A Symposium celebrating the 90th Birthday of UC Berkeley Jain scholar, Padmanabh S. Jaini

THE STUDY OF JAINISM

by Alexander von Rospatt, Professor of Buddhist & South Asian Studies, and Director, Group in Buddhist Studies

Celebrating Prof. Padmanabh Jaini's ninetieth birthday and his pioneering contributions to the study of Jainism in the western world, a select group of academics from Europe and the US congregated on Saturday, October 26, 2013 for a day-long symposium hosted by the Center of South Asia Studies (and supported by various other units on campus) to share their work on Jainism. This group included Prof. Jaini himself, who in his presentation took the packed audience back to the region of Tulunadu in Karnataka, where he grew up. Focusing on the Digambara Jain temple of the village of Nellikar and its annual chariot procession, he investigated the role of the ritual officiants and traced their origins, demonstrating that they descend from Vedic Brahmanas who converted to Jainism. Staying in Karnataka, Peter Flügel, Chair of the Centre for Jaina Studies at SOAS, University of London, likewise examined temple rituals and priests. For this he turned to the famous Padmavati shrine in the village of Humcha and the rituals Jains performs there with the assistance (and under the control) of the temple priests, including rites of prognostication. Moving from Karnataka north, John Cort of Denison University focused upon the largely unexplored presence of Digambara communities in Gujarat, surveying their current spread and history. The engagement with the social dimension of Jainism was rounded off by UC Berkeley's Alexander von Rospatt, the convener of the symposium, who expanded upon Prof. Jaini's examination (1980) of why Jainism did not share the fate of Buddhism in India and vanish, by probing into the social factors that allowed Mahayana Buddhism in Nepal uniquely to persist to the present.

The other presentations of this carefully balanced symposium were grounded in the study of literary sources. Phyllis Granoff of Yale University dealt with the 17th century debate on the treatment of Jain images and how they encode the life story of the Jina without visually referencing particular episodes. Paul Dundas of the University of Edinburgh probed into the contribution of Jain authors to the development of allegory in Indian literary history, focusing on the celebrated monk Hemacandra Maladharin. Robert Goldman, who has been Prof. Jaini's colleague at Berkeley for the past four decades, treated the highly charged and ambivalent appropriations by Jain authors of prominent figures from the early Sanskrit canon. Finally, two papers engaged with particular aspects of Jainism's complex doctrinal history. Olle Qvarnström of Lund University brought Jain and Buddhist doxographical texts, and notably the works of the Jain Haribhadra Suri and the Buddhist Bhavaviveka, into conversation by contrasting their respective critique of the Samkhya model of cognition. Kristi Wiley, who earned her PhD at Berkeley under Prof. Jaini's supervision, dealt with the crudest form of life known in Jainism, the one-sensed *nigodas*, and the doctrinal questions (and dilemmas) their postulation poses.

The symposium with its rich research papers by leading scholars of Jainism captured something of the strength and breadth that characterizes the study of Jainism today and that is owed in no small measure to Prof. Jaini's immense contributions to that field. Thus the conference was a fitting tribute to his achievements as a Jain scholar, which are matched by his equally significant accomplishments as a scholar of Indian Buddhism.

Videos of papers presented at southasia.berkeley.edu/study-jainism

On the symposium's occasion Professor Jaini was honored with the **DISTINGUISHED LIFETIME SCHOLAR AWARD** *by the* **FEDERATION** *of* **JAIN ASSOCIATIONS** *in* **NORTH AMERICA** *in recognition of his visionary leadership, exemplary commitment, & tireless efforts in teaching Jainism to the North American community*

From left: Peter Flügel, Kristi Wiley, Alexander von Rospatt, Shobha Vora, Ashok Domadia, Olle Qvarnström, Padmanabh Jaini, Shashi Jaini, Phyllis Granoff, Sunita Bajracharya, Paul Dundas, Tara Sethia, Shalin Jain, Nirmal Sethia, & John Cort

Padmanabh S. Jaini

Padmanabh S. Jaini is Professor emeritus of Buddhist Studies and co-founder of the Group in Buddhist Studies. Prof. Jaini has pioneered the study of Jainism in the English speaking world. His "The Jaina Path of Purification" has brought the study and knowledge of Jainism to a broader English speaking public, and his numerous further publications—such as his book "Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women" (1991) and his "Collected papers on Jaina Studies" (2000)—have made him one of the leading scholars in this field. Even as a nonagenarian he continues to work and publish at the forefront of Jain Studies.

Collected Papers on Jaina Studies

Edited by
PADMANABH S. JAINI

With a Foreword by
PAUL DUNDAS

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Foreword

P. S. Jaini's career represents a fascinating scholarly journey. In introducing his *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* to the interested academic and lay world, some words about his intellectual background might be felt to be of some value.*

Padmanabh Shrivarma Jaini was born into a devout Digambara Jain family residing in Nellikar, a small town near the famous Jain centre at Moodbidre in Tulunadu, that magical and culturally distinctive area in the southwest of the state of Karnataka. In similar manner to many Jains at the beginning of this century who were influenced by calls within the community to change their names in order to foster a greater sense of identity, Padmanabh's father had abandoned his caste name of Shetty and taken the surname of Jaini, in this case in imitation of J. L. Jaini, a noted translator of the *Tattvārthasūtra*. Although the local languages of Nellikar were Tulu and Kannada, Jaini's highly literate parents also encouraged the study of Hindi, and the household contained a large number of regularly consulted books from North India on Jain and other subjects.

When he was ten and had completed his elementary education, Padmanabh Jaini's parents sent him far from home to the north to board at a Digambara Jain *gurukula* at Karanja in Vidarbha (Maharashtra) in order to continue his schooling at secondary level. This establishment, Mahāvīra Brahmacharyāśrama Jaina Gurukula, had been founded by Brahmachari Devchand, who was later to become the celebrated monk Ācārya Samantabhadra. While the curriculum contained "modern" subjects such as English and the Sciences, the school was run firmly on traditional Jain principles

*I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Professor P. S. Jaini and Ms. Kristi Wiley in the preparation of this Foreword.

and carried out regular daily rituals in accordance with Digambara practice. It was here during a period of eight years that the young Jaini gained his first familiarity with many basic Jain texts and encountered some of the great Digambara lay scholars of the period, such as Devakinandan Siddhantashastri, Kailashchandra Siddhantashastri, Hiralal Jain, Nathuram Premi and A. N. Upadhye.

After completing his secondary education, Jaini entered the Arts College at Nasik, which was affiliated to the University of Bombay, to take a B.A. Hons. degree in Sanskrit with subsidiary Prakrit. During this time he supported himself by superintending a boarding house for Śvetāmbara Jain students who belonged to the Oswal caste. The duties of this post obliged Jaini to travel to various Śvetāmbara centres to collect donations, as a result of which he became aware for the first time of the social diversity of Jainism and the fact that there were other Jain sectarian groups, such as the Sthānakavāsīs, virtually unknown to the Digambaras of Tulunadu. For, while it is true that Jainism is in broad terms doctrinally unified, interaction between members of the two main sects, the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, was, and to a large extent still is, comparatively rare, apart from occasional ecumenical occasions.

This familiarity with Śvetāmbara Jainism was to stand in good stead when, on graduation in 1947, he was invited by the great Sthānakavāsī scholar Pandit Sukhlal Sanghavi to study with him in Ahmedabad. Although he died as recently as 1978, Sanghavi (born 1880) represents what now seems to be a virtually lost scholarly and intellectual world. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, leading members of the Śvetāmbara Jain community undertook to set up schools to train and develop academically promising youngsters as pandits who, as with the much stronger tradition of lay scholarship amongst the Digambaras, would master and edit Sanskrit and Prakrit scriptural and philosophical literature and thus serve the community's requirements for a learned understanding of the Jain religion. Sanghavi himself had been blind from the age of eleven (a victim of smallpox) but nonetheless became profoundly versed in Jain logic at such an institution, rising to be professor at Banaras Hindu University. Jaini's near-daily meetings with this scholar over this period involved not just formal instruction in *nyāya*, carried out in rigorous fashion through the medium of a close analysis of a portion of Hemacandra's *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*, but also exposed the young Digambara to Sanghavi's views about the many

controversies that had arisen in the Jain community at this time.

Jaini's intellectual formation within this traditional brand of Jain learning was a crucial factor in his scholarly development. It must also be regarded as virtually unique up to this time, because no one of Jaini's generation (nor, one suspects, anyone before it) could claim to have his familiarity with the culture and practice of the two main sects of Jainism. However, his interests were by no means confined to Jainism. Sanghavi had always insisted on the importance of the Pali canon for understanding the Jain scriptures, and Jaini was encouraged by him to utilise the library, housed at the Gujarat Vidyapith, of Dharmananda Kosambi, India's most distinguished scholar of Theravāda Buddhism. Eventually, Jaini resolved to continue his postgraduate work in Sri Lanka and, with the help of Muni Jinavijaya, the director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, to which he had briefly moved from Ahmedabad, became in 1949 the first Dharmananda Kosambi Memorial scholar, studying as a layman in Colombo at the Vidyodaya Pirivena, a monastic training centre headed by the Venerable Baddegama Piyaratana Mahathero, a one-time fellow student of Kosambi.

During his two years there, Jaini thoroughly familiarised himself with the Abhidharma Piṭaka, later to become one of his main areas of scholarly expertise, and also studied widely in the commentary literature on the Sūtra and Vinaya Piṭakas of the Pali canon. Unwilling to restrict himself to the confines of libraries, he was able to witness the richness of Sinhalese Buddhist ritual and devotional life as he accompanied Mahathero on his travels round the island and also memorably met Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who visited Sri Lanka prior to his momentous decision to convert to Buddhism along with vast numbers of his followers. This period was to provide the basis for Jaini's first publication, *Silonmāṃ Be Varṣa* ("Two Years in Ceylon"), which provides in Gujarati much information about the practicalities of Theravāda Buddhism and a discussion of the potential for a genuine Buddhist revival in India.

After being awarded the degree of Trīpiṭakācārya in 1951 at a special ceremony held at Prime Minister Senanayake's residence, Jaini returned to Ahmedabad to take up a lecturer's position. However, he was soon to be on the move again, being appointed in 1952 to a newly created lectureship in Pali at Banaras Hindu University. Paradoxically, there could have hardly been a course of action more likely to ensure that Jaini's academic interests in the

religion of his birth remained undiminished, for during the 1950s Banaras and its many educational institutions were home to a large number of distinguished Jain scholars who carried on a lively intercourse on various aspects of Buddhism and Jainism.

However, Jaini's main research at this time remained firmly in Buddhist sphere. Professor A. S. Altekar, Director of the K. P. Jayaswal Institute in Patna, which housed the famous collection of manuscripts brought from Tibet in the 1930s by Rahula Sankrityayana, had succeeded in identifying one particular manuscript as the *Abhidharmadīpa* (along with its commentary, the *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*), a hitherto unknown work written on the model of Vasubandhu's Sautrāntika-leaning *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya* but defending the position of the Vaibhāṣika sect. The editing of this manifestly important text, the only Vaibhāṣika work directed against the great Vasubandhu to have survived in Sanskrit, was entrusted to Jaini. While engaged in this task, he was visited in 1956 by John Brough, then Professor of Sanskrit at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, who was en route to Nepal. Brough was unquestionably impressed by Jaini's philological acumen, for the meeting quickly led to the offer and the subsequent acceptance of a lectureship at SOAS.

Jaini remained at SOAS from 1956 until 1967 as Lecturer in Pali and, subsequently, Reader in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit. Under Brough's supervision, Jaini quickly finished his edition of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, for which he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the Univeristy of London, and then began to broaden his studies in Theravāda Buddhism by travelling in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Indonesia in order to collect manuscripts relating to the apocryphal Pali birth stories (*jātaka*) of the Buddha, which he later was to edit and translate for the Pali Text Society. Eventually, to British Indology's great loss, Jaini moved to the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor as Professor of Indic Languages and Literature and finally in 1972, the culmination of a long journey for the small-town Jain boy from Tulunadu, to California where he served until 1994 as Professor of Buddhist Studies in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley and afterwards as Professor in the Graduate School at the same institution.

Commentators on the work of any significant scholar generally seek to draw attention to the unity and overall coherence, whether

real or imaginary. In P. S. Jaini's case, the structuring feature of his writings can be easily defined. All his energies throughout his career have been devoted to the elucidation of the manifold facets of what Indian scholars call *śramaṇasaṃskṛti*, "the culture of the strivers", that is to say, the religious, philosophical and literary achievements of the Buddhists and the Jains. Jaini's intellectual control over this area has meant that he has been able to adopt various styles of investigation. Sometimes Buddhism and Jainism are approached by him as independent phenomena, or, as with the case of the Jaina Purāṇas, with reference to their engagement with the encircling Hindu world. More often, however, Jaini has been preoccupied with the interaction and overlapping of the two great renouncer religions, with evidence from the one tradition being deployed so as to throw light on the other.

To exemplify briefly the fruitfulness of this latter methodology. It is difficult to read far in Jain literature without encountering the terms *bhavya* and *abhavya*, expressions designating respectively those innately capable of advancing along the path of spiritual release and those innately destined to make no progress at all in this respect. This dichotomy, which implies acceptance of something akin to predestination, is highly problematic for a religion which argues for the supposedly essential equality of souls and their common ability to transform their status through effort, although Jaini seems to have been the first to draw serious attention to this. Jaini's explanation in his paper "*Bhavyatva* and *Abhavyatva*: A Jaina Doctrine of 'Predestination'" of the two categories by reference to the Buddhist Vasubandhu's *Abhdharmakośabhāṣya* and what can be reconstructed of the teachings of the Ājīvika leader Makkhali Gosāla is a masterly demonstration of the sectarian modifications of an old *śramaṇa* dcotrine of predestination. In similar fashion, Jaini's ability evinced in the paper "Jaina Monks from Mathurā: Literary Evidence for Their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures" to draw upon Pali sources, as well as a wide range of Jain literary evidence, enables him to confirm and amplify the validity of U. P. Shah's identification of Mathurā images of naked monks holding pieces of cloth as *ardhaphālakas*, possible forerunners of the influential medieval sect of the Yāpanīyas.

In the specifically Buddhist area, Jaini's earliest articles emerged from his work on the *Abhidharmadīpa*, being originally components of the voluminous introduction to his doctoral dissertation. They

display at the outset two of the main virtues which have consistently characterised Jaini's work: close familiarity with the primary sources, which are carefully documented, and, above all, clarity. Jaini's travels in Southeast Asia led to the publication of a further body of work on the apocryphal Pali Jātakas. Only recently have scholars begun to approach Theravāda Buddhism as a trans-national phenomenon and it is likely that Jaini's publications in this area will prove an important point of reference in shifting the philological and ethnographic emphasis away from the canonical Pali literature of Sri Lanka.

Many scholars in this time of enforced specialisation would have been content to rest on their laurels purely on the basis of these Buddhological publications. Jain studies, however, had never been far from Jaini's thoughts even at the beginning of his career. During his stay in London, for example, he prevailed upon the leaders of the Mahavira Jain Vidyalaya in Bombay to produce editions of the Śvetāmbara Jain scriptures in the (still continuing) Jain Āgama Series on the critical model employed by the Pali Text Society. Having begun productive research on Jainism during the 1970s, most notably with his edition and translation of a unique Digambara philosophical stotra, the *Laghutattvasphoṭa* of Amṛtacandrasūri, for which he used photographs and a handwritten copy of the only manuscript given to him by Muni Puṇyavijaya, Jaini eventually came to realise that Jain studies had to be given a higher profile within undergraduate teaching of Indian religions and, specifically, to be more fully integrated into the South Asian Studies programme at Berkeley. Not finding any suitable textbook with which to effect this, he resolved to write one himself and so produced in 1979 the work for which he is probably best known, *The Jaina Path of Purification.* This book can be regarded, with only slight exaggeration, as having attained the authority of virtual primary source and its value in promoting and providing an entrée to its subject in the English-speaking world in recent years is inestimable, to the extent that the late Kendall Folkert felt able to talk of pre- and post-Jaini eras in recent Jain studies.*

It may be the case, as some friendly critics have suggested, that *The Jaina Path of Purification*, and some of Jaini's articles, do

*Kendall W. Folkert, *Scripture and Community: Collected Essays on the Jains* (edited by John E. Cort), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993 p. xv.

occasionally present the Digambara idiom of Jainism at the expense of the various Śvetāmbara sectarian traditions, although this increasingly strikes the present writer as a strength rather than a defect, since Digambara Jainism remains a woefully neglected subject. However, possible bias is certainly not a criticism that can be levelled at Jaini's most recent book, *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women*, whose Introduction is reprinted here (No. 9). In this remarkable and trailblazing work Jaini translates and analyses a range of Śvetāmbara, Digambara and Yāpanīya sources to provide a broad and yet detailed conspectus on what is, for South Asia, a unique debate on female religiosity, a subject growing in importance in Indian studies. As with Jaini's work on the apocryphal Pali *jātakas*, one feels that the full significance of *Gender and Salvation* will continue to emerge on further acquaintance.

If this were the foreword to a festschrift dedicated to Professor Jaini, then no doubt its writer would extol the honorand's many personal attributes, such as his affability, raconteurship and generosity with his copious knowledge. Such productions do, of course, have their place in academic life, but I would suggest that the publication of these two volumes represents something better. They will enable seasoned aficionados to refresh their familiarity with and appreciation of Jaini's work, provide those working exclusively in either Buddhism or Jainism with a sense of the mutual illumination these two traditions can cast upon each other, and, lastly reveal to a younger generation of scholars a corpus of writing at once inspiring, informative and provocative.

May Professor P. S. Jaini's Collected Papers be consulted and profited from for many years to come.

University of Edinburgh PAUL DUNDAS

Preface

Papers are written, for the most part, on a wide variety of topics for panels at conferences and for felicitation volumes in honour of distinguished colleagues in one's area of research. It never occurred to me when I was writing these papers that one day they would be brought together in some coherent form. Several of my colleagues suggested to me that a collection of them would be useful in focussing attention on two of the heterodox traditions of ancient India, namely Buddhism and Jainism. Notable among these is John Cort, a leading Jainologist at Denison University, who recommended the format of the volumes. It was also his suggestion that a senior scholar well-acquainted with both of these areas should write a Foreword, and he invited Paul Dundas, the celebrated author of *The Jains* (Routledge, 1992), to undertake this task. I am grateful to my esteemed friend Paul Dundas for his very generous Foreword, in which he reviews my career and evaluates my research.

Of the fifty papers collected here in two volumes, eleven were written as contributions to Festschrifts (Jaina Studies: 4, 5, 10, 14 and 16 and Buddhist Studies: 4, 5, 8, 16, 20, and 22) and fifteen were invited papers at conferences (Jaina Studies: 1, 5, 7, 12, 15, 17, and 21; Buddhist Studies: 1, 7, 9, 10, 17, 21, 24, and 26). There are a few texts and translations of small Sanskrit and Pali works, some in fragmentary form. A total of twelve papers, nine related to Buddhism (10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, 25, 27) and three to Jaina Studies (17, 18, 19) were published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, while others were published in India and elsewhere. This accounts for the variety of stylistic conventions for diacritical marks, spellings of words (Jaina/Jain) as well as bibliographical references, and so forth. Although the papers have not been revised, I have taken the opportunity where appropriate to recommend important works that have appeared since their initial

publication.

The first paper of each volume ("Ahiṃsā: A Jaina Way of Spiritual Life" and "States of Happiness in Buddhist Heterodoxy") is presented as an introduction to the Jaina and Buddhist faiths, respectively. These are followed by articles on the state of Jaina Studies and Buddhist Studies at the time of their publication, 1976 for Jainism and 1956 for Buddhism. In the case of the Jaina volume, two rather lengthy Introductions reproduced from two of my earlier books (3 and 9) provide a detailed study of the doctrine of the bondage of the soul and the debate over salvation of women. Seven papers in the volume on Buddhist Studies are primarily based on Buddhist material but include also a number of Jaina sources. They demonstrate the interdependent nature of these two traditions and stress the need for exploring them together. Their titles are as follows: Śramaṇas: Their Conflict with Brāhmaṇical Society (1970); On the *Sarvajñatva* (Omniscience) of Mahāvīra and the Buddha (1974); The Jina as a Tathāgata: Amṛtacandra's Critique of Buddhist Doctrine (1976); Saṃskāra-duḥkhatā and the Jaina Concept of Suffering (1977); The Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism in India: A Study in Contrast (1980); Values in Comparative Perspective: *Svadharma* versus *Ahiṃsā* (1987); and On the Ignorance of the Arhat (1992).

I am deeply indebted to the original publishers of these papers for permission to reproduce them here. Special thanks are due to Kristi Wiley, a doctoral student in our programme, for efficiently organizing the material and preparing the copy for the Press. I also would like to commend Mr. N. P. Jain for his enthusiasm in publishing these volumes and thus promoting the study of Jainism and Buddhism.

University of California, Berkeley

PADMANABH S. JAINI

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I

INTRODUCTION TO JAINA FAITH

CHAPTER 17

Jaina Monks from Mathurā: Literary Evidence for Their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures*

Among the thousands of Jaina images found throughout India, those from Mathura produced during the Kuṣāṇa period are unique, for they alone contain representations of unclothed Jaina ascetics holding a single small piece of cloth in such a way as to cover their nudity. These curious figures cannot be identified with monks of the present-day Jaina sects of the Digambaras, who practise total nudity, or of the Śvetāmbaras, who wear two long pieces of unstitched white cloth wrapped around their bodies and occasionally a white blanket over their left shoulders. The veteran art-historian, the late Dr. U. P. Shah, in *Aspects of Jain art and architecture* briefly mentions these figures, noting that nowhere in the above references from Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara texts do we come across a reference to those figures on the siṃhāsana of a Jina which we find in a number of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā.[1] Subsequently, in *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, he calls these figures *ardhaphālakas* (monks with partial covering) and speculates that these figures might be Yāpanīya monks, another Jaina sect that is now extinct, and states that these figures need further investigation.[2] In addition to Shah, N.

*This article was published originally in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. LVII, part 3, pp. 479-494, University of London, 1995. Reprinted with kind permission of Oxford University Press.

P. Joshi has also discussed these *ardhaphālaka* images. He states that 'all the monks seen in the bas-reliefs, except one known to me, seem to belong to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect....Besides the monks seen in the bas-reliefs, those hovering in the air (*vidyā cāraṇas*) or seen on some of the *śilāpaṭṭās* are all *Ardhaphālakas*. This suggests that during the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries a large number of Jainas at Mathura followed this sect.'[3]

The earliest appearance of the terms *ardhaphālaka* and *yāpana* together can be traced to the Digambara Jaina narrative called the *Bhadrabāhukathānaka* (§ 131) in the tenth-century *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (C.A.D. 931). This story, composed in a place called Wadhawan in Kathiawar, is of the legendary account of a major schism in the hitherto undivided community of Jaina mendicants that purportedly took place during the time of a pontiff (*ācārya*) named Bhadrabāhu of uncertain date.[4] A Kannada version of this legend (with numerous variations) is found in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* of Śivakoṭi, probably of the second half of the tenth century.[5] Shah's use of the terms *ardhaphālaka* and *yāpanīya* along with his brief account of the story in the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[6] certainly shows an acquaintance with the researches on these obscure schools by Upadhye. Upadhye, on the other hand, gives no indication of being aware of the problems posed by the peculiar Mathura images of the Jaina monks under study by Shah. The following is the extent of Upadhye's comments on the *Bhadrabāhukathānaka*:

> Though it presents some difficulties for a clear understanding and consequently needs careful collation and comparative study with other sources, both earlier and later, the story of Bhadrabāhu (no. 131) is important in various respects: it refers to the migration of Jaina Saṅgha to Punnāṭa territory in the Deccan and to the division of twofold Kalpa, Jina- and Sthavira-kalpa, and outlines the circumstances under which Ardhaphālakasaṅgha, Kambala-tīrtha and Yāpanīya-saṅgha were started.[8]

A more recent study of the Sanskrit and the Kannada versions of the *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka* by B. K. Khadabadi[9] and subsequent research on the history of the Jaina sects of the Gupta era by Suzuko Ohira[10] also show a complete lack of interest in the Jaina

antiquities of Mathura. I believe that a detailed comparative study of the Mathura images with Jaina texts such as the *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka* and Buddhist texts that mention their rival Jaina ascetics—a task not undertaken by Joshi, Shah, or Upadhye—will shed further light on the mystery of these obscure Jaina mendicants of the Kuṣāṇa period.

We may note here briefly the events leading to the formation of the Yāpana-saṅgha as narrated by Hariṣeṇa in the earliest version, the *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka*:

(i) vv. 1—27: Once, the Jaina monk Govardhana, the fourth knower of the Fourteen Pūrvas in the tradition of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra), arrived in the city of Devakoṭṭa of the Pauṇḍravardhana country ruled by King Padmaratha.

There he obtained a young boy (*baṭuṃ svānte cakāra*) named Bhadrabāhu from his Brahmin parents, Somaśarmā and Somaśrī. He taught him various sciences and eventually initiated him as a (Digambara) Jaina mendicant. After Govardhana's death, Muni Bhadrabāhu became the head of the Jaina *saṅgha* and travelled to the country of Avantī, which was ruled by a Jaina king called Candragupta[11] from the city of Ujjayinī on the banks of the Viprā river.

(ii) vv. 28—44: One day, while wandering for his alms in the city of Ujjayinī, Bhadrabāhu entered an empty house and heard a baby's voice saying, 'O Sir, please quickly go away from this place (*kṣipraṃ gaccha tvaṃ bhagavann itaḥ*).' Bhadrabāhu by his super-knowledge realized that this was a prophecy of a twelve-year drought. He then counselled his mendicant followers 'to go near the salt-ocean (*yāta lavaṇābdhisamīpatām*)', but considering his own old age, he stayed behind in Ujjayinī. King Candragupta also became a Jaina monk, and this group of monks (*saṅgha*), under the leadership of Viśākhācārya, travelled to Punnāṭa (modern Karnataka) in the Southern Country (*Dakṣiṇadeśa*). Three other groups of monks led respectively by the *ācāryas* Rāmilla, Sthūlavṛddha and Bhadrācārya went to the country of Sindhu (*svasaṃghasamudāyena Sindhvādiviṣayaṃ yayuḥ*). Eventually, the *ācārya* Bhadrabāhu, having fasted for many days, died in the Bhārdrapada-deśa of Avantī.

(iii) vv. 45—48: When the drought was over, Viśākhācārya and his disciples, who had gone to the Southern Country, having

adhered to their mendicant vows [for they were able to obtain proper food], returned to the Middle Country (Madhya-deśa, i.e., Avantī). But the other three groups (led by Rāmilla and so forth), who had gone to the country of Sindhu, were unable to obtain food or water during that severe drought. Upon returning [to Avantī?] they reported the following [in Ujjayinī?]:[12]

(iv) vv. 49—53: At that time of terrible drought, when there was neither food nor water, people gathered at the doors of houses and made a lot of noise. Because of this, the householders could not eat their food. They remained hungry during the day and started eating only at night (to avoid the crowd outside). [There laypeople said to us] 'You, sirs, for fear of the people [outside], please obtain begging bowls (*pātras*) from our houses [and collect food going from door to door] during the night and eat the gathered alms during the day inside the residence of your host layman (*sva-śrāvaka-gṛhe*). Thus abiding by the wishes of the people, our *ācāryas* and other mendicants fed themselves accordingly.[13]

(v) vv. 54—60: One night a certain emaciated monk visited a Jaina household with his bowl in hand, and the sight of that naked (*nirgrantha*) monk caused such a fright to a young pregnant woman that she aborted the fetus. Seeing that, the Jaina laymen approached the heads of the monks and said, 'O sages! This is a time of calamity. When the good times arrive, you may, having undertaken the appropriate expiations (*prāyaścitta*), abide again by the rules of mendicancy. Therefore, for the duration of this period, you should [visit the households] at night covering yourself with half-a-piece of cloth (*ardhaphālaka*) held on your left arm and holding the begging bowl in your right hand, and eat the food [thus collected] during the daytime.' Hearing these assuring words of the laypeople, the monks acted accordingly.[14]

(vi) vv. 61—68: Time passed and there soon arrived conditions of prosperity and people became happy, freed from the state of misery. Then the three *ācāryas* consulted with each other and addressed their communities of monks: 'O monks, with your minds happy, abandon now your half-a-piece of cloth (*ardhaphālaka*), and for the sake of emancipation (*mokṣa*), resort to the excellent vow of nudity (*nirgranthatā*).' Hearing those words, some monks resumed the vow of nudity. The three *ācāryas*, namely, Rāmilla, Sthavira and Sthūlabhadra, also approached the venerable

Viśākhācārya and abandoning the half-a-piece of cloth (*ardhakarpaṭa*) assumed anew the vow of nudity.[15] But certain others, the cowardly weaklings, ignorant of the highest good, who did not like the advice of the teachers, formed this order (*tīrtha*) called the Ardhaphālaka, and [thus] created a twofold mendicant order: the Jina-kalpa and the Sthavira-kalpa.[16]

(vii) vv. 69—79: In the country of Saurashtra, in the city of Valabhī, there ruled a heretic (i.e. a non-Jaina) king named Vapravāda (Vaprapāla in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*). But his chief queen Svāminī became a great devotee of these Ardhaphālaka ascetics. One day a group of these monks arrived at the palace of this king at midday to collect alms. Seeing them the king became curious and said to the queen, 'O Lady! Your group of Ardhaphālaka monks is no good; they are neither clad nor naked; it is ridiculous (*saviḍambana*).' On another day, when a group of Ardhaphālaka monks entered the city, the king said to them, 'You should abandon this half-a-piece of cloth and assume nudity [as is proper].' They did not desire that, and the king, even more astonished, said, 'O ascetics, if indeed you are unable to assume the form of nudity, then give up this half-a-piece of cloth, the cause of your ridicule, and attire yourselves in proper clothes and reside happily here in my kingdom.'

(viii) vv. 80—81: From that day onward, by the order of the king Vapravāda, in the country of Lāṭa (Gujarat), there came into being the Kambala-tīrtha (the sect of monks who use a blanket?) [*Vaḍḍārādhane*, 93: Those who were of the Kambalatīrtha came to be called Śveta-paṭa (=the Śvetāmbara)]. From that *Kambalika-tīrtha*, in the Sāvalipattana, was born the *Yāpanasaṅgha* in the Southern Country.[17] [*Vaḍḍārādhane*, 93: In the Dakṣiṇāpatha, King Sāmaliputta became the leader of the Śvetabhikṣu Jāpuli-saṃgha, which descended from the Śveta-paṭas.]

Since this is a Digambara account of the origins of their opponents the Śvetāmbaras and since there is no Śvetāmbara counterpart to any of these stories, it may not serve as a totally reliable document.[18] However, after a careful examination of the *ardhaphālaka* monks as depicted in the Mathura sculptures, I believe that the *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka* may indeed contain a kernel of truth. The narrative is primarily talking about what one may call an *apavāda-veśa*, a temporary measure appropriate to a

calamity, i.e., an exception to the mendicant laws regularly observed. The story assumes that all Jaina monks were Digambaras to start with, who—as is the practice even to this day—adhered to the twin vows of nudity (*nāgnya*) and of eating food from joined palms (*pāṇi-tala-bhojana*) once a day during the daytime only. The Digambaras have traditionally held a belief—partly supported by the sixth-century inscriptions of Shravanabelgola[19]—that a migration of monks to the South took place under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu, a contemporary of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta, during a 12-year period of drought in Magadha. They also have claimed that those monks who did not migrate and chose to stay in Magadha relaxed the rules of mendicancy, began to wear clothes, and started to use wooden bowls for collecting alms. For the Digambaras, these are the apostate monks (*Jainābhāsa*)[20] who came to be labelled at a later time as Śvetāmbaras or 'white clad' monks.

However, a direct connexion (assumed by the Digambaras) between a shortage of food and the wearing of clothes by hitherto naked monks remained unexplained, rendering this traditional Digambara account (of the origin of 'clothed' Jaina monks) unsatisfactory to any neutral observer.[21] The *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka* seems to provide the missing link in the story of the naked monk on his nocturnal begging rounds frightening a pregnant woman resulting in a miscarriage. This led to the lay people's request that the monks should henceforth visit the households covering themselves with half-a-piece of cloth held on their left arm. The correspondence between these words and the way in which the Mathura monks are shown covering their nudity—with a short piece of cloth held on their left forearm—is truly remarkable and may not be purely accidental. Since such depiction appears nowhere else in Jaina art before or after the Kuṣāṇa era, the sculptures described above may be recalling a period of crisis through which the community of the Digambara monks had passed in not too remote a past.

Our assumption that the Mathura depiction of the *ardhaphālaka* attire was in response to an exceptional situation may not be altogether fanciful. There is at least one recorded instance of the Digambaras making a similar concession (subject of course to

expiations) under unfavourable political conditions. In late medieval times the Digambara monks could not move about freely in certain areas of northern India where public nudity was frowned upon by Muslim rulers. The Digambara cleric (*bhaṭṭāraka*) Śrutasāgara (c. sixteenth century) reports an incident where a Digambara monk Vasantakīrti (of unknown date) living in Maṇḍapadurga (Rajasthan?) allowed his monks an exceptional garb (*apavāda-veśa*), namely, to cover themselves with a mat (*taṭṭī*) or a piece of cloth (*sādara* or *cādara*) while on their outings for meals and so forth. While he admits that this was an exceptional practice, Śrutasāgara nevertheless has no hesitation in condemning it as heretical.[22] In view of such a tradition of uncompromising attitude on the part of the Digambaras, it would not be incorrect to surmise that the *ardhaphālaka* monks of the Kuṣāṇa period, after a brief spell of public adoration—as demonstrated by the Mathura images—for their heroic efforts to survive the drought, might have returned to the original fold soon after the crisis had ended. This could be one explanation for the total absence of the depiction of the *ardhaphālaka* images in the Jaina tradition in subsequent periods.

Furthermore, the meaning of the term *yāpanīya* itself lends credence to this particular account of the origin of this sect, which is, in fact, shrouded in mystery. It is referred to by that name (Yāpani[ī]ya) in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the fifth-century Kadamba king Mṛgeśavarmā.[23] The eighth-century Śvetāmbara author Haribhadra quotes a long Prakrit passage from a text of that sect which he calls the *Yāpanīya-tantra*.[24] In the Kannada *Vaḍḍārādhane* it appear as Jāpuli.[25] Upadhye, who made an extensive study of the inscriptions of the sect (originating for the most part in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, and Gulburga of Karnataka), found the name Yāpanīya appearing under various spellings, e.g., Jāpanīya, Yāpulīya, Javaliya, Jāvaligeya, and so forth. This led him to believe that the term *yāpanīya* could be an incorrect Sanskritization of the canonical Prakrit *javanijje* (*yamanīya*, as in *iṃdiyajavaṇijje*, i.e., those who control their senses).[26]

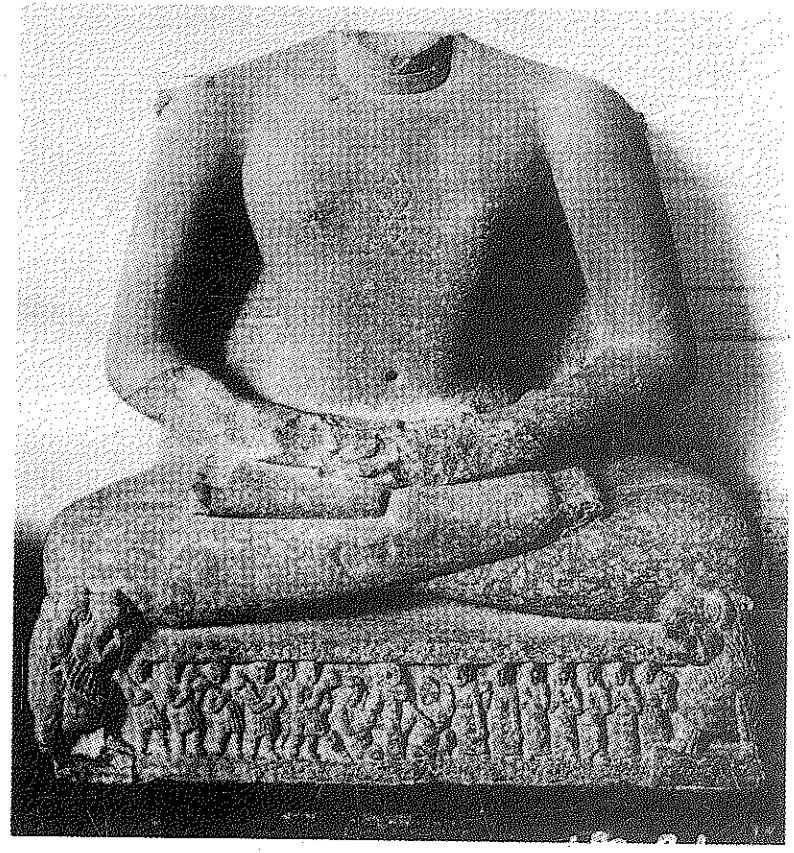
Upadhye's search for a Prakrit origin of the name Yāpanīya—justified no doubt by the inscriptional evidence—must be considered unfortunate. It has the effect of ignoring the true

significance of the term '*yāpana*' employed to describe the conduct of the apostate Jaina monks in Hariṣeṇa's narrative. This word reminds one of the Pali form *yāpanīya* (from *yā+āpe*) meaning 'sufficient, i.e. just enough for supporting one's life', an adjective commonly applied to provisions (such as food, clothing, and shelter) for a Buddhist monk.[27] The Jaina monks in Hariṣeṇa's narrative could be designated as *yāpana* or *yāpanīya* because, faced by the calamity of a long period of drought, they followed an 'exceptional' way of obtaining food 'just sufficient for supporting' their mendicant lives.

Whether the relaxation of the rules allowed during this period of crisis eventually became a permanent way of life for these *ardhaphālaka* monks or whether it led to the wearing of full clothes as is claimed by the *Bhadrabāhukathānaka* cannot be answered by the evidence available. The arrival of such *ardhaphālaka* monks in Valabhī need not be disputed; but King Vapravāda's intervention and the subsequent rise of the order of fully-clothed monks—the kambala-tīrtha (leading the author of the *Vaḍḍārādhane* to characterize these new monks as the Śvetapaṭas) appears highly suspicious. It is significant that the narrator of the story applies the designation Yāpana-saṃgha not to those who lived in Gujarat (Lāṭa) but to those who migrated still further into the Deccan. The *ardhaphālaka* monks may indeed have appeared in the South with the half-a-piece of cloth as their mendicant emblem. Groups of such monks could have been identified initially as Yāpana or Yāpanīya, 'only just sufficient for supporting a mendicant way of life', possibly even as a derogatory term. Eventually the word was rendered into Kannada under different spellings and the original meaning was lost. Gradually as its members merged with the Digambaras in the South by adopting nudity or becoming advanced lay-disciples called the *bhaṭṭārakas*,[28] and with the Śvetāmbaras in the North by wearing full-length clothes, the old Yāpana-saṅgha could have lost its independent identity.

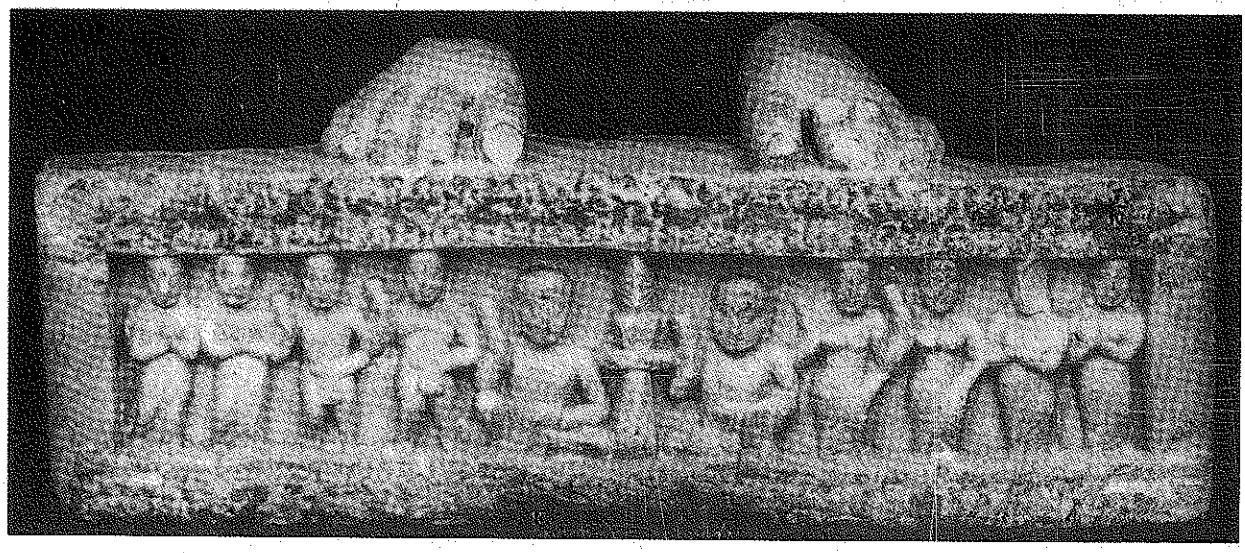
Nevertheless, certain later pieces of literature give some clue about the manner in which the origin of the Yāpana-saṅgha was not altogether forgotten. Guṇaratna, the fifteenth-century Svetāmbara commentator on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, counts the Yāpanīyas as a sect of the Digambaras and yields a bit

PLATE I



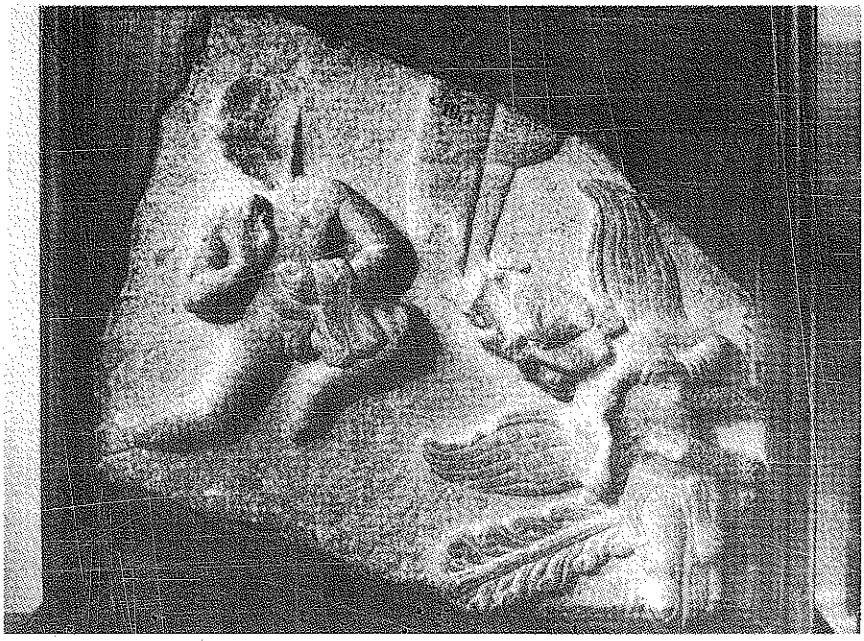
Lucknow Museum no. J. 25. Seated Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, headless. Mathura, red sandstone, 3rd century A.D. (Courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.)

Plate II



Lucknow Museum, no. J. 10. Pedestal of Jaina image. Mathura, red sandstone, 2nd century A.D.
(Courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.)

Plate III



Lucknow Museum, no. J. 105. Relief fragment showing a Kinnara and a Jaina monk. Mathura (Kaṅkāli Ṭilā), red sandstone, 1st century B.C. (Courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.)

JAINISM AND EARLY BUDDHISM:

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF

PADMANABH S. JAINI

Part I

Edited by

Olle Qvarnström

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(Part I)

Foreword

On June 4 1998, an international gathering of scholars of Buddhism and Jainism assembled in the charming old town of Lund to take part in a conference hosted by the Department of History of Religions at Lund University. For the next three days, under the genial and capable stewardship of Dr. Olle Qvarnström, they delivered and discussed specialist papers on India's great renouncer religions and at the same time experienced some unforgettable Swedish hospitality.

The occasion for this was the desire of all present to honour one of the world's most distinguished experts on Buddhist and Jain studies, Padmanabh S. Jaini, until recently Professor of Buddhist Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. It was also an opportunity for many, particularly those coming from Europe and Japan, who meet this most agreeable of intellectual companions more rarely than they would wish, to salute him in person. The papers delivered over that weekend were numerous, informed and ranged widely, and each one was unfailingly enlivened by Professor Jaini's own comments and interventions. Seldom, at least in this writer's experience, has there been such a convivial and rewarding conference.

Anyone wishing to trace the trajectory of Professor Jaini's academic formation and career, of a type now increasingly rare, can consult the biography I included in my foreword to his reprinted *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies and Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* published by Motilal Banarsidass in 2000 and 2001 respectively. In that foreword I rather mischievously suggested that the publication of distinguished scholars' "opuscula minora" serves a more worthwhile purpose in both academic and commemorative terms than the production of festschrifts. However, in this particular context, admitting in Jain fashion to the necessity of taking alternative perspectives into account when formulating a judgement and also emboldened by the fact that it is hardly a run-of-the-mill festschrift which contains a lengthy and important contribution from its dedicatee, I will now firmly assert that the publication of congratulatory volumes honouring the contribution of respected senior scholars such as Professor Jaini is one of the most pleasant and indispensible of academic customs.

The papers in this festschrift address many aspects of Buddhist and Jain thought and civilisation. A variety of scholarly perspectives are employed by the contributors, some treating Buddhism and Jainism separately, others attempting, in the spirit of a great deal of Professor Jaini's work, to demonstrate linkages between the two. The historical range of these papers reaches from the very beginnings of the two renouncer religions to aspects of modern practice. Because of the large number of contributors, this festschrift has been published in two parts. Part 1 contains those essays that focus primarily on Jainism. Part 2 contains those

essays that are more comparative in nature or that focus on Buddhism or brahmanical traditions. The following represents a brief description of the contents of the two parts, with the authors represented in alphabetical order.

Part I. Babb delineates the manner in which narratives involving sacrifice and the transformation of its values have shaped the sense of self-image and origin of some Jain castes in western India. Balbir describes the history and teachings of the Śvetāmbara image worshipping subsect, the Añcala Gaccha. Banks gives an account of aspects of the reconfiguration of Jainism in the modern world. Bronkhorst discusses the Jain scriptural tradition about the teachings of the heretic Jamāli. Caillat analyzes the relationship between standard Jain prescriptions and mystical experience in the Apabhraṃśa poems of Yogīndu. Cort investigates the evidence for Śvetāmbara Jainism accepting the possibility of transferring the fruits of karma to others in order to alter their karmic destiny. Dundas analyses the medieval story of the conversion of the Jain monk Siddharṣi to Buddhism and the descriptions of Mahāyāna Buddhist and Ājīvika teachings given in Haribhadra's *Lalitavistarā*. Flügel describes the institution of meritorious service and compulsory religious production among the ascetic community of the Terāpanthī Jains. Fujinaga assesses the historical development of the "three jewels" of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct as representing the Jain path to liberation.

Jaini analyses the accounts of the karmic career of Queen Marudevī, according to the Śvetāmbaras the first individual of this movement of time to achieve liberation. Johnson offers a novel interpretation of the nature of the experience involved in Jain image worship. Kelting investigates a range of Jain narratives involving women and the way in which they provide idealised exemplary models for female devotees. Leoshko examines ways in which interpretations of Jain art could be broadened by an inside view of what such works mean and whether this approach can be accommodated in current art historical practice. Sato deals with the role of awareness (*avagraha*) in epistemology as discussed by the seventeenth-century Śvetāmbara Jain Yaśovijaya. Skoog offers an ethical perspective on *sallekhanā*, fasting to death, as climaxing the religious life in Jainism, and the manner in which it can be differentiated from egoistical suicide. Turnow applies the insights of Jungian psychology to the accounts of the various rebirths of two characters given in the Jain Haribhadra's Prākrit romance the *Samarāiccakahā*. Vēluppiḷḷai gives an overview of Jainism as depicted in Tamil inscriptions from earliest times to the late medieval period. Finally, Wiley analyses the working of *āyu karma*, "life karma", with specific reference to Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jain stories about King Śreṇika who after killing himself and experiencing a period in hell will be reborn as the first *tīrthaṅkara* of the next movement of time.

Part II. Asher describes the configuration of Jain temple architecture in contemporary north India and its relationship with its Hindu counterpart. Assavavirulhakarn discusses the role of chanting in Thai Buddhism in providing a

source of protection and worldly prosperity. Brekke draws parallels between Jain and Buddhist attitudes towards holy places at the end of the nineteenth century. Chapple draws parallels between the yogic perspectives of the Jain teacher Haribhadra and the Hindu Patañjali, author of the *Yogasūtras*. Gombrich provides an explanation of an early Buddhist sectarian theory of the materiality of karma very similar to that of Jainism. Granoff discusses Hindu and Jain narratives about the appropriateness of worshipping divinity in physical form. Hara delineates the various ways in which plants and trees are depicted in early Indian literature. Koller compares the Jain willingness to engage with certain metaphysical questions and the Buddhist tendency to set them aside.

Lienhard draws attention to a version of a famous Buddhist narrative in the sixth *aṅga* in the Jain scriptural canon. Norman discusses a section of the Pali *Suttanipāta* and the extent to which it can be regarded as repesenting the earliest form of Buddhism. Parpola investigates the background to the Jain term *tīrthaṅkara* by reference to Old Tamil sources. Qvarnström provides text, translation and annotation of the ninth chapter of Siddhasena Divakara's *Dvātriṃśikā*, the earliest systematic treatment of Vedānta by a Jain author. Schalk draws attention to the earliest references to Tamils in the Buddhist community in Sri Lanka. Shinohara explores the Buddhist attitude towards image making in some seventh-century Chinese sources. Von Simson uncovers structural connections between the narratives of the Buddha and his cousin Devadatta and the Mahābhārata heroes Bhīṣma and Karṇa. Skilling provides a textual analysis on a set of verses dealing with " gladdening" (*anumodana*) which occurs in a variety of Buddhist traditions. Smith discusses the story of Kuśa and Lava as found in the earliest Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa, the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, concluding that it does not derive from Vālmīki's version of the narrative. Soni introduces and edits the passage refuting Mahāyāna Buddhist epistemology in the *Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā* of the Digambara Vidyānandin.

It is very much to be hoped that Professor Jaini, thankfully still highly productive, will relish his colleagues' efforts in those scholarly areas in which he has himself so frequently provided the guiding light and welcome these volumes as a token of the admiration and affection in which he is held.

Paul Dundas

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(Part II)

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