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Jaina Studies
NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

Contents:

On the Cover

Sūrimantrapaṭa of the Tapā Gaccha, Mumbai.
(Photo: Ellen Gough, July 2013.).

Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

Another 10-year anniversary knocks at our door. Our *Newsletter* itself has come off age! It was started after the inauguration of the Centre of Jaina Studies in 2004 after a member of the Jaina community rightly urged us that a medium such as this would be required in this day and age to reach out to the network of interested scholars, the Jaina community and the wider public in an informative and engaging way. The venture was, however, only started reluctantly, with due consideration of our limited resources. It only took off thanks to the enthusiasm of co-editor and *Newsletter* designer Janet Leigh Foster, who put her characteristic verve and skill behind the project, conceiving the format, and placing a special emphasis on Jaina art. When austerity cuts at SOAS seemed to put a stop on the *Newsletter* last year, out of the blue, almost miraculously, a five-year sponsorship from the Delhi based Gyan Sagar Foundation materialised. We are grateful for this, and for the continuing support from the Jaina community worldwide, and hope that the *Newsletter* will continue to flourish and remain of use as a channel for reports on the latest research in Jaina Studies for a global readership.

As intended from the outset of the *Newsletter*, the contributions to this volume are both from scholars based at SOAS, and from all over the world. The present 10-Year Jubilee volume features reports on the *Prakrit Dictionary* project at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, led by its current general editor R.P. Poddar, and on Digambara and Śvetāmbara *bhaṇḍāra*s in India, whose manuscript collections have in great part recently been digitised, in the context of the Government funded National Manuscript Mission. In this way, rare texts are preserved and become increasingly accessible through online repositories. The report by Muzaffar Ahmad on the recent discovery of Jaina *caraṇa-pādukā*s in Chel-Abdal Chakwal re-opens the under-researched question of the Jaina heritage in Pakistan, and the article by J.C. Wright, Honorary President of the CoJS, *A Disputed Item in the Citta-Saṃbhūijja (Uttarajjhāyā 13)* re-considers Ernst Leumann's now taken-for-granted theory of the 'Gesamtlegende' of Citta and Saṃbhūta in the Jaina and Buddhist canons.

Besides the informative conference reports, two other themes are dominant in this volume: The material culture of the Jainas, represented by reports by John E. Cort and Kimberly Masteller on domestic Jain shrines. Ellen Gough, former recipient of the Jain Spirit MA Scholarship at SOAS, now a PhD candidate at Yale University, presents a report on her latest research on *Jaina Tantra*, the topic of this year's Annual Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS.

Finally, two events organised by the CoJS during the last academic year deserve to be mentioned: Ashok Aklujkar's lecture: *Why Aśoka (and therefore the Buddha and Mahāvīra) Should Be Older Than We Take Him (/Them) to Be*, and the *Acharya Tulsi Memorial Lecture*, delivered, to great acclaim, by Satish Kumar (www.soas.ac.uk/jainastudies). The latter was the CoJS offering to the Birth Centenary of Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997), whose extraordinary life is remembered in this volume in Nirmal Baid's *Life of a Legend: Acharya Tulsi*.

Truly worthy of a celebration!

Peter Flügel

THE 15TH ANNUAL JAINA LECTURE

The Jaina Appropriation and Adaptation of Śaiva Ritual: The Case of Pādliptasūri's Nirvāṇakalikā

Alexis Sanderson
(University of Oxford)

Thursday 19 March 2015
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

JAINA TANTRA

17th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS
Friday, 20 March 2014
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Textual Studies

9.15   **Paul Dundas**
Tantra Without 'Tantrism': The Quotidian Jain Mantra According to Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka

9.45   **Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya**
Tantric Elements in the Original Praśnavyākaraṇa

10.15   **Ellen Gough**
The Digambara Sūrimantra and the Tantricization of Jain Image Consecration

10.45   **Tea and Coffee**

Second Session: Jaina Tantra & Meditation

11.15   **Shugan Chand Jain**
Peculiarities of Jaina Yoga as depicted in *Jñānārṇava* by Śubhacandra (1003-1068 A.D.)

11.45   **Christopher Key Chapple**
The Five Great Elements (pañca mahābhūta) in Jaina Meditation Manuals

12.15   **Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā**
Tantric Elements in Prekṣa-Meditation

12.45   **Group Photo**

13.00   **Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite**

Third Session: Tantric Elements in Jaina Ritual

14.00   **Michael Slouber**
Mundane Matters: Sex and Violence in Early Medieval Jain Tantra

14.30   **Peter Flügel**
Digambara Jaina Divination Rituals in Coastal Karṇāṭaka

15.00   **Tea and Coffee**

Ellen Gough

Fourth Session: Tantra in Hinduism and Jainism

15.30   **John E. Cort**
Reading Gorakhnāth through a Jain Lens: Jain Receptions of the Nāths in Pre-Colonial North India

16.00   **Olle Qvarnström**
Tantra in Practice: How to Convert a King

16.30   **Brief Break**

16.45   **Roundtable:**

In the 19th century, many Indian social and religious reformers differentiated 'custom and rituals' from 'true religion'. Is this distinction still relevant for lived Jainism today?

Chair: John E. Cort (Denison University, USA)
Discussants: Bhattaraka Charukirti (Jaina Mutt, Mudabidri), Ashok Jain (Department of Physics, Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee) Ashok Jain (Department of Botany, Gwalior University) Anupam Jain (Government Autonomous Holkar Science College, Indore) Vimal Kumar Jain (Bhabha Atomic Research Centre Trombay, Mumbai) Kokila H. Shah (Department of Philosophy, Ramniranjan Jhunjhunwala College, Mumbai) D.C. Jain (Vardhman Mahavir Medical College & Safdarjang Hospital, New Delhi) Parasmal Agarwal Jain (Oklahoma State University, Stillwater & Udaipur) Sanjeev Sogani (Gyan Sagar Science Foundation, New Delhi) Chakresh Jain (Jaypee Institute of Information Technology, New Delhi)

ABSTRACTS

Tantric Elements in the Original Praśnavyākaraṇa
Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya (Shantiniketan, India)

Praśnavyākaraṇa is known to be the tenth canon of the twelve fold *aṅga*s of the Śvetāmbara sect. The available editions of *Praśnavyākaraṇa* are dealt with two major aspects of nine categories in Jainism, the influx (of karman–*āsrava*) and inhibition (of karman-*saṃvara*). These two aspects are the basis of the theory of the karma in Jainism. *Praśnavyākaraṇa* is also known in two other terms: *Paṇhavāgaraṇadasā* or *Vāgaraṇadasā*. Although the available text of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* is the same in all the editions, there is no doubt that this (newly edited) one is the new addition in the name of *Praśnavyākaraṇa*.

It is interesting to note that the subject matter of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* was first introduced in the *Sthānāṅgasūtra* as being ten sections of the text: *Upamā*, *Saṃkhyā*, *Ṛṣibhāṣita*, *Ācāryabhāṣita*, *Mahāvīrabhāṣita*, *Kṣobhikapraśna*, *Komalapraśna*, *Ādarśapraśna* and *Bāhupraśna*. *Samavāyaṃga*, the fifth canon has mentioned the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* in a more elaborative manner. It has mentioned that there are 108 *praśna*s, 108 *apraśna*s and 108 *praśnāpraśna*s in it. It also mentions about the divine dialogue between Nāgas and Suparṇas. Nāgas and Suparṇas.It also names some chapters such as, Ādarśa (Addāga), Aṅguṭṭha, Bāhu, Asi, Maṣi, Kṣauma and Āditya etc. Some typical names that hint to the tantric elements are also there, such as, Mahāpraśnavidyā, Manapraśnavidyā and Devaprayoga etc. It also mentions that the contents of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* hold forty-five *uddeśana*s, forty-five *samuddeśana*s and one *lakh* couplets and so on and these are based on metaphysics, epistemology and ethics. The *Nandīsūtra*, on this point comments that the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* is the shorter form of the *Samavāyāṅga* with minor difference in the name of the chapters.

The newly edited *Praśnavyākaraṇa*, which I name as the *Original Praśnavyākaraṇa* has been lost for centuries. This text has a commentary named *Darśanajyoti* and the commentator is Jīvabhogin, an unknown Jain mendicant (Ācārya?), a disciple of Devanandin. One Devanandin is known to be a Digambara Ācārya of the 7th/8th century CE. Considering the period of Devanandin, this commentary should also be placed in that period. Jain commentary literatures are acknowledged to be written on or after the 10th century CE. On this point the *Darśanajyoti* may be the earliest commentary so far if Jīvabhogin would be the disciple of that very Devanandin. However, the present *Praśnavyakaraṇa* comprises 34 chapters with an appendix. These are, 1. *Vargaracanā*, 2. *Yoni-nirdeśa*, 3. *Śikṣā*, 4. *Saṃkaṭa-vikaṭa*, 5. *Uttarādhara*, 6. *Abhighāta*, 7. *Jīvasaṃjñā-bheda*, 8. *Jīvacintā* (*manuṣya*), 9. *Jīvacintā*, 10. *Dhātucintā*, 11. *Mūlasaṃjñā*, 12. *Mūlacintā*, 13. *Muṣṭijñāna*, 14. *Saṃkaṭa-vikaṭa* (repetition of 04 with little change), 15. *Saṃsthāna-vibhāga*, 16. *Varṇa-vibhāga*, 17. *Ghanachidra*, 18. *Jñātakāṇḍa*, 19. *Saṃkhyā*, 20. *Kālānayana*, 21. *Nakṣatrānayana*, 22. *Dvika-yoga*, 23. *Guṇakārakāṇḍa*, 24. *Mahākaraṇa-nandika parvan*, 25. *Gaja-vilulita*, 26. *Gajavilulita saṃkhyā-karaṇa*, 27. *Mahākaraṇa-Gajavilulita*, 28. *Siṃhāvalokana*, 29. *Sarvatobhadra*, 30. *Aśvamohita-karaṇa*, 31. *Sama-viṣama*, 32. *Guṇa*, 33. *Akṣarotpādana kāṇḍa*, 34. *Antikṣapaṇa* and 35. *Pariśiṣṭa*.

Beginning from the first chapter till the end this text covers some aspects of grammar and at the same time it specifically deals with the *nimittaśāstra*, for example, while dealing with the letters like k, g, c, j, t and d etc. are treated as consonants as *laghu akṣara*, these are also called as *jīvacintā*; in terms of *mātrā*, certain vowels are not only treated in *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*, some other terminologies are created as *tiryak*, *adhaḥ* and *ūrdhva* etc. Phonemes are termed as: *āliṅgita*, *abhidhūmita*, *abhighāta*, *dagdha*, *carama* and so on. So in other chapters, we come across some points that lead to the tantric ordinances. Dealing with the whole text an overview of tantric elements will be highlighted in the paper as this text holds good a new dimension of Indian tantric tradition.

The Five Great Elements (pañca mahābhūta) in Jaina Meditation Manuals
Christopher Key Chapple (Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, USA)

Śubhacandra's Jñānārṇava, a Digambara text most likely composed in the 11th century, includes a chapter on Piṇḍastha Dhyāna that correlates element, color, geometric form, and mantra, leading to a meditation on lotuses. The text describes a progressive entry into various states of concentration on the elements. Unlike the ascent from earth to water, and then to fire, air, and space commonly found in Hindu Tantra texts and in the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa, the 29th chapter of the *Jñānarṇava* outlines a different sequence, beginning with earth, proceeding to water, but then using wind to generate the fire necessary to burn off karmas, delivering one to a state of pure meditation or the final and fifth element of space. Specifically, this chapter describes the four elements (earth, water, air, fire), four corresponding geometric forms (square, crescent, sphere, triangle), four colors (ochre, white, blue-black, yellow), and four mantras (*lam, vam, yam, ram*) to be performed.

Several chapters later more explicit directions are given in terms of the technique and results of this meditative sequence. In chapter 37, the order of concentration on the elements is switched, with water rising to ascendancy as a culminating practice that cools the burning fires generated by the breathing practices that have eradicated karmas. One reconfigures the gaze upon the earth to visualize the earth as taking the shape of a lotus. The "stuff" of the earth becomes correlated with mountains seen in the distance at dusk. This meditation then promotes fires to burn, scorching the eight downward petals of the lotus that represent the eight Jaina karmas. The four negative karmas, to be purified and expelled through this practice, are karmas that obstruct knowledge, that obstruct intuition, that obstruct energy, and that cause delusional thinking and

action. The four remaining categories, which are also ultimately left behind, are karmas that enable feeling, lifespan, physique, and social status. This fire then leads to the practice of effortful, wind-like breathing that frees one from all constraints. The final visualization on water leads one to a reflection on the presence of the liberated soul and great teacher Mahāvīra, visualized externally on his Lion Throne as well as internally within one's own body. This latter meditation is reproduced nearly verbatim in the *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra (1089-1172). This paper will compare and contrast these variant approaches to Tantric visualization practices, examining the uniquely Jaina aspects found in these two texts. Select new translations will be shared.

Reading Gorakhnāth through a Jain Lens: Jain Receptions of the Nāths in Pre-Colonial North India
John E. Cort (Denison University, USA)

Toward the end of the *Banārsī Vilās*, the "collected works" of Banārsīdās (1586-1643) that was compiled by his colleague Jagjīvanrām in 1644, there is a curious seven-*caupāī* composition entitled "*Gorakhnāth ke Vacan*," or "The Sayings of Gorakhnāth." In it he gives a favourable overview of Gorakhnāth's teachings. To the best of my knowledge, no scholarly attention has been focused on this text. Scholars of Banārsīdās at best simply mention it in passing. Scholars of Gorakhnāth, and the Nāths seem largely to be ignorant of the text.

A century later, in his *Mokṣa-mārg Prakāśak*, the Jaipur-based Terāpanth ideologue Ṭoḍarmal (ca. 1719/20-1766/67) included a discussion of yogic practices. While Ṭoḍarmal did not specify a source for his discussion, his comments were harshly critical of these false practices. We thus see two different responses to the Tantric Yoga of Gorakhnāth and the Nāths. In this paper, I analyse these two texts, to see two Jain readings of and responses to Nāth Tantric Yoga. I speculate on what the two sharply different receptions might tell us about the two authors, and also the socio-religious situations of the Jains in seventeenth-century Agra and eighteenth-century Jaipur. Finally, I look at other evidence of Jain readings and receptions of Nāth Tantric Yoga in pre-colonial North India.

Tantra Without 'Tantrism': The Quotidian Jain Mantra According to Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka
Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

This presentation will first draw attention to a range of references from Śvetāmbara Jain sources which might be styled 'tantric' without fitting into any overarching system of 'Jain Tantrism' and will then focus on the role of mantra in daily life as described by the seventeenth century Digambara Somasenabhaṭṭāraka.

Digambara Jaina Divination Rituals in Coastal Karṇāṭaka
Peter Flügel (SOAS)

The paper presents a comparative analysis of the divination rituals performed to the *yakṣī*s Kūṣmāṇḍinī, Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī at pilgrimage shrines related to the *maṭha*s of the Digambara *bhaṭṭāraka*s at Mūḍabidarī, Narasiṃharājapura and Hūmchā in Coastal Karnataka and similar Hindu rituals in Central Karnataka to discern the specific features of jainisation of regional divinatory practice.

The Mudrās of Jain Mantraśāstra
Ellen Gough (Yale University, USA)

Ritual gestures (*mudrā*) are among the many components of Jain ritual that scholarship in non-Indic languages has completely overlooked. Jain ritual manuals, however, catalogue a variety of *mudrā*s, with the twentieth-century Digambara compendium *Laghuvidyānuvāda* listing 45, and Nayacandrasāgara's Śvetāmbara *Vardhamāna Vidyā Kalpa* picturing 24. While this paper cannot examine all of these *mudrā*s, it will focus on the eight used today in the daily worship of the *sūrimantra paṭa*, the cloth ritual diagram gifted to Śvetāmbara mendicant heads (*ācārya*) upon their promotions. Following the Gujarati manual *ācārya*s of the Tapā Gaccha use today, this paper will historicize these eight *mudrā*s, placing them within the Indic use of *mudrā*s more generally: (1) the *saubhāgya mudrā*, (2) the *parameṣṭhī mudrā*, (3) the *garuḍa mudrā* (4) the *surabhi mudrā*, (5) the *mudgar mudrā*, (6) the *cakra mudrā*, (7) the *pravacana mudrā*, and (8) the *añjali mudrā*. While some of these gestures, like the *añjali mudrā*, are omnipresent in Indic traditions, others are more commonly associated with particular sects: the *garuḍa mudrā*, for example, is associated with Vaiṣṇava traditions, while the *pravacana mudrā* perhaps is not used outside of Jain traditions. Ultimately, examining how and why these *mudrā*s are used in the worship of the *sūrimantra* will help us more fully understand not only components of Śvetāmbara worship, but also those of the non-Śvetāmbara traditions – Vedic, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Buddhist and Digambara – that use these same gestures.

Jaina Meditation as depicted in Jñānārṇava by Śubhacandra (1003-1068 CE)
Shugan C. Jain (ISJS, New Delhi, India)

The paper highlights the uniqueness of the eleventh-century CE Jain text, *Jñānārṇava* written by Śubhacandra on the Jaina meditation system. The peculiarity of *Jñānārṇava* lies in its treatment of knowledge (*jñāna*) and meditation (*dhyāna*) as synonymous, which is in conformity with Jain philosophical tradition. Śubhacandra argues that meditation, like a ship in the ocean, is the enabler of not only right knowledge but also of liberation (*mokṣa*, total annihilation of karmas). *Jñānārṇava* is a pioneering text with comprehensive

details of concept and practice of Jaina yoga and meditation. The author discusses the types and subtypes of meditation based on the four types of *puruṣārtha*; their prerequisites (control of mind, renunciation, self-restraint of sensual inclinations); process of meditation including body postures, seat/place for meditation, breathing, and retention for lay people, self-study and meritorious meditation (*dharmadhyāna*) for auspicious results and liberation ultimately. For successful practice of Jaina meditation, in *Jñānārṇava* Śubhacandra emphasized the need to acquire right knowledge about the soul and its attributes, to develop renunciation (*vairāgya*), and equanimity of mind. To do so, he detailed the twelve reflections and the trio of jewels (*ratnatraya*). Similarly he said that the objective of *dhyāna*-yoga should be to enhance spiritual knowledge that ultimately leads to the attainment of liberation rather than just for meritorious results (*puṇya*). Śubhacandra had adopted some of the techniques of other yogic and meditation systems prevailing in India to explain the practice of Jaina meditation. The paper also details as to how Śubhacandra draws on the writings of his predecessors as well his acquaintance with prevailing non-Jaina practices, along with his own long experience as a Jaina monk, to explain Jaina meditation systems. He also shows limitations of techniques like use of mantra, tantra, body postures, breathing and objects of concentration etc. for meditation propagated by other traditions. Finally the paper analyses the impact of Śubhacandra's writings on the practice of Jaina meditation of later and contemporary Jain *ācārya*s.

Tantric Elements in Prekṣa Meditation
Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā (SOAS, Jain Viśva Bhāratī Ladnun)

This paper aims at understanding the role of tantric elements in the development of the *prekṣā-dhyāna* developed by Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920-2010), an aspect of *prekṣā* meditation which has not so far been explored. I argue that Mahāprajña's *prekṣā* meditation synthesises tantric "right hand practices" with elements of modern science in a new model of meditation. It examines the incorporation of tantric techniques such as visualisation, verbalisation, identification, models of the body, practices of mantra "fixing," and the assignment of colours to various parts of the body (*nyāsa*). The anthropomorphic representation as a site for the mapping of these systems as well as a locus for these practices to take place is explored. It will show how mainstream tantric elements are mirrored in the Jaina *prekṣā* system: "coiled power" (*kuṇḍalinī*) / internal journey (*antara-yātrā*), concentrated gaze (*trāṭaka*) / fixed-gaze perception (*animeśa-prekṣā*), colour visualisation (*rāga-dhāraṇā*) / colour meditation (*leśyā-dhyāna*), element balancing (*dhātu-saṁtulana*) / perception of the body (*śarīra-prekṣā*), and alphabet fixing (*mantra-nyāsa*). The attempt to develop a new model of tantra which is compatible with modern science, empirical, and free of superstition and religious dogma will be investigated. Finally, the humanitarian and "socially engaged" features of these tantric elements will be assessed.

Tantra in Practice: How to Convert a King
Olle Qvarnström (University of Lund)

TBA

The Jaina Appropriation and Adaptation of Śaiva Ritual: The Case of Pādliptasūri's Nirvāṇakalikā
Alexis Sanderson (University of Oxford)

I shall show that the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, a published manual for the rituals of image installation (*pratiṣṭhāpaddhati*) attributed to Pāllittasūri, covering also daily ritual and the ceremony of initiation, is an adaptation of the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, an unpublished but influential eleventh-century Saiddhāntika Śaiva Paddhati covering the same topics. In addition to demonstrating that there is direct textual dependence here I shall attempt to explain and illustrate how the Jaina author went about adapting his Śaiva source-text through deletions, substitutions, and additions to produce an acceptably Jaina work.

Love, Violence, and Healing in Jain Tantra
Michael Slouber (Western Washington University, USA)

Jainism is often encapsulated in a series of stereotyped images: rigid non-violence, chastity, atheism, and a focus on transcending the world. On the other hand, tantra is popularly imagined to be all about ritual sex and black magic. Both characterizations contain some truth, of course, but neither does justice to the complexity of entire religious traditions. This paper introduces the character of medieval tantra, a religious current that rose in the fifth century CE and came to exert a lasting influence on all Indian religions. Drawing colourful examples from such Jain tantras as the *Jvālāmālinīkalpa*, *Vidyānuśāsanā*, and *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*—as well as derivative ritual and medical texts—I demonstrate that the Jains enthusiastically took part in the cosmopolitan world of Indian tantra, at once defying and redefining normative expectations in both the Tantric and orthodox Jain domains.

19th-century image of an *apsarāḥ*, Śāntinātha Jaina Mandira, Cūru/Rajasthan (Photo: Peter Flügel, 2014).

Jaina Tantra
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Siddhacakra, Jaipur. March 2011, Photo: Ellen Gough

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Jaina Hagiography and Biography: SOAS Jaina Studies Workshop 2014

Kristi L. Wiley

The 16th Jaina Studies Workshop, hosted by the SOAS Centre for Jaina Studies, was held 21 March 2014. It coincided with the ten-year anniversary of the Centre's founding. The theme was *Jaina Hagiography and Biography*. On the evening prior to the workshop, Dr Saryu Doshi, formerly Honorary Director of the National Gallery of Modern Art in Mumbai, delivered the 14th annual lecture entitled *Life of Ṛṣabha: A Painted Vision*.

Doshi's presentation featured a magnificent painted scroll that she had discovered some forty years ago in the storeroom of a Digambara temple in Karanja. The five auspicious moments (*pañca-kalyāṇaka*) in the life of Ṛṣabha are featured on this scroll, and the illustrations are most likely based on the biography of Ṛṣabha in the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena. The style, however, incorporates features of the clothing, the towns and the palaces, and so forth that are representative of the social situations and historical circumstances of the time and place where the scroll was painted. The illustrations also have some unique features, such as the depiction of the elephant Airavata, who transports Indra to Mount Meru for the lustration rites of the infant, with multiple tusks and lotuses. After describing the various scenes found on the manuscript, Doshi discussed certain elements in the paintings that provide clues to where this scroll was painted. At first she thought it had been painted in Rajasthan, perhaps in Bundi, because there were many features that allied it to Bundi paintings. However, she noticed that there were elements that allied it to Deccani paintings. In the seventeenth century, people from Rajasthan had settled in the Deccan, particularly in Aurangabad, to serve the chieftains from Rajasthan who had come to fight in the Deccani wars. They probably had brought their courts with them, including painters and a mixed Rajasthani and Deccani style of painting developed here. A number

Saryu Doshi

Introduction of the Keynote Speaker: Robert Skelton, O.B.E., Keeper of the Indian Department of the V&A Museum from 1978 to 1988

of Jains who were tradespeople came to supply goods to the Mughal army and Rajasthani nobelmen involved in the Mughal wars. Among them were Jains from Bundi who did not intermarry with families in the Deccan and thus remained clanish. These Agarwals were associated with the temple in Karanja where the scroll was found, which was the seat of the *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Sena Gaṇa. Doshi concludes that this community invited an artist from Aurangabad with Bundi affiliations to paint a scroll for them, which accounts for the mixed style found in the paintings.

Doshi's presentation, which visually transported the audience back to the beginning of the fourth period in the descending cycle of time when the celebrations of the auspicious moments in the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara of the era took place, set the stage for the next morning when aspects of biographies of Ṛṣabha were discussed in the context of the Hindu *purāṇa*s, Śatruñjaya, and Mount Meru. The biographies of the first *vāsudeva*, *baladeva*, and *prativāsudeva* of our era were examined in the context of why a biography would be presented twice. Moving into the fifth period, there were discussions of the lives of four Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak mendicants: Jinaprabhasūri of the Kharatara Gaccha, who lived in medieval times; and Ācārya Rāmacandrasūri, Muni Jambūvijaya, and Sādhvī Divyaprabhāśrī, who took *dīkṣā* in the Tapā Gaccha in the twentieth century. The practice of collecting material for biographical works within the Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī community was discussed in the context of Ācārya Tulsī, their ninth mendicant leader. There were two presentations that were not focused on illustrious men (*śalākapuruṣa*) or historical figures. One discussed hagiographic writings on North Indian *bhaṭṭāraka*s, and the other explored the ways in which hagiographies were used during rituals associated with modes of dying found in Ārādhanā texts. The day ended

with a report on work that is underway at SOAS on the manuscript of Johannes Klatt's *Jaina Onomasticon*, an encyclopedic 120-year-old bio-bibliographical resource, whose manuscript lay half-forgotten in the Asia-Africa Institute in Hamburg.

At the workshop the following day Renate Söhnen-Thieme (SOAS) focused on biographies of Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata in the Hindu *purāṇa*s. She observed that although much has been written about how biographies from Brahmanical literature, such as the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, have been incorporated into the universal history of the Jains, little attention has been paid to the opposite process, except for Padmanabh Jaini's articles on Ṛṣabha in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, where he becomes an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Jaini has concluded that the source of this material was Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*. There is, however, mention of Ṛṣabha in earlier Hindu *purāṇa*s, including the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, which was an important source for the *Bhāgavata*. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* must have been acquainted with some aspects of the Jain tradition because in the narrative, the term *vīra* is used, along with *arahanta*, and the practice of nudity is also mentioned. While the criticism of *brāhmaṇs* in the *Bhāgavata* are no doubt associated with the *Ādipurāṇa*, other details could have come from elsewhere, perhaps the *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, or the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, in which Ṛṣabha and Bharata are first linked. The absence of Bāhubali in the *Bhāgavata* also calls into the question assumptions regarding the *Ādipurāṇa*. Given the problems of relative dating of the various texts, Söhnen-Thieme concluded that it is not evident what the Jaina sources might have been, and determining who borrowed from whom is problematic as well, but the influence of earlier Jaina sources on the *Bhāgavata* is undeniable.

Eva de Clerq (University of Ghent) examined changes in biographies of Ṛṣabha among the Śvetāmbaras and the rise of Śatruñjaya as the most famous sacred site for Śvetāmbaras. In the vast corpus of early biographies of Ṛṣabha, aside from the number of dreams and the number of *kulakara*s, there is little variation in Śvetāmbara and Digambara sources except for the sequencing of events. All agree that after Ṛṣabha attained omniscience on Mount Aṣṭāpada (often identified with Mount Kailāsa), Ṛṣabhasena/Vṛṣabhasena became the first of his eighty-four *gaṇadhara*s. In the course of his subsequent

Renate Söhnen-Thieme (SOAS)

wanderings, there is no mention of Ṛṣabha visiting Mount Śatruñjaya in either Śvetāmbara or Digambara sources. From the fifth century onwards, however, in both traditions, Śatruñjaya is known as the place where the five Pāṇḍavas attained liberation. Although it was not associated with any of the Tīrthaṅkaras or other illustrious individuals (*śalākā-puruṣa*), it was worthy of respect because it was a place of liberation (*siddha-kṣetra*). Beginning in the eleventh century, when Śatruñjaya was becoming an important Śvetāmbara pilgrimage site, there are significant changes in the Ṛṣabha narrative in Śvetāmbara sources. His first *gaṇadhara* is either known exclusively as Puṇḍarīka, or this name is used alternatively with Ṛṣabhasena. In his wanderings after attaining omniscience, Ṛṣabha and his mendicant followers visit Śatruñjaya, and both Ṛṣabha and Puṇḍarīka preach in the assembly hall there. According to Hemacandra's account, Ṛṣabha tells Puṇḍarīka to remain on Śatruñjaya because he and the others monks staying there will attain liberation "from the power of the place." Because it was the first *tīrtha*, Śatruñjaya, where Bharata had erected a shrine and installed images of Ṛṣabha and Puṇḍarīka, attained an elevated status among Śvetāmbaras, and by using alternate names, there is a distancing of this mountain in the context of the liberation of the Pāṇḍavas. For Digambaras, there was no elevation in status of Śatruñjaya. It remained a *siddha-kṣetra* that was never visited by Ṛṣabha.

Ruth Satinsky (University of Lausanne) discussed what the lifespans of Ṛṣabha and Bharata (8,400,000 *pūrva*), Śreyāṃsa (8,400,000 years), and Ara (84,000 years) might reveal about the history of the concept of Mount Meru and its appearance in Hindu cosmology. In Jain cosmology, there are five Merus, and the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras are linked to them through the lustration ceremonies that are performed on their summits by the gods. A further link is found with the four Merus that are on the island-continents inhabited by humans other than Jambūdvīpa because they each rise 84,000 *yojana*s above the earth. In Pali texts of the Buddhist canon, Mount Meru also rises 84,000 *yojana*s above the earth. Kirfel has maintained that early Brahmanical cosmology formed the basis of later cosmology found in the epics and *purāṇa*s and was the basis for cosmology in Jaina and Buddhist texts as well. However, Satinsky questions this because

Eva de Clercq

(Left to right) Peter Flügel, Richard Black (SOAS Pro-Director Research & Enterprise), J.C. Wright, Robert Skelton & Saryu Doshi

Mount Meru is first mentioned in the *Bhīṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. Also, the concept of 84 and its multiples is absent in early Brahmanical literature, although Satinsky claims that it was widespread in the Greater Magadha region. Among the Jains, the number 8,400,000 signifies the number of places of hell, the number of life forms into which a soul may be born, and the number of *mahākalpa*s through which a soul must pass throughout *saṃsāra*. This corresponds with a similar notion among the Ajīvikas of 8,400,000 as the sum total of birth situations that a soul must experience. Thus, Satinsky has concluded that the concept of Mount Meru, along with the number eighty-four and its multiples, may have entered Hindu works under the influence of the culture of Greater Magadha.

Anna Esposito investigated why the biographies of Tiviṭṭhu (Skt. Tripṛṣṭha), along with his half-brother Ayala (Skt. Acala), and his enemy Āsaggīva (Skt. Aśvagrīva), the first *vāsudeva*, *baladeva*, and *prativāsudeva* of our era, are told twice in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅgadāsa (ca. fifth century CE). Tiviṭṭhu is an example of the intersection of lives of certain *śalākāpuruṣa*s. Tiviṭṭhu was a contemporary of Sijjaṃsa (Skt. Śreyāmsa), the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara, and eventually his soul would take birth as Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of our era. Previously, his soul had attained birth as Marīi (Skt. Marīci), grandson of Usabha (Skt. Ṛṣabha), and son of Bharaha (Skt. Bharata), the first *cakravartin*. Tiviṭṭhu's daughter married Amiyateya (Skt. Amitatejas), who would be reborn as Sānti (Skt. Śanti), the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara. Esposito noted that the narratives into which the biographies are embedded determine the character on which the story is focused. The first, which focuses on the life of Āsaggīva, explains why Prince Migaddhaya, unprovoked, cut off the foot of a buffalo. The prince in a past life had been Āsaggīva who had a minister named Harimaṃsu, a *nāstika* who advocated a materialistic world view. Āsaggīva wanted to marry the woman who became the wife of Tiviṭṭhu. A war commenced and Tiviṭṭhu killed Āsaggīva, becoming the first *vāsudeva*. Āsaggīva and his minister are both reborn in hell. Thinking he had come to destroy him, Āsaggīva develops an enmity towards his minister, which is played in many rebirths until the two are born as the prince and the buffalo. Esposito postulated that because of the emphasis

is on the *prativāsudeva* here, Saṅgadāsa may have felt compelled to retell the story with an emphasis on the biography of the hero Tiviṭṭhu, creating an association by marriage between him and Sānti. Esposito stated that she has found no earlier source in which these two are linked and believes it may be the source of the story of Sānti's previous birth in later *purāna*s and universal history texts.

Steven Vose (Florida International University) explored the question of how Jinaprabhasūri (1261-1333 CE), *ācārya* of the Laghu Śākhā of the Kharatara Gaccha, portrayed himself in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa* and how he was understood by his own lineage and by the Tapā Gaccha. Jinaprabha credits his skills as a debater and poet for his success with the sultan Muḥammad bīn Tughluq, who issued several edicts protecting Jains and their pilgrimage places, and who established near his own residence in Delhi a quarter for Jains with a new temple and *upāśraya* where Jinaprabhasūri could stay. Although today he is viewed as one of the most famous *ācārya*s in the Kharatara Gaccha, there is little mention of him in their accounts for around a century after this death. However, he appears in narratives of the Tapā Gaccha, where an emphasis is placed on his hymns and on his supernatural powers. In keeping with the Tapā Gaccha view, he expresses concerns that he had compromised his mendicant vows by his close association with the sultan, and he came to be viewed as one of their own. Vose theorizes that accounts of Jinaprabha's interactions with the sultan provided the narrative structure for the Tapā Gaccha's account of the association of Hīravijayasūri with the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar. Subsequently, Dharmasāgara took to task the Tapā Gaccha monks who had embraced a leader of a rival lineage as one of their own, and Jinaprabha faded into obscurity within this *gaccha*. On the other hand, he became prominent in subsequent compositions of the Kharatara Gaccha.

Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg (University of Tübingen) focused on a recently published English-language hagiography, *The Call of the Soul*, on life of Rāmacandrasūri (1897-1992), the founder of one of the largest Tapā Gaccha *samudāya*s. It was written by Jinaprajñā, a *sādhvī* in her forties who never met Rāmacandra personally. The topics where chosen, however, by Ācārya Kīrtiyaśasūri, who had been among

the inner circle of his guru, and it is his point of view that is represented throughout the volume. The 108 anecdotes of Rāmacandrasūri's life contain a wide range of controversial subjects, which may be classified into five categories: his protests against the legal ban of initiation of children into mendicancy (*bāl dīkṣā*); his strict interpretations of *ahiṃsā* and his critique of Mohandās Gāndhī's views on this subject; his views regarding the astrological determination of festivals in the ritual calendar (*pañcāṅga*), which are at odds those of other Tapā Gaccha *samudāya*s; his view that temple donations should be used exclusively for images and temple maintenance, not for charitable projects or paying temple servants; and his views regarding modes of worship that are permissible for living and deceased *ācārya*s. Debates regarding these issues among mendicants are acceptable, but within the lay community such discussions are viewed as problematic, being at odds with the concepts of *ahiṃsā* and *anekāntavāda*. Thus, at first glance, it is surprising that these controversies are detailed in this hagiography, which was written for an audience of English-speaking upper middle class Jains, and for non-Jains as well. However, Luithle-Hardenberg concludes that they have been included here because they strengthen the claim for Ācārya Kīrtiyaśasūri's leadership of the Rāmacandrasūri *samudāya*.

In her lecture entitled "Autobiographical and Biographical Accounts of Ācārya Tulsī" (1914-1997), the ninth head of the Terāpanth, Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā (SOAS) raised the question of whether *Merā Jīvana Merā Darśana* ("My Life, My Vision") should be called an autobiography because only thirty pages are actually the *ācārya*'s own words and these were dictated, not written. She provisionally concluded that it is an autobiography according to the definition "a narrative account of an extended period of a person's life written by, or presented

as having been written by that person." These eighteen volumes, edited by Sādhvī Pramukhā Kanakaprabhā and published between 2002-2011, are primarily based on Tulsī's diaries. However, there is some material from other sources, such as felicitation volumes and articles in journals. Although the first volume was completed by Tulsī himself, the remainder was written by the editor. Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā observed that the personalities of the *ācārya* and the editor are very different and questioned whether the editor could write in his tone. She believes that the editor's feelings and voice are sometimes discernible. For the most part, however, it is difficult for the reader to distinguish the voice of the editor, and the work appears to be written in Tulsī's own hand. It is invaluable as a source of history because his diary, which began in 1950 and ended the day of his death in 1997, contains accounts of his journeys spanning nearly fifty years. It provides a glimpse into the places he visited and the people he met, their personalities, and their lifestyles, at different times in history. Samaṇījī noted that this work must also be considered a biography because an account of Tulsī's death is included. She noted that although few people are familiar with this genre outside of the Jain community, there is a long tradition of biographies in the Terāpanth, beginning with their first leader, Ācārya Bhikṣu. In addition to this autobiography, four biographies have been written on Tulsī, one of which, Ācārya Mahāprajña's, has been translated into English as *Wheel of Dharma*.

Shin Fujunaga (Miyakonojō Kōsen) outlined the life of Muni Jambūvijaya (1923-2009) with an emphasis on his scholarship and discussed materials from which a biography could be constructed. Jambūvijaya took initiation 1937 at age fourteen from Muni Bhuvanvijaya, who had been his father in secular life. Within ten years, his abilities as a scholar had been recognized. Because

Glenn Ratcliffe

Paul Dundas, Shin Fujinaga & Whitney Kelting

of his knowledge of Tibetan, he was well-known in the field of Indology. Although his vows precluded him from traveling abroad, he was invited to contribute to the first international conference on Dharmakīrti at Vienna University. He edited a number of Jaina works, but in later years he focused his energies on preparing critical editions of the Jain *āgama*s and like Puṇyavijaya was interested in collecting manuscripts. Although he utilized commentaries in preparing critical editions published in the *Jaina Āgama Series*, only the source text was published. He maintained that commentaries were essential to understanding a text and decided to critically edit the all forty-five Jain *āgama*s with commentaries but he did not realize his dream due to his sudden death in 2009. There is no comprehensive biography of Jambūvijaya because he refused to allow one to be included in his *Festschrift*. However, materials are available from which one could be prepared. He kept a list where he spent his *cāturmā*s from 1931-2009. Prefaces to his edited works are useful to understanding his attitude toward editing texts, and they record where he was staying when they were written. *Scripture and Community* contains the notes that Kendall W. Folkert made during his stay with Jambūvijaya during the rainy season of 1985. A collection of twenty-nine letters that Jambūvijaya wrote to Padyumnasūri during his pilgrimage in the Himalayas in 2001 (*Himālay nī Padyātrā*) records where he traveled and reveals how Jain mendicants travel in a region where very few Jains live. After Jambūvijaya's death, Ācārya Municandravijaya, who had lived with him for about twenty years, took over the task of publishing the *āgama*s with commentaries. In the *Uvavāiasuttam* he has written about Jambūvijaya's lineage and tells of his experiences with him. Fujinaga concluded his talk by asking all scholars who knew Jambūvijaya to share information about his life.

Whitney Kelting (Northeastern University) discussed a publication of sixteen pages celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *dīkṣā* of Divyaprabhāśrī, a *sādhvi* in lineage of Buddhivijaya, which contains accounts of her life. Kelting was familiar with this charismatic nun because of her popularity with laywomen in the area of Pune, and had attended a *pravacana* on rainy season obligations that Divyaprabhāśrī delivered in Pune. This event was unusual because of the large crowd in attendance and because nuns in the Tapā Gaccha usually do not give public discourses. Her biographies are also unusual in certain respects. While biographies of Tapā Gaccha nuns focus on fasting, affection for their disciples, and devotion to their guru mother, these accounts focus on her great virtue, strength, and vigor as well as her education, scholarship, knowledge, discipline, and speaking abilities. In fact, fasting is not even mentioned. Nevertheless, it does not resemble the biographies of monks because it is more modest in nature, and because emphasis has been given to her virtuosity. Kelting observed that it is not really a hagiography but rather a precrystallized discourse that has not been cleaned up to be conformist. This is illustrated in the two accounts of how Divyaprabhāśrī came to take *dīkṣā*. One portrays her father as essentially forcing his daughter to renounce so that he himself would be free to take *dīkṣā*. The other account is more normative because her father renounces first, and she is so inspired that she decides to renounce. Kelting observed that ephemeral publications such as this contain stories that are still being created, and thus provide insights into the ways in which people creatively polish narratives in negotiating and formulating what constitutes a good life.

In portrayals of *bhaṭṭāraka*s today, it is often the case that an emphasis is placed on their worldly involvement, on their clerical and administrative roles, on the many consecrations that they have performed, and on their role in manuscript and scroll conservation. As compared

Ashok Jain

with Digambara *muni*s, who properly observe monastic discipline, they are considered lax. However, Tillo Detige (University of Ghent) maintains that in earlier times, when there were only a few Digambara *muni*s roaming, the *bhaṭṭāraka*s were held in high esteem by the community and were accorded the same respect and devotion as *muni*s are today. In *paṭṭāvalī*s, lineages of *bhaṭṭāraka*s were legitimized by linking them with earlier *ācārya*s and ultimately to the *gaṇadhara*s and to Mahāvīra himself. In vernacular *bhaṭṭāraka gītā*s, they were praised using the same epithets as *muni*s are in rituals of worship today. Furthermore, there is ample evidence of the worship of deceased *bhaṭṭāraka*s from commemorative pavilions (*bhaṭṭāraka chatrī*) and footprint images (*caraṇa pādukā*s), and there are *pūjā* texts for the eight-fold worship of these *bhattāraka pādukā*s. Detige also pointed out that *bhaṭṭāraka*s were not all alike and that some appear to have been more ascetically inclined than others. He believes that the more negative appraisal of *bhaṭṭāraka*s today may be associated with an internalisation by the Digambara community as a whole of the critique of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s advanced by the Digambara Terāpanthīs, which commenced in the seventeenth century.

Luitigard Soni (Innsbruck) discussed the role of narratives in rituals of heroic deaths. Among Digambaras, Jain views of death and dying are found in the *Ārādhanā* texts, such as the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*, which some have dated to the first century CE. Here various methods of dying are described, along with details regarding the implementation of the various modes of heroic death and the importance of maintaining a proper state of mind, characterized by detachment and self-restraint. For a person who does not carry out these rituals in isolation, there is usually a superintendent who oversees the process. A person may also be supported by the presence of forty-eight monks, and from among them four are appointed to narrate religious stories from the *Ārādhanā-kathā-kośa*s, which detail the manner in which heroic individuals faced death. In these end-of-life hagiographies, the hero often faces death in situations that are more extreme than the aspirant is experiencing, as in stories of those who died unassisted in solitude. They serve as a reminder that the aspirant has the assistance of other monks to rely on throughout the dying process when food and water have been renounced. Instead, he has drink in the form of stories, food in the form of advice, and medicine in the form of his own meditation, which protect him from lapses in his equanimity. More surprising, however, are four exemplary stories of renouncers who, when confronted with circumstances in which it is impossible to follow the right path, take their lives by other means. Under certain circumstances, for example, when a monk is presented with a situation where his vow of chastity would be compromised or where the entire mendicant community would be defamed, it is permissible to suddenly end one's life by entering the body of dead animal to be eaten by vultures, by hanging, by the use of weapons, and so forth. Under such circumstances, as illustrated by these stories,

ESSAY & DISSERTATION PRIZES IN JAINA STUDIES

Presented by: Prof J.C. Wright, President, Centre of Jaina Studies, SOAS. Vaishali Shanta Shah, SOAS, UG Jain Essay Prize Winner, Represented by Grace Tallulah Mary Cartwright, SOAS.

ending one's life in this manner is acceptable and does not preclude the attainment of heaven in the next rebirth.

The workshop concluded with a joint presentation by Peter Flügel (SOAS) and Kornelius Krümpelmann (SOAS) on Johannes Klatt's *Jaina Onomasticon* and the on-going Leverhulme Trust funded project at SOAS to publish a print edition of this 5,338 page manuscript. Flügel provided a brief account of Klatt's life. After studying Sanskrit and Prakrit, he worked as a librarian at the Royal Library at Berlin, where he catalogued hundreds of manuscripts. He also had access to manuscripts, catalogues, and periodicals housed in other European libraries, and he borrowed manuscripts from India as well. Born in 1852, he labored on his magnum opus for ten years before becoming ill in 1892. Because there has been considerable advancement in scholarship on Jainism since the second half of the nineteenth century, one finds factual errors in the sources which he recorded. He demonstrated at the hand of the references to Loṅkā that the text was not only an important document for the history of Indology but a yet unsurpassed reference work. Krümpelmann observed that it is a valuable source for the names of people and places, titles of texts, names of *gaccha*s, and so forth, and the scholarship on them prior to the twentieth century. Also, old manuscript catalogues are not easy to consult because they lack indexes. Thus, his *Onomasticon* serves as index of works and authors in catalogues and reports prior to 1893. In preparing the manuscript for publication, there is an emphasis on making it more accessible, with headings transcribed in roman, and there are corrections of misspellings and amendments to the text. Although Klatt references the author and date of his secondary sources and refers to manuscripts and printed editions of primary sources, there is no bibliography in his manuscript. Thus, the extensive bibliography that is being prepared will be indispensable to scholars who consult this work.

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Activities of the Foundation include conferences (Bangalore, 29-31 January 2010; Mumbai, 7-8 January 2012; New Delhi, 8-9 February 2014) and an annual journal: *Journal of Gyan Sagar Science Foundation*. The first volume was published in April 2013 (available online: www.gyansagarsciencefoundation.in). This issue covered all abstracts presented during two conferences and some full-length papers. The papers were published after a peer review process.

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

GSF is also a regular contributor to the annual Jaina Studies conference at SOAS, and has committed to five years of sponsorship of *Jaina Studies,* Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS.

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Māhāvira Suāmī at Madhuban, India   (Photo: Peter Flügel)

*Stotra*s in Jainism and Beyond at the AAS

Hamsa Stainton

In March, the 2014 annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies included a well-attended panel on the popular genre of praise-poetry known as the *stotra*. The papers for this panel, entitled "Beyond Conventions: Sanskrit Praise Poetry and Its Multiple Audiences," analyzed the literary practices and audiences of such works. Collectively, they sought to challenge scholars of South Asia from a variety of disciplines to rethink the inner workings of pre-modern literature and its complex roles within different communities.

In his paper, "In Praise of the Jina: The Digambara Five Stotras," John E. Cort (Denison University) introduced and analyzed the popular set of Sanskrit *stotra*s known as the pañcastotra. He focused primarily on the *Ekībhāva Stotra* by the eleventh-century monk Vādirāja and the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* by the sixth-century monk Mānatuṅga. Cort used these *stotra*s as a starting point for two broad arguments about the study of Jainism.

First, Cort argued persuasively that Jaina *stotra*s, and the *Five Stotras* in particular, reflect a distinctively Jain expression of *bhakti*. Rather than being a secondary support on the path to liberation, this *bhakti* itself leads to liberation in the eyes of these Jain hymnists, or what we might call, at Cort's suggestion, liturgical theologians. Thus Vādirāja, in the very first verse of his hymn, states that *bhakti* is an efficient means for removing the bondage of karma. Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara Stotra* also attests to the power of *bhakti* to transform the devotee's karmic condition. For these poets, singing such hymns enables one to overcome both physical and spiritual suffering. Through their *stotra*s, Cort argued, they provide a charter for Jain *bhakti*. This *bhakti* and the singing of such hymns are as efficacious and central to Jainism as the ascetic and meditative practices frequently highlighted in extant scholarship. Cort's paper also challenged the common tendency within scholarship on South Asian to identify *bhakti* with poetry in vernacular languages.

In his second main argument, Cort emphasized that some of these devotional hymns also function as tantric texts. Their verses have been understood as mantras—literally, "made of mantras" (*mantramaya*)—, and this means that their efficacy is not based on their semantic meaning or theological significance. Instead, their truly transformative power lies in the language of the hymns themselves and is, therefore, untranslatable. Cort argued that this understanding of some *stotra*s remains operative today in the preference for the original Sanskrit text of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*, for example, despite its dozens of translations into vernacular languages, for only the original language has the full ritual efficacy. In addition, Cort provided examples of how the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* has been treated as a set of mantras in tantric ritual. It has been the basis of complex, collective rituals, known in Digambar ritual culture as *vidhān*s, that utilize special *maṇḍala*s, *yantra*s, and mantras as the hymn is recited by a congregation led by a religious specialist. In this way,

Siddhacakra Yantra at the foot of Bahubali, Sravana Belgola, December 2013

Cort highlighted two ways that the reception and ritual use of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* reflect the overlapping roles of *bhakti* and tantra within Jainism. As he argued in his conclusion, these two streams—esoteric tantric ritualism and exoteric *bhakti*—are not as distinct, and certainly not as antithetical, as some scholars have assumed.

In "Praising the Jina as Śiva: Doxographical Logic in Jain Stotra," Sarah Pierce Taylor (University of Pennsylvania) focused on how the ninth-century Jain author Jinasena engages other religious communities, and specifically Śaivas, in his *Pārśvābhyudaya* and *Ādipurāṇa*. She identified four distinct literary modes that Jinasena uses to address these communities: conversion, humor, intellectual mastery, and theological incorporation. Her analysis of the *Pārśvābhyudaya* illustrated how this text uses the literary strategies of conversion and humor to address rival Śaivas. Interestingly, in addition to describing straightforward conversions in the narrative, Taylor also argued that as Jinasena incorporates lines of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* into his text, he converts the familiar landscape traveled in this messenger poem into a distinctly Jain landscape. In doing so, Jinasena also uses biting humor, reducing the Śaivas to farcical characters in his representation.

For examples of intellectual mastery and theological incorporation as literary strategies, Taylor turns to Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*. Chapter five of this major work, for instance, includes the staging of a philosophical disputation in the court of the first Jina Ādinātha, incarnate here as a king, in which the Jain position unsurprisingly emerges victorious. The *Ādipurāṇa*, a diverse and ambitious text, also includes multiple *stotra*s that complement the other literary strategies discussed thus far. Both the philosophical debates and the *stotra*s in the *Ādipurāṇa* catalogue, incorporate, and reinterpret Śaiva vocabulary and mythology. Taylor analyzed specific verses from Jinasena's *stotra*s to argue that this author praises the Jina as Śiva, but also as superseding Śiva through specifically Jain forms and practices. Thus the text polemically presents Jainism as both accounting for and exceeding the religious capabilities of

Śaivism. She characterized the logic of these strategies as doxographical. They assimilate Śiva and the Hindu pantheon within a Jain religious worldview. Within this hierarchical framework, Jinasena's *stotra* in the *Ādipurāṇa* becomes a means of expressing the power of the Jina through the names, mythology and imagery of Śiva.

Taylor also used these examples to offer a critique of the historical periodization of Kannada literary history into three distinct phases, namely the Jain, Vīraśaiva, and Vaiṣṇava. In general, the scarcity of archival sources for pre-twelfth-century Karnataka has made it difficult to challenge the simplistic account of this period. But as Taylor demonstrated, Jinasena's ninth-century works provide evidence for a dynamic, diverse religious landscape that is a far cry from the homogeneity implied by labeling this as exclusively the Jain period. Jinasena's works, and his *stotra*s in particular, reflect intimate knowledge and complex engagement with competing religious communities during this important period.

The present author, Hamsa Stainton (University of Kansas), analyzed a creative and ambitious collection of fourteenth-century Śaiva *stotra*s from Kashmir called the *Stutikusumāñjali* in his paper, "Poetry as Prasāda: Sanskrit Stotras and the Nature of Bhakti." While he focused on Śaivism, rather than Jainism, Stainton emphasized interpretive issues relevant to the study of the *stotra* genre across traditions. He argued for a specific heuristic strategy for interpreting the poetic language and religious functions of Sanskrit *stotra*s: these praise-poems can be interpreted as verbal offerings to a deity, analogous to flowers, fruits, and other such offerings. Just as these physical items are offered to a deity and then enjoyed by a community of devotees as *prasāda*, as a physical expression of the deity's favor or grace, these Sanskrit hymns are enjoyed by their secondary, human audiences. He argued that this interpretation is useful for an analysis of the logic of *bhakti* in some Sanskrit poetry. For many *stotra* authors, at least in Kashmir, *bhakti* means a form of devotional sharing and participation that is markedly aesthetic. Such hymns indicate the importance of considering the aesthetic dimensions of *bhakti* poetry and the communal participation envisioned in their consumption.

The benefits of this strategy for interpreting *stotra*s, according to Stainton, are multifold. It opens up new ways of thinking about religious poetry, such as how beauty may be crucial to some verbal offerings not only because it pleases the deity but also because it allows that poetry to be appreciated and savored by a particular human audience. Like material *prasāda*, *bhakti* poetry circulates and creates community through its consumption. Jagaddhara, the author of the *Stutikusumāñjali*, praises and seeks to cultivate an audience of Śaiva devotees who are also aesthetic connoisseurs, able to appreciate complex theology precisely because of their ability to savor complex poetry. This approach also contributes to the literature on *prasāda* itself, for as Stainton argued it highlights the relationship between material and non-

material forms of *prasāda*. Finally, Stainton argued that the study of *bhakti* in South Asia, particularly in the second millennium CE, has not given sufficient attention to Sanskrit sources, and stotras in particular. *Stotra*s remained a vital medium for preservation and innovation.

Each of the papers in this panel highlighted the flexibility and potential of the *stotra* form, and they used specific *stotra*s to challenge and rethink broad trends in the study of Jainism and other religious traditions across South Asia. Rather than shying away from the historical complexity and vastness of the corpus of Sanskrit praise poetry, they sought to develop new tools for analyzing these versatile compositions that may prove useful for other scholars as well.

This panel was co-organized by Stainton and Audrey Truschke (Stanford University). Truschke had originally been scheduled to present a paper entitled "Commemorating Kavīndrācārya's Negotiations with Shah Jahan" but was unable to attend.

Hamsa Stainton is an Assistant Professor in the Religious Studies Department at the University of Kansas. His research interests include Sanskrit stotra *literature,* bhakti *traditions, Śaivism, and the religious history of Kashmir.*

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Dharma in Jainism: Workshop at Manipal University

Tillo Detige

Calendared auspiciously in the days leading up to the *pūrṇimā* of the month of Māgha, full moon day of 2-3 February 2015, a two-day workshop on Jainism took place at the Centre for Philosophy and Humanities (MCPH) at Manipal University in Karnataka, India. It was organised by Professors Sundar Sarukkai and Meera Baindur, both of Manipal University, which generously funded and hosted the workshop, and by Dr Jayandra Soni of Innsbruck University. Twelve speakers from India and abroad were invited to speak on a Jain-related theme of their choice. The conference was well attended by local researchers and students, and participants who had come from further afield. Allotting a full hour to each speaker, the workshop allowed for detailed presentations, sustained reflection and both extensive and intensive discussions.

Meera Baindur inaugurated the conference, noting that the meeting was specifically designed to bring together scholars working in various disciplines of the field of Jaina Studies. The event indeed brought to the limelight a wide array of aspects of Jaina dharma, with individual contributions focussing on subjects ranging from cosmology and mathematics to ontology and metaphysics, and from logic and ethics to literature and ritual. As such, the workshop gave the students of the MCPH and other participants a thorough introduction to the teachings and practices of Jainism, and a broad overview of the various disciplines practiced in the field of Jaina Studies.

Nalini Joshi (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune) opened the proceedings with a paper titled "Interpretation of the *Mudrarākṣasa* from the Jaina Perspective." She pointed out the Jaina elements in Viśākhadatta's Sanskrit drama (7th–8th century CE), revolving around the historical personalities of Candragupta Maurya and Cāṇakya. She also highlighted the lack of attention paid to the Cāṇakya-Candragupta narratives found in the *Āvaśyaka*- and *Niśītha-cūrṇi*s.

The presence of H.H. Cārukīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of the Jaina *maṭha* at nearby Mūḍabidrī graced the start of the conference. With his multilingual and learned discussion of "Karma in Jainism," the Bhaṭṭāraka effaced in a wonderful manner the distinction between conference papers and traditional teachings (*pravacan*).

With specific reference to Haribhadra's treatise, Meera Baindur (Manipal University) introduced the intricacies of Jaina cosmology in her paper "Geography and Place in Jaina Dharma: A Discussion on *Jambūdvīpasaṃgrahaṇī*." By connecting Jaina cosmology with Jainism's soteriological concerns, she restored place as a central element of Jaina dharma. While it is an individual's karma that determines the location of rebirth, and the latter in turn determines the possibilities of further progress on the path of liberation, knowledge of one's cosmological location also helps and motivates one to make further advances.

Meera Baindur (Manipal University)

The polyvalence of the term "dharma" was pointed out by Jayendra Soni (University of Innsbruck) in his paper "Jaina Dharma of Beings and Things." Soni pointed out that beings and things (*jīva* and *ajīva*) should be seen in the context of substance, quality and mode/modification (*dravya*, *guṇa* and *paryāya*) to account for the changes they undergo without losing their intrinsic nature.

Luitgard Soni (Innsbruck) presented her research on the "Jaina Dharma of Dying and Death," with particular reference to the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā* written in Śauraṣeṇī Prakrit by the Digambara Śivārya. Reiterating the view that in the Jaina literature "on fasting unto death" the Jaina doctrine is reviewed as a consequence of its underlying metaphysics, Soni connected the Jaina methods and concepts of dying a good death with the Jaina views of body, soul, karma, rebirth and liberation.

Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya (Śāntiniketan) took up Jainism's crucial moral guideline of *aparigraha* (non-possession) and discussed its practical application for both mendicants and lay people in his paper "Theory and Practice of *aparigraha* in Jainism with special reference to the Jain Canons." Quoting from several canonical works, he showed its historical development, also discussing how the 22 *tīrthaṅkara*s preceding Mahāvīra taught four rather than five great vows (*mahāvrata*s), subsuming *aparigraha* and celibacy under one single vow (called *bahiddhādāna viramana*).

Opening the second day of the workshop, Anupam Jain (Sanwer, Indore) gave a comprehensive overview of "The Role of Mathematics in Jainism." He showed mathematics to be crucial for fields like cosmography, karmic theory, logic and astrological calculations of the auspicious moment for events like *dīkṣā* and *pratiṣṭhā*. His presentation also included an overview of Jaina mathematical works, among others Ācārya Mahāvīra's (814-877 CE) *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* and Paṇḍita Ṭoḍaramala's (1720-1767 CE) *Gommatasāra Samyakjñānacandrikā*.

Sundar Sarukkai (Manipal University) discussed the "Moral Implications of Jaina Logic." Many modern

theories of morality are built on specific assumptions concerning the relation between ethics and rationality, claiming that binary logical structures enable moral judgements to become more universal and objective. The multi-valued logic of Jainism, however, goes hand in hand with a "situated," contextual ethics. In this context, Sarukkai also proposed an alternative understanding of (ethical) rationality, one that conceptualizes rational decision making as a process rather than a purely content-based event.

Shubhachandra Jain (Emeritus, Mysore University) discussed the singularly central aspect of Jaina dharma in his paper "The Jaina Concept of *Hiṃsā* and *Ahiṃsā*." Premising his discussion on the view that for a clear understanding of the importance of *ahiṃsā* one should also understand the nature of *hiṃsā*, he discussed the various types of violence as distinguished in Jainism. These depend, among other factors, on the intentionality of the act of violence and the object to which it is directed. Violence, according to Jaina teachings, also encompasses "*sva-hiṃsā*," violence towards oneself, for example when engaging in passions like anger and greed.

Next, Godavarisha Mishra (Madras University) presented the Digambara writer Ācārya Kundakunda in his presentation: "Reconciling the Differences: Kundakunda and Restructuring Jaina Dharma." Mishra presented Kundakunda's work as a conscious attempt to formalize and unify the thought of earlier Jaina philosophers. Special reference was made to the *Samayasāra*, which was highlighted for its comprehensive treatment of the self.

Priti Shubhachandra (Mysore University) discussed "Anti *Yajña* Representations in Kannada Jaina Literature." The opposition to Vedic sacrificial rituals of course relates directly to the central Jaina concept of *ahiṃsā*. Taking stock of Guṇabhadra's narration of the origin of *hiṃsā-yajña* in his Uttara Purāna, Shubhachandra then analysed and discussed the various narratives about violent sacrifices found in Cāmuṇḍarāya's *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* and Nāgacandra's *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*.

In his presentation "Ritual, Devotion and Liberation:

Sundar Sarukkai (Manipal University)

the Case of the Digambara Bhaṭṭārakas," the present writer (Ghent University) highlighted the importance and function of Jaina ritual and devotion as irreplaceable epistemological and soteriological tools, arguing for a reappraisal of these practices as "technologies of the self."

Apart from the valuable presentations, it was the impeccable organisation, the delightful campus of the MCPH and the wonderful facilities and hospitality offered by Manipal University that contributed to making the workshop a grand success. The MA and PhD students of the MCPH, acting as the many helping hands of the organisers, also formed the heart of the proceedings. Their critical questions, vivid remarks and profound reflections demonstrated their earnest inquiring minds as well as the high standard of the centre's educational programme.

Tillo Detige is currently conductng doctoral research on Digambara history at Ghent University, aided by a scholarship granted by the Research Foundation Flanders.

Jaina Funeral Palanquins

Peter Flügel

A funerary palanquin was once regarded as the exclusive privilege of royalty, and until recently, could only be paraded in public with permission of the king.[1] One of the oldest detailed descriptions of an Indian royal funeral culminating in the collection of bones and ashes, that of King Daśaratha, father of Rāma, in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām) II.65-77, mentions a funeral palanquin, or *śibikā*, used for the procession of the corpse to the cremation ground (II.76.14). Waldschmidt (1948: 273, 344f.) pointed to the close analogy between the basic sequence of events in the description of Daśaratha's funeral and accounts of the funeral of the Buddha, who apparently instructed his disciples to have it conducted in the same way as the funeral for a universal monarch (*cakkavatti*), "the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction." The comparison of different recensions of the ancient Buddhist *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (MPS) and parallel passages in the *Sūtrapiṭika*s and *Vinayapiṭika*s by Waldschmidt (1944-48, 1950-51) and Bareau (1970-71) showed that of the MPS only the Sanskrit[2] and in particular relatively late Chinese versions include depictions of a funeral palanquin, also called *śivikā*, but not the Pāli account.[3] Waldschmidt highlighted that, contrary to the epic narrative of Daśaratha's funeral, the accounts of the funeral of the Buddha are all adorned with miracle stories, and, besides humans, allocate major roles to the gods. In the oldest and effectively paradigmatic depiction of the funeral of the first *jina*, Ṛṣabha, in *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* (JDP) II, the proceedings are conducted exclusively by gods. Here, the common trend towards progressive idealisation of cultural heroes in the three main ancient South Asian religions has reached its logical conclusion. Even ordinary Jaina mendicants have been superhumanised to an unprecedented degree.

Nowadays, it is an established Jaina custom to honour exemplary Jaina mendicants, as well as exceptional laity, who performed the fast to death (*sallekhanā*), with a festive funeral procession to the cremation ground in an extravagant royal-style palanquin, where the corpse inside the palanquin will be reduced to ashes in a visually compelling act of transformation through fire. In contrast to the solemn funeral of a common Jaina lay person, whose dead body is carried by male family members to the funeral pyre on a simple bier, in a lying posture, covered from head to toe by a shroud, the funeral of a Jaina ascetic, who purposefully purified and finally "liberated" the soul from its fetters to achieve salvation or at least a better rebirth, is a joyous occasion. The corpse is carried on the shoulders of leading male representatives of the local Jaina community, behind an orchestra playing exuberant tunes, in a decorated funeral palanquin, resembling a royal litter, covered with a canopy, shaped

Fig. 1 Ācārya Mahāśramaṇa of the Śvetāmbara Terāpanth in front of the *baikuṇṭhī* of his predecessor Ācārya Mahāprajña, Sardārśahar 10.5.2010 (Photo: Babluji)

like a palace or a temple,[4] in a cross-legged, upright meditative posture, with the face exposed.

The practice of constructing funeral palanquins for Jaina ascetics is shared amongst both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras today.[5] There are only slight stylistic variations. Digambaras, it seems, have a preference for less ostentatious designs, such as uncovered throne-like wooden seats, that are placed on a simple bier. The use of such vehicles, or *vimāna*s, called *baikuṇṭhī* in Rājasthān, is documented already in the earliest eye-witness report of a Śvetāmbara monastic funeral of the 12th century, which depicts a multi-levelled structure, made of sandalwood and decorated with auspicious pots (*kalasa*) and flags (*dhaya*), without offering details on the position of the corpse.[6] Such a public procession of a dead body in a sitting posture, placed in a funeral palace draped with royal symbols, above all *kalaśa*s and *dhvaja*s, demands attention and asserts a claim to high status: not only for the deceased, but for the community as a whole.[7] (Fig.4)

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1 Research was co-funded by AHRC Fellowship AH/I002405/1 2011. All Āgama-References in the text refer to the Lāḍnūṃ-Edition.

2 MPS 36.7, 46.7, 47.4 ff., in Waldschmidt 1950.

3 See Waldschmidt 1948: 277-9, 1950: 410ff., and Bareau 1971: 192, 194f., who regarded the difference between a palanquin and a simple bier as negligible.

4 "Their dead bodies are carried by the [Jodhpur Dhundia] Jains [...] in a Bekunti, and burnt" (Singh 1894: 97).

5 Campbell 1886: 145 observed in 19th century Kolhapur: "When a [Digambara Jaina] *sanyáshi* or ascetic dies his body is carried in a canopied chair instead of an ordinary bier."

6 Śricandrasūri's 12th-century MJC vv. 10920 f., in Dundas 2013: 34.

7 Cf. Koppedrayer 1991: 195.

Processions are therefore carefully monitored, and frequently barred, by political authorities.

In India, the procession of the body of a person in a sitting posture, alive or dead, was once restricted to royalty.[8] It could be mimicked only with special permission, as the following observations on the funeral procession of the Terāpanth *ācārya* Jītamala (Jāyācārya) (1803-1881) in Jaipur also demonstrate:

> It was the first case in Jaipur state that the body of a person other than royalty was taken in sitting posture in a procession for cremation. It became possible only because the Srawakas got prior approval from the Maharaja of Jaipur (Sharma 1991: 179f.).

As a rule, in Hinduism, Buddhism, and in ordinary Jaina funerals, corpses are not carried in an upright position.[9] Even kings are usually transported to the funeral ground in a lying position, with their face covered. The corpse of the Buddha, too, is always represented in a lying posture. The significance attached to the sitting posture therefore indicates that the underlying comparison is rather between a parade of a living king, conveyed on the shoulders of men in a comfortable chair (*sukhāsana*), and the procession of a dead Jaina ascetic, who is claimed to have been reborn as a king in the upper world. Unlike the relatively modest though ostentatiously adorned *vimāna*s of Jaina mendicants (Fig. 1-2), royal funeral palanquins can be huge palace-like structures, with towering spires, which require hundreds of men to be carried. Grand royal-style funeral palaces are nowadays used in Buddhist monastic funerals as well. Yet, the exposed sitting posture of the deceased, the open display of the face, and the prescribed absence of mendicants during

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8 On the apparently uncovered face of the Buddha, see the speculations of Bareau 1971: 193.

9 In Vedic India women also participated in funeral processions. See *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* IV.4.2. Cf. ṚV 10 and Atharvaveda 18, etc., for further older information on Vedic funerals.

Fig. 3 Removal (*nirharaṇa*) of the body of Ācārya Mahāprajña from his abode, Sardārśahar 10.5.2010 (Photo: Babluji)

Fig. 2 Ācārya Mahāprajña inside his *baikuṇṭhī*, Sardārśahar 10.5.2010 (Photo: Babluji)

the funeral procession and cremation seem to be features unique to the funerals of Jaina ascetics. For ordinary Jaina cremations, by contrast, a modest bier (*siḍī* or *sīḍī*) is constructed out of bamboo sticks, which are laid out in form of a ladder as its name indicates (*siḍī=sīṛhī*), and the body is cremated with slight variations in a standard modern Hindu fashion.

The origins of this practice are obscure. With the emergence of the concept of the fourfold community (*cāturvarṇya-śramaṇa-saṅgha*), possibly as late as the 4th century CE (Viy 20.8.5), Jaina mendicants officially assumed the status of spiritual rulers for their followers, which they must have enjoyed for centuries, and began to be treated and addressed as kings (*mahārāja*), and allegorically depicted as such in Jaina literature and iconography.[10] However, because the use of regal symbols is prohibited for Jaina mendicants, the outward trappings of royalty can only be attached to them for brief moments, before initiation and after death, which must have motivated the creation of extended rituals for these occasions. They are usually organised by lay devotees, to publicly celebrate Jaina values, and their representatives, with permission of the Jaina *ācārya*s and the local authorities. Apart from the brief keyword-lists *Āvassayanijjutti* (ĀvN) 206, 366 & 435, the oldest and effectively paradigmatic depictions of funeral rituals for Jaina mendicants are the descriptions of the legendary collective cremation of the *jiṇa* Usabha (Ṛṣabha), his *gaṇahara*s, and ordinary monks (*aṇagāra*) in the Śvetāmbara Āgama text *Jambuddīvapannatti* (JDP1) 2.101 (= JDP2 2.43), composed around the 4th century C.E. and echoed by Jinadāsa Gaṇin Mahattara's 7th-century *Āvassayacuṇṇi* (ĀvC) p. 222, and the first Digambara version, Jinasena's 9th-century Sanskrit universal history *Ādipurāṇa* (ĀP) 47.343f. All these texts use the words *siviyā* or *sīyā* (Skt. *śibikā* or *śivikā*) for the funeral palanquins; a term without obvious eschatological overtones, which is also employed in the Śvetāmbara canon as a designation for the palanquins used for carrying mendicants-to-be to their sites of

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10 Uv 16 mentions the following set of (non-violent) royal symbols appearing in the sky wherever Mahāvīra went: wheel (*cakka*), umbrella (*chatta*), flywhisks (*cāmara*), crystal lion-throne (*sīhāsana*) with footrest (*pāya-pīḍha*), and religious flag (*dhammi-jjhaya*).

initiation. JDP 2.101 alone presents information on the elaborate ornamentation of the funeral palanquins with paintings of animals, human beings, *kinnara*s (half-human, half horse), Mt. Aṣṭāpada, and flywhisks. Decorations of this kind could not be applied to a plain bier. It therefore has to be assumed that at the time of the creation of this text elaborate Jaina funeral rites and the use of funeral palanquins for prominent monks had already come into existence, at least in the Śvetāmbara tradition. ĀP 47.343f. merely mentions that the "best palanquin" was used, in recognition of the extraordinary qualities of Ṛṣabha's body, which had been productive of the liberation of his soul (*mokṣa-sādhana*).

A few basic rules for the removal of the corpse of a common mendicant had been prescribed already in the late early-canonical *Kappa* (BKS) 4.24 and in its commentaries, especially Saṅghadāsa's 6th century *Kappabhāsa* (*Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*) (BKB) 5497-5565, and in the Digambara text *Bhagavaī-Ārāhaṇā* (*Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*) (BhĀ), composed by Śivārya in the 1st century CE or later, which in v.1973 uses the word *siviyā* for a funeral litter. Instead of a paradigmatic high-class cremation for a legendary Jina, the BhĀ and the BKB prescribe in great detail and in an entirely similar manner the alternative and presumably older procedure of simply discarding the dead body of a common monk in the forest. BKB vv. 5503 additionally specifies the materials—solid and smooth bamboo (*veṇu*) and wood (*dāru*)—for the "implement" (*uvagaraṇa*) which BKS 4.24 recommends to be used by mendicants to carry the corpse outside the abode, if a monk dies at night and no householders are present.

The term *sīyā*, the short form of *sibiyā* or *siviyā*, is used in Samavāya (Sam) Paiṇṇa 224 to designate the individual palanquins used to carry each of the 24 Jinas to the sites where they renounced the world (*ṇikkamaṇa*). The name of the palanquin of each Jina is enumerated. Usabha's, for instance, was called "Sudaṃsaṇā"(Good-looking), and Mahāvīra's, "Caṃdappabhā" (Moonlight). The unusual anthropomorphisation of the quasi-royal vehicles used by the noble-born future Jinas during their procession to the site of renunciation indicates the symbolic significance attached to them in the context of newly developed Jaina initiation ceremonies. Specific ornaments are not mentioned, only that the palanquins were comfortable in all seasons (*savvotuka-subha*) and of great beauty (*chāyā*). However, details on ornamentation are given in another exemplary story concerning an ordinary monk. In the late-canonical *Nāyādhammakahāo* (NDK I.128-144), the stately palanquin used to carry Prince Meha to the site of his initiation (*pavvāvaṇa*), by Mahāvīra, following portable displays of "the eight auspicious symbols" (*aṭṭha-maṃgala*), is simply identified as a "thousand-man-palanquin" (*purisa-sahassa-sīyā*). The specifications for its attractive decorative paintings echo those of the funeral palanquin given in the JDP. Additionally, numerous pillars (*khaṃbha*) are mentioned, suggestive of a multi-levelled structure. They are described as being adorned not

Fig. 4 Funeral procession of Ācārya Mahāprajña, Sardārśahar 10.5.2010 (Photo: Babluji)

only with paintings, but also with bells (*ghaṃṭā*), gems (*rayaṇa*), and puppets of playful dancing girls (*līlaṭṭhiya-sālabhaṃjiyā*). During the procession itself five beautiful young maidens (*vara-taruṇī*) were positioned around Meha, holding flywhisks (*cāmara*), a palmleaf fan (*tālaviṃṭa*), a silver water pitcher (*bhiṃgāra*), and a large white parasol (*āyavatta*) (indicating that this palanquin was not imagined to have been covered by a canopy), which are all royal symbols (NDK I.129).[11]

The puppets of dancing girls and the presence of young maidens allude to the alternative wedding procession, which is conducted in a similar way. In Hindu contexts, the funeral of an old person who died a "good death" is also sometimes joyously celebrated and described as "their 'second wedding' and their funeral procession as a *barat*—as a marriage party" (Parry 1994: 155, 157). In contrast to the ban on the participation of women in common Jaina and Hindu funeral processions, females take part in the funerals of Jaina ascetics. As in the *dīkṣā-yātrā*, the emphasis is not on the negative aspects of renunciation or death, but on the positive potential to create new relationships. The hope for a victory over attachment is expressed by the prevalence of royal symbolism in weddings and Jaina initiations and funerals. Proof for the pervasiveness of this supposition is furnished by a Chinese version of the MPS, according to which, during the funeral procession of the Buddha, young girls held a canopy (*cailavitāna*),banners (*dhvaja*)

11 Cf. Koppedrayer's 1991: 194 similar description of a Hindu context today.

Fig. 5 *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*: Akāmamaraṇijjaṃ (Detail)
Cambay, Gujarat, ca. 1460
© Victoria and Albert Museum
Museum Number: IS.2:5/2-1972

and parasols (*chattra*) over the funerary litter (*śivikā*).[12] It again demonstrates that the symbolical role of young girls or artistic representations thereof is to accentuate the obligatory celebratory mood of the occasion, not to mark the difference between a wedding, an initiation or a funeral.

Cremation of the corpse in a meditative cross-legged "lotus posture" (*padmāsana*), a common today, could be an even later development (as in Hindu ascetic burials): as late as the 19th century in the Terāpanth tradition, judging by the evidence concerning Jayācārya's funeral. Two published manuscript illustrations, each depicting a dead Jaina mendicant in a lying posture, may be indicative, though more research is required on this question. The first image, an illustration of *Uttarajjhāyā* 5 in a 15th-century Gujarātī Mūrtipūjaka manuscript, depicts the sumptuous procession of a dead monk lying on his back inside an ornate canopied funeral palanquin, as in any upper class Hindu funeral procession, but with his head uncovered, and, exceptionally, carried by both laity and monks (possibly indicating that this scene depicts the initial disposal, *nirharaṇa*, of the corpse by the monks , cf. Fig. 3), while the second, from an 18th-century Rājasthānī Sthānakavāsī manuscript, shows a corpse lying on a simple wooden *bājoṭ*, wrapped completely in white cloth, including the face, as in a common contemporary Hindu funeral.[13] The ancient Jaina texts remain silent on this point.

The so-called *baikuṇṭhī* used by Jainas in Rājasthān today is a wooden structure made of a base of two joined

carrying poles and a rectangular canopy, with a rib-vaulted dome made of bamboo rods conjoined by a pivotal timber nexus.(Fig.6) The timber skeleton is internally and externally embroidered with shining fabric and the pinnacles of the dome are decorated with metal pots and flags. Its conventional shape mimics a (*mahā-*) *prāsāda*, a temple or throne cum heavenly palace, literally "a seat in a conspicuous place."[14] It is also called *deva-vimāna*, "vehicle-" or "palace of the gods,"[15] because it represents a means of transport for a god's journey to heaven (*deva-loka*) (as it were via the smoke of the cremation fire). This is indicated by the Rājasthānī synonyms *bekuṇṭhī*, *baikuṇṭhī* and *vaikuṇṭhī*, which derive from the Sanskrit adjective *vaikuṇṭhīya*: "relating to Viṣṇu's heaven" in the sense of "leading to Viṣṇu's heaven." Standard Sanskrit and Prakrit dictionaries and glossaries of Jaina technical terms do not offer information on the term *vaikuṇṭhī*. However, in Rājasthānī, according to Lālas (1986-7 II: 664), the vernacular word *vaikuṇṭhī* designates: (1) (a) a funeral litter (*pālakī-numā śavayāna*) or bier (*arathī*, *rathī*, *ratha*), (b) a wealthy person (*arthī*), or (2) *vaikuṇṭha* (from *vi-kuṇṭha*, "irresistible"), an epithet of (a) Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa), (b) Viṣṇu's highest heaven, palace or abode, (c) Indra, (d) Tulasī, (e) (a special class of) the gods. Patel (1986: 163ff.) pointed out that the word *vaikuṇṭha* was first associated with Indra in late-Vedic texts. Later *vaikuṇṭha* became an epithet of Viṣṇu, and the "story attached to Indra has been transferred to Viṣṇu" (p. 168). Finally, the concept of a *vaikuṇṭha* heaven, the abode of Viṣṇu, was created around the 9th-10th centuries, and further developed in later Purāṇas, such as the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. As a transferred epithet of Indra the use of the word *baikuṇṭhī* for Śvetāmbara Jaina funeral palanquins may even be older than the 9th century, given that middle- and late-canonical texts already tell us that, as a rule, the souls of Jaina mendicants swiftly travel to and are reincarnated in the upper world (*ūrdhva-loka*) as Indras and Indrāṇīs or other powerful heavenly beings.

The visible enactment of the soul's imagined ascent to heaven (*vaikuṇṭha-gati*) by means of the ceremonial quasi-sacrificial destruction of a funeral palace by fire (and its imaginary transformed recreation in the upper-world) demonstrates the continuing influence of Vedic imagery on the Jaina (and Buddhist) funeral ritual. The jainised use of the word *baikuṇṭhī* for a Jaina funeral palace is itself an example for the complex co-evolution of Hindu and Jaina religious cultures. Although the names of their heavens differ, both traditions agree that with the help of heavenly palaces the gods can travel at will and very fast throughout the cosmos. The paradigmatic Jaina depiction of such a *vimāna* is the god Sūriyābha's palace described in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja* (Rāy 200g).

The iconography of the *baikuṇṭhī* is also symbolically associated with the portable shrines used for processions

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12 Bareau 1971: 195.

13 Both images were kindly shared with me by Phyllis Granoff. For the older one, from Cambay, see Fig. 5. The latter one is from a Sthānakavāsī text, the *Ramayaśorasāyana* by Muni Keśarāja, edited by J.P. Jain (n.d.), p. 189.

14 Stevenson 1910: 28 writes, that the top of the funeral palanquin for the dead Sthānakavāsī *sādhvī* in Kāṭhiavāḍ, "resembled a temple, with numerous pinnacles each bearing a flag, while the inside was lined with exquisite silk and rich cushions."

15 Budhmal 1995: 326. Cf. TŚPC 13.253, translated by Johnson 1962 VI: 351, on Ṛṣabha's corpse: "Śakra laid the Lord's body on a bier that was equal to the best areal car."

of *tīrthaṅkara* statues, and others, which are also called *vimāna*. They resemble the *gandhakuṭī*, the legendary "perfumed chamber" of the Jinas, which is imagined as a "pavilion (open on 4 sides) on a dais in the centre of a Samavasaraṇa" (Shah 1955 / 1998: 56). The origin and significance of the image of the *gandhakuṭī* or *jinakuṭī* as a mythical dwelling place of the Jinas living in the continents of the middle world is still unclear. Norman (1908), Strong (1977: 395) and Schopen (1990 / 1997: 268) showed that from the 4th century CE onwards the *gandhakuṭī* was "an established part of Buddhist monastic establishments everywhere." It represented the "private chamber reserved for the Buddha" (originally in Śrāvastī), based on the idea of the living presence of the Buddha in the perfumed chamber as a juristic personality, like a Hindu god (p. 272). Buddhist influence on the Jaina iconography of the *gandhakuṭī*, suggested by Dundas (1991: 177f.), is a strong possibility. Buddhist land grants from the 6th century referring to *gandhakuṭī*s were found in Valabhī, where the Śvetāmbara canon is said to have been written down in the 5th century. But physical Jaina *gandhakuṭī*s, comparable to those in Buddhist monasteries, are yet to be located. In the religious imagination, informing the universal histories of the Jainas, the Jinas are nevertheless present as the moral rulers of the universe as a whole, and depicted as such in Jaina art and iconography. Tangible Jaina texts, artefacts and religious paraphernalia, such as the *baikuṇṭhī*, project the existence of *gandhakuṭī*s and heavenly *vimāna*s that are similar in appearance into regions, such as heavenly realms, parallel continents or mountain peaks that are inaccessible for common human beings.

The perfections of the Jinas after attaining omniscience are symbolised by 34 supernatural qualities,

Fig. 6 The *baikuṇṭhī* for Smt. Bacchavat under construction, Sardārśahar 5.10.2014 (Photo: Peter Flügel)

or "excellences" (*atiśeṣa*),[16] which altogether indicate spiritual and physical perfection—amongst them seven of their "eight" miraculously appearing protective symbols called "door-keepers" (*aṣṭa-prātihārya*).[17] Their iconographical representation culminates in the image of a sacred, i.e., non-violent, renouncer king ruling over the three worlds (*tri-loka*). From the late-canonical period onwards, the Jina is invariably presented as the one who "goes beyond opposites, and combines both the qualities of a supreme king (*cakravartin*) and of a spiritual master" (Balbir 1994: 103). This concept is particularly vividly expressed in Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka culture, where the Jina image is generally, at specific occasions, decorated with jewel-studded crowns made of precious metals. The famous depiction of the *samavasaraṇa*, the congregation of the Jina, in ĀP 22.76-312 echoes the paradigmatic outline of a heavenly palace (*vimāna*) in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*, whose stereotypical imagery is used again in Hemacandra's (TŚPC 6.566-637) 12th-century description of Ṛṣabha's memorial *caitya-stūpa*, which he explicitly associates with the *samavasaraṇa* and its *gandhakuṭī* at the centre. Shah (1955/1998: 93) concluded from this that, iconographically, "the *samavasaraṇa* has for its prototype the big *stūpa* (the *harmikā* of a *stūpa* may be compared with a Gandhakuṭi or Devacchand-*pīṭha* for the Jina);" though the functions of these structures are entirely different.

The observation can be extended to an interpretation of the form and symbolism of the *baikuṇṭhī*, whose shape echoes the stereotypical *gandhakuṭī*. With its big palace (*mahā-prāsāda*), lofty domes (*stūpa*), pinnacles (*śikhara*), *maṅgala* objects, etc., the *baikuṇṭhī* closely resembles both the *vimāna*, the palace of a king of the gods, and the stereotypical *gandhakuṭī*, the palace of a Jina, the supreme ruler of the universe in Digambara and Śvetāmbara universal histories. Royal symbols such as the parasol (*chatarī*), flag (*dhvaja*), fly whisk (*camara, cāmara*) and other auspicious objects, are deliberately used as decoration of the *baikuṇṭhī*s, besides Jaina *svastika*s and the syllable *oṁ* (Fig. 8), to create a close symbolic association between the deceased ascetic and divine kingship.[18] In their symbolic role as chariots *baikuṇṭhī*s are supreme signs of royalty in their own right. (Fig. 7)

The design of the *baikuṇṭhī* of the Terāpanth *ācārya* Tulsī (1914-1997), who was cremated in Gaṅgāśahar, mimicked the dome-shaped *chatrī*s, or memorial pavilions, for deceased Rājputs, which can be found all over Rājasthān; though it was open only on three sides, not on four, probably because of the aesthetically unappealing back support to which the corpse was tied with long cotton ropes. The *baikuṇṭhī* was built by a

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16 Samavāya 34 lists the 34 *buddhāisesa*.
17 Under this title 7 of the 8 were separated out in later texts: 1. *aśoka-vṛkṣa*, "Aśoka-tree," 2. *sura-puṣpa-vṛṣṭi*, "shower of flowers by the gods." 3. *divya-dhvani*, "heavenly sound," 4. *cāmara*, "fly-whisks," 5. *siṃhāsana*, "lion-throne," 6. *bhā-maṇḍala*, "halo," 7. *tri-chatra*, "triple umbrella;" and supplemented with [8.] *deva-dundubhi*, "celestial drum-beating."
18 Cf. Rām II.67.30 on the flag as the distinctive mark (*prajñānam*) of the chariot, as smoke is for fire, and the king for the country.

Fig. 7 Baikuṇṭhī of the *śrāvikā* Smt. Bacchāvat, Sardārśahar 5.10.2014 (Photo: Peter Flügel)

Fig. 8 Mrs. Bacchāvat's mouthmask is decorated with a *svastika* by her son, Sardārśahar 5.10.2014 (Photo: Peter Flügel)

local firm in the house of the sponsor, who coordinated and financed the work.[19] The following materials and utensils were used: sandalwood (*candana*), clarified butter (*ghṛta*), saffron (*kesara*), camphor (*kapūra*), rose water (*gulāba jala*), incense (*dhūpa*), wooden rods (*chaṛ-chaṛī*), pieces of coconut (*khoparā*), pieces of wood (*lakaṛī*) of the local *khejaṛī* tree (*Prosopis cineraria*), silver (*cāṃdī*) used for the decorative pots and the *mukhavastrikā*, sandalwood for the rosary (*mālā*) in the hands of the deceased, fly whisks (*caṃvara*), bamboo (*bāṃsa*), ropes and strings (*rassī sūt*), a brass container for heating liquids (*pītal ke tapelī*), two garments for the lower body (*dhotī-joṛā*), a white shawl, etc. On the silver-coloured dome (*gumaṭha*) of the *baikuṇṭhī* and on its backside *svastika*s and other auspicious symbols (*cinha*) were painted in golden yellow saffron colour by a member of the local Terāpanth community. Sandalwood garlands were draped from the crest (*turrā*) and from the 72 pinnacles (*śikhara*), decorated with pots (*kalaśa*) made of pure white silver,[20] the number 72 apparently representing Tulsī's monastic age (*dīkṣā-paryāya*).[21]

Their latter names *vimāṇa* and *baikuṇṭhī* and the iconography of the Jaina funeral palanquins clearly express the unwritten purpose of the violent funeral rituals organised by Jaina laity for their religious *virtuosi*

19 Madhukar 2001: 39.
20 According to Kirfel 1959: 155 *kalaśa*s symbolise not only wellbeing, but also clairvoyance (*avadhi-jñāna*) of the *arhat*s.
21 According to Sharma 1991: 93, Ācārya Bhikṣu's *baikuṇṭhī* had 13 pinnacles (monastic age: 52), Jītmal's "51" (monastic age: 69). The protocol of Ācārya Jītmal's funeral by contrast notes the "59 *kalaśa*s" (Budhmal 1995: 535), and the golden crest of his *baikuṇṭhī*. Ācārya Mahāprajña's *baikuṇṭhī* featured 61 *kalaśa*s (monastic age: 79) (Caturvedī 2010: 10).

today, that is, the symbolic transformation, in the eyes of the devotees, of the ascetic into a powerful *indra*, or king of the gods. This change of status is pictured as the journey of the soul towards the place of its improved rebirth in the upper world, of which the funeral procession marks, as it were, the beginning.[22] From a Jaina *karman*-theoretical point of view, the soul already left the body long before the cremation, and the funeral ritual has at best socio-religious functions. The cremation fire is neither the cause of the transformation of the body, as presumed by the sacrificial Vedic cremation (which it outwardly resembles), nor the translocation of the Jaina soul,[23] but merely visualises the alleged dissociation of the soul through the acceleration of the decomposition of the body, its simulacrum, at a time when a vivid image of the deceased still persists. (Fig. 9)

Yet, as a symbolical ritual, the cremation of a Jaina saint has religious functions as well, because it offers participants the opportunity for generating merit (*puṇya*) by way of *anumodana*, "approval" or "appreciation," of the accomplished saintly life and the resulting heavenly rebirth of an exemplary personality, whose pursuit of self-restraint has come to fruition. Like the obligatory *kāyotsarga* meditation, performed by the mendicants after abandonment of the corpse of a deceased monk or nun, cremation rites performed by the laity are believed to trigger forms of self-transformation, if they indeed result in an intensification of the realisation of the Jaina perspective on the transience of worldly life and the immortality of the soul. In the minds of others, the dissociation of soul and body is not as singular event, but a process that is complete only at the point of the visible dissolution of the body, not at the point of death. On the one hand, this explains the purpose of funeral rites, and, on the other hand, the religious priority given to the site of disposal of the body over the site of death. The visualisation of the effects of accumulated good *karman* as a journey to heaven also invites the conjecture that as a god reborn in the upper world, who still cares about

22 See Oldenberg 1894 / 1917: 574 on the recitation of ṚV 10.14.7 at this stage and the supposedly magical effect of the procession to the cremation site for the advancement of the 'soul' on its path of which it represents the beginning; and Caland 1896 § 11: 20 on the late Vedic funerary cart (*śakaṭam, anaḥ*) which is explicitly described as a vehicle for the deceased to travel to the realm of Yama.
23 As postulated by the Vedas: ṚV 10.16.2.

the remains of his former body, the deceased will help his devotees in the middle world. A continuation of the relationship is desired.

Keyes (1975) observed that among Siamese Buddhists (as in Vedic Brāhmaṇism) the cremation itself seems to be considered as a transformational event for the deceased mediating between death and heavenly rebirth, with auxiliary benefits for those who conduct and witness the cremation:

> Death transforms the monk not into a threat to the aspects of life most valued but into a vehicle whereby the good life can be achieved both by himself and by others. For himself, it is believed that the monk will not be reborn in a more holy state, but will be reborn in heaven where earthly pleasures can be enjoyed without the suffering which accompanies such pleasure in this world. Herein lies the meaning of the *prāsāda* [funeral palace], whose burning together with the body, transforms the monk into a denizen of heaven. Moreover, the monk's great merit which ensures him of a good rebirth can be shared with those who assist in pulling his body to the place of burning (Keyes 1975: 60f.).[24]

Bhattapariṇṇā v. 80 of the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, by contrast, merely conveys how through faith (*ārāhaṇā*) and proper conduct (*caritra*) higher rebirth is assured, and how, after death, the soul then "moves swiftly like a car towards good and high forms of being."[25] Late-canonical allegories such as this inform ritual practices, symbols and post-funeral experiences even today. Some Terāpanthīs with special visionary powers claim that they saw Ācārya Bhikṣu on his *vimāna* floating near Ācārya Tulsī, who therefore must have been

in touch with his predecessor's heavenly reincarnation. Others encountered the gods in their *vimāna*s in dreams during the nightly travels of their soul.

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ĀvC = *Āvassayacuṇṇi* (*Āvaśyakacūrṇi*) by Jinadāsa Gaṇi Mahattara. 7th C. In: *Śrīmadāvaśyakasūtram*. 2 Vols. Prakāśikā: Ṛṣabhadeva Keśarīmal. Ratlām: Ṛṣabhadeva Keśarīmala Saṃsthā, 1928-29.

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A Disputed Item in the Citta-Saṃbhūijja (Uttarajjhāyā 13)

J. C. Wright

The status and importance of the dialogue between the brothers Citta and Saṃbhūta in the Buddhist and Jain canons have been considerably diminished by its being presented, to an extent by tradition, and apparently definitively by Ernst Leumann (*WZKM*, 5, 1891 and 6, 1892) as an episode extracted from an extensive pre-existing corpus of Brahmadatta legends. This 'Gesamtlegende' would have surfaced briefly in the Buddhist *Citta-Saṃbhūta-Jātaka* (an *Uttarapañcālarājā*, with three pre-births) and Hindu *Mahābhārata* 12.330 (Brahmadatta's seven births, etc.), and extensively in the Jain *Uttarajjhāyā*, cantos 13-14 with prose commentary, in *Maṇivaicariya*, and in *Harivaṃśa*, etc. (Pañcālarāyā Bambhadatto / Brahmadatta's adventures, mastery of the speech of birds, treatment of brahmins, his offspring, and his dynasty). Leumann's diagram (1892, p. 21) purported to describe how the latter's tally of seven incarnations of seven companions was eventually reduced, in Jātaka 498, to two brothers in four births, and restored to two brothers in six births (including Pañcālarāyā Bambhadatto) in *Uttarajjhāyā* 13. Thomas Oberlies, in an elaboration of Leumann's researches (*Berliner Indologische Studien*, 9/10, 1996), reported favourably (p. 274) Leumann's suspicion that the number of births might have been increased to match the number of companions, but he did not venture to decide (p. 260, n.) whether this postulation of a pre-existing complex Brahmadatta cycle was really justified.

A result of attempts to visualize an original Triṣṭubh text underlying both Jātaka 498 and *Utt*. canto 13 has been to introduce a difference of opinion as to who speaks first in the Triṣṭubh dialogue in the Prakrit. Following its Āryā and Anuṣṭubh preamble, the commentaries, Hermann Jacobi's translation (SBE, 1895), and the Indian translations, assign the initial Triṣṭubh v. 10 to Citta, but then have some difficulty in making sense of the wording. Leumann, followed by Ludwig Alsdorf (*Fel. Vol. Belvalkar*, 1957, 206), assigned it to Saṃbhūya, incarnate as King Bambhadatta. It seems, however, possible to resolve the discrepancy in favour of the tradition.

Utt. 13 has, first, three Māhārāṣṭrī Āryā verses which, as Alsdorf showed, briefly versify the prose mise-en-scène: an unnamed merchant's son, previously low-born as Citta in Hatthiṇapura, encounters Bambhadatta, previously his brother Saṃbhūya, and they discuss their respective fates and fortunes. There follow six Māhārāṣṭrī Anuṣṭubhs that quote Bambhadatta as remembering five previous fraternal births, and the erstwhile Citta as realizing that Saṃbhūya's overweening ambition has occasioned their current alienation. This application of Jain *nidāna* theory, the idea that Saṃbhūya's dying wish could determine his status in a future life, bears out the intimation in the prose matrix that the rich merchant's son has become a mendicant monk. Bambhadatta then exults in his acquired lofty regal status and asks: can

Uttarādhyayanasūtra: Cittasaṃbhūijja (Detail)
Gujarat, Jain, ca. 1460
© Victoria and Albert Museum
Museum Number: IS 2:12/2-1972

the other say as much? These Āryās and Anuṣṭubhs are matched in the Jātaka with, respectively, the notion of an introductory exchange of 'recognition' verses (Triṣṭubh gāthās 1-5) and Citta's recollection of three previous births (Anuṣṭubh *g*. 16), as against the one birth acknowledged in the Prakrit Triṣṭubhs. In the mediaeval Jain prose, the Pali notion of recognition verses is pared down to a couple of Sanskrit recognition half-verses, and the Prakrit Anuṣṭubh list of births is increased with the prefixing of a cow-herd existence.

This can be evidence rather of epigonic collusion than of the re-emergence of Ur-text material, as can the rough correspondence between two Anuṣṭubh verses, the Jain v. 6 *dāsā ... āsī, miyā ..., haṃsā ..., sovāgā ...* 'we were serfs, deer, geese, outcasts' and the Buddhist *g*. 16 *caṇḍālā'humha, migā ... , ukkusā ...* 'we were outcasts, deer, ospreys'. This correspondence, contradicting the hypothesis of a nuclear purely Triṣṭubh dialogue, has created anxiety about the discrepant positioning of these merely analogous lists of births in the two texts. An ultimate source may be observed, not in a Sanskritic 'Gesamtlegende', but rather in the fact that Saṃyuttanikāya's *Cittasaṃyuttaṃ* (IV, 297-303), tells of a householder Citta who outwits Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta and refuses to secure a vainglorious future as Cakkavattī by means of a dying wish (*praṇidhāna*). Citta, understood there, judging by his preoccupation with *cittasaṅkhāra* and *cetovimutti* (293-297), as 'wise' rather than as the *citra* 'excellent' of Jain tradition, evidently has a part in the evolution of the Citta-Saṃbhūta story: but that he

should have usurped the rebirth motif from Saṃbhūta (Oberlies, 267, n.), rather than vice versa, is by no means obvious.

In the instance in question, the observation attributed to Citta in *Utt*. 13 (translated below)

> v. 10 *savvaṃ suciṇṇaṃ saphalaṃ narāṇā,*
> *kaḍāṇā kammāṇā na mokkha atthi,*
> *atthehī kāmehī ya uttamehī*
> *āyā mamaṃ puṇṇa-phalôvavee.*
> v. 11 *jāṇāhi Saṃbhūya mahāṇubhāgaṃ*
> *mahiḍḍhiyaṃ puṇṇa-phalôvaveyaṃ,*
> *Cittaṃ pi jāṇāhi taheva, rāya(ṃ),*
> *iḍḍhī juī tassa-vi ya ppabhūyā.*

is matched in *Jātaka* 498 with the following verses attributed to the King

> g. 1 *sabbaṃ narāṇaṃ saphalaṃ suciṇṇaṃ,*
> *na kammanā kiñcana mogham atthi,*
> *passāmi Saṃbhūtaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ*
> *sakammanā puññaphalūpapannaṃ.*
> g. 2 *sabbaṃ* (etc.),
> *kaccin nu Cittassa pi evam eva*
> *iddho mano yathāpi mayhaṃ?*

to which Citta's reply is

> g. 3 *sabbaṃ* (etc.),
> *Cittaṃ vijānāhi tah'eva, deva,*
> *iddho mano tassa yathāpi tuyhaṃ.*

The Pali of the Jātaka, twice repeating the first hemistich and introducing a go-between character appropriate to the recognition-verse motif of its prose, presents no problem. '1 Men's every good deed bears fruit, none of one's actions is in vain. I observe that the illustrious Saṃbhūta has achieved the auspicious reward of his actions. 2 Men's (etc.). I wonder if Citta's inclination has prospered as has mine. 3 Men's (etc.). Know Citta to be likewise, his inclination has prospered as has thine.' The word *mano* presumably embodies the motif of a death-bed state of mind, and is possibly masculine in keeping with a Pali play on the name citto. There seems to be no necessity for Alsdorf's view (p. 206) that *passāmi Saṃbhūtaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ* 'does not make sense in g. 1, spoken by the king, and must therefore be corrected to *passāhi*': 'I observe that I have prospered' is at least as good as 'observe that I have prospered'. His suggestion that we read *Cittaṃ pi* as in the Prakrit in g. 3, rather than *Cittaṃ vi-* is more attractive, but is rather a question of a Prakritism *-ṃ vi* for *-ṃ pi* in the Pali than an actual error.

In Bambhadatta's question in the final Prakrit Anuṣṭubh (v. 9d *kiṃ-nu Citte vi se tahā?* 'Is that so for Citta too?') *Citte vi* is locative, as presumably implied by Jacobi ('in your case, Citra'): recent renderings supplement a nominative gloss with a verb (*Citro'pi tāni tathā paribhuṅkte*) but translate with an explicit, but impossible vocative. The Cuṇṇī's genitive (*Citrasyāpi*

evaṃvidhā ṛddhir yathā) could conceivably indicate familiarity with the Pali Triṣṭubhs: g. 2 *Cittassa pi ... mano* and g. 3 *mano tassa.*

Citta's response, the initial Prakrit Triṣṭubh (v. 10),

> All men's good deeds bear fruit,
> there is no release from actions one has done;
> with the highest riches and aspirations
> my soul has attained the fruits of merit.

is actually quite in keeping with the Jain fondness for reinterpreting secular concepts in a religious sense, *vijaya, dhuta, upadhāna, yajña*, etc., and here *artha* and *kāma*. Amar Muni's laconic rendering of *atthehī kāmehī ya uttamehī* simply as 'rewards' (*Sacitra Utt. Sū.*, 1992), and even Jacobi's awkward translation 'through riches and the highest pleasures', are presumably meant to convey Citta's equivocal allusion to the rich family that he has renounced and the ascetic values he has acquired. The verse was, however, ascribed by Leumann (1891, pp. 123, 134) to Bambhadatta, in keeping with the Pali parallel g. 1, since he considered that v. 10cd a*tthehī kāmehī ya uttamehī āyā mamaṃ puṇṇa-phalôvavee* (in his rendering 'Ich habe alles was ich möchte, Verdienst schuf mir das Glück des Lebens') could be said only by the King. His contention, on the other hand, that the monkish remark in v. 10b *kaḍāṇā kammāṇā na mokkha atthi* ('Die That, verübt, gibt keine Rettung') could not possibly be attributed to the King was met by an assumption that the words represented a mishearing of the version preserved in Pali: *na kammanā kiñcana mogham atthi* 'none of one's deeds is in vain', and so must be corrected accordingly ('Kein Werk ist je allhier vergebens'). Alsdorf (p. 206) similarly identified v. 11 as 'the first part of the monk's answer', although this introduces a *non sequitur*: Bambhadatta asks a question in the v. 9 Anuṣṭubh, but he would interpolate some self-congratulation in the initial Triṣṭubh v. 10, before Citta can reply in v.11. We lose the piquancy of the King's arrogant inquiry 'Can you say the same?', and the monk's immediate retort 'I can say more'. As Alsdorf wrote of the two texts (p.203f.): 'only in a very few cases is there complete correspondence between two stanzas; there are others which agree in one *pāda* only, while the rest is totally different. This can only be taken to mean that there was indeed an old poem in Upajāti metre which became the source of both the Jāt[aka] and the *Utt[arajjhāya]* ballad, but that both the Buddhist and the Jain redactors, while keeping to the Upajāti metre, dealt with this old poem in the most arbitrary manner'. The discrepancy between the assigning of the Pali g. 1 to the King and the Prakrit v. 10 to Citta is a case in point.

In this case, Leumann's recourse to the Pali for guidance is unjustified, since the *kiñci* on which the genitive *kammanā* depends is absent in the Prakrit: simply replacing *mokkha* with *mo(g)haṃ* does not make sense. Correcting minor flaws in the wording of the Prakrit text with the help of the Pali is another matter. There can be little doubt but that in v. 11 we should read

'*jāṇā[m]i Saṃbhūy[ā] mahāṇubhā[v]aṃ mahiḍḍhiyaṃ puṇṇa-phalôvaveyaṃ*', rather than '*jāṇāhi Saṃbhūya*' (modified in the Cūrṇī to *yathā tvaṃ jānāsi*): 'I know that you, Saṃbhūya, are illustrious and powerful on having attained the fruits of merit; know, sire, that I, Citta, am so likewise: great power and glory are mine too'. Accidental anticipation of the correlative *Cittaṃ pi jāṇāhi* in the following line is nothing unusual; accusative *Saṃbhūyaṃ* is required for the sense; and *mahāṇubhāgaṃ* is an evident hyper-correction for *mahāṇubhāaṃ*. The Pali with *passāmi Saṃbhūtaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ* is adequate confirmation. It is surprising that, while adopting *jāṇāmi, Alsdorf ignored the possibility that *Saṃbhūya* is merely a graphic representation of a metrically short accusative.

Citta's attempt to convert Saṃbhūya, as worked up in prose and Anuṣṭubhs into a saga of several rebirths, is a notable contribution to the thesis developed in the *Uttarajjhāyā* as a whole. As Herman Tieken shows ('On the composition of the *Utt.*', to appear), the text teaches that *māṇusattaṃ* 'human status', *suī* 'the acquisition of requisite knowledge', *saddhā* 'application thereof', and *saṃjamammi vīriyaṃ* 'resolute perseverance in self-control' are goals that are progressively harder to achieve. The fact that in the Jain story Saṃbhūya fails, and pays the penalty, makes for a more impressive document than is provided in the Buddhist version, with its prose framework involving a Bodhisatta in the form of Citta who naturally succeeds in equipping the King for admission to Brahmaloka.

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Abhiṣeka of an image of the Jina Candraprabha in Narasiṃharājapura. (Photo: Ingrid Schoon, 2014.)

Jaina Painting During the Sultanate Period

Preeti Khosla

My doctoral thesis examined the common visual language of five illustrated Sultanate period manuscripts produced between 1414-1525 from the Jaina, Hindu and Islamic artistic traditions. Produced in the Sultanates of Delhi, Gujarat, Jaunpur, and the Rajput kingdom of Baglana, this group of manuscripts demonstrates the linguistic and literary diversity of the period. The purpose, function and modes of audiencing text and image from these disparate traditions were analysed together for the first time. Amongst the group was the 1414 *Prem Chand Jain Kalakacharya Katha* (Private Collection), one of the earliest extant illustrated Jaina paper manuscripts. It remains to date largely unpublished and is an important document for art historians, as it contains an extensive colophon that names the artist.[1] This is a rare occurrence in Sultanate period manuscripts.

One of the key objectives of my research was to re-examine and question the previous body of scholarship on the subject of patronage. In particular the patronage of Jaina painting, that has commonly been attributed to the mercantile and banking classes referred to collectively as the 'bourgeois'.[2] This nomenclature fails to acknowledge the fact that a number of Jaina merchants and bankers were also courtiers or 'merchant princes', hence they were also amongst the elites of the period. By contextualising the socio-political environment of the time it became apparent that both the 'bourgeois' and 'elites' commissioned illustrated manuscripts. It further became evident that the Jaina elites consumed texts transcribed in both the Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts. The literary and aesthetic preferences of the Jaina elites were noted and found to be common with those of their Hindu and Muslim peers. This led to the question of how was this possible ? A study of the dialogues and interactions between diverse religious communities revealed details of a shared elite literary culture.

Further research proved the use of a common pool of narrative motifs, emblems and metaphors, which were represented visually in accompanying illustrations. The pretext for the widespread use and dissemination of a common visual language was then considered. It was found that Jaina, Hindu and Muslim patrons commissioned illustrated manuscripts from the same groups of travelling artisans.

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1 Professor J.C. Wright and Dr Renate Sohnen-Thieme of SOAS generously transcribed and transliterated the colophon of this manuscript, to help further my research.
2 Chandra, M. and Khandalavala, K, *New Documents of Indian Painting: A Reappraisal*, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 1969, p.24.

The Ṇamokār Mantra's Forgotten Brother

Ellen Gough

Digambara Jains believe that in the second century CE, when the entirety of the teachings of Mahāvīra (*āgama*) were on the brink of being forgotten, the monk who possessed the remaining memory of these teachings, Dharasena, tasked two of his monastic disciples, the monks Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, to record the teachings in the text that became known as the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. Before his death, Puṣpadanta is said to have recorded the text's first 177 verses (*śloka*), placing at the outset a Prakrit benediction (*maṅgala*) praising the five supreme lords (*pañcaparameṣṭhin*) of Jainism. Bhūtabali, then, is said to have completed the remainder of the text, opening the fourth chapter, the *Vargaṇā-khaṇḍa*, and the sixth chapter, the *Mahābandha*, with another Prakrit benediction of forty-four lines.[1] For Jains of all sects today, the *maṅgala* at the outset of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* is instantly recognizable as the most popular Jain invocation, known by various names, including the *ṇamokār mantra* and the *nokār mantra*. A great deal of literature has been devoted to this *mantra*, which is recited in nearly every Jain ritual and understood to be eternal and all-powerful.

The *maṅgala* that opens the fourth and sixth chapters of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, on the other hand, has received very little scholarly attention, but my fieldwork in North India in 2013 has shown that it is an important part of Jain ritual culture. This benediction includes a string of praises to practitioners who have achieved certain superhuman powers (*labdhi*, *ṛddhi*) such as the ability to fly or generate an unlimited amount of food.[2] The section of the *maṅgala* devoted to those with certain powers of healing, for example, reads:

> Praise to [the advanced practitioners] whose touch is medicinal, whose phlegm, saliva, etc. is medicinal, whose sweat is medicinal, whose urine, excrement, and semen is medicinal, who can heal with all parts of their bodies.[3]

Because the *ṇamokār mantra* and this set of praises are both first found in the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, and the *ṇamokār mantra* has been studied extensively, while the *maṅgala* of superhuman powers (termed here the "*ṛddhi maṅgala*") has been largely ignored in scholarship, I think of this *maṅgala* of superhuman powers as the *ṇamokār mantra*'s forgotten brother. Terming the *ṛddhi maṅgala* "forgotten" may not be strictly correct,

Figure 1. Detail of a folio from a late-nineteenth-century manuscript of Vasubindu's *Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha* showing the *gaṇadharvalaya*. Bābā Dulicandjī Baḍā Mandir Śāstra Bhaṇḍār, Jaipur. Manuscript no. 486.

however, since it, like its "brother," eventually became understood as a *mantra* and it is now recited daily by both lay and ascetic Jains. The *ṛddhi maṅgala* may not be as omnipresent as the *ṇamokār mantra* in Jain ritual, but it is still commonly used, and has become particularly associated with two different functions: initiating monks and nuns into Mahāvīra's mendicant lineage, and healing practitioners with various physical ailments. My brief analysis of these two functions here can serve as an introduction to one of the many Jain *mantra*s "forgotten" by scholarship, if not to practicing Jains.

The early texts of both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras associate superhuman powers in this *mantra* with the disciples (*gaṇadhara*) of the *tīrthaṅkara*s.[4] For this reason, Digambaras have termed the *ṛddhi maṅgala* the "*gaṇadharavalaya mantra*," or the "*mantra* of the ring of disciples." The "ring" refers to circular ritual diagrams (*valaya*) on which the *mantra* is inscribed. To my knowledge, the earliest dateable source to outline a *valaya* of this name is the Digambara Amitagati's early eleventh-century text on lay ritual conduct, the *Śrāvakācāra*.[5]

While Amitagati groups the *gaṇadharavalaya* with other ritual diagrams, explaining that meditation

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1 For the early ninth-century account of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali composing *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, see Dhavalā 1.1 in *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (Vol. 1: 71-72).

2 On these superhuman powers, see Kristi Wiley, "Supernatural Powers and their Attainment in Jainism," in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012); and Peter Flügel, "Sacred Matter: Reflections on the Relationship of Karmic and Natural Causality in Jaina Philosophy," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 40, 2 (2012): 125-133.

3 "*ṇamo āmosahipattāṇaṃ, ṇamo khelosahipattāṇaṃ, ṇamo jallosahipattāṇaṃ, ṇamo viṭṭhosahipattāṇaṃ, ṇamo savvosahipattāṇaṃ*" (*Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* 4.30-34; *Mahābandha* 1.30-34).

4 The Śvetāmbara *Aupapātika Sūtra* 24 associates the powers only with the followers (Pkt. *aṃtevāsī*) of Mahāvīra. See Amar Muni, ed. & Surendra Bothara, trans., *Illustrated Aupapatik Sutra* (New Delhi: Padma Prakashan, 2003), 56-65. The Digambara *Trilokaprajñapti* 4.961-1091 associates 64 types of superhuman powers with the 1,452 disciples of all the *tīrthaṅkara*s. See *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (*Trilokaprajñapti*), Part 1, Second Edition, A.N. Upadhye & Hiralal Jain, ed., Pt. Balchandra, trans. (Solapur: Jain Saṃskṛti Samrakṣak Saṃgh, 1956), 270-286.

5 *Śrāvakācāra* 15.46-48 in Hīrālāl Śāstrī, comp. & trans., *Śrāvakācāra Saṃgraha*, Vol 1 (Śolāpur: Jain Saṃskṛti Samrakṣak Saṃgh, 2001), 412.

(*dhyāna*) on any of these diagrams can destroy karma,[6] other texts, both Digambara and Śvetāmbara, use this *valaya* for a more unique purpose: legitimating monks and nuns. Because the *gaṇadharavalaya* is thought to praise the *tīrthaṅkara*s' disciples, its veneration can link worshipers with the original Jain mendicants. Today, to my knowledge, Digambaras of all lineages worship large *gaṇadharavalaya*s made of colored powdered in the days prior to initiation ceremonies (*dīkṣā*). For the *dīkṣā* ceremony I witnessed in Kekḍī, Rajasthan, in November 2013, the three Jains taking initiation under the Bīsapanthī Ācārya Vairāgyanandī — one as a *sādhvī*, one as a *kṣullaka*, and one as a *muni* — spent the eight days preceding their initiations performing the Gaṇadhara Valaya Pūjā, following a Hindi translation of the sixteenth-century Sanskrit *pūjā* composed by Bhaṭṭāraka Śubhacandra.[7] In this *pūjā*, the worshippers not only recited the *gaṇadharavalaya mantra* — the series of praises to practitioners who have achieved superhuman powers — they also recited verses praising each of the 1,452 disciples of the *tīrthaṅkara*s. As each praise was recited, the initiands placed coconuts on a colored diagram of the *gaṇadharavalaya*, with each offering honoring the original disciples of the founders of Jainism and establishing themselves as the successors of their tradition (see Figure 2).

The *gaṇadharavalaya* has also been used to consecrate Digambara temple images (*pratimā*) of monks and nuns. Medieval Digambara handbooks on image consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) prescribe the worship of different ritual diagrams on the days before temple images are established (*pratiṣṭhita*) in the temple, explaining that icons of an *ācārya* or another mendicant (*ācāryādi*) require the worship of the *gaṇadharavalaya*. Descriptions of the diagram in texts such as Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* (ca. 1200 CE),[8] Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (13th century),[9] and Jayasena's *Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha* (14th-

15th century?)[10] correspond almost exactly to that of Amitagati: The center of the *gaṇadharavalaya* contains a star (*ṣaṭkoṇa*) around which two Sanskrit mantras, "*apraticakre phaṭ*," and "*vicakrāya svāha*" are inscribed, circling in opposite directions. The forty-four Prakrit praises of the *ṛddhi maṅgala* of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, along with four additional praises, fill forty-eight lotus petals surrounding the central star (Figure 1). Just as in *dīkṣā* ceremonies today, it seems that these medieval texts understood that worshipping the *gaṇadharvalaya* allowed an image or a mendicant to "become" a disciple of the *tīrthaṅkara*s.

Perhaps because of this understanding that the *mantra* could connect images and mendicants to the original disciples of the *tīrthaṅkara*s, by at least the thirteenth century, the Prakrit praises to ascetics with superhuman powers began to be understood as the first section (*pīṭha*) of the Śvetāmbara *sūrimantra*, or the *mantra* imparted to Śvetāmbara monks when promoted to the highest rank of mendicancy (*ācārya*, *sūri*).[11] In his thirteenth-century Sanskrit text the *Mantrarājarahasya* (MRR), the Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Siṃhatilakasūri outlines how to construct cloth ritual diagrams (*paṭa*) of the *sūrimantra* that are imparted to *sūri*s upon their promotions and then worshipped daily with scented sandalwood powder (*vāsakṣepa*). *Ācārya*s today continue to worship their *sūrimantra paṭa*s daily, and some *ācārya*s undertake elaborate, multiple-day worship ceremonies of the diagrams for each of the five sections of the *sūrimantra* (Image 3).[12] Just like Digambara mendicants, Śvetāmbara mendicant leaders, through the worship of this diagram, can connect themselves to the original leaders of their

6 See *Śrāvakācāra* 15.1-8 on the nature of the meditator and meditation.

7 See Āryikā Rāj & Āryikā Kṣamā, *Bṛhad Gaṇadhara Valaya Vidhāna*, ed. Ācārya Guptinandī (Jaipur: Śārdā Prakāśan, 2003).

8 *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* of Nemicandra, ed. Āryikā Jñānamatī (Hastinapur: Digambar Jain Trilok Śodh Saṃsthān, 2006), 328-331.

9 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* of Āśādhara, ed. Manoharlāl Śāstrī (Bombay:

Jaingranth-Uddhārak Kāryālay, 1917), 230a-231a.

10 Jayasena, *Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha*, ed. Hīrācaṃd Nemacaṃd Dośī (Śolāpur: Śeṭh Hīrācand Nemacand Dośī, 1925), 226b-227a.

11 Paul Dundas, "Becoming Gautama: Mantra and History in Śvetāmbara Jainism," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), is the most comprehensive study of the *sūrimantra* in English.

12 For an example of a Gujarati booklet used today for the worship of each of the five sections of the *sūrimantra*, see Ācārya Somacandrasūri, *Śrīsūrimantrapañcaprasthāna Prārambhavidhi* (Surat: Śrī Rāṃder Road Jain Saṃgh, 2013).

Figure 2. Initiands place coconuts on a *gaṇadharavalaya* made of colored powder. Kekḍī, Rajasthan, November 2013. Photo: Paras Jain and Jitendra Jain for Khushbu Films. All Rights Reserved.

Figure 3. A shrine established by Ācārya Nandighoṣasūri of the Tapā Gaccha for an eight-day worship ceremony of the fourth section (*pīṭha*) of the *sūrimantra*. An icon of the deity Gaṇipīṭaka, established at the front and center of the shrine, presides over the fourth section of the *mantra*. Ahmedabad, June 2013. Photo: Ellen Gough

community. While modern Śvetāmbara diagrams today differ considerably from Digambara *gaṇadharvalaya*s, the latter may have served as a model for the former. In one of his descriptions of a *sūrimantra paṭa*, Siṃhatilakasūri outlines the exact same diagram as the *gaṇadharavalaya* found in Digambara image consecration manuals.[13]

The *ṛddhi maṅgala* did not merely become associated with linking practitioners to the *tīrthaṅkaras'* disciples, however. Perhaps because a large section of the *mantra* praises ascetics who have curative powers, this *mantra* has developed a reputation as a miracle cure for all types of maladies. Siṃhatilakasūri notes that the praises at the outset of the *sūrimantra* to the jinas with different types of clairvoyance (*avadhi*) can cure fevers and diseases of the head, ears, and eyes.[14] The *gaṇadharavalaya* that is part of the Digambara *śāntidhāra*, a hymn recited to pacify negative influences, makes these same claims.[15] Indeed, amongst both image-worshipping sects, the belief in the healing power of these praises persists to this day. A Śvetāmbara nun in Ahmedabad, for example, told me that she had come out of a coma because of the strength she developed reciting the "*labdhi pada*" of forty-eight lines, a mantra identical to the Digambara *gaṇadharavalaya*.[16]

The *ṛddhi mantra* of forty-eight lines has also been used as a medicinal charm when paired with the verses of Mānatuṅga's Sanskrit *Bhaktāmara Stotra* (ca. sixth century?), the most popular Jain praise poem. M.A.

Dhaky and Jitendra Shah estimate that at least by the fourteenth century, a line of the *gaṇadharavalaya* (a *ṛddhi*), a *mantra*, and a diagram on which the *mantra* and *ṛddhi* are inscribed had become associated with each verse of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*.[17] These *yantra*s have become extremely popular and are credited with curing all sorts of problems. Both Śvetāmbara and Digambara temples have been dedicated to these *yantra*s, and practitioners like Dr Manju Jain, a counselor at the Spiritual Healing Center in Nagpur, Maharashtra, have published manuals outlining how meditation on these *yantra*s and recitation of the *ṛddhi*s and verses of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* can relieve the symptoms of various ailments, from depression to kidney failure to cancer.[18] While the Śvetāmbara version of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* contains only forty-four verses, and the Digambara version contains forty-eight, both sects associate all forty-eight praises to superhuman powers that constitute the *gaṇadharavalaya* with the *stotra*. This suggests that Śvetāmbaras adopted this association from Digambaras, but more research needs to be done on the origins of this association. Indeed, much more research needs to be done on all of the thousands of Jain *mantra*s forgotten by scholarship, but hopefully this report has made a small contribution to the ongoing effort to place the study of Jain *mantraśāstra* on par with its Buddhist and Hindu counterparts.

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13   *ṣaṭkoṇe'praticakrāyantraṃ ṣaḍadhikadaśadvyadhitriṃśat | antardalaṃ stutipadī digantare gaṇabhṛtāṃ valayam ||* MRR 69 in Muni Jambuvijaya, ed., *Sūrimantrakalpasamucchaya*, Part 1 (Mumbai: Jain Sāhitya Vikās Maṇḍal, 1969), 8. "Inside a triangle [inscribe] the *apraticakrā yantra*. In the different directions inside the petals of a lotus, [inscribe] the 48 verses of praise, the *gaṇadhara valaya*." For a discussion of the Śvetāmbara use of this diagram and modern replications of this *maṇḍala*, which are identical to Digambara *gaṇadharavalaya yantra*s worshiped today, see Muni Jambuvijaya, *Sūrimantrakalpasamucchaya*, Part 2 (Mumbai: Jain Sāhitya Vikās Maṇḍal, 1977), 299-304; *yantra*s no. 1 & 16.
14   MRR 53-55.
15   Ācārya Vairāgyanandī, comp., *Paṃcāmṛt Abhiṣek Pāṭh evaṃ Baḍī Śāntidhārā* (Tonk, Rajasthan, n.p., 2011), 34.
16   The *mantra* she recited is found in Muni Mahāsenavijaya, ed., *Labdhitaṇā Bhaṇḍār* (Tarapur, Gujarat: Śrī Nemi Uday Candrasenasūri Smṛti Traṣṭ, 2010), 20-24. Mahāsenavijaya (2010: 20-24).

17   Madhusūdan Ḍhākī and Jitendra Śāh, *Mānatuṅgācārya aur unke Stotra* (Ahmedabad: Śārdāben Cimanbhāī Education Research Centre, 1997), 3.
18   Manju Jain, *Jaina Method of Curing* (Nagpur: Metalfab High Tech, n.d.) focused especially on the curative effects of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra*'s 45th *śloka*, *yantra*, *mantra* and *ṛddhi* (*oṃ hrīṃ ṇamo akkhīṇamahānasāṇaṃ*, "praise to those who have the power of a never-ending kitchen").

The Architecture of Domestic Devotion: Digambar Home Shrines in Jaipur

John E. Cort

A total of eight-four Jina temples
adorned with flagpoles
are in the middle of the city of Jaipur
and spread through all four parts of the city.
There are domestic shrines all over the city
totaling eight-four.
I venerate them with mind, speech and body
thrice daily, and keep them all in my heart.[1]

The Jains are justifiably well-known among scholars of art and architectural history for their thousands of temples throughout India, and now increasingly wherever Jains have migrated in recent decades. Little has been written, however, on one important Jain temple genre, that of domestic shrines. Several dozen wooden Śvetāmbar domestic shrines from Gujarat, known as *ghar derāsar*s, are found in museums and private collections in India, Europe and North America, but they have been published only in specialist publications, and there has been almost no scholarship devoted to the genre as a whole. Nothing at all has been published on Digambar domestic shrines, known in Hindi as *caityālay*s. As part of a larger collaborative project on domestic shrines, I spent one month in India in the summer of 2014 researching domestic shrines in museums and homes. One element of that research was a preliminary investigation of the stone-carved domestic shrines in Digambar homes in Jaipur.[2]

A 1990 directory of all the Digambar temples of Jaipur listed 74 *caityālay*s, of which 63 were in the old walled city (Anūpcand 1990). A more recent directory from 2010 listed 65 *caityālay*s, including 56 in the old city (Godhā 2010). The decline can be accounted for by the large-scale shift of Jaipur's Digambar population from the old city to the newer suburbs over the past several decades. Several people with whom I spoke described moving to the suburbs, and disassembling the altars of their home shrines to relocate them to their new suburban residences. Other shrines have been relocated to nearby public temples, where they have been installed and consecrated as subsidiary altars. A demographic shift in Gujarat over the past century, whether from older urban areas to newer suburbs, or from smaller cities to metropolitan centers, has led to a dramatic decline in the number of Śvetāmbar *ghar derāsar*s. We may well be seeing the beginning of a similar decline in the number of Digambar *caityālay*s.

Figure 1. Caityālay Jhabaryān, Jaipur. August 2014. Photo: John E. Cort

We find mention of household icons and shrines in Digambar texts from the medieval period, so they represent a long-standing tradition. Āśādhara, a Digambar lay intellectual who lived in what is now Rajasthan, and whose family served in several royal courts in the area, appears to have made a reference to a household shrine in his *Sāgāradharmāmṛta* (6.4), which he composed in 1239/40. Many subsequent authors of Digambar texts on lay conduct (*śrāvakācāra*) included references to household icons and shrines. Writing two centuries after Āśādhara, Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti, who occupied the Idar seat of the Balātkāra Gaṇa of the Mūla Saṅgha in the mid-fifteenth century, said, "A house in which there is no auspiciousness-giving icon of a Jina gives much bad karma, just like a bird house."[3] We also find references to household icons and shrines in icon-consecration texts.

In its basic style, a domestic *caityālay* is quite similar to a side altar in a larger public temple. An altar of one or more stepped levels is located in a recessed niche in the wall. The shrine is often made of marble, although other local stones are commonly found as well. The niche is outlined by a carved stone frame, which protrudes slightly from the wall. A wider altar can have several pillars supporting the top, and defining slightly separate worship spaces. The wall opening is further defined by arches carved in the stone, either a simple semi-oval

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3 Sakalakīrti, *Praśnottara Śrāvakācāra* 20.185.

Figure 2. Caityālay Sethiyāṇ, Jaipur. Deconsecrated and recently restored. August 2014. Photo: John E. Cort

arch, or a more elaborate cusped arch (Figure 4). The cusped arch was originally a borrowing from Mughal architecture, although by the eighteenth century it was found throughout north Indian architecture. The flat outer surface of the carved surround is ornamented with shallow carved floral and geometric designs. The "roof" of the shrine is often a low-relief version of the Rajput iteration of a more widespread Mughal form known as a *bangalā* (Figures 2, 3). Catherine Asher (1992:9) says that this regional Bengali style of village hut with a sloping roof, which was "well suited for heavy rains, was adapted for tombs and mosques" as early as the fifteenth century. On a building, the roof slopes along either one or both horizontal axes, ending in protruding eaves, and meeting in the center at a single spine, on which are often gold finials.[4] The *bangalā* was adopted by Mughal architects in the mid-seventeenth century, when the Mughals came to control Bengal, and spread throughout the Mughal Empire. Its widespread adoption in Rajasthan, and especially Jaipur, may be due to the fact that Rājā Mān Singh (1550-1614), the head of the Kacchvāhā dynasty whose capital was Amber, was one of the most important ministers and generals in Akbar's court. He served for nearly twenty years as governor of the province of Bengal. Asher (1992:68) notes that all of the temples built under Mān Singh's patronage exhibit strong Mughal influences. Nor is the extension of these stylistic influences to Jain temples surprising, as many

4 See also Koch (2002:137).

Jains served under Mān Singh. For example, Nānū Godhā of Maujamabad was a minister in the Kacchvāhā court for many years, and served with Mān Singh in Bengal. He built many Jain temples and domestic shrines in Bengal, and later between 1604 and 1607 built a large, three-spired Jain temple in his natal city of Maujamabad (Kāslīvāl 1989:196-98).

Other *caityālay*s exhibit low-relief roofs in another Mughal-derived style, of a ribbed lozenge that also meets at a single spine with gold finials, and a floral motif at the base of the roof (Figure 1). Ebba Koch (2002:74) explains that this style of roof "is derived from wooden canopies over the tombs of Sufi shaykhs, which had already [as of the 1620s] been transposed into white marble in the catafalque of the mausoleum of Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwalior."

While some *caityālay*s are simple unpainted stone, most of them are brightly painted in many colors. The walls in the back of the niche, and on either side, as well as sometimes the stone of the shrine itself, are often covered with a plaster of lime and clay known as *loī ārāś*. This is very finely polished, so that it takes on an appearance not unlike marble. Protruding from the base of the altar for the offerings is either a narrow stone platform, or else a temporary wooden platform.

The preferred location of a *caityālay* is on the topmost storey of a house, so that no one can walk above the enthroned and enshrined Jina icon. It should be in the northeast corner of the building. Most of the shrines I documented were in this location, and it is also prescribed in the *Śrāvakācāra* (v. 113) of Umāsvāmi, an otherwise unknown *bhaṭṭāraka* who wrote sometime in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Even though the shrines are often located deep within the domestic space of a house, by custom they remain open to public access, and can serve as places of worship for nearby residents.

The Gujarati Śvetāmbar wooden *ghar derāsar* is quite distinct from a public temple in scale, although the two share a common style of carved ornament. The Rajasthani Digambar stone *caityālay*, on the other hand, is very similar to a side altar in a public temple (*mandir*). In fact, some of the *caityālay*s from houses in the old city of Jaipur, whose inhabitants have moved to the suburbs, have been reinstalled as side altars in public temples. The close continuity between the two genres is also seen in that the identity of some structures has shifted between the two categories of *caityālay* and *mandir*. For example, the Caudhriān, Chābḍān and Korīvālān Caityālay is on the second floor of a residential building. A large sign on the outside of the building announces its presence, in a manner similar to the signs announcing a *mandir*. The *caityālay* is visited for worship by many inhabitants of the neighborhood, and an inscription announces that the new marble floor was the gift of a Jaipuri Jain now resident in Imphal, Mizoram. The sign on the outside of the large Seṭhī Caityālay in C Scheme, one of the oldest Jaipur suburbs, explicitly signals the elision of the difference between the two genres, by saying that it is the "Digambar Jain Seṭhī Caityālay (Mandir)."

If the two genres of domestic *caityālay* and public *mandir* are so similar that the difference between the two in style and usage often seems arbitrary, what does differentiate the two? An investigation of older textual sources, coupled with fieldwork on contemporary structures, confirms several features that help us to define the *caityālay*. In contrast to a domestic space in which a person might keep unconsecrated Jina icons, photographs, lithographs, and other religious objects to aid one's daily veneration, the icon in a *caityālay* should be consecrated, and as a result should receive lustration (*abhiṣek*) daily. The icon should be less than eleven fingers (roughly nine inches) in height. Icons larger than this are appropriate only in public temples. The icon should not be of one of the five Jinas known as *bāl muni*s, i.e., lifelong celibates. The five are Vāsupūjya, Mallinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The worship of these five engenders a religious sentiment of renunciation (*vairāgya*) in a person, whereas the worship of the other nineteen results in the more appropriate domestic sentiment of tranquility (*śānti*). While some *caityālay*s do enshrine icons of one of these five Jinas, most *caityālay*s follow the prohibition.

In the nineteenth-century hymn with which I began this article, we see that for Svarūpcand Bilālā a distinguishing feature of a public temple is that it includes a flagpole. Textual authorities say that a *caityālay* should not be surmounted by a flagpole, and this is followed in practice. Nor should it have a dome or spire. One authority wrote that since the classical texts on consecrating and installing icons and *yantra*s do not provide instructions for a ritual of installing a *yantra* beneath an icon in a *caityālay*, one in general should not do so (Gulābcandra 2007:176). This instruction is largely ignored, as I saw *yantra*s in almost every *caityālay*. Finally, there is no need for installing a protector deity (*kṣetrapāl*, *dvārpāl*). In the words of one informant, the residents of the house are expected to protect the shrine, so this divine assistance is unnecessary.

When Jains move to a new city, or to a new neighborhood in a city like Jaipur, a *caityālay* in the home of a new resident allows people to maintain their practice of daily worship of a Jina icon. But this does

Figure 3. Side altar in Digambar Jain Mandir Mārūjī, Jaipur. August 2014. Photo: John E. Cort.

not account for the presence of so many *caityālay*s in Jaipur. The Digambar neighborhoods of the old city are crowded with public temples, many of them quite lavishly ornamented. No Digambar Jain lives more than a few minutes' walk from a temple. Further, almost all temples have multiple altars, so even on a busy morning one can find a space to worship in peace. Because the icons in a *caityālay* are consecrated, the room in which it is located cannot be used for anything else. Why, then, did so many Jains install *caityālay*s in their home, even in quite modest middle-class homes in which space was at a premium? I was given two answers to this question. One was that having a *caityālay* in the home was preferred by some women, who wanted to maintain a degree of *purdah* or seclusion, especially when engaged in worship. The other factor was prestige. Having a *caityālay* indicated that a person was sufficiently pious that he and his family were willing to dedicate an entire room solely to a shrine, even in a modest middle-class home. In a society in which piety was (and is) an indicator of both moral and social worth, installing and maintaining a *caityālay* was a way of exhibiting one's socio-religious standing. It is not a coincidence that every *caityālay* in Jaipur is known by the name of the family in whose house it is located.

Writing in the mid-1970s, Paṇḍit Hīrālāl Siddhāntālaṅkar of Beawar in Rajasthan said, "In earlier times there was a *caityālay* in almost every house. This is still the custom in the South."[5] In this short article I have treated only the *caityālay*s of Jaipur, and my research is based on fieldwork on less than twenty percent of the ones

Figure 4. Caityālay Ṭholiyān, Jaipur, August 2014. Photo: John E. Cort.

5 Hīrālāl Siddhāntālaṅkar, *bhāvārth* on Āśādhara, *Sāgāradharmāmṛta* 6.4 (p. 62).

still in the old city. This research report, therefore, serves both to introduce scholars to a hitherto unknown genre of Jain architecture, and to invite scholars to research Digambar domestic shrines in other parts of India.

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CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

A Domestic Jain Shrine at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Kimberly Masteller

One of the great vernacular artistic traditions that flourished in medieval India is the wooden architecture found in Gujarat, in Western India. Many structures were created in this tradition, including large-scale temples, urban homes and elaborately carved shrines. The *ghar derasar*s, literally "house temples" of Gujarat were a unique development within this tradition. These shrines were created in Gujarat, for Jain patrons to use in private homes.

The *ghar derasar* appear to have taken two forms, free-standing shrines and architectural shrines that were integrated into the wall of a domestic space. The architectural shrines were large and elaborate structures, consisting of decorative shrine doors with multiple lintels and framing, frequently enclosed by a portico. Both forms of domestic shrines were created from wood and contained elaborate decoration, in the form of carvings, polychromy and metal overlay.

While other forms of Gujarati architecture and carving have been well-studied, the tradition of Jain domestic shrines has received little scholarly attention. With this in mind, I and my colleagues at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kate Garland, Senior Objects Conservator and John Twilley, Mellon Conservation Scientist, began the treatment and study of a Jain *ghar derasar* from Gujarat in our museum's permanent collection. The discoveries made on this shrine during its treatment have inspired further study into the historical and artistic contexts of domestic shrine production in Gujarat, including collaboration with John Cort of Denison University. We also were assisted in our research by Rabindra Vasavada and Conservation Architect, Khushi Shah, both at the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT) University, Ahmedabad.

Background on the Nelson-Atkins Jain Shrine

The Jain shrine was acquired by the William Rockhill Nelson Trust in 1932, a year before the Nelson Art Gallery (now the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art) opened to the public. Since the shrine's arrival at the museum, it has remained in storage awaiting extensive cleaning and restoration.

The shrine is an elaborately carved and painted wooden architectural structure comprised of the doors, lintel, jambs, portico, and supporting columns that formed the façade and entrance to a domestic Indian shrine (Figure 1). The shrine is filled with familiar Jain iconography, including a depiction of the goddess of fortune illustrated by elephants (*gaja lakshmi*) centered on the lintel, and depictions of the fourteen dreams of Queen Trishala (the mother of Mahavira, the last Tīrthaṅkara) and the eight auspicious Jain symbols (*ashtamangala*), in the

square panels of the doors. A scene containing white-robed monks reinforces the shrine's affiliation with the Svetambara sect of Jainism.

Cleaning and Analysis

In 2012 museum conservators began the long-anticipated treatment of the shrine. It was clear that the shrine was painted, but the decoration was completely obscured by dirt and grime. The first step was to consolidate the flaking paint with natural glues. Then, conservators tested various cleaning solutions on the stubborn grime layer. Solvent gels proved remarkably successful, revealing bright colors and gilding.

Scientific analysis undertaken during the treatment, supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, determined the date and type of wood used in the shrine and that the shrine had been refurbished. The wood was identified as teak, and radiocarbon dating of a sample from the timbers suggests that the wood was cut sometime between 1455 and 1635, pointing to a production period in the mid-16th century. Pigment samples indicate that two layers of paint exist on the surface of the wood. The uppermost layer of paint, now revealed by the cleaning, conceals an original layer comprised of colors such as natural ultramarine made with lapis lazuli, a very expensive pigment, indicating that the shrine

was an important commission. The uppermost layer of polychromy contains an arsenic green paint, dating the more recent layer to the 19th century, as this synthetic pigment was commercially available only after 1811. However the color choices of the earlier and later layers appear to be the same, even if different pigments were used.

Based upon the discoveries made about the Nelson-Atkins Jain Shrine, curators and conservators at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art plan to conduct an inter-disciplinary study with other surviving examples of *ghar derasar*. Further study of domestic Jain Shrines from Gujarat is not only an important contribution to the field of art history, but is also a timely undertaking. Wooden shrines are particularly vulnerable, as they are made of impermanent materials, they have been disassembled, moved and on occasion, sold and they can potentially be altered by modern restoration practices.

For more information on the *ghar derasar* at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, see www.nelson-atkins.org/art/exhibitions/jain-shrine.cfm?utm_source=NA&utm_medium=Button&utm_campaign=Jain

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Figure 1. Jain Shrine
Gujarat, India, 16th century.
Wood, polychrome paint, gold leaf and glass inserts
70 x 57 5/8 x 7 in. (177.8 x 146.4 x 17.8 cm).
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.
Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 32-136.
Photo: John Lamberton
© The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Figure 2. Detail of partially cleaned female figure from the shrine lintel. Photograph by Kate Garland.
© The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Newly Discovered Jaina *Caraṇa-Pādukā*s in Chel-Abdal Chakwal

Muzaffar Ahmad

District Chakwal has long been known for its Buddhist, Hindu and Jain archaeological heritage. A previously unreported *caraṇa-pādukā* stone block has recently been discovered near the peak of Chel-Abdal in Basharat, District Chakwal, Pakistan. This current discovery is unique as it is the first time in the Chakwal district that any Jaina footprints have been discovered.

Chel-Abdal near Bisharat (now spelled as Basharat) (N 32.75987 E 73.06309) is the highest point in the District Chakwal (3500 ft. above sea level). This ridge along the valley of Bisharat is visible from Ara-Bisharat. Facing west to east this ridge is about 8 km in length and is located between the villages Kotli and Ara. On top of the ridge there is a shrine called Chel-Abdal, which means "Forty Saints."[1] From the peak of Chehl-Abdal one can see the Margla hills to the north; to the south flows the Jhelum river; and to the east and west on adjoining hills is situated a dense rain forest.

Sir Marc Auriel Stein (1862-1943) visited Salt Range in 1889, 1901 and 1930. On 2 December 1930, on his way from Ara through Pathak (Modern Pir Phattak) and Umbrila, Stein arrived at the "large village of Bisharat," but he did not notice Chel-Abdal, nor did he notice any archaeological sites in the surroundings of Bisharat.

Stein identified the ancient capital of Simhapura at Dulmial five km north-west of Ketas. Five kilometers downwards from Ketas along the stream he discovered the ruins of "Gandhala Murti," a Jain temple located at Murti (Jhelam) in the Gandhala valley (Stein 1937:57).[2] Stein concluded that Gandhala Murti perfectly matched the description written in the 7th century by the Chinese scholar and pilgrim Heun Tsiang for the place near Simhapura where Mahāvīra was thought to have arrived at the knowledge of principles which he sought, and where he first preached the law. According to Stein:

> At Murti, I discovered Hsuan Tsang's site of the white-robed Heretics & located the ancient capital of Simhapura he had visited near the present pilgrimage place of Ketas (Mirsky 1977: 472).

It is worth quoting here part of what Heun Tsiang actually wrote about the monks of this temple:

> They have a little twist of hair on their heads, and they go naked. Moreover, what clothes they chance to wear are white. (Heun Tsiang 1884: 145).

Figure 1. *Caraṇa-pādukā* stone block discovered near the peak of Chel-Abdal in Basharat. (Photo Courtesy of Mr Raza Ullah Khan, Official Photographer of Nazarat Taleem School Systems, Pakistan.)

This either indicates that the distinction between the two Jaina sects in the region was nominal at time when Heun Tsiang visited Chakwal, or that he was confused (as the translator Samuel Beal suspected). The naked male and dressed or partially dressed female sculptures from the temple in Murti give some credence to Heun Tsiang's observations.[3]

Stein removed 30 camel-loads of sculptures and architectural ornaments from the site and shifted them to the Lahore Museum (*Gazetteer. Jhelum* 1904: 45). He found them similar to the Jain sculptures at Ellura and Ankai. Amongst the red sandstone sculptures from Murti were sculptures of naked males sitting and holding garlands (*Gazetteer. Jhelum* 1904: 45). This particular feature reminds us of Digambaras. He noted the local tradition that the Murti temple was built by a Jain minister (Stein 1937: 1-57).[4] Between Murti and Katas is the pond where Śiva supposedly wept on the death of his wife. Katas was famous for Vyāsa the Hindu *muni*. On the road to Bisharat there is Pir Phatakk (Stein's Raja Pathak).

Discovery

Around 1996 I visited the peak shrine of Chel-Abdal

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1 *Chel* (plural *Chelan*) is most probably derived from the Sanskrit *Chela*, but in its current usage local people associate it with forty wandering saints known in Sufi literature as Chehel Abdal (40 great saints), a concept well known in Islamic mysticism, these 40 saints are held to always remain on earth as a link between mankind and divinity.
2 *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. ii, pp. 88 and 90; A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 124-8; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. iv (1890), pp. 80 and 260. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. vol. xv. Oxford 1908

3 Heun Tsiang rightly observed the existence of different religious classes amongst the Jainas. His confusion is, if at all, only related to Mahāvīra, who was not the founder specifically of the Śvetāmbara tradition ('white-clad herectics').
4 "Here a curious piece of information gathered from Devi Dyal, the aged Brahman Purohita of Chôa Saidan Shah, may find mention. At an inquiry held by me in 1890 among the village elders concerning the materials quarried from Murti, he mentioned having heard from his father that travelling sabhus [*sic*] had described the ruined temple as having been 'built before the time of Raja Man' by a Jain minister as a place of prayer and meditation for mendicant priests. Is it possible that tenacity of Jaina tradition had retained some faint recollection of the sanctity originally attaching to the spot ?" (Stein 1937 Section 1: 57 n. 15).

with Mr. Riaz Ahmad Malik from Dulmial, an expert on the history of the region and the author of several books. Local Patwari told us the *ziarat* was built upon the ruins of an ancient temple.[5] Around 1971 Jain sculptures were discovered here which were sent to the Lahore Museum. Recently, after all these years, Mr Malik brought to my notice the discovery of a red sandstone block with feet carved on one side. According to Mr. Malik, the red sandstone block was brought to him by a contractor who was digging a mine in the area near the site of the temple. In his own words: "The red sandstone slab with foot prints on it was found at Chel-Abdal, about six months ago, about 100 yards below the peak of Chel-Abdal."

He brought the slab for a brief period of time to our workplace in Rabwah, a town in District Chiniot Punjab. I managed to make a plaster of Paris mold of the feet area, photographed it, and took measurements. (Figure 1)

Description and Stylistic Analysis

The red sandstone block is of a lighter colour and quarried no doubt from the surroundings. A very thin white layer is visible on the surface. The slab is broken around the corners. Most of the toes are also slightly damaged.

The block with carved feet in high relief most probably represents the Jain tradition. They do not appear to be *buddhapada*, first introduced in the 2nd century BCE (Quagliotti 1998:169-171), or *viṣṇupada*, first introduced in the 1st century CE (Cicuzza 2011:19). Both *buddhapada* and *viṣṇupada* were represented in a very abstract way and adorned with different religious symbols. In the case of the *caraṇa-pādukā*s on the stone block, no symbol of any type is visible, which shows that it is of a considerably earlier date. Moreover Jain *caraṇa-pādukā*s do not represent a sole footprint or foot, but a pair. Also, while the other two styles mentioned above are adorned with *cakra*s and other religious motifs, Jain *caraṇa-pādukā*s were mostly carved without any symbols. A peculiar feature of these *caraṇa-pādukā*s is the natural rounded shape of the feet with toes carved in

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5 In India and Pakistan Patwari are government officials who keep land records of a village.

Figure 2. Making a cast of the *caraṇa-pādukā* on the lawn of the Research Cell. (Right to left) Riaz Malik, Saher Naeem (Archaeologist, Nazarat Taleem School Systems), Muzaffar Ahmad and his students, Naseem Fazeel, Abdul Rahman, and Nemat Ullah.

an almost natural shape. The feet are carved in a quite naturalistic way and the artist tried to depict minor details like the gaps between the toes, and also beautifully carved nails.

Measurements

Size of Right Foot:	Size of Toes (right foot):
Length= 20cm	Width of big toe = 1.5cm
Width (toe) = 8.4cm	Width of first toe = 1.1 cm
Width (ball) = 5.9cm	Width of second toe = 1cm
Width (instep) = 5.8 cm	Width of third toe = 0.6 cm
Width (heel) = 4.8cm	Width of little toe = 0.6cm

Size of Left foot:	Size of Toes (left foot):
Length= 20cm	Width of big toe = 1.6cm
Width (toe) = 8.3cm	Width of first toe = 1.3 cm
Width (ball) = 6.4cm	Width of second toe = 0.9cm
Width (instep) = 6.1cm	Width of third toe = 0.8cm
Width (heel) = 6cm	Width of little toe = 0.6cm

The stone block appears to have been fixed in the floor of a *chatra* or a temple.

Jain Tradition

In Jainism carving *caraṇa-cinha* or *caraṇa-pādukā*s on stone is an ancient tradition. Footprints are still carved on stone blocks or slabs and it is safe to assume that at least in an early phase they were carved without any decorative motif or sacred symbol. There is a tradition of placing stone blocks carved with sacred feet at the top of hills, where they are worshipped ceremoniously at least once a year. New footprints of Jain monks and nuns are regularly added to the sacred topography of Jain religious landscape. *Caraṇa-pādukā*s in high relief are one of the oldest and most common emblems worshipped by Jains. They often mark a spot at which a renowned ascetic is believed to have died. They represent the soul's conscious departure from the mortal body through voluntary self-starvation (Bruhn 1998: 229-232). Presumed *nirvāṇa–bhūmi*s, predominantly on mountains, are marked by *caraṇa*s. Flügel (2011:2) notes the difference in style between Śvetāmbara and Digambara *caraṇa*s (and that they are prohibited and non-existent in the *samādhi* architecture of the Śvetāmbara Terāpanth).

Keeping in mind the material, artistic style and the religious topography of the area, it could be said that these newly discovered footprints are of the Jain tradition. As they are not properly recorded *in situ*, only a future archaeological study can answer the many remaining questions. In Bisharat the *ziarat*, or shrine, of Chel-Abdal exists, it must be concluded, on the remains of a temple or *chatra* with *caraṇa-pādukā*s or footprint-images. *Caraṇa-pādukā*s on a peak represent the place visited by some holy person in Jainism. All this information makes it quite feasible to assume that some holy person/persons travelled through this beautiful valley on their way to Taxila or Kashmir. The Hindu sources, the Chinese travel

account and the local traditions are not telling the story of a tomb, but of the visits paid by Śiva, Mahāvīra or the Chel-Abdal on their way, which could be either to Kashmir via Nara or to Taxila via Umbrila. In Bisharat there is a famous proverb relating to the legend of Chel Abdals: *Chelan dhote kapre, hik bhora te hik Dang*, i.e. "Chels washed their cloths here which comprised of a rough woolen clock and a walking stick."

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Life of a Legend: Acharya Tulsi

Nirmal Baid

The year 2014 was celebrated as the birth centennial of the 9th head of the order of the Terapanth Jain tradition, Acharya Tulsi. In this article, I present vintage photos from Acharya Tulsi's life with a hope to give you a vivid perspective on the life of this legend. I have had the good fortune of growing up in Rajasthan where Acharya Tulsi frequently visited and spent the rainy season of 4 months, a common practice among Jain monks. This photo-journey was originally presented at the conference on the Making of Modern Jainism, organized by the Florida International University in Miami, held in October 2014. My presentation comprised a set of 90 rare pictures from Āchārya Tulsi's life, selected from a collection of more than 5,000 photos.

Acharya Tulsi was born in October 1914 in Ladnun, India, in a devout Jain trader's family. At the age of 11, Tulsi renounced his physical comforts and dedicated his life to his own spiritual journey and the wellbeing of other people. He saw the Jain path as a way to selflessly work in the service of mankind and help others find the path to their own enlightenment. He visualized how life should be lived and used his energy for the betterment of humankind, regardless of religious affiliations. He was announced as the successor of his Acharya Kalugani at the young age of 22 in the year 1936. Only 3 days after that announcement, his Acharya took his last breath, leaving him in charge of a congregation of over 500 monks and nuns and a community spread across the country.

Above everything we know about Acharya Tulsi, first and foremost, he considered himself a simple Jain monk, following the Jain monk's code of conduct every day, including meditation, yoga practice, and the daily observance of seeking forgiveness. Like any ordinary Jain monk, he took alms rounds in the community where he stayed, keeping him closely connected with the people. As you may know, Jain monks pluck the hair from their head as part of their practice rather than shaving, and he did not make any exceptions for himself (Figure 1). Acharya Tulsi was an exceptional Jain Monk, always leading by example.

In 1947, when India had just become an independent nation, Acharya Tulsi knew that the joys of freedom could lead to an unrestrained society. He wanted the religious teaching to be action-oriented, and he thought the idea of

Figure 1

small vows as action could be a tool to affect social change. Based on that idea, in 1949, he announced the Anuvrat movement in Sardarshahr, Rajasthan. Anuvrat means 'small vows'. With this movement, he drew up a code of conduct aimed at developing character and morality by morphing traditional Jain vows for householders into small secular vows that were achievable by an individual.

Dr Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India, learned about the Anuvrat movement in a meeting with Acharya Tulsi in 1950 (Figure 2). He thought he could apply this idea for the welfare of people throughout the country. Prasad extended his support to the movement and commented, 'It is like religion stepping out of its traditional boundaries to the behavioral aspect of everyday living'.

Prasad recommended that Acharya Tulsi meet Pt. Nehru, the first prime minister of India, and discuss a strategy to help move this forward. In his meeting with Acharya Tulsi, (Figure 3) Pt. Nehru was astonished when he realized that this monk was not asking him for anything, but offering him his peace force of 500 monks and nuns. Subsequently, Pt. Nehru addressed the Anuvrat Conference, and reiterated the importance of this movement to the nation, and gave his commitment and support.

Acharya Tulsi set out to reach people all over India,

Figure 2

Figure 3

from the remotest village to the biggest cities, without any barrier of religion, caste, gender or culture to relay the message of the Anuvrat, peace and nonviolence. In his early life, monks of his tradition travelled primarily in parts of Rajasthan. Acharya Tulsi expanded that, and he conducted extensive journeys on bare feet across rural and urban India. He was an incredibly innovative and visionary leader who was able to spread his influence despite travel constraints. A lifelong traveler, he traversed over 70,000 km in his life with only one purpose: to help human beings everywhere find their potential at an individual level. He set out to spread this message, for example, visiting the central jail in Bangalore, he reached out to the inmates and officers (Figure 4).

Acharya Tulsi's life was not without oppositions. In 1961, he wrote a poetic book titled Agni Pariksha, which translates as Trial by Fire. The book highlights the purity of Sita, a character from the Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa. After the publication, there was opposition from some people, which provoked the public, as they thought the book demeaned Sita. Also, in 1970, when he was spending the rainy season in Raipur, he received opposition that resulted in heavy violence in the city. His opponents burned down the tent (Figure 5) where he was giving his discourses, and instigated sectarian violence.

Even though Jain monks are prohibited from taking long journeys during the rainy season, he left Raipur before completing his 4-month rainy season in order to help calm the turbulent situation (Figure 6). While condemning the violence, JP Narayan, a prominent Indian social leader commented, 'After Mahatma Gandhi, this is the first example where emphasis is given to nonviolence over anything else'.

As part of their code of conduct, Jain ascetics do not use transportation and travel only on foot, so as not to cause injury to living beings. Acharya Tulsi was cognizant that the Jain teachings would have a broader impact if he added a level of initiation that was not restrictive like the traditional guidelines. To overcome this, in 1980, he established a new kind of initiates to start the Saman Order (Figure 7).

Initially, there was resistance from within his own community as well as from the broader Jain community, but Acharya Tulsi, with his vision and courage, moved forward and knew that his decision would speak for itself in due time. What started as a seed has now flourished into a large group of highly educated samanis who are taking leadership and academic roles while continuing to spread the message of peace and nonviolence throughout the world.

Acharya Tulsi wanted to make the Jain teachings accessible to all, but he realized that there was no literary work to accomplish this. He took it upon himself and a group of learned monks to translate and write commentary on the Agamas. The project was officially kicked off in 1955 in Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh. He worked, hands on, to produce translation, commentary and comparative study with other Jain works, modern science, and other religious thoughts (Figure 8). After almost 60 years of continued tireless effort by Acharya Tulsi and hundreds of monks and samanis, the original text of 32 agamas has been translated and published with commentaries. This is a monumental contribution in preserving and advancing Jain literature.

Acharya Tulsi had always amazed the community with bringing forth his innovative ideas. One such illustration took place in 1994 when in Sujangadh, he startled a crowd of over 10,000 by declaring that he would

Figure 4

Figure 5
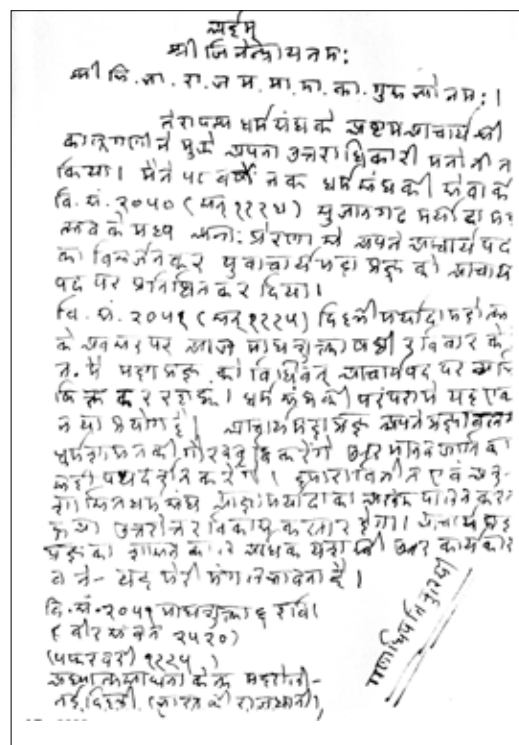

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 10

Figure 9

I would like to leave you with a poem he wrote to describe himself:

> I neither want any adjectives to introduce me, nor any titles;
> I neither have any caste, nor I belong to any sect.
> My simple introduction is thus–
> O!, here is monk Tulsi.

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Figure 11

renounce his position as acharya (Figure 9). This was an unprecedented act, especially in a world where everyone was clamouring for getting a title. Acharya Tulsi cited two main reasons for relinquishing his position. First, he wanted to devote more time to his own spiritual practice, again highlighting that he was a Jain monk at heart, and, second, he wanted to work more for the uplifting of the human race without any of the administrative responsibilities of a position.

Right from the start, Acharya Tulsi was committed to uplifting the lower castes and women.

This was an era when gender bias was rampant in society, and there was an obvious disparity between the education of monks and nuns. Acharya Tulsi took upon himself to give nuns the equal opportunity to pursue academic goals important to their faith. Given society's structure at the time, it was a daunting task to drive this reform within his own order. He spent hours and hours of his time with them as an instructor, introducing them to scriptures, teaching them Sanskrit and Prakrit, enabling them to read and write in those languages (Figure 10). The result of this is abundantly evident. Today, we see nuns editing āgamas, writing books and commentaries, and teaching at universities around the world.

Acharya Tulsi was a prolific writer and a poet, an eloquent orator, and above all, a pious saint. In June of 1997, Acharya Tulsi's body took the last of its journeys in Ganga Shahar, Rajasthan, where his soul left his body. His last rites were concluded at this location (Figure 11), and a memorial was erected in his honour.

A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature

R.P. Poddar

An *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historic Principles* has been in progress at the Deccan College, Pune, since 1948. Dr A. M. Ghatage, a retired professor of Ardhamāgadhī, worked on this Dictionary from 1972 to 1982 and published Vols. I & II, comprising 1,677 pages. Navalmal K. Firodia, a local industrialist, philanthropist and freedom fighter, envisaged the idea of a Prakrit-English Dictionary along the same lines. He apprised Prof. Ghatage and Prof. R. N. Dandekar, who was then the Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), Pune, of his proposal and requested that they lay the groundwork for this project. Prof. Dandekar not only agreed to provide office space and library facilities, but also offered to be a co-sponsor. To inaugurate this project without any hitch, Shri Firodiaji set up an institution, Sanmati Teerth, and created an exclusive governing body for this purpose. Prof. Ghatage served as general editor on this project from 1987 to 2002. Then Prof. R. P. Poddar succeeded him as chair. The project became functional in 1991 and the first fascicule of *A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature* was published in 1992. As of now we have published 5 volumes, comprising 2,024 pages.[1] So far the vowels have been completed and the work on the first consonant *kā* is in progress.

The necessity of explaining and providing equivalents of words has a long history and was felt already in the Āgamic period itself. *Ṭhāṇa* and *Samavāyo* are obvious attempts to meet this necessity. Because of elision of medial consonants, words were often confused. So there were attempts at resolving such confusions. For instance, to the question "*kulatthā kati vihā paṇṇattā*," "How many

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1 *A Comprehensive & Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature*. Volume Five, Fascicule I & II. [Founding General Editor: A.M. Ghatage.] General Editor: R.P. Poddar. Copy Editor: Kamalkumar Jain. Assistant Editors: Meenakshi Kodnikar, Lalita Marathe. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2014.

R. P. Poddar
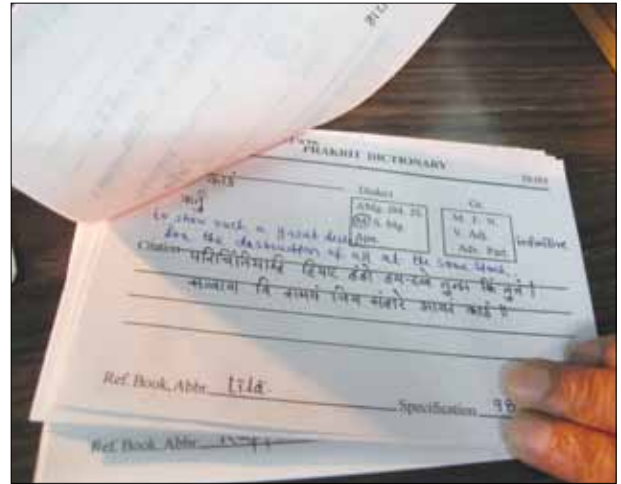
Word-slip for the infinitive *kāuṃ* (S. *kartum*), "to do," with citation from the Literary Mahārāṣṭrī text *Līlāvaī*.

meanings of 'kulatthā' are known?," the reply is explained to be twofold: "*itthi kulatthā*" (S. *kulasthā*), "a noble-born woman," and "*dhānya kulatthā*" (S. *kulatthā*), "the horse gram (*Dolichos uniflorus*)." Such confusions in the Prakrit languages had to be interpreted in the standard language of the time, i.e., Sanskrit. Thus the need arose for Sanskrit commentaries.

The earliest attempt at Prakrit lexicography is attributed to Dhanapāla. He recorded 998 words with their synonyms in 279 *gāthā*s in his 10th century anthology *Pāiyalacchīnāmamālā*. This treatise was followed by Ācārya Hemacandra's collection of words that did not derive from Sanskrit, originally titled *Rayaṇāvalī*, now published as *Deśīnāmamālā* by BORI. Next came the *Abhidhāna Rājendra Koṣa* of Vijaya Rājendra Suri. It is a collection of Prakrit words with definitions and citations. However, it is bulky and overloaded with citations. All the same, the dictionaries which are handy and of everyday use are: i) *Ardhamāgadhī Koṣa* of Ratnacandramuni and ii) *Pāiya-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* of Hargovind Das T. Sheth. The first is mainly confined to the Ardhamāgadhī literature. The second, too, by and large remains within the fold of Śvetāmbara Jain literature and occasionally includes Sanskrit (= Prakrit) dramas. Unlike earlier dictionaries, our dictionary is comprehensive. It includes both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara canons. Besides, it covers secular literature as well, having no pronounced inclination towards any religious sect.

Our dictionary covers all seven Prakrit dialects: Ardha-Māgadhī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, Jain Śaurasenī, Literary Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī (as spoken by women characters in Sanskrit plays), Māgadhī (of which two types are found, one spoken by lower characters and the other artificial one, as spoken by Śākāra in *Mṛcchakaṭikam* where in one verse [I.23] *śā* recurs eighteen times, obviously for satirical purpose), and Apabhraṃśas, or dialects.

The excavation of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, near Mathurā, the

Meenakshi Kodnikar & Kamalkumar Jain with one of the index card files, Kā 1.

former capital of Śūrasena, has proved that there was a concentration of the Jaina population in this area. Their pontiffs believed that the original teachings of Mahāvīra were lost, and therefore retold them in the local dialect, Śaurasenī. Because it was the dominant language of the Śvetāmbara Jaina scriptures, it was further developed into Jaina Śaurasenī (JŚ). This is the language of the Digambara Ṣaḍkhaṇṭāgama and its Dhavalā commentary. Women in Sanskrit plays also speak Śaurasenī, but in their songs, instead of softening intervocalic hard consonants (ka>ga), they slide it all together (ka>a). In Prakrit *kāvya*s, such as Setubandha and Gauḍavaha, this elision has become a rule, ushering in a new dialect, Mahārāṣṭrī, so named on account of its connection with Mahārāṣṭra. But the use of this dialect remains limited to the *kāvya*s only. This shows that it was never a spoken dialect.

The word Apabhraṃśa means "what has fallen apart from the standard." All the standard languages, when used by common people and therefore not in keeping with standard phonetics and grammar, develop dialectic forms. The word *go*, "a cow," has several dialectic forms, such as *goṇā*, *gopotalikā*, *gāya*, *gāi*, etc. The Prakrits standardized in the Jaina scriptures, Sanskrit plays, and the Prakrit *kāvya*s, when used by the commoners gave rise to Apabhraṃśas, or dialects, which varied according to time and place. Three categories have been demarcated: Western-, Midland- and Eastern Apabhraṃśas. These in turn gave rise to modern dialects such as Gujarātī, Māravāṛī, Brajabhāṣā, Avadhī, Kāśikā, Vajjakā, Maithilī, Magahī, Aṅgika, etc. These too have their literature. Particularly Braj Bhāṣā, Avadhī and Maithilī are very rich in devotional literature. Since these languages have

Word-slip for the infinitive *kāuṃ* (S. *kartum*), "to do," with citation from the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī text *JugāiJiṇiṇdaCariya* v. 82.27.

developed from Middle Indo-Aryan languages, readers and lexicographers of these may benefit from BORI's comparative and critical dictionary of Prakrit languages.

The methodology for creating *A Comprehensive & Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature* was agreed after extensive consultation.[2] To begin with, word-slips were prepared and arranged alphabetically. The sources are earlier dictionaries, such as *Ardhamāgadhī Koṣa*, *Pāiya-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* and indices of individual texts and grammars, wherever available. In earlier publications of Prakrit works, such as those of the Āgamodaya Samiti, there being no indexes, words are to be called from the text itself. *A Comprehensive & Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature* is the first to give easily traceable references to passages in published editions together with citations.

2 A.M. Ghatage, "Preface" & "Introduction," *A Comprehensive & Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature*. Vol. I. General Editor: A. M. Ghatage. Editorial Assistants: G.B. Palsule, Nalini Joshi, Meenakshi Kodnikar, Kamalkumar Jain: i-iv, v-xxxvi. Pune: Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute, 1996.

The editorial team (left to right): R. Poddar, Meenakshi Kodnikar, Lalita Marathe & Kamalkumar Jain below the photo of M.A. Ghatage.

Digambara Jaina Collections of Manuscripts

Piotr Balcerowicz

Jaina collections of manuscripts are related to my study in Indian epistemology and logic, and hence unknown or rare texts in Jaina collections have always been a focus. It seems that, unlike Śvetāmbara, Digambara collections of manuscripts are less known and accessible to researchers. Throughout the years of my search for such manuscripts, I have come across a few such places which still house a great number of unstudied, valuable materials.

One such place is Anekant Gyan Mandir (Anekānta Jñāna-Mandira Śodha-Saṁsthāna) at Bina-Etawa (Bīnā-Iṭāvā, Madhya Pradeś, 24°12′ N, 78°12′ E), Sāgar District (my visit: Feb., 2008). They primarily house paper manuscripts, with hardly any palm leaf *grantha*s. The director, Brahmacari Sandeep Saral, has published a useful catalogue *Anekānta Bhāvana Grantha-ratnāvalī*, which serves as quite a reliable guide.[1] The person in charge and the staff are helpful and welcoming to visiting researchers. The collection contains, for instance, some manuscripts of Akalaṅka's *Aṣṭa-śatī*, Vidyānanda's *Aṣṭa-sahasrī*, Akalaṅka's *Nyāya-viniścaya* and Vādirāja's *Nyāya-viniścaya-vivaraṇa*, Anantavīrya's *Siddhi-viniścaya-ṭīkā*, and other works of Digambara philosophers. There must have been direct links between the Bombay community and the Digambara monks of Bīnā-Iṭāvā in the past because I have come across some transcripts of Mumbai manuscripts in Bīnā (aged about 80–100 years), e.g. a Bīnā copy of the Mumbai *Siddhi-viniścaya-ṭīkā* manuscript.[2]

A real treasure, and practically unknown to research, is a private collection housed at Idar (Īḍar, Gujarāt, bordering Rājasthān, 23.83′ N, 73.0′ E), namely Śrī Sambhavanāthjī Digambara Jaina Mandira and Bhaṇḍāra, which is located near the Viśvakarma Temple (Parśvanātha Digambara Mandira) in the Pavitranagar section of town (my visit: Feb., 2008). The person in charge and, at the same time, the owner, is Mr. Ashvin P. Gandhi, who inherited the collection from his father. This is a private Digambara family collection that came into existence at the turn of the 19th/20th century, when Mr. Gandhi's grandfather began to acquire manuscripts from private owners in order to preserve them. The collection was subsequently brought to Īḍar early in the 20th century from the South and expanded by Mr. Ashvin P. Gandhi's father. Unfortunately, in the late 1970s, during a brief absence of the family, there was a robbery and a few hundred manuscripts were stolen, never to be recovered. Currently there seem to be approximately 3,000–4,000 palm leaf manuscripts, a large number of them in Kannaḍa script, alongside some paper manuscripts. There is no catalogue, except a few running inventory books

Texts as holy objects (Temple in Karkal, Mysore, 2008)

that mark the acquisition of particular manuscripts. This is, however, a highly unreliable source of information, because not infrequently the titles in the books do not match the real contents of the manuscripts, or the numbers in the inventory books do not correspond to actual manuscripts on shelves. Besides, the manuscripts are badly maintained and many are in a poor condition, due both to the inadequacy of expertise of the present staff and to the complete lack of funds. Access to the collection is next to impossible. I know of decade-long efforts of a number of Indian researchers, primarily from Gujarāt, who have been trying to see the collection, but with no success. It seems that, if I am to rely on the owner's words, I was the first outsider not only to see but also to photograph some of the manuscripts (Akalaṅka's *Nyāya-viniścaya*, Vidyāpati's *Nyāya-viniścayâlaṅkāra*, Vādirāja's *Nyāya-viniścaya-vivaraṇa*) during my brief visit in 2008.

Another important and still unexplored collection is that of Indore (Iṁdaur, Madhya Pradeś; 22°72′ N, 75°88′ E), housed at the Kundakunda Jñānapīṭha, alternatively known as Kund Kund Gyanpeeth Pustakalay. It is related to the architectural pearl of early 20th-century Jaina architecture in Indore: the Mirror Temple (Kāṁca Mandira). Again, this is a private effort of Bimal Ajit Kumar Singh Kasliwal, who has brought together manuscripts from various small private collections in Madhya Pradeś, which are now under the supervision of Dr. Anupam Jain. First contacts with the owner were rather difficult and it was neither possible to directly work on manuscripts nor to photograph them. However, the story has a happy ending: many (all?) manuscripts have been digitized and are available via National Mission for Manuscripts, but also the whole collection of approximately 90 DVDs has been copied and made accessible to researchers. The identifications do not always correspond to the contents, but in most cases they do. They are all paper manuscripts in North Indian

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1 Sample manuscripts are accessible at: www.idjo.org/old_idjo/ManuscriptsAGM.asp

2 There was no problem to photograph the manuscripts I needed for my research. 180 digitised manuscripts have been incorporated into the on-line collection of the International Digamber Jain Organization (www.idjo.org/site/PDFBooks.aspx).

scripts (no Kannaḍa manuscripts), a few hundred of them, primarily narratives, works on ritual and conduct, canonical works, but hardly any philosophical works on epistemology or logic. The number of 12,500 books, usually mentioned by the institution, is not the number of manuscripts.[3]

Rājasthān has a number of small private collections. Occasionally, their owners are wary of strangers and either claim to have no manuscripts at all or admit to having them but in the end one is never given the privilege of seeing even a single leaf. A good example is Ailak Pannālāla Digambara Jaina Grantha Bhaṇḍāra of Rānīvāla Mansion in Beawar (Byāvar; 26.10°N, 74.31°E), in Diggi Mohalla, owned by the Raniwala family (my visit in Feb., 2014) a visit to which proved to be futile.

Worth mention are small Digambara *bhaṇḍāra*s in Jaipur (Jayapura), such as Digamber Jain Nasiyan Bhattarakji and Apabhramsa Academy (26.54°N, 75.48°E) or Digambar Jain Mandir Sanghiji (my visit: Feb., 2008), which have some valuable and still unknown and unused material, mostly on paper, in North Indian scripts. Some important texts are: Samantabhadra's *Āpta-mīmāṁsā*, Akalaṅka's *Tattvârtha-rāja-vārttika*, Akalaṅka's *Aṣṭa-śatī*, Prabhācandra's *Nyāya-kumuda-candra*. A very useful computerised list of all the *bhaṇḍāra*s' collections has been prepared by Mr. Vipin Kumar Baj, related to Digambar Jain Mandir Sanghiji.

Mumbai has a couple of tiny collections of manuscripts, the most important being Candraprabhā Digambara Mandira Pustakālāya (near CP Tank; 18°95´ N, 72°82´ E) (my visits: 2012, 2013). There are perhaps 100–200 paper manuscripts (no palm leaf), and the access (including photography) was unrestricted. Temple staff was very friendly and welcoming. Beside narratives,

canonical works, and ritual texts, there are some important philosophical treatises, e.g. Anantavīrya's *Parīkṣâmukha-laghu-vṛtti*, *Dvija-vadana-capeṭā* ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, Narendrasena's *Pramāṇa-prameya-kalikā*, etc.

Karnāṭaka abounds in small collections of manuscripts, often very important, with some tiny ones still kept under house roofs. The best known are the National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research (Śrī Dhāvala Tīrtham, Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa), related to the Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa Jaina Maṭha, Shree Jain Matt of Moodbidri (Śrī Jaina Maṭha, Mūḍabadrī), and the Kārkal Digambara Jaina Maṭha. The largest of these, with about 15,000 titles in 5,000 bundles, is the collection of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (12°86´ N, 76°52´ E).[4] It is well catalogued. Access can be difficult, but not impossible. Everything depends on Bhaṭṭāraka Carukīrtijī. It is a rich source of important philosophical works, such as Akalaṅka's *Laghīyas-traya*, Vidyānanda's *Aṣṭa-sahasrī*, Samantabhadra's *Āpta-mīmāṁsā*, etc. Next in size is Shri Jain Mutt of Moodbidri (13°07´ N, 74°99´ E), renowned for housing the famous *Cha-kkhaṁḍâgame* manuscript (my visit: Jan., 2008). Access depends entirely on the bhaṭṭāraka of the Maṭha, Carukīrtijī. There is a list of the manuscripts with some signature numbers but these, on examination, never matched the actual manuscripts on the shelves and the lists, in the form I could briefly see them, were mostly unreliable. We have reason to believe that this collection may contain some unknown and highly important manuscripts, and can only hope that the collection will be made more accessible in future. A nearby Kārkal Digambara Jaina Maṭha (13°20´ N, 74°99´ E) is a very friendly place, though the manuscript collection is tiny, 2–3 dozen manuscripts, with no material related to philosophy.

A collection hardly known to anybody is the

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3 Some information is available at http://jainmanuscripts.gov.in/kunda.aspx

4 For general a description see: http://jainmanuscripts.nic.in/sravan.aspx

Sample folios of Akalaṅka's *Laghīyas-traya* manuscript kept at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (catalogue no 64). (Courtesy, NIPSAR and Pujya Bhattarakji)

Sample folios of Vidyānanda's *Aṣṭa-sahasrī* manuscript, dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1825 (1767 CE), kept at Bīnā (mss no 5838).

Jinakanchi Jain Mutt of Mel Sithamoor (Jina-kāñcī Jaina Maṭha), i.e. Melchitamur / Melsithamur (12°27´ N, 79°51´ E), in Villupuram District, 139 km south-west of Chennai (Tamilnādu) (my visit: Feb., 2008). Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka, a retired bank director, is extremely helpful and friendly, and aware of the importance of the manuscript collection and its proper preservation— in stark contrast to the highly conservative local community, strongly opposed to any outsider consulting the manuscripts. All the manuscripts are stored in two large, solid metal locked closets, housed in a dust covered attic of an office adjacent to the Bhagwan Parshwanath Digambar Jain Temple. The local community has no funds to preserve the manuscripts. There is no one in the village who has any knowledge of scripts or manuscripts, considered holy objects. I was told that there was no extant manuscript list at all, despite the fact that some of the manuscripts bore paper labels with 'Library Access Number', and occasional titles (but these instances were rare). To examine all the manuscripts was a rather tedious work under such circumstances, because to do so required reading the beginnings and colophons of hundreds of manuscripts. The key to one of the two closets was missing and attempts to open it failed, so I was able to examine the contents of just one of them. My rough estimate is that there are about 1,500 manuscripts. They are predominantly in Kannaḍa script, with a large number of (paper and palm leaf) manuscripts in Sanskrit, but in Tamil script. Of the most important manuscripts in the collection are one of Prabhācandra's *Nyāya-kumuda-candra* and the *Nyāya-dīpikā* (in Tamil script).

A slightly better known place is Digambar Jain Math of Thirumalai, related to Shree Kshetra Arihantagiri (Arahantagiri, Tamilnādu; 12°56´ N, 79°20´ E), Polur Sub-District, Tiruvannāmalai District, 155km south-west of Chennai, about 65 km away from Melsithamur (my visit: Feb., 2008).[5] There are just a handful of manuscripts.

Surprisingly, despite occasional difficulties, private or temple collections of the Digambaras pose less

difficulties than Indian state institutions, such as the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Mysore, the Oriental Institute of the M.S. University of Baroda, or the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Madras University Library in Chennai, which during my visits either made it outright impossible to consult manuscripts, impose prohibitive prices, or introduce time consuming red-tape procedures which effectively impede any access.

A very active place to explore is Devashram of Arrah (Devâśrama, Ārā; Bihār) (25°55´ N, 84°66´ E). Based in Patna, Mr. Prashant Kumar Jain of Arrah, has managed to digitise a large number of manuscripts and printed editions which he makes available to researchers.[6]

Generally, Jaina manuscripts are housed in various institutions of which we can distinguish the following categories: in (1) Jaina *bhaṇḍāra*s either specially constructed or specifically meant to house manuscripts (e.g. Jain Mutt of Melchitamur, Sri Jain Matt of Moodbidri, Anekānta Jñāna Mandira Śodha-Saṁsthāna of Bīnā, Hemacandrācarya Jaina Jñāna Bhāṇḍar of Pāṭan), (2) in the precincts of Jaina temples in adjacent rooms assigned to house manuscripts, usually in locked closets (e.g. Śrī Sambhavanāthjī Digambara Jaina Mandira/Bhaṇḍār of Īḍar, Kanakagiri; Candraprabha Digambara Mandira Pustakālāya of Bombay, Digambar Jaina Mandira Saṅghījī of Jaipur), (3) on rare occasions in Jaina temples themselves, in the temple space and displayed on a stand the way Tīrthaṁkāras' images (*murti*) are displayed (e.g. Kārkal, some Digambara temples of Jaipur), (4) in Jaina academic institutions or semi-academic institutions affiliated to a temple and supervised by the trustees of the temple (e.g. Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa's National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research, the Syādvāda Jaina Mahāvidyālaya of Vārāṇasī, Digamber Jain Nasiyan Bhattarak Ji and Apabhramsa Academy of Jaipur), (5) in academic institutions directly not affiliated to any religious establishment but run and supervised by the Jaina community (e.g. Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Pārśvanāth Vidyāśram / P.V. Research Institute of Vārāṇasī), (6) in government secular academic institutions, such as universities (e.g. Oriental Research Institute of the University of Mysore, Banaras Hindu University of Vārāṇasī, Oriental Institute of the M.S. University of Baroda), (7) private collections either of Jaina devotees or manuscripts collectors (not necessarily affiliated to Jainism).

All photos are by the author.

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5 www.arihanthagirithirumalai.org/about-us

6 See Jain, Ajay Kumar. "Ancient Jain Manuscripts:Preserving a Valuable Heritage." *Jaina Studies: Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* March 1 (2006) 16-17.

Jain Manuscript Collections in Punjab:
With Special Reference to the Sthanakvasi Tradition

Ravinder Jain and Purushottam Jain

We learn of the existence of Jain manuscript collections in various cities and towns of ancient Punjab, the boundaries of which went up to Kandahar (Afghanistan) in the northwest and close to Delhi in the south. In the Punjab, the Jain tradition begins with the yatis, who played a very significant role in preserving the Jain religion during the Mughal and other disturbing times. Most of the collection of the yatis of the Murti-pujak tradition is now available in the Vallabh Smarak, Delhi. Collections of the Sthanakvasis had been available at Lahore, Rawalpindi, Kasur, Sialkot, Pasrur, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Nakodar, Phagwara, Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur, Faridkot, Panchakula, Ludhiana, Bathinda, Ambala, Patiala, Kurukshetra, Sirsa, Hissar, Sunam, Nabha, Samana and Banur. During the partition of India many manuscripts from western Punjab were transferred to the eastern part, but possibly some Jain manuscripts still remain in Pakistan.

The itinerant Jain *sadhu*s were for a long time averse to having their own physical centres. The tradition to build *sthanak*s, for instance, began in the Punjab only a little over a century ago. The *sadhu*s would get manuscript copies made either by their disciples or by *sadhvi*s, or from some Brahmins with a good hand. In the Sthanakavasi tradition many of the manuscripts available are in the hand of *sadhvi*s. The reason perhaps was their good handwriting. They would also get some pages from their gurus, since it was not possible for the *sadhu*s to carry the entire collection in person as they travelled from one place to another. They also used to leave them with householder devotees and get from them whichever book they needed. Since the householders were generally ignorant about the ways and means to preserve manuscripts, though had deep respect for them, these copies got damaged with the passage of time. With the emergence of *sthanak*s, the collections of the monks and nuns therefore began to be left at these *sthanak*s. But the local committees which looked after these places were not familiar with the ways and means to preserve manuscripts.

Some *sadhu*s (especially Pravartak Suman Muni and Late Sadhvi Svarn Kanta) and householders worked together to prepare lists of such literature at Malerkotla, Dhuri, Bhikhi, Sangrur and Ambala. About 250 manuscripts of various works which were in the personal collection of Sadhvi Svarn Kanta were donated by her to the Jaina Chair in the Department of Religious Studies of Punjabi University, Patiala. The present authors, Ravinder Jain and Purushottam Jain, both of whom have worked on different aspects of Jainism in Punjabi, have preserved at Malerkotla personal collections given to them by various *sadhu*s and *sadhvi*s, such as Ratan Muni and Sadhvi Satya Vati, who found these manuscripts of little use after they were published. The "P. & R. Jain Hastalikhitbhandar" contains about 300 manuscripts, mostly Agama texts with Tabbas but not Tikas (because Sthanakavasi monks formerly rejected Sanskrit), and a few unpublished manuscripts such as the Dhal Caupais, Thokaras and Bhajans in different languages. Inspired by Acarya Sivmuni, a list of the books has been prepared for this collection, the collection of the Jain *sthanak* in Malerkotla, which holds a rare illustrated manuscript of the *Samgrahanisutra*, and collections in Faridkot and Ambala. The Atma Gyan Peeth in Mansa, established by Muni Bhandari Shri Padam Chand ji, also hosts a collection of valuable Agama, Jyotisa, Ganita and Mantrasastra manuscripts. Important is the collection of manuscripts from the Punjab of the late Acarya Susilmuni in the Ahimsa Bhavan, New Rajendranagar, in New Delhi.

The manuscript collection of the Terapanthi tradition is always with their guru, and further texts are available at Ladnun (Rajasthan). As it is, the Sthanakvasi tradition in Punjab does not seem to be interested in the preservation of such manuscripts. It has not been possible for various reasons to assemble the entire collection, spread across *sthanak*s and private households, at one place where an expert could look after them. The Sthanakavasi collections include highly valuable manuscripts, most of them still unpublished: *Agama Taba*s, *Dhal Caupai*s, *Caritra*s of the 24 Jinas and other *mahapurusa*s, *Pattavali*s, *Bhajan*s, *Thokara*s, etc. Very few manuscripts are illustrated. They are in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu and Braj: all of them are in Devanagari script. They are up to 350 years old. Most of these manuscripts are now getting damaged. This will be an irreparable loss to the Jain tradition, especially if they lose their heritage literature due to mere negligence.

Ravinder Jain and *Purshotam Jain* have a long association of working together in the field of Jain studies. They have jointly authored many books on different aspects of Jain religion, literature and history. Their work has been the first ever on Jainism in Punjabi.

Purushottam Jain & Ravinder Jain
Photo: Peter Flügel, Ambala 21.12.2010

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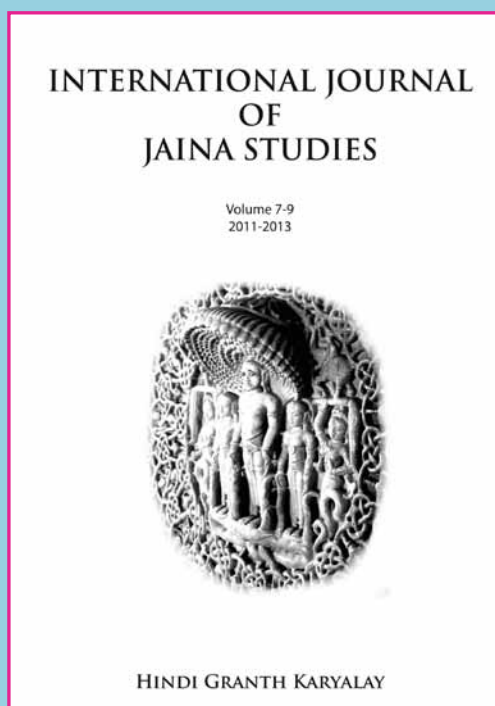
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