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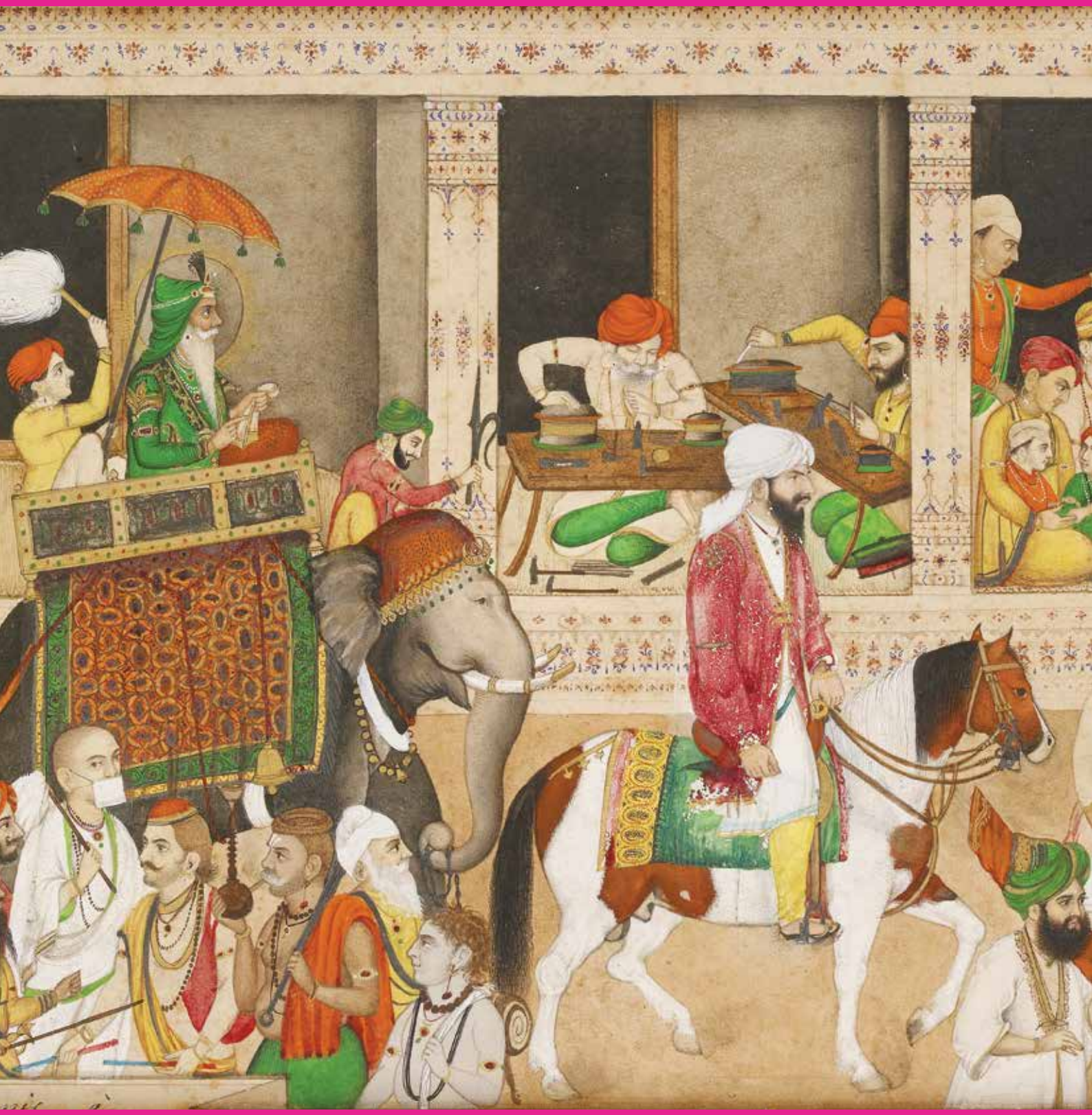
Jaina Studies

NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES



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Issue 11

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Jaina Studies
NEWSLETTER OF THE CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

Contents:

On the Cover

Detail: *Maharaja Ranjit Singh in a bazaar*
Gouache on paper, 1840 – 1845
On loan from Sir Howard Hodgkin
LI118.110

Letter from the Chair

Dear Friends,

For once we can take respite, just for a moment, to celebrate the harvest of some of the fruits of our labour. In 2015 three new volumes appeared in the CoJS edited series Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies: Piotr Balcerowicz' monograph *Early Asceticism in India: Ajīvikism and Jainism*, and two edited volumes: *Jaina Yoga*, edited by Christopher Key Chapple, and *Jaina Scriptures and Philosophy*, a work dedicated to Willem B. Bollée, edited by Peter Flügel and Olle Qvarnström. Moreover, the first volume of the new Jaina Studies Series of Harrassowitz is Johannes Klatt's encyclopaedic bio-bibliographical work *Jaina-Onomasticon*, due to appear 124 years after he stopped working on the manuscript in 1892.

The fact that half of this issue comprises reports on papers delivered at academic congresses reflects the busy conference calendar in Jaina Studies in 2015: Tine Vekemans on 'Jaina Tantra' at SOAS, Ellen Gough on 'Jains and the Other' at Yale, Juan Wu on 'Jaina Studies at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference, Bangkok 2015', Tillo Detige on Papers on Jainism at the '12th International Conference on Early Modern Literatures in North India' in Lausanne, and Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg on 'Jain Studies at the Annual Meeting of the AAR 2015', cover not even all of the many academic conferences on Jainism around the world.

The second half of this issue offers research reports on the compositional structure of Uttarajjhāyā 23, the 6th monastic council of the Sthānakavāsī Śramaṇasaṅgha, and on recent PhD theses in Jaina Studies: Shweta Jain (Jodhpur) on *Causality and Pañca-Kāraṇa-Samavāya,* Andrew More (Yale) on *Early Statements Relating to the Lay Community in the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon,* Amruta Chintaman Natu (BORI) on *Jaina Studies of Georg Bühler*, and Catherine Morice-Singh (Paris) on *Numbers and Algorithms in the Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha and the Tiloyapaṇṇattī*.

If this should not be interesting enough, Andrew Topsfield's visually compelling report on Jain Art in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, which kindly offered a photo of the wonderful historical painting of a Sthānakavāsī monk in the Bazaar of Lahore (possibly Amarasiṃha) for the cover of the present volume, and Anupama Delacour's report on another wooden Jaina domestic shrine, at the Dahlem Museum in Berlin, will surely draw the attention of readers who are eager to learn more about the rich heritage of the ancient Jaina tradition.

One aspect of Jainism that is still neglected as a subject of scholarship, though not as a subject of speculation, is the relationship between Jainism and Science which the 18th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS explores. The study of most subjects pertaining to Jainism would not be possible without some knowledge of Prakrit. Hence, we should praise the imaginative initiative of SOAS PhD Candidate Adrian Plau to raise funds for the teaching of this niche subject which would not survive in the long run otherwise.

I commend volume 11 to you!

Peter Flügel

GyanSagar Foundation delegates' meeting in 2015 with Director of SOAS Professor Paul Webley (1953-2016).

The 16th Annual Jaina Lecture

Newly Discovered Jaina Mathematical Manuscripts and their Content

Anupam Jain
(Government Degree College, Sanwer, Indore)

Friday 18 March 2016
18.00-19.30 Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre
19.30 Reception Brunei Gallery Suite

Jainism and Science

18th Jaina Studies Workshop at SOAS

Saturday, 19 March 2016
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

First Session: Evidence and Proof in Jaina Science & Philosophy

9.15 Muni Mahendra Kumar (Skype)
The Enigma of Cosmogony

9.45 Marie-Hélène Gorisse
Scientific Knowledge in Jainism

10.15 Ana Bajželj
Upakāra in Akalaṅka's Tattvārthavārtika

10.45 Tea and Coffee

Second Session: Jaina Theories of Time

11.15 Rajmal Jain & Anupam Jain
Space and Time: In the Perspectives of Jainism and Science

11.45 Samaṇī Unnata Prajñā
Jaina Doctrine of Timelessness

12.15 Catherine Morice-Singh
The Treatment of Series in the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya and its Connections to Jaina Cosmology

12.45 Group Photo

13.00 Lunch: Brunei Gallery Suite

Third Session: Jaina Mathematicians

14.00 Ratna Kumar Shah
Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa: Computational Wizard of Sixth Century CE

14.30 Alessandra Petrocchi
Siṃhatilakasūri's Mathematical Commentary (13th century CE) on the *Gaṇitatilaka*

Tillo Detige

Śri 1008 Ādinātha Digambara Jaina Jinālaya, Īḍara, January 2014

15.00 Johannes Bronkhorst
Jaina versus Brahmanical Mathematicians

15.30 Tea and Coffee

Fourth Session: When Science Meets Fiction

16.00 Basile Leclère
Architectural Science in Jain Poetry: Descriptions of Kumārapāla's Temples

16.30 Christine Chojnacki
When Science Meets Fiction: On Technical Passages in Jain Medieval Novels

17.00 Peter Flügel
Jainism and Science

17.30 Brief Break

17.45 Roundtable

Is Jaina philosophy compatible with the modern sciences?

Chair: Shamil Chandaria (London)
Discussants: Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne), Kalyan Gangwal (Pune) Anupam Jain (Government Degree College, Sanwer, Indore) Laxmi Chandra Jain (Government Engineering College, Jabalpur) Mukul Shah (London) Ratnakumar Shah (Pune) Sanjeev Sogani (Gyan Sagar Science Foundation, New Delhi) Samani Unnata Pragya (SOAS & Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun)

The conference is co-organised by Peter Flügel (CoJS) Nenna Chuku and Jane Savory (SOAS Centres and Programmes Office) with generous support from the GyanSagar Foundation, Anil and Lata Chandaria, the Jivdaya Foundation, the Faculty of Arts & Humanities at SOAS, and private sponsors who wish to remain anonymous.

Anil and Lata Chandaria

ABSTRACTS

Upakāra in Akalaṅka's *Tattvārthavārtika*
Ana Bajželj, Postdoctoral Polonsky Academy,
The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel

In the *sūtra*s 5.17–22 of his *Tattvārthasūtra* Umāsvāti lists various kinds of assistance (*upakāra*) in the production of certain effects that the six basic types of substances provide. Dharma and *adharma* respectively support motion and rest, *ākāśa* acts as a receptacle, *pudgala*s support the body, speech, mind, breath, pleasure, pain, life and death, *jīva*s support one another and *kāla* assists continuity, transformation, activity and posteriority and priority. In his commentary to the *sūtra*s Akalaṅka explains each case of assistance in detail, elucidating the relation between substances, their assisting functions and the effects the production of which they assist. He emphasises that the assisting function of each particular type of substance cannot be performed by any factor other than itself. Furthermore, substances can never lose the inherent capacity to assist in their specific ways even in the absence of recipients of their assistance. The assisting functions of substances are, then, significant aspects of the metaphysics at hand. They are essentially involved in the causal relations that bring about some of the most elementary worldly phenomena. As such they are vital factors to consider when researching the Jain doctrine of causality that was developed as a part of a greater Jain "scientific" endeavour to systematically and rationally explain the nature of reality.

Despite that, *upakāra*s have received only scarce scholarly attention. Secondary sources mostly refer to them in terms of substances functioning as auxiliary causes of particular effects but aside from comparing them to specific auxiliary causes like water, earth, shade of a tree, potter's wheel etc. they do not go into much detail in their descriptions of them. This paper will examine Akalaṅka's account of the different kinds of *upakāra*s, discerning their distinguishing characteristics and analysing the causal dynamics that are involved in their operation. Since Akalaṅka's *Tattvārthavārtika* was influenced by Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi*, it will be read against the latter in order to note which of Akalaṅka's explanations and arguments with regard to the different *upakāra*s reiterated the words of his predecessor and which were novel in the Digambara *Tattvārthasūtra* commentarial enterprise.

Jaina versus Brahmanical Mathematicians
Johannes Bronkhorst, University of Lausanne,
Switzerland

Unlike the Buddhists, Jaina authors have contributed in an important manner to the history of mathematics in India. Unfortunately many of their texts have not survived, but what has survived allows us to form a good impression.

The present paper concentrates on the way in which Jaina and Brahmanical mathematicians related to each other. About this there is very little explicit evidence, but a passage in Bhāskara's (Bhāskara I) *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya* (7th century CE) provides interesting information. Bhāskara here criticizes (though implicitly) a Jaina mathematician by showing that the latter's theorem has unacceptable results. This can be contrasted with Bhāskara's uncritical attitude toward Āryabhaṭa, the inspired teacher of his own school. The conclusion to be drawn is that mathematics in India never cultivated the critical attitude that characterizes much of Indian philosophy. In mathematics it appears that criticism was exclusively directed at authors and texts belonging to different traditions than one's own.

When Science Meets Fiction: On Technical Passages in Jain Medieval Novels
Christine Chojnacki, University Lyon 3, France

Jain Literature is mostly renowned for its canonical texts and vast amount of treasures of stories. However, sciences have not been neglected either by writers of this community. On the one hand, several authors from the classical period (for instance Āryabhāṭa) or from the medieval period (thus Thakkura Pheru) have composed treatises on technical topics. On the other hand, besides these systematic treatments of scientific knowledge, one can find in Jain novels written from the 8th to the 12th century various passages inspired from different kinds of *śāstra*s (*jyotiḥśāstra*, *ayurveda*, *aśvaśāstra*, *lakṣaṇaśāstra*, *nimittaśāstra*). The purpose of this article will be to investigate several of these passages. We will discuss what they can teach in comparison to other sources of their times and see what they can add for the chronology of the extant material at our disposal.

Jainism and Science: History and Ontology of the 'Soul'
Peter Flügel, SOAS

The paper discusses attempts by modern scientists to reconstruct and theoretically explain the historical origins of conceptions of 'soul' or 'self' across cultures in the light of ancient Indian debates on the Jaina approach of positing the individual *jīva* or *ātman* as an eternal substance and speculates on the functions of dualist ontological commitments.

Scientific Knowledge in Jainism
Marie-Hélène Gorisse, SOAS & Ghent University, Belgium

This lecture is intended as an investigation upon the nature, place and function of scientific knowledge in Jainism. First of all, how and what can we know according to the Jaina religious soteriological perspective? Does the concept of a complex knowable involve a plurality of types of knowables? And is there a cognizer-independent (theory-free) reality that the soul, respectively the mind, can cognize? An innovative way of tackling this last issue is found in the classification

of sources of reliable knowledge (*pramāṇa*) offered by Jaina philosophers, when they seek the criterion that will produce a clear distinction between direct and indirect sources of reliable knowledge. Akalaṅka's treatises (720-780), especially the *Laghīyastraya*, are precious for such considerations since, at the time of his attempt to offer a Jaina theory of knowledge recognizable as such, Akalaṅka was committed to three different agendas on this issue, namely the Buddhist agenda of distinguishing between conceptual and non-conceptual knowledge; the chronologically descriptive agenda of distinguishing between simple and complex knowledge; as well as the Jaina agenda of distinguishing between knowledge mediated or not mediated by the mind and the senses. At this step, I will advance an interpretation concerning the types of knowledge that are following the scientific method in this classification.

The second part of the lecture will be to draw the consequences of this conception on chosen epistemological issues. First, if scientific empirical knowledge is theory-dependent, in which sense is it reliable? And what does ultimately found, as well as what does account for, its reliability? Is it extra-mundane types of knowledge, is it the consensus of a community, or is it another instance of validation? What is more, if a God-eye's view with a non-communicable content exists, does falsifiability only concern the linguistic (infinite number of) interpretations of this view? Finally, Jainism offers an original treatment of the links between logic and proof in science, since logic is conceived in terms of interaction between agents and is more adapted to empirical situations.

Newly Discovered Jaina Mathematical Manuscripts and their Content

Anupam Jain, Government Degree College, Sanwer, Indore, India

Mathematics is an integral part of Jaina literature because it is used as a tool to explain:

- Cosmological data & description of the three-fold universe. It is used in giving the length, area and volume of the different sections of the universe and dimensions of mountains, rivers and parts of Jambūdvīpa.
- Different types and sub-types of karmas, the operations of uprising, binding and shedding of karmas and the net effect of their infinitude of combinations on living beings.
- Jaina logic system, which is used for establishment of logical facts and reconcilement of the others' views. Modern mathematical logic is available in the texts of Jaina *Nyāya* (Logic).

It is also used:

- To determine auspicious places & times for religious ceremonies like *dīkṣā* (initiation) & *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration).
- To train pupils (householders) in basic Mathematics (*Laukika Gaṇita*) required in daily life.

Due to so much importance of Mathematics in Jainism, Jaina scholars wrote complete mathematical texts. Many of them are still not known to the academic world. We have made an extensive survey of different old Jaina libraries and discovered many completely mathematical (including astronomical) texts or religious texts full of mathematical knowledge:

1. *Jyotirjñānavidhi* of Śrīdharācārya (799 CE)
2. *Gaṇitasāra* of Śrīdharācārya (799 CE)
3. *Ṣaṭatrinśikā* or *Ṣaṭatrinśatikā* of Mādhavacandra Trividya (11th c. CE)
4. Commentary on *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya by Bhaṭṭāraka Sumatikriti (16th c. CE)
5. *Iṣṭāṅkapañcaviṃśatikā* of Tejasiṃha (1646-1686 CE)
6. *Gaṇitasāra* of Hemarāja (1673 CE)

Three more manuscripts which are related to Cosmography / Cosmology and having a lot of material of mathematicians' interest are the following:

7. *Lokānuyoga* by Jinasena I (783 CE)
8. *Trailokyadīpaka* of Pt. Vāmadeva (14th c. CE)
9. *Trilokadarpaṇa* of Kavi Khadagasena (1656 CE)

Detailed information about the source, no. of copies, periods and content of these manuscripts will be presented in the lecture.

Space and Time: In the Perspectives of Jainism and Science

Rajmal Jain, Kadi Sarva Vishvavidyalay, Ahmedabad & Anupam Jain, Indore

We will briefly describe philosophy and concepts of the space and time in Jainism and modern science. Important milestones / discoveries over time will be described. Though Jainism has fundamental differences with science regarding the formation of the universe, it has well defined concepts of space and time with quantitative descriptions. Considering this unique opportunity we investigate in greater detail the units of space and time in Jainism and compare them with those of currently advanced sciences. We present complete descriptions of sub-units of time from *samaya* to *muhūrta* and their quantitative conversion to seconds / minutes of present time. Further, the *niścaya-kāla* and *vyavahāra-kāla* defined in Jaina canonical texts have been described scientifically based on mass, momentum and energy conservation laws, and we propose a mathematical function for the *vyavahāra-kāla*. We present measurements of smallest length/ distance *parmāṇu* to largest: *yojana* / *rajju*, and show their relationship with current modern units of distances. We review features of Jain astronomy in contrast to modern astronomy and present estimates of distances for the planets and other celestial bodies in the solar system

described in Jainism and compare the units with that mentioned in modern astronomy.

Architectural Science in Jain Poetry: Descriptions of Kumārapāla's Temples
Basile Leclère, Université de Lyon 3, France

After his conversion to Jain faith due to the influence of the famous Śvetāmbara monk Hemacandra, the Caulukya king Kumārapāla (r. 1143-1173) ordered Jain sanctuaries to be erected throughout his dominion. This ambitious monumental program was duly praised by Hemacandra in the concluding section of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-caritra*. Indeed, in that work, he made Mahāvīra himself predict that Kumārapāla, "with unlimited power, will make this earth adorned with temples of the Jinas in almost every village" (translation Helen Johnson). Many other Jain writers from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries extolled Kumārapāla as a great builder, and some of them, in order to insist on his lavish patronage, even described in detail the most impressive temples set up on his order, beginning with the great religious complexes of the capital city Aṇahillapātaka. In the present paper, I intend to demonstrate that, if these authors may have been influenced by poetical conventions, their descriptions are nonetheless pervaded by technical terms which betray a genuine knowledge of architecture among Jain scholars. Given that very few Jain temples from the reign of Kumārapāla have survived through the centuries, these textual data could be fruitfully explored in order to complete the information provided by temple inscriptions and architectural treatises.

The Enigma of Cosmogony
Muni Mahendra Kumar, Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun, India

According to the Jain canonical texts, the universe (the cosmos) is beginningless with respect to time. In modern scientific cosmogony, there are several hypotheses which are divided on the issue of the beginning of the Universe. In the present paper, a brief review of the different models presented by the astronomists is made and critically examined on the basis of scientific aspects as well as logical ones. The most popular view in the modern times is the "big bang theory." Although most scientists are in favour of this model, it is not unanimously accepted. The main alternative articulated by Fred Hoyle, Hermann Bondy and Thomas Gold is the theory of the "steady state universe." The Indian scientist J.V Narlikar together with Fred Hoyle has, on the basis of the hypothesis of new creation of matter, refuted the big bang theory and supported the steady state theory. More recently, another Indian scientist, Saurya Das, who has now settled in the U.S.A., has worked out the mathematical equations giving solution to the age of universe. He is also of the view that the universe is ultimately eternal – without a beginning and without an end. This view seems to be very similar to the Jain view.

The paper will draw the logical conclusion in the favour of the Jain view. The main scientific evidence for the big bang theory, viz., red shift, which shows the expansion of space, has been critically examined, and finally shown to be only hypothetical, and hence, cannot be considered as a truly scientifically valid concept.

Siṃhatilakasūri's Mathematical Commentary (13th c. CE) on the Gaṇitatilaka
Alessandra Petrocchi, University of Cambridge, UK

My paper presents the Sanskrit mathematical text written by Siṃhatilakasūri (13th c. CE), which is a commentary on Śrīpati's *Gaṇitatilaka* (11th c. CE). Siṃhatilakasūri's work has come down to us in a uniquely extant yet incomplete manuscript published by Kāpadīā in 1937. Siṃhatilaka's commentary is a precious source of information on early medieval mathematical practices. This is in fact the first Sanskrit commentary fully dedicated to Indian mathematics and the first written by a Jaina that seems to have survived to the present day. This text has never been studied or translated into English.

Siṃhatilakasūri (13th c. CE) was a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk of the Kharatara-gaccha from thirteenth century Gujarat. His writings also include a Sanskrit commentary on the popular *Bhuvanadīpaka*, a treatise by Padmaprabhasūri on the branch of astrology called *praśna* or "interrogations" and five Sanskrit works on Jaina mantras and rituals. His *Mantrarājarahasya* is the first and one of the few Jaina ritual handbooks on the *sūrimantra* that have come down to us.

In my paper, I shall address the following key-questions: How does the commentator explain mathematical rules while expanding Śrīpati's concise style? What is the terminology used and how does this differ from other mathematical commentaries? What one can say about the relationship between the linguistic formulas and mathematical objects found in the commentary? For this reason, I shall investigate Siṃhatilaka's presentation of mathematical rules and sample problems on the operation of addition of integers, on barter and exchange, and on the class of fractions of the root-remainder.

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Jaina Theory of Timelessness
Samani Unnata Pragya (SOAS, Jain Vishva Bharat Institute Ladnun)

Time denotes 'now-ness', and 'is-ness', is also a measure of change. This paper will analyse the 'timelessness theory' / 'zero time theory' (I use both words interchangeably with same meaning) as found in Jaina literature and philosophy. The mention of zero time to render a conceptual meaning in Bhagavaī and the absence of zero time in the 'time chart' of Anuyogadārāiṃ is worth analysis. The research will reflect possibility of different kinds of 'timelessness' based on anekāntic philosophy. Those are immeasurable time as 'timeless', beyond time as 'timeless' and existence without time as 'timeless'. Further the paper will discuss the source of these different kinds being different subject areas: 'immeasurable' timelessness is merely epistemological as found in *aspṛśada gati*, 'beyond time' is metaphysical in origin, where a case like *artha-paryāya* cannot be measured, and 'existence without time' is cosmological, since supra cosmos lacks time.

Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa: Computational Wizard of Sixth Century CE
Ratnakumar Shah, Pune, India

Some scholars think that alphabetical and numeric symbols including zero with place value started with Āryabhaṭa I (496 CE) as reported by Bhāskara I. [1; p. 168]. In this article an attempt is made to show that Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (JB), a great Jaina saint-scholar who was almost a contemporary of Āryabhaṭa I, had almost employed modern methods of arithmetical processes in decimal system with zero having place value, showing great proficiency in dealing with addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, extraction of square roots, operations with fractions, mensuration of triangle, trapezium, circle etc. and use of rule of three. Although his works *Bṛhatkṣetrasamāsa* (BK) [2], *Bṛhatsangrahaṇi* (BS) [3], and *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* (VB) [4] are all in poetic form where all numbers are expressed in words and no symbols for numerals appear therein, yet the processes described, numbers uttered digit-wise and calculations involving very large numbers leave not an iota of doubt that some symbol of zero was existing then and the system of manual calculations existing then was same as employed at present. While extracting square roots such large numbers were tackled by JB with such ease and precision, and the numbers uttered in word-form (including zero as suṇṇa) clearly show that the decimal system with zero having place value must be in vogue at least for a couple of centuries. His formula for area between 2 parallel chords of a circle, for example, gives a very high degree of approximation. His method of calculation of the area of the Lavaṇa Sea (= 99 611 715 000 square *yojanas*) and its volume (- 1 693 399 155 000 000 cubic *yojanas*) reminds us of pre-calculus method of indivisibles adopted by Cavelieri and Roberval in 17th c. CE)

The Treatment of Series in the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya and its Connections to Jaina Cosmology
Cathérine Morice-Singh (Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3)

It is well known that, in his *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* (GSS), Mahāvīrācārya teaches the addition and subtraction of series instead of ordinary addition and subtraction of numbers. He places these two fundamental operations in a logical manner at the end of his chapter on operations (*parikarman*) as they anticipate the knowledge of the other operations like multiplication, division, square and square-root, etc. The presentation discusses his treatment of arithmetical as well as geometrical series, which occupies nearly half of the chapter itself, and argue that these series are given a special place because they play a great role in Jaina cosmology. Cases will be presented in support of this view.

Jainism and Science
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Digambara Jaina mandira Śrī Nemināthajī (Sāṃvalājī), Āmera, February 2013 Photo: Tillo Detige

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Jaina Tantra: SOAS Jaina Studies Workshop 2015

Tine Vekemans

On Thursday evening, 19 March 2015, in the Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre at SOAS, a renowned expert in the field of Śaivism and Tantra, Professor Alexis Sanderson (University of Oxford) introduced the topic of the 17th Annual Jaina Studies Workshop, *Jaina Tantra*, to a large audience of scholars and practitioners of Jainism. Sanderson was introduced on this occasion by his former student, yoga specialist Sir James Mallinson (SOAS).

In the 15th Annual Jaina Lecture: *The Jaina Appropriation and Adaptation of Śaiva Ritual: The Case of Pādliptasūri's Nirvāṇakalikā*, Sanderson gave an account of how Śaivism and Śaiva Tantra influenced other South Asian traditions. Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist, and Jaina authors incorporated the tantric methods devised by the Śaivas into their own texts, and indeed often used Śaiva ritual manuals as the basis for their own works. Although these methods and texts were — to a varying degree — adapted to suit the tradition to which they were translated, traces of this process of translation are still detectable in the texts. It is precisely these traces that Sanderson looked for in his reading of the 11th to 12th-century ritual manual *Nirvāṇakalikā* by the author Pādaliptasūri. In this text, tantric procedures for daily worship, initiation, consecration, ceremonies for installation of idols, etc., are described in detail. Sanderson proceeded by pointing out that the *Nirvāṇakalikā* closely resembles an unpublished Śaiva tantric manual, the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati* of Mahārājādirāja Bhojadeva (11th century), which is preserved as a palm leaf manuscript in the Kathmandu valley. In fact, the *Nirvāṇakalikā* seems to be a creative redaction of the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, with some strategic deletions and adaptations to fit the original Śaiva tantric material into its new Jaina context. Such adaptations include superficial redactions ('Śiva' becoming 'Jina') and more elaborate changes (deletions or reinterpretations of the bloodiest rituals, adaptation to a new pantheon, etc.). Although the *Nirvāṇakalikā* includes some original passages, Sanderson demonstrated that there is sufficient proof that the Śaiva text functioned as its 'matrix'.

This comparison of these two tantric manuals illustrates the larger processes of Jaina appropriation and adaptation of Śaiva tantric rituals. Sanderson pointed out that this appropriation should not surprise us. As Śaiva Tantra was a very influential current from the 9th century until about the 14th century, it is only natural that other traditions borrowed elements — in this case methods — from it. On the other hand, the relationship of Jainism with Tantra is at best an ambivalent one. Not only does the idea of using 'magical' means to bypass the natural cycle of rebirth and the shedding of karma clash with the commonly held idea of individual responsibility on the path towards *mokṣa*, the more sexual and violent aims of some of the tantric rituals and formulas are also at odds with Jainism's ethics of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence) and *brahmacarya* (chastity). Picking up on these tensions and ambivalences, the impromptu discussion that followed the opening lecture centred on the question whether tantra could ever truly be integrated in the tradition of Jainism, and on the representativeness of the text under scrutiny.

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Sir James Mallinson

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Alexis Sanderson (University of Oxford)

Sanderson's lecture provided participants and the audience with food for thought. Indeed, many of the questions and points of contention that were touched upon in the opening lecture were reiterated in the papers and presentations at the *Jaina Workshop* on Friday. The papers presented at the workshop were grouped into four sessions: textual studies, tantric elements in Jaina systems of meditation, tantra in Jaina rituals, and the relationship between Hindu Tantra and tantric elements in Jainism.

Paul Dundas (University of Edinburgh) kicked off the first session, and started the day with a reference to John Cort's (1987) work on medieval Jaina goddess traditions, in which he suggests that tantra never became a central religious idiom in Jainism, owing to the fact that it could not entertain the possibility of a 'leap soteriology' as opposed to the step by step path to *mokṣa*.

Building on this observation, Dundas affirmed that the incorporation of tantric methods into Jainism was limited in scope, and has throughout history been a source of scholarly ambivalence and discussion. Tantra in Jainism thus does not involve alternative initiations, and no text overtly claims to include rituals effecting an accelerated ascension to the state of Jina. Dundas continued, focussing on Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka's account of the quotidian Jaina ritual praxis to illustrate the historic and scholarly ambivalence towards the 'six magical actions' (*ṣaṭkarmāṇiṇ*) in general, and rituals aimed at doing harm (such as *māraṇaṇ* or killing) in particular. Indeed, in Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka's work the term '*māraṇa*' is often substituted with the term '*niṣedha*' or prohibition (to indicate that these actions are ethically unsound) or '*mohana*' or delusion (to indicate the real aim of the ritual is the burning away of karma and illusion).

To further illustrate this phenomenon, Dundas looked at other Digambara and Śvetāmbara texts that discuss the *ṣaṭkarmāṇi*. He identified two types of response of Jaina authors to the tantric materials they encounter: tantric elements are either reinterpreted along doctrinal or spiritual lines, or strategically censured by editors. Dundas emphasized that his aim was not to shed light on some 'darker side' of Jainism, but rather to recognize the presence of tantric elements in Jaina literature, and attempt to study them in an unbiased way. He concluded that although elements of tantra are present in Jainism and Jaina texts, this does not amount to a full 'Jaina Tantrism', as the tensions between parts of the Indic tantric system and the soteriology and doctrine of the Jaina tradition prevented the full appropriation of tantra as a way to spiritual enlightenment.

Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya (Shantiniketan, India) presented his ongoing efforts to edit the tenth text of the Śvetāmbara canon, the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*. The original text of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* was long deemed lost. However, Bhattacharyya has accessed a manuscript from archives in Nepal in Śaurasenī Prakrit with Sanskrit and Prakrit commentary.[1] This difficult, somewhat esoteric text illustrates how the Jaina textual tradition is composed of works dealing with very different, sometimes seemingly contradictory topics in response to different questions that arise in different contexts, at different times and in reaction to other traditions. The text was said to have been hidden away to prevent misuse of its supernatural content by unsuitable students. The *Praśnavyākaraṇa* itself makes use of the *anubandha catuṣṭaya* (fourfold connection) to describe the way in which, and by whom, it is to be studied and used to gain knowledge. The literal translation of *Praśnavyākaraṇa* is: 'the question of grammar'. However, this does not cover the actual contents of the work, and the alternative meanings of '*praśna*' are subject of much discussion in the available commentary texts. Indeed, after the preliminary discussion of who is an appropriate student, and what the subject matter actually is, the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* first appears to be a study of elements of Pāṇninian grammar and sounds. In later chapters the text reveals its tantric content more clearly, dealing with *nimitta-śāstra* (the study of omens) and further describing how different sounds and seed-mantras (*bīja-mantra*) are associated with living beings, metals, colours and numbers.

In the last paper of the panel on textual studies, Ellen Gough (Yale University) talked about the history and present day use of one specific tantric element, namely the ritual invocation called the '*sūri-mantra*'. In a Śvetāmbara context, this mantra is used in the ordination of the heads of mendicant orders (*ācāryapada-sthāpanā*) and in image consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) ceremonies. Today, Digambaras denote different incantations as '*sūri-mantra*', but all of these have only one ritual function: the consecration of temple icons. Medieval texts suggest, however, that Digambaras, like Śvetāmbaras, once used the *sūri-mantra* to promote monks to the highest rank of the ascetic order, and that they may even have used the same invocation as Śvetāmbaras. Gough argued that remnants of this can be seen in modern Digambara image-consecration ceremonies, where — according to some sources — a Jaina layman performing the ceremony must remove all of his clothes before he whispers the *sūri-mantra* into the ear of the Jina icon (*mūrti*). According to Gough, the lay worshipper thus temporarily assumes the guise of a Digambara monk, a clear reference to the older practice where only naked *ācārya*s could perform *pratiṣṭhā* rites using the *sūri-mantra*, imparted to them upon their promotions as part of the *ācāryapada-sthāpanā* ceremony.

The second session of the workshop dealt with Jaina meditation and its tantric elements. Shugan Chand Jain (International Summer School for Jain Studies, New Delhi) explored the text by the Digambara monk Śubhacandra (10th or 11th century CE) to delimit the place of meditation in the Jaina tradition. Śubhacandra devoted a substantial part of this work to ascetic practice and conduct, which includes meditation as a tool. Generally, meditation implies the restraint of the wondering nature of mind, body and soul, to enable one to concentrate. The principle aim is the attainment of *mokṣa*, but the manifestation of consciousness in itself (*śuddha upayoga*) is also an aim, such as in the *kali yuga* where this is the highest level that one can reach. Although Śubhacandra discussed meditation from the perspective of both mendicants and the lay community, his emphasis is clearly on the mendicant. The aspiring practitioner is required to become a *yogī*, develop equanimity, and practice austerities as necessary precursors to true meditation. Śubhacandra further described two methods of meditation: step-by-step and continuous, which he argued is preferable. Additionally, he saw a bifurcation of types of meditation as unworthy and worthy meditation, the latter of which again comprises two types: *dharma-dhyāna* (meritorious meditation) and *śukla-dhyāna* (pure meditation). Here Śubhacandra used the term *savīryata-dhyāna* (heroic meditation) for the practice of using the energy of the soul to purify itself. Jain

1 See: Diwakar Acharya. 'The Original *Paṇhavāyaraṇa*/ *Praśnavyākaraṇa* Discovered.'*Jaina Studies*, *CoJS Newsletter*. SOAS. Vol. 2 (March 2007), 22-23.

concluded his presentation by pointing out the influence of Śubhacandra's work on later Jaina authors writing about meditation and yoga, such as Hemacandra, and related how the *Jñānārṇava* still forms the basis of many contemporary Jaina meditation practices.

Christopher Key Chapple (Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles) began his paper with a reference to the same *Jñānārṇava* by Śubhacandra. He indicated that his intention was to make explicit the connection to tantra by returning to the question of the soteriological leap mentioned by Paul Dundas earlier. The term 'yoga' is not used without prefixes in the earliest Jaina canonical texts. 'Yoga' was seen as something negative, meaning the binding of karmas, so the prefixes a- or vi- are added to describe the shedding of it. From the 6th century CE onwards, a shift in meaning occurred. 'Yoga', now meaning anything related to spirituality, became gradually more accepted. By the 10th and 11th centuries, when Śubhacandra and his successor Hemacandra were writing, the tantric 'layer' of yoga (comprised of tools and methods like *yantra*, *mantra*, *maṇḍala,* etc.) had become an integral part of it. In visualizing a sequence of elements (*pāñca mahābhūta*) with their respective syllables, colours and geometric forms in which the flame of *tapa*s is the last and most important step, the *yogī* gradually comes to see the supreme self, which can be said to be a form of (temporary) enlightenment. Chapple concluded that on the face of it, Jaina texts on yoga such as the *Jñānārṇava* do seem to exhibit some form of the conception of soteriological leap. However, the burning flame of *tapa*s continues to be central in all these meditations, and the glimpses of the pure self and omniscience are temporary. In this sense, it is not so much a soteriological leap as an appropriation and reinterpretation of the popular technologies of tantra into the Jaina tradition.

Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā (SOAS & Jain Viśva Bhāratī Institute, Ladnun) closed this panel with a talk centred on a more recent exponent of Jaina meditation. She presented her work on the integration of tantric elements in the *prekṣā*-meditation system worked out by Ācārya Mahāprajña (1920-2010). In this system tantric tools from the Hindu and Buddhist traditions are transformed into Jaina practices consistent with doctrine. She concluded that Ācārya Mahāprajña must have studied different tantric manuals, as he synthesized these techniques to fit into Jainism and be consistent with modern science (especially neuro-endocrinology). The concept of *kuṇḍalinī* is a fruitful example of this mechanism. In traditional tantric yoga, the life force *kuṇḍṇalinī* can be activated by certain practices to rise from the bottom of the spinal cord to the top of the head, thus breaking through the main *cakra*s. Within the Jaina framework, we find no reference to *kuṇḍalinī* as such. However, Ācārya Mahāprajña claimed that the idea of *kuṇḍalinī* is an ancient one, similar to '*tejo leśyā*' and the power of consciousness activated by the '*teja*s body'. Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā illustrated how we find different perspectives on this concept of *kuṇḍalinī* throughout

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Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā (SOAS & Jain Viśva Bhāratī Institute, Ladnun) and Samaṇī Praṇavaprajñā (Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun)

Jaina literature. Descriptions of visualizations, mantras, *granthi*s (similar to *cakra*s) become progressively more prevalent as we move closer to present time. In the *prekṣā*-meditation system, this idea of *kuṇḍalinī* is captured in the concept of *antaryātrā* (internal journey), the second limb of the eightfold meditation system. This internal journey is meant to direct the flow of vital energy upwards, as is needed to activate the deeper level of consciousness. Although he used tantric terms such as *cakra* and *kuṇḍalinī*, Samaṇī Pratibhāprajñā pointed out how Ācārya Mahāprajña interpreted these concepts in a modern scientific way, associating them with the central nervous system.

The first paper of the third session of the workshop, dealing with tantric elements in Jaina ritual, was presented by Michael Slouber (Western Washington University). Slouber's presentation provided a broad overview of the medieval Indic tradition of tantra. He reiterated how it came to be embedded in different traditions over time. Although there seems to be an absolute rift between the Jaina emphasis on nonviolence and chastity on the one hand, and the correlations of tantra with black magic and sexuality on the other, Jainism is no exception here. In the medieval period Jaina authors compiled their own *mantra-śāstra* traditions. Although some adaptation of the original material to the Jaina doctrine took place, these *mantra-śāstra*s still contain (traces of) explicitly sexual or violent content or aim. Drawing from Jaina 'tantras' such as the *Jvālāmālinīkalpa* and its descendent, the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, Slouber confirmed that South-Asian tantra traditions and Jainism are more complexly and intensely interconnected than is often assumed.

Peter Flügel (SOAS) turned our attention from *mantra-śāstra* texts to divination rituals performed in Digambara Jaina shrines in South India. Pilgrims come to these shrines to perform rituals to *yakṣiṇī*s, in the hope of getting a glimpse of the future. Jaina *yakṣa*s and *yakṣiṇī*s, male and female demons or demi-gods, are classified in the Jaina scriptures as the fifth of the eight classes of *vyantara* or *vāṇamantara* gods, and convey their brahmanic origin through their names and symbols.

In Jainism, they are first and foremost appropriated as devotees associated with a particular *tīrthaṅkara*. Three *yakṣiṇī*s have become particularly popular: Aṁbikā (attending goddess to Neminātha), Padmāvatī, (attending goddess to Pārśvanātha), and Jvālāmālinī (attending goddess to Candraprabha). Whereas most of the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣiṇī*s have become mere accessories to the tīrthaṅkara they are associated with, these three have become protective deities that are worshipped in their own right. During his fieldwork in Karnataka, Flügel visited several trans-regional pilgrimage sites such as Hombuja, Mūḍabidarī and Narasiṃharājapura, famous for their flower oracles, whose variations in ritual practice, explanations of ritual efficacy and practitioners he studied. The divination rituals of the flower oracle are closely related to practices found in nearby Hindu shrines. The devotees' aims are usually directed towards the attainment of worldly things: success, health, love, etc. Although they have little to do with Jaina spirituality or doctrine, these tantric rituals are quite popular and have become a significant aspect of Jaina ritual practice.

The fourth and last session of the workshop delved deeper into the relationship between tantra in Jainism and Hindu tantric practices. In his paper on the receptions of the Nāths and Haṭṭhayogīs in Pre-Colonial North India, John E. Cort (Denison University) described the views of Banārasīdās (1586-1643) and Ṭoḍarmal (1719-1766) on two different Hindu yoga traditions. In the *Banārsī Vilā*s, the 'collected works' of Banārsīdās, a volume on the teachings of Gorakhnāth (*Gorakhnāth ke Vacan*) is included. Although this text was probably not authored by Banārasī himself, the booklet illustrates his positive reception of the Nāth tradition. A century later, Pandit Ṭoḍarmal writes about Hindu yoga traditions in his *Mokṣamārgaprakāśaka*. Ṭoḍarmal seems to be quite knowledgeable on Haṭha Yoga especially, but he is unimpressed by the practices of the *yogī*s he describes. To him, these practices of 'breath control' are more akin to acrobatic tricks than to actual spiritual advancement. An examination of these two works not only illustrates the ambivalent relationship between Jainism and Hindu yogic and tantric methods, but also makes clear that motivations for writing play an important part and should be taken into account. Whereas Banārasīdās was for most of his life a spiritual seeker, who found the Nāth tradition to be compatible with Digambara Adhyātma, Ṭoḍarmal writes as an ideologue of the Terāpanth, dismissing yoga, along with many other traditions, as a set of tricks and delusions.

Olle Qvarnström (University of Lund) presented an analysis of a selection of Jaina paintings located in the Indra Sabhā cave complex at Ellora. In his search for tantric features, Qvarnström looked at artwork portraying celestial beings (*gandharva*s, *apsara*s or *vidyādhara*s), mortal couples, *gaṇa*s, an eight-armed dancing Indra, and Bāhubali and Bharata (duelling armed with foils and shields) — a picture probably inspired by Jinasena's 9th-century *Ādipurāṇa*. However, Qvarnström concluded that in spite of his initial presumptions, none of these pictorial elements can be regarded as specifically tantric or labelled as 'tantra'. Based on the paintings Qvarnström researched, there is very little visible tantric influence in Jaina art at Ellora.

Roudtable

For the first time, the *Jaina Studies Workshop* ended with a *Roundtable*. The question put forth for discussion was: '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?' John E. Cort (Denison University) chaired the roundtable and opened the discussion by stressing the historical developments underlying the distinction between custom and rituals and 'true religion', namely the protestant-inspired colonial beginnings of the study

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of Asian traditions, and the processes of modernity that have had to be confronted since. An elaborate panel of Jains from different fields and careers, including Bhaṭṭāraka Cārukīrti (Jain Maṭha Jain Kāśi Mūḍabidarī), responded to this question, before the floor was opened to questions from the audience.

Atul Shah (University Campus Suffolk) placed some preliminary question marks, wondering about the sense and nonsense of holding on to the customs/rituals versus true religious bifurcation. He argued that a strict separation of the two has never been relevant for Jainism, or for Indian traditions in general, and can be seen as a concept of colonial invention designed to order, categorize, and perhaps divide the South-Asian population. Taking Shah's caveats into consideration, the discussion then focussed on the place of ritual and tantra in Jainism, and their relationship with Jainism's core ethical ideals. Ashok Jain (Department of Physics, Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee) felt that rituals have become more prevalent in Jainism over recent years. Comparing how Jainism used to be practiced in his family with the current situation, he argued that the elaborate rituals that are preformed nowadays are not in keeping with the tenets of Jainism. He did concede that some rituals are perhaps needed to keep the lay-people rooted, but warned that these should be kept to a minimum. Since the next generations are looking for logical explanations, a reinterpretation of the basic tenets of the Jaina tradition to fit into a 21st-century context would be a better way to keep Jainism alive. But have rituals become more important over the last decades? In her presentation Bindi Shah (University of Southampton) pointed out that her research on young Jains in the UK does not confirm that rituals are progressively becoming more important. Indeed, she sees many young Jains studying Jaina texts and thinking about the applications of Jaina dharma in a context of conflicting value systems, in a bid to develop a committed Jaina practice. Samani Pratibha Pragya (SOAS, Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun) agreed, saying that true religion should be treasured, but also re-examined as time progresses. She pointed to the ancient bifurcation of *mūla-guṇa* and *uttara-guṇa*: between elementary and supplementary virtues/rules as a possible alternate approach to rituals and customs versus the religious divide as discussed by the panel.

Following up on the idea that some rituals are perhaps necessary for at least part of the lay community, Shamlal Godawat (Maharana Pratap University of Agriculture & Technology, Udaipur), Chakresh Jain (Jaypee Institute of Information Technology, New Delhi) and Ashok Jain (Gwalior University) brought the topic of the workshop, *Jaina Tantra* back into the discussion. Their consensus was that the introduction of tantric elements into Jainism was merely a change of method. According to them, the introduction of more elaborate rituals, mantras, deities, etc. is a personal choice of the individual devotee. They argued that the addition of such elements does not harm or diminish the central core of the Jaina tradition, and is perhaps inevitable in our current time. The idea that elaborate rituals and a reliance on tantra are phenomena typical for the *kali yuga* was introduced by a member of the audience. But what is true religion in the case of Jainism? For many of the panellists, like Sanjeev Sogani (Gyan Sagar Science Foundation, New Delhi), the central core of the Jaina tradition is its system of ethics or the Jaina way of life. He compared the situation of Jainism with that of a gold coin. Such a coin can get dirty, and be covered in dust, but without losing any of its intrinsic value. In the same way, the use of tantric elements and rituals in Jaina practice does not lessen the value of the true religion. Kalyan Gangawal (Gyan Sagar Science Foundation, Pune) agreed that Jaina ethics are at the core of what was described as 'true religion', and suggested how the wide adoption of a Jaina or Jaina-vegetarian lifestyle can prevent further global warming. He illustrated this argument by referring to western authors and politicians that do — to a certain extent — follow such a lifestyle.

ESSAY & DISSERTATION PRIZES IN JAINA STUDIES

Presented by: Prof J.C. Wright, President, Centre of Jaina Studies, SOAS. Saisha Mehta, SOAS, UG Jain Essay Prize Winner, Represented by Roshni Lakhani, SOAS.

During the discussion following the panellists' introductions and thoughts, members from the audience had the chance to comment and ask additional questions. Again, many remarks came back to the question of the difference between custom and rituals on the one hand, and true religion on the other. At what point do custom and ritual become true religion, and how do we differentiate? In conclusion, John Cort offered that perhaps, the distinction between *kriyā* and *dhyāna,* and the balance between them would be a fruitful way to look at this topic. Certainly, the last word has not been said in this discussion. After thanking our host Peter Flügel and the entire SOAS team, as well as the sponsors, the SOAS *Jaina Workshop* 2015 was officially closed.

Tine Vekemans *is currently pursuing a PhD in Indian Languages and Cultures at Ghent University in Belgium. Her research focusses on contemporary Jainism, the Jaina diaspora, and Jainism's involvement with ICT and new media.*

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With the blessing of Param Pujya Sarakoddharak Acharya Shri 108 Gyan Sagar Maharaj Ji and his vision and the Gyan Sagar Science Foundation (GSF) came into being in September 2009 with the primary object of bridging Science and Society and to propagate ancient scientific knowledge for the wellbeing of mankind. The foundation aims to provide a national forum where different disciplines of Science (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture etc.), Society and Spirituality are converged and views are exchanged for sustaining life and harmonious living. The Foundation seeks to cultivate and promote value-based education of today's youth in proper prospective and a harmonious application of Science with Religion.

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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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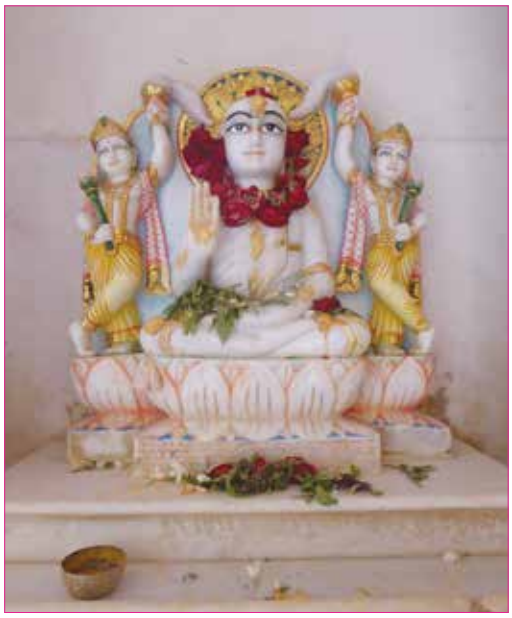

Ingrid Schoon

Jains and the Other: Understanding Religious Identities

Ellen Gough

From 1-2 May, 2015, Yale University hosted the first-ever international graduate student conference on Jainism. Thanks to generous support from the JivDaya Fund, the Lex Hixon Visiting Speakers Fund in the Department of Religious Studies, and the South Asian Studies Council at Yale, graduate students from across Europe and the United States were able gather to discuss the theme of the conference, "Jains and the Other: Understanding Religious Identities."

On Friday evening, Phyllis Granoff, Lex Hixon Professor of World Religions at Yale, gave the keynote address, "On Students and Teachers: Reflections from a Jain Medieval Text." Granoff shared stories from the Sanskrit text the *Upadeśaratnakara* by the 15th-century Śvetāmbara monk Munisundarasūri that illustrate various types of problematic students: students who are in love, students who are consumed by hatred, students who are foolish, and students who have already been taught the wrong thing. Certainly many of the students in the audience could recognize themselves in these medieval examples!

The following day, Lynna Dhanani, from Yale University, opened the first session on "Medieval and Pre-modern Jain Literature" by presenting her paper, "Making the Inaccessible Accessible: Aṣṭapada as Kailāsa." She showed how the site of the liberation of the first *tīrthaṅkara*, Ṛṣabha, was termed "Aṣṭapada" in early 7th-century Digambara and Śvetāmbara literature, but, *Padmapurāṇa*, became identified with Mount Kailāsa due to Śaiva influence. While early texts such as the Digambara *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and the Śvetāmbara *Kappa Sutta* claim Aṣṭapada as an inaccessible mountain, Digambara Purāṇas from the 7th-9th centuries, and later Śvetāmbara texts influenced by these Digambara sources, make the mountain "accessible" – locatable on this earth and thus replicable in sculpture and painting – by identifying it with Śiva's abode, Mount Kailāsa.

Gregory Clines, from Harvard University, then read his paper, "Religious Identity and Narrative Emplotment: Jinadāsa in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* and *Rām Rās*." Drawing upon the work of Paul Ricoeur, Clines asked how the introductory verses of two texts by the 15th-century Digambara poet Brahma Jinadāsa presented different portraits of the author. In the Sanskrit *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*, Clines explained, Jinadāsa provides a lengthy praise of his mendicant lineage beginning with Kundakunda, establishing himself as a Sanskrit poet in the tradition of his predecessors such as Jinasena. The vernacular (Maru-gurjara) *Rām Rās*, on the other hand, praises only Jinadāsa's most immediate gurus, "localizing" the text. These examples, Clines argued, should encourage scholars to focus on questions of genre and language rather than thinking of Jain purāṇic literature as a coherent whole.

Aleksandra Gordeeva of Yale University presented the final paper of the panel on literature, "Literary

Aleksandra Gordeeva

Adaption in Sanskrit Drama: Jain and Hindu Tellings of the Hariścandra Tale." Gordeeva compared two dramatic versions of the tale of King Hariścandra, the *Caṇḍakauśika* by the Hindu court poet Kṣemīśvara (10th century), and the *Satyahariścandra* by the Śvetāmbara Jain monk and poet Rāmacandra (12th century) to examine how playwrights in medieval India negotiated their religious identities. She showed that while the Hindu Kṣemīśvara focuses on the conflict between *dharma* and ritual, Rāmacandra, perhaps influenced by Jain teachings, emphasizes the evil nature of illusion.

Aaron Ullrey from the University of California at Santa Barbara opened the second panel of the day – "Tantra and Science" – with his paper, "Cruel Kalpas and the Goddesses who Occupy Them: Aggressive Magic in Two Jain Tantras." Ullrey argued that two Digambara tantric texts, the 10th-century *Jvālāmālinīkalpa* and the 11th-century *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, while both presenting a hotchpotch of ritual techniques, have an internal logic dictated by the characteristics of the presiding goddesses of each text, Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī, respectively.

Knut Aukland of the University of Bergen then presented his paper, "Science, Academia, and Jain Identities: The Scientization and Academization of Jainism." Aukland discussed the ways in which modern Jains have looked to establish ties with academic institutions and label Jain teachings as "scientific" in order to promote their religion.

Ellen Gough of Yale University concluded the panel with her paper, "The Tantric Worship Practices of Modern Śvetāmbara Monks." Drawing upon fieldwork in Ahmedabad, Gough analyzed one Śvetāmbara *ācārya*'s daily worship of a tantric diagram painted on cloth, the *sūrimantra paṭa*. She described the recitation of the *sūrimantra*, the tantric purification rites (*dehaśuddhi*), the placement of mantras on the body (*nyāsa*), and the display of hand gestures (*mudrā*) Ācārya Nandighoṣasūri performs as he sprinkles scented sandalwood powder (*vāsakṣepa*) on the cloth diagram daily. Since the *vāsakṣepa* consecrated in this worship is gifted to laypeople and thought to bring worldly success, Gough argued that this worship of the *sūrimantra paṭa* has grown

popular in the last 100 years because mendicant lineages are becoming increasingly splintered and *ācārya*s wish to gain and keep lay supporters.

Tillo Detige (Ghent University) began the next session – "Jains Through Time and Space" – with his paper, "Genealogies of Opposition, Archaeologies of Selves and Others: The Digambara Jaina Bhaṭṭārakas." Detige presented a Foucauldian, archaeological and genealogical analysis of various moments of opposition to *bhaṭṭāraka*s, looking at different ways in which reformers understood *bhaṭṭāraka*s as something "other" than the ascetic Digambara ideal. Examining the 17th-century Adhyātma and Digambara Terāpanth movements, along with early 20th-century and present-day opposition to *bhaṭṭāraka*s by naked *muni*s, Detige assessed how Western colonial, capitalist, and socio-political influences shaped Digambaras' narratives about the so-called decadent, morally unsound *bhaṭṭāraka*.

Julie A. Hanlon, from the University of Chicago, then read her paper, "Jains, Merchants, and Kings: An Examination of the Socio-economic Role of Jains in Tamil Nadu, South India 300 BCE-600 CE." Hanlon examined archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Tamil Nadu to link Jain monastic communities with trade, merchants, and political elites in the period between 300 BCE and 600 CE.

Tine Vekemans, from Ghent University, then presented the final paper of the session, "Moving the Jina: Practices and Narratives of Jainism in New Global Environments." Drawing upon her fieldwork amongst the small community of Jains in Belgium, mostly Gujarati Śvetāmbara *mūrtipūjaka*s working in the diamond industry, Vekemans assessed some possible trajectories of the development of Jainism outside of India.

The final session of the day opened with Lucas den Boer (University of Groningen)'s paper, "Perspectivism and Apologetics: The Role of the Other in Jaina Doxography." Den Boer focused on a passage from the 15th-century Guṇaratnasūri's *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*, a commentary on Haribhadrasūri's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, that deals with the materialists, the Cārvākas. He showed how Guṇaratnasūri expertly imagines a Cārvāka denial of the existence of the soul in order to refute these claims and confirm Jain doctrine on the nature of the soul.

Marie-Hélène Gorisse, from Ghent University, also focused on the *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* in her paper, "Jain Philosophers in the Debating Hall: When Correct Argumentation Requires the Use of Hermeneutical Devices." Gorisse focused on the text's section on the refutation of a God (Īśvara) as a conscious maker, demonstrating how Guṇaratna's multiplicity of interpretations of the phrase "constituted of parts" provided a Jain way of refuting the Naiyāyika claim that if something has parts, it must be an effect, and thus must have a creator.

Victor D'Avella, from the University of Chicago, read the final paper of the day, "Hemacandra's Linguistic Synthesis and the Definition of Poetry." After providing an overview of the 12th-century Hemacandra's nine main works on grammar and lexicography, and two main works on poetry, D'Avella showed how Hemacandra's definition of poetry is in agreement with non-Jain Sanskrit works on poetics such as Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Nonetheless, D'Avella showed, Hemacandra's works on poetics and grammar are decorated with Jain conceptions and philosophy.

After the completion of the four sessions, Steven Vose from Florida International University offered a response to the papers. Participants agreed that the diversity of topics presented, and the range of methodologies used – from literary studies, to archaeology, to philosophy, to art history, to anthropology – confirmed that the future of Jain studies remains quite promising. Students of Jainism will simply have to avoid falling in love, hating others, learning the wrong things, and being foolish.

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Ingrid Schoon

Mahāvīra, Mahāvīrālaya Kobātīrtha 2015

Jaina Studies at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference, Bangkok 2015

Juan Wu

The 16th World Sanskrit Conference was held in Bangkok, Thailand, from 28 June to 2 July 2015 under the joint auspices of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies and the Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University in Bangkok. More than 600 participants from all over the world attended this mega academic event. The conference was organized in twenty-four theme-based sections and eight independent panels, where scholars in Sanskrit and related fields presented their research on a wide range of topics. The Jaina Studies section, co-organized by Professor Nalini Balbir (University of Sorbonne Nouvelle), who was unfortunately unable to attend, and by Dr. Peter Flügel (SOAS), was held in the morning of the fourth day (1 July) of the conference. It comprised two sessions, and altogether eleven papers were read on various subjects related to Jainism. In addition, there were four papers dealing with Jaina topics read in other sections. The following is a brief report on all these papers.

The first session, chaired by Peter Flügel, consisted of five papers. Ana Bajželj (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel) presented "Kundakunda on the modal modification of omniscient *jīva*s." She explored the ontological nature of omniscience (*kevala-jñāna*) as the perfect mode (*paryāya*) of consciousness (*cetana*) in several works of the Digambara thinker Kundakunda, focusing on the question of whether the consciousness of an omniscient one (*kevalin*) continues to modally change or not. She pointed out that since a perfectly manifested quality (*guṇa*) can be neither surpassed nor diminished, one might deduce that omniscience is a state rather than a process. "Such a deduction would, however," as she went on to stress, "contradict and, thereby, compromise Kundakunda's general ontological descriptions of the dynamics of all substances (*dravya*) as being characterized by a coordinated relationship between permanence and change." In order to find an alternative model of modal dynamics for omniscience, she drew parallels between the nature of modal change in omniscience and the nature of modal change in several other substances (particularly inanimate immaterial substances such as space [*ākāśa*], time [*kāla*], etc.). After such comparisons, she concluded that in line with the (probably deliberately) ambiguous ontological statements on omniscience made by Kundakunda, "if omniscience is to be dynamic with a plurality of perfect modes, its dynamics will most likely be unique."

Andrew Ollett (Harvard University) spoke on "Pādalipta and history of Prakrit literature," discussing how Pādalipta (ca. 1st–3rd cent. CE) challenges some of the dichotomies that have previously shaped our understanding of the history of Prakrit literature. He argued, "Pādalipta is one of the missing links between the popular and the courtly, between sectarian traditions of storytelling and a nonsectarian practice of literature, and between a pragmatic vernacular and a refined literary language." Given his special status, Pādalipta "allows us to look at the social and historical contexts in which *kāvya*/*kavva* took shape." Ollett also argued that while Pādalipta has been remembered chiefly as a "Jaina Prakrit" author, his works in fact represent a literary culture crossing sectarian boundaries and may therefore help us "sketch out a history of Prakrit that is not 'always already' bifurcated into Jaina and non-Jaina traditions".

Peter Flügel

Ayako Yagi-Hohara (Osaka University)

Ayako Yagi-Hohara's (Osaka University) paper, "On the meaning of AMg *allīṇa*, *pallīṇa*," probed into the etymology of *allīṇa* and *pallīṇa*/*palīṇa* used in Śvetāmbara canonical texts, for instance, in the *Dasaveyāliya* 8.40 where the compound *allīṇa-palīṇa-gutta* is used to compare a monk with restrained sense organs to a tortoise. She observed that while some modern scholars associate both words with the root √*vlī* ("to crush"), ancient commentators explain them as coming from prefix + √*lī* (to resort to). Based on a survey of the usages of prefix + √*vlī* or √*lī* in Sanskrit and Pāli texts, as well as the usages of *allīṇa* and *pallīṇa* in Jaina texts, she suggested that *allīṇa* and *pallīṇa* are derived from *ā*√*lī* and *pra*√*lī*, both of which mean "to resort to, to cling" in Jaina texts, thus agreeing with the explanation given in the commentaries.

In her paper, "On the meaning of *saṃbhoga* in early Jainism and Buddhism," Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber (University of Freiburg) investigated the technical meaning of the word *saṃbhoga* in early Jainism and its influence on the Buddhist terminology. She observed that both Buddhists and Jainas used *saṃbhoga* (lit. "eating together") to refer to an "alms district" in which the supplies given by laities were jointly shared by the monks belonging to a certain "*saṃbhoga* group." In examining *saṃbhoga* in Jainism, she focused on sources including inscriptions from Mathurā, commentaries by Śāntyācārya and Devendra (11th century), Malayagiri's (12th century) commentary on the *Oha-nijjutti*, and the triple function of a *maṇḍalī* (circle) annotated by Siddhasena (5th century). In examining *saṃbhoga* in Buddhism, she looked into examples found in the *Vinaya* texts of the Theravādins, the Dharmaguptakas, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and

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Juan Wu (University of Leiden)

in the *Shanjianlü-piposha* (a Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā*). Based on a comparison of Buddhist and Jaina sources, she concluded: first, the Buddhist term *saṃbhoga* corresponds to the same Jaina term both in its basic meaning as well as in the wording and syntax of legal formulations in which it is used; second, the Buddhists use much more the negative form of *saṃbhoga*, namely *asaṃbhoga* as a punishment for guilty monks, novices or laities who have committed a serious misdeed such as denying Buddha's teaching or damaging the unity of the Buddhists monastic community.

In "Parallel stories in the *Āvaśyaka* commentaries and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*," Juan Wu (Leiden University) compared stories of three characters (Prince Abhaya, the lay physician Jīvaka and King Udrāyaṇa) in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* with their counterparts in the *Āvaśyaka* commentaries. She demonstrated that it is worthwhile not only to identify parallel plots or motifs shared between Buddhists and Jainas so as to appreciate their common narrative lore, but also to examine the different ways in which the two religions handled parallel narrative material in order to distinguish their didactic priorities. With regard to Jīvaka, who is widely known among Buddhists as a model of both medical skillfulness and religious faith, Wu argued that the fact that Jīvaka is prominently featured in Buddhist literature but finds no parallel in Jaina literature may be explained by the different attitudes of the two religions to medical healing and to the role of secular physicians in general.

Eva de Clercq (Ghent University) had originally been scheduled to speak about "Jaina narratives on animal sacrifice," but was unfortunately unable to come to Bangkok.

The second session, chaired by Peter Flügel and Royce Wiles (Nan Tien Institute, Australia), consisted of six papers. The first paper was presented by Kornelius Krümpelmann (SOAS), titled "Johannes Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon* and the state of research on Jainism at the end of the 19th century." The *Jaina-Onomasticon* is an encyclopaedic magnum opus written in English by the German Indologist Johannes Klatt (1852-1908). In this awe-inspiring work Klatt gives an extensive list of proper names of Jaina authors, texts, *gaccha*s, places, etc., adding to each entry relevant biographical and bibliographical notes. The original handwritten manuscript, comprising 4,132 pages, is preserved at the Asien-Afrika-Institut in Hamburg. A print-edition is now under preparation at the Center of Jaina Studies, SOAS. Krümpelmann offered an overview of the content and structure of the *Jaina-Onomasticon*, and discussed the important position of Klatt's work in the field of Jaina Studies in the 19th century.

Flügel's paper, "Jaina prosopography,"demonstrated the great value of a prosopographical approach for the socio-historical study of collective biography of the Jainas. According to his definition, "prosopography is a research tool for studying patterns of relationships influencing historical processes, based on the systematic collection and analysis of statistically relevant quantities of biographical data about a well-defined group of individuals." Flügel introduced to the audience an informative prosopographical coding scheme built on three sets of collective biographical material, including his self-produced bio-bibliographical database on the Sthānakavāsī mendicants, the data collected by Johannes Klatt in the *Jaina-Onomasticon*, and a demographic database of the Terāpanth published by Muni Navaratnamal (1981-2002). While introducing the scheme, Flügel explained in detail how biographical data were gathered, the descriptive statistics so far established, and their future prospects.

In "Is the lost *Praśnavyākaraṇa* a Digambara text? Justification with its language and contents," Jagat Ram Bhattacharyya (Visva-Bharati University, India) suggested that the version of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* recently found in the National Archives of Nepal belongs to the Digambara sect.[1] His arguments were as follows: first, "the language of the whole text is in Śaurasenī like other major texts of Digambara tradition"; second, Jīvabhogin, a disciple of the 5th-century Digambara *ācārya* Pūjyapāda Devanandin, wrote a commentary on the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*; third, "the original *Praśnavyākaraṇa* which is known to be lost has partly survived in other canonical texts," and the surviving references in those texts do not entirely agree with the newly found *Praśnavyākaraṇa*. In fact, before Bhattacharyya, Diwakar Acharya (2007: 6) also spoke of the probability of the Digambara affiliation of the new text of the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*.

In "Concealing meaning in inferential statements: The practice of *patra* in Jainism", Marie-Hélène Gorisse (Ghent University) examined *patra*, "an inferential statement expressed in an encoded form," and its relevance in Jaina philosophy. In this original way of expressing a reasoning, sentences are formulated in the form of riddles whose elucidation requires, for example, knowledge of lists found in grammatical and epistemological treatises. Gorisse began by introducing the definition of *patra* given by Vidyānanda (10th century CE) and Prabhācandra (980-1065), and then

1 Diwakar Acharya, "The Original *Paṇhavāyaraṇa* / *Praśnavyākaraṇa* Discovered," *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (2007) 1-10.

looked at two examples of *patra*, namely, the *patra* "aiming to prove the Jain theory of manifoldness" and the *patra* "aiming to establish Naiyāyika's conception of Īśvara as a creator of the world." After classifying encoding techniques used in some Jaina philosophical texts, she concluded that displaying a reasoning in a form requiring such a preliminary analysis is a good way both to train the participants in a debate to develop skills required for becoming a good debater (since accessing the meaning of a *patra* presupposes familiarity with relevant corpora), and to train the debaters to consider a plurality of perspectives from which a statement can be disambiguated, in accordance with Jaina perspectivism.

Royce Wiles (Nan Tien Institute, Australia) presented "From palm leaf to unicode: The relationships between modern editions of Śvetāmbara canonical texts and the manuscript traditions." He introduced systematically the publications of editions of Śvetāmbara canonical texts from the late-19th century till today, with particular attention to "their sources, the interrelationships between those editions, and the nature of the manuscript versions (on palm leaf and on paper) standing behind them." Using concrete examples drawn from the *Nirayāvaliyā-suyakkhandha* and the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, he provided the audience with a clearer picture of the intricate relationships between the manuscripts, the historical printed editions and current electronic versions of Śvetāmbara canonical texts.

The second session had originally included a paper by Jain Phool Chand (B.L. Institute of Indology, India) who was unable to attend. At the last minute Sanusri Bhattacharya (B.Z.S.M. Mahavidyapith, India) took Chand's place and gave a talk on "The Jain Vision and the Future of Humanity."

In addition to the Jaina Studies section, four papers in other sections also related to Jainism. In "*Divyadhvani* between Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical epistemology", Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne) investigated the reason why some Digambara authors proposed the notion of divine sound (*divyadhvani*) that is by nature a monotone to refer to the medium through which a Jina teaches.[2] Through considering the intellectual contexts in which these authors worked and lived, Bronkhorst argued that the notion of divine sound represents a radical solution adopted by certain Jaina thinkers to tackle the problem of the "incapacity for language to convey the highest truth." He moreover argued that this problem was perhaps initially introduced by Buddhists (or more precisely, by those Buddhists who developed the dharma-theory in northwestern India during the final centuries before the common era, which "admitted the existence of ultimate constituents of reality called dharmas, but not of the commonsense objects that are composed of these and that fill our daily lives"), and that the same problem later received attention from Jaina and Brahmanical thinkers as well.

In "Jainism and Yoga," Christopher Chapple (Loyola Marymount University) surveyed the primary systems of Jaina yoga as expressed by Haribhadra Virahāṅka (ca. 6th century), Haribhadra Yākinī-putra (8th century), Hemacandra (11th century), Śubhacandra (11th century), Yaśovijaya (17th century), and Ācārya Mahāprajña (20th century).[3] In particular, he observed that Haribhadra Virahāṅka's *Yogabindu* explains Jaina yoga as a fivefold path of purification traversed by the pathgoer (*cāritrin*), which differs significantly from the eightfold path set forth by Patañjali in his *Yoga Sūtra* (ca. 200 CE). Chapple argued that this fivefold path "assumes familiarity with Umāsvāti's fourteenfold path and makes references to subtle nuances within the *guṇasthāna*s that are not known widely outside Jainism." He also discussed in some detail Haribhadra Yākinī-putra's eightfold Jaina yoga "as an example of Jaina interaction with the Buddhist, Hindu, and Tantric traditions of Yoga".

In "Summarising or adaptating the Great Epic? An

2 Bronkhorst's paper has been published in *Sanmati*: *Essays Felicitating Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, edited by Luitgard Soni and Jayandra Soni, Bengaluru: Sapna Book House, 2015, pp. 83-96.

3 For more details, see Christopher Key Chapple, "The Jaina Yogas of Haribhadra Virahāṅka's *Yogabindu*" and "Contemporary Expressions of Yoga in Jainism" in *Yoga in Jainism* edited by the same author, London and New York: Routledge, 2016, pp.125-138, 243-254.

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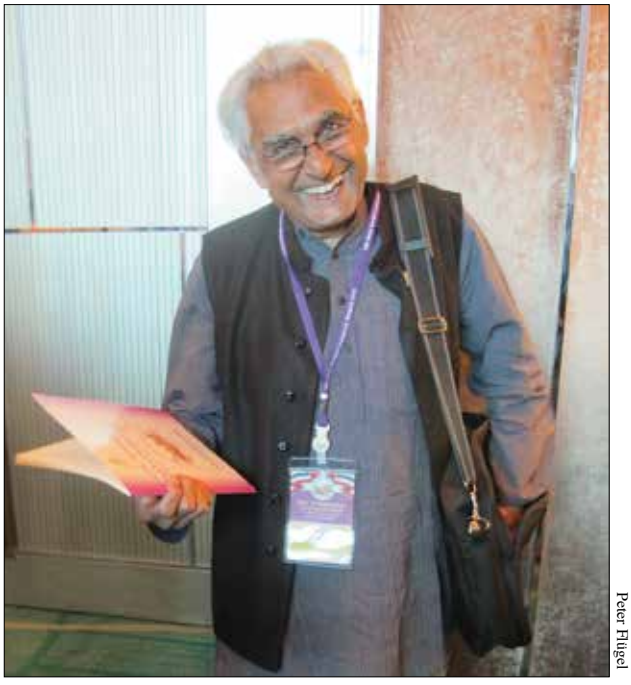
analysis of *Mahābhārata* epitomes from the 11th-12th Centuries," Christine Chojnacki (University of Lyon 3) examined three summaries of the *Mahābhārata*, namely Kṣemendra's *Bālabhārata* (ca. 8,000 verses), Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* (ca. 6,000 verses) and Amaracandrasūri's *Bālabhārata* (ca. 5,500 verses), focusing on the question of "which motivations urged poets from different religious backgrounds to compose such works in various places of India."

Raval Rishikesh (G.D. Modi College of Arts, India) presented his paper, "A comparative study of Valmiki *Rāmāyaṇa* and Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*," looking at several Jaina retellings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed in different historical periods.

In sum, the five-day conference provided a sensational opportunity for Sanskrit scholars from various countries and with different specialties to meet and communicate research ideas. Nalini Balbir and Peter Flügel deserve special thanks for organizing the Jaina Studies section which proved to be a productive, stimulating and enjoyable experience for all attendees. We look forward to a continued vibrancy of Jaina scholarship in the 17th World Sanskrit conference to be held in Vancouver in 2018.

Juan Wu *graduated from Peking University (MA, 2008) and obtained her PhD from Cardiff University in 2012 with a dissertation on Indian Buddhist narratives of Ajātaśatru. After completing a two-year research fellowship at University of Tokyo, she is now a postdoctoral fellow at Leiden University, working on a project titled* "Royals across religious boundaries: A comparative study of stories of shared royal personages in Indian Buddhism and Jainism" *funded by the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation administrated by American Council of Learned Societies.*



Peter Flügel

Jayandra Soni, General Secretary of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS)

Papers on Jainism at the ICEMLNI

Tillo Detige

From 15 to 19 July 2015, the University of Lausanne, Switzerland hosted the 12th *International Conference on Early Modern Literatures in North India* (ICEMLNI). The conference was organised by Maya Burger and Nadia Cattoni on their spacious and green campus close to the shores of the idyllic Lac Léman. The triennial ICEMLNI intends to bring together specialists of North Indian languages and literatures. Formerly colloquially known as 'the Bhakti conference', earlier editions focused mostly on *bhakti* literature written in early Hindi. With the explicit aim of pursuing comparative insights, the conference in its more recent editions has widened its scope. Yet, so far only very few papers on Jainism had been read at these conferences. For the first time the 2015 conference included a panel devoted entirely to Jainism. While introducing the panel, chairperson Daniel Gold (Cornell University) remarked that no understanding of the early modern period, be it from a literary, religious or historical perspective, could be complete without attention to the contributions of the Jains, as constituting important communities in for example Western India. John Cort (Denison University), the first to come to the dais to present his paper, added that the Jains, contrary to what is often presumed, not merely borrowed from other traditions, but themselves often exercised crucial and initiatory influence upon others. It was precisely in this line of thought that, during discussion rounds throughout the conference, the participants much appreciated comparative perspectives and elucidations on various issues from the Jain side of things.

In his paper titled '"No One Gives Like the Guru": Devotion to the True Guru in Digambar Hindi Literature', John Cort discussed Jain Brajbhāṣā authors such as Dyānatray (1676-1726 CE), Bhūdhardās (dated works from 1724-44 CE) and Banārsīdās (1587-1643 CE), and their expressions of the nature of the supreme guru. In compositions that were widespread and are still well-known today, such as Bhūdhardās' *Bandauṃ digambar* and Banārsīdās' *Sādhu Vandan*, Cort noted the focus on the naked *muni* as an ideal guru. Elements of eager petitioning (*vinatī*) and the agony of separation (*viraha*) of the guru in this poetry reflect the historical fact that naked renouncers remained a largely unseen ideal throughout most of the early modern period. By contrast, in compositions of the early 20th century we see the criticism of the clothed *bhaṭṭāraka*s as false gurus (*kuguru*) taking far more stringent forms, while at the same time, as naked *muni*s reappeared, poems began to be written in a spirit of rejoicing about the (re)union with the true guru.

The next contribution, by the present writer (Tillo Detige, Ghent University), offered a complementary perspective through its focus on 'Ascetic Ideals & Guru-bhakti in the Bhaṭṭāraka lineages of Digambara Jainism'. Here, today little-known 15th to 18th-century devotional and ritual texts (*gīta*, *pūjā*, etc.) were analyzed in which

individual *bhaṭṭārakas*, or sometimes even *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages in their entirety, stand as the object of veneration. Attention was raised to their rich, ethical, soteriological and ontological contents, and their mnemonic structures. It was argued that these texts and the practices in which they were performed constituted an epistemological tool for the transmission and embodiment of values of renunciation, as a fundamental Jain 'technology of the self'. Other vernacular, literary texts from the early modern period testify to the conferment of the ascetic ranks of *muni*, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* to renouncers in the *bhaṭṭāraka saṅghas*, and the parallels of the *bhaṭṭāraka dīkṣā* with contemporary *muni* consecration rituals. Like the enduring practices of veneration of historical renouncers, these latter findings too speak of continuities right across the early modern period, and thus challenge the idea of a distinct '*bhaṭṭāraka* era'.

The third contribution to the panel was Steven Vose (Florida International University)'s paper 'Jain Language Use in Early Modern Western India: Examining the Trajectory of Tellings of the Narmadāsundarī Satī Kathā'. Vose provided a summary of the contents of this *śīla kathā*-type narrative on the unfathomable mechanisms of karma and the ideal, virtuous conduct of a Jain woman. He subsequently compared three versions of the story, a 12th-century Prakrit text by Mahendrasūri in mixed verse and prose with *kāvya*esque embellishments and elaborations; the *Namaya sandhi*, a 13th-century versified Apabhraṃśa version by Jinaprabhāsūri of the *Āgama Gaccha*, and a 15th-century prose telling in Old Gujarati by Merusundaragaṇi. Vose argued that the choice of language, instead of merely and solely corresponding to natural language development, was determined by the registers and genres the authors sought to work in, while the choice of the latter in turn depended on their purposes. The development of the vernacular did not efface the use of classical languages altogether; the former, in other words, did not supplant the latter all at once, but long remained a genre-specific option.

Vose concluded the panel with a general remark on the nature of Jain identities in the early modern period which carries great bearing. While notions of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' identity as fixed, trans-historical categories have long been challenged, Jains all too often continue to be conceived of as a distinct, homogenous social group. Here, a pan-Jain consciousness, which developed only in the modern and contemporary period, is read into earlier contexts. While in certain situations Jains of various affiliations might indeed have considered each other as 'co-religionists', far more often maybe not only Śvetambara and Digambara but also further caste and gaccha variations and idiosyncratic practices defined the actual social and 'religious' boundaries. An improved understanding of and sensitivity to such differentiations seems necessary not solely for its higher historical accuracy, but also to connect developments within these various Jain traditions and contexts more closely and more specifically to non-Jain partners and counterparts.

Considering the prodigious literary production by Jains in the early modern period, the amount of unstudied, unedited and untranslated materials lying dormant in Jain manuscript collections, and the reality of complex, rhizomatic influences and parallel developments between various Indian traditions, it can be hoped that more work in this field, era and paradigm will be forthcoming. Future ICEMLNI conferences will continue to offer an inspiring and invigorating environment to connect materials and insights from the Jain traditions to broader developments in North Indian literary and religious traditions of the early modern period, and vice-versa. The 13th ICEMLNI conference is scheduled to take place at the University of Warsaw in the summer of 2018.

Tillo Detige *(Ghent University) is currently working on a PhD as part of the research project:* Early Modern Digambara Jainism in Western India: The Age of the Bhaṭṭārakas?

Elācārya Prajñāsāgara directs a layman performing *abhiṣeka* at the conclusion of the consecration of the Digambara Jaina Ratnatraya Jina Mandira, Dvārakā (Delhi), 12th of February 2014. (Photo: Tillo Detige)

Jain Modernities, Jain Meditation and Jain Minority Politics: Jain Studies at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, 2015

Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg

The contributions with a focus on Jainism at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) in Atlanta on November 21-25, 2015 were framed in different academic fields, ranging from Indology to Religious Studies to Cultural Anthropology.[1] Presentations related to Jain Studies were spread over the entire four days of the AAR conference, with the meeting of the Jain Studies Group as the highlight. John Cort (Denison University) and Lisa Owen (University of North Texas) organized this session with the theme of 'Jain Modernities'. This guiding theme was also found in most of the other presentations with a focus on Jain Studies. Six were part of sessions sponsored by other units within the AAR, and five papers were presented at the pre-conference of the Dharma Academy of North America (DANAM) on November 20.

The DANAM session was entitled 'Jain Contemplative Praxis: Meditation, Mantra, and Mindfulness'. The first presenter, Tillo Detige (Ghent University) titled his presentation 'Calling upon the (Un)responsive? Ritual Veneration as Contemplative Praxis in Digambara Jainism'. He pointed to the importance of miracle-working deceased Jain ascetics for the daily ritual practice of Digambara lay people. Building on Lawrence Babb's *Absent Lord* (1996), Detige addressed the seemingly paradoxical situation of Jain lay people in devotional interaction with spiritually released and thus interactively absent Jinas. He suggested that the conceptual distinction between interactive ritual and self-reflective meditation should be dissolved into a continuum of contemplative ritual praxes.

In a similar way, Ellen Gough (Emory University) addressed established scholarly categories in her paper 'Integrating Meditation on *Maṇḍala*s with the Jain Path to Liberation in the 10th-12th Centuries'. She questioned the distinction between mundane and trans-mundane goals of medieval Jain *maṇḍala* rituals. According to her findings medieval *maṇḍala* rituals demonstrate that they always employed soteriological concepts, and that both this-worldly and other-worldly goals were inseparably linked in ritual practice.

Sherry Fohr (Converse College) in her presentation 'Jain Narratives and Contemplative Praxis' also questioned the demarcation between mundane and trans-mundane spheres of religiosity in her discussion of the various contexts in which the *Namokar Mantra* is recited by contemporary Jains. She showed that Jains refer to the same ritual technique of reciting the most important mantra for various spiritual needs, ranging from the urge for spiritual salvation to the healing of physical ailments and pleas for protection against danger.

Layman performing *abhiṣeka*, Śrī Agravāla Digambara Jaina Baḍā Mandira, Motī Kaṭarā, Agra, 25 November 2014. (Photo: Tillo Detige)

Even more radical in questioning existing paradigms was Christopher Miller (University of California, Davis) in his paper 'Contemplating Jinas: The Ecological Implications of Jainism's Elemental Meditation'. He linked the intellectual reflection of *Āgamic* texts with the analysis of self-experiments in Jain meditation, and then argued that this can lead to a vision of a better world without consumerism and pollution.

The last speaker of the session, Jeffery D. Long (Elizabethtown College), discussed Jain meditation as part of the development of Jain yoga in the modern period. In his 'Reflections on Jain Yoga from Yaśovijaya to Ācārya Tulsī', he came to the conclusion that modern Jain yoga must be analysed as analogous to Hindu and Buddhist movements of the same period, and thus can be seen as a process of engagement with society and its issues instead of being an example of world escape.

Six more Jain Studies related presentations were hosted by AAR sessions with comparative themes. Ellen Gough's second talk was given in the session 'Proclaiming Power: The Ritual Uses of Flags in South Asia'. On the basis of recent ethnographic research in Jaipur, Gough introduced the audience to the local Digambara 'Festival of Eight Days' (*Aṣṭāhnikā Parva*), on the occasion of *Kārttika Pūrṇimā*, the full moon day in October/November. Digambara neighbourhoods performed rituals of *Indradhvaja Maṇḍala*s. According to Gough, this veneration of 'Indra's Flags' can be taken as a vestige of a former pan-Indic Festival of Indra dating from the late Vedic period. While royal support of the community was usually a crucial theme of this and similar rituals, the contemporary Jain ritual instead points to the active role of wealthy merchants in sponsoring and representing the community. Her research illuminated a local variation that has hardly been noticed in the scholarly interpretation of similar rituals.

The historical perspective on Digambara Jain ritual practice was also the subject of Tillo Detige's AAR

1 Eleven scholars presented their research in Jain Studies and the participation of three from Europe, was made possible in part by financial assistance from the Shraman Foundation and the Jain Academic Foundation of North America.

presentation, 'Absence, Agency, and Immanence: The Ritual Veneration of Deceased Ascetics as a Technology of the Self in Digambara Jainism', which was held in the session on 'Tomb and Mortuary Relic Worship in South Asia'. He pointed to the importance of funerary monuments in the Digambara Jain tradition, and their historical contexts as cremation sites. The contemporary ritual practice of veneration includes occasional visits for *darśana* and annual fairs on the ascetics' death anniversaries. Connecting with his first presentation at the DANAM Conference, he suggested that these practices should be interpreted as transformative, meditative processes, since they focus on the virtues of exemplary ascetics to construct soteriologically meaningful knowledge, even though it is still embodied. As such, they form a 'technology of the self', not so different from the veneration of ritually unresponsive Jinas, but in a continuum between the unreleased worshipper and the final goal of salvation.

The issue of death rituals was also broached in the session 'What Are Near Death Experiences? Social Movement, Contested Category'. Anne Vallely (University of Ottawa) presented her findings on *sallekhanā/santhārā*, entitled 'Messengers of *Moksha*: Jainism and the Near Death Experience'. This was planned as a joint presentation with her co-researcher Kamini Gogri (University of Mumbai), who could not attend the AAR Meeting. The paper explored the phenomenon of death and dying as it is experienced among Jains in India from several overlapping perspectives. 1) She examined several well-documented ethnographic examples of planned, idealized and ritualized *sallekhanā/santhārā* deaths with regard to spiritual implications of Near Death Experience (NDE) within Jainism. 2) She analysed and compared differences in end-of-life narratives of Jains undergoing *sallekhanā/santhārā* as well as end-of-life narratives of Jains nearing non-ritualized death (whether at home or in hospital settings). 3) She discussed the cultural imaginings and discourses that surround the dying experience, especially that of *sallekhanā/santhārā*, and linked them to two crucial questions. First, how is dying conceptualized by the living within Jainism—a tradition that emphasizes self-reliance and aloneness in all matters of the soul? Second, when elements of the soul's innate divine qualities begin to manifest during the purificatory process of *sallekhanā/santhārā*, as Jains claim, how are they experienced and conceptualized and how do they differ with regard to lay people's and ascetics' understanding of the dying process?

Vallely's second presentation was hosted by the session 'Theorizing Spirit Possession in South Asia'. On the basis of recent ethnographic research, Vallely explored the healing role of spirit possession within a Śvetāmbara Jain community in Mumbai. In her paper 'Negotiating with Worldliness: A Jain Spirit Medium and the Healing Power of the Goddess', she introduced a Jain medium known as 'Vimal Aunti' who channels her mother goddess for the well-being of those who come to seek her help. Connecting to her presentation on *sallekhanā/santhārā*, Vallely raised important questions with regard to the rhetoric of aloneness for which Jainism is renowned. In contrast to that, her case study showed that many Jains understand themselves to be completely enmeshed in a tangle of conscious life. For them spirit possession is one means through which Jains can navigate the animate world. Moreover, the Jain spirit medium reinterprets the sufferings of her clients on the transpersonal level of demons, the evil eye, and the anger of the ancestors. According to these concepts, healing takes place through reconciliation of these externalized? emotions.

Jeremy Saul (College of Religious Studies, Mahidol University, Thailand) presented 'When a Celibate Male God Occupies a Female Body: A Native Theory of Spirit Possession' in the same session. His paper was part of a larger project studying possession by Hanumān or Bālājī in northwestern India. In addition to discussing several Hindu versions of Bālājī, he presented material on Babosa (also known as Bālājī Babosa), a new deity promoted by a small group of Marwari Jains based in the Delhi area. Babosa so far is exclusively channelled by one Marwari Jain woman. He was originally a Marwari Jain boy born near Salasar in Rajasthan about a century ago. As a child he performed many miracles before his sudden death at the age of 17. He was worshipped as a deified ancestor by the family until the 1990s, when, through a woman medium in the family, he started to serve a wider public. Saul's analysis of this new cult shows how it simultaneously borrows from and distinguishes itself from two regionally very important possession cults focused on the Hindu deities Salasar Bālājī and Mehaṃdīpur Bālājī.

Another tool for reflecting about existence in *saṃsāra* was introduced by Aleksandra Gordeeva (Yale University) in her examination of how three medieval dramas approached a common theme in different ways. Her paper 'Religion and Literary Theory in Jain and Hindu Dramas' was hosted by the session 'The Religions in Sanskrit Drama: A City, a Story, a Lesson'. She focused on three Sanskrit plays that had the popular motif of a moral test of the king at the heart of their plots: the Hindu play *Caṇḍakauśika* (Fierce Kauśika) of the tenth-century playwright Kṣemīśvara, the *Satyahariścandra* (Truthful Hariścandra) of the twelfth-century Jain monk Rāmacandra, and the *Karuṇāvajrāyudha* (Compassionate Vajrāyudha) of the thirteenth-century Jain monk Bālacandra. Whereas the antagonism between the sage and the king was accentuated in the Hindu play to show that dharma is ultimately victorious over ritual, the Jain plays rendered the moral test of the king as a malicious trick by jealous deities. The tricks are thus the evil foundation of a moral test that reflects the nature of *saṃsāra*: pain after pain caused by delusion, a conclusion which according to Gordeeva was meant to evoke the feelings of detachment and renunciation in the audience. In the session 'Cosmopolitan Modes of Religious Literature in South Asia: Modeling Local and Global', Sarah Pierce Taylor (University of Pennsylvania

and Mount Holyoke College) presented a paper 'Jinasena's Pārśvābhyudaya and the Making of Jain Cosmopolitanism'. She focused on reading Jinasēna's *Pārśvābhyudaya* as embodying a signal moment of the ninth century when the archive of Jain materials radically thickened, as Deccani Digambara Jains fully embraced Sanskrit as an avenue to belong in the court of King Amōghavarṣa. Through a poetic device called *samasyāpūrti*, the Pārśvābhyudaya incorporates one to three lines of Kāḷidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (The Cloud Messenger) within each verse of Jinasēna's composition in order to narrate the story of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. Jinasēna's text takes its premise, which is not supplied in the poem itself, from a previous life of the Jina Pārśva when he was born as Marubhūti. His literary creation can be taken as an example of the various genres of Jain Sanskrit writing in Amōghavarṣa's court—in particular, grammar and *kāvya*—that were the very genres that pre-modern courts throughout South Asia produced in what Sheldon Pollock has called the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis'. Building on that phrase, Taylor established the idea that many of the writers acquired access to power through the use of Sanskrit to participate in and reproduce an imagined community in which Sanskrit was meaningful. Thus, rather than examining the various forms of repetition and participation of Sanskrit literary culture on the local level, Taylor pointed to the undeniable 'translocal' quality of Sanskrit. At the same time she demonstrated the situated, local forces that led writers to discover a powerful tool in Sanskrit writing, as in the case of Jinasēna in Amōghavarṣa's court.

The diversity of (re)interpretations of already existing themes and values was also a core subject of the Jain Studies Group's session on 'Jain Modernities'.

Next was M. Whitney Kelting's (Northeastern University) paper 'The Shifting Terrain of Jain Modernity and Gendered Religious Practices'. Based on over two decades of research in a Śvetāmbara Jain congregation in Pune, a period coincident with the liberalization of the Indian economy, her study examined the ways that modernity has shaped Jain discourses on gender. Kelting argued that for Jains, as in many groups, religion has become a fertile ground for gender negotiations. She introduced two Jain practices as particularly instructive of the ways modernity marks modified gender performances of religious subjects among Jains: financial donations to religious institutions, and to specifically Jain social organizations. In both examples, modernity has shaped gender roles in surprising ways that seem to contradict the assumptions of many scholars that modernity leads to increased gender equality. In Kelting's case studies women's social lives have grown increasingly dependent on their husband's time and interest in spending time with her or with mixed-gender social groups. Gender-specific women's and men's groups have declined in social importance. Modernization has thus increased male domination through notions of democratization and anti-tradition instead of supporting female emancipation or independence, a value which is usually connected with modernization in the West.

Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg (Tübingen University) presented 'Ascetic Child Initiations among the Jains: Defending Religious Freedom and Minority Rights of Śvetāmbar Jains'. Based on ethnographic data as well as historical and contemporary sources, she discussed the controversial practice of *bāl dīkṣā* among the Śvetāmbara Jains in Western India. Approximately 20% of the contemporary Śvetāmbara ascetics have been initiated as minors (*bāl muni*s and *-sādhvī*s). The life histories of *bāl muni*s and *bāl sādhvī*s very often entail aspects of protest against parental guidance, the legal authority of the state, the globalized affluence of their community, and challenges from the Hindu majority. Her paper showed that Jain monks who were ordained in their early youth usually become outstanding community leaders. Many of the most prominent *ācārya*s defend child initiations as a crucial aspect of their fundamental religious rights within the secular state of India. Their arguments are also supported by a wide variety of doctrinal texts, and disseminated in print media. Moreover, ascetic leaders repeatedly support child initiations in court cases. This Śvetāmbara defence of the seemingly anti-modern practice of child initiation must be considered in direct correlation with the successful efforts of the Jains to legally recognize and defend their minority status within a BJP ruled country.

In her second contribution for the AAR meeting, Anne Vallely discussed the issue of 'Jain Food and Modernity: The Eclipse of Metaphysics and Rise of Identity Politics'. She referred to a very recent event of November 1, 2015, in Mumbai, when Muni Hansratna Vijayji Maharaj Saheb (a.k.a. 'Pujya Shri') ended a very long fast. The heroic fast called *Gunaratna Samvatsar Tap* required him to fast for 407 of 480 days. This fast had not been undertaken since Mahavira's time. The event of the fast's conclusion drew a crowd of 50,000 from throughout the country, although mainly from Maharashtra. Vallely argued that this clearly shows that fasting is the most heroic of religious deeds among contemporary Jains. In enacting the transcendence of worldliness, it denotes the triumph of all that is good, pure and eternal over all that is corrupt, impure and transient. The body of the fasting hero transformed through vrats can hardly be conceived as an organic entity anymore. It becomes a translucent envelope for the powerful, radiant soul, and all who honour its splendour are blessed. Moreover, Vallely argued that the timeless dimension of this particular instance of extreme fasting had a tremendous impact in the contemporary political arena. Among the throngs seeking the blessing of Muni Pujya Shri was the BJP Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Devendra Fadnavis. He is the same minister who was also in the centre of the Mumbai meat ban controversy during Paryushan in the fall of 2015. Fadnavis' efforts on behalf of the Jain community during Paryushan were recognized when Muni Pujya Shri broke his fast, as Fadnavis was invited as the guest of honour. Thus, Vallely argued, renunciation of food is a central medium through which Jains wield not only spiritual but also political power.

In the last presentation of the Jain Studies session Tine

Vekemans (University of Ghent) called our attention to the meaning of 'modernity', and the place of 'the digital' in it. Her paper 'Jain Digital Modernities: (Re) presenting Jainism in New Media' was influenced by Arjun Appadurai's notion of modernity. He stressed the importance of the collective imagination as the main constituent of modernity in his work *Modernity at Large*. Modernity in this interpretation is a concept and a feeling, conceptualized into being and propelled forward by our thinking. Vekemans is focusing in her Ph.D. research on 'the rise of ICT' (Information and Communications Technology) and its impact on Jainism. She argued that the exploration of Jainism online shows how (part of) the Jain diaspora is in a key position to influencing new articulations of 'Jainism' not only indirectly—through informing the Jain diaspora—but also directly, as they use ICT to present their 'locally grown' representations of Jainism and thus provide content, information and inspiration to a global Jain audience. This means that diasporic online Jainism has an influence in South Asia. Through statistics, she established the prominent position of diaspora Jains in Jain digital modernities. Only about 5% of Jains live outside India, but more than half of the websites she could find concerning Jainism are hosted outside India. She linked her findings to some cautionary findings with regard to the 'eccentricities of the internet', including the possible discrepancies between producer intention and user experience of web pages with religious contents. To determine if people practicing forms of online religion are in fact conducting religious activities and having religious experiences, we must consider that statements of purpose do not simply translate into patterns of reception and use. In the end, Vekemans pointed to the crucial need for field research to supplement the analysis of websites. As we can only rely on the testimonies of users or the opinions of potential users confronted with the content under question, the researchers of online religion are pushed back into the offline field in order to fine-tune their findings.

All in all, Vekeman's conclusion could hold for the entire trend of research among Jain Studies at the AAR meeting as reflected by the large number of exciting presentations. The papers presented in Atlanta show the many ways that scholars of the Jains are paying close attention to the voices of the Jains themselves, thus shaping a critical body of scholarship that honours the canons of both the Jains and the academic study of religion.

Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg *is a lecturer in the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology at the Asia-Orient-Institute, University of Tübingen. Her PhD thesis from the Free University Berlin,* Die Reise zum Ursprung. Die Pilgerschaft der Shvetambara-Jaina zum Berg Shatrunjaya in Gujarat, Indien ("The journey to the origins: the pilgrimage of Shvetambara-Jaina to Mt. Shatrunjaya in Gujarat, India") *establishes the importance of this particular pilgrimage for the collective memory and the identity of the Jains. At present she is co-editing the forthcoming volume:* "Co-operation and Competition, Conflict and Contribution: The Jain community, British Rule and Jainological Scholarship from the 18th to early 20th century."

"Śivācārya Samavasaraṇa," Indore 30.3.2015 (Photo: Peter Flügel)

A Jaina Mendicant Council: Proceedings of the 8th Sthānakavāsī Jaina Bṛhad Śramaṇa Saṅghīya Sādhu-Sādhvī Sammelana, Indore 20-29 March 2015

Peter Flügel

Śvetāmbara Jaina mendicants peregrinate in small groups from village to village without much contact with other members of their own order.[1] Gatherings for special purposes or general assemblies are held only sporadically, when matters of common concern are to be resolved. An exception is the Terāpanth, whose fourfold community assembles annually near the *ācārya* for a legislative meeting, called *maryādā-mahotsava* or "great festival of restraint." Qua rule, established by Ācārya Jītamala in 1864, the final day of the event is always *māgha śukla saptamī*. Members of other Jaina mendicant orders meet at irregular intervals only. Large gatherings of the representatives of several different orders are extraordinary occasions. Because of their rarity, monastic councils of the latter variety are often events of great significance. The most famous council, literally "recitation" (*vācana*), in the history of Jainism was held in 466 C.E. at Valabhī (Gujarat) by Śvetāmbara monks under the leadership of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. Reportedly, at this occasion the Śvetāmbara canon was redacted and for the first time written down.[2]

After the legendary council of Valabhī, the "fourth" and "last" of Śvetāmbara historiography, local meetings of monks of one or other group are documented, but rarely a council, were members of more than one mendicant tradition, not to speak of all (Śvetāmbara) Jaina mendicants, came together. The currently largest monastic order of the Sthānakavāsī tradition, the Śramaṇasaṅgha, which comprises more than 1,000 monks and nuns wandering in regions as far apart as Kashmir and Tamil Nadu, hails the first common assembly of representatives of all Sthānakavāsī mendicant orders in Ajmer in 1933 as an event on par with the council of Valabhī. At this occasion, leading monks of 32 regional Sthānakavāsī traditions resolved to abandon their differences and to integrate into a new nationwide organisation with a common purpose and set of rules under the new leadership of just one *ācārya*. It took another 19 years and two further "great assemblies of the ascetics" (*bṛhad śramaṇa sammelana*) until the dream was finally realised at the Great Council of Sāḍarī in 1952, where the leaders of 22 of the original 32 signatory traditions renounced their positions and submitted to the authority of the newly selected first *ācārya* of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, Ācārya Ātmārāma "Panjābī" (1882-1962). A provisional set of rules was agreed, but many issues were yet to be settled. After much deliberation, in a series of three councils, a compromise was agreed upon at the seventh "great assembly" in Pune in 1987, and published under the editorship of Muni Saubhāgyamal "Kamala" (AHRC 1987). For 28 years no general assembly was held until the eighth great council in Indore, from 20-29 March 2015, which was attended by 175 monks, 400 nuns, and up to 100,000 laity.[3] The barefoot journey of the mendicants to Indore took several months in most cases, and involved great physical hardships.[4]

Depiction of the council of Valabhī in the memorial temple Valabhīpura Tīrtha, 2010. Photo: Peter Flügel

At the *sammelana* in Pune nuns were for the first time permitted to listen to the deliberations of the monks, which would affect their own lives, but not allowed to speak.[5] Thus it was a major innovation of the organisers of the meeting in Indore (the *ācārya* and his advisors) to grant the nuns the right to fully participate in the discussions. The council, which was previous known as *Sthānakavāsī Paramparā Bṛhat Śramaṇa Sammelana*, "Great Assembly of the Ascetics of the Sthānakavāsī Tradition," or *Akhila Bhāratīya Muni Sammelana*, "All India Assembly of Monks," was renamed accordingly, as *Sthānakavāsī Jaina Śramaṇasaṅgha Bṛhad Sādhu-Sādhvī Sammelana*, "Great Assembly of the Monks and Nuns of the *Sthānakavāsī Jaina Śramaṇasaṅgha*."[6] This new development reflects the enhanced role of the nuns, in contemporary Jainism, who are increasingly educated and articulated.

1 Fieldwork on invitation of Ācārya Dr. Śivmuni. See Anonymous (2015).

2 See Wiles 2006.

3 The dates of the seven great mendicant assemblies of the Sthānakavāsīs are: 1. Ajmer (5.4.-19.4.1933), 2. Madrās (24.-26.12.1948), 3. Sāḍarī (27.4.-6.5.1952) 4. Sojat (17.1.-30.1.195326.2.1953), 5. Bhīnāsar-Bīkāner (16.2.-6.4.1956), 6. Ajmer-Sikhar (16.3.1964), 7. Puṇe (2.5.-13.5.1987), 8. Indore (20. 29.3.2015). On the history of the Sthānakavāsī tradition, see Flügel 2000-2012 (and forthcoming).

4 The assembly was held in a half-completed Dharmaśālā adjacent to the Pārśvanātha Jaina Śvetāmbara Mandira and Dādābāṛī, at Mahāvīr Bāg, Erodram Road, which was rented from the local Kharataragaccha Trust.

5 AISJC (1987: 6).

6 The official title displayed in the assembly room itself added: "Ascetic assembly with a vision of the (true) self" (*ātmadṛṣti sant samāgama*), which refers to Mahāvīra.

The general assembly in Indore was long overdue, not least because of the advancing age of the present fourth *ācārya* of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, Dr. Śivamuni (born 1942), and the undecided question of succession.[7] The meeting had already been postponed several times, due to minor differences of opinion between leading monks. Two issues were at stake at the *sammelana*: (a) selection of the predestined successor to the head of the order, (b) constitutional reform. The most interesting aspects of the Great Assembly in Indore, for a participant observer, were the unscripted rules of procedure. The proceedings were held behind closed doors, every morning from 9.45-12.00 (after voluntary "Arhaṃ" meditation[8] between 6.40-7.40) and in the afternoon from 14.00-16.00. They were only accessible to two committee members of the lay community, assisting the *ācārya*, who were not allowed to speak in the assembly. Nonetheless, interviews with participants together with material published before,[9] during[10] and after[11] the *sammelana* established the effective procedures for decision taking, which this report briefly summarises.

(a) The Sthānakavāsī Śramaṇasaṅgha is the only Jaina monastic order, besides the Terāpanth, which, by rule, is headed by a single *ācārya*, who also acts as spiritual leader of the fourfold community (*caturvidha saṅgha*) of monks, nuns, male and female laity. But in contrast to the Terāpanth *ācārya*, his position is weak. In the constitution (*saṃvidhāna*) of the Śramaṇasaṅgha the *ācārya* is defined as the head (*pradhāna*) of an all-male monastic working committee (*kārya samiti*), the *saṃcālaka maṇḍala*, also comprising the deputy leader (*upācārya*), the leader-in-waiting (*yuvācarya*), up to seven members from the circle of tutors (*upādhyāya maṇḍala*) and the circle of regional heads (*pravartaka maṇḍala*), and a maximum of nine members of the monastic advisory council (*parāmarśa samiti*), with a single chief counsellor (*mahā-mantrī*)[12] mediating between the circle of tutors and the circle of regional heads.[13] The advisory council is chaired by the *ācārya*. It was introduced by Ācārya Ātmārāma in 1956, to strengthen his authority, after fending off the proposal to establish the exclusive right of the working committee to take decisions, discussed at the Great Council of Bikaner on the 4.-6.4.1956, which would have reduced the *ācārya* to a mere figurehead.[14] The ideal of consensual decision making remains enshrined in the published current constitution of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, the *Samācārī*, agreed at the Council of Pune in 1987. At the same time the *ācārya* is granted special authority as leader of the order and guide to the fourfold community. This arrangement reflects the continuing indirect influence of the founding traditions.

The published rules of the Śramaṇasaṅgha concerning the procedures for the appointment of a successor (*yuvācārya pada niyukti*) state that when the head of the order, the *ācārya*, the one who knows, teaches and implements the monastic rules of proper conduct (*ācāra*), is getting old, or is ill, then a successor, either an *upācārya* or a *yuvācarya*, should be appointed. Usually, the *yuvācārya* is the deputy-leader and dedicated successor of the *ācārya*. If both roles are filled, then the *upācārya* is superior and will automatically succeed after the demise of the *ācārya*. In the history of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, this happened only once, at Pune in 1987, where the new position of *upācārya* was created to amicably resolve a succession dispute.

The appointment of a *yuvācārya* is a delicate matter, especially in a weakly centralised organisation as diverse and geographically widely spread as the Śramaṇasaṅgha, whose members roam in almost all regions of India (with the notable exception of Gujarat, a state which is dominated by independent Sthānakavāsī orders that in 1952 decided not join the Śramaṇasaṅgha after all). The rules of the Samācārī state that the appointment should be made by the *ācārya* in consultation with senior advisors:[15]

"The authority for making the appointment of deputy-leader (*upācārya*) and/or leader-in-waiting (*yuvācārya*) is chiefly that of the eminent leader (*ācārya*), the tutor, the circle of regional heads and the members of the advisory committee."

A supplementary rule states:

"The announcement of the deputy-leader and/or leader-in-waiting will be made by the *ācārya*."[16]

The general rules delineating the powers (*adhikāra*) of the *ācārya* specify that he should take all important decision together with the chief monks after prior consultation with (leading) members of the fourfold community (i.e., the nuns and the laity):

"His choice will me made together with (if there is no *yuvācārya* then) the circle of regional heads and the advisory circle (Consultation of the fourfold community is necessary)."[17]

The assembly of Indore was regarded as a success,

7 The four *ācārya*s of the Śramaṇāsaṅgha were selected from three different older traditions: Ātmārāma "Punjābī" (r. 1952-62): Pañjāb Lavajī Ṛṣi Saṃpradāya; Ācārya Ānanda Ṛṣi (1962-92): Ṛṣi Saṃpradāya (Mahārāṣṭra); Ācārya Devendramuni (r. 1992-99): Jīvarāja Saṃpradāya (Mevār); Ācārya Dr. Śivamuni (r.1999-): Pañjāb Lavajī Ṛṣi Saṃpradāya.

8 A new meditation method developed by Ācārya Dr. Śivamuni.

9 Bāṇṭhiyā (2015), *Ahimsa Times* 176 & 177 (2015).

10 Local press, leaflets.

11 Saubhāgya (2015), Jain (2015).

12 Canonical precedents do not exist for many current monastic positions, such as *upācārya* and *mantrin*, not only in the Śramaṇasaṅgha.

13 AISJC (1987: 73).

14 Flügel (2003: 63, 88).

15 "*upācārya, yuvācārya kī niyukti kā adhikāra mukhyatayā ācārya pravara, upādhyāya, pravartaka maṇḍala aura parāmarśadātā samiti ke sadasyoṃ ko hai*" (AISJC 1987: 77).

16 "*upācārya, yuvācārya kī ghoṣaṇā ācārya śrī kareṅge*" (AISJC 1987: 77).

17 "*unakā cunāva (yadi yuvācarya na ho to) pravartaka maṇḍala evaṃ parāmarśaka maṇḍala milakara kareṅge* | (*caturvidha saṅgha kā parāmarśaka āvaśyaka hai*)" (AISJC 1987: 73).

because a decision on the successor was actually taken, and not postponed any further, as at previous attempts. On 27 March 2015, two days before the end of the *sammelana*, to the surprise of everyone, the *ācārya* announced to the morning assembly of the fourfold community, that was held daily between 8.30-9.30, that Mantrī Muni Mahendra Ṛṣi has been selected as *yuvācārya* and will be publicly consecrated at the final gathering of the fourfold community one day after the *sammelana* in the centre of Indore. The unexpected manner of the announcement can be seen as a response to the increasing rumours, nervousness and palpable tension amongst the thousands of lay followers that had made the journey to Indore to be part of this momentous event. Although, by rule, the selection of the successor is an internal matter of the order, and no-one should know about the selection before its public announcement, many lay activists treated it like an election campaign and lobbied intensely for one or other perceived potential candidate. It transpired that the selection issue was not discussed at the *sammelana*. Apparently the decision was taken some 12 days before the council, soon after the arrival of 450 monks and nuns led by Ācārya Śivamuni in Indore on 8 March 2015, by the *ācārya* himself together with some of the main office holders and senior monks, notably the influential Pravartaka Rūpacandra, who was involved in the selection of the last two *ācārya*s, but could not attend due to illness.

The two main candidates, according to rumour, were both members of the Mahārāṣṭra based Ṛṣi Saṃpradāya, a southern branch of the Lavajī Ṛṣi Saṃpradāya, both initiated by the second *ācārya* of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, Ānanda Ṛṣi (1900-1992), and both Osavālas and well educated. Upādhyāya Pravīṇa Ṛṣi (born 1957 into a Desaraḍā Osavāla family, in a village near Ahmadnagar, *dīkṣā* 1974) was not only senior in physical—and initiation age (*dīkṣā-paryāya*), but also the personal educator (*śikṣā-guru*) of Mantrī Muni Mahendra Ṛṣi (born 1967 in a Bhaṭevarā Osvāl family in a village near Puṇe, *dīkṣā* 1982). Pravīṇa Ṛṣi was very popular, because he appeared often on TV, had a "personal touch," and a social vision, focussing on the alleviation of the personal suffering of the "common man" through a new form of meditation, and inspired the creation of many religious, social and educational institutions. His visualisation based method of meditation was intent on strengthening personal vision ("make dreams come true") to increase happiness and success in the world (*puruṣākāra parākrama dhyāna sādhanā*). The younger Mahendra Ṛṣi was more extroverted and also a good speaker. The perceived "contest" was not personal. At least two other monks were considered serious contenders. In the end, the *ācārya* was the key factor in the imprecisely regulated and informal decision making process.

(b) The principal business of the nine day-long *sammelana* was the discussion and ratification of rule changes. Updating the monastic regulations had become an urgent task in the light of changes of the social circumstances and mendicant practices since the last *sammelana* in 1987. The procedures were as follows. At the beginning of the *sammelana* Sumana Muni (Sumana Kumāra) (born 1936, *dīkṣā* 1950), *pravartaka* for the region of North India, the most experienced monk who witnessed all previous general assemblies of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, was assigned the role of chair-person (*adhyakṣa*) or peace keeper (*śānti rakṣaka*). Reportedly, Sumana Muni dominated the proceedings with his sharp intellect. Whatever he said effectively closed the discussion. Seated on the podium behind him, also in front of microphones, were the main (male) decision makers, facing a large group of nuns on their left and a smaller contingent of monks on their right: the *ācārya*, Dr. Śiva Muni (b. 1942, d. 1972), flanked by the *mahā-mantrī*, Saubhāgya Muni "Kamala" (b. 1937, d. 1950), and by the oldest *upādhyāya* present in Indore, Muni Mūlacandra (Mūl Muni). Behind them was the *mantrī*, Śirīṣa Muni (born 1964, *dīkṣā* 1990). Other prominent monks were placed at the edges of the dais, but no nuns.

Not everyone was allowed to speak. Only the main attending office holders (*padādhikārī*): 4 *upādhyāya*s (of 7), 4 *pravartaka*s (of 8), 4 (*mahā-*) *mantrī*s (of 5), and 3 *pravartinī*s (of 3) (the leaders of the nuns in Madhya Pradeśa, Mahārāṣṭra, and Rājasthān; in the Pañjāb only *upa-pravartiṇī*s existed at the time). All other monks and nuns could only indirectly make their voice heard by passing questions to their regional heads, the *pravartaka*s or *pravartinī*s, who would articulate them. But some group-leaders (*siṃghāṛapati*) were also allowed to speak. Up to three points per day were discussed. The main role of Upādhyāya Mūlacanda and Mahāmantrī Saubhāgyamuni was to translate salient passages from the Āgamas. All decisions had to be based on the scriptures. The main reference work used in addition was Vijaya Rājendra Sūri's *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*. Forms of conduct that are not regulated by the 32 Āgamas were decided by a fresh assessment of the current situation. Two monks took minutes, which were then typed by office staff and passed on to Ācārya Śiva Muni and Pravartaka Sumana Muni, who edited the drafts and the final record. Decisions were taken after deliberation of pre-circulated proposals. Most issues were resolved. Very few questions were left open. All interviewees agreed: the atmosphere was very amicable. No voices were raised. Decisions were not opposed or controversially discussed. This was due to the fact that most issues were settled already before the assembly. The agenda was set two months prior to the *sammelana*, during the foot-journey of the mendicants to Indore. Apparently more than 50,000 letters (e-mails) were exchanged between the *ācārya* and leading monks and nuns, who shared all letters between them. Expert advice was taken. The office bearers of the national lay organisation of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, the All India Sthānakavāsī Jaina Conference, who finance the infrastructure of the order, and organised the *sammelana* (at the cost of RS 30 Crore), were also consulted.[18] Since the mendicants themselves are not permitted to write personal letters or to use electronic means of

18 Followers of other Sthānakavāsī orders also tried to influence the process, e.g., Bāṇṭhiyā (2015).

communication, all communications had to be conducted through lay followers. To accomplish his administrative tasks, the *ācārya* and Mantrī Śirīṣa Muni, who always accompanies him, supported by a team of office staff, who follow his itinerant group with a van filled with books, computers, and communication equipment.

The published "agreement to be observed" (*samācaraṇīya nirdhāraṇa*) includes some significant new points, such as the permission to initiate gifted 9-12 year old children (*bāla-dīkṣā*), which the Samācārī did not allow (AISJC 1987: 52). Though agenda of the *sammelana* was infused by the challenges of modernisation, its response was generally conservative. The main problem was that, over the years, new practices, such as the use of flush toilets, electric light, mobile phones, sandals made of cotton during long itineraries, transportation of books by cars, etc., became prevalent in the order which were, strictly speaking, not in line with the Samācārī, and could be justified at best as exceptions (*apavāda*). The main thrust of the *sammelana* was pragmatic: to ratify new practices, if they do not (like flush toilets) contradict scripture, or to regulate them. Hence it was decided that electric light can be used, but only if it is switched on by householders, without asking; mobile phones are prohibited, but messages can be conveyed via householders, etc. It was also decided to support the creation of a "third tier" of lay ascetics, called *sādhaka* (f. *sādhikā*), comparable to institutional innovations of the Terāpanth. Some practices were highlighted as not being in line with the lifestyle demanded of a Sthānakavāsī mendicant, inevitably incurring punishment, for instance: using cars, fund raising, engaging in political associations, hand reading, magic, carrying out image worship, using washing machines, etc. A orthodox nun, who disagreed with rule-relaxation (regarding the use of microphones, etc.), said that it made no difference in practice for her if some rules were relaxed, because no-one could force her to give up her old austere lifestyle: "everyone can decide."

This brief overview of the main proceedings of the council of Indore shows that the *ācārya* of the Śramaṇasaṅgha does not take decisions alone, but in consultation and agreement with senior monks and nuns, in view of the scriptural and the social acceptability of rule-changes both within the order itself and the fourfold community. It also confirms that the proceedings are not intended to be conducted in a democratic way. Votes are not taken. Consensual decision making is the ideal. Procedural rules have not been scripted in detail to retain the flexibility of the decision making process. Not all Śramaṇasaṅgha mendicants present in Indore took part in the *sammelana*. As at all congresses, the often most interesting and enjoyable encounters emerged at the fringes of the official procedures of the council, which enabled hundreds of monks and nuns from different parts of India to share their thoughts and information, and thousands of devotees to come in direct contact with their revered spiritual guides.

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CENTRE OF JAINA STUDIES

Layers of Composition in the Kesi-Goyamijja Dialogue (Uttarajjhāyā 23)

J. C. Wright

Thanks especially to Ludwig Alsdorf's studies of various chapters of Uttarajjhāyā, we know that variations in metre are a guide to the textual history of Jain Prakrit narrative texts. The *Citta-Saṃbhūijja* dialogue (Utt., ch. 13) comprises a basic triṣṭubh dialogue, some anuṣṭubh amplification, and 'at a still later stage ... vv. 1-3 which give, in the āryā metre characteristic of the latest layer of the canon, the briefest possible extract from the prose tale furnishing just the most indispensable frame for the ensuing dialogue' (Alsdorf, 'The story of Citta and Sambhūta', Belvalkar Fel. Vol., 1957, 202ff.). In the related *Citta-Saṃbhūta* Jātaka 498 in Pali there is no such attempt to create an independent verse text, freed from any prose elaboration: the verse dialogue remains embedded in a prose *kathānaka*. While the triṣṭubh *Citta-Saṃbhūijja* has only a prologue in āryā metre, the anuṣṭubh dialogue *Namipavvajjā* (Utt. ch. 9) opens and closes with a miniature frame-story in āryā metre (vv. 1-5 and vv. 55, 59-60).

Where there is no such prosodic diversity, it may be seen that strophic structure can be a guide. In *Kesi-Goyamijja* (Utt., ch. 23), the important account of the conference on ethical and sartorial behaviour between Pārśva's disciple Kesikumāra and Vardhamāna's disciple Goyama, the text's obviously composite nature is confirmed by variations in its strophic arrangement.

The evident tṛcas, three-verse strophes, that may be observed in, for example, the *Vīra-tthava* (Sūyagaḍaṅga 1.6) are invariably ignored in editions and translations. Alsdorf has shown that, despite its ragged appearance due to intrusive gnomic verses, the *Namippavajjā* dialogue (Utt., ch. 9) has a 'well-thought-out' basic distich structure (Alsdorf, 'Namipavajjā', Ind. Stud. Norman Brown, 1962, 8ff.). Editions and translations of the *Kesi-Goyamijja* (Utt., ch. 23) likewise ignore its strophic construction, despite the fact that (allowing for a couple of instances of disruption due to fairly obvious interpolation) the strophes were clearly enough demarcated in the commentary of Devendra-Nemicandra, as edited in 1937. Its explanations are presented there in appropriate groups: triads (*iti sūtratrayārthaḥ*), tetrads (*iti sūtracatuṣṭayārthaḥ*), and pentads (*iti sūtrapañcakārthaḥ*).

The function of the āryā prologue in *Citta-Saṃbhūijja*, etc., introducing the occasion and the speakers, is taken over in *Kesi-Goyamijja* by four tetrads, i.e., by a passage in the same anuṣṭubh metre as the subsequent text, but with a different strophic structure. This is not immediately obvious, since the commentary splits the first tetrad into an editorial *ādi-sūtra* (as providing a link with the preceding chapter) and a triad, *sūtratraya*. It treats the third, vv. 9-13, as an anomalous pentad: but v. 9, with āryā openings and a resolved seventh syllable (the chapter has resolution otherwise only of the first syllable), is an explicable, but actually superfluous reference to Kesi and Goyama, the strophe being otherwise concerned with

Uttarādhyayanasūtra: Kesigoyamijja (Detail)
Gujarat, Jain, ca. 1460
IS.2:24/2-1972
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the perplexities of rank-and-file Pārśva and Vardhamāna disciples.

The verses 18-33 comprise five triads, one describing the scene and four combining Goyama's replies with Kesi's requests for clarification of the issues of a monk's vows and a monk's dress. Here the commentator splits the first triad into one verse, describing the monks, and two verses, a *sūtradvaya* that lists the bystanders. He also does not recognize as evidently superfluous the two lines 21cd ... *Goyamo iṇam abbavī* and 22cd ... *Goyamo iṇam abbavī*. As a result, he and the translators are forced to read 22b *Kesiṃ Goyamamabbavī* as 'Goyama said to Kesi'; but the excision justifies the more plausible reading *Kesī Goyamam abbavī* 'Kesi said to Goyama' found only in the V & A manuscript (depicted above), while restoring a symmetrical tṛca in lieu of the commentator's two distichs.

Thereafter, despite again dividing the first strophe, vv. 34-38 into one plus four verses, the commentator recognizes pentads, *sūtrapañcaka*. The exchanges take the form of two-verse questions posed by Kesi and one-verse answers (firstly, vv. 34-5 'How do you deal with enemies?', 36 'One being defeated, five are defeated; five being defeated, ten are defeated; ten by ten I defeat all enemies'), followed by further one-verse leading questions from Kesi and one-verse answers (vv. 37 'What are the enemies?', 38 'Oneself, one's vices, one's senses'). Goyama's answer seems ostensibly to envisage a notion that each convert will in turn generate a number of disciples, but Kesi, showing no interest in any such literal

meaning, asks for an esoteric interpretation. Subsequent questions are more purely metaphorical, concerned first with problems (vv. 39-58: 'How do you avoid bondage / inner poison / moral fires / driving forces') and then with solutions (vv. 59-84: 'What is the way / the landfall (*dīva*) / the boat / the luminary / the safe place?').

Thus the original query turns out to have been a leading question, posed in the interests of establishing a consensus. As the commentator puts it, Kesi knows the answers already (ad v. 34: *jānann api, aparam api vastutattvaṃ pṛcchan Keśiḥ ... āha*); and as Jacobi inferred, the colloquy demonstrates 'the unity in doctrine subsisting between the Law of Pārśva and that of Mahāvīra' (SBE, 1895, 124, n.). That Kesi is actually submitting to a better formulation of the shared dogma is made quite clear if, not implausibly, we emend the untranslatable *purimassa* in v. 87 to read *purimammi*:

pañcamahavvaya-dhammaṃ paḍivajjai bhāvao,
purima[mmi] pacchimammi magge tattha suhāvahe.
'(Kesi) wholeheartedly adopted the doctrine of five major vows,
in that ancient and modern way that brings bliss.'

These pentads have no real bearing on the reasons that, in the triadic section, had been put forward for the conference, whereas the closing five verses 85-89 revert, not indeed to the issue of clothing, but interestingly only to the number of vows as the bone of contention. We might see these five verses, not as a pentad, but as the expanded version of a triad. Devendra does not present them as a pentad. The first of the five, Kesi's standard pentad opening (v. 85 *sāhu Goyama pannā te, chinno me saṃsao imo*), expanded to a full verse, is treated separately in his commentary, as is the somewhat unusual final invocation, v. 89 ... *pasīyantu bhayavaṃ-Kesi-Goyamā*. The distich (*sūtradvaya*) v. 86f., describing Kesi's concession in the matter of vows, together with v. 88, acknowledging Goyama's efficacy (*mahāpuruṣa-phalam āha*), might be considered to have once constituted a suitable fourth triad associated with the clear-cut issue of the vows, vv. 18-27. Tṛcas are arguably the most ancient strophic form regularly found in Indian literature.

Two aspects of the text which may betray secondary elaboration of the topic are not, however, distinguished by a change of strophic form. The first of the pentads, the parable of the enemies, differs from the stock metaphors of the subsequent pentads, bondage, etc. More significantly, the triads vv. 28-33 that raise the question of dress, but seem to leave it open as being of little consequence beside knowledge, faith, and conduct (v. 33cd), are ignored in the concluding concordat.

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Early Statements Relating to the Lay Community in the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon

Andrew More

What do the early Śvetāmbara texts say about the lay community? To answer this question in my PhD thesis I read many of the early Śvetāmbara texts and I made note of all the passages relating to people who are not monks or nuns. My interest in the lay community developed having read the work of Folkert (1993: 177ff.) who proposed to study lay-mendicant relationships in the Jain tradition through field observations and to compare his results with the texts.

In presenting a framework for understanding the historical development of the textual passages relating to the lay community, I offer hypotheses about the history of the actions and motivations of the mendicant authors and compilers of the texts. Generally I am not concerned with the related question of what the texts tell us about the history of the Jain lay community. This is because the texts present ideals and in most cases we can only speculate about how such ideals relate to actual historical lay Jain practice. My view of the texts developed partly under the influence of ideas presented by Cort (1990), though I find it problematic to juxtapose the study of "practices and beliefs" to the study of "tenets, dogmas, and ideologies." I think that in some cases, by analyzing the motivations of the authors and through comparison with other evidence (such as non-Jain literature) we can present relatively strong arguments about actual historical lay Jain practice based on the texts. For example, in my introduction and my second chapter I suggest there is good evidence to believe that some historical lay Jains regularly engaged in a ritual in which they temporarily abandoned all possessions and social relationships in imitation of the Jain mendicant mode of living. However, I identified few such examples and they are not the focus of my work.

Likewise, I do not attempt to answer the question of the specific time from which we can say that a Jain lay community existed. The archaeological remains from Mathurā attest to the popularity of image and *stūpa* worship among lay Jains at that site from at least the first century BCE.[1] However, there is little other relevant epigraphical or archaeological material. The first books (*suyakkhaṃdha*) of the *Āyāraṃga* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga*, perhaps dating from the fourth or third century BCE and widely accepted as the earliest extant Śvetāmbara literature, emphasize the importance of the fact that a monk is homeless and present an almost entirely negative view of those who reside in houses given the associated attachments and necessary acts of violence.[2] Nonetheless, we can assume that there has always been at least semi-regular contact between Jain mendicants and householders.[3] Since we do not have any evidence it is not possible to know anything about the earliest householders to interact with the Jain mendicants or to say at which point they formed a distinct community.

1 Lüders 1961:40; Dundas 1997:506.
2 Dixit 1972: 9; Dixit 1978: 4, 12, 17; Johnson 1995: 23ff.
3 Dundas 1997: 495f., 510.

Ingrid Schoon

Unspecified representation of a Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha Jaina Derāsara, Śaṅkeśvara 2015

Though we are generally left to speculate about how the texts relate to the history of the Jain lay community, the passages are interesting because they tell us what issues were important to the mendicants and what strategies they employed in their effort to form and maintain relations with a community of householders who respected and regularly supported them. In my dissertation I present arguments about the chronology of the passages and thus I suggest that it is possible to observe development in the orthodox positions relating to the laity as the mendicant compilers employed new strategies and attempted to resolve various tensions. I make these arguments by drawing attention to recurring sections, subtle variations, shifts in terminology, changes in context, and other clues. These arguments are significant because the dates of the composition of the various passages in the early Śvetāmbara texts are uncertain and very little is known about the process and dates of the compilation of the texts. It is only possible to say that the passages I examine were likely composed and compiled at various points in the final few centuries Before the Common Era and/or in the first five centuries of the Common Era. My work supports Dixit's (1972: 2, 13) idea that a focus on passages relating to a particular theme (in this case the lay community) can help us to improve our understanding of the chronology and process of compilation of the early Śvetāmbara texts.

Before proceeding to summarize the main points of my three chapters I should note that there are passages relating to the lay community in the early Śvetāmbara texts that I have not discussed in my dissertation. There

are additional passages relating to the donation of alms. There are also descriptions of various forms of worship and other ritual practices. I have only been able to touch on the numerous references to the posaha rituals and the fast to death. I should also note that my study includes only seven of the eleven extant *Aṅga*s and eight of the twelve *Uvāṅga*s in addition to three other early Jain texts. There is thus a significant amount of early Śvetāmbara material that I have not examined. Further, I should note that I rely entirely on particular published editions of the texts. Through study of all the numerous published editions of the texts and the extant manuscripts I think it will be possible to improve on my discussion of the chronology of the passages as well as my understanding of the motivations of the mendicant authors and compilers of the texts.

The Earliest Extensive Positive Statement about Householders and its Logic

The passage that I focus on in my first chapter, which I believe may be the earliest extensive positive statement about householders, occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (Sū-T: 397f.).[4] This passage states that "some people" (*saṃtegaiyā maṇussā*) will receive a good form of rebirth because they behave to some extent like Jain monks. I note the fact that this passage as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 does not differentiate the possible forms of rebirth of these people from those of Jain mendicants as some other passages do. Essentially the same passage is also found near the end of the *Uvavāiya* (Uv-Le §123: 81f.).[5] I argue that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and that he compiled the second part of the *Uvavāiya* in response to *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The positive statement about householders in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 occurs directly after a passage condemning non-Jain mendicants and it seems logically inconsistent to praise one group of people who behave like Jain monks (i.e. particular householders) while condemning another group who also behave to some extent like Jain monks (i.e. non-Jain mendicants). The compiler of the *Uvavāiya* places the positive statement about householders in a new context near the top of a list of sixteen types of beings (including some non-Jain mendicants) who will achieve some form of divine rebirth or release from the cycle of rebirth apparently depending on the extent to which they behave like Jain monks. I also discuss *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1-2.[6] These passages deal in a different way with the tension resulting from the attempt to praise householders who behave to some extent like Jain monks while also condemning non-Jain ascetics. In this case non-Jain ascetics are condemned because they do not properly understand which things are living (*jīvā*) and which are lifeless (*ajīvā*).

The Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga*

In my second chapter I discuss a passage that I refer to as the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*."[7] Examples of the full version of this passage occur in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (Sū-T: 398), *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (Sū-T: 468f.), the *Viyāhapannatti* (Vi-T: 103), the *Uvavāiya* (Uv-Le §124: 82), the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* (Rā: 63f.), and the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Uvā-T: 410). In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya* the passage occurs directly following the passage discussed in my first chapter. In the other texts the passage occurs as part of a description of a particular character sometimes along with other standard descriptions such as a description of wealth. In addition to the examples containing the full version of the passage, there are numerous shorthand references to the passage in descriptions of characters in the same and other early Śvetāmbara texts including the *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* and the *Nāyādhammakahāo*. I review the various forms of terminology used in the early Śvetāmbara texts to refer to householders and/or the Jain lay community and I argue that the term *samaṇovāsaga* (literally meaning "follower of the *samaṇa*s") is used to refer to members of the Jain lay community in general, rather than to members of a sub-group within the Jain lay community. I suggest that the passage describes the ideal Jain householder as envisioned by the mendicant community over the period of time when many of the early texts were compiled. In my analysis of the passage I divide it into six sections:

1. doctrine (an early list of the *tattva*s)
2. strength of faith
3. an obscure phrase usually taken as referring to generosity or trustworthiness
4. observance of the *posaha* days;
5. list of alms to be given to Jain mendicants
6. a phrase referring to lay ascetic practice.

I discuss each of these sections in detail as well as the minor variations in the versions of the passage occurring in the various texts. In some examples the final section of the passage does not occur. I suggest that these examples show the influence of the *Uvāsagadasāo* and I associate the absence of the sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in the *Uvāsagadasāo* with a passage occurring in the first story of the text in which a *samaṇovāsaga* named Āṇaṃda makes a formal promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics and not to other ascetics.[8] This promise ends in the same manner as the fifth part of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, i.e. with the same list of alms that the *samaṇovāsaga* donates to Jain mendicants. The concern with the issue of donating alms to non-Jain ascetics is also seen at times in the commentaries on the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

4 See Jacobi's translation (Sū-J: 381f.).
5 See Lalwani's translation (Uv-La: 272ff.).
6 Vi-T: 278f.; Vi-B: 353-7; Deleu 1970: 134.
7 See Jacobi's translation (Sū-J: 382ff.).
8 Uvā-H: 34ff.; Uvā-T: 406f..

Passages Relating to the Lay Vows

In my final chapter I discuss passages relating to the lay vows. The list of twelve lay vows that became the standard way of portraying Jain lay life includes five *aṇuvrata*s, three *guṇavrata*s, and four *śikṣāvrata*s. I argue that the list of twelve lay vows developed at a relatively late point in the process of the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon given that some of the passages mentioning the vows seem clearly to predate the development of the list of twelve vows. In the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter, as well as in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (Sū-T: 476), *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 (Nā: 245), and in the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Uvā-T: 400ff.) we find passages referring to or listing the five *aṇuvrata*s alone (without mention of the three *guṇavrata*s and four *śikṣāvrata*s) or else listing the five *aṇuvrata*s along with only a few of the other lay vows. There are complete listings of the twelve lay vows in four of the texts that I included in my study: the *Tattvārthasūtra* (Ta: 176f.), *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 (Vi-T: 278f.), the list of typical offences in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Uvā-T: 403ff.), and Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya* (Uv-Le § 57: 63f.). In these lists we find variation in the naming of the individual vows, the order in which the vows are listed, the manner in which the vows are categorized, and the naming of the categories. The only list employing the categorization of "five *aṇuvrata*s, three guṇavratas, and four *śikṣāvrata*s" is that occurring at the end of Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya*. In attributing the teaching of the twelve lay vows to Mahāvīra we can observe the efforts of the compilers to obscure the fact that the list developed at a relatively late point. I also discuss the recurring description of characters adopting the lay vows. The most significant variation in these passages is in the number of vows mentioned. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 (Nā: 119f.) and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* (Rā: 59ff.), in stories set in the time of Nemi and Pārśva, it seems that the characters adopt four vows, while in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Uvā-T: 399f.) set in the time of Mahāvīra, the characters adopt twelve vows. In this chapter I also offer some discussion about the meaning of the individual vows as well as discussion of passages in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 describing various categories of householders and various specific lay ascetic practices. It appears that even after the list of twelve vows became relatively standard the precise meaning of the individual lay vows remained open to interpretation. Yet, it is clear that the lay vows were generally conceived as forms of temporary and/or partial Jain mendicant practice.

Concluding Remarks

My dissertation draws attention to important passages relating to the lay community in the early Śvetāmbara texts. I suggest that it is possible, even in the absence of comprehensive critical editions of the texts, to construct arguments about the chronology of the passages and also about the motivations of the monastic authors and compilers of the texts. I hope that my work will be of interest to scholars as well as members of the Jain community and that it will inspire further study of the early Jain texts.

***Andrew More**, PhD Yale University, wrote his dissertation on:* Early Statements Relating to the Lay Community in the Svetambara Jain Canon *(http://search.proquest.com/docview/1658543394).*

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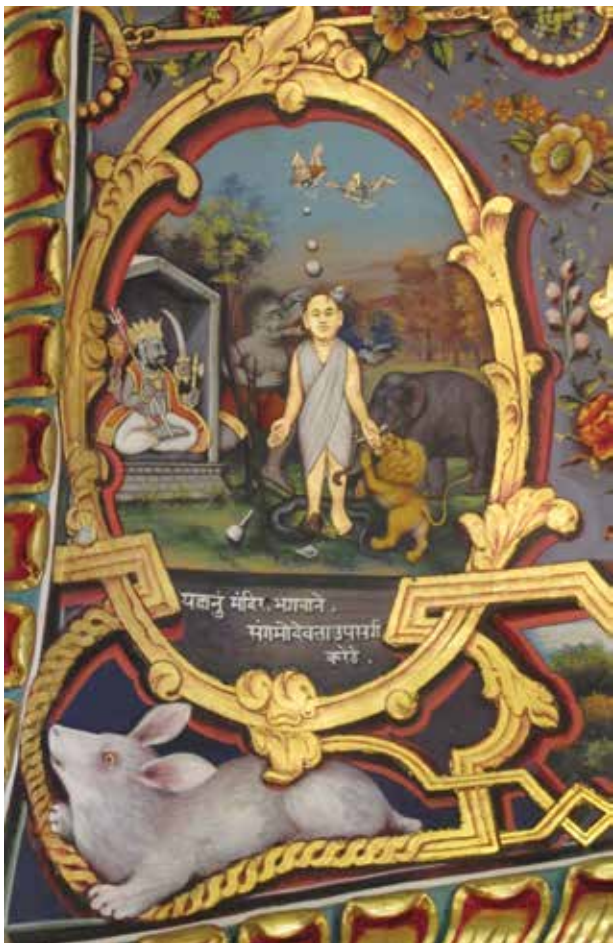

Details of the depiction of the life-story of the Mahāvīra in the Kharataragaccha Jaina Mandira, Churu (Photos: Peter Flügel)

Causality and Pañca-Kāraṇa-Samavāya

Dharmacand Jain

The Department of Sanskrit, Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur (India) is engaged in research on Jain philosophical texts and tenets.[1] Having obtained her PhD degree in this field under the supervision of the present writer, Dr Shweta Jain has worked on causality and the *pañca-kāraṇa-samavāya* doctrine of Jainism. Her work has been jointly published from Pārśvanāth Vidyāpīṭh, Vārāṇasī and Prācya Vidyāpīṭh, Sājāpura (M.P.) in 2008 under the title: *Jaina Darśana Meṃ Kāraṇa-Kārya Vyavasthā: Eka Samanvayātmaka Dṛṣtikoṇa*. Jain's is the first critical work which analyses the development of the term *pañca-samavāya* and its various aspects.

The theory of cause and effect is discussed in every philosophical tradition of India. Jainism considers that cause and effect are identical-cum-different from each other. Jain philosophers have discussed causality in many ways:

(i) Causality from the point of view of substance (*dravya*), space (*kṣetra*) time (*kāla*), psychical state (*bhāva*) and birth in a particular species (*bhava*).
(ii) Causality in regard to the six substances: *dharmāstikāya*, *adharmāstikāya*, space (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*), matter (*pudgala*) and the living being or the soul (*jīva*). The term *dharmāstikāya* designates the indifferent efficient cause of motion of a living being, matter, energy, particle etc., and *adharmāstikāya* the cause of the resting position of living beings and matter. Space (*ākāśa*) and time (*kāla*) are general causes of any effect. Matter (*pudgala*) causes material effects, and because of these a living being possesses body, mind, language, respiration etc. Souls or living beings (*jīva*) cause mutual behavior among them and also generate changes in the material world.
(iii) Causality discussed as immediate cause (*upādāna*) and efficient cause (*nimitta*).
(iv) Jinabhadragaṇi presents the causality of six cases (nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, locative) in the occurring of an effect.

Jain philosophers accept that effects of causality can only occur in the permanent-cum-impermanent (*nityānityātmaka*) existence or in the combination of substance and modes.

Ingrid Schoon

Nākoḍā Bhairujī, Haribhadra Sūri Smṛti Trust Mandira, Chittorgaṛh

The doctrine of *pañca-samavāya/pañca-kāraṇa-samavāya*, compound of five causes, is a very important in respect of the interpretation of causality in Jainism. Here the word samavāya does not give the meaning of inherent relation as used in Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The word *samavāya* has been used in Sanskrit literature in the meaning of union, collection and combination, e.g. *viduṣāṃ samavāyaḥ* (a collection of scholars).

This doctrine is the outcome of the non-absolutistic view of Jain philosophers. Time (*kāla*), nature (*svabhāva*), determinism (*niyati*), karma-bondage (*pūrvakṛta-karma*) and conscious-effort (*puruṣa/puruṣārtha*) — these five causes are the constituents of *pañca-samavāya*. In Jain canons this doctrine is not found. It was first elaborated by the 5th-century CE Śvetāmbara philosopher Siddhasena Sūri (Divākara), who mentions these five in his *Sanmati-prakaraṇa* (3.53) as follows:

> *Kālo sahāva ṇiyaī puvvakayaṃ purise kāraṇegantā,*
> *micchattaṃ te ceva samāsao u sammattaṃ*

"Among time (*kāla*), nature (*svabhāva*), determinism (*niyati*), karma-bondage (*pūrvakṛta-karma*) and conscious-effort (*puruṣārtha*) the absolutism of a single cause (*ekāntavāda*) is considered as a wrong view (*mithyātva*) whereas a combination of these causes is considered as a right view (*samyaktva*)."

1 Due to restrictions of space, here a brief appraisal of Dr Shweta Jain's work about causality and *pañca-samavāyacan* alone can be presented. Sādhvī Dr Hemprabhā, Hemlata Jain, and Pavan Kumar Jain are students who have also recently have obtained their PhD degree in this field under the supervision of the present writer. Sādhvī Dr Hemprabhā has produced a critical study of Jain praise-poetry (*stotra-kāvya*) which was published in August 2001 by the Muni Śrī Hajārimala Smṛti Prakāśana Samiti, Beawer (Rajasthan), under the title: *Jaina Stotrakāvya Kā Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayana*. Dr Hemlata Jain has worked on the *Lokaprakāśa*, composed by Upādhyāya Vinaya Vijaya in the 17th-18th century. Her research work was published in 2014 by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, under the title: *Lokaprakāśa Kā Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayana*. Dr Pawan Kumar Jain's yet unpublished PhD thesis is an epistemological study of Jinabhadragaṇi's (7th century) *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* in the light of Hemcandra Maladhārin's (11th-12th century) *Bṛhadvṛtti*.

The Prakrit word *samāsao* (compound, union or combination) in this stanza seems to be the origination of the Sanskrit Jain philosophical term *samavāya*, which was later used and is now famous as a designation for the combination of the mentioned causes. Before Siddhasena Sūri, the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* (1.1) already mentions causality as time (*kāla*), nature (*svabhāva*), determinism (*niyati*), by chance (*yadṛchā*), five elements, place of origin (*yoni*), consciousness (*puruṣa*) and accepts that only the combination of these can be the cause of the universe.

If we think about the development of the theory of *pañca-samavāya*, it can be said that Siddhasena (5th century) is the founder of this doctrine. He mentioned it, not only in his *Sanmati-prakaraṇa*, but also in his work *Dvātriṃśat-Dvātriṃśikā* (3.58). Haribhadra Sūri (8th century) proved how a combination of these causes is producing an effect in his works *Śāstravārtā-samuccaya* (2.79), *Bījaviṃśikā* (9), *Upadeśapada* (165) and *Dharmabindu* (2.68). He employed the word *samudāya* in the *Śāstravārtā-samuccaya* and the word *kalāpa* in the *Upadeśapada* for denoting the combination of all these five causes. In the commentary on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, Ācārya Śīlānka (9th-10th century) established the integration in these causes, due to relativity among these. Abhayadevasūri (10th century) rebutted the view of the mutual exclusiveness of *kāla-vāda*, *svabhāva-vāda*, *niyati-vāda*, *karma-vāda* and *puruṣa-vāda*, and established the relative causality of these five. Ācārya Amṛtacandra (10th century) represented the five causes as five *naya*s in his discussion of 47 *naya*s at the end of his commentary on Kundakunda's *Pravacanasāra*. Rajaśekhara Sūri Malladhārin (12th-13th century) and Upādhāyaya Yaśovijaya Sūri (17th century) indicated the same in their *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* (79) and *Nayopdeśa* (page 92) respectively. In the 17th century, Upādhāyaya Vinaya Vijaya wrote a eulogy in the Gujarati language regarding these five causes. The term *pañca-samavāya* was used for the first time by Muni Tilokaṛṣi in the 19th century in his poetic work *Tiloka-Kāvya-Kalpataru* (IV: 105). He explained the combination of these five causes in his poetry as '*pañca-samavāya milyā hota haiṃ kāraja saba*' (All works are performed in the collective presence of these five causes). In the 20th century 'Śatāvadhānī' Ācārya Ratnacandra demonstrated the relationship of these five causes in a play entitled *Kāraṇa-saṃvāda*. The doctrine of *pañca-samavāya* is now accepted in all the sects of Jainism.

In the work of Dr Shweta Jain the five constituents of the doctrine of *pañca-samavāya* have been elaborately discussed on the basis of the *Veda*s, *Upaniṣad*s, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Purāṇa*s, and the philosophical texts of *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, *Bauddha*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Śaiva* traditions with specific stress on Jain philosophical texts: in particular the Jaina canons, their commentaries (including *Cūrṇi* and *Bhāṣya*), and texts composed by individual Jain philosophers such as the *Sanmati-tarka-prakaraṇa*, *Dvādaśāranayacakra*, *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*, *Śāstravārtā-samuccaya*, *Tattva-bodha-vidhāyani-tīka*, *Prameya-kamala-mārttanḍa*, etc. Jain's book, consisting of seven chapters, elucidates in detail accounts of *kāla-vāda*, *svabhāva-vāda*, *niyati-vāda*, *karma-vāda* and *puruṣa-vāda*/*puruṣārtha-vāda*, and of refutations of the absolutistic attitude (*ekāntavāda*) from the point of view of *anekānta-vāda*, which establishes multiplex relationship of the five in producing an effect. Practically, the union of five causes (*pañca-samavāya*) applies to living-beings only, because karma-bondage and conscious-effort are not applicable to causal effects between forms of matter. Jain canons propound three types of modification (*pariṇamana*): natural (*visrasā-pariṇamana*), e.g. a bud changes into a flower; generated by a living being (*prayoga-pariṇamana*), e.g. a gold piece is changed into an ornament; and a mixture of both (*misra-pariṇamana*), e.g. a papaya is ripened through a chemical. This modification is also an effect. Natural effect does not require any human effort and karma-bondage. Hence it is proved that natural effect can be produced in a non-living thing by less than five causes. In the case of *dharmāstikāya*, *adharmāstikāya*, time, space, and also in some cases of matter, this natural effect is accepted.

Jain's book examines the utility of the doctrine of *pañca-samavāya* in our practical life in its seventh chapter. For example children's education requires time, reading nature, certain circumstances as determinism, mental and intellectual ability obtained in the result of former karma-bondage and his conscious-effort lacunae of any cause of these may be an obstacle of study/work. In some effects the time factor becomes more important, e.g. a crop requires a certain time to ripe, in some cases nature plays more important role, e.g. the mango seed develops in to a mango tree, not an apple tree. Somewhere determinism becomes primer, e. g. an iron rod is used as building material. In some places conscious-effort becomes key factor, e.g. penance, and in some cases karma-bondage plays prime role. Consisting of 706 pages, including a foreword by D.C. Jain, this work has established that the doctrine of five-cause-compound (*pañca-samavāya*) is the result of non-absolutistic broad view of Jain philosophers.

Regarding causality and *pañca-samavāya* no other work is known yet. In his book *Jaina Darśana Meṃ Kārya-Kāraṇa-Bhāva Aura Kāraka Vyavasthā*, Pt. Banśidhar Vyākarṇācārya discussed causality in general and refuted the ideology of Kānajī Svāmī about immediate and efficient cause. Pt. Phūlcand Śāstri composed two books entitled *Jain-Tattva-Mīmāṃsā* and *Jaipur-Khāniyā-Tattvacarcā* and discussed causality in detail, focusing on immediate and efficient cause. In the works of Pt. Sukhlāl Saṅghavī and Pt. Mahendra Kumār Nyāyācārya some discussion about Jain concepts of causality is seen, but we don't find a holistic approach and discussion about *pañca-kāraṇa-samavāya*. Dr Rājkumāra Chābarā discussed causality of substance in his PhD thesis entitled *Jaina Darśana meṃ Dravya kī Avadhāraṇā aura Kāraṇa-Kārya Sambandha*, but he did not take up discussion of *pañca-kāraṇa-samavāya*.

In this way no scholar has made a detailed discussion with research point-of-view on *pañca-samavāya* taking the vast study of Indian literature and especially Jain philosophical texts, into account before Dr Shweta Jain. Hence Jain's is the first critical work which analyses the development of the term *pañca-samavāya* and its various aspects.

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Jaina Mathematics and Cosmology: Numbers and Algorithms in the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* and the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*

Catherine Morice-Singh

The *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* (GSS) is a very significant Sanskrit treatise on mathematics, maybe the first one to have survived in a complete form. It was composed by Mahāvīrācārya, a Jaina Digambara *ācārya* living in the 9th century during the reign of Amoghavarṣa, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king ruling in Maharashtra and Karnataka. The discovery, edition and translation into English of this text were done by M. Rangacharya who had chanced upon a few of its manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML) at Madras. His publication (1912) has been a landmark in the historiography of Indian mathematics as it has introduced to the international community of scholars this voluminous text containing more than a thousand verses.

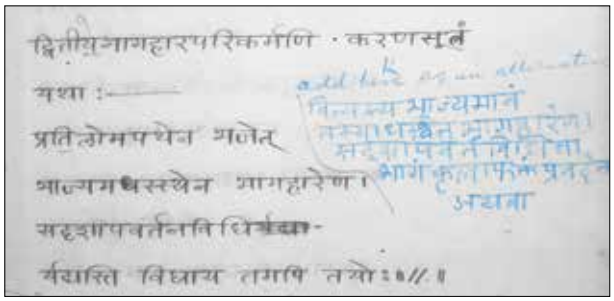
During the one hundred and odd years since 1912, much has been written on the GSS's mathematical contents, but no attempt has been undertaken to re-examine the text established by Rangacharya nor to trace the Jaina philosophical and cosmological elements in it, in spite of the fact that Jaina Studies has developed rapidly during the 20th century. The importance given to mathematics (*gaṇita*) by the Jaina thinkers who wanted to quantify in full details the entities existing in the universe is now well known, and the technical and specialized Jaina vocabulary attached to it is also better understood.

The GSS is considered to be a *pāṭīgaṇita* (board mathematics) work as it is spread over an introductory chapter and eight numbered mathematical subjects called "practices" or "procedures" (*vyavahāra*) which expound rules (*sūtra*) prescribing algorithms for solving problems relating to "worldly" mathematics, and examples (*uddeśaka*) to be solved by means of these rules. But these eight "practices" do not exactly tally in content with the ones listed by other authors and some questions then arise about the GSS's structure: For example, it is not known why the treatment of "operations" (*parikarman*) is the very first of the eight "practices" (*vyavahāra*), when, usually, *parikarman* and *vyavahāra* constitute two sections clearly separated in *pāṭīgaṇita* works. Even in the first "practice" itself (*parikarman*), it is not known why the author, Mahāvīrācārya, has dispensed with the canonical operations of addition and subtraction of whole numbers and has replaced them by the summation and subtraction of quantities in progression, or series, making then the multiplication the first of the eight arithmetical operations (multiplication, division, squares and square roots, cubes and cube roots, summation and subtraction of series).

In the GSS, the exceptionally developed and well-written introductory chapter supplies a great amount of details about the organization of mathematical topics and many explicit references to the Jaina context. The GSS's first two chapters are then both fundamental, and in my thesis I have proposed a deep study of them along with a French translation.

In order to re-examine Rangacharya's text and to identify his editorial choices, I examined some manuscripts available at the GOML (Madras) hoping to find traces of his work and, in order to get a wider view on the elements of mathematics linked to the Jaina universe, I explored excerpts of different original texts (*Dhavalā*, *Trilokasāra*, etc.) but mainly of the *Tiloyapaṇṇaṭṭī* (TP), a Prakrit text (~ 6th to 9th century) belonging to the same Digambara tradition. The study of the impressive mathematical content of these texts has led me to propose answers to the two questions about the GSS's structure mentioned above.

From the Census of D. Pingree for the GSS, the manuscripts GOML-13409 (a beautiful palm leaf manuscript written in Sanskrit in an elegant Kannara script and accompanied by a short running commentary) and GOML-13412 have proved to be very useful, as well as the "Notes of Karanja" which had been gathered by H.L. Jain in the beginning of the 20th century and published as an Annex to the printed edition of the Hindi translation of the GSS done by L.C. Jain in 1963. The manuscript GOML-13412 which is on paper and written in Nagari script seems to be the "draft" used by Rangacharya for his pre-print edition as there are marks and notes written with a blue pencil which correspond to his final publication. The GOML-13409 appears to be the manuscript noted K by M. Rangacarya on his "draft". For example, p. 22 of GOML-13412, an alternative rule for the operation of division is suggested:



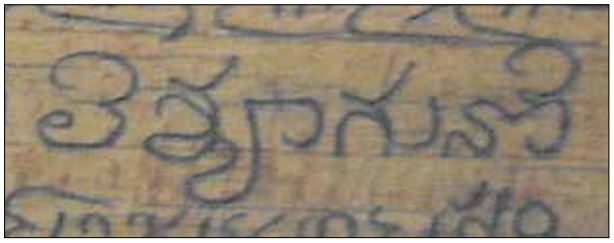
For the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (TP), I used the edition made by A.N. Upadhye and H.L. Jain (reprints in 2007-2008) and the one by Āryikā Śrī Viśuddhamatī Mātājī.[1]

Usually, the introductory chapters of *pāṭīgaṇita* works are short and dry, giving mainly lists of topics, names of powers of ten and units of measurement, without attempting to engage in more detailed information. This is just not the case for the GSS where the narrative and poetic talents of the author and its reverence for the Jaina doctrine shine in many verses. On this point, I feel that Rangacharya's interpretations are sometimes inadequate, by lack of knowledge of the Jaina technical vocabulary: For example, his translations of *sāmāyika* (GSS 1.9) by

1 This is available online: JainGranths.com

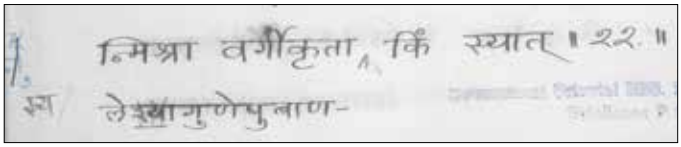
"some religious affair" and of Bhavana(*-vāsin*) (GSS 1.13-14) by "inhabitants of the (earthly) world,"etc., are too vague.

To express numbers, Mahāvīrācārya makes an intensive use of the word-numeral (*bhūta-saṃkhyā*) system, choosing often words belonging to the Jaina terminology, as for example *leśyā*, associated to number 6.



GOML-13409 (fol. 3, v°): *leśyā guṇe* (GSS 2.34)

Here, Rangacharya, probably not knowing the meaning of *leśyā*, deliberately corrected it into *lekhyā*, which is incorrect.



GOML-13412, p. 27 : *leśyā guṇeṣu-bāṇa*

There are other *bhūta-saṃkhyā* terms which would need to be commented upon, particularly *khara*, associated with number 6, and *rūpa*, associated with number 1. The exact links between these words and their numerical value seems to be uncertain or lost. In my thesis, I show that the "Notes of Karanja" propose a link between *khara* and *jīva* (*khara iti ṣaḍ jīva*), and, as far as *rūpa* is concerned, I propose to connect it to the value 1 from the frequently used operation in cosmology called "diffusion-distribution-multiple multiplication" (*viralana-deya-vargana-saṃvargana*).

Rangacharya made a number of editorial choices, and much can be said on them. For example, he inserted titles and subtitles to separate different topics and gathered the answers to the problems at the end of his publication, while they appear immediately after the text of the problem in palm leaf manuscripts. His list of names for powers of 10 stops at the 24th place, while it goes up to the 31th one in the manuscripts GOML-13410 and 13411. He also sometimes inserts parts of the commentaries in the text itself, without mentioning it, probably trying to bring clarity to the mathematical content. The most striking example is the rule for the first operation, the multiplication, where the meaning of the compound *rāśy-argha-khaṇḍa-tatstha* cannot be deciphered without the help of the commentary: his translation reflects exactly the content of the commentaries.

His failure to consider the terms *bhoga-bhūmi* and *karma-bhūmi* as parts of units of lengths have led him to permutate the *pāda* 26cd and 27ab in order to get to a plausible list of units from the *trasareṇu* to the *aṅgula* (GSS 1.25-27), but an incorrect one. The *śiroruha* being of four kinds, the quantity of atoms (*aṇu*) in one finger-breadth (*aṅgula*) is 8 multiplied by itself ten times instead of 8 multiplied by itself seven times. This information as well as many others can be obtained from the study of cosmological and fundamental texts.

On a larger basis, the study of these fundamental texts brings to light the exceptional and impressive refinement of the mathematical tools and concepts used by the Jaina thinkers: These are far from being elementary, especially when they deal with the quantification and comparison of different degrees of infinities, or what we might call transfinite ordinals and transfinite cardinals. I develop this topic intensively in my thesis, showing how the scaffolding of units of time leads to the rigorous definitions of *saṃkhyāta* (or *saṃkhyeya*), *asaṃkhyāta* (or *asaṃkhyeya*) and *ananta*, the omnipresent terms in the Jaina literature. After a long list of units of time

GOML-13409 (fol. 3, v°)
Palm-leaf manuscript, *circa* 19th century
Collection: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML) (Madras/Chennai)
The excerpt shown above is at the end of the third line from below.

Photo: Catherine Morice-Singh

multiple of the *yuga* (5 years), one reaches the *acalātma* which, in modern terms would contain 150 digits. But, in order to get to the highest (*utkṛṣṭa*) "numerable" (*saṃkhyeya*) quantity and the lowest "innumerable" (*asaṃkhyeya*) quantity, the iterative procedure changes radically and looks like an attempt to approach the idea of "actual infinity," as compared to "potential infinity." The rigorous definitions implemented there make me come to the conclusion that it would be preferable not to translate the technical terms *saṃkhyāta*, *asaṃkhyāta* and *ananta*, as a translation with the help of imprecise terms like "numerable, innumerable and infinite" would make that rigor disappear.

To conclude, I would say that Mahāvīrācārya has, in every aspect of his work, managed to retain the essential and to separate "*alaukika gaṇita*" from "*laukika gaṇita*" without departing from the teachings of his tradition. For instance, the units of length in the GSS (GSS 1.25) start with the atom (*aṇu*) which is made of an ananta quantity of ultimate particles (*paramāṇu*), and an *asaṃkhya* number of *samaya* is required to constitute the first unit of time, the *āvalī* (GSS 1.32): The distinction between *ananta* and *asaṃkhyāta* is kept here, even if its utility doesn't appear in a mathematical text.

Many operations or other mathematical tools are used in cosmology, and references are sometimes made to the existence of texts or parts of texts which have been lost: For instance, the *Parikarma* which is supposed to contain the necessary "preparations" to understand the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. In order to answer the two questions I initially mentioned about the GSS's structure, I think that to translate *parikarman* as "preparations" instead of "operations" would be a better choice. Every author obviously chooses the "preparations" needed for the comprehension of the work he is composing: That would explain why the content and number of *parikarman*s is so diverse in *pāṭīgaṇita* works. Some of these "preparations" might require explanations and practice, which would explain why the first "practice" in the GSS deals with *parikarman*.

Now, series are widely used in the Jaina cosmology, for example arithmetical progressions to describe the lower world where every data is calculated with the help of algorithms often similar to the ones in the GSS, and both arithmetical and geometrical progressions for the description of the middle world. My contention is that Mahāvīrācārya could not but put the treatment of series in the list of "preparations" for the GSS, the canonical operations of addition and subtraction being way too simple and not in conformity with the level of mathematics there.

Purusha or Cosmic Man, from a *Sangrahani Sutra* MS
Gujarat, mid-16th century
Gouache and ink on paper
EA2012.395p, Simon Digby Memorial Charity Gift
Image © Ashmolean Museum,
University of Oxford

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Jain Art in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Andrew Topsfiel

Founded in 1683, the Ashmolean is fortunate in having the most representative collection of Indian art in Britain outside London. The Museum's first major Indian sculpture, an 11th- century Pala stone image of Vishnu, was acquired as long ago as 1686. A flurry of Indian collecting activity began in Oxford in the late 19th century, with the founding by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899), Boden Professor of Sanskrit, of the University's former Indian Institute (1897-1962). Artefacts of all kinds were gathered throughout India for the Institute's new museum, and further sculptures and other works of art were subsequently donated by noble or wealthy Indian benefactors and British military men or civil officials who had served in the subcontinent. The majority of these gifts were images of Hindu deities or else Gandhara Buddhist works from the Northwest Frontier region. Jain works were very much in a minority. However, among numerous gifts presented in the name of the Maharaja of Jaipur in the 1880s was a bevy of contemporary local soapstone sculptures depicting seated Jinas. Of greater artistic merit, though in a worn condition, was a 12th-century stone stele with a standing Jina image from Bankura District, Bengal, given by the great musicologist Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore (1840-1914). Later, in the aftermath of empire, the Indian Institute was abolished by the University in 1962 and its collections were transferred to the Ashmolean's newly formed Department of Eastern Art. A 3rd-4th-century Mathura sandstone Jina head was presented at that time by the widow of Prof. William Cohn (1880-1961), who had done much to lay the foundations for the new Department.

Sandstone head of a Jina
Mathura, 3rd-4th century
EA1963.27, Gift of Mrs Isabelle Cohn
Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Bronze seated Rishabhanatha
Bihar, 7th century
EA1998.15
Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Some further consolidation of the Jain sculpture collection also took place during the 20th century and more recently. Several dated brass Jina images from Rajasthan or Gujarat (15th-17th centuries) came from the collections of Col. C.E. Luard, who served in Central India in the early 1900s, and Dr James C. Harle (1920-2004), former Keeper of Eastern Art at the Ashmolean. They include a simple but unusual miniature portable shrine, dated 1633 (VS 1690), in which the hinged, temple sikhara-like cover opens to reveal a seated Parsvanatha image within. Metal sculpture acquisitions of earlier date have included a 7th-century bronze image of Rishabhanatha from Bihar and three fine 10th-century bronze Jina images, from Orissa and the Deccan, previously owned by Douglas Barrett (1917-92), former Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum. A few more stone sculptures were also acquired, including an 11th-century sandstone standing Jina image from Madhya Pradesh, and a section of a 12th-century marble torana arch, probably from Mount Abu, which had come to light in a private house near Bath. Of interest also is an inscribed marble shrine, dated 1725 (VS 1782), carved

Brass portable shrine with seated Parsvanatha and two other Jinas
Western India, 1633
EAOS.109
Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

with the footprints of the teachers Jinadatta Suri and Jinakushala Suri.[1]

Until recently Jain painting was hardly represented at all in the collection. But in 2012 the paintings collection of Simon Digby (1932-2010), an eminent historian of Sultanate and Mughal India and a former Ashmolean curator, came to the Museum through the trustees of his estate. Digby was a scholar-collector of extremely wide-ranging interests, and his collection included well over 200 Jain illustrated manuscript pages, book covers or other painted works, dating from the 14th to 19th centuries and sometimes unusual or unconventional in style. They include many illustrations from Kalpa Sutra and Sangrahani Sutra series, for example, as well as from other less frequently illustrated texts. The Digby collection also contained a substantial group of unillustrated Jain manuscripts, now in process of transfer to the University's Bodleian Library.

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1 These and some other Jain works on long-term gallery display at the Ashmolean can be viewed on the Museum's Eastern Art Online website: e.g. http://jameelcentre.ashmolean.org/collection/4/880/890 .

Bronze seated Jina
Southern Deccan, 10th century
EA2013.84, Bequest of Douglas and Mary Barrett
Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Seated Kuntunatha, brass with silver and copper inlay
Vasantagarh, Rajasthan
1476. EAOS.108, Gift of Mrs C.E. Luard
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The Victoria and Albert Museum Jain Art Fund was created as a result of the exhibition 'The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India' (1994-96), jointly organised by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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Jaina Domestic Shrine at the Dahlem Museum, Berlin

Anupama Delacour

The Jaina domestic shrine in the collection of the Dahlem Museum in Berlin comes from Gujarat (Figure 1). The collector Robert Stolper bought this shrine in India and sold it to the Dahlem Museum in April 1966. In a letter dated February 1966 to Sir Härtel, director of the Museum, Robert Stolper writes: "I have received news that the temple [*sic.*] is on its way and I will contact you when it arrives."

This uncommon piece is very well preserved, and was recently restored. It dates from the eighteenth century and is made of teak wood. Comprised of a lot of different wood pieces, it has been put together with tenons and mortises. Only three front-walls are painted; we can suppose that the temple was displayed in the corner of a room, which could explain why not every panel was painted.

The shrine was made to receive the ritual objects on its platform. In the course of restoration, some pieces of food for offerings and wax from candles were discovered, indicating its usage in former times. The type of wood for the platform is different from that of the shrine itself. It has many fissures and looks older than the rest of the shrine. It possibly belonged to another piece of wooden furniture. The shrine's dimensions and sculptures show that it was the property of a rich Jaina merchant from Gujarat.

Jürgen Liepe

Figure 1. Jaina Domestic Shrine
18th Century, Gujarat
Teakwood
Objektnummer I 10037, Dahlem Museum
Image © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst

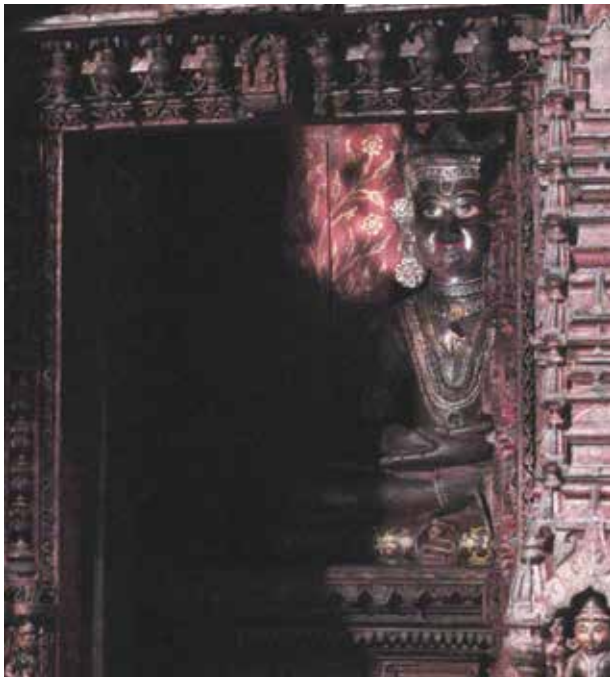

Figure 1. (Detail) Jaina Domestic Shrine, Neminatha
Image © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst

It has three main elements: the base, walls, and the roof. The first level – the base – is decorated with many sculpted friezes made of flowers, makara monsters, birds, elephants, and vegetal foliated scrolls. The goddess Sarasvati seats on the middle of the base. On the second level the walls also have decorated friezes: human faces, scale replicas of temples, and *amalaka* and *makara* monsters. *Makara* spit out vegetal creepers. The roof comprises a forest of domes, *amalaka* and small-scale temples disposed in superposed circles. Friezes offer a composition of superimposed horizontal lines.

The main entrance of the shrine is unique with its worship platform. It opens on the cellar. The cellar is dedicated to receive the statue of the Jina; the present Jina is a twentieth-century sculpture that replaced the original one. On the threshold of this entrance we can see two conches. In the lower part of the altar there is one wheel between two gazelles. The presence of the gazelles and the wheel is unusual on this type of shrine. The sculpture represents Neminatha, the twenty-second Jina, who is associated with the conch.

The pair of conches in front of the entrance of the shrine is an attribute of Neminatha and a recurrent decoration on the threshold of Jaina or Hindu temples and of shrines in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The combination of gazelles and a wheel is not an attribute of the twenty-second Jina, but rather a Buddhist symbol associated with the sixteenth Jina: Santinatha. The use of Buddhist symbols with a Jaina divinity was a way to continue to develop Jainism at a time when Jainism was not as widely practiced. It seems that for the shrine in Berlin the best identification is the one associated with the sixteenth Jina because of the presence of the wheel and the gazelles.

The present sculpture of Neminatha is from the twentieth century and is decorated with necklace and others jewels, evincing that it is a Svetembara image from western India. On the front wall of the shrine several Jinas appear on painted plaques made of wood. They stand in a meditation posture.

The second important goddess present on the shrine is the goddess Sarasvati. She appears three times on the walls. She is the Goddess of Knowledge and Arts and the wife of Brahma. She holds a water pot and an elephant hook, and wears a necklace and a pair of earrings. Her jewels show that this representation is Svetembara.

Gaja Lakshmi is recognizable by the two elephants on each part of her head. She wears a water pot, a rosary and several jewels. She symbolizes the wealth of the Jaina merchant community. Gaja Lakshmi always occupies the same location in the middle of the pediment on the Jaina domestic shrine.[1]

Different kinds of birds are depicted on the shrine. They are represented as a facing couple on the base and on the roof. Kirtimukha is a monster with horns and with vegetal foliage coming out from his mouth. We find them depicted on the friezes. *Kirtimukha* welcome the worshipper on the threshold in front of the entrance of the shrine. We find elephants face to face as a couple on the base and the architrave. Two blue elephants are represented on each side of the front wall; the different colour, the different types of wood and the holes on their stomachs indicate that they were pieces applied later.

The shrine appears to be a miniature stone temple. Its coposition includes a sacred chamber with Neminatha, a small room with pillars. In elevation it has three elements: the base, walls and roof. Its decoration and iconography are similar to the Adinath temple in Ranakpur. We find for instance the same conch on the threshold. The shrines are also influenced by wood temples such as the Jaina temple conserved in the museum of Cologne and the carved wooden ceiling in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which depicts Jinas, Lakshmi, and *kirtimukha*. The *haveli* in Rajasthan and Gujarat States are another influence for the shrine. These houses are painted wood houses. In the nineteenth century, rich Jaina merchants sponsored their construction on their land. But the trade has changed and the merchants had to move in big cities to earn their living. They therefore left the *haveli*, which are no longer extant. Some were restored and became art galleries or guest-houses.

The Jaina shrine is one of the two Jaina masterpieces at the Dahlem Museum. The second one is a painting depicting the pilgrimage of Satrunjaya, which is presently not on display. To exhibit of these two Jaina objects together would be interesting.

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1 During my fieldwork in India, I have searched similar Jaina domestic shrines and each of them had the same iconography with Lakshmi on the pediment: Bhavnagar Museum, Gujarat, Craft Museum of Delhi, and the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum, Gujarat.

Jaina Studies of Georg Bühler: Investigation and Insights

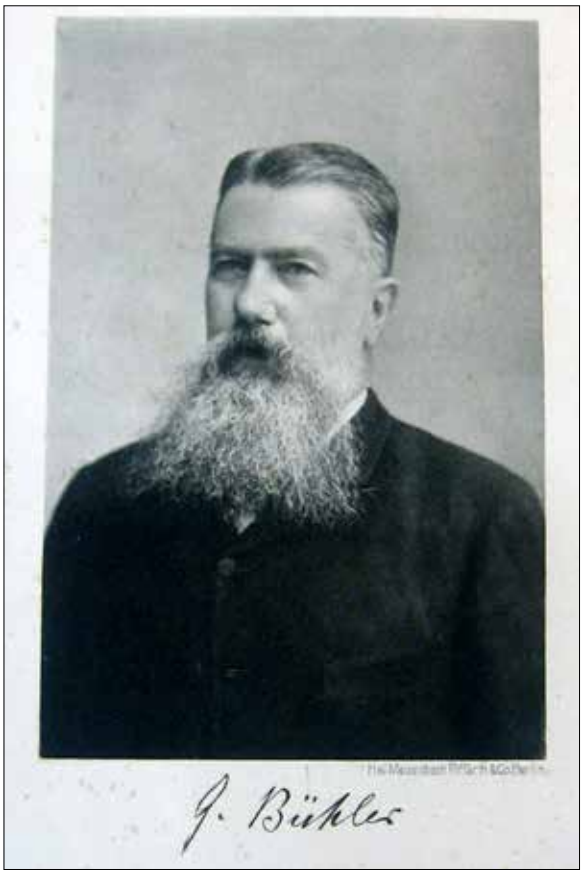
Amruta Chintaman Natu

During his four-decade long research career, Georg BÜHLER (1837-1898) dealt with a variety of subjects, from Dharmaśāstra and palaeography to religion and epigraphy, but many of his insights and investigations proved vital to the progress of Jaina Studies. He spent nearly one third of his life in India (1863 to 1880). Resigning the position of Professor of Oriental Languages and Ancient History, Elphinstone College, Bombay, he accepted a position as Educational Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction of the British Government in India. This enabled him to travel across the country, to undertake extensive searches for manuscripts, to interact with all classes of people and to get intimate knowledge of Indian culture. According to BÜHLER, knowledge of contemporary India, especially of its living traditions, was of immense importance for the study of ancient Indian literature. In my dissertation, *Contribution of Georg Bühler to Indology*, I have illustrated how BÜHLER's knowledge of contemporary India helped him to gain an insight into the ancient past of the land.[1] Having studied his entire writings, I have tried to argue that the methodology and approach adopted by BÜHLER in his Indological pursuits is his major contribution to the field of Indology.

Jainism: Distinct from Buddhism

Till the third quarter of the 19th century, the Jaina religion was considered by western scholars mainly to be an offshoot of Buddhism, and it is well known that Hermann JACOBI (1850-1937) proved it to be an independent sect. It is not generally known, however, that BÜHLER reached the same conclusion independently by another quite interesting course.

Until the 1870s BÜHLER believed that Jainism was an old sect of Buddhism, even though he recognised the Jainas in the Buddhist school of the *sammatiya*. During his tours in connection with the search for manuscripts (1868-1880) he examined Jaina literature extensively. He also came in contact with many Jaina ascetics. Through some Digambara Jainas at Delhi and Jaipur, he learnt that the Digambaras had been called *nigaṇṭha*s since ancient times.[2] This seems to have led him to rethink the issue of the origin of Jainism. Finally, after the observation that



Georg Bühler (1837-1898). Source: JOLLY Julius (1899), *Georg Bühler 1837-1898. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Band I, Heft 1, A. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1899, p. 23.

the Buddhists texts recognise the *nigaṇṭha* and describe their founder as a rival of Buddha and mentioning that he died at Pāvā where the last *tīrthaṅkara* is said to have attained *nirvāṇa*, he inferred that these *nigaṇṭha*s must be none other than the Jainas and that the Jainas and the Buddhists sprang from the same religious movement (BÜHLER 1903: 24 n. 1).[3] Once this identification was done it also became possible to recognise that Aśoka mentioned the sect in his edicts and that it was of such an importance at the time as to mention it separately (BÜHLER 1903: 39f.).

1 This report covers only one aspect of my work. The contents of my doctoral dissertation are as follows: *Introduction*, *Life-sketch and Work*, *Brief Survey of Writings*, *Insight and Investigation*, and *Conclusion*. Appendices include a *Complete Classified List of the Writings of Bühler*, *Writings on Bühler*, *Chronological Bibliography of Bühler's works*, and a *General Bibliography*.

2 "In older times the Digambara ascetics used to go naked, and from this custom they derive the names Digambara, 'sky-clad,' Nirgranthas, 'without a knot,' Nagnātas, 'naked mendicants.' Now they make a compromise with the spirit of the times and the British law. ... the paṇḍits wear the usual dress of the country, and even the Bhaṭṭārkas cover themselves with a *chaddar*, which they put off when eating. At their meals they sit perfectly naked, and a pupil rings a bell to keep off all the strangers." (BÜHLER 1878: 28). In independent India Digambara-Jaina ascetics began again to follow their old tradition.

3 "My supposition was confirmed by Jacobi, who reached the like view by another course, independently of mine (see *Zeitschriftder Deutsch Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXV, S. 669. Note i), pointing out that the last Tîrthakara in the Jaina canon bears the same name as among the Buddhists" (BÜHLER 1903: 24 n. 1).

Prior to BÜHLER (1878: 28), it seems, nobody had noticed that the Jainas were, in more ancient times, called *nirgrantha* or *nigaṇṭha*. The living tradition of the Jainas, a 'religious historical' consciousness so to say, however, preserved the memory even in the 19th century. Numerous instances can be cited from BÜHLER's writings where he upheld and pointed out the correctness of the traditional views. This suggests that he believed that there lies some truth in the memories of past preserved through tradition (BÜHLER 1884: 29; 1887: 13-20; 1892: 35; 1894: 150). Unlike the other contemporary western scholars, he was more inclined towards trusting the traditional accounts and hence, in this case, could use the clue provided by the same.

Some of the Orientalists such as WEBER (1825-1901) and BARTH (1834-1916) were still not in favour of the argument. Although JACOBI answered successfully suspicions raised by BARTH, he did not use inscriptional evidences, which were more reliable sources compared to the literary ones. At this point, BÜHLER decisively proved the antiquity of the Jainas with the help of the large number of dedicatory inscriptions at Mathura which belonged to the era of Indo-Scythian kings first published in CUNNINGHAM's (1814-1893) *Archaeological Reports* (1873: 13-46). In the inscriptions, BÜHLER recognised the names of the schools of the Jainas, many of which are mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*. He stated that the division amongst the Jainas must have taken place long before the beginning of the Common Era. He also argued that the tradition of the Śvetāmbaras really contains ancient historic elements, and by no means should be looked upon with distrust. He wrote a separate article on the subject in 1887, in which he showed successfully the authenticity of the Jaina tradition and the antiquity of the Jaina sect.

BÜHLER as a Collector of Jaina Manuscripts

BÜHLER was one of the pioneer collectors of manuscripts in India, which were largely undertaken in 1868 by the British Government. Since he had to travel as the Educational Inspector of schools, he used the opportunity to inspect private manuscript collections and Jaina *bhaṇḍāra*s, and to procure manuscripts for the Government.

BÜHLER and F. KIELHORN (1840-1907) were responsible for manuscript searches in the Bombay Presidency, and divided among themselves the allotted area. Since BÜHLER was working as the Educational Inspector of the Northern Division of the Presidency (i.e., modern Gujarat), this Jaina populated region rich in manuscript tradition formed his area of search. It was larger than the area allotted to anyone working under the project. At many places BÜHLER was the first European who was allowed to enter the Jaina *bhaṇḍāra*s. As rightly pointed out by S. K. BELVALKAR (1918: xvii), BÜHLER's achievements in this field were possible not simply because he happened to come so very early in the search for Sanskrit manuscripts, but also because the field he investigated was intrinsically so very valuable.

During 1868-69 BÜHLER visited Gujarat and Kathiawad, which then was part of the Bombay Presidency. In 1872, CUNNINGHAM suggested that the scholars working in the Bombay Presidency under the Government's manuscript-project should extend their researches beyond the limits of the Presidency and should visit Jaisalmer and Bikaner (GOUGH 1878: 81). Following his advice, during 15th December 1873 to 15th March 1874 BÜHLER made a tour to Rājputānā, (Rajasthan), and visited towns famous for their libraries and religious establishments (GOUGH 1878: 117).

His visit to Jaisalmer is of particular importance. The town is situated in the desert of Rajasthan and, at the time, the nearest railway station was ninety miles from it. This journey was usually done on camel back. BÜHLER believed that Rajasthan was a true representation of ancient Indian social and cultural conditions, as described in the ancient Sanskrit literature. Therefore, he suggested that those who wanted to study Indian history should see with their own eyes what the conditions really were. His article on the Wergeld (1893) is a quintessential example in this respect.

In Jaisalmer, after great trouble, the *bhaṇḍāra* of the Parśvanātha temple was partially opened to him where manuscripts dating from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were preserved. The oldest of these bore the date Samvat 1160 (1103-04 CE). In this *bhaṇḍāra*, BÜHLER made some of his famous discoveries, the two historical poems *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (MS. No. 50/1873-74) and *Gauḍavaho* (MS. No. 27/1873-74). With the help of JACOBI, who was on a private trip to India, BÜHLER copied the entire manuscript of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. The handwritten copy is now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute. He was also able to discover there the *Mahāvīracarita* of Hemacandra (MS. No. 250/1873-74).[4]

The two scholars, BÜHLER and JACOBI, inspected every manuscript in the Pārśvanātha Temple library and selected 28 manuscripts to be copied for the Bombay Collection. But the copies were perhaps never made. BÜHLER requested repeatedly in vain. However, in Jodhpur he was able to procure some very important and unique manuscripts such as Hemacandra's *Grammar* (MS. No. 283/1873-74) and *Deśināmamālā* (MS. No. 270/1873-74).

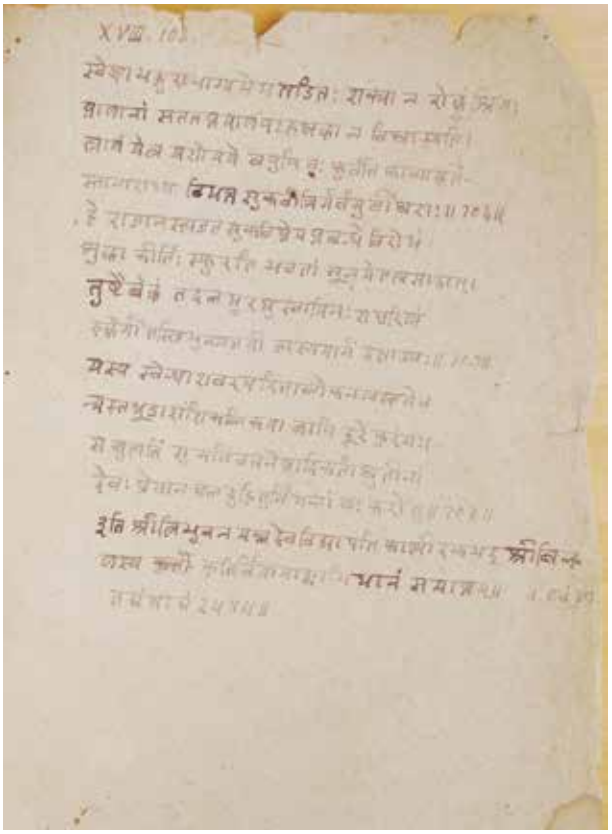
His visit to Patan during 1874-75 was very successful. Patan, the ancient Anhilvāḍ, was in the princely state of the Gaikwads during the British period. BÜHLER described it as a true centre of Jainism in Gujarat. It was inhabited by a larger number of Śrāvakas than Ahmedabad, Vadhvan, or Cambay, and the Upāśrayas were numerous (GOUGH 1878: 126). The first *bhaṇḍāra* in Patan where BÜHLER got permission to enter was Pophliapadanobhaṇḍāra. However, his repeated attempts to enter into the famous *bhaṇḍāra* of Hemacandra failed. He visited the town thrice in six months' duration for the purpose, but was unable to inspect the entire library. He was shown only 600-700 manuscripts.[5]

Since 1873, BÜHLER obtained permission from the Government from time to time to send such manuscripts to European libraries for sale, texts of which are already well represented in the Government Collection (BÜHLER 1888: 534-536). The total number of manuscripts which found their way to European Libraries through BÜHLER is 904.[6]

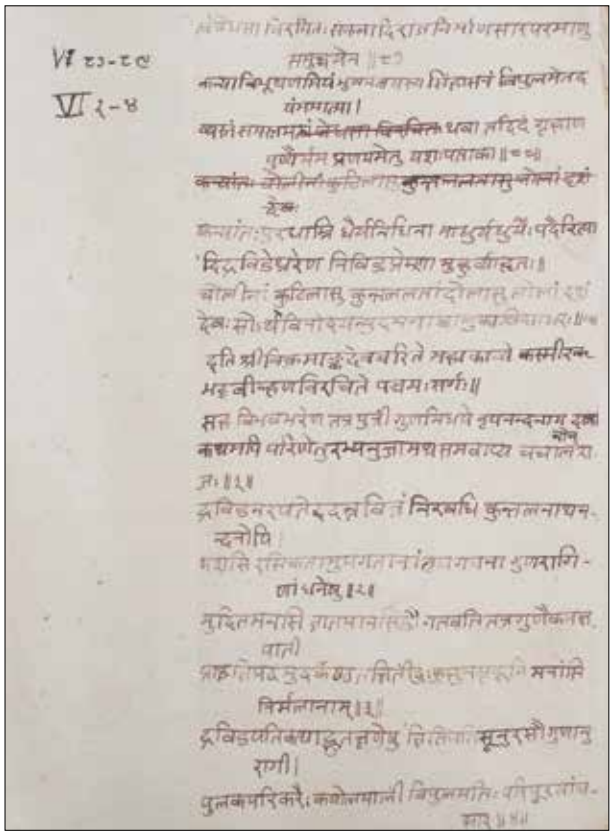
4 All the manuscripts are now at the Bhandarkar Institute.

5 See JOHNSON (1988) for details.

6 Other than manuscripts supplied to various libraries in Europe, this includes the manuscripts collected for MONIER-WILLIAMS. Some 'Native' and foreign friends with BÜHLER's knowledge and consent availed of the services of the Government Agents for procuring manuscripts (1888: 536).



BÜHLER's Devanāgarī handwriting. A page from the manuscript of *Vikramāṇkadevacarita* (MS. No. 50/1873-74) copied by BÜHLER and JACOBI in Jaisalmer. (Courtesy: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).



JACOBI's Devanāgarī handwriting. A page from the manuscript of *Vikramāṇkadevacarita* (MS. No. 50/1873-74) copied by BÜHLER and JACOBI in Jaisalmer. (Courtesy: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).

Important Jaina Manuscripts Discovered

The number of manuscripts collected by BÜHLER for the Government, the collection which now forms a part of the Manuscript Library of the Bhandarkar Institute, amounts to 2,876 as per BÜHLER's own record (BÜHLER 1888: 536). He was able to collect some very rare manuscripts of great antiquity. The oldest, containing the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*, with its commentaries (MS. No. 128-130/1872-73), is dated 1334 Vikrama Saṃvat (1278 CE). The *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, with its commentaries (MSS. No. 78-80/1872-73), forming one large palm-leaf *Pothī*, the leaves of which are about 90 cm in length, and about 7.5 cm wide, dates back to 1348 Vikrama Saṃvat (1292 CE). Nine manuscripts procured by BÜHLER in 1871-72 were older than Saṃvat 1600 while seven manuscripts were older than 1500. In a single year 1872-73, BÜHLER bought twenty-four manuscripts which were written prior to Saṃvat 1600 (1544 CE), including three manuscripts written prior to Saṃvat 1400 (1344 CE).

Kashmiri Manuscripts

A special mention needs to be made of the Kashmiri collection of manuscripts that BÜHLER made for the Government during 1875-76. Since Kashmir had been for many centuries one of the chief seats of Sanskrit learning and literature, he proposed to the Government to extend his area further and to include Kashmir and Central India in his territory of search. (GOUGH 1878: 121). This tour proved the most successful one. He was able to procure 838 manuscripts, all important and rare; more so today, because of the disruptive conditions in the valley for approximately the last thirty years.

This collection comprises birch-bark and paper manuscripts written in Śāradā script, and 'new copies' made under the auspices of BÜHLER of those manuscripts that he could not procure in original form. The manuscripts are related to specialised subjects such as Kashmir Śaivism, Jainism and the history of Kashmir. The collection comprises 234 Jaina manuscripts out of which only twenty-two are new copies, the rest being original.

Out of the total 2,876 manuscripts procured by BÜHLER for the Government, 1,044, i.e., around thirty-six percent, pertain to the literature of the Jainas. As per the reported searches of manuscripts the total number of Jaina manuscripts in the collection stands at around 1,933.[7] Thus, BÜHLER has procured approximately 54 percent the manuscripts out of the total Jaina manuscripts now possessed by the Bhandarkar Institute.

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7 The titles contained in them are almost double in number. As per the *Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts* published by the Bhandarkar Institute, the approximate number of Jaina texts in manuscript form in its library augments to 5, 000..

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Klatt's contemporaries praised the manuscript as one of the landmarks of modern scholarship in this field, and today, the encyclopedic compilation is still without parallel. It represents a substantial but untapped source of information for the yet unwritten social and literary history of Jainism in post-canonical, and especially in early modern and modern periods. In making previously inaccessible bio-bibliographical materials available in a structured form, the *Jaina-Onomasticon* provides a foundation for the historical and sociological study of the Jaina tradition in the pre-modern period. At the same time, the text offers valuable insights into the fluid state of knowledge among leading scholars of the 19th century confronting a flood of entirely new information from different sources, and opens up enhanced possibilities for studying the interactions between European academics and Indian informants during the colonial period.

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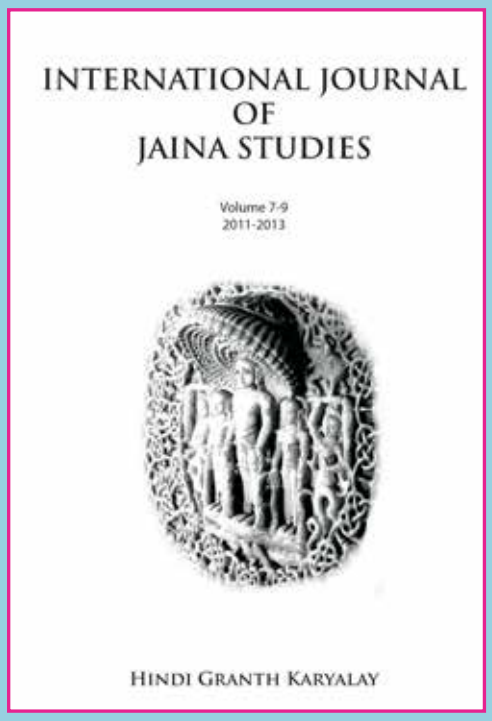

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