire led to him being sent for by the GOC. ‘Major Williams’, the enraged General said, ‘you are entirely unfitted to hold the King’s Commission.’ ‘Yes Sir’, Williams replied, ‘I am well aware of that fact.’ Fortunately, the General was so disarmed by his personality that he was given permanent permission to wear civilian clothes.

In later years his extremely bizarre appearance was in marked contrast to his extremely elegant wife. He was a true eccentric and a most remarkable man.

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Worshipping Bhaṭṭārakas

Tillo Detige

For most of the second millennium CE, Bhaṭṭārakas, or clothed, sedentary renunciants, were at the helm of the Digambara monastic lineages, surrounded by celibate brahmacārīs and lay pāṇḍitas or pāṇḍes. Far less regular in this period are references to naked, peripatetic monks (muni) and nuns (āryikā). Bhaṭṭārakas were instrumental in the preservation and copying of manuscripts, and some were prolific litterateurs themselves. They held an important position in the lay community that supported them, leading pilgrimages, administering vows, and negotiating on their behalf with secular authorities. One of their most important activities was the consecration of Jina images in their capacity of pratīṣṭhācārya. In countless Digambara temples, the bhaṭṭārakas’ legacy is still activated daily by the worship of Jina icons consecrated by them in past centuries.1

Although an important, albeit more dormant, art-historical and archeological legacy remains to evince this, it is much less well known that deceased bhaṭṭārakas themselves were also worshipped, and pavilion-shaped funerary monuments (chatrī) were erected in their honour throughout Western India. (Figure 1, 2) Most of the sites feature a number of chatrīs and are situated near former bhaṭṭāraka seats, such as Āmer, Jaipur, and Ajmer. Installed under the chatrīs are carana pādukās, bas-relief carvings of the bhaṭṭārakas’ feet (Figure 3, 4, 5), or, alternatively, niṣīdhikās (also nisedhikā, etc.), small pillars with carvings of Jinās as well as naked ascetics, probably bhaṭṭārakas (Figure 6).2 Inscriptions on the pādukās and niṣīdhikās typically mention the name of the bhaṭṭāraka represented and his lineage, the date of consecration of the pādukā, and by whom it was performed, usually the immediate successor on the bhaṭṭāraka seat or sometimes the second successor in line.

The inscriptions on the pādukās and niṣīdhikās constitute an important historical archive for the study of the chronology and spread of the bhaṭṭāraka lineages yet to be studied.3 At least as interesting is the question of their ritual function. Today most chatrīs, even those that are renovated, are visited only occasionally. At only few of the sites, offerings of water and uncooked rice are made at the pādukās, or sandalwood paste is applied.4 However, the pādukās’ former ritual function is evident from sculptural indications like drainage channels, which suggest that they were designed for the ritual oblation of liquids. A ritual (pūjā) focused on the pādukās of deceased bhaṭṭārakas is also confirmed by some textual sources, which I discuss further below.

Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs seem to have been built usually at the site of cremation. Some of the sites are still used for the cremation of ascetics, as recent pādukās of Digambara munis found at Candragiri and Rṣabhdev-Kesariyājī show. Furthermore, although there are no external indications to prove this, it is possible that relics were buried beneath the bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs.5 The worship of bhaṭṭāraka pādukās might also have been related to a belief that the protection and assistance of deceased bhaṭṭārakas who have been reborn in heaven can be called upon through ritual.6 As such, the chatrīs and pādukās are not merely places of commemoration but also sites of empowerment.7

1 Johrāpurkar 1958 remains the most important study of the North Indian bhaṭṭārakas so far. K.C. Kāslīvāl has studied the literary output of the bhaṭṭārakas of Rajasthan and Gujārāt and their brahmacārī pupils in a number of monographs (i.e. his 1967). See also Deo 1956: 545-58, Jain, M.U.K. 1975: 83-132, Cort 2002a, Flügel 2006: 344-7.
2 The inscriptions on most niṣīdhikās do not indicate whether they indeed depict bhaṭṭārakas. However, kirti-stambhas, a type of pillar found in Amṛt, Dungarpur and Sāgvāḍā featuring carvings of the successive points of the monastic lineage, carry similar representations of naked bhaṭṭārakas with inscriptions of their names and dates.3 Johrāpurkar 1958 included none of the inscriptions of the sites discussed below. The prevalence of the construction of bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs has not yet been noticed, let alone has any sustained study of these sites been conducted.
4 The Vidyānāndi Ksetra in Surat, is a notable and so far rare exception. Here, an annual festival (melā) is still held on the death anniversary of Bhaṭṭāraka Vidyānāndi, the second occupant of the Mālasamgha Śūrataśākhā (VS 1499-1537).
5 Relic worship is a controversial issue amongst both the Digambaras and the Svetāmbaras. See Flügel 2008, 2010, 2011. While it is sometimes deprecated as not ordained by scriptures or as impure, I have heard attestation of the inclusion of vessels with relics under chatrīs of several contemporary Digambara dcīryas and munis (a.o. Ācārya Bharatāsāgāra at Adinādī, 2011; Ācārya Yogāndrasāgāra at Sāgvāḍā, under construction), as well as of the currency of this practice.
6 For parallels of Svetāmbara monks who are believed to have been re-born as gods and as such can offer assistance and protection as ‘miracle workers’ (camatkārī), see Laidlaw 1995: 51, and 71ff; Babb 1996: 108-9; Flügel 2008: 20.
7 Flügel 2011: 6 makes the distinction between sites of commemoration and sites of empowerment.
A preliminary survey in Rajasthan yielded about two dozen bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs, ranging from the 16th to 20th centuries, and related to all the bhaṭṭāraka lineages known to have been substantially active here. These are the Nandītagaccha of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha and three branches (sākha) of the Mūlasaṃgha Balātkāragaṇa: the Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā (founded at the end of the 14th century by Bhaṭṭāraka Śubhacandra, a pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Padmanandi), the Īḍaraśākhā (founded by Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti, another pupil of Padmanandi, in Īḍar, Gujarāt), and the Nāgauraśākhā (a sub-branch of the Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā founded by Ratnakīrti in the first half of the 16th century centered on Nagaur and Ajmer). 8

The Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā is known to have shifted its seat consecutively from Delhi to Chit-tor, Sanganer, Āmer, Jaipur 9 and finally Mahāvīrjī. So far two sites with chatrīs of its bhaṭṭāraka has been found in Āmer and Jaipur. The Kīrtistambha Nasiyāṃ in Āmer has the chatrīs of Devendrakīrti (date in the inscription obliterated), Narendrakīrti (died VS 1722), Surendrakīrti (died VS 1733) and Jagatkīrti (pādukās consecrated VS 1771) (Plate 1). At the Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyāṃ in Jaipur, a platform raised on pillars supports the chatrīs of three further bhaṭṭārakas of this lineage: Mahendrakīrti (pādukās cons. VS 1853), Keśendrakīrti (cons. VS 1853) and Surendrakīrti (cons. VS 1881) (Figure 2). A comparison of these two sites shows the stylistic evolution of the pādukās. Those at Āmer are installed in a small shrine under the chatrī and are sculpturally rather simple (Figure 3). The later pādukās of Jaipur, installed on a low, lotus-shaped plinth, are more finely carved and stylistically more elaborate, also featuring representations of ascetics’ paraphernalia like kamaṇḍalu (water pitcher), picchī (whisk) and mālā (rosary) (Figure 4). A lotus flower motif under the feet is likely an allusion to the notion of the guru’s lotus-feet (pāda-padma, caraṇa-kamala).

The largest chatrī site to be found in Rajasthan so far, the Āṃṭeṭ Nasiyāṃ in Ajmer (Figure 5), is related to the Mūlasaṃgha Nāgauraśākhā. It has nine chatrīs and eighteen cabūtarās, or simple octagonal platforms. Amongst these are also the pādukās of a number of panditas, installed on cabūtarās or under small chatrīs. Some of the pādukās on the site have been lost, but twenty-two remain. This site has the oldest datable bhaṭṭāraka pādukā surveyed so far, as well as some of the newest. The pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrti has an inscription dating the establishment of the chatrī to VS 1572. Two larger square carvings mounted on waist-high plinths, both consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Harṣakīrti in VS 1992, feature the pādukās of Bhaṭṭāraka Lalitakīrti and Ratnabhūṣaṇa, combined with the pādukās of respectively two and eight panditas.

Chatrīs of two consecutive bhaṭṭārakas of the Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā are found on the outskirts of Udaipur. The Śantināth Digambara Jaina Mandir in Ashok Nagar has a pādukā and a niśīdhikā of Bhaṭṭāraka

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8 I follow the names of the lineages and dates as given by Johrāpurkar 1958.
9 Hoernle 1892: 83.
Kṣemakīrti (cons. VS 1759), while the Candraprabhu Digambara Jain Caityālaya at nearby Āyaḍ has a pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti (cons. VS 1769). Another chatrī of the Īḍaraśākhā is that of Bhaṭṭāraka Candrakīrti at the Candragiri hillock in the pilgrimage place Ṛṣabhdev-Kesariyājī. This chatrī has a rare, complex niṣīdhikā (cons. VS 1869, date difficult to read in the inscription) with caraṇa pādukās integrated into the structure at waist-height on all four sides (Figure 6). At the latter site also lies the pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nandītaṭagaccha (VS 2035), apparently the last bhaṭṭāraka of Northern India. In Surpur, near Dungarpur, finally lies a dilapidated and overgrown site with four chatrīs and several other pādukās installed on platforms and in simple shrines. This seems to have been a cremation ground shared by several communities. Apart from pādukās of bhaṭṭāraka of the Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā and the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nandītaṭagaccha, it also has several Śvetāṃbara pādukās.

As mentioned above, some textual sources evince a ritual focused on the bhaṭṭāraka pādukās. A guṭaka (bound manuscript) of the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra contains three short, Sanskrit ritual texts in praise of some of the Āmer bhaṭṭārakas mentioned above. Two of these are compositions for the eightfold worship (aṣṭaprakārī-pūjā) of bhaṭṭāraka pādukās. One of these two pūjās is written by Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti in worship of his guru Surendrakīrti, while the other worships Jagatkīrti himself.

Explicitly referring to the pādukās (guruṇaṃ caraṇa, padapadma, etc.), these texts prescribe the offering of the usual eight substances of bīspanthī aṣṭaprakārī-pūjā: jalaṃ (water), gandhaṃ or caṃdanaṃ (sandalwood), akṣataṃ (unbroken rice), puṣpaṃ (flowers), caruḥ or naivedyaṃ (sweets or sugar), dīpaṃ (lamps), dhūpaṃ (incense), and phalaṃ (fruits). The first composition has the invocation formula (āhvānana) typically used at the start of Digambara pūjā liturgy. Using several seed syllables, this invocation calls the object of veneration to the vicinity of the worshipper, for the purpose of worship: om hrīṃ paramacātrapātraguruṇaṃ caraṇa | atrāvatarāvatara saṃvauṣaṭ āhvānanaṃ (om hrīm, [may] the feet of the supreme guru, invoked, incarnate here, incarnate, samvausat). While the third composition merely praises Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti, without mentioning...
the eight substances, it also refers to the ‘establishing’ (sthāpanaṃ) of the pādukās.\(^{13}\)

Today, the medieval Northern Indian bhaṭṭārakas are predominantly perceived as a kind of cleric, credited with the preservation of the Digambara tradition during the ‘inauspicious’ period of Muslim rule, but devoid of any ascetic charisma. The installation and worship of bhaṭṭāraka pādukās, however, is an indication of their contemporaries’ devotion towards them. It shows the importance of the ‘devotion of asceticism’\(^{14}\) in Digambara Jainism and the continuity of the worship of the ascetic ideal even when the ‘ideal’ (i.e. naked and peripatetic) ascetic was hard to come across. At this time, it would seem, the practices and feelings of devotion and worship of asceticism were projected on the bhaṭṭārakas, even when the latter only took the minor vows. This alters and enriches our understanding of the late medieval Northern Indian bhaṭṭāraka institution. In the framework of the research project ‘North Indian Digambara Jainism (13th-17th century): The Age of the Bhaṭṭārakas’, my ongoing PhD research at Ghent University, I aim to continue surveying bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs, pādukās and niṣīdhikās, and researching the broader phenomenon of the bhaṭṭāraka tradition throughout the wider region.

All photos are by the author.

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\(^{13}\) I have recently found several more similar bhaṭṭāraka pādukā pūjā compositions in guṭakas preserved in temple manuscript collections in Ankleśvar and Īḍar, both in Gujarat. *Aṣṭaprakārī-pūjās* of modern Digambara acāryas have now become popular and can be found in many editions of collected pājā texts. While the verses are now more often written in Hindi, the same Sanskrit ritual formulas are still used.

\(^{14}\) Cort 2002b. In conjunction with this, and as important, is no doubt devotion to the teacher (guru-bhakti).


Health and Disease in Jaina Canonical Scriptures: A Modern Medical Perspective

Divyen K. Shah

In the earliest Śvetāmbara canonical scripture, the Ācārāṅga, is found a list of 16 diseases, interpreted as associated with a rise in karmic particles. Disease and human suffering is a product of and also results in karmic particles that stick to the soul and form a barrier that has to be shed before a perfect body and kevalajñāna is obtained. The question of how to deal with disease was not only of soteriological importance to the Jainas but would also have been of practical importance to the Jaina mendicant in everyday life. Of interest for the modern medical professional are views on disease and treatment as found in the scriptures, the understanding of health and disease at the time, and how they compare to our understanding of health and disease today. This essay focuses on aspects of ancient Jaina concepts of health and disease from the point of view of modern medicine not yet discussed in the modern commentary literature.

Health and Disease in Canonical Scriptures

The list of sixteen diseases first appears in the Ācārāṅga I.1.6.1.3.2-3, the first of the 12 Angas and representing content dating back to perhaps 300 BCE:

Boils and leprosy, consumption, falling sickness, blindness and stiffness, lameness and humpbackedness. Dropsy and dumbness, look! apoplexy (?) and eye-disease, trembling and crippledness, elephantiasis and diabetes. … [B]esides them many illnesses and wound occur.

Why has this group of sixteen diseases been singled out in the scriptures? Many of these conditions are progressive and have a propensity to become chronic. In the absence of effective treatment they cause prolonged suffering, e.g. tuberculosis, leprosy and diabetes. Other conditions may result in visible disfigurement or disability such as goiter, boils, paralysis (possibly due to cerebral palsy if present in early childhood or stroke in later life), ‘dropsy’ (oedema from heart, kidney or liver failure) and elephantiasis. Individuals would also have been affected by more acute (short duration) illnesses, not mentioned in this list, from which they would have either recovered completely or would have died.

3 There remains some debate among scholars as to the exact translation of some of the sixteen conditions. See Bollée 2003: 163.

Epilepsy, or the tendency to suffer from fits or seizures included here, demonstrates a sophisticated approach as it is regarded as a disease rather than simply as a strange or even supernatural phenomenon. Bollée (2003:166) gives a description of epilepsy from the Tikā (213a 2f.):

[T]he corresponding distinction between reality and the opposite disappears and a living being experiences a condition of confusion, faintness and the like, for it is said: ‘Intense confusion and possession, excessive repugnance and loss of memory should be known as the four-fold characteristics of the horrible disease called epilepsy.

This is a relatively accurate description of our present understanding of the symptoms of a grand mal epileptic seizure or fit; ‘possession’ may refer to the seizure itself consisting of eyes rolling back, tonic back arching, clonic jerking and loss of consciousness. We know that the post-ictal state is accompanied by memory loss and confusion.
The Causes of Disease

In her eloquent cultural study of the Niśṭhā Cārṇī, a 7th-century commentary on the fourth of the Cheda Sātras, Madhu Sen (1975: 182) describes how the Vejjasatdana, an ancient treatise on medicine attributed to the sage Dhanvantari, who is regarded as the patron of Ayurveda, would have been studied by physicians in training and was also followed by the author of the Niśṭhā Cārṇī. The basis of this system was the three fundamental body elements or humors which were required to be in balance during good health: vāta caused by disturbance of vāta (air or wind), pitta caused by disturbance of pitta (bile) and śīmbha caused by disturbance of śīmbha or kaptha (phlegm). Disturbance of this balance was thought to result in disease, and treatments and remedies were based on restoring balance of any or all the humors.

As to the cause of ill health, the Sīnānānga II.9.13, the third Aṅga of the Śvetāmbara canon, outlines nine śthānas or reasons. These are:

1. Atyāsana—sitting for prolonged periods or overeating
2. Ahítasana—sitting in ‘harmful’ posture or eating ‘harmful’ foods
3. Atinidra—too much sleep
4. Atijāgarana—too little sleep, or literally staying awake too long
5. Ucchāra-nirodha—restraining the urge to pass stool
6. Prasravaṇa-nirodha—restraining the urge to pass urine
7. Adhvagamana—excessive walking
8. Bhojana-pratikalata—unsuitable meals
9. Indriyārtha-vikopana—excessive sensuous pleasures

Through the ages and even today, many of these would be regarded as common and accepted adages as contributors to poor health even though as yet there may be no scientific evidence. It is commonly believed that many diseases may be precipitated, if not actually caused by, factors of increased stress and overindulgence.

On Giving and Receiving Medical Treatment

Ācārāṅga I.1.8.4 tells us that Mahāvīra did not accept medical treatment:

The Venerable One was able to abstain from indulgence of the flesh, though never attacked by diseases. Whether wounded or not wounded, he desired not medical treatment. Purgatives and emetics, anointing of the body and bathing, shampooing and cleansing of the teeth do not behove him, after he learned (that the body is something unclean).5

The use of medication in this instance is regarded as indulgence of the flesh.

Sen explains that according to the Niśṭhā Cārṇī there were broadly two sorts of treatments available at the time.6 One involved cleansing of the body (samsahana) by means of emetics and purgatives and the other involved the use of medication (samsamana) by ‘the pacification of the deranged elements’ and humors. The regular use of purgatives and emetics would have been an important part of the health maintenance ritual.

Given that medical treatment involves himsā, and that Mahāvīra did not accept medical treatment, it is not surprising that the giving of medical treatment by a physician and receiving of medical treatment by a mendicant is also viewed with ambivalence:

‘Knowing that these diseases are many, should the afflicted search after (remedies)?’ See! they are of no avail, have done with them! Sage! see this great danger! Do not hurt anybody! (Ācārāṅga I.1.6.4).7

The inference is that the suffering of disease should be endured rather than seeking remedies and relief. By seeking remedies, himsā may be committed and further karmas will be acquired.

However, later in Ācārāṅga II.2.2.13, passive acceptance of this basic surgical management is acceptable:

One should neither be pleased with or prohibit…. (a household) if he extracts or removes a splinter or thorn from (the mendicant’s feet); If he extracts or removes pus or blood from them. … If he incises it with any sharp instruments; if after having done so, he extracts pus or blood from it. If he rubs a boil, abscess, ulcer, or fistula.8

As an aside, incision and drainage still remain the mainstay of surgical management for large abscesses.

In the Jaina landmark non-canonical Tattvārtha Sūtra,9 Umāsvāti clarifies that merely inflicting pain does not cause the inflow of pain-producing karmas but the evil motive behind inflicting the pain does, thus helping save the soul of the surgeon who inflicts pain to help treat his patient, from acquiring these karmas!

Conception, Embryology and Birth

Ideas about conception and embryology are present in the earliest Jaina canonical texts. There is an understanding that the presence of semen in the uterus is necessary for conception to take place:

Man is born...through seminal effusion into the woman’s uterus, and composition of pre-foetal flesh and muscle (i.e. embryo five days old), and

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5 Jacobi 1884: 85.
7 Jacobi 1884: 54.
8 Jacobi 1884: 186.
development of various limbs. After birth he gradually grows and matures.  

These ideas are further elaborated in the Bhagavatī (BS), the fifth of the 12 Agamas. The mixing of the male semen with female menstrual discharge has the potential to give rise to up to 900,000 offspring. The semen implanted in the womb is thought to be viable for up to 12 mūhīrtas and the duration of pregnancy can last for up to 12 years’ duration in humans. The Tandalevāyādīya goes into greater detail such as sex determination of the fetus. When the male and female germ cells come together, a preponderance of sperm cells brings about a male fetus whereas a preponderance of female germ cells brings about a female fetus. This Jaina model of conception is closer to that accepted by modern science than an earlier 5th-century BCE model postulated by Hippocrates in ancient Greece that both men and women are capable of producing either ‘strong’ germ cells or ‘weak’ germ cells. When germ cells from the two parents come together, a preponderance of strong germ cells produces a male whereas a preponderance of weak germ cells produces a female.

According to Uṃāsvāti’s commentary, the soul absorbs the zygote or mass of cells produced by the combination of the semen and the blood in the womb of the mother and builds it into a physical body. The embryo was believed to receive nourishment secondary to the liquids that the mother consumes, and there was also the notion that the semen with female menstrual discharge has the potential to give rise to up to 900,000 offspring. The semen implanted in the womb is thought to be viable for up to 12 mūhīrtas and the duration of pregnancy can last for up to 12 years’ duration in humans. The Tandalevāyādīya goes into greater detail such as sex determination of the fetus. When the male and female germ cells come together, a preponderance of sperm cells brings about a male fetus whereas a preponderance of female germ cells brings about a female fetus. This Jaina model of conception is closer to that accepted by modern science than an earlier 5th-century BCE model postulated by Hippocrates in ancient Greece that both men and women are capable of producing either ‘strong’ germ cells or ‘weak’ germ cells. When germ cells from the two parents come together, a preponderance of strong germ cells produces a male whereas a preponderance of weak germ cells produces a female.

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Our present understanding is that sperm probably survives a matter of hours in the uterus. In terms of fetal development, urine production in utero is an important sign of functioning and normal kidney development. Fetal urine production, which starts before the second trimester continues throughout gestation and makes up an important component of amniotic fluid that the fetus drinks. In cases of abnormal or absent kidney development, diminished amniotic fluid production is associated with lung hypoplasia and may be incompatible with life. We also know that under certain circumstances, the fetus is capable of passing stool just prior to birth.

The Bhagavatī goes on to elaborate that in the newborn, the soft components, i.e. the flesh, blood and brain, are of maternal derivation whereas the hard components such as bone, hair and nails are of paternal derivation. The fetus in utero lies in various positions and seems to share many of the mother’s states of mind, being awake, asleep, happy or sad when the mother is the same. Even today, the notion that maternal wellbeing reflects fetal wellbeing remains a popular adage.

Interestingly, at the end of this section of embryology there is a recognition that a child born cephalically (head first) or by breach (feet first) will survive whereas a child born “sideways” will die. Modern midwifery and obstetric recognizes that such a fetus in “transverse lie” or compound presentation commonly requires delivery by Caesarian section in order to avoid serious birth injury or death of the infant.

Conclusion

Notions of health and disease would have been of soteriological importance as well as of practical importance to Jaina mendicants. There is a sophisticated understanding of embryology. There are ambivalent views in the scriptures on accepting medical treatment. With a very limited number of effective treatments available, people may have died of acute illnesses that are easily cured today. This review demonstrates that the sixteen diseases listed in the Acārāṅga are chronic diseases and hence ideal to illustrate the lasting negative effects of karman.

Divyen Shah is a consultant neonatal paediatrician at the Royal London Hospital with a special interest in brain injury and neuroprotection in the newborn. He is also an associate student in the Non Violence in Jaina Literature, Philosophy and Law course at SOAS.

20 BS I.1.7.17, p. 171.
21 BS I.1.7.21, p. 175.
22 BS I.1.7.22, p. 176.
23 I am extremely grateful to Peter Flügel for his very helpful guidance in preparing this article. I acknowledge the JaineLibrary as a resource of some of the cited literature.
Two Inscribed Digambara Bronzes

J C Wright

The two inscriptions discussed here seem more than usually puzzling: it would be interesting to know whether others can suggest better solutions. They are from the personal collection of Thomas Perardi, to whom we are indebted for careful and detailed photography.

The complex shrine, 18-19 cm. high, with twenty-three Jinas surrounding the central figure, is thus a standard covīsī structure (I am grateful to Gerd Mevissen for confirmation of the count, inclusive of the standing and lower seated figures). (Figure 1) The main figure, with emblematic bull, is evidently Rśabha. On the back is a brief and curiously beheaded inscription. (Figure 2) A straightforward reading meru śrīpralaminīta(m?) yields no sense, nor does -pralabha[mbh]avitattam or other guesswork. The ordinary meaning of pralambha ‘deceit’ is hardly applicable, and the gloss ‘(act of) obtaining’ that has been attributed to -pralambha in the Rāmāyaṇa is belied by an evidently correct northern reading -upalambha (where the ‘critical’ edition, 5.65.36, has a weak Vulgate emendation). The word vinīta is glossed as ‘merchant’ in Hemacandra’s Anekārthasaṃgraha, etc., and we might ignore its possible final anusvāra: but ‘Pralama’ and the like are unconvincing as a name for such a donor. The fact that meru is asymmetrically positioned could imply that it refers to the structure of the icon and is unconnected with the subsequent dedication.

The single seated figure may be identified by the crescent moon as Candraprabha: but the inscription around the back of its pedestal gives no support. (Figure 3) It begins, as it means to go on, with a misreading, the copyist having apparently failed to recognize an unfamiliar form of 9, rather than an 8.

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The text specifies a year Prabhava of the cycle of 60 ‘years’ of Jupiter. According to An Indian Ephemeris, no Prabhava year fell anywhere near Śaka 1559; nor does the Vikrama year 1559 provide a solution. Otherwise, Thursday, 18 January, A.D. 1638, meets most criteria: and it is hard to see how any more satisfactory results can be obtained for the few Jovian dates given in the British Library catalogue. The epithet nilaka- applied to the Saṃgha is unclear: neither ‘uplifting the abode’ (if for nila[y]a-uddhāraṇa) nor ‘eradicating persons of the blue leśyā’ (if for *nil[a]y[a]-a[ddhi]a[a]raṇa) seems plausible. The fifth and final line may be expected to be listing the names of beneficiaries (that had possibly been illegible to the copyist), closing with a final dedicatory

in the Sarasvatī branch of the Balātkāra sect in the nilaka-uplifting Mūla congregation, on the instructions of Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakīrti in the tradition of Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmacandra, in the seat of Bhaṭṭāraka Kumudacandra in the glorious tradition of Kundakunda, (the following), having their dwelling in (the town of) [....], in the Svabha family in the Sehitavāla caste, Gāṅga and .............., the sons of Uksaṭi, dedicate (the image).’

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

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JC Wright is Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit at SOAS.
Parkaḷa Tablet: A New Find in Brāhmī Script

P. N. Narasimha Murthy

In 2002 a chance discovery of a circular laterite tablet was made at Parkaḷa, a place close to Manipūḷ on the Kārkaḷa-Uḍupi Road. The local youth organization took up the work of cleaning both sides of the main road (of its debris and bushes) in front of the Parkaḷa High School. While doing so they had totally destroyed a historic site not knowing its importance. On getting the information my friend Mr. Śrīdhara Bhaṭ (a high school teacher) went to Parkaḷa for making enquiries about the work. He was shown a circular laterite piece found in the debris. Not knowing anything about it he took the find to Dr. B. Śivatārak who thought that the material was clay and he noticed Brāhmī letters. Finally the tablet reached my hands for examination.

I was surprised to see that in fact the circular tablet had been cut out of laterite stone and not made of clay. The ‘tablet’ was probably a capstone for covering the mouth of an earthen pot. On enquiry with the local youth organization which, unknowingly, had spoiled a burial site cut north-south out of a laterite surface of the ground, it came to light that the place where the tablet was found contained three pots which were completely damaged when opened and that the partially damaged tablet had been thrown near a tree. The description given by the Head of the youth organization clearly indicated that the spot contained three small holes at equidistance that contained small pots. This led me to conclude that the site had been a burial ground containing three funerary urns but was now destroyed beyond recovery. What could have been one of the greatest finds of Uḍupi was thus totally spoiled by the enthusiastic youth group. This circular laterite cut tablet is perhaps the first of its kind in South India (nay entire India) to be reported.¹

The tablet has become an object of utmost importance from several points of view. Firstly, this is the one and only inscription in Brāhmī characters so far found in the coastal districts of Dākṣiṇa Kannada and Uḍupi (Kārkaḷa). Secondly, prior to this find, the inscription of Āḻurveda I from Vaḍḍarase assigned to the middle of the 7th century CE was considered as the earliest inscription of these two districts.² Thirdly, regarding the history of Jainism, this tablet is the earliest and the most ancient source from this region.

The tablet contains three lines of text in Brāhmī script:

1. (yā)yāpanīya
2. yāpanīya
3. avanīya [??]

Avanīya is actually another form of yāpanīya.³ I determined that the characters belonged to the period of the early Kadambas of Banavāsī (c. 325-540 CE), and for a final confirmation took the tablet to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, the famous epigraphist and scholar of the country, who expressed his consensus with me and opined that the script belongs to the 5th century CE. Of the early Kadamba records, the Halasī plates of Mṛgeśavarma (r. c. 455-480, 8th regnal year) and Ravīvarma (r. c. 485-519), and the Devagiri plates of Prince Devavarma (middle of 5th century ?) mention the Yāpanīyas.⁴

The text of the tablet has no details. But the term ‘yāpanīya’, mentioned thrice, is itself very important with respect to the history of Jainism in this region and the Yāpanīya sect of Jainism in particular. The Yāpanīyas emerged as a Jaina sect around the 2nd century CE in Kārṇaṭaka.⁵ They provided the much-needed hospitable homogeneity to the religion at that time and acted as a conduit between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects.

More than that, perhaps, it was the Yāpanīya sect that was responsible for the growth and spread of Jainism in Kārṇaṭaka through its policy of catholicity, adjustability, adoptability and better understanding with the dominant Hindu (precisely the Brahmanical) religion while uniting in a common cause against the strong Buddhist influence in Kārṇaṭaka. Although it had entered later, Buddhism had made strong attempts to subjugate both these religions.⁶ A rejuvenating force was necessary for uplifting both sections. The Yāpanīyas took the lead in

¹ The tablet is now preserved in the museum of the RāṣṭraKarvi Gōvinda Pai Research Centre, M.G.M. College, Uḍupi.
² K.V. Ramesh: A History South Kanara: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of Vījayanagara. Dharwad: Karnatak University, 1970, p. 43.
³ According to Hampana Nagaraṇajāia saṉgha and avulīya are Kannada terms used differently but they also mean the same, yāpanīya.
⁵ Hampa Nagarajaia: Yāpanīya Saṉgha (Kanada). Hampi-Vidyaran-yā Kannada University, 1999.
this regard, which paid rich dividends but strangely was not recognized by the other Jaina sects.7

Movement of Ascetics

The Parkaḷa tablet indicates very clearly the movement of the ascetics of the Yāpanīya order in the southern part of coastal Karṇāṭaka. It is unusual in this region to find a burial site containing three small holes large enough to keep an earthen pot in each of them, and this suggests that it was a post-cremation burial of three ascetics. But, the cause, nature and actual place of their death are not known. It can be conjectured, that the region in and around Uḍupi was populated by an immigrant Jaina community, particularly with Yāpanīya leanings, and this prompted the three ascetics to perform the vow of sāllekhanā to end their life (if not, some other reason must have caused the death of all the three together). After performing this post-cremation burial some kind of memorial must have been built over it, which in the course of time decayed.

The Term Avanīya

The tablet lists ‘yāpanīya’ twice and ‘avanīya’ once. Yāpanīya was very clear, but ‘avanīya’ puzzled me. I felt the term ‘avanīya’ was linguistically related to Kannāda and tried to equate it with ‘yāpanīya’. But immediately the question arose as to why the term ‘avanīya’ was used where ‘yāpanīya’ could have been repeated in the third line also. This made me turn my attention towards the ancient Brāhmī inscriptions found in a good number of caves and rock beds in central and southern Tamil Nāḍu8 wherein I got the clue that ‘avanīya’ refers to the Yāpanīya. Jainas from Tamil Nāḍu also were here (in Coastal Karṇāṭaka) probably on different professional grounds, which would explain the presence of Tamil Jaina ascetics who might have been well versed in Kannada and other languages also. This view is supported on the basis of copious references found in the Sangam literature regarding the relations between the ancient Tamil Nāḍu and the southern part of coastal Karṇāṭaka.9 In this respect, the newly discovered tablet with a Brāhmī inscription from Parkaḷa is very important, for it happens to be the earliest epigraphical evidence for the ‘Yāpanīyas’ in Karṇāṭaka and for providing a clue to probe into the history of Jainism in this region prior to the 5th century CE.

Scholars such as Manjeshwara Govinda Pai,10 B.A.

Salsetore,11 K.V. Ramesh12 and P. Gururaja Bhat13 have earlier tried to assess the antiquity of Jainism in the southern part of Coastal Karṇāṭaka. Though expressed differently, their conclusions commonly indicate that Jainism entered this region around 12th-13th century CE.

The Halmiḍi inscription14 of Kadamba Kakusthvarma [Kākutsthavarman] is the earliest Kannada inscription on stone (c. 425 CE).15 Arakella, a subordinate king-officer of the Āḷapas of coastal Karṇāṭaka, is mentioned in this record. The Kellas were the earliest Jaina ruling family in coastal Karṇāṭaka.16 According to K.V. Ramesh, the Parkaḷa tablet belongs to c. 5th century CE (based on my discussion with him in this regard). In my opinion, the Parkaḷa tablet belongs to the time of Kadamba Kakusthvarma (c. 405-430 CE),17 maybe a little earlier than the Halmiḍi record. Hence the tablet becomes the earliest record referring to Jainism in the southern part of coastal Karṇāṭaka (Tuḷu Nāḍu).

I am happy to state that my hypothesis, made on the basis of the Halmiḍi inscription, that Jainism had entered Tuḷu Nāḍu well before the 5th century CE,18 seems to be supported by the ‘Parkaḷa Brāhmī tablet’.19

P. N. Narasimha Murthy, retired principal of MGM College, Udupi, obtained his PhD from Mysore University on the basis of his thesis Jainism on the Kanara Coast. He has written several books on the history of Jainism in coastal Karṇāṭaka. His present projects include ‘Sources for the Study of the Socio-economic History of the ALUPAS’, ‘Sources for the History of Dakshina Kannada’, and ‘Inscriptions of the Minor Dynasties of Coastal Karṇāṭaka’.

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7 For details see Nagarünai 1999.
8 Iravatham Mahadevan, in Rishabh Saurabh, pp. 131-133, There is a reference to ‘kantiyar’ in Brāhmī Jaina inscriptions from Tamil Nāḍu. The term ‘kanti’ (a Kannada word) refers to a Jaina nun and the term ‘kantiyar’ may refer respectfully to a Jaina nun or to a group of nuns. This made me refer ‘avanīya’ to a Brāhmī source of Tamil Nāḍu. Here, I am told, ‘avanīya’ is used for ‘yāpanīya’.
19 My thanks are due to my friend Śrī Śridhāra Bhaṭ for placing the new find into my hands for a detailed study.
The Correspondence of the Modern Founders of Jaina Studies

Peter Flügel

In 1873 Georg Bühl er, then Education Inspector of the Bombay Presidency based in Surat, sent a letter to Albrecht Weber of the University of Berlin on ‘The Sacred Scriptures of the Jainas’ which detailed the Sanskrit titles of 45 Āgamas of the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara tradition under seven subheadings:

I. 11 Angas,
II. 12 Upāngas,
III. 10 Payannas,
IV. 6 Chhedasūtras,
V. Nandīsūtram,
VI. Aṇuyogadvārasūtram,
VII. 4 Mūlasūtras.

The purpose of the letter, presented here for the first time (Figure 1),1 was to provide information on the key texts of a literary tradition that was still almost unknown outside India to enable Weber to make recommendations for the purchase of selected Jaina manuscripts for the Royal Library in Berlin, with permission of the British authorities. Although its sources and history are not entirely clear, this list of the sacred scriptures of the Jainas was first published by Hermann Jacobi (1879: 14, n. 2)2 and subsequently canonised in all modern handbooks (in one way or another: including or excluding texts lost or added before or after the last council).3

It has, however, frequently been noted that the number and contents of the ‘canon’ of the Śvetāmbaras, ostensibly codified in the 5th century at the council of Valabhi, were and still are in constant flux.4 An early list of 45 somewhat similar titles has been traced in the Vicitrāsūtraprakāraṇa, a 14th century text of Ācārya Pradyumnāsūtraṃ. Yet, there is ‘no tradition of the fixed established uniform titles’5 as presented in modern textbooks and Āgama editions.

The impact of Weber’s letter on the emergence of contemporary textbook clichés of the Jaina tradition and its scriptures and the co-evolution of the field of Jaina Studies and Jaina modernism in the 19th and early 20th centuries demonstrates the significance of a better understanding of and the concerns and interactions of the pioneers of Jaina Studies in Europe such as Weber (1825-1901), Bühl er (1837-1898), Hoernle (1841-1918), Pischel (1849-1908), Jacobi (1850-1937), Klatt (1852-1903), Hultzsch (1857-1927), Leumann (1859-1931), Winternitz (1863-1937), Hetel (1872-1955), Guérinot (1872-1929), Schubring (1881-1969), Alsdorf (1904-1978) and their Indian collaborators.

Ernst Windisch’s Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und Indischen Altertumskunde. I-III (Strassburg: Trübner, 1917-1921) still remains the principal source of information on the early years of Jaina Studies. However, long-term inquiries by the present writer on the unpublished correspondence of European Jainologists and Jaina mendicants, which is preserved only in fragments in Indian and European archives,7 have unearthed many previously unknown letters of the pioneers of Jaina studies, presumed lost; in particular in

2 In contrast to Weber, Jacobi incorrectly assumed at the time that ‘Nirayāvalī’ is a heading and not an independent text.

7 New search engines such as Kalliope and the British Library India Office Private Papers Catalogue are increasingly helpful for the identification of rare letters and other private papers. See Verbandkatalog Nachlässe und Autographen. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. http://kalliope.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/
the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, which in 1907 received a significant number of letters of European Indologists specialising in Jaina Studies as part of the superb collection of selected autographs of important scientists and scholars of Ludwig Darmstaedter (1846-1927), who pursued the vision of assembling primary materials for the study of the historical development of the European sciences from the 16th century onwards.

Of particular historical interest, but rare and more difficult to trace, is the correspondence between European scholars and their Jaina counterparts, in particular certain Mūrtipūjka Śvetāmbara monks such as Vijayānandastūri (1837-1897) and Vijayadharmastūri (1868-1922) and their representatives, as well as book sellers, who bought and sold Jaina manuscripts.

The Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS is currently preparing a research project on the surviving correspondence between western scholars of Jainism and with Jaina mendicants during the founding years of Jaina Studies which, once published, will provide direct insight into personal agendas and methods as well as the networks and institutional and political contexts contributing to the formation of a new field of study in Indology and the Study of Religions and the emergence of public (self-) awareness of a hitherto unknown ‘religion’. The project builds on prior research at SOAS on the social history of modern Jainism and Jaina Studies on Jaina Law and the Jaina Community (AHRC Research Grant B/RG/AN9085/APN/16406) and Johannes Klatt’s Jaina Onomasticon (Leverhulme Trust Research Grant RPG-2012-620) and will supplement similar studies on scientific correspondence between key figures of 19th century Indology and Jaina religious and social reformism.

8 Recent research at the Staatsbibliothek was rendered possible by a Fellowship of the Max Weber Centre of Advanced Cultural and Social Studies at the University of Erfurt 2012-13 and Leverhulme Grant RPG-2012-620.


The German Indologist Johannes Klatt (1852–1903) gave his magnum opus the title Jaina Onomasticon.1 There’s no need for any further consideration of the term ‘Jaina’ since the work deals without exception with the literature and history of the Jains. The second part of the title, ‘Onomasticon’, is derived from the Greek ‘onoma’ or ‘name’ and can be translated as ‘collection of names’. In fact, Klatt’s work lists in alphabetical order the proper names of people and places, titles of texts, names of gaccha, gana, etc. But he does much more than submitting a mere list of names. To every name he adds historical, biographical and bibliographical data. Therefore we can rightly classify the Onomasticon as an encyclopaedia, an extensive reference book on the history of the Jaina religion and literature. Considering the historical character of his work, it is no surprise that Klatt had to put the main emphasis on the post-canonical Jaina history, on which reliable historical data can be obtained. Klatt dealt with material he could gather from manuscripts, monographs and articles, and the contents of the Onomasticon cover a period of time from the earliest inscriptions and oldest manuscripts up to the end of the 19th century, i.e. Jaina authors and their works contemporary to Klatt. It is no exaggeration to say that the Onomasticon is a milestone in scholarly research in the field of Jaina studies.

At SOAS, through a generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust to the Centre of Jaina Studies, a print-edition of Klatt’s work, which is to this day unpublished, is in preparation.2 The manuscript, handwritten in English, consists of 5,338 pages.3 Klatt laboured on it for at least 10 years. In 1892 he fell severely ill and he never recovered enough to complete his task. The incompleteness affects the form and the conception of the work, but hardly the contents as such. In parts we miss a consistent alphabetical order of the entries, and, what is more crucial, there is no bibliography, i.e. no organized and detailed listing of the source materials the author refers to in his text. This is all the more regrettable as Klatt names his sources in most of the cases by using abbreviations only. With regard to the content we can state that the proper names, which are given in a vast number of entries, are distributed in accordance with the letters of the Devanāgarī alphabet, i.e. a – h, and that there is no hint whatsoever of a premature or abrupt ending to Klatt’s compiling his material.

The edition of Klatt’s manuscript currently underway requires first of all a literal transcription. Fortunately, all in all Klatt’s handwriting is legible. It is likely that the manuscript is a copy of earlier drafts of the text which might have been discarded by the author himself. Nevertheless, there are quite a few unreadable passages, words and numbers. In most of the cases this is due to later additions by the author, carried out when there was little space left on the pages, so that Klatt had to write in very small letters right between the lines. Besides, owing to the binding of the manuscript sometimes information at the margins was cut off.

In preparing the transcription, the headings of the entries which were written by Klatt in Devanāgarī characters are being transcribed according to today’s common practice, i.e. using Ś, ś, Ṣ, ṣ, ṛ and so on. However, Klatt’s writing of Ç, ç, Sh, sh, ṛi and so on in the accompanying articles is copied true to the original. The editors are using square brackets to indicate corrections of spellings or amendments to the text. Quite often entries have to be re-sequenced in the print edition to put them in correct alphabetical order.4 In these cases the corresponding page numbers in the original manuscript are added next to the heading.

1 For details of his life and work see Flügel 2011: 58-61.
2 In 2012 the project of preparing the publication of the Onomasticon was awarded a three-year Research Project Grant by the Leverhulme Trust. See: www.soas.ac.uk/jainastudies/research/jaina-onomasticon/
3 On the last page of the manuscript the page number 4,132 is written on the margin. That is why the present editors previously had a wrong idea of the total number of pages. See Flügel 2013: 51. The correct number came to light only after a renewed pagination had been carried out.
4 Proper names in their Sanskrit forms can be found side by side with their Prakrit equivalents: Rājapraśnīya next to Rāyappaseṇia, Mithilā next to Mihilā, etc. But in most of the cases the reason for Klatt’s disregard of the proper alphabetical order are his later additions of entries, for which he used any free space on his papers or even entirely new sheets.
The search for Klatt’s sources is indispensable, not only to check doubtful readings, but first and foremost to produce a bibliography. The vast material used by the author to write his encyclopaedia will result in a very extensive bibliography. Working as librarian in Berlin he had access to hundreds of Jaina manuscripts housed there and to the most relevant secondary literature as well. In addition he searched for information in other libraries in Germany, France and Italy, got manuscripts on loan from India, and colleagues helped him by sending information by letter.

In the second half of the 19th century the publishing of and the research on inscriptions as well as providing a survey and cataloguing of manuscripts reached their climax. These works were carried on by both Indian and European scholars. At least some of them should be named here: Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925), Georg Bühler (1837-1898), Franz Kielhorn (1840-1908), Rudolf Hoernle (1841-1918), Eugen Hultzsch (1857-1927), Rajendralal Mitra (1824-1891), Peter Peterson (1882-1899) and Lewis Rice (1837-1927). All their catalogues, books and articles were extensively exploited by Klatt. Albrecht Weber (1825-1901) deserves special mention. He was Klatt’s teacher in Berlin and the author of outstanding studies on Jaina literature. His catalogue of manuscripts, kept in Berlin, is probably the most cited source in the Onomasticon.

In the print-edition all primary sources used by Klatt, i.e. books and manuscripts which had been in his hands, will be set in small capitals. Thus the reader can easily distinguish Klatt’s sources from the bulk of titles of works named in the articles as well. To make clear the editorial rules just mentioned the following examples might be helpful:

ŚIVAVARDHANAGANI VS 1724, pupil of Laksmitivallabha-gani, his pupil Vinayapriya wrote VS 1744 JYOTISHA-RATNA-MALÅ, Jacobi’s Manuscript, folio 28b.


All the proper names and titles of works mentioned in the two articles presented here can be looked up again separately in the Onomasticon, and the reader will get further information there. Considering the scope of infor-

7 Klatt frequently refers to Jacobi’s manuscripts. Surely they were at his disposal for some time. They are now kept in the British Library. See Balbir 2006: 34-37.
Klatt has gathered for his *Jaina Onomasticon* and the accuracy and carefulness of his way of working, there can be no doubt that once this encyclopaedia is published the scholarly world will have an extremely useful tool at hand for future studies in the history of Jaina religious, literary and social traditions.

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References


*Jyotisha-ratna-mālā*, by Śrīpati, British Library, Or. 5209.


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This book breaks new ground by investigating the doctrinal differences and debates amongst the Jains rather than presenting Jainism as a seamless whole whose doctrinal core has remained virtually unchanged throughout its long history. The focus of the book is the discourse concerning orthodoxy and heresy in the Jaina tradition, the question of omniscience and Jaina logic, role models for women and female identity, Jaina schools and sects, religious property, law and ethics. The internal diversity of the Jaina tradition and Jain techniques of living with diversity are explored from an interdisciplinary point of view by fifteen leading scholars in Jaina studies. The contributors focus on the principal social units of the tradition: the schools, movements, sects and orders, rather than Jain religious culture in abstract. This book provides a representative snapshot of the current state of Jaina studies that will interest students and academics involved in the study of religion or South Asian cultures.

Volume Two: History, Scripture and Controversy in a Medieval Jain Sect, Paul Dundas, University of Edinburgh.

The subject of this fine book is the history and intellectual activity of the medieval Śvetāmbara Jain disciplinary order, the Tapā Gaccha. The overall theme of this book is the consolidation from the thirteenth century by the Tapā Gaccha of its identity as the dominant Śvetāmbara Jain disciplinary order. Thanks to the author’s exceptional knowledge of the field, the topic is shown in practice to be central to our understanding of many of the key questions scholars have been asking about the history and development, not just of Jainism, but of South Asian religious traditions in general, including the way in which traditions establish and maintain their authority in relation to texts, the relationship between text, commentary and tradition, attitudes to female religiosity, and tensions both within and between sects. December 2007: 234x156: 256pp Hb: 0-415-37611-4: £65.00

Paul Dundas is Reader in Sanskrit at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. His previous book, The Jains, is also available from Routledge.

Volume Three: The History of Vegetarianism and Cow-Veneration in India, Ludwig Alsdorf, translated by Bal Patil and edited by Willem Bollée (University of Heidelberg)

For the first time, this influential classic study by Ludwig Alsdorf is made available to an English speaking audience. At the core of the text is the analysis of the role of Jainism for the history of vegetarianism. Furthermore, it also refers to Hindu texts such as pertinent chapters of the Book of Manu. Besides a comprehensive translation of the original German manuscript, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und der Rinderverehrung in Indien", which refers to two of the most pertinent issues in Indic religion, three important articles related to Alsdorf's work are made available in this new edition. February 2010: 234x156: 240 pp Hb: 978-0-415-54824-3: £85.00

Willem Bollée is Professor Emeritus at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. Bal Patel, the translator, is a journalist and Chairman of the Jain Minority Status Committee, Dakshin Bharat Jain Sabha.

Volume Four: Jaina Law and Society, edited by Peter Flügel (SOAS)

The struggle for the legal recognition of the Jain community in India as a religious minority from 1992 onwards has generated a renewed interest in Jaina law and an intense debate on the question of Jain identity in the context of the wider question of the interface between religion, society, law and politics in contemporary South Asia. This book analyses contemporary Jain identity and legal status in India.

Chapters in this book written by experts on the subject, address the following issues: How do Jains themselves define their identity and customs, privately and collectively, in different situations and to what extent are such self-definitions recognised by Hindu law? In what way does the understanding of the social identity of lay Jains and their identification as 'secular' Hindu or 'religious' Jain offer in various Jain communities? The book explores these aspects which differ in accordance to the Jain representatives' distinct doctrinal interpretations, forms of organisation, and legal and ethical codes. It presents the social history of Jain law and the modern construction of Jainism as an independent religion on the basis of legal documents, biographies, community histories and ethnographies, disputes over religious sites, and interviews with community leaders in both north and south India. The book fills a gap in the literature and will be an essential resource for researchers interested in Jainism, Indian religions, Indian history, Religious Studies and Law. December 2013: 234x156: 256 pp Hb: 978-0-415-54711-6: £85.00
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**Pūrṇabhadra’s Pañcatantra: Jaina Tales or Brahmanical Outsourcing?**

McComas Taylor

For over a hundred years, it has been assumed that the collection of Sanskrit narrative fables known as Pūrṇabhadra’s *Pañcatantra* was a Jaina text. For the last thirty years or so, one could assume that because the redactor inhabited a specific epistemic community, the Jaina ‘thought-world’, that this was not only obvious, but inevitable. This paper challenges both these assumptions, and will set out to demonstrate that the Pūrṇabhadra’s *Pañcatantra* is a product of a Brahminical, Hindu, episteme, and that the redactor, rather than being a trapped in the imaginary of Jaina society draw on the epistemic traditions of his choice. This will contribute to our understanding of pre-modern literary production, the Jaina thought-world and the workings of epistemic communities more generally. This article demonstrates that a Jaina is capable of producing a non-Jaina text. This might seem obvious, but it challenges our assumptions about the production of discourse in a given epistemic community.

**Temples and Patrons: The Nineteenth-Century Temple of Motīśāh at Śatruñjaya**

Hawon Ku

Śatruñjaya, located in Gujarat, India, is one of the most significant pilgrimage sites for Śvetāmbara Jains, who comprise the majority of Jains in western India. However, only during the 19th century the site acquired its current form, with more than 150 temples remaining on the site. The concentrated patronage during this period was due to a rise in wealth and the conditions of the Jain merchant patrons, in which the harvest of merit was the most important cause. However, following a series of legal cases surrounding the ownership of the site, the forms of patronage as well as the architectural styles of the temples reverted to a more rigid style based on traditional manuals and 13th-century Jain temple architecture. In this article I argue that these changes of Śatruñjaya, into an exceptional symbol of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjāka community, were brought by a rise of a modern Jain identity, stemming from several reasons, including the series of legal cases and Western writings on the site.

**The Significance of Adhyavasāya in Jain Karma Theory**

Kristi L. Wiley

Various technical terms associated with the binding of karmic matter found in the *Tatvārthasūtra* have been incorporated into discussions of karma theory in survey texts on Jainism. According to these texts, the influx (āsrava) of karma is brought about by activity (yoga). It is bound with the soul for a certain period of time when the soul is under the influence of passions (kaṣāya). The variety (prakṛti) and the quantity (pradeśa) of karmic matter are determined by yoga while its duration (sthiti) and intensity (anubhāva) are determined by kaṣāyas. However, in some sources, another term, adhyavasāya, is used in association with karmic bondage. This paper examines the use of adhyavasāya in various karma texts of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sectarian traditions, including the Karmagranthas, Gommaṭasāra, and Śatkhāṇḍāgama, and discusses its significance in karmic bondage.

**Burial Ad Sanctos at Jaina Sites in India**

Peter Flügel

The analysis of the process of gradual integration of religious artefacts into the originally anti-iconic protestant Jaina traditions, starting with relics of renowned saints, and the evolution of pilgrimage centres from the early nineteenth century onwards shows that it followed the same logic as proposed by the theory of aniconism for the development of anthropomorphic images in ancient India: relics, *stūpas*, aniconic representations, anthropomorphic iconoplastic representations. It is argued in this article that it is unlikely that extant aniconic Jaina religious art from ancient India evolved along similar lines for at least four reasons: The absence of (1) doc-
trinal aniconism in early Jainism, (2) of a notable cult of the relics of the Jina, (3) of evidence for Jaina stūpas antedating anthropomorphic miniature reliefs, and (4) of sharply demarcated Jaina sectarian traditions before the Digambara-Śvetambara split. The reputedly oldest iconographic evidence from Mathurā rather suggests a parallel evolution of iconic and aniconic representations; with footprint/foot-images (carana-pādukā) as a relatively late addition to the vocabulary of aniconic Jaina art. The apocryphal development of aniconic iconography in protestant Jaina traditions with progressive emphasis on the individual identity of renowned gurus and guruṇis of particular monastic traditions seems to replicate earlier developments in the iconic traditions which must have started in the early medieval period. The particular evolutionary sequence and selectivity of aniconic Jaina iconography with its characteristic exegetical impediments against the worship of Jina images and increasing emphasis on the practice of burial ad sanctos and cities of the dead however represents a genuine novelty not only in the history of Jainism but in Indian religious culture as a whole.

Shades of Enlightenment: A Jain Tantric Diagram and the Colours of the Tīrthaṅkaras

Ellen Gough

While scholarship has paid little attention to Śaiva/Śākta and Jain interactions in the medieval period, Śaivas seem to have exerted great influence on Jain ritual culture, bringing lasting changes to Jain worship practices. This article discusses the historical development of two aspects of Jain ritual that may have been influenced by Śākta understandings – a tantric diagram called the Ṛṣimaṇḍala, and the different colours in which the twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras are portrayed. Today, members of the two main sects of Jainism, Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, disagree on the colours of two tīrthaṅkaras, Malli and Supārśva. As this article shows, the origins of this dispute seem to be related to medieval Śākta influence on the Śvetāmbara positioning of Malli in the multi-coloured seed-syllable hrīṃ at the center of the Ṛṣimaṇḍala.

The Temple of Saṅghī Jhūṅthārāmjī ‘Jain on the Outside – Hindu Inside’

Elena Karatchkova

This paper analyzes an oral tradition (recorded during field research), which explains the circumstances of religious conversion of a temple in Āmber – the former capital of Jaipur kingdom in Rājasthān. The Śaiva temple, today referred to locally as ‘Saṅghī Jhūṅthārāmjī kā mandir’, was originally the Jain temple of Vimalnāth. It was built in 1657 A.D. by Mohan Dās – the Jain Chief Minister at the court of the Rājput ruler of Āmber Rājā Jai Singh I (1621—1667). In this paper I compare the content of the recorded narrative about the temple with historical circumstances of its conversion. Although the contemporary oral tradition contradicts historical facts, it reveals important social and cultural meanings, characteristic of Rājasthān.

Anekāntavāda, The Central Philosophy of Ājīvikism

Johannes Bronkhorst

Ājīvikism, a vanished Indian religion, has been admirably studied by A. L. Basham in his 1951 monograph. Since then, a renewed study of the existing evidence has led to an improved understanding of this religion. New evidence, moreover, has shown that the religion remained intellectually active and influential at least until the end of the first millennium CE. This paper will discuss other evidence again, also from the end of the first millennium, which appears to show that Ājīvikism shared the anekāntavāda with Jainism, but not only that. Like Jainism, it used the anekāntavāda to solve a problem that did not arise until many centuries after the time of Mahāvīra. It follows that Jainism and Ājīvikism remained closely in close contact with each other for at least half a millennium since their beginning, perhaps longer, and shared some crucial intellectual developments.

A Neglected Śvetāmbara Narrative Collection, Hemacandrasūri Maladhārin’s Upadeśamālāsvopajñā avṛtti Part 1 (With an Appendix on the Funeral of Abhayadevasūrī Maladhārin)

Paul Dundas
International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online) Vol. 9, No. 2 (2013) 1-47

The Śvetāmbara teacher Hemacandra Maladhārin (eleventh-twelfth century) is often confused with his near contemporary Hemacandra Kalikālasarvajña. This paper analyses the sources describing his life and works and goes on to focus upon his Prakrit verse collection, the Upadeśamālā, and his auto-commentary, the Puṣpamālā. Seventy narratives from the Puṣpamālā are discussed (fifty-eight with identifiable sources, twelve with unidentified sources). An appendix provides text and annotated translation of Śrīcandrasūri’s account of the cremation of Hemacandra Maladhārin’s teacher Abhayadevasūrī Maladhārin, possibly the first eye-witness account of a renunciant funeral in pre-modern India.
Localized Literary History: Sub-text and Cultural Heritage in the Āmer Śāstrabhaṇḍār, A Digambara Manuscript Repository in Jaipur

Ulrich Timme Kragh

The article critically discusses the underlying principles for the writing of literary history. It rejects a universalized model and proposes a new approach of 'localized literary history' that is theoretically rooted in meta-historical concepts of 'textory' and 'sub-text'. The method takes its starting point in local text-collections rather than national literature. With the Jain Āmer Śāstrabhaṇḍhār repository in Jaipur as a point of departure, it is demonstrated how a study of a local manuscript collection reveals a literary history, which cannot be encountered by the universalized approach.

A One-Valued Logic for Non-One-Sidedness

Fabien Schang

The Jain *saptabhaṅgī* is well-known for its general stance of non-one-sidedness. After a number of debates about the occurrence of contradictory sentences inside the so-called 'Jain logic', three main theses are presented in the following: the *saptabhaṅgī* is a theory of judgment giving an exhaustive list of possible statements; it is not a 'logic' in the modern sense of the word, given that no consequence relation appears in it; the Jain *saptabhaṅgī* can be viewed as a dual of the Madhyamaka *catuskoti*, where four possible statements are equally denied. A formal semantics is proposed to account for these theses, namely: a Question-Answer Semantics, in which a basic question-answer game makes sense of every statement with the help of structured logical values. Some new light will be also thrown upon the controversial notion of avaktavyam: instead of being taken as a case of true contradiction, our semantics will justify a reduction of the Jain theory of non-one-sidedness to a one-valued system of question-answer games.

The Perfect Body of the Jina and His Imperfect Image

Phyllis Granoff
*International Journal of Jaina Studies* (Online) Vol. 9, No. 5 (2013) 1-21

The *Yuktiprabodha* of the Śvetāmbara monk Meghavijaya engages the views of Bāṇārāsīdās and the *adhyātma* movement on a number of issues. This paper explores their debate about whether or not it was appropriate to adorn images of the Jina. Bāṇārāsīdās argued emphatically that adorning the image did violence to the Jina, who as a renunciant had abandoned all forms of adornment. Meghavijaya argued that it was only by adorning the Jina image that a sense of the Jina’s extraordinary beauty and radiance could be conveyed. In the course of the debate Meghavijaya raises far-reaching questions about how images function and how they are actually ‘seen’ by worshippers.

Muni Ratnacandra’s Nine Jain Questions for Christians

Peter Friedlander
*International Journal of Jaina Studies* (Online) Vol. 9, No. 6 (2013) 1-30

This article examines a rare, and possibly unique, manuscript which describes an encounter between Jain monks and Christian’s from an unknown denomination of Pađres which took place in 1854 at an unidentified location either in Rājasthān or the Pañjāb or possibly in Agra. What makes this work so interesting is that whilst there has been considerable scholarship on the early stages of Buddhist-Christian and Hindu-Christian debates there has been little work on encounters between Jains and Christians. The work takes the form of nine questions posed by Muni Ratnacandra (1793-1864) disciple of Muni Harjīmal (1783-1832) of the Manohardās order.
of the anti-iconic Sthānakavāsī tradition. The questions which Christians should be asked reveal unique features in how Jain tradition responded to encounters with Christians. I argue that the main arguments deployed against Christianity in the text are all adapted from earlier Jain arguments deployed against other teachings. The importance of this text then is that it allows us to have a unique insight into how Jain vernacular tradition responded to Christianity during the mid 19th century.

'Today I Play Holī in My City' Digambar Jain Holī Songs from Jaipur

John E. Cort
International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online) Vol. 9, No. 7 (2013) 1-50

The springtime festival of Holī has long posed a problem for Jains. Jain ideologues have criticized the celebration of Holī as contravening several key Jain ethical virtues. In response, Digambar Jain poets developed a genre of Holī songs that transformed the elements of Holī into a complex spiritual allegory, and thereby 'tamed' the transgressive festival. This essay analyzes the six Holī songs (pad) by the poet Budhjan (fl. CE 1778-1838) of Jaipur. An investigation of this Digambar genre of Holī songs encourages us to see that many of the 'Hindu' Holī songs from this same period were also engaged in a process of reframing and taming Holī. Both Hindu and Jain songs translated its antinomian and transgressive elements into softer, less threatening sets of metaphors specific to their spiritual traditions.

Prabhācandra’s Status in The History of Jaina Philosophy

Jayandra Soni
International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online) Vol. 9, No. 8 (2013) 1-13

In dealing with the history of Jaina philosophical speculation after the age of the Āgamas, K. K. Dixit in his now well-known 1971 work Jaina Ontology (pp. 88–164) conveniently divides the speculations into three stages which he calls the ‘Ages of Logic’. It is Prabhācandra, one of the thinkers of the third stage (apart from Abhayadeva, Vādideva and Yaśovijaya) which concerns the content of this paper, because Dixit makes contrary statements about him. On the one hand, he says that 'the range of Prabhācandra’s enquiry was less comprehensive than that of Vidyānanda and his treatment of topics less advanced than that of the latter' (p. 103). And, on the other hand, on p. 156, he says that Prabhācandra 'had made it a point to introduce in his commentaries an exhaustive and systematic discussion of the major philosophical issues of his times' (even including aspects not found in his predecessors, e.g. theories of error).
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