

From Strassburg to Shravana Belgola. Ernst Leumann and Brahmasūri Śāstrī

Nalini Balbir

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Essays Felicitating Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday

Editors:

Luitgard Soni and Jayandra Soni



SANMATI:

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Foreword

Five years ago a memorable function took place in Bangalore. It was the book release of SVASTI, Essays in Honour of Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah for his 75th Birthday, edited by Nalini Balbir. Thirty-three authors from India and abroad had contributed papers on a wide range of subjects.

Now, five years later, on the occasion of Professor Hampana's 80th birthday, another felicitation volume, *Sanmati*, with almost as many and also varied contributions from authors outside India has now appeared. The contributors have created a gift befitting a scholar with wide interests, broad knowledge and sparkling rhetorical and communicative skills. Moreover, Hampanaji's personal traits, his attentiveness, readiness to help and his hearty wit, are echoed in the immediate and joyful consent of the many scholars to join in felicitating him by contributing a paper.

Among the contributors are also four students who were members of an Indian sponsored excursion to Karnataka organized by Hampanaji. They were students of the Center for Jaina Studies at the then Indian Art History at the Freie Universität Berlin. The articles are an appreciation of Professor Hampana's active support.

The great variety of topics of the papers in this volume made it difficult to order them in thematic groups of about equal number in each. They stretch from then to now, from the cosmos to suffixes, from temples to paintings, from Jinas to the jester, from logic to myths, using sources in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Hindi and Braj Bhasha. We have therefore listed the articles in the alphabetical order of the authors' names. But by way of an introduction to this rich collection the titles of the articles can be grouped according to their research areas. Almost all the articles are in the field of Jainism or closely related to it.

To begin with **Linguistics and Philology**: Willem Bollée draws attention to substantives in compounds which serve as enhancements: "Augmentative Formations with Nouns as Loan Suffixes in Sanskrit."

Herman Tieken offers a philological investigation into aspects of the compilation of the supposedly early $Uttarajjh\bar{a}y\bar{a}$: "The Distribution of the Absolutive in $-\bar{u}na(m)$ in $Uttarajjh\bar{a}y\bar{a}$."

Jaina Cosmography with the depiction of the cosmic man and the movement of the soul is elaborated by Piotr Balcerowicz: "The body and the Cosmos in Jaina Mythology and Art."

Ācāra - Walking in Righteousness: One of the rules of conduct is reflected upon by Josef Bartošek: "Aparigraha".

Shin Fujinaga discusses unavoidable transgressions of mendicant rules and their expiation as laid down in Āgama literature focussing on: "Another Aspect of Jain Mendicant Life in the *Vyavahārasūtra* and its Commentaries."

iv Foreword

Prosopography: Nalini Balbir gives an account of the biography of the learned Brahmasūri Śāstrī and his relationship with Ernst Leumann pertaining to Jaina manuscripts: "From Strassburg to Shravana Belgola. Ernst Leumann and Brahmasūri Śāstrī."

Tillo Detige reports from a part of his research on the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages of Western India and in particular the three *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages of Kārañjā and their traditions: "The *Bhaṭṭārakas* of Kārañjā (Lāḍa): *Triveṇī Saṅgama* at Jaina Kāśī."

In the wide field of **Literature**, North Indian Digambara *adhyātmik* songs are translated and elucidated by John E. Cort: "Singing the Seasons: Spiritual Songs of Bhūdhardās."

Phyllis Granoff focusses on Jinadattasūri's terms "good guru" and "bad guru"; she first places the subject in the spectrum of Indian religions and then provides pertinent passages from Jinadatta's writings: "Finding a Guru: Some Notes from the Past."

Important statements about the Pāṇḍava brothers in Jaina narratives are placed in context by Padmanabh S. Jaini: "Are the Pāṇḍava Brothers Jaina or Non-Jaina? An unprecedented explanation by Ācārya Hemacandra."

The visual-aesthetic talents of Ācārya Hemacandra are highlighted by Pratapaditya Pal: "Two Allusions to Painting in Hemacandra's The Lives of the Jain Elders."

Two Jaina Rāma-stories, supposedly belonging to different traditions, are text-critically investigated and found to be interrelated by Eva De Clercq: "The influence of Svayambhūdeva's Paümacariu on Puṣpadanta's Rāma-story in the Mahāpurāṇa."

A special speech act, 'the act of truth', is analysed and characterized in several Jaina stories by Luitgard Soni: "Remarks on Jaina "Acts of Truth"."

Christine Chojnacki: "The emergence of the Campū Genre in Prakrit before the 10th century: Uddyotana's Kuvalayamālā and Śīlāṅka's Caupannamahāpurisacariya."

Iconography, Art and Architecture is another large section also corresponding to Professor Hampana's research areas:

Could anybody reject renunciation openly and be represented publicly in art? The answer is given by Monika Zin: "The One who was Against the *Pavajjā*."

A relief image of a naked monk turning his back to the viewer depicting the legendary Muni Balabhadra/Balarāma is described at its site in its iconographic particularity by Peter Flügel: "A Rare Jaina-Image of Balarāma at Mt. Māṅgī-Tuṅgī."

A seated figure in the Sūrya temple in Osian induces the question whether it can be Vaiṣṇava, Jaina or both. Adalbert J. Gail analyses the features of the figure: "Buddha or Pārśvanātha - A Case of Ambiguity (śleṣa)."

The adoption and adaptation of sacred spaces and icons is Julia A.B. Hegewald's theme: "Śaiva – Jaina – Liṅgāyat: Appropriation and Re-use of Sacred Architectural Space in Central and Southern India."

Stylistic and iconographic correlations of Jaina bronzes are investigated by Patrick Krüger: "Classification of Jaina Bronzes from Western India."

The unique style and architecture of a Jaina house-temple is depicted by Johannes Schröder (based on his Master thesis): "A Wooden Jain House Temple from the Berlin Museum of Asian Art and its tradition."

Literary and artistic traditions and some sub-concepts of Samavasaraṇa are the theme of Theresa Suski (based on her Bachelor degree thesis): "The Conception of Samavasaraṇa in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Traditions."

Foreword v

Artistic and topographical aspects of a Śatruñjaya paṭa of the study collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin are examined by Nadine Lenuweit (based on her Bachelor degree thesis): "Śatruñjaya Paṭas — Pilgrimage to the King of Pilgrimage."

Yakṣas, as they come to feature in Jaina texts and especially in the art of Mathurā, are dealt with by Dominika Kliamaszweski (based on her Master thesis): "The Yakṣa Cult of Jainism in Ancient India. A History of its Origin and Evolution."

Ethnography and Cultural Studies:

The function and relevance of mind-mapping the pilgrimage on Mt. Śatruñjaya is elaborated by Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg: "Reading Śatruñjaya Paṭas as Mnemonics: Performing Mental Pilgrimages of Devotion (Bhāva Yātrā)"

An address by Robert J. Zydenbos: "The significance of Karnataka for the Study of Jainism."

Philosophy ends this survey here with a well-represented section:

Argumentation from Bhadrabāhu to Virachand Gandhi is exemplified by Melanie Barbato: "Anekāntavāda and the Art of Argumentation."

How did the Jina preach? A peculiar sound of a peculiar speech is discussed by Johannes Bronkhorst: "Divine Sound or Monotone? *Divyadhvani* between Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical Epistemology."

Philosophical discourse in a great story? This is presented by Anna Aurelia Esposito: "Discussing the Principles of Reality — Prakṛti and Puruṣa in Saṅghadāsa's Vasudeva-hiṇḍī."

Jonardon Ganeri: "Jaina Logic and the Philosophical Basis of Pluralism" gives a new interpretation of the Jaina Seven-valued Logic.

The Jaina theory of error in the wider context of the Jaina theory of knowledge is considered by Jayandra Soni: "A Sketch of Jaina Epistemology."

And finally, the flow of philosophy is spanned with a research overview by Himal Trikha: "Trends of Research on Philosophical Sanskrit Works of the Jainas."

This colourful bouquet of articles is presented to Professor Hampana on the occasion of his 80th birthday as a token of our admiration and affection. It is accompanied by sincere wishes for his and his family's well-being.

Luitgard Soni and Jayandra Soni

Innsbruck, Austria. August 2015

We thank Sapna Book House for their friendly cooperation and promptness in bringing out the volume.

From Strassburg to Shravana Belgola Ernst Leumann and Brahmasūri Śāstrī

Nalini Balbir

'Assisted by Dr. Hultzsch of Bangalore, <u>Brahmasūri Śāstrī of Śravaṇa Belgola</u> and Bhagavandas Kevaldas of Sigrampoor near Surat, the writer has been able, out of the interests of the *Max-Müller-Stiftung*, to procure for the Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek at Strassburg a fairly good collection of Digambara Manuscripts' (E. Leumann, *WZKM* 11, 1897, p. 297).

Ernst Leumann (1859-1931), a pioneer Indologist in the field of Jain studies, never had a chance to visit India. But as Professor at the University of Strassburg (then in Germany) between 1884 and 1919, one of his main concerns was to acquire manuscripts which would form the first hand material for his investigations in a great diversity of Jain texts. This resulted in what is undoubtedly the most interesting collection of Jain manuscripts preserved in a European library on the continent, that of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg fully catalogued by C.B. Tripāṭhī (1975).

To fulfil this aim, Leumann established direct and close contacts in particular with the Indians who were the ultimate source of supply to scholars.

For manuscripts coming from Gujarat and Rajasthan, the source was Bhagvāndās Kevaldās (1850-1900), a native from Surat who had worked under G. Bühler and P. Peterson and was instrumental in providing manuscripts to almost all European libraries between 1874 and 1900, whether they are Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig, Florence, Paris, Cambridge or Strasbourg. Most Śvetāmbara manuscripts in Strasbourg have been purchased through him and some Digambara manuscripts from Western India too.

For many, Bhagvāndās Kevaldās is nothing more than a name written on paper envelopes containing the manuscripts, a handwriting which can be identified as his, an anonymous 'agent' or, at the most, a person whose valuable help is acknowledged in a preface. Leumann's archive kept in the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg University, however, contains the letters he received from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, written in English (No. 355 in Plutat 1998: 58; full investigation in Balbir, forthcoming); Leumann's side of the correspondence is documented by short handwritten notes in German. Bhagvāndās Kevaldās's letters shed light on the nature of the relationship between the European and the Indian, and shows how Bhagvāndās Kevaldās tried to cope with Leumann's continuous, insisting and odd requests for all sorts of manuscripts, old and rare. Leumann was indeed demanding. But he was also genuinely curious of his interlocutor's life and person, and appreciated persons like him who were competently dedicated to their work. This is how he requested Bhagvāndās Kevaldās to send him a photograph of himself, and how he included this photograph along with a few descriptive lines in his *Unvergessene* (1909), where scholars or profes-

sionals together with family members make a touching portrait gallery of individuals around him. After Bhagvāndās Kevaldās died, his son carried on the correspondence with Leumann, albeit for a short period.

For Digambara manuscripts from South India, Leumann had two main partners. One was the German scholar Eugen Hultzsch (1857–1927). Leumann's archive contains a loose leaf with the mention 'Durch die freundschaftliche Vermittlung von Dr. Eugen Hultzsch aus Süd-Indien erhaltene Digambara-Manuscripte' (No. 358 in Plutat 1998: 58). Hultzsch, on the other hand, benefited from Leumann's feedback in Jain matters (1894–95: 184ff.) The second person was Brahmasūri Śāstrī and it seems it was Hultzsch's agency that enabled Leumann to be in touch with the Indian scholar:

'The Strassburg Library and I, myself, are most thankful to the latter, because his friendly help made it possible for us to acquire a large number of Digambara manuscripts from Brahmasūri and his son Jinadāsa.' (Leumann 1934 / 2010: p. I^a)

Leumann's archive contains a list of manuscripts in the Shravana Belgola Matha supplied by the Svāmī (No. 356 in Plutat 1998: 58), a list of palmleaf manuscripts available in the library of Brahmasūri (in No. 354 in Plutat 1998: 58), Brahmasūriśāstriśrta (sic)- bhamdāra-stha-tālapatra-pustakāni. It includes 153 titles representing all the classes of Digambara Jain literature (commentaries on the Gommatasāra, philosophical treatises, Purāṇas and narratives, grammars, ritualistic works, etc.).2 This list is followed by a second one (No. 354 in Plutat 1998) Brahmasūriśāstri-vaśasthita-patrikā-pustakāni, having 39 titles, about which a note in Leumann's hand on the title page reads: 'am Schluss Brahmasūri's MSS., die jetzt, z. Th. in Strassburg sind'. In fact, the Strasbourg library has manuscripts coming from these two lists. Except for one, they are in Kannada script and Sanskrit or Prakrit languages: 352 (Telugu script), 353, 354, 363, 364, 365, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389 in Leumann's numbering (WZKM 11, 1897). The equivalent serial numbers in Tripāthī's Catalogue can easily be found from the table of correspondence given there. No. 363, 364 and 389 each contain a large number of texts. For example, Bhāvasena's Muktivicāra and Kevalibhuktivicāra (edited and translated by Jaini 1985–86 and 1993 respectively), where the debate on woman salvation and on whether the kevalin takes food or not are discussed, are two texts out of the ten contained in No. 364, and the Strasbourg manuscript is the only one that seems to have transmitted these two pamphlets, which makes it valuable. Another manuscript that underwent a long travel is a Devanāgarī manuscript of Amitagati's Subhāṣitaratnasandoha with the Vacanikā of Bholīlāla and Pannalāla which was written in Jaipur between V.S. 1933 and 1939 (= 1876 and 1882). According to the remarks of the second scribe, it was presented in 1882 by Māṇikacanda P. Koṭhārī of Phaltan to Brahmasūri Śāstrī of Shravana Belgola. It joined the collection of manuscripts acquired by Leumann for the Strasbourg Library,

¹ 'Digambara manuscripts obtained from South India through the friendly agency of Dr. E. Hultzsch'.

² Item No. 79 is *Malliṣeṇācāryapurāṇa*. Compare K.B. Pathak (*Indian Antiquary* 40, 1911 p. 46) who states: 'I remember to have seen another manuscript of this work in the private library of the late Brahmasūri Shastri at Sravana Belgola in Mysore'.

³ 'At the end Brahmasūri's MSS. which are now partly in Strassburg'.

where it is now. The fate of this manuscript in India itself also underlines the connections between Digambara scholars in the North and in the South.

Leumann not only acknowledged Brahmasūri's assistance in procuring manuscripts. He was also curious to know about the Indian scholar's life and requested Brahmasūri's son, Dorbali Jinadāsa Śāstrī, to send him a biography of his learned father which he had written specially. This is what can be deduced from the letter, in Sanskrit, written by Dorbali Jinadāsa to Leumann, dated Shravana Belgola 26 December 1905 (fig. 1).

śrīmatāṃ vidvad-agragaṇyānāṃ Lāyaman (= Leumann) prabhūṇāṃ sannidhau. Śravaṇabeļuguļa-vāsinā Dorbali-Jinadāsa-śāstriṇā krtā vijñaptis samullasatu-tarām. kuśaly ahaṃ bhavatām anugraheṇa. tatrabhavatāṃ śrīmatāṃ dehārogya-bhāgyānāṃ vāraṃ vāraṃ lekhanīyo lekhaḥ. sāṃprataṃ vā śrīśrīmatām anuśāsanam anusṛtyāsmat-tāta-pādānāṃ caritraṃ teṣām eva vṛttir yathāsīt tathaivālekhi yathāmati itthaṃ (italics mine). yady upalabhyeta skhālityāni kṣaṃtavyāny eva. pitṛpādānām upakṛti-smṛtyā bhavadbhiḥ krīyamāṇa-pracāram uddiśya vahāmi kārtajñyaṃ:

vartatām ekarūpeņeti.

26-12-05

Śravaṇabeļuguļa

[Signature in Kannada script]

Dorbali Jinadāsa said he would be grateful to Leumann if he could disseminate this biography as a memory of the good services rendered by his father. This letter and the Sanskrit biography of Brahmasūri written by Dorbali Jinadāsa Śāstrī, are also kept in Leumann's archive in Hamburg as No. 357 (Plutat 1998: 58). Dorbali Jinadāsa was wellnamed for a Jain native of Shravana Belgola, since Dorbali 'strong by the arms' is a synonym of Bāhubali or Gommaṭa. He had a high reputation as a scholar, was the director of the Vāni Vilāsa Pāthaśālā at Shravana Belgola, and had been appointed as Mysore Palace Pandit in 1913 after the All India Digambara Jaina Mahāsabhā of Shravana Belgola passed a resolution under the chairmanship of Manikchand Hirachand to admit and patronize a Jaina Pandit in the Palace (Gayathri 2011, based on various Mysore archives: 326). Whereas several of Mysore Maharajas had kept Jain pandits at the palace, there had been a long gap after 1868 when there was none. So this appointment was significant. Dorbali Jinadasa was appointed on a pay of Rs. 8 /- which was raised to Rs. 10/- after some time. His function was to assist in worship and rituals, but also to participate in philosophical and shastric discussions. It is interesting to note that:

'the question of how Jaina Pandit Jinadasa Sastry of Shravanabelagola should appear in the durbar of Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV was discussed by the Palace Controller B. Ramakrishna Rao with Sir Mirza Ismail, the Huzur Secretary to the Maharaja in 1913. After some discussion among the Palace officers, it was decided to allow Pandit Jinadasa Sastry to attend the Durbar with turban, longcoat, trousers and the kammarband as the lowkikas (laymen) do, or the Brahmin vaidhikas (sic) (priests) with shwalnama or peta on the head and dhoti and shawl on the body used to do. He was allowed to do the muzure during the durbars and dakshina was given to this Jain Pandit as in the case of Brahmin Pandits' (Gayathri 2011: 326–327).

⁴ Serial No. 185 and Serial No. 243 in Tripāṭhī's Catalogue (idaṃ granthaṃ paṇḍitarāja-śrī-Brahmasurī-śāstrī Śravaṇa Beḷaguḷa, mukāma Gomaṭasvāmī-vālekūṃ ...).

Brahmasūri's biography authored by his son is written in blue ink on 6 and a half pages of lined paper (23 lines per page) in clear and large Devanāgarī script (see fig. 2). Along with it is a transcription in Roman script in Leumann's hand (3 pages and a half), preceded by the following lines:

'Die Vita von Brahmasūri-śāstrin in Śravaṇa-Belgola (von dem ein Teil der Strassburger Digambara-Handschriften bezogen sind) geschrieben von seinem Sohn Dorbali-Jinadāsa-Śāstrin, erhalten durch Venkayya im März 1906' (see fig. 3).⁵

Venkayya, i.e. Rai Bahadur Valaiyattur Venkayya (1 July 1864 – 21 November 1912) taught at a Christian mission school in Kanchipuram. He met Eugen Hultzsch in Mahabalipuram and was employed by him as an assistant. They worked together for a long time. In 1889 Venkayya obtained an MA in history and was well versed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Dravidian languages. He was Hultzsch's representative in Ootacamund during the latter's stays in Germany and became successor of Sten Konow as Imperial Government Epigraphist at Simla in 1909. Venkayya was in correspondence and contact with several Western scholars apart from Hultzsch, one example being Johannes Hertel (all information from Krause 2012, based in particular on archives kept in Leipzig).

At four places Leumann's transcription has blank spaces for sequences which, although present in the original, were left out by him temporarily. In thirteen cases, Leumann replaced a form in the original by what seemed grammatically more correct or rectified a lapse in the syntax, and gave the original form in a note. I have chosen the reverse option, keeping the original as it is, and giving Leumann's emended form in the footnotes (as L ...). Instead of using the anusvāra for all nasals, I have used the homorganic nasal in a consonant group. I have also inserted systematically the avagraha when necessary, which the author does not always do.

1. Shravana Belgola; family background 6

asti khalu samasta-bhūmaṇḍala-maṇḍanāyamāna-Dakṣiṇadeśāvataṃsa-bhūta-Mahisūra-janapadāntargataṃ Śvetasarovarāparābhidhāna-virājitaṃ Śravaṇa Beļuguļābhidhaṃ puraṃ. yac ca Cāmuṇḍarāja-pratisthāpita-śrīGomaṭeśvarāpratima-pratimayā loke prathāṃ prathitām avāpa. tasmin vartate 'dyāpi Jaino maṭhaḥ. katipayebhyo divasebhyaḥ purā viśr̥to⁷ vidvān Jaina-brāhmaṇa-kulotpanno Jinnayyopādhyāya-nāmā tatratya-siṃhā-sanam āruroha lebhe ca Cārukīrti-paṇḍitācārya-varya-munir iti nāmadheyaṃ. tasya cāsīj janma-bhūmiḥ Kāñcī-maṇḍalaṃ. tadānīm atra viduṣām abhāvāt svānujam Anantavija-yopādhyāyam ākārayitvā⁸ sva-savidha eva sthāpayām āsa. tasya cānantamati-nāmnā kutumbiny avartata.

2. Birth, education, getting the title śāstrī

Śālīvāhanaikaṣaṣṭy-uttara-sapta-śatādhikaika-sahasra-varṣa-samakālīna-Vikāri-saṃvat-sara-nija-Jeṣṭaº-māsa-śuklapakṣīya-saptamyāṃ tayoḥ putra-ratnam āvir āsīt. tam enaṃ

⁵ 'The life of Brahmasūri-śāstrin in Śravaṇa-Belgola (from whom part of the Digambara manuscripts in Strassburg have been received), written by his son Dorbali-Jinadāsa-Śāstrin, got through Venkayya in March 1906'.

⁶ Titles and the division into paragraphs are mine. The original is a continuous text without any break.

⁷ L viśruto.

⁸ Lākārya.

⁹ L jyaistha.

sutam Brahmasūrir iti nāmnā vyājahrur bandhavah. tasmims ca svaira-vilāsena nirvisati saisavam rasam vyatītesu pañca-ṣeṣu hāyaneṣu pitā prāpa sura-lokam. tad-anantaram ativāhiteṣu bālyenaiva dvi-tri-varṣeṣu subhe 'hani pitrvya-carāt tasmād eva Cārukīrti-paṇḍitācārya-muner vidyā adhītum¹o ārebhe. praśraya-suśrūṣā-cāturyādibhir acireṇa helayaiva Jaina-samaya-prasiddhāni tarka-vyākaraṇa-vedānta-prabhrtīni sāstrāṇī adhīyānas sa tīrtheṣv agraṇīr iti sva-pratibhayā praśasyamāno 'tisete sma niṣṇātān api viduṣaḥ. evaṃ sthite gurur asya pāṇḍityam avalokya sāstrīty upapadena nāmāsya nyabadhnāt.

3. Further learning in Mysore, gaining fame in India and Europe, intellectual pursuits as the source of ultimate joy

tataś ca gurur¹¹ api divam yāte 'nya-samaya-granthān apy avalokayiṣur¹² Mahisūra-naga-ram gatvā vidvadbhyo Naiyyāyika-śāstrādīn¹³ apy adhyagīṣṭa. tatrāpi sva-kūṭa iva pra-thito 'bhūt. tataś ca Brahmasūri-śāstrī Jaineṣv advitīyo vidvān iti Hindūsthāne Yurūp-janapade ca viśrto¹⁴ babhūva. naitac citram. nisargataś cāyam vinīto 'matsaras sarva-samaḥ. viśeṣataś cāyam vipaścid apaścimaḥ. so 'yam satatam api nava-navāni śāstrāṇi pariśīlayan prakhyāpayaṃs tad-arthān sarvatra prakāśayati sma. kiṃ bahunā prasangena ? sa manute sma: asāre saṃsāre paramānandaś śāstra-pariśīlanād anyatra na bhāvīti. evaṃ sthite tadānīm anyāpi manīṣāsya hṛdayam ālilinga.

4. Work in epigraphy with B.L. Rice

pure 'sminn anyatrāpi ca bahvayaś¹⁵ śilā-lekhā vartante. teṣāṃ lipiḥ purātanā. kiṃ vā karaṇīyam? enāṃ paṭhituṃ na ko 'pi śaknoti ity¹6 ālocya sva-pratibhayā ādhunika-lipy-avaṣṭambhena jānan pariśīlayaṃś ca purāṇa-kavi-gamaki-vāgmi-rājarṣi-rājādhirāja-pra-bhr̥ty-ārya-caritrāvagater modamāno 'vartiṣṭa. tadātva eva śilālekha-vidyā-vibhāgayor adhipo Res¹7 prabhuḥ puram etad āgatya śāstriṇānenāmā sambhūyaitad-darśita-pathā sarvān api śilā-lekhān adhītya saṃśodhya mudrayitvā prasthāpayām āsa.

5. Directing a traditional school in Shravana Belgola, untiring teaching activity

asminn evāvasare prabhur ayam asya śāstriņo vaiduṣyaṃ lokottaram ity avadhāryānenādhyāpanīyā chātrā iti niścitya Gīrvāṇabhāṣojjīvanī-nāmnā pāṭha-śālām udghāṭayitvā tam enam mukhyādhyāpaka-padavīm āropayām āsa. purāsmin Jaina-samaye uddaṇḍapaṇḍitā avartiṣata. teṣāṃ protsāhanāya rājāno¹¹² tat-samayāvalambino 'vidyanta. kālakrameṇa sarveṣv api teṣu viraleṣu satsu vidvattāyā grantha-mātrāvaśiṣṭatvena bhraṣṭavidyā-saṃskārāṇām eṣām adhyāpane mahān prayāsas saṃjātaḥ. tathā mahantam¹¹ api śramam anubhavann ahar-niśam chātrān adhyāpayati²⁰ sma. videśebhya āgatebhyo 'ntevāsibhyo 'pi annācchādanāni dhanikebhyo dāpayitvāhar-niśam adhyāpanenaiva kālaṃ yāpayati sma.

6. Concern for printing Jain works, proficiency in debates

vidvad-varyeṇānena sva-para-samaya-nibaddhā bahavo granthās saṃgṛhītāḥ. prāyo 'tra nikhilā api Jaina-granthāḥ purātana-bhūtāla-śrītāla-karatāla-pattreṣv²¹ ayo-lekhinyā

¹⁰ L adhyetum.

 $^{^{11}}$ L gurav, which would of course be the correct form in the locative absolute construction used here.

¹² L avalulokayişur.

¹³ L naiyāyika-śāstrādīny.

¹⁴ L viśruto.

¹⁵ L bahavaś.

¹⁶ L śaknotīty.

¹⁷ L Rais.

¹⁸ L rājānas.

¹⁹ L mahāntam.

²⁰ Read so, ms. adhyāpati.

²¹ L patreșv.

likhitā vartante mudritā api. anena Jaina-grantha-mudraņe mahān ādaraḥ prakāśitaḥ. ye kecana viduṣo 'dyāpi grantha-prakāśanaṃ nābhyupagacchanti. na tathāyaṃ pustakālayān anekān prati prāhaiṣīd granthān anekān yathā katham api pracāro bhavitavya ity eva dṛḍhatara-saṃkalpo 'vartata. janapadeṣu tatra tatra vihṛtya vidvad-goṣṭīṣu²² vādān kurvan siddhāntayati sma. te ca Jaina-Bauddha-samaya-bhedopanyāsaḥ īśvara-kartṛka-sṛṣṭi-vāda-nirāsaḥ Jaina-dharma-sanātanatvaṃ jīvājīvādi-sapta-tatva-nirūpaṇaṃ sapta-bhaṃgī-sthāpanaṃ vigrahārādhanaṃ ity ete vāda-viṣayāḥ. eṣām api vistarato vyāvarṇa-naṃ karaṇīyam iti matir mamāsīt, tathāpi lekhasyāsya gaurava-bhiyā na pratanyate, kiṃ ca purātana-lokottara-grantha-rāśes sadbhāvāt kuto vā navīna-grantha-karaṇe prayāsa-pātraṃ bhāvyam iti matvā nātīva granthā'kāry anena, tathāpi kṛtā ramaṇīya-vāṇī-śailī virājitā vartate. spṛhā tu purāṇa-grantha-parisīlana evāsīt. anayā praṇāḷyā kālaṃ yāpa-yati sma.

7. The Mudbidri manuscripts: Satkhandāgama and Kasāyaprābhṛta

atrāntare anyāpi kṛtir anenaiva karaṇīyāsīt. sā ca Mangaļūru-nikaṭa-stha-Mūḍubidare nagare Kaṣāya-prābhṛtakāpara-nāmadheyau siddhānta-granthāvartetāṃ. ²³ tayor lipiḥ purātanā Kārṇāṭakī, bhāṣā ca saṃskṛta-prākṛta-saṃvalitā, ato na kenāpi paṭhitum adhigantuṃ ca śakyāv āstāṃ. pustake ca bhūtālā-patropari maṣī-likhite abhūtāṃ. bahuvatsarebhya arvāk likhitaṃ ato jīrṇatare. anayoḥ pratikṛtir lekhanīyeti Bombāy-prāntika-Digambara-Jaina-sabhādhyakṣa-prabhṛtaya aicchan. kiṃ ca śāstriṇam enam antarā na kenāpi pāryate nirvāhaṃ kartum iti sammantrya sāhāyyārtham antevāsinaḥ parikalpya preṣayām āsuḥ. gatvā tat puraṃ chātrān upadaśa-māsān dakṣā yathā syus tathā śikṣayitvā sva-nagaraṃ praty anivartata,²⁴ prāpa ca sva-nagarīṃ,

8. Illness and pious ending of life in this world

tatraiva śvayathu-prabhrty-āmayā udabhavan. ārto 'py āmayenādhyāpana eva tat-paro 'vartiṣṭa, bījam atra samaye 'smin Jaine siddhānta-rahasyāni mayye (?) jīrṇāni jīrṇāni mā bhūvann iti. evaṃ sthite rogo vrddhim eva nācikitsyatām²⁵ apy avāba. tataś Śālīvāhanaikonaviṃśaty-uttarāṣṭa-śatādhikaika-sahasra-varṣa-samakālīna-Heviļambi-saṃvatsarī-ya-Vaiśākha-śuklapakṣa-ṣaṣṭhyāṃ śubha-dhyānena so 'yaṃ parāpara-vītarāga-śrī-Jineśvara-cāru-caranau sva-hrdaya-kamale nidhāya saṃsāra-bhogān trṇāya manyamāno jīrnam etat kalevaram tyaktvā yayau param dhāma.

9. Sorrow of all, condolence letters

kiṃ brūmo? 'sya samayasya puṇya-puñja-nāśam āho svid antakasya nairghṛṇyaṃ vā. loka eva śoka-sāgare mamajja. tadā sarve 'pi māṇḍalikā vṛttānta-patra-pracāra<ra>kās sabhādhyakṣās suhṛdo 'nye sarve 'pi sva-sva-vyasanāni patrikā-mukhena prakāśayām āsuḥ. kiṃ cāyaṃ sarva-tantra-svatantro 'ta evāsya viyogas sakala-loka-duḥkha-prado 'janiṣṭa.

iti bhadram bhūyād vardhatām jina-śāsanam.

Brahmasūri was born in 1839 CE (on June 18) and died in 1897 (on May 7 or 8; conversions operated with the Kyoto Pancanga programme). In the Sanskrit biography, the format of the dates (§ 2 and § 8 above) corresponds to the system which is common in South India and documented by South Indian inscriptions. It includes a reference to the sixty-year cycle of Brhaspati, where each year is given a specific name, along with the date in the Śāka era (see, for instance, Salomon 1998: 198). Here the year of birth in

²² L gosthīșu.

²³ Read, with L, granthāv avartetām.

²⁴ L prati nyavartata.

²⁵ L na cikitsyatām.

the Jovian cycle is Vikārī (or Vikārin), the 33rd among the 60, and the year of death is Heviļambi (also known under the name Hemalambin) the 31st. The dates in the Śālivāhana (=Śāka) era are respectively 1761 for the birth and 1819 for the death.

The text opens with a precise geographical location of Shravana Belgola, where Brahmasūri was born and spent most of his life. It is included in the territory of Mysore (Mahisūra). The common form of the village-name in Kannada (also evidenced in inscriptions), which means 'White Pond', is mentioned along with its Sanskrit transposition Śvetasarovara, for which optional duplicates would be Dhavalasarovara or Dhavalasaras. No evocation of this place, however brief it is, can go without at least a mention of the colossal statue of Gommațeśvara made to be erected by the minister Cāmuṇḍarāja (in 981). Etymological word-plays are noteworthy in this first sentence, of a descriptive character.

Brahmasūri's father, Anantavijaya Upādhyāya, was the younger brother of Jinnayya Upādhyāya who occupied the seat of the Shravana Belgola bhaṭṭāraka, here called paṇḍitācāryavarya, another commonly used title of the same value. Like all holders of this position in this place, he was known as Cārukīrti. The family hailed from Kāñcī and it is worthy to note that Anantavijaya Upādhyāya was called to Shravana Belgola because of the lack of knowledgeable persons there. Thus the family background was clearly one of learned Jain brahmins. The tradition of learning was to be continued by Brahmasūri and by his son Dorbali Jinadāsa. Brahmasūri's mother was Anantamati (§ 1).

Brahmasūri's father died when the child was five-six years old (§ 2). Two or three years later, he started studying with his paternal uncle, Cārukīrti himself. He learnt the Jain doctrine, but also grammar, Vedānta and logic, and soon surpassed confirmed scholars with his bright intelligence. This led his guru to grant him the title śāstrin, which henceforth remained attached to his name (§ 2). After his guru's death, Brahmasūri Śāstrī left for Mysore where he further broadened his knowledge of the śāstras, learning from scholars beyond Jainism. Thus he appears to have been fully trained in Sanskrit and in all major disciplines connected with Sanskrit. He became a scholar of high repute in India and Europe, always studying new texts. He thought, his son reports, that 'in this world of rebirths without value, the supreme joy cannot come from anywhere else than the study of treatises' (§ 3).

One of the main areas where Brahmasūri exerted his talents was epigraphy from Karnataka. The biography underlines that the old script of these inscriptions could not be read by anybody and that Brahmasūri studied it carefully on the basis of modern script (§ 4). When 'Res', alias Benjamin Lewis Rice (1837–1927), came to Shravana Belgola, he studied, corrected, got printed and published all the inscriptions, following the path shown by Brahmasūri. The titles prabhu and śilālekha-vidyā-vibhāgayor adhipaḥ given to Rice by Dorbali Jinadāsa correspond to his official position of high status as Secretary of the Education Department of Mysore (1883) and Head of the Mysore State Archaeology Department (1884), or, as it appears at other places, as 'Director of Archaeological Researches and Secretary to the Government of Mysore'. Indeed, Brahmasūri collaborated actively with Rice for the work relating to the *Inscriptions at*

Sravana Belagola (1889),²⁶ and the British scholar duly acknowledged the Śāstrī's help with words of praise. In the Preface he writes:

'The work has given far more trouble and been much longer in hand than I anticipated when first undertaking it in 1885. (...) My sincere thanks are due for assistance received from Brahma Sūri Śâstrî, distinguished as the most learned Jain in the South' (1889.)

Brahmasūri Śāstrī seems to have been very efficient in providing copies of inscriptions he himself made. Such a testimony is given by E. Hultzsch in his reedition of 'Inscriptions on the Three Jaina colossi of Southern India' (1902–03) with regard to the one on the right side of the colossus at Karkala:

'This inscription (No. 63 of 1901) was first published in a tentative manner by Dr. Burnell. Mr. Rice's reprint of Dr. Burnell's text contains a few improvements, based on a copy which was supplied to him by the late Brahmasuri Sastri, the well-known Jain scholar of Śravaṇa-Belgola' (p. 109).

As a Secretary of the Education Department of Mysore, Rice was responsible for the promotion of education in the territory under his supervision. Having understood the extent of Brahmasūri's knowledge and his potential, and concerned by the fact that this knowledge would perish if not transmitted to students, he opened the Gīrvāṇa-bhāṣojjīvanī Pāṭhaśālā in Shravana Belgola and appointed Brahmasūri as its director (\$ 5).²⁷ Students who were provided food and lodging and financial help were trained by the dedicated teacher 'day and night'.

Brahmasūri was a collector of manuscripts, representing Jain and other traditions (§ 6). Most of them were written with a metal stylus (ayo-lekhini), on various types of palmleaf: the smooth flexible talipot palm, Corypha umbraculifera Linn. (śrī-tāla), the harder kind, palmyra palm, Borassus flabellifer (here kara-tāla, otherwise khara-tāla) and the bhū-tāla variety, probably the Corypha taliera Roxb., the leaves of which are slightly brown and thick. Brahmasūri was greatly concerned with printing Jain works and making them known. This conviction marks him as enlightened, and was translated into facts. The copious material he sent to Leumann is a proof of his desire to disseminate knowledge of Jain scriptures. Another aspect of his activity presented here is his taking part in scholarly and religious debates where he carried the Jain word (his son's narration refers to the typically Jain seven tattvas and the sevenfold assertion), against other schools of thought. His son would have liked him to put his ideas into writing, but the father was reluctant: since there are so many old scriptures, what is the need of writing new ones, he said, and so was not himself a prolific author. His inclination was towards old scriptures.

²⁶ This was the first edition of inscriptions on this site, with 144 of them. In the revised edition published by R. Narasimhachar in 1923 there were 500. And in the most recent edition of 1973 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Sravana Belgola), there are 573.

²⁷ A Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā still exists in Shravana Belgola today. I am unable to say whether it has any historical connection with the one directed by Brahmasūri Śāstrī in the second part of the 19th century and whether anyone of the two has anything to do with the Vāṇi Vilāsa Pāṭha-śālā directed by Dorbali Jinadāsa (Gayathri 2011: 326).

²⁸ See for instance Udaya Kumar, Sreekumar and Athvankar 2009 or Kamat 2011.

And, indeed, Brahmasūri was one of the first actors of the Mudbidri (Mūdbidrī) manuscripts saga (§ 7; Alsdorf 1965: 89ff., Dundas 2002: 64-65). The Satkhandagama and the Kaṣāyaprābhṛta were preserved in a rather modest temple called Guru Basadi or Siddhānta Mandir in Mudbidri. They were 'palmleaf manuscripts written with ink' ($bh\bar{u}$ tāla-patropari masī-likhite § 7), in the old Kannada script and a language mixing Prakrit and Sanskrit (ibidem). It is reported how in 1883 Seth Mānikcand, a rich businessman from Bombay, went on a pilgrimage to Mudbidri.29 He saw the images and the Dhavala Siddhānta.30 It was the latter who attracted him more, as he realized that the fragile palm leaves were getting old. He drew the attention of the Bhattaraka and of the Panchayat to this fact and asked whether there was somebody who could read the manuscripts. He received the following answer: 'As for us, we consider ourselves satisfied if we can see and worship them (darśan and pūjan). But, yes, in Jainbidrī (= Shravana Belgola) there is Brahmasūri Śāstrī; he knows how to read them'. At that time, Māṇikcand could do no more. One year later, one of his friends, Seth Hīrācand Nemacandrajī himself went to Mudbidri, taking Brahmasūri with him. Brahmasūri read aloud for him and for all those who were present the mangalacaran of Dhavala Siddhānta, which made them very happy. Hīrācand strongly thought of getting a copy of these works made, and insisted upon Brahmasūri to put his hands on it. Both Seths were now very serious about getting such a copy made, but for about ten years, the matter remained at this stage.

In the meantime, Seth Mūlacand Soni from Ajmer went to Mudbidri together with Pandit Gopāldās Varaiyā. They decided with the Panchayat and Brahmasūri to prepare copies of the scriptures. And the work started. But it was stopped after about 300 ślokas because the Seth wanted this copy for Ajmer, which the Bhaṭṭāraka and the Panchayat did not accept. Seth Māṇikcand and Seth Hīrācand took up the matter again. The latter made a fund appeal which, within one year, was successful. He called Seth Māṇikcand to Sholapur and in his presence, it was decided that Brahmasūri Śāstrī would receive 125 Rs./- monthly to prepare the copy. One Gajapati Śāstrī was appointed to assist him. The two scholars, who were to prepare the copy in Nāgarī script, reached Mudbidri and started the work on Wednesday, the seventh day of the bright half of Phālguna in V.S. 1953 (= 1896). A month and a half later, Brahmasūri informed Seth Hīrācand that he had finished the copy of 15 pages of the Jayadhavala, that is about 1500 ślokas. But then Brahmasūri's health deteriorated and Gajapati Śāstrī continued alone, completing the copy in Nāgarī of the Dhavala and Jayadhavala after 16 years.

This long story is cut short in the Sanskrit biography, where it is only said that Brahmasūri worked at the instigation of the Director of the Bombay Digambara Jaina Sabhā in order to prepare a copy (pratikṛtiḥ, § 7). A photograph (kept in Leumann's

Narration following the Hindi account in the section \hat{Sri} Dhavalādi siddhāmtom ke prakāśa mem āne kā itihāsa pp. (1)-(2) of the first edition of the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, reproduced in Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgamah (2000).

The Dhavalā is the extensive commentary on sections 1 to 5 of the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama; the Mahādhavalā is the commentary on section 6 called Mahābandha and the Jayadhavalā is the commentary on the Kaṣāyaprābhṛta.

archive, Hamburg, here fig. 4) shows him holding the title page of the *Dhavala Mahā-dhavala Jayadhavala Siddhāṃta pustaka*, namely the copy which had been prepared (not the original palmleaf manuscript) with a large heap of pages in front of him. His son reports that he trained disciples for continuing the work, whereas he went back to his home town. The whole process, which had thus started in 1896, ended in 1922, with one copy of the three works in Nāgarī, and another one prepared by another team in Kannada script.

Back in Shravana Belgola, Brahmasūri Śāstrī was affected by several diseases, such as tumours. But though he was ill, he was devoted only to teaching, afraid that the secrets of the Doctrine may become old. He died the pious death of a Jain, but it is not clearly stated that it was $sallekhan\bar{a}$ (§ 8). The death of this noble mind plunged everybody in sorrow, and the highest dignitaries as well as his friends expressed their pain in letters (§ 9).

No doubt, further documentation on Brahmasūri Śāstrī would be available from the Shravana Belgola or Mysore archives to which I have had no access so far and would allow to delineate more precisely his career or to provide more details on his contribution. Preliminary as it is, this investigation hopes to have unveiled a little of the fascinating figure of a Jain scholar in the second part of the 19th century, through the biography written by his son and through the academic relationship he had with a European scholar. It shows how much Brahmasūri did for the promotion of knowledge about the Digambara tradition, whether manuscripts, inscriptions or scriptures, both by his own work and by his teaching activity, at a time when awareness of its wealth was rather limited. This contribution should be viewed as a component of a prosopographical project meant to bring to the foreground figures of lay Jains who interacted with Europeans in colonial India and had a key role, albeit rather neglected in research, in the production and broadening of knowledge on the Jain tradition.

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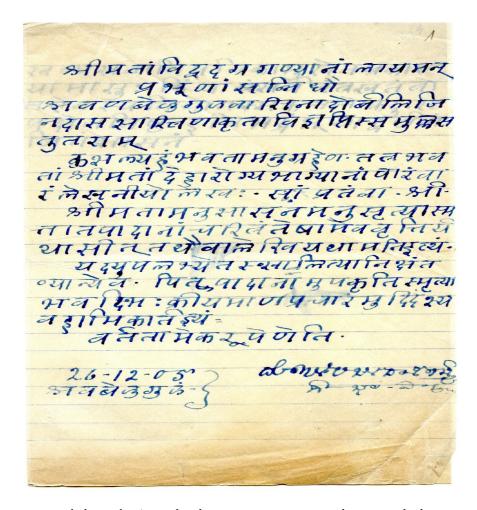


Fig. 1 – Dorbali Jinadāsa's Sanskrit letter to Ernst Leumann, Shravana Belgola, 26 December 1905. © Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg.

अस्तिखलुसमस्तभ्मं इन् मुंड्रम्यमानद क्षि णदेशावतंस भ्रतमहिस्र दे शांगा मरे स्वराष्ट्र तिमष्ट्रतिप्यालोके प्र शांविधितामवायः तरिमन्यतं तेऽस्याप जेना मठा कति परो भ्यादिवस भ्यः प् विश्वतीविद्वान् ने न बाह्मणक लाए ना जिन यो पाध्यायनामा न न त्यसिं हा सनमा उरोह लेभ वचार्की तिवं डिता चार्यवय म् निरितं नामधेयं तस्य चासी ज्ञाम मिः कं। चीप इलं तदानीमन निद्धामभागात्सानुनम नंतिविजयापाध्यायमाकार यिवास्वसिव धारेव स्थापयामास तस्य वानंतमातना ष्ट्राक दं बिन्यवतेत सामीवार्नेक प्रथ्त रसप्रस्ता धकेकसर् सवष्रमकानीन विकारिसंवत्सर निर्वेष्ठ मास स्कूष यसप्रमातयाः प्रतरत्नप्राविशसीत मनस्त्वरमस्ति, रितिनामा व्याजस्व धवः।तरिमं भ्यस्वे र विकासना

Fig. 2 – Dorbali Jinadāsa's Sanskrit biography of his father, Brahmasūri Śāstrī, first page.

© Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg.

Die Vita om Brahmastiri bestrin in Franca van Belegsla), (om den in Bel der Straßingen Dieunbasen Handschriften byogen Jind), Erfferiahn um Jacume Alfa Dorbali n Tinaksen Station, anfallan drieg Venkryga in Mare 1906. asti thala sameta-Rumandala mandantyamana - Daksinadesa: vatamen blita Mahistisajanapadantasgatam Svetasarovarapasakidhana virajitam Sravana Beligulablidam puran, yae ca Camundaraja-pratis Thapita-Erifomatebrarapratina-gratimaya loke prakam prakitam avapa . tamin vartate 'dyapi chino mattal . Fatipayebhyo di. vasethyak pueā vitruto' vidvan Jaina brahmana-kulotpanno linnayyo. padhyayanama tatratya-simbasanam aruroha, lebhe ca Carukotiprodetaciegavaega-munis iti nāmadhegam. tasga c' zoij janma-Samily Kanetomandalan. tadanim atra vidusam akavat svanu. jam Anantavijayopadyayam akasayitva wa savidha eva shapar yam asa. tasya Anantamati-namna Lutumbiny avartata. Saliva. hanalkasatyuttarasaptasatadhlkaitasaharra-varra-samataltna-kitarisamuetsara-nija-jysiotha-masa-suklapakotya-saptamyam tayoh putraratham airi aset tam enam sutam Brahmasticis iti namna vytajakrur bandlavak, tasnimis sa svalea-veltsena nievisati Saisavan rasam vyatītesu panca-sesu kāyanesu pita prāpa mra-lokan, tad-anantaram ativalitesu balgenaiva dvi-tri var. sesse suble lani pitovya-carat tasmad eva Carukreti-pandi. tactiya-muner vidyt adyetum arebe. prabraya-subrasa-ca. tuyadithis acirena helayaiva Jaina-samaya prasiddhani tarkavyakarana vedanta. prabhoteni sastrany adleganas sa teetheso agrante iti wa pratibhaya prabasyamano tisete sma nisnatan api vidusah. evan skete gusus avya pandityam avalokya sästre Ity upapadena nämärya nyabedinat, tatas ca guran api divam yate mya-samaya-grantan apy avalulotayisus Mahistera nagaram gatva vedvadbhyo naiyayika sastrading apy ashyagrata. tatrapi sia kuta ina prakits blut tatas

Fig. 3 – Leumann's Roman transcription of the Sanskrit biography, first page. © Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg.

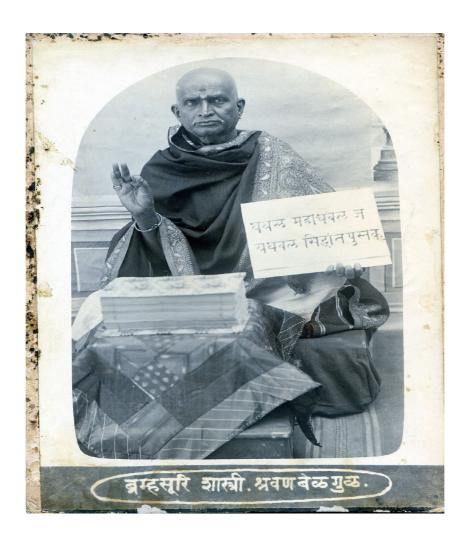


Fig. 4 – Photograph of Brahmasūri Śāstrī, Śravaṇabeḷaguḷa, holding the title page of the *Dhavala Mahādhavala Jayadhavala Siddhāṇtapustaka*. Verso: stamp of 'Sayana Narsu Canla, Sholapur, Photographer, watch-repairer'. © Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg.