

# CHAPTER 11

## Colossi and Lotus Feet: *Paṇḍitas* and *Bhaṭṭārakas* in the North Indian Digambara Legacy

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Emblematic for contemporary Digambara Jainism are the naked male ascetics (*Munis*). For a period of several centuries, however, we find only scattered references to these fully-initiated renunciants. From at least the thirteenth century onwards, the backbone of the Digambara tradition was formed by clothed and domesticated *Bhaṭṭārakas*.<sup>1</sup> These *Bhaṭṭārakas* took only lesser vows, and contrary to fully initiated Jaina ascetics they were allowed to possess property and manage temple estates and donations.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the naked and peripatetic *Munis*, *Bhaṭṭārakas* wore robes and they took up residence in a temple or monastery where they enjoyed supreme authority and surrounded themselves with royal paraphernalia.<sup>3</sup> *Bhaṭṭārakas* were often learned men, and some were prolific authors. They oversaw the copying and preservation of texts, consecrated images and organised pilgrimages. In later centuries, and particularly in the South, *Bhaṭṭārakas* became a kind of caste *guru*, associated with a particular caste, sometimes with judicial power. Surrounding the *Bhaṭṭārakas* was often a circle of pupils consisting of celibate *Brahmacārīs* and lay ritual specialists called *Paṇḍitas*. It appears that the *Bhaṭṭārakas* often chose their successor from amongst the *Brahmacārīs* in their entourage, and some *Brahmacārīs* and *Paṇḍitas* were great litterateurs in their own right.

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<sup>1</sup> Islamic mores prohibiting public nudity, and the harassment of naked *Munis* by Muslims are often stated as main factors in the appearance of the clothed *Bhaṭṭārakas*. See Cort (2002: 41) and Flügel (2006: 345–346). However, the institution of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* arose as part of an earlier ongoing process of sedentarisation, and we find references to *Bhaṭṭārakas* in some lineages as early as the ninth century (Johrāpurkar 1958: 4).

<sup>2</sup> Technically, *Bhaṭṭārakas* count as *Kṣullakas*, a type of ‘superior laymen’. See Flügel (2006: 344–345).

<sup>3</sup> In fact, in texts *Bhaṭṭārakas* are often referred to as ‘*Munis*’, but the distinction in terms of vows taken remains palpable.

The institution of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* gradually spread to all Digambara monastic groupings, and *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineages arose in the three main Digambara divisions: The Senagaṇa, Kāṣṭhāsamgha, and Balātkāragaṇa or Mūlasamgha.<sup>4</sup> The Kāṣṭhāsamgha consisted of a number of independent *gacchas*, from which sub-lineages at times branched off, and particularly the Balātkāragaṇa/Mūlasamgha saw repeated bifurcations and ramifications from the fifteenth century onwards. *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats (*gaddi* or *pīṭha*) of the various lineages were situated in what are today the states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi (Johrāpurkar 1958: 6–7; Flügel 2006: 346, 383, f.n. 197). Several South Indian *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats still exist (Flügel 2006: 346), the North Indian lineages, however, have all been discontinued. Many disappeared after the erosion of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*' influence by the consecutive North Indian reform movements of *Adhyātma* and *Terāpanth* in the seventeenth century (Cort 2002; Flügel 2006: 339ff.).<sup>5</sup> The leaders of the lay *Adhyātma* circles in Agra and elsewhere stressed inner, spiritual (*adhyātmik*) transformation as the true focus of Jainism and rejected the *Bhaṭṭārakas*' authority, criticising them for their worldly involvement and conduct, particularly their domestication (Cort 2002: 42ff.). The *Terāpanth* too, grew out of an opposition to the laxity and ritualism of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*. According to some of the accounts of its origins (near Jaipur), it even started out after an outright conflict between a layman and a specific *Bhaṭṭāraka* (Cort 2002: 50ff.). This *Terāpanth* was gradually to become a majoritarian sect of Digambara Jainism in many parts of North India, at the expense of the older *Bisapanth*, the adherents of which remained faithful to the *Bhaṭṭārakas*. Modern reform movements later repeated some of the earlier argumentations against the *Bhaṭṭārakas*' authority, similarly opposing them for their pomp and laxity (Flügel 2006: 346). After the regeneration of the lineage of fully initiated *Munis* by Ācārya Śāntisāgara in the first half of the twentieth century, naked ascetics also reappeared on the scene, attracting much of the laity's attention. Those *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineages, which had continued up to the twentieth century eventually also succumbed.

*Bhaṭṭārakas* and *Paṇḍitas* had by then, however, been at the centre and apex of Digambara Jainism for several centuries. Thus, it is not surprising that here is a vast art-historical legacy testifying to their power and influence. Architecture, sculpture, manuscripts and literature reveal *Bhaṭṭārakas* and *Paṇḍitas* as central

<sup>4</sup> On the different Digambara groupings, variously called *saṃgha*, *gaccha* or *gaṇa*, see Deo (1956: 545–558) and Johrāpurkar (1958) (esp. 2–4 M. U. K. Jain 1975: 83–132; Flügel 2006: 342–344).

<sup>5</sup> The ideas of *Adhyātma* and *Terāpanth* go back to the sixteenth century, see Flügel (2006: 339–340).

figures in the Digambara traditions and as main catalysts in the production of religious art from at least the thirteenth century onwards. This chapter offers a preliminary discussion of the role played by *Bhaṭṭāraḱas* and *Paṇḍitas* in two cases: A very specific and rather unique project of artistic production in Gwalior (Gvāliyara) under the reign of the Tomaras (fifteenth century), and a broader overview of the *Bhaṭṭāraḱas*' legacy in the regions comprising what is now the state of Rajasthan.<sup>6</sup>

## PAṆḌITA RĀIDHŪ AND THE BHAṬṬĀRAKAS OF GWALIOR

The historical city of Gwalior in modern Madhya Pradesh has been an important centre of political power for over one millennium, due to its strategic location on and around an isolated sandstone rock, measuring 104 metres at its highest point, about 2.4 kilometre in length and on average of 270 metre in width. The occupation of this rock, known in pre-modern times as Mount Gopa (*gopācala*, *gopādri*, *gopagiri*, etc.), goes back to at least the eighth century. An impressive fort now stands on top of the rock, overlooking the surrounding areas. Various Hindu dynasties ruled the city in succession, until it was captured for the first time by a Muslim conqueror, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the first Turkic Sultan of Delhi in 1196, heralding a period of Muslim political dominance and cultural influence in the area (Sastri 1997: 23–30; Jackson 1999: 12, 26–27, 96, 143–144, 200; Bajpai 2006: 13–16). In the second half of the fourteenth century, following the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate after Firoz Shah Tughluq's reign and the assault of Timur in 1398 in Delhi, the Hindu dynasty of the Tomara Rājas (1394–1526) managed to gain authority over Gwalior. For most of their reign they were nevertheless bound by tribute to the rulers of Delhi. The most famous of these Tomara kings was Mānasimha (1486–1517), who built the Māna Mandira palace inside the fort. The fort was captured by Ibrahim Lodi in 1519 and soon after came under the control of the Mughal emperors (Lal 1963: 49, 74–75, 83, 90, 145, 172, 174–179). By the eighteenth century, the Hindu Maratha clan of the Scindias gained control over Gwalior and ruled it as a protectorate of the British (Sastri 1997: 31–32; Bajpai 2006: 36–47).

At least from the reign of the Tomaras onwards, Gwalior was and remains up to the present day a city where cultural enterprises from various religious and

<sup>6</sup> The material of the findings presented here was for the most part collected during field trips (December 2011 and January to March 2013) in the frame of the research project "North Indian Digambara Jainism (thirteenth-seventeenth century): The Age of the *Bhaṭṭāraḱas*" (2012–2016), funded by the Flemish Research Fund (FWO-Vlaanderen).

ethnic backgrounds could flourish. The Tomara kings were great amateurs of the arts and patronised numerous artists (Bangha forthcoming; Brac de la Perrière: forthcoming). Though the Tomaras themselves were Vaiṣṇavas, their rule is often associated with Digambara Jainism. During their reign, a sizable community of affluent Digambara Jainas were living in Gwalior. The most visible testimonies to this are the more than 1,500 icons of *Tīrthaṃkaras* that were carved into the walls of Gwalior fort. In the first part of this chapter, we will discuss these icons, offering contextualisation based on additional sources.

### *Rock Cut Icons: An Overview*

The icons under discussion were carved into the sandstone, most often in caves serving as places of worship. Some of them are fully exposed, others are partially exposed, and some icons are only visible upon entering the caves. Though a few of the caves are natural, most of them were man made.

The icons can be divided into four groups: The southeastern group, the northeastern group, the northwestern group, and the southwestern group, which includes the Urvāhi icons<sup>7</sup>.

In what he calls the southeastern group of statues, Alexander Cunningham, the first to describe the location, identifies 20 caves. Later research lists their number as twenty-six (Sastri 1997: 44). Most caves contain multiple images of *Jinas*, but there is usually a main *Jina*, who is always the one carved in the back wall, opposite the entrance to the cave. This group of caves is accessible via a common open verandah (Plate 11.1), which is connected to the foot of the hill by a stairway. On this verandah there is a kind of altar for devotees to leave offerings, though one can find offerings also inside some of the caves. The presence of these icons has lead Gwalior to become a *tīrtha*, a pilgrimage site for Digambara Jainas.<sup>8</sup> The *Jina* images are portrayed either as standing (*khaḍgāsana*, ‘sword-posture’), or as seated in lotus posture (*padmāsana*). They are often accompanied by attendants (*yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*), and surrounded by auspicious symbols such as lotuses, elephants, etc. The icons of the *Jinas*, often colossi, are for the most part generic. Individual *Jinas* can only be identified through the symbol (*lāñchana*) carved in the pedestal of the image (Plate 11.2a

<sup>7</sup> These icons are named after their location, on the two cliff sides of the Urvāhi valley, which is formed by a deep nook in the western side of Gwalior hill. Both the north-facing and south-facing cliff sides contain carved statues.

<sup>8</sup> For a description and appreciation of Gwalior as a Jaina pilgrimage site, see B. Jain (1974–1976, vol. 3: 33–55 and 331). Contemporary websites mention Gopācala as an *atiśaya kṣetra*, a location where a miracle took place. See, for instance, <http://www.jainteeth.com/teerth/gopachal.asp> and <http://www.pilgrimagetourinindia.com/yatra-jain.htm>.



Plate 11.1 Open verandah to the southeastern group of caves.

and 11.2b). The only exception to this is the twenty-third *Jina* Pārśvanātha, who is portrayed with a seven-hooded serpent.

Another interesting feature of these icons is that there are niches carved out of the rock above some of the caves with typical śikhara (Plate 11.3a), through which the icon is represented as in a temple. A variant to this form is a cave dug out to resemble a multi-story temple, housing a colossal lotus seated statue of the first *Jina* Ṛṣabha (Plate 11.3b).

The icons of Gwalior come in all sizes, yet it is the colossi that are certainly the most striking. Though monumental icons of the *Jina* can be found dispersed in the north and the south of the Indian subcontinent, it is not unlikely that the famed colossus of Gommatēśvara in Shravanabelagola, which dates from the tenth century, later became the inspiration for the monumentality of the *Tīrthaṃkara* statues in other places, including the *Tīrthaṃkaras* in Gwalior (Hegewald 2009: 78, 403).

Another popular presentation of the *Jinas* found on this site, are the *caturviṃśati-jina-paṭas*, 'slabs of twenty-four *Jinas*', known in vernacular



Plates 11.2a–b Left: Icon of Kunthunātha, the seventeenth *Tirthaṃkara*, in *khadgāsana*. Right: Icon of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first *Tirthaṃkara*, in *padmāsana*.

languages as *caubisī*, ‘twenty-four’, representing collections of the twenty-four *Jinas* (Hegewald 2009: 77) (Plate 11.4).

The northeastern group of caves is called the Neminātha or Nemigiri group, after the icon of Neminātha, the twenty-second *Tirthaṃkara* in the main temple in this area. This spot is also known as Mount Girnar, emulating the famous pilgrimage site Mount Girnar in Gujarat, where Neminātha is thought to have passed away. It is also reached via a stairway and consists of caves conceived of as temples. It is considered to be older than the other sites (Sastri 1997: 89–90).

The northwestern group is located across from Dondha gate, on a relatively high altitude. It consists of five caves, two of which are unfinished.

The best-known icons in Gwalior are those from the southwestern group, as it contains a famous 17-metre colossus of Ṛṣabha in the Urvāhi group of caves. On the other side from this group, there are two caves, the Tritirthika and Dvitirthika cave, containing respectively three and two *Tirthaṃkara* images.





Plates 11.3a–b Above: Carved out niche with śikhara above a cave.  
Below: Cave resembling a multi-story temple.



Plate 11.4 Example of a *caturvīṣaṭi-jina-paṭa*, 'slab of twenty-four Jinas'.

### *Paṇḍita Rāidhū, Bhaṭṭārakas and Merchants*

Most of these caves and icons were carved out over a relatively short time span during the reign of Ḍuṅgarasiṃha and Kirtisiṃha, roughly between 1440 and 1480. This data is available to us from the inscriptions on some of the icons and caves which reveal a date, the names of the donors who sponsored the carving of the cave, and occasionally the name of the king who granted permission for it, Ḍuṅgarasiṃha or Kirtisiṃha. Sometimes the inscriptions mention the name of the person for whom the merit, the positive *karma*, of such an auspicious act was intended. They also often list the names of the religious authorities involved in the installation and consecration of the icons. Names of *Bhaṭṭārakas*, sometimes their predecessors and the name of their lineage are listed, as well as some other religious professionals or semi-professionals such as *Paṇḍitas*, *Kṣullakas*, *Brahmacārīs* and *Ailakas*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Only a limited number of these inscriptions have so far been edited or described, for instance in Dvivedi (1947) and Nāhar (1918–1929).



Aside from these inscriptions, there is another source that sheds light on the historical context of the carving of these icons, granting more colour and definition to the names we find in the inscriptions. Some inscriptions mention a person named Rāidhū as the *pratiṣṭhācārya*, the cleric performing the ritual consecration of the image.<sup>10</sup> This Rāidhū was a *Paṇḍita*, a lay cleric, better known as the author of no less than thirty religious texts, composed in literary Apabhraṃśa, a late Middle-Indic dialect closely associated with Digambara Jainism (De Clercq forthcoming<sup>1</sup>). Typical of these Apabhraṃśa poems—and quite untypical for a classical Indian poet—are the inclusion of lengthy introductions, sometimes amounting to a whole chapter, in which the context of the composition of the text, is described (De Clercq 2010). The author provides poetic depictions of the city where the poem was composed and the ruler of the time. He reports on how he met the patron who ordered this particular composition, and names all the persons involved in setting up these meetings. In Rāidhū's case, the pivotal persons in establishing the patronage appear to have been *Bhaṭṭārakas*. The lineage of the particular *Bhaṭṭāraka* is described, and traced back to the first disciple of Mahāvīra, Indrabhūti Gautama. Also the ancestry of the patron, his forefathers, the caste to which he belonged, and often the city from where his forefathers migrated to Gwalior, is mentioned and sometimes described. Thus, we learn that in most cases the Digambara patron families in Gwalior were originally from Delhi. In some instances, Rāidhū refers to a patron who had previously ordered the carving of an image. A comparison of the names of the patrons and *Bhaṭṭārakas* from Rāidhū's writings, with those of described or edited inscriptions, reveals overlaps. This information aids us in piecing together a unique picture of the individuals and the community behind the project of the Gwalior icons.

Analysis of Rāidhū's texts has revealed that not one, but four different Digambara monastic lineages were present simultaneously in Gwalior, each represented by a *Bhaṭṭāraka* (De Clercq 2011). The first lineage is that of *Bhaṭṭāraka* Jinacandra, who is described as Rāidhū's contemporary. This Jinacandra's lineage corresponds with a branch of the Balātkāragāṇa Mūlasaṃgha. He was a well-known character, as he is reputed to have consecrated more than a thousand Jina images in 1492, to be sent to Digambara temples all over India to replace those, which had been destroyed by Muslim iconoclasts. The seat of Jinacandra's lineage is supposed to have been in Delhi. A second *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineage in Rāidhū's compositions is that of Guṇakīrti and his successor Yaśaḥkīrti

<sup>10</sup> Note that the consecration of icons was usually the duty of a *Bhaṭṭāraka*. Rāidhū's high level of responsibility appears to have been rather exceptional. For a discussion on Rāidhū's possible motives behind the image carving project in Gwalior, see Granoff (2006).

of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha. Guṇakīrti and Yaśaḥkīrti appear to have been brothers, and are both described as having been in personal contact with Rāidhū. Yaśaḥkīrti is well-known as an author himself of a *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* and a *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, both texts on the Jaina *Mahābhārata* and Krishna narratives, in Apabhraṃśa. According to the manuscripts of these compositions, Yaśaḥkīrti's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* was completed in 1443 in Indrapur (Delhi). Most of Rāidhū's patrons for whom *Bhaṭṭārakas* from this lineage acted as mediators, belonged to the *agravāla* caste. A third monastic lineage of *Bhaṭṭārakas* mentioned by Rāidhū, is that of Kamalakīrti, also belonging to the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha, but apparently to a different line as the previous lineage. The fourth lineage is that of Kumārasena, corresponding again to a different line of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha. Thus, the *Bhaṭṭārakas* of Gwalior appeared to have belonged to at least three Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha and one Mūlasaṃgha lineage. Moreover, Rāidhū's description gives the impression of four completely independent lineages, though the close relationship between the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha lineages is clear from other sources. He seems to deliberately avoid indicating the common predecessor, which may suggest bad blood between the personalities of these lineages. Within the same Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha lineage, *Bhaṭṭārakas* appear to have been ordained while a predecessor was still alive and active. Their later association with caste leadership could suggest that the presence of different Jaina castes required multiple *Bhaṭṭārakas*. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests a more complex situation, as most of the patrons of compositions of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha lineages indeed appear to be *agravālas*, though there is no exclusivity.

The presence of multiple *Bhaṭṭārakas* and lineages in Gwalior may be explained by the wider socio-historical context of the lay community. Many families of the patrons, who were all merchants, are described as having ancestors, only one or two generations earlier, who were living in Delhi or surroundings under the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of the Tughluq dynasty, of whom they speak in very favourable terms. It is not explained explicitly why these families left Delhi, nor why they chose Gwalior as their new station. This is most likely due to the collapse of the Delhi Sultanate after Firoz' death (1388) and the destruction of Delhi by Timur (1398). The *Bhaṭṭārakas* appear to have migrated along with them. Yaśaḥkīrti apparently stayed in touch with members of the communities who had chosen to stay in Delhi, since in 1440 he composed his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* for an *agravāla* merchant patron living in Navagrāma, close to Delhi. The constituency of these *Bhaṭṭārakas* became very widespread, explaining why one *Bhaṭṭāraka* would have not sufficed to service all the families.

Rāidhū's texts portray the Jaina merchants as a successful, highly mobile community, who migrated under different political regimes, most likely in search of financial profit. By installing Jina icons and building temples, they made these new cities their home. Despite the dispersal of the community to different parts of North India, separated by hundreds of kilometres, some sense of unity seems to have prevailed. We find a practical example in Rāidhū's texts of the existence of such a network, in the mention that the daughter-in-law of one of the patrons in Gwalior, came from Kurukṣetra, more than five hundred kilometres away from Gwalior (De Clercq forthcoming<sup>2</sup>). *Bhaṭṭārakas* travelled wide distances to service the spiritual and social needs of the Jaina merchants, suggesting that they were in a sense one trans-regional community. Caste appears not to have been an issue in the choice for a new home or in the exclusive choice of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* from a particular monastic lineage, even though certain preferences have been noted. This suggests that, at least for spiritual and cultural matters, caste identity came second to the common religious identity as Digambara Jainas.

Despite their numerous presence in Gwalior, Rāidhū's texts indicate that not the *Bhaṭṭārakas*, but the laity stood at the centre of the Digambara community in fifteenth-century Gwalior. In the texts, the focus is on the patron and his family history, not the *Bhaṭṭārakas*. With regard to the motivation behind the patronage, the texts give the impression that this was first and foremost an act of social prestige, immortalising the names and feats of the patrons' family members and caste, rather than purely intended for *karmic* gain. The *Bhaṭṭārakas* looked after the wellbeing of the patrons' soul and prestige by facilitating their sponsorship of a poem or the installation of a Jina image.

## IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE BHAṬṬĀRAKAS OF RAJASTHAN

### *Bhaṭṭāraka Lineages of Rajasthan*

*Bhaṭṭārakas* belonging to several lineages and sub-lineages of Mūlasaṃgha and Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha were active in the regions comprised by today's state of Rajasthan. The seat of the Mūlasaṃgha Balātkāragana Uttaraśākhā was moved from Gwalior to Ajmer (Ajamera) at the time of Bhaṭṭāraka Vasantakīrti (V.S. 1264/CE 1207–1208), and stayed there until the time of Bhaṭṭāraka Padmanandi (V.S. 1385/CE 1328–1329), when it was moved to Delhi (Hoernle 1891: 354).<sup>11</sup> After Padmanandi, three separate Mūlasaṃgha lineages were

<sup>11</sup> A single date given for a *Bhaṭṭāraka* is the date of his consecration on the *Bhaṭṭāraka* seat. In case a second date is also given, this is the year of his successors consecration. The V.S. (Vikram Samvat) calendar used in textual and epigraphic Jaina sources is, depending on the

founded, the Sūrataśākhā, Īdaraśākhā and Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā. The former two were established in contemporary Gujarat, at Surat (Sūrata) by Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (V.S. 1493<sup>12</sup>/CE 1436–1437), and at Idar (Īdara) by Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti (V.S. 1490–1510<sup>13</sup>/CE 1433–1434 to CE 1453–1454) respectively. The latter seat, located close to today's Gujarat-Rajasthan border, had great influence in Rajasthan's Mewar (Mewāḍa) region.<sup>14</sup> In Delhi Padmanandi was succeeded by Bhaṭṭāraka Śubhacandra (V.S. 1450–1507<sup>15</sup>/CE 1393–1394 to CE 1450–1451), the first incumbent of the so-called Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā. The seat of this lineage was later moved successively to Rajasthan's Chittorgarh (Cittauḍagaḍha), Sanganer (Sāṃgānera), Amer (Āmera) and Jaipur (Jayapura) (Hoernle 1892: 83).<sup>16</sup> After Śubhacandra's successor,<sup>17</sup> Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacandra (V.S. 1507–1571/CE 1450–1451 to 1514–1515<sup>18</sup>), whom we already discussed as a contemporary of Paṇḍita Rāidhū, two new sub-lineages branched off from the Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā. One of these, the Mūlasaṃgha Nāgaurāśākhā, was founded by Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrti (V.S. 1581/CE 1524–1525<sup>19</sup>) in Nagaur (Nāgaurā).<sup>20</sup> Apart from the various Mūlasaṃgha lineages and sub-lineages, it was particularly the Nandītaṭagaccha of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha that was very active in parts of Rajasthan. Below we will also discuss a single epigraphic reference to a *Bhaṭṭāraka* of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Lāḍavāgaḍa-Puṇṇāṭagaccha and the presumed presence of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha at the Kesariyājī Mandir at Rishabhdev (Rṣabhadeva).

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month, 56 or 57 years ahead of the Christian era. In many sources, the month is given, which makes it possible to ascertain the exact CE equivalent. If not, both possibilities are given.

<sup>12</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 201).

<sup>13</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 158).

<sup>14</sup> A sub-lineage of the Mūlasaṃgha Īdaraśākhā was later started at nearby Bhānapura by Jñānakīrti (V.S. 1534/CE 1477), one of the pupils of Sakalakīrti's successor Bhaṭṭāraka Bhuvanakīrti (Johrāpurkar 1958: 166; M. U. K. Jain 1975: 105).

<sup>15</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 112).

<sup>16</sup> Sanganer and Amer lay to the South and North respectively of contemporary Jaipur, which was founded in 1727.

<sup>17</sup> According to Johrāpurkar (1958: 110), Jinacandra in turn was succeeded by Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhācandra (V.S. 1571–1580/CE 1514–1515 to 1523–1524). In the *paṭṭāvalī* (lineage text) manuscript on which Hoernle (1891: 355) based his list, the names of both are switched, with Prabhācandra instead of Jinacandra succeeding Śubhacandra. Hoernle (1891: 355, also 1892: 83) himself, however, refers to other *paṭṭāvalī* manuscripts in which the order is the same as in Johrāpurkar. The latter order is also corroborated by epigraphic sources. Probably Hoernle's former manuscript has a clerical error.

<sup>18</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 112).

<sup>19</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 121).

<sup>20</sup> According to the *paṭṭāvalī* studied by Hoernle (1891: 355) the *gaccha* split up in V.S. 1572 /CE 1515–1516. Hoernle (1891: 355, f.n. 64) conjectures that "the separation may have taken place in that year (1572), but separate heads were not appointed till [V.S.] 1581, when Jinacandra died." See below more on the date of Ratnakīrti.

*Bhaṭṭāraka* seats were thus established in Rajasthan from the early thirteenth century onwards, and several local lineages continued well into the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> As heads of the monastic lineages, the *Bhaṭṭārakas* were at the forefront of Digambara Jainism. We can then expect to find a rich *Bhaṭṭāraka* legacy in Rajasthan, and indeed even a preliminary survey yields extensive results. These contribute to our knowledge of the institution of the North Indian *Bhaṭṭārakas* and, in a broader sense, of Digambara Jainism in the era of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*.<sup>22</sup>

### *Manuscripts: Bhaṭṭārakiya Grantha-Bhaṇḍāras*

The medieval *Bhaṭṭārakas* are often best remembered for the part they played in manuscript preservation and copying. From the colophons of many manuscripts, we know that these were copied on behalf of *Bhaṭṭārakas*, or presented to them by laity. *Bhaṭṭārakas* also founded and maintained extensive manuscript collections (*grantha-bhaṇḍāras*), usually at the temples where they had their seats. Thus, the famous *Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra*, presently preserved at the Jaina Vidyā Saṁsthāna / Apabhramśa Sāhitya Akādamī in Jaipur was originally located at the Nemināthji or Sāmvalāji Mandir in Amer.<sup>23</sup> This temple was the seat and abode of several *Bhaṭṭārakas* of the Mūlasaṁgha Dilli-Jayapuraśākhā.<sup>24</sup> According to Kasliwal (1967: 188) the *grantha-bhaṇḍāra* was established when

<sup>21</sup> Among the seats to continue into the twentieth century were those of Pratapgarh (Pratāpgaḍha) (Dundas 2002: 125; Flügel 2006: 346), Jaipur (Cort 2002: 62), Nagaur (Johrapurkar 1958: 123 f.n. 53; Flügel 2006: 381, f.n. 173) and Rishabhdev (see below).

<sup>22</sup> In this preliminary study of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* of Rajasthan we discuss some findings from fieldwork in Jaipur, Ajmer, Nagaur, Udaipur (Udayapura), Rishabhdev, Dungarpur (Dūṁgarapura) and their surroundings. Chittorgarh, Pratapgarh and Mahavirji are some of the other important sites related to the *Bhaṭṭārakas* that still need to be investigated.

<sup>23</sup> On the *Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra*, see Kasliwal (1967: 44–47, 188–190). Kāslivāl (1948) also catalogued the collection. P.C. Jain (1981: 1–9) gives descriptions, *praśastis* and colophons of ten manuscripts belonging to this collection.

<sup>24</sup> According to Hoernle (1892: 83) Narendrakīrti (V.S. 1691/CE 1634–1635), Surendrakīrti (V.S. 1712/CE 1655 [but Hoernle 1891: 355 like other sources has V.S. 1722/CE 1665]), Jagatkīrti (V.S. 1733/CE 1676) and Devendrakīrti II (V.S. 1770/CE 1713–1714) resided in Amer. According to Nyāyatīrtha (1997: 2–3), Surendrakīrti, Jagatkīrti, Devendrakīrti II and Mahendrakīrti (V.S. 1792/CE 1735–1736) resided in Amer. Hoernle (1892: 83) holds that at the time of Mahendrakīrti, the seat was at Delhi, but according to Nyāyatīrtha (1997: 3) and Cort (2002: 59), Mahendrakīrti was merely consecrated at Delhi, and had his seat in Amer. The presence of Narendrakīrti (V.S. 1691/CE 1634–1635) at Amer, however, whom Nyāyatīrtha omits, seems to be corroborated by the *Bhaṭṭāraka chatris* (see below) located elsewhere in Amer. Inscriptions mention that these funerary monuments were constructed by Narendrakīrti, Jagatkīrti and Devendrakīrti II, which probably implies that Narendrakīrti (and these other *Bhaṭṭārakas*, with Surendrakīrti as second in between) resided in Amer. See Cort (2002: 51 and 76 f.n. 38, and below), who discusses even earlier activity of the Dilli-Jayapuraśākhā *Bhaṭṭārakas* at Amer.



the temple was constructed<sup>25</sup> and developed further in the time of Bhaṭṭāraka Lalitakīrti (V.S. 1603/CE 1546–1547).<sup>26</sup> The collection was formerly also known as the *Devendrakīrti grantha-bhaṇḍāra*, referring to Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti II (V.S. 1770/CE 1713–1714).<sup>27</sup> When K. C. Kasliwal surveyed this collection it held some 2,600 manuscripts and 150 bound manuscript books called *guṭakas* (Kāslivāl 1948: a, Kasliwal 1967: 44), but it has since grown to more than 4,000 manuscripts, out of which more than 700 are *guṭakas*. Another example, the extensive *Bhaṭṭārakīya grantha-bhaṇḍāra* of Nagaur, was founded in the sixteenth century by Ratnakīrti, the first *Bhaṭṭāraka* of the Mūlasaṃgha Nāgaurasākhā. The collection was maintained and further developed by his successors up to the nineteenth century, and is still located at the Bisapanthī Barā Mandir in Nagaur.<sup>28</sup> A third, more modest but similarly representative *Bhaṭṭāraka* manuscript collection is that of the Barā Ḍarāji Mandir/Bābāji kā Mandir in the old city of Ajmer, which similarly was the residence of *Bhaṭṭārakas*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> According to a plaque at the entrance of the temple this was before V.S. 1600/CE 1543–1544.

<sup>26</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 112) omits Bhaṭṭāraka Lalitakīrti (dates according to Hoernle 1892: 83) as well as his presumed predecessor Dharmacandra (V.S. 1581/CE 1524–1525, Hoernle 1892: 83) from his lineage table. Kasliwal (1967: 188) refers to a manuscript being presented to ‘Maṇḍalācārya Lalitakīrti’ in CE 1559 and a few other manuscripts copied in Amer between CE 1554 and CE 1640. It is not clear what the designation *Maṇḍalācārya* exactly meant; possibly it was sometimes used for the appointed successor of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* while the latter was still on the seat. According to Hoernle (1892: 83), Lalitakīrti’s seat was at Chittorgarh. Cort (2002: 51 and 76 f.n. 38) holds that “it is possible that the change under Lalitakīrti represented a practical shift of residence, whereas Devendrakīrti [I, V.S. 1662/CE 1605–1606, second in line after Lalitakīrti (Hoernle 1892: 83)] arranged for a shift of the *bhaṭṭāraka* insignia.” According to Hoernle (1892: 83), the seat of Devendrakīrti I was at Sanganer.

<sup>27</sup> See Kasliwal (1967: 44, 190). The dates are according to Johrāpurkar (1958: 113). This was the second out of three *Bhaṭṭārakas* of the Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā bearing this name.

<sup>28</sup> On the Nagaur *Bhaṭṭārakīya grantha-bhaṇḍāra*, see Kasliwal (1967a: 96–100, 323–326). P.C. Jain (1978: 119–146) gives descriptions and colophons of twenty-five manuscripts. According to Kasliwal (1967: 98) the collection had 12,000 manuscripts and 2,000 *guṭakas*. P. C. Jain (1978: 118) says it has 20,000 manuscripts (*guṭakas* included), or, alternatively, in the first part of his catalogue of the collection (P. C. Jain 1981: xxv), 15,000 (including more than 2,000 *guṭakas*).

<sup>29</sup> This collection has slightly over 2,000 manuscripts and 450 *guṭakas*. See Kasliwal (1967: 84–86; Kāslivāl 1972: *cār-pāmc*). Kāslivāl (1972: *cār*) calls this temple the *Bhaṭṭārakīya Digambara Jaina Mandir*. According to Kāslivāl (1972), Bhaṭṭāraka Viśalakīrti of the Mūlasaṃgha Uttaraśākhā was consecrated here as successor to Vasantakīrti in V.S. 1168/CE 1111–1112. Note that Johrāpurkar (1958: 96) gives V.S. 1266/CE 1209–1210 as date for Viśalakīrti.

These *grantha-bhaṇḍāras* not unsurprisingly hold contain rare texts<sup>30</sup> and the *praśastis*<sup>31</sup> and colophons of many manuscripts contain much historic information. But these collections hold a further interest as textual witnesses to the activities and interests of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* and their communities.<sup>32</sup> Examining precisely which texts were used and were deemed important enough to preserve, restore, copy and collect can further our knowledge of these historical Jaina communities. Firstly, these collections harbour many ‘local’ literary compositions, often written by *Bhaṭṭārakas* and *Brahmacārīs*, which were locally of greater importance than would appear from ‘universalist’ overviews of Jaina literature. Secondly, the collections also contain texts on subjects like *Āyurveda*, *mantraśāstra*, and *vyōtiṣa* and are as such a valuable resource to research the *Bhaṭṭārakas*’ activities within these fields, which have thus far remained neglected. Below we will discuss an example of how ‘minor’ ritual texts preserved in these collections can help us reconstruct ritual practices of medieval Digambara Jainism.<sup>33</sup>

Thus far we have hardly mentioned the writings of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* themselves.<sup>34</sup> Several *Bhaṭṭārakas* of Rajasthan and disciples of theirs were prolific litterateurs, mostly in Sanskrit and the vernacular. Prime examples are Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti, the founder of the Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā, and his disciple Brahma Jinadāsa.<sup>35</sup> Often literary activity flourished around consecutive

<sup>30</sup> P. C. Jain (1981: 118–119) lists some important manuscripts of the Nagaur *grantha-bhaṇḍāra*. Kasliwal (1967a: 323–326) gives an overview of early manuscripts of this collection.

<sup>31</sup> Kāslivāl (1950) is an edition of *praśastis* from manuscripts of the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra.

<sup>32</sup> We refer to the concepts of ‘ritual canon’ and ‘practical canon’ as used and developed in Buddhist studies by Collins (1990) and Blackburn (1999) respectively. Their related arguments contrast ‘formal canon’, the *tipiṭaka*, ‘canon as a concept’, to those specific textual resources (canonical or otherwise) that were available to local, historical communities in their manuscript collections and were actually used in rituals, preaching and other contexts. This distinction, amongst others, allows us to “attend closely to historical differences and regional particularity.” (Blackburn 1999: 284). See Kragh (2013) for a study using the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra to write ‘localised literary history’, which Kragh contrasts to standardised ‘universalist literary histories’ of Jainism. The latter “create generalities of ‘Jainism’ and ‘Jain literature’ that do not reflect historical reality” (Kragh 2013: 12), and omit “a large number of texts that are not considered sufficiently significant from a strictly literary point of view.” (Kragh 2013: 12). These latter texts may, however, “be important when considered from non-literary perspectives, e.g., in terms of their religious or pragmatic significance” (Kragh 2013: 12).

<sup>33</sup> The largely unstudied *gūṭakas* are noteworthy and particularly rich. These sometimes contain anthologies of related compositions of a certain genre (for example vernacular *gītās* or *padās*), but are often quite diverse in content. They were possibly meant to be intensively used.

<sup>34</sup> A thorough discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter. See Kāslivāl (1967) on the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Brahmacārī* litterateurs of Rajasthan. Kāslivāl also has a series of monographs on individual authors (amongst others 1978, 1981, 1982), which also feature editions of texts. See also Jōhrāpurkar (1958: 9–11).

<sup>35</sup> Kāslivāl (1967: 9–10) lists twenty-eight Sanskrit works of Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti (amongst which many *caritras*) and seven in Rājasthānī. The list of Brahma [= *Brahmacārī*] Jinadāsa

*Bhaṭṭārakas* and a network of *Brahmacārīs*. The fifteenth-seventeenth century Mūlasaṃgha Sūrataśākhā can be called a ‘medieval Jaina literary culture’,<sup>36</sup> consisting of consecutive *Bhaṭṭārakas* plus a number of *Brahmacārīs*.<sup>37</sup> The Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā too had several prolific authors, including the *Bhaṭṭārakas* of the Amer *gaddī*. Bhaṭṭāraka Somakīrti (V.S. 1526–1540/CE 1469–1470 to 1483–1484) and Bhaṭṭāraka Tribhuvanakīrti (first quarter of the seventeenth century V.S.) were important litterateurs of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nandītaṭagaccha.<sup>38</sup>

### *Mūrtis and Mandirs: Bhaṭṭārakas as Pratiṣṭhācāryas*

The consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of *Jina* icons (*mūrtis* or *pratimās*), *yantras* (ritual discs) and temples was a prime activity of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*. Most pre-modern Digambara temples in Rajasthan indeed feature icons and *yantras*<sup>39</sup> consecrated by *Bhaṭṭārakas* (Plate 11.5). Inscriptions on both (*mūrtilekhas* and *yantralekhas*), usually in Sanskrit, mention the date and place of the consecration ceremony, the name of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* who performed the ritual, and the lineage to which he belonged. Sometimes further details like the family lineages of the lay sponsors of the *pratiṣṭhā* or rulers’ names are also included.<sup>40</sup> As such, these inscriptions form a valuable historical source to study the *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineages.<sup>41</sup> From the geographical spread of images consecrated by specific *Bhaṭṭārakas* we can gauge that *Bhaṭṭārakas* sometimes travelled extensively and for large distances, perhaps particularly so in their capacity of *pratiṣṭhācāryas*. During *pratiṣṭhāmahotsavas*

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is even more impressive, including amongst others thirty-four vernacular *rāsa* compositions (1967: 14–16).

<sup>36</sup> We borrow this phrase from Cort (2009: 14) who used it to describe the literary production of Ācārya Jinaratnasūri of the Śvetāmbara Kharataragaccha (thirteenth century) and the monks in his entourage, also calling it a “writers’ workshop”.

<sup>37</sup> See Kāślīvāl (1981) on the authors of this lineage.

<sup>38</sup> See the publications by Kāślīvāl, dated 1982 and 1978 respectively. Dates according to Johrāpurkar (1958: 298) and Kāślīvāl (1978: 169) respectively.

<sup>39</sup> Jain and Khāg (2012) edit and describe the *yantralekhas* of the Sāṃvalāji/Nemināthji Mandir in Amer.

<sup>40</sup> Many *mūrtilekhas* have unfortunately become illegible, either due to erosion (sometimes apparently so by extensive oblations of liquids during *pūjā*), or, more unfortunate, through new layers of plastering or tiling fully or partially covering the inscriptions typically situated on the base of the images.

<sup>41</sup> Next to textual sources, Johrāpurkar indeed included inscriptions in his seminal *Bhaṭṭāraka Saṃpradāya* (1958). However, Johrāpurkar included only limited epigraphic material here, to support his reconstruction of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*’ dates and lineages (*śākhās*). More epigraphic material is included in the *Jaina Śilālekha Saṃgraha* volumes that appeared in the series *Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā* (Vijayamūrti: 1952, 1957 and Johrāpurkar: 1957, 1971). See also Somāni (1982).



Plate 11.5 *Mūrtis and yantras with inscriptions, Bābājī kā Mandir, Ajmer.*

(great consecration festivals) *Bhaṭṭārakas* sometimes consecrated hundreds or even thousands of images all at once, which were then widely spread. Thus, *pratimās* consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmacandra (V.S. 1271–1296/CE 1214–1215 to 1239–1240) of the Mūlasaṃgha Uttaraśākhā in V.S. 1272/CE 1215–1216 in the hill fort of Ranthambor (Raṇṭhaṃbhaura) can be found in several temples of Udaipur, as well as in Jaipur and Bharatpur (Bharatapura) (Jain, J. Ś. 2011: 68). We already noted a *pratiṣṭhāmahotsava* held by Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacandra of the Mūlasaṃgha Dilli-Jayapuraśākhā in V.S. 1548 (1492 CE), which was held in Muḍāsā (Johrāpurkar 1958: 109). Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti of the same lineage, one of the incumbents of the Amer seat, later held *pratiṣṭhāmahotsava* at Narwar (Naravara) and Takṣakagaḍh in V.S. 1741/CE 1684–1685 and at Chandkheri (Chāṃdkheḍī) in V.S. 1746/CE 1689–1690 (Kāslivāl 1967: 172). During the latter festival, for which Jagatkīrti apparently invited ten other *Bhaṭṭārakas* (Cort 2002: 54), thousands of images were consecrated, which can be found in temples throughout Rajasthan (Kāslivāl 1967: 172). Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha held a *pratiṣṭhāmahotsava* at the Kesariyājī Mandir in Rishabhdeva in V.S. 1753/CE 1696 (Jain, J.Ś. 2011: 38).

Most temples feature *mūrtis* consecrated by *Bhaṭṭārakas* of a single lineage. This is characteristic for the affiliation of temples with one specific caste or clan (*gotra*) of laity and the close connection of each caste to a specific *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineage.<sup>42</sup> Most notably at major pilgrimage places, however, we sometimes do find images consecrated by *Bhaṭṭārakas* belonging to different lineages in a single temple. At the Kesariyāji Temple, for example, the presence of both Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā and Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha is well attested by image inscriptions. The temple also features seats of *Bhaṭṭārakas* of both lineages, and a bench-like structure outside of the temple's main shrine purportedly was the seat of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* of a third lineage, the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha.<sup>43</sup>

Not unsurprisingly, *Bhaṭṭārakas* were also involved in the building, consecration and renovation of temples (*mandiras*). Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti for example, the founder of the Īḍaraśākhā branch of the Mūlasaṃgha, consecrated temples on Mount Abu and Sāgavādā in V.S. 1494 (CE 1437) and V.S. 1499 (CE 1442) respectively (M. U. K. Jain 1975: 102). The Kesariyāji Temple at Rishabhdev (Plate 11.6), an important Digambara pilgrimage place of Rajasthan, is a particularly good example. In this temple we find a number of inscriptions on stone plaques (*śilālekhas*), which testify to the continued involvement of *Bhaṭṭārakas* of a number of lineages with the temple's upkeep and expansion throughout a period of several centuries.<sup>44</sup> According to one inscription, the temple's *garbhagrha* (central image chamber) *śikhara* (tower) and *khelā maṇḍapa* (closed hall in front of the *garbhagrha*) were renovated under the spiritual instruction (*gurupadeśena*) of Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmakīrti of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Puṇṇāṭa-Lāḍavāgaḍagaccha in V.S. 1431/CE 1374. According to another inscription, the *naucaukī* (raised, open hall in front of the *khelā maṇḍapa*) and *sabhā maṇḍapa* (open hall in front of the *naucaukī*) and were constructed when Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti was the incumbent of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha in V.S. 1572/CE 1515. The icons in the fifty-two *devakulikās* (subsidiary shrines) around the temple were consecrated by *Bhaṭṭārakas* of both Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha and Mūlasaṃgha between V.S. 1611 (CE 1554–1555) and V.S. 1863 (CE 1806–1807). In V.S. 1754/CE 1697, a *laghu prāsāda* (subsidiary temple) was built under the instruction of Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha.

<sup>42</sup> Sangave (1980: 318) provides a table of castes and the affiliated *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats.

<sup>43</sup> However, there appear to be no inscriptions or other traces to support the presence of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Māthuragaccha at the temple. This structure itself is now clad with tiles depicting the Bhagavadgītā's chariot scene with Krishna and Arjuna, reading "Śrīmad Bhagavat". According to Vāṇāvata and Mehtā (n.d.: 12) the structure was thus decorated, under the pretext of renovation works, by a temple official one night in V.S. 1969/CE 1912.

<sup>44</sup> The text of these inscriptions is included in Vāṇāvata and Mehtā (n.d.: 2–9) and J. Ś. Jain (2011: 36–39). See J. Ś. Jain (2011: 49) for a floor plan of the Kesariyāji Temple.





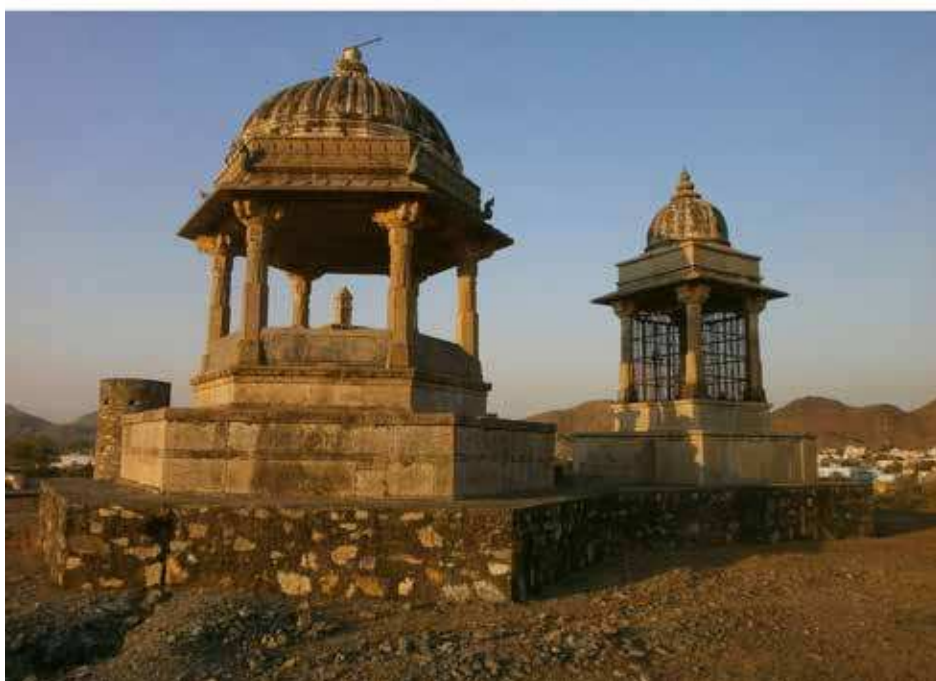
Plate 11.6 The Kesariyāji Mandir at Rishabhdev. *Bhaṭṭārakas* of several lineages were instrumental in the gradual development of the temple from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries CE.

Finally, the fortified walls (*parakoṭas*) around the temple were built under the auspices Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti of the Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā in V.S. 1863/CE 1806.

### *Chatrīs, Pādukās and Pūjās: Commemorating the Bhaṭṭārakas*

Near many former *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats we find funerary monuments (*chatrīs*) erected in honour of single *Bhaṭṭārakas* (Plate 11.7).<sup>45</sup> Arguably amongst the most conspicuous legacy of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* in Rajasthan, these *chatrīs* constitute a largely untapped historical archive. As we will see, they also had ritual significance. The *Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs* are pavilion-like structures featuring a dome supported by four, six, eight or more pillars. They are usually raised on a platform, to be reached with a few steps. Many sites feature a number of *chatrīs*, and

<sup>45</sup> See Hegewald (2009: 137–140) on other types of Jaina *chatrīs*.



Plates 11.7a–b *Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs*: Āmṭeḍ kī Nasiyām, Ajmer (above 7a) and *Candragiri*, Rishabhdev (below 7b).

sometimes multiple *chatrīs* share a single, higher platform. The *chatrīs* typically feature carvings of the *Bhāṭṭārakas*' feet (*carāṇa pādūkās*), usually installed centrally under the dome, sometimes in a small shrine or on a low lotus-shaped plinth (Plates 11.8 a–d).<sup>46</sup> Whereas the oldest *pādūkās* are sculpturally very basic, younger specimens are finely carved and stylistically more elaborate. The latter often feature representations of ascetics' paraphernalia like *kamaṇḍalu* (water pitcher), *picchī* (whisk) and *mālā* (rosary). Many include a lotus flower motive beneath the feet, an allusion to the notion of the *guru*'s lotus-feet (*pāda-padma*, *carāṇa-kamala*). Some *chatrīs* also house *niṣīdhikās*, small and usually rather unsophisticated pillars with carvings of naked ascetics, representing *Jinas* or, possibly, the *Bhāṭṭārakas* themselves (Plate 11.9a and b). *Niṣīdhikās* can be installed in conjunction with separate *pādūkās* or entirely independently. One of the *chatrīs* at Candragiri, a small hill just outside of Rishabhdeva, has a more complex *niṣīdhikā* with four pairs of *carāṇa pādūkās* integrated into the structure (Plate 11.9b).

There exist *chatrīs* and *pādūkās* of *Bhāṭṭārakas* belonging to all the lineages, which have been substantially active in Rajasthan: The Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā, Īḍaraśākhā and Nāgaurāśākhā of the Mūlasaṃgha, and the Nandītaṭagaccha of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha. Notably, at some places we also find *carāṇa pādūkās* of *Paṇḍitas*. These are installed on simple, octagonal platforms (*cabūtarās*), or in some cases also under *chatrīs*. The oldest datable *pādūkā* we found so far is that of *Bhāṭṭāraka* Ratnakīrti at Ajmer, which dates back to V.S. 1572/CE 1516.<sup>47</sup> The same site also has some of the youngest specimens, two square carvings mounted on plinths, combining the *pādūkās* of a single *Bhāṭṭāraka* and several *Paṇḍitas*, consecrated in V.S. 1992/CE 1935. The most recent *Bhāṭṭāraka pādūkā*, found at Rishabhdeva, is dated V.S. 2035 (1978 CE).<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Carāṇa pādūkās* were also established of the *Jinas*, *Gaṇadharas* and *Ācāryas*, and of other modern and medieval ascetics, particularly the Śvetāmbara *Dādāgurus*, four eleventh-seventeenth century *Ācāryas* of the Kharataragacchha. See Laughlin (2005), Hegewald (2009: 26, 70, 139, 330), Cort (2010: 128–129, 188–192) and Flügel (2011). See Flügel (2011: f.n. 4) for references to other brief discussions of *carāṇa pādūkās*. The Kesariyāji Mandir holds a stone table with the footprints of all twenty-four *Jinas* (*caturviṃśati jina-pādūkā*) consecrated by *Bhāṭṭāraka* Candrakīrti of the Mūlasaṃgha Īḍaraśākhā in V.S. 1832/CE 1775–1776.

<sup>47</sup> One would expect the name Ratnakīrti here to refer to the founder of the Mūlasaṃgha Nāgaurāśākhā, which kept a close link with Ajmer. Ratnakīrti's consecration however is supposed to have taken place only in V.S. 1581/CE 1524–1525 (Johrāpurkar 1958: 121), while Ratnakīrti's successor Bhuvanakīrti was consecrated in V.S. 1586/CE 1529–1530 (Johrāpurkar 1958: 121).

<sup>48</sup> Our preliminary survey yielded twenty-five *Bhāṭṭāraka chatrīs* and a number of *Paṇḍita pādūkās*, all ranging from the sixteenth to twentieth century CE, and found on sites in Amer, Jaipur, Ajmer, Udaipur, Rishabhdeva and Surpur. We intend to publish the full data of these findings elsewhere. It seems probable that more *Bhāṭṭāraka chatrīs* are to be found in



Plates 11.8a–d *Caraṇa pādukās*: a) Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrti (Ajmer, *pādukās* consecrated V.S. 1572/CE 1516); b) Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti (Jaipur, cons. V.S. 1881/CE 1825); c) Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakīrti (Surpur, cons. V.S. 1883?/CE 1826); d) Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti (Amer, died V.S. 1722/CE 1665).





Plates 11.9a–b *Niṣidhikās*: a) *Niṣidhikās* in a *chatrī* at the Śāntināth Mandir in Ashok Nagar, Udaipur. b) The *niṣidhikā* of Bhaṭṭāraka Candrakīrti at Candragiri, Rishabhdev (consecrated V.S. 1869?/CE 1812–3).

The *caraṇa pādukās* typically carry an inscription, which mentions the name of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* whose lotus-feet are represented, the lineage to which he belonged, the date of consecration and the name of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* who performed the consecration. Usually this is the immediate successor, or the second successor in line. As with *mūrtilekhas*, longer *pādukā* inscriptions (often the more recent) also contain names of rulers and lay donors. The *chatrīs* and *pādukās* are thus important for the inscriptions they bear can corroborate (or contradict) the dates and successions of *Bhaṭṭārakas* as found in *mūrtilekhas*, *yantralekhas*, *śilālekhas* and literary sources. But at least as significant, if not more interesting, is the *pādukās*' possible ritual function. In this we second Laughlin (2005: 33) who in concluding his discussion of Śvetāmbara *pādukās* wrote: “In addition to telling us something of the bald history of the Jaina

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Rajasthan, and it will be interesting to see whether they were built to the same extent outside of Rajasthan, where the commemorative *chatrī* is an ubiquitous art-historical feature (viz. well-represented royal *chatrīs*).



‘church’, this evidence [the *pādukās*] might also tell us something about the everyday practices of Jainism in the past.”<sup>49</sup>

Some textual material to which we now turn helps the *Bhaṭṭāraka pādukās* do exactly this, speak to us about (unknown) medieval Digambara ritual practices. During our fieldwork, we observed ritual attention to *pādukās* only at the site in Ajmer.<sup>50</sup> Even *chatrīs* which have been (variously) renovated, and are often very well-maintained, seem to be visited only rarely. Some other *chatrīs* are in utter disarray and neglect.<sup>51</sup> Two short compositions found in a *guṭaka* of the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra, however, point to the worship of the *pādukās* of deceased *Bhaṭṭārakas*.<sup>52</sup> These are ritual texts for the eightfold worship (*aṣṭaparakāri-pūjā*) of the *Bhaṭṭārakas*’ *pādukās*.<sup>53</sup> The texts explicitly refer to the *pādukās* and describe the offering of eight substances: *Jalam* (water), *gandham* or *camḍanam* (sandal/camphor), *akṣatam* (unbroken rice), *puṣpaṃ* (flowers), *caruḥ* or *naivedyam* (sweets or sugar), *dīpaṃ* (lamps), *dhūpaṃ* (incense), *phalaṃ* (fruits).<sup>54</sup> One of the texts, before the offering of the eight substances, has an invocation (*āhvānam*) of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* (‘into’ the *pādukās*), starting with the *mantric* seed syllables *Auṃ Hrīm*. From the texts it is clear that one of them was written by *Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti* for the worship of his predecessor *Surendrakīrti*, while the other was written in worship of *Jagatkīrti* himself.<sup>55</sup> The *chatrīs* and *pādukās* of both these *Bhaṭṭārakas* of the *Mūlasaṃgha Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā* are amongst those at the *Kīrtistambha Nasīyām* at Amer. *Jagatkīrti* built the *chatrī* and consecrated

<sup>49</sup> Laughlin (2005: 23) argues: “it appears that these images are to be ritually/symbolically approached like the feet of living ascetics, and touched as a sign of the great spiritual superiority and venerableness of their subjects.”

<sup>50</sup> At the Āmṭeḍ kī Nasīyām, a small *caityālaya* next to the *chatrīs* draws a number of devotees morning and evening. Uncooked rice and water were offered, seemingly in passing, to only a few of the easiest reachable *pādukās* (accidentally, these were *Paṇḍitas*’ *pādukās*).

<sup>51</sup> The *chatrīs* of Surpur, for example, are dilapidated and overgrown, and the site serves as a latrine for nearby habitation. At the same time, one of the *chatrīs* on this site is the only one we have seen to feature remains of what may have been the original mural paintings on the inside of the dome, showing representations of animals and humans. Renovated *chatrīs* are usually newly plastered.

<sup>52</sup> *Guṭaka* no. 1 (cat. no. 199). The handwritten catalogue of the collection (*granthasūci*) calls these compositions *Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti kī pūjā*, and *Jagatkīrti kī pūjā stuti*. The *guṭaka* itself announces them as respectively *pūjā/stuti-pūjā* and *pūjā*.

<sup>53</sup> *Aṣṭaparakāri pūjā* is particularly known as a form of worship of *Jina* icons. See Babb (1988: 71–72) and Dundas (2002: 207–209).

<sup>54</sup> Note that the order of substances is different here from the *aṣṭaparakāri pūjā* as described by Babb (1988: 71–712) and Dundas (2002: 207–209).

<sup>55</sup> The *guṭaka* contains a third related text (*Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti kī pūjā*) which also contains the praise (*stuti*) of *Jagatkīrti*, but does not have the element of eightfold worship.

the *pādukā* of Surendrakīrti,<sup>56</sup> while his own *pādukā* was consecrated by his successor Devendrakīrti.<sup>57</sup>

Of course the finding of these texts does not prove that this *aṣṭaparakāri-pūjā* was actually performed, at these *pādukās* in Amer or elsewhere, let alone that it was an ‘everyday practice’.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, some *caraṇa pādukās* (e.g. those in Surpur, Plate 11.8c) feature prominent drainage channels and thus seem especially designed for, if not full eightfold worship, at least the oblation of liquids. Furthermore, the *niṣīdhikā* at Candragiri, featuring a *pādukā* of the same *Bhaṭṭāraka* on all four sides, seems intended to be used by several worshippers at a time (Plate 11.9b). The *pādukās* here may then have been elevated in the structure to assure easy ritual access.<sup>59</sup>

Relic worship has only recently come to the attention of the scholarly study of Jainism (Flügel 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012). Prima facie, we saw no indications that the *Bhaṭṭāraka* chatris contain relics.<sup>60</sup> But in the light of the *pādukā* ‘cult’ we found contained in the *Bhaṭṭāraka pūjā* texts, we would describe the *chatris* and *pādukās* as ‘sites of empowerment’ even without any attestation of their containing relics.<sup>61</sup> At these places, contact with the deceased *Bhaṭṭāraka* is

<sup>56</sup> Jagatkīrti did the same for Surendrakīrti’s predecessor Narendrakīrti, his own *dādāguru* or ‘grandfather guru’ (Plate 11.8d).

<sup>57</sup> It would then be alluring to think of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (as we have seen an important promoter of the Āmera śāstra-bhaṇḍāra), or at least someone in his surroundings, as the composer of the text written in praise of Jagatkīrti (and maybe also the writer of the manuscript). The *granthasūci* names a certain Lakṣmaṇalāla as the writer (*granthakāra*) of this composition, but it is not clear to us where this information comes from. Further scrutiny of the whole *guṭaka* might prove rewarding.

<sup>58</sup> Cort (2010: 189) however, also remarks that (rather than anthropomorphic icons of monks): “[o]ne is more likely in the Digambara tradition to find footprint icons in the contexts of deceased monks (both naked *munis* and clothed *bhattacharakas*), especially at the sites of the last rites of the deceased. *They are worshipped in the same manner as Jina icons.*” (italics added).

<sup>59</sup> The closest parallel to this ‘cult’ of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* is probably the worship of the *pādukās* of the Śvetāmbara *Dādāgurus*. On the cult of the *Dādāgurus*, see Laidlaw (1995: 51, 270) and Babb (1996: 111ff). Laidlaw (1995: 260, Plate xiii) shows the ‘bathing’ of a *pādukā* of one of the *Dādāgurus* by a lay woman. Babb (1995: 128) describes eightfold worship as part of a rite performed for the *Dādāgurus’ pādukās* and anthropomorphic images on special occasions. These latter anthropomorphic representations of the *Dādāgurus* are an innovation from recent decades; for centuries, and “probably more or less since their deaths”, they were only worshipped in the form of their *pādukās* (Laidlaw 1995: 51, 261). Babb (1996: 108–109) also discusses an annual festival at the *chatrī* of a twentieth century Śvetāmbara monk, celebrated on his death anniversary with *pūjā*, austerities and all-night singing of devotional songs.

<sup>60</sup> However, some of the Śvetāmbara relic *stūpas* Flügel (2010: 410) discusses bear no external signs indicating that they contain relics either. Flügel (2010: 408ff.) also found his respondents generally evasive on the topic, because of the inconsistency of relic worship with Jain doctrine. Flügel (2010: f.n. 4) mentions the recent *Bhaṭṭāraka samādhi* (relic shrine) of Bhaṭṭāraka Cārukīrti (died 1998 CE) of Mūḍabidārī, Karnataka.

<sup>61</sup> Flügel (2011: 6) distinguishes between ‘sites of commemoration’ and ‘sites of empowerment’.

possible, if not through relics, then by ritual activity.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, some of the *chatrī* sites are known to have been cremation grounds for Jaina ascetics,<sup>63</sup> and others, judging from their location outside of but close by zones of habitation might similarly have been so.<sup>64</sup> Their location on the place of cremation would then enhance the element of ‘empowerment’ inherent in the *chatrīs* and *pādukās*. A further survey of *chatrīs* and *pādukās* and an analysis of their historical and geographical spread might show the development of this ‘cult’.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, the very least the worship (or if not, even the mere installation) of *Bhaṭṭāraka pādukās* does is ‘speak’ to us of the ‘charisma’ of the North Indian *Bhaṭṭārakas*, and the devotion their communities had towards them.<sup>66</sup> This puts into perspective contemporary accounts, which tend to describe the *Bhaṭṭārakas* as mere clerics, and somehow deficient vis-à-vis the *Munis*, who as fully-initiated ascetics are the only recipients worthy of devotion.

### *Kīrtistambhas: Glorifying the Bhaṭṭāraka Lineages*

One last art-historical feature related to the *Bhaṭṭārakas* of Rajasthan we would like to discuss here are two *Bhaṭṭāraka kīrtistambhas*. These ‘pillars (*tambha*) of

<sup>62</sup> Remember from one of our texts the invocation of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* worshipped.

<sup>63</sup> For example the particularly rich site in Ajmer. Some sites seem to have been cremation grounds shared by the Digambaras with other communities. In between the *Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs* at Surpur are some Śvetāmbara *caraṇa pādukās*, and right next to the *Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs* in Amer are some *chatrīs*, which purportedly belong to *Purohitas* (family priests) of the Kachvāhā Rājput *Mahārājas* of Amer.

<sup>64</sup> Sites like those at Ajmer and Ashok Nagar, Udaipur have now been enclosed by sprawling suburbs but clearly lay outside of the historical centres of population. One of the *chatrīs* of Rishabhdev, however, lies within the old city walls.

<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, Settari (1989: 215) remarks of the *niṣidhi*-pavilions, commemorative monuments for Jaina ascetics and laymen in Karnataka: “Though in the early stages (7th to 9th cent.), the *niṣidhis* were not always consecrated and worshipped, from the 12th cent. onwards, this practice seems to have come into more popular usage.” It is possible that similarly a cult of *Bhaṭṭāraka chatrīs*, *pādukās* and *niṣidhikās* gradually developed, although at least *pādukās* long predate the *Bhaṭṭārakas*.

<sup>66</sup> Although our present texts give no such clue, what might also be involved is a belief in the *Bhaṭṭārakas* possessing magical powers that they could transmit even after death. See Babb (1996: 108–109), who reports on the worship of the *pādukā* (installed in a *chatrī*) of a twentieth-century miracle-worker (*camatkāri*) Śvetāmbara monk of whom it is believed that his miracles can still occur for the faithful. The *Dādāgurus* are similarly reported to “afford magical help and protection in a host of everyday ways.” (Laidlaw 1995: 51, also 71ff.) See also Flügel (2008: 20), who concludes from recent studies of devotional rituals at both shrines of the *Dādāgurus* and *samādhi-mandiras* belonging to the Tapāgaccha (another Śvetāmbara monastic lineage): “the prevalence of worshippers’ orientation towards the ‘magical power’ of the famous deceased Jaina monks who are reborn as gods and hence perceived to be transactionally present ‘miracle workers’ whose help can be invoked at the stylised footprints (*caraṇa pādukās*) dedicated to them.”

glory (*kīrti*)' feature small sculptural representations of naked ascetics, similar to those on the *niṣīdhikās*, in *padmāsana* and *khaḍgāsana*.<sup>67</sup> Inscriptions identify these as the pontiffs of a specific monastic lineage, both *Bhaṭṭārakas* and the *Ācāryas*, which preceded them. The site of the Amer *Bhaṭṭārakas'* *chatris*, the *Kīrtistambha* Nasiyāṃ, features a *kīrtistambha* of the *Mūlasaṃgha* Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā. The pillar is placed in a domed building and is almost four-metre high, consisting of ten levels with twelve images each (Plate 11.10a). Inscriptions give each pontiff's name, his date of consecration and a serial number.<sup>68</sup> The lineage is chronologically represented from the top of the pillar, where we find *Ācārya* Bhadrabāhu (V.S. 4/BCE 52–53) as first pontiff, down to *Bhaṭṭāraka* Devendrakīrti (V.S. 1883/CE 1826–1827), the hundred-and-first pontiff of the lineage and last to be represented, on the one but lowest rung of the pillar.<sup>69</sup> An inscription near the base, which also features a finely carved flower motive, says the *kīrtistambha* was established (*sthāpana*) in V.S. 1845/CE 1788–1789, by *Bhaṭṭāraka* Surendrakīrti, the ninety-eighth pontiff. The names and dates of the last three *Bhaṭṭārakas*, Sukhendrakīrti (V.S. 1852/CE 1795–1796), Narendrakīrti (V.S. 1880/CE 1823–1824) and Devendrakīrti, must thus have been inscribed after the erection of the monument. The last nineteen images have remained unnamed.

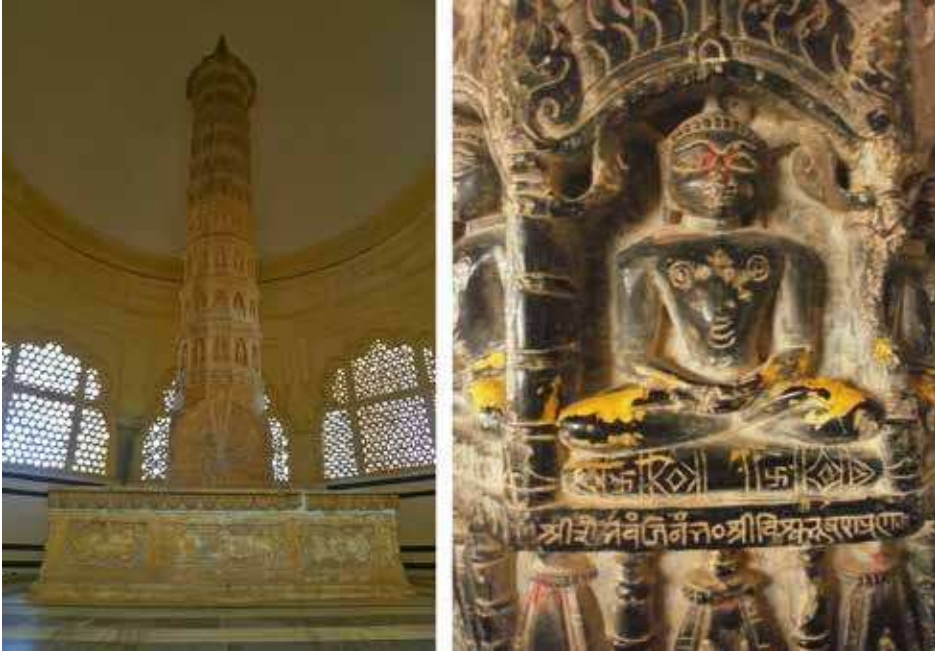
A second, older, *kīrtistambha*, related to the *Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha* Nanditaṭagaccha, is situated at the Surpur Jinālaya, near Dungarpur. This pillar is carved in black stone and is approximately one and a half metres high (Plate 11.10b). It features representations of twenty-four *Tīrthaṃkaras* and ninety-four pontiffs. The pillar is severely damaged, rendering some of the inscriptions illegible, particularly on two sides of the pillar.<sup>70</sup> The names of the first and last pontiff are illegible, but J. Ś. Jain (2011: 95) on the basis of *paṭṭāvalis* and other epigraphic material related to this lineage reconstructs them as respectively *Ācārya* Arhadvallabha and *Bhaṭṭāraka* Yaśakīrti, the ninety-fourth pontiff (Jain 2011: 95, 169).

<sup>67</sup> These *kīrtistambhas* are not to be confused with the homonymic multi-storied, tower-like temple buildings (on which see Hegewald 2009: 144–145, 308ff.). By their specific topic they are also distinct from the votive columns called *mānastambhas* (Hegewald 2009: 183 ff.). J. Ś. Jain (2011: 94) also calls the *kīrtistambha* at Surpur a *guru-stambha*.

<sup>68</sup> The sequence of pontiffs is in agreement with the list given by Hoernle (1891). The names in some cases agree with the alternatives from the *paṭṭāvali* Hoernle refers to as 'Ms. P.'.

<sup>69</sup> Johrāpurkar mentions two further *Bhaṭṭārakas* of this lineage, Mahendrakīrti (V.S. 1939/CE 1882–1883) and Candrakīrti (V.S. 1975/CE 1918–1919), but their names have not been added on the *kīrtistambha*.

<sup>70</sup> Apparently the pillar was damaged when it was dragged here from the Hariyaṇājī Mandir at Ūparagāṃva, elsewhere outside of Dungarpur. It was removed from there because Ūparagāṃva was no longer habituated by Digambaras, and brought to Surpur together with several *mūrtis* (J. Ś. Jain 2011: 169).



Plates 11.10a–b *Kirtistambhas*: a) The *kirtistambha* of the Mūlasaṃgha Dilli-Jayapuraśākhā at Amer; b) Detail of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha *kirtistambha* at Surpur.

The *kirtistambha* was established in V.S. 1649/CE 1592–1593 by Bhaṭṭāraka Viśvabhūṣaṇa, the ninety-third pontiff, and also features representations of Viśvabhūṣaṇa's parents (Jain 2011: 94–95). The lineage represented in this *kirtistambha* is a sub-lineage of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha not described by Johrāpurkar in his 1958 monograph. It branches off from the Nanditaṭagaccha lineage as described by Johrāpurkar after Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayasena, the successor of Bhaṭṭāraka Somakīrti (V.S. 1526–1540/CE 1469–1470 to 1483–1484). Apart from Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti, who continued the lineage given by Johrāpurkar,<sup>71</sup> Vijayasena apparently had a second successor in Kamalakīrti, the first *Bhaṭṭāraka* of the sub-lineage represented by the *kirtistambha*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Johrāpurkar (1958: 298) traces his sub-lineage until Bhaṭṭāraka Viśvakīrti (V.S. 1696–1700/CE 1639–1640 to 1643–1644).

<sup>72</sup> J. Ś. Jain (2011: 93ff.) describes other epigraphic and literary *paṭṭāvalis* corroborating this independent sub-lineage of the Kāṣṭhāsaṃgha Nanditaṭagaccha, and tracing it further until Bhuvanakīrti, the twelfth in line from Kamalakīrti, and last *Bhaṭṭāraka* of this sub-lineage. Viśvabhūṣaṇa, who consecrated the *kirtistambha*, was the fourth in line from Kamalakīrti. According to Jain (2011: 98), this sub-lineage was connected to the Bṛhadśākhā



It is not clear whether these *kirtistambhas* have ever significantly served as ritual objects comparable to the *caraṇa pādukās*.<sup>73</sup> But another function they clearly share with the *paṭṭāvalī* texts that feature prominently in the manuscript collections of Rajasthan. They glorify the monastic lineages by establishing a connection between the *Bhāṭṭārakas*' lineages and famous Ācāryas of ancient lore. The Mūlasaṅgha lineages for example incorporate famous monks like Kundakunda (V.S. 49/BCE 8, as fifth pontiff) and Umāsvāmin (V.S. 101/CE 44, as sixth pontiff). Tracing the *Bhāṭṭāraka* lineage back in time, with the implication of it being an unbroken ascetic lineage ultimately leading back to Mahāvīra, lends it legitimacy and esteem.<sup>74</sup> The association of *Bhāṭṭāraka* lineages with specific castes might have been a catalyst reinforcing sectarianism and the need for legitimisation. The erection of the Dillī-Jayapuraśākhā *kirtistambha* further seems a symbolic act that dovetails well with the efforts of Surendrakīrti and his predecessors Mahendrakīrti and Kṣemendrakīrti to counter the influence of the *Terāpanth*, and restore the laity's devotion to the *Bhāṭṭārakas* (Cort 2002: 59).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The survey of two cases of Digambara art-historical activity in North India given above, reveals some interesting differences. From the overview of the material in Rajasthan, it is clear that *Bhāṭṭārakas* were the central characters, either as propagators of the production of religious art, or as objects of devotion themselves. In the sculpture and literature projects of Gwalior, however, the *Bhāṭṭārakas* appear to have functioned more as mediators or facilitators, whereby the *Paṇḍita* Rāidhū and the community laymen are described as more actively engaged, though—it has to be said—according to the portraits of the *Paṇḍita* Rāidhū himself. The level of activism of the *Paṇḍita* Rāidhū, and the high esteem he seems to have enjoyed in the community, though probably rather exceptional, is nevertheless striking in the light of the many *Paṇḍitas* who were involved in the later *Adhyātma* and *Terāpanth* movements, which brought about the end of the *Bhāṭṭāraka* hegemony in North India (Cort 2002). Further research

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of the Narasiṃhapura *jāti* (caste), while the *Bhāṭṭāraka* lineage described by Johrāpurkar was affiliated to the Narasiṃhapura's Laghuśākhā.

<sup>73</sup> We witnessed devotees visiting the *Kīrtistambha* Nāsiyām offering uncooked rice at the base of the pillar. The Surpur *kīrtistambha* upon our visit carried fresh markings of sandalwood paste.

<sup>74</sup> Dundas (2002: 122), for whom it is “difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Mūlasaṅgha gradually became little more than a prestigious but artificial designation, redolent of a long unattainable orthodoxy”, adds that, moreover (Dundas 2002: 124): “[i]t seems to have been the *bhāṭṭārakas* who maintained the lingering vestiges of the Digambara sectarian divisions [...]”. See also Flügel (2006: 343 and 381, f.n. 175).

and comparison in the coming years on the project will be hopefully provide clarification and nuance to these ideas. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that there is scope for dynamics in the relationships between the different clerical and lay hierarchies of the Digambara community. What is undeniable, however, is that the legacy of artefacts in volume and quality is enormous.

## PHOTO CREDITS

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