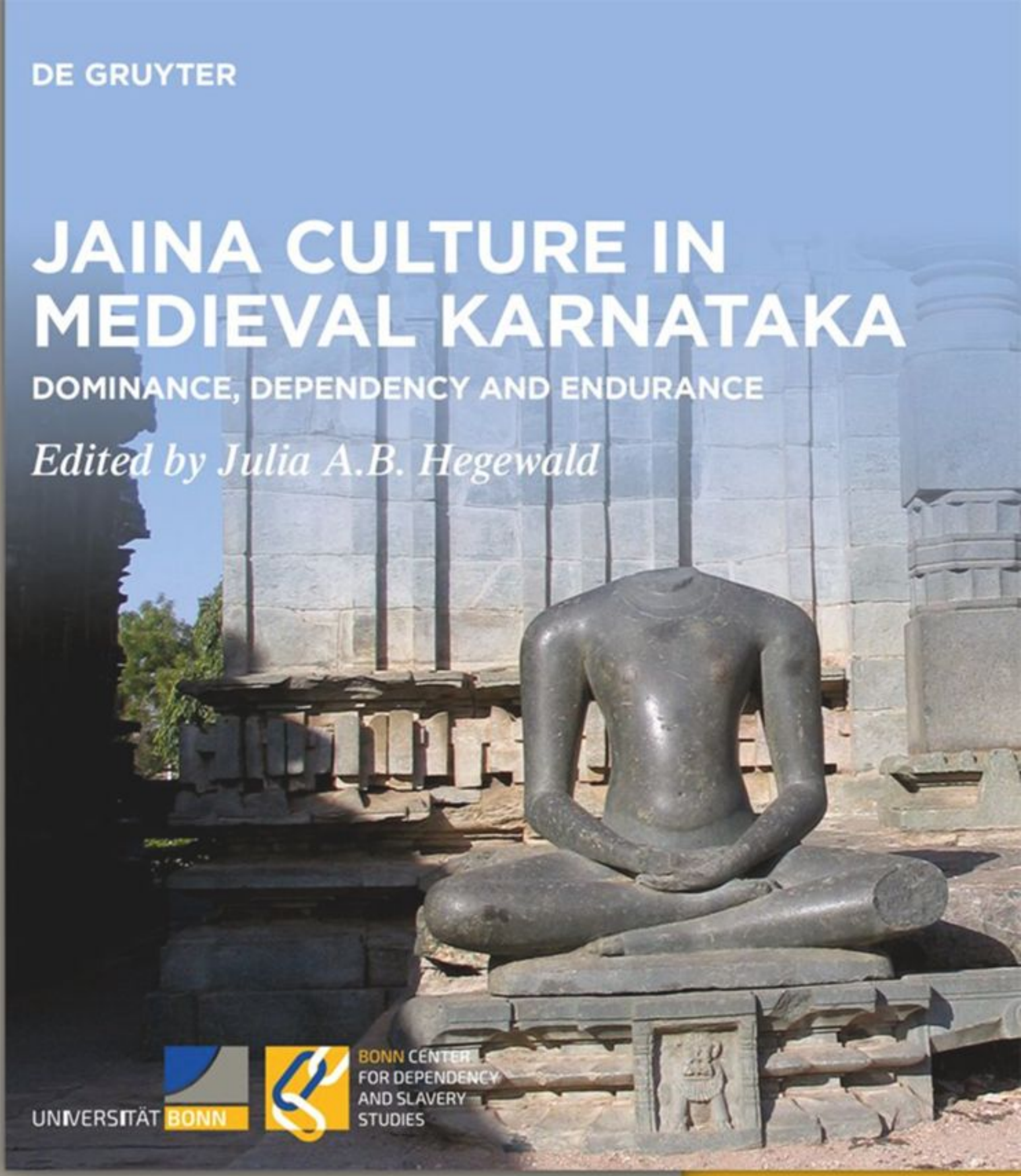
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JAINA CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA

DOMINANCE, DEPENDENCY AND ENDURANCE

Edited by Julia A.B. Hegewald



DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

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Jaina Culture in Medieval Karnataka

Dependency and Slavery Studies

Edited by
Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann

Volume 18

Jaina Culture in Medieval Karnataka

Dominance, Dependency and Endurance

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This book is dedicated to
the members of my loyal, inquisitive and enthusiastic research team:
Pius F. Pinto, Tiziana Lorenzetti, Julia Lauer

and especially Sabine Scholz,
who left fewer traces
than the disappearing Jainas of Karnataka

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Introduction: Dependency and Jaina Studies in Karnataka

1 Dependency Studies on Jainism in Medieval Karnataka

The study of dependencies involves examining situations where some people have access to resources which others do not have, resulting in asymmetrical power relations and asymmetrical dependencies. The main aim of the Jainas, as presumably of the followers of most religious groups, is the attainment of salvation. In an Indic context, this is represented by release from the distresses of being continuously reborn into a world of suffering (*saṃsāra*). On the one hand, therefore, the story of dependencies in medieval Karnataka is about who, or which faith group, promises the most convincing and safest access to liberation, or at least which religious movement achieves predominance in a region at a given time. In addition, as religion and politics are tightly intertwined in this and in most contexts, the dominant religious group also has access to the greatest royal and societal support and can most easily control economic exchanges. In our case, in Karnataka, these are mainly commerce and trade. As such, the discussion in this book is about rival religious groups, the support they won from rulers and other influential sections of society, and the power of economics. Whilst the Jainas managed to offer attractive positions in most dependency-related areas from about the second to the eleventh or early twelfth century CE, they lost this comfortable position in all respects from the later twelfth to thirteenth century onwards. The various facets of this story will be presented in the following chapters.

2 The History and Development of the Research Project

This publication represents the results of an interdisciplinary research project on Jainism, Jaina culture, history, and religion as well as art and architecture in Karnataka, which ran over a number of years.[1] Initially, it was funded by the German Re-

1 The official title of the project, which started in 2005, was: "Der Jainismus in Karnataka (Südindien), Entwicklung und Wandel von Architektur, Geschichte und Religion, insbesondere nach dem Machverlust im frühen 12. Jahrhundert," meaning "Jainism in Karnataka (South India), Development and Change of Architecture, History and Religion, especially after the loss of influence in the early twelfth century."

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search Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) through their Emmy Noether Programme. It started with a research team, which I headed, at the South Asia Institute at Heidelberg University (2005–2007). When I was appointed Lecturer and later Reader in Art History and Visual Studies (AHVS) at The University of Manchester, the group moved with me to the UK to continue its work there (2007–2010). When I obtained the chair in Oriental Art History as head of the Department of Asian and Islamic Art History (AIK) in the Institute for Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at the University of Bonn, the project shifted back to Germany (2010–2014). I am particularly indebted to the DFG for their continuous support and for their enormous flexibility in allowing me first to take not only my research project, but also the entire team and funding, abroad and then to bring them back to Germany again.

After the official end of the DFG funding period in 2014, I and my departmental colleagues went on digitising photographic slides taken during the Karnataka research project, and built up a detailed webpage.[2] The academic exchange continued, especially with the two team members Tiziana Lorenzetti and Pius F. Pinto, and the project carried on and expanded within the Bonn department.

The venture gained even more new impetus with the commencement of my involvement in the application for the Cluster of Excellence "Beyond Slavery and Freedom: Asymmetrical Dependencies in Pre-Modern Societies." The Cluster of Excellence was approved by the DFG in 2018 and started officially at the University of Bonn the following year. This provided me with the funds to revisit some of the sites, to intensify the academic exchange with my colleagues Pius F. Pinto and Tiziana Lorenzetti and to further develop and expand the project from the angle of dependencies. This led to three further substantial new book publications: the monograph *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*,[3] focusing on climatic dependencies, in 2021, and in 2023 the conference volume *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*.[4] Last but not least, I am presenting to you now this comprehensive joint study in the form of a concluding book, summarising the findings of this long-term research project, which ran for just over eighteen years, and kept expanding and developing in often entirely unforeseen ways.[5]

2 See: https://www.ioa.uni-bonn.de/aik/de/forschung/projekte-1/jainism-in-karnataka-history-architecture-and-religion [accessed 24.07.2023].

3 Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021).

4 Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

5 I am delighted that the book did not go to print earlier, as in the past five to ten years, in particular, a large number of indispensable new publications have added valuable facets to the many aspects of this multi-disciplinal project.

3 The Present Volume

Chapter 1 represents a comprehensive summary of this major academic enquiry, posing our research questions and in the course providing the answers resulting from our joint project. As such, it represents a comprehensive summary on the subject of this major scientific enquiry. With regards to the individual disciplines, the later detailed chapters offer a deeper insight into their respective areas. However, with regards to the main project question, Chapter 1 in many areas goes beyond the material presented in the later specialised contributions. The first chapter is followed by the separate contributions of the expert team members, which consist of chapters focusing on the history of Karnataka (Chapter 2 by Pinto), the religions of the region—in this instance Jainism (Chapter 3 by Scholz) and Vīraśaivism (Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti)—and the temple architecture of the Jainas there (Chapter 5 by Hegewald), as well as the contemporary perspective on Jainas and Muslims, another religion which threatened the Jainas in Karnataka (Chapter 6 by Lauer and Scholz). The members of the team express their own individual views, which are not necessarily shared by the editor or by the other authors who contributed to this book. The core chapters are followed by a comprehensive glossary of technical terms used in the various chapters in the publication. Information on the copyright of the illustrations can be found in the subsequent 'List of Plates;' the captions below the images in the text provide only content information. The volume closes with some notes on contributors and a comprehensive index.

4 Acknowledgements and Thanks

Between 2005 and 2024, a number of young and more established academics at varying stages in their careers have worked as part of the team. At professorial rank, I am grateful to Professor Dr Tiziana Lorenzetti and at postdoctoral level to Dr Pius Fidelis Pinto for contributing their expertise to this joint venture, our conferences and publications. Sabine Scholz obtained her PhD as part of the project at the University of Manchester in 2011. Julia Lauer in Heidelberg integrated parts of her research conducted on behalf of this project into her Masters dissertation at Heidelberg University and worked for us as a student assistant. I am grateful to a number of other student assistants who supported this large research venture over the years: in Heidelberg, to Anna Shiian, Navina Sarma, Claudia Scheufele, Rebecca Steiner and Klaus Vettel; in Manchester to Irene Martin Alvarez; and in Bonn to Markus Schoenenborn, Sarah Kansu, Erika Schwager, Alexandros Kotzias, Daniel Michels, Laura Drinck, Verena Bodenstein, Susanne Löffler, Demet Cetin, Sophie-Marie Schreurs, Karina Linke and Antonia Fuchs. I would like to thank all of them for their varied contributions at different stages of the research work. During fieldwork in India, we were assisted by a

number of colleagues, above all by Prof. Dr S. Joganshankar, Prof. Dr B.S. Sannaiah, the late Dr Edward Noronha, H.T. Talwar, Dr Nigel Chancellor, the late Prof. Dr K.S. Shivanna and Prof. Dr Hampa Nagarajaiah. In Germany, fruitful discussions were had with Prof. Dr Robert Zydenbos, Prof. Dr Subrata K. Mitra, Prof. Dr Hans Haderer and with the late Prof. Dr Willem Bollée and in the UK, with Prof. Dr Richard Gombrich, Dr George Michell, the late Prof. Dr John Fritz and Dr Helen Philon.

A number of exhibitions, workshops and international conferences were organised as part of this large project. We started with a small workshop entitled "Der Jainismus in Karnataka: Entwicklung und Wandel von Geschichte, Religion und Architektur" (Jainism in Karnataka: Development and Change of History, Religion and Architecture) held at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, in October 2005. This was followed in 2006 by an exhibition documenting the ritual proceedings of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, which we as a team had witnessed live in Shravanabelgola earlier in the year. The workshop and the exhibition were organised by the Emmy Noether team members and funded by the DFG. I am particularly grateful to the participants and contributors of three conferences which contributed substantially to the results of this complex research project. The first, entitled "Jainism in Karnataka: Art, History, Literature and Religion" was held at the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) in Bangalore in February 2007.[6] With regards to this symposium, I am grateful for the support extended to us by Prof. Dr S. Settar. The second symposium "In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age" was organised by my own department at the University of Bonn in October 2011.[7] Both conferences were funded by the DFG. Third and last, I organised a digital conference during the Corona pandemic, entitled "Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia" in 2021, which set the question posed in the present publication with regards to the Jaina community in Karnataka in a wider regional, cultural Asian and artistic context. The conference volume was published in the book series of the Cluster of Excellence "Dependency and Slavery Studies" (DSS) in 2023.[8]

During the publication process of this book, I also received generous support from the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS). I am particularly grateful to the speaker of the Cluster of Excellence, Prof. Dr Stephan Conermann, the managing director, Jeannine Bischoff, and to the members of the Steering Committee for funding this publication. In this context, the support of the publications manager, Dr Janico Albrecht, in advising on and copy editing this volume is also acknowledged

6 The results of this conference have been edited by Julia A.B. Hegewald under the title *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience* and been published as part of the Heidelberg Series in South Asian and Comparative Studies by Samskriti Publishers, New Delhi, in 2011.

7 The papers of this symposium have appeared in the series Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1, with EB-Publishers, Berlin, in 2014 under the title *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, edited by Julia A.B. Hegewald.

8 Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms*.

with the greatest appreciation. Furthermore, I am particularly grateful to Abigail Graham as language editor, for taking such meticulous care and applying such enormous sensitivity in checking the English throughout this volume. In my own department, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Sabine Haessler for adapting the chapters to the house style of the series, for carefully checking through them repeatedly and for acting as a such a reliable assistant during almost the whole process of editing this collection of research papers. At the very end, Tamara Sans took over from her and I am equally grateful to her for all her support during the final stages of the publication process. Final thanks are due to the team at De Gruyter, for seeing this publication into print.

5 Concluding Thoughts

This volume was not conceived as a monograph with a single, carefully honed argument. Over a period of many years, individual chapters were written by professionals at various stages of their academic development and careers, from Masters, doctoral and postdoctoral levels. The aim was to involve young scholars, to guide them into research and to combine expertise from many different academic fields to obtain a fuller and more multifaceted understanding of the issues involved in the rise and decline of Jainism in Karnataka during the Indian Middle Ages. Specialists from different disciplines—history, religious studies, anthropology, history of art and architecture—therefore worked closely together to provide the most comprehensive view and interpretation of the situation at this time in the south of India. However, this also means that the disciplinal cultures of different subject areas were combined and are still visible in the individual chapters. Wherever possible, we have updated the material in 2022 and 2023 and brought it up to date with the latest knowledge and data. In this context, the spelling “Jaina” (rather than “Jain”) has been standardised throughout the publication, the individual chapter by Pius F. Pinto and the joint contribution by Julia Lauer and Sabine Scholz have—wherever possible—been provided with diacritical marks. The spellings of place- and personal names have been standardised throughout the book to prevent confusion and to ease the preparation of the joint index. As will be explained in more detail in the following chapters, this publication predominantly uses the term Vīraśaiva and not Liṅgāyat, which are sometimes treated as terms referring to different religious groups and sometimes as synonyms. This will be discussed in detail in Chapters 1 and 4. We hope that the reader will find pleasure in the individuality and originality of the distinctive approaches taken in the independent chapters.

6 Note on Transliteration

For the transliteration of terms and personal names from a Sanskrit, Hindi, Kannada, other south Indian or entirely different language background, we have applied the standard transliteration systems. Most words have been derived from Sanskrit or Kannada. For Sanskrit and Sanskrit-related vernacular languages, we have applied the standard transliteration method. However, for Kannada, which in contrast to Sanskrit and north Indian languages also differentiates between long and short mid-vowels, 'e' and 'o,' the long versions have been marked with a macron as 'ē' and 'ō.' Despite the enormous variety of languages and their adapted forms used in this publication, we hope to have respected and correctly applied the transliteration practices which are standard for each of them. However, this is not a linguistic study and questions of content and interpretation were at the forefront of our minds. When the chapters were first submitted, some of our authors had used diacritical marks for place names, while others had not. In order to retain easy readability and to permit readers to locate place names on modern maps, what has been perceived as the standard English spelling has been used throughout and these spellings have been standardised through the publication. This should allow the reader to establish connections between the different contributions more easily. However, the first time a place name is given in each chapter, the name with diacritical marks is provided, either in brackets behind the place name or sometimes in a footnote. If a word does not need diacritical marks for its correct spelling it is not repeated in brackets. Where modern names or common alternative versions of names exist, where the individual author preferred a different spelling or where an ancient name for a place is used in the inscriptions or historical accounts, these are also given in brackets after the first usage. Subsequently, a standard version of the place name without diacritics is used throughout the chapters.

7 Dedications

This book is dedicated to the members of the Emmy Noether Research Group, who all devoted several years of their lives to the work on this project. In 2006, we undertook fieldwork together in Karnataka and also attended the celebrations of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka at Shravanabelgola, which was a very remarkable and inspiring experience for us all. Pius F. Pinto, Tiziana Lorenzetti and Julia Lauer have seen the project to its very end. In particular, however, this publication is dedicated to Sabine Scholz, who was part of the research group in Heidelberg from almost the first day and who moved with me to the University of Manchester, where she completed her PhD on Digambara asceticism in Karnataka in 2011. Unfortunately, the entire team, as well as all the friends and acquaintances of Sabine whom we knew, have lost contact with her. Although it

seems almost impossible today, in a digitally connected and global world, we have not been able to reconnect with her since. To us, Sabine has left even fewer traces than the "disappearing" Jainas of Karnataka[9] whom we studied for so many years. We hope that she is well and that the published book will perhaps find its way to her one day and surprise and delight her.

As Jaina culture in Karnataka continues to flourish and change, despite a political situation in the subcontinent at present which is not always conducive to harmony and peaceful coexistence between different religious groups, this will not be the last publication on the survival of this remarkable ancient religious group and its inexhaustible creativity in art and architecture.

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9 This is with reference to the publication by Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, Indian Book Centre, 1998): 213–24.

Julia A.B. Hegewald

Chapter 1
Questions and Conclusions: The Conundrum of the Rise and Decline of Jaina Influence in Medieval Karnataka

1 The Enigma

The main question which this book aims to tackle is how, after flourishing for several hundred years, from at least the eighth century CE, the Jaina religious community in Karnataka[1] lost most of its influence in a relatively short space of time. From the late eleventh or early to mid-twelfth century, depending on the area of the State concerned, the Jainas rapidly lost the upper hand and were relegated to a position of strong asymmetrical dependency on other newly dominant religious, economic and political groups. The five chapters that follow, from the fields of history, religion, art and architecture as well as anthropology, offer individual components of the solution to the riddle of why this happened. Taken together, these separate pieces of the jigsaw provide for the first time a fuller—and, as I hope, a more successful—picture of the political, economic, religious and artistic situation than a study coming from a single discipline. The various individual studies conjoined in this publication illustrate the factors which influenced this decline. It is noteworthy, that both mutations of their religion for which the Jainas themselves were responsible along with external elements in the form of other creeds which entered or sprang up in the region from the late eleventh and early twelfth century onwards contributed to this deteriorate. These new faiths competed for hegemony in the region, took political and economic control and fought against the formerly predominant Jaina elite, contributing to the creation of acute dependencies.

In our study, we focus largely on the region of the modern-day State of Karnataka, although the area affected by these changes was, for much of the time under discussion in this chapter, much larger. This issue will be discussed at different points in this book. The period of concern corresponds largely to what in Europe is called the Middle Ages or the medieval period, which in an Indian context is also thought to last from about the fifth to the late fifteenth century CE.

It is surprising how little has so far been written about this transformation in the status of the Jainas in Karnataka. In general, hardly anything has been published on the question that concerns us. Moreover, many historical studies purposefully exclude

1 Although the official transliteration of this modern Indian State is Karṇāṭaka, in this chapter and the book as a whole it has been treated as an English word and written without diacritical marks.

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this period from their remit.[2] Some scholars have even claimed that no regression of Jaina influence in Karnataka ever took place—a claim which, as will be discussed in section 5.1 below, flies in the face of the physical evidence. The lack of interest in the waning of Jainism in Karnataka was already identified by Saletore in the 1930s.[3] Fortunately, a few limited studies dealing at least with certain aspects of this complex subject have appeared since his time. On the one hand, this lack of enquiry appears to be linked to the fact that Śvetāmbara Jainism has by and large been studied for longer and more intensively than the culture of the Digambaras, who are more numerous in Karnataka and in the south more generally.[4] On the other hand, even those studies focusing on Digambara Jainism in South India often write little about this period of weakening influence, or at least suggest no explicit reasons for it. One can say that, as a rule, scholars have been more interested in so-called classical or golden ages and high points of culture than in their periods of decline.[5] In addition, Jainism has often been wrongly portrayed as a static, even monolithic, unchanging faith, and, as such, as less rewarding to examine than others. This is, of course, a view which is not applicable to any belief system. The discussions in this publication clearly show that in actual fact, Jainism adjusted a great deal and that the Jainas proactively tried to adapt to religious and political changes by emphasising existing features of their faith and absorbing and forming substantial new elements within it. As such, as will be argued here, Jainism—like any other faith—is a product of historical changes and religious developments.[6]

This chapter reviews the increasingly problematic situation the Jainas encountered from the late eleventh century onwards. It summarises the conclusions of the individ-

2 See, for instance, Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. A. D. 500–1200)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975).

3 Refer, for example, to Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938): 1–2.

4 For the difference between these two Jaina sects, refer to the introductory paragraph of the section 2.1 "Arrival and Prospering of the Faith" in this chapter. Scholz in Chapter 3 in this publication has written on this topic as well. According to her, this neglect is due to the fact that the early Western Indologists of the nineteenth century concentrated primarily on philological studies of the Jainas, a tradition which continued to a certain extent at least into the later twentieth century. However, even modern Jaina studies have placed more of an emphasis on the Jaina community of north-western India and again more on the Śvetāmbara tradition. On further details on the lack of scholarly interest in Digambara Jainism in general and in the south of India in particular, see footnote 1 in Chapter 3 by Scholz in this publication.

5 I focused on this issue in much detail in a conference and edited volume, published as Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014). See also the brief discussion of this subject in this chapter under section 2.3.1 "High Points and Golden Ages Questioned."

6 On this issue, refer also to Olle Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability: A Jain Strategy for Survival and Growth," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41 (1998): 33.

ual specialists in their respective chapters in this volume, which shed light on this debate. It then digests and presents the results of a conference organised by the research team in Bangalosre in 2007 and published by me in 2011 on the subject of our research project.[7] The contributions of a large number of local experts from Karnataka and selected specialists from Europe and the USA at this conference yielded a substantial body of data, which has since been updated and further completed by additional readings on the various subject areas that have appeared in print since 2011. Furthermore, this chapter condenses the outcomes of two further subprojects. The first, examining re-use theory, widened the angle of the discussion from a regionally and (in terms of timeframe) highly focused enquiry to a more general deliberation about changes in dominance and dependency and the impact these have on artistic expression and religious practice more generally.[8] The second subproject questioned whether it is helpful to classify certain periods as "golden" or ideal—in order to contrast them with phases of dependency and suppression—making the point that anything before such an idealised phase is necessarily seen as premature and anything after it as representative of decay.[9]

Chapter 1 has been structured in the following way: At the start (section 2), we shall examine the emergence, establishment and rise to dominance of Jainism and suggest reasons for its fast and successful path to power and supremacy in the region. This is followed by the first hints of decline. In section 3, we shall analyse organic changes in the Jainas' own practices (that is, not made in response to aggression or persecution), such as their move from an itinerant life, without home or possessions, to a settled existence in monasteries, their transformation into wealthy landowners and their acceptance of Jaina castes and subgroups. The following section (4) is a discussion of the expansion of the Jaina pantheon, the introduction or increase in importance within Jaina ritual practice of other objects of adoration, *bhakti* (devotional) and Tantric elements, and the important aspect of lay participation, noting the marked effect which such developments had on Jaina sacred spaces, such as temple architecture. In section (5), we shall take a closer look at the other religions which increased in popularity at this time. Many of the changes described in this chapter—at least the encounters with other religious groups and the resulting persecution of

7 This has been published as Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, Heidelberg Series in South Asian and Comparative Studies (New Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011).

8 For this refer to the joint publication by Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012) and especially the theory chapter by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54.

9 For the results of this study, consult Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014).

the Jainas—affected the Jainas in other south Indian States, such as Andhra Pradesh[10] and Tamil Nadu, as well. For purposes of comparison, the situation of the Jainas in these adjacent areas will be briefly discussed at the start of section 6. However, we have made the State of Karnataka our primary focus as it is the south Indian State in which Jainism flourished most extensively and which still possesses the largest number of Jaina temples and the strongest continuing tradition of Jaina ritual activities.[11] A brief comparative examination will follow of the disappearance of Buddhism in India, which took place at the same time as the Jaina troubles. Whilst in the sections outlined so far, inscriptional and literary references constituted the main sources, the section that follows (7) focuses on artistic and architectural evidence for the persecution and decline of the Jainas in Karnataka. In section 8, I then examine the continuity of Jainism in Karnataka. The final section (9) summarises the results of this project. As such, Chapter 1 serves both as an introduction and as a conclusion to this edited volume.

2 Jaina Historical Developments in the Early Middle Ages

This large section with its various subdivisions outlines what we know about the legendary advent of Jainism in the region of Karnataka and summarises the historical development of the religion from its initial establishment, its expansion and upsurge to supremacy, followed by the first symptoms of its enigmatic decay at the high point of Jaina power in Karnataka. Particular attention will be paid to the reasons for the particular appeal which Jainism enjoyed at this time, which led to its rise in influence, as this will shed light on its later decline. At the end of this section, we shall examine the usefulness of applying value statements such as the term "golden age" to such periods of strong influence. The chapter closes with the proposition that many centuries of Jaina supremacy in the wider region might have led to a certain complacency on the part of the Jainas, rendering them slow to react decisively to shifts in the religious and political milieu in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

10 In 2014, the Indian State of Andhra Pradesh was divided into two sections, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Here, the entire area is referred to.

11 This has also been stressed by M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture in Southern Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 95.

2.1 Arrival and Prospering of the Faith

Jainism originated in the north-eastern State of Bihar, as did Buddhism, at around the same time. The doctrinal traditions of the religion, which is probably a reformed version of an earlier creed, were articulated by the teacher and ascetic Mahāvīra in the fifth or sixth century BCE.[12] In about the fourth century BCE, an acute drought struck the region, resulting in a severe famine. This led to massive migratory movements away from the east of India. In consequence, the Jainas shifted to the north-west, principally into the modern States of Rajasthan and Gujarat, and into the south. An additional reason for this move from the east of India might have been the upsurge of the *brāhmaṇical* Śuṅga dynasty (c. second to first centuries BCE), following the establishment of Mauryan rule in the area. This created an environment which was hostile to non-Vedic groups in the area of Magadha, which today largely represents the region of Bihar.[13]

This split of the religious community (*saṅgha*) into these two migratory groups resulted eventually in a schism. Broadly speaking, the group which had moved westwards formed the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas, whose male and female ascetics wear simple white cotton robes, while the faction which travelled south came to make up the Digambara subgroup, whose male mendicants reject all belongings, including clothing, and wander about naked. Digambara nuns wear simple white cotton robes, as do Śvetāmbara female ascetics.[14] Desai, however, reminds us that there was never an absolutely strict division between north and south, Śvetāmbara and Digambara, and that from early on, the Śvetāmbara Jainas of North India moved into the south as well. Today, any migration is largely due to commercial reasons.[15] In the following section, I shall look at how and when Jainism might have reached Karnataka.

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12 A similar situation almost certainly characterises the beginnings of Vīraśaivism, which also represents a reformed version of a probably earlier cult. On this, refer to section 5.3.1 "Basava and His Teachings" in this chapter.

13 Jaini has written on this subject (Padmanabh S. Jaini, "The Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism: A Study in Contrast," in *Studies in History of Buddhism: Papers Presented at the International Conference on the History of Buddhism at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, WIS, USA, August, 19–21, 1976*, ed. A.K. Narain [Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1980]: 82–83). For the dating of Śuṅga rule, refer to Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York: Weatherhill, 1993 [1985]): 56.

14 For further details on the migration and the split of the Jaina community into two major groups, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 17–19.

15 Desai suggests that in the past, this might have been ascribable to missionary activities of the Śvetāmbaras (P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā 6 [Sholapur: Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakshaka Sangha, 1957]: 97–98). Chapter 5 by Hegewald in this volume also discusses Śvetāmbara temples in Karnataka.

2.1.1 Jaina Origins in Karnataka

According to Jaina tradition, the teacher (*ācārya*) Bhadrabāhu is said to have brought Jainism to Karnataka in the fourth or third century BCE.[16] Bhadrabāhu is also known as Śrutakevali or Śrutakevalin. A Śrutakevali is an ascetic who knows all the Jaina scriptures and is consequently held to be omniscient. Myth recounts that he and Candragupta Maurya, grandfather of the famous emperor Aśoka, came to Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa) in Karnataka after fleeing the east Indian food crisis, which is said to have lasted twelve years (Plate 1.1).[17] According to an inscription dated 600 CE, Candragupta, who in the inscriptions is referred to by his religious name, Prabhacandra, converted to Jainism before his death.[18] The two eminent personalities are believed to have established Jainism at the sacred hill site in Karnataka and attained enlightenment on Candragiri,[19] one of the two sacred hills at Shravanabelgola (alongside Viṇdhyagiri), which is said to take its name from Candragupta Maurya.[20] The date of Bhadrabāhu's enlightenment (*nirvāṇa*) and death is usually given as 297 BCE (170 A.V.), while Candragupta is thought to have passed away twelve years later.[21] Bhadrabāhu is believed to have died a religious death by self-starvation (*sallekhanā*).[22] In Jainism, this is consid-

16 For information on this period of migration, refer also to Robert J. Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered: The View of the Medieval Kannada (Kannaḍa) Poet Brahmaśiva," in "*Minorities" on Themselves*, ed. Hugh van Skyhawk (Heidelberg: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 1986): 176. Alternatively, there is a legend according to which Mahāvīra himself brought Jainism to Karnataka, long before Bhadrabāhu (Rajalakshmi Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting [The Ascetics and the Laity among the Jains of Mysore City]," *Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India* 21, no. 1–2 [1972]: 3). However, there is no evidence available to us today to prove the correctness or historicity of this story.

17 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3, and K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi: An Art-Historical Appraisal," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 179. There are different spellings for the name of this place. Whilst Śravaṇa Belgoḷa (see, for instance, Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3) and Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa are also common, we shall use Shravanabelgola throughout this publication. In general, the first time a place name is given, it will be shown again in brackets with diacritical marks. Should there be an ancient or modern version of the same name, this will also be provided.

18 On this date, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 476, fn 6, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity," *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 2. See also K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India," *The Indian Antiquary* 40 (1911): 214, and Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 4.

19 Refer to see R.V.S. Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 30.

20 See Robert J. Del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 117.

21 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3.

22 For more details on the ritual of *sallekhanā*, refer to section 4.1.3 "Lay Participation: Ablutions, the Cult of Bāhubali and *Sallekhanā*" in this chapter. See also Julia A.B Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 121–22.

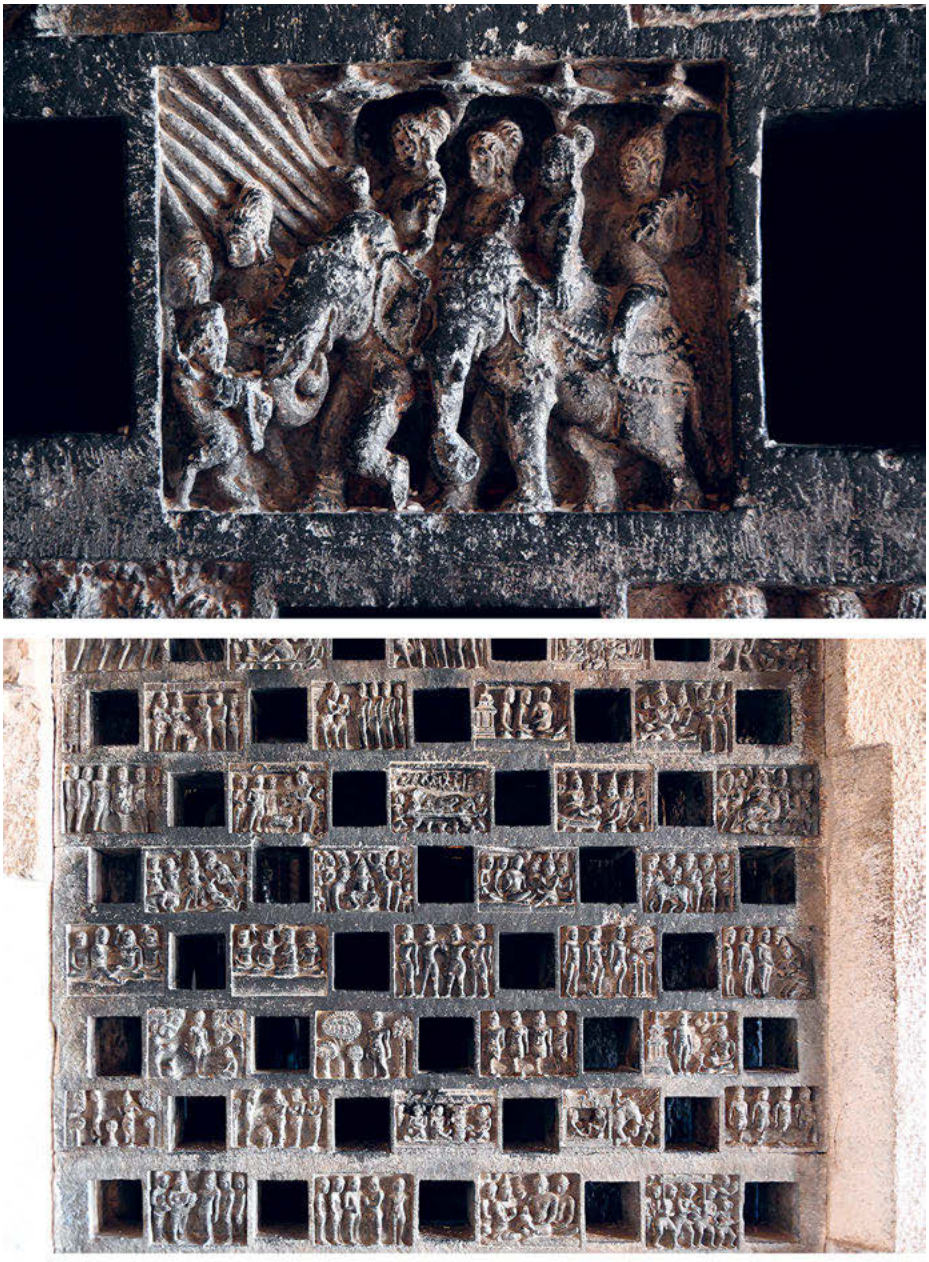


Plate 1.1: Two steatite screens inside the Candragupta Basadi at Shravanabelgola depict various scenes from the legendary southward migration of Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu.

ered an exemplary end, worthy of emulation.[23] The ritual of *sallekhanā* is still being practised today.[24] Bhadrabāhu's sacred death on this hill gave rise to a ritual tradition of following him in performing *sallekhanā* at the site.[25]

According to this version of the story, reflected in various literary sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Jainism then spread into Tamil Nadu and Kerala from Karnataka.[26] The emergence of these accounts in Karnataka during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period in which Jainism reached its pinnacle of influence in this area, might reflect the Jainas' sense of self-importance and feelings of superiority at this time. These will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

However, the dates of this migration, the introduction of Jainism to Karnataka, the identities of the main characters involved and the route via which Jainism is said to have reached the south have been much debated, as Pius F. Pinto shows in Chapter 2. Although the lithic and literary references to these events date from much later,[27] the presence of these two prominent historical personalities on the sacred hill is attested to in the names of a number of local edifices and the stories associated with them. These include Bhadrabāhu's meditation cave and the Candragupta Basadi, both on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola.[28] However, the conversion of Candragupta to Jainism and the introduction of the religion to Karnataka at this early age have been doubted by contemporary scholars.[29]

Historically, it appears more likely that Jainism moved south from its place of origin in north-eastern Bihar through what is today the State of Jharkhand and into Odi-

23 Refer to Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 230.

24 Scholz has written on the contemporary continuity of *sallekhanā* (Sabine Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni* Tradition in Karnataka During the Twentieth Century," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 272–74).

25 See del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 117. On this issue, refer also to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3, and Pinto in Chapter 2 in this publication.

26 For further details refer to R. Champakalakshmi, "Monuments & Sculptures 300 B.C. to A.D. 300: South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 92.

27 On this issue, see Pinto in Chapter 2 and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 179. Much evidence on the situation of the Jainas in Karnataka has also been sourced from literary writings. Although this might surprise at first glance, R.V.S. Sundaram reiterates the importance of such texts also for historical research. See the discussion by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (New Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 3, and Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 29.

28 Further details on both structures are provided in Chapter 5 by Hegewald. For additional information, see also Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 54–55, 68–70. *Basadi* means "Jaina temple." See the discussion later in this chapter.

29 This has been discussed in more detailed by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India:* 476–77, 319. See also Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000 [1978]): 105.

sha (until 2011 Orissa),[30] Andhra Pradesh, parts of modern Telangana, and into Tamil Nadu. From there, it is likely to have reached Karnataka during the early centuries of the common era, most probably in the second century CE.[31] In addition, Jainism seems to have arrived not in one single migration, but more in the manner of a continuous process of waves.[32] Even within our research group, debates about the date of arrival continued till the end. Sabine Scholz, in this publication, follows Dundas in dating the advent of Jainism in Karnataka to the second and first centuries BCE. Pius F. Pinto, following traditional Jaina accounts from the region, favours an even earlier date, in the third century BCE.[33] However, textual references from this early period are extremely rare and very difficult to date. The contemporary architectural remnants and inscriptions that survive provide no definitive evidence to help establish these early dates.

However, it is not the aim of this publication to tackle the problematic issue of precisely when Jainism reached Karnataka. We are primarily interested in reasons for the rise in popularity of this faith group in the region. In this context, the crucial fact, notwithstanding the exact date of their arrival, is that the Jainas were already receiving substantial patronage from royal dynasties in the early centuries of the common era. Their influence intensified during subsequent centuries, and from the fourth century CE, there is ample proof for the presence of Jainism throughout Karnataka.[34] The rise of this new faith in the south was not without its ups and downs, but we can see

30 Locally, the State names are spelled Jhārkhaṇḍ and Oṛiśā.

31 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 6, and Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 4. For evidence of Jaina cave structures in Tamil Nadu dating from about the second to the first century BCE, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 475–78. These go back further in time than the earliest preserved Jaina cave remains in Karnataka, which date from only about 600 CE and as such make the eastern route a more plausible one.

32 On this, refer to S.B. Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 34.

33 See Pius Fidelis Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 77. Krishna Murthy argues for an introduction in the fourth century BCE (Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 95). It is not entirely clear how Krishna Murthy, in the work just quoted, comes to the conclusion that Jainism is therefore the "oldest existing religion of Karnataka," as an early form of Brāhmaṇism must have predated it. V.S. Sundaram and Narasimha Murthy even argue that Jainism might have existed in Karnataka before the Mauryan period (c. 323 to 185 BCE) (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 30; P.N. Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka: Developments from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 40). On this, see also Pinto on the same page quoted above. However, to my knowledge, there is no firm basis for such very early dates for the arrival of Jainism in Karnataka. For the dating of the Mauryan period, refer to Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*: 41.

34 On this issue, refer, for instance, to Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 44, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180.

that it became well established in Karnataka between the fifth and the seventh century, depending on the particular region of the State. From then on, Jainism appears to have risen steadily to a focal position of supremacy, dominating not just religious and political, but also philosophical, literary, artistic and architectural debates in Karnataka.[35] By the ninth or tenth century CE, the Jainas seem to have reached a very comfortable state of supremacy, which they kept until about the middle of the twelfth century.[36]

2.1.2 Early Royal Patronage

How did the Jainas achieve this supremacy? One crucial factor appears to have been the support of ruling dynasties, which they gained quite early on. Here, we encounter what at first glance seems a contradiction. Did the Jainas, who preached and lived according to the precept of *ahiṃsā*, meaning non-violence or non-injury, really work so closely with and profit from the support of warrior kings, militant aristocrats and members of their combatant forces?[37] In fact, many Jainas were high-ranking members of the army themselves.[38] Saletore considers this a particularly important point, as it shows that the Jainas were not only theoreticians, concerned with religious issues, but also actively involved in politics and worldly matters, defending their region as members of the military.[39]

Probably the best-known Jaina general is Cāvuṇḍarāya, also spelled Cāmuṇḍarāya, who commissioned the Bāhubali carved monolith (Plate 1.2) and the Brahmadeva pillar (Plate 5.14), both on Viṇdhyagiri, and paid for the construction of the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi on Candragiri (Plates 2.3, 5.13), all at Shravanabelgola, as well as making other important donations.[40] *Basadi* (*basti*), derived from the Sanskrit *vasatī*, meaning

35 Refer to Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 4, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 135. Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 outlines the same situation.

36 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 173, 216.

37 This fact has also been emphasised by Scholz in Chapter 3. On this issue, refer to Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices (London: Routledge, 1992): 102 as well. On the favours and support which the Jainas received from warriors, refer further to Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985): 79.

38 Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78–79 has written on this issue. There is a village in Karnataka named Adaguru, near Halebid. According to local information, the name derives from the term "*adoge*," which means "to cook" and refers to Jaina soldiers who used to live and cook at this place. This is based on personal conversations with Jaina families on site in 2006.

39 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 101.

40 These items have been discussed in Chapter 5. On this issue, see B. Sheik Ali, ed., *History of the Western Gangas*, Comprehensive History of Karnataka 1, Other Publications 61 (Mysore: Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1976): 324–25. On the personality and deeds of the general, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 101–12.

temple, is the local term used in Karnataka for a Jaina temple.[41] In this publication, we use temple, shrine, *basadi* and *jinālaya*, which is another alternative term, interchangeably. Cāvuṇḍarāya is seen as one of the main players during the peak phase of Jaina influence in the region. However, other notable Jaina generals also contributed to the expansion of the empire in the area of Karnataka, especially in the eleventh and twelfth

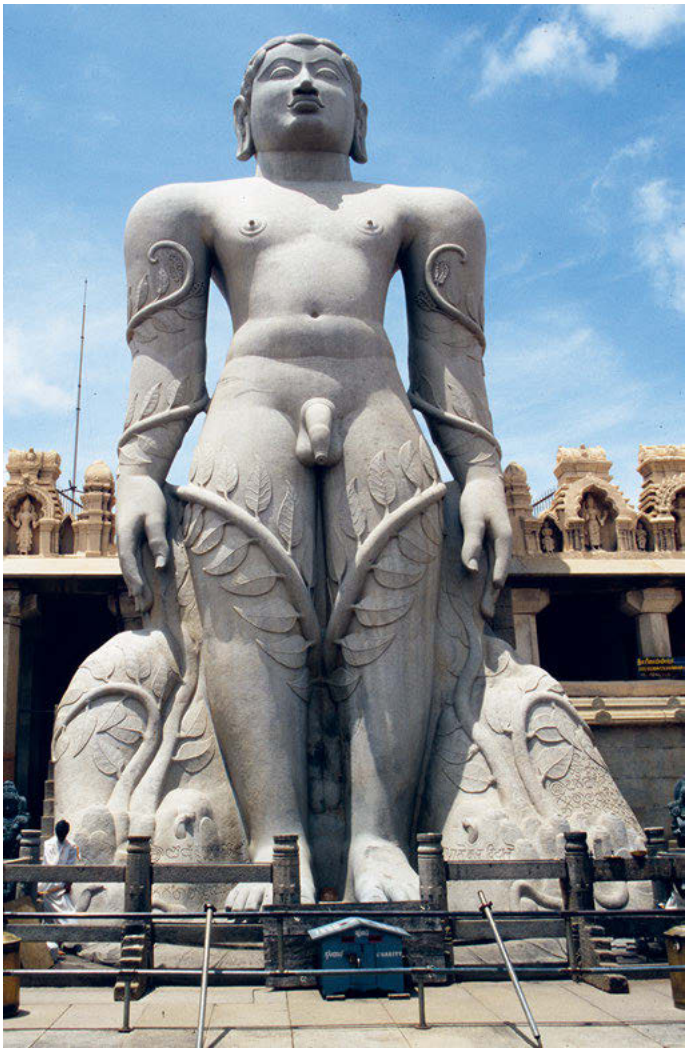


Plate 1.2: The colossal monolithic Bāhubali statue atop Viṇdhyagiri at Shravanabelgola was commissioned by the famous Jaina general Cāvuṇḍarāya in about 981 or 983 CE.

41 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 367.

centuries. Saletore refers, for instance, to general Śāntinātha, who was active during the second half of the eleventh century and who, as he was also in charge of the treasury, was known as Daṇḍanātha Śāntinātha.[42] It seems that in early Jainism, martial activities were accepted if they were conducted in a context of self-defence.[43] The slightly paradoxical but strong connection between Jainas following the tenet of *ahiṃsā* and military kings will be explored further later on in this chapter.[44] Although Jainas did not refrain from martial activities, their history is not one of combativeness and aggressive expansionism. This is probably one of the reasons why they eventually lost ground to other more radical and militant religious groups.[45]

The religion could not have prospered as it did without royal recognition and support.[46] Indian kings traditionally extended a certain tolerance and generosity to all religions in their realm. However, it was especially important for the non-Vedic *śramaṇa* faith groups, such as the Jainas and Buddhists, to receive more active royal assistance and sponsorship during their formative periods. This raised their status and increased their wealth, enabling them to substantiate their position.[47] *Brāhmaṇical* sites, which had been on the scene for longer, had been backed by an extended line of rulers and could usually rely on ample financial resources.

The period from the fifth to the twelfth century was especially prosperous for the Jaina community, with a number of dynasties giving the religion important patronage. The Jainas received generous support under the rule of the Kadambas of Banavāsi (c. 350–550 CE),[48] the Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ, also known as the Western Gaṅgās (350–650 CE and 650–1004 CE),[49] and the Early or Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi (c. 540–753

42 On this issue, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 112–14). For prominent Jaina generals of the twelfth century, see the same publication on pp. 114–15.

43 Compare Dundas, *The Jains*: 102.

44 Refer in particular to section 2.2.1 entitled "Jainas as *Ahiṃsā* Warriors" in this chapter.

45 On this issue, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 37.

46 Scholz, in this volume (Chapter 3), reminds us that contrariwise, rulers also needed to be legitimised by association with influential religious figures and that they required the spiritual guidance of Jaina ascetics. Refer also to Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 44–45.

47 Compare Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 83, and Qvarnstöm "Stability and Adaptability": 43–44. All the non-*brāhmaṇical*, heterodox schools of Indian thought, which focus more on asceticism, are referred to as *śramaṇa*s (Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Śramaṇas: Their Conflict with Brāhmaṇical Society," in *Chapters in Indian Civilization: A Handbook fo Readings to Accompany Lectures in Indian Civilization*, vol. 1, *Classical and Medieval India*, ed. Joseph W. Elder [Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1970]: 41).

48 There are a lot of discrepancies in the dates provided for individual dynasties in different sources. Saletore explains this with regards to unreliable inscriptional records and similar names carried by different monarchs (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 7–8). On the subject of the period of prospering of Jainism, refer to Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 5, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180.

49 For the dates of the Gaṅgā dynasty, refer to I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka*, Architectural Survey of Temples 6 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 6–25. Talakāḍ is also

CE).[50] While the Kadambas, a predominantly Hindu dynasty, practised a religious broadmindedness towards the Jainas,[51] the Gaṅgā rulers seem actually to have owed their throne to Jaina support; it was the Jaina ascetic Siṁhanandi Ācārya who had brought Gaṅgā King Kongaṇivarmā to power, allegedly in 265 CE.[52] As Parasher-Sen points out, this shows that Siṁhanandi cannot have been simply a world-rejecting ascetic, but must have yielded a considerable amount of political influence. Although traditionally, monks and nuns had been discouraged from getting actively involved in politics, it appears that Siṁhanandi's actions were not generally frowned on.[53] Jaini points out that this reflects "the moral ambivalence created by the need for royal support on the one hand and the demands of the spiritual life on the other."[54]

Although not all Gaṅgā kings were Jainas, and some also followed Vaiṣṇavism, the large majority adhered to Jainism and those who did not were generally positively disposed towards the religion.[55] This resulted in a relatively peaceful coexistence and cooperation between Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas at this early stage. Once the Jaina faith had gained the favour of the royal family, however, substantial numbers of people converted. Even if some Gaṅgā monarchs were not Jaina themselves, they employed large numbers of Jaina ministers in their royal administration, and Jaina commanders, such as officers and generals, in their armed forces. This created an administration which actively promoted the welfare of the Jaina community.[56] In this context, Saletore also points out that by gaining the support of "feudal lords and the great commanders," the Jainas obtained influence in "various provincial seats over which these high officials were placed."[57]

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known locally as Talakāḍu. Saletore dates the start of the Gaṅgā dynasty to the second century CE (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 8). The rule of the Gaṅgās might have lasted until the tenth century CE (400–974 CE) (Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 5). This shows that the dates provided by various authors even for large and well-studied dynasties vary considerably.

50 On this issue, see *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2, *Shravanabelgola*, 2nd ed. (Mysore: Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, 1973): lxxix, Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32, and Chapter 2 by Pinto.

51 Compare Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 5. According to Saletore, a number of the Kadamba kings were also Jaina (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 30).

52 On this issue, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 9–17, Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990 [1979]): 279–80, Dundas, *The Jains*: 102, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka: 40, 55, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78. Gaṅgā King Kongaṇivarmā is also sometimes spelled Konguṇivarmā.

53 Refer to Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 225–26.

54 Compare Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280. Singh is rare in questioning the position of Siṁhanandi in bringing the Gaṅgās to power (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 6).

55 For further information, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 30, Sheik Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 309, Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280, and Chapter 2 by Pinto.

56 Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 226 has written on this issue.

57 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 172.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, more specifically the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ (735–973 CE), which succeeded the Gaṅgās, also supported Jainism.[58] Pius F. Pinto stresses, in Chapter 2, how much the Jainas flourished under their rule in particular. During this early propitious period, large numbers of Jaina temples were restored, extended and newly constructed. These activities and also the donation and veneration of statues became exceedingly popular as meritorious deeds.[59] Pius F. Pinto points out that the tradition of making grants to religious establishments appears to have been initiated by the Kadambas as early as the third century CE. Religious donations are generally referred to as "*dāna*" or "*mahādāna*;" the latter term signifies a particularly large donation (Plate 1.3).[60]



Plate 1.3: It is common practice for Jaina visitors to sacred sites and temple edifices to make donations, *dāna*, for the preservation of *jinālaya*s and the performance of rituals.

58 On this, refer, for instance, to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 34–40.

59 Singh has written on this issue (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 24).

60 Refer to Pinto his chapter in this volume and to Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 178.

2.1.3 Support from Farmers, Merchants and Later Rulers

The public acceptance and support of royalty, outlined above, attracted members of other groups in society to Jainism.[61] Pius F. Pinto notes in the next chapter that the Jaina tenet of *ahiṃsā* could be followed without problems by traders, which made the religion very appealing to this profession.[62] For farmers, who represented a large section of society, the case was slightly different. Although many did become followers of Jainism, their professional practice of ploughing the ground and pulling root vegetables out of the earth was considered problematic from a Jaina religious standpoint, as such actions disturb the soil and might kill small living beings, such as insects. This helps to explain why in the mid-twelfth century, when the new Vīraśaiva movement became popular, agriculturalists began to favour it over Jainism, even in villages where the local elite was Jaina, although it was traditional for villagers to adopt the creed of prominent local families. Sabine Scholz discusses this in more detail in Chapter 3. Notwithstanding the question of creed, the remarkable increase in agrarian produce from the eighth century CE onwards, which was achieved through artificial irrigation employing rain water tanks, and the founding of new agricultural settlements led to a substantial increase in trade and consequently in general prosperity in Karnataka by the twelfth century.[63]

The teachings of Jainism appealed especially to the merchant classes; the Jainas had a history of attracting the sponsorship of influential trading groups for their religious establishments and charitable activities. From the tenth century CE onwards, moreover, the Jainas themselves became very active in trade.[64] Whilst the merchants of central Karnataka are generally referred to as Bāṇajigas and the entire merchant class as the Vīra Bāṇajigas,[65] those in the coastal region are usually referred to as Seṭṭi or Seṭṭikārs.[66] With their enormous wealth, the commercial groups of society repre-

61 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 180.

62 On the involvement of merchants in supporting Jainism, see also Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 113–16. This was also highlighted by Prof. Dr. Jim Menon in a personal communication in Heidelberg on 01.05.2008, when he argued that the Sadar Liṅgāyats, who live mainly in central Karnataka, were agriculturists and that this created tensions with the *brāhmaṇ* Hindus who were principally Bāṇajigas (traders).

63 Compare Rajaram Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy, Mathas and Socio-Political Factors in Medieval India – A Regional Context in Karnataka," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 58 (1997): 233; Rajaram Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations: Saivism in Medieval Karnataka," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 60 (1999): 197. On page 239 he also stresses that traditionally, the Jainas had especially loyal followers in agricultural settlements.

64 On this issue, see Dundas, *The Jains*: 102, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 114.

65 There are multiple spellings for this term. Alternative spellings are Baṇajigas or Bāṇjigas. An alternative spelling for Vīra Bāṇajigas is Vīra Baṇajigas. See, for instance, Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 172. On the Bāṇajigas refer also to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 122.

66 An alternative spelling is Śeṭṭis. For further details on the mercantile groups of Karnataka more generally, see Pinto in Chapter 2 in this volume and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 80,

sented an important element of the middle classes.[67] As Pinto shows in Chapter 2, many embraced Jainism. The Jaina traders controlled enormous assets and in order to enhance the religious standing of their families, they invested large amounts of their capital in temple buildings, donations of sacred icons and the funding of ritual activities (Plate 1.4). A large number of the *basadi*s in the coastal belt, for instance, were renovated, restored or newly donated by Seṭṭi families and many carry the names of these donor merchants.[68] In giving generously, Jainas partake in the ritual of *sāmāyika*, the temporary renunciation of their possessions.[69] Charitable acts of giving *dāna,* donations, not only to religious institutions but also to ascetics, the sick and the frail have been much emphasised in Jaina literature as virtuous, procuring religious merit and eradicating the bad effects of *karma*, thus easing the long road to final liberation.[70] The concept of *karma* basically refers to the totality of a person's actions and deeds in the present and his or her previous lives. This is believed to influence subsequent rebirths and one's status in future existences.

As a consequence of royal support, which also increased the popularity of Jainism amongst ordinary villagers, and their commercial activities, the Jainas became extremely prosperous under Kadamba and Gaṅgā rule. From the seventh century CE, large numbers of *basadi*s were constructed throughout the area.[71] This marks the start of what Saletore calls a "widespread diffusion" of the religion throughout the State.[72] We can see it continuing during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries CE, when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ (735–973 CE), the Later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (973–1156 CE and 1183–1200 CE)[73] and the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra (Dōrasamudram;

87, 89. On page 87, Pinto also discusses other trading groups in the coastal region. Whilst the Seṭṭis are best-known, other trade guilds were the Halas and the Yelames (Elames).

67 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 173.

68 Examples are the Kōṭi Seṭṭi Basadi, the Dēramma Seṭṭi Basadi or the Mahādeva Seṭṭi Basadi, all in Mudabidri (Mūdabidri). On these and other temples built by the Seṭṭis, see Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 93–101.

69 Parasher-Sen has written on this issue (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 215–16).

70 On this subject, see, for instance, the discussion in Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 82 and John E. Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia," *History of Religions* 42, no. 1 (2002): 76.

71 Zydenbos has highlighted this (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177). See also the discussion of many of these *basadi*s in Chapter 5 by Hegewald.

72 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 185, 216.

73 Alternatively, Malaked (Maḷakhēḍ), Mānyakheṭa (Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32) or Mānyakhēṭa (G. Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra: As Depicted in Inscriptions* [Hyderabad: Prakriti Bharati Academy, Jaipur and Akhil Bharatiya Sri Suwarna Jain Seva Fund, 1994]: 39) and the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa are also known as the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī (Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32).

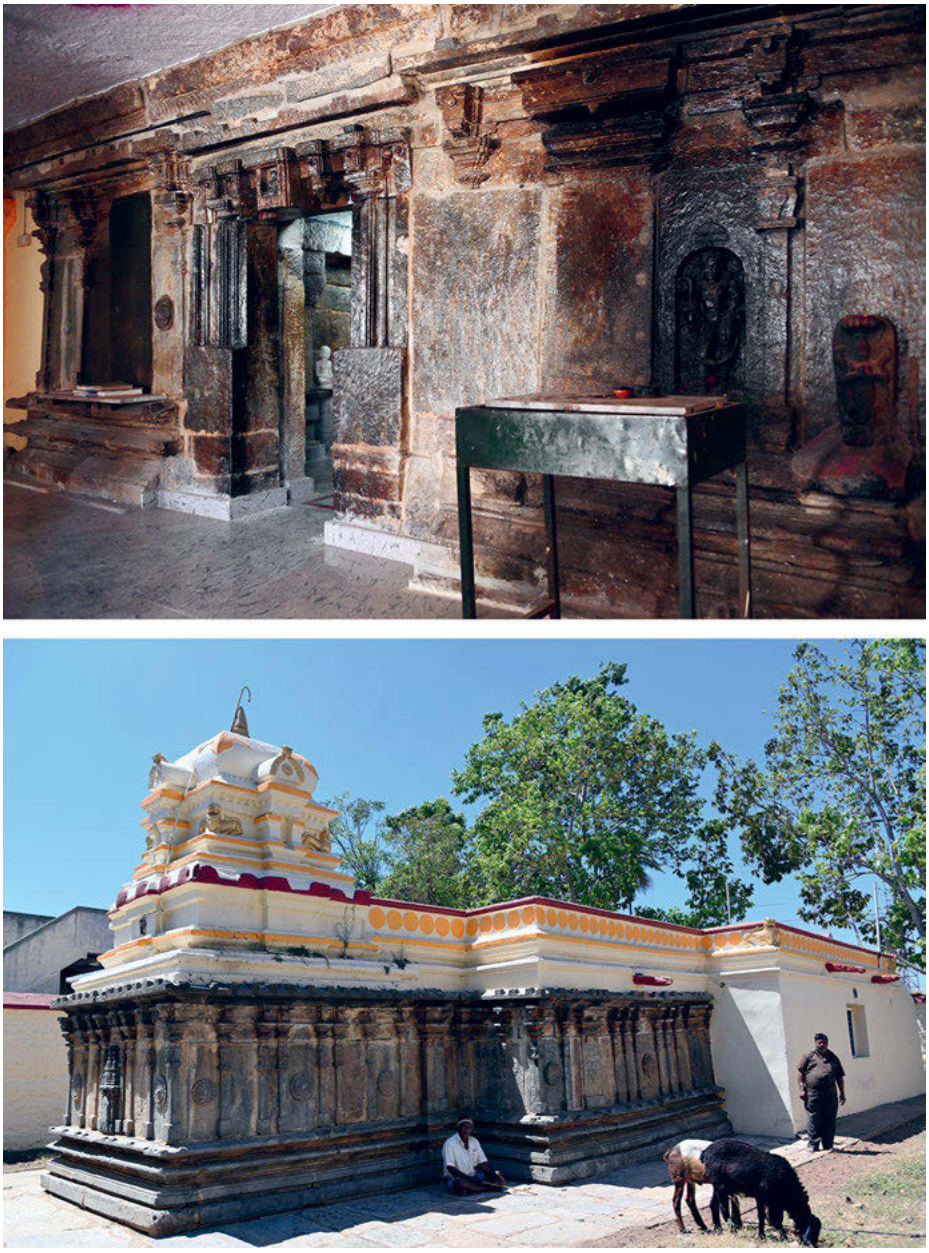


Plate 1.4: The Jaina merchants (*nagara*) of Shravanabelgola paid for the maintenance of the Nagara Jinālaya. It consists of a late-twelfth-century section (above) and a later extension at the front.

today, Halebid) (985–1346 CE) were also great patrons of Jainism (Plate 1.5).[74] The Jainas were influential in bringing the Hoysaḷas to power, as they had the Gaṅgās. In this case, it was the involvement of Sudatta Vardhāmana which gave the Hoysaḷas the advantage in the late tenth to early eleventh century.[75] Again, many of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Hoysaḷa sovereigns as well as their military commanders were Jainas themselves.[76] All these rulers made generous financial donations to temple establishments and to ascetics, as well as giving land grants or entire villages to existing shrines and having new *jinālaya*s (Jaina temples) constructed.[77]

This period represents the high point of Jaina political, religious and cultural influence in the region. The Jainas had prospered enormously through the support not only of merchants, landowners, farmers and ordinary men and women, but also of military commanders and generals, royal and aristocratic women and even kings.[78]

However, the power and dominance of the Jainas did not last long. The enormous expansion of Jainism, especially over the eighth and ninth centuries CE, had brought the Jainas into conflict with other faith groups in the area (Plate 1.6).[79] Under the influence of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, royal and elite support for the Jainas had begun to weaken and isolated persecutions appear to have taken place,[80] although Jainism still continued to develop throughout the region, probably as a result of the relative religious tolerance of these rulers.[81] However, inscriptional evidence reveals that from the eleventh century, Jainism started to come under severe attack in certain areas of the State. During this period, Vaiṣṇavism and a number of other religious groups grew in popularity, becoming serious rivals to the Jainas in the region.[82] A notable

74 On these dynasties which supported Jaina activities, refer to *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2: lxxix and Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32. Refer also to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 209–13, 216, and to Pinto in Chapter 2.

75 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 67, Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78, and Scholz "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 259–60. More generally, Saletore stresses with respect to the Jainas in Karnataka that by "playing the part of king-makers, they had secured for generations royal patronage" (Saletore: *Mediaeval Jainism*: 172).

76 On this, refer to Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175.

77 This is attested to by a number of inscriptions, which are discussed in the chapter by Pinto in this volume.

78 On this, refer to Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 7, and Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 219–20. The issue of female donors is discussed in Chapter 5 by Hegewald in connection with a number of *jinālaya*s.

79 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 216.

80 On this issue, see Pinto in Chapter 2, when he refers to the activities of ruler Taila II and his direct successors. On this issue, see also S.R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (Dharwar: Karnataka Historical Research Society, 1940): 29.

81 *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2: lxxix–lxxx. Narasimha Murthy has also written on this period of continued flourishing and starting tensions (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 41).

82 *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2: lxxix.



Plate 1.5: The Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra had the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Halebid raised. With its highly polished tall, lathe-turned pillars, it is typical of the Hoysaḷa style.

apostate was the powerful Hoysaḷa ruler Viṣṇuvardhana, who converted from Jainism to Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the early twelfth century. For more on the role of Śrīvaiṣṇavism at this time, see section 5.4 on "Vaiṣṇavism and Śrīvaiṣṇavism."



Plate 1.6: The massive success of Jainism in Karnataka during the eighth and ninth centuries CE provoked discord with other groups and led to the destruction of many Jaina sites as here at Aihole.

This was a time of great political volatility, in which many feudatories declared themselves independent from their rulers and set up their own small petty kingdoms, founding new royal lineages. Several of these regional rulers supported Jainism, notably the Seuṇas (Sevunas) or Yādavas of Devagiri (835–1336 CE), who started off as a Jaina dynasty, as did the short-lived dynasty of the Kaḷacuris of Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇi

(1156–1183 CE),[83] who, however, soon became prominent supporters of the newly developed Vīraśaivism.[84] This historical summary has already highlighted a number of potential explanations for the initial appeal of Jainism to the people of Karnataka. The following thematic section will focus in more detail on what attracted them to the faith.

2.2 What Attracted so Many People to Jainism?

The previous section has outlined the triumphal rise of Jainism from an unknown creed to one of the dominant religions in the area of Karnataka. The Jaina faith spread much faster and more widely than Buddhism, which probably had arrived in the region even earlier.[85] A number of features of early Jainism made it especially appealing to the people of Karnataka, leading to a rapid increase in followers in the early centuries of the common era.

2.2.1 Jainas as *Ahiṃsā* Warriors

It is fascinating to observe that the faith did not concentrate on religious issues alone, but that the Jainas were involved in politics as well. As has been briefly mentioned above, the Jainas attracted the interest of military kings and warring vassals who believed in the martial skills of bravery and heroism. Jainism has been characterised as a religion of non-violence, based on its central principle of *ahiṃsā*. In Jaina teaching, emphasis is laid on the cutting of all ties with the material world in order to attain liberation of one's soul. This is achieved through harsh austerities and a fight against the limitations of human aspirations. In this context, the image of the fearless warrior famous from the battlefield was translated into the religious ideal of the self-denying ascetic, combating all worldly desires and attachments by exercising heroic self-perfection. This is grounded in the belief that the eradication of *karma*, the effect of one's deeds in this and previous lives, can be realised only through severe austerity and penance, intensive studies of scripture, long meditations, extreme fasts, a total cessation of all desires and complete detachment from worldly life.[86]

83 For further details on these families, refer to Chapter 2 by Pinto, to Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32–33, and Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 237.

84 See Karigoudar Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava: Lingayat Religion and Culture in South Asia* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992): 3.

85 According to Saletore, Buddhism reached Karnataka during the Mauryan period (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 6), which spanned from about the fourth till the second century BCE.

86 On this issue, see Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 215, and Padmanabh S. Jaini, "The Digambara Jain Warrior," in *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

The ritual of *sallekhanā* in particular—the process of slow self-starvation under strict religious guidance, already mentioned briefly in the context of Bhadrabāhu's death at Shravanabelgola—was seen as waging "war against worldly desire through the weapon of self-mortification (while undertaking these death rituals)" (Plate 1.7).[87] In this sense, the ruling dynasties and their warrior classes considered Jainism a religion of "vigour and bravery" and as such as fitting in well with their own outlook on life.[88] Therefore, this element of the new religion played a crucial role. As a result of Jainism's attractiveness to the military and kings, it quickly and easily became the faith of the ruling classes. At least at the start of the development of Jainism in the region, obtaining royal support was a crucial factor in its growth.



Plate 1.7: Foot images, *pādukās*, mark the locations where devout Jainas ended their lives under a highly controlled ritual of self-starvation, known as *sallekhanā*, as here at Shravanabelgola.

87 This quote has been taken from Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 235. The ritual of *sallekhanā* will be discussed in more detail in section 4.1.3 "Lay Participation: Ablutions, the Cult of Bāhubali and *Sallekhanā*."

88 This short quote has been taken from Dundas, *The Jains*: 102.

2.2.2 Raising the Status of the *Drāviḍian* Elite

Another theory, supported by Sabine Scholz in this volume, posits that Jainism, as a religion coming from the northern, *aryan* regions and which moved into the south, bestowed a certain respectability on and raised the status of the southern, *drāviḍian* warrior classes.[89] To a large extent, these controlled the expanding south Indian population of farmers and farmworkers in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.[90] These martial classes had not wanted to align themselves with local agrarian Hindu groups.[91]

Furthermore, the support of ordinary people, who soon converted, following the ruling elite, was crucial for the firm establishment and the survival of Jainism in the region. Through close interaction also with the populace, the Jainas succeeded in controlling local politics, thus safeguarding long-term political and financial support for the faith.[92] Here, the Jainas affiliated primarily with the leading warrior classes of society and only indirectly, through connection with them, established contact to the masses, as these followed the religion and practices of the ruling sectors of their society. Later on, it was the *bhakti* groups of the Hindu revivalism of the seventh and eighth centuries CE which contributed to the downfall of the Jainas in South India, consciously aligning themselves with the peasants to break the approach of the heretical faiths, such as Jainism and Buddhism.[93]

2.2.3 Jaina Openness and *Anekāntavāda*

A further element that contributed to the rise in popularity of Jainism may have been what Qvarnström describes as the "tolerant," "lenient," "liberal" and "noncommittal" approach of the Jainas towards other religions and their practices, which attracted

89 On this, refer also to Burton Stein, "Brahman and Peasant in Early South Indian History," *The Adayar Library Bulletin* 31–32 (1967–1968): 229–69, Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 79, and Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, Indian Book Centre, 1998): 215. In this context it is interesting that Padoux suggests that Vīraśaivism arose as a southern Indian reaction against *aryan brāhmaṇical* dominance (André Padoux, "Vīraśaivas," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13, ed. Mircea Eliade [New York: Macmillan, 1987]: 12). See also the discussion of these issues in Julia Leslie, "Understanding Basava: History, Hagiography and a Modern Kannada Drama," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 61, no. 2 (1998): 232.

90 Compare Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215.

91 Dundas has written in more detail on this and related issues (Dundas, *The Jains*: 102).

92 See Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 224.

93 Compare Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215–16. For further details on the *bhakti* form of devotional veneration of a personal deity, refer to section 5.6 on "Rationales for the Popularity of Alternative Religions: *Bhakti* and Tantra?" in this chapter.

many converts especially during the tenth century CE in South India.[94] This is an aspect already highlighted in the 1930s by Saletore, who identified the central Jaina tenet of *ahiṃsā* as a practice of tolerance: "[...] it cannot be denied that the Jainas fostered the principle of toleration more sincerely and at the same time more successfully than any other community in India."[95] Going into more detail, Qvarnström argues that the Jainas showed significant flexibility towards converts, who did not entirely have to discard their own religious traditions. This applied in particular to the area of lay activities, including local customs and marriage practices. Sabine Scholz addresses this area in her chapter in this volume, emphasising that Jaina householders were free to adapt to local—also Hindu—customs and traditions, as long as the central elements of Jaina doctrine remained untouched.[96] According to Scholz, this attitude and approach applied by the Jainas helped Jainism to get established and to rapidly expand its following. The Jaina openness towards other faith groups also led to the absorption of Hindu gods, such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, into the pantheon, and to the acceptance of texts such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, of which Jaina versions were produced.

This attitude of tolerance acted as a missionary strategy, which, at least initially, worked very well in Karnataka. In addition to being a demonstration of *ahiṃsā*, it could be said to express a practical application of the Jaina doctrine of *anekāntavāda*, the theory of the manifold nature of reality or non-one-sidedness.[97] According to Qvarnström, this approach made the Jainas "better equipped to cope with matters challenging their survival and growth."[98] Subrahmanya Aiyar sees these developments more critically, writing with regard to conversions to Jainism: "Number, not faith, seems to have been their aim."[99]

Despite their openness and ability to adapt, expressed in the tenets of *ahiṃsā* and *anekāntavāda*, also the Jainas were at least from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries quite severely threatened. The rise of other religious faith groups presented both Jaina and Buddhist creeds with competition. In contrast to Buddhism, however, Jainism survived in India as a living and expanding faith.[100] The further development of a powerful cult of the female element in Jaina ritual practices—another expression of this characteristic Jaina approach of incorporation or assimilation—may well have

94 Refer to Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 34–35.

95 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 270.

96 The Jainas were unwilling to compromise on their hard-core religious dogma. On this, see also Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 35–36.

97 On this, refer, for instance, to Hampa Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres in Karnataka," in *Buddhist and Jaina Studies: Proceedings of the Conference in Lumbini, February 2013*, ed. J. Soni, M. Pahlke and C. Cüpper, LIRI Semiar Proceedings Series 6 (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014): 51.

98 See Qvarnström "Stability and Adaptability": 35.

99 Refer to Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216.

100 Compare Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81–91.

been a tactical reaction to a threat posed by rival faiths. This will be discussed later in this chapter under section 4.1.1. "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)."

Related to the previous point, but with a slightly different emphasis, is that the dissemination of Jainism appears also to have been further increased through its own capacity to adapt well to local circumstances. On this analysis, the Jainas showed an active ability to adapt themselves to other traditions, rather than just passively tolerating the absoption of new elements into their faith. As will be shown later in this chapter, Jainism survived especially well in the coastal region of western Karnataka, where it entered into an intensive dialogue with Hindu and in particular with more local sacred practices and cults.[101]

2.2.4 Engaging with Women and the Community

The period from the eighth to the twelfth century, in which Jainism flourished and gained an increasing number of followers, saw the faith diversify into a number of subgroups. According to Upadhye, divisions had already arisen in Jainism during the life-time of Mahāvīra, and the schism between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras had been a major split.[102] However, what paved the way for the fragmentation in this later period was the large number of members and teachers of the Jaina community and the comfortable position in which Jainism found itself. The Digambara group of the Yāpanīyas enjoyed particular popularity,[103] but there were many others, including the Japuli, Ājīvika and Daṇḍajīvika communities or *saṅgha*s.[104]

The Yāpanīyas, probably the most important of these subgroups, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (see section 3.2.2 "Divisions into Subgroups: The Yāpanīyas"). At this stage, it suffices to point out that, as an early reform movement, they aimed to adapt the Jaina tradition to the local setting in Karnataka and to be less dogmatic about rules than the Digambara Śrī Mūla Saṅgha, the main branch and oldest

101 For further details, see section 8.3 "Endurance in a Provincial Region: The West Coast of Karnataka" in this chapter and the discussion by Pinto in Chapter 2.

102 See the discussion by Upadhye of a number of Śvetāmbara factions (Adinath N. Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha – A Jaina Sect," *Journal of the University of Bombay* 1, no. 4 [1933]: 224–25).

103 Saletore spells the name Yāpaṇīyas (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 34). Alternatively, but much more rarely, they are also known as Gōpya Saṅgha (Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus: Eine indische Erlösungsreligion* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1984 (1925)]: 356). "Gōpya" means "that which must be kept hidden."

104 On this issue, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 36, and Ashim Kumar Roy, *A History of Jainism* (New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1984): 128.

monastic order of Digambara Jainism,[105] which had its seat at Shravanabelgola.[106] An important element of this more broadminded approach was the belief of the Yāpanīyas that not only ascetics, but also ordinary laypeople, and even the followers of other religions, could reach enlightenment.[107] Radically, they also taught that women were able to gain enlightenment from within a female body, a possibility denied by majority Digambara Jainism.[108] Furthermore, the Yāpanīyas accepted female teachers and gave them high-ranking positions in their monastic institutions.[109] This liberal attitude towards females significantly increased the popularity of Jainism amongst women in particular.[110]

In Chapter 3, Sabine Scholz argues, on the basis of inscriptional evidence, that the number of women lay followers and female ascetics also increased exponentially from the eighth to the tenth century CE.[111] The nuns were usually referred to as *ajji*s, *āryikā*s or *kanti*s (*ganti*s) (Plate 1.8).[112] It is interesting to note that the veneration of female divinities also intensified at this point,[113] a phenomenon which will be discussed later in this chapter (4.1.1. "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)"). Following Desai, Suresh argues that equality of women favoured the increase in the influence of female goddesses, such as the *yakṣī*s.[114] In this context, Desai also underlines how cru-

105 Desai characterises the Śrī Mūla Saṅgha as the "most predominant monastic order of the Jaina Church in South India" (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 221).

106 On this, refer to K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 185, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 119–21.

107 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 167.

108 For the fact that mainstream Digambara religious thought does not believe that women can reach enlightenment, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Gender & Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991), and Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 218, 227. On the Yāpanīya liberalist attitude towards women, see the latter source on pp. 221–24.

109 On this, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 169–70.

110 For discussions of this issue, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 168–70, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 126.

111 On this issue, see also Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47.

112 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 168 and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 127–30.

113 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 170–73, Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?" in *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and Ramendra Nath Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (c. A.D. 600–A.D. 1000)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973): 59–60.

114 Refer to Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 183.

cial the role of women is in transmitting religious customs more generally,[115] and Narasimha Murthy says, "More than men, women proved devout Jainas."[116]



Plate 1.8: Jaina nuns wear simple white cotton *sāṛī*s and carry the compulsory ascetic broom of peacock feathers (*piñchī*) to sweep the path so not to crush any living beings.

The many donations made by women to existing Jaina temples and for the construction of new temples adds weight to this contention. Jainism's popularity amongst women, which of course added to the numbers of the faithful, reminds us that Jainism was not exclusively the chosen religion of royalty and the upper classes, such as warrior clans and influential traders. In no time, it had also become the preferred faith of large sections of the population in the region of Karnataka.[117] This positive effect could be felt throughout society. A number of inscriptions which appear to show that local Hindus provided protection and monetary support for the construction and

115 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 168. On this issue, see also Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 229.

116 This quote has been taken from Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44.

117 Pinto, too, has commented on this situation (Pinto: "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78).

preservation of Jaina *basadis* suggest that the Yāpanīyas contributed to the integration of the Jaina faith among the general public and to a spread of collective societal harmony. Narasimha Murthy also mentions increased marital relations between Jainas and other religious groups at this time.[118]

Returning to the Yāpanīyas, we can deduce that the great popularity of this subgroup encouraged local lay Jainas to give them particular support, in return for religious guidance. Lay followers thus had more active interaction with ascetics and religious institutions (Plate 1.9). Furthermore, the Yāpanīyas appear to have founded a number of monastic orders and to have placed considerable emphasis on residing in monasteries close to towns,[119] which allowed them more influence over local affairs, and provided them with a degree of constancy and permanency, which the Jainas—as a religion of migratory ascetics—had not known before.[120] We see them intensifying the ritual activities in shrines attached to their monasteries, commissioning temples, and establishing a strict routine of devotional practices. Of the Jaina *basadi*s built before the mid-seventh century CE, roughly half were associated with the Yāpanīya *saṅgha*.[121]

The Yāpanīyas also built schools, rest houses (*choultries*) where travellers could stay, and hospitals to care for the community. In the seventh and eighth centuries CE, charity homes (*dānaśālā*s) were often attached to Jaina *basadi*s.[122] In all these institutions, shelter or protection was provided, free food was distributed and medical facilities offered complimentary medicines as well as religious guidance. This reflects the so-called "four gifts" or the "four-fold gift of charity," which Jainas are meant to offer to the public: food (*āhāra*), shelter or protection (*abhaya*), medicine (*bhaiṣajya*) and education or learning (*śāstra dāna*).[123] Through these welfare activities, the Yāpanīyas, and Jainas more generally, developed close ties with mainstream society.[124] Saletore identifies these gifts made to society by the Jainas as the most important factor underlying the successful spread of Jainism.[125]

118 On this, refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 43–44, 48–49.

119 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164.

120 On this, refer also to Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280. By "migratory" we mean that Jaina ascetics traditionally used to be homeless and constantly on the move.

121 Dibbad has written on this subject (Shantinath Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina *Basadi*s: A Historical Perspective," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 66).

122 On this, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 83.

123 For further details, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 173, 269, Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 85, and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 229.

124 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47–48 and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 82.

125 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 269.



Plate 1.9: Lay followers belonging to the Yāpanīya and other Jaina sects interact with ascetics. They gain religious guidance in return for providing mendicants with food and lodging.

2.2.5 More Popular Forms of Worship, Guilds and Urbanisation

Thanks to the above increase in popularity and support, the number of donations to Jaina temples of icons and other venerated objects rose steadily, not only in shrines patronised by the Yāpanīyas, but also more generally in Digambara *basadi*s.[126]

The main focus of veneration in Jainism is the group of twenty-four human teachers who succeeded in reaching enlightenment and breaking out of the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*). These are referred to as Jinas (spiritual victors) or Tīrthaṅkaras (fordmakers). Both names will be used interchangeably throughout this book. Even in the early phases of Jainism, we hear that representations were made of the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras during their lifetimes. Bharata, the son of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, for instance, is said to have set up a statue of his father right after his death, and there is mention of a sandalwood image of Mahāvīra being made during his lifetime.[127] In addition, there is ample evidence from the second century BCE to the early centuries CE for the veneration of statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras. A reference to a statue is made, for

126 The enormous range of icons and other sacred objects venerated in *jinālaya*s has been discussed in Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 63–125.

127 For further information, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 65.

instance, in the inscription by King Khāravela in the Hāthīgumphā, a cave on Udayagiri at Bhubaneshwar (Bhubaneśvara) in Odisha, dated to the late first centuries BCE or the early first century CE; there exist several Jina statues from the early centuries CE from Lohanipur near Patna (Paṭnā, ancient Pāṭaliputra) in Bihar, dating from the early centuries CE, and a number of Tīrthaṅkara bronzes dating from about the fourth century CE, from Chausa (Chausā) in Bihar.[128] From the tenth century CE onwards, however, the importance of image worship and temples appears to have strongly increased in Karnataka.

This new, more ritualistic and ceremonial form of Jainism, which was probably less abstract and austere than earlier forms (which appear to have used smaller numbers of icons and ritual objects) probably further increased the attractiveness of the religion to practicing Jainas and to new converts, especially from Hinduism, who were used to an evolved cult of image veneration, important female divinities and a more direct exchange with the gods.[129]

The growth of Jainism in this period cannot, however, be attributed to the appeal of the religion alone. The political situation at the time favoured the Jainas. The expansion of royal power under the Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas supported the liberal exchange and transfer of commodities and services throughout the region, and agriculture, manufacturing and commerce flourished.[130] This created a period of relative security and prosperity for the Jainas in Karnataka. Craftsmen and other entrepreneurs were organised in guilds, and until the end of the twelfth century, one of the most powerful of these, the merchant guilds, or *samāja*s, were chiefly in Jaina hands.[131] The guilds organised standards and work patterns but also performed charitable deeds.[132]

The accompanying urbanisation process, which started around the tenth century CE,[133] benefited the Jainas, who had always been more closely associated with cities, trade centres and political headquarters.[134] On the one hand, this had to do with the professions preferred by Jainas, whose tenet of *ahiṃsā* led them in general

128 Hegewald and Cort have written on these and other early statues (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 64–65; Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 67–68).

129 Authors who support this view are Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 182 and Vatsala Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses and their Worship in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 244. In contrast to divinities, the Jinas are entirely detached from worldly affairs and cannot communicate with or help devotees directly.

130 On this topic, refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 40.

131 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 185.

132 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 40–41.

133 On this issue, refer to Rajaram Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations: Saivism in Medieval Karnataka," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 60 (1999): 193.

134 McCormack, for instance, emphasised that Liṅgāyats (he prefers this term to Vīraśaivas but uses them synonymously) are mainly farmers (William McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture," in *Speaking of Śiva*, ed. A.K. Ramanujan [London: Penguin, 1973]: 177).

to avoid disturbing the ground. Although at its high point, as has been argued above, Jainism was accepted by all strata of society, including agriculturists, farmers in the villages tended to be drawn to Śaivism, and later also the independent form of Vīraśaivism, which had developed from Hinduism. On the other hand, the Jainas were attracted to towns from a desire to be close to their patrons amongst the traders, the military, state functionaries and rulers.[135]

Thanks to the various factors discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, the Jaina community became in the space of a single century one of the prevalent religious and worldly powers of the day in Karnataka. In the ten centuries following its arrival in the region, probably in the second century CE, Jainism had risen starkly, swiftly penetrating all levels of society, from ordinary farmers and merchants to the administrative and defence bodies of the state and even its rulers. At the Jainas' high point of influence, they dominated and determinedly shaped all areas of concern: the religious, the economic, the martial and the royal and also all areas of the arts.

2.3 The Golden Age? Zenith and Causes of the First Shadows of Decay

The highpoint of Jaina influence in the region appears to have been the period between the tenth and the twelfth century.[136] Under the Gaṅgās, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Hoysaḷas, the Jainas came to hold a prominent role in society in the region, if not the dominant one. Large swathes of the population converted to the faith,[137] which ultimately represented the majority religious denomination, further enlarging the area of influence of the religion. Jaina thought governed political, economic, social, philosophical, cultural, artistic, literary, religious and ritual doctrine and activities throughout much of the region. Narasimha Murthy, emphasising the Jaina predominance with regards to literature, art and architecture, calls the period between the tenth and the thirteenth century the "Jaina Age."[138] With the hundreds of *basadis* and monasteries that were es-

135 Compare Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 194. Therefore, Jaina families have generally been very prominent in banking, money lending, trading and as jewellery merchants (*māṇikya nagarangaḷ*) and precious stone cutters. On this, refer also to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 183. Interestingly, on pp. 269–70 of the latter source, Saletore stresses the important influence which Jaina *ahiṃsā* had on the Hindu communities of Karnataka.

136 According to Pinto, our historian on the project, the climax of Jaina influence was reached in the twelfth century. See Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78 and his Chapter in this volume. See also Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 6, Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180.

137 On conversions to Jainism, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 32, 33.

138 For this expression, refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 38–39. Further, he states in the same publication that "history of Kannada literature begins with the history of

tablished in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, we can see the arts—especially temple architecture and literature—as propagating the spread of Jainism.[139]

It is difficult to fix the highpoint of Jaina power in Karnataka more precisely, as the northern regions of Karnataka were negatively affected by rivalling groups earlier than the south and south-west of the State. The twelfth century in particular represents a time of mixed fortunes for the Jainas, with further expansion and ambitious building campaigns, but also initial confrontations with other religious groups which led to a waning of Jainism in Karnataka. We are clearly dealing with very volatile times, in which the decline of Jainism was relatively spun-out, progressing more slowly in some areas of the State than others.

2.3.1 High Points and Golden Periods Questioned

Sundaram describes this phase of flourishing as an age of "valour and heroism" and stresses that it is referred to as a *kṣatra yuga*, a world age or period of the powerful rulers of the warrior caste. He sees this period as one in which many donors and authors of literary works who eulogised Jainism were also generals or officers, involved in martial activities, defending the faith,[140] so that the Jainas battled both with words and the sword. As Sundaram says, "In those days of glory, Jaina scholars felt pride in contesting and challenging others."[141] In a period of perceived superiority, therefore, the Jainas also challenged others, at least with words.

However, Jainism was not alone in flourishing during this period, which has generally been described as one of general religious and societal tolerance and harmony.[142] This was a time of religious diversification and of the construction of temples on a large scale, described by Hegde as "the most active phase of the worshipping cults and sects." Hegde backs this up with numbers of newly constructed *basadi*s from the Shimoga and Haveri districts in northern Karnataka from the eleventh to

Jaina writing in Karnataka" (p. 42). This evaluation is shared by Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 396 and Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 5–6.

139 On this, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 39, Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 32, 33, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53, and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 64. This can be noted especially from about the tenth century CE onwards (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180).

140 On this issue, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 32.

141 For this quote refer to Sundaram "Elements of Jaina History": 32.

142 See, for instance, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 217–18 and Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 214.

the thirteenth century.[143] Sundaram refers to the period from the ninth to about the eleventh century CE as the "glorious and commendable phase" of Jaina history in Karnataka,[144] and Krishna Murthy refers to the Hoysaḷa period as a "golden age."[145]

My research on the concept of "glorious" or "golden ages," however, suggests that such statements are of limited help,[146] based as they are on a strictly linear view of time, tracing cultural evolution from a simple archaic period via phases of transition to a classical peak of development classified as a golden age. What follows such a zenith, however, is by implication a degeneration. The inevitable consequence of categorising an art form or period of history as a golden apex is that everything preceding as well as following it is seen as less perfect and consequently devalued. Such value judgements, which represent only the very subjective view of one community, are usually applied retrospectively at an ample distance to the age in question and represent a view which would probably rarely have been shared by the people living at the time. In my opinion, such pronouncements do not help a serious attempt to understand the surviving traces of the past.

2.3.2 Supremacy to Dependency

As has already been pointed out above, high points and phases of decline naturally lie very close to one another. Let us return now from generalities to the specific situation of the Jainas in Karnataka. In a way, it appears as if the increased influence and newly adopted cosmopolitanism of the Jaina community led them to neglect some of their main ascetic core tenets[147] or at least to forsake the more austere approach to practising their religion in favour of a more ritualistic path. Rituals had always played a part in their practice, but their importance was further emphasised from at least the tenth century CE onwards. Probably in order to accommodate converts, the Jainas began to accept castes[148] and widened their angle of worship to give prominence to a large number of divine beings, besides the fully-enlightened but human Jinas. Initially, this may have attracted outsiders and made it easier for the Jainas to blend into

143 For this quote see Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 193–94.

144 Refer to Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 31.

145 Compare Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 108. On the idea of the "golden age" in Kannada literature from the tenth century CE onwards with authors, such as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, refer to Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175–76.

146 See the book publication by Hegewald, *In the Shadow of the Golden Age*, and here especially Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Out of the Shadow of the Golden Age," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014): 31–76.

147 Narasimha Murthy has written on these changes (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 41).

148 This issue will be discussed in more detail under point 3.2. "Castes and Fragmentation".

society, which was structured by castes and focused on temple worship.[149] However, it appears that at the same time, this dilution of Jaina core practices may have weakened the faith by undermining its uniqueness. Furthermore, these changes aroused criticism and opposition from within Jainism's own lines, which led to divisions in the faith structure.

Another factor in this process of disintegration was the fragmentation of the Digambaras into various subgroups with individual religious headquarters. The lack of a central leadership authority left them vulnerable to challenge from rival religious groups, several of whom made their presence felt in the area around this time. Besides a general renaissance of Śaivism and *bhakti* movements across South India, the *bhakti* Śaiva Nāyaṇārs (Nāyaṇmārs) and Śrīvaiṣṇava Bhaktas gained especially in importance and amongst the latter most prominently the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs (Ālvārs, Āḻvārs). In addition, Muslims moved down into Karnataka and Vīraśaivas gained in influence in the northern regions of the State.[150] The individual religious groups mentioned here will be discussed in more detail in section 5 of this chapter, "Struggle for Hegemony in the Region."

In consequence, from the late eleventh or early twelfth century onwards, the authority of the Jainas in the wider area of Karnataka steadily declined.[151] Jaina poets and literary figures who had formerly supported the spread and rise of Jainism with their artistic activities from the twelfths and thirteenth centuries began to use their artistic works to defend the religion.[152] Much Jaina literature refers to the religious conflicts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[153] retailing religious tales of survival and resistance and emphasising the tenet of *ahiṃsā*. After the death of the Hoysaḷa ruler, Vīra Ballāla (r. 1173–1220),[154] Jainas no longer received sufficient royal support to continue their lavish building campaigns or, crucially, to maintain the vast number of *basadi*s and monastic structures developed over the past two hundred years or so. Hegde explains in detail the importance of royal patronage and other influential donors for the establishment and maintenance of temple establishments, identifying the socio-political rationale behind the patronage of *basadi*s as a new dynamic characteristic of the early medieval period in which religious shrines and the state closely inter-

149 Narasimha Murthy has written about the influence of the new Jaina converts in changing the faith (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44). In the same context, Suresh explains that popular stories and the eternal Hindu epics were also adapted by Jaina poets to provide continuity to converts from Hinduism (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180–81).

150 On this, refer to Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline"1: 218, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397, Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 238, and Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 193.

151 Other authors have written on this regression of Jaina influence in the region as well. See, for instance, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 401 and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78.

152 This has also been argued by Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 34.

153 On this, refer to Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered" and Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35.

154 Alternative spelling: Vīra Ballāḷa (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 81).

acted.[155] *Jinālaya*s continued to be built, but in complexity and sculptural detail they cannot rival the early achievements of the Gaṅgā and Hoysaḷa periods, and bear witness to a clear loss in influence and wealth of the Jaina community throughout the region. During the twelfth century, Jainas were even forbidden to raise new *basadi*s in certain cities as it was considered inauspicious for the shadow of a Jaina temple to fall upon a non-Jaina house.[156] The tradition of the settled and wandering *muni*s also started to decline at this time.[157]

In short, after an enormous expansion of its religious influence and political authority from the tenth century CE onwards, with outstanding achievements in all areas of the arts, Jainism reached the pinnacle of its predominance in the twelfth century.[158] However, even in its heyday, Jainism also fell victim to internal disputes and began to need to actively defend itself against competing religions. During the centuries that followed, verbal threats, economic hazards and political neglect turned into open physical persecution of the Jainas in Karnataka.[159]

3 Deliberate Religious Changes in Jainism

As indicated above, at the high point of their influence the Jainas appear to have made substantial changes in their own social organisation, religious practice and self-understanding. These appear to have resulted from their enormous popularity, which had led to the accumulation of riches, the establishment of temples and religious institutions and an increase in their following. There followed internal divisions, a need to adapt to the different inclinations of new adherents and the further development or adoption of new, more mundane, functions.

155 On this issue, refer to Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 233.

156 Consult Zydenbos on this (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 184).

157 Scholz has written in much detail on this issue (Sabine Scholz, "The Digambara Jainas of South Maharashtra and North Karnataka since the Late 19th Century: Towards the Establishment of Collective Religious Identity and a Digambara Jaina Community" [PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011]).

158 On this, refer also to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53, Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 78, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 180.

159 Saletore has written on this topic (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 287, 292). Refer also to Zydenbos on different levels of intimidation (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 174). Qvarnström points out that the Jainas were also not able to missionize any longer from this time onwards (Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 44).

3.1 Monasteries and Land Ownership

Before we examine these changes in more detail, I shall briefly outline what is understood to be the earlier, traditional Jainism, which focused on the austere central tenets of the faith.

3.1.1 The Tradition of Homeless Wandering Ascetics

Although it is difficult, after many centuries, to characterise precisely what membership of a religion involved, early Jaina practice in Karnataka appears to have attached high importance to the central ideal of asceticism. Abstinence and renunciation were practised in their extreme forms by initiated monks and nuns, but as values they obviously played (as they still do) a prominent role for the Jaina laity.

As part of the initiation ceremony (*dīkṣā*) as a mendicant,[160] Jaina monks and nuns took the vow of non-possession (*aparigraha*) (which they still take today). The expectation of this fifth vow is that the mendicants renounce all attachments. This involves a rejection not only of all physical possessions but also of all attachments one might have to people, such as relations and friends, and of all of one's wishes and desires.[161] In consequence, male Digambara ascetics can and are expected to reject all clothing and to go naked (Plate 1.10). Due to social conventions, however, Jaina nuns wear simple white cotton robes,[162] which from a Digambara point of view prevents them from practising Jainism to the fullest extent and in consequence from attaining enlightenment. Furthermore, the ability of women to bear children, who are living beings, was (and still is) considered prejudicial to their reaching enlightenment. Orthodox Digambaras further insist that women do not have the necessary bodily constitution to attain liberation.[163] Before they can do so, they have to be born as a man first.[164] Members of both sexes own only a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), usually made out

160 Singh has, for instance, written in detail on initiation rituals in Digambara Jainism in Karnataka (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 69–74).

161 On this, refer to N.N. Bhattacharyya, *Jainism: A Concise Encyclopedia* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2009): 35 and Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 31, 47–56.

162 While it is a difficult issue in India for Jaina monks to wander naked, it is perceived as unacceptable for nuns or women more generally to do so.

163 Tīrthaṅkaras are described as having a special adamantine body in order to endure the harsh ascetic practices necessary to reach enlightenment. It is said to resemble a diamond (*vajra*) (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 68).

164 On these issues, refer to Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Gender & Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991), and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 2018–220.

of a large gourd (Plate 1.11), and a brush of peacock feathers (*piñchī*) (Plates 1.8, 1.10),[165] used to clean the ground in front of them in order to avoid crushing any living beings, such as insects on their path.

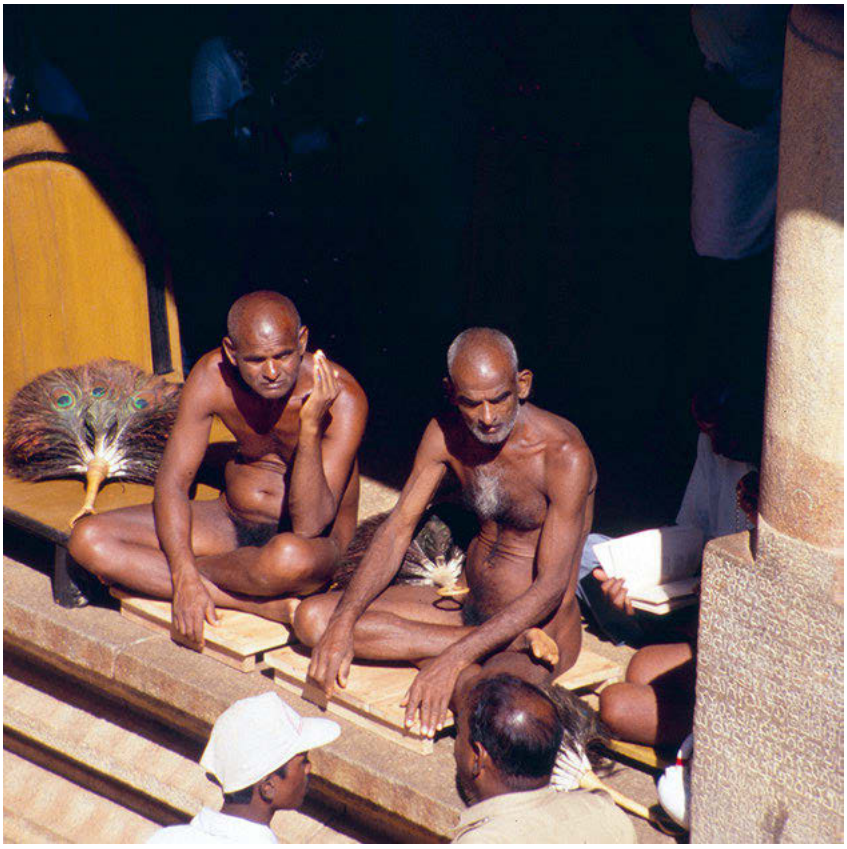


Plate 1.10: As part of their initiation ceremony, *dīkṣā*, male Digambara monks give up all clothing and wander naked to indicate detachment and control over all of their feelings, such as shame.

In the same spirit, Jaina ascetics have no home. Traditionally, they are wandering mendicants who walk from one Jaina centre to the next, usually in groups, and are not linked to a particular place. They are fed and provided with temporary shelter by rulers (or today, by local officials), and receive alms from them and from aristocrats, temple establishments, influential members of society, and ordinary lay members.[166]

165 Zydenbos spells it "*picchi*" (Robert J. Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus," in *Aspekte des Weiblichen in der indischen Kultur*, ed. Ulrike Roesler [Swisttal-Odendorf, Indica und Tibetica, 2000]: 166).

166 This tradition has also been commented on by Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 272.



Plate 1.11: Digambara Jaina ascetics are allowed to own a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), which has usually been crafted out of a large gourd. These are left outside temples on visits to them, as here at Venur.

The emphasis on asceticism—and the visibility of Jain monks—make it easy to see Jainism as an entirely ascetic faith, but this does injustice to the actual situation, in which lay people also played and play an important role, as this tradition of almsgiving shows.

As firm models for proper behaviour, the Tīrthaṅkaras, the twenty-four enlightened saintly teachers of the Jaina religion, witnessed to the fact that a life-style of no attachments to possessions or place would lead to liberation. Consequently, monks and nuns traditionally follow this approach permanently from the date of their initiation, while laypeople—especially women—observe regular fasts and abstain from certain foods[167] for certain weekly or monthly periods or even for years, or when on pilgrim-

167 On Jaina penance and fasting, refer also to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 90–99.

age. Ascetics have always depended on lay followers for food and shelter, and the laity in turn on the ascetics for spiritual guidance and support.[168] Despite their periodic short stays with the lay community, such as the four-month rain retreat,[169] Jain mendicants focus quite strongly on the ascetic practices of having no belongings and no permanent residence.

3.1.2 Giving up Homelessness and Poverty

Both these important Jaina religious tenets—of renouncing possessions and not staying in one place for long—started to lose their authority in the south of India during the early medieval period, more precisely between the eighth and the tenth century CE.

An increase in royal patronage meant that large numbers of new temples and religious establishments were built, for whose upkeep, and the regular execution of rituals necessary for consecrated *basadi*s, donors bequeathed either monetary funds, land grants or entire villages.[170] This soon worked against the core idea of non-possession, as Jainas who had followed a path of austerity now found themselves in possession of large amounts of wealth. Many became large-scale landowners (*gāvuṇḍa*s); in some places, where they owned the majority of land in one location, they turned into village chiefs. Zydenbos outlines how the increase in wealth of Jaina *basadi*s and the creation of monastic institutions provided their heads with a lot of financial but also sociopolitical power. In consequence, the leaders of such religious establishments were viewed not only as religious but also as worldly rulers.[171] In actual fact the Jaina ascetics emerged as a new landowning class.[172]

In order to look after their properties, groups of ascetics started to settle more permanently and to establish monastic institutions, known as *maṭha*s, close to Jaina *basadi*s.[173] There were separate monasteries for nuns and for monks. The practice of living

168 Refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 87, and Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 188. Scholz mentions also public discourses, lectures and special worship and offerings (*pūjā*) provided by ascetics for the lay community (Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 272).

169 Traditionally, Jaina ascetics only reside in one place for longer during the four months of the rainy season, known as *cāturmās* or *cāturmāsa*. On this issue, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 89–90, Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 21, and Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 274.

170 Suresh refers to inscriptions, mainly donor records, which disclose land grants, donations of villages and other sources of revenue (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 181).

171 Compare Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 149.

172 On this, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 119.

173 Singh emphasis the close connection between Jaina temples and monasteries as a single unit (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 101).

in monastic institutions, known as *maṭhvāsa*,[174] represented a drastic change in the Jainas' attitude and practice, as Singh points out, given their initial strict objections to the habit of belonging and settling more permanently in one place.[175] As Sabine Scholz has shown, in this publication, we have one piece of literary evidence for so-called "settled-down ascetics" (*maṭhavāsī*s) from as early as the second century CE, although this must have been quite unusual at this time.[176] Singh identifies further references dating from the fourth century CE and a larger number from the fifth century, which indicates that the building of monastic accommodation next to *basadi*s had become a more regular custom.[177]

Jaina householders were encouraged to support the establishment of *maṭha*s, and as such meritorious acts grew in popularity, the number of *maṭhas* increased even further in the period between the seventh and the twelfth century.[178] That not all ascetics settled down during the ninth and tenth centuries CE is shown by the clear linguistic distinction that was made between *maṭhavāsī*s, the settled, "monastery-dwelling" mendicants, and the wandering and homeless, "forest-dwelling" ascetics, the *vanavāsī*s.[179] However, in time, the monastic monks and nuns outnumbered those remaining true to their initial itinerant life-style.[180] Once benefactors had moved beyond donating to the *jinālaya*s, and had begun to fund the establishment of monasteries, they began to gift additional land and villages whose yield would support the new institutions.[181] This further increased the wealth of the Jaina community and the influence they wielded in society.

Singh describes the involvement of Jaina ascetics in the running of *basadi*s and monasteries as a gradual process. He shows that from the fifth and sixth centuries CE, Jaina temples employed priests (*bhoja, bhojaka*), to take care of the increasing number of rituals conducted in the shrines.[182] From the seventh or eighth century CE, the term *ācārya* (teacher) begins to take the place of *bhoja*, suggesting that more and more Jaina monks were taking over the running of *basadi*s and monasteries.[183] Singh is one author who is very critical of these developments. He writes, for instance:

174 Compare Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 59.

175 See the discussion in Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 100.

176 This reference is to be found in the *Pravacanasāra*. On this issue, see Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 64 and the chapter by Scholz in this publication.

177 Refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 101.

178 This has been argued by Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 102, 104.

179 On this distinction, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 106.

180 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 106–7.

181 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 104 has written on this subject.

182 *Bhoja*s or *bhojaka*s belong to the priest class in Karnataka.

183 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 47, 49. This is a situation which is not necessarily reflected in Digambara Jaina *basadi*s in Karnataka today. Whilst priests who are employed by *jinālaya*s—and which in Digambara Jainism can either be Hindu *brāhmaṇ*s, Jaina *brāhmaṇ*s (*brāhmaṇ*s whose families converted to Jainism) or simply Jaina priests (*upadhye*), as well as the heads of

> The reasons which impelled them [Jaina monks] to adopt the profession of priest are not difficult to find out. The rise of hedonistic tendencies and slack practices and the lust for material gains among the Jaina monks would have forced them to encroach upon the rights of [the] priest class which prevailed in Karnataka during the 5th–6th centuries. Thus, the distinction between Jaina monks and priests gradually disappeared from the 7th–8th centuries. The change in the usual practice of priesthood would have surely made them the sole master of enormous wealth, acquired from endowments made by the Jaina devotees.[184]

The donations to the monasteries comprised not only movable goods, such as harvest produce, animals, gold, jewellery or money in cash, etc., but also immovable assets, such as temple structures, rest houses and hospitals, to mention only a few examples. The latter group included items which created further wealth, such as oil-mills, cultivable fields, entire villages, fruit gardens and land. All of these were affirmed to be tax-free and the entire revenue went to the religious institution.[185] These benefactions provided the monasteries and *basadi*s with their primary source of income. Although the newly settled ascetics employed labourers to work on the donated land, they were required as landlords to take care of their property, a duty which as wanderers without possessions they had previously been free from. However, this also allowed them to establish religious libraries and to preserve, study and develop their scripture, philosophy and logic more intensively.[186] We have emphasised earlier in this chapter how important Jainas were in the development of the sacred and worldly literature and poetic culture of Karnataka. To counterbalance the critical view of Singh, as expressed above, we need to remember that the Jaina rest houses, *basadi*s and hospitals also distributed some of the wealth given to them in the form of donations back to the needy public.[187]

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monasteries (*bhaṭṭārakas*)—carry out rituals on images and more abstract symbols, fully-initiated monks do not normally touch or make offerings to statues nowadays. This is partly because Digambara ascetics have no belongings which they could offer in worship and also because, following the vow of *ahiṃsā*, they do not bathe regularly, which is demanded of worshippers before visiting a *basadi*. Ascetics perform mental or contemplative worship (*bhāvapūjā*). On this issue, refer to Dundas, *The Jains*: 176, and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 31–32. Cort disagrees with this view. He argues that ascetics participate as much in worship as do the laity (Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 65–66). This is not corroborated by my research in South India. On Jaina *brāhmaṇ*s refer also to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 82.

184 For this quote refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 51.

185 Singh has written on this (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 116).

186 On this, refer, for instance, to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 108–9.

187 This is a point which Singh makes himself (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 107).

3.1.3 *Bhaṭṭārakas* and Monasteries

The Jaina *maṭha*s contributed greatly to the spread of Jainism throughout the region. It seems that the Yāpanīyas were especially keen to establish and dwell in monasteries.[188] This might be due to their profound interest in regular temple worship.[189] The *maṭha*s developed into the ritual, religious, social and administrative headquarters and as such into important organising centres of the Jainas in the area, as well as centres of education and partially of jurisdiction.[190] The monasteries were provided with administrator managers, known as *bhaṭṭāraka*s,[191] who were celibate but not fully-initiated Jaina monks, and wore orange robes (Plate 1.12). They are still to be found at the head of *maṭha* institutions in central and southern India today. An alternative term for *bhaṭṭāraka*, which, however, in my experience is not commonly used today, is *maṭhādhipati*.[192] Jaini compares them to the *mahant*s of Hindu monastic establishments.[193] They are the chiefs of monastic establishments, or *maṭha*s, representing the religious community and handling its financial affairs.[194]

Sabine Scholz points out in Chapter 3 that the combination of religious, political and economic power gave the *bhaṭṭāraka*s a position comparable to that of a worldly ruler. Furthermore, settled monks and nuns with established administrative headquarters and large numbers of *basadi*s were able to influence local politics and economics more strongly and permanently than small groups of dispersed wandering ascetics.[195] On this level, Nandi argues that the Yāpanīyas, while diverging from tradition in their convictions and the reformed state of their practice, did not in the long run destabilise the authority of Digambara Jainism in Karnataka, but rather regenerated and boosted it.[196] The closer contact between ascetics, who were reliant on the support of the public, and the laity, dependent on their spiritual guidance, gradually attracted more lay people to a religious vocation. This resulted in an increase in the establishment of monasteries and their associated communities, who again could train more monks and nuns. In consequence, the number of new monastic foundations increased and Jainism became firmly established throughout the region of Karnataka.[197]

188 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 99.

189 Scholz in her individual chapter in this volume has written on this issue.

190 Pinto has written on this. See Chapter 2 in this volume.

191 Further information on the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition in India can be found in Chapter 3 by Scholz. See also Zydenbos for the decline of *maṭha*s and the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition in North India (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 159).

192 On this, refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 149.

193 See Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 196.

194 The *bhaṭṭāraka*s are also involved in religious education, many manage schools and administer publication series. Restoration and maintenance of temples are also areas falling under their responsibility.

195 See, for instance, Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 110.

196 Refer to Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 61.

197 On this issue, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 46.

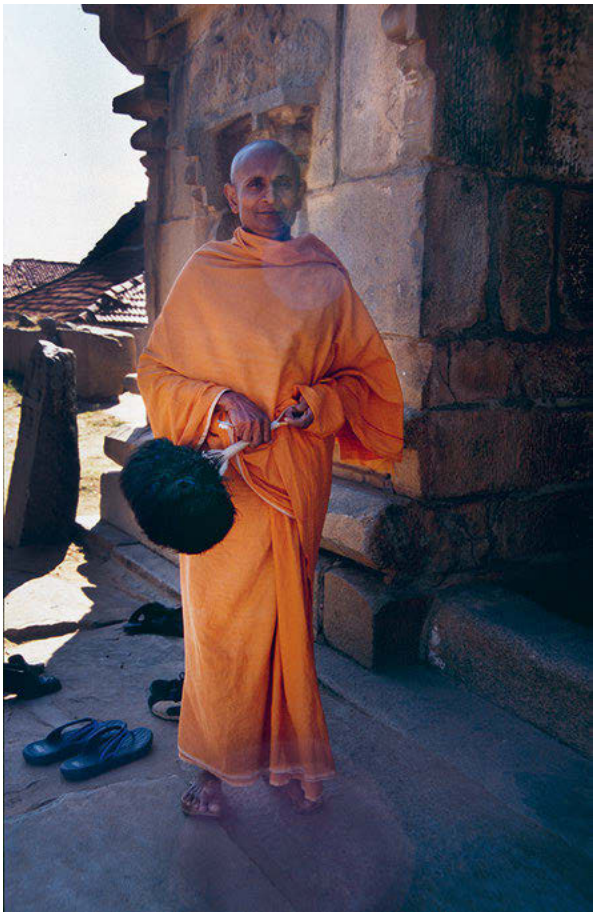


Plate 1.12: The manager, *bhaṭṭāraka*, of the small monastery, *maṭha*, at Kambadhalli, who is a celibate, not fully-initiated Jaina monk, who wears orange robes and holds a brush of peacock feathers.

With the decrease of Jaina influence in Karnataka, the *maṭha*s sank into poverty and only six have survived in the wider area today. Of these, only three are still active as influential centres: Shravanabelgola (Plate 1.13),[198] Narasimharajapura (Narasiṁharājapura, Simhanagadde) and Humcha (Hombuja, Pombuccapura, Paṭṭi-Pombuccapura, Pompuccanagara).[199]

198 The *maṭha* at Shravanabelgola was established in 982 CE by Cāvuṇḍarāya, the general of Gaṅgā King Mārasiṁha II, one year before he erected the tall Bāhubali monolith (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 105).

199 For further information on these locations and their *maṭha*s, refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 149–50. The *maṭha* at Humcha was founded between the eighth and the ninth century CE (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 105).



Plate 1.13: In its present form, the *maṭha* at Shravanabelgola and the mural paintings adorning the walls surrounding its central courtyard area date largely from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

To summarise, the establishment of *maṭha*s and of their leaders, the *bhaṭṭāraka*s, represents an institutionalisation of Jainism on a large scale. The permanent integration of settled ascetics into lay society contributed to an interweaving of religious and ordinary life and strengthened ties and interdependencies between the two communities. Through this, the popularity of Jainism increased and the religion became firmly established in society.[200]

Initially, Jainas had not considered image veneration and donating to temples as essential for reaching liberation. Suresh suggests that these convictions probably arose as a result of the settlement of monks and nuns in monastic institutions.[201] Some Jainas at the time condemned these changes (as do some modern scholars of Jainism) denouncing them as indications of immorality, laxity and decadence.[202] Subrahmanya Aiyar goes so far as to call these internal changes "corruptions."[203] Singh, examining the criticism voiced in the *Ātmānuśāsana* of Guṇabhadra, refers to them as "lax conduct" of the Jaina monks.[204] Sabine Scholz argues in Chapter 3 that these changes made Jainism more vulnerable in the face of more devotional Hindu movements which penetrated the region later. Nevertheless, this strongly noticeable tendency, which entirely changed the practice and outlook of Jainism in Karnataka, became the prevalent approach at this time.

Others consider these changes as necessary for the organisation, unification and strengthening of the Jaina community in the face of the challenges posed not least by the Vīraśaivas in the northern parts of Karnataka and the Islamic invasions in Maharashtra and then in northern Karnataka.[205] Sabine Scholz explains that Muslims, who opposed the Jaina monks' habit of wandering naked, accepted the clothed *bhaṭṭāraka*s, who were able to mediate and to defend the faith.[206] We have also shown, in the discussion above, how monasteries and a settled life-style at least initially supported Jainism and led to its noticeable expansion in the area.

200 On this topic, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 107. It is fascinating that during the twentieth century, Digambara Jaina ascetics re-established the practice of wandering homelessly and many of the minor *maṭha*s have been closed. Scholz alludes to this fact in her conclusion to Chapter 3. See also her unpublished PhD dissertation on the subject (Scholz, "The Digambara Jainas").

201 Refer to Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 182.

202 See Chapter 3 by Scholz for further information as well as Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216.

203 See Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216.

204 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 107.

205 Scholz has written on this issue in this publication (Chapter 3). The State of Maharashtra is locally spelled Mahārāṣṭra.

206 On this issue, see also Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism," and Vilas Adinath Sangave, *Facets of Jainology: Selected Research Papers on Jain Society, Religion and Culture* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001): 133.

3.2 Castes and Fragmentation

Between the eighth and the tenth century CE, the Jainas introduced further changes in their faith, beyond the alteration of temple worship and their relation to ownership and settled-ness. We can see that the social nature of their community also underwent substantial change, and it fragmented into a number of subgroups.

3.2.1 The Introduction of Jaina Castes

During the early Middle Ages, the Jainas officially introduced, or at least affirmed, a social system of four main castes, known as *varṇa* or *jāti*.[207] Indian society has traditionally been structured by hierarchical layers. During the Kadamba and Gaṅgā periods, between the fourth and the sixth century CE, Hindu families who converted to Jainism had retained their caste affiliation on the basis of their professions, thus smuggling castes into Jaina society.[208] In the course of the medieval period, probably from the seventh or eighth century CE onwards, the Jainas addressed the issue more directly and, by explaining caste hierarchies from a Jaina point of view, for the first time accepted and reinforced them as a new Jaina reality.[209]

Sabine Scholz argues in Chapter 3 that a positive outcome of this shift in attitude was that people could participate more widely in social traditions and that this supported the firm integration of Jainism in a society which was largely structured by castes.[210] Narasimha Murthy stresses the influence and passion of these early converts from Hindu groups to Jainism, arguing that they contributed much to the social and cultural activities associated with the Jainism of this time. On the other hand, however, the affirmation of Jaina *varṇa*s also caused a certain fragmentation, which eventually risked endangering the unity of Jainism. Unfortunately, it seems that the problem of fragmentation was not perceived as a real danger until the nineteenth century, when early reform-orientated Digambara Jaina associations were created. They judged the disintegration of the Jaina community into large numbers of smaller fac-

207 *Varṇa* means colour and refers to an earlier system of social stratigraphy with four castes, already indicated in the earliest Vedic texts, which in later classical Hinduism are referred to as *jāti*. The latter term can also be used to describe a subcaste of a main *varṇa* (Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Survey of Hinduism*, 2nd ed. [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994]: 334–36; Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* [Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994]: 82, 170; Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* [Oxford: Oneworld, 1999 (1998)]: 198). The Vedic age lasted from about 1200 till 600 BCE.

208 Misra has undertaken a study of the different Jaina castes in Mysore city. She mentions Jaina *brāhmaṇ*s, *kṣatriya*s, *vaiśya*s and Gauḍas (Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 17–25).

209 Further details can be found in Chapter 2 by Pinto and in Chapter 3 by Scholz. See also Narasimha Murthy on this issue (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44).

210 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44.

tions and castes to be a serious problem, which they aimed to eliminate. However, as Sabine Scholz shows in Chapter 3, these reformers were not very successful at simplifying and uniting the Digambara *saṅgha*.

Tiziana Lorenzetti, in Chapter 4 below, casts a critical eye over the fragmentation of Jaina society, demonstrating how discrimination on the basis of castes became ingrained in Jaina society. According to Singh, Jaina members of the lowest caste (*śūdra*) came to be debarred from initiation into the mendicant community, which formerly had been open to all Jainas.[211] This made Vīraśaivism with its initial absence of castes very attractive to members of these levels of society, as we shall see later in this chapter. From the eighth century CE onwards, we have reports of individuals making large land grants or donating *basadi*s at the time of their initiation ceremony into the Jaina *saṅgha*. Whether such donations were seen as a compulsory fee or were entirely voluntary is not clear.[212] It is possible that they helped open doors to someone who had been excluded from becoming a monk or a nun. Having an ascetic in one's family brought prestige and was very desirable, as it still is today.

3.2.2 Divisions into Subgroups: The Yāpanīyas

The Jaina community fragmented not only into a number of castes but also into religious subgroups, separate monastic orders (*guruvādi*s) and lineages of individual teachers (*gaṇa*s, *gaccha*s, *anvaya*s, *saṅgha*s).[213] Most of the changes that fragmented the Jaina community took place between the eighth and the tenth century CE.[214] Upadhye sees such diversification into a number of different sects as already predestined through the multiplicity of leaders who founded Jainism and as being further supported by small groups of itinerant ascetics (*gaṇa*s) moving separately through far-flung parts of the country. Groups might consist of as few as three people: according to Upadhye, a grouping of three monks was called a *gaṇa* and was headed by a *gaṇadhara*, and a larger assembly of seven ascetics was a *gaccha*.[215] At times, this term was

211 Refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 73.

212 Singh has written on this (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 74).

213 Scholz in Chapter 3 comments on this as do Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 221, Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 136, Adinath N. Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha: A Jaina Sect," in *Upadhye: Papers*. Other Publications 77 (Mysore: Wesley Press, 1983): 192–93, 198, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 46. Scholz also reminds us of the popular saying, "while all the twenty-four Tirthankaras came from the northern part of India, the greatest *acharya*s lived in the south and many of them flourished in Karnataka" (Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 259).

214 See Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 41–46 and the chapter by Scholz in this publication.

215 Compare Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 225.

also applied to a group of travelling ascetics more generally. Upadhye also states that a "regular community of monks" was called a *saṅgha*.[216] However, these terms appear to have had no clear omnivalent definitions. Upadhye refers here in particular to Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra as distinct leaders of ascetics with certain differences between their teachings.[217]

The best-known and most influential new Digambara faction was that of the Yāpanīyas, whose contribution to the popularity and increase of Jainism in Karnataka during the early medieval period has already been touched on.[218] The community of the Yāpanīyas, the Yāpanīya Saṅgha, had already started to take shape during the first centuries CE, probably in the second century CE,[219] and became more firmly rooted in Karnataka over the fifth and sixth centuries CE. Yāpanīyas were most dominant in the northern areas of the modern State of Karnataka, in the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and Gulbargah, and in the area of Kolhapur in modern-day Maharashtra.[220] One of their early centres and possibly their main bastion was modern Halsi (ancient Palāśikā) in Belgaum District.[221] Other important Yāpanīya centres (which will be discussed in Chapter 5 below in the context of Jaina temple architecture), include Kagvad (Kāgavāḍ), Belgaum (Belgāum; ancient Vēṇugrāma), Aihole (Aihoḷe; ancient Ayyavoḷe) and Adargunchi (Adarguñchi).[222]

Surprisingly little is known about the origins and organisation of the Yāpanīyas, whose name appears to be a derivative from the root "*yā*" ("expelled")[223] and some accounts even identify them as a Śvetāmbara subgroup.[224] This points towards their

216 Refer to Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 192–93.

217 Furthermore, Upadhye raises the issue of the wide dispersion of the groups of monks and provides information on a number of early splinter groups. He mentions the names of different Digambara subgroups and reminds us that the Śvetāmbara community also divides into a number of *gacha*s (Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 192; Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 225).

218 On this issue, see also Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47.

219 Narasimha Murthy dates their origin to the second century CE CE (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47).

220 On the date and the regional focus of the Yāpanīyas, refer to Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 225, 229, 231 and Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 193, 198. Further information can be obtained from Chapter 3 by Scholz, from Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164, and also from Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 224–27.

221 On this, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 122.

222 Compare also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164, 165.

223 On this, refer to Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 227, and Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 194. On the subject of heresy and an objection to the Yāpanīya's liberal approach to Jainism, see also Scholz in this volume, Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 229, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 169, Roy, *A History of Jainism*: 128 who calls them "false sects (Jainabhasa)," Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 48, and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 227.

224 This subject has been discussed by Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164, Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 227, Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 193, Kristi L. Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2006 [2004]): 238, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47.

position at the intersection between the two major Jaina sects, combining characteristic elements from both.[225] In this context, Saletore wrote: "The Yāpiṇīyas [Yāpaṇīyas] were an unorthodox Jaina sect with the appearance of the Digambaras [that is, they wandered naked] but with the observances of the Śvetāmbaras."[226] Furthermore, we know that the Yāpaṇīyas settled close to Digambara establishments. We can see from the divergent viewpoints of Jaini and Singh that there is some doubt about Yāpanīya nakedness. According to Jaini, the Yāpanīyas wandered naked when they were outside of populated areas but wore "a single piece of clothing (eka-phālaka) when in inhabited areas,"[227] while Singh argues that they always wore simple white garments.[228] However, like the Śvetāmbaras, the Yāpanīyas believed that women were able to attain enlightenment (*strī mokṣa*) and that omniscient beings (*kevalin*s) still ate and drank, which Digambaras strictly deny.[229] Due to this ambiguity, the Yāpanīyas were considered "unorthodox," "pseudo-Jaina" and as "heretics" by Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras alike.

Despite all these areas of contention, the Yāpanīya Saṅgha was highly influential throughout the region and appears to have been very effective in attracting donations and land grants from powerful rulers and wealthy sections of society.[230] The period of Kadamba rule from the fourth to the sixth century CE appears to have seen a particular rise in their influence.[231] We know that merchants and other well-heeled members of the laity were Yāpanīyas. They bestowed a large number of *basadi*s on the Saṅgha and granted them villages and land to look after these, particularly in the northern regions of Karnataka.[232] Especially popular were shrines dedicated to the Jinas Neminātha and Pārśvanātha, who were represented nude, presumably like the ascetics.[233]

225 Desai has written on the connections and similarities the Yāpanīyas had with both sects of Jainism (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 98).

226 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 222. On page 223 of the same source, he mentions a number of Yāpaṇīya strongholds in Karnataka.

227 On this, refer to Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 15.

228 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 126.

229 On this, refer, for instance to von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*: 356, Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 15, and Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 239. On women and enlightenment refer also to the substantial study by Jaini, *Gender & Salvation*.

230 Compare Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 194–96, Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 239, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47.

231 Desai has written on Halsi and the firm establishment of the Yāpanīyas in the region (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 98–99). For further subdivisions, see the same source on p. 166. Refer also to Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 231.

232 On these topics, see Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 199, and Parasher-Sen, who also states that in northern Karnataka, the strong Yāpanīya influence lasted for about one thousand years, until they were slowly absorbed by the mainstream form of Digambara Jainism (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 227).

233 This has been stated by Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 198. Refer also to Roy, *A History of Jainism*: 127 and Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 239.

Upadhye suggests that in their professional management of the *jinālaya*s through land grants, and the care they devoted to the community, the Yāpanīyas who were in charge of large temple establishments were forerunners of the later monastic heads, the *bhaṭṭāraka*s.[234] Zydenbos, too, believes that the *bhaṭṭāraka* role could be traced back to the Yāpanīya tradition.[235] Furthermore, the Yāpanīyas appear to have been active in politics. Siṁhanandi, the saint influential in bringing the Gaṅgā dynasty to power, is said to have belonged to the Yāpanīya sect. Parasher-Sen has mentioned both Siṁhanandi and Kuṇḍakuṇḍa as being Yāpanīyas.[236] According to Sabine Scholz, some highly respected Jaina teachers and writers also belonged to this subgroup, which again would have attracted others to join.

The Yāpanīyas were also active in the area of modern-day Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.[237] However, Desai emphasises that, besides these few incursions into the modern area of Andhra Pradesh, the Yāpanīyas never ventured far beyond the region of Karnataka.[238] In these early centuries CE, of course, there was no State border. The Yāpanīyas appear to have reached the southern regions of Karnataka, although only from about the seventh century CE onwards.[239] However, they never became really rooted in southern Karnataka. It is worth pointing out here that in the numerous inscriptions preserved at Shravanabelgola, no records refer to the Yāpanīyas directly.[240]

More generally, the Yāpanīyas contributed strongly to the development of Jainism and its rise to popularity in Karnataka. This subgroup appears to have flourished between the fifth and the fourteenth century.[241] After this time, despite their popularity amongst ordinary citizens, the Yāpanīyas seem to have been absorbed by mainstream Digambara Jainism. Beyond the fourteenth century, they can no longer be identified

234 Compare Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 199.

235 See Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 149.

236 Refer to Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 226. In Karnataka, Kuṇḍakuṇḍa is also known as Koṇḍakunda or Koṇḍakundācārya (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 225, 270). On Kuṇḍakuṇḍa's significance in the area, see also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 156. The date of Kuṇḍakuṇḍa is heavily disputed but there is reasonable evidence to assume that he lived at the beginning of the Common Era, probably in the first century CE (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 226, 270; Renate Söhnen-Thieme, "Jaina History and the Universal History of the Jainas," in *Pure Soul: The Jaina Spriritual Traditons*, ed. Peter Flügel, Heleen De Jonckheere and Renate Söhnen-Thieme [Surrey: Centre for Jaina Studies, Calderstone Printers, 2023]: 48). At this time, Kuṇḍakuṇḍa made Shravanabelgola the main centre of his religious practice (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 185). Pinto in Chapter 2 in this publication places him in the first century BCE.

237 On this, refer to Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 227.

238 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 98, 164, 166–67 and 169.

239 On this, see Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 247.

240 Upadhye has written on this (Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 198).

241 Compare Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 229, and Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164.

as a separate faction.[242] Their *basadi*s and icons were absorbed by the Digambara community, and are venerated by them today.[243] This is a further argument in favour of associating the Yāpanīyas with Digambara rather than Śvetāmbara Jainism.

3.2.3 The Mūla Saṅgha, the Draviḍa Saṅgha and Other Subsects

The Yāpanīyas, however, were not the only subgroup that came to rival the Digambara Mūla Saṅgha in South India. On the basis of epigraphic records, for instance, we know that a number of new monastic orders were formed in the areas of modern day Bangalore and Hassan in the eighth and tenth century CE.[244] This was the period of great flourishing in which the Jainas generally diversified. Inscriptional records from Shravanabelgola name four coexisting Digambara Jaina ascetic orders associated with different places in Karnataka during the eighth century CE.[245]

Another group which played an important role in Karnataka was the neighbouring Draviḍa Saṅgha, founded by Vajranandī in Madurai (Maturai) in Tamil Nadu, either in the fifth or between the ninth and tenth century CE,[246] among whom we find evidence of female as well as male religious orders. Although initially, the nuns appear to have had only little influence, the position of female ascetics seems to have changed significantly from at least the eleventh century onwards.[247]

The creation of these diverse Digambara groups and organisations led to certain differences in doctrinal teachings, ascetic behaviour and ritual proceedings. In consequence, competition commenced amongst various orders about the highest-ranking monastic seat. All these distinctive orders and their monasteries, *basadis* and headquarters had to be administered, and complex hierarchical structures developed, with interdependent monasteries with lower-ranking preceptors and dominant chief pontiffs in particular regions. Singh argues that it was the "personal zeal" of individ-

242 For their assimilation during the fifteenth century and for further details on the Yāpanīyas more generally, see the publications by Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha," Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha," and Chapter 3 in this publication by Scholz. Desai has written on the decline of the Yāpanīyas in particular (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 223). Additional information on the Yāpanīyas can also be found in Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 47–48, Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 66, Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 221–23, and Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 247.

243 This has been suggested by Roy, *A History of Jainism*, Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 15 and Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 201.

244 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 123.

245 These are the Navilūr, the Kittūr, the Kolaṭṭūr and the Malanur Saṅghas (Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 41–44; Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 123–24).

246 This illustrates the often unclear dates associated with named saints and rulers in the history of South India. For the reference, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 124–25.

247 On this, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 128–30.

ual monks that led to rivalry between their various orders.[248] This diversification and fragmentation severely threatened the unity of the Digambara Jainas in Karnataka.[249]

As we have discussed, the donations of *basadi*s and land for their upkeep put the Jainas in a position where they had to set up administrative headquarters and found monastic institutions. The creation of monasteries—in many ways contradictory to the initial vow of homelessness which the monks and nuns had made as part of their initiation ceremonies—led to an increased institutionalisation of the Jaina religion through a complex system of monasteries and associated temples and a more complex administrative organisation. In addition, we have seen a certain amount of Hindu influence on the Jaina religion, such as the introduction of the fourfold caste system. This appears to have taken place mainly during the seventh and eighth centuries CE, predominantly through conversions from Hindu groups to Jainism. The influence extended, for instance, to the wearing of the *brāhmaṇ* sacred thread by Jaina boys, probably from the early medieval period onwards.[250] Furthermore, we have noticed an enormous diversification of the ascetic Jaina population. Especially prominent was the influence of the Yāpanīya Saṅgha, although there were also large numbers of other, often competing Jaina orders of monks and nuns. With all of them paying allegiance to different monastic headquarters and precepts, the unity of the community inevitably fragmented.

4 Transformation of the Jaina Pantheon, Temple Ceremonies and Architecture

We have seen that the rise in popularity of the Jaina community in Karnataka resulted in conversions, to a stark rise in numerical strength and an increase in financial support for this religious group. This led to an upsurge in patronage with regards to both the support of existing shrines and the donation and construction of new *basadi*s. These new foundations were often supplied with generous land grants for the upkeep of the sacred centres. We shall now turn to the ways in which ritual and temple architecture responded to the growing importance of the *jinālaya*s. Existing forms of worship were expanded and the iconography of divinities was further developed and gained in significance, while lay participation in religious activities also in-

248 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 123.

249 On this, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 127. This has also been discussed by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 58.

250 On this, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 77, 81. Only "artisans, dancers and probably śūdras" were not permitted to undergo this ceremony and to wear the sacred thread (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 82).

tensified. The new power and wealth of the Jaina *saṅgha* then also found expression in temple architecture with more complex constructions and sumptuous decorations. These areas of ritual and artistic activity will be discussed below.

4.1 Expansion of the Jaina Pantheon and of Ritual Activities

Inscriptional evidence points to an increase in ritual activities and an elaboration of image veneration in the newly raised *basadi*s during the early Middle Ages. This is not to say that temple worship had not played an important role before:[251] indeed, the veneration of statues in Jainism appears to go back to the times of Ṛṣabhanātha's son and to Mahāvīra, as has been discussed earlier in this chapter.[252] Worship as a religious duty of the laity appears to have been codified for the first time by Samantabhadra in the first centuries CE.[253] This was generally perceived as a positive development by most Jainas.[254] It appears that sumptuous rituals, including regular worship of a large number of statues, became accepted and widespread among the Jainas in the period between the tenth and the thirteenth century (Plate 1.14).[255]

This emphasis on ritual also led to an elaboration and diversification of the Jaina pantheon.[256] This has generally been interpreted as a means of making Jainism more appealing to its followers.[257] As we have seen, in early Jainism as we understand it today, there appears to have been a stronger emphasis on asceticism and on the veneration of the twenty-four Jinas, or Tīrthaṅkaras, who were thought to be the only ones who could show devotees the path to enlightenment.[258] However, the complete detachment from our world of the fully-enlightened saintly teachers made them less well equipped to react to the needs and prayers of devotees. This could have made the religion appear somewhat abstract and remote.

251 Here, I disagree with Singh, who supports the view that "the early Jainas did not practice image worship" (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 23).

252 Refer to section 2.2.5 "More Popular Forms of Worship, Guilds and Urbanisation."

253 Samantabhadra has also been spelled Sāmantabhadra. On worship as a religious duty, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 23.

254 Refer to Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 182.

255 On this, see Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 237.

256 As will be argued below, this expansion of the group of Jaina gods and goddesses does not in my view represent a harmonisation with Hindu practices. It is really only in the area of coastal Karnataka that a particular closeness to and absorption of Hindu ritual practices can be noted.

257 On this issue, refer also to Pinto in Chapter 2 in this volume and to Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 244.

258 Jainism describes the process towards spiritual perfection as a long and demanding journey, not attainable in this world age. The Jinas, as the few individuals who have reached this spiritual goal, are seen as models and ideals on this path. According to T.G. Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā 20, Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakṣaka Saṁgha (Sholapur: Lalchand Hirachand Dhoshi, 1969): 176, this justifies the need to worship them.



Plate 1.14: The large number of icons and sacred objects venerated inside the Baḍaga Basadi at Mudabidri are representative of the increase in ritual activities noticeable from the tenth century CE onwards.

While the group of twenty-four enlightened and detached Tīrthaṅkaras remained the focus of Jaina veneration during the Middle Ages in South India, as models and,

indirectly at least, as providers of assistance,[259] the gods and goddesses who had always existed alongside them gained strongly in importance. However, it cannot be emphasised enough, that this is not a new invention or borrowing from Hinduism, but that devotional (*bhakti*) cults and practices were present in Jainism right from the start and that this only represents and intensification of already prevailing traditions.[260]

4.1.1 Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)

During the Middle Ages in South India, Jaina divinities, being more approachable than the fully detached Jinas, gained an important position in rituals. The reason for this is that gods and goddesses can be asked directly for support and guidance in times of difficulty.[261] However, although they can assist and aid devotees in times of need and when in danger, the Jaina deities cannot help believers to reach enlightenment. Only the fully enlightened and detached Tīrthaṅkaras can act as models and indirectly at least, as assistance, in this area.[262] Nevertheless, gods and goddess have played an important role in Jainism right from its beginnings. Therefore, the idea that an original, purely ascetic form of the religion once existed, which exclusively focussed on the Jinas and that divinities were all taken later from Hinduism, has clearly been disproven.[263] There is ample evidence that divinities, such as the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s, were already worshipped at the time of Mahāvīra. The Buddha and Mahāvīra are said to have worshiped *yakṣas* on a daily basis and to have stayed in *yakṣa* shrines.[264] Another example for the long veneration of female divinities is that the earliest dated statue of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning is not a Hindu but a Jaina image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at Mathura (Mathurā) (132 CE).[265] Despite this, some authors, such as Kalghatgi, still argue for a Hindu influence in this area and claim that goddess veneration is alien to Jainism and was assimilated from Hinduism.[266]

259 On this, refer to John Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions," *Numen* 34, no. 2 [1987]: 251. Gods are mortals and need to be reborn as humans first to be able to reach enlightenment and to leave the cycle of rebirths, *saṃsāra* (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 161, 166).

260 This has also been stressed by Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 59–86.

261 Compare Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177.

262 On this, refer to Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 251. Gods are mortals and need to be reborn as humans first to be able to reach enlightenment and to leave the cycle of rebirths, *saṃsāra* (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 161, 166).

263 On this, refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 146–47, 153–55 and Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 249–50.

264 Compare Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 241.

265 The religious affiliation has been indicated in its inscription (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 236; Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 107).

266 Refer to Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177–78.

Some divinities have a particular function in Jainism. The guardians of the temple compound, the *kṣetrapāla*s, for instance, are there to protect the sacred compounds (*kṣetra*) of shrines (Plate 1.15). The *vidyādevī*s, as goddesses of knowledge and learning, also play an important role and are frequently depicted in the ceiling panels of Jaina temples,[267] as are the nine planetary deities (*navagraha*s) and their vehicles, and the eight directional divinities, the *aṣṭadikapāla*s (Plate 1.16). This is especially typical of Jaina temples in the area of Karnataka.[268]



Plate 1.15: Brahmadeva is both a *yakṣa* and a guardian of the temple compound, a *kṣetrapāla*. He is recognised by the club and noose he carries and by his association with a horse.

267 On this, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 108–9.

268 This will be discussed in more detail, and with reference to several examples, in Chapter 5 on Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka in this volume.



Plate 1.16: The nine squares of the ceiling panel in the *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli depict the eight guardians of the directions, *aṣṭadikapāla*s, surrounding Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa.

More generally, however, a male tutelary deity (*yakṣa*) and his female counterpart (*yakṣī*) acted as associates and protectors for all of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, from the early medieval period (Plate 1.17). Suresh reminds us that the origins of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* cult date from the centuries before the common era, where they were associated with fertility cults, mother goddesses and subterranean treasures.[269] There are in actual fact references to *yakṣa*s in the *Ṛg Veda*. Originally, *yakṣa*s could be benevolent or harmful, in Jainism, however, they take on only a positive and protective function.[270] In North India, *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s have been associated with the Jinas since about the sixth century CE.[271] Sundaram dates their close connection with particular named Tīrthaṅkaras in Karnataka to the tenth or early eleventh centuries,[272] when they were referred to as attendant or guardian deities *śāsanadevatā*s, although without initially wielding any substantial individual influence.[273] Their role was essen-

269 Compare Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 183. On this, refer also to Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 192.

270 This has been underlined by Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 151.

271 On this, see Cort, who focusses in his research more on northern India (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 241–42).

272 Compare Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 34.

273 Refer to Ram Bhusan Prasad Singh, "Jain Goddesses and Tantricism in Karnataka," *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 6, no. 1–2 (1972–1973): 116 and Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 241.

tially to safeguard the enlightenment of their associated Tīrthaṅkara and to flank him inside the teaching auditorium (*samavasaraṇa*) after his attainment of full enlightenment (*kevalajñāna*), thus further strengthening the mutual connection.[274]



Plate 1.17: In the Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar, the associated *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* of the Jina have been set up inside the hall, flanking the entrance to the vestibule of the *basadi*.

However, as part of the development of Tantric Jainism in Karnataka, especially the female custodial divinities or *yakṣī*s, also referred to as *yakṣiṇī*s, *devī*s (goddesses) or *mātā*s (mothers, mother goddesses), gained substantially in importance.[275] Although Tantrism, involving the practice of ascetic exercises and magical techniques to obtain spiritual and physical powers, originated in India in the late fifth century CE, its influence was felt more strongly in Jaina practice from the seventh century CE. The increase in veneration of the female principle in particular appears to date from the eighth to tenth century CE. Although, for instance, Aṁbikā Devī also plays an important role in north Indian Jainism, the number and significance of female *yakṣī*s in the south during this period is unparalleled. The only male *yakṣa* of significance in Karna-

274 For further details on these two points, refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 148, 150, 165.

275 Parasher-Sen suggests that the Yāpanīyas were influential in introducing Tantrism and the cult of the *yakṣī* into Jainism (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 227). On the connection between goddesses and Tantrism, see also Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177.

taka is Brahma *yakṣa*.[276] Whereas in Hinduism, goddesses are considered to be the spouses of the deities, each *yakṣī* in Jainism is associated with a male *yakṣa* and both serve one named Tīrthaṅkara.

The *yakṣī*s are regarded as mothers and act as representatives of the sacred feminine, as the primary position of veneration was already taken by the male Jinas.[277] They were particularly beloved of normal householders who were not clerics and had not specifically been trained in philosophical and abstract religious thought. We can see that such people frequently entered into deep relations with these Tantric goddesses.[278] As mothers, the *yakṣī*s were considered exceptionally powerful in helping at times of trouble, protecting, healing, and granting children and worldly boons. There are countless stories about the selfless aid of the goddesses in troublesome situations.[279] However, the mother goddess is not only a maternal, caring figure. She is also a fierce warrior goddess, who carries arms. Jvālāmālinī, the goddess of fire, for instance, is a terrifying divinity, often depicted with eight arms, holding destructive weapons.[280] This concept appealed to the martial Jaina kings and the military classes associated with them, a feature which has been discussed earlier in this chapter in connection with the Tīrthaṅkaras.[281]

As we have noted, the *yakṣī*s were not created anew or adopted from Hinduism. Although we see them gaining in status substantially by the tenth century CE, they had existed in Jainism long before this. Inscriptions indicate that many were worshipped as slightly more independent divinities as early as the seventh or eighth century CE, albeit usually in the context of large temples dedicated primarily to one or

276 Zydenbos has commented on this (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 166). For examples of representations of Brahma *yakṣa* and his positioning especially on the tops of pillars in Karnataka, see section 2.3 "Additional Features of Jaina Temple Complexes" as well as the many examples discussed in Chapter 5 by Hegewald in this volume. See also Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (New Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 134–60.

277 Comapare Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 184–88 and Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 245.

278 On this, see Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 246.

279 Refer to Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 246, 248. This has also been depicted in paintings on temple walls. See, for instance, Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 98, Plate 214.

280 See Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 53. On depictions of the *yakṣī*s in Jainism, see also Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 94–100.

281 Iyengar has written on this subject as well (Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 245). Iyenagar on the same page also refers to the concepts of the seven mothers (*saptamātṛkā*s), the sixty-four *yoginī*s, the sixteen *vidyādevī*s and Sarasvatī in Jainism. In addition to the latter goddess, Lakṣmī, alternatively known simply as Śrī, who has a particular significance for Jaina merchants, has also enjoyed active worship in Jainism. On Jaina worship of Lakṣmī, refer to Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 237.

several Jinas.[282] However, by the tenth century CE, their position or status was obviously changing. At this time, they no longer feature as only minor divinities in larger *basadi*s dedicated to the Tīrthaṅkaras. We find *jinālaya*s where the *yakṣī*s are named and worshipped almost on equal terms with the Jinas, such as in the Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatī Temple on Kanakagiri or the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Nittur (Niṭṭūr), which is better known as the Jvālāmālinī Devī Temple. In both places, the statues of the Jinas still reside in the main shrine rooms of the *basadi*s. Moreover, from this time onwards, we also see large temple structures which house statues of female deities in their central sanctums, their *garbhagṛha*s, as powerful autonomous deities.[283] An example is the Jvālāmālinī Devī Basadi at Narasimharajapura in the coastal region of Karnataka. This provoked some internal criticism amongst the Jainas. However, Zydenbos, with reference to the writings of the Digambara monk Kunthusāgara, who defended the veneration of *yakṣī*s as a Jaina practice, stresses the point that despite their significance, the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s never equalled the Jinas in religious standing.[284] These *yakṣī*s were believed to have strongly delineated characters and distinct personalities. Whilst critics of the *yakṣī* cult referred to the fact of their distinct identities as a negative point, indicating strong *karma* attachment and distance from the almost completely identical Tīrthaṅkaras, the individual personalities of these goddesses played important roles in their cults of veneration.[285]

The most prominent of the *yakṣī*s who started to be venerated independently from the Jinas was Padmāvatī, around whom a substantial religious cult evolved, as was the case (to a slightly lesser extent) with Jvālāmālinī and Kuṣamāṇḍinī (Kuṣmāṇḍī, Kūṣmāṇḍinī).[286] Alternatively, Kuṣamāṇḍinī is also known as Aṁbikā (meaning "mother"), a name more commonly used by Śvetāmbara Jainas in the north of India. The cult of Padmāvatī goes back to the seventh, eighth or ninth century CE.[287]

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282 Some scholars have suggested that the goddess cult was introduced to Karnataka from Tamil Nadu. Zydenbos, for instance, has written on this issue (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 162, 164). On the veneration of goddesses in the Tamil region, refer to K.V. Raman, "Śakti Worship in Tamil Nadu – A Historical Perspective," in *Temple Art, Icons and Culture of India and South-East Asia* (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2006). However, to my mind, it seems that the cult of the Śakti developed independently and contemporaneously in Karnataka.

283 On this, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 170.

284 See Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 165.

285 Zydenbos has written on this (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 166).

286 For further details on these individual *yakṣī*s, see the chapter by Scholz in this publication as well as the articles by Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus" and Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses." Especially useful on the various *yakṣī*s are pp. 248–53 in the latter publication. See also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 171–73.

287 On this issue, see Scholz in Chapter 3, Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 150–51, Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 55, and Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 244. Without providing any particular reasons, Singh argues for a slightly later date in the tenth century CE (Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 119).

In Karnataka, Padmāvatī is also known as Lokkiyabbe.[288] She was probably the lineage goddess (*kuladevī*) associated with a number of influential local ruling Jaina families in Karnataka.[289] Like Pārśvanātha, with whom she is connected as guardian deity, she is closely associated with snake (*nāga*) cults and *nāga* worship and is often represented with a snake hood behind her head (Plate 1.18).[290] The veneration of serpents is prevalent throughout Karnataka but especially popular along its western coast, where we also find strong linkages with the *bhūta* (ancestral spirit) cult.[291] Padmāvatī is the principal focus of veneration at Humcha in Shimoga District.



Plate 1.18: Metal representation of Padmāvatī Yakṣī from the Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatī Basadi on Kanakagiri. Like her associated Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, she is associated with serpents, *nāga*s.

288 Refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 119 and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 55.

289 This has been suggested by Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 243.

290 On her connection with snakes, refer also to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 174–75.

291 Compare Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 187. On *bhūta*s, refer also to the comprehensive study on Jainism in the region by Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture: From the Pre-Historic Times up to the Modern* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975) and to Chapter 4 by Pinto.

The other two most active seats of *bhaṭṭāraka*s in Karnataka today are associated with the remaining two prominent *yakṣī*s. Jvālāmālinī has her own sacred area (*kṣetra*) over which she presides at Narasimharajapura in Chikmagalur District, although in the past she also ruled over Gerusoppe (Gērusoppe), also known as Gerasoppe (Gērasoppe) in the very northwest of Karnataka.[292] Jvālāmālinī is paired as an attendant divinity with the male *yakṣa* Śyāma and associated with the eighth Tīrthaṅkara, Candraprabhu.[293] Traditionally, Jvālāmālinī has been associated with fire and is often represented with eight arms, carrying destructive weapons, such as an arrow, a shield, a trident, a bow and a snake.[294] Her cult appears to have gained particular momentum from the middle of the ninth century CE and flourished even more during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[295]

Finally, Kuṣamāṇḍinī is the primary goddess worshipped at Shravanabelgola in Hassan District.[296] She is also known as Jakkaḷamma, meaning Mother (*ḷamma*) Yakṣī (*jakka*)[297] Kuṣamāṇḍinī is associated as an attendant with the *yakṣa* Sarvāhana (Sarvāhṇa) and with the twenty-second Jina Neminātha.[298] She rides a lion and is associated with children, whom she can be shown carrying on her lap; sometimes she is accompanied by both children and lion, in a single statue, and sometimes they appear separately (Plates 1.19, 1.20). It seems that Kuṣamāṇḍinī obtained the status of an independent goddess as early as the seventh century CE, but the tenth century was when her cult really flourished,[299] as Singh has shown, on the basis of a solitary representation of Aṁbikā/Kuṣamāṇḍinī in the Meguḍi Temple at Aihole.[300] Singh also deduces a certain increase in importance of the female element from the *yakṣī's* position to the right of the Jina in cave temple number four at Badami.[301] Traditionally, the images of the *yakṣī*s would be found to the left of the Tīrthaṅkara.

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292 The reasons for this change and the story of the transfer have been narrated by Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 173.

293 Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, Jvālāmālinī is known as Bhṛkuṭi and associated with the *yakṣa* Śyāma, known by them as Vijayā. On this, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 597.

294 See Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 53 and Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 117. On depictions of the *yakṣī*s in Jainism, see also Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 94–100.

295 On this, see Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 118.

296 Refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 150.

297 In the north, amongst the Śvetāmbaras, Kuṣamāṇḍinī is referred to as Aṁbikā (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 169).

298 In Śvetāmbara Jainism, Sarvāhana is known as Gomedha. Refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 597.

299 For the early date of the seventh century CE, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 119.

300 This is unusual for a temple in the south, where normally her Digambara name would be used. Cousens and Singh refer to the Aṁbikā statue from the Meguḍi Temple at Aihole whose children are held by two attendants at her side (Henry Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series [New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996 (1926)]: 31; Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 116; Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 52).

301 See Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 116–117, 119.



Plate 1.19: Statue of the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī from the Candranātha Basadi on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola. Here, she is shown with her lion vehicle, on which her associated children are sitting.

Whether venerated as individual divinities with their own temples, or flanking the doorway of the *garbhagṛha*s of the Tīrthaṅkaras, *yakṣī*s, and sometimes also *yakṣa*s, are beautifully wrapped in precious garments (Plates 1.21, 1.22). Most *yakṣī*s have a number of *sāṛī*s and their own opulent jewellery, which is kept in lockers next to or below the temples. By this means, they differentiate themselves clearly from the naked, plain statues of the Jinas, which have no belongings at all and which in Digambara Jainism are not even decorated with flowers or cooling colourful pastes, such as we know from Śvetāmbara worship.



Plate 1.20: This metal icon of Kuṣamāṇḍinī from Kanakagiri shows a Tantric form of the *yakṣī* with four arms. In this representation, she is seen carrying a child on her lap.

The significance of these divinities, especially of the female *yakṣī*s, has been much debated. Some scholars have argued that the cult of goddesses was "borrowed" from Hinduism as an "alien" or merely "popular" element.[302] Kalghatgi, for instance, says:

> These forms of worship [the veneration of *yakṣī*s] must have arisen out of the contact with other competing faiths and with the purpose of popularising the Jaina faith in the context of the social and religious competition. [...] Yakṣi form of worship must have been introduced in order to attract the common men towards Jainism, by appealing to the popular form of worship.[303]

302 For further details, see Chapter 3 in this book by Scholz. This has also been discussed by Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 153–54, with reference to Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177–78, and Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 233. See also Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 79.

303 For this quote, refer to Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177–78. He continues by saying that goddess veneration is "foreign to the Jaina religion" but along the same lines also describes as "inconceivable,"



Plate 1.21: Stone statues of *yakṣa*s, too, are wrapped in lavish vestments and decorated with flower garlands, as can be seen in this figure of Dhāraṇendra from the Akkaṇṇa Basadi at Shravanabelgola.

The discussion above, however, has shown that *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s had been venerated in Jainism since Mahāvīra's times, and had played important roles in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, being honoured with statues since at least the early centuries CE—a cult that still thrives today.[304] What is fascinating and telling, however, is why during the Middle Ages, at least between the eighth and the tenth century CE.

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the changes which Buddhism underwent "in the various countries of the world" (p. 178). Both statements would be seen very critically from our understanding of the two religious traditions today.

304 This is a cautious dating, as there is also clear evidence for the veneration of statues in Jainism in the earlier strata at Mathura and other sites. On this, refer also to Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 67–68. See Zydenbos for references to Jaina monks arguing for the veneration of *yakṣī*s in Jainism (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 164–65). On p. 182 he emphasises that there have always been advocates and adversaries for the *yakṣī* cult.

According to Sabine Scholz in Chapter 3, the goddesses cult helped to "safeguard the Jaina tradition against possible threats from the surrounding Hindu traditions, especially the *bhakti* movements." She bases her argument on the work of Jaini, who maintains that the integration—or, as I would say, the increase in importance—of these divinities worked against the influence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *bhakti* movements.[305] This implies that earlier forms of Jainism might have been perceived as too ascetic and abstract and that the new, more devotional, elements met the needs of people who might otherwise have converted to more popular forms of other religions.[306] In this area, again, the Yāpanīyas appear to have been especially open to evolving and accommodating ordinary devotees in a practical way.[307] However, it is worth reiterating that we should not assume there was a time when the Jaina tradition focused only on its ascetic community and on the fully-enlightened but detached Tīrthaṅkaras. The early traces of the *yakṣa* cult and the fact that Mahāvīra is also said to have venerated *yakṣas* make this conclusion inescapable.[308] This shows that *bhakti*, in the sense of devotion to teachers and their statues, existed from the very beginning in Jainism and was simply reinforced and strengthened in later centuries.

The rise of the goddesses cult has often been explained as a reaction to the increased popularity of Tantrism—in Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism—and Hindu *bhakti* movements in the region and as a strategy for survival and expansion.[309] In this context, Qvarnström says:

> The adoption of goddessess into Jain doctrine and worship can be viewed as a conscious adoption in order to meet the challenges from the flourishing bhakti movements, thereby preventing Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva devotional movements from influencing the Jain laity.[310]

Here, Qvarnström refers to ideas already expressed by Jaini with regards to developments in western India. In this context, Jaini wrote: "Such legitimisation of *yakṣa*-worship within the Jaina faith may have helped to prevent the influence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *bhakti* movements on the Jaina laity."[311]

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305 On this, see Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 196. The Hindu *bhakti* cults in Karnataka will be discussed in Section 5.1 on "Religious Rivalries: Contests, Conversions and Jaina Denial of a Decline" later in this chapter.

306 Amongst the scholars who argue along these lines are Desai, *Jainism in South India*, Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177–78, Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*, and Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 36–37.

307 See, for instance, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 170–71 and Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 59–60.

308 Zydenbos, too, has questioned whether Jainism could have been a purely ascetic tradition only until the Middle Ages (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 146–47).

309 On the latter issue, see Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177–78, Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 233, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 183.

310 Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 37.

311 For this quote, refer to Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 196.

In a way, the goddesses cult can be interpreted as the Jainas' expression of their own *bhakti* movement.[312] At the same time, I think it helpful to see it as an expression of Śaktism, the veneration of the female principle, or Śākta Tantrism, the Tantra of the power of the goddess, which emphasises the female principle. This originated in the seventh century CE and by the eighth to tenth century CE wielded a strong influence on all religions in the region. In the context of Tantrism, Jaina goddesses were believed to have magic powers which enabled them not only to control people, eliminate evil and practise exorcism, but also to generate hostility, paralysis and even death.[313] As Tantric divinities, the *yakṣī*s are usually shown iconographically with at least four and often with large numbers of arms (Plate 1.22).

4.1.2 *Bhakti* and Tantrism in Jainism

As we have seen above, Tantric practices became very popular in Indian religions from about the late fifth century CE.[314] The ascetic exercises and magical techniques were widely applied by Jaina monks in Jaina temple settings from the eighth century CE onwards. At this time, Jaina monks were regarded as especially efficient in controlling evil spirits through occult practices. This gave them a certain superiority to other religions.[315] A number of inscriptions at Shravanabelgola, for instance, boast of the Tantric skills of certain named Jaina teachers.[316] However, Tantrism never became as important in Jainism as it was, for instance, in Buddhism at this time.[317] Such occult techniques could focus on positive outcomes such as healing or the attainment of religious ideals. On the other hand, they could also be used to cause harm, bringing one person under the control of another, causing hostility between two parties, gaining victory over somebody or destroying them.[318]

312 Refer to Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 37 and Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 59–86 on this topic.

313 On this, refer to Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 246–47, Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 162–63, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 89. Zydenbos also describes the various cults of the *yakṣa*s more generally as "occult practices" (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 152, 173).

314 See David N. Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987): 10.

315 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 173.

316 Zydenbos has mentioned these (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 163).

317 Cort has written on this subject (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 239).

318 For further details, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 120–221, and Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 245–46.



Plate 1.22: Tantric images often have multiple arms, as can be seen in this bronze of the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī, sheltered by the typical snake hood, from the Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatī Basadi on Kanakagiri.

Tantric techniques involved incantations either in the form of mystic syllables and single-word spells (*mantra*s) or magical multi-word utterances (*vidyā*s).[319] Although a technical distinction is made between *mantra*s and *vidyā*s (Prakrit: *vijjā*), this is not observed in actual fact and both terms are usually treated as synonymous, meaning "spells." Further, Tantric practices included the drawing of sacred diagrams (*yantra*s) or circles (*maṇḍala*s) on paper or engraved onto metal discs or precious stones (Plate 1.23). In addition, the long list of Tantric customs adopted by the Jainas included the use of amulets for protection, the powerful positioning and movement of the hands and fingers (*mudrā*s) to influ-

319 See Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 237–38. Kalghatgi stresses that the Jainas were said to be master Mantravadins, with the greatest mastery over spells (*mantravidyā*) (Kalghatgi, *Jaina View of Life*: 177).



Plate 1.23: From the eighth century CE, Tantric diagrams incised in metal discs, *yantra*s, became popular, as can be seen in the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Annigeri (above) and in this *bhaktāmara yantra* from Kanakagiri (below).

ence events and the placing of small icons of Jaina divinities on particular parts of the human body (*nyāsa*) for healing purposes. Lastly, they also encompassed powerful fire offerings (*homa*).[320] Through these techniques, the practitioners would summon, identify with and embody a particular divinity, usually a *yakṣī*.[321]

This shows a clear move away from earlier Jaina practices and doctrine. Until the fourth or fifth century CE, pronouncing and using magic spells (*vidyā*) was disparaged by the Jainas, as the practice was not of use in obtaining deliverance.[322] Over time, spells generally gained in importance and in Jainism were in effect converted into or equated with goddesses, who were then referred to as *vidyā*s or *vidyādevī*s.[323] Most texts name sixteen *vidyā* goddesses, the *vidyādevī*s, a number which first appears in the eighth century CE. Other texts refer to an even larger number and also to *mahāvidyā*s or *mātṛkā*s (mothers). This points to a tradition of venerating groups of goddesses in the Tantric form of Digambara Jainism at this time.[324] As personifications of magical spells, Jaina goddesses were invoked in Tantric rites and believed to confer superhuman abilities on the worshippers,[325] who were believed to gain exceptional powers through their presence and participation. Here, again, the worship of the three main *yakṣī*s, Padmāvatī, Jvālāmālinī and Kuṣamāṇḍinī was especially popular in Jaina Tantra in Karnataka.[326]

One might argue that Śaktism, Jaina *bhakti*—in the form of *yakṣī* worship—and Jaina Tantrism contributed strongly to the rise in popularity and influence of Jainism between the eighth and the tenth century CE in particular. Opposed to this interpretation are voices which regard the increase in ritual practices, *bhakti*, Śaktism and Tantrism as a threat to Jainism and a loss of its core principles. In the context of the veneration of goddesses and the introduction of Tantric rites, Singh, for instance, says: "They [the Jainas] abandoned the original ethical principles, for the sake of mysterious yogic practices and magical spells."[327] Although some Jaina texts describe rites for Tantric worship as associated with mystical powers, others criticise and condemn

320 On various Tantric practices, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 120–24, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 56–60, 80.

321 Compare Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 122–24.

322 On this issue, see Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 37. On Jaina *vidyā*s, refer also to Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 237–38.

323 On this, refer to Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 239.

324 On this, refer to Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 239–40. In Śvetāmbara Jainism, we frequently find the eight or twelve *vidyādevī*s adorning the domed ceilings of Jaina temples, especially in north-western India (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 108–9).

325 Compare Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 120.

326 Cort has written on this (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 245–47).

327 For this quote, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 56.

them.[328] Some of the twelfth-century writings of the Jaina author Brahmaśiva, for instance, demonstrate that he viewed the veneration of divinities critically.[329]

This shows that some Jainas argued or feared at the time that through these new elements and ritual changes, the faith might drift away from its distinct and traditionally more ascetic focus. However, Jaina *bhakti*, involving the veneration of goddesses, could not justifiably be called a new element, as devotional worship of the Jinas and divinities had been part of Jaina practice from the very beginnings of the religion. Contemporary concerns with regards to Jaina Tantrism perhaps carry more weight. However, in all areas, it appears to be a question of degree and quantity of the changes, whether these should be seen critically.

Whether one agrees with these critics or not, what both interpretations clearly suggest is that, having lost their comfortable position of practising the dominant religion, the Jainas took on board more from new streams such as Tantrism, Śaktism and the *bhakti* cults than they might have done without any such external pressures. However, it is difficult to speak of a conscious "decision" being made here, as this was probably a gradual process of small, often quite unconscious steps, which did not affect all Jaina religious orders and their temples equally at the same time. Through the various modifications and developments, however, the faith evidently changed and to a certain extent adapted—if only by emphasising earlier existing aspects—in order to endure. Whether the means the Jainas adopted were really successful is open to question, as despite these adaptations, it is clear that Jaina influence in Karnataka declined significantly from the early twelfth century onwards. However, in contrast to Buddhism, Jainism survived in India as an active and still evolving religious force, which might well indicate that its reaction to changing religious circumstances and environments was a more propitious one.

4.1.3 Lay Participation: Ablutions, the Cult of Bāhubali and *Sallekhanā*

With the proliferation and intensification in ritual activities from the eighth century CE onwards, the role of laypeople (*śrāvaka*s) in Jainism also increased.[330] Jaina

328 On this, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 120, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 56–57.

329 For the reference to Brahmaśiva, see Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 182–83. On pp. 156–66 Zydenbos debates objections which the Jainas raised against the veneration of *yakṣī*s more widely. These were, for instance, regarded as superstitious practices, classified under the heading *mithyātva*, meaning "doctrinal aberrance" (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 157).

330 Scholz has argued this in Chapter 3 in this volume. Zydenbos has accentuated the importance of engaging lay members in religious life in order to guarantee the survival of a religion (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 146–47).

ascetics had always depended on food donations from the lay population. However, when Jaina monks and nuns settled more permanently in monastic institutions, the relationship between mendicants and the laity deepened. Interacting with ascetics was seen by lay people as a way of enhancing their own spiritual well-being. Not only did they offer them food and shelter, but they also endowed icons, *basadi*s and land for their maintenance, and performed ritual activities, which were regarded as devout spiritual acts that conferred merit on the lay donors and practitioners. In fact, regular gifts and charitable acts were counted as fundamental obligations of a Jaina layperson.[331] We know that even simple but reasonably well-off peasants made substantial donations.[332] As such, while the destiny of *jinālaya*s depended upon their benefactors, donors also tried to shape their fate by close personal association with religious establishments through generous gifts.[333]

Temple ritual, especially the complex worship known as the *pūjā* of eight substances (*aṣṭaprakārī pūjā*), and the ablution ritual (*abhiṣeka*) of statues (Plate 1.24) gained in importance during the medieval period. Whilst ablutions on a reduced scale, conducted on small ritual icons, were performed on a daily basis, the Digambaras developed large-scale ablution festivals during which colossal statues were anointed and reconsecrated at regular intervals. The major ablution ceremony performed in connection with monumental icons of Bāhubali, who is also known as Gommaṭa or Gommaṭeśvara, is referred to as the "great head anointing ceremony," Mahāmastakābhiṣeka. Bāhubali statues are especially widespread and popular in Karnataka, and the performance of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka in fact forms an important part of Digambara Jaina identity in this State to the present day. The Mahāmastakābhiṣeka of the tallest and oldest colossus at Shravanabelgola is conducted only once every twelve years (Plate 1.25).

The popularity of these statues is at first surprising, as they are not representations of enlightened Jinas. According to local legend, Bāhubali was the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha (Ṛṣabha, Ṛṣabhanātha). He managed to get the better of his brother in a fight over the kingdom which the other had instigated. However, in this moment of victory, Bāhubali recognised the futility of worldly battles and withdrew. Rather than fighting his own brother, he succeeded in subduing all his desires and was able to obtain omniscience. On the basis of his actions, he is seen as both a worldly military leader and a spiritual hero; as such, Bāhubali appealed especially to soldiers and the ruling martial classes at the time, but also to ordinary devotees who were trying to conquer their own desires. The most famous statue of him is the colossal monolith at Shravanabelgola, bequeathed by Cāvuṇḍarāya in 981 CE. At around

331 Compare Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 82–83.

332 On this, refer to Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 228.

333 Hegde has written on this subject (Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 240).

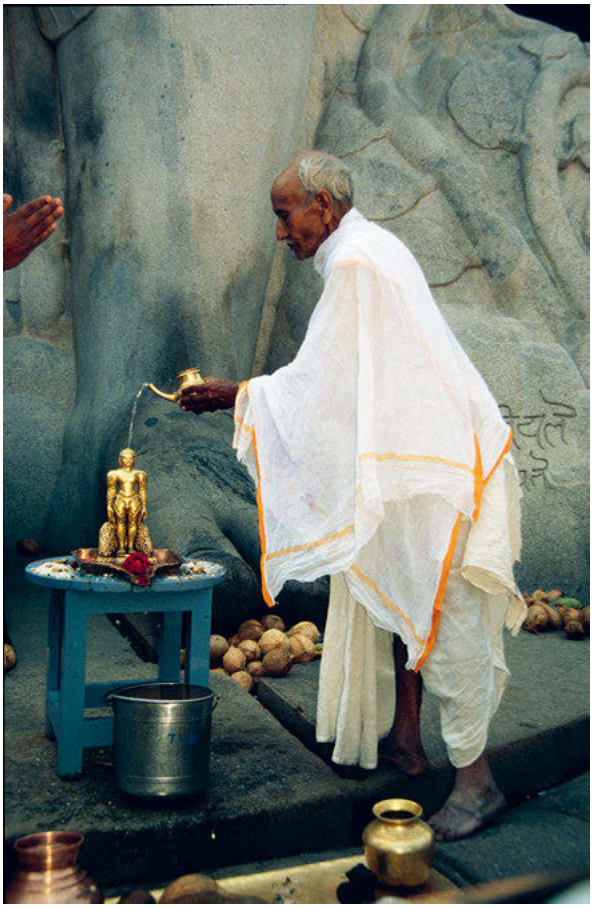


Plate 1.24: Lay participation in sacred rituals increased from the eighth century CE onwards, as can be seen here at Shravanabelgola, as such ritual activities were considered pious acts.

18.3 metres in height, the monumental image is the tallest of the Bāhubali statues in the south. The first ritual Mahāmastakābhiṣeka was probably conducted shortly after its completion as part of its initial installation and sanctification.[334] Subsequently, other monoliths modelled on this earliest one were raised at sites such as Karkal (Kārkaḷa, Karkāla) in 1432 CE (about 13 metres tall) (Plate 2.8), at Venur (Vēṇur, Venupura, Vaṁśapura) in 1604 CE (about 12 metres tall) (Plate 3.3) and at Dharmasthala in 1973 (about 12 metres tall).[335]

334 On this, refer to Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 33–34.

335 For further details, refer to Chapter 5 in this publication, to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 89–91, and Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 38–40, 112–13.



Plate 1.25: During the performance of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka at the monumental statue of Bāhubali at Shravanabelgola, purifying colourful sacred substances are poured over the monolith for re-consecration.

The medieval period saw the introduction of other ritual practices, too, such as the observance of public celebrations in the form of chariot (*ratha*) processions and *jina-ratha* festivals. Other large-scale festivities became more frequent, as did private, individualised transformative rituals, such as the rite of *sallekhanā*, the practice of a

ritualised death by self-starvation.[336] Parasher-Sen points out that the terms *saṁnyasana*, *samādhi* or *samādhi marana* were more popular than *sallekhanā* with Kannada writers and poets.[337] Such renunciation of all food and water, leading to a religious self-sacrifice, has to be performed under the strict guidance of a religious teacher. There are firmly prescribed stages for this most extreme form of fasting to death. Books of Jaina holy law list only four situations in which the path was permissible: a situation of inescapable catastrophe (*upasarga*), such as submission by an enemy, extreme famine (*durbhikṣa*), old age (*jara*) and lastly, terminal illness (*mihpratikara rujā*).[338]

The performance of *sallekhanā* appears to have become especially popular from the eighth century CE onwards and to have continued on this level into the twelfth century.[339] A remarkable number of inscriptions recording the act of *sallekhanā*, foot imprints (*pādukā*s) marking the sanctified sites as well as memorials (*niṣidhi*s)[340] commemorating the sacred act, can be found on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola (Plate 1.26). Koppala also appears to have been a sacred centre where this ritual was carried out.[341] *Sallekhanā* seems to have been performed by both male and female ascetics and devout lay people, as well as by kings and queens. We know, for instance, that Indra IV died performing *sallekhanā* at Shravanabelgola, as did Gaṅgā King Mārasiṁha at Bankapur (Baṅkāpura), both in the tenth century CE.[342]

As early as the eighth century, sites which were sanctified by the act of *sallekhanā* became popular destinations for Jaina lay pilgrimages, and temples were also erected close to them. Whilst at first, the rite appears to have been performed at remote and

336 In contradiction to this, Scholz in this volume states that the rite of *sallekhanā* declined at this time. However, this cannot be corroborated, at least not from records obtained from the major pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola, renowned for its many *niṣidhi* memorials, commemorating religious deaths. On *sallekhanā* and alternative terms, refer to S. Settar, *Inviting Death: Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill* (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University, 1986): 95–96, and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 236. For more detailed information on the ritual of *sallekhanā*, see the same source on pp. 215–24, 228 and 230.

337 On this, refer also to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 196. In a Śvetāmbara context, this extreme ritual practice is less popular and widespread, and referred to as *santhārā* (Lawrence A. Babb, *Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture*, Lala S.L. Jain Research Series [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998 (1996)]: 60). This indicates the close connection between meditation, general ascetic practices and ritualised death by self-starvation.

338 On this issue, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 61, and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 216–17, 230.

339 See Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 65.

340 There are numerous divergent spellings for *niṣidhi*, for instance, *niśidhi* (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 112).

341 For further details, see Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 230–34.

342 On this, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 65–67. See the same source for references to royal ladies performing this demanding ritual at the end of their lives.



Plate 1.26: Countless stone pavilions, containing memorial plaques, *niṣidhi*s, mark the spots where an act of *sallekhanā* was committed by individuals on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola.

quiet places, it was later more commonly performed inside *basadi*s.[343] Pilgrims increasingly contributed to the development of such sites, by making donations to existing *jinālaya*s as well as by bequeathing entire new *basadi*s, especially during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[344] Whilst *sallekhanā* is rarely committed nowadays, the practice has not died out in Karnataka, where such a death is regarded as a highly auspicious event, to be recorded on video, live-streamed and followed by large numbers of people at the site as well as digitally.[345]

Once again, these and other elaborations of ritual troubled some Jaina practitioners at the time, and have been singled out by some historians of Jainism as evidence of spiritual decadence and decay. Singh has argued, for instance, that the introduction of lavish ritual offerings violated the vow of *ahiṃsā*, non-injury:

343 Singh has written on this change (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 68).

344 On this issue, refer to Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 68, and Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 237.

345 Sabine Scholz was able to witness such an auspicious event as part of her fieldwork in Karnataka in 2006.

> In the course of performing worship and rituals, the Jaina devotees occasionally committed acts of injury to unseen germs in water, flowers, etc., which were used in the worship of the Jina. The offering of *homa* or fire oblation and *āratī* or waving the lamp round the Jina killed small insects.[346]

Again, it is questionable whether such an openness towards other faith groups and new trends, such as Śaktism, Tantrism and the *bhakti* movements—which may well in fact have attracted followers to Jainism and brought it closer to the needs of the laity—would rectify such severe internal criticism or even suffice to explain the decline of the faith.

Although Jainism obviously adapted and changed, it was surrounded by rival religious groups which offered alternatives to the so far dominant Jaina path. It is important to understand that the changes which Jainism underwent do not simply represent a "Hinduisation process" but that Jainism, like Hinduism and Buddhism, is a faith with a great internal diversity, ranging from severely ascetic and non-image-worshipping groups to highly devotional ones which venerate a number of abstract and figural sacred objects.[347] Elements such as the goddesses cult and the veneration of images were around from the very beginning but increased in prominence in an environment in which *bhakti* and Tantric forms of religion flourished across religious divides.

4.2 Voluntary Changes in Jaina *Basadi*s

As we have noted, the period of economic development and political stability which the Jainas enjoyed from the fifth to the seventh century CE, and their zenith of influence from the eighth to the twelfth century, led to a pronounced increase in their affluence. In this context, Narasimha Murthy writes: "There was a gradual transformation of life style from austerity to luxury and royal nobility."[348] We have seen already that this led to the founding of large numbers of new *basadi*s, monasteries and entire pilgrimage centres. Soon, the changes in socio-religious values and the increased prosperity of the Jainas was visible not only in the private residences of Jaina traders and nobility, but also in the *jinālaya*s they erected for the glorification of their own religion.

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346 For this quote see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 51. On the vow of *ahiṃsā*, the first vow taken during the *dīkṣā* ceremony, refer to Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 30.

347 Davis has also written on this issue (Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 217–18). Zydenbos, too, questions the idea of a corrupted and Hinduised Jainism (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 147).

348 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 41.

The *basadi*s of the Kadambas, the Gaṅgās and the Early Cāḷukyas had so far been reasonably plain, reflecting a relatively austere approach to life and their own religion (Plate 1.27). Krishna Murthy writes with regards to the earlier temple structures:



Plate 1.27: The Candragupta Basadi on Candragiri is typical of the plain Jaina style prevalent during the rule of the Gaṅgās, mirroring a fairly ascetic outlook on life and architecture.

> The *basadi*s constructed in this way, normally presented an architectural look of restraint, austerity and simplicity. They were just utilitarian in character without any trace of luxury, because the Jaina religion insisted that their followers should adopt such principles in their lifestyle too.[349]

However, from about the middle of the twelfth century, especially under Hoysaḷa rule, Jaina shrines became more opulent and highly decorated.[350] This change relates both to the interior as well as the exterior decoration of the *basadi*s.

In early Gaṅgā constructions, the interior and the exterior walls and ceilings are reasonably plain. The first development we see is an increase in the ornamentation of the interior, with heavily decorated ceilings. These can be square flat panels, usually consisting of nine cassetted or coffered sections decorated with open lotus flowers or figural decorations (Plates 1.16, 1.28 above), or spacious domical arrangements with a

349 For this quote refer to Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98.
350 See the discussion by Krishna Murthy of the time of change to the more opulent style (Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106).



Plate 1.28: Under Hoysaḷa rule, the interior of the *jinālaya*s in particular increased in opulence, as can be seen in the ceiling panel from Halebid (above) and the lathe-turned pillars from Hangal (below).

central lotus pendant projecting from the centre. The ceilings are supported on highly-polished lathe-turned pillars, which were complex and costly to create (Plate 1.28 below). In addition, pierced stone screens (*jālī*s) are often included.[351] From the mid-twelfth or early thirteenth century—principally in the later Hoysaḷa structures—we see the facades of Jaina *basadi*s being given more artistic attention and ornamentation. These were usually ornamented with abstract or architectural elements, or, more rarely, with figural depictions, too (Plate 1.29).

These developments appears to have been associated with changes in the life-style of many Jainas who had become wealthy through trade and close association with royal courts, and who found themselves in a position to put large amounts of money at the disposal of religious institutions. Another influence, however, will almost certainly have been the highly decorated contemporary Hoysaḷa Hindu temples.[352] In view of the clear differences in style, Krishna Murthy in fact divides the architecture of Jaina *basadi*s into two main phases, with Phase I representative of the more ascetic and unembellished style and Phase II characterised by a much more lavish and highly decorated approach,[353] which reached its apogee in the "luxurious" Jaina temples of the later Hoysaḷa age.[354] This development will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this book.

5 Struggle for Hegemony in the Region

As we have noted, from the early twelfth century, royal patronage for the Jainas decreased and a number of contending religious groups either surfaced within the area of modern-day Karnataka itself or penetrated the State from surrounding regions. The Jainas' fight for survival had started even earlier in the area today known as Tamil Nadu.[355] As part of a strong Hindu revivalism, *bhakti* devotional Hindu sects were active in that area from about the sixth century CE onwards.[356] Pius F. Pinto reminds us in Chapter 2 of this publication that the region ruled over by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire extended up to the east coast of India and included large portions of the modern States of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Tamil Nadu, down to Tanjor, also

351 These prove the presence of an indigenous tradition of latticed stone work before the entrance of Islam into India.

352 On these issues, see also Krishna Murthy "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98–99.

353 For further details on these two distinct phases, refer to Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98.

354 Compare Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 96.

355 This will be discussed in more detail in section 6.1.1, "The Situation in Tamil Nadu," later in this chapter.

356 See Jaini "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 85, Dundas, *The Jains*: 99, Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 81.



Plate 1.29: In the later Jaina Hoysaḷa structures, the facades of *basadi*s were also provided with more elaborate decorative features, as here at Hangal (above) and Lakkundi (below).

known as Tanjavur (Tañcāvūr), in Tamil Nadu.[357] We have pointed out that internal changes in Jainism may be said to have weakened the faith; however, many scholars insist that the real weakening of the religion in the region was initiated by Vīraśaivas and to a lesser extent by Śrīvaiṣṇavas, both reform movements, which upset the equilibrium of influence in the area from the twelfth century onwards.[358] In the following section I shall outline the religious atmosphere of competing faith groups in the State at this critical time.

5.1 Religious Rivalries: Contests, Conversions and Jaina Denial of a Decline

When considering competing religious groups, we have to be aware that all underwent continuous change and that none boasts a fixed and static tradition. Sabine Scholz reminds us that boundaries between religions were probably not understood in the same terms as they are today, being more fluid, and that this is especially true of the relationship between Hinduism and Jainism in medieval times.[359]

Even with regards to modern Jainism, it was only in 2014 that the Jainas were granted minority status at national level. In contrast, the Muslim community had already gained this status in 1993.[360] In fact, many Jainas prefer to see themselves as belonging to the "majority," arguing that whilst culturally they consider themselves as "Hindu"—probably meaning Indian rather than referring to a specific path of Hindu

357 On the vast extent of the Kannada region between the tenth and the thirteenth century, see also Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 38.

358 Sundaram has written on this subject (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35). See also Narasimha Murthy on the previous relative peace and amicable relations with the Hindus (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 48–51) and on classifying the reasons for the downfall of the Jainas into two categories (p. 56).

359 On this, refer to her discussion in Chapter 3 in this publication.

360 The Jainas obtained minority status together with Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians (Parsis). On this refer to Gopal Krishna "Islam, Minority Status and Citizenship: Muslim Experience in India," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 27, no. 2 (1986): 353–68, and the two webpages: Jain Heritage Centres, "Jains Minority Status," https://www.jainheritagecentres.com/category/jainism/jains-minority-statusg/ [accessed 08.05.2022], and Minority Status in India, https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-updates/daily-news-analysis/minority-status-in-india#:~:text=In%201993%2C%20the%20first%20Statutory%20National%20Commission%20was,Jains%20were%20also%20notified%20as%20a%20minority%20community [accessed 26.07.2023]. On the concept of minorities, refer also to Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 174–75. See also Sethi on the minority claim of the Jainas (Manisha Sethi, "Minority Claims and Majoritarian Anxieties: The Jain Question," *Economic and Political Weekly* 51, no. 49, 03.12.2016: 55–63). Today, Jainas make up less than one percent of the entire Indian population (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 145).

practice—they regard themselves religiously or spiritually as "Jaina."[361] Although in medieval times there were many shared divinities,[362] aspects of ritual practice, and *brāhmaṇ* priests working for both communities[363]—as is still the case today—, there were still clear differences between Jainism and the other religions practised in Karnataka. These appear to have created rivalries and enmities during the religious-political regroupings and redeployments of the period.

Until the eleventh or even the early twelfth century, literary texts and inscriptions convey the impression of a relatively peaceful coexistence of Jainas, Buddhists, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas in Karnataka.[364] A Jaina inscription dated 1151 CE records the particular Jaina openness toward other faiths: "Victorious, though without words, are the sayings uttered by the Tīrthankaras. Obeisance to the universal spirit of Jina, who is Śiva, Dhtri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu."[365] However, a sudden rise in the number of individual faith groups in the area meant that claims for patronage multiplied. Whereas many royal and influential families had traditionally given strong support to Jaina religious endeavours, there were soon too many players all competing for the same limited group of believers for patrons to be able to offer financial support to all of them.[366]

Royal support was often decided on the basis of public debates in which high-ranking representatives of religious groups, such as monks, priests or teachers, engaged in in-

361 This is based on a personal conversation with Sushil Jain in Canada in 2006, but also reflects an idea that finds widespread acceptance in India. Lauer and Scholz point out that at State level, too, the Jainas have obtained minority status in Karnataka. This might have to do with the fact that it is one of the States with a particularly large percentage of Jainas amongst its population.

362 For instance, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are prominent deities both in Hinduism and in Jainism. In this context it is difficult, if not impossible, to verify which religion worshipped a divinity first. Whilst it has often been suggested that Jainism with its strictly ascetic beginnings borrowed from Hinduism, in fact—as has been noted earlier in this chapter—the earliest dated statue of Sarasvatī, bearing a dedicatory inscription with reference to its faith background, comes from a Jaina religious context.

363 For instance, especially Śvetāmbara religious establishments employ Hindu *brāhmaṇ* priests to take care of their temples. Whilst this can also be the case in Digambara *basadi*s, this Jaina group also has its own class of temple priests (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 31).

364 Sundaram provides inscriptional evidence on this serene cohabitation of different faiths (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35). Saletore and Hegde have written on the "peaceful coexistence of all cults" in the large urban centre of Balligave (Baḷḷigāme) (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 49, 202–4, 285; Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 194). The Buddhists were especially active in the region of north-eastern Kannada, which today is part of Andhra Pradesh.

365 For this quote, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 285–86.

366 While Indian society always consisted of an enormous plurality of faiths, smaller religious subfactions, castes and language groups, the relative balance previously maintained—in which the Jainas had dominated—was disturbed and power-relations were renegotiated, allowing other players, especially various Śaiva groups as well as Vīraśaivas, to emerge as dominating forces.

tellectual contests.[367] References to many of these open religious disputations have been recorded in inscriptions.[368] We have, for instance, a record of a dispute in which the Jaina ascetic and logician Akalaṅka won over both Buddhists and Vaiṣṇavas, probably in the eight century CE.[369] Akalaṅka is said to have won against his Buddhist opponents with the help of the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī.[370] This implies a Tantric practice and the involvement of magic.

The winners in such debates were decorated with a so-called "certificate of victory" (*jayapatra*).[371] Traditionally, Jaina monks were considered strong in wisdom and learning. This is reflected in a passage from an unknown context, which reads: "Who can withstand the Jaina Monk in a contest, when he lifts his pen? As when Arjuna, his Gāṇḍīva bow? Indra, his thunderbolt? Vishṇu, his disc? Or Bhīma, his mace?"[372] The success of Jainas in such debates and their eagerness to engage in intellectual issues has also been highlighted by Granoff.[373] From the twelfth century, however, more and more reports refer to the Jainas as losing against various Śaiva groups. This frequently resulted in the conversion of the defeated contestants and their communities—often entire villages—and the takeover and adaptation or even the destruction of the beaten religion's local icons and sacred sites.[374] Some Jainas are also said to have abandoned their faith out of fear, following the destruction of local Jaina *basadis*.[375] Zydenbos refers to "mass conversions" "often under threats of violence."[376] He points out that there would have been various reasons for conversions, ranging from forceful persecution to

367 Further information on this subject can be found in Scholz in this publication and in David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1991 [1972]): 45–46. See also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 82.

368 Subrahmanya Aiyar writes about disputes between Jainas and Buddhists in the Deccan region (Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline: 216).

369 On this, see the discussion in Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 231–233, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 105, who gives the precise date of 788 CE for this event.

370 On this, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 119.

371 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 371.

372 For this quote, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397.

373 Compare Phyllis Granoff, "Being in the Minority: Medieval Jain Reactions to other Religious Groups," in *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India: Essays for Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain*, ed. N.N. Bhattacharyya (New Delhi: Manohar, 1994): 242.

374 Especially well known is the contest (referred to also as a "miracle contest") at Abalur from 1160 CE or 1162 CE. Both Scholz in Chapter 3 and Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 have written on this contest, which will be discussed later in this chapter in Section 5.3.3 "Persecution of the Jainas and Economic Conflict with the Vīraśaivas." On this issue, see also Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 45–46, 169, Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 239, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54.

375 Compare Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73.

376 For these quotes, see Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175.

the wish to obtain the favour of particular powerful people and gain access to attractive Hindu rituals.[377]

As mentioned at the outset, it is noteworthy how rare are inscriptions or textual references from a Jaina context which record such conversions, losses and defeats. To a certain extent, this reluctance to acknowledge setbacks continues today. The historian on our project, Pius F. Pinto, encountered enormous problems looking for Jaina evidence of the faith's marked decrease in influence from the twelfth century onwards. Jainas living in urban centres, in particular, concerned about the reputation of their own religion, frequently denied that the Jainas had ever suffered a gradual decline and eventual loss of real political and religious power.[378] In archives, too, access to important sources was at times denied to our team members in order to keep the story of decline under wraps. Writing about a part of Jaina history which the Jainas themselves do not want to admit to or look at in any detail proved at times quite difficult.

Although there are no official census records from the twelfth century to verify this decrease in numbers, ample evidence is found in written sources from other religions, both inscriptional and literary, even if we allow for some denominational pride and exaggeration. There exist even some Jaina literary works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as from the twelfth, which narrate the discrimination and persecution suffered by the Jainas as well as the conversion of their sacred structures.[379] Additionally, there are physical records in the shape of destroyed and converted statues and *basadi*s, clearly indicating this decrease in Jaina influence.[380] In rural areas in particular, members of our research team were often personally guided to damaged, destroyed and re-used former Jaina *basadi*s by followers of the strongly decimated local Jaina community, who lamented what had happened to their ancient sites of Jaina culture and worship.

377 Refer to Zydenbos "Jainism Endangered": 184.

378 Even renowned local academics at first declined meetings with the members of my team in February 2006. Prof. Dr Hampa Nagarajaiah, for example, gave as his reason that a regression of Jaina influence in Karnataka had never occurred. This issue has also been discussed in Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage": 2. Many years later, Nagarajaiah published an article on this decline himself (Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres"). In fact, the status of the Jainas, minority or not, and the issue of a decrease in the Jaina population and its influence in Karnataka and India as a whole are further debated today. See, for instance, Ezra D. Rashkow, "The Jain Endangerment Discourse," *Economic and Political Weekly* 48, no. 49, 07.12.2013: 24–27.

379 On this refer to Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177–78, 182. One of the main authors on the subject is Brahmaśiva.

380 For actual examples, refer to Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti and even more so Chapter 5 by Hegewald in this volume.

The reluctance of some Jaina practitioners and historians to acknowledge the downfall of their own religion probably has several causes, but one important aspect might be linked to Jaina religious doctrine. Jainas believe in *karma* and, like devotees of other Indic religions, consider the situation into which an individual is born, or which a group experiences, as a reflection of deeds carried out in a previous life.[381] On the basis of a belief in *karma*, one could argue that anything experienced in one's life was due to one's own actions and therefore, as one might argue, one's own doing. To present one's own religion as good and superior, therefore, one must conceal and deny times of suffering and persecution. For this reason, historical accounts provided by the Jainas themselves often do not refer to this period of decline at all.[382] However, the dramatic changes documented by Tiziana Lorenzetti and myself in the field of art and architecture, summarised in this study in Chapters 4 and 5, and the many interviews we conducted with local Jaina families who still live in villages throughout Karnataka, prove beyond doubt that radical religious changes did take place throughout the wider region from the early twelfth century onwards. These led to a disempowerment and marginalisation of the Jainas on the Deccan plateau and in the south of India more generally.[383]

In the context of rival religious groups in the area of Karnataka in the Middle Ages, we focused in our group study primarily on the strongest and the least influential competing forces, namely, the Vīraśaivas (Chapter 4) and the Muslims (Chapter 6), to provide two extreme case studies in the form of entire chapters. The other groups are discussed in the following sections; we very much hope that the findings presented in this publication will soon be supplemented by additional studies examining in more detail Śrīvaiṣṇava and Śaiva interactions with the Jainas during this period. I shall start our examination of rival religious forces in the region with Śaivism, whose wider cults, from which also Vīraśaivism emerged, were to become by far the strongest opponents of the Jainas, constituting the most dominant cult in Karnataka from the early twelfth century onwards.[384]

5.2 The Śaiva Revivalism

As noted above, the impression given by the available evidence of the religious environment in early medieval Karnataka is of a highly competitive and at times out-

381 On this issue, see Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia*: 95, Werner, *A Popular Dictionary*: 86, and Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses": 244.

382 This continues even today. The otherwise excellent study by Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*, for instance, does not deal with this period.

383 Regions of Karnataka which were less affected and where Jainism suffered less damage will be discussed later in this chapter in Section 8, "Continuity and Survival of Jainism in Karnataka."

384 Compare Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 238.

rightly aggressive atmosphere, with a strongly enlarged number of religious players all vying for the same number of potential followers and financial supporters. Religions in effect fought to become established and for their long-term survival. We have many references to Jaina kings, such as Mahendravarma, who converted to Śaivism.[385] In the context of Śaiva Siddhānta, the form of Śaivism prevalent in the south of India from about the fifth century CE onwards, we have some information on expiatory rituals which had to be performed after conversions from Jainism or Vedānta to Śaivism. Śaiva Siddhānta promotes an experience of union with Śiva and draws on the devotional hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saints of the period from the fifth to the ninth century CE, known as the Tirumuṟai, while Vedānta, also known as Uttara Mīmāṃsā, is one of the six orthodox (*āstika*) schools of Hindu philosophy, based on the *Veda*s. These particular conversion rituals were known as *vratoddhāra* or *liṅgoddhāra*.[386] In the eleventh century, at least, South Indian Śaivism—in its Siddhānta form—appears to have been quite heterogeneous and open to new converts and ideas. In this context, Davis says:

> It seems clear that, in historical practice, the division between religious schools that affiliated themselves with Brāmaṇical [*brāhmaṇical*] textual traditions (usually labelled "orthodox") and those not so affiliated (labelled "heterodox") was never so sharp or deep as to preclude debate and strategic borrowing.[387]

In this struggle for survival, it appears that old enmities between Vedic and non-Vedic traditions surfaced anew with fresh power.[388] Whilst early writings already reflect reservations Hindus had about Jainas, and vice versa, it was in the medieval period that these became a current and more consolidated problem. *Brāhmaṇical* authors invested a lot of time and energy in philosophical and more popular writings attacking the Jainas in the Indian Middle Ages.[389] Zydenbos describes references to a permanent struggle between Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Hindu groups and Jainism, as recorded in Tamil literature.[390] The Hindus, as followers of the *Veda*s, the Vaidikas, objected to the Jainas (and Buddhists) who did not support the *Veda*s. For this reason, they were re-

385 On this, refer to Pranabananda Jash, "The Kapalikas – An Obscure Saiva Sub-Sect," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 34, no. 1 (1973): 153. King Mahendravarma I will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.1.1 on "The Situation in Tamil Nadu."

386 On these particular conversion rituals and further details of such conversions, refer to Davis "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 221.

387 For this quote, refer to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 221–22.

388 Compare Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 202.

389 On this subject, see Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 146.

390 Refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 162.

ferred to as *vedabāhya*,[391] people who are "external" to the *Veda*s and as heterodox or *nāstika*,[392] and treated as competitors and adversaries.[393] Owing to the expansionism of Śaiva movements, especially during the twelfth century, about two thousand Jaina temples in the area of Karnataka alone are believed to have been destroyed.[394]

5.2.1 The Expansionism of Śaiva Groups

From the late eleventh century, a Śaiva renaissance in Karnataka posed a serious problem for the Jainas.[395] In the north of the State in particular, various forms of Śaivism rose swiftly in influence, a phenomenon strongly linked to the establishment of monastic institutions, the Śaiva *maṭha*s, headed by leaders (*heggaḍe, herggaḍe, maṭhādhipati*) whose chief aspiration was the procurement and administration of worldly power.[396] The origins of this rise can be traced back to the eighth century CE. Nandi sees in this development a direct Jaina influence, as Jainism, too, had gained in strength by organising itself around monasteries.[397] This is a point supported also by Davis, who shows that Jainas had *maṭha*s in Tamil Nadu as early as the fifth century CE. He, too, argues for a Jaina influence on the Śaiva creation of monastic institutions.[398] By living permanently in the ordinary community, providing education and performing charitable work, the religions strengthened their ties with local lay communities. Now, the Jainas were no longer the only ones who provided medicines and education to the needy public. This created real competition for them.[399] The Śaiva monastic tradition was at its high point in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

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391 As Truschke shows, the category of *vedabāhya* was applied to Jainas and Buddhists, and also to Pāśupatas and other groups (Audrey Truschke, "Dangerous Debates: Jain Responses to Theological Challenges at the Mughal Court," *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 5 [2015]: 1331).

392 Compare Elaine M. Fisher, "Public Philology: Constructing Sectarian Identities in Early Modern South India," in *Hindu Pluralism: Religion and the Public Sphere in Early Modern South India* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017): 32, 35.

393 On this issue, see Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 68, who on the same page also provides a number of sayings expressing the outright animosity, especially of Śaivas, towards the Jainas.

394 For this reference, refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 72.

395 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397, Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 44, and Dibbad "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73.

396 This is at least the view expressed by Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 234, 239, and Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 197. On this issue, refer also to Scholz in Chapter 3 in this volume.

397 See Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults*: 77.

398 Refer to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 221.

399 In a Jaina context, similar activities have been discussed in Section 2.2. "Reasons for the Attractiveness and Growth of Jainism." Hegde has written on the provision of food, education, medicines and remedies for "healing magic" by Śaiva *maṭha*s (Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 239). Saletore classifies these Hindu activities as a direct reaction to and imitation of the distribution of food, shelter, medical care and education by the Jainas (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 269, 273).

The Śaiva *maṭha*s controlled large numbers of temple establishments which were donated in increasing numbers after the middle of the twelfth century.[400] Epigraphic records documenting such donations suggest that those who made such endowments were interested in pleasing higher religious authorities by naming the shrines for them, in obtaining religious merit, and in raising their own status.[401]

A number of Śaiva inscriptions are indicative of tensions between Śaivas and Jainas. Many eulogise the victory of the Śaivas over the Jainas. Examples can, for instance, be found at Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri, Aṇṇigēri, Aṇṇigere) in Dharwad District, from 1184 CE, and at Talikota (Tāḷikōte, Tāḷikoṭi) in Bijapur District, from 1184 CE.[402] The epigraphic record from Annigeri has generally been associated with Vīraśaivism. The engraving, dating from 1184 CE, mentions an Ugra Māheśvara, obviously a Vīraśaiva, known as Goggidēva (Vīra Goggidēva, Vīra Goggidēvarasa), as presenting "death to the Jainas," "an eagle to the snake (i.e. the Jainas)," "a hunter to the wild beasts (i.e. the Jainas)," "a fire to the Jaina scriptures" or "an axe to the followers of Jina."[403] See also the Muddebihal (Muddebihāḷ) inscription in Karnataka from 1184 CE,[404] which shows that Śaivas attacked Jainas and Buddhists alike. However, as the Jainas were more influential in the region, they will have been more affected by these assaults. In his poetic works, Rāghavāṅka endorses and champions the destruction of Jaina sacred structures and mirrors the process of initial hatred turning into outright violence.[405] A concrete example of a late twelfth-century former Jaina *basadi* which is now in use by Śaivas is the Siddheśvara Temple at Haveri. Most Jaina images adorning the outside of the structure have been removed. In some instances, however, the empty

400 On this, see Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 237. In his 1999 publication, Hegde argues that the period of the active construction of temples extended into the thirteenth century and provides actual numbers which indicate a Śaiva supremacy in the area, followed by Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas. He states, "Out of nearly 300 small and big shrines, 210 belonged to Saivite deities, 32 to Jainas and 14 to Vaishnavite deities." He points out that this includes temples converted from Jaina to Śaiva usage (Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 194).

401 Compare Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 236, 237.

402 The text of these references has been provided and discussed in Scholz in Chapter 3. On this issue, see also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397–400, Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 71, and Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres": 55.

403 "Ugra" means terrifying (M.A. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India – Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Later Phase, A.D. 973–1326)*, 2 vols. [New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996]: 587). For these quotes, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148, 398 and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 71.

404 This has been reproduced in Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 398–99.

405 On this, refer to Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 36.

niches were filled with new Śaiva statues in a different stone which aim to imitate the original style but are clearly later and cruder.

Especially active amongst these competing Śaiva factions in the area of Karnataka during the early Middle Ages were the Tantric and ascetic groups of the Pāśupatas, the Lakulīśas,[406] Kāḷāmukhas and Kāpālikas.[407] All of these are early Śiva denominations, to a certain extent interrelated, which started to form from about the second century CE and are all extinct today.[408] Their members, largely ascetics, were organised around monastic orders and their houses (*maṭha*s), but also had a certain supportive network of lay followers.[409] An important element to note is that all these groups, and to a certain extent also the later cult of the Vīraśaivas, were monotheistic *bhakti* movements.[410] These split into two main paths, the so-called "Outer Path," in Sanskrit Atimārga, and the "Path of *Mantras*," the Mantramārga.[411] All the early Śaiva orders rejected permanent caste association by birth alone and argued for the possibility of moving up in status during one's lifetime. In actual fact, becoming a Śaiva ascetic (*yati*) brought equal status to that associated with a *brāhmaṇ*.[412]

5.2.2 The Pāśupatas

The Pāśupatas form one important Atimārga subgroup, which was probably founded in the second century CE. They are well documented as a substantial faith group from the fourth century CE and flourished in the south of India in particular from the sev-

406 As the Lakulīśas are a school of the Pāśupatas, Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this volume refers to them with the joint name "Lakulīśa Pāśupatas."

407 For the interconnectedness of these different schools or sects, refer to *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx and to Jash, "The Kapalikas." Interestingly, King Rāmānuja, who is contemporary with these Śaiva developments, stated that there are four groups which follow the doctrine of Pāśupati, meaning Śiva: "the kāpālas, the Kālamukhas, the Paśupatas and Śaivas. The doctrines of all four groups are opposed to the Vedas" (David N. Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 52, no. 1–4 [1971]: 97). It is interesting that he includes mainstream Śaivas in this list, possibly expressing a Vaiṣṇava view on the situation.

408 Compare Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 7 and Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xi.

409 On this, refer also to the two publications by Lorenzen "Śaivism: An Overview": 9, Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xi.

410 Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 10 has commented on this as well.

411 See Luke Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar," in *Mountain, Water, Rock, God: Understanding Kedarnath in the Twenty-First Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018): 62. Törzsök does not count the Kāḷāmukhas among the group of Atimārga religions (Judit Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers [Kāpālikas] Called Soma?" in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall, Shaman Hatley, Harunaga Isaacson and Srilata Raman [Leiden: Brill, 2020]: 33).

412 Refer to Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 98–99.

enth to the fourteenth century.[413] They have generally been considered older than the Kāḷāmukhas and the Kāpālikas.[414] The name Pāśupatas derives from Śiva's epithet Pāśupati, meaning "lord of the animals," which in the context of the early religion, however, is usually one of the Vedic names of Rudra.[415] The minor Vedic deity Rudra operates as a prototype for the later main god Śiva, with whom he merged in later classical Hinduism to create a continuity.[416] Rudra-Śiva is believed to be depicted on the so-called "proto-Śiva" seals from the Indus Valley Civilization, showing the close connection between the terrible Vedic god Rudra, and Śiva, the more temperate god of later Classical Hinduism.[417] The Pāśupatas were a sect whose membership consisted only of *brāhmaṇ* men, who had renounced worldly life and become ascetics, and paid extreme devotion to the god Rudra or Śiva. They considered themselves the "cattle of Rudra-Śiva."[418]

Like other Śaiva orders, they covered their bodies with sacred ash (*vibhūti*) as a sectarian marker.[419] However, the white ash was not only an outside mark for the benefit of others, signalling a religious association. In fact, as ash is connected with the polluting state of death, it was a tool for cutting social and worldly connections "by cultivating a particular state of being divorced from social reality, which, they believed, would lead directly to liberation."[420] The Pāśupatas—and also the Kāpālikas, who will be discussed below—employed what has been described as "transgressive behaviour," such as handling impure substances, to show their power and "to move past the mundane distinctions of pure and impure."[421] In this, they imitated Rudra-Śiva, who paradoxically is said first to have violated social laws and rituals of society in order then to correct, restore and reaffirm them and to set up a world of order and purity.[422]

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413 Compare Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 9, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 62. Van Troy dates the Pāśupata tradition to roughly the years 200–1900 (J. Van Troy, "The Radical Social Protest of the Pashupata Ascetics," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 36 [1975]: LXX). This estimate is very unusual, as they appear to have ceased to exist much earlier.

414 This has been argued by Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 173.

415 On this, refer to Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 62.

416 See Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 7.

417 Refer to Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 7, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 62.

418 Whitmore has written on this subject (Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 62).

419 In outward appearance and behaviour, the Pāśupata saints—and the followers of the other early Śiva groups discussed below—in many respects closely resemble Śiva and his ascetic followers in mainstream Śaiva traditions. This can be seen in their general yogic behaviour, for instance, in smearing their bodies with ashes, in tying up their matted locks in a pile and wearing animal skins. See, for instance, the description of Śiva in Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 7.

420 This quote has been taken from Fisher, "Public Philology": 133.

421 For this quote, refer to Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 63, 70.

422 See Hugh B. Urban, "The Remnants of Desire: Sacrificial Violence and Sexual Transgression in the Cult of the Kāpālikas and in the Writings of Georges Bataille," *Religion* 25 (1995): 70, 72–73.

Amongst the many Pāśupata schools were, for instance, the Lakulīśas or Lākulas, who believed that Lakulīśa (Lakuḷīśvara) had been the founder of the Pāśupata system, in the second century CE.[423] In Sanskrit, Lakulīśa means "the lord with a club."[424] The Lakulīśa Pāśupatas were known alternatively as the Kāḷāmukhas (Kālāmukhas, Kālamukhas); sometimes, the latter were considered a branch or further development of the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas.[425] These faith groups were closely related and followed similar ideals but still carried different names; as none of them survive today, some issues still remain unclear.

5.2.3 The Kāḷāmukhas

The Kāḷāmukhas were the predominant religious group in Karnataka from about the ninth to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[426] They are a heterodox Śaiva order, worshipping the male god Bhairava and the goddess Kālī. In translation, Kāḷāmukha means the "dark-" or "black-faced ones."[427] This appears to relate to their practice of marking their foreheads with a black line.[428] Bhairava, who has been associated with Śiva since the period of the fifth to seventh century CE,[429] is a guardian deity, a demon lord, in fact the commander of Śiva's group of evil followers (*gaṇa*), who dwell in the cremation grounds.[430] However, Bhairava is also considered to be Śiva himself, a wrathful form, a personification of Śiva's anger.[431]

423 On this, refer to Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 9–10, and Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 175.

424 Compare Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 177, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 62–63. On the Lakulīśas, refer also to Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 33.

425 In Karnataka, their name is usually spelled "Kāḷāmukha" (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 49) and for this reason, this is the spelling we are using throughout this book. Compare David N. Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism," in *Studies in Orientology: Essays in Memory of Prof. A.L. Basha*, ed. S.K. Maity, Upendra Thakur and A.K. Narain (Shahganj: Y.K. Publishers, 1988): 278, Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xii, 173, Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 238, Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 195, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 63, 70. In the same publication on page 69, Whitmore points to a connection of the Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas, to the later yogic Śaiva group of the Nāths, Siddhas or Nāth-Siddhas, who emphasise an inner "serpent power," known as *kuṇḍalinī*. On this, refer also to Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 10.

426 Lorenzen argues for a prevalence of the Kāḷāmukhas in the south of India until the thirteenth century (Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 278) and Whitmore for their predominance till the fourteenth century (Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 63).

427 Refer to Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 63. The question of heterodoxy can also be questioned, as has been shown by Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 278–79.

428 This has been discussed by Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 97.

429 Compare Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 64.

430 For further details, see Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 64.

431 This has been discussed in Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 64.

By the ninth century CE, the Kāḷāmukhas had almost entirely replaced the Pāśupatas and become a very—if not the most—influential faith in Karnataka.[432] This appears to have been mainly thanks to their organisation around *maṭha*s.[433] In the eleventh century, they vastly expanded their spread of religious centres, temples and monastic institutions throughout the State of Karnataka (but also in neighbouring Andhra Pradesh) by absorbing other local cults.[434] This can be deduced from the large number of dedicatory inscriptions recording donations to Kāḷāmukha temples and their associated *maṭha*s dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in particular.[435] The cults absorbed included Vaiṣṇavas and followers of various goddess cults, Śāktas.[436] Hegde explains that the absorption of Vaiṣṇava cults into Śaiva temples was a simple matter, involving the building of three shrines (*trikūṭācala*) with the main and central sanctum dedicated to Śiva and the other two to Viṣṇu and a third deity, such as Brahmā.[437] Sacred structures enshrining the trinity of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu are known as *tripuruṣaśālā* temples.[438] At Naregal, in Gadag district, there is a fascinating eleventh-century temple, a former Jaina *basadi*, which is today known as the Narendra Gudi or Vīr Nārāyaṇa Gudi. Although it does not have three separate shrines, it houses a *liṅga*, a statue of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and one of Brahmā, which are all venerated inside the same converted temple structure.[439] Furthermore, from these dedicatory inscriptions, one can also deduce that the Kāḷāmukhas consisted of two main groups: the more influential Śaktipariṣad and the Siṁhapariṣad.[440]

There was a preponderance of Kāḷāmukha sites in the north of Karnataka, especially in the State of Dharwar.[441] Ishwaran describes the Kāḷāmukhas as a particular threat to Jainism, especially in the north of Karnataka, where many *basadi*s were

432 See Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 236, 240. On page 238 he argues that this was mainly due to the organisation of the Kāḷāmukhas around *maṭha*s. Ishwaran stresses the fact that Kāḷāmukhas and Kāpālikas used supernatural techniques, such as sacred syllables (*mantra*) and magical Tantric practices as deceptions to convert the people (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 47).

433 See Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 238.

434 On this refer to Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 47.

435 Compare Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 97 and Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xii.

436 Refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 198, 199.

437 For further details, see Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 200 and also Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 281.

438 On this, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 587.

439 On Naregal, refer to P.M. Joseph, *Jainism in South India* (Thiruvananthapuram: The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1997): 31–32. The former Jaina iconography was removed from the lintel leading to the sanctum in order to obscure the takeover of the former sacred Jain site.

440 *Pariṣad* means group, assembly or council in Sanskrit (Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 97, 100).

441 On this, refer to Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 283.

taken over.[442] Kāḷāmukhas are known to have adopted a strictly sectarian policy in order to widen their power base over people of different faiths.[443] Inscriptions show that some shrines were taken over by the Kāḷāmukhas and that others were lost to different faith groups later,[444] showing how volatile the religious climate in Karnataka was between the start of the eleventh and the end of the fifteenth century.

The Kāḷāmukha priests were ascetics, known as *yogin*s or *jaṅgama*s, "moving" itinerant monks.[445] As a group, strongly influenced by Tantric thought and practices, they were seen and described as lacking self-discipline and accused of engaging in lax sexual practices.[446] However, such portrayals often come from descriptions in Jaina literary works.[447] Unfortunately, none of the Kāḷāmukhas' (or the Kāpālikas') own religious texts have survived, so our idea of them is largely based on descriptions provided by their rivals and, in many ways, adversaries.[448] The Kāḷāmukhas' influence further increased in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with a notable surge during the twelfth century,[449] but declined sharply from the end of the thirteenth century, after losing much of the support of the royal dynasties of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Kaḷacuris and the Seuṇas.[450] It appears that the Kāḷāmukhas, their temples and their influential *maṭha*s were absorbed by the even more powerful and escalating cult of the Vīraśaivas in the fifteenth century.[451]

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442 See Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 46.

443 This has been discussed by Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 198.

444 Compare Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 99.

445 Refer to Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 98 and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 236. The term *jaṅgamana* for itinerant ascetics is also used in Vīraśaivism. On this, refer, for instance, to Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti in this publication.

446 On the sexual practices of the Kāpālikas refer to Hudson (D. Dennis Hudson, "Violent and Fanatic Devotion among the Nāyanārs: A Study in the *Periya Purāṇam* of Cēkkilār," in *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees: Essays on the Guardians of Popular Hinduism*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989]: 391) and, on the Tantric influence, to Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 278.

447 Zydenbos, for instance, refers to such a Jaina literary work dating from the twelfth century (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 179).

448 Lorenzen has written on this issue (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xi–xii).

449 On this issue, see Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 97, Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 97, and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 70.

450 Refer to Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background": 278.

451 Compare Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 99, 167–72, Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background," Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage": 23, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 51, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 70. The most detailed discussion of this issue can be found in Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background." See also Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 235–36, 238 for arguments for and against this continuity. Fisher also refers to Vīraśaivas absorbing the Pāśupatas and to their being themselves absorbed by the Vīraśaivas (Elaine M. Fisher, "Hindu Sectarianism: Difference in Unity," in *Hindu Pluralism: Religion and the Public Sphere in Early Modern South India* [Oakland: University of California Press, 2017]: 43).

5.2.4 The Kāpālikas

Bhairava, the wrathful incarnation of Śiva, is likewise the central deity of the heterodox south Indian Kāpālikas, also known as the Kāpāla or Mahāvratin sect. *Kapāla* means "skull" in Sanskrit and the name Kāpālika means "skull-bearers." This refers to the story of Śiva or Bhairava cutting off one of the five heads of the god Brahmā and finding that the skull stuck to his hand, which made him "someone who carries a skull," a Kāpālika.[452] Also related to this legend is the lesser-known name of the sect, "Mahāvratin," which derives from *mahāvrata*, the great vow, referring to the pledge Śiva had to make after cutting off the head.[453] His sin could be erased only after twelve years at Varanasi, which in consequence turned into a prominent centre of Śaiva devotion.[454] Followers belonging to this group were also known as *kapālin*s.[455] The earliest attested use of the word *kapālin*, a "skull bearer," dates from sometime between the second and fourth century CE.[456]

The Kāpālikas, who focused on Bhairava as a personal god, were a *bhakti* cult, who aimed at achieving a spiritual union with Śiva.[457] The order was probably founded during the early centuries of the common era and we find references to them in various *Purāṇa*s and other texts from the sixth century CE onwards.[458] The cult flourished especially in Karnataka and there from the seventh to the fifteenth century.[459]

We can see from the associations outlined in connection with the terrible Bhairava in the section on the Kāḷāmukhas above (section 5.2.3) that violent transgression of mainstream rules about religious behaviour and the contravention of the concepts of purity and pollution as "a tool for religious progress" was a prime concern for the highly ascetic cults of the Kāḷāmukhas and the Kāpālikas.[460] The Kāpālikas, however,

452 The deed of killing Brahmā was considered equal to killing a *brāhmaṇ* priest.

453 Lorenzen has written on this (Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 9, and Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 73–82).

454 Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 64–65, has written on this. See also Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 9, Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69–70, and Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 33, 35–36.

455 On this, see Jash, "The Kapalikas": 153, Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 9, and Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, "Interrogating 'Unity in Diversity': Voices from India's Ancient Texts," *Social Scientist* 43, no. 9–10 (2015): 15.

456 Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 13, has written on this.

457 Compare Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 83–95.

458 On the origin of the cult and textual reference from the first centuries CE, refer to Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69, and on the later textual sources, mentioned here, to Jash, "The Kapalikas": 152, 154.

459 Compare Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69.

460 Refer to Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 67, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 64, 70.

have generally been identified as the most disreputable of the Śaiva sects.[461] Kāpālika ascetics, are believed, for example, to have resided in cremation grounds, where they performed rituals which involved handling polluting substances linked to faeces, sex, death and alcohol.[462] This is said to have included freely associating and performing rituals with female Kāpālika practitioners as Tantric consorts, as well as having sex with outcasts.[463] According to Törzsök, it was not typical in the other Atimārga religions for male and female initiates to perform rituals together, as their members were expected to remain celibate.[464]

The ascetics are said to have worn their matted hair in an ascetic knot, with a garland of skulls and human bones around their neck (*kaṇṭhikā*) and to have smeared their body with ashes. All of these items, being related to death, cadavers and cremation, are considered highly polluting. Associated with the name of their order, Kāpālins, as "skull-bearers" are said to have carried a human skull (*kapāla*) as their alms bowl, from which they ate their food.[465] For a *kapālin*, the skull was as essential as the sacred thread to a *brāhmaṇ*.[466] Kāpālins are thought to have drunk wine, menstrual blood and sperm from the skull of a *brāhmaṇ*, identifying them clearly as a heterodox and Tantric sect.[467] They are also believed to have carried out castrations and beheadings,[468] and participated in fire oblations involving the offering of severed human flesh and even in full human sacrifices, symbolising extreme violence.[469]

All these violent and orgiastic practices, of highly Tantric character, represent strongly transgressive activities. By ignoring the concepts of purity and pollution, a duality which is so central to mainstream Hindu practices, the practitioners aimed to achieve a condition of unworldly, ethereal spiritual distance or detachment from this world. However, they were also intentionally abusing and capitalising on the transgressive force found at the boundary between social order and its transgression, as a source of mundane and non-spiritual power which might lead to liberation.[470] Like

461 Jash, "The Kapalikas," and Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 33 have commented on this.

462 For further details, refer to Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 98, Jash, "The Kapalikas": 153, Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 67, Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 67, and Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 33, 42.

463 On this, see Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 67.

464 See Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 34.

465 On this, refer to Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 33.

466 Jash has commented on this (Jash, "The Kapalikas": 152, 153).

467 On this, refer to Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 89, Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 74, and Jash, "The Kapalikas": 152, 153.

468 Compare Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69–78.

469 Compare Jash, "The Kapalikas": 152, Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 85–88, and Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 74.

470 Urban has written on these two interpretations of Kāpālika behaviour (Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 67).

the Pāśupatas, the Kāpālikas also imitated the initially transgressive and ultimately corrective behaviour of the god (Rudra-)Śiva.[471]

In considering descriptions of the behaviour of the Kāpālikas we have to bear in mind—as has already been pointed out in the context of the Kāḷāmukhas—that none of their own texts have been preserved. In consequence, our view has been determined by the descriptions left by competing and often antagonistic faith groups.[472] As well as acts which went against the codes of conduct of mainstream Hindus, the Kāpālikas are also believed to have performed highly ascetic acts of renunciation and penance. They appear to have venerated not only Śiva—mainly in his symbolic form as the abstract *liṅga*—and Rudra, but also the fierce goddess Cāmuṇḍā, a Tantric *yoginī* or mother goddess, who lives in cremation grounds and is closely associated with the often violent goddesses Kālī and Durgā.[473] Cāmuṇḍā, too, is draped with a garland of skulls, seated on a corpse and accompanied by jackals, perceived as negative forces.[474] All these aspects give strong expression to the Tantric nature of this cult.[475]

Kāpālika temples were found mainly in the State of Mysore.[476] While during the sixth and seventh centuries CE the cult of the Kāpālikas can be found throughout India right up to the Punjab in the north, the south Indian *kapālin* ascetics appear to have been especially heterodox, rejecting all *brāhmaṇical* practices.[477] They are known to have applied trickery and delusion to convert new followers,[478] in order to expand their influence. In the fifteenth century, the cult was absorbed by other Śaiva groups, such as the Kānphaṭās, the Goraknāths and the Aghorīs, whose behaviour was also highly transgressive.[479]

All these early Śaiva groups are at heart non-*śāstric*, rejecting the *Veda*s. As non-Vedic (or even anti-Vedic) religions employing impure practices, they were rebuked by mainstream, *Purāṇic* Śaivism. However, all of them, and perhaps most prominently the Kāḷāmukhas, absorbed local belief systems and as such contributed to the

471 This has been discussed by Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 73.

472 Only a small number of Kāpālika inscriptions have been preserved (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xi–xii). These have been discussed in detail in the aforementioned publication by Lorenzen.

473 On the associated violence and unrestrained sexual energy connected with these goddesses, refer to Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 70.

474 On her iconography, refer to Jash, "The Kapalikas": 153, and Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers": 38.

475 The Tantric nature of goddesses in Jainism was discussed earlier in this chapter (4.1.1 "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)"). Urban has commented on this association in the context of the Kāpālikas (Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69).

476 Compare Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: xii.

477 According to Jash, there are two main groups of Kāpālikas in India, the *brāhmaṇical* and the non-*brāhmaṇical* (Jash, "The Kapalikas": 154). See his publication for further details.

478 Lorenzen and Ishwaran have written on this (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 93; Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 47).

479 On this, refer to Urban, "The Remnants of Desire": 69.

spread of Śaiva groups in the region. Eventually, these non-conformist groups, too, were assimilated, Sanskritised, *brāhmaṇised* and integrated into the mainstream religious thought of pan-Indian religions.[480] This illustrates the complex inner structure of Śaivism in South India[481] and explains why it is so difficult at times to determine the precise sect governing a temple. Not only might the group in charge have changed repeatedly, but the believers frequenting a site might hold quite divergent views as to which precise sect they follow.[482]

Whitmore points out the importance of pilgrimage centres, such as Kedarnath (Kedārnāth) in the Garhwal Himalaya and Srisailam (Śrīśaila) in Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, another of the *jyotirliṅga* sites, as meeting points for these various Śaiva sects, most notably Pāśupata, Lākula, Kāḷāmukha, Kāpālika and at times even Vīraśaiva followers.[483] All these Śaiva orders competed for material power throughout the region, establishing temples and organising *maṭha*s in order to increase their influence. The Śaiva derivative of the Vīraśaivas, which gained particular importance in Karnataka from the early twelfth century onwards, will be discussed in the following section.

5.3 Vīraśaivism and Discrimination of the Jainas

Many of the aforementioned Śaiva sects were soon to be marginalised and absorbed by the new and all-powerful Vīraśaivas,[484] who posed the strongest opposition and the greatest threat to the Jainas in Karnataka during the medieval period. Just like the

480 Refer to Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy": 238 and Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 193.

481 Hegde has written on this topic (Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 199).

482 This is an issue raised in Chapter 5, where we shall see that the present denomination of converted Jaina temples is not always entirely clear.

483 In addition, they included also Śaiva Siddhānta groups, discussed briefly in the context of Tamil Nadu, and those which followed Vedic ritual patterns, known as Vaidikas or Smārtas, non-sectarian, orthodox traditions, which have not been discussed here. For further details, refer to Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 10, Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 219, Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 71, and Jash, "The Kapalikas": 154. Jash also comments on the connections between Kāpālikas and Somasiddhāntins or Śivaśāsanas (Jash, "The Kapalikas": 152), which have also been discussed by Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 82–83. According to Törzsök, Kāpālikas and Somasiddhāntins are the same (Törzsök, "Why are the Skull-Bearers").

484 In addition to Kāḷāmukhas, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas, Zydenbos also mentions the Śrōtrīya tradition as a precursor of Vīraśaivism, which also merged with the new Vīraśaivism (Robert J. Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata," in *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions*, ed. Jeffery D. Long, Rita D. Sherma, Pankaj Jain and Madhu Khanna [Dordrecht: Springer, 2022]: 846 [section entitled: Hinduism and Tribal Religions]). For a discussion of the application of the term "sect" with regards to the Vīraśaivas, see William McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 93, no. 1 (1963): 59–71.

faith groups discussed above, Vīraśaivism originates in the region of Karnataka itself and is a local force which gained power in the mid-twelfth century.

5.3.1 Basava and His Teachings

Vīraśaivism has at times been described as a form of "neo-Śaivism" although practitioners and most academics consider it to be a distinct religion.[485] Ishwaran, for instance, is absolutely clear about the fact that Hinduism and Vīraśaivism are two separate faiths and emphasises that Vīraśaivism is one of the youngest Indian religions, which celebrated its eight-hundredth anniversary in 1968 with the official participation of the Vice President of India.[486] This provides an official date of 1168 CE for the origins of Vīraśaivism, which as we will see below, is difficult to fix. Ishwaran, who uses the terms Liṅgāyat/Liṅgāyatism as alternatives for Vīraśaiva/Vīraśaivism, writes: "In what follows, it will be shown that the Liṅgāyat religion [...] is not only opposed to the Brahman religion, but that it rests on doctrines which are mutually exclusive."[487] The authors in this volume, too, treat Vīraśaivism as a distinct faith for reasons which will be explained in more detail below.

The founding of Vīraśaivism is credited to the Śaiva *brāhmaṇ* Basava, also known as Basavaṇṇa or Basavēśvara (Basaveśvara) (Plate 1.30). "Basava" is the Kannada term for "bull," equivalent of the Sanskrit "*vṛ̥ṣabha*." Both are epithets for Nandī (Nandin), the carrier animal and itself a manifestation of Śiva.[488] The *Basava Purāṇa* states that Nandī is as an incarnation of Śiva, sent by the god to earth to care for humanity.[489] Due to the importance which Nandī has for Vīraśaivas, most of their temples throughout Karnataka contain a *liṅga* and a small stone statue of the bull, Nandī (Plate 1.31, 4.18). The ending "*-aṇṇa*" in Basavaṇṇa means older brother and is used as a term of respect,[490] whilst Kannada "*-ēśvara*" (in Sanskrit: "*-īśvara*") in the form Basavēśvara signifies "lord" or "god" with a number of related meanings. Basava was born into a prominent Śaiva *brāhmaṇ* family in Bagevadi (Bāgēvāḍi) in Karnataka, at a time when Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇ*s had a higher standing in society than Śaivas.[491]

485 On this issue, refer to *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx, to McCormack who considers Liṅgāyats to be Hindus (McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture": 175), and to Leslie, who, although she does not share this view, describes this phenomenon (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229).

486 Refer to Ishwaran (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 1) and also his entire Chapter 5, entitled "Not an Off-Shoot of Hinduism, but a New Religion" (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 87–110).

487 For this quote, see Ishwaran (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 87).

488 Compare Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 239–40.

489 Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 240, has written on this.

490 On this, refer to Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 228.

491 On this, see Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 239.



Plate 1.30: This incomplete mural from the Basavēśvara Temple at Shedbal, which is a converted Jaina *basadi*, depicts Basava, the founder or reformer of an earlier form of Vīraśaivism.

It is not entirely clear whether Basava created Vīraśaivism from scratch or whether he merely reformed an earlier faith, probably known as Liṅgāyatism.[492] Because of this, the authors in this publication favour the name Liṅgāyats and Liṅgāyatism when we make specific reference to the period or the form of the religion before the reform activities or the time of Basava. We use the term Vīraśaivas or Vīraśaivism to refer to

492 Leslie, for instance, has written on this unclear situation with regards to the origin of Vīraśaivism in much detail (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 235–37). In this section, she points out that the first written references to Basava and Vīraśaivism date from 1162 CE only. Refer also to McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect": 59. It is interesting that with regards to Jainism, we have a similar situation. Mahāvīra is believed to have renewed and reformulated an earlier path directed already by Pārśvanātha (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 8).

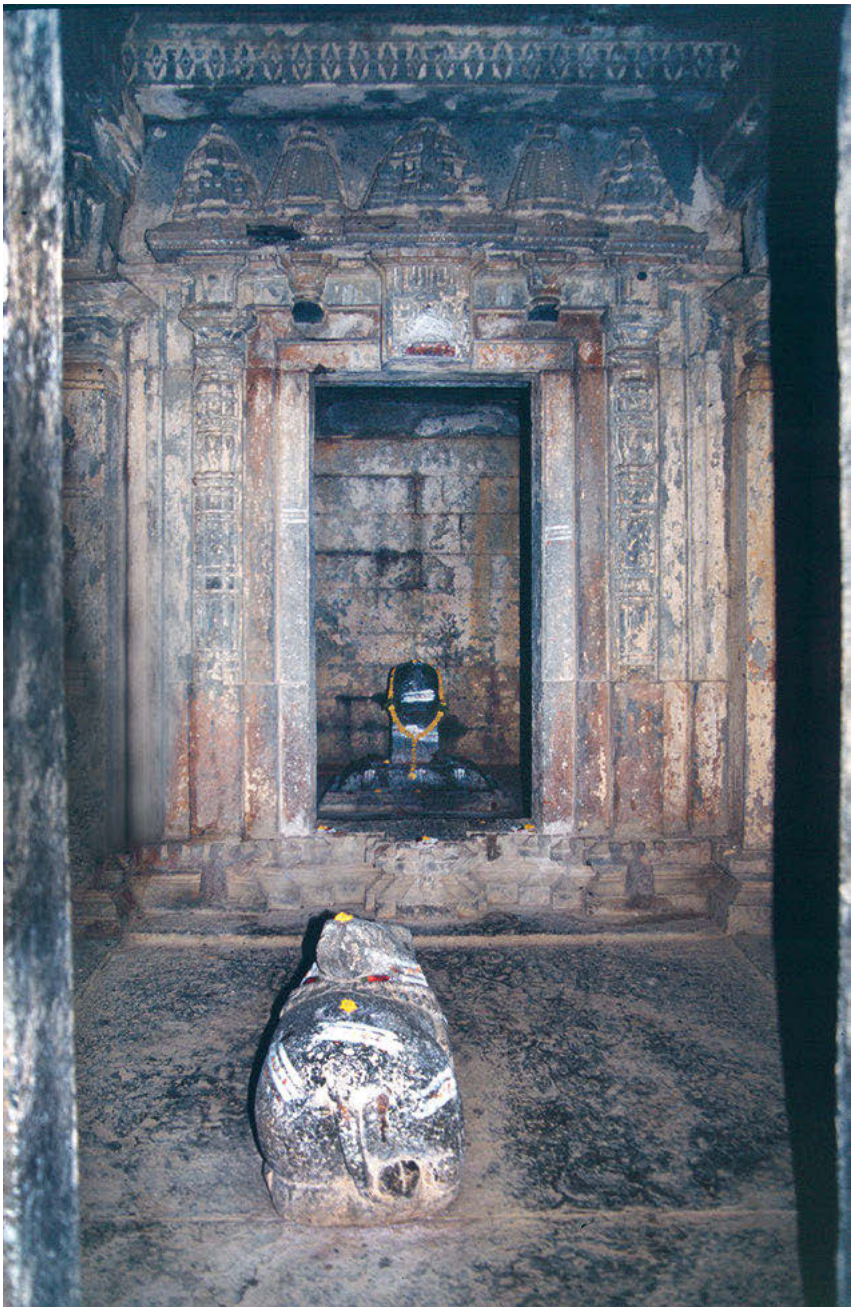


Plate 1.31: In converted *jinālaya*s, as here at Hangal, the shrines were cleared and a *liṅga*, faced by a statue of Nandī, set up. The Jaina icons, formerly adorning the lintel to the sanctum, were erased.

the religion in its modernised or new form under the saint Basava, and afterwards, from the twelfth century onwards.[493]

This differentiation is helpful, as the faith developed into a very powerful, in many ways military organisation only under Basava's influence, when the tag "*vīra*" (hero) was adopted.[494] In translation, the Vīraśaivas are the "heroic" or "militant Śaivas," which refers—at least during their early reformed days in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—to their somewhat martial mindset and pugnacious approach to the spread of their expanding faith. Tiziana Lorenzetti in this publication points out that the term "heroic" may also relate to the "strength of their devotional experience" (see Chapter 4). Yet in the same chapter, she also highlights the fact that the fifth of the five regulating principles of conduct (*pañcācāra*), on which Vīraśaiva ethics are founded, comprises working, serving and fighting to defend the community (*gaṇācāra*).[495] The name Liṅgāyat can be translated as "worshipper," "wearer" or "bearer of the *liṅga*," indicating the central importance of this sacred symbol for believers.[496] The founding or reform of the religion of the Vīraśaivas seems to have been provoked by the long domination of the Jainas in the region and the strong Vaiṣṇava activities in the area under Rāmānujācārya in the eleventh century.[497]

Basava was born and raised at the start of the twelfth century in the north of Karnataka, where he first practised the new creed. His dates are disputed, but he was

493 There is, however, no uniformity in approach by scholars working on this subject. The authors McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect": 59, Kurt Friedrichs, "Liṅgāyat," in *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Zen*, ed. Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, Franz-Karl Erhard, Kurt Friedrichs and Michael S. Diener (Boston: Shambhala, 1994): 202, Leslie "Understanding Basava": 229, and Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 846, either use the terms synonymously or underline the fact that Liṅgāyats and Vīraśaiva are frequently used synonymously by others. However, Zydenbos, on the same page, outlines that some practitioners apply the term Liṅgāyatism or Basavaism to a stricter and less Hinduised form of the religion. On page 847, Zydenbos states that the term Vīraśaivism actually only originates in the fourteenth century. Leslie describes the tendency to apply the term Vīraśaiva more to outline the "philosophical or historical context" and Liṅgāyat to denote the modern social group (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229), which is the opposite of our approach in this study. Whitmore argues that the two were separate faiths to start with and that Vīraśaivas and Liṅgāyats merged only in the fifteenth or sixteenth century (Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 71). This shows the many incongruities with regards to the two terms, which this study does not aim to resolve. It is only important to understand how we use these terms in this publication, as outlined in the text above.

494 As in the name of the twenty-fourth Jina, Mahāvīra, meaning "the great hero."

495 Compare S.C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979): 48.

496 On this, refer to Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 2, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229. Zydenbos translates Liṅgāyat as "one who has accepted the *liṅga*" (Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 846).

497 Leslie has written on this. According to her, the Jainas had been the dominant political power from the second century BCE, which I would consider too early (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 232). The evidence seems to me to show that it was not until the eighth or ninth century CE that the Jainas came to control much of religious and political life in Karnataka.

probably born in 1105 or 1106 and must have died in around 1167 or 1168.[498] It was Basava's aim to generate a powerful socio-religious reform movement.[499] He combined devotional *bhakti* and Tantric thought to outline his religious and social reformist ideas in his *Vacana*s (free-verse "sayings"),[500] written largely in the local vernacular Kannada language.[501]

Vīraśaivism clearly has its roots in the many diverse belief systems which one might refer to collectively as "mainstream" Śaivism. Despite this, in its modernised form, restructured by Basava, it is considered by most scholars and practitioners a separate religion, independent from Hinduism. The Indian Constitution of 1950, too, lists Liṅgāyats as having a separate faith from Hindus.[502] Zydenbos writes, "Some Liṅgāyats have advocated that the religion should be considered a fully independent one, and not a variety of Hinduism."[503] This issue is highlighted in Chapter 4 in this volume by Tiziana Lorenzetti, who also cites contemporary newspaper articles reporting on the contemporary struggle of the Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats in Karnataka to be recognised as a distinct religion.

Vīraśaivas have sometimes been considered "unorthodox Hindus," but this is unconvincing, given their refusal to accept core dogmas of *brāhmaṇical* Hinduism; Vīraśaivas not only reject the veneration of multiple gods, the concept of *karma* and the authority of the *Veda*s—the central body of religious texts in Hinduism[504]—but they also oppose social inequalities, the caste system, which dominates Hindu social structures and religious life, and child marriage. They allow widows to marry again and,

498 For different combinations of these dates, refer to A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (London: Penguin, 1973): 61, Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12, Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: frontispiece, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 228. There are a number of authors who place Basava much later than this. Zydenbos gives 1134 CE to 1196 CE as the dates of his life (Robert J. Zydenbos, "Vīraśaivism," in *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions*, ed. Jeffery D. Long, Rita D. Sherma, Pankaj Jain and Madhu Khanna [Dordrecht: Springer, 2022]: 1748 [section entitled: Hinduism and Tribal Religions]). Lorenzen places Basava even later and suggests a date of birth around 1150 CE (Lorenzen, "Śaivism: An Overview": 10), whilst Nandimath even argues for 1160 CE (Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 17). In this context, Ramanujan underlines how unclear and vague the dates and events in Basava's life actually are (Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 61).

499 On this issue, see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx. This is also how Scholz describes the faith group in her Chapter 3.

500 The *Vacana*s represent a literary genre, combining prose and verse, referred to as "prose lyrics" (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 19) or "prose-poems" (Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti).

501 Compare McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect": 59, and Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12. The *Vacana*s are Basava's most important writings. Ishwaran is unusual in denying that Vīraśaivism is a *bhakti* religion (Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 111–41).

502 Refer to McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture": 175, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229, and Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 846.

503 For the quote, refer to Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 846.

504 On the issue of unorthodox Hindus, refer to Friedrichs, "Liṇgāyat": 202, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229.

crucially, bury their dead rather than burning them (Plate 1.32 above).[505] The burial sites of their *guru*s, in front of which their ascetic wooden sandals are usually kept on display, are especially venerated (Plate 1.32 below).

On the basis of these substantial differences, Davis describes the period of Basava as one of "dramatic social change and intellectual ferment."[506] Saletore identifies the rejection of the caste system by Basava as a direct imitation of Jaina behaviour, through which, he argues, the Vīraśaivas—as also some Hindus, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas—aimed to counteract the strong influence of Jainism in the region of South India.[507] Again, contrasting with mainstream Digambara Jainism, Vīraśaivas thought that women could attain enlightenment just as men could.[508] Through many of these social and societal reforms, the new faith became especially appealing to lower-caste members of Kannada society in the twelfth and following centuries.

Another difference between Vīraśaivism and Hinduism is that orthodox Vīraśaiva followers are not supposed to use temples or worship images other than the *liṅga*. However, it is fascinating that the *liṅga* has often been provided with a face and can also be sheltered by a snake. Thus, some Vīraśaiva *liṅga*s, which should be abstract symbolic elements, take on almost personal and figural features (Plate 1.33). Temples are not forbidden to Vīraśaivas—who do maintain shrines—but they are not of central importance for attaining *nirvāṇa*.[509] Furthermore, Vīraśaivas reject sacrifices and the concepts of purity and pollution, all central to conventional Hinduism. Temple cults involving veneration and the making of offerings are considered of no use, as is pilgrimage, and all rituals are denounced.[510] On the topic of temple veneration, Basava says:

> Gods, gods, there are so many
> there's no place left
> for a foot.
>
> There is only
> one god. He is our Lord
> of the Meeting Rivers.
> (*Vacana* 563)[511]

505 Compare Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12.

506 For the quote, refer to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 222. On these ideas refer also to Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12 and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 230.

507 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 273.

508 On this, see, for instance, Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this publication. This expresses the idea of equality of all Vīraśaiva believers.

509 See Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 847.

510 Padoux has written on this (Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12). See also the section entitled "The Rejection of the Temple System" in Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 74–75.

511 Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 84.



Plate 1.32: Vīraśaiva burial site (above) and the wooden sandals of a *guru* placed in front of his cenotaph (below) at the Gavisiddheśvara Maṭha in the former Jaina centre of Koppala.

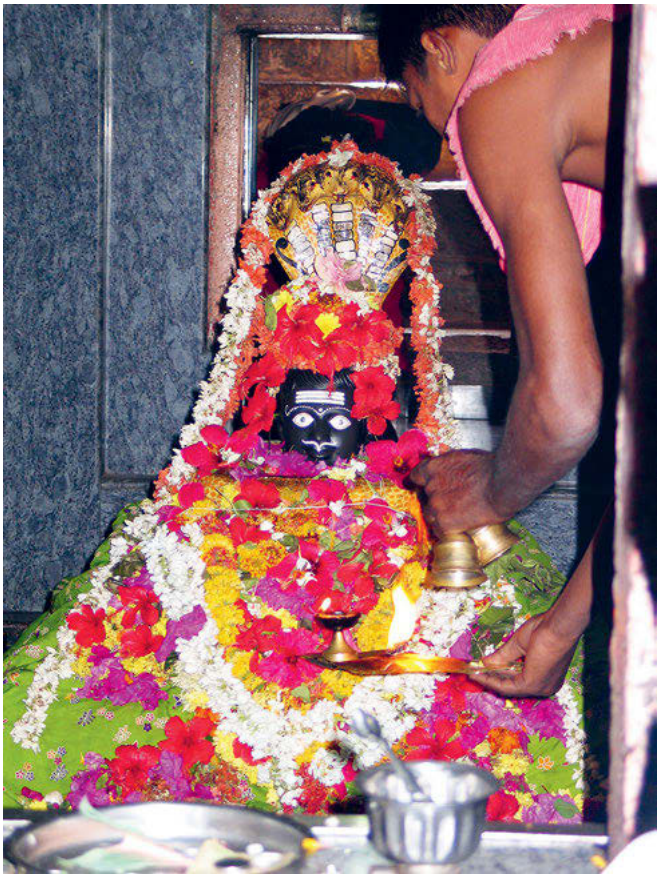


Plate 1.33: Vīraśaiva *liṅga* supplied with a face, a protective snake hood and a dress of flowers and garlands, venerated in the main shrine of the Gavisiddheśvara Maṭha at Koppala.

The "Lord of the Meeting Rivers," in Kannada *kūḍalasaṅgamadēva*, named here, refers to a Śaiva pilgrimage site, called Sangama (Saṅgama) or Kudalasangama (Kūḍalasaṅgama), the confluence (meeting) of the rivers Krishna (Kṛṣṇā) and Malaprabha (Malaprabhā).[512]

Despite these many differences, Vīraśaivas have preserved strong links with Śaiva traditions and Zydenbos emphasises that "a radical break with *brāhmaṇical* Śaiva Hinduism never took place."[513] In my research in Karnataka I found that people very clearly identified themselves as Vīraśaivas or as Śaivas, without any ambiguity

512 Refer to Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 62 and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 239, 240.

513 This quote come from Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 847. Ramanujan expresses a similar idea when he stresses that Vīraśaivism was a rejection of contemporary Hindu practice only and should be considered as a return to its true core values, similar to the sixteenth-century German Protestant movement (Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 33). Michael also draws a parallel to Protestantism (R. Blake Michael,

in their own religious affiliation.[514] However, when it comes to religious sites, whose religious association might have changed many times between Śaivism and Vīraśaivism and sometimes back to Śaivism—and where the focus of veneration is only a *liṅga* and not a figural Śaiva image—there is more ambiguity. A similar opacity can be found in literary texts as well as in inscriptions, which, in spite of the many differences outlined above, sometimes refer generally to Śaivas and sometimes more specifically to Vīraśaivas, with no clear-cut differentiation between the two.

All Vīraśaivas must undertake formal initiation (*dīkṣā*) and have a spiritual teacher (*guru*).[515] worship the aniconic symbol of the *liṅga* at least twice a day.[516] As has been pointed out, orthodox Vīraśaivas do not support temples with static (*sthāvara*) *liṅga*s but favour moving (*jaṅgama*) *liṅga*s.[517] Followers carry a small, private, portable *liṅga* in a container fastened to a thread around their neck, arm or chest. Ordinary worshippers carry a small black stone or raisin *liṅga*, usually only a centimetre or two large, in a small cloth sachet or silver container, worn on a thread (Plate 1.34). However, there are also more elaborate necklaces involving *rudrākṣa* berries or beads, with a heavily ornamented box for the most sacred item. *Rudrākṣa* seed beads are sacred to Vīraśaivas and Śaivas and are regarded as the eyes of Śiva.[518] In the practice which gave the Liṅgāyats their name, a small personal *liṅga* is given to each Vīraśaiva follower, male or female, during their initiation ceremony.[519] Vīraśaivas are identified by the *liṅga* they carry and by a white dot of ash—with or without the white horizontal Śaiva lines—on their foreheads (Plate 1.35).[520] They refer to the *liṅga* as "divine principle" or *iṣṭaliṅga*. Carrying it makes the body of the devotee a temple.[521] This is graphically expressed in one of Basava's *Vacana*s:

"Work as Worship in Vīraśaiva Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50, no. 4 [1982]: 605, 607–8). Leslie has written on these issues as well (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 232, 258).

514 This has also been reaffirmed by Ishwaran. See, for instance, the whole chapter entitled "Not an Off-shoot of Hinduism, but a New Religion" in Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 87–110. Leslie has also written on this fact (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229).

515 For further details on this, refer to Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12.

516 Compare Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229.

517 On this, see, for instance, Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 20, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 232, and Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 71. The concept of moving objects or teachers is also known in Jainism, where a Jaina teacher from Chikka Hanasoge (Chikka Haṇasoge), called Eḷācārya, was known as a 'moving *tīrtha*' which designated him as a person of extraordinary devoutness and religiosity (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 173–74).

518 On this, refer to McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture": 184.

519 This ritual is performed by the family priest (*guru*) usually on the day of birth of a child (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229, 230).

520 On this, refer to Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12 and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229.

521 This is underlined in detail by Ramanujan in the section entitled "The Temple and the Body," in which the author outlines that all Indian temples are "traditionally built in the image of the human body" (Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 19–22). This is also true of Hindu temples.



Plate 1.34: Young male Vīraśaiva follower from Koppala, carrying his small personal portable *liṅga* in a simple silver container, adorned with *rudrākṣa* beads, around his neck.

My legs are pillars,
the body the shrine,
the head a cupola
of gold
(*Vacana* 820)[522]

The related term *jaṅgamana*, as we saw earlier, in the context of the moving or *jaṅgama liṅga*s, is used to describe the itinerant Vīraśaiva teachers, who carry the *liṅga* on their bodies.[523] The hereditary priests of the Vīraśaivas, who are wandering medicants without possessions, are also referred to as *jaṅgama*s.[524] Vīraśaivas are strict vegetarians.[525] They consider work (*kāyaka*) as sacred, a kind of veneration or offering made to god.[526]

Whilst Jainas support *anekāntavāda*, the philosophy of many principles or multiple viewpoints, the body and the *liṅga* in Vīraśaiva practice are meant to merge in a

522 Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 19.
523 See the section on *jaṅgamana* (2.2.2) in Chapter 4 in this publication by Lorenzetti.
524 Refer to Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*: 20–21, Padoux, "Vīraśaivas": 12, Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 171, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 230.
525 McCormack has written on this (McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect": 59).
526 Compare Michael, "Work as Worship": 608–9, and Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 243.

nondual reality, transcending the binary opposites of devotee and deity to become one.[527] As such, the Vīraśaivas propagate *ekāntavāda*, one principle, with regards to divine provenance and existence as a whole.[528] Whitmore points out that finding the liberating power in oneself is a Tantric technique. Later on in this chapter, I shall outline Tantric practices and the embodiment of the divine.[529]

Through their quite simple and direct form of religiosity, welcoming converts from all levels of society, giving a relatively equal position to women, allowing widows to remarry and proposing independence from priests and expensive rituals, the Vīraśaivas manged to popularise their tradition both in the upper levels of society and amongst the ordinary population.[530]

5.3.2 Monasteries, Trade and Conversions: Increasing the Influence of Vīraśaivism

Like the Jainas, the Vīraśaivas established monastery-like establishments, *maṭha*s, to propagate their faith.[531] Each *maṭha* was and is today still led by a head, a *maṭhādhipati* (lord of the *maṭha*), *maṭhapati* or a *jagadguru* (Plate 1.35).[532] Traditionally, there are five main Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s, the *pañcapīṭha*s (literally, the "five seats").[533]

However, the prominence of Vīraśaivas in trade and commerce in particular seems to have accelerated the rapid conversion of the dominant Jaina families, landowners and heads of trade guilds to this new creed.[534] The strong involvement of Vīraśaivas in trade seems to be due to their religious view of work and trade as a religious and social service (*kāyaka*), where part of a person's earnings is dedicated to supporting the community, especially those members who are less well off. This is known as *the*

527 Compare Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 71, 82. Van Troy describes a similar concept in the context of the Pāśupatas (Van Troy, "The Radical Social Protest": LXX).

528 On this issue, see Pinto in this volume as well as Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54.

529 This is discussed in section 5.6 "Rationales for the Popularity of Alternative Religions: *Bhakti* and Tantra?".

530 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53.

531 Pinto in this book writes about this in relation to the west coast of Karnataka.

532 Zydenbos uses the term *maṭhādhipati* (Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 848; Zydenbos, "Vīraśaivism": 1752) and Whitmore the term *jagadguru* or *jagatguru* (Whitmore, "Lord of Kedar": 70).

533 For further information on the *maṭha* tradition in Vīraśaivism, refer to Padoux "Vīraśaivas": 12, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 230, and Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 848.

534 In fact, Pinto in this volume goes so far as to state that Vīraśaivism "percolated into the region only through trade." Refer also to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 281–82, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 58, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 82. On conversions from Jainism to Vīraśaivism, see also Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35–36.



Plate 1.35: The *jagadguru*, the head of the Vīraśaiva Maṭha at Koppala, wearing the distinct parallel white lines and the white dot of ash on his forehead in association with orange robes and a turban.

vīra bāṇajiga dharma (*vīra bāṇjiga dharma*), the "law of the noble merchants." Due to the prominence of the Vīraśaiva traders in commerce, Indian tradesmen are often referred to as a whole as Bāṇajiga (Bāṇjiga, Baṇajiga, Bāṇia, Bāṇiya or Bāṇija) merchants.[535] Previously, the Jainas had been the prominent actors in trade, a profession which offered them the opportunity to live by the ideal of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*). During the twelfth century, however, the Vīraśaivas took the upper hand in an aggressive struggle for control over the trade in the region. Wealthy landlords, whether Jaina by belief or not, had grown accustomed to their riches and wished to continue accumulating wealth and preserve their position in society. As such, those

535 Compare McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect": 59. On this, refer also to Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti in this publication. Tiziana Lorenzetti has also spoken in detail on the involvement of Vīraśaivas in trade (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Vīraśaivas / Liṅgāyats of 12th Century Karnataka," talk by Tiziana Lorenzetti, organized by the Deccan Heritage Foundation, 24.05.2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsBqa756fR4&t=19s [accessed 09.06.2022]). On this subject, see also Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73.

at the high and influential levels of merchant society appear to have converted and followed Vīraśaivism.[536]

The effect on Jainism was disastrous. These high-profile conversions led to a shift of finances towards Vīraśaiva establishments, and the resulting loss of financial support had catastrophic effects on the maintenance of Jaina temples and the funding of costly ceremonies.[537] Religious antagonism and commercial rivalry were linked, as various sacred centres of opposing faith groups struggled for the backing of the richest and most influential trading communities.[538] With the conversion of dominant players, such as wealthy landowners, to Vīraśaivism and other faiths, the common people inevitably followed suit.

In the records from the Middle Ages in Karnataka, we hear of occasional mass conversions, even under threat of violence.[539] According to Zydenbos, initially there were mainly individual conversions. Later on in the establishment, as Vīraśaivism gained ground, there were more group conversions of entire castes.[540] This had the probably unintended effect of reintroducing the element of caste and *brāhmaṇising* certain parts of the Vīraśaiva community.[541] Sabine Scholz, in this volume, is sceptical about enforced conversions, pointing out that in the past a strict affiliation with only one closely defined religious group was not as common as it is today. Religious association had more to do with allegiance to a social group than with an individual's personal religious faith. If the ruling classes converted, then the populace followed, often in mass conversions.[542] In this context, entire villages often changed their faith.[543] It is debatable whether this should be considered as enforced or not. On the basis of a survey of Kannada literature, however, Sundaram refers to forceful conversions from Jainism to Vīraśaivism.[544]

536 Pinto has written on this issue in Chapter 2 in this volume, where he also stresses that it was the merchant clans, who had brought the Jaina community economic success, who now offered support to the Vīraśaivas.

537 On this issue, see the chapter by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka."

538 This is based on the oral presentation by Tiziana Lorenzetti at the Deccan Heritage Foundation on 24 May 2022 (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Vīraśaivas / Liṅgāyats of 12th Century Karnataka," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsBqa756fR4 [accessed 09.06.2022]).

539 Compare Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175.

540 On this subject, refer to the writings of Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175.

541 See Padoux "Vīraśaivas": 12, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 230, and Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 847. This is a phenomenon we have also described as taking place in a Jaina context with many converts in the period between the fourth and the sixth century CE and with a certain caste acceptance by the Jainas from the eighth century CE onwards.

542 See Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 82. This fact has also been highlighted by Lorenzetti in this publication. Sundaram narrates the example of the poet Brahmaśiva, who was a Jaina, converted to Śaivism and then back to Jainism (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35).

543 Sundaram refers to group conversions from Jainism to Vīraśaivism (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 36).

544 On this issue, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 36.

As has been pointed out before, conversions appear often to have followed religious debating competitions, with people converting as part of the contract or agreement they had struck. There are literary references to the conversion of ordinary *śrāvaka*s and high-ranking Jaina *ācārya*s to other creeds. Dibbad explains this as a consequence of the permanent and pronounced pressure placed on the Jainas at this time of rivalry, opposition and outright contest.[545] In this context, even leading religious figures, such as Jaina monks, who by that time regularly managed large properties, seem at times to have been more anxious about preserving their newly acquired worldly powers and riches than with upholding their religious convictions.[546] Tiziana Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this publication highlights the various economic and social factors which made Vīraśaivism so attractive for the people in Karnataka at this time and which often led to conversions, especially during the fifteenth century. As a result, the Jainas finally lost large numbers of followers and were plunged into a situation of suppression and severe asymmetrical dependency in a State they had formerly controlled for centuries.

5.3.3 Persecution of the Jainas and Economic Conflict with the Vīraśaivas

There appears to have been reciprocal opposition between Vīraśaivas and Jainas at this volatile time in south Indian history, although other religious groups were involved in this struggle, too.[547] Many of the verses of the Vīraśaiva *Basava Purāṇa*, for instance, refer to strong anti-Vaiṣṇava sentiments.[548] In these campaigns, *brāhmaṇical* shrines were also destroyed.[549] However, according to Desai and Zydenbos, in Karnataka at this time, the Vīraśaivas committed acts of outright violence against the Jainas in particular.[550] The Jainas, as the most powerful in recent history, experienced the worst of their rivals' aggression.

As we have noted, the name Vīraśaivas means the "heroic Śaivas," linked on the one hand with religious heroism but also with martial behaviour. In this context, Pius

545 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69. According to Pinto, in this volume, the Jainas had got used to a luxurious life-style, which they wanted to maintain by converting.

546 On this refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 58.

547 Leslie has written on this subject (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 232). Saletore compares the influence of the Vīraśaiva revival with the influence the Nāyaṇārs had on the Jainas in Tamil Nadu (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 280).

548 See Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 257.

549 On this, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54.

550 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 401–2 and Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175. To a lesser extent, see also Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54.

F. Pinto refers to the Vīraśaivas as aggressive and militant. Vīraśaiva rulers and saints turned combative for the promulgation of their faith and religious ideals. Among the most influential leaders who aimed to raise Vīraśaivism above Jainism were Ekāntada Rāmayya,[551] Vīruparasa,[552] Goggidēva[553] and Ekāntada Basavēśvara.[554] The aggression of Vīraśaiva combatants was directed at not only the Jainas but also their sacred places of worship. Raman, who has written in much detail on the religious, economic, social, cultural and educational significance of temples more generally,[555] shows that by this time, sacred establishments operated as landowners, money lenders, consumers of goods and services, employers, patrons of the arts, and centres of learning. Owing to the enormous multifaceted significance which the *basadi*s had for the Jaina community,[556] they were usually the first to be attacked in the fight for hegemony.[557]

Adherents of the religions expanding most rapidly at this time—Śaivas, Vīraśaivas, Kāḷāmukhas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas and Muslims—all took part in the desecration and demolition of earlier Jaina icons and shrines, and also in their conversion. The fact that the precise religious affiliation of people involved in this fight against the Jainas is not always completely clear becomes visible in references to Ekāntada Rāmayya, who is described as a Vīraśaiva and as a Kāḷāmukha.[558] This is not too surprising, as the Kāḷāmukhas were later absorbed by the Vīraśaivas. Large numbers of Jaina *basadi*s were targeted in religiously motivated attacks. There are many records which eulogise the conversions of Jainas and their temples to other creeds.[559] As will be outlined in Chapter 5 of this publication, a remarkable number of icons and *jinālaya*s were destroyed or annexed and re-used by the Vīraśaivas. Given their highly reduced ritual, which has no need of icons, temples, or priests, the Vīraśaivas were particularly uncomfortable with

551 Alternatively, his name has also been spelled: Śaiva Ēkāntada Rāmayya. He is also simply known as Ekāntada, Ekānta or only as Rāmayya. See, for instance, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 237.

552 His name, too, is known in a number of other combinations, such as Tribhuvanamalla Vīra or Vīra Someśvara Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vīruparasa.

553 Alternatives for his name are: Vīra Goggidēva or Vīra Goggidēvarasa.

554 For this information, see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx, Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 46, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54–55, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397, and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69–72.

555 See K.V. Raman, "The Role of Temple in the Socio-Economic Life of the People," in *Temple Art, Icons and Culture of India and South-East Asia* (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2006): 11–18.

556 The multi-layered use of Jaina temples and religious centres in particular has also been emphasised by Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 178.

557 Dibbad has written about shrines being primary targets during conflicts in South Asia (Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73).

558 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 70.

559 Two examples of Vīraśaiva conversions of former *jinālaya*s in Karnataka have been examined by Julia A.B. Hegewald in a joint publication with Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional State Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 (2008). See pp. 22 to 29 in particular.

large landowning Jaina monasteries and wealthy *basadis*.[560] A good example of a Jaina shrine converted by the Vīraśaivas is the former Digambara Jaina Mallinātha Temple, now the Vīrabhadreśvara Temple (Iranna Deva Gudi) at Haveri (Plate 1.36).



Plate 1.36: The former Digambara Jaina Mallinātha Temple at Haveri was converted by Vīraśaivas, who named it the Vīrabhadreśvara Temple and removed most Jaina statuary from its roof.

560 Leslie has written on this topic as well (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 232).

There is substantial inscriptional evidence for such religiously motivated attacks on Jaina *basadi*s by Vīraśaiva practitioners. Hagiographical accounts of the lives of Vīraśaiva saints, frequently strongly idealised, constitute a further source for direct references to Vīraśaiva deeds from this time.[561] Plenty of inscriptions from the twelfth century record Vīraśaiva attacks on the Jainas. Many refer to quite heated verbal debates or public contests between the two communities, in which one group always ended up subdued. Increasingly, it was the Jainas who gave way, in the face of the expansive Vīraśaiva following and their persuasive strength.[562]

One particularly famous inscription in this context is a late twelfth-century one in Kannada, dating from about 1162 CE, during the reign of Bijjaḷa (1162–1167 CE).[563] It is found on the outer walls of the Somanātha Temple at Abalur (Ablūr), also spelled Abbalur (Abbalūr, Abbalūru) in the Haveri District. The Śaivas involved in this contest are referred to as Māheśvaras or Vīra Māheśvaras, meaning Vīraśaivas, and as the destroyers of Jainism in this part of Karnataka.[564] Their representative is a Vīraśaiva priest, the aforementioned Ekānta or Ekāntada Rāmayya, who in this inscription is called an Ugra Māheśvara, or "fear-evoking Śaiva."[565] He is said to have faced a group of Jainas in an argument. When Rāmayya asked the Jainas to worship Śiva, they challenged him to prove his own devotion to the god and the deity's power, asking him to cut off his own head and—if Śiva were really so great—to ask him to reinstate it again after one week. If this could be done, they said, they would convert to Vīraśaivism.[566] According to the story, Rāmayya did as they asked and miraculously succeeded in reinstating his own severed head and coming back to life. However, the Jainas nevertheless refused to replace their Tīrthaṅkara statue with that of a *liṅga*. In rage, according to the story, Rāmayya shattered the image himself. When the distressed Jainas turned to King Bijjaḷa for support, he suggested they might start an even tougher contest in which the Jainas should offer the destruction of all of their *basadi*s, should they succumb once again. The Jainas did not dare bid any further and the king awarded a

561 On the topic in general, see Dundas, *The Jains*: 110. On inscriptions, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 398–402, and on hagiographical accounts to Velcheru Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors: The Basava Purāṇa of Pālkuriki Somanātha, translated from the Telugu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). See also the Chapter by Scholz in this book.

562 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 311–13, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 81, 86.

563 Lorenzen dates the inscription to 1200 CE (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 169).

564 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69.

565 Compare Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 218, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148, and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69.

566 This illustrates an interesting change from purely philosophical intellectual contest to one at the corporeal level, such as the mutilation of one's own body. Nagarajaiah has also commented on this change (Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres": 58).

so-called "certificate of victory," *jayapatra*, to the Vīraśaivas.[567] In an alternative version of the story, narrated in the *Basava Purāṇa*, Basava himself was present at the contest; although the defeated Jainas bowed to the *liṅga* and accepted the Vīraśaiva marking on their foreheads, the triumphant Vīraśaivas destroyed all the Jaina temples, "broke the heads of the Jina idols [...] and harassed and killed every known Jain and smashed them all into the ground."[568]

Further inscriptional evidence testifies to the enforced conversion of Jainas to Śaivism, killings of Jainas, attacks on Jaina sites and the destruction of their temples. Despite the fact that the Jainas did not enter into a second contest, Ekāntada Rāmayya allegedly smashed around eight hundred Jaina *basadi*s throughout Karnataka.[569] His deeds and those of his followers were regarded as "purifications" (*pavāḍa*s).[570] Ekānta or Ekāntada Rāmayya's name signals hostility towards the multi-perspectivism of the Jainas, referred to above, with "Ekānta" identifying him as a follower of the doctrine propagating only one reality.[571] A fervent defender of Vīraśaivism, the mid-eleventh-century poet-saint Devara Dāsimayya, is also credited with defeating the Jainas and helping the Vīraśaivas to establish supremacy in the area.[572] Anti-Jaina sentiments are expressed in many verses of the *Basava Purāṇa*, too, where we find reference to the beating to death of Jainas and their blinding, beheading and impaling on hot iron spears or staves: acts of violence which—even if the stories are only half-true—reflect appalling eruptions of cruelty.[573]

We hear also of the Vīra Māheśvaras, also referred to as Vīra Māheśvara Niṣṭha or simply as Niṣṭhā. These were Vīraśaiva military subdivisions, also called *gaṇa*, who were willing to kill for their faith and to sacrifice their own lives.[574] This is evidenced, for instance, by the inscription from the historic Jaina centre of Kalya (Kalya or Kalyāṇa

567 On this, see Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 14, and Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 45–46, 169. Leslie has written about this inscription in detail (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 237–38). See also Lorenzetti on this story and related caved panels, in Chapter 4 in this book.

568 For this version of the story and the quote, refer to Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 238. There is another version of the story in the *Cannabasava* or *Cennabasava Purāṇa* (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 169).

569 On this issue, see Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 14 and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69–70.

570 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 70. *Pavāḍa* in Kannada means "a miracle."

571 Compare Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 70.

572 For details on texts referring to his deeds, see Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 70–71. Nagarajaiah mentions a number of other Vīraśaivas who carried out attacks on the Jainas and their sacred places of worship. These include Ādayya of Puligere (modern Lakṣmeśvara), Bommayya of Kovūru, Devara Dāsimayya, Candrabhuśaṇa Paṇḍita of Jājuru, and Vīruparasa of Hagaraṭagenādu (Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres": 57). On Ādayya, refer also to the chapter by Lorenzetti.

573 Leslie quotes many such sections from the *Basava Purāṇa* (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 238–39).

574 Refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 72, and Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 108.

Pura), which explicitly states that Vīraśaivas killed Jainas.[575] Vīraśaiva literature is replete with accounts of the smashing of Jaina temples and the crushing of their images.[576] The events around Basava and the persecution of the Jainas provided the historical plot for a well-known play in Kannada by playwright Girish Karnad, entitled *Taledaṇḍa* (Death by beheading), dating from 1990. In 1993, an English version appeared under the title *Talé-Daṇḍa: A Play*.[577]

Their deep involvement in commerce, conversions and persecutions enabled the Vīraśaivas to gain rapidly in influence. Jaina landlords, whether householders or monastic leaders, had grown used to a luxurious life-style—or at least generous funding for their establishments—and wanted to maintain their status in society and their wealth. As such, the upper levels of society and landowners frequently converted and followed Vīraśaivism. The faith flourished in the north of Karnataka in particular, in the States of Dharwar, Bijapur and Belgaum. Vīraśaivas still comprise the religious majority in Karnataka today.[578] There are about six million followers of Vīraśaivism in India, of whom most are settled in Karnataka.[579] According to Tiziana Lorenzetti, the heyday of the faith was the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it spread to the south of Karnataka and, in the north, to the neighbouring region of Andhra Pradesh as well. During these periods, however, the followers of Vīraśaivism moved further and further away from Basava's original doctrine of simplicity and homelessness. As Tiziana Lorenzetti shows in her chapter—and as has also been mentioned above—the Vīraśaivas established *maṭha*s, settled down and expanded the ritual which initially had involved only the small portable *liṅga* that every Vīraśaiva carries on their body. Over the centuries, abandoned shrines were annexed, *basadi*s which were still in use taken over from the Jainas and even new Vīraśaiva temple structures built. In this respect, we witness a development away from plainness and unpretentiousness to a more highly ritualistic and institutionalised religion, very similar to the trajectory of Jainism as outlined above.

To summarise the religious conflict in the region so far, we have seen how various Śaiva orders, in particular, established their dominance over the other religious cults

575 On this issue, see Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 84.

576 Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres": 59–61, has given many such examples.

577 Leslie has written in detail on this play (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 244–58). She is particularly interested in parallels which Karnad establishes between the socio-political situation in the twelfth century in Karnataka and the twentieth century in India as a whole (see especially pp. 228, 252–53) and the tolerance supposed to be paid by Hindus to other religions, which Karnad questions in his play (pp. 257–58).

578 On this issue, see Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177, Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 229, and Scholz in Chapter 3.

579 Refer to Padoux "Vīraśaivas": 12.

of the region, through institutionalisation—establishing monasteries and temples—and *brāhmaṇisation*—absorbing smaller, even anti-*brāhmaṇical* cults.[580] Jainism, as a non-Vedic, *śramaṇa* tradition aiming to keep its distinct identity and denying the superiority of the Śaivas, could not be absorbed by Śaivism as easily as other cults.[581] For this reason, the Jainas were first demonised as the main target of enmity and then relegated to minority status in Karnataka from the twelfth century onwards, while various Śaiva denominations, in particular the often militant Vīraśaivas, increased in influence and numbers of followers.[582] This led to a remarkable Śaivite revival in the south of India during the twelfth century, as well as to the development or further evolution of Vīraśaivism. In addition to this largely local and regional rivalry, worshippers of devotional Vaiṣṇavism also penetrated into the region from the mid-twelfth century onwards. This was part of a more general renewal of *brāhmaṇical* faiths in the region.

5.4 Vaiṣṇavism and Śrīvaiṣṇavism

I shall now turn from the Śaiva and Śaiva-derived heterodox denominations, including Vīraśaivism, to the second major religious group of classical modern Hinduism, Vaiṣṇavism. Although Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism are both Hindu currents, with some links and common elements (for instance, in the statues of Harihara that consist of Hari, Viṣṇu, and Hara, Śiva) they are both distinct faith groups. Śaivism focuses on the veneration of Śiva as supreme godhead, and Vaiṣṇavism on the worship of Viṣṇu.[583] In our area of discussion, the south of India, the Vaiṣṇavas also worshipped the early Vaiṣṇava saints, the sixth-century CE Āḻvārs.[584] In the eighth and ninth centuries CE, the arrival of Śaṅkarācārya in Karantaka reinvigorated Vaiṣṇavism, which came to present a strong competing—and at times outrightly aggressive—force in opposition to the Jainas.[585] This was followed by Rāmānuja's Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the eleventh century.[586]

580 Hegde has also written on this subject (Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 201).

581 Refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 202.

582 Zydenbos and Dibbad have written on this subject (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175; Dibbad "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73).

583 Vaiṣṇavas worship Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī (Ranjeeta Dutta, "Texts, Tradition and Community Identity: The Srivaisnavas of South India," *Social Scientist* 35, no. 9–10 [2007]: 23).

584 On this, refer to Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 117, and Dutta, "Texts, Tradition and Community Identity": 23. In Karnataka, Āḻvār temples can, for instance, be seen at Vijayanagara. See the discussion by Valerie Stoker, "Allies or Rivals? Vyāsatīrtha's Material, Social and Ritual Interactions with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas," in *Polemics and Patronage in the City of Victory: Vyāsatīrtha, Hindu Sectarianism, and the Sixteenth-Century Vijayanagara Court* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016): 76 and map 5.

585 Singh has commented on this (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 81).

586 For further details refer to Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 7.

Fisher prompts us to remember that Hinduism is characterised by an enormous internal diversity of sectarian pluralism and that we are not dealing with an original unity, called "Hinduism," which was later fragmented. Instead, we are confronted with a complex structure of religions which were formerly distinct, and which over time merged to a certain extent to create something that we now call Hinduism, which is still very varied, and which today divides mainly into Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava groups.[587] In Karnataka, during this time of conflict and challenge, in the twelfth century in particular, both these sects were competing as to who could exercise the greatest influence.[588] Statistics on temples established in northern Karnataka during the active building period of the tenth to the thirteenth century indicate that Śaiva shrines were predominant, followed by those of Jainas and only then of Vaiṣṇavas.[589] This suggests that, although they were present at this stage, the Vaiṣṇavas represented the smallest faction in this struggle between religious groups for supremacy.

In the south of the State during the later medieval period, the Vaiṣṇavas who became dominant tended to be followers of the *bhakti* form of Vaiṣṇavism, which had entered Karnataka from Tamil Nadu. This *bhakti* form of the religion is commonly known as Śrīvaiṣṇavism, or alternatively as the Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Rāmānuja.[590] The latter name refers to the eleventh-century saint Rāmānuja or Rāmānujācārya (c. 1017–1137 CE),[591] who, fleeing the persecution of Kulōttuṅga Coḷa, took up refuge in Karnataka and received royal patronage from the mainly Jaina Hoysaḷa rulers.[592] His teachings were very influential and large parts of the population converted, at least in the Hoysaḷa domain.[593] However, it has been pointed out that due to his origin in Tamil Nadu, Rāmānuja would have taught in Tamil (Tamiḻ), which represented a certain language impediment.[594] Despite this, the influential Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana (c. 1104–1141 CE),

587 See Fisher, "Hindu Sectarianism": 31.

588 Singh characterises both Vīraśaivas and Vaiṣṇava reform movements as real threats to Jainism in Karnataka at this time (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 6).

589 Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 194 has written on this.

590 Refer to *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx.

591 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 114, Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukhas of the Śakti-Pariṣad": 97, and Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 6. Although a lifespan of 120 years is probably unlikely, these are the dates usually cited for Rāmānuja.

592 On this refer to *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 55. This appears to be a reference to Kulōttuṅga I (1070–1122 CE) (Hudson "Violent and Fanatic Devotion": 374).

593 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 55, 57.

594 Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 55, and Pinto in this volume have written on this issue of language. With its origins in Tamil Nadu, Śrīvaiṣṇavism has largely remained confined to Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (Dutta, "Texts, Tradition and Community Identity": 23).

initially a Jaina, was amongst these early converts. After adopting Śrīvaiṣṇavism, in about 1116 CE, under the influence of Rāmānuja, the king called himself Biṭṭideva, Biṭṭiga Deva or Biṭṭi of Dvārasamudra.[595] Pius F. Pinto in Chapter 2 explains that "*biṭṭi*" is a variant of Viṭṭhala, one of the names of Viṣṇu.[596] The strong anti-Jaina attitudes dominating during this period are reflected in a number of sayings compiled in literary texts.[597] Despite his own conversion, Viṣṇuvardhana's principal wife, Śāntalā Devī,[598] and many of his highest officials of state and military employees remained Jainas,[599] reflecting his tolerance towards other religions. It appears that Jainas who owned land and were active in agricultural activities were the most likely to convert to Śrīvaiṣṇavism.[600] The rate of conversions seems to have increased particularly after the twelfth century,[601] with mass conversions of Jainas to Śrīvaiṣṇavism, often also under intimidation.

Like the various Śaiva groups discussed above, Śrīvaiṣṇavism is also a sect with a certain duality in its tradition. It has likewise seen a constant dialogue between two strands of the religion: in this case, a majority Sanskritik and a more regional or local—in this case, at least initially, Tamil—form. Dutta describes a schism of Śrīvaiṣṇavism into the northern and more Sanskritik Vaṭakalai group, with its seat in Kanchipuram (Kāñcī, Kāñcīpuram), Tamil Nadu, and the southern and more regional Tamil Teṅkalai group, with Srirangam (Śrīraṅgam, Śrīraṅkam), also in Tamil Nadu, as its headquarters. The latter group is less *brāhmaṇised* and has some non-*brāhmaṇical* followers.[602]

595 On this, refer to Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 218. According to Saletore, eight highly gifted Jaina generals served under King Viṣṇuvardhana (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 114).

596 In Karnataka and Maharashtra, Viṭṭhala is also known as Viṭhōbā. On this, see also Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 8.

597 For examples, see Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 68.

598 Queen Śāntalā Devī is known as a great benefactor, making grants and supporting the construction of *basadi*s, for instance, at Shravanabelgola. For examples, see Chapter 5 on Jaina temple architecture.

599 Probably best known is his general Gaṅgarāya, a generous patron of Jaina religious sites. See Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 43. On the Jaina support of Biṭṭideva's associates, see William Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa* (Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1950): 109.

600 On this, see Zydenbos (Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175, 177), who on the latter page also states that these agrarian converts today largely belong to the group of the Gauḍas. This will, for instance, be discussed in Chapter 5 with regards to the village of Markuli (ancient Manikala) in Karnataka. According to Misra, the Jaina converts to Vaiṣṇavism of the Wynad or Wayanad (Vayanāṭ) area of Kerala are today referred to as "Namadhari Gowdas" (Gauḍas). Allegedly, many re-converted to Jainism in recent times (Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 8). The State of Kerala is locally spelled Kēraḷam.

601 Compare Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 195.

602 Refer to Dutta, "Texts, Tradition and Community Identity": 22–23. According to Lester, these groups are further fragmented into smaller subgroups, such as the Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas which also exist in Karnataka. Lester argued that this group held authority and control in many temples between the eleventh and the sixteenth century (C. Robert Lester, "The Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 1 [1994]: 39).

Narasimha Murthy is unusual in doubting that Śrīvaiṣṇavas would have harmed the Jainas. However, he admits that they would have wanted to subjugate Jainism as a rival creed.[603] However, there are references from the fourteenth century to the persecution of Jainas at the hand of Vaiṣṇavas from the Jaina centre of Kalya in the area of Bangalore.[604] Although less easy to prove today, it seems that many former Jaina temples were converted to Vaiṣṇavism. Two examples for which we have evidence are the former Jaina *basadi*s at Naregal in Gadag district, and Guttal in Haveri district, which were converted under Biṭṭideva.[605] Today, both are Śaiva temples, with *liṅga*s in their main sanctums, indicating another conversion. It is interesting that in the shrine at Naregal, images of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, the two other main male Hindu gods, are also venerated in the same structure.[606] Hegde shows that this was a common occurrence when Vaiṣṇava cults were absorbed by Śaivas.[607]

Whilst Rāmānuja had established his first religious headquarters and *maṭha*s at Melkote (Mēlkōṭe) in Hassan District, Śrīvaiṣṇavism enjoyed particular influence at the Hindu court of Vijayanagara during the sixteenth century (Plate 1.37).[608] Although Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Vīraśaivas fought for superiority in the region, especially against the Jainas, we also find references to mediation between the religions. Fascinating in this context is the inscription recording the reconciliation which Bukka Rāya I achieved in 1398 CE between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, after the latter had maltreated the Jainas.[609] Pius F. Pinto reminds us that Jaina temples and sacred icons were destroyed and converted by Śrīvaiṣṇavas as well,[610] despite the mediation

603 See Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 55–57.

604 Compare Nagarajaiah, "Attacks on Important Buddhist and Jaina Centres": 55.

605 Slightly problematic is the dating provided on a board at the temple at Guttal, as this provides a date of 1207 CE for the temple, which would actually be after Biṭṭideva.

606 The temple has an underground passage about half a kilometre long, leading to Vireshvara Tirtha (Vīreśvara Tīrtha), today a small Śiva temple. Such underground passages are also known from other Jaina *basadi*s, especially in Rajasthan. See Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 44. These underground passages served as escape routes during times of siege to bring treasured icons to safe locations. Both temples in Karnataka were allegedly converted to Vaiṣṇavism by the architect Jaganāth Chāri.

607 Refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 200, and the discussion earlier in this chapter in the section discussing the Kāḷāmukhas.

608 On Melkote refer to Misra, "The Jains in an Urban Setting": 7 and for further information on the faiths at Vijayanagara, see Stoker, "Allies or Rivals?": 73, 74.

609 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 288–89, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: lxxx, 285–86, inscription No. 475, and Jagadeesh Kivudanavar, "Jaina Generals in Vijayanagara Court," *Jain Journal* 35, no. 1 (2000): 23. Pinto also discusses this in more detail in his chapter. See also Stoker, "Allies or Rivals?": 75.

610 See Chapter 2 by Pinto in which he bases his argument on a publication in Kannada language by M. Chidananda Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskrtika Adhyayana 450 A.D.–1150 A.D.* (Bangalore: Sapna Book House, 2002): 235–37. On this issue, see also Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 289, 292.



Plate 1.37: After Rāmānuja's early headquarters at Melkote (above), Śrīvaiṣṇavism prospered particularly well at the Hindu court of Vijayanagara during the sixteenth century (below).

and reconciliation that took place in this instance, and the fact that Vīraśaiva assaults appear to have been more prominent.[611]

Vaiṣṇavism and its special south Indian *bhakti* form of Śrīvaiṣṇavism threatened the position of the Jainas in Karnataka to a certain extent. Just like the various Śaiva sects and Jaina groups, however, they fragmented into a number of schools,[612] which partially weakened their position. Although we have clear evidence of Vaiṣṇava conversions of Jaina sacred places, these do not seem to amount to a massive number. We can say, then, that the Jainas were under threat from both Vaiṣṇavas and Vīraśaivas at this time, with the Vīraśaivas posing the greatest risk.

5.5 Islam

So far, we have focused on *brāhmaṇical* religions—or those such as the Vīraśaivas and certain heterodox Śaiva groups which find at least their origins in Hindu practices—as competition for the Jainas. However, to a lesser extent, Muslim groups from the north also infiltrated Karnataka from the late thirteenth century onwards. Islamic culture in the Deccan region has often wrongly been regarded as lying somewhat on the periphery of the Islamic world.[613] Especially in the northern districts of Bidar and Gulbarga, but also in those of Bijapur, Raichur, Bellary and Dharwad, Islamic traditions became more firmly established as Islam spread and took root in the south of India.[614] This southwards expansion of Islam contributed also to a decrease in influence of Jainism in the region. The once thriving Jaina communities of northern Karnataka, in particular, were forced to retreat to the coastal region and the southern parts of the State.[615]

However, we always have to remember, as is emphasised by Julia Lauer and Sabine Scholz in Chapter 6 in this publication, that Muslims were present in Karnataka from a much earlier date, at least from the eighth century CE onwards, and that the

611 Dibbad actually treats them as equally detrimental to the Jainas (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69), which, however, does not reflect our understanding in the research group.
612 Compare Dutta, "Texts, Tradition and Community Identity": 22–23.
613 Assayag has commented on this (Jackie Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers: Muslims and Hindus in South India* [New Delhi: Manohar, 2004]: 35).
614 Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 33, Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69, and Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 30–34, have, for instance, written on this subject. At least today, Muslims are also attracted to larger cities and urban centres, such as Bangalore (Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 34).
615 Compare Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 44.

reasons for their original link to India were primarily commercial.[616] Initially, these were largely Arab or Persian merchants, referred to either by the general name "*maraikkayar*" (*marakkar* or *marrikars*, meaning "boatsmen") or in Karnataka more specifically as the Navayat community, who were involved in maritime trade.[617] These two groups of Muslims can be identified with the two strains of Islam which are primarily found in South Asia, the mercantile Sunnī, who were stronger in the south, and the more military Shīʿa, who had more of a presence in the north.[618] Whatever their reasons for venturing into Indian territory and finally settling there, the two groups eventually mingled on the Deccan plateau in Karnataka.

When we examine the territory of the State of Karnataka today, we have to bear in mind that, while some sections formerly belonged—at least for a time—to other political entities, certain surrounding regions were earlier part of this area. Pius F. Pinto in his chapter reminds us that the precise limitations of the region which in ancient times was occupied by the Kannada-speaking people are not entirely clear. As he shows, however, there are signs that it extended in the north from Aurangabad (Auraṅgābād) to the Nilgiri hills in the south and in the east from Anantapur (Anantapuraṁ) and Kurnool (Karnūlu) to the west coast of India.[619] At the time of independence in 1947, substantial areas of the Kannada region belonged to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and the princely State of Hyderabad (Haidarābād). The modern Karnataka State was created as part of the linguistic reorganisation of Indian States in October 1956. In addition to the original princely State of Mysore (Maisūru), it included the districts of Bellary, South Kanara and sections of the State of Madras. Furthermore, it contained parts of the States of Bombay, Dharwar, North Kanara, Belgaum and Bijapur, and from the States of Hyderabad, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar, as well as Coorg.[620] Originally known as the State of Mysore, it was renamed "Karnataka" in 1973. Many of these northern sections which today form part of Karnataka had come under Muslim control in the sixteenth century.[621]

616 On this dating, refer also to Kamta Prasad Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule," *New Indian Antiquary* 1 (1938–1939): 516.

617 See Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 36–37.

618 This has been suggested by Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 36, 38.

619 Pinto, in this volume, grounds his information on Aravind Malagatti, ed., *Kannada Vishaya Vishwakosha – Karnataka*, vol. 1 (Mysore: University of Mysore Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies, 2005): 455. Desai has also written on the problem of delineating the area of influence of Jainism in Karnataka (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 96).

620 North Kanara is also known as Uttara Kannaḍa.

621 On the issue of changing State boundaries, see also Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage": 1. Pinto states that after 1565, Muslims and Portuguese occupied areas which had formerly been part of Jaina kingdoms.

Muslim invasions in the modern-day area of Karnataka adversely affected Hindu groups as well as the Jainas.[622] From the last quarter of the thirteenth century onwards, we find both inscriptions and local traditions referring to the desecration of Jaina icons and the destruction of *basadi*s by Muslims.[623] In 1311, for instance, Sultān 'Alau'd-Dīn Khiljī of Delhi (r. 1296–1316 CE) and his general Malik Kafur[624] invaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom and took over their capital city at Dvarasamudra (Dvārasamudra), today's Halebid (Halebīd, Haḷēbīḍ, Haḷebīḍu, Haḷeyabīḍu).[625] Other sites in Karnataka, too, record attacks by Malik Kafur.[626] Nonetheless, this does not appear to have been a period of widespread destruction. By this time, as we have seen, Jainism and its temples had already suffered severe damage at the hands of other indigenous faith groups. This interpretation is challenged by Narasimha Murthy, whose approach is in line with that currently propagated by a certain strand in Indian national politics.[627] In his opinion, the Muslims aimed to enslave the people of the region, overwhelming the originally indigenous religions; they "broke the back of Jainism."[628] At this distance, it is of course difficult to establish the facts with absolute certainty. As Laidlaw, however, emphasises with regards to confrontations between Jainas and Muslims in North India, "Long and often bitter episodes of hostility between Jains and especially Śaiva Hindus, although recorded in medieval Jain literature, are largely ignored today."[629] Nowadays in India, when there is no clarity about who ransacked a site, it is often the Muslims who are blamed. In some instances, however, we have inscriptions, testifying to such deeds, as at Mulgund (Muḷgund), where a sixteenth-century inscription narrates the destruction of the Pārśvanātha Temple by Muslims and the

622 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 55.

623 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 287. See also Desai on two seventeenth-century records from Abalur, recording Muslim assaults on Jaina temples (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148). On this issue, refer also to Chapter 6 by Lauer and Scholz in this volume. It appears that when statues were targeted, it was primarily the faces and heads which were removed. For further details and examples, refer to section 5.1.1 "The Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues" in Chapter 5 in this volume.

624 Malik Kafur, who died in 1316 CE, is alternatively known as Raj al-Din Izz al-Dawla. He was an important general during the Slave Dynasty of the Delhi sultanate.

625 Krishna Murthy has written on this subject (Krishna Murthy, "Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 114).

626 See, for instance, section 5.1.2 "Destruction, Demolition and Reconstruction of Temple Edifices" in Chapter 5 in this volume.

627 This approach has been criticised as a misrepresentation of Muslim actions by Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 518 and Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*.

628 Refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 57.

629 This quote comes from James Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy, and Society among the Jains*, Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 105.

killing of a local *ācārya*.[630] For this and other case studies, refer to Chapter 5 on the material record in Karnataka.

It is noteworthy that besides outright destructions, there were other forms of affecting Jaina art. The largely iconoclastic approach of Muslims to Jaina figural icons seems to have influenced them to further develop aniconic ways of representing their saintly teachers, such as in the form of *pādukā*s.[631] Eaton, on the other hand, questions whether Muslims applied iconoclasm in their campaigns in India at all.[632] However, the visual record does not tell this story either. In Karnataka it is often difficult to identify precisely who damaged or destroyed statues or *basadi*s, but we need to use the available evidence to build up a nuanced picture. Some Muslim invaders clearly had iconoclastic tendencies. For instance, the material taken from Jaina temples and religious colleges, and re-used to build early mosques in Delhi and Ajmer, in the north of India, shows clear evidence of defaced icons and the removal of figural statues.[633] The Jaina temples on Mount Śatruñjaya, too, were evidently severely damaged and many were wholly destroyed by Turkish or Turko-Persian Islamic Ghurī (Ghorid) invaders.[634] Dundas makes an interesting point about how the Jainas related to this obliteration, quoting a Jain observation that "such occurrences are to be expected in the irreligious Kali Yuga," a reference to the present age of the world cycle of *yuga*s, or "ages."[635] This again shows the typical tendency of Jainas to downplay negative events in the past and to understand

630 For the inscription refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148, P.B. Desai, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions vol. II* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964): 433, inscription no. 695, and K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 365.

631 On this, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Domes, Tombs and Minarets: Islamic Influences on Jaina Architecture," in *The Temple in South Asia*, ed. Adam Hardy (London: British Association for South Asian Studies and the British Academy, 2007): 183, 188, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints (*Pādukā*s): Multivariate Symbols in Jaina Religious Practice in India," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 7 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 411–13. Deo mentions also that Muslims led were indirectly responsible for the emergence of non-image-worshipping Jaina groups, such as the Sthānakvāsīs (Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism: 34).

632 Compare Richard M. Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000): 255, 270.

633 On this, refer to Robert Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmīr," *Iran* 26 (1988): 105–17, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty," in *'Das alles hier' Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrike Niklas, Heinz Werner Wessler, Peter Wyzlic und Stefan Zimmer (Heidelberg: Xasia eBooks, 2021): 151–74.

634 Dundas, for instance, has written on this (Dundas, *The Jains*: 125). On this branch of Islam, refer also to Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 36.

635 For this quote, refer to Dundas, *The Jains*: 125. In the Kali Yuga, enlightenment cannot be attained by mankind. On the concept of the Kali Yuga, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Golden Age or *Kali-Yuga*?: The Changing Fortunes of Jaina Art and Identity in Karnataka," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age:*

them from within their religious world view. Instead of lamenting, the medieval Jainas got on with reconstructing their shrines. The legend of Nākoḍā Bhairava in Rajasthan, for instance, tells of the saving of an image from the destruction of a temple in Gujarat.[636]

Let us briefly examine the development of an Islamic presence in southern India. The first independent Muslim kingdom in the south was the Baḥmanid Sultanate (1347–1527 CE), established by the Turkish governor 'Alau'd-Dīn Baḥman Shāh in 1347 CE.[637] Its earlier capital at Gulbarga was for tactical reasons shifted to Bidar (Bīdar) in 1425 CE. As a result of rivalry within Muslim society and aristocracy at the time, the Baḥmanid Sultanate broke up quite quickly.[638] After its collapse, five independent kingdoms arose as the Deccan Sultanates.[639] Of particular significance for the region of Karnataka were, in particular, the Adil Shāhis of Bijapur and the Barid Shāhis of Bidar. The small Bīdar Sultanate was absorbed by the Bījāpur Sultanate in 1619 CE. Under the Adil Shāhi dynasty, the capital of Bijapur developed into a substantial and cosmopolitan city, which attracted scholars and Sufis from the north of India and from as far afield as Iran, Iraq and Turkey. The Adil Shāhis, however, also mounted invasions and are believed to have destroyed large numbers of temples throughout Karnataka.

From the fourteenth until the end of the seventeenth century, various Sufi orders thrived in Bijapur and throughout the sultanate. Julia Lauer and Sabine Scholz in this publication stress the importance of the Sufi saints in establishing and legitimising Muslim rule in the Deccan. Many Sufi sites and *dargah*s are also visited by non-Sufis.[640] The relatively long and stable rule of the sultanate came to an end in 1686 CE, when the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (Ālamgīr) took over Bijapur. The south of Karnataka was less affected by Islamic rule, although the region around Mysore was controlled in the eighteenth century by first Haider Alī and then his son Tipu Sultān. In 1799, the British overpowered Tipu in the battle of Shrirangapatna (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa). This ended Islamic rule in Karnataka.

Although Muslims evidently did attack Hindu and Jaina temples and destroy sacred sites, the attacks on the Jainas appear not to have been as severe as modern-day his-

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Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014): 322, 338–42.

636 Laidlaw has written on this (Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation*: 72).

637 According to Assayag, the Dynasty of the Baḥmanis were established by Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq (Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 38).

638 Lauer and Scholz have written on this in Chapter 6 in this volume.

639 These were the kingdoms of Bidar, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Khandesh (Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*: 39).

640 Sara Mondini has spoken on joint pilgrimages carried out by Muslims and Vīraśaivas to Islamic *dargah*s on 17 November 2021 as part of a digital lecture series entitled "Religious Traditions of India," organised by the University of Ghent, Belgium. Unfortunately, the lecture was not recorded.

torians would often have us believe. Leslie, under the subsection "The fabled tolerance of the Hindus,"[641] has discussed this issue also with reference to the works of Girish Karnad and Romila Thapar, who both rebut the nowadays

> surprisingly popular notion that Hindus are inherently tolerant of other faiths. Despite recent events at Ayodhya, this image of the 'tolerant Hindu' is still widely entertained, often in opposition to that of the 'intolerant Muslim.' In the contemporary context of communal violence, it is particularly important that this idea of the beleaguered Hindu defending himself against Muslim aggression is recognized for what it is: self-serving propaganda. This is Karnad's point.[642]

Two oft-cited encounters from this time suggest that amicable relations existed between southern Digambara Jainas and at least Muslims from the north. We hear of the northern Digambara Jainas calling the saint Ācārya Mahāsena from the south to Delhi, to represent the Jaina faith in discussions about religion with the emperor 'Alau'd-Dīn Khiljī (ruled 1296–1316 CE).[643] Likewise, the south Indian Jaina teacher Simhakīrti is reported as being present at the court of *sultān*s in Delhi, where he appears to have impressed Sultān Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq (c. 1300–1351 CE) with his debating skills. Although no precise date is available, Saletore places this event between 1326 and 1337 CE.[644] During the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, Jaina ascetics were also regularly invited by Akbar for religious exchanges and cross-cultural debates.[645] In addition, there are a number of accounts, again, predominantly from the north of the country, of Mughal rulers supporting Jaina monks, prohibiting animal slaughter close to sacred Jaina sites as a sign of respect for the strictly vegetarian Jainas and exempting pilgrimage centres from taxes.[646]

Sabine Scholz in her individual chapter discusses forced conversions of Jainas to Islam. Some conversions, however, appear to have been voluntary, especially on the part of those considered lower caste individuals and communities. In this context, Julia Lauer und Sabine Scholz argue in their joint chapter in this publication that Jai-

641 This can be found in Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 257.

642 This quote has been taken from Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 257. Refer also to Romila Thapar, *Cultural Transactions in Early India: Tradition and Patronage* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987): 15, and Paul Dundas, "Jain Perceptions of Islam in the Early Modern Period," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 42 (1999): 35–46. The play, *Taledaṇḍa* by Girish Karnad from 1990 and its English version from 1993, entitled *Talé-Daṇḍa: A Play*, have been briefly discussed in section 5.3.3, "Persecution of the Jainas and Economic Conflict with the Vīraśaivas."

643 Jain has written on this encounter (Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 517).

644 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 370–71 and Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 518.

645 On this subject, refer, for instance, to Dundas, *The Jains*: 125, and Truschke, "Dangerous Debates." For further information on positive relations between Muslims and Jainas, refer to Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule."

646 Deo and Granoff have written on these subjects (Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 34; Granoff, "Being in the Minority": 241).

nas were drawn predominantly to the Sufi form of Islam, which was prominent in northern Karnataka by the start of the fourteenth century the latest.[647] Concrete evidence for later conversions from Jainism to Islam can be found in colonial publications, which list the original faith of Muslim communities in Karnataka.[648]

By the fifteenth century, Islamic sultanates, such as those of Bijapur and Bidar, had established themselves in the Deccan region, in the northern areas of Karnataka. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that, at the time when Muslims gained control over the northern parts of Karnataka, the Jainas had already lost most of their authority and influence in the region. As such, Muslim control appears not to have been highly influential in the deterioration of Jainism in Karnataka. However, one aspect of Jaina custom on which Muslim rule had an adverse impact, as explored by Sabine Scholz, was the practice of the south Indian Digambara Jainas ascetics walking naked. In areas of Muslim domination in the south, the tradition of the nude wandering teachers, the *muni*s, steeply declined.[649] As Muslims objected so strongly to the nakedness of Jaina monks, one allegedly used a piece of cloth to cover his nudity when visiting the wife of Fīrūz Śāha Ṭughlāq. According to Jain, this might have become popular with others, thus initiating the practice at least of *bhaṭṭāraka*s wearing clothes.[650] Allegedly, the Mughal emperor Bābur was so appalled even by the nakedness of the tall standing stone statues, carved out of the rock below the fort at Gwalior (Gvāliyar) in Madhya Pradesh, that he ordered to have their genitals be removed.[651] Jaina icons of standing saints in Karnataka have frequently suffered this mutilation too.

By itself, the impact of Muslim destruction might not have been so lethal. However, there had also been the effect of the powerful Vīraśaiva movement, which like the Muslims, was also dominant in northern Karnataka. There is no doubt that the two groups jointly had a devastating impact on the Jainas, especially in the north of the State. For this reason, Jainism still remains more prevalent and vibrant in the south and west of the area of Karnataka. For contemporary relations between Jainas and Muslims—now both minority religions in a Hindu-dominated India—refer to Chapter 6 by Julia Lauer and Sabine Scholz.

647 Although Sufism might have come to Karnataka as early as the seventh century CE through Arab traders reaching the west coast, the earliest mention of a Sufi saint in Karnataka dates from 1301 CE and makes reference to Gulbargah (Sufism in Karnataka, https://aalequtub.com/2018/11/28/sufisim-in-karnataka/ [accessed 25.07.2023]).

648 Lauer und Scholz in this publication refer to the *Bijapur Gazetteer*, first published in 1884 (James M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 23, *Bijapur* [Bangalore: Government of Karnataka, 2001 (1884)]: 282, 289).

649 In particular, refer to the chapter by Scholz "The Digambara Jainas," special attention should be paid to pp. 60–261. Refer also to Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 517.

650 Compare Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 518–19.

651 On this, refer to Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation*: 104. However, according to Jain, Bābur also had conciliatory feelings towards other religions (Jain, "Jainism under the Muslim Rule": 516).

5.6 Rationales for the Popularity of Alternative Religions: *Bhakti* and Tantra?

As there were so many very different religions all competing for influence and adherents in the region of Karnataka at the same time, it is difficult to pinpoint the factors which would have led Jainas to convert to other faiths. What is noticeable, however, is that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Jainism was on the decline, many of the faith groups which were expanding vigorously featured the *bhakti* movement and Tantrism.

The wide appeal of the *bhakti* movement, whether in the form of Vīraśaivism or Śrīvaiṣṇavism, towards the latter part of the Middle Ages, is very striking. Originating in Tamil Nadu, in the very south of the country, in about the sixth or seventh century CE, the *bhakti* movement swept over Karnataka during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[652] From there, it spread to northern India, where it flourished mainly from the fifteenth century onwards. An important aspect of the *bhakti* path was no doubt its openness to all, regardless of birth or gender, with its advocacy for social change. Initially, of course, Jainism had offered a similar path to its followers. However, with large numbers of converts from Hinduism during the fourth and fifth centuries CE, castes were firmly accepted into Jaina practice from about the eighth century CE, and this and other changes fundamentally altered the structure of Jainism at this time in Karnataka.

It is typical for *bhakti* movements to preach against the discriminatory caste system and employ the local vernacular to reach ordinary people in particular. Perhaps in reaction against the enlarged ritual practices of many Hindu groups and also of the Jainas from about the tenth century CE onwards, the *bhakti* path expressed a person's personal devotion and love for one or more divine principles or deities, often in the form of a personal god (*iṣṭadevatā*). As such, it offered a simpler option, which appears to have appealed to many at this time. In addition, the emancipation of followers from large temple establishments and expensive rituals conducted on their behalf by priests was a significant element of *bhakti* movements, creating a tradition of wandering devotees and mendicants (*jaṅgama*s), who had become one with the divinity, so that their bodies in effect became temples, making expensive religious buildings superfluous.[653] In focusing on *bhakti*, we should also remember that Sufism is a *bhakti* form of Islam and that it was this form in particular which allowed the faith to

652 Suresh mentions *bhakti* activities in Karnataka as early as the seventh or eighth century CE (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments": 183). However, they appear to have become instrumental only from the tenth to the twelfth century onwards.

653 On this, refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 197.

spread throughout the region at this time, further increasing the importance of *bhakti* and its practitioners, the Bhaktas.

It is striking how many of the elements noted above as presenting positive reasons to convert away from Jainism were originally at the very core of the teachings of the Jinas. Intriguingly, the changes to Jainism which we have traced above seem to have been intended to attract and retain new converts; during the early centuries CE they were by and large successful. As we have seen, however, there were some who found these changes alienating. It should also be pointed out that the veneration of living and deceased teachers has always formed part of Jaina ritual practice, so that Jainism offers its own devotional, *bhakti* path. As such, *bhakti* alone cannot have been the sole incentive for conversions.

Tantric traditions also flourished extensively throughout the region of Karnataka at this time, influencing and being taken up by various Hindu and Buddhist groups, as well as by Jainas, as has been outlined above. From the seventh century CE we find obvious Tantric elements in the Jaina religion; by the eighth to tenth century CE, these had really changed Jaina practices in a more substantial way, especially in terms of the veneration of goddesses. Admittedly, the Tantric fascination with spells, magical diagrams and other ritual means, which were believed to shorten the long and hard path to salvation, made fewer demands on the believer than the ascetic practices propagated by Jainism. By the tenth century, however, as we have seen, the Jainas themselves had integrated or accentuated so many Tantric elements into mainstream rituality that there would seem to have been small incentive for Jainas to convert to another Tantric religion on ritualistic grounds.

This seems to indicate that we are not dealing predominantly with religious issues here, or at least not exclusively. The influence of any of the Indian religions under discussion here, seems to have been intimately linked with the financial donations made to its representatives and institutions, in particular by traders, merchants,[654] and officials based in cities. At first, it was the Jainas who benefited from this support. Over the centuries, however, the Vīraśaivas supplanted them. Many people seem to have turned to Vīraśaivism in reaction against the enormous accumulation of wealth by Jaina *basadi*s and *maṭha*s and the increase in ritual activities, perceived even by many Jainas as disproportionate.[655] Śaivism in particular, which appears to have adapted more flexibly to contemporary changes in social stratigraphy, managed to ap-

654 Especially influential and successful were the oil millers, who were one of the most prominent groups in these large urban centres. Oil was the standard article of donation to temples in the region (Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 196).

655 Particularly striking or important amongst the reasons for conversion were the role of commerce, which was first dominated by the Jainas and subsequently by the Vīraśaivas, and the fact that the followers of Basava rejected the caste system and offered a free choice of profession to all.

peal to the expanding rural groups of society, while at the same time developing urban ones.[656] In contrast to the Jaina developments starting in about the tenth century CE, the Vīraśaivas, for instance, at least initially rejected religious establishments, temples and elaborate rituals.

During the early centuries of the common era, then, converts to Jainism contributed to changes in its social structure, and Jainism adapted to devotional *bhakti* cults and Tantric influences. However, from the eleventh and twelfth century onwards, Jainas themselves converted increasingly often to other faiths with which they came into contact. It is possible that these appeared more devotional or offered a simpler path to salvation. The emergence at this period of non-image-worshipping groups, such as the Jaina Sthānakvāsī, which offered a more reduced ritual in a Jaina context, could be understood in this sense.[657] However, as we have noted, religious affiliations were not such a personal matter as they are today. Several different questions seem to have influenced a change of religious allegiance: did a religion discriminate on the basis of caste? Which religion was favoured by the local landowner? Would conversion bring an increase in trading profit? The evidence suggests that such societal, socio-political and economic factors played an important part in people's decisions to convert away from Jainism.

6 Similar Situations in Bordering Regions and for Other Non-Vedic Cults

This study focuses on the area more or less coterminous with the modern State of Karnataka. However, as has been pointed out before, State boundaries changed repeatedly in the past; additionally, some areas no longer within the limits of Karnataka today were formerly part of the Kannada *deśa*, the land of Karnataka. Furthermore, the complex situation of intense religious and political rivalry outlined in this publication had an adverse effect upon more groups than the Jainas in this region of South India, impacting bordering lands and other religious cults as well. We have focused on Jainism here because of the extreme changes in its fortunes: after its exceptional flourishing in the area of modern-day Karnataka, its sharp decline in influence was felt most harshly. For comparison, however, we shall now look briefly at circumstances in the neighbouring regions of Tamil Nadu and the modern States of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, which were formerly combined in one, and at the situation with regards to Buddhism, the other major non-Vedic, *śramaṇa* religious cult in the region.

656 On this, refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 195.

657 According to Jaini, the development of Jaina non-image-worshipping groups, such as the Sthānakvāsī, represents an "anti-temple" reaction (Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 84).

6.1 The Rise and Fall of Jainism in South India

While Jaina scholars in Karnataka frequently argue for an initial dispersion of Jainism throughout South India from centres in Karnataka, such as Shravanabelgola, it appears more likely that the faith was transmitted along the east coast of India, through Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, from where it spread to Tamil Nadu. On this basis, Jainism would have reached Karnataka from Tamil Nadu,[658] the State which is home to the earliest surviving Jaina sites in south India.[659]

6.1.1 The Situation in Tamil Nadu

Jainism probably reached Tamil Nadu[660] during the fourth century BCE or even earlier.[661] Buddhism appears to have arrived slightly later, in about the third century BCE.[662] The Digambara Jaina *ācārya*s Samantabhadra (Sāmantabhadra), Akalaṅka, Kanakasēna and Guṇanandi are thought to have been especially influential in the dissemination of Jainism throughout Tamil Nadu.[663] Samantabhadra is believed to have lived during the early second century CE and his disciple Guṇanandi in the latter part of the century.[664] Samantabhadra is said to have brought Jainism to Karnataka from Kanchipuram, also known as Jina Kāñcī, in Tamil Nadu.[665] In another account, Jainism was brought to Karnataka by the Jaina saint Vajranandī from Madurai, which definitely developed later into a major centre of Jainism, whatever the status of the Vajranandī story.[666] Inscriptions and literary works indicate that many Pallava and Pāṇḍya kings converted to Jainism and that the faith was popular during the fifth and

658 This has been discussed already in section 2.1 in this chapter. On the difference in view, refer, for instance, to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 217, who argues for an arrival of Jainism in Karnataka and a transmission from there. In contrast, Desai is more inclined to follow the theory describing a migratory route of Jainism through Andhra Pradesh into Tamil Nadu (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 25) and a dispersal from there into Karnataka, which I find more convincing.

659 Refer, for instance, to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 475–78.

660 This State is locally spelled Tamiḻ Nāṭu.

661 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 26, and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 476.

662 On this, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 30. Other authors refer to the presence of Jainism and Buddhism in Tamil Nadu from at least the second century BCE (Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 214).

663 For further information on these teachers, compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 224.

664 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 224–26.

665 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 229.

666 For additional information, see, for instance, Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 234–35, and Alvappillai Veluppillai, "The Hindu Confrontation with the Jaina and the Buddhist: Saint Tiruñānacampantar's Polemical Writing," in *The Problem of Ritual*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History, 1993): 335. According to Cort, Jainism bloomed in the area of Madurai between the second century BCE and the early centuries CE (Cort, "Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition": 83).

sixth centuries CE.[667] We even have contemporary references to the persecution of Śaivas by Jaina kings.[668] This point is important as it shows that religious violence has been committed by all faith groups in history. No single group is either the perpetual victim nor the sole perpetrator. At this time, many monarchs, although Hindus themselves, gave grants to Jaina establishments.[669]

There appears to have been close relations between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.[670] Despite this, we also have records of Coḷa (Cōḻa) incursions into the region of modern-day Karnataka in the early eleventh century. The Coḷa King Rājādhirāja Deva, who was apparently a fervent enemy of the Jainas, is recorded to have attacked King Someśvara Āhavamalla of the Western Cāḷukya Dynasty at Koppala (Koppaḷa; ancient Kopaṇa) and the Jaina temples there in about 1052 CE. This is recorded in the Annigeri stone inscription. Although the Coḷa king was killed in the battle, his brother, Rājendradeva, managed to defeat the Cāḷukyas and force them to retreat.[671] Nevertheless, a small number of records still indicate reasonably positive relations between the Jainas and Hindus in Tamil Nadu in the thirteenth century.[672] This indicates that, as in Karnataka, the decline of Jainism in Tamil Nadu was a gradual and spun-out process which did not happen suddenly in the seventh and eighth centuries CE, but dragged on until the twelfth or thirteenth century.[673] As we shall see, however, the Hindu revival and the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* movements, which affected Tamil Nadu during the seventh century CE, took their toll on the local Jainas.

In the Tamil region, the days of the flourishing and spread of the Jainas were also numbered.[674] Their most serious rivals were the sixty-three Tamil Śaiva saints, the Nāyaṇārs, who followed the doctrine of Śaiva Siddhānta, a Śaiva devotional *bhakti* movement which arose in the sixth century CE and flourished between the seventh

667 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 243, 246, 248, and Veluppillai, "The Hindu Confrontation": 336.

668 Stein writes about the Pallava King Mahendravarma I (late sixth century CE), who, when still a Jaina, is said to have maltreated Śaiva followers until he himself converted to this faith (Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 78).

669 For fruther information, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 284.

670 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 224, has written on this.

671 On this issue, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 194–95. As Saletore shows on page 196 of the same publication, despite this, Koppala remained a Jaina sacred place during the twelfth century and even into the fifteenth (p. 198) and sixteenth (p. 356) centuries.

672 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 243, 246, 248.

673 Davis shows that Jainism still played a relatively significant role in Tamil Nadu until the thirteenth century (Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 217).

674 The situation of the Jainas in Kerala and the whole of South India was also affected at this time. On this, see also Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 72, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 81.

and the tenth century CE.[675] They represented a severe and threatening competition to the Jainas especially during the seventh century CE. This is the period just after the enormous increase in popularity of the Jaina doctrine in Tamil Nadu, during the fifth and sixth centuries CE.[676] Despite some parallels in Śaiva Siddhānta and Jaina thought,[677] the Jainas posed a risk to the growing significance of the Śaiva Siddhāntins. This was a fight for power, social standing and patronage.[678] Amongst the Śaiva poet saints of the Nāyaṇārs who posed the greatest threat to the Jainas at this time was Tirujñāna Sambandhar, also known as Piḷḷe Nāyanār, Tirujñāna Sambandhar Mūrti Nāyanār or simply as Sambandhar, who successfully eradicated the Jainas from the region of Madurai in the seventh century CE.[679] Of similar ferocity was his contemporary Tirunāvukkarasar, alternatively also known as Vāgīśa or Dharmasena, who annihilated the Jainas in the area of the Pallava kingdom.[680] Desai also characterises the period of the seventh and eighth centuries CE as one of strong opposition against the Jainas in the Tamil Nadu.[681] This form of Śaiva Siddhānta was particularly active in the region until the tenth century CE but still survives today.

In addition to these Śaiva saints and their royal followers, we can track the influence of another *bhakti* movement, almost as destructive, the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, whose roots go back as early as the fifth century CE.[682] Their impact was strongest during the seventh and eighth centuries CE, when Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas fought against the non-Vedic Jainas and Buddhists.[683] Here, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas were temporarily connected in their opposition to the two main heterodox faith groups, but when the non-Vedic enemies were eradicated, or at least severely decimated, the two Hindu groups turned on each other, fighting for survival.[684] According to Veluppillai, the Hindu groups were harsher on the Jainas than on the Buddhists, as the nudity of the Jaina monks was an aspect which they considered particularly objectionable.[685] The reli-

675 On these, refer to Lorenzen "Śaivism: An Overview": 10, Hudson, "Violent and Fanatic Devotion": 373, and Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 117.

676 See Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 214.

677 These have been discussed by Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 220–21.

678 On this, consult Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 213–14.

679 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 273, 274, 278.

680 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 278.

681 Compare Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 81.

682 On the influence of the Śaiva Nāyaṇārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 272. On page 278, Saletore names the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumangai Āḻvār as particularly violent. On the persecution of the Jainas at the hands of Hindu groups in Tamil Nadu more generally, refer also to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 81–83, and to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215.

683 Refer to Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 80, and A. Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts and Conversion of Jaina Temples in Tamil Nadu," in *Rishabh Saurabh*, ed. Satya Dev Showdhari (Delhi: Rishabhdev Foundation, 1997): 136.

684 Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215, has written on this.

685 Compare Verluppillai, "The Hindu Confrontation": 345–47, 348–50. The problem of nudity has already been discussed in the context of Muslim Jaina relations in section 5.5 "Islam."

gious texts, hagiographical compositions and devotional songs of these two prominent Hindu *bhakti* groups express their unreserved disrespect, if not hatred, for Jainism.[686] Davis shows that this construction of "the other" (the Jainas), even if a misrepresentation, was an important way for these early *bhakti* cults to define themselves.[687]

There is evidence that these encounters with opposing Hindu groups in Tamil Nadu led to conversions of Jainas and of their *basadi*s, largely to Śaiva faiths.[688] We can trace the conversion of Jaina temples at Malayadikkuruchchi, Chitral (Tiruccāraṇattumalai), Narthamalai, Kalugumalai (Kaḷukumalai) and Nagercoil (Nākarkōvil) (Plate 1.38).[689]

Some Jaina sacred structures, however, were not converted but completely destroyed. The debris of some dismantled Jaina shrines was re-used for Hindu constructions, as can be seen in the material remains, and as is recorded in the twelfth-century *Periya Purāṇam* of Cēkkiḻār.[690] The *Periya Purāṇam* or "Great *Purāṇa(m)*" is the hagiographic epic narrating the life stories of the sixty-four Śaiva Nāyaṇārs.[691] It also recounts the story King Mahendravarma I, a seventh-century CE Pallava king from Kanchipuram and initially a follower of Jainism, who was converted to Śaivism by the poet-saint Appar ("father") or Tirunāvukkarasar ("king of the tongue" or "lord of language"). After his conversion, the monarch is said to have had the monastery of Tiruppatiripuliyur (Pātaliputra) close to Cuddalore (Kadalur, Kaṭalūr) destroyed and the building material used for a Śaiva temple at Tiruvatigai.[692] There are also ample inscriptional and literary references to the killing of Jaina believers and monks in Tamil Nadu at this time.[693]

Legend records that in the seventh century CE, after the Śaiva saint and composer of many devotional hymns, Tirujñāna Sambandhar (mentioned above) cured the Jaina King Kuṇḍpāṇḍya at Madurai of a severe disease, the monarch converted to Śaivism and allegedly killed about eight thousand Jainas who had been unable to restore him to health. Sambandhar himself, however, who was also accused of persecuting Jainas

686 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 279, Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 136–37, and Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 213.

687 Compare Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 220.

688 See Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 137, 143.

689 On these, refer to Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 140–43, Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 213, and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 195, 520. For instance, the temple at Tiruppugalur or Thirupugalur, originally dedicated to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, was called Vardhamāneśvara Śiva Temple after his conversion (Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 138).

690 Compare Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215.

691 Refer to Hudson, "Violent and Fanatic Devotion": 373.

692 See Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 138. On page 139 the author gives further examples of the destruction of Jaina *basadi*s without their debris being re-used. Refer also to Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 80, and Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215.

693 Refer to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 216.

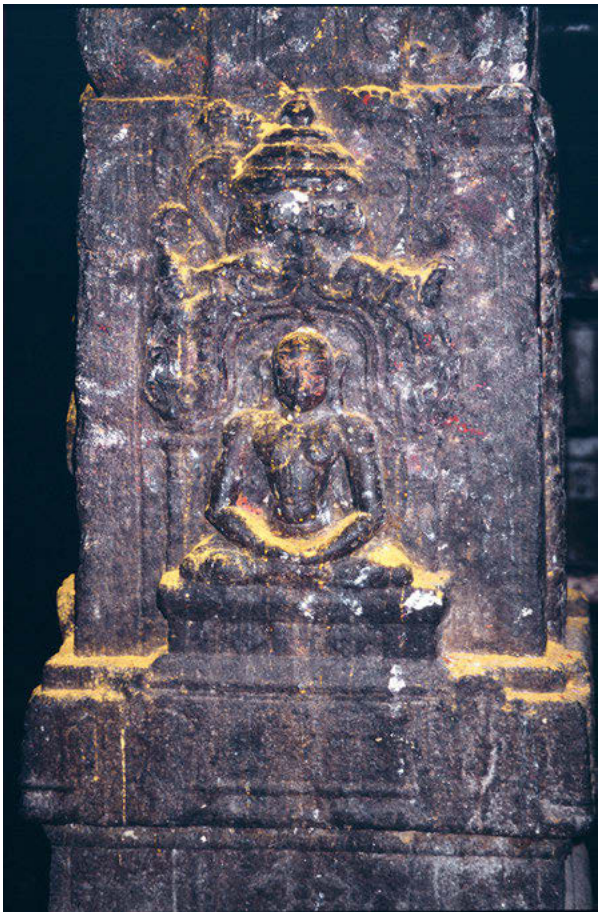


Plate 1.38: Surviving Jina statues carved onto the pillars of the Nāganātha Temple, an originally ninth to twelfth-century CE *basadi* at Nagercoil, indicate that it was converted from Jaina to Hindu usage.

at Punatagai near Tiruvottur (Thiruvottiyur),[694] was celebrated in an annual festival, staged at the Mīnākṣī Sundareśvara Temple in Madurai, commemorating his order to impale 8,000 Jaina heads.[695] There are also mural paintings depicting the persecution and impaling of Jainas at the hands of followers of Hindu reform movements under Tirujñāna Sambandhar in the Mīnākṣī Sundareśvara Temple at Madurai.[696] This all re-

694 On the stories relating to Sambandhar, refer to Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 137.
695 Compare Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 80. Hudson includes a representation of the impaled Jainas (in this case their entire bodies) in his study (Hudson, "Violent and Fanatic Devotion": 392, plate 43).
696 In the 1930s, these paintings, probably painted in the tenth or eleventh century, were still visible on the walls of the Golden Lily Tank and inside the temple (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 279). On the

flects a relative collapse of Jainism in Tamil Nadu and the wider area of South India, at least at the start of the Coḷa period.[697] Ekambaranathan refers to continued persecution of the Jainas in Tamil Nadu up to the fifteenth century.[698] However, we have to remember that although severely reduced in numbers, the Jainas did not die out in Tamil Nadu or the wider area of South India.

Ekambaranathan points out that—outside their literary writings—the Jainas took no revenge on Hindus or their temples at this time.[699] According to him, this shows the Jainas following the practice of *ahiṃsā*, not harming others. As we have seen, Jainas were certainly prepared to destroy temples and serve as high-ranking officers in various royal armies. However, they do not seem—as a religious group—to have fought back against the persecution of their members and the destruction of their sacred sites. This might have to do with their belief in *ahiṃsā* but is probably also linked to the fact that at this time, they were numerically too marginal a group to have the power to strike back.[700]

6.1.2 Jainas in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana

We have records indicating the presence of Jainism in the former Andhra Pradesh (Āndhra Deśa, Āndhra Dēśa), which since 2014 consists of a State with this name and of one referred to as Telangana (Telaṅgāṇa),[701] during pre-Mauryan or at least Mauryan times.[702] Whilst Desai and Jawaharlal argue that Jainism was introduced to

persecution of the Jainas at the hands of Śaiva Bhaktas at Katalur and Madurai, refer also to Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 213.

697 See Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains": 215–16.

698 Compare Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 139.

699 On this, refer to Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 137, 143.

700 In this context, Ekambaranathan also wrote: "The Jains resorting to conversions of Hindu temples is unheard in their religious history." (Ekambaranatham, "Religious Conflicts": 143). Actually, he gives examples for this himself on the next page of his publication and an example of such an instance has also been published by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change: A New Interpretation of the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, ed. P. Flügel, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies 1 (London: Routledge, 2006): 401–18. It seems to be important to Ekambaranathan, however, that no Hindu temple in use was forcibly removed by the Jainas and converted, with which I would probably agree.

701 Locally, these would be spelled Āndhra Deśa (Āndhra Dēśa) and Telaṅgāna. Here, we use the names as English words.

702 This is, for instance, attested to by a Jaina cave with an associated rock-inscription, dating from the third century BCE (Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 83).

the area as early as the sixth century BCE, in Mahāvīra's lifetime, Saletore dates the arrival of the faith in the region to the second century BCE.[703] Andhra directly borders Orissa, where we have a lithic record in the form of Jaina King Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription, dating to the early second century BCE.[704]

However early Jainism reached Andhra Pradesh, we have no evidence for the pervasive and widespread existence of the faith in the region until the seventh century CE.[705] The Jainas appear to have fared especially well under the rule of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī, a branch of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. Although these were largely Hindu, some were Jainas and others were positively disposed to the faith.[706] From the following centuries too, regular epigraphic records record the spread of the religion, the donation of *basadi*s and the granting of villages for the upkeep of Jaina temples, especially from Anantapur district—in particular the Rayadurg (Rāyadurg) (Plate 1.39) area and the city of Penukonda (Penugoṇḍa, Penukoṇḍa)—right up to the eleventh or in some places the thirteenth century.[707]

During the medieval period, Jainism flourished extensively in the wider area of Andhra and most villages had *jinālaya*s and reasonably large communities caring for their upkeep.[708] The period from about 624 till 1000 CE represents a particularly active phase of Jaina temple building.[709]

However, in this region, too, Jainism became threatened over time. There were early encounters and struggles with the Buddhist community which had established itself very quickly throughout the region.[710] Especially well-known, also for its famous artistic style, is the Buddhist centre of Amaravati, which evolved around a large *stūpa* monument, which survives only as an archaeological site.

More detrimental for the Jainas, however, was the influence of a growing Hinduisation and later Muslim encounters in the region. With the weakening and loss of power of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, from the eleventh to the very end of the twelfth century, the Jainas lost their main royal support, particularly along the east coast of Andhra.[711] *Brāhmaṇical* faiths were on the upsurge. Although Jainism still expanded in certain areas of the region under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Jainas started to leave the west coast in 1022 CE when King Rājarājanarēndra commenced a movement against

703 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 3, Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 31, and Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 250, 251.
704 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 250, and Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 32.
705 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 251.
706 See Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 39.
707 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 252–54, and Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 43.
708 On this, see Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 83.
709 For further details on this issue, compare Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 84.
710 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 3–9, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 81.
711 Jawaharlal has written on this in much detail (Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 43).



Plate 1.39: The early Jaina cave site of Rayadurg in Andhra Pradesh was taken over by Hindus, who appropriated the former rock-cut statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

them.[712] The Jainas probably fared worst under the rule of King Gaṇapatideva, the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal (Varangal) (1199–1260 CE). At this time, the Jainas lost in a public disputation against Tikkana Somayya, a thirteenth-century Telugu poet, and were deprived of all their influence and status.[713] In the fort of Warrangal, remnants of a beheaded Tīrthaṅkara or Bāhubali icon, as well as other misplaced Jaina statues, which probably go back to this time, are still on display today (Plate 1.40).[714] From the twelfth century, the Jainas also suffered under the expansion of the Vīraśaivas.[715] As late as the sixteenth century, as Tiziana Lorenzetti shows in Chapter 4 in this publication, Vīraśaivas were still exercising violence against Jainas in Andhra Pradesh. This is testified to by an inscription recording the decapitation of Śvetāmbara Jainas by a local Vīraśaiva leader.[716]

As in Karnataka, Jaina statues were mutilated and Jaina temples converted to Śaiva and Vīraśaiva usage at this time.[717] In this context, Jawaharlal also refers to a large number of originally Jaina icons which were converted to represent Śaiva deities. As a mark of their conversion, they were painted and ornamented with Śaiva marks and draped with flower garlands.[718] The campaigns which Rājendra Coḷa and Rājadhirāja waged against the Jaina centre of Kulpak (Kollipaka, Kolanupaka) in and after 1007 CE appear to have been especially vigorous.[719]

Being settled further north in the Deccan region, the Jainas of Andhra suffered more heavily under Muslim domination. Invasions by the Khiljīs and Ṭughlāqs led to the establishment of Islamic rule in the Deccan at least from the early fourteenth century. A number of Jaina *basadi*s were converted into use as mosques. Especially noteworthy is here the Deval or Pattar Masjid in the fort of Bodhan (Bōdhan),[720] where the large open pillared hall of the temple became the prayer hall with worshippers turning west to face Mecca. The *garbhagṛha* section, formerly the most sacred part of

712 Refer to Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 43–44.

713 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 272 has written on this. On public disputations and miracle contests between Jainas and Śaivas in Andhra, refer also to Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 85.

714 These statues have also been discussed in Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan": 9.

715 On this topic, see Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 84, and also Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan": 9.

716 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 402.

717 Jawaharlal has written on this (Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 67). See also his entire chapter entitled "Conversions of Jaina Monuments" (pp. 83–88).

718 On this, refer to Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 87. He includes images of such transformed images from Konakondla near Guntakal (Guntakallu), Rayadurg (Rāyadurg) and Saidapur (Section on Conversions of Jaina Monuments, Figs. 17–19). For further information on the converted cave site of Rayadurg, refer also to Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan": 3–4.

719 Jawaharlal has written on this (Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra*: 67, 86–87).

720 For further illustrations, refer to Jawaharlal, *Jainism in Andhra* and in his photo section on Jaina Temples Figs. 33–35 and the photo section on Conversions of Jaina Monuments Figs. 12–13. An example of a converted *jinālaya* for use as a mosque in Karnataka will be discussed later in this chapter. See, for instance, Plate 1.48.



Plate 1.40: On display in the Kuśmahal palace in the fort of Warangal, Andhra Pradesh, are a number of violated Jaina sculptures, amongst them a beheaded statue of a Tīrthaṅkara or Bāhubali icon.

the Jaina temple, has been sealed off.[721] Persecutions in the Andhra area continued into the nineteenth century.[722] Many originally Jaina sites were taken over and converted, although they still show clear signs of their original dedication.

Jainism probably reached the wider Tamil and Andhra areas earlier than Karnataka. In these regions, too, Jainism spread and flourished. Despite this pronounced presence of Jainism throughout the area, however, its influence on the art, culture, religion and politics of the region was less marked and the number of eminent Jaina centres smaller than in the area of Karnataka to the west,[723] so that its rise and eventual decline were altogether of smaller proportions.

6.2 The Disappearance of Buddhism

Posing a similar question to ours, Jaini has described the weakening and almost complete extinction of Buddhism from the subcontinent, between the seventh and the thirteenth century CE, as one of the most puzzling questions of Indian history.[724] However, the questions surrounding this decline have so far been studied in more detail and given more attention by scholars than the Jaina situation.[725] This might have to do with the fact that Buddhism has generally been better researched and for a longer time, and that Buddhism has spread more widely from India to other regions and also to the West.[726] According to a recent study examining the Buddhist regression in India, by Giovanni Verardi,[727] what appears to have caused this decline is a combina-

721 For a discussion of the converted temple, refer to Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan": 9.

722 Compare Ekambaranathan, "Religious Conflicts": 139.

723 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 254, 272. On page 264 of the same publication, Saletore also stresses that, for example, the effect the Jainas had on the literature of Karnataka was much stronger than in the other regions, although their influence made a definite impact there, too.

724 Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81. See also the detailed study by Mitra on this topic (R.C. Mitra, *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Visva-Bharati Studies 20 [Calcutta: Visva-Bharati, 1954]). Subrahmanya Aiyar identifies the period after the seventh and eighth centuries CE as the main phase of regression (Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216). Pratt raises many questions with regards to the death of religions, but supplies few useful suggestions and no definite answers with regards to particular religions which have vanished (James Bissett Pratt, "Why Do Religions Die?" *Journal of Religion* 1, no. 1 [1921]: 76–78).

725 Saletore has also commented on the acute lack of studies and publications on the decline of Jainism in Karnataka (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 1–2).

726 As high-ranking Jaina teachers are not permitted to travel by any means of any transport, such as cars, buses, trains or airplanes, and are only allowed to walk, Jainism has not spread as widely from India as has Buddhism. While Jaina businessmen and their families are found all around the globe, it is difficult for them to build up Jaina religious centres abroad as at least high-ranking Jaina ascetics will not use any means of transport.

727 Giovanni Verardi, *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2011).

tion of external pressures from other faith groups and inherent structural limitations in Buddhism itself. Some of these issues are similar to those which caused the waning of Jainism, while others are peculiar to the unique structure of Buddhism.

The Buddhists, like the Jainas, found themselves in a more or less hostile majority *brāhmaṇical* environment in India, to which, as heterodox reform movements, both were to a certain extent opposed. From about the ninth century CE, the Buddhists suffered, as the Jainas did, under a Hindu resurgence and domination. This situation worsened under various Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava reform movements and with the formation of entirely new cults. In this context, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Vīraśaivas had the most disruptive impact. From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this Hindu revival resulted in an outright *brāhmaṇical* persecution of the Buddhists.[728] Śaivas in particular appear to have been hostile to the followers of the Buddha's teachings.[729] There is ample evidence of persecutions and killings of Buddhists. Pallavamalla Nandivarman II, for instance, is shown in a frieze in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumaḷ Temple at Kanchipuram impaling Buddhists.[730] However, it is not clear whether this persecution was detrimental enough to really threaten the survival of the creed as a whole.[731]

Muslim invasions and settled rule had a similar impact on the Buddhists as on the Jainas. As the Muslim armies subjugated first North-West India and then large parts of the rest of the subcontinent, including the south, the Buddhist area of influence was reduced, and many Buddhist sites of worship and learning were destroyed. Here, particular mention should be made of the sacred sites and Buddhist universities in eastern India, such as Nalanda (Nālandā) and Vikramshila (Vikramśilā), both in Bihar. These invasions were especially aggressive in the north and east of India during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and as such hit the Buddhists very acutely. When Islam reached the south, the Buddhists were less well placed than the Jainas to adapt to life under invasion. Jainism had already lost its zenith of power in the region, and whilst the Jainas were also severely hurt in the north and the south, as traders and money lenders, they somehow managed to stabilise their situation with the newly dominating power, and to survive. As Jaini has shown, the Buddhists failed to find a way to do this and considers the Muslim invasions as one of the decisive factors for the extinction of Buddhism in India.[732]

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728 On this, see Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216, 218, and Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81, 83.

729 Leslie has written on this (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 257). See also Stein, who also refers to Vaiṣṇava persecution of the Buddhists (Stein, *Peasant State and Society*: 80–81).

730 See Verardi, *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism*: 224–26. See his publication also for further examples of persecutions.

731 Jaini has also commented on this (Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 83.

732 On this issue, refer to Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 83.

The loss of royal patronage, too, played an important role for southern Buddhism. As we have seen, this was one of the main reasons for the downfall of the Jainas in Karnataka.[733] Whilst royal rulers usually supported all religions in their domain, their chosen personal faith group naturally obtained the largest share of prestige, financial donations and access to the dealings of the court.[734] During the Hindu resurgence from the eleventh century onwards, this important royal backing was practically entirely withdrawn from the Buddhist faith group.

However, we can also identify elements within Buddhism itself which help to explain its decline. Buddhist texts hint at a certain movement away from the faith's core values, and an internal change which has been described as a decay, degeneration or corruption within the Buddhist *saṅgha*.[735] Buddhists, like the Jainas, seem to have been amassing problematically large amounts of personal or communal wealth and to have focused increasingly on magical practices as part of the performance of Tantric forms of the religion.[736] Tantric tendencies were even stronger in Buddhism than amongst the Jainas at this time. Jaini emphasises that such phases, which he classifies as times of internal deterioration and doctrinal laxity, are common in all religious groups worldwide, and are often followed by periods of strengthening reforms and reorientation.[737]

Furthermore, in the religious field, there was no official or pronounced reaction from the Buddhists when the Vaiṣṇavas assimilated Buddha as one of the ten manifestations (*avatāra*s) of Viṣṇu.[738] One might have expected them to object to the absorption of their main enlightened being into a different faith system, but it appears that the Buddhists allowed Hindus to meddle directly in their ritual affairs. The consequence was that Hindu *brāhmaṇ* priests could as it seems, claim the right to perform official duties in temples dedicated to the Buddha,[739] representing an enormous encroachment on and interference in Buddhist ritual life. By contrast, the Jainas rebuffed quite starkly the suggestion that Ṛṣabha (Ṛṣabhanātha) should be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. On the other hand, however, the Jainas allowed for a connection between Śiva and Pārśvanātha, and they wrote their own Jaina versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the

733 Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216, has written on this subject.
734 See Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 82.
735 Compare Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216, and Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81, 83.
736 Jaini has written on some of these issues and refers to other misdemeanours (Jaini, "Śramaṇas": 79; Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 83). Cort has written on the topic of discouraging magical spells (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 238).
737 On this, see Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 83.
738 Jaini has written on this (Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 85).
739 On this issue, refer to Jaini, "Śramaṇas": 78.

Mahābhārata Epics.[740] Furthermore, the Jainas of Karnataka accommodated Hindu features in other areas of their practice, developing worldly rituals, known as *saṃskāra*s, relating to birth, marriage or death, which were extremely closely related to the Hindu ceremonies,[741] thus establishing further links with the majority religion, despite the threats it often posed to Jainism. This epitomises what Qvarnström has termed the "tolerant" or "lenient" approach of the Jainas.[742]

In addition, other doctrinal factors have been identified, which might have weakened Buddhism. Amongst these are the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As an almost divine figure, the Bodhisattva might have been perceived as too removed from ordinary life for lay worshippers to relate to. By contrast, the Tīrthaṅkaras of Jainism are seen as struggling to reach enlightenment and are, as such, closer to the ordinary life of practitioners, for whom they act as models. One might, of course, also argue that the fully detached nature of the Jinas provides distance, but this would be the same with a statue of Buddha. The Bodhisattvas, like the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s, offer more proximity, although perhaps not as much as the Jaina divinities. The Bodhisattvas also appear to have superseded the Buddha in importance at certain times and in certain contexts,[743] whereas in later southern Jainism, although a small number of temples were exclusively dedicated to a *yakṣī*, these deities were never really serious rivals to the Jinas.[744] Jaini sees in the divine nature of the Bodhisattvas a dangerous closeness to Hinduism, which allowed Hindus to subvert the Buddhist faith and, in consequence, to absorb their sanctuaries. This happened, for example, at the main temples at Bodhgaya (Bodhgayā) and Sarnath (Sārnāth), which were of highest significance for the Buddhists. These became Buddhist again only recently.[745]

According to Jaini, the Buddhists also failed to react adequately to the *bhakti* movement which swept across the south and then the rest of the country, costing them many converts to Hindu *bhakti* faiths.[746] Countering this position, one could argue that the development of the Boddhisattva ideal represented a Buddhist reaction

740 Allegedly, Pārśvanātha was a devotee of the Hindu god. On this issue, refer, for instance, to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 202. A connection with *liṅga*s can be seen in some Jaina shrines, especially in temples in Rajasthan.

741 See Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 85.

742 Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability" and the discussion in section 2.2.3 on "Jaina Openness and *Anekāntavāda*."

743 Jaini has written on these issues (Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 86–88).

744 As has been pointed out before, in Jainism, only the Tīrthaṅkaras have reached enlightenment, while the gods and goddesses are mortal and need to be reborn as humans first in order to reach liberation through a long path of intense suffering.

745 On these sites refer to Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 86. Sarnatha is the site of the historical Buddha's first sermon and Bodhgaya the place of his enlightenment, *nirvāṇa*.

746 Compare Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 85.

and integration of a more devotional form of worship into the faith. The Jainas, however, may have reacted even more proactively in strengthening the veneration of the female element in Jainism. In actual fact, in the period between the seventh and ninth century CE, the Jainas flourished so much that they appear to have overshadowed the Buddhists in the south of India.[747]

Another internal factor that has been cited, again with a parallel in the Jaina situation, was the excessive fragmentation of the Buddhist *saṅgha* into subgroups. Upadhye calls this "the schismatic vivisection" of Buddhism and identifies it as one of the many reasons for its loss in strength, leading to its waning in India.[748] Although the differences between the various sects were often marginal, this form of Buddhist sectarianism led to internal disputes and resulted in an internal destabilisation of the faith.[749] Furthermore, according to Subrahmanya Aiyar, the Buddhists lacked strong leaders.[750] This is a point which can also be made about Jainism during its later phases.

It has also been claimed that the Buddhists gave too little consideration to the status and life of their lay followers.[751] The term "Buddhist" officially applied only to fully initiated monks and nuns and while the laity supported them, they had no formal position as members of a religious group.[752] This is a genuine area of difference, as the Jainas paid particular attention to their laity in the period between the eighth and the tenth century CE, providing ordinary male and female householders with more direct occasions to participate in temple rituals and with the chance to live temporarily as ascetics by taking part in pilgrimages. Jainas even enabled the laity to die a religious death (*sallekhanā*).[753]

This short summary has recapitulated in brief some communalities and differences in the situation of Jainas and Buddhists vis à vis their decline. The question remains as to why the adverse circumstances which both groups encountered appear to have

747 Although he writes more with regards to Tamil Nadu than to Karnataka, the assessment of Subrahmanya Aiyar with regards to "the triumph of the Jains over the Bauddhas" can to a certain extent be related to this region, too (Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 215). Saletore mentions Buddhist sites, for instance, Koppala, which were annexed by Jainas—and subsequently by Hindu groups (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 187–91).

748 For this quote, refer to Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 224.

749 Refer to Jaini, "Śramaṇas": 78; Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81, 84. On p. 84 Jaini points out that differences between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, for instance, were much more far-reaching.

750 See Subrahmanya Aiyar, "Origin and Decline": 216.

751 On this issue, refer to Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81, 84.

752 Compare Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 84.

753 A final reason for the disappearance of Buddhism from India which has been mentioned in the literature is some kind of "exhaustion" of the members of this faith group. This should be excluded as it is a non-objective statement, which cannot be verified. On this, see also (Jaini, "Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism": 81).

created so many more difficulties for Buddhists. The Jainas survived in the south of India—even if their community was decimated—and they were never really threatened as an entire faith group in the whole of the Subcontinent. Buddhism, on the other hand, became practically extinct in India during the twelfth century. The main reasons why the Buddhists suffered so much more than the Jainas in Karntaka, and lost so much influence, appear to have been their neglect of the lay community, their failure to react decisively enough to the *bhakti* movement and their closeness to Hindu practices, which allowed Hindus to interfere directly in Buddhist shrines and to take over their most sacred sites.

Buddhism remained practically extinct in the subcontinent until the Tibetan exiles established settlements surrounding the Dalai Lama in the twentieth century, with only a very few small traditional communities surviving in eastern India. Jainism, on the contrary, interacted much more closely with the laity, and intensified this exchange in Karnataka from the eighth century CE onwards. Furthermore, there appears to have been much less direct Hindu interference in a Jaina context. The Jains reacted to Hindu elements but formulated their own versions of the eternal epics, which reflected distinct Jaina ethics and world views; they remained firm regarding the position of their Tīrthaṅkaras and stuck more closely to their core doctrinal structure than did the Buddhists.[754]

Despite these developments in India, one has to stress that Buddhism did much better than Jainism when it came to spreading throughout the world. While declining in its homeland, it spread north and east and during the modern age also to the West. Due to the stringent restrictions with regards to travel that apply to its mendicant community, Jainism has been slower and less powerful in its worldwide dispersal.

7 Damage, Destruction and Re-Use of Icons and *Basadi*s by Other Groups

The foregoing sections have outlined the rise and initial deterioration of Jainism in Karnataka. From a position of superiority, the Jainas lost status to the point where they were a strongly dependent section of society, deprived of most of their political and economic clout. According to Narasimha Murthy, at the start of the fourteenth century, "Jainism presents a picture of a war-torn land in Karnataka."[755] The religious and political picture which we have portrayed on the basis of inscriptional and literary evidence is also reflected in the material record, in the condition of icons and temple build-

754 For a brief summary, refer also to Marcus Banks, "The Body in Jain Art," in *Approaches to Jaina Studies: Philosophy, Logic, Rituals and Symbols*, ed. N.K. Wagle and Olle Qvarnström, South Asian Studies Papers 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 1999): 311.

755 For this quote, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 39.

ings. While some sacred centres were completely taken over by contesting religious groups, a few were returned either immediately or after some delay to the Jaina community after they had been ransacked. Saletore writes: "In the centres which fell into the hands of the non-Jainas, only mutilated Jaina images and broken slabs bear silent testimony of the once prosperous condition of Jainism in the country."[756] In the course of these sectarian rivalries, as we have seen, Śaivas and in particular the militant Vīraśaivas targeted Jaina religious institutions, such as *maṭha*s and *basadi*s, as these were close to their own religious power bases and the Śaivas saw a threat in them.[757] As has been pointed out before, the new religious groups were vying for the support of the same financial backers as the Jainas. They went about desecrating the Jaina sacred sites—which as we have seen were also important political and economic centres—in a variety of ways, none of which was peculiar to one faith group. We shall look at these briefly below,[758] exploring also the particular role played by re-used Jaina sacred objects and spaces.

7.1 The Targeting of Jaina Icons and Temples

Temple icons (*mūrti*s) form the focus of devotion inside Jaina *basadi*s, giving sanctity to the sites and legitimising the community and its rulers.[759] When rival religious groups wished to undermine the Jainas, Jaina statues, being invested with not only religious but also political significance, presented an obvious target. They were frequently entirely removed from their temple settings and even destroyed. Large numbers of written accounts from Vīraśaiva and Jaina contexts, many of which have been referred to in this chapter already, tell of the outright destruction of *basadi*s and Jaina icons. In addition, there is ample visual evidence, in the shape of *jinālaya*s which have lost all their sacred statues, or which have piles of sculptural debris, consisting of fragments of Jaina *mūrti*s and other imagery.

756 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 184.

757 On this refer to Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 202. On the same page, Hegde also writes about the occasion on which a Kāḷāmukha Śaiva donated a Jaina temple in 1182 CE at the height of communal and religious tensions. This episode, however, seems to represent an extremely rare incident.

758 For a more detailed examination of these issues, refer to Chapter 5 by Hegewald, especially section 5, "Jaina Temples under Threat."

759 Davis has shown how religious icons confer power and legitimacy on rulers (Richard H. Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 1 [1993]: 23). Refer also to Eaton, who underlines the close connection between king, god, temple and sacred site in India (Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 254, 256).

Once images had been completely obliterated, any return to a site or reconciliation between local groups became impossible. This annihilation of the sanctified and revered icons deprived the religious communities of their legitimisation, focus and power. Without their consecrated statues, Jainas not only lacked actual objects to venerate but also lost their theoretical and religious-philosophical focus. In order to prevent such theft or obliteration, many Jaina figural representations and sacred objects were buried in the ground or removed to underground sections of *basadi*s for safekeeping.[760]

Although Davis describes numerous acts of destruction of statues by Hindu rulers, he implies that this was not part of ordinary Hindu religious or political behaviour. According to him, it was Muslims who introduced this practice into the subcontinent.[761] Eaton strongly disagrees with this and on the contrary portrays the looting and destruction carried out by Muslims as simply an imitation of a long-established indigenous Indian approach to sacred statues:

> [...] it is clear that temples had been the natural sites for the contestation of kingly authority well before the coming of Muslim Turks to India. Not surprisingly, Turkish invaders, when attempting to plant their own rule in early medieval India, followed and continued established patterns.[762]

While a tradition of destruction and religious looting existed before the influx of Islam into India, Islamic forces looted and destroyed sites sacred to different religions—and even to other Islamic groups (Sunnī or Shīʿa) in other regions of the world as well.[763] Furthermore, Eaton considers accounts of image and temple destruction written by Muslim chroniclers as exaggerated glorifications only.[764] With today's generally negative view of the destruction of religious and artistic objects, nobody wants to take the blame for such deeds any longer. This reluctance is further boosted by a rhetoric of Indian national identity which argues that all indigenous Indian religious groups together constitute a unity, often constructed in opposition to Christianity and Islam.[765]

There is, however, clear evidence that Hindu groups, Vīraśaivas and Muslims alike carried out such campaigns of destruction. There are ample examples of Jaina temples throughout Karnataka today which have empty pedestals and have been completely deprived of all their sacred icons (Plate 1.41). Whilst the destruction of

760 Davis describes the burying of a Hindu statue under a sacred tree in the fourteenth century to prevent iconoclastically minded Islamic armies moving through the Kaveri (Kāverī) delta destroying it (Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 22). For specific Jaina examples of such burying of icons, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 42, 43, 338, 348, 412, 553, 579.

761 On this, refer to Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 42.

762 See Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 256.

763 Leisten has written in detail on this situation (Thomas Leisten, "Mashhad Al-Nasr: Monuments of War and Victory in Medieval Islamic Art," *Muqarnas* 13 [1996]: 7–26).

764 Refer to Eaton "Temple Desecration": 257.

765 On this issue, refer to Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 45, and Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 246, 247, 250.

stone statues and the eradication of formerly influential faith groups constituted a means to assert dominance, the melting down of metal images made available a valued base material, with which new statues or non-religious objects such as jewellery or armoury could be cast, or the roofs of mosques gilded.[766] As mentioned above, in addition to the physical evidence, we have plentiful written records associating Hindus, Vīraśaivas and Muslims with such acts of annihilation.[767] Fortunately, however, the complete destruction of sacred icons was not a universal practice.

In other cases, figural depictions of Jinas, other saints and divinities were mutilated. Sometimes, only an arm or other limb was chopped off the statues (Plate 1.42).[768] Digambara Jaina icons are nudes, reflecting the practice of Digambara monks of wandering naked. With sitting representations this is not as obvious, but icons depicted standing reveal their full nakedness. We have seen how Hindus and in particular Muslims disapproved of this practice. However, Vīraśaivas also objected to a public state of undress. The figural representations of standing naked Tīrthaṅkaras therefore often had their genitals sliced off (Plate 5.44).[769] Davis argues that in India, the statues of opponents were traditionally always treated well.[770] However, this is not reflected in the record of preserved but mutilated icons from the Middle Ages in Karnataka.

Even more frequently than the genitals, it was the faces or heads of statues which were disfigured. Often, the face was targeted (Plate 1.43). Especially haunting, however, is the full decapitation of an icon, usually of one of the most eminent fully-enlightened Tīrthaṅkaras. This act bears strong connotations. We have heard about miracle contests in which the Vīraśaivas allegedly cut off their own heads and had them miraculously reinstated by Śiva. The large number of beheaded Jaina sculptures indicates that this was obviously a practice which the Jainas could not replicate, not even with regards to their figural representations (Plate 1.44). I would argue that the emphasis on self-decapitation in the dialogue with the Vīraśaivas might have led to a particular large number of truncated Jina icons as reminders of the defeat suffered by the Jainas in these contests. The amputation of the head probably signals most

766 Davis and Hegewald have written on this (Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 45; Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Vīraśaiva and Jaina Rivalries in Medieval South India: Creating and Overcoming Structures of Dependency," in *Control, Coercion, and Constraint: The Role of Religion in Overcoming and Creating Structures of Dependency*, eds. Wolfram Kinzig and Barbara Loose, Dependency and Slavery Studies Vol. 14 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024]: 155–77).

767 For Muslim accounts, refer to the article by Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 250–51.

768 Refer, for instance, to the discussion of the former Jaina temple at Hallur in Chapter 5 in this volume. See especially sections 3.2.1, "The Meguḍi and Other Jaina Temples at Aihole" and 5.1.1 "The Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues."

769 This will be examined in Chapter 5 of this book in connection with the Jaina temple at Kambadhalli.

770 Compare Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 29.



Plate 1.41: Most former *basadi*s at Aihole have had their main icons removed and only preserve empty pedestals, even though the *lalāṭabimba*s often still display Jaina imagery, indicating a conversion of the space.

strongly the idea of killing and death.[771] In addition, the removal of the face or the entire head also prevented Jaina devotees from looking at the eyes of the image. Although in Digambara ritual practice this is less important than amongst Śvetāmbaras,

771 In Chapter 5, I argue that this might not only represent the figurative "killing" of a particular Jina or statue but of the entire faith of Jainism and its eradication from Karnataka.

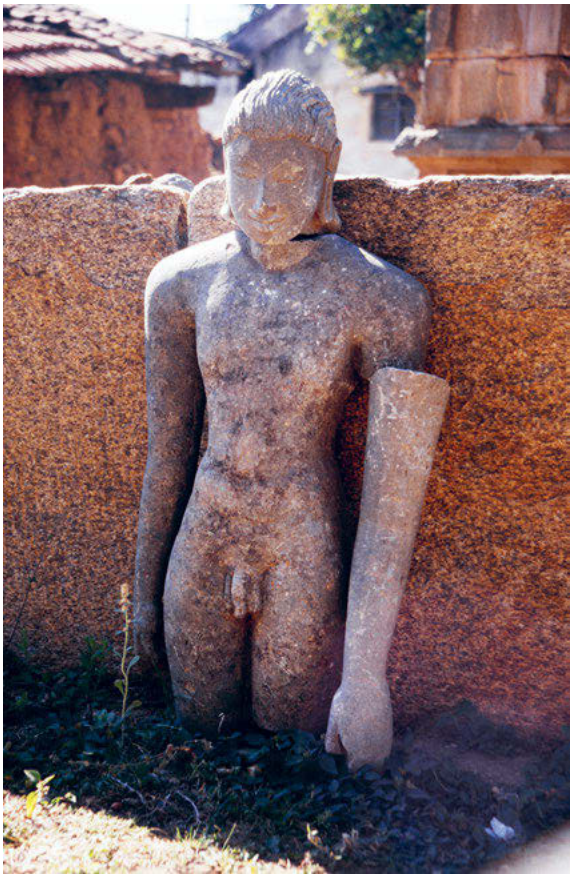


Plate 1.42: A statue of a nude standing Jina from Kambadhalli has had its head and one arm struck off in religiously motivated attacks on the site.

who often mark the eyes of their statues with inlaid sparkling precious stones, icon eyes are nevertheless of high significance in Digambara temple worship.[772]

As such, icons were usually the first items to be targeted by attackers. Figures were stolen, destroyed or disfigured; only rarely were they later returned or repaired. According to Davis, accepting back a statue which had been taken by opponents could be perceived as a sign of humiliation and degradation or as a public acceptance of one's own defeat.[773] The Jaina view is also that such icons have been vandalised and polluted not only physically but also religiously. Eaton describes icons which were forcibly removed

772 On this issue, refer also to Hegewald, "Vīraśaiva and Jaina Rivalries": p. 165).
773 Compare Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 34–35.

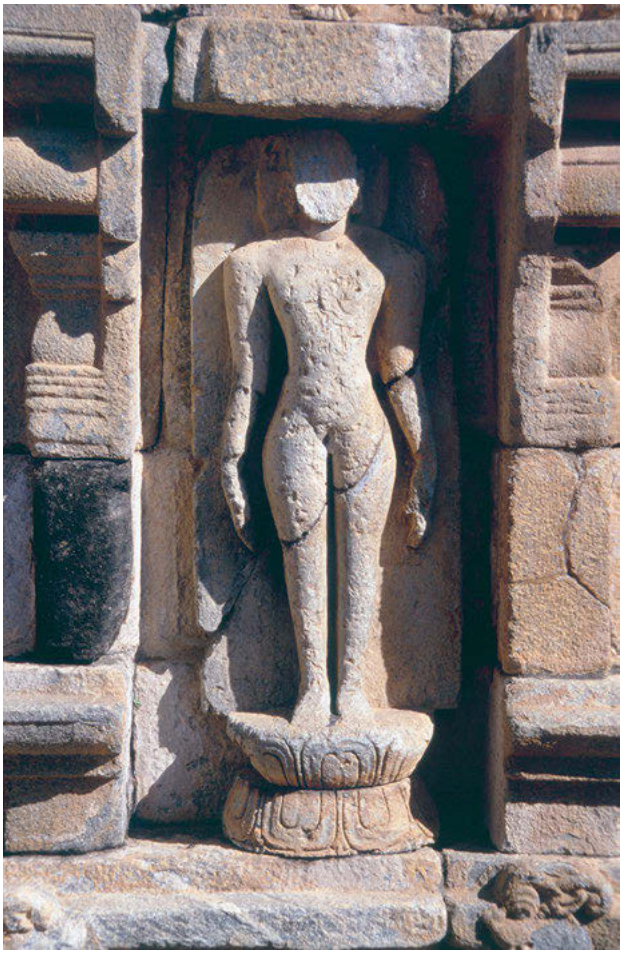


Plate 1.43: The figure of a standing Tīrthaṅkara inside a niche on the outside of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli has had its face sliced off in an act of vandalism.

from their former religious contexts as "dead."[774] Although what he chiefly has in mind is probably that after their seizure, they could not empower a ruler and its community any longer, it is true that the Jainas treat such returned statues almost as if they had died. Returned, marred and sometimes even buried images have thus been kept outside recaptured or returned Jaina temple establishments and not usually accorded primary importance again in ritual activities (Plate 1.45). On the one hand, this might indicate that the statues are regarded as debased and that they have not really been accepted back. On the other, these often blemished returned images are almost publicly

774 Refer to Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 260.



Plate 1.44: A number of beheaded seated Jina statues and some dislocated heads of venerated Jaina images are on display at the front of the Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar.

displayed by the Jainas and act as reminders of the harsh and difficult times their community has endured.[775] As this practice is perceived as so symptomatic of the entire story of the persecution of the Jainas in Karnataka, a reproduction of such an openly displayed mutilated icon, set up in front of the *basadi*s at Lakkundi, has been chosen as the cover image for this publication. It is noteworthy that, instead of dwelling on the hurt and loss in connection with such exhibited Tīrthaṅkara torsos, the Jainas tend to emphasise the fact of their survival. In their eyes, these violated statues exemplify the strength of their own faith, not to say the longer-term superiority of Jainism in relation to other religious groups who had tried to eradicate them during the Middle Ages.

Although statues represented—and still represent—the most important part of a temple, and their removal or destruction sufficed to deprive a religious community of their religious focus, architectural structures were also regularly targeted in aggressive campaigns. In some instances, only parts of the *basadi*s were destroyed, usually the most sacred shrine sections, the *garbhagṛha* (Plates 5.4, 5.45). In other instances,

775 Davis in his article describes the official re-establishment of seized statues (Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 25–26). This appears not to be common in a Jaina context. On the fact that such images were not really integrated again in Jaina ritual activities, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 42–45.



Plate 1.45: As at the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Tadakoda, sacred icons involved in assaults on Jaina sites are often considered tainted and no longer given a central position in ritual proceedings.

the roofs were torn off, which led to a gradual but definite obliteration of the *jinālaya*s through the effects of the weather. In other instances, Jaina *basadi*s were completely demolished. This was, for instance, the case with the Śaṅkha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar (Lakṣmeśvara; ancient Puligere), of which only the lowest *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings have survived. These still indicate the outline of the former Jaina temple, but everything above them was lost and what is visible today is a later reconstruction consisting of pieces of rubble only (Plates 1.46, 5.18).

Eaton describes temple destructions as part of the "sweeping away of all prior political authority in newly conquered and annexed territories," which was under-



Plate 1.46: The eleventh-century Śaṅkha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar was completely broken down into such small pieces that a faithful reconstruction of the *jinālaya* was not possible.

taken, for instance, by Muslims.[776] This illustrates once again the close connection between rulers and their shrines, which is a pervasive phenomenon in India. According to Eaton, only state temples were normally targeted.[777] As he relates this Muslim practice of temple destructions to a previously existing indigenous tradition, he implies that Hindus and Vīraśaivas would also have confined themselves to desecrating state temples. This, however, cannot be corroborated by the data from South India, where the large majority of existing Jaina temples were harmed. In Karnataka, the attempt to efface and entirely obliterate Jaina power and religious centres appears to have been so intense, and carried out by so many different religious groups, all competing for hegemony in the region, that hardly any temple remained unharmed. What is difficult to establish today is how many shrines might have decayed simply through abandonment after conversions away from Jainism.

Essential building parts of such entirely annihilated temples were at times reinserted in later, largely modern temple edifices. This can, for instance, be seen in the Mysore City Basadi, which despite its modern date, incorporates a Hoysaḷa lintel and door frames with flanking door guardians (*dvārapāla*s) (Plate 5.48). Altar platforms, too, were regularly re-used.

In this section, I have focused on the complete or substantial destruction of Jaina icons and temple structures to indicate the power of a new faith group in the region. We shall see, however, that this was not always the method applied.

7.2 Re-Use as a Concept of Cultural Appropriation and Continuity

In addition to disfigured, destroyed and stolen icons and damaged or demolished Jaina temples, we find many instances where statues and sacred spaces were preserved largely intact and simply taken over, appropriated and given new meanings by the representatives of other faith groups. Many Jaina *basadi*s were converted to Hindu worship,[778] and a remarkable number of them were transformed to correspond to the concepts of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Vīraśaiva ritual usage.[779] As Narasimha Murthy says, "[…] most of the *basadi*s and monasteries in northern Karnataka are now to be seen in the form of Śiva temples, or as materials used in the construction of mosques and forts."[780]

776 For this quote and further information on this issue, refer to Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 254.
777 See Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 255.
778 Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177 has written on this.
779 Dibbad has also commented on this issue (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 69).
780 For this quote, refer to Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 42–43.

The re-employment of spolia will be discussed in much detail in Chapter 5.[781] However, entire statues and *jinālaya*s were also re-used. In this study, we have opted for the term "re-use," in preference to the alternatives "rededicate" or "repurpose."[782]

"Re-use" essentially refers to the employment of something more than once. In conventional re-use, an item such as an icon or a temple is used again—after a certain period of disruption—for the same purpose for which it was initially created.[783] In the context of Jainism in Karnataka, this could be a deserted *basadi* whose architectural space and images are reconsecrated for Jaina worship after a period of desertion, a statue stolen and returned, or a *jinālaya* which is either handed back to Jaina ownership or claimed or retaken by the Jainas. Identifying an act of conventional re-use is not easy. Beyond the fact that Jaina icons are often not reinstated to their former position of importance, as has been discussed above, and that mutilated images are not usually restored, there is little to indicate that sacred objects and sites have undergone such a temporary interruption and takeover. We have to rely largely on written sources and some residual evidence of damage or scarring to establish what has happened.

What is much easier to distinguish is "new-life re-use," a term I have coined to describe the situation where a clear change in use has taken place. In the context of our subject under examination, this could be a Jaina icon or *basadi* which is perhaps still used for religious purposes, but no longer by the Jainas.[784] Select examples will be discussed below and, in more detail, in Chapter 5 in this volume.

The last major form of re-use is best described as "recycling," where an item such as a religious sculpture or a building is broken down to its material properties.[785] This is, for instance, the case when a Jaina metal statue has been melted down and the bronze, silver or gold cast into a new shape. However, stone debris from Jaina temples was also employed in new constructions, such as fortification walls or sacred edifices. In instances where Jaina *basadi*s were completely destroyed but the fragments were left on site, the Jainas themselves sometimes used the structural remains of their own vandalised *jinālaya*s to reconstruct them, as the above-mentioned Śaṅkha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar illustrates.

The examples of re-use discussed in this volume largely take place in the wake of acts of hostility, violence and takeover. However, this is not necessarily always the case. Re-use is generally typical of situations where cultures come into contact with other peoples, religions, traditions and ideas, for instance, at times of political and religious change and invasion, but also along pilgrimage and trade routes. Further interesting

781 Consult especially section 5.1.2, "Destruction, Demolition and Reconstruction of Temple Edifices."
782 See the joint publication by Hegewald and Mitra on the issue of re-use in the arts and social sciences (Hegewald and Mitra, *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*).
783 On this issue, refer to Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31, 33.
784 Compare Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31.
785 See Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 32.

cases of re-use can be found when new media are introduced, and an old shape has to be translated into a new material.[786] Usually, only one aspect of an item changes, either the material, the shape or the meaning. If too many characteristics of an object are modified at the same time, people cannot relate to or understand the item any longer and will probably reject it. This shows that re-use is a selective process. It does not represent a simple copying but the careful selective adoption of something new, such as a shape, a material or a meaning, and its application to a traditional context. It is important to remember in this context that cultures also constantly make reference to and re-use aspects of their own past to shape the present and the future. This creates cultural cohesion and works towards the creation of a distinct tradition, albeit one which is refreshed by the regular absorption of some new aspects. However, in the context of Jainism in Karnataka during the medieval period, the forceful appropriation of *basadi*s and images is the most prominent instance of re-use.

Let us look first at the re-use of temple spaces. Although Vīraśaivas had a very reduced ritual, originally confined to the veneration of the personal *liṅga* worn on their own body, its followers did annex *basadi*s and in the process of the development of their faith also constructed temples themselves.[787] After taking over a multi-shrined structure, the Vīraśaivas usually used only one *garbhagṛha*. The multiple cellas, often found on super-positioned levels, which are so typical of Jaina temple building,[788] were usually kept but ignored and not furnished with additional images, reflecting the reduced ritual practice common in a Vīraśaiva context (Plate 1.47).[789] As Vīraśaivism in its reformed mode has existed since the twelfth century only, the new Vīraśaiva owners of former Jaina establishments, older than the twelfth century, usually did not cover up their capture of Jaina sacred buildings. However, statues that were felt to distract or were thought not fitting, such as those on the lintels of shrines, were often crudely chiselled away. As

786 Ideas, styles and building types can travel along such routes, as can be seen, for instance, along the Silk Routes and their western and eastern extensions. For such examples and also those illustrating changes in material, for instance, from constructions out of bamboo via later rock excavations to structural building out of blocks of stone, palm leaf to paper or oral to written traditions, refer to Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 34–36.

787 This has been examined and portrayed by Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this volume.

788 On the planning and spatial rationale behind Jaina temple architecture, see, for instance, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Multi-shrined Complexes: The Ordering of Space in Jaina Temple Architecture in North-Western India," *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001): 77–96, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temple Architecture: A Progression from Images to Shrines and Temple Cities," in *South Asian Archaeology 1999. Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, ed. Ellen M. Raven (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2008): 427–37, and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 561–85.

789 For a converted Jaina temple illustrating this approach, refer to the section by Hegewald in Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 57–61.

Vīraśaivas felt that no other icons besides the symbol of the *liṅga* should be venerated, the Jaina icons or ornamentations were not replaced with alternative representations and their obvious removal was in most cases not obscured. This suggests that another aim of these temple transformations was also to signal the power of the victorious Vīraśaivas.



Plate 1.47: Due to the diminished ritual activities in a Vīraśaiva context, typical raised Jaina sanctums were simply cleared and left empty after the conversion, as can be seen at Hallur.

As has been mentioned before, most buildings were converted from Jaina to Śaiva or Vīraśaiva usage. However, we also find examples of Jaina sacred spaces being re-used by Muslims. The former Jaina *basadi* Aratranbat Gudi, for example, at Bankapur in Karnataka, was converted into a mosque in the ninth or tenth century CE. Aratranbat Gudi means "sixty-nine temple" or temple with sixty-nine columns (*kambad, kambada*).[790] The large hall or *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the former *jinālaya* has been used as an Islamic prayer hall whilst the small hall, the vestibule (*antarāla*) and the shrine section of the structure have been closed off by a locked door (Plates 1.48, 5.49). Mosques follow a very different planning logic from Hindu and Jaina temples, and such re-used *basadi*s are rare, although they are also mentioned by Eaton in his study.[791] I discussed

790 On this converted *jinālaya*, refer to Joseph, *Jainism in South India*: 29.
791 Compare Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 259.

a similar example, in Andhra Pradesh, in section 6.1.2. I shall provide a comprehensive examination of converted *jinālayas* in Chapter 5.



Plate 1.48: The ninth to tenth-century CE Jaina Aratranbat Gudi at Bankapur was converted into a mosque, and its large front hall is used as the prayer hall. Notice also the Muslim graves on its side.

Takeovers of Jaina icons are rarer than seizures of *basadi*s. This makes sense, as the iconographical elaboration of a figural statue indicates clearly which Jina or divinity is depicted. Icons are more specific to a particular faith and, as such, harder to adapt. Some characters were more easily appropriated than others. For instance, representations of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, or Supārśvanātha, the seventh Jina, who both are depicted with a sheltering snake hood behind their heads, lend themselves especially well to conversions to Vaiṣṇava usage, since the god Viṣṇu, especially in his form of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa or Śeṣaśāyin (Śeṣaśāyī), is also typically protected by a hooded snake.[792] The serpent component of images of Pārśvanātha or Supārśvanātha can either be part of the Tīrthaṅkara statue itself or form an element of the back plate, extending upwards behind the statue, as part of the altar. As the god Śiva is likewise closely associated with serpents, the pedestals and backrests formerly associated with Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha icons could also be re-used easily by

792 For an illustration of a Jaina image converted to Vaiṣṇava use, refer to Plate 2.3 in the photo section and the text reference in Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 33.

Śaivas. This will be discussed with regards to the Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi in Chapter 5 of this volume (Plate 5.54).[793]

In other instances, however, iconographic features appear not to have mattered much; what are obviously statues of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras or guardians of the sacred temple complexes (*kṣetrapāla*s), *yakṣa*s or *yakṣī*s, were at times annexed and re-sanctified in a Śaiva or Vīraśaiva context.[794] For Vīraśaivas, who should worship only the *liṅga*, figural statues make no real sense at all. As such, the re-used Jina statue at Adargunchi and the converted *kṣetrapāla*s from Kagvad, which are all still venerated today in temples converted by the Vīraśaivas, are startling examples (Plates 1.49, 5.56)

In this context, it is useful to remember the argument of Richard H. Davis that images have histories, and that through acts of appropriation, the meaning of an image changes over time.[795] He applied this, for instance, to the context of Islamic iconoclasm or the removal of statues from their sacred contexts by European colonials, to adorn collections or museums. Davis showed that this practice in actual fact had a much longer indigenous tradition amongst Indic religious groups, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu.[796] During the struggle for hegemony in a region, statues chosen for their religious or political value were publicly removed—as Davis argues—without being physically mutilated or religiously dishonoured.[797] We have seen, of course, that such respectful treatment was not necessarily always given to Jaina sacred objects in Karnataka. Be that as it may, Davis characterises such deeds of appropriation as political acts which have more to do with an expression of victory, subjugation and defeat than with religious sentiments.[798] He goes so far as to describe the act of looting in the context of indigenous groups in medieval South Asia as "an important element in the rhetoric of kingship."[799] Davis also points out that looting is not about economic gain but that the stolen images were seen as "symbolic objects" and that this "is a matter of 'victory' not of theft."[800] Likewise, if a looted statue were later recaptured by its original owner, this would mark another change of direction in political power. In the

793 See, in particular, section 5.2.2 "Re-using Jaina Icons in Hindu and Vīraśaiva Contexts."

794 Re-used *kṣetrapāla*s can be seen in Plate 3.9 in the photo section with a text reference to it in Hegewald and Mitra, "The Past in the Present": 66.

795 Refer to Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 22–48, especially p. 22 and p. 23.

796 Davis describes such an expropriation of a Sri Lankan Buddhist icon being carried out by Hindus from South India (Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 24–26) and a Hindu expropriation of a statue belonging to another Hindu power (see, pp. 26–27, 28, 30). According to Davis "In their inscriptions, medieval Indian rulers proudly and repeatedly proclaim their expropriation of objects from other kings." (p. 26).

797 See Davis "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 23, 29, 32.

798 On this, refer to Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 22–24.

799 This quote has been taken from Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 26.

800 For these quotes, refer to Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 27. On the issue of looting being a kind of indigenous pattern of behaviour, refer also to Eaton, "Temple Desecration": 256, 259.



Plate 1.49: Examples of a converted Jina with white *tripuṇḍra* lines and of re-used Jaina statues can be seen in what are now the Vīraśaiva temples at Adargunchi (above) and at Kagvad (below).

sense of Roland Barthes, the meaning of the stolen statue shifts. It loses its former significance and acquires a new meaning in its changed context.[801] Much of this appears to be reflected in the Vīraśaiva re-use and appropriation of Jaina sacred images and temple settings.

I have focused here mainly on the annihilation, destruction and re-use of Jaina cultural artefacts, in connection with the loss in influence suffered by the Jaina community from about the late eleventh or early to mid-twelfth century onwards. Despite the obvious threat and devastation caused by a number of competing faith groups across the region, Jainism survived and even continued to thrive in a number of places throughout these troublesome times.

8 Continuity and Survival of Jainism in Karnataka

In this study, we are focusing on the rise and decline of Jainism in Karnataka. The fact that these trajectories are complex and that the two cannot always be neatly separated is illustrated by the fact that even during the Hoysaḷa age, when Jainas flourished, there are ample descriptions of persecutions of Jainas. Sundaram, for instance, writes with regards to the Hoysaḷas: "Once, when going on an expedition, Chikka Deva Raya of Mysore handed over power to Dodda Devayya and within three days he destroyed one thousand seven hundred Jaina temples and idols."[802]

We have evidence that the persecution of the Jainas continued at least up to the sixteenth, if not even into the nineteenth century.[803] Despite the emphasis in this study on the weakening of Jainism in Karnataka during medieval times, all the chapters in this volume also refer to, analyse and emphasise continuities, many lasting to the present day.[804] On the basis of the evidence in Karnataka, I do not agree with the view of Bissett Pratt, who classifies Jainism as a precarious religion which is further declining and just surviving.[805] Even under intense persecution, Jainism was not en-

801 See Davis, "Indian Art Objects as Loot": 28.

802 For this quote, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35. Dibbad also writes about the strength of Vaiṣṇavism under Chikka Deva Rāya or Rāja (Dibbad, Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 68). Doḍḍa Devayya is also known as Doḍḍayya. On this, see p. 72 of the last quoted source.

803 For discrimination and harassment until the sixteenth century, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 402. For persecution into the nineteenth century, refer to Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35. See also Scholz on the weakening of the Digambara ascetic tradition in Karnataka up to the nineteenth century (Scholz, "The Revival of the Digambara *Muni*": 260).

804 This is particularly the case with the joint chapter by Lauer and Scholz which takes an anthropological approach to the material and also asks what influence Muslim-Jaina struggles in the past had on contemporary feelings and interactions between these two distinct communities.

805 On this issue, refer to Pratt, "Why Do Religions Die?": 76.

tirely eradicated as a faith in Karnataka in the Middle Ages and did not completely cease to exist and develop in this region. In actual fact, there was a certain revival of Jainism in Karnataka in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries CE.[806] The discussion by Pius Fidelis Pinto in Chapter 2 and the examination of continuities in the architecture of the *basadi*s of the region in Chapter 5 show that selected royal, religious and provincial centres provided a certain security and support for the Jainas, even after the uncertainties of the twelfth century.

8.1 Protection by a Royal Centre: Vijayanagara

One royal urban centre which favoured the further existence of the Jaina faith was the capital city of Vijayanagara, the City of Victory, also known as Hampi (Hampī).[807] Pius F. Pinto in his contribution reminds us that the Vijayanagara empire as a whole covered practically the entire south Indian peninsula, including the modern States of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Although the empire was large, Jaina temples continued to be raised in its capital city, Vijayanagara, and the surrounding area. Many of these splendid structures will be discussed in Chapter 5.[808]

The Vijayanagara rulers were Hindus, predominantly Vaiṣṇavas, but they were tolerant towards the Jainas,[809] even defending them against the Śrīvaiṣṇavas when they were threatened, as discussed in section 5.4 on "Vaiṣṇavism and Śrīvaiṣṇavism." As we have seen, benefactors were not always followers of a creed to which they made donations.[810]

However, even in the major centre of Vijayanagara, the Jainas were not entirely safe from Vīraśaiva attacks. In Hampi, too, they were a "disadvantaged minority," as Pius F. Pinto puts it, and were persecuted and killed.[811] For further information on continuities at Hampi, refer to Chapters 2 and 5 in particular.

806 Compare Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177. Saletore refers to a revival of Jainism as early as the sixteenth century under Vādi Vidyānanda (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 255–356).

807 For more detailed information on the historical background, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 284, 313, and the section on the Vijayanagara empire in the chapter by Pinto.

808 Refer in particular to section 6.1, "Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century *Jinālaya*s at Vijayanagara."

809 On this issue, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 283–97, 298, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 77.

810 This has also been argued by Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 219.

811 For the quote, see Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 84, who bases his argumentation on a publication in Kannada by Chidananda Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala*: 235–37.

8.2 Continuity in a Religious Centre: Shravanabelgola

Since its beginnings in Karnataka, from at least the fifth century CE onwards, the site of Shravanabelgola has been the most prominent Digambara Jaina religious centre in the region. The surrounding area of Gaṅgāsvāḍi, which also includes the sites of Jinanathapura (Jinanāthapura) and Kambadhalli (Kambadhallī), just to mention two, became an active centre of Jaina activity from the ninth or tenth century onwards.[812]

Shravanabelgola bloomed under the Western Gaṅgās and the Hoysaḷas in particular. The site was so significant for the local Jainas that even during times of trouble, the central pilgrimage centre at least continued to expand. It carried on developing in later centuries, during the Vijayanagara and Wadiyar periods. In actual fact, the year 1400 CE is one during which a record number of visitors came to this celebrated pilgrimage site, as recorded in local inscriptions.[813] Even nowadays, Shravanabelgola is still the most significant pilgrimage site in the south of India and the main centre of Digambara Jainism in the State of Karnataka today. For further details on the endurance of Jaina culture at Shravanabelgola, refer to Chapter 5 later in this book.

8.3 Endurance in a Provincial Region: The West Coast of Karnataka

Probably the largest provincial area in which Jainism was able to continue its growth and development, even during difficult times, is the coastal belt of western Karnataka. I shall focus here on the later history of this region, as this has been more neglected in the available literature. As the Jainas gradually lost their influence in the capital of Vijayanagara, and without influential leaders who could support their faith against competitors in the capital city, they turned to the provinces to survive.[814] Although the region along the west coast of Karnataka formed part of the extensive Vijayanagara empire, this peripheral area was governed by local feudatory families, who ruled relatively independently of the centre.[815]

812 Gaṅgāvāḍī was the headquarters of the Gaṅgā Dynasty (Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280). For further information, refer to Narasimha Murtha, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 40.

813 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 324. As the discussion on the next page in Saletore shows, the interest in the site continued during the following years.

814 On this, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 312. On page 323 of the same publication, he categorises the Vijayanagara empire as maturing during the fifteenth, reaching its zenith in the sixteenth and slowly losing power in the seventeenth century. This loss of power resulted in a movement of the Jainas to religious centres such as Shravanabelgola, and provincial regions such as coastal Karnataka.

815 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 312–13.

The earliest local rulers amongst these were the Āḷupas who had been dependents, connected in intermarriage with the Kadambas of Banavāsi and the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. Like these two major imperial dynasties, the Āḷupas also practised religious tolerance in their area and actively supported Jainism.[816] Many of the Āḷupa officers, commanders and ministers came from leading local Jaina families. In addition to the Āḷupa chiefs, their often Jaina military and administrative staff, also influential local Jaina merchant families supported the building of *basadi*s. The Āḷupas were followed by the Sāḷuvas of Gērusoppe and Hāḍuvaḷḷi, the Kellas, the Nagire Rājyas, the Bhairavas (Bhairava or Bhairasa Oḍeyars of Kārkaḷa), the Chauṭas of Mūdabidri, the Baṅgas of Bangavadi and other local rulers, who at times overlapped and coexisted, ruling over what were often quite small areas.[817] All of them, however, appear to have been in favour of supporting Jaina activities.[818]

According to Pius F. Pinto, although these coastal chieftains were economically quite weak, they had considerable political autonomy and were able to make independent decisions favourable to the Jaina community, allowing it to live in relative communal harmony at a time when the plight of the Jainas had severely deteriorated in other regions of Karnataka. The coastal rulers supported the building of Jaina *basadi*s and the funding of rituals. A number of monastic headquarters were also established, with the largest at Mudabidri, Karkal, Varanga (Varāṅga, Varāṅganā) (Plate 1.50) and Haduvalli (Hāḍuhaḷḷi) near Gerusoppe.[819] Mudabidri was the headquarters of the Candrakīrti Bhaṭṭārakas, Karkal was the *maṭha* of the Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭārakas and Varanga of the Devendrakīrti Bhaṭṭārakas. Other smaller monastic seats developed as subsidiaries of these central monastic centres.[820] Today, only Karkal, Mudabidri, Humcha and Narasimharajapura, have active *maṭha*s.[821] These places, but also Venur, Varanga, Barkur (Bārkūr) and others, continued as centres of Jaina pilgrimage and ritual, art production, temple building and the composition of Jaina literature.

816 On this issue, see Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 86. In addition to general tolerance and support for Jainism, it has to be pointed out that connections between the different groups and sects of various religions were very close in this area anyway. One can notice a lot of sharing of rituals, such as *bhūta* worship. On strong interactions with local practices, see Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History*, Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 87–90, and Pinto in this volume.

817 Further prominent ruling families were the Kongāḷvas, the Cangāḷvas, the Sāḷuvas of Sangītapura, the Samantas of Mulki, the Tolahas of Sural, Ajilas of Vēṇur and the Mulas of Bailangadi, amongst others. On this, see Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 86, and Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 87–100, 313.

818 For further information, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 87, and Pinto in this book.

819 On this issue, see Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 87, and Chapter 2 by Pinto in this volume.

820 Refer to Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 87.

821 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53. A small monastic institution survives in Kambadhalli but its significance seems to be very limited.



Plate 1.50: Entrance to the ancient Jaina *maṭha* at Varanga, displaying the typical sloping red tiled roofs, characteristic of the architecture along the coastal line of Karnataka, which has adapted to strong rains.

Pius F. Pinto argues in Chapter 2 that the reason Jainism survived and flourished to such an extent in coastal Karnataka was that it adapted more effectively there than elsewhere to the regional forms of Hinduism and folk practices, thus becoming an integral part of local society. He also reminds us that the situation was not the same everywhere. The neighbouring region of Keḷadi, just north of the Kanara Region of coastal Karnataka,[822] was dominated by Vīraśaivas and did not welcome Jainas. The Keḷadi Nāyakas allegedly coerced the Jaina chiefs of Sōde or Sōndā and Bilagi or Bīḷigi to convert to Vīraśaivism, which also led to the conversion of their subjects. As a result, the Jaina centres of Gerusoppe, Bhatkal (Bhaṭkaḷ, Bhaṭakaḷa) and Haduvalli in North Kanara District also deteriorated. The situation in regions such as these contributed to a general decline of the Jaina faith throughout the State.[823] Desai ascribes the decline in Jainism from the seventeenth century onwards to the actions of the Vīraśaivas and to the aggressive Muslim incursions and attacks in the area.[824] Nevertheless, Jainism flourished along the west coast of Karnataka at a time when it was severely

822 The coastal region of Kannara is also known as South Kanara or Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa.

823 Pinto has written on this topic in this volume. See also Narasimha Murthy, who outlines how the Rāṣṭrakūṭas yielded power to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ to the Coḷas, who moved into the area from the south (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 39).

824 On this issue, refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 132–33.

in decline elsewhere in the region. The coastal belt still represents one of the major centres of Jaina culture in India today.

Inscriptional records from the mid-fourteenth to the early seventeenth century testify to the strong support which Jaina activities received from aristocrats as well as ordinary people, amongst them many women, in the coastal belt.[825] It is important to understand, however, that it was now the backing of the common people that ensured Jainism's survival, rather than royal support, as in earlier centuries.[826] Even today, the coexistence of different creeds and even their active interaction throughout this region is surprisingly peaceful. Besides sharing religious practices, as mentioned above, they also actively interact at certain sacred sites. For instance, the manager (*moktēsara*) of the Mañjunātha Svāmi, a Śiva temple at Dharmasthala, always comes from a Jaina family, whilst its priests are Vaiṣṇavas, illustrating an admirable coexistence and interaction of different faith groups around a single temple.[827]

We can see, then, that although the Jainas lost much of their property and influence as Śaivism, Śrīvaiṣṇavism, and Vīraśaivism grew in popularity, and with the arrival of Islam in the wider area, their faith did not die out. At the royal centre of Vijayanagara, the religious centre of Shravanabelgola and in the coastal region, in particular, Jaina ritual practice, art and architecture continued to develop and evolve in Karnataka, even if on a much smaller scale than before.

9 Conclusion: Reasons for the Weakening of Jaina Influence in Karnataka

At the end of this large and comprehensive research project, I will attempt to summarise the results from all the involved research areas once again in brief for a better understanding of the measured but marked decline of the formerly dominant Jaina community in the area of the modern-day State of Karnataka during Medieval times. This decrease in influence forces itself on our notice in the late eleventh and early twelfth century and was particularly pronounced from the late twelfth century onwards. It can be ascribed not to a single major cause but to a variety of interrelated reasons. Chains of events that affected one another and influenced interconnected areas led to the dwindling of Jaina religious and political impact in the region. The waning of Jaina influence was a gradual process, spanning several centuries, and not affecting all areas of Karnataka equally at the same time.

825 Saletore has written on this subject (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 319).

826 This has been stressed by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 322.

827 Pinto has written on this issue (Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 91). There is also a Jaina temple and a statue of Bāhubali at the site of Dharmasthala.

Due to the large number of players involved in these historic, political, economic, social and religious upheavals, our team has uncovered diverse and even conflicting narratives and interpretations. What is especially striking is the way in which a single factor, while not in itself negative, might in the end have been the element that caused the fortunes of the Jainas to tip. Often such elements had initially even helped to establish and widen Jaina authority in the State, only to be given too much importance, gain excessively in influence and become integrated so tightly into Jaina practice as to alienate at least orthodox Jainas. This led to a fragmentation and a decimation of the Jaina *saṅgha*. Additionally, the Jainas were at times perhaps too slow to react and adapt. Possibly, they had become too used to a comfortable position of power. At this volatile time of change, whilst the clergy appear now and then to have been somewhat inflexible in the face of attempts to liberate the faith, some ordinary devotees, by contrast, decided to find salvation by following other religions who were vying for new supporters.

9.1 The Particular Situation of Jainism in Karnataka

Jainism wielded considerable influence over the religious, political and cultural life of the people of Karnataka for several centuries, from its establishment in about the fifth century CE and its development into an influential power in the seventh century CE, until the eleventh, if not the early to mid-twelfth century. The Jainas' success seems at least partially to have been due to their relatively open, inclusive approach to other religions and their traditions. By incorporating into Jainism Tantric and *bhakti* elements, which were very popular at the time, whilst holding on more or less to their own tenets, the Jainas managed to substantially expand their following, especially in the period from the eighth to the tenth century CE. At this time, non-Vedic religions such as Jainism (and Buddhism), posed real challenges to Hindu orthodoxy. However, from the late eleventh century, the power base of these heterodox religions severely declined and from the thirteenth to fourteenth century onwards, the Jainas almost completely lost their influence in central and northern Karnataka and became a disempowered minority. Hindus had reacted to this non-Vedic threat by developing new, often more devotional forms of their faith, which successfully attracted followers as well as the support of influential rulers.

The individual projects within this large research venture have come up with a range of conclusions, enabling us to identify a number of causes of the waning of Jainism in Karnataka during the medieval period. The explanatory factors involved are of two basic types: voluntary and internal on the one hand and external or imposed on

the other.[828] However, as the reasons for the collapse of Jaina hegemony in the State of Karnataka are very diverse and intertwined in a highly complex fashion, it is difficult to separate them neatly from one another. Any one factor had a marked effect on other areas, and many are tightly interconnected.[829]

9.1.1 Loss of Political and Financial Support

There is overwhelming evidence for the conclusion that the breakdown of royal support was the primary cause of the sudden decline of Jainism in Karnataka. The substantial backing the faith group received after the initial conversion of kings was crucial for its early establishment, development and expansion, allowing it to become influential in the region during the medieval period. At this time, the wider area was divided into a number of regional kingdoms. With the rise of Kadamba and Gaṅgā power in Karnataka, Jainism flourished and gained further support, especially from the Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Hoysaḷas. However, towards the end of the tenth century CE, both the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Gaṅgā dynasties suffered a substantial loss in power at pretty much the same time.[830] All the authors in this publication underscore this as a significant factor in the demise of the Jainas. Once the religion had been firmly established and had substantially expanded its number of properties and clergy, whose maintenance and survival had to be guaranteed, the network of religious centres could not subsist without funding and donations on a large scale.

Connected to this shortfall in royal support was a loss of patronage from other political and financial benefactors, such as secular and more localised rulers. These included more regional feudatories and members of the aristocratic and upper levels of society, such as ministers and high-ranking military figures, as well as of the influential trading classes and corporate bodies. However, also ordinary people had supported the rise of Jainism. Although the support for Jainism (and Buddhism) was generally stronger in urban centres, during its peak of success, even farmers championed

828 In the nineteen-thirties, Saletore suggested four main reasons for the decline of Jainism in Karnataka. According to him, all the factors he deduced are specific to the particular geographical region and time frame (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 279). Our study has built on earlier findings and taken the research further. Pratt suggested that when religions die, a combination of different causes are always at work. He proposed that we are dealing with a mixture of, on the one hand, violent and hostile attacks, military rivals, propaganda, conversion and missionary activities, which can be peaceful or violent, and on the other, internal, more subtle factors (Pratt, "Why Do Religions Die?"). Although Jainism clearly did not die, these different levels of threat can also be seen in our data from Karnataka.

829 Rice has written on this in more detail (B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg: From the Inscriptions* [New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986 (1909)]: 72).

830 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 280, and Pinto, who emphasise the importance of the downfall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa und the Hoysaḷa dynasties for the position of the Jainas (Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 82).

Jainism and participated in ritual proceedings. This shows, that during its heyday, between the eighth or tenth and the twelfth centuries, Jainism obtained support from all groups of society. In return, the Jainas provided spiritual and religious guidance to the people and contributed to the further development of all the diverse strands of the arts in Karnataka. However, when the upper strata of society turned away from Jainism, also the masses converted and the Jainas lost financial support from all levels of society.

From the tenth century CE onwards, the monarchs, their ministers, feudatories and commercial tycoons changed very frequently. As one group gained in power, another surrendered, leading to a highly unstable political situation.[831] Influential leaders had often offered not only economic support to the Jainas but also physical protection. With the conversion of rulers to Vīraśaivism in particular, the Jainas suffered serious losses of patronage, protection and even control over trade. This latter harmed them severely; the salvaging of at least their commercial connections could have provided them with a certain financial independence.

The withdrawal of political and financial backing thus caused a particular practical problem. It became impossible for the remaining Jainas in Karnataka to maintain their numerous *basadi*s, monasteries, medical centres and charity houses, as well as the religious and administrative staff looking after their land, properties and religious communities.

9.1.2 Contesting Faiths, Complacency and Conversion

In addition to the withdrawal of patronage from the Jainas, the sequence of religious trials, new movements and entirely new faith groups which entered the area was probably the second most decisive factor in the destabilisation of Jainism in Karnataka. New religions emerged at very short intervals over these years. The Tantric movement, from about the eighth century CE, the Hindu resurgence in the south of India from the ninth century CE, the powerful *bhakti* path in Karnataka from about the tenth century CE, and the Śaiva revival from the late eleventh or early to mid-twelfth century, all affected the religious and social environment in Karnataka.

It is clear that in the period from the eighth to the tenth century CE, Jainas opened up in a pronounced way to other faiths and allowed substantial changes to be made to the structure and administration of their own religion. Initially, these transformations—such as a liberal attitude towards women, in the context of the Yāpanīyas, the acceptance of large numbers of converts from other faith groups, the consolidation of the position of female divinities such as the *yakṣī*s, and the acceptance of large donations for building more *basadi*s and *maṭha*s—helped them to grow in popularity. In

831 Narasimha Murthy has described this situation (Narasimha Murthy, “History of Jainism in Karnataka”: 39–40).

the long run, however, at least some of these elements probably contributed to their gradual decline.

It is surprising how little the seemingly all-powerful Jainas appear to have been aware of how much the upsurge of new religious groups in the wider area might threaten them. This openness is one of several elements which might seem initially to be positive, but of which we can say, with hindsight, that they ended up endangering the faith. We have outlined the tolerant and liberal approach of the Jainas to other religions as something which at first allowed them to make large numbers of converts quickly. Once they had reached a position of comfortable superiority, however, this tolerance turned into what one might describe as a noncommittal ignoring of religious developments around them: an attitude that soon endangered the religion. We might describe the approach of the Jainas from about the eleventh century onwards as complacent or indifferent. Jaina leaders were obviously unprepared for a situation of fierce religious competition, which ultimately contributed to their displacement from power.[832]

Especially detrimental in this context was the new—or at least strongly reformed—movement of the Vīraśaivas from the middle of the twelfth century, which as it appears was long disregarded and severely underestimated by the formerly dominant Jaina religious leaders. Early Vīraśaivism in particular was aggressive and militant. This shows that from an initially political and financial threat, described in the previous paragraph, followed by religious competition, the situation turned into an outright struggle for survival against Vīraśaivism. With its egalitarian and classless outlook, this new or strongly reformed faith appealed especially to those levels of society which, according to the local caste system, were described as of lower ranking status. In the past, the Jainas had appealed to these groups, but through the adoption of castes, had lost this advantage. Again, the acceptance of castes, which initially helped their rise of the Jainas, later endangered their position, making them unattractive to groups of lower caste status. The Jainas did not manage to counteract the strength of the powerful Vīraśaiva religious movement. The conversion of important families of vassals to Vīraśaivism caused them particular problems; through the conversion of high levels of society and of the ruling classes, the Vīraśaivas absorbed all financial patronage.

However, even worse news for the Jainas was the conversion to Vīraśaivism of the influential merchant classes of the Vīra Bāṇajigas, who represented the wealthy middle classes at this time. The middle and upper layers of society had long been dominated by the Jainas, but once the Vīraśaivas became active in trade, they appear to have gained influence rapidly. This had a detrimental effect on the position of the Jainas. Today, the sub-caste of traders or Bāṇajigas in Karnataka are still mainly Vīraśaivas.[833]

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832 Saletore and Narasimha Murthy have also commented on this issue (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 271, 280; Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53). Saletore bemoans in particular the lack of a competent mentor, such as Siṁhanandi (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 283), who could have proven to be a strong religious leader as well as a well-versed politician at this time.

833 Refer to McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture": 177–78.

We have heard about the conversion of feudatory and royal families as well as of the merchant classes to Vīraśaivism. Our research has shown that such conversions played a powerful role. Whilst during the early period of the Vīraśaiva upsurge in Karnataka, some conversions appear to have been enforced, influential Vīraśaiva teachers later approached the matter in a more subtle and charismatic manner and managed to convert influential rulers as well as the common people more easily.

Although their influence was less pronounced than that of the powerful Vīraśaivas, Śaivas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas and other Hindu sects also threatened the existence of the Jainas. This was a time of Hindu revivalism, in which the *bhakti* movements played an important role and created enormous rivalry for the faith groups already in the area. In contrast to Śrīvaiṣṇavism, whose early saints came from the modern region of Tamil Nadu and conversed and preached in Tamil language, Jainism, with its strong ancient roots in Karnataka and no language barrier to hinder its missionary activities, should have been in an advantageous situation. But despite this, the Jainas also lost members to this new Hindu creed from Tamil Nadu.

Once Islam also appeared on the scene at the northern edge of Karnataka, the position of the Jainas was further weakened. Although much damage had already been done to the influence of Jaina rulers, their *basadi*s and monasteries, Islam constituted another significant religious group competing for recognition and power in the region. This further undermined the already strongly shaken position of the Jainas, who by this time were already in a minority in the northern regions of the State.

9.1.3 Fragmentation and Internal Competition

The failure of the Jainas to form a united front against other religions and the challenges of the times also weakened the faith. The fragmentation of Jaina religious society into large numbers of different subgroups, such as Śvetāmbaras, Digambaras, Yāpanīyas, diverse *gaṇa*s, *gaccha*s, *anvaya*s and various other *saṅgha*s, all with their distinct *maṭha*s and local leaders, meant that despite their shared religious origin, these groups often fought against one another. Even within individual subgroups, damaging struggles for leading positions in monasteries and temples often took place.

The strength of the Yāpanīyas, in particular, in the period from the eighth to the tenth century CE, and their success in accruing followers, was not strategically employed by the Jainas to consolidate the entire faith. On the contrary, the Digambara Mūla Saṅgha tried to isolate the Yāpanīyas and brand them as heretics. Instead of building on the success of the Yāpanīyas in attracting converts, especially women, to Jainism, leaders engaged in internal competition over how to run Jaina organisations.

The problem of disintegration was made worse by the fact that the Jainas do not appear to have recognised the fragmentation and dissolution of their own religion. Nor

did they realise that the reorganisation of their social structure in the form of castes would have positive but also negative consequences for their standing.

Castes had initially become a feature of Jainism more or less by accident, and at first perhaps even unnoticed, after large numbers who converted from Hindu faiths in the period from the fourth to the sixth century CE had held on to their caste status. However, the situation changed when castes were officially accepted and affirmed by the Jainas in the eighth century CE. From this time onwards, the mendicant path was no longer open to the lowest levels of society, although this had previously been an important way for them to gain recognition and social standing. The initially strongly egalitarian nature of Jainism was thus somewhat constrained if not entirely lost. In this context, it is ironic that from the twelfth century onwards, and particularly during the fifteenth century, one reason for the stark increase in conversions to Vīraśaivism appears to have been their rejection of the Hindu caste system. The Jainas had, of course, initially also gained support by rejecting castes when they put down roots in Karnataka.

Had the Jainas taken these problems seriously and tried to remedy them at once, the situation could perhaps have been saved. However, as Saletore has argued, at this time of crisis in Karnataka, there were too few individual Jaina reformers who could have corrected such unintended developments and reinvigorated the faith again.[834] Of course, with hindsight, it is easy to see this. Reading about the history and developments of this time, one gets the feeling of an unremitting barrage of events and a breath-taking surge to Jaina supremacy within just a couple of centuries, which would have made it difficult to notice the sweet spot at which a formerly attractive feature turned into a problem.

9.1.4 Jaina Ascetics as Settled Landowners

Furthermore, we have shown that the deterioration of Jaina pre-eminence in the region was due to a disregard for religious duties such as the renunciation of home and possessions. The introduction of amenities and wealth, which allowed ascetics to leave their path of purely selfless service and severe poverty, certainly set the stage for a distinctive process of change which appears to have contributed to a certain disintegration and exposed the ascetics to criticism from their own ranks, as well as blurring clear distinctions between different religious groups.[835]

834 On this, see Saleltore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 270–71.

835 Desai has written on this subject (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 170).

The problem was perhaps not so much the benefactions, as such, as the fact that donated properties required larger and larger funds to look after them. Once donated and officially sanctified, a *basadi* needed continuous "core" contributions, not only to maintain the ritual activities but also to pay for the repair and upkeep of the structures and statues and the priests tending to them. As such, every benefaction demanded further endowments, creating a vicious circle of dependency on money of which the monks had initially been absolutely independent.

An associated issue was the tendency of some Jaina ascetics to abandon their homeless life-style and settle down more permanently in monastic establishments. On the one hand, this helped them by allowing them to forge closer links with lay people, and intensify their mutual interdependence. On the other hand, however, it added to the accumulation of wealth and land, which went against the core ideals which the ascetics had pledged to abide by, of giving up all their belongings and cutting ties with the material world. This is why the institution of the dressed, not fully-initiated *bhaṭṭāraka*s was introduced, but also these had to be assisted by monks and nuns in their work.

The points outlined in this section perhaps illustrate particularly well the conundrum faced by the Jainas as their faith developed. Many modifications initially led to a rise in popularity of their faith in Karnataka. However, beyond a certain level, these initially helpful aspects were to become liabilities, which severely changed the outlook of the religion, made it open to criticism and in the long run endangered its survival.

9.1.5 Close Connections with Other Religious Practices

As we have seen, there is no sound basis for labelling the development observable in Jainism of focusing increasingly on divinities a violation of their central religious tenets. We have no evidence that a pure and reduced form of Jainism, focusing only on ascetics and the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, ever existed. Divinities appear to have been part of the ritual from the very beginning. The situation did of course change markedly between the eighth and the tenth century CE. At least at certain sites, the absolute focus on the Tīrthaṅkaras, who are the only beings who have reached enlightenment and who can guide the worshippers on their path to liberation, as understood by Jainism, was slightly marginalised from the tenth century CE onwards. The Jaina pantheon of gods and goddesses became so enlarged and their status so increased that a select number of *basadi*s even have no statues of the Jinas, but only goddesses in the form of powerful *yakṣī*s at the centre of their cult. This suggests that the Tīrthaṅkaras alone provided too little direct support for the lay community, and shows the goddesses' rise in influence. However, in terms of religious hierarchy, the Tīrthaṅkaras are far above the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s. In fact, as we have seen, gods and goddesses have first to be reborn as humans to start the long and arduous path towards salvation on earth.

While it is true that, with this focus on divinities, the Jainas moved in their development and practice somewhat closer to Hindu and Buddhist ritual practices, and became somewhat less distinct in their approach to the sacred, it is difficult to argue that this was a corruption of the faith, as *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s had been worshipped from the very beginnings of Jainism. It may, however, be true that, once the popularity of the *yakṣī*s had started—at least at certain individual sites—to almost overpower the importance of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the cohesion and clarity of the Jaina path to salvation might have suffered. This could have worked against the stabilisation of the religion.

The suggestion that the Jainas' adherence to the principle of *ahiṃsā*—non-injury—made them too unworldly is likewise unconvincing.[836] Jainism, with its heroic approach to conquering one's own desires, appealed especially to martial groups and many generals and army chiefs were in fact Jainas, as the right to defend oneself and one's kingdom did not fall under the category of violence or harming others. I therefore conclude that the tenet of *ahiṃsā* alone would not have been enough to bring Jainism down.

9.1.6 Lack of Leadership in Jainism

It does seem to be true that, at least from the twelfth century, the Jainas lacked strong enough leadership. For whatever reason, they were no longer successful in attracting ascetics and teachers who could effectively support and propagate their beliefs at least in the open philosophical and theological contests where religious leaders commonly defended their own faith. By contrast, the followers of the new—or at least radically reformed—Vīraśaiva creed appear to have been extremely active and ambitious, with strong and charismatic leaders bent on enlarging their religious community. They often managed to defeat the Jainas in debate, swaying the masses in their favour. Such contests often resulted in large-scale conversions away from Jainism. Why this was the case is difficult to ascertain. Possibly, after centuries of domination, the Jainas were so sure of their own position of supremacy, and so occupied with looking after their wealth and properties, that they thought they had enough political influence not to be affected by such challenges. Unfortunately, however, history proved them wrong. Most of the ruling classes were converted from Jainism to Vīraśaivism, very much due to the influence of the above-mentioned Vīraśaiva saints.

As we have shown, through such conversions, the Jainas lost not only in following, but also in financial support and protection. The loss of protection was especially detrimental, as Vīraśaivas were not only quick in debates and charismatic as leaders, but also militarily inclined. After defeat in debates, the *ahiṃsā*-loving Jainas were often physically persecuted, and their places of worship were destroyed.

836 See the discussion in Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 57.

9.2 Concluding Thoughts

The discussion in this chapter and the volume as a whole has shown that there are a number of internal factors within Jainism itself which appear to have led to a weakening of the faith over several centuries, as becomes especially apparent from the eleventh century onwards. In addition, however, external factors such as the rise in influence of Vīraśaivism and other faith groups have to be taken into account. Initially, the rise of Jainism in Karnataka in the early centuries of the common era appears to have owed a lot to the fact that the majority of the ruling classes and the better-off trading communities supported it. Jainism became especially popular amongst the upper sections of society. This initial gain and upsurge in influence created dependencies which in the long run resulted in an enormous fall from grace. The expansion of *basadi*s and icons meant that enormous sums were required for the simple maintenance of shrines and monasteries, which had developed into complex institutions.

In addition to these largely political and economic factors, we should not forget the social elements of the equation, such as the attraction to Jainas of the strongly propagated egalitarianism of Vīraśaivism.[837] The Jainas, abandoning their earlier commitment to opportunity of equality, had come to accept the caste system after accommodating Hindu converts, and had also failed to capitalise on the practices of their own Yāpanīyas, who offered even more equal opportunities than mainstream Digambara Jainism, enticing women in particular to convert. The Digambara main *saṅgha*, instead of strengthening the community as a whole, had absorbed the subgroup of the Yāpanīyas and standardised and adjusted their approach.

We must also assume that religious, dogmatic and ritualistic factors will have played a role. It is easy to imagine the attraction of the single divine principle and strongly reduced ritual of Vīraśaivism, in view of the increase in pompous Jaina ceremonies, the bloated religious administration, and the enormous enlargement of the Jaina pantheon, whose myriads of divine and enlightened figures all required allegiance and a certain financial support from devotees. We should, however, remember that the opposite case could also be made: earlier forms of Jainism might have been too strict and lifeless to attract many followers, but a certain number of approachable divine beings would have made the religion more appealing.

Perhaps Vīraśaivism offered a comfortable and appealing middle way between earlier forms of Jainism which offered too little and its later settled, landowning guise, characterised by too much of everything. Furthermore, Vīraśaivism is a *bhakti* religion, requiring strong personal and emotional involvement, which at this time apparently appealed to many, as we see from the enormous success of not only Śaiva but also

837 However, Scholz reminds us in Chapter 3 that, just like the initially caste-less Jainas, also the Vīraśaivas eventually developed a caste system.

Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* sects. Sabine Scholz, in Chapter 3, stresses that the followers of monotheistic religions have generally been characterised as executing a stronger and more rigorous "missionary zeal," as she calls it. Somehow, the absolute focus on a single divine entity considered superior to all other powers can lead to a lack of tolerance towards other religious groups, which can easily lead to violence. At least during the early phase of Vīraśaivism in Karnataka, this seems to have been the case.

It appears that the Jainas, who had been in the ascendant for centuries, had grown used to a position of strength and had lost the verve of a new emerging creed, with the ability to adapt quickly to changing circumstances and fight on every level for their survival. The Jainas had become accustomed to administering their own wealth, landed properties and power and were preoccupied more with organising rituals and festivities, and perhaps celebrating their own importance, than linking up directly with their human followers, who after all provided their legitimisation and economic basis. Against this, however, we have to balance the fact that in the period from the eighth to the tenth century CE, Jaina ascetics engaged more intensely with the laity and offered them more opportunities to engage in ritual activities. As such, householders were directly involved in ceremonies and religious festivals. This illustrates again the complex nature of the manifold developments in Jainism in the early and later Middle Ages.

Within only two to four hundred years, Jainism went from being one of the foremost religions of Karnataka to one of the least influential faith groups in the area. The discussion in this volume shows that there is no single, simple explanation for either the rise or the decline of Jainism. In both cases, we are dealing with multifarious causes, whether religious, political, economic or social. Whilst during earlier periods of Indian history, organised, methodical and widespread discrimination against the adherents of contending religious groups, and their active maltreatment with weapons, were very rare, the persecution of the Jainas in the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century represented a real change.[838] Harmony and tolerance gave way to harsh harassment and outright persecutions.

The situation which presented itself to the Jainas from the late eleventh century onwards, characterised by political impediments, military defeats, failure of economic control and a general catastrophic loss in power, represented a condition of unavoidable calamity (*upasarga*). This explicitly allowed for the application of the religious ritual of death by self-starvation to be carried out. In this desperate situation, many Jainas abandoned worldly realities to search for shelter in religious pursuits and even in the execution of *sallekhanā*. This became a regular practice, carried out by royalty, ascetics and common people, including a large number of women. Evidence of this can be found at the main sacred centres of Koppala and Shravanabelgola, where nu-

838 On this issue, see also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 401.

merous *niṣidhi* memorials commemorate these acts of deep religious devotion and ultimate asceticism. Others escaped this fate by converting to up-and-coming faith groups.

The history of Karnataka is closely linked to the spread, development and flourishing of Jainism. It appears to have reached the area in the second century CE, to have risen to significance between the fifth and the seventh century CE and to have enjoyed a heyday from the eighth century CE onwards. Its period of flourishing lasted at least until the eleventh and in many areas of the State far into the twelfth century, during which it had permeated all layers of civilian society and won the allegiance of royalty. The Jainas supported the creation of two major royal dynasties, the Gaṅgās and the Hoysaḷas, who both ruled over extensive kingdoms. Furthermore, they influenced the course of a wide-reaching literary, artistic, architectural, religious, social and political transformation and renewal in the region for about a thousand years, from the second to the twelfth century and in certain areas of Karnataka for even longer. At the royal centre of Vijayanagara, for instance, Jainism flourished until the fourteenth century, while the sacred pilgrimage site of Shravanabelgola continues to evolve, and there are many places along the west coast of India where Jainism prospered beyond the sixteenth century and still exhibits a strong religious presence today.

The success of the Jainas was in many respects due to the flexibility, innovation and internal diversity of their own faith as well as its ability to further develop their own and absorb other religious elements and concepts and to adapt to quickly changing circumstances. The Jainas opened up to aspects of Hinduism without becoming Hinduised or losing their own inner core values. All religious groups need to adapt to changes in their surroundings in order to survive. Otherwise, they are in danger of declining, entirely dissolving or being absorbed by other bigger players in the field, as has been the case with so many of the smaller religious groups mentioned in this chapter.

Readers will, of course, decide for themselves whether the Jainas absorbed too many changes too quickly, moving too far away from their core tenets of asceticism and homelessness. However, this is not a view which I share. To my mind, the Jainas displayed an impressive power to adapt and to survive. The broadminded approach of the Yāpanīya group, the veneration of *Yakṣī*s, and the establishment of monasteries initially all contributed to the growth of Jainism in the region of Karnataka. Only once fragmentation, the importance of goddesses and landownership had developed beyond a certain workable limit did these elements become potentially problematic. Strictly speaking, it is not the changes themselves which caused the downfall of Jainism, but their further development in certain places at particular times. This added to a gradual decrease in influence that resulted from a withdrawal of patronage and financial support more generally and the arrival in the region within a very short time of a large number of religious groups, all competing for supremacy. The important point, however, is that despite this evident decline in influence, Jainism survived the

struggles of the later medieval period in Karnataka to present a thriving and still developing religious tradition in South India and the whole subcontinent today.

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Pius F. Pinto

Chapter 2
An Overview of Jaina History in Karnataka: From the Third Century BCE to the Sixteenth Century

1 Introduction

The fortunes of Jainism in Karnataka have always depended on the favour it enjoyed at the hands of secular rulers, be they kings or feudatories. This fact is very much in evidence when we see that Jainism reached its zenith in the twelfth century, and thereafter, declined steadily. However, royal favour or disfavour is generally not cited among the reasons which affected the status of this religion in the many different kingdoms of the region under study. While the advent of new religions and philosophical systems such as Vīraśaivism and Śrīvaiṣṇavism has always been held mainly responsible for the decline of Jainism, the disinterest or the withdrawal of active patronage by the rulers has not been considered to be a major factor in this process. It is our contention that in addition to the many other factors that led to the growth and decline of Jainism in Karnataka, the bestowing and the withdrawal of political patronage should be considered among the most important. This can be established by a careful interpretation of available historical data, including inscriptional material.

2 Sources and Survey of Literature

Primary sources for reconstructing the history of Jainism in Karnataka are the published volumes of inscriptions such as *Epigraphia Carnatica*,[1] and inscriptions of individual districts. Many of these inscriptions were first published in such journals as *Indian Antiquary*[2] and in the annual reports on Indian Epigraphy and south Indian Epigraphy and the gazetteers of the districts of Karnataka.

1 Between 1886 and 1905 Benjamin Lewis Rice published twelve volumes on the epigraphy of Old Mysore region, followed by a revised edition by R. Narasimhachar in 1923, and a third revised edition by P.B. Gopal between 1972 and 1984.

2 The journal *The Indian Antiquary* was published between 1872 and 1933, highlighting themes of Indian archaeology, history, philosophy, religion, literature, etc.; successor journals are the *New Indian Antiquary* published from 1938 to 1947 and *Indian Antiquary* from 1964 to 1971.

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The first and exhaustive history of Jainism in Karnataka is the classic *Medieval Jainism* by B.A. Saletore (1938).[3] Saletore dealt with Jainism in Vijayanagar, supporting his description with extensive lithic records. P.B. Desai's *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (1957) is an equally revered study where Karnataka is the subject of an extended chapter.[4] S.R. Sharma's *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (1940) has a valuable "Historical Survey" which is a comprehensive description of Jainism under several major dynastic rulers of Karnataka.[5] S.P. Chavan's *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (2005) stresses the role played by the major Jaina centres of Karnataka such as Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa), Mudabidri (Mūdabidri), etc., and by the *bhaṭṭārakas* of these centres in the history of Jainism in this area.[6] Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh's *Jainism in Early Mediaeval Karnataka (c. AD 500–1200)* (1975) focuses on the monastic and ritualistic aspects of the Jaina faith.[7]

Among basic works on the dynastic rulers of Karnataka, the following must be listed: *The Kadamba Kula* (1931) of G.M. Moraes,[8] *The Rashtrakutas and their Times* (1934) of A.S. Altekar,[9] *The Gangas of Talakad* (1936) of M.V. Krishna Rao,[10] *Karnatakada Arasumanethanagalu* (1946) of N. Lakshminarayana Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi,[11] and *The Chalukyas of Badami* (1978) of M.S. Nagaraja Rao.[12] Further noteworthy publications are: B.R. Gopal, *The Chalukyas of Kalyan and the Kalachuris* (1981),[13] B.R. Gopal (ed.), *The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed* (1994),[14] William Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa* (1950),[15] B. Sheikh Ali (ed.), *The Hoysala Dynasty* (1972),[16] B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka* (vol. 1),[17] B. Shaikh Ali, *History of the Western Gangas* (1976),[18] J. Duncan M. Derretts,

3 Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism with Special Reference to the Vijayanagar Empire* (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938).

4 P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (Solapur: Jaina Samskruti Samrakshaka Sangha, Sholapur, 1957).

5 S.R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (Dharwar: Karnataka Printing Works, 1940).

6 Sundanda P. Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005).

7 For a brief survey of these works, see Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (C. A.D. 500–1200)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975): 3–4.

8 George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula* (Bombay: B.X. Furtado & Sons, 1931).

9 Anant Sadashiv Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times* (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1967).

10 Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talakad* (Calcutta: B.G. Paul & Co., 1936).

11 Lakshminarayana Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi, *Karnatakada Arasumanethanagalu* (Dharwar: Karnataka Research Office, 1946).

12 Nagaraja Rao, *The Chalukyas of Badami* (Bangalore: Mythic Society, 1978).

13 B.R. Gopal, *The Chalukyas of Kalyan and the Kalachuris* (Dharwad: Prasārānga, Karnatak University, 1981).

14 B.R. Gopal, ed., *The Rashtrakutas of Malkhad. Studies in their History and Culture* (Mysore: Geetha Book House, 1994).

15 William Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa* (Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1950).

16 Sheik B. Ali, ed. *The Hoysaḷa Dynasty* (Prasaranga: University of Mysore, 1972).

17 Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, vol. 1 (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1936).

18 Sheik B. Ali, *History of the Western Gangas* (Prasaranga: University of Mysore, 1976).

The Hoysalas (1957),[19] B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (AD 1346–AD 1646)* (vol. 1 and 2, both 1934),[20] K.V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara* (1970),[21] P. Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture* (1975),[22] Hampa Nagarajaiah, *A History of the Rastrakutas of Malkhed and Jainism* (2000)[23] and *The Later Gangas*: *Mandali Thousand* (1999).[24]

Besides these, there are many books and research articles in the Kannada language, which provide valuable data, frequently drawing upon inscriptional texts and literary sources. Prominent among Kannada writers are: A.N. Upadya, K.G. Kundanagar, Mirji Anaraya, M. Govinda Pai, M. Chidananda Murthy, G.S. Gai, T.G. Kalaghatagi, S. Settar, M.M. Kalburgi, Hampa Nagarajaiah, B.S. Sannaiah, Kamala Hampana. G. Brahmappa, P.N. Narasimha Murthy, Shantinath Dibbada, and S.D. Shetty.

Dibbada in his survey of writings on Jainism published in Kannada identifies three generations of researchers beginning with K.G. Kundanagar and Rice, and ending with M.G. Manjunath, S.D. Shetty and others.[25] The early masters include B.L. Rice, A. Shantirajashastry, D.L. Narasimhachar and K.S. Dharanendrayya. The *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volumes, especially the volume on Shravanabelgola (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2) of Rice are important sources of lithic records for a reconstruction of Jaina history in Karnataka.[26]

Kundanagar edited Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, the classic Kannada Jaina literary text.[27] R.C. Hiremath, Kamala Hampana, Sheshagiri, B.S. Sannaiah, B.B. Mahishavadi, and Bhanumathi have edited various Jaina literary works. Each of these edited texts is prefaced with a valuable introduction to the poet and his times, and invariably contains a discussion on different positions regarding the date, authorship and sources of the text. Among the next generation of researchers, the following are noteworthy: T.G. Kalghatgi, S. Shettar, Hampa Nagarajaiah, M.M. Kalburgi and M. Chidananda Murthy. T.G. Kalghatgi headed the Jainology department of the University of Mysore, and inspired several of his students to take up Jaina research. Hampa Nagarajaiah is

19 J. Duncan M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas: A Medieval Indian Royal Family* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1957).

20 Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire (AD 1346–AD 1646)*, vol. 1, 2 (Madras: B.G. Paul and Co., 1934).

21 K.V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara* (Dharwar: Karnataka University, 1970).

22 P. Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975).

23 Hampa Nagarajaiah, *A History of Rastrakuta of Malkhed and Jainism* (Bangalore: Ankita Pustaka, 2000).

24 Hampa Nagarajaiah, *The Later Gangas: Mandali Thousand* (Bangalore: Ankita Pustaka, 1999).

25 For a survey of researchers and their writings in Kannada, see Shantinatha Dibbada, *Agamika* (Gulbarga: Maruga Prakashana, 2005): 107–14.

26 Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2, *Shravanabelgola* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1889).

27 K.G. Kundanagar and A.P. Chaugule, eds. *Adipurana by Pampa (902–941/42 A.D) (Pampa mahaakavi virachita aadipuraaNam*) (Belagaum: A.A. Chaugule, 1953).

recognised for his research on the inscriptions of Humcha (Hombuja), Kopana (Kopaṇa, modern Koppaḷa) and Lokkigundi (Lokkiguṇḍi, modern Lakkuṇḍi), and for his work on Jaina icons, sculpture and *niṣidhi* stones.[28]

Dibbada also lists several contemporary researchers in Jaina studies, including: N.S. Taranath, B.V. Shirur, M.G. Manjunath, Shivananda Gali and S.D. Shetty. N.S. Taranath's contribution to studies on the history of Karnataka literature are of importance in establishing the chronology of Jaina writers, their social and political milieu, and their royal patrons. M.G. Manjunath's studies on the Gangadhara inscription is noteworthy, because it contests the hitherto established historical priority of the Halmidi inscription. S.D. Shetty is recognised for his major work on the history of Jainism in the coastal districts of Karnataka. Several important writings in Kannada deal with the various royal households of Karnataka. These are significant for a study of Jainism, because it was under the tutelage of these rulers, many of whom were petty kings, and therefore, not adequately versed in mainstream historical research, that Jainism saw its several important resurgences. R.S. Panchamukhi and N. Lakshminarayana Rao's *Royal Households of Karnataka* (1946) is an important book in this category.[29]

3 Karnataka: Geographical Boundaries

The present State of Karnataka in the Indian Union occupies a geographic area between 11° 30′ N and 18° 45′ N, and 74° 12′ E and 78° 30′ E. It is bounded by the State of Maharashtra in the north and northeast, by the State of Andhra Pradesh in the east, by Tamil Nadu in the south and southeast, by Kerala in the southwest, and by the Arabian Sea in the west.

The exact area occupied in ancient times by the Kannada-speaking population is not very clear, but there are indications that it spread from Aurangabad (Auraṅgābād) in the north (today in Maharashtra) to the Nilgiris in the south and extended up to Anantapur (Anantapuraṁ) and Kurnool (Karnūlu) in the east in modern Andhra Pradesh.[30] When the country became independent in 1947, many areas of the Kannada region were parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and of the Hyderabad princely State. The present-day State of Karnataka was formed under the linguistic reorganisation of states of 1956. To the existing princely State of Mysore were now

28 Chidananda Murthy's major work on a cultural study of Karnataka inscriptions is of basic importance for an understanding of all inscriptional material of Karnataka; see Chidananda Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskrtika Adhyayana 450 A.D.–1150 A.D.* (Bangalore: Sapna Book House, Bangalore, 2002).

29 R.S. Panchamukhi and N. Lakshminarayana Rao, *Royal Households of Karnataka* (Dharwar: Karnataka Research Office, 1946).

30 See Aravind Malagatti, ed., *Kannada Vishaya Vishwakosha – Karnataka* (Mysore: University of Mysore Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies, 2005): 455.

added the districts of Bellary, South Kanara and parts of Coimbatore from the State of Madras; Dharwar, North Kanara, Belgaum and Bijapur from the State of Bombay; Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar from Hyderabad; and Coorg. This was then called the State of Mysore, and renamed Karnataka in 1973. Karnataka has an area of 1,191,773 square kilometres, a population of 61,095,297 according to the 2011 census, and 27 districts.[31]

Historically, just as the Kannada-speaking population was spread over areas outside present day Karnataka, kings and rulers who are generally acknowledged as the Kannada kings ruled kingdoms which spread over areas which now fall outside Karnataka, mainly in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The empire of Vijayanagara, in fact, covered the entire peninsular of South India, which includes the whole of the present-day States of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire extended up to the east coast and covered the entire peninsula up to Tanjavur (Tanjore, Tañcāvūr)—thus including large portions of present-day Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. However, in this chapter, the history of Jainism as it existed in areas represented by the present-day Karnataka alone is considered.

4 Advent of Jainism into Karnataka

It is generally considered that Jainism entered Karnataka with Bhadrabāhu, the last *śrutakevali*, and his royal disciple Candragupta Maurya in the fourth century BCE.[32] The primary basis of this assertion is the tradition prevalent among the Jainas of Karnataka, the corroborating evidence being lithic and literary records. Bhadrabāhu, after predicting a twelve-year-long famine in the north, led a migration of the Jaina community (*saṅgha*) to the south, accompanied by his royal disciple Candragupta Maurya. When, on his orders, the *saṅgha* proceeded further, Bhadrabāhu remained in Shravanabelgola, where he died in BCE 297 (Plate 2.1). Candragupta survived Bhadrabāhu by another twelve years.[33]

The most complete discussion of the major lithic records supportive of this view is contained in the "Introduction" of R. Narasimhachar to *The Inscriptions of Sravanabelagola* (1923).[34] In a later edition (1973) of these inscriptions, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2, *Sravanabelagola*,[35] this discussion was reviewed and summarised. Here, the

31 See Government of India. "Karnataka Population Census 2011, Karnataka Religion, Caste Data – Census 2011," https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/karnataka.html [accessed 05.10.2023], and Malagatti, ed., *Kannada Vishaya Vishwakosha – Karnataka*: 457.

32 A *śrutakevali* is an ascetic who has completed the study of the Jaina sacred texts, the *Āgama*s.

33 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3.

34 R. Narasimhachar, *The Inscriptions of Sravanabelagola – Epigraphia Carnatica II* (Bangalore: Mysore Archaeological Series, 1923).

35 B.R. Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Mysore: Institute of Kannada Studies University of Mysore, 1973).



Plate 2.1: Outside view of the cave on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola, in which Bhadrabāhu is believed to have reached enlightenment and died.

stand taken by Narasimhachar is upheld: Inscription No. 1 on the smaller hill at Shravanabelgola, called Cikkabeṭṭa, states that:

> [...] after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira there lived several Jaina preceptors like Gautama Gaṇadhara of whom Bhadrabāhusvāmi, when at Ujjaini, foretold that the country would pass through a calamity for twelve years, as a consequence of which the entire *samgha* migrated from the north to the south and reached a country consisting of hundreds of *janapada*s and filled with people happy and wealthy with gold, grain, herds of buffaloes and cows and goats and sheep. Here, a preceptor called Prabhāchandra, perceiving that his end was nearing, with a desire to attain *samādhi* left the *samgha* in its entirety exceptive for only one disciple and accomplished *samādhi* in the vast expanse of the cold rocks of this Katavapra-giri.[36]

Narasimhachar, after Rice, had identified Bhadrabāhu as Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu, and Prabhacandra as Candragupta, the Mauryan emperor.[37] This rests on Rice's inference that Candragupta had changed his name to Prabhacandra, following the "usual

36 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv.

37 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxv. Alternatively, Prabhacandra has also been spelled Prabhācandra.

custom" of a Jaina entering on a religious life.[38] Moreover, the Jaina literary tradition says that the disciple who was with Bhadrabāhu was Candragupta, and later lithic records speak of Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Candragupta (Plate 2.2).[39] Fleet contested this, suggesting that this Bhadrabāhu was Bhadrabāhu II who died in BCE 30 to 31, and Candragupta was Guptigupta, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu II.[40] Gopal however, concludes "[...] this Bhadrabāhu was the *Śrutakēvali* and this is more acceptable," though he is of the opinion that:



Plate 2.2: South of the Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi on Candragiri at Shravanbelgola is the rock inscription narrating the story of Candragupta's voyage.

> It is immaterial who this Bhadrabāhu is, whether a *Śrutakēvalī*, an *ashṭāṅga-śrutadhara* or an *āchārāṅga-śrutadhara*. All these arguments are based on the *paṭṭavaḷi*s of both the Digambara and the Śvētambara sects that came into existence several centuries later.[41]

38 Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* 1: 6–7; as quoted by Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv.

39 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxxiv–Ixxxv.

40 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv. This has also been suggested on the basis of a textual emendation by Hiralal Jain (*Jaina Silalekha Samgraha* [Hindi], vol. 1: 63–64 as quoted in Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxv).

41 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxvi.

In a discussion of the various opinions put forward on this question, S.D. Shetty has accepted the stand of M. Govinda Pai that it was Aśoka's grandson Samprati Candragupta who came to Shravanabelgola in a period which corresponds to the end of the third century BCE and the beginning of the second century BCE.[42] Chidananda Murthy also maintains that, in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, this opinion may be accepted.[43]

P.B. Desai has suggested that Jainism existed in the southern parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu even before the advent of Bhadrabāhu. In fact, he argues that Bhadrabāhu decided to go to Shravanabelgola because he was "confident of the favourable nature of reception he was going to have in the land of his destination."[44] Further, since Jainism was prevalent in Sri Lanka as early as the fourth century BCE, it must have reached this island by a land route, which means there must have been Jainas in South India before the fourth century BCE. Desai also speaks of Mahāvīra himself establishing his religion in the Kaliṅga country which is present-day Orissa, stating, "Jainism had entrenched itself in the Āndhra country by the period of the 4th century B.C." He adds: "there are reasons to believe that it was not through Bhadrabāhu and his disciples alone that Jainism spread to all parts of South India."[45]

Asim Kumar Chatterjee emphatically refuses to accept the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta theory. According to Chatterjee, we have to take it for granted that Jainism was more or less firmly established in the southernmost corners of the peninsula by the fourth century BCE because two Pali texts, the *Mahāvaṁśa* (fifth century CE) and the *Dīpavaṁśa* (fourth century CE), testify to the presence of Jainas in Sri Lanka in the pre-Mauryan period. These texts indirectly show that Jainism had reached Tamil Nadu before the end of the fourth century BCE. In an emphatic assertion, Chatterjee not only discounts the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta theory, he even suggests strongly that Jainism was popularised in Karnataka in the second century CE by Digambara Jainas from North India:

> In the earliest extant literature of the Tamils we have enough indications to show that Jainism was popular in quite early times in the regions south of the Kaveri (Kāverī) river. It should here be emphasised that the Jaina monks of Bengal and Orissa were responsible for the early propagation of Jainism in Tamil Nadu and not those of Karnataka, as is usually believed. The evidence of the Sri Lankan texts and those of the Tamil Sangam poetry indicate that Jainism definitely reached the southern Dravidian areas in the pre-Mauryan period and certainly before its introduction in what is now the state of modern Karnataka. I have already observed that there is nothing to prove that the first Mauryan emperor became a Jaina *sādhu* before his death, and consequently the tradition regarding the migration of the Jainas under Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta, recorded in the Digambara works, cannot be accepted in the present state of our knowl-

42 S.D. Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma: Ondu Samskrtika Adhyayana* (Udupi: Rastrakavi Govinda Pai Samsodhana Kendra, 2002): 29.

43 Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskrtika Adhyayana*: 73–79.

44 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 2.

45 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 3.

> edge. Even if we accept the veracity of the Digambara tradition, we cannot say that the first group of the Jaina *sādhu*s of Tamil Nadu and Kerala came from Karnataka. It appears exceedingly probable, that the Digambara Jainas of the second century AD from north India popularised Jainism in Karnataka.[46]

Chatterjee also adduces the following reasons in favour of his view: "the earliest author that refers to Candragupta's conversion to Jainism is Yativṛṣabha, the author of the *Tiloyapaṇṇati* (early seventh century), who lived nearly 1000 years after Candragupta Maurya. Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, which according to the tradition was the place of Candragupta's death, has not produced any inscription, which can be dated before AD 600."[47]

A considerably more emphatic rebuttal of the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta theory is that of Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh. He says:

> [there is] no early literary and inscriptional evidence [...] to support the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta Jaina tradition; It appears first in a Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epigraph of the 7th century. The *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, which was composed in *c.* A.D. 931, is the next important source of our information regarding this Jaina tradition. Narsimhachar, who has examined this tradition in great detail in his revised edition of Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epigraphs, concludes that the story of Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta migration has some basis to stand.[48]

Singh states categorically that "in the absence of any contemporary and corroborative evidence, it is difficult to think of the introduction of Jainism in Mysore in the 4th century B.C." and adds: "The disinclination among scholars to question the veracity of the above Jaina tradition seems to have sprung from their enthusiasm to push back the antiquity of Jainism in Mysore."[49]

In conclusion, we may note that wherever the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition has been accepted, as in Gopal, the reasons given have been, for the greater part, "beliefs widely current in the Jaina traditional accounts and literature," a "belief [... which ...] had taken deep roots."[50] B.R. Gopal, while stating that "everyone agrees that this [Shravanabelgola] epigraph confirms the traditional statement made in Jaina literature," nonetheless records the dissenting interpretation of Fleet and Luders.[51] Gopal also admits that the lithic records on which the acceptance of this tradition is based are of a considerably later period, as are the *paṭṭavaḷi*s of Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects, which identify Bhadrabāhu variously as a *śrutakevali*, an *aṣṭaṅga śrutadhara*,

46 Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *(A. D. 1000–1600)*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publ, 2000): 104–5.
47 Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1: 117.
48 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 5.
49 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 5.
50 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv.
51 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv.

or *āchārāṅga śrutadhara*.[52] S.R. Sharma says that the "plausibility" of the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition "may be accepted without any more ado."[53] He quotes Vincent Smith, whose approval of the veracity of this tradition is couched in words such as, "the main facts as affirmed by tradition," "the Jaina tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists."[54] Thus, the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition, though widely accepted, is based on beliefs, traditions, and records of significantly later origin.

5 Jaina History: The Ascent and Descent of Jainism

After this brief description of the arrival of Jainism in the area of Karnataka, the next sections will discuss the firm establishment of the religion and its burgeoning in the region. This will be followed by a description of the decline of Jainism in Karnataka.

5.1 Jainism in Karnataka up to 300 CE

It is hard to come by any evidence of the existence or practice of Jainism in Karnataka during the Mauryan period (321–185 BCE). The Mauryas ruled Kannada Nadu, the Kannada land, for a period of four centuries, from the first half of the third century BCE. Before this period, the Nandas (c. 345–322 BCE) ruled Karnataka—as attested by an inscription of the thirteenth century, which says that Kuntala, which comprised the western Deccan and northern Mysore, was a part of the Nanda and Mauryan empires.[55] The edicts of the Mauryan ruler Aśoka (BCE 273–233) found in Raichur and Chitradurga districts suggest that at least some portions of Karnataka must have been included in the Nanda domain. M.D. Vasantharaj has suggested that Candragupta (of the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition) belonged to the Nanda family and that he came to Karnataka in the fourth century BCE.[56] However, this view has been largely ignored by most of the writers who take a stand on the question. Candragupta Maurya (322–299 BCE) usurped the throne from the Nandas, thus bringing the Nanda empire, including Karnataka, under Mauryan control.[57] Mauryan rule in Karnataka is referred to in inscriptions such as the edicts of King Aśoka found in Koppala (Koppaḷa, ancient

52 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: Ixxiv–Ixxvi.
53 Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*: 5–6.
54 Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*: 6.
55 Sreenivasa H.V. Murthy and R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1978): 23.
56 M.D. Vasantharaj, *Sanmathi Srivihara* (Mysore: Jaihind Press, 1971): 182.
57 This Candragupta Maurya is the one who is identified with the disciple of Bhadrabāhu, who, as many scholars accept, brought Jainism to Karnataka.

Kopaṇa), Maski and Gavimata (Gavimath) in the Raichur district, and in Brahmagiri (Brahmagirī) and Siddapura (Śiddhāpura) and Jatinga Rameshvara (Jaṭiṅga Rāmeśvara) in the Chitradurga district.[58] King Aśoka consolidated his power in South India with the battle of Kaliṅga—in reaction to the horrors of which he became a Buddhist.

Aśoka's edicts are exhortations to his subjects to be kind, courteous and truthful. Later Buddhist narratives indicate that Banavāsi and the regions around Mysore were centres of importance in the Buddhist world of the time.[59] After Aśoka, a branch of the Mauryan family related to the household of the emperors of Pataliputra (Pāṭaliputra) continued to rule a vast area in northern Karnataka until they were subdued by Cāḷukya Pulakeśin II. The Mauryans survived as dispersed feudatories until about the ninth century CE, but no names or other vestiges of their rule have survived.[60]

After the Mauryan empire fell, the Sātavāhanas ruled over the Deccan for four and a half centuries from 230 BCE (c. 230 BCE–230 CE).[61] The Sātavāhanas were zealous patrons of Vedic religion, and Śātakarṇi II even celebrated Aśvamedha and Rājasūya *yāga*s or *yajña*s.[62] Buddhism was patronised and it reached great heights during their rule.[63] It has been claimed that the "rulers of this dynasty practised complete religious toleration."[64] However, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's measures to prevent pollution resulting from a mixing of the castes among the followers of the Ārya Dharma, the northern Āryan people, included putting many foreigners to the sword and driving them out of the country. Some rulers of the dynasty followed Buddhism, and they made many and generous grants to Buddhist shrines.[65] However, Desai avers that "Jainism appears to have wielded considerable influence over the rulers and the territories of the Sātavāhana Dynasty," and points out that the Sātavāhana capital, Pratishthanapura (Pratiṣṭhānapura, modern Paithan) was a Jaina centre, that some kings seem to have believed in Jaina teaching and supported that religion, and says that we know this on the basis of later traditions and Jaina legends.[66] The first Sātavāhan king, Hāla or Simuka, became a Jaina convert and built Jaina temples in Pratishthana-

58 Karnataka, here, and in contexts occurring before the events of the linguistic re-organisation of states, refers to Kannada Nadu—that is, the broad area occupied by Kannada-speaking people from the beginning of history.

59 B.A. Saletore and Desai Pandurangarao, *Kannada Nadina Caritre: Bhaga I* (Bangalore: Kannada Sahitya Parishat, 1978): 14.

60 Saletore and Pandurangarao, *Kannada Nadina Caritre: Bhaga I*: 14.

61 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966): 92.

62 These are Vedic rituals or offerings. The Aśvamedha is the offering of a horse sacrifice and the Rājasūya *yāga* is a consecration ritual for a king.

63 Murthy and Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*: 25–29.

64 Murthy and Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*: 36.

65 Murthy and Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*: 36.

66 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 101.

pura.[67] Fifty-two noble warriors in his court built Jaina temples, each named in its founder's honour. At the instance of a Sātavāhana king, the observance of the Paryūṣaṇa festival was shifted to a different day. Thus, by this point, Jainism had taken firm roots in the Sātavāhana capital and kingdom. Desai places all these events broadly in the two centuries before the common era.[68] In addition, the Jaina preceptors Kuṇḍakuṇḍācārya (first century BCE), Umāsvāti (first century BCE) and Samantabhadra (early second century CE) were Kannadigas, people from Karnataka, who composed Jaina religious works in Sanskrit and Prakrit.[69] This was during the Sātavāhana period.

5.2 The Period of Ascendancy up to 1336 CE

With the rise of the two contemporary dynasties in Karnataka—the Kadambas of Banavāsi and Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ—Jainism gained momentum in Karnataka. The Kadambas, though of Brahmanical origin, gave support to Jainism by adopting a policy of religious tolerance, while the Gaṅgā dynasty's origin is claimed to be Jaina by itself. The entire area of Karnataka was thus able to come under the influence of the Jaina religion and its activities. The favourable policies adopted by these two royal families were continued by the Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ and the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra, who in turn influenced their feudatory families to adopt similar principles during this period. In fact, we find that most of the royal family feudatories Jaina by origin.[70] Hence, the heyday of Jainism began in Karnataka.

5.2.1 The Kadambas

Through the patronage Jainas received from the non-Jaina Kadambas of Banavāsi (c. CE 350–550), Palashika (Palāśikā, modern Halsi) became a prominent Jaina centre. King Mṛgēśvarmā (CE 470–488) made the earliest grant to Jainism, an entire village for the benefit of the Jaina deities and saints.[71] According to the copper plate charter, which also makes a distinction between *śvetapaṭa* (those who dress in white) and *nirgrantha* or *nigaṇṭha* (Jaina ascetic) *saṅgha*s, he also gave grants of land to the Yāpanīya sect, enjoining their subjects to feed them for four months during the rainy season. Ravivarmā, Bhanuvarmā (ca. CE 500) and Harivarmā (CE 538–550) also made

67 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 101.
68 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 101–2.
69 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 29.
70 These are the feudatories of the time: Āḷupas of South Kanara, Śāntaras, Raṭṭas of Saundatti, Later Gaṅgās, Maṇḍali 1000, Koṅgāḷvas, Cagāḷvas and Bilagi chiefs.
71 Murthy and Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*: 48.

land grants for the ablution of the Jinas—the perpetual anointing of Jaina images with ghee—during the annual eight-day festival in the *arhat* temple constructed by King Mṛgēśvarmā, and for the feeding of the Jaina monks.[72] The Kadambas, although they were Vedic *brāhmaṇ*s, treated both Hindus and Jainas equally and without any discrimination. There were many Jainas working under them as ministers and commanders. As a result of their patronage, Jainism flourished throughout the Kadamba kingdom.

5.2.2 The Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ

The Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ,[73] who rose to power with the help of the Jaina ascetic Siṁhanandi at around the time that the Kadambas flourished, ruled over the southern parts of Karnataka. Śivamāra II became a Jaina and their realm of Gangavāḍi embraced Jainism.[74] Though not all the Gaṅgās were Jainas and many were Vaiṣṇavas, under them Jainism reached its golden age.[75] The teachings of Jainism appealed to the merchant classes, the Bāṇajigas, and with their support Jaina teachers managed to alleviate the economic distress of those who accepted Jainism.[76] Once the merchant class became Jainas, the Jaina teachers, or *ācārya*s, began to gain royal patronage. This was in accordance with Jaina principles, particularly that of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence). Normally, the Jainas at that time felt the profession of agriculture injurious to living beings on earth, whereas the profession of trade was not so.

Gaṅgā rulers made munificent grants in support of Jainism. Kongaṇivarmā (CE 340–400) built a *basadi* and Avinīta (CE 520–540) made a grant to a *basadi*. Durvinīta (CE 540–600) and Mokkara or Muṣkara, also known as Kantivinīta (CE 655–660), built *basadi*s and Śripuruṣa (CE 726–788) made many grants to the Jainas, including one for the renovation of a *basadi*. Śivamāra I (CE 679–726) built a *basadi* at Shravanabelgola. Śivamāra II (CE 788–812) and others were men of great piety. Rācamalla built *basadi*s and the Jaina cave temples and granted twelve villages for the benefit of a *basadi*. Nītimārga I (CE 853–869), a devout Jaina, died by *sallekhanā*.[77] Bhūtuga II (CE 937–960) popularised Jainism and he and his wife made grants for the construction of a *basadi*. The Kudlur inscriptions (CE 962) describe Bhūtuga as a great Jaina philosopher who defeated the Buddhists in a disputation. The same inscription mentions

72 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 110. *Arhat* is an alternative term for Jina.

73 The sovereignty of the Early Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ (Western Gangas) lasted from about the fourth century to the sixth century CE and the Later Gaṅgās from the sixth till about the eleventh century.

74 Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 309.

75 Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 309.

76 Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 323–24.

77 The term *sallekhanā* refers to the Jaina religious practice of fasting to death under strict religious supervision.



Plate 2.3: Minister Cāvuṇḍarāya, the famous Gaṅga minister of Rācamalla IV, had the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi erected on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola.

Mārasiṁha II (CE 961–974) as a great supporter of Jainism, a maintainer of the Jaina doctrines and a builder of *basadi*s and *mānastambha*s. He also performed *sallekhanā*. Rācamalla IV (CE 974–986), the patron of his minister Cāvuṇḍarāya (CE 940–989), made munificent grants to Jainism. Cāvuṇḍarāya erected the monolith of Gommaṭeśvara at Shravanabelgola, installed the Brahmadeva pillar on Viṇdhyagiri and built the

Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi at Shravanabelgola (Plate 2.3).[78] The ladies of the palace also promoted Jainism. Suggiabbarasi built *basadi*s and made grants to Jaina ascetics. The Bāṇajigas and the Seṭṭis, Jaina merchants, also gave liberal donations to the Jaina cause.

During the Gaṅgā period, the neo-converts to Jainism retained their Hindu castes and rituals as a sign of social status. Animal sacrifice was gradually abandoned, and *syādvāda*'s four gifts of benevolence were practised.[79] Jainism prospered because the Gaṅgā rulers were Jainas. Society had leaned towards the royal religion. The salient feature of Gaṅgā society was the mutual understanding and cooperation between the Hindus and the Jaina sections. Many of the Brahmanical scholars were educated by Jaina *guru*s. Similarly, Jainas were educated by *brāhmaṇ* teachers.

5.2.3 The Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi

Although the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi (CE 540–753) were Hindus, they extended their patronage to Jainism. They built the Jaina cave temple at Badami (Bādāmi) and the *basadi* at Aihole (Aihoḷe). During the period of Kīrtivarman II (CE 745) Kaliyamma built a *basadi* at Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri); Sendraha, a vassal of Pulakeśin II (CE 609–642), made a grant of land to a *basadi* at Puligere (modern Lakṣmeśvara). Vijayāditya (CE 696–733) made a grant of land and a village for worship at the Śaṅkha Jinālaya. Vikramāditya II (CE 733–746) also gifted land for worship at Raktapura (modern Paṭṭadakal). Jaina scholars such as Jaṭāsiṁhanandi, Śrīvardhadēva, Kaviparameṣṭrī and Ravikīrti were based at court. Ravikīrti, who composed the inscription at Aihole and built the Meguḍi Jinālaya (Plate 2.4), was known as *sandivigrahi*.[80] The Cāḷukya emperors were tolerant of all religions. Just how far this tolerance went can be highlighted through the following family constellation. The emperor Vijayāditya was a *parama bhāgavatha* (a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) whereas his sister Kuṁkumadevī was a devout worshipper of the Jinas. She had been married to the Āḷupa King Chitravāhana who was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

5.2.4 The Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa

The Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (CE 973–1156 and CE 1183–1200) patronised Jainism along with other religions. Taila, also known as Tailapa, the founder of the Kalyāṇa dynasty, was the patron of the poet Ranna. Satyāśraya's *rājguru* (royal preceptor) Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva taught him the tenets of Jainism. It was during this period that Atti-

78 Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 324–25.

79 Ali, *History of the Western Gangas*: 314–15, 326–29. *Syādvāda* is the doctrine in Jain metaphysics stating that all judgments are conditional.

80 Translated, this means foreign minister and minister for war and peace.

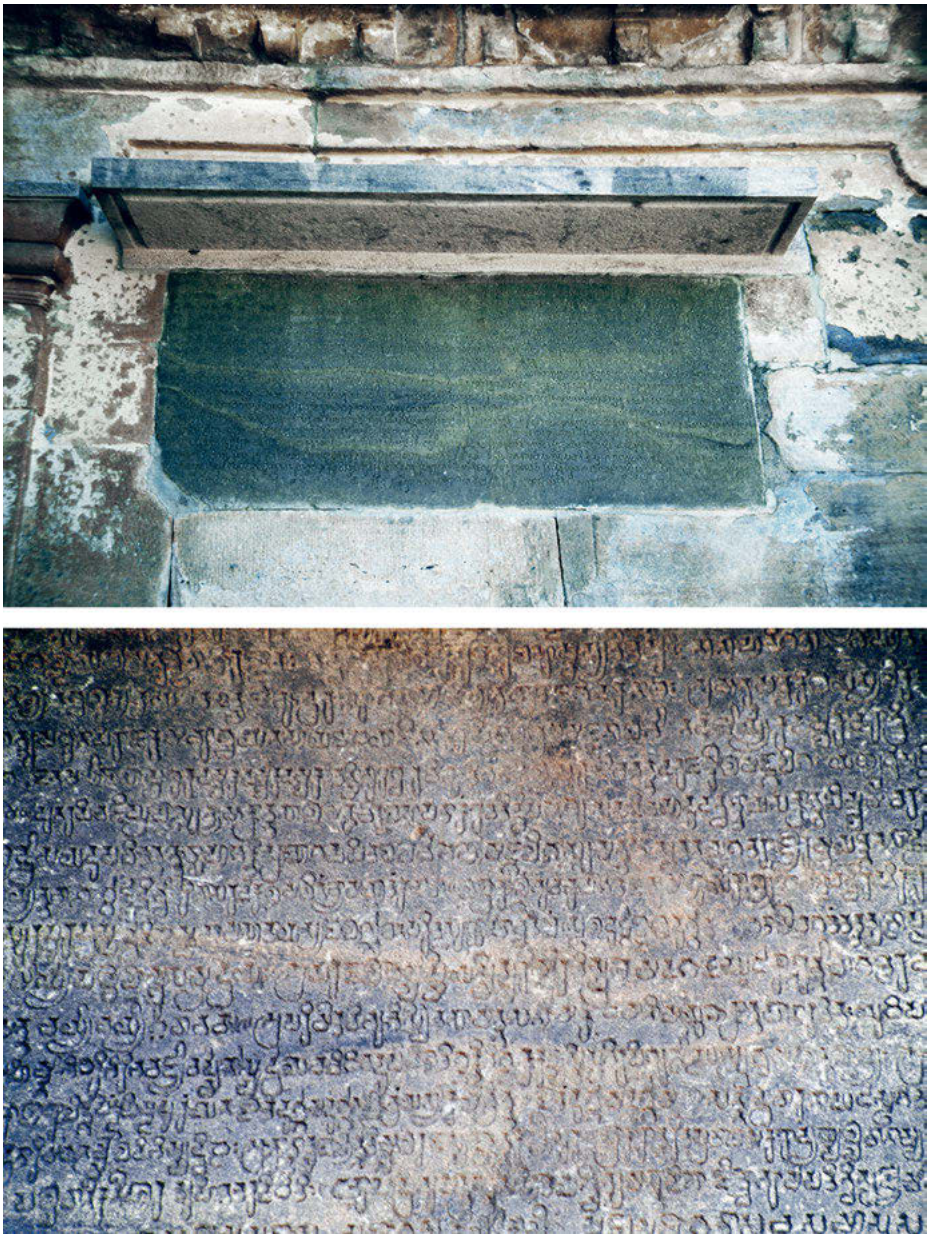


Plate 2.4: The Meguḍi Jinālaya at Aihole dates from 634 CE and bears a nineteen-line inscription composed by the Jaina poet Ravikīrti.

mabbe, the *dānacintāmaṇi* (jewel of benevolence) built *basadis;*[81] She built *basadi*s, and the king gave a golden *kalaśa* to her *basadi* at Lakkundi (Lakkuṇḍi).[82] Śāntinātha, a minister, persuaded Lakhma to build the Mallikāmoda Basadi. Śāntivarma, a vassal of Taila II, built a *basadi* at Sugandavanta, also known as Sugandavarti (modern Saundatti or Savadatti) and made grants for its maintenance, as did his mother. The Raṭṭas, the vassals of the Cāḷukyas, also patronised Jainism. However, Taila II and his successors persecuted the Jainas until the later Cāḷukyas were re-established. As Sharma notes, the Cāḷukyas "of whatever branch or age, were consistently patrons of Jainism, the only exception being Taila II and his immediate successors [...]."[83]

5.2.5 The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ

According to Altekar, the Jainas experienced the most flourishing period in their history under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ (CE 735–973).[84] Both royal patronage and popular favour contributed to a secure and encouraging atmosphere for the faith.[85] Nṛpatunga Amōghavarṣa I (CE 814) was more a Jaina than a Hindu,[86] followed *syādvāda* and interested himself in Jainism. Guṇabhadra Ācārya was the preceptor of his son Kṛṣṇa II who gave donations to the Muḷgund Basadi (Plate 2.5). Indira III (CE 929) built a pedestal for the anointing ceremony of *arhat* Śānti. Their vassals and officers were Jainas. The Banavāsi governor and his son, and Śrīvijaya, a general of Indra III, were devout Jainas. Since many Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors and their officers were Jainas or patronised Jainism, the contribution of Jainas to the field of literature was considerable and significant. Early in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, Akalaṅkadeva wrote the *Aṣṭaśatī,* a commentary on the *Āptamīmāmsā* (an exposition of *syādvāda*) of Samantabhadra. A more exhaustive commentary on the *Āptamīmāmsā Aṣṭasāhasrī* was written a little later by Vidyānanda. Māṇikyanandin, in the second half of the eighth century, composed a work on logic, the *Parīkṣāmukhasūtra*, on which Prabhacandra, author of the *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*, wrote an important commentary, the *Prameyakamalamartaṇḍa,* in the first half of the ninth century. Mallavādin wrote a commentary, the *Dharmotharaṭippaṇaka,* on the book on logic, the *Nyāyabindutīkā*, of the Buddhist Dharmottarācārya. Mallavādin was probably the founder of the Digambara monastery at Naosari (Nawsari).[87]

81 Attimabbe is alternatively also spelled Attiyabbe.

82 A *kalaśa* is a narrow-mouthed waterpot-like ornament placed at the top of the superstructure of a Jaina *basadi* or other temple.

83 Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*: 29.

84 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: 309, 411.

85 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: 301–11.

86 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: 311.

87 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: 409–10.



Plate 2.5: View onto the walled temple complex at Mulgund, to which Kṛṣṇa II made generous donations in the late ninth or early tenth century CE.

The *Kavirājamārga*, the first work in the Kannada language on poetics, was produced in Kannada.[88] The poets Pampa (*Ādipurāṇa, Vikramārjunavijaya*), Ponna (*Śāntipurāṇa, Bhuvanaika Rāmābhuyudaya*), and Ranna (*Ajitapurāṇa, Gadāyuddha*) are known as the three jewels (*ratnatraya*) of Kannada literature. Altekar's estimate of the number of Jaina followers during the period is roughly about a third of the total population of the Deccan.[89]

5.2.6 The Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra

The Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra (Dōrasamudra; today, Halebid) (CE 985–1346) had been Jainas since their dynasty was founded, at the instigation of the Jaina ascetics Sudatta and Munidra. The Hoysaḷas ruled over the southern part of Karnataka at the time the Cāḷukyas ruled over the north. Vinayāditya (CE 1047–1098) and his subjects made grants to Jaina edifices. Shravanabelgola and Kalastavadi (Kalastavādi) continued to be the main Jaina centres.[90] Eṟeyanga (CE 1098), a devout Jaina, made grants to

88 This has often been attributed to King Amōghavarṣa I, however, it is now known that Śrīvijaya was its true author (R.S. Mugali, *Kannada Sahitya Charitre* [Mysore: Geetha Book House, 2005]: 53).
89 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: 411–12.
90 Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa*: 42–43.

the *basadi*s at Shravanabelgola for food, rituals, vessels and other items. Jainism reached its pinnacle of influence under the rule of Biṭṭideva, also known as Viṣṇuvardhana, known as the greatest Hoysaḷa ruler. There are many stories regarding his conversion to Śrīvaiṣṇavism, which were developed after the death of saint Rāmānuja and King Viṣṇuvardhana. There was no need for King Viṣṇuvardhana to change religion. He was known as Biṭṭideva. 'Biṭṭi' is a varient name of Viṭṭhala, which is one of the names of the god Viṣṇu. In course of time Biṭṭi or Viṭṭhala became Viṣṇu. He was a king who tolerated all faiths. His chief Queen Śāntalā Devī, however, and most of his ministers and commanders were devout Jainas. Queen Śāntalā Devī built the Śāntīśvara Basadi and made grants to *basadi*s throughout the kingdom. The Belur inscription mentions that Viṣṇuvardhana's victory over the enemy and the birth of his heir was attributed to the Jina Pārśva whom he named Vijaya Pārśva or Vijaya Pārśvanātha and made provision for the rituals at the *basadi*. His generals and minister were devout Jainas: Gaṅgarāya, a general, made grants to the *basadi* built by his wife and mother; other generals and ministers built *basadi*s or made endowments. Viṣṇuvardhana's subordinates also patronised Jainism.[91] Narasiṁha I respected Jainism, making grants to the Caturviṁśati Basadi, also known as Bhaṇḍāra Basadi, built by his minister Huḷḷa (Plate 2.6) who also restored many *basadi*s. Ballāla II and his ministers



Plate 2.6: Narasiṁha I made grants to the Caturviṁśati (Bhaṇḍāra) Basadi in Shravanabelgola, built by his minister Huḷḷa.

91 Coelho, *The Hoysala Vamsa*: 109.

made grants to the *basadi*s, and gave them villages whose yield would support the repairs of the Nagara Jinālaya and feed the ascetics. A *brāhmaṇ* minister's wife, Aciyakka, built the Akkaṇṇa Basadi at Shravanabelgola and Ballāḷa II granted a village for its upkeep.[92]

Another minister, Nāgadēva, built another *basadi* at Shravanabelgola. Narasiṁha II (CE 1220) made a grant to the Vijaya Pārśvanātha Basadi in CE 1254. Sōmēśvara also made some grants. During the Hoysaḷa period, many *basadi*s were built and many grants made for their upkeep, rituals and so on, even though the later rulers were Vaiṣṇavas.

5.2.7 The Seuṇas (Yādavas) of Dēvagiri

The Seuṇas or Yādavas of Dēvagiri (CE 835–1336) had Jaina origins. Their founder Dṛḍhaprahāra was the protégé of the Jaina ascetic Candraprabhasvāmī. Some of the Seuṇa rulers were Śaivas. Seuṇadeva II, a devout Jaina, made grants for the maintenance of the Candraprabha Basadi (CE 1142). Other kings, although they belonged to different faiths, built *basadi*s, made grants and donations to them and had Jainas as *rājguru*s. Siṅghaṇa II, alternatively Siṁhana II (1210–1246), made donations to the Pārśvanātha and Ananta Tīrthaṅkara Basadis. Kṛṣṇa gave a gift to a Jaina ascetic and Rāmacandra made grants to a *basadi* and to the Jainas. The Seuṇa officers and feudatories were Jainas. Sōma was called Jaināgama-vārdhi-Sōma, the Sōma, who follows the Jaina *Āgama*s or sacred texts. Bachaseṭṭi's daughter made grants for the restoration of a *basadi*. Pāyiseṭṭi built a *basadi* at Kalkeri (Kalkēri).[93] Malla, Bachaseṭṭi and Pāyiseṭṭi built the Anantatīrtha Basadi.[94] Many others, including ladies, built *basadi*s and made grants to them. Lakshmeshvar (Lakṣmeśvara, ancient Puligere), Munivalli (Munivaḷḷi, modern Manoḷi close to Bijāpur), Dambal (Ḍambaḷ) and Kadakola (modern Dhārwār) were great Jaina centres. There are records of men and women dying of self-immolation as prescribed by the Jaina scriptures, and *niṣidhi* or memorial stones were erected in their memory.[95] Thus, Jainism was seriously practised by many people.

92 Aciyakka is also alternatively known as Acaladevī.

93 Shrinivas Ritti, *The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri*, Karnataka History Series (Dharwar: Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, 1973): 361. On Jainism under the Seuṇas see also Ritti, *The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri*: 359–64.

94 Ritti, *The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri*: 362; Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 392.

95 Ritti, *The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri*: 364.

5.2.8 The Kaḷacuris of Kalyāṇa

The Kaḷacuris of Kalyāṇa (CE 1156–1183) ruled independently for only a short time. Under Bijjaḷa, the Kaḷacuri ruler and feudatory of the Cāḷukyas, who declared independence, Jainism was popular, and openly professed. The Kaḷacuris had a sitting Tīrthaṅkara in their land grants. During Bijjaḷa's time, Basava, also known as Basavaṇṇa or Basavēśvara, established Vīraśaivism, the Liṅgāyat sect, which derived from Śaivism. He even favoured this sect in a contest against the Jainas. Ironically, Bijjaḷa met a violent death at the hands of the Vīraśaivas, instigated by Basava.[96] Basava's Vīraśaivism proved very simple to understand, close to common life style and attracted the masses. This was furthered by various Śivasāraṇas, or transformed Śaiva groups. The clash between the Vīraśaivas and Jainas had something of inevitability about it: firstly, the Jainas had neglected the aspect of their religion which promoted an ideal of simple living and freethinking. Secondly, like with any other religion in the area, the occultism which had become part of Jaina religion had arousedsuspicion and unwanted differences among the various classes of society—which again went against the Jaina principle.

The philosophical deference was the Jainas propagated *anekāntavāda* (many principles) whereas the Vīraśaivas believed in *ekāntavāda* (one principle) in respect of the existence of god. It was, in effect, a confrontation between atheism and theism. Finally, the theism of the Vīraśaivas won out over the atheism of the Jainas. During this period, Vīraśaivism attracted the Jaina trading and agricultural classes, hastening the decline of Jainism.[97]

Thus, during this period, we find Jainism rising to greater heights in respect of political, social, economic and religious glories, as well as contributing to the growth of literature, philosophy, art and architecture of Karnataka. In fact, the history of Kannada literature begins with the Jaina literary heritage. The society had become cosmopolitan and also contributed to the harmonious blending for the society, but the religion—Jainism—had to succumb to several additions which were primarily non-Jaina. Hence, the differences between the religious beliefs and practices of Jaina, Hindu and Buddhist societies became ever smaller. The birth of Vīraśaivism during the second half of the twelfth century highlighted the various weaknesses that existed in Jainism, which cost the religion heavily and finally led to its dying out in northern Karnataka.

96 Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*: 35.

97 Ritti, *The Seunas: The Yadavas of Devagiri*: 417; Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*: 38.

6 The Endurance of Jainism Despite Continuing Assaults

Despite the menace posed to the faith in large areas of the State, Jaina communities survived and continued to thrive and build *basadi*s in certain regional centres and peripheral areas of Karnataka.

6.1 Jainism During the Vijayanagar Empire

By 1336, Jainism had clearly lost its premier position, and had to be content with a secondary place in Karnataka. Lacking leaders of the status of Siṁhanandi, at this period, Jainism had no message of fortitude or power to offer a people who were faced with grave political and social threats.[98] In earlier times, it had been Jainism that recreated political life in Karnataka, and thus enabled Hindu *dharma* to be consolidated. Under the Vijayanagar empire (c. 1346–1646 CE), Hindu *dharma* regained its own utility, and then, "repaid the debt it owed to Jainism by coming to its succor."[99] As Saletore says, "It was during such a period in its history that Vijayanagar stepped forth as the protector of Jainism, and enabled it to continue its useful existence for centuries to come."[100] The Vijayanagar rulers achieved this through their policy of religious tolerance. Besides the celebrated judgment of Bukka Rāya (CE 1368),[101] in which he decreed that the Śrīvaiṣṇavas were to consider the "loss or advancement to the Jaina *darśana* through the Bhaktas (Śrīvaiṣṇavism)" as "loss or advancement to their own (Vaiṣṇava) *darśana*," and that the Jainas were entitled to the privilege of the *pañcamahāśabda* and the *kalaśa*.[102] We should also note the lesser-known judgment (1363 CE) of a viceroy of the Vijayanagar monarch Harihara Rāya, which restored to the Jainas the lands of a *basadi* which was disputed by the local temple *ācārya*s of Tadatala (Taḍatāla) in Heddūrnāḍ.[103] The tradition of tolerance thus proclaimed continued to be invoked throughout the period of the Vijayanagar empire. It is well known that queen Bhīma Devī, wife of Devarāya II, and the Jaina general Irugappa, were great patrons of Jainism. In the capital city of Hampi (Hampī) there were several Jaina *basadi*s: first, the Gaṇagitti or oil woman's temple, constructed in 1386 CE by Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka,

98 Saletore, *Social and Political Life*: 1–22.

99 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 284.

100 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 284.

101 Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2: no. 475.

102 See Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskrtika Adhyayana*: 212 (translated by the author). *Pañcamahāśabda* refers to honouring someone with five specific drums and cymbals. The *kalaśa* is a ceremonial urn, used for the same purpose. However, these honours were limited to a very few persons like kings, religious leaders, etc., or to special occasions.

103 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 288.



Plate 2.7: Rear view of the Pārśvanātha Temple, located close to the elephant stables inside the royal centre at Hampi.

a general of Bukka Rāya, in the reign of Harihara II; second, *jinālaya*s within the royal centre behind the elephant stable; third, a group of three or four Jaina temples near the Sōmavārada Bagilu (Monday Gate), and forth, the Pārśvanātha Temple (Plate 2.7) just behind the palace constructed by Devarāya II to please his queen Bhīma Devī, who was a devout Jaina.[104]

Among those who gave unstinted patronage to Jainism were several prominent generals and officials in the service of the Vijayanagar kings, such as Baica Daṇḍesa (Daṇḍanātha) the *mahāpradhāna* of King Bukka Rāya,[105] and his three sons Mangappa, Irugappa and Bukkaṇṇa. General Irugappa was very loyal to the State and devoted to Jainism. Other generals devoted to Jainism were Baicappa and Kūci Rāja, Mahāprādhana Gopa Camūpa, Malenāḍ Mahāprabhu Gopaṇṇa, Masanahaḷḷi Kampaṇa Gauḍa, and Vallabharājadeva Mahā Arasu.[106]

104 S.N. Shivarudraswamy, "Jaina Temples of Karnataka under Vijayanagar Empire," in *Jainism: Art, Architecture, Literature and Philosophy*, ed. Haripriya Rangarajan et al. (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2001): 304.

105 Jagadeesh Kivudanavar, "Jaina Generals in Vijayanagar Court," *Jain Journal* 35, no. 1 (2000): 24. A *mahāpradhāna* is the principal minister and advisor of a king.

106 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 307–10.

The Vīraśaivas in Vijayanagar, also known as Hampi, persecuted the Jainas, and killed them. The Jainas sought protection from the atrocities, impositions and unsurpous claims of their rivals and redressal. In the interior of the country, many Jaina *basadi*s were razed to the ground and the Jaina idols replaced or accepted as Śrīvaiṣṇava idols. Murthy suggests that some of these events were the result of the Jaina-Vīraśaiva conflict.[107] According to Saletore, they lacked charismatic leadership in the empire, which deprived them of victory in disputations and Jainism was on the wane at Hampi.[108]

During this period, coastal Karnataka was active in extending royal patronage to Jainism, as the Vijayanagar rulers did not interfere in the affairs of their vassals.[109] The Āḷupas and the other coastal rulers built Jaina monuments and made grants to them. Varanga (Varāṅga), Mudabidri, Karkal (Kārkaḷa), Barkur (Bārkūr), Venur (Vēṇur) and other places became Jaina centres, as well as centres of Jaina literature, art and architecture.

6.2 Jainism Under the Chieftains of Coastal Karnataka

The fall of the ruling dynasties of Karnataka and rise of a strong and militant Vīraśaivism resulted in the decline of Jainism. However, coastal Karnataka offered a safe haven for the as the coastal districts of Karnataka were free from the hostilities towards the Jainas and their persecution.

The earliest rulers of this region were the Āḷupas,[110] who had been very important subordinate officers of the two imperial dynasties—the Kadambas of Banavāsi and the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi—to whom they also had matrimonial ties. It is clear that the Āḷupas absorbed all the good principles of governance that characterised these two dynasties. Tolerance became the bedrock principle of Āḷupa administration, under which a number of petty Jaina royal families lived safely, working as officers, ministers and commanders. In later times, when these people became independent, they followed the rich heritage of their masters. As many feudatories of the suzerains supported Jainism, it flourished more in the coastal areas than in other parts of Karnataka. The Sāḷuvas of Gērusoppe and Hāḍuvaḷḷi, the Kellas, the Bhairavas, the Chauṭas, the Baṅgas and others followed Jainism and its traditions and encouraged local

107 Murthy, *Kannada Sasanagala Samskrtika Adhyayana*: 235–37.

108 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 311–13.

109 This has been identified as a distinct characteristic of Karnataka political history: "Large empires flourished without destroying the identity of the bigger adjoining feudatories. That is, it is a phenomenon seen everywhere in Karnataka, that individual political entities grew up without conflicting with the aspiration of the empire." (Saletore and Pandurangarao, *Kannada Nadina Caritre: Bhaga 1*: 11–12). The quote has been translated from the Kannada by the present author.

110 Their rule lasted from about the second century to the fifteenth century CE.



Plate 2.8: The monumental statue of Bāhubali at Karkal, for which ablution rituals (Mahāmastakābhiṣekas) are arranged at regular intervals.

rites and rituals. The coastal rulers who enjoyed political autonomy, adopting *bhūta* (ancestoral) worship and the *aḷiyasantānam* (tradition of the female heir), and introducing upgraded social structures and societal management in their provinces. Except for the Nagire, Bhaira and Baṅga chiefs, the others ruled over small areas and were economically weak. Their desire for independence admittedly led to frequent wars fuelled by hatred and jealously, but they still patronised Jainism and made it flourish.[111]

The rulers gave equal importance to social and religious activities and built *basadi*s and temples. Karkal, Mudabidri and Venur have eighteen *basadi*s each, which would play important roles during religious celebrations. Despite the armed encounters and skirmishes along the borders, according to the poet Cadura Candrama (CE 1646) at the court of the Bhairas of Kārkaḷa, the petty rulers would still come together for social and religious activities, like the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka at Karkal (Plate 2.8).[112]

The Jaina traders flourished in Barkur, Basrur (Basrūr) and other places and established their trade guilds—the Seṭṭikārs, the Halas and the Yelames (Elames)—renovating old *basadi*s and building new ones. The Jaina *maṭha*s, or monastic headquar-

111 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 55.

112 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 77. The Mahāmastakābhiṣeka is an important ablution ritual, performed on colossal statues of Bāhubali.



Plate 2.9: The wooden seat of the *bhaṭṭāraka*, inside the large Jaina *maṭha* at Shrvanabelgola, is surrounded by intricate wall paintings.

ters, played an important role in the spread of Jainism along the coast (Plate 2.9).[113] Mudabidri, Karkal, Varanga and Akalanka *maṭha*s grew to prominence, also in the social and religious activities of the region. Karkal and Venur became great centres of Jainism, with[114] Karkal becoming the seat of the Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭārakas, while Mudabidri was established as the seat of the Charukīrti Bhaṭṭārakas. Venur was the site of one of the main Jaina *basadi*s; the Bāhubali monoliths here and at Karkal and the pillar at Hiriyangadi (Haḷeangadi) (Plate 2.10) all showcase Jaina architecture.[115] More than one hundred and eighty *basadi*s were constructed along the coast under Vijayanagar rule. The Jaina *basadi*s and *maṭha*s were both religious and social centres. They also became the centres of learning and religious discipline. The petty rulers of the coast and the ordinary citizens went to the *basadi*s and *maṭha*s to settle disputes. They also helped the people during difficult periods. Jainism in the coastal region produced many poets and scholars and the Jaina *ācārya*s encouraged and guided them. Many rulers also extended their patronage to the scholars and poets.[116] It is no exaggeration to say that Jaina literature helped to keep Jainism alive.

113 In the local dialect, *maṭha*s are also refrerred to as *mutt*s.
114 Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*: 300–301.
115 Bāhubali and Gommaṭeśvara are two names for the same character.
116 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 56.



Plate 2.10: The pillar, *mānastambha*, in the centre of the large temple complex at Hiriyangadi, close to Karkal, in coastal Karnataka.

The Jaina merchants, the Seṭṭis, were the first among the coastal Jainas to assimilate Hindu elements and folk forms of worship into Jainism, a development which popularised the religion.[117] They invoked both the Tīrthaṅkaras and deities known to local Hindus, also worshipping Sarasvatī and practising Tantric rituals. It is clear that they wielded considerable influence over other lay people. The Govardhanagiri inscription shows the attempts made by the Jainas to assign the attributes of Śiva and Viṣṇu to Nemibhaṭṭāraka.[118] They also practiced Tantric rituals and wielded considerable influence over the people. Ratnakar Varni refers to the Garuḍa Mantra for removing poison and to the role of *yakṣī*s in occult practices among the Jainas.[119]

The coastal Jainas adopted local cultural Hindu practices such as the *bhūtārādhane* (the worship of the ancestor, the *bhūta*), the *nāgarādhane* (the worship of the serpent, the *nāga*) and the *brahmārādhane* (Brahma's worship), which could be seen as contrary to Jaina teachings. These regional and Hindu practices were so completely assimilated that the Jaina rulers had both their clan deity (*kuladevatā*) and their deity of worship (*ārādhyadevatā*), who was a Hindu god and a member of the *bhūta*s.[120] For example, at Dharmasthala, a Jaina *heggaḍe* is the religious chief,[121] his *kuladevatā* is Candranātha Tīrthaṅkara, his *ārādhyadevatā* is Mañjunātha or Śiva,[122] and the *dharmadevatā*s are Kalarahu, Kalarkayi, Kanyakumari (also Kanniyākumari), Annappa Panjurli and others.[123] The temple *moktēsara*s (managers) of several Hindu shrines were Jainas. Though this type of assimilation led to the decline of Jainism elsewhere, it made Jainism prosper in coastal Karnataka. No doubt the local environment was favourable to Jainism because the royal families were reluctant to interfere. But at the same time there was no inhibiting factor. Vīraśaivism percolated into the region only through trade, and traders were interested in safety through cooperation with all. In this way, Jainism flourished in coastal Karnataka while it was on the decline elsewhere in the State, thanks to various ingenious survival gambits.

The deathknell of Jainism sounded in 1565 CE when the Vijayanagar empire fell after the battles at Rakshasi (Rakshāsi) and Tengadi near Talikota (Tāḷikōte) (sometimes

117 Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture*: 441.

118 "May that mighty Nêmi-bhaṭṭâraka protect us, whose glory swallows up that of three worlds so that people become Krishṇa (or black). […] All the world is like Vishnu—arose in the world; whose lotus feet are adorned with the head of Achyuta (Vishṇu) and Iśvara (Śiva)" Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 8, *Shimoga, part II* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press, 1904): 100 (55; Translations).

119 Madhava, *Religions in Coastal Karnataka*: 85–87.

120 Locally, the *kuladevatā* is also referred to as *kula daiva* and the *ārādhyadevatā* as *ārādhya daiva*.

121 A *heggaḍe* is the religious chief of a temple town, who is also responsible for solving disputes.

122 It is fascinating that Mañjunātha is connected not only to Śiva but also to the Buddha and his *boddhisattva* Mañjuśrī.

123 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 35.

treated as one battle, with both names combined, as the 'battle of Rakkasatangadi'). With the dismemberment of the empire, all its provinces became independent. One of these, Keḷadi, was ruled by the Nāyakas, who, although tolerant towards other religions, treating them with respect and offering refuge, were not liberal to the Jaina ruling families. As staunch Vīraśaivas, their attitude towards Jainism was very severe. There are hardly any instances of their fostering the faith. Barring one or two instances in the early history of the rulers, the Nāyakas of Keḷadi can be held responsible for the decline of Jainism. They also forced the Jaina rulers of Sode and Bilagi (Biligi, Bilgi), to renounce Jainism and accept Vīraśaivism, thus making the local population follow suit. During the reign of the Nāyakas, Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s were established at various places all along coastal Karnataka.[124] During the period of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi, the Portuguese and the Muslims invaded the Jaina kingdoms giving a deathblow to the Jainas.

As a result of the collapse of Jaina rule in the Jaina centres of Gerusoppe (Gērusoppe, Gērasoppe), Bhatkal (Bhaṭkaḷ) and Haduvalli (Hāḍuhaḷḷi), Jainism went into decline in the coastal regions, a process accelerated when the *basadi*s and *maṭha*s were razed to the ground, depriving the faith of its base. The final blow was the mass conversion of Jainas to Vīraśaivism.[125] The local Jaina kings in the southern part of the coast had to experience defeats. The Baṅga ruler, who was stronger and stabler than the others, had finally lost everything because of the pressure from the Portuguese and the Keḷadi rulers. These Jaina ruling families of coastal Karnataka finally succumbed to the power of Haider Alī and his son Tipu Sultān from Mysore.[126]

7 Conclusion

We can see, then, that Jainism flourished in Karnataka when it received strong royal backing and declined with the withdrawal of this support. Royal dynasties like the Kadambas, the Gaṅgās, the Western Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Hoysaḷas helped in the spread of Jainism, its advancement and its influence. The first major dynasty in Karnataka, the Kadambas, although *brāhmaṇ*s by origin, inaugurated the tradition of grants to the Jainas in the State. It is now known that Jainism existed in Banavāsi during the third century CE. The Kadambas intermarried with the Jainas, patronised Jainism, and made generous grants of lands to the Jainas: Mṛgēśvarmā (CE 475–490), for instance, granted an entire village for the benefit of the Jinas. The Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ also patronised Jainism.

124 P.K. Narayana and Rai Kayyara Kinjanna, eds., *Thenkanadu*, Swagatha Samithi, 31st Kannada Sahitya Sammelana (Bangalore: Kannada Sahitya Sammelana, 1947): 85.

125 Narayana and Kinjanna, eds., *Thenkanadu*: 89.

126 Shetty, *Tulu Nadina Jaina Dharma*: 59–60.

The Gommaṭeśvara monolith at Shravanabelgola was erected by Cāvuṇḍarāya, a minister and a poet in the court of Rācamalla (ninth century). The Badami Cāḷukyas (CE 540–757), though Hindus, were tolerant of Jainism. During the time of Pulakeśin II, the *jinālaya* of Meguḍi at Aihole was built, and Vikramāditya made grants of villages for the maintenance of the *basadi*s. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas (CE 753–973) had many Jaina royal officers and feudatories. Jainism flourished under Amōghavarṣa Nṛpatunga (CE 814–887) who had become a Jaina. The great output of religious and secular literature by Pampa, Jinasena and others further strengthened Jainism. The Hoysaḷas patronised Jainism and it was under Hoysaḷa rule (CE 985–1346) that Śrīvaiṣṇavism entered Karnataka. Viṣṇuvardhana's queen Śāntalā was a staunch Jaina and liberal towards Jainism. The Raṭṭas of Saundatti who were the feudatories of Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (CE 1183–1200) were also patrons of Jainism. The support of the royal dynasties, the nobility, the merchants and the commoners helped in the steady growth of Jainism. Jainism began to wane with the rise of Vīraśaivism towards the end of the twelfth century.

The main cause of the decline of Jainism in Karnataka was the loss of royal patronage. Royal patronage was granted in several different ways: first, through the imperial line, second, through subordinate lines and and, lastly, through ministers, commanders and other official lines because these also happened to be petty rulers when Vīraśaivism began to spread rapidly under the leadership of Vīra Goggidēva, himself an administrator. He was Ekāntada Rāmayya, a Vīraśaiva saint who became militant in spirit for the propagation of his ideals. Jainism lost ground before these two. Their influence was very much on both the sections of the society—the ruling classes and commoners. Most of the ruling class were converted from Jainism to Vīraśaivism due to either the influence of the above mentioned Vīraśaiva saints or because of the influence of their own queens.[127] As a result of the Vīraśaivas the Jaina influence plummeted both at court and in society.

Whereas the Jaina royal households of northern Karnataka embraced Vīraśaivism and tried to suppress Jainism, other Jaina ruling households failed to see how the sudden rise of the new sect was leading to the disintegration of Jaina society. Vīraśaivism, which originated in northern Karnataka, was an aggressive and militant faith, which attracted royal patronage. It was able to appeal to ordinary people—especially the lower strata of society—as, unlike in Śrīvaiṣṇavism, there was no language barrier. In consequence, it attracted many converts and grew rapidly. The new converts from Jainism, too, had played a role in their former faith's decline. Jaina intellectuals, despite being known for their wide knowledge of religious and secular subjects, were unable to defend Jainism in intellectual debates with the Vīraśaivas. The faith was further weakened when the trading community which had helped Jainism economically

127 Earlier, regardless of their religious disposition, kings had married women from different sections of the population.

converted to Vīraśaivism. The Jaina landlords who were used to a luxurious and easy life wanted to maintain their status in the society and followed Vīraśaivism. This led to the conversion of highclass people to Vīraśaivism.

Jaina society also played by practices and rituals, which were against Jainism. *Yakṣī*s were worshipped and *mantra*s were chanted. The Jaina sects of Digambara, Śvetāmbara and Yāpanīya disagreed with one another and failed to present a common front for the defence of Jainism. The good works of the Yāpanīya sect also did not project properly for the benefit of Jainism. There was rivalry among the monks for being the head of the organisations. The Jaina monks adopted Tantrism and the *śakti* cult (veneration of female deities) personifying nature and generative power for material gains which were against Jaina principles. Jaina society was divided according to the groups of different *gaṇa*s, *gaccha*s and *anvaya*s with separate monasteries giving each group a distinct identity which was against Jaina principles. The advent of Islam also was detrimental to Jainism. The new converts to Islam caused untold harm to Jainism, their original religion

Thus, for over a thousand years Jainism made its own way to reach the effects of glory. The shock received from the disappearance of Buddhism from Karnataka at an early stage was well understood and thereafter Jainism began to climb the ladder very cautiously. It used all kinds of help to emerge as an influencing force and expand its social acquaintance with royal patronage. But it is strange to find Jainism losing its base as a result of the same royal patronage.

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Sabine Scholz

Chapter 3
Digambara Jainism in Karnataka: A Socio-Religious Survey of the Rise and Decline of a Religious Tradition

1 Introductory Remarks

As Pius F. Pinto has shown in the previous chapter, Jainism has a long history in the area of the modern state of Karnataka in South India. Unfortunately, for various reasons,[1] academic research into religious practices and beliefs of the Jainas has tended to focus on the Jaina traditions of North and West India. While some effort was made by twentieth-century Indian historians to reconstruct the ancient and medieval history of Jainism in the south of the country, relying mainly on epigraphical sources,[2] these studies focus on royal patronage and grants, touching only superficially on de-

1 As was their practice with other Indian religious traditions, what the early Western orientalists of the nineteenth century focused on were philological studies of what was to be called Jainism, and this tendency lived on up to the last decades of the twentieth century. Since then, some anthropological works on Jaina rituals and practices have been published. See, for instance Lawrence A. Babb, *Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture*, Comparative Studies in Religion and Society 8 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual. Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), or James Laidlaw, *Riches and Renunciation. Religion, Economy and Society among the Jains* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). In modern studies, the focus is on the practices of the Śvetāmbaras or the Digambara tradition of North and West India. The academic neglect of Digambara Jainism in general, and the Digambaras of South India in particular, can be attributed to various factors. Among these, the most important consist in the initially greater availability of Śvetāmbara scriptures and the eagerness of highly learned Śvetāmbara ascetics in North and West India to assist Western orientalists in their studies. For more information about the history of Jaina studies and their focus on the Śvetāmbara tradition, see Ludwig Alsdorf, *Jaina Studies: Their Present State and Future Tasks*, trans. Bal Patil, ed. Willem Bollee, Pandit Nathuram Premi Research Series 1 (Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay, 2006), Christoph Emmrich, "Das westliche Gewand der Jainas: Europäische und indische Überformungen jinistischer Gelehrsamkeit," in *Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus*, ed. Peter Schalk, Acta Univeritatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 22 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2003): 357–75, Kendall W. Folkert, *Scripture and Community. Collected Essays on the Jains*, ed. John E. Cort (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), or Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2000).

2 See, for instance Bhaskar Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism. With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938), and P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala 6 (Solapur: Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka Sangha, 2001 [1957]).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111695266-004

velopments within Jaina ritual practices and beliefs.[3] Furthermore, the underlying question, namely, to which causes the rise and decline of the Jaina tradition in Karnataka can chiefly be attributed, has never been dealt with in detail.

As is well known, religious traditions are not static, never-changing entities, existing in a vacuum, independently of their cultural surroundings. A religion will always keep developing, reacting to cultural, historical and political changes. Local practices, beliefs and traditions will find their way into disparate religious systems that share the same geographical area. Religious boundaries, separating well-defined religious communities where the religious affiliation of every individual has to fit, are a recent construct, based to a large extent on nineteenth-century orientalism and the British introduction of the census in India.[4] While religious boundaries between Jainas and Hindus can be fluid, even now,[5] in medieval South India, individual religious affilia-

3 Changes in rituals, worship and beliefs are discussed by some other, more contemporary authors, namely Ramendra N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (c. A.D. 600–1000)* (Delhi, Varanasi and Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), and Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. A.D. 500–1200)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975). While these studies, based on epigraphical and Jaina literary sources, provide a detailed insight into monastic and ritual developments during the medieval period, reasons for the rise and especially the decline of Jaina influence in Karnataka are not dealt with in detail.

4 On the development of the term "religion" as such, and particularly its plural form "religions," see Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion. Postcolonial Theory, India and 'the Mystic East'* (London: Routledge 1999): 35–61, and Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992): 15–50. Much has been written about the orientalists' "construction" of Hinduism and its influence on the Indian intellectual elites of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See, for instance David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773–1835* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), Brian Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and the Colonial Construction of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Arabinda Poddar, *Renaissance in Bengal. Quests and Confrontations 1800–1860* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970), Arabinda Poddar, *Renaissance in Bengal. Search for Identity* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1977), or Sharada Sugirtharajah, *Imagining Hinduism. A Postcolonial Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003). For the first census takings in British India and their impact on the formation of distinct religious identities, see Bernhard S. Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia," in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, ed. Bernard S. Cohn (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000): 224–54; Frank F. Conlon, "The Census of India as a Source for the Historical Study of Religion and Caste," in *The Census in British India. New Perspectives*, ed. N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981): 103–17, and Kenneth W. Jones, "Religious Identity and the Indian Census," in *The Census in British India. New Perspectives*, ed. N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981): 73–101. For the establishment of "Jainism" as a distinct religion, see Torkel Brekke, *Makers of Modern Indian Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Peter Flügel, "The Invention of Jainism: A Short History of Jaina Studies," *International Journal of Jain Studies* 1, no. 1 (2005): 1–14, or James F. Lewis, "Jains in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Religion in Modern India*, 4th ed., ed. Robert D. Baird (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001): 335–72.

5 This becomes obvious in modern polemical debates and literature about the "true origin" of some religious beliefs and practices, in which individual Jainas and Hindus claim that their own community

tions certainly did not function as they do today. Nevertheless, it would certainly be wrong to conclude that no special Jaina tradition existed, before the terms "Jainism" and "Jaina community" were defined in more recent times.[6] The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the particular Jaina tradition of Karnataka, especially its development during its heyday between the fifth and twelfth century CE. The rather sudden decline of the Jainas' influence, from the late twelfth century onwards, will also be discussed in detail.

2 The Rise of Jainism in Karnataka

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the existence of Jaina ascetics and laymen in South India dates from the second and first centuries BCE.[7] Most probably, the Jaina tradition came to the area of modern Karnataka in several waves of migration. Although, as Desai remarks, Śvetāmbara ascetics had been among the first Jaina mendicants in Karnataka,[8] it was the Digambara tradition which became the dominant and indigenous form of Jainism in South India.

2.1 Jaina Monks and Politics

According to inscriptional evidence, the Jaina tradition came under the patronage of ruling dynasties as early as the first centuries of the common era. In the course of the following centuries, an increasing number of Jainas received royal support, and some Jaina ascetics raised their status from spiritual teachers to political advisers of royals. Here, two questions emerge: Firstly, if the close relationships of Jaina ascetics to rulers involved them in worldly affairs, how could this be justified? Secondly, why had the Jaina tradition been so popular among the ruling and warrior classes? Both questions and their answers are interrelated and seem to include a paradox: Jainism, with its stress on absolute *ahiṃsā*, non-violence, enjoyed the patronage of, in Paul Dundas' words, "aggressive and militaristic south Indian kings and their warrior supporters."[9] The popular image of Jainism is as the prototype of a world-negating tradition, whose

is more original than its rivals, which they accuse of "borrowing" and "imitation." Furthermore, although most Jainas today consider their community a distinct and separate one, some Jainas still prefer to be classified under the wider category of "Hindu."

6 Although the term "Jainism" was unknown at the period under examination, I will nevertheless use it throughout this chapter to denote the religious tradition which later came to be known by the name "Jainism."

7 Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992): 99.

8 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: xi.

9 Dundas, *The Jains*: 101.

adherents focus on ascetic practices and total detachment from all mundane affairs. That this stereotyped description hardly conforms to reality will be shown later in this chapter, when ritual practices and religious beliefs are discussed.

Although the Jaina ascetic's absolute goal lies in the otherworldly sphere, and he (or she) leads a life of detachment from most worldly affairs, this does not necessarily mean he (or she) must stay completely aloof from all mundane matters. Most Digambara monks and nuns who have been initiated since the revival of the ascetic tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century choose not to get involved in politics and public debates. Nevertheless, as in other religious traditions, not all ascetics remain silent on social and political matters, especially if Jaina values are involved. It is true that among Jaina ascetics, political interference never went as far as in the case of the Buddhist ascetic community of Sri Lanka, where in recent years a political monks' party was founded. But still, some Jaina monks of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been actively involved in political affairs. The famous Ācārya Śāntisāgar (1872–1955),[10] for instance, became active in Jaina protests against the application of the *Bombay Temple Entry Bill* to Jaina temples.[11] Another influential ascetic, Samanthbhadra (1891–1988) became a spokesperson on behalf of the Jainas in the 1980s when a communal argument broke out about the Jaina pilgrimage place Bahubali (Bāhubalī, Kuṃbhoj), near Kolhapur (Kolhāpur).[12] In recent years, some Digambara ascetics have been using their popularity to speak out openly against social tendencies which oppose the Jaina values, especially that of vegetarianism. Only in 2007, did a Digambara monk from Karnataka threatened to fast himself to death if the government did not drop its plan to distribute eggs to schoolchildren as part of their midday meal.[13]

These examples show that in recent times, not all Digambara ascetics have conformed to the stereotype of the totally detached Jaina monk. It would be unrealistic to assume that these recent examples are just a "modern degeneration of the ancient ideal" and that in earlier times all monks would have remained completely aloof from social and political matters. It should not, therefore, come as too great a surprise

10 Ācārya Śāntisāgar "Dakṣiṇ" ("Southern"), as he is sometimes called to differentiate him from another *ācārya* carrying the same name (Ācārya Śāntisāgar "Chāṇī," named after his birthplace in Rajasthan), is generally regarded as the leading force behind a revival of the ancient Digambara ascetic tradition. This tradition of fully initiated, naked monks had been interrupted for several centuries.

11 The *Bombay Temple Entry Bill*, introduced shortly after Independence, allowed members of all castes, including the lowest, free entry to all Hindu temples. The Jainas' protest, as local Jainas I met in Karnataka and South Maharashtra told me, had been fuelled mainly by the fear that non-vegetarian castes might visit their temples and ritually pollute them. Another reason mentioned was the Jainas' unwillingness to let the state interfere in what they considered their own religious affairs.

12 The incident, in which the main opponents had been Digambara Jainas and Marathas, became known as "Bahubali Affair."

13 Yuvācārya Guṇadharanandī used the media presence during a big religious function at Varur, near Hubli, to announce his intention.

that some ascetics during the early medieval period sought contact with rulers and other influential members of society.

2.2 The Legitimisation of Kings and Kingly Benefactions

If the Jaina tradition was to prosper and establish itself securely in Karnataka, it needed to secure royal patronage. For rulers, on the other hand, offering official patronage to a religious group was considered a crucial step towards obtaining religious sanction to legitimise their authority. The topic of royal patronage of "heterodox" faiths[14] such as Buddhism and Jainism has been dealt with in detail by historians.[15] All we need grasp here is that supporting Buddhism and/or Jainism was a means for dynasties of obscure rank in the emerging caste hierarchy to legitimise their rule. The Jaina's denial of *brāhmaṇ* supremacy[16] and their comparatively higher regard for the *kṣatriya* (or warrior) caste[17] may also help explain the attractiveness of their faiths to the ruling classes. The patronage of Jainism, furthermore, as is sometimes argued, probably helped to "confer a brand of respectable, northern Aryan culture upon southern warriors while at the same time enabling them to distance themselves from peasant, Hindu society."[18] The "idealised Jain king," then, "owed his position to merit and qualities," unlike the Hindu king who depended on "ritual validation."[19]

We should be careful, however, not to think of royal patronage as an exclusive relationship, since the great majority of rulers did not confine their patronage to one single religious tradition. Most dynasties patronised several or all influential religious groups active within their domain. Political stability and the ruler's aim to legitimise his authority in many cases overshadowed any personal religious persuasion he might have had. An individual might be called a pious follower of the Tīrthaṅkaras in one inscription and a devotee of Śiva in another. Furthermore, it should be remembered that strictly defined exclusive religious affiliations, such as we know today, did not exist in the medieval period. It seems impossible, therefore, to determine the personal religious persuasion of most South Indian rulers, even if some Jaina historians are all too quick to describe certain important kings as devout Jainas on the basis of inscriptional evidence. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Jaina tradition enjoyed

14 "Heterodox" here is used in the sense that both Buddhism and Jainism denied the religious authority of the *Veda* and the *brāhmaṇ*s.

15 See, for instance, Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

16 Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1979): 275–76.

17 Mahāvīra and the Buddha are both described as *kṣatriya*s by birth.

18 Dundas, *The Jains*: 102.

19 Dundas, *The Jains*: 102.

the substantial patronage of important ruling dynasties, as well as the support of some petty rulers and feudatories.

2.3 The Jaina Ascetic as Warrior

Although Jainism lays absolute stress on the principle of *ahiṃsā*, it never developed such a strong pacifist attitude as some Christian groups. According to Jaina tradition, the *kṣatriya*'s duty is to defend his territory, even if this includes the killing of the enemy. The image of the warrior in Jainism became transformed, and the picture of the ideal ascetic, who engaged himself in the constant battle against all bodily desires and worldly attachments, came to symbolise the real warrior. This ideology, found among the Digambara tradition in particular, gave Jainism its image as "a religion of vigour and bravery" which, according to Dundas, increased its popularity among the warrior class.[20]

Under the patronage of the South Indian ruler Amoghavarṣa Rāṣṭrakūṭa (815–877 CE), the Jaina ascetic Jinasena (ca. 770–850 CE) began to write the *Ādipurāṇa*,[21] in the ninth century. This work describes the right conduct of a king. The warrior class is said to be related to the "real" warriors, the Digambara ascetics. Kings are reminded to protect not only their kingdom, but also the Jaina community and its tradition. Here we find the image of an ideal Jaina monarch and warrior part of whose function is to secure justice among his subjects, but who himself depends on the spiritual advice of Jaina ascetics.[22] Jinasena still sees the Jaina ascetic as the highest ideal of the warrior, but he does acknowledge that the institutions of kingship and the warrior class are needed.

2.4 Jaina Monks Establishing Regal Dynasties

The fact that some Jaina ascetics had close relationships with rulers was never denied in Jaina literature and is even highlighted in legendary accounts of the foundation of two important South Indian dynasties. According to popular Jaina tradition, it had been Jaina ascetics who had been instrumental in the establishment of Gaṅgā rule

20 Dundas, *The Jains*: 102.

21 This is the first part of the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the story of the past, present and future lives of the sixty-three exemplary men of this time-cycle, including the Jinas. The *Ādipurāṇa* was started by Jinasena and finished by his pupil Guṇabhadra (Kristi L. Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism* [New Delhi: Vision Books, 2006]: 132).

22 Dundas, *The Jains*: 102–3.

(third century CE) and the emergence of the Hoysaḷa dynasty (twelfth century CE).[23] Whatever historical truth may be found in these stories, their popularity demonstrates that in general, an ascetic's interference in worldly affairs was accepted, since the Jaina tradition benefited through royal patronage. The moral ambivalence between strict detachment on the one hand, and the recognition of the need for royal support on the other, is expressed by Padmanabh S. Jaini in comments on the instrumental role of the ascetic Siṁhanandi in the rise of Gaṅgā rule:

> Whatever actually transpired, it does seem clear that Siṃhanandi commanded sufficient political influence to effectively function as a king-maker, and further that the subsequent Ganga rulers were all staunch Jainas [...] Whatever spiritually negative results Siṃhanandi may have brought upon himself by his behavior, there can be no doubt that he greatly benefited the Digambara community as a whole.[24]

The tension between sticking strictly to religious tenets and coming to terms with the "real world" will be encountered by every religious tradition, once it is officially recognised and patronised by influential patrons. Jainism, naturally, is no exception, as its further development in the area of Karnataka demonstrates.

3 Settled Monks and *Bhaṭṭārakas*

If we look more closely at medieval Jainism, we find some other paradoxical developments at play. According to the ancient Jaina ideal of asceticism, monks and nuns were bound to the strict interpretation of their vow of *aparigraha*, non-possession, so that a fully initiated Digambara monk owned only a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *piñchī*.[25] Digambara mendicants were also supposed to lead a life of constant wandering. It was only during *cāturmā*s, the rainy season, that they were allowed to stay for a longer period in one place.

During the medieval period, however, the ideal of the wandering ascetic lost ground, and groups of ascetics began to settle down and live in monasteries. First literary evidence for the emergence of the settled ascetic dates from about the second century CE.[26] From the fourth century onwards, inscriptions mention grants for as-

23 For these legends, see Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 279–82, and P.M. Joseph, *Jainism in South India* (Thiruvananthapuram: The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1997): 102–3.

24 Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280.

25 A water-pot which contains some boiled water for cleaning purposes, and a brush made out of peacock feathers. The *piñchī* is used by the ascetic to wipe the floor before sitting or lying down, in order to avoid hurting tiny insects. Unlike Digambara monks, who also renounce any kind of clothing, nuns cover their bodies with white robes.

26 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 64–65.

cetics living in monasteries.[27] These were grants of land for the monasteries' erection and maintenance. Settled ascetics, known as *maṭhavāsī*s, were criticised by those who stuck to the practice of wandering or living solitary lives in the jungle as mendicants, for renouncing the ambulant life and for indulging in practices such as the use of oils and perfumes, which they considered inappropriate for ascetics.[28]

The emergence of settled monks and nuns, and the establishment of monasteries attached to temples, reflect the changed fortunes of Jainism: the material support which rulers, feudatories and other influential members of society gave to the monastic orders went far beyond the simple provision of food and temporary shelter. Through the grants they received, the monastic orders thus became the owners of landed property. The increased political and economic influence of the ascetic orders and their leaders eventually led to the emergence of a new religious institution within Digambara Jainism: the figure of the *bhaṭṭāraka* ("learned man"). Initially the head of a group of settled monks, the *bhaṭṭāraka* came to hold a quasi-pontifical authority. The post was held by a celibate, but not fully initiated, ascetic, who took a hereditary name and wore special orange robes (Plate 3.1). In his administrative capacity, the *bhaṭṭāraka* handled the financial affairs of his monastery, while as a political figure, he acted as the representative of the local Jaina community. In this function he sometimes had to deal with Hindu or Muslim rulers. In fact, as Paul Dundas points out, a *bhaṭṭāraka* could wield power similar to that of worldly rulers:

> He sat on a pontifical throne, enjoyed trappings of office and a great deal of pomp and ceremony attended his processional activities. The *bhattaraka* of Kolhapur in Maharashtra who built the gate of his monastery of equal height to the city gate was making a specific point about his equality of status with the local raja.[29]

Accounts like this suggest that the institution of the *bhaṭṭāraka* did not for long remain without its opponents, who considered it redolent of corruption and decadence. Several reformers argued against alleged malpractices within the institution and disputed the spiritual authority of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s.[30]

Notwithstanding the critical voices who regarded the *bhaṭṭāraka* institution as a sign of religious laxity, several authors see the role of the *bhaṭṭāraka* in a more positive light. Vilas Adinath Sangave, a contemporary Digambara Jaina from South Mahara-

27 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 65.

28 For a list of practices, which were strongly criticised, see Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 68–69.

29 Dundas, *The Jains*: 107.

30 This is the case among the Digambara sect of the Terāpanthīs, which originated in North India during the seventeenth century CE. Among the reasons for the emergence of the group, their disapproval of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s was an important factor. For the Digambara Terāpanthīs, see Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 214–16.



Plate 3.1: A reception with naked Digambara monks and orange-dressed *bhaṭṭāraka*s.

shtra, describes the emergence of the institution as "a policy of survival to meet the severe challenges created by the advent of Muslim rule in India."[31] He bases his argument partly on the assumption that naked ascetics faced severe hardships because of the Muslims' opposition to public nakedness, whereas the *bhaṭṭāraka*, as a clothed religious authority, was able to step in to prevent the disintegration of the Jaina community.[32] As an observation about the function of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s, this may hold some truth, but as an account of their origin it sounds somewhat simplistic, with its focus on the alleged Muslim threat. It is true that the practice of nakedness for fully initiated male ascetics was on the wane during the medieval period. Nevertheless, in my view, Muslim opposition is unlikely to have been the sole reason for this development. It seems more likely that the practice of wearing clothes represents a gradual development which started when monks began to settle down, and their lifestyle became increasingly in tune with their social surroundings. In a later period, when the influ-

31 Vilas A. Sangave, *Facets of Jainology. Selected Research Papers on Jain Society, Religion and Culture* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001): 133.

32 Sangave, *Facets of Jainology*: 133–34.

ence of Jainism in South India decreased, the general tolerance of the non-Jaina majority towards naked ascetics may also have been on the wane.

While in medieval times, the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition existed in North and South India, its stronghold today is the area of Karnataka and Maharashtra. Out of the thirty-six *bhaṭṭāraka* seats that used to exist in India, fewer than one third have survived into the twenty-first century, the majority of which are in Karnataka. The most important and influential *bhaṭṭāraka* seats today are Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa) in Hassan District, Mudabidri (Mūdabidri) in South Kanara District and Humcha (Hombuja) in Shimoga District (Plate 3.2).[33] The connection that used to exist between a *bhaṭṭāraka* and a particular Jaina caste, whose affairs he controlled, has been decreasing for about the last hundred years, after reform-minded Jainas had started to argue that this system created further harmful distinctions.[34] As in earlier times, *bhaṭṭārakas* today engage in religious education. Furthermore, they try to promote Jaina studies, literature and religion by running research institutes and schools and pub-



Plate 3.2: The seat of the *bhaṭṭāraka* (*maṭha*) at Humcha.

33 A full list of former and existing *bhaṭṭāraka* seats can be found in Sangave, *Facets of Jainology*: 134–35. In recent years, some new seats were established at Kanakagiri (Kanakagirī) in Mysore District, Kambadhalli (Kambadhallī) in Mandya District and at Aminabhavi (Amīnbhāvi), near Hubli in Dharwad District.

34 At the end of the nineteenth century, when the first reform-orientated Digambara Jaina associations were formed, the disintegration of the community into smaller groups and castes was considered a major grievance which had to be removed. Although some progress has been made, the Digambara community today is still not as united as the early reformers hoped it would become.

lishing Jaina scriptures. In this regard, the survival of the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition in South India, especially Karnataka, wields some crucial influence. Unlike Digambara monks and nuns, *bhaṭṭāraka*s are not restricted as to travel. Some of them therefore act as promoters of their religious tradition in other parts of India and abroad. The educational function of the *maṭha*s, as seats of learning, is an important element of their role in South India, where, unlike in the north, there is no tradition of independent institutions for the study of Jaina literature and religion.[35]

4 A Particular Monastic Order of the Deccan: The Yāpanīyas

The medieval period witnessed also some other developments within Jaina monasticism. While the organisation of the monastic orders became more complex in the early medieval age,[36] the period between the eighth and tenth century CE, according to Ramendra Nath Nandi, proved to be "most eventful in the history of the Jaina church,"[37] regarding the establishment of new monastic orders in the Karnataka area.[38] One important ascetic order, that of the Yāpanīyas, which flourished chiefly in the area of what is now North Karnataka, had however already been established during the first centuries CE. The foundation of this sect predates the fifth century CE and was perhaps as early as the second century CE.[39] Interestingly, the Yāpanīyas were rejected as "heretics" by Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara authors. Although many Yāpanīya relics can still be found in North Karnataka, little is known about the order.

According to A.N. Upadhye, on whose studies[40] nearly all other writers base their accounts of the sect, the following details can be reconstructed: in their outward appearance (nakedness) Yāpanīyas resembled Digambara monks, in whose close vicinity

35 Places like Morena and Benares are famous for their Jaina educational institutions. A highly educated Jaina layman whom I met in Maharashtra, who had himself been sent to North India for his studies, argued that one reason for the decline of the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition in North India could have been the existence of many lay Jaina scholars and a tradition of Jaina institutions of learning which made *maṭha*s, as seats of learning, unnecessary.

36 For more details about the split of the monastic organisation into smaller groups, see Adinath N. Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha: A Jaina Sect," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 55, no. 1–4 (1974): 9–10.

37 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 41.

38 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 41–46.

39 Adinath N. Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha: A Jaina Sect," *Journal of the University of Bombay* 1, no. 4 (1933): 229.

40 See Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 224–31, and Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 9–22.

they resided, while they also shared some doctrines with the Śvetāmbaras. One of these doctrines, unacceptable to Digambaras, held that women were able to attain liberation without having been born in a male human body first.[41] The origin of the sect remains obscure. Traditions from the tenth century onwards hold that the Yāpanīyas had originally been Śvetāmbaras who had changed their outward appearance.[42] Śvetāmbara authors, on the other hand, claimed that the Yāpanīyas were an offshoot of the Digambaras.[43] There are several interpretations of the origin of their name.[44] Most probably it derived from the root "*yā*" ("expelled"), denoting the Yāpanīyas' independence from Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras[45] or their parent order, that they had left.[46] According to inscriptional evidence, the Yāpanīyas had been quite successful in gaining land grants from rulers and other influential sections of the society, mainly in the area of the modern districts of Kolhapur (South Maharashtra), Dharwar (Dhārwār), Belgaum (Belgāum) and Gulbarga.[47] Some influential teachers and writers, like Umāsvāti, most probably belonged to the Yāpanīya order.

While they are mentioned in various inscriptions from the fifth to the fourteenth centuries CE, the Yāpanīyas seem to have disappeared after this time. In all probability, they gradually merged into the Digambara fold, in whose midst they had been living for several centuries. Their Jina statues are worshipped by the Digambaras today.[48]

Some authors[49] stress the importance of the Yāpanīyas for the further development and growing popularity of the Jaina tradition in the Karnataka area during the medieval period. P.B. Desai points out two areas in which the Yāpanīyas' influence has had an impact: firstly, the Yāpanīyas are considered "to have been the early pioneers of the reformist movement in the Jaina church of South India and their example and precept seem to have been followed and assimilated by the teachers of several other monastic orders, tacitly, without making much fuss about it."[50] According to Desai, Yāpanīya ascetics had been foremost in adapting the Jaina tradition to the local environment of South India. Secondly, Desai conjectures that the Yāpanīyas' less rigid

41 See Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 231.

42 Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 10–11.

43 Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 238.

44 For different spellings and interpretations, see Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 11–12.

45 Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 227.

46 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 55.

47 Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 18.

48 For more details about the Yāpanīyas, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 163–74; Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 41–61, Upadhye, "Yāpanīya Saṅgha": 224–31, Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 9–22, or Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 238–39.

49 For example, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 167–70, or Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 59–61.

50 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 167.

attitude regarding some dogmatic aspects of Jainism, such as the possibility of a woman's attaining spiritual liberation in this life, must have helped popularise the Jaina tradition among the general population. He ascribes the large number of female lay-followers and ascetics, which we can deduce from South Indian inscriptions, to the influence of the Yāpanīyas:

> By far the most outstanding factor, more than anything else, that might have contributed to the success of the Jaina faith in South India, appears to be the liberal attitude towards women evinced by the Yāpanīyas. For women are the most potent transmitters of the religious ideas and practices [...] and the teacher who is able to capture their religious propensities, rules the society.[51]

Even if Desai's statement seems to include some exaggeration, there can be no doubt about the impact of women as transmitters of religious traditions. Nevertheless, there is no way of proving that the popularity of Jainism among women in South India was really as closely linked to the Yāpanīyas' teachings as Desai argues,[52] for inscriptions testify to a considerably high number of women ascetics and lay-followers also in areas where the Digambara, rather than the Yāpanīya tradition was dominant.[53]

For Ramendra Nath Nandi, on the other hand, the main impact of the Yāpanīyas was in the socio-religious field, linked to their eagerness to settle down in monasteries and take care of temples and the regular worship conducted there. He concludes his discussion of the sect's impact as follows:

> The wandering groups of monks could make little permanent impression on the people of a locality. But the settled monks, with proper understanding of the social and economic processes in a region, could exercise far greater influence. Their temples were more than places of ritual worship. They were often the scene of great cultural and economic activities. [...] The Yāpanīya movement was thus not a mere schismatic development. It served a socio-economic purpose which justifies the wide patronage enjoyed by it. It originated as a result of monastic schism but instead of weakening the parent Digambara church gave it a long lease of life in the Deccan.[54]

Since the Yāpanīyas were most probably absorbed by the Digambaras during the fifteenth century, and have remained a rather obscure and understudied Jaina sect, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion about their impact on the Jaina tradition in South India. We can, however, see from inscriptions that the Yāpanīyas wielded some

51 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 168.

52 Adinath N. Upadhye, for instance, rejects any connection between the doctrine of women's liberation and the existence of female ascetics. He therefore sees the Yāpanīyas' impact on South Indian society as less important (Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 18).

53 Inscriptions from Shravanabelgola, a centre of the Digambara tradition, record an impressive number of laywomen who performed the Jaina ritual of fasting to death, *sallekhanā*, during the twelfth century. See S. Settar, *Inviting Death. Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill* (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History Karnatak University, 1986): 100.

54 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 61.

influence over important sections of society, especially in the area of North Karnataka. Regarding their eagerness to settle down, as Nandi puts it, it seems likely that the Yāpanīyas maintained close links with local lay Jainas on whose patronage they depended, while themselves providing the lay-followers with spiritual guidance and performing religious rituals, in particular temple worship and the worship of female goddesses. The development of these rituals is another important aspect of medieval Jainism,[55] as we shall see.

5 Developments in Jaina Rituals and Worship

With the increase in patronage and the rising popularity of the Jaina tradition, the number of Jaina temples multiplied. We have already seen that inscriptions mentioning land grants to Jaina orders in the Deccan reach back to the fourth century CE. As the practice of erecting temples became more widespread, inscriptions begin to state the importance of the worship performed in them. Jina statues had been worshipped in earlier times, but during the medieval period, image worship and temple rituals seem to have become much more elaborate. Jaina ascetics began to focus on the formulation of precepts for lay-followers and worship was listed among the religious duties of householders. It seems unlikely that the Jaina tradition had been a purely ascetic tradition before Jaina literature started to concern itself with the conduct of laymen.[56] With the growing number of monasteries, however, and the ascetics' tendency to settle down, the support of Jaina laymen became more important. It does not therefore appear coincidental that during the medieval period the literature of Jaina teachers increasingly dealt with laymen's concerns. Here, much attention was focused on the merit gained through the erection of temples and the performance of rituals. Inscriptional evidence detailing grants given for the performance of temple rituals also shows the growing importance of ritual worship.[57] The building and renovating of temples and the performance of temple worship were considered pious acts through which the donor acquired merit. Literary texts dealt with the correct way to perform temple rituals and praised worship as a path to temporal wellbeing and spir-

55 On this, see, for instance, Desai, *Jainism in South India*, Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?" in *The Assembly of Listeners*, ed. Michael Carrithers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 187–99, Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*, or Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*.

56 Since Jaina ascetics have always been dependent on food offerings, a kind of lay-community must have come into existence very early, consisting of householders who had been attracted to the Jaina teachings without taking the final step of becoming an ascetic.

57 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 23–26.

itual liberation.[58] The prescribed rituals of the medieval period include Jina worship with eight different articles and the ablution or anointment ceremony, *abhiṣeka,* both of which still today form a substantial part of temple worship among the Digambara Jainas.

5.1 The Veneration of Bāhubali

An interesting feature of Jaina worship, which developed during the heyday of Jaina influence in Karnataka, is the veneration of the mythological figure of Bāhubali, also known as Gommaṭa or Gommaṭeśvara.

5.1.1 The Legend of Bāhubali

According to legend, Bāhubali's life can be summarised as follows: Bāhubali was the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha, who, when Ādinātha decided to become an ascetic, divided his kingdom among all his sons. The eldest, Bharata, however, wanted to rule the whole world and requested his brothers to accept his sovereignty. Only Bāhubali refused and defeated his elder brother in several single combats. Seeing Bharata's defeat and humiliation, however, Bāhubali realised the futility of all worldly aims and became an ascetic. After a period of meditation in the standing posture (*kāyotsarga*) he finally attained omniscience (*kevalajñāna*).[59]

5.1.2 Bāhubali's Importance in Karnataka

The story of Bāhubali became a popular theme in Jaina literature[60] and art in the Karnataka area. The earliest artistic representations of him go back to the sixth century CE. The cult of Bāhubali spread across the southern part of India, with Karnataka becoming

58 These texts include, for instance, Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (probably third century CE); Raviseṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* (seventh century CE) and Jaṭāsiṁhanandi's *Varāṅgacarita* (seventh century CE). For more information, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 23–32.

59 For accounts of the story of Bāhubali, see Padmaraja Dandavathi, *Gommata: Mahamastakabhisheka 2006* (Bangalore: The Commissioner, Department of Information, 2005): 18–23; Vilas A. Sangave, *The Sacred Sravana-Belagola. A Socio-Religious Study* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1981): 66–68; S. Settar, *Sravana Belgola* (Dharwad: Ruvari, 1981): 49; K.V.R. Tagore, ed., *March of Karnataka* (Bangalore: Commissioner of Information, 2006): 8–9, or Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 48–49.

60 The first detailed literary account of the Bāhubali story is given in Sanskrit by Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* (ninth century CE). Important Kannada poets, such as Pampa and Cāvuṇḍarāya (tenth century CE) also told the story. For more details, see Settar, *Sravana Belgola*: 47.



Plate 3.3: The colossal Bāhubali at Venur.

the centre of his worship.[61] This development found its most famous expression in the erection of several huge statues. The first and largest is the monolithic statue, nearly 60

61 Settar, *Sravana Belgola*: 47.

feet (18.3 metres) high,[62] erected on behalf of the general and minister Cāvuṇḍarāya at Shravanabelgola in about 981 CE. This inspired other tall images, such as the Bāhubali colossi at Karkal (Kārkaḷa) (1432 CE) and Venur (Vēṇur) (1604 CE) (Plate 3.3).

But what made the worship of Bāhubali and the building of his statues so popular in the first place? Several theories exist: firstly, according to a popular Digambara belief, Bāhubali was the first person in the present time-cycle to attain spiritual liberation.[63] Secondly, the story of Bāhubali, who had the chance to become a mighty ruler, but instead, disgusted by all worldly affairs, chose the ascetic life, demonstrated the Jaina message in an impressive way and presented Bāhubali as the ideal of the true Jaina ascetic. The importance of the Bāhubali cult in Karnataka certainly owes a lot to the erection of the Gommaṭa colossus at Shravanabelgola, which itself inspired other rulers to erect further gigantic images. The building of such statues not only conferred merit on local rulers but also served as an expression of royal authority. The combination of successful warrior and great ascetic, as symbolised in the figure of Bāhubali, may have been another reason for the enormous popularity of Bāhubali and his cult among the ruler and warrior classes.

5.1.3 The Mahāmastakābhiṣeka

While the ritual of *abhiṣeka* was a substantial element of regular image worship in the temples, the anointment of the Bāhubali colossi developed into an important religious spectacle, known as the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, the "great head anointing ceremony." The first such ritual of the Gommaṭa statue at Shravanabelgola was performed shortly after its construction and it was repeated no more than once every twelve years, because of the huge size of the image. Inscriptions and literary accounts mention several performances of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka ritual during the following centuries. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Mahārāja of Mysore, although Hindu, played an important part in the ceremony. At the time of writing, the last Mahāmastakābhiṣeka was held in February 2018.[64] The one before this took place in February 2006: over a period of around ten days, the Gommaṭa statue was daily anointed with thousands of litres of water, milk, sugarcane juice, diluted turmeric, sandalwood and other precious substances. Tens of thousands of Jainas from all parts of India, a big congregation of ascetics, and many non-Jainas came to witness the

62 According to the measurements of the Karnataka University's Indian Art History Institute from 1980, the total height of the statue is 58.8 feet (Dandavathi, *Gommata: Mahamastakabhisheka*: 28–29.

63 According to this belief, Bāhubali died earlier than his father, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and therefore became the first liberated being of this era. Nevertheless, he is not regarded as a Jina, since he did not preach the Jaina message after the attainment of omniscience. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, do not regard Bāhubali as the first liberated human being.

64 The next Mahāmastakābhiṣeka ceremony is due to take place in 2030.

event (Plate 3.4). The Mahāmastakābhiṣeka at Shravanabelgola is certainly the most splendid and most well-known ritual performed by Digambara Jainas in South India. Despite the decline in the Jainas' influence in Karnataka, it has been conducted at more or less regular intervals for more than one thousand years.

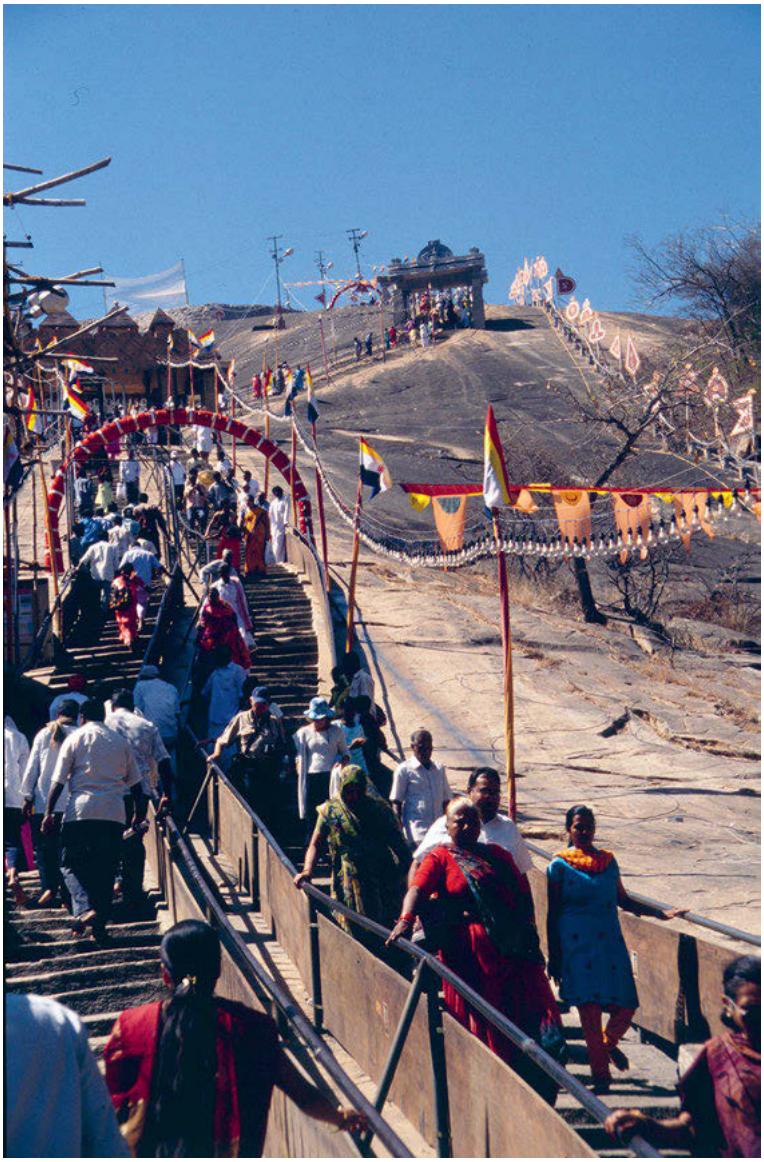


Plate 3.4: Pilgrims descending after the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka 2006 at Shravanabelgola.

5.2 *Yakṣī* Worship

As well as worshipping enlightened beings, such as the Tīrthaṅkaras and Bāhubali, the Digambaras in Karnataka also have a particular devotion to the female goddesses known as *yakṣī*s or *yakṣiṇī*s. The elaborate form of this *yakṣī* cult developed during the medieval period. All female *yakṣī*s have a male associated *yakṣa. Yakṣa* shrines, in which worship was offered to supernatural powers, were already known at the time of the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. *Yakṣa*s appear in Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina texts, while their first mentioning in Jaina literature dates from the first centuries CE. The earliest iconographic evidence within the Jaina tradition goes back to the sixth century CE.[65] During the medieval period, a pair of one *yakṣa* and one *yakṣī* were attributed to each of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, as male and female tutelary deities.

The majority of these guardian deities, especially the male *yakṣa*s, did not become the object of a special cult, but some of the *yakṣī*s came to be venerated quite independently from their original status as guardians of the Jinas. The development of an individual *yakṣī* cult has mainly been studied from the perspective of changes in the Jaina iconography.[66]

5.2.1 Padmāvatī, Jvālāmālinī and Kuṣamāṇḍinī Yakṣī

By far the most popular female goddess among the Digambaras of Karnataka is Padmāvatī, the *yakṣī* of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha (Plate 3.5). One famous account explains her close connection to snakes: one day, Pārśvanātha (before his final spiritual liberation) preached the Jaina message to two dying snakes. Having died peacefully through the Jaina teachings, they were reborn as Dhāraṇendra, king of the *nāga*s (snakes), and his wife Padmāvatī. When in his next life, a demon tried to disturb Pārśvanātha's meditation by sending storm and rain, the two snakes came to his protection and spread their hoods above his head. Pārśvanātha, therefore, went on in his meditation undisturbed, and finally became the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara.[67]

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65 John Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions," *Numen* 34, no. 2 (1991): 241.

66 Changes in the position of the *yakṣī*s are an important index of their growing importance as independent objects of worship. One often cited example for this development is the *yakṣī* statue in the Meguḍi Temple (erected in 634 CE) at Aihole (Aihoḷe) in Bijapur District. Unlike earlier images, where *yakṣī*s are depicted at the Tīrthaṅkara's left hand, she is presented independently and has two attendants at each side (Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 151; Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 52. For the iconography of Jaina *yakṣī*s, see B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, 2nd ed. [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974]: 86–107, or Savitri Dhawan, *Mother Goddesses in Early Indian Religion* (Jaipur: National Publishing House, 1997): 123–33). For the *yakṣa* cult in the Indian tradition, see for instance Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, part 1 and 2, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Munishiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1980), or J.P. Sharma, *Jaina Yakshas* (Jodhpur: Kusumanjali Book World, 1996).

67 This account of the Padmāvatī legend and some others, in which Pārśvanātha and Dhāraṇendra do not appear, are found in Robert J. Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus," in *Aspekte des*

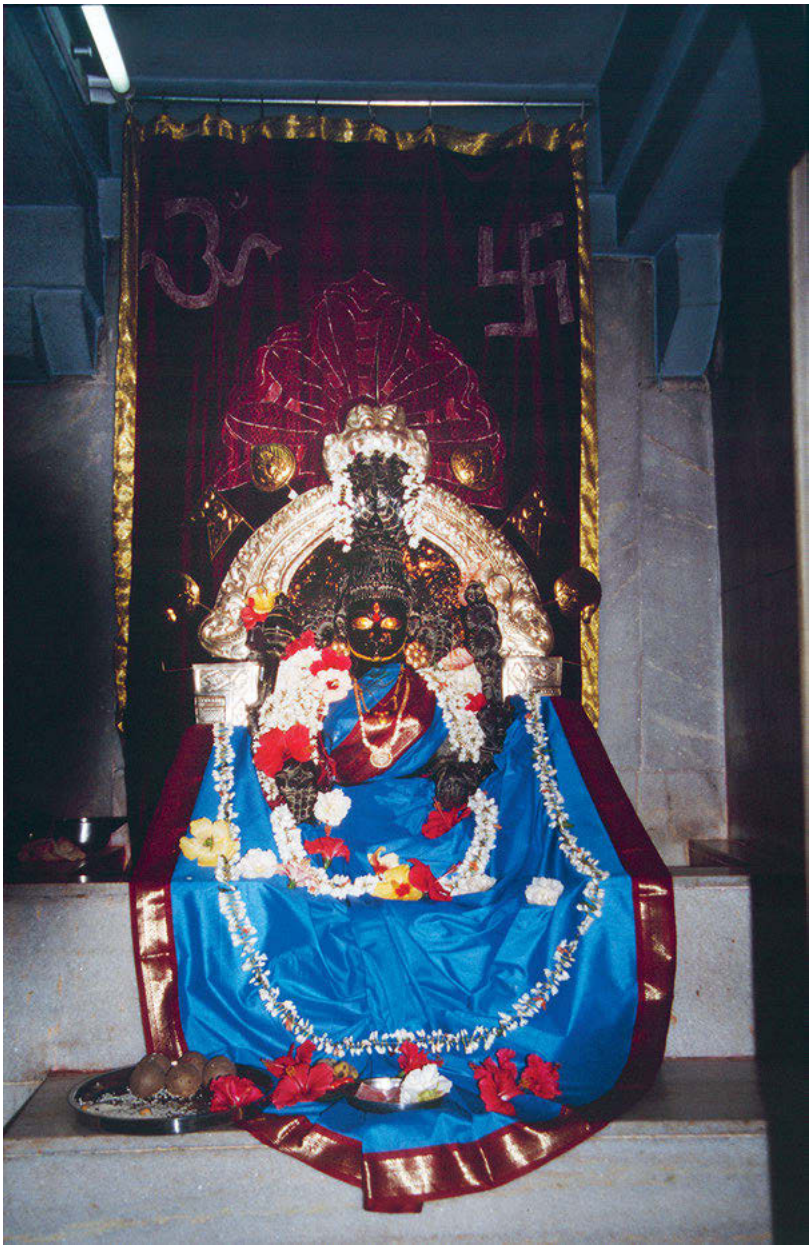


Plate 3.5: Padmāvatī, the most popular *yakṣī* of Karnataka, from Shrirangapatnam.

Weiblichen in der indischen Kultur, ed. Ulrike Roesler (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica-et-Tibetica-Verlag, 2000): 174–81.

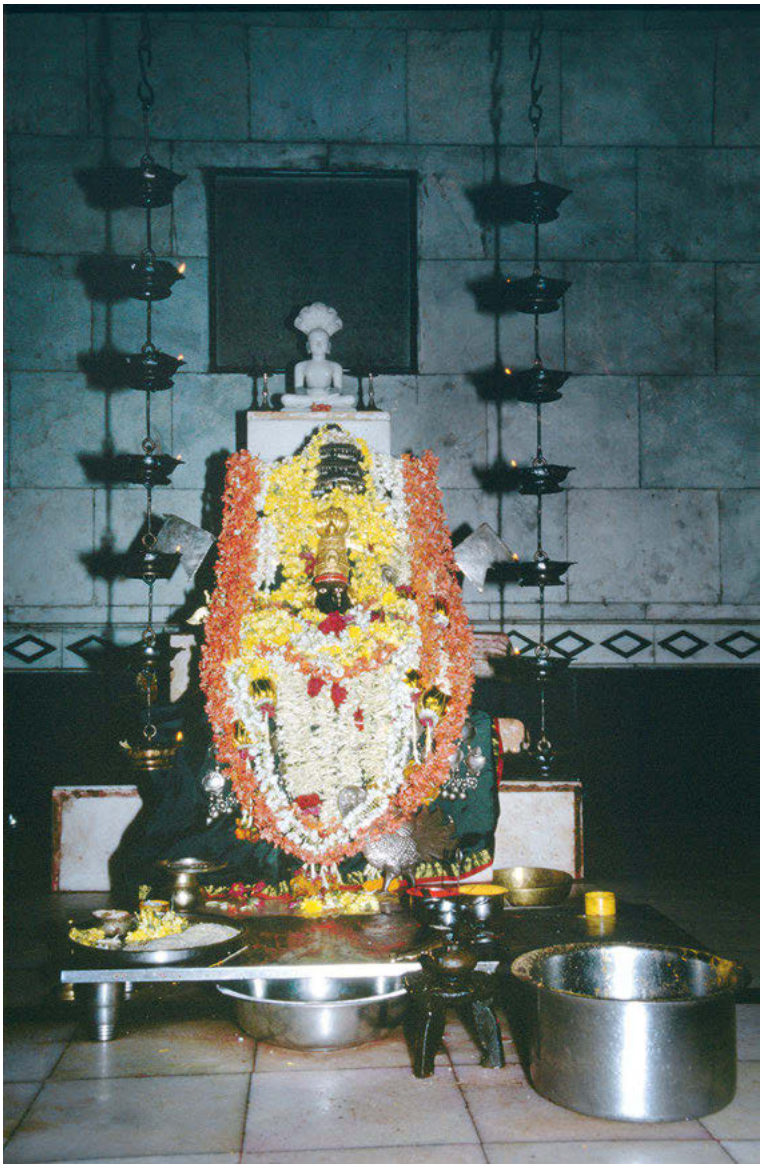


Plate 3.6: The *yakṣī* Padmāvatī on display in her temple at Humcha.

Some *yakṣī*s, as John Cort observes, had originally been *kuladevī*s, lineage goddesses of local ruling families. It is likely that the same holds true for Padmāvatī.[68] As *kuladevī* of the Sāntara dynasty, Padmāvatī became closely linked to Humcha (Shimoga

68 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 243.

District) (Plate 3.6), which had been the capital of the Sāntara rulers since the tenth century CE.[69] Up to the present day, the small village of Humcha has remained the centre of Padmāvatī worship in Karnataka. The place houses several Jaina temples and is the seat of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti. Jainas from all over Karnataka and other parts of India come to Humcha to worship the goddess. Every Friday, a special *pūjā* (ritualised worship) is performed at the temple, attracting a number of pilgrims. *Abhiṣeka* is conducted with several substances and devotees present offerings (including coconuts, fruits, sweets and sometimes a *sāṛī*, the traditional Indian women's dress) (Plate 3.7). After some *mantras*, spoken by the priests, the offerings (except for the *sāṛī*, which will be kept to dress the image) are given back as *prasāda*, blessing from the goddess. On Friday evening, a smaller statue of Padmāvatī is taken through the village in a procession. The villagers also make some offerings and get them back as *prasāda*—regardless of religious affiliation. As the statue is carried around, offerings are made by Hindus and Jainas alike.[70]

Padmāvatī is petitioned for worldly boons, such as the birth of a child. When the *pūjā* of her main statue is performed in the temple, the priest decorates the image with some flowers offered by the devotees. If a flower falls from the head of the statue, it is popularly believed that the devotee's wish will be granted by the goddess.[71] From the large number of Padmāvatī images and her regular appearance in Jaina literature, it seems that Padmāvatī was the most popular Jaina goddess in Karnataka during the medieval period, as she still is today. Furthermore, several ruling dynasties and officials called themselves her devotees.[72] As the legendary account of her connection with Pārśvanātha and the iconography of her image[73] suggest, Padmāvatī is closely linked with the *nāga* or snake cult, which is widespread throughout Karnataka, especially in the coastal region.[74] According to Nandi, the first evidence of Padmāvatī worship dates from about the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Sāntara dynasty was already associated with the cult of the goddess.[75] Her association with Pārśvanātha, however, seems not to have started much earlier than the beginning of the tenth century, as sculptural evidence suggests.[76] While Tantric beliefs and practices had their impact on Hindu and

69 Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 176.

70 Worship in the temple, on the other hand, is mainly confined to Jainas, who visit Humcha principally as a Jaina pilgrimage centre.

71 This story was also told to me by devotees in other temples where goddess worship was conducted.

72 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 243–44.

73 Padmāvatī's iconography contains snake symbols and the goddess is usually depicted with serpent-hoods over her head. See Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*: 104–6, Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 244, or Dhawan, *Mother Goddesses*: 132.

74 For *naga*s in Indian mythology and art, see Jean Philippe Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore or the Nagas in Hindu Legend and Art* (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1972).

75 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 150–51.

76 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 244.



Plate 3.7: *Pūjā* for a *yakṣī* with milk.

Buddhist traditions, the Jaina tradition also did not remain unaffected. The goddess cults seem to have been an integral part of Jaina Tantra. Literary evidence of a Tantric cult of Padmāvatī is provided by the *Bairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*, written in 1057 CE by the ascetic Mallişeṇa in the North Karnataka area.

Just as Padmāvatī was closely related to the seat of a *bhaṭṭāraka*, so too were the two other most popular *yakṣī*s among the Digambaras of Karnataka, Jvālāmālinī and Kūṣmāṇḍinī. The main pilgrimage centre of the goddess Jvālāmālinī, the *yakṣī* of the eighth Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha, is the seat of Bhaṭṭāraka Lakṣmīsena, in the small

village of Narasimharajapura (Narasiṁharājapura), also known as Simhanagadde (Chikmagalur District), near Humcha. Many Jaina pilgrims visiting Humcha also pay a visit to Narasimharajapura. Every Sunday, Jvālāmālinī is worshipped with a special *pūjā*, which very much resembles the worship of Padmāvatī at the temple at Humcha. The cult of Jvālāmālinī most probably started in the ninth century and its origin is closely connected with Jaina Tantra. According to legend, as we read in the *Jvālāmālinī Kalpa*,[77] the ascetic Helācārya started her cult after driving out a demon with the help of the goddess.[78] The worship of Kuṣamāṇḍinī, tutelary goddess of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Nemināth, is centred on Shravanabelgola (Plate 3.8). One legend about Kuṣamāṇḍinī associates her with the successful completion of the first Mahāmastakābhiṣeka of the Gommaṭa statue at Shravanabelgola.[79] She is closely associated with children and childbirth, as her other name, Aṁbikā, literally "mother," makes clear.[80] The origin of her cult can be traced back to the seventh century CE.[81]

These cult centres were popular places of pilgrimage for Jainas, in particular when they had a special boon about which to petition the goddess. However, the *yakṣīs* described above were worshipped not only at the centres of their cult, but across Karnataka as well.

5.2.2 The Question of Venerating Goddesses in Jainism

The described *yakṣīs* are not only worshipped at the centres of their cult. While these places get visited by Jaina pilgrims, who ask for some special worldly boons, *yakṣīs* are found in most Digambara temples of Karnataka. Their worship often includes *abhiṣeka* and their images are regularly dressed with new *sāṛī*s (Plate 3.9). Apart from *yakṣī*s, Jainas also worship other popular Indian goddesses, such as Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī (Plate 3.10). While Sarasvatī, as goddess of learning and protector of the Jaina scriptures, has an association with the Jaina tradition that goes back to antiquity,[82] Lakṣmī, as goddess of prosperity, is essentially an "occupational deity" of all merchant castes in India,"[83] to which many Jaina traders belong.

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77 A Tantric text written by Indranandī in the tenth century CE.

78 For accounts of the legend and its interpretation, see John Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions," *Numen* 34, no. 2 (1991): 246–47, Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 153–54, or Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 53–54. For different legends about Jvālāmālinī, see Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 170–74.

79 For an account of this story and some other legends about Kuṣamāṇḍinī, see Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 167–70.

80 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 247.

81 Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 55.

82 The oldest Sarasvatī statue discovered so far is a Jaina image and can be dated back to the year 132 CE (Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 236).

83 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 237.



Plate 3.8: Kuṣamāṇḍinī, associated with Neminātth and the site of Shravanabelgola.

The worship of goddesses, especially in the form of the *yakṣī* cult, is prevalent among the Digambaras of Karnataka. Scholars, however, commonly regard *yakṣī* worship as contrary to "original Jainism," a "foreign" element, which must have been "borrowed" from the Hindu tradition. This "borrowing," as the prevalent argument runs, took place during the medieval period, and was a means of safeguarding the Jaina tradition in the face of competition from Hindu groups, especially the *bhakti* movements. In his article "Is there a Popular Jainism?" Padmanabh S. Jaini is "looking for practices within Jaina society that can be considered inconsistent with the main teachings of the religion, but so thoroughly assimilated with them now that they are



Plate 3.9: *Yakṣī* from Kanakagiri dressed in a bright *sāṛī*.

no longer perceived as alien."[84] One of these "inconsistent" practices, according to Jaini, can be found in the *yakṣī* cult, whose legitimisation by Jaina writers during the medieval period "may have helped to prevent the influence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *bhakti* movements on the Jaina laity."[85] But here we are confronted with an important question: who, in the first place, has the right to define "the main teachings" of a religious tradition? It is important not to forget the way in which Indian religions have been studied. When Westerners first became interested in Jainism and other faiths, they turned first to the available scriptures. Since the Jaina texts dealt mainly with the concerns of ascetics, Jainism came to be seen as a dry, life-negating tradition, prac-

84 Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 187.
85 Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 196.



Plate 3.10: The goddess Sarasvatī, carved onto a pillar of the *basadi* at Dharmasthala.

tised only by renouncers. This has remained a powerful stereotype. Meanwhile, practices and beliefs that did not fit into the scheme of rigid asceticism and the focus on the otherworldly sphere came to be seen as belonging to a degenerate, "Hinduised" form of Jainism, or, to use Jaini's phrase, "popular Jainism." But how, one might argue, is a religious tradition supposed to survive, if its only key figures are world-renouncers? Robert J. Zydenbos therefore makes a pertinent point when he asks how Jainism could have managed to survive for two and a half thousand years, if it had focused exclusively on the ascetic tradition, without any appeal to lay-followers.[86] With this in mind, it seems more than likely that the Jaina tradition from its earliest days must have included elements which made it attractive to people who chose to remain householders.

86 Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 146–47.

Furthermore, the antiquity of the *yakṣa* cult in India suggests that it may be more appropriate to consider it as an ancient indigenous cult which found its way into various Indian religious traditions, including Jainism, rather than as a Hindu phenomenon which was copied by other faiths. We should beware, then, of regarding goddess worship within the Jaina tradition as nothing more than a "borrowed" element. John Cort, for instance, considers the cults of goddesses within Jainism "not just Jaina incorporations of Hindu deities into lay Jaina devotional practices," but "a distinct strand within the complex history of goddess worship in India."[87]

Whatever the origins of the *yakṣī* cult, we see it becoming more elaborate and more popular during the medieval period. It seems likely that this development was linked to the growing popularity of Tantric practices and the increasing influence of Hindu *bhakti* movements. The worship of *yakṣī*s as supernatural powers who could interfere in worldly affairs, unlike the enlightened Tīrthaṅkaras, did not diminish the spiritual superiority of the Jinas. Jaina writers of the medieval period tried to justify the worship of goddesses as compatible with Jaina doctrine. Olle Qvarnström detects in this trend "a Jain strategy for survival and growth,"[88] in reaction to the religious and cultural (non-Jaina) environment. Several scholars argue that *bhakti* movements posed serious competition to the Jaina tradition, and that this prompted Jaina teachers to popularise and legitimise Jaina goddess worship.[89]

5.3 Religious Change in the Middle Ages

The elaboration of ritual worship during the medieval period, including the veneration of images of Jinas, Bāhubali and minor deities (mainly *yakṣī*s), is generally interpreted in two ways. Some scholars suggest that Jaina teachers had been forced to defend the Jaina tradition against external influences, as rival religious traditions became increasingly popular, while at the same time popular cults were assimilated or elaborated on to satisfy the needs of devotees. While this argumentation[90] focuses on the interaction between the Jaina tradition and the surrounding Hindu environment, an alternative in-

87 Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions": 236.

88 Olle Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability: A Jain Strategy for Survival and Growth," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 33.

89 See, for instance Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?" and Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 33–55.

90 This argumentation is found in Desai, *Jainism in South India*; Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?"; Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*; Qvarnström, "Stability and Adaptability": 33–55; or Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*. Desai and Nandi consider *yakṣī* worship one of the practices which helped Jaina ascetics, especially the Yāpanīyas, to popularise the Jaina tradition in South India (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 170–71; Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 59–60.

terpretation takes into account changes within the Jaina tradition, especially the growing numbers of monasteries and temples. This development, which started thanks to an increase in royal patronage, marks the institutionalisation of the Jaina tradition in the area of Karnataka. As monks settled in monasteries and the number of temples increased, there was a growing need for the support of the laity. In consequence, the conduct and concerns of laymen gained more importance in the works of the medieval Jaina writers, while rituals increased and became more elaborate. At the same time, the accommodation of Jaina tradition to regional surroundings prompted the adaption of local customs and traditions and their incorporation into the Jaina system. This is not to say that goddess worship, for instance, had been completely absent from Jaina practice before this time. As we have seen, it is likely to have had its place in the Jaina tradition, as an indigenous Indian religious element. It was, however, during the medieval period that Jaina teachers began to elaborate goddess worship, in form of the Jaina *yakṣī* cult, so giving it a legitimate place within the Jaina system.

As the Jaina tradition became more deeply rooted in the area of modern Karnataka and its influence over sections of society grew, questions of accommodation to the cultural surroundings naturally became more important. One question, for instance, of relevance not only in South India but across the whole of the subcontinent, was the Jainas' attitude to the prevalent social phenomenon of the system of castes, *jāti* and *varṇa*. Since Jaina householders themselves were part of the caste system, the division of the society into different castes had to be explained from a Jaina point of view. The *Mahāpurāṇa* gives a mythological explanation, according to which Ādinātha's son, Bharata, was the "inventor" of the Jaina *varṇa*s; lay-followers were able to practice the ideal of *ahiṃsā* as appropriate for their place in the system. A different approach is followed by the tenth-century South Indian Jaina ascetic Somadeva Suri. Acknowledging the fact that Jaina laymen form part of a wider social and cultural system (of which the caste system is one feature), Somadeva Suri distinguishes two different kinds of *dharma* for the Jaina householder:

> [...] *laukika*, 'worldly', and *pāralaukika*, 'otherworldly'. *Pāralaukika dharma* is the true path to liberation [...] which every Jain—indeed, every man—should follow in order to attain Ultimate Knowledge. But there is also a *laukika dharma*, consisting of social norms, customs, laws, rules, institutions, upheld by the people among whom the Jains live. No harm is done, says Somadeva, if a Jain follows the *laukika dharma*, provided this does not undermine or distort the performance of *pāralaukika dharma*.[91]

In this regard, Jaina householders were free to follow local customs and traditions, as long as they continued to uphold the core of Jaina doctrine. This approach certainly helped the Jaina tradition to gain roots in its local surroundings and to attract possible converts. Furthermore, developments in religious practice, such as the growing influ-

91 Mukund Lath, "Somadeva Suri and the question of Jain identity," in *The Assembly of Listeners*, ed. Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 27.

ence of devotional and Tantric cults, could be integrated in the Jaina system without violating its basic doctrine.[92]

The history of the Jaina tradition in medieval Karnataka could be said to reflect the development of a religious tradition which is not merely tolerated, but patronised and supported by various sections of society. This included a growing institutionalisation through a network of temples and monasteries, the increasing complexity of monastic organisations, a greater dependency on the laity and an increase in the number of rituals. While the Jaina tradition gained more influence over the ruling classes as well as the common people, the process of accommodation to the local social and cultural environment became an important concern for Jaina teachers.

Nevertheless, changes were afoot for the Jaina tradition. Royal patronage decreased, while rival religious groups gained more sway. The decline of Jaina influence in most parts of Karnataka, which started around the twelfth century CE, is acknowledged by most historians, but deeper explanations for the process are rarely given. Let us turn to the question of what factors may have been at play.

6 Changing Fortunes: The Decline of Jaina Influence in Karnataka

> 'All who are strong and wealthy
> Become devotees of Siva; Jainism
> Is empty, therefore the people
> Of our land do not take to it', thus the fools speak. (13–15)
> 'If Jainism is so good',
> They say, 'then why don't people join'?
> All people become Śaivas, because
> That cult wins their hearts', thus the fools speak.[93] (13–16)

These words of the Jaina poet Brahmaśiva, most probably written during the twelfth century CE, reflect the alarming situation confronting the Jainas of Karnataka: whereas during the heyday of the Jaina tradition in Karnataka, Jaina ascetics had

92 In case of the *yakṣī* cult, for instance, goddesses were petitioned for worldly boons, while the spiritual superiority of the Tīrthaṅkaras remained untouched. It has to be added, however, that *yakṣī* cults, although very popular from the medieval period onwards, have at all times been opposed by some ascetics and lay-followers. Their legitimacy within the Jaina system is still being debated today. For more details, see Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 197–98, and Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 156–66.

93 Robert J. Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered: The View of the Medieval Kannada Poet Brahmaśiva," in *Minorities on Themselves*, ed. H. van Skyhawk (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 1986): 183–84.

been very successful in securing patronage for their tradition, their influence on the upper tiers of society was dwindling, as was their numerical strength.[94] Rivalry among different religious groups, especially competition for royal patronage, had existed in India from ancient times. Śaivism was now becoming more popular.

6.1 Vīraśaivism

Rival religious groups often engaged in direct competition, taking part in public debates, which, as David N. Lorenzen remarks, "often became miracle contests."[95] The changing fortunes of the Jainas, who started to lose ground against religious rivals, especially Śaiva groups, are documented in inscriptional evidence from the late medieval period. One such inscription, found at Abalur (Abbalūr), in Dharwar District, mentions a debate or "miracle contest," held around 1160 CE between the Śaiva Ekāntada Rāmayya and local Jainas, in which the Jainas were defeated and their temples destroyed.[96] While Jaina sources describing events of defeat and persecution are rare, there are some Śaiva inscriptions praising Śaivism's victory over the Jaina tradition. One inscription found at Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri), Dharwar District, dated 1184 CE, describes Vīra Goggidēvarasa, the trustee of a Śaiva temple:

> This Goggarasa became widely known by his acts which characterised him as the hunter of the wild beasts which are the Jainas, a fire to the Jaina scriptures, an axe to the followers of Jina, an eagle to the snakes, namely the adherents of the Jaina doctrine, and God of Death to those who professed the Jaina creed.[97]

An inscription from the same period, also dated 1184 CE, found at Talikota (Tāḷikōte), Bijapur District, praises the "achievements" of some Śaivas, who "harassed the advocates of alien doctrines [...] and have thus vindicated their conviction of faith and steadfastness of devotion, displaying aloft as it were on the open altar the paramountcy of god Śiva [...]."[98]

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94 Although it is impossible to make any verifiable statements about the numerical strength of the Jainas of the Karnataka area during the medieval period, the degree of patronage and building activities shows that they must have constituted a much higher percentage of society than today (0.72% of the population, according to the Census of 2011, see Government of India, Office of the Census Organization of India, the Commissioner & Registrar General of the Indian 2011 Census C. Chandramouli, "Census 2011," https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/6-jainism.html [accessed 22.06.2022].

95 David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1991): 45.

96 David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*: 45, 169.

97 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 398.

98 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 399.

From the twelfth century onwards, the Śaiva sect of the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats[99] gained prominence in the area of Northern Karnataka. As members of communities which were originally affiliated with the Jaina tradition became followers of Vīraśaivism, many Jaina temples were destroyed or, more commonly, taken over and converted into Vīraśaiva temples. Today, the Vīraśaivas still constitute the religious majority in parts of Karnataka. In the face of the increasing popularity of the Vīraśaiva movement and the dwindling numbers of Jainas from the twelfth century onwards, two questions confront us: firstly, what was it that attracted so many influential converts to the Vīraśaiva movement and contributed to its rise in power? Secondly, in what way was the promulgation of Vīraśaivism achieved: peacefully, or, as is sometimes claimed, by force?[100]

Part of the answer to the first question needs be an analysis of why the Jaina tradition had declined in influence and popularity. A verifiable answer can hardly be given, but we may set out some key assumptions. When Vīraśaivism came into prominence, the Jaina tradition had already been firmly settled in the Karnataka area for centuries and was solidly institutionalised, as described above, with monastic orders as rich land owners, producing elaborate temple rituals and public celebrations. Some historians[101] see this period as one of "spiritual decadence," in which the Jainas gave priority to worldly matters over their faith. In his book *Inviting Death*, a historical study of *sallekhanā*[102] performed at Shravanabelgola, S. Settar sees the development of Jainism as following an arc, from what he calls the "Age of Spiritual Sublimity," through an "Age of Great Material and Religious Prosperity," and ending in a "Time of Trouble."[103] According to Settar's study, as the social and economic power of the monastic orders increased, the more simple and ascetic character of the early Jaina tradition, as personified by Jaina ascetics who came to the hills of Shravanabelgola with the sole intention of solitary meditation and the practice of austerities, gave

99 Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats are the followers of a Hindu reform movement which was spread by Basava, the minister of Vijjala or Vijjaṇa (ruling from 1157 to 1167 CE), in North Karnataka during the twelfth century. Originally, the movement supported social and religious equality and therefore opposed the caste system. Śiva's *liṅga* is at the centre of worship. Although in practice some Vīraśaivas today eat meat, they initially followed a rule of vegetarianism (as most Vīraśaivas still do). For more details about the Vīraśaivas, see Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1983 [1913]): 187–200.

100 The use of violence or threat is assumed by several authors; see, for instance, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 401–2, and Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 175.

101 See, for instance Jaini, "Is there a Popular Jainism?": 196–99.

102 *Sallekhanā* is the Jaina ritual of fasting to death. The rite has commonly been misunderstood and condemned as "religiously sanctioned suicide." Its performance, however, is subject to strict regulations, and has to be sanctioned by a religious authority. *Sallekhanā* is mainly performed in the case of a terminal disease, very old age or, for mendicants, a physical disability which makes it impossible to follow the ascetic rules (such as, for a Digambara monk, the inability to take food in the standing position). For more details, see Settar, *Inviting Death*: 93–184 and Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 181–82.

103 Settar, *Inviting Death*: 3–90.

way to growing ritualism and religious pomp. At the heyday of the Jainas' influence in Shravanabelgola, the number of individuals seeking *sallekhanā* decreased, while extensive temple building and the performance of splendid rituals, such as the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka of the Gommaṭa statue, became the focus of religious activities.

6.2 Modifications in Jainism

The development described by Settar represents a tendency typical of religious traditions that have become accustomed to royal patronage. Material wealth opens the door for misuse and corruption, and monastic orders and religious institutions are no exception. History shows us that at a point when a religious tradition becomes too worldly in the eyes of its more puritanical members, reformers often raise their voices and start a heretical sect in order to "purify" their religious fold from what they see as its degeneration.

In the case of Digambara Jainism in South India, we do find that practices such as the settling down of ascetics or the rising popularity of goddess worship attracted criticism from orthodox Jainas. However, no heterodox sect, such as the Sthānakvāsīs[104] among the Śvetāmbaras of North and West India, developed in South India. To ask why would be a distraction, requiring an assessment of historical, social and cultural developments in the northern and southern parts of India. Furthermore, it would be misleading to conclude that the Jaina tradition during the medieval period had lost all its former focus on asceticism[105] to corruption and the performance of external splendid rituals. Nevertheless, a greater degree of laxity regarding the ascetics' practices and more attention to ritualism and ceremonial pomp can be witnessed during the medieval period.

A tendency to slackness alone does not necessarily cause a religious tradition to decline in popularity, but it seems to have worked against Jainism when the faith faced strong religious rivals, especially in form of the Vīraśaiva movement. Due to the lack of historical documents, we can do no more than speculate how the Vīraśaivas came to secure royal patronage, appeal to the common people or be more popular than the Jainas in public debates. It can be assumed that in the late medieval period, the Jaina tradition failed to produce ascetics who could successfully promote their faith in public debates. Furthermore, as Pius F. Pinto has shown in the previous chap-

104 The Sthānakvāsīs arose as a non-image-worshipping sect of the Śvetāmbaras, which, according to tradition, originated out of a fifteenth-century reform movement led by Loṅkā Śāh. For more details, see Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism*: 203–4.

105 Such an argumentation would be based on the misconception of the "original Jainism" as a purely ascetic and world-negating tradition, in which external rituals and worship had no place. As stressed before, the Jaina tradition must have had some appeal to householders as well, given that it survived over the centuries.

ter, the period witnessed the downfall of some dynasties whose members had been important patrons of Jainism. This fact definitely affected the fortunes of the Jainas in Karnataka, though it does not explain the rise of the Vīraśaivas, who managed to secure the support and patronage of ruling classes as well as trader castes.

6.3 The Attractiveness and Zeal of Vīraśaivism

The Vīraśaiva movement must have boasted some elements which made it more attractive than medieval Jainism. First of all, the belief in and devotion to a personal god, combined with a low degree of ritualism, would have appealed to people who sought a more personal and emotional religion. In the place of the complex rites and splendid celebrations of the medieval Jaina tradition, Vīraśaivism offered a less ritualistic, spiritual approach. Furthermore, its its initial spirit of social and religious equality,[106] revolutionary in those times, would have seemed exciting, especially to members of the lower castes, in comparison with the Jaina tradition which by this stage had bought into the caste system, dividing society into *jāti*s and *varṇa*s. Although, as Jaina writers stressed, the caste system was regarded only as a social institution, a strong "caste consciousness" nevertheless developed and the low-caste *śūdras* were regarded as inferior also among the Jainas, with the result that some Jaina teachers rejected the initiation of a *śūdra* into the ascetic community. In these circumstances, it seems very likely that low-caste Jainas felt more attracted towards egalitarian religious movements such as Vīraśaivism.

With the growing popularity of the Vīraśaiva movement among the upper segments of society, especially wealthy trading castes, the Jaina tradition lost important economic support. How the Vīraśaiva leaders succeeded in gaining the support of wealthy and influential classes is difficult to pin down. In propagating their faith, however, they seem at that period to have been much more energetic and motivated than the Jainas, who had established their influence over rulers and common people several centuries before and may therefore have lost interest in promoting their tradition.

Another aspect, which is closely linked to the second question, the manner in which Vīraśaivism got promulgated, refers to the Vīraśaiva leaders' '"missionary zeal. The study of religious movements in history reveals the fact, that it is the followers of monotheistic traditions who show a greater "missionary zeal." The belief in one personal god who is superior to all other supernatural powers (if their existence gets acknowledged at all), has always been a strong motivation for mission and the aim of converting others. Unfortunately, this missionary spirit often also went hand in hand with religious intolerance and rather violent methods of conversion. In case of Vīra-

106 In course of time, however, Vīraśaivism also developed special castes.

śaivism, the belief in the absolute superiority of god Śiva in the form of the *liṅga* represents a crucial element, which, at least in the early, more missionary phase of the movement, did not leave too much space for tolerance towards other religious systems, such as the Jainas.'

When we further consider the importance of royal patronage and economic support, it does not seem surprising to see that religious rivalry between the Vīraśaivas and other religious groups, mainly the influential Jainas, could take on violent or, to put it mildly, very unfriendly terms. Inscriptional evidences, as well as hagiographies of Basava, the main Vīraśaiva leader, abound in rather violent descriptions of the Jainas' defeat and persecution.[107] If these, however, are to be taken literally, is a question for dispute. While temple destructions and taking over of temples undoubtedly happened, especially in the area of North Karnataka,[108] it remains unclear if violence against devotees also occurred, or if Jainas had been forcefully "converted" to Vīraśaivism. The phrases "conversion" and "converted" are used with caution here, since it remains rather doubtful, if these words are suitable for describing events which happened at a time, when religious affiliations were not as strictly defined as they are today. It also seems to be unlikely that the changing of a person's, or, seen in the context of Indian traditional society, where individualism certainly is not a crucial issue, a community's religious affiliation, was marked by the performance of any ritualised ceremony. Unfortunately, hardly any verifiable statements can be made about the actual processes through which the inhabitants of many villages of Karnataka became affiliated with the Vīraśaiva tradition. The religious persuasion of the ruling classes certainly had a crucial impact on the religious practices of the common people and an increase in patronage for Vīraśaivism must have had a strong impact on its growing popularity among the masses.

6.4 Śaiva Monasteries

Another factor which also contributed to the growing popularity of Hindu traditions, especially Śaivism, was the establishment of monasteries from the eighth century CE onwards. Nandi regards the Jaina tradition as of crucial importance for this development: "The influence of Jainism, which was a powerful monastic religion, on the

107 Dundas, *The Jains*: 110. For inscriptional evidences, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 398–402, for hagiographic evidence, see Velcheru Narayana Rao, *Siva's Warriors. The Basava Purana of Palkuriki Somanatha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 200–13.

108 In several places of North Karnataka, which used to be centres of the Jaina tradition before the rise of the Vīraśaiva movement took place, relics of destroyed temples and mutilated Jina images can be found. Although aggression of Muslim invaders is sometimes held responsible for the destructions, in many cases Jaina monuments had most probably already been devastated or taken over long before the Muslim rulers arrived.

growth of Śaiva monasticism was considerable."[109] The growth of Śaivite monasteries reached its zenith by the tenth and eleventh centuries CE. Like in the Jaina monastic complexes, Śaivas also imparted education and charity, which strengthened their social basis among the local population.[110] In this way, Śaivism managed to get a firm setting among the general population, while the granting of charity in form of the provision of shelter, food, medicine and education ceased to be an exclusive Jaina activity.

6.5 Śrīvaiṣṇavism and Islam

Apart from the Vīraśaiva movement, which had been the most successful rival of the Jainas in the northern part of Karnataka, other devotional Hindu movements also rose in popularity during the late medieval period. In southern parts of Karnataka, the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* movement of Śrīvaiṣṇavism[111] gained a substantial number of followers who had formerly been affiliated with the Jaina tradition. Especially members of land-owning agriculturist communities became followers of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.[112]

An impact of Muslim invaders on the decrease of the Jainas' influence in the Karnataka area is sometimes argued to have occurred in the form of forced conversions and the destruction of Jaina temples and statues. Since this publication includes a chapter about the relationship between Jainas and Muslims in Karnataka (see Chapter 6), it seems sufficient to state here, that the Jaina tradition had already lost most of its influence, when Muslim rule first got established over parts of Karnataka. Though some inscriptional evidences[113] and local traditions state destructions brought about by Muslim invaders, it is doubtful, if Muslim iconoclasm against Jaina architecture in South India took place on a larger scale. There are also instances of some former Jaina communities who accepted Islam, but these conversions, which in all probability had been accomplished peacefully, took place when the Jainas' influence in Karnataka had already decreased, and therefore hardly count among the main reasons for the decline of Jainism.

109 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 77.

110 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 105–7.

111 The Śrīvaiṣṇavas regard the teachings of Rāmānuja (eleventh century CE) as especially important. Rāmānuja escaped persecution by a Coḷa prince and took refuge in the domain of the Hoysaḷas, whose capital, Dvarasamudra (Dvārasamudra), is the modern Halebid (Halebīd) in Hassan District. His teachings led to the conversion of a substantial number of people to Śrīvaiṣṇavism. For a more detailed account, see Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1983 [1913]): 71–81.

112 Robert J. Zydenbos, "Jainism Endangered": 177.

113 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148.

7 Conclusion

A closer look at the history of the Jaina tradition in the Karnataka area from the first centuries CE until the late medieval period reveals the picture of an interesting development: In the initial phase, the gaining of royal support was of crucial importance for the further development of Jainism on the soil of Karnataka. Jaina ascetics, therefore, proofed to be very successful in establishing close relationships to rulers and other influential sections of the society. Royal patronage and material support strengthened the Jainas' influence on society and helped Jainism in becoming firmly settled. The period of institutionalisation, which accompanied the growing popularity of the Jaina tradition, brought about important changes in monastic practices and religious cults. Ascetics began to settle down in monasteries which had been attached to temples. The monastic orders became more complex and a new religious authority, the *bhaṭṭāraka* came into prominence. Among the several ascetic orders, the heretical[114] Yāpanīyas gained some influence for some time, before they merged into the Digambara fold.

During the period of institutionalisation, the dependency on the material support of the laity became a crucial issue and Jaina literature increasingly dealt with laymen's concerns. At the same time, rituals got more elaborated and splendid, and the cult of Bāhubali and, in a higher degree, the worship of *yakṣī*s came to occupy an important place in ritual practice. All these developments, which mark the period of institutionalisation and adaptation to the local surroundings, are sometimes seen as "spiritual degeneration." Whatever they had been, it seems to be very likely, that some kind of laxity in the ascetics' conduct and the complexity of ritualism made the Jaina tradition quite vulnerable when, in form of devotional Hindu movements, especially Vīraśaivism, strong religious rivals entered the stage. Unlike the Jainas of that period, the Vīraśaivas produced strong and highly motivated leaders who managed to popularise their tradition among the upper sections of society and the common people.

Since reliable data about the events which led to the decline of Jainism in Karnataka is lacking, the above-mentioned reasons for the Jainas' dwindling influence and numbers cannot be scientifically verified. The available source material, however, supports the stated conclusions.

Although this chapter aimed, among other points, at reconstructing the decline of the Jaina tradition in Karnataka, it has to be stressed, that this decline had never been absolute, and Jainism carries on as a religious tradition of Karnataka until the present day. Out of all Indian states, Karnataka holds the sixth rank regarding the percentage of Jaina population, which has been counted as numbering 440.280 (0.72% of

114 "Heretical" here is meant in the sense, that the Yāpanīyas were neither regarded as belonging to the Digambaras, nor the Śvetāmbaras.

the total state population) in 2011.[115] Although during the last century a number of Śvetāmbaras, mainly from Rajasthan and Gujarat, for business reasons have settled in urban centres, the great majority of Jainas in Karnataka still belong to the Digambara tradition.

In strong contrast to the Jaina communities in North and West India, most Jainas in the South are based in rural areas and belong to the agriculturist class. Since the revival of the Digambara ascetic tradition in the early twentieth century, Karnataka has been a very fertile soil for male and female ascetics. These ascetics, however, have returned to the ancient practice of wandering instead of staying in monasteries. Many practices and rituals, however, which got developed during the heyday of Jainism during the middle-ages, have survived until the present day and still form an integral part of the Digambara Jaina tradition of Karnataka.

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115 See Government of India, "Census 2011," https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/6-jainism.html [accessed 22.06.2022].

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Tiziana Lorenzetti

Chapter 4
Jainas and Vīraśaivas: An Encounter in Mediaeval Karnataka

1 Introduction

The great role that Jainism played in all of the Indian subcontinent, testified by its extraordinary artistic, scientific and cultural legacy, had already begun to subside by the twelfth century and came to an end soon after. Indeed, although it is still alive there—particularly in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat—the creed is now a small minority in India and has never regained the diffusion and importance it used to enjoy in the past.

As often happens in human history, the reasons for such a decline seem to be manifold: some are manifest, others are less evident. Among the best-known reasons, we may cite the religious, economic and social changes that began to occur, all over India, from the early mediaeval period:[1] such as the growth of the *bhakti*[2] ideology and the institutional transformation of the Hindu temple, with strong socio-economic implications, which became the centre for the expansion of a renewed and powerful Hindu creed.

The present study intends to bring into focus some of the lesser-known conditions which may have had considerable effects on the decline of Jainism, especially in Karnataka, where Jainas had, for many centuries, played a dominant role. In particular, the mutual religious, historical and social relations between the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas, a peculiar religious group, will be analysed. Indeed, this movement, which

1 Although the idea of the Middle Ages was conceived in the West, the definition is normally applied also to a particular period of Indian history (roughly from the seventh to the fourteenth century), when the structures, social conditions, institutions and ideas underwent radical change, departing notably from those prevailing in the earlier periods (Kesawan Veluthat, "Into Medieval and out of it. Early South India in Transition," *Indian History Congress*, 58th session [Mangalore: Mangalore University, 1997]: 1–45; Kesawan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India* [Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993]: 12–28).

2 The term *bhakti* may be generally translated as "devotion" to a deity, even though the meaning of the word has changed over the centuries, coming to embrace concepts of respect, love and personal surrender to god as well. The most primitive traces of a devotional approach to the divine may be found already in the mysticism of the *Upaniṣad*s, in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa;* however, a large-scale *bhakti* movement with specific traits, although not uniform, originated in Tamil Nadu, between the sixth and seventh century CE (compare K. Sharma, *Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement, A New Perspective* [Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987]: 8–35, 201–54; K. Pechilis Prentiss, *The Embodiment of Bhakti* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999]: 17–24; M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesawan Veluthat, "Bhakti Movement in South India," in *The Feudal Order, State, Society and Ideology in Early Medieval India*, ed. D.N. Jha [New Delhi: Manohar, 2000]: 385–410).

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arose in Karnataka in the twelfth century, seems to have played a crucial role in the decline of Jaina supremacy in that region.

To better understand the social and historical vicissitudes that brought Jainas and Vīraśaivas to interact with and confront each other, a general history of the latter will be attempted, also bringing into focus lesser-known aspects of the Vīraśaiva cult and culture, especially the artistic traditions, which constitute my particular field of study.

As a matter of fact, temples are believed not to have formed any part of Vīraśaiva rituality (since in their creed, the body itself is the temple); nor did Vīraśaivas use devotional images, the only exception being the *liṅga*, whose symbol they wear on their own bodies. However, it should be pointed out that these assumptions have never been proven beyond any doubt as established facts. If the present project is able to establish these (and other) aspects of the Vīraśaiva world, one way or the other, it could open up new vistas of research. The present research is based on the analysis of various data, taken from available sources,[3] especially those collected during a field-investigation conducted in Karnataka in 2009 and 2010.

2 History and Cult of the Vīraśaivas: A Brief Overview

The Vīraśaivas, "heroic Śaivas"—an epithet conferred on them, according to some scholars, because of the strength of their devotional experience[4] (in my opinion, however, the name may also allude to the militant role they played in the struggle amongst different religious creeds)—the followers of a religious tradition which arose in Karnataka in the twelfth century. Even today, they represent a prominent community in the Southern Deccan, particularly in the state of Karnataka.

The Vīraśaivas are also known as Liṅgāyats, bearers of the *liṅga* or, more precisely, "those who have accepted (or taken) the *liṅga*."[5] They are often regarded as a

3 In this regard, it may be borne in mind that the core of Vīraśaiva literature is in the old Kannada language and only in recent decades have a number of reliable translations appeared, in the light of which it may now be possible for a scholar, even a non-specialist in Kannada, to analyse the main sources of the Vīraśaiva tradition.

4 Karigoudar Ishwaran, *Religion and Society among the Lingayats of South India* (Leiden: Brill, 1983): 3; R. Blake Michael, "Foundation Myths of the Two Denominations of Vīraśaivism: *Viraktas* and *Gurusthalins*," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 2 (1983): 309, and R. Blake Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasaṃpādane* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992): 2.

5 The term Liṅgāyat is not found in the oldest Liṅgāyat literature as a word for the members of the religious groups. The etymology appears to have been derived from a particular *dīkṣā* (*liṅgāyata-dīkṣā*), in which the devotee receives the personal *liṅga* from the *guru*. Robert J. Zydenbos, personal communication, 09.09.2019. Cf. Robert J. Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata," in *Hinduism and Tribal Religions. En-*

Hindu sect;[6] however, the Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats have always claimed that their movement should be considered an independent one. In this regard, it is worth noting that, since 2018, the very many diversities between the Hindus and the Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats (both from a religious and a social point of view), have become the object of renewed debates, which have resulted in the Liṅgāyats demanding a separate and distinct religious status.[7]

The terms Vīraśaiva and Liṅgāyat are often used interchangeably, a norm that this study also follows; while this might not be entirely correct, it is also true that the boundary between the two denominations is far from clear. At any rate, the term Vīraśaiva has been given preference for consistency with the Project 'Virashaiva Temples in Karnataka' (DFG—German Research Foundation), of which this research-article represents the outcome and above all, because, in 1904, this was precisely the name chosen for an organisation (All-India Vīraśaiva Mahāsabhā [Great Assembly]), representing the interests of all Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats, who can hardly be said to form a homogeneous group.

A few scholars have attempted to understand if the two denominations correspond to as many diversities, so that a number of theories have come to the fore: for instance, Leslie observes that there is a tendency for "Vīraśaiva" to be used to describe the philosophical or historical context, while "Liṅgāyat" would denote the modern social group.[8] Zydenbos presumes that the two terms denote historically different elements within the larger tradition that lie at the root of religious and social distinctions that are still of significance today.[9] A number of scholars even presume that the Liṅgāyats and the Vīraśaivas were two different groups, belonging to traditions that differed from one another in many ways, blended together only in the course of the centuries.[10]

As a matter of fact, we do not know without any reasonable doubt what differences there are between the Liṅgāyats and the Vīraśaivas, if any, as the early history of

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cyclopedia of Indian Religions, ed. J.D. Long, R.D. Sherma, P. Jain and M. Khanna (Dortrecht: Springer, 2022): 846–48, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1188-1_1346.

6 R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems* (Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1987 [1928]): 187; William McCormack, "Lingayat as a Sect," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 93, no. 1 (1963): 59–60; B.D. Tripathi, *Sadhus of India* (Varanasi: Pilgrim Publishing, 2007 [1978]): 70.

7 *The Hindu*, "Will Not Surrender to Threats by Veerashaiva, Pancha Peetha Seers," updated 22.03.2018, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/will-not-surrender-to-threats-by-veerashaiva pancha-peetha-seers/article23314833.ece [accessed 09.10.2023].*The Times of India*, "Karnataka Govt Clears Minority Status for Lingayats," updated 20.03.2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/karnataka-govt-clears-minority-status-for-lingayats/articleshow/63373048.cms [accessed 09.10.2023].

8 Julia Leslie, "Understanding Basava: History, Hagiography and a Modern Kannada Drama," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no. 2 (1998): 229. Cf. William McCormack, "Lingayat as a Sect": 66.

9 Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 846–48.

10 C.N. Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation: An Enquiry into Some of Its Social Dimensions," *Religion and Society* 29, no. 4 (1982): 3, 4; Malleshappa M. Kalburgi, *History and Geography* [in Kannada] (Belgaum: Liṅgayat Adhyana Academy, 2005): 2–34.

the movement remains largely obscure. The reputed founder of the tradition was a certain Basava or Basavaṇṇa,[11] born at the beginning of the twelfth century in a city of northern Karnataka, which, at that time, was part of the Later Western Cāḷukya (Cālukya) empire.[12] A few scholars, however, believe that Basava was only the reviver of a more ancient and not clearly identifiable movement,[13] which—according to some—might have had its origins in a lineage of five masters (*pañcācāryas*), retraceable to an antiquity bordering on mythical times,[14] who were believed to have founded the first five Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s (monastery-like institutions headed by a spiritual teacher).[15] Those who adhere to this latter foundational account—according to some scholars—are known as Gurusthalins. On the contrary, the tradition that considers Basava to be the founder of the movement is known as Virakta.[16] The two groups are believed to vary in organisation, rituality and monastic tradition.

We are therefore faced with two origin stories which seem to correspond to two major but parallel sets of beliefs amongst the Vīraśaivas, although what's predominant is the tradition which looks upon Basava as the founder of the movement, notwithstanding certain ideas that might antedate him. As a matter of fact, a systematically elaborate Vīraśaiva doctrine began to spread only after Basava's lifetime.[17]

11 The suffix "*-anna*" means "elder brother" and is used as a term of respect (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 228 footnote 4).

12 The Later Western Cāḷukya, also known as Cāḷukya of Kalyāṇī, arose as an independent political entity in the tenth century. At that time, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Rāṣṭrakūta), Taila, claiming descent from the main line of the ancient Western Cāḷukya of Bādāmi, gained considerable power, thus expanding his kingdom over a large part of modern Karnataka. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī," in *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani (London: Oxford University Press, 1960 [1955]): 315–454.

13 Cf. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979 [1942]): 3, 4.

14 The *pañcācāryas*, according to a Sankrit Śaiva *Āgama*, which circulated in Kannada script at the end of the ninenth century, were thought to emanate from the five faces of Sadāśiva. This tradition is relatively new. Tiziana Ripepi "The feet of the Jaṅgama, Identity and Ritual Issues among the Vīraśaivas of Karnataka," *Kervan – Rivista Internazionale di Studi Afroasiatici* 6 (2007): 76; Zydenbos, "Liṅgāyata": 848.

15 Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems*: 188–91. Regarding the first five *maṭha*s, two of them would have been in modern Karnataka, while the other three would have been in pilgrimage centres sacred to Śiva on the Himālayas, on the river Ganges, and in the Andhra Pradesh.

16 Cf. R. Blake Michael, "Foundation Myths of the Two Denominations": 309–22. According to Michael, Basava is not the reformer of a pre-existing tradition going back to the *ācārya*s; he actually stresses the independence and the diversity of the *Virakta* and the *Gurusthala* traditions. See also Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect*: 173–76.

17 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 3; Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 69; Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 235; Raymond Allchin, "The Attaining of Void: A Review of Some Recent Contributions in English to the Study of Vīraśaivism," *Religious Studies* 7, no. 4 (1971): 340.

2.1 Basava's Life and Teachings

Numerous sources speak of Basava's life, even though, by and large, they are not reliable historical materials, but literally sources. Among these, we may cite the Kannada *Vacana*s (lit. "uttered word," "sayings"), namely prose-poems[18] attributed to the master himself;[19] hagiographical works such as the poetic biography entitled *Basavarāja Devara Ragaḷe*, written by the Kannada poet Harihara, dating from very close to Basava's time, and the Telegu *Basava Purāṇa*, composed by Pālkuriki Somanātha towards the end of twelfth century or a little later.[20]

There is also a body of much later sources: for example, the *Prabhu-liṅga-lila* of Chamarasa, a Vijayanagara poet of the fifteenth century,[21] and the canonical text *Śūnya-saṃpādane* (lit. "Attaining the Void"), often of great poetical quality. The latter, which underwent at least four recensions, seems to have been compiled over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[22] The collection consists of various *Vacana*s attributed to the remarkable masters and saints of the Vīraśaiva tradition, including, of course, Basava. As it also contains dialogues on theological themes, although of a later composition, it is regarded as an important part of the doctrinal equipment of the Vīraśaivas.

Certain epigraphs, too, found in many places associated with the early Vīraśaiva movement, throw some light on the life of the master. Among these, we can count the one from Arjunavada, now conserved in the K.R.I. Museum of Karnatak University, Dharwar, which gives Basava's time of birth and the names of the members of his family.[23] Based on these primary sources, a number of scholars have reconstructed in detail a reasonably coherent life-story of the master. Let us look at the salient episodes of his life in connection with the fundamental ideas of his doctrine.

Basava was born in 1105 in Bagevadi (Bāgevādi), a city in northern Karnataka (today in Bijapur District), a centre of strong Śaiva Brahmanical orthodoxy. Basava himself came from a well-known Brahmanical family and, as was the custom, his father wanted him also to take up the traditional Brahman path.[24] However, it is narrated that, around the age of eight, he refused to continue on the path into which he had

18 For the literally nature and metrics of *Vacana*s, compare Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 92–96.

19 The *Vacana*s attributed to Basava are more than a thousand, although some of them seem to have been interpolated by later authors.

20 V. Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors, The Basava Purāṇa of Pālkuriki Somanātha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 3.

21 The *Prabhu-liṅga-līlā* mostly deals with the life of Allama Prabhu (a great Vīraśaiva mystic), but since Basava came in touch with him, the work also contains interesting information on Basava's life.

22 Karigoudar Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava, Liṅgayat Religion and Culture in South Asia* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992): 34–37.

23 Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 18.

24 M. Chidananda Murthy, *Basavanna* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1972): 13.

been initiated in childhood, desiring to elude the rituals and ceremonies connected with his social group.[25]

Sometime later, he left his hometown and took up residence in a sacred site called Sangama (Saṅgama) or Kudalasangama (Kūḍalasaṅgama), located—as the name itself says (*saṅgama* "meeting," "union")—at the confluence of two rivers: the Krishna and the Malaprabha. The local deity here was Śivasangameśvara, "Śiva, the Lord of the meeting (rivers)," and it is said that as soon as Basava came into his temple, he was overwhelmed by emotion.[26] He thus became a devotee of the god, who was also worshipped by the local community, most probably members of the Kālāmukha sect[27] or that of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata.[28] We do not know exactly to which sect the community belonged, but it is quite sure that the two were closely allied, if not even that one had evolved from the other.

Whichever sect Basava joined, its followers studied the classical texts of Śaivism under their *guru*, Ishanya. Alongside his studies, however, this period was marked for Basava by an extraordinary devotional fervour and—as happens with the erotic mysticism in certain devotional currents (*bhakti*)—also by the rise of a true sentiment of love for the deity. So, in fact, Basava professes in one of his celebrated *Vacana*s:

> Let the whole world know: I've got a mate.
> I'm a married woman
> Married to one I am.
> The Lord of the Meeting Rivers
> Is my man.
> I've got a mate.
>
> (*Vacana* 503).[29]

In this love relation, Basava identifies himself with the feminine partner, while the god is the universal masculine. Such a rigorous gender division, already evident in many *bhakti* poems,[30] is typical of much of the devotional literature of mediaeval India. In this regard, many similarities between the ideas of Basava and the mysticism of the nascent *bhakti* movement[31] may be noted. Common to both is, for instance, the

25 P.B. Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times* (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2006 [1968]): 187, 188; 325. Compare *Basava Purāṇa* of Bhīmākavi, translated by G. Würth, "The Basava Purāṇa of the Lingaits," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8, no. 24 (1864–1866): 67.

26 Chidananda Murthy, *Basavanna*: 21.

27 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 39.

28 Chidananda Murthy *Basavanna*: 21; Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Lord of the Meeting Rivers, Devotional Poems of Basavanna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984): 141.

29 Shivamurthy Shivacharya Mahaswamiji, *Basava Vachananjali* (Sirigere: Sri Taralabalu Jagadguru Brihanmath, 1990): 634.

30 Robert C. Zaehner, *L'Induismo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1966 [1962]): 184.

31 It is in fact well known that at a later stage – after the tenth century – the *bhakti* movement was incorporated into the canon of a religious philosophy connected, in many ways, to the great main-

conviction (contrary to Brahmanical orthodoxy) that all devotees, regardless of social class or gender, might aspire to a direct experience of the divine, without any intermediaries.

However, all of this does not suffice to associate *tout court* the Vīraśaiva tradition with that of the *bhakti*, from which it differs in many ways.[32] One of the fundamental points of divergence is that, while *bhakti* devotional practice made ample use of iconography and cult-images, Basava decidedly rejected images in all forms, as the master considered them nothing more than superstition:

> [...] Gods, gods,
> there are so many, there is no place
> left for a foot [...]
> (*Vacana* 563).[33]

On the contrary, Basava stresses that god is one.

> [...] There are no two or three gods.
> Mark you, He is but One. To speak of two is false.
> The Lord of the Meeting Rivers is the Only god [...]
> (*Vacana* 545).[34]

At this point, the questions that have characterised Indian religious and philosophical thought since the earliest times arise spontaneously: what were/are, in Vīraśaiva belief, the positions regarding concepts such as the "eternal substance" and the "relationship between the divine and the soul"?

2.2 Vīraśaiva Belief and Religiosity

The precise character of Vīraśaiva religiosity is a much-debated issue, since it is difficult to give a univocal interpretation of the various Vīraśaiva sources on the matter. Indeed, what characterises the *Vacana*s, whether attributed to Basava or to other Vīraśaiva mystics, like Allama Prabhu or Akka Mahādevī, is more the emotion and the devotion for god than any systematic philosophical effort. Other doctrinal works,

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stream of the Brahmanical tradition. Compare Narayanan and Veluthat, "Bhakti Movement in South India": 407.

32 Karigoudar Ishwaran, "Bhakti Tradition and Modernization: The Case of Lingayatism," in *Tradition and Modernity in Bhakti Movements*, ed. Jayant Lele, International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 81, 82, and Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 126, 127.

33 Compare also *Vacana*s numbers 555 and 558 (A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 (1973)]: 83–84).

34 Usha Palakshappa, ed., *108 Gems of Basaveshwara Vachanas* (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2007): 28.

however, mostly later than Basava's lifetime,[35] also fail to show a coherent unity, perhaps because the philosophical aspect is deeply entangled with the spiritual and the ethical teaching.

As a matter of fact, scholarly opinion is divided: for instance, Bhandarkar presumes that the Vīraśaiva doctrine is a kind of "qualified spiritual monism," which does not profess a perfect identity of the human being with the Absolute, but admits to a certain, limited room for the individual.[36] Nandimath observes that Vīraśaiva belief is pure *advaita* (non-dualism), which is to say, a complete identification of the soul with the divine.[37] Padoux, on his part, considers Vīraśaiva metaphysics as a "qualified dualism, a Śaiva variant of Rāmānuja's doctrine, from which it may have derived."[38] Lastly, Malledevaru attempts to reconcile the diverse positions by combining the views of some Vīraśaiva masters with the speculations of the *Upaniṣad*s.[39] In his opinion, in fact, the Vīraśaivas would seem to have accepted both the non-dualistic (*advaita*) as well as the dualistic (*dvaita*) doctrines, as referring to different stages of the soul's development. Indeed, in view of certain theories of the Śaiva Siddhānta and Kashmiri Śaivism, he argues that, at the inception of its spiritual progress, the human soul, being stained by a triple impurity, is characterised by a condition of duality; however, gradually, as impurities are removed, the soul realises itself to be perfectly identical with god, "[…] exactly as water mixes with water."[40]

Without dwelling any further on this matter, I would briefly like to point out that theology and metaphysics have never been a priority in Vīraśaiva belief, since these aspects merely constituted the basis of a new religious inspiration, mostly aimed at the creation of a new social order based on equality and individual freedom. However, there is a "Vīraśaiva way to god," which was defined by Basava himself.

The Vīraśaiva approach to god is codified in a path of six successive stages (*ṣaṭsthala*) into which the spiritual journey of the devotee is articulated. Here scholars are quite unanimous, also considering that Basava himself, in his *Vacana*s, gave indications in this regard, as did those who later continued his teachings.

The first step is *bhakti* or devotion, which leads to a total surrender to god. *Bhakti* gradually develops into a firm faith, and this transformation gives access to the second step, *maheśvara.* In this state, the devotee experiences an enhanced capacity to face the

35 Among these we may cite the *Śūnyasaṃpādane,* the *Karana Hasuge* by Cennabasava, Basava's nephew; the Sanskrit works *Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi*, attributed to the master Rēvanāchārya (thirteenth century), and the *Liṅgadhāranachandrikā* of Nandikeśvara (seventeenth century).

36 Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems*: 195.

37 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 104–5.

38 André Padoux, "Vīraśaivas," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987): 12.

39 H.P. Malledevaru, *Essential of Vīraśaivism* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1973): 23–32.

40 Malledevaru, *Essential of Vīraśaivism*: 32.

vicissitudes of life with serene equanimity, as well as with a profound joy in serving god, which takes the form of socially shared labour. Through devotion and worship, the seeker attains to *prasāda*, the third stage, usually translated as "grace."[41] At this point the believer comes to realise that there is an identity between his own soul (or vital principle, *prāṇa*) and the *liṅga,* whereby this state of non-dualistic awareness takes the name of *prāṇa liṅga.* The following stage is called *śarana* (holy man or refugee), in which the state of self-surrendered holy man or refugee is experienced; it leads to the last and final step, *aikya,* or total fusion "like space joining space, water water, the devotee dissolves nameless in the Lord, who is not another."[42] Such a journey, undertaken by the single being, can also be regarded as part of the process of social progress, since the evolution of the individual cannot be detached from that of the social context, the one being as dependent on all as all are on the one.

The profound unity of the religious aspect with that of the social, already prefigured in various *Vacana*s and described in the six-stage path, is further emphasised by the five regulating principles of conduct (*pañcācāras*) on which Vīraśaiva ethics are founded: 1. *liṅgācāra*, wearing and worshipping the *liṅga*; 2. *śivācāra*, worshipping only Śiva (complete identity of belief and practice with respect to Śiva); 3. *sadācāra*, work and action in harmony with one's vocation and duty; 4. *bhṛtyācāra,* acting as a servant to one's society and fellow believers; 5. *gaṇācāra,* working, serving and even fighting to defend the Vīraśaiva community.[43]

In his stage path, the devotee is also sustained by eight "pillars" or "shields" of support (*aṣṭavaraṇa*),[44] namely *liṅga, jaṅgamana, guru, pādōdaka, prasāda, rudrākṣi, vibhūti, mantra,* which are closely linked to each other.

Such concepts, in part already present in the Hindu tradition of the *bhakti mārga* ("the devotional path"), were most probably borrowed by Basava from the religious practices extant in his environment, but he gave them a new significance, integrating them into a coherent and original approach to the divine. Let us look more closely at these eight "pillars."

41 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 101.

42 A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1973]): 174.

43 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 80, 81. Compare also Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 103–6, and K.R. Basavaraja, *Basavesvara, his Life, Vision and Work* (Dharwad: Someswara Publications, 2001): 151, 152.

44 The term *aṣṭavaraṇa* has been variously translated. Compare Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 106, Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 31, or Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect*: 79.

2.2.1 *Liṅga*

The *liṅga* plays a cardinal role in Basava's thought, as well as in Vīraśaiva belief. It is a symbol which may be viewed at different levels and, although there are similarities between Basava's conception of the *liṅga* and those of certain Śaiva schools,[45] divergences also existed. I would like to review the matter very briefly.

In most Śaiva traditions, the *liṅga*, an ancient phallic symbol, suggestive of a remote god of fecundity,[46] is the emblem of the god Śiva or, more precisely, of his fertilising divine energy. This makes it clear that the meaning of such a "sign" extends from the mere material procreative level to that of the manifold creative capacity of divine power. Certain Śaiva schools hold that the phallic form itself encapsulates the very essence of the god in his formless state (*niṣkala*), to the point that it comes to coincide with his vital body (*liṅga śarīra*), the substratum of all that exists.[47] This is the reason why in the *caturmukhaliṅga* (the four faced *liṅga*), the four aspect-countenances of Śiva (which, really, would be five, as the most imperceptible one is represented by the *liṅga* itself) point in the cardinal directions, thus suggesting the first outgrowth of divine energy expanding from the centre in order to describe the new dimension of space.[48] From these primary emanations all the other divine forms sprout forth.

In Vīraśaiva belief, the *liṅga* carries far more than these common connotations: neither in Basava's writings, nor in any other works of the early Vīraśaivas, is there any indication that the *liṅga* is in any way connected with the phallus, or the fertilising divine energy, or with the manifold concrete *mūrti* (appearances, embodiments) of Śiva. In Vīraśaiva thought, the *liṅga* is considered as the divine Principle itself (*Liṅgadhāranachandrikā* 9, 6),[49] devoid of any form. There is no room for anthropomorphism.[50] Furthermore, as it does not maintain any relation with the multiplicity of gods of the Hindu pantheon, the *liṅga* became the preeminent divine principle of reference, as well as the one and only landmark of veneration and meditation (*iṣṭa*).

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45 Jan P. Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics, On the Social Aspect of Vīraśaivism* (Utrecht: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991): 6.

46 Compare Asko Parpola, *Deciphering the Indus Script* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 218–4.

47 See Gritli von Mitterwallner, "Evolution of the *liṅga*," in *Discourses on Śiva*, ed. M.W. Meister (Bombay: Vakils, Feffer & Simons, 1984): 12–31; Stella Kramrisch, *La Presenza di Śiva* (Milan: Adelphi Edizioni, 1999 [*The Presence of Śiva*, Princeton 1981]): 167–202; and H. Rangarajan, "What is liṅgam in Saivism?" *Proceedings of Indian Art History Congress*, 8th session, ed. C.P. Sinha and U.C. Dwivedi (New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1999): 1–14.

48 Compare D.M. Srinivasan, "From Transcendence to Materiality: Para Śiva, Sādaśiva Maheśa," *Artibus Asiae* 50 (1990): 108–39.

49 M.R. Sakhare, *Liṅgadhāranachandrikā of Nandikeśwara* (Belgaum: Mahavir Press, 1942): 325. Compare Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems*: 192; Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics*: 6.

50 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 99.

As a matter of fact, *liṅga* is seen as the Supreme Lord.[51] Further, to express the inadequacy of ordinary men for understanding or grasping the nature of the *liṅga,* Basava says:

> *Liṅga* cannot be grasped by the *Veda*s,
> cannot be known by the *Shastra*s,
> cannot be attained through logic or reason
> (*Vacana* 952).[52]

Echoing the long-standing identity between the *brāhmaṇ* and the *ātman* asserted by the ancient *Upaniṣads*, the *iṣṭaliṅga* is also conceived as abiding in the body of the devotee. To underline and permanently keep this fact in mind, a tiny concrete symbol of the *liṅga*, enclosed in a small silver casing, is carried by all Vīraśaivas on their person, whether male or female, from the time of their birth, whether around their neck, across their chest, or around their arm. It is not only an emblem of their faith and of their equality before god but, above all, the sign of a belief that the divine does not reside in ordinary temples, which Basava considered unnecessary, but in the centre of the human being, itself regarded as the temple par excellence.[53]

The meditation on the *iṣṭaliṅga*, undertaken while the devotee holds its symbol in his left hand and gazes upon it,[54] highlights this very interior quest: the bilateral process of internalising the divinity while, simultaneously, rediscovering it within one's own self:

> If you place the *liṅga* in your hand,
> that you may mark its features, and if you think
> it impermissible, say:
> take, take it back, take back your god.
> I've none the less received it as your grace.[55]

51 R. Blake Michael, "Liṅga as Lord Supreme in the Vacanas of Basava," *Numen* 29, no. 2 (1982): 205, 206.

52 Quoted by Allchin, "The Attaining of Void": 346.

53 The concept of the *liṅga* as a "centre" is really important in the Vīraśaiva doctrine. Compare Herbert C. Wolf, "The Liṅga as Center: A Study in Religious Phenomenology," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 46, no. 3 (1978): 369–88.

54 *Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. S.C. Nandimath, M.A. Menezes and R.C. Hiremath (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1965): 307.

55 *Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. S.S. Bhoosnurmath and A. Menezes (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1968): 37.

2.2.2 *Jaṅgamana*

The *liṅga* is closely related to the *jaṅgamana* "[...] like body and soul,"[56] as one can also see in many *Vacana*s, where Basava himself equated the *liṅga* to the *jaṅgamana*: "I shall call *liṅga* a *jaṅgamana* and *jangama* a *liṅga*" (*Vacana*s 308, 676, 839, 882).[57] *Jaṅgamana* or "the Moving One," is the itinerant enlightened sage, who has realised the total fusion with the *liṅga*, thus turning himself into a moving temple.[58]

The idea that the body of the enlightened devotee can primarily serve as the god's dwelling is the leitmotif of all of Basava's thought. "Temple," says the master, "is *sthāvara*, immovable, stagnation and death." It represents institutionalism of richness and bigotry.[59] On the contrary, the body of the sage is a moving temple, which suggests life and growth.

Here, one is reminded of certain concepts referring to the Hindu temple, regarded in its most vital essence, that is not only a reflection of the universe (*brahmāṇḍa*) and, at the same time, the abode or even the embodiment of the primeval living Being (*puruṣa*/Prajāpati), but also an ideal representation of the human body (*piṇḍāṇḍa*).

Thus, Basava advocates a return to a metaphorical, profound conception of the Hindu temple, which had already been expressed in certain *bhakti* literature,[60] as is clearly stressed in a famous *Vacana*:

> [...] My legs are pillars,
> the body is shrine,
> the head the cupola,
> of gold.
> Listen, O Lord of the Meeting Rivers,
> Things standing shall fall,
> But the moving ever shall stay
> (*Vacana* 820).[61]

2.2.3 *Guru*

The third "pillar" of support is the *guru*, the spiritual teacher, who characterises many Hindu schools and is already mentioned as a leading authority in the liberation

56 *Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 4, ed. and trans. S.S. Bhoosnurmath and A. Menezes (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 197): 132. Compare also *Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 2: 69, 375, which stresses the idea that the *liṅga* is the body and the *jaṅgamana* the life force.

57 Quoted by Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 75.

58 From a not ascertained stage of the history of the Vīraśaivas up to our days, the word *Jaṅgamana*, following a Brahmanical model, also began to designate a closed group of hereditary priests.

59 Chidanada Murthy, *Basavanna*: 51.

60 John Guy, *Indian Temple Sculpture* (London: Victoria and Albert Publication, 2007): 69.

61 Palakshappa, *108 Gems of Basaveshwara Vachanas*: 88.

path of the *Upaniṣad*s.[62] The respect —even veneration— accorded to this figure are the same in the Jaina and Buddhist traditions, where the spiritual master constitutes both the example of perfection to be imitated and the guide towards liberation from the shackles of *saṃsāra*.

In the Vīraśaivas' belief system, the *guru* enjoys the same devotion as that due to the *liṅga* and the *jaṅgamana,* since they are so closely connected: "Upon the soil of devotion sprouted *Guru*, the seed, and *liṅga*, the leaf was born [...]" (*Vacana* 525).[63] The *guru* secures salvation by performing the initiation to the doctrine (*dīkṣā*) and teaching its fundamental points.

2.2.4 Last "Pillars" of Support

The last five supports, which Michael calls "the minor sacramental substances,"[64] are the following: first, *pādōdaka* ("water of [master's] feet"), the holy water sanctified by contact with the *guru*'s feet; second, *prasāda* or "sacred oblation," usually used in the sense of "grace." In this context, *prasāda* takes on the meaning of food offered by the devotee to the *guru*, who gives him back a part of it, thus sharing through this ritual exchange a mystic meal with the devotee entrusted to his care; third, *rudrākṣi*, the garland of seeds sacred to Śiva, employed to make rosaries for prayers (as is the general custom of the Śaivas); fourth, *vibhūti* the holy ashes prepared with a special process from cow dung, and used to mark the signs on the forehead (*tilaka*) denoting membership of the religious community; fifth, *mantra,* the sacred formula "*namah Śiva ya*" ("praise to Śiva").

2.3 Basava as a Social Reformer

With time, attention to social concerns, which so strongly characterises the doctrine of Basava, became an increasingly prominent element. Gradually, in the life of the master, the spiritual path towards the divine came to be combined with the no less challenging and painstaking effort aimed at establishing human equality and promoting social progress. After some ten years of study and ecstatic experiences, Basava left Sangama and reached the city of Mangalavede (today in Maharashtra), in the reign of Bijjaḷa, feudatory to the Cāḷukya of Kalyāṇa,[65] at whose court he finally managed to

62 Compare *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* II, 4, 1–14; IV, 3, 1–38. S. Radhakrishnan, ed., *The Principal Upaniṣad*s (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1953]): 195–201; 254–69.

63 Compare also *Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 4: 39, 129.

64 Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect*: 84.

65 Bijjaḷa belonged to the Kalacuri clan, natives of Madhya Pradesh. A branch of this dynasty moved to south India and settled in Mangalavede, as feudatory to the Western Cāḷukya (or Cāḷukya

obtain a noteworthy position, becoming what could be defined as the "treasurer-in-chief."[66]

The resolution to leave a place of pilgrimage and go back to social life seems to indicate that Basava had determined to develop the whole range of talents that characterised his complex personality, taking on a double commitment: carrying on the spiritual quest of the mystic alongside the tasks of the statesman. The fortunate coexistence of these two complementary facets gave rise to an attitude unusual in the Indian milieu, in which "one plays the role of the other."[67]

Needless to say, this double role provoked diverse and contrasting views: in fact, Basava has been regarded as a prophet by his followers and as a conspirator by his enemies.[68] Be that as it may, leaving aside both eulogies and critiques,[69] the political and financial post to which Basava had been appointed enabled him to start his own religious and socio-political struggle. The community Basava had founded was inspired by liberal attitudes and a certain egalitarian principle, symbolically proclaimed by the fact that the *liṅga* was indiscriminately worn by all Vīraśaivas, as a visible proof of the equality of all the believers. In this regard, we might keep in mind that the Vīraśaiva tradition attributed to women the same possibilities as men of attaining spiritual perfection.[70] In consequence of this extraordinary female emancipation, many women emerged from the anonymity that for centuries had characterised their condition, with personages such as Akka Mahādevī, Nilammā and Lakkammā reaching the heights of spirituality and learning, thanks to the new changes they had been able to enjoy. The idea of the equality of all Vīraśaiva believers (and—by extension—of all human beings) before God did not remain limited to the religious domain, however. It soon came to be extended to the social sphere as well, giving rise to a courageous battle against the caste system[71]—seen as the principal means of social discrim-

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of Kalyāṇa). In the first half of the twelfth century, Bijjaḷa usurped the Cāḷukya throne, defeating the last king, Taila III (Nilakanta Sastri, "The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī": 456–68.

66 However, the real nature of responsibilities entrusted to Basava remains uncertain (Desai, *Basavēśvara*: 55–56).

67 Zvelebil, *The Lord of the Meeting Rivers*: 3.

68 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 37.

69 Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 222–24.

70 R. Blake Michael, "Women of the *Śūnyasaṃpādane*: Housewives and Saints in Vīraśaivism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 2 (1983): 361–68.

71 Since Vedic times, Brahmanical society has been hierarchically organised into four social groupings, mostly endogamic, called *varṇa* (lit. "colour" or "complexion") which, in turn, subdivide in castes and sub-castes (*jāti*), to which one belongs by birth. The concepts of *varṇa* and *jāti* are reflected in each other. As for the Vīraśaivas, we may recall that the idea of "caste" has never been completely absent among them. However (in contrast to the in Brahmanical society), castes were not hierarchically arranged by birth (at least at the beginning), but they were "competitively" related to each other. In other words, there were a number of occupationally divided castes (traders, peasants etc ...) and whichever caste is dominant in a given locality, assumes a superior position (C.N. Venugopal, "Reformist Sects and the Sociology of Religion in India," *Sociological Analysis* 51 [1990] [Special Issue: *Sociol-*

ination—and against the power of the Brahmans, who, ever since the dawn of the Vedic age, had jealously reserved to their class exclusive access to the sacred and strict control of knowledge. Nevertheless, Basava's religious reform did not translate into a simple refusal of the rules and customs of the dominant Brahmanical orthodoxy. What the master undertook was a rather more constructive path, putting forward many an alternative to the longstanding ideological dogmas and commonly accepted customs of that tradition. Following this path, social inequalities were partly neutralised by Basava's openness to marriage between individuals belonging to different castes,[72] as they were by the foundation of a particular institution, the Anubhava Maṇṭapa ("Hall of Experience").[73] This was a kind of public assembly open to every citizen, regardless of gender or social rank, where various issues were discussed, from the religious to the economic.[74]

Apart from the freedom to contract marriage, Basava altered many other social mores, amongst which were the prohibition of child marriage and the possibility for widows to remarry, thus raising those unhappy creatures from their atavistic status as bringers of misfortune.[75] In addition, he rejected taboos linked to the concept of "impurity" such as those relating to death and cremation, proposing the inhumation of dead bodies instead.

As regards religion, the master not only rejected the crowded pantheon of the Hindu gods, but also the temple rituals, which he considered to be sterile acts. Indeed, he proposed a very different form of devotion: work (*kāyaka*),[76] conceived not as a

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ogy of Religion. International Perspectives]: 82; compare also Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 2, 3). All the same, in relation to the individual, a certain hierarchical gradation may be seen when Basava deemed himself (and all the Vīraśaiva devotees) as the "high born" compared to the adherents of other beliefs. In time, the conception of a hierarchical order determined by birth, on the lines of age-old Hindu caste divisions into the customary pure/impure dichotomy, came to permeate certain Vīraśaiva communities as well.

72 In this regard, we can mention the strong opposition of the Brahmanical establishment to a Vīraśaiva intermarriage between different castes, which took place during the reign of Bijjaḷa (Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 212–13).

73 Compare V.S. Kambi, *Philosophy of the Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 1 (Dharwar: Kumaresha Granthamala, 1973): 3, 4; C.N. Hiremath, "Buddha and Basava – A Comparison," in *Silver Splendour, Collection of Articles from 25 Volumes, Basava Journal*, ed. B. Virupakshappa (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2003): 89.

74 For further information, compare C.D. Uttangi, "Anubhava Mantapa, The Heath of the Liṅgāyat Religion," in *Silver Splendour, Collection Af articles from 25 Volumes, Basava Journal*, ed. B. Virupakshappa (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2003): 236–47.

75 R.C. Artal "A Short Account of the Reformed Shaiva or Veerashaiva Faith," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* 8, no. 3 (1909): 171–262; R.E. Enthoven, "Liṅgāyats," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912): 69–75; William McCormack, "On Lingayat Culture," in *Speaking of Śiva*, ed. A.K. Ramanujan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973): 179–87.

76 The word *kāyaka* is a Sanskrit adjective meaning "corporeal" and in Kannada it is used substantively, meaning worshipful work in the Vīraśaiva sense (Robert J. Zydenbos, "Vīraśaivism, Caste, Revolution, etc.," review of *Revolution of the Mystics: On the Social Aspects of Vīraśaivism*, by J.P. Schouten, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 3 [1997]: 533).

means to accumulate wealth, nor as "[...] something assigned one by birth, requiring a little of one's attention as well [to] suffice for survival" but rather as "[...] a sacred ritual through the performance of which one acquires a foretaste of work in the divine presence."[77]

To the concept of work as worship, whose aim was the advancement of man both in his social and individual aspects, he adjoined another of capital significance, that is, work as a means to the redistribution of wealth,[78] which is to say that every working person was to utilise part of his earnings for the sustenance of the community. Of revolutionary social value, this contribution (*dāsōha*) was distinctly opposed to the customary donation offered to the Brahmans (*dāna*) which, over the centuries, had been greatly conducive to the transformation of the Hindu temple institution into a true centre of material riches and political power.

3 Vīraśaivism and Jainism: Possible Ethical and Doctrinal Connections

Basava's doctrine spread quickly in most of northern Karnataka, winning followers across the present-day districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur. The reasons for such success were manifold: without doubt, the charismatic personality of the master, his royal office and the organisation of the movement played an important role.[79] Another decisive factor was his emphasis on a society which even provided for part of workers' earnings to be utilised for the sustenance and the general good of the community. In this way, Basava gained the allegiance of the neediest classes, afflicted by poverty, which often reduced them to the status of slaves,[80] thus offering, by his intercession, a concrete answer to a factor of extreme social disadvantage under the economic pressures of the time.[81] In this regard, certain scholars are of the opinion that origins of Basava movement are to be found precisely in the economic and commercial situation of that period.[82] Although this theory seems to be too unilateral and, ac-

77 R. Blake Michael, "Work as Worship in the Vīraśaiva Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50, no.4 (1982): 616.

78 B.B. Kanavi, "Basaveshvara and his Economic Thinking," in *Silver Splendour, Collection of Articles from 25 Volumes, Basava Journal*, ed. B. Virupakshappa (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2003): 59–61.

79 Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 224–31.

80 Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1990 [1966]): 216; R.K. Majumdar and A.N. Srivastva, *History of Karnataka* (New Delhi: SBD Publishers' Distributors, 1992): 150.

81 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 19, 31.

82 R.N. Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement," in *The Feudal Order, State, Society and Ideaology in Early Medieval India*, ed. D.N. Jha (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000): 469–86. "Demonstrably the Vīraśaivas originated as the combination of well-defined social categories associated with the various processes of production and distribution. The combination, it would appear, was intended to protect the

cording to some, also simplistic,[83] the economic factor did play its own important role in the expansion of Vīraśaivism, as well as in the rivalry (of which more later) between the Vīraśaivas and the Jainas.

Basava's economic thinking and his social reforms, of extraordinary actuality in more ways than one,[84] laid the foundations for revolutionary social progress, which represented a real innovation in the India of the twelfth century. However, without wishing to detract from the originality of many of Basava's ideas, we should admit the likelihood that his philosophy might have drawn inspiration from ideals and cultural ferments already germinating in the humus of the Indian milieu.

A number of scholars maintain that the Vīraśaivas were influenced by teachings from different sources, such as the doctrines of certain local Śaiva sects amongst them, particularly those of the Kāḷāmukhas[85] or perhaps even of Christianity, or Islam.[86] Other scholars, on the contrary, have pointed out certain similarities with Buddhism in particular.[87]

All the same, while not contesting the possibility of Buddhist influences on Vīraśaiva doctrine, we should not overlook the possibility that certain affinities are to be sought within the context of Jainism. It needs to be kept in mind not only that Buddhism was then already well on the way to extinction in India, but in particular that, from the early centuries of our era, almost all the territory of present day Karnataka (the birthplace and cradle of Vīraśaivism) had been a stronghold of the Jainas, who profoundly influenced the artistic and cultural life of the region. Basava himself, during his childhood, had come into contact with views particular to the Jaina tradition, thanks to a community residing near his birthplace.[88] Thus, it is likely that some questions that struck the mind of the young Basava, may have originated from these con-

particular interests of the trading and producing classes against the oppression of feudal intermediaries [...]" (Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 470). Compare also Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. 1: 216, who considers the birth of the Liṅgāyat movement as "[...] a positive consequence to the evolution of social institutions."

83 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 35.

84 Kanavi, "Basaveshvara and his Economic Thinking": 58–69.

85 As for possible similarities between Vīraśaivas and Kāḷāmukhas, see David. N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, Two Lost Śaivite Sects* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972): 170–72, particularly the second revised edition (David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* [1991]: 287–89). See also David. N. Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism" *Studies in Orientology. Essay in Memory of Prof. A.L. Basham*, ed. S.K. Maity et al. (Agra: Y.K. Publishers, 1988): 278–93. Compare also Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 28–31 who, on the contrary focus on the difference between them.

86 C.N. Venugopal "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation: An Enquiry into Some of Its Social Dimensions," *Religion and Society* 29, no. 4 (1982): 2.

87 As for possible similarities with Buddhism, whether from a doctrinal point of view or an ethical one, compare R. Allchin, "The Attaining of Void": 358, 359; Kambi, *Philosophy of the Śūnyasaṃpādane*, vol. 1: 41–44; Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 63; and C.N. Hiremath, "Buddha and Basava": 82–91.

88 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 38; Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 187.

tacts. Unfortunately, we have hardly any exhaustive research work on such a hypothetical mutual influence, but only a few sporadic allusions in the comments of certain authors.[89]

Amongst the many difficulties of such a research perspective, two in particular stand out. First: the fact that both Jainism and Vīraśaivism have, over time, undergone substantial changes, often absorbing elements even from cultures opposed to theirs. Second: that, due to the large sweep of time intervening between the beginnings of the two faiths, some of the similarities were not the result of direct influence; in the sense that, in many cases, it is difficult to distinguish between a real borrowing from Jainism itself and a borrowing from other religious currents, themselves often tributaries of or indebted to Jainism.

In the light of all this, we shall look only at the most general, but significant, ethical and doctrinal analogies between Jainism and Vīraśaivism, besides introducing a few historical considerations. To begin with, Jainism and Vīraśaivism—especially the current that considers Basava as the founder of the movement—can both be seen as a sort of rebellion against certain essential Vedic-Brahmanical traits (such as the monopoly of the sacred and caste-based hierarchy),[90] notwithstanding the different historical periods in which they originated.

It is, in fact, well known that, besides proposing religious and cultural models altogether different from the Brahmanical orthodox ones, neither Jainism nor Vīraśaivism held back from verbal attacks and pungent satire against the Vedic-Brahmanic tradition, which, in turn, retorted in such literature as fell under its competence,[91] in accord with a confrontational model widespread in the disputes of mediaeval India.[92] For example, Jaina writers like Haribhadra (eighth century), made fun of the entire body of Hindu my-

89 S.M. Hunashal, *The Liṅgāyat Movement* (Dharwar: Karnatak Sahitya Mandira, 1947): 147, 148; Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*: 435–36; Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 17; Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. 1: 216.

90 S.N. Sadashivan, *A Social History of India* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2000): 146.

91 See, for instance, certain of Nāyaṉmār's hymns, where Jaina doctrine is condemned and ridiculed. R. Champakalakshmi, "From Devotion and Dissent to Dominance: The Bhakti of the Tamil Āḻvārs and Nāyanārs," in *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology, Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 143–50; Indira V. Peterson, "Śramaṇas Against the Tamil Way, Jains as Others in Tamil Śaiva Literature," in *Open Boundaries*, ed. John E. Cort (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998): 163–76; Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus, An Alternative History* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2009): 363–66.

92 As certain scholars have pointed out, this "standard narrative" deserves a critical examination if it is to give a more reliable picture of the religious and social context. Compare Romila Thapar, "Cultural Transaction in Early India: Tradition and Patronage," *Social Scientist* 15, no. 2 (1987): 6–10; or Richard H. Davis, "The Story of Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries*, ed. John E. Cort (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998): 214–20.

thology,[93] while the *Cennabasava Purāṇa* of the Vīraśaivas tells the story of a Vedic scholar being humiliated by a Vīraśaiva teacher, who had the *Veda* recited by a dog,[94] as the buffalo does in the poems of the *bhakti* mystic, Kabir.[95] As a matter of fact, it was precisely the new spiritual attitudes engendered by the diffusion of *bhakti* that happened to favour the rise of a number of mediaeval religious movements, characterised by the rejection of Vedic authority.[96]

From the refusal of Brahmanical supremacy, in both Jainism and Vīraśaivism, there sprang a certain egalitarian openness, which led the two doctrines (at least at first) to eschew both the caste system and, to some extent, Sanskrit —the rigorously structured language conventionally used for the expression of ritual practice—which never quite reflected the pluralistic and multi-ethnic socio-cultural reality of India. On the contrary, both Mahāvīra and Basava took up an idiom that might have been understood by one and all: "the Victorious One," chose to express himself in a Prakrit dialect spoken by the common man of his day, while Basava preferred to write and speak in the people's idiom, the Kannada of his time, a Dravidic language diversified into a gamut of regional dialects. Even so, Sanskrit, being the *lingua franca* of the Indian cultural *élite*, was never completely overlooked by the Vīraśaivas.[97]

As well as making frequent use of Kannada, Basava composed his poems using a new expressive code, *Vacana*, characterised by a linear and essential prose—although not lacking in a certain rhythm—suitable to the comprehension of everyone. We have to be aware, in any case, that as early as the tenth century, along with *marg*, the literary style most widely used in the area of the Kanarese language, which was elaborate and full of Sanskrit terminology, a simpler and more direct genre was finding greater expression: *deśī* ("folk"), which in all likelihood served as the muse for Basava's *Vacana*s.[98]

Now, let us reconsider other possible resemblances between Jainism and Vīraśaivism: just as Basava condemned the ritual performances in the temples and rejected as superstition the images of divinities, Jainism too had started out as a discipline based on inward meditation rather than on the outward acts of worship. In time, however, perhaps to meet the needs of a lay community desirous of seeking the

93 Paul Dundas, *Il Jainismo, l'antica religione indiana della non-violenza*, trans. D. Cuneo (Rome: Castelvecchi, 2005 [London 1992]): 311.

94 *Cennabasava Purāṇa* of Virūpākṣa, translated by G. Würth, "Channabasava Purāṇa of the Lingaits," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8, no. 24 (1864–1866): 193. Compare also Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*: 235.

95 Doniger, *The Hindus, An Alternative History*: 471.

96 D.N. Jha, "Looking for a Hindu Identity," *Indian History Congress*, 66th session. Shantiniketan (2006): 27.

97 A number of Vīraśaiva authors, especially after Basava, have referred to works written in Sanskrit, as sources of religious authority (Robert J. Zydenbos, "Vīraśaivism, Caste, Revolution, etc.": 527.

98 Vittore Pisani and Laxman P. Mishra, *Le Letterature dell'India* (Milan: Sansoni Accademia, 1970): 287, 288.

comfort of an agency beyond man, or, maybe, due to the diffusion of the *bhakti* cult,[99] an externalised and communitarian form of worship came to the fore that facilitated the burgeoning of a Jaina pantheon that included some Hindu gods.[100] This was not, however, true of all the Jaina sects: the Sthānakvāsī, for example, a branch of the Śvetāmbara, worship no deities, nor do they perform rituals in temples. On the contrary, they concentrate on devotional activities, on the act of mental veneration,[101] which echoes the Vīraśaivas' meditation on the *iṣṭaliṅga*. All the same, it needs to be kept in mind that the Vīraśaivas themselves—some of them, at least—did not entirely spurn all rituality of Hindu provenance: indeed, some Hindu rituals were partly transformed and engulfed into their own religiosity,[102] while others were rejected. Amongst these, one in particular was distinctly abhorred by both Jainas and Vīraśaivas: animal sacrifice, their rejection of which underscores, besides the denial of violence, their conviction about the solidarity and the indissoluble union of all living beings.[103]

What seems to be more interesting, however, accentuating the similarity of the two faiths, is that both retained sacrifice as a cultural symbol, albeit reinterpreted in their own ethical terms.[104] Indeed, both in Jainism and in Vīraśaivism we can find the inclination to substitute formal ritualism with an internal journey whose supreme law was that of work, where the only means of evolution, in both cases, was the rigour of human striving following an itinerary based on ethical values and on moral responsibility towards all that exists.[105]

From this position, it follows that man and the value of his works take centre-stage in both doctrines. Indeed, Jainism and the Vīraśaiva movement had both been inspired, essentially, by the ideal of social transformation. It might be remarked that very few authoritative works have been written on the social underpinnings of Jainism, despite the significant part they play overall. Here is what Bhattacharyya has to

99 Cort underlines that a *bhakti* cult was part of the Jaina tradition from an early date, even though this does not automatically indicate a cult of image (John E. Cort, "Bhakti in Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia," *History of Religions*. 42, no. 1 [2002]: 63).

100 On the subject, compare Pratapaditya Pal, *Jain Art from India* (Hongkong: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1995): 16–18. However, it needs to be pointed out that, generally, the Jainas did incorporate particular Hindu gods as "protectors" of domains, whose role was certainly an inferior one "in the Jain hierarchical classification of souls presented by the overall layout of images in their temples" (Davis, "The Story of Disappearing Jains": 218.

101 Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999 [*Der Jainismus. Eine Indische Erlösungsreligion*, Berlin 1925]): 429, 430; Dundas, *Il Jainismo*: 332.

102 Michael, "Liṅga as Lord Supreme": 206, 208; Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 5.

103 In this regard, it may be noted that both are vegetarians; even though, as far as the Vīraśaivas are concerned, it cannot be confirmed whether they had been so right from the beginning or if this habit happened to be the fruit of later Jaina conversions to the Vīraśaiva faith.

104 Dundas, *Il Jainismo*: 42.

105 Hunashal, *The Liṅgāyat Movement*: 147.

say: "Even a casual glance over the pages of the Jain *sūtra*s will sufficiently demonstrate to what a great extent Mahāvīra's mind was tormented by the experiences of social injustice of his time."[106] From this point of view, the analogy with Basava is really astounding: comparable in their sentiment of compassion towards the more disadvantaged classes, he and Mahāvīra both fathered a new set of social values. The Vīraśaiva master, especially, was concerned about the condition of women, championing a series of social changes in their favour. All the same, once again, we do consider it plausible that his support for female emancipation might have had its roots in the world of Jainism.[107] Indeed, even though in the course of the *bhakti* movement women had come out of the social anonymity that had thitherto characterised their condition, it was with Jainism that, beyond doctrinal dissensions, the question of gender equality and whether or not women too could attain spiritual perfection had been posed. In this regard the Śvetāmbaras, as opposed to the Digambaras, make no distinction between the sexes in matters of spiritual conquest and the attainment of salvation and, moreover, think that the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Mallinātha, had been a woman.[108]

It is this context of equality between the Vīraśaiva devotees that made possible the institution of Anubhava Maṇṭapa, which was open to everyone. What seems to be more interesting here, though, is that such an institution—which prefigured the great Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s—might be connected back to the Jaina public assembly, the *saṅgha*, also known as the "Community of the Brethren." Although it is difficult to retrace the exact origins of the Anubhava Maṇṭapa, it is well known that congregation and assembly meetings were a frequent fact of mediaeval life in Karnataka. Suffice it to think of the grand Kāḷāmukha *maṭha*s which—after about the thirteenth century, when the Kāḷāmukhas seem to fade out of the Karnataka scenario—were taken up by the Vīraśaivas and converted into their own *maṭha*s. All the same, one cannot but consider that it was the Jaina tradition that had instituted, right from the dawn of its history, public assemblies open to monks and the laity of both sexes.[109]

106 N.N. Bhattacharyya, *Jain Philosophy, Historical Outline* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999): 104.

107 Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics*: 146.

108 P.S. Jaini, *Gender and Salvation, Jain Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991): 1–5.

109 Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation*: 367.

4 Religious Panorama of Mediaeval Karnataka: A Brief Overview

The Vīraśaiva movement, with its widespread growth, had soon to face several other creeds existing in the Karnataka area. It seems advisable, therefore, to take a quick look at the religious panorama in this region, particularly in the twelfth century.

In the history of Indian religions, Karnataka has always held a pre-eminent position because of the many important faiths and creeds that have flourished there. Buddhism, for instance, which had taken refuge in South India as early as the reign of the emperor Aśoka Maurya, survived in Karnataka for many centuries under different schools of thought. However, by about the tenth century, it had completely disappeared from the region and—soon afterwards—even from the whole of India. Śaivism also has always enjoyed great favour in Karnataka, where from about the ninth century onwards, the Pāśupata, Kāpālika and Kāḷāmukha sects gained wide popularity.[110] The Kāḷāmukhas in particular must have wielded considerable influence, since their temples and *maṭha*s flourished in many places in the north of Karnataka and a number of inscriptions testify that they enjoyed the patronage of certain contemporary rulers as well as merchants.[111] Besides, *śakti* cults, which celebrate the divine feminine energy, were widespread throughout the region, especially from about the fifth century of our era, when Tantrism came to permeate, transversally, several different creeds. More than any other religious tradition, however, it was Jainism that, for many centuries, played a dominant role: many kings of the ruling dynasties of Karnataka were Jaina devotees (the Gaṅgā dynasty, for instance, was even founded by one of them), while others, even though they did not directly profess this religion, granted it their patronage. Among them, we may mention the Kadamba or the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, who were the greatest promoters of Jainism.[112] Likewise—as attested by a number of inscriptions[113]—the Hoysaḷa dynasty, which ruled in the south of the region, not only counted many Jaina sovereigns among its members, but, in general, was always favourable to the spread of the Jaina doctrine. Furthermore, the history of

110 These three Śivaite sects, though differing slightly in their doctrine, are generally closely allied. Suffice it to say that the Kāḷāmukhas were the principal branch of the Pāśupata sect. For further details, see Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (1972): 73–75; Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism": 278; and R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973): 83–85.

111 Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (1972): 165; Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 47.

112 Regarding the patronage of the Kadamba dynasty, compare B.R. Gopal, "Gudnar Inscriptions of Kadamba Ravivarma," in *Srikanthika*, ed. K.V. Ramesh et al. (Mysore: Geetha Book House, 1973): 61–72; see also John Faithfull Fleet, "Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions," *Indian Antiquary* 6 (1877): 22–32.

113 P.M. Joseph, *Jainism in South India* (Thiruvananthapuram: International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1997): 4. See also "Inscriptions at Sravanabelgola," in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 2, ed. B.R. Gopal (Bangalore: University of Mysore Press, 1973): 632.

Jainism in Karnataka is marked by a very peculiar feature: the number of royal ladies —Queens Jakaladevi and Attimabbe, for instance—who supported the Jainas and made generous donations to them. Jakaladevi was the wife of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126 CE) while Attimabbe, also known as Dānacintāmaṇi (twelfth century), was celebrated in the annals of Jainism for her merits which included the building of many *basadi*s: a fact confirmed by quite a number of surviving inscriptions.[114]

The patronage granted by many ruling dynasties were obviously one of the main reasons for the power gained by the Jainas in the region of Karnataka, thus transforming the faith from a mere tissue of ideologies into a living force in politics, society and economy.[115]

After a continuous evolution, this panorama radically changed in the twelfth century. In the early 1100s, Rāmānuja—the key figure in the expansion and triumph of a new phase of the *bhakti* movement (which marked its final incorporation into the great mainstream of the Brahmanic tradition)—took up his residence in Mysore. Here, his doctrine (*viśiṣṭādvaita* or "qualified non-dualism"), which identified the Supreme divine Reality with Viṣṇu, enjoyed the patronage of the Hoysaḷa king Biṭṭideva (1104–1141) who is believed to have converted from Jainism to the new faith.[116] Thus Vaiṣṇavism, until then a minor creed, started its expansion in South Karnataka.

The devotional enthusiasm and new religious impetus that characterised Vaiṣṇavism at that time also affected the Śaiva cults: in the wake of the so called "renewed Brahmanism" and thanks to the support of many ruling sovereigns,[117] the twelfth century witnessed an extraordinary Śaiva revival. Suffice it to point out that from 1150 to 1350 the Śaivas built at least four-hundred and fifty temples in Karnataka,[118] while in Tamil Nadu, under the patronage of the Coḷa dynasty, Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy spread very fast in many places across South India, as attested to by a number of inscriptions.[119] This renewed Śaiva activity, which eventually led to the rise of a new

114 See, for instance, the inscription in a Jaina temple at Lokkigundi (modern Lakkundi) which deals with a gift of land made by Attimabbe to the temple, which was built by her. The inscription also records certain interesting miracles connected with the life of the woman. Compare *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 11, part. 1, no. 52 (Madras: Government Press, 1940): 39.

115 R.B. Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. A.D. 500–1200)* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975): 110.

116 S.R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (Dharwar: Karnatak Printing Works, 1940): 40; Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation*: 65.

117 Among these royal dynasties there were the Western Cāḷukyas and the successor dynasties of the Kalachuris and Seunas who patronised a number of Śaiva sects, particularly the Kālāmukhas (Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism": 278).

118 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 23.

119 Compare *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, vol. 44, no. 311 (Madras: Government of India Press, 1926–27): 91, 92.

social identity,[120] did not remain limited to the religious-philosophical domain: quite early it acquired a real, aggressive and militant attitude towards those who were reputed non-believers, first of all the Jainas, who were still powerful in South India, particularly in Karnataka.

5 Śaivas' and Jainas' Conflicts

Any study of twelfth century Karnataka cannot overlook the fact that the open hostility between the Śaivas and the Jainas was but the apex of an escalating wave of violence, which had begun, in most parts of South India, a few centuries earlier. Indeed, even though the Jainas had always been exposed to various pressures from the surrounding Hindu environment, it was only from about the seventh century onwards that conflicts between the Jainas and several Hindu-Brahmanical communities (particularly those of the Śaiva tradition) became more and more aggressive.

Delving into the complex network of reasons for this strife-torn situation lies beyond the scope of this research. However, even a few brief notes on this subject will be useful in order to outline a further and more detailed picture of the relations between these two groups, which were both prominent in the ideological and socio-economical field.

5.1 The Religious, Social and Economical Milieu

At the beginning of the so-called Indian Middle Ages, the Hindu temple institution became the focal point of a renewed structure of power and a socio-economic centre of extraordinary importance. The growth in the "temple ideology," which coincided with the structural evolution of the sanctuaries themselves, thus giving rise to many new different forms of architecture, gave rise to the symbol of a new religious authority. This unleashed competition with other powerful creeds (particularly Jainism) for religious-social dominance and, of course, for royal patronage. Furthermore, the temple building activity, and the complex organisation that this institution was giving rise to, pre-supposed a surplus-producing economy. Since in the south of India (and particularly in Karnataka) the Jainas had played a dominant role in urban centres, and most landed property—already from the first centuries of the Christian era—was in their hands, the competition for the available social goods increased.[121] As Nandi has pointed out, much of the tension which marked the history of Śaivism and Jainism in

120 Thapar, Cultural Transaction in Early India": 13.

121 Champakalakshmi, "From Devotion and Dissent to Dominance": 157; T. Yarlagadda, *Social History of the Deccan* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2004): 330.

the early mediaeval period has to be viewed in the context of a low-technology and small-scale subsistence agriculture which could not provide the necessary surplus for sustaining the expansion of both creeds.[122]

During the twelfth century, the growing power of the Śaiva sects, and social-economic developments in general, further accentuated this conflict. This was the period that saw the consolidation and the maximum expansion of the process whereby many south Indian royal dynasties patronised the Hindu temples with large donations of land, often comprising entire villages: we know about these donations from inscriptions that designate them as *brahmadēya* (a donation to Brahmans) or *agrahāram*.[123] Thus the Brahmans, mostly Śaivas, also became landlords; and since the Jainas, despite their progressive loss of power, still controlled the majority of agrarian manpower at the time, as lessors of plots of land,[124] the competition for landed property and agricultural production became embittered.

Conflict also arose, however, from commercial competition between these two groups, as even a brief examination of the economic history of twelfth-century Karnataka would show. This period, particularly in Karnataka, witnessed a spurt in commercial activity: with the progressive decline of the traditional economy of exchange and the rise of the monetary economic system, trade and business flourished.[125] In this regard, we should underline that Karnataka had always maintained a role of primacy in commercial exchanges not only between the north and the south of the peninsula, but also overseas. The goods exported included in particular agricultural produce such as spices and, above all, pepper. The revival of trade encouraged the growth of a new class of merchants (mostly Śaivas), who came into conflict with the Jainas, since the business community of mediaeval Karnataka, as attested by many sources, was largely controlled by them.[126] As a matter of fact, the Jainas dedicated themselves by and large to trade and the liberal professions, which best allowed them to practise their ideal of non-violence. Obviously, the Śaiva-Jaina trading clash was not only a matter of mere commercial competition: it also became an ideological one, since the Hindu temples and the Jaina sacred complexes gained their wealthiest patrons precisely from their respective trading communities.

It seems quite natural, therefore, that an even more acrimonious hostility between the Śaivas and the Jainas characterised the religious history of twelfth-century Karnataka. Many accounts testify to the fact that Śaiva militant groups launched regu-

122 R.N. Nandi, *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India* (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Company, 1986): 97.

123 Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999): 145.

124 Yarlagadda, *Social History of the Deccan*: 203.

125 Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 471, 472; Yarlagadda, *Social History of the Deccan*: 97.

126 Uma Aery and B.S. Mathur, "Some Aspects of Trade in Jain literature (800–1200 A.D.)," in *Medieval Jainism: Culture and Environment*, ed. P. Suman Jain (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1990): 85–93; Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 101, 102.

lar crusades against the Jainas, who were made more vulnerable by the disappearance of the royal patronage Mahāvīra's followers had previously enjoyed in some areas.

5.2 Epigraphic Sources

For a detailed overview of Śaiva—Jaina conflicts, we refer to the existing studies;[127] by way of example, however, let us look at few salient epigraphic sources. Firstly, the inscription of Annigeri (Aṇṇigēri), in Dharwar District is worth noting. It certifies that, during the reign of the Later Western Cāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalla Someśvara IV (twelfth century), a local chief named Vīra (valorous) Goggidēva destroyed many Jaina places of worship and was the boastful author of brutal massacres. The inscription describes him as "[...] the hunter of the Jain deers [...] the fire to the Jain scriptures [...] the eagle to the snakes [namely] the adherents of the Jain doctrine [...] a bad star to Jains, the god of Death to those who professed the Jain creed."[128] Not by chance, Vīra Goggidēva was regarded by the Śaivas as a formidable warrior and he is believed to have sacrificed his wealth and other resources for the promotion of the Śaiva faith.[129]

Another inscription, a little later in date, found in Talikota (Tāḷikoṭi) in Bijapur District, documents the extermination of a few Jaina groups of that area by the hand of a Śaiva militant named Vīruparasa: "In the time of the [king] Baisarasa"—the inscription says—"Jain religion was like a forest and he [Vīruparasa] was the fire for it."[130] Furthermore, it is well known that in 1155 CE, the Coḷa king Rāja Chandala, an ardent Śaiva devotee, carried out a military expedition, going as far as the present districts of Dharwar and Gadag, where he destroyed many Jaina *basadis*, and:

> [...] with wicked malignity, worthy of the Kali Age had caused to be burnt down and destroyed the dwelling of the great Jinas [...] but King Lakhsmana having repaired the damage [...] so that it is said to be an eternal wonder, established its charter so that it should stand as long as the moon, the sun and the stars do: how fortunate is he! (lines 20, 23).[131]

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127 See, for instance, P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jain Epigraphs* (Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, 1957): 82, 83, 397–403; Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 75–79.

128 Aṇṇigēri Inscription, Navalgund Taluk, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, n. 59 (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986): 82. A brief summary of this inscription is also given in *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, vol. 1928–29, Appendix E, n. 207 (Madras: Government of India Press, 1928–29), quoted by Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397.

129 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 397.

130 Tāḷikoṭi Inscription, Bijapur, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, n. 56 (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986): 79.

131 Gawarwad Inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 15, n. 23 (Delhi: Government Press, 1919–20): 337–47.

6 Vīraśaiva-Jaina Relations in Twelfth Century Karnataka

It was in this complex scenario of inter-religious struggle that the Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats came to the fore. Their doctrine, although regarded by the already existing Śaivas as a dangerous innovation,[132] soon gained favour and dominance over the different creeds of Karnataka.[133]

Vīraśaiva growth, and the new web of religious and social conditions that thus obtained, represented an important landmark in the history of Jainism in Karnataka. Indeed, since the Jainas, notwithstanding their progressive loss of power, still managed to maintain their major influence in the region, it was only a matter of time before they came into open conflict with the Vīraśaivas. Once again, though, conflict was not only religious in nature: it was also related to the question of the economic and political ascendancy in Karnataka.

As a matter of fact, most of the Vīraśaiva faithful—maybe due to the fact that the *kāyaka* principle[134] had removed social inhibition—made the best use of professional opportunities,[135] thus undertaking a wide variety of profitable occupations, chiefly trade and various crafts. Thus, like the Jainas, the Vīraśaivas, too, started getting involved in activities central to the local economy of Karnataka, and the resultant competition might have represented one of the causes of tension between them.[136] A further element, according to a hypothesis of Thapar, may have been that the Jainas, with their high standard of literacy, were seen by the Vīraśaivas as rivals for the adviser and administrator roles at the royal courts.[137]

To sum up, then, in twelfth-century Karnataka, the Jainas had to fight their battle on two fronts: against the Śaiva militant groups, on the one hand, and the Vīraśaivas on the other. The competition often deteriorated into extreme hatred and large-scale bloodshed, which seems surprising given the highly pacifistic nature of Basava's doctrines. As often happens in religious-ideological circles, there must have been certain violent extremist fringes.[138] However, according to the hypothesis that sees the Liṅ-

132 It should be borne in mind that conflicts between certain Śaiva sects and the Vīraśaivas also occurred both at the beginning of and during the latter's expansion (Compare Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 14, 15; S. Settar and P.K.V. Kaimal, *We Lived Together*, Indian Council of Historical Research, Monograph Series 3 [New Delhi: Pragati Publication, 2000]: 70).

133 Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics*: 14–15.

134 See p. 285

135 Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 13–14.

136 Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 470–75.

137 Romila Thapar, *Interpreting Early India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992): 74.

138 Nearly a century later, we have a similar dichotomy in the Catholic Church, where the "violent love for God" of Domingo de Guzman is set against the pacific Francis of Assisi.

gāyats and the Vīraśaivas as two distinct groups,[139] such violence—Kalburgi maintains—is to be ascribed only to the latter.[140]

6.1 Conflicts and Violence

A number of historical sources (epigraphical, literary, archaeological and even iconographic) testify to the fact that the new Vīraśaiva movement soon came into violent conflict with the ancient Jaina communities. However, before looking at these confrontations in more detail, we must stress that, although there is no doubt about their taking place, it is quite difficult to make a precise evaluation of their extent and significance. This is because the sources we have access to largely consist of hagiographic literature such as the *Purāṇa*s, fraught with mythological narratives and the usual defamatory disputes which, as has already been noted, were part of a literary culture that had long sustained the competition between the religious communities of mediaeval India. By way of example, certain Jaina works such as the *Bijjaḷarayacaritra* (about mid-seventeenth century) describe Basava in rather negative terms, in contrast to the virtuous Bijjaḷa, here depicted as a follower of Jainism.[141] Obviously, the intention of these authors was propagandistic and, most probably, the goal of such literature, often devoid of historical substance, served as a "self-definition" rather than an attempt to persuade the opposition.[142] In addition, the epigraphic sources, which are among the most reliable records for historical reconstruction, have to be carefully evaluated and cannot be used *tout court* to establish the historical reality. Taking these considerations into account, we can proceed to analyse the different sources.

6.1.1 Epigraphic and Iconographic Evidence

Numerous inscriptions testify to the fact that the Jainas remained a hated community and were long persecuted by Vīraśaivas not only in Karnataka, but even in modern Andhra Pradesh where, in the sixteenth century, inscriptions recorded the pride of a Vīraśaiva chief who beheaded Śvetāmbara Jainas.[143] In Karnataka, their victimisation seems to have become so severe that, in the fourteenth century, the Jainas asked the

139 See p. 273.

140 Kalburgi, personal communication (February 2010); Malleshappa M. Kalburgi "The Destruction of the Temples [in Kannada]," *Marga* 3 (Bangalore: Karnataka Book Agency, 1998): 39–55.

141 Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems*: 189; Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 337.

142 Peterson, "Śramaṇas Against the Tamil Way": 164.

143 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 402.

Vijayanagara ruling family for protection, and the conditions that were imposed in their favour substantiate this fact.[144]

An interesting and very famous epigraphic source is the Abalur inscription, discovered in the Someśvara Temple of Abalur (ancient Ablūr) in what is today the Haveri District and published for the first time by Fleet in 1898.[145] It is usually dated to the end of the twelfth century and describes the anti-Jaina activity of Rāmayya, a Śaiva devotee, generally regarded as a Vīraśaiva. As a matter of fact, we cannot be absolutely certain about the nature of his religious creed, since the Abalur inscription does not mention the term Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat in connection with him. However, another inscription from the Mandhya District—which bears a date equivalent to either 1280 or 1305—includes Rāmayya's name in a list of Vīraśaiva Bhaktas.[146] Moreover, in most of Vīraśaiva literature, Rāmayya is considered a devotee of this faith,[147] and that is also the opinion of the majority of scholars.[148]

Now, let us go through the inscription, mostly in old Kannada,[149] which occupies a place of great importance, not only because of its contents, but above all because it appears to corroborate literary and iconographic evidence: the temple also contains a sculpted panel depicting the events narrated in the inscription, a summary of which follows.

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144 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 402.

145 "Inscriptions at Ablur," by Fleet (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 5, inscription E [Delhi: Government Press, 1898–99]: 237–60).

146 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 7, ed. B.R. Gopal, n. 13 (Bangalore: University of Mysore Press, 1979): 197, quoted by Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism": 289.

147 See, for instance, the *Basava Purāṇa* of Pālkuriki Somanātha, where Rāmayya is numbered amongst the heroic Vīraśaiva Bhaktas (devotee). Compare Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*: 196–98. In the *Cennabasava Purāṇa* of Virūpākṣa, although Rāmayya's name is never mentioned, the peculiar exploits of a Vīraśaiva devotee are told, with evident allusion to Rāmayya's story (Würth, trans., "Channabasava Purāṇa of the Lingaits": 193–94).

148 Among them, we may cite Nilakanta Sastri, "The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī": 464; Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation*: 71; and Uttangi, "Anubhava Mantapa, The Heath of the Liṅgāyat Religion": 239. Fleet, who first translated the inscription, maintains that Rāmayya was not only a Vīraśaiva himself, but the founder of the Vīraśaiva creed ("Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Fleet in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 5, inscription E: 239). It seems, however, that the author has erroneously identified Rāmayya with Ekorama, one of the five teachers previous to Basava who—according to one theory (compare R. Blake Michael, "Foundation Myths of the Two Denominations": 312)—would have been the founders of the Vīraśaiva movement (Nandi, *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*: 171). Lorenzen (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* [1972]: 169) believes that Rāmayya was probably a Kāḷāmukha who later converted to Vīraśaivism and this is the opinion of Ishwaran as well (Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 26).

149 To be more precise, the language of this inscription may be described as half-way between the classical and mediaeval Kannada dialects. It should be also stated that the opening invocatory verse, as well as other few lines, are in Sanskrit (compare "Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Fleet in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 5, inscription E: 238).

An opening invocation glorifies the god Śiva, who is asked to confer good fortune on Rāmayya (also mentioned as Rāma and Rāmadeva) (lines 1–4). In the subsequent verses, Rāmayya is also named Ekāntada (he who worships Śiva with great exclusiveness [*ekānta*]), the epithet being justified—Fleet maintains[150]—by his firm devotion to Śiva.[151]

Then, in mixed prose and verse, with eulogies to both Śiva and Rāmayya, the record deals with the city of Alande (modern Aland), here described as a beautiful place "full of grace and splendour [...]" (line 11). Among the residents of that town, in the Brahman quarters—the inscription says—there was a man, Puruṣottama, "the best of Brahmans" (line 17), whose son, Rāmayya, was an ardent Śaiva devotee.

It is at this point that the story of Ekāntada Rāmayya's exploits in Abalur begins. One day the Śaiva devotee was commanded by the god himself to pick a quarrel with the Jainas who obstructed him in his devotion and did not recognise the supremacy of Śiva. The Jainas challenged Rāmayya to prove both his devotion and the power of his god by cutting off his own head and asking Śiva to restore it.[152] Then Rāmayya answered: "If I offer my head [...] and [...] obtain it back in seven days, what is the wager that you will pay to me?" (line 38). The Jainas replied that they would destroy their idols and replace them with an image of Śiva.

After having received a written wager (which was drawn up on a palm leaf), Rāmayya, most nonchalantly "as if he were shearing through a bundle of grass" (line 42) cut off his own head and offered it to the god. After the head had been exhibited in public for seven days, Śiva restored it and "the head became sound again, without any scar" (line 43).

At this point it is interesting to note that this miracle is retold in several Karnataka literary sources, such as the poem *Ekāntarāmitandeya Ragaḷe* (lit: "*ragaḷe* for

150 Compare "Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Fleet in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 5, inscription E: 243.

151 However, since the epithet "*ekāntada*" could also mean "he who affirms the doctrine of the one and sole reality" Desai points out that the name seems to allude to his victory over the Jaina doctrine, defined as *anekāntavāda* ("the doctrine proclaiming the non-uniqueness"), as it affirms the relative pluralism of reality (Compare "More Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Desai, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 29, part 5, n. 19 [Delhi: Government Press, 1952]: 139–44). Indeed, the Jaina doctrine is also known as "the doctrine of might be" (*syādvāda*). Compare Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation*: 170. A few scholars question Desai's hypothesis (compare Gil Ben-Herut, "Literary Genres and Textual Representations of Early Vīraśaiva History: Revisiting Ekānta Rāmayya's Self-Beheading," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 16, no. 2 [2012]: 170, note 5).

152 Head offering (in the sense of decapitating one's own or that of one's enemy) in fulfilling a vow or as a form of penitence, has been a leitmotif of the sculpted art as well as of the literature of late mediaeval Karnataka. Suffice it to note that a well-known Kannada play (re-written in English for an international audience) is named *taledaṇḍa*, which exactly means "death by beheading" (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 228). In this play, Basava himself often uses phrases which could convey the sense "may my head roll," or "I offer my head," to a Kannada-speaking audience, as the expression *taledaṇḍa* recalls both Basava and the miracles he is believed to have performed, and the violence of the early Vīraśaiva tradition (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 258).

Lord Rāma of Exclusive Worship")[153] by the poet Harihara (ca. twelfth century), which records that the severed head of Rāmayya was taken around to places all over Karnataka by a holy man, and that on the seventh day (when the devotee's head was to be restored) it was brought back to Abalur. However (the poem goes on to say), since the holy man was three hours late, he prayed to the sun to delay its rising [...] and the sun did, so that Rāmayya's head was reestablished in time. Because of this, the holy man came to be called Muru Javi Deva, "the deity of the three hours."[154]

Yet not even this miracle could convince the reluctant Jainas to replace their Jina image with a symbol of Śiva. So, the revived Rāmayya became furious and:

> just as a wild elephant in rut plunges into a grove of plantain-trees and, though alone, sweeps everything away before him, so he, putting forth his strength, scattered the heroes who guarded it [the Jina image] and the horses, the chieftains and, while the opposing ranks of the Jains, crying out that Mari (the goddess of plague or death) had come upon them [...] he beat the Jina till it fell. (lines 43–45).



Plate 4.1: Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

153 *Ragaḷe* is a type of metre used in Kannada poetry.

154 Malleshappa M. Kalburgi, ed., *Ekāntarāmitandeya Ragaḷe* [in Kannada] by Harihara (Hampi: Prasaranga Kannada University, 1999): 363.

After that, Rāmayya destroyed other Jina images, razed to the ground the Jaina *basadi* in Abalur and upon it built a temple "with three pinnacles, as vast as a mountain [...]" (line 73) dedicated to Someśvara (Plates 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).[155]



Plate 4.2: Someśvara Temple (Abalur) interior.

In this regard, it is to be observed that, contrary to what is asserted in the inscription, the basic structure of this temple is typical of many tenth- to thirteenth-century Jaina sanctuaries (Later Western Cāḷukya period) in the area, such as the Siddheśvara Temple (Haveri District) or the *basadi* of Dambal (Daṁbal, Gadag District). These templar typologies, notwithstanding stylistic interactions with local Hindu temples, present typical architectonic characteristics which set them apart. For instance, a linear simplicity and purity of forms; a sparsely decorated external wall, punctuated by deep projections with large porches; flat roofs with sloping eaves and the *śikhara* constituted by simple tiers which rise according to a precise geometrical rhythm.

155 Someśvara or Somanātha appears to have been the favourite deity of Rāmayya. Indeed, his native place, Alande, was sanctified by this deity ("More Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Desai in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 29, part 5, n. 19: 143).



Plate 4.3: *Śikara*. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

It is thus quite likely that the original Jaina *basadi*—as further sources also testify[156]—had not been completely destroyed, but only damaged and despoiled of Jaina images as well as of every other symbol belonging to this tradition. The aggressors would have subsequently added their own self-aggrandising inscriptions and the sculptural reliefs—visible to this day—which provide a significant iconographic source on the exploits of Rāmayya.

These reliefs consist of three panels, the most important one being located along the eastern wall to the left of the temple entrance. It is a long frieze designed to in-

156 "More Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Desai in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 29, part 5, n. 19: 143.

struct and celebrate the hero's deeds in a series of successive scenes conceived as a linear and continuous narrative, similar to those that one often finds in ancient and mediaeval Indian art. At the beginning of the representation, the severed head of Rāmayya, well detached from the rest of his body, lies on the pedestal (*pīṭha*) of a *liṅga* (Plate 4.4). In the subsequent scene, Rāmayya appears with his head restored by the god, ready to do battle against the Jainas. Two opposing groups are lined up in battle array, while on the ground lie the defeated Jainas, viewed as giants deprived of strength, according to a well-known iconographical motif in Indian art, representing enemies as ugly, huge and monstrous creatures (Plate 4.5).[157] The rhythm of the composi-



Plate 4.4: The severed head of Rāmayya lies on the Śiva pedestal. On the right, Rāmayya appears with his head restored. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

157 See, for instance, a relief along the *pradakṣiṇapatha* of the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kancipuram, where the god Śiva is crushing a demon, represented as a monstrous giant.

tion is compact and marked by sudden movements—typical of the Later Western Cāḷukya art—in such a way that volumes are enlivened by an extraordinary internal tension, which seems to soften in the last, cathartic scene, where victors—amongst whom Rāmayya himself appears—are destroying a Jina's image (Plate 4.6).

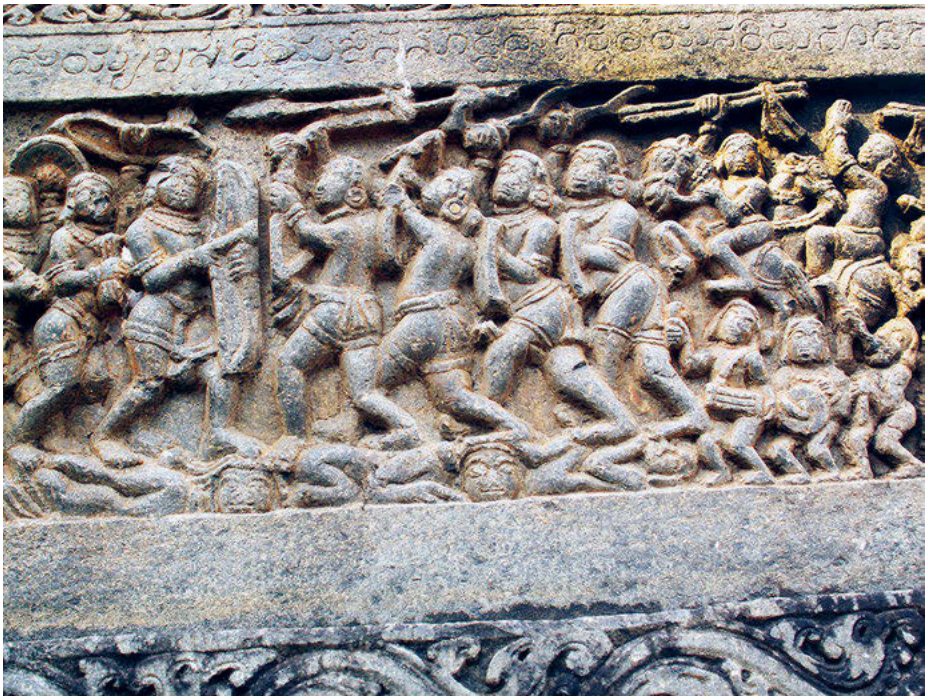


Plate 4.5: Battle between the Vīraśaivas and the Jainas. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

Another relief, next to the previous one, celebrates Rāmayya's raising of the Śiva *liṅga* (Plate 4.7). The sacred symbol is placed in the middle of the composition on a high pedestal flanked by two personages (the one on the left side dentifiable as Rāmayya himself), in an attitude of paying homage to and worshipping the *liṅga*. Above them, crowning the whole scene, the sun and the moon are depicted. Thus, the historical episode is transferred into a cosmic event: this relief might be said not merely to commemorate or signify Rāmayya's deeds, but actually to exhibit a process of the creation (or re-creation) of a new era. Thus, the inert matter of the stone appears permeated by the subtle forces of its symbolic meaning.

Finally, the third sculpted slab is found to the right of the entrance to the *garbhagṛha* (sanctum) of the same temple (Plate 4.8). During our field research in November 2009, it was placed behind large stones which hid it from the eye; besides, it was completely covered in mud. Nonetheless, we could get some pictures of it which are presented here (Plate 4.9).



Plate 4.6: Destruction of Jina's image. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

The scene depicts a great Jina image, placed horizontally, which is about to be broken by two Śaiva militants, one of them presumably Rāmayya himself. The sculpted panel seems to be related to a brief inscription, which reads as follows: "At this place [is depicted the scene of] Ekāntada Rāmayya breaking up the [image of the] Jina and setting up the Śiva liṅga."[158]

6.1.2 Literary and Archaeological Sources

The exploits of Rāmayya are also known from Vīraśaiva literary sources, including the *Ekāntarāmitandeya Ragaḷe*, already cited,[159] and the *Basava Purāṇa* of Pālkuriki, composed at the end of the twelfth century.[160] The text describes the selfsame events as those narrated in the Abalur inscriptions, but in a slightly different version. The narration unfolds with dramatic overtones and eulogies of Rāmayya, the "extraordi-

158 "More Inscriptions at Ablūr," by Desai in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 29, part 5, n. 19: 141.
159 Compare Ben-Herut, "Literary Genres and Textual Representations": 129–87.
160 Edward P. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1982): 44.

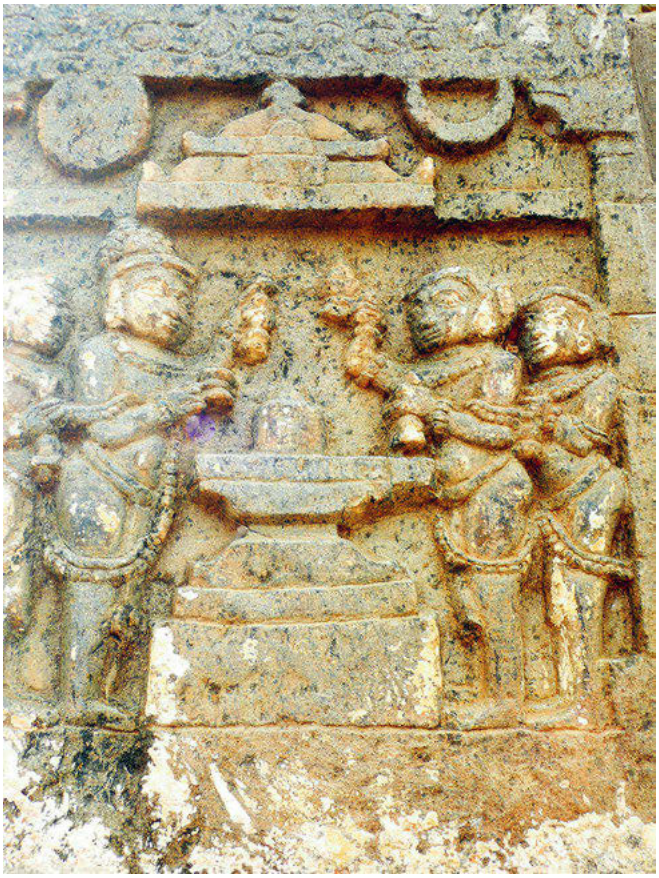


Plate 4.7: Rāmayya's raising of the Śiva *liṅga.* Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

narily courageous" and formidable warrior. It suffices to look at the description of the "head offering," rendered with crude intensity: "[…] with a mighty roar [Rāmayya] placed his sword at his own throat with one hand. He grabbed his knotted hair in the other hand. With tremendous force he drove his head against the blade."[161] What seems to be more interesting, however, is that here, Basava himself is cited as a besotted witness to Rāmayya's heroic deeds. So much so that, at the end of the sequel, after the pillage of the Jaina temples and sculptures, after the massacres down to "every known Jain,"[162] the Vīraśaiva master himself is shown as paying homage to Rāmayya, whereupon he "worshipped him [Rāmayya] as if he were Sangamesha."[163]

161 *Basava Purāṇa* of Pālkuriki Somanātha (Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*: 217.
162 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 218.
163 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 218.



Plate 4.8: Right-hand side of the entrance to the *garbhagṛha*. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

The delighted admiration for not only Rāmayya, but also other Vīraśaiva devotees, architects of similar carnage, permeates all of the *Basava Purāṇa*. The book—especially chapter VI—describes the sacking of many Jaina places of worship[164] and the tortures inflicted on the followers of this faith. For instance, a Vīraśaiva devotee named Irutandi, having been obstructed by a group of Jainas as he dug a bathing tank in front of his temple, blinded all of them.[165] Some Jainas were impaled by "heroic devotees" on heated iron spears, which was a common punishment in ancient India.[166] Others were beaten to death, while "[...] they look with terror at the blood that oozed from

164 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 199, 200, 207, 212. These places, unfortunately, have not been identified.

165 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 200.

166 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 203, 204.



Plate 4.9: A Jina image being broken by two Śaiva militants. Someśvara Temple (Abalur).

their body."[167] Again, the Vīraśaiva devotee Hiriya Nacayya punished all the Jainas in a town called Marundiga (not identifiable), because they were said to have destroyed the only Śaiva temple and killed the priest.[168] The exploits of Hiriya Nacayya are described in great detail: the heroic faithful, having gathered up twelve thousand Kama Killer devotees—among whom were also thirteen chiefs of the city—"attacked the Jains, surrounded them, fought with them head to head [...]. As for the Jains, they screamed with fright and swooned, and the devotees killed them and cut off their heads [...]." Then, Śiva's warriors destroyed the Jaina *basadi*s and smashed the heads of every Jina image.[169]

Another literary source, the *Cennabasava Purāṇa*—written in 1585 by a well known Vīraśaiva master, Virūpākṣa Pandita[170]—although it makes no mention of the destruction of the *basadi*, nor of tortures inflicted on the followers of Mahāvīra (whose numbers had, in all likelihood, diminished considerably due to the sweeping devastations suffered in the preceding centuries), bears witness to a great animosity towards the

167 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 215.
168 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 212.
169 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 212.
170 For further study, see Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 49.

Jaina community. Indeed, it is related that the sage Nārada, having long wandered the earth, presented himself before Śiva in order to update the latter about the vicissitudes of humanity and about the state of the Śivaite faith in the world. Having spoken a eulogy of the doctrine and reassured Śiva that "[...] all over the world Śiva devotion is increasing," the sage specified that "[...] only in Khanda [Karnataka] sin prevails! Truth is destroyed, good rites have disappeared [...] the Jains' religion prevails and every place is full of Jain temples and all the people are worshippers of Jina."[171]

The Great God, therefore, decides to send into the Kanarese territory an incarnation of his *vāhana* (the bull Nandin), in order to fight his enemies and re-establish the Śivaite faith.[172] Thus, the narration continues, was Nandin born on earth: as Basava. This idea appears to have been suggested by the fact that the name "Basava" is a Kannada form of the Sanskrit "*vṛṣabha*" or bull, by antonomasia, that of Śiva: Nandin.[173]

On a deeper reading, the text reveals several points of interest: the first being that the Jainas are described as a fearsome group. Although the author might have been artificially inflating the might of the community, it in all likelihood still represented a competitive force which the other religious groups of the region had to reckon with, perhaps even from an economic point of view. In addition, the Jainas are portrayed as votaries of a false doctrine, far removed from the truth, which places the *Cennabasava Purāṇa* in the genre of standard polemical literature that relies on angry rhetoric. Lastly, one may already note the process—of which more later—whereby Vīraśaivism begins to succumb to the influence of the mythological, religious and ritualistic tradition of Hindu Śaivism.

Alongside the epigraphic, iconographic and literary sources, archaeological evidence also testifies to the violence of the Vīraśaivas to the detriment of the Jainas. Indeed, a disproportionate number of *basadi*s, especially in north Karnataka, show unequivocal signs of devastation by the hand of man, whether of architecture or decorations. Since most of these Jaina temples were taken over and reutilised by the Vīraśaivas,[174] a number of historians agree that the Jaina *basadi*s of Karnataka went through a traumatic experience at the hands of the Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats.[175] All the same, however, it is not easy to distinguish the vandalism practised by the Vīraśaivas from the violent acts that may be ascribed to other Śaiva militant groups, all the more so as many Śaiva militants (such as the above-mentioned Vīruparasa or Goggidēva) con-

171 *Cennabasava Purāṇa* by Virūpākṣa Pandita (Würth, trans., "Channabasava Purāṇa of the Lingaits": 116).

172 Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*: 119.

173 Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 169; Michael, "Foundation Myths of the Two Denominations": 311.

174 It is well known that, although Basava rejected temple rituals, by the middle of the twelfth century, the Vīraśaivas had already appropriated many Jaina sanctuaries (Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 [2008]: 22–28), as well as other temples belonging to different religious traditions.

175 Thapar, "Cultural Transaction in Early India": 12.

centrated their anti-Jaina campaigns in northern Karnataka, just as the Vīraśaivas did.[176] However, in certain cases, it is possible to know the identity of the aggressors, because there are precise literary or epigraphic corroborations.

This is the case with a Jaina sanctuary situated in ancient Puligere (modern Lakṣmeśvara, in Gadag District), whose periods of splendour and successive spoilage at the hands of the Vīraśaivas are known from various sources. Indeed, inscriptions—spread over a span of many centuries—as well as rich antiquities reveal that the whole area was an eminent centre of Jainism.[177] The monument in question, in particular, must have been one of the most important of those present in the area, due to its expanse, not to speak of the selectivity of its architectonic and decorative elements (still visible in parts) (Plates 4.10, 4.11). At any rate, literary sources attest to the fact that, in about the middle of the twelfth century, it was wrecked by a Vīraśaiva devotee



Plate 4.10: Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District).

176 In view of these uncertainties, few scholars even maintain that the destruction of Jaina places of worship, with or without possible massacres, was perpetrated not by Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats but by Śaiva militants (Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times*: 81, 129–32). However, a lot of evidence contradicts this hypothesis.

177 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 388; Joseph, *Jainism in South India*: 32.

by the name of Ādayya, the author of renowned *Vacanas*.[178] The life of Ādayya and his destructive activity are described, with a wealth of detail, in the *Somanātha Caritra*, a celebrated text of Vīraśaiva literature, written in the thirteenth century by the poet Rāghavāṅka.



Plate 4.11: Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District).

We are thus told that Ādayya was a native merchant of Saurashtra (which comprised most of the Kathiawar peninsula, in modern Gujarat) who, having travelled through many kingdoms, came on business to Puligere. Here, he fell in love with a Jaina maiden named Padmāvatī who converted to Vīraśaivism. "[...] (She) bowing her head at the lord Śiva's feet, renounced the deity she had worshipped before [...] and started worshipping Śiva *liṅga* ceaselessly."[179] The parents of Padmāvatī, Jaina themselves, at first rejected, but later accepted Ādayya, who started to live with them. One day, however, Ādayya, offended by them, vowed to convert Puligere's great *basadi* into a Śaiva temple. Thus, during the night, the Vīraśaiva devotee went to the Jaina temple and

178 S.C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 109.

179 Compare *Somanātha Caritra* [in Kannada] by Rāghavāṅka, ed. R.C. Hiremath and M.S. Sunkapura (Bangalore: Kannada Sahitya Parishat, 2004 [1961]): 66.

established the Śiva *liṅga* there.[180] The following day, when the Jainas came to their *basadi*, they found it closed and in no way could they succeed in opening it. At that point a bloody battle between the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas took place. The battle concluded with the victory of the latter and the destruction, by the same Ādayya, of the many images of Jinas which adorned the temple.[181]

Despite the mythological and ideological traits of the text, the edifice does show traces of mutilation, especially in the sculptures of the seated Jinas which adorn the parapet of the temple, framed in niches surmounted by *kālāmukha*s or inserted in *gavākṣa*s (Plates 4.12, 4.13).



Plate 4.12: Destruction of Jaina images and decorations on the parapet of Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District).

Notably, a few Jaina images happen to have been saved (Plate 4.14). This isolated preservation—a phenomenon found in other *basadi*s that have suffered similar assaults—might represent a kind of a triumphal celebration, a reminder that the longstanding

180 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 144.
181 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 172–77.



Plate 4.13: Destruction of Jaina images and decorations on the parapet of Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District), detail.

Jaina supremacy had been overcome.[182] After exploitations, this temple, originally conceived as a Jaina shrine, was converted to the ritual uses of the Vīraśaivas and renamed, as also occurred at many other Jaina sanctuaries elsewhere in Karnataka.

6.2 Conversions

In the course of the twelfth century, alongside violent encounters between the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas, large-scale conversions also took place in Karnataka: entire communities of Mahāvīra's followers embraced the new doctrine taught by Basava.[183]

This phenomenon, that led to the further diminution of the Jaina population, soon attained proportions so vast as to be cited even in the literature of the period. By

182 Hegewald and Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared": 26.

183 Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 13–14; Zydenbos, "Vīraśaivism, Caste, Revolution, etc.": 530. See also Dundas, *Il Jainismo*: 179, who reports on the widespread phenomenon of conversions from Jainism, even though he does not furnish details as to the specific path chosen by the new converts, merely stating that there were crossovers to the Hindu religion.



Plate 4.14: A Jaina image that escaped destruction on the parapet of Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District).

way of a few examples, we might cite *Somanātha Caritra*, which narrates the story of Padmāvatī, the Jaina maiden who converted to Vīraśaivism, mentioned above, and Pālkuriki Somanātha's *Basava Purāṇa*, which speaks of a Jaina master, Tirunāvakariśa, who also converted, having been miraculously healed upon the intercession of his sister, a devout Śivaite.[184]

Undoubtedly, when a philosophical or spiritual movement expands widely in a certain region, gaining power and prestige in terms of economic and social status, it comes to exercise a general attraction on the people. This was all the more so, in the case of Vīraśaivism; the egalitarian stance it championed, together with the ideal of the redistribution of wealth (*dāsōha*), represented an appealing novelty for the disadvantaged classes. However, it is no simple matter to explain why the conversions particularly regarded the Jaina community, and why they came to pass on so wide a scale. Besides, this trend was not limited only to the initial stages of the diffusion of

184 Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*: 198, 199.

the new doctrine, it protracted itself across the following centuries, touching an all-time high in the fifteenth.[185]

The dearth of sources and the exiguous number of studies conducted on the topic prevent us from delineating this phenomenon exhaustively. All the same, we shall try to formulate a hypothesis, with an eye to certain social and economic situations that characterised the history of the Vīraśaiva movement in twelfth-century Karnataka.

We have already had occasion to see that right from its inception, this new doctrine, emphasising the necessity for a commitment to social work (*kāyaka*, social labour), had led its followers to undertake a wide range of profitable vocations, such as commerce and craftsmanship. Vīraśaiva merchants became very powerful, by virtue both of the organisational efficiency which had always characterised the movement, and the great favour it was acquiring amongst people. The new code of commercial morals they formed, according to Basava's principles, called *vīra bāṇajiga dharma* (the law of the noble merchants) provided not exclusively for monetary gain, but also for the welfare of the people, which had been the original inspiration of the creed.[186] Since in the Kanara country (part of the territory of what was to become the modern State of Karnataka) activities central to the local economy had always been in exclusive control of the Jaina communities—as we already mentioned above—not only did conflicts of a competitive nature occur,[187] but many Jaina traders belonging to the lower ranks of society also shifted to the new mercantile Vīraśaiva corporations.[188] It is, in fact, to be underlined that the progressive deterioration of Jaina communities had also affected their economic condition, with heavy repercussions for the most disadvantaged sections of society in particular.

Other allures of the new doctrine were the social mobility that distinguished it and the particular teaching on the ethics of labour, which placed it in a position to welcome, without reserve, the diverse social classes, offering equal professional opportunity to each. Indeed, the new movement propounded that different callings were to be undertaken according to the free choice and aptitude of each individual, as opposed to what was prescribed by the rules of the caste system, which imposed jobs that were hereditary and hierarchically ordained. Thus, Vīraśaivism came to be looked upon with interest by all those (including the Jainas) who aspired not only to a better economic rank, but also to an alternative that would liberate them from the bondage of occupations to which they were chained by birth. Indeed, even though Jainism too had begun as a creed inspired by a certain egalitarian open-mindedness and anti-caste attitude, in the course of time, it had assumed (or had been forced to assume in order to survive) institutions and behaviours of the Brahmanical culture,

185 Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 12.

186 Bhaskar A. Saletore, "The Virashaiva and their Contribution to Vijayanagara," *The Karnatak Historical Review* 4, no. 1–2 (1937): 58.

187 Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 470–75.

188 Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 14; Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 471.

ultimately accepting a sort of social hierarchy that originated from and was modelled on the Hindu caste system itself. Suffice it to say that, by the eighth century CE, the Jaina master Jinasena had included the sixteen sacraments (*saṃskāra*s) of the Brahmans into the Jaina system,[189] and codified a vertically arranged caste system, which even provided for a caste of "Jaina Brahmans," entrusted with the care of temples and the performance of rituals.[190]

Even nineteenth century scholars were well aware of the rigid caste norms that governed the life of every Jaina devotee; so much so that, in a study still of much currency, Carlotte Krause highlighted how, in the India of her day, these "brahmanising" norms—such as the one denying the possibility of contracting marriage between castes of different levels—were yet prevalent within the Jaina world.[191]

According to a hypothesis put forward by Kalburgi,[192] it might have been precisely these rigid social norms and caste constrictions that were the principal causes of Jaina conversions to the Vīraśaiva faith. Kalburgi claims that the social structure of the Jaina community in mediaeval Karnataka was, in fact, totally dominated by caste ideology.[193] Two main groups might be identified: the *śiṣya*, the higher caste, comprising the so-called "Jainas by birth" or "pure Jainas," which is to say, all those who—vindicated by their family names—could lay claim to descent from ancient Jaina bloodlines, and the *gudda*, the simple faithful, who made up the majority of the Jaina populace of Karnataka. The latter (many of whom were wealthy merchants), despite conspicuous donations and the bequest of generous resources for the building of *basadi*s, could not enter any place of worship, access to which was reserved exclusively for the "pure Jainas." The same proscription also applied to low caste Hindus (*śūdra*), who were not allowed entry into temples.[194]

In the twelfth century, the situation must have deteriorated to a point of no return: as we may see in Virūpākṣa's *Cennabasava Purāṇa* which deplores the fact that, before the advent of Basava, "many śaiva saints [belonging to the lower castes] were not admitted into the interior of [the] Kailasha [temple], but were stopped at the door."[195] By contrast, Vīraśaivism proclaimed not only equality but—consistent with

189 P.S. Jaini, *The Jain Path of Purification* (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, 1979): 293.

190 Jaini, *The Jain Path of Purification*: 291.

191 Compare Dundas, *Il Jainismo*: 355.

192 Malleshappa M. Kalburgi, "Śiṣya and Gudda [in Kannada]," *Marga* 4 (2004): 142–70. Compare also Malleshappa M. Kalburgi, "Ancient Jain Society: Coversion and Giving Mantra Only [in Kannada]," *Marga* 4 (2004): 106–13.

193 It needs to be borne in mind that even Jainism, in the course of time, had come to assume (or had been forced to assume in order to survive) institutions and behavioural traits typical of the Brahmanical culture.

194 Romila Thapar, Early India, from the Origins to A.D. 1300 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 390.

195 Würth, trans., "Channabasava Purāṇa of the Lingaits": 193.

Basava's teaching that the very body of each believer was the holy place par excellence—in particular, the possibility of indiscriminate access for one and all to every sacred building. Therefore, due to a situation of ever-growing tenseness, many *gudda* Jainas would have converted, transforming the *basadi*s they had raised into Vīraśaiva temples and *maṭha*s. Thus, the inward change of religion might also have found expression in an outward architectural reconstruction.

Over and above this hypothesis, it is more than likely that the new movement, beyond the undeniable social and economic advantages it could offer, appeared to many Jainas to offer a return to the universal openness and the ideals of social palingenesis that had also underpinned the origins of Jainism itself.

In the fifteenth century, which saw a rise in the enthusiasm for Vīraśaivism, Jaina conversions reached their peak. Again, the causes might be found in a concomitance of several social and historical factors. First of all, this happened to be the period when the Vīraśaiva doctrine acquired renewed vigour: its expansion even to the south of modern Karnataka and to most of modern Andhra Pradesh made it one of the most widespread creeds in all of southern India.

This achievement was due in no small part to the work of a few masters, such as Lakkanna Dandeśa and Siddhaliṅga Śiva Yogin, who managed to convert a large number of people to the new faith, including many rulers and feudatories, thus securing for the movement the patronage of powerful chieftains.[196]

However, we presume that particular historical events should also be taken into consideration as strengthening factors of the movement, increasing its chances of attracting new believers. Let us, then, take a brief look at the historical situation.

By the fifteenth century, the Islamic conquest of India had largely been completed and sultanates had risen in the Deccan, one of the most important of which was certainly that of Bijapur, in north Karnataka. Almost in the same period, in the south of the country, the kingdom of Vijayanagara (the "City of Victory")—the last bulwark of Hindu traditions against the invaders—was touching the zenith of its dominion. Thus did two antithetical potencies come to strive on the selfsame cultural canvas: one Islamic and the other proudly Hindu.[197] The inevitable collision ended with the triumph of Islam,[198] even though the Muslim faith never attained the degree of social penetration in south India that it did in the north of the peninsula. Moreover, it needs to be pointed out that the Deccan sultanates never committed the sort of destructive and traumatising excesses that can be ascribed to the Delhi Sultanate.

196 Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation": 12; Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics*: 67–70; Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 3–4.

197 Burton Stein, *A History of India* (Malden: Blackwell, 2000 [1998]): 151.

198 The kingdom of Vijayanagar was defeated, in 1565, by a coalition of sultans, at the epic battle of Talikota, on the banks of river Krsna.

Nonetheless, it was a difficult period for both the Hindus[199] and the Jainas,[200] so that the number of the latter, which had already shrunk on account of numerous conversions, further diminished.[201] The Islamic expansion also brought Muslim merchants into direct competition with Hindu traders and put an end to their patronage of religious institutions, mostly Brahmanical, but also Jaina.[202] All the same, the conflict precipitated by the onslaught of Islam, between its totalising religious ideology and the prevailing social customs, not only provoked great upheaval in the political and cultural life of the subcontinent, but also two opposite and specular reactions in India's polyhedral society: on one hand, it induced conversions (often by force) amongst large sections of the local peoples; on the other, it accentuated the self-referential spirit at every level. In other words, the Islamic invasion and the successive attempts of its exponents to establish a centralised power[203] ended up reinvigorating the pre-existent traditions proper to India—wherever they had managed to survive[204]—and induced a certain cohesion between them, especially those that for centuries had been sharing the same social context. This led the hegemonic groups to draw into their spheres of influence the communities with lesser clout, empowering themselves to the detriment of the latter.

The same might well have come to pass with the Jainas and Vīraśaivas, given that they already trod the common ground of overlapping economic interests and were in mutual contact by virtue of the mass conversions that in the preceding centuries had impacted both, and had, in fact, been driving the two faiths towards one another. The renewed power which polarisation lent to the Vīraśaivas would, therefore, have further attracted the Jaina communities into its orbit, the latter being ever more paltry in number and weakened in social and economic stature.

Whatever might have been the cause—or the main causes—of the "phenomenon of conversion" (probably, what had come into play was a synergy of all of the reasons considered so far), we need to bear in mind that, in all likelihood, there were transitional phases in the process that was to throw the Jainas and the Vīraśaivas together, as also occurred elsewhere amongst the Hindus that embraced the new Basava movement. Indeed, it is likely that both groups (Jaina and Hindu) gradually came closer to the Vīraśaiva way of life, accepting, at least initially, only a part of the Vīraśaiva cul-

199 As for the Hindus, it is well known from a number of sources that the sultan Ali Adil Shāh I of Bijapur destroyed two or three hundred Hindu temples (Sita Ram Goel, *Hindu Temples. What Happened to them*, part 2, *The Islamic Evidence* [New Delhi: Voice of India, 1991]: 241–66).

200 Dundas, *Il Jainismo*: 221.

201 Glasenapp, *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation*: 74.

202 J. Assayag, "Violence de l'histoire, histoires de violence: Frontieres, 'communalisme' et mémoire en Inde du Sud (Karnataka)," *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 49, no. 6 (1994): 1297; Stein, *A History of India*: 148.

203 Stein, *A History of India*: 139.

204 Stein, *A History of India*: 48.

ture[205] while, at the same time, maintaining some of their earlier social and religious traditions.

This modality, so typical of the Indian milieu—which tends to absorb the new without ever totally rooting out the ancient—is clearly linked to another peculiarity, well underlined by Oddie in an engrossing anthology of studies on the sociology of conversion. In South-Asian civilisations the shifting of camp has never necessarily and totally transformed the orientation of the inner life of the individual.[206] This is because in this region, a conversion has never generally been a personal matter, to be considered the outcome of an individual's inner conviction, as, on the contrary, is usually the case in the Western world,[207] where a conversion often results from a communal and social event.[208] To clarify this cultural difference, let me make a few brief remarks.

In ancient India, the idea of the collectivity had always outweighed that of the individual, as opposed to what transpired in the European tradition: where, especially since the sixteenth century—with the assertion of Cartesian thought, distinguishing mental reality (*res cogitans*) from the material (*res extensa*)—the human person has come to be identified chiefly with her rational self, thus conferring a kind of "primacy" upon intellectual activity and emphasising the notion of individuality. The Western mindset holds the "ego" to be at the very centre of consciousness and personality, contrary to the Indian vision, wherein true human nature, rather than abiding in individual entities, is to be found in their social interconnections, seen as a hierarchical and ordered wholeness.[209] As a counterpoise to the *model* of the ego as a kind of monad, crystallised and autonomous—so typical of Western philosophy—the Indian world offers the *idea* of an ego, construed as an individuation principle, ever pulsating in a living web with other aspects of the cognitive process and intermingled with the remembrances of the past and with social rapports.[210]

Thus, it could easily happen that a given individual would not choose to convert but would "naturally" follow his own community which was, in turn, closely interlinked with others. It would, therefore, suffice for one group to be in some way attracted to a certain religious sphere—perhaps in the wake of a dominant élite—for another group, and the individuals comprising it, to follow in its footsteps.

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205 Schouten, *Revolution of the Mystics*: 81.

206 G.A. Oddie, ed. *Religion in South Asia, Religious Conversion and Revival Movements in South Asia in Medieval and Modern Times* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991 [1977]): 4–5.

207 Oddie, ed. *Religion in South Asia*: 4.

208 Venugopal, "Reformist Sects and the Sociology": 87.

209 Louis Dumont, *La civiltà indiana e noi* (Milan: Adelphy, 1996 [*La civilisation indienne et nous*, Paris 1975]): 22, 23. See also Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus, il sistema della caste e le sue implicazioni* (Milan: Adelphy, 1991 [*Homo Hierarchicus, le système des castes et ses implications*, Paris 1966]): 70–114.

210 Tiziana Lorenzetti, "L'India e Noi: due civiltà a confront," *Il Veltro*, *Rivista della Civiltà Italiana* 51, no. 5–6, (2008): 136.

All of this, undoubtedly, meant that the phenomenon of conversions became even more widespread; which would explain, in part, the high count of the Jaina communities that embraced the new Vīraśaiva path.

7 Vīraśaiva Places of Worship: From Early Refusal to Development—Some New Perspectives

In Basava's thought, as we have seen, the Hindu temple and its affiliated rituals are *sthāvara*, which is to say, stagnant or immobile. Fierce opposition to all kinds of formalised ceremonials also characterised the attitude of a number of other Vīraśaiva masters like Allama Prabhu, who compared Hindu temple activity to "a dog barking at the mountain."[211] On the contrary, the body of the devotee itself is the god's dwelling, and the only form under which it is proper to worship the "Supreme Lord" is the *iṣṭaliṅga*, whose symbol—as we already mentioned—is worn by every practising Vīraśaiva, on his/her body.

Because of such teachings, the Vīraśaiva tradition does not countenance the raising of any sacred buildings, with the exception of funerary memorials dedicated to the *samādhi* (lit. "self-absorption") of itinerant enlightened sages (*jaṅgamana*), who were believed to have turned themselves into "moving temples." However, it so happened that, as early as the end of the twelfth century, certain Vīraśaiva groups were appropriating temples and sacred edifices that had belonged to other religious communities.[212] Sometimes, these holy places would be taken by force; but what mostly happened was that sites that had been abandoned, for one reason or another, were utilised or re-utilised.

This would explain why most of these sacred buildings happened to be Jaina *basadi*s, as they had undergone a two-fold devastation, suffering damage inflicted by rival religious groups (mostly Śaivas but, as we have seen, also Vīraśaivas), and neglect due to the progressive, but inexorable, diminution of the Jaina population. All the same, the appropriation of Hindu temples was not unheard of either, as, for instance, in the case of the Brahmeśvara Temple (Haveri District), today known as Basa-

211 S.B. Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy with Translation of Poems* (Bangalore: Shri Mangesh Publishers, 2007): 109.

212 In this regard, we do need to remember that, within the larger Vīraśaiva tradition, a minor set of beliefs – which Michael traces back to the Gurusthala tradition (Cf. above, p. 274) – has always accommodated liturgical celebration and, probably, has re-used sacred edifices formerly belonging to other faiths from the very beginning. The Gurusthala tradition, indeed, would have never reflected a radical break with Brahmanical patterns.

veśvara, which—as attested by an inscription—had been the property of the Kāḷāmukha sect until 1144 CE.[213]

The state of relations between this prominent Hindu sect and the Vīraśaivas is a much debated issue,[214] though we may bypass the question here as it is not pertinent to the study at hand. Nonetheless, it needs to be underlined that the arc of time that saw the consolidation of Vīraśaiva tradition coincided precisely with that in which the Kāḷāmukhas faded away from the stage of Karnataka's history.

Since it cannot be denied that there was a certain historical contiguity between the two groups,[215] in that they shared the self-same territory, the scholarly consensus is that the Kāḷāmukhas ended up being absorbed into the new movement of Basava.[216] I think this more than likely hypothesis is of fundamental importance if we are to understand the reasons behind the rise of a new phase in the Vīraśaiva religious attitude which, as we shall see, was to culminate in the erection of true and proper temples. However, before going into the matter, we might look at a singular fact.

7.1 A Ritual Exception Involving Developments

The rejection by Basava's followers of all forms of worship centred on images of the gods did not exclude the performance of certain ritual acts of reverence to the personal *liṅga*. Basava himself is said to have advised the offering of *bilva* leaves[217] and

213 Compare Kalburgi, "An Inscription referring to Śaraṇas," *Karnatak University Journal*, 1967, quoted by Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 27. Compare also Vasundhara Filliozat, *Kālāmukha and Pāśupata Temples in Dharwar* (Chennai: The Kuppuswamy Sastri Research Institute, 2001): 43, 44.

214 Compare Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (1972): 167, 168; Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* (1991): 240.

215 Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism": 288.

216 Compare Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 6; Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 82; Julia Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 235. S. Settar and P.K.V. Kaimal 1999 (quoted by Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy*: 223) not only agree on the Kāḷāmukhas' assimilation into Vīraśaivism, but also maintain that, most probably, it came about through a process of conflict. Lorenzen, in his first work (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* [1972]: 167, 168), even went so far as to suggest that the Vīraśaiva movement was the outcome of a reformist drive among the Kāḷāmukhas. Later, however, in the second revised edition of the same work, he rectified his previous view, stressing that Vīraśaivism did not constitute a reformist sub-group of the Kāḷāmukhas, but had come into being as a result of their overthrow (Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas* [1991]: 240; Lorenzen, "The Kālāmukha Background to Vīraśaivism": 288).

217 The leaves of the wood apple, *Aegle mermelos*, have been an indispensable natural constituent of Hindu ritual devotion since time immemorial, especially in the cult of Śiva. Thus, in the choice of the *bilva* leaf on the part of Basava himself, in a dim rudiment, we may already see the creeping in of ritual elements derived from Hinduism.

lustral waters[218] to one's own portable *liṅga*. Yet it was not long—some scholars say, even in Basava's lifetime[219]—before certain Vīraśaiva *guru*s, perhaps themselves Kāḷāmukha converts,[220] started bestowing these ritual offerings upon the *sthāvara* or fixed *liṅga*s too.[221]

This devotion to the permanent *liṅga* had a double-edged outcome: on the one hand, certain specific places became focal points of the Vīraśaiva cult; on the other, an evolution was initiated whereby an increased number of Vīraśaiva *guru*s began to settle down in well-defined compounds, often sanctified by the presence of a permanent *liṅga*, in the manner of the Kāḷāmukha masters, who used to live in large *maṭha*s.

A great number of inscriptional records testifies that, as early as the thirteenth century, several Vīraśaiva masters were not only worshipping the stationary *liṅga* but also encouraging the erection of *maṭha*s where, in all likelihood, they started teaching and receiving the homage of the faithful. One such would be Guru Śivadeva of Chowdadanapura.[222]

7.2 The Diffusion of the Maṭha Institution

From the thirteenth century onwards, an ever greater diffusion took place of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* institution: an inscription dating from the year 1246 of the Śaka era (ca. CE 1345) records the conferring, by a certain king Ballāla, of a number of rights and honours on the heads of five Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s.[223] To one of these, the Vaniiya Maṭha, jurisdiction over five temples was also granted, as well as the perpetual ownership of the villages Rayanahalli and Basavanapura (Basavaṇṇapura), including the right to collect taxes from various sources (above all, on shops, irrigated lands, heads of cattle allowed free grazing in the territory, temples and lands held by Brahmans).[224]

The evidence that Vīraśaiva *guru*s of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries established *maṭha*s and acquired property through donations shows not only the progressive assimilation of the lone wandering *guru* of Basava's original thought into the

218 Compare *Basavannanavara Vacanagalu*, ed. R.C. Hiremath, no. 172, pp. 56, 75, quoted by Michael, "Liṅga as Lord Supreme": 298; 217 note 13.

219 Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy*: 103.

220 Kalburgi, *Marga* 1 (Bangalore: Karnataka Book Agency, 1988), quoted by Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy*: 104.

221 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 81. As a matter of fact, from what is recorded in the inscriptions, the Kāḷāmukhas come across as having been worshippers of the stationary *liṅga* (Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 30).

222 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 81; Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 4.

223 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 4, ed. B.R. Gopal, Chamarajnagara Taluk 292 (Bangalore: University of Mysore Press, 1975): 187–88.

224 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 4, Chamarajnagara Taluk, n. 292: 187.

figure of the well-established "institutional *guru*," but also that at least some of these settled *guru*s had adopted habits derived from the Kāḷāmukha path.[225] However, we may recall that the minor Gurusthala tradition had always established *maṭhas*, although the worship of the fixed *liṅga* was largerly absent, at least at the beginning.

In less than a couple of centuries from Basava's lifetime, therefore, *maṭhas* became the mainstay not only of the Gurusthala tradition, but also of the greater Vīraśaiva community.

The diffusion of the Vīraśaiva *maṭhas,* the assimilation or influence of the Kāḷāmukhas, the consequent changes in religious attitudes—such as the growth in devotion to the permanent *liṅga* (without, however, totally supplanting the portable personal one)—the settling down of the *guru-jaṅgamana*[226] and, above all, the increase in liturgical practices, could possibly explain the Vīraśaivas' need to have religious buildings of their own, possibly attached to the *maṭhas*. It is, therefore, not surprising that they took over and converted for their own ritual use the sacred establishments of other religious communities. From here, consideng also the pressures from Hindu society, it will be a short step to the costruction of true and proper temples of their own.

7.3 Silent Stones Speak

The process by which religious buildings began to be attached to the *maṭhas* is evident in certain Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s characterised by a "mixed" architecture, that is, those that incorporated into their plans vast parts of the older sanctuaries that had once belonged to different religious traditions.

Bearing in mind that Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s are (and, probably, usually were) polyhedral structures, often made up of many buildings, let us take into consideration the central block of the modern Śrī Murugamaṭha in the district of Citradurga. (Plate 4.15). This is the oldest construction in the entire complex: tradition has it dating back to the twelfth/thirteenth century,[227] even though later addenda and lively depictions—hallmark of the sacred architecture of modern-day south India—have to a large extent effaced the underlying ancient structure. This block is now a hypostyle rectangular hall meant to be

225 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 81. The influence of the Kāḷāmukhas also invested the very organisational structure of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s that, like those of the Kāḷāmukhas, came to flourish not only as places of worship and meditation, but also as powerful centres of education and propagation of the doctrine, thus consolidating the social base of the creed. It is worth noting that, after the disappearance of the Kāḷāmukhas, their *maṭha*s were taken over by the Vīraśaivas who still control many of them today, particularly in the districts of Gadag, Belgaum and Dharwar (Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 6); Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 88; G. Stanley Jaya Kumar, *Religion and Society* (New Delhi: M.D. Publications, 1996): 166).

226 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 81.

227 However, the available genealogical records of the *maṭha* do not go back beyond the end of the seventeenth century.



Plate 4.15: Murugan Maṭha, Citradurga.

the place for the *guru*'s preaching and his veneration. By way of a small staircase, the rear of the building connects with another room, also colonnaded, which used to be part of an ancient Jaina cave (Plate 4.16). This is the internal space where the master's stool, a typical element of every Vīraśaiva *maṭha*, can be found. It symbolises the dignity of the spiritual headman and, in all likelihood, recalls the "Seat of Void" (*śūnya pīṭha*), the chairmanship of the Anubhava Maṇṭapa. Thus recast, into the most holy of holies of the present edifice, the ancient Jaina sanctuary has been swallowed up, as if it were an integral part of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* itself.

During the fifteenth century, at the zenith of Vīraśaiva power, the institution of the *maṭha* underwent major transformations, above all, in its ritualistic aspects. To begin with, it is to be borne in mind that, as more and more *guru*s settled down, and the process became normalised, each *maṭha* began to have its own specific succession of masters. Their mortal remains would be buried *in loco*, which further lent the *maṭha*s the halo associated with funerary monuments that had custody of revered relics.

Naturally, the *samādhi*s of these holy men began to attract ever-growing numbers of the faithful, whose devotional acts would go on to enrich the *maṭha*s with extra rituality. Many of the other changes that took place largely constituted a corollary of the substantial mutations that the Vīraśaiva doctrine itself underwent. This calls for an opportune glance at the religious and historical picture then obtaining.



Plate 4.16: Ancient Jaina cave, now part of the Śrī Murugan Maṭha, Citradurga.

7.4 The Humus of History: "Hinduisation" and Its Effects

Over the centuries, the Vīraśaiva tradition had experienced mounting pressures from Hindu society, so much so that if, at the height of its revival—to be precise, in the fifteenth century—renowned masters on the one hand displayed the talent and wisdom to expand the reach of the creed in an extraordinary way, they were also able, on the other, to interpret and codify the "Hinduising" tendencies that were coming to the fore.

Suffice it to say that an increased number of Vīraśaiva poets began to compose in Sanskrit,[228] a trend already witnessed in previous centuries,[229] while a grandmaster like Lakkanna Dandeśa, in his work *Śiva Tatva Cintāmaṇi*, gave vent to ideas that do not belong in the Vīraśaiva tradition but are overtly derived from the Hindu context. These include his discourse on *dharma* and an unusual ritualism in *liṅga* worship.[230]

228 Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 31.

229 Although Sanskrit was never completely rejected by the Vīraśaivas, the fact that, after Basava, more and more poets replaced the *Vacana*s in Kannada with Sanskrit compositions would indicate their estrangement from Basava belief.

230 Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 31.

As if all this were not enough, the authors of the later Vīraśaiva *Purāṇa*s, such as Virūpākṣa Pandita or Bhīmākavi (all writing between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries), elevated the figure of the master to the status of the divine, influenced by the Puranic models in both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* literature, so that Basava's person almost lost its human dimension altogether.

In Bhīmākavi's aforementioned *Basava Purāṇa*, for instance, it says that Śiva sent down his *vāhana* Nandin—identified, as we have had occasion to note, with Basava—to re-establish the Vīraśaiva faith in the world.[231] Likewise, in Virūpākṣa Pandita's *Cennabasava Purāṇa,* Basava descends to earth, and having accomplished his mission, returns to heaven.[232]

The deification of Basava was accelerated by the fact that writers of that period had more than one vested interest, that is, in finding, somehow, a common thread between their works and those of their rivals (Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas) and in presenting the master to their audience with a supernatural aura, thus uplifting their own doctrine to a level of developmental emotionalism.[233] However, we need to remember that the acquisition of customs, rituals and views that were not originally Vīraśaiva might have also been facilitated by the numbers of Hindu and Jaina converts to the new faith who never entirely abandoned their old ways and habits. Which, of course, is perfectly in keeping with the Indian ethos.

These significant transmutations were to have great repercussions not only on Vīraśaiva rituality, but also on artistic endeavour, both iconographic and architectonic. For example, as a result of the identification of Basava with the divine mount Nandin, the practice of placing an image of Śiva's bull (usually flanking the *liṅga*) at the entrance *gopura*s of both their own *maṭha*s (for instance, Hukeri Maṭha Plate 4.17) and those of the temples appropriated by the Vīraśaivas became widespread. Such is the case with many Jaina *basadi*s, including those of Dambal (Gadag District) and Konnur (Koṇṇūr, Dharwar District), where an interesting Jaina inscription (ca. CE 860) is still *in situ.*[234] In both *basadi*s, two graceful statues of the squatting Nandin—probably appropriated by the Vīraśaivas from Śaiva temples—are located, respectively, in the middle of the open *maṇḍapa* (Plate 4.18) and inside the sanctuary (Plate 4.19). An additional point worthy of note is that all the images of Nandin are worshipped using a chain of rituals derived, largely, from Hinduism. These comprise the offering of flow-

231 Würth, trans., "The Basava Purāṇa of the Lingaits": 67.

232 Würth, trans., "Channabasava Purāṇa of the Lingaits": 119.

233 Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 22, 31.

234 This inscription reads: "the king Amoghavarśa granted the village of Taleyuru and some lands in other villages to the Jain sage Devendra, the disciple of Trikalayogisa […]" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 18, n. 12 [Delhi: Aechaeological Survey of India, 1975]: 7).



Plate 4.17: Rear *gopura.* Hukeri *Maṭha*, Haveri.

ers and fire (Plate 4.20, 4.21), foreign to the origins of the Vīraśaiva tradition,[235] but essential to Hindu rituality.[236]

Similar ritualised homage is also paid to the fixed *liṅga*. In sanctuaries remodelled for Vīraśaiva usage, this is located in the *garbhagṛha*—as usually happens in Hindu temples—whereas, in the *maṭha*s, this symbol is generally found at the heart of the *samādhi*, representing the *guru*'s connection with the *liṅga*. In recent *maṭha*s, however, such as Hukeri Maṭha, mentioned above, the *liṅga*, whether sculpted or painted, may be found at the centre of the *maṭha* itself.

Such proliferation of the fixed *liṅga* runs parallel to a complex and elaborate ceremonial: besides receiving the offering of water, fire and flowers, the symbol is also featured on chariots and carried out in processions circumambulating the *samādhi* or the whole *maṭha* (Plate 4.22).

In the light of all this, it would seem that, over the course of a few centuries, the symbol of the *liṅga*, while maintaining its importance as a focal point of Vīraśaiva

235 Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*: 41.

236 Venugopal, "Reformist Sects and the Sociology": 86; John Abbot, *Indian Ritual and Belief* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2000 [1984]): 172.

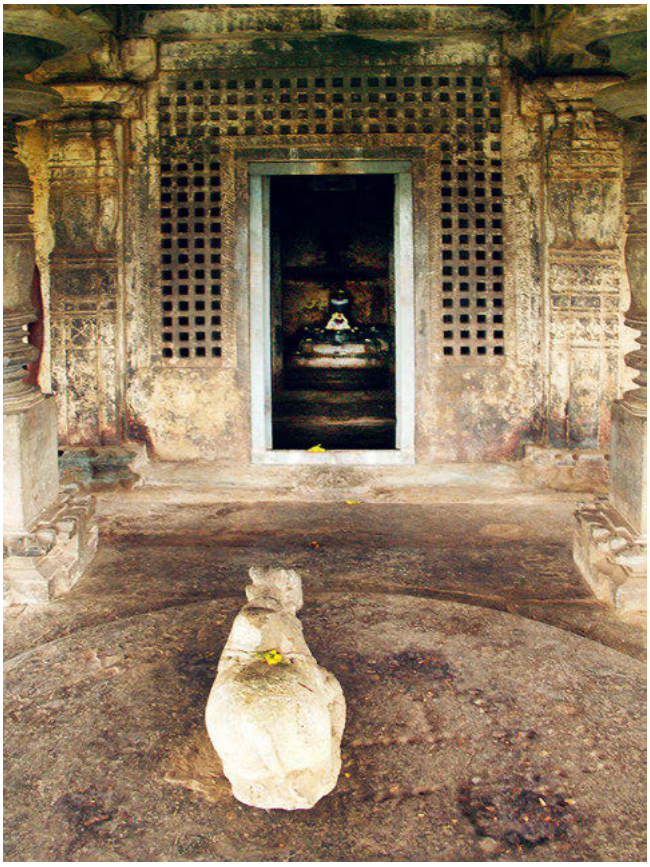


Plate 4.18: Squatting Nandin. Vīraśaiva temple, former Jaina *basadi* in Dambal (Gadag District).

meditative practices, had itself become—also and above all—an object of public worship. In addition, the modalities of such adoration did not greatly differ from those the Śaivas reserved for the *liṅga* of their own tradition.

Beyond this change in the cult of the *liṅga* and alongside the devotion to Nandin/Basava, the Vīraśaivas have also inducted the worship of a number of Hindu deities, such as Sarasvatī, Pārvatī or Gaṇeśa, whose images are set up in the *maṭha*s (Plate 4.23). In this regard, eminent scholars have already drawn attention to the fact that certain later Vīraśaiva poetic compositions made use of elements of Hindu mythology. The incorporation of aspects of Brahmanical rites and beliefs into the Vīraśaiva tradition has become something of a longstanding trend.[237]

237 Ishwaran, *Speaking of Basava*: 4, 5.



Plate 4.19: Squatting Nandin. Vīraśaiva temple, former Jaina *basadi* in Konnur (Darwar District).

The impact of Hindu rituality on that of the Vīraśaivas seems to have increased with the independence of India in 1947. Indeed, the independence movement, striving to build a national identity, had employed religion as a major motif for unification, favouring the birth of a new idealised Hinduism, whereby local cults and traditions, elevated to a "pan-Indian" status, were subsumed into an ideal religious tradition that was relatively homogeneous across the subcontinent. These elements were also back-projected anachronistically far into the past. This helps us understand both the collisions with Islamic society,[238] and the inclination to engulf disparate traditions—the Vīraśaivas being a case in point—into the Brahmanical Hindu mainstream. This latter process, for all its complexity and interest, remains an issue that is little known and has been studied even less, because of wide-ranging religious, social and economic pressures. It would require in-depth religious and anthropological research. Here, we shall simply outline and highlight the acquisition by the modern Vīraśaiva milieu of certain new features which seem to be in the nature of further steps towards an ever more pronounced "Hinduisation," of the kind often publicly condemned by Kalburgi.

238 Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, Reinventing India, Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000): 3–19; Stein, *A History of India*: 399–408.



Plate 4.20: Flower and fire offerings. Basaveśvara Temple (Haveri District).

8 Contemporary Vīraśaiva Rituality: New Evidence

In the course of this research we have had occasion to document how, with the passage of the centuries, the Vīraśaiva tradition has progressively intensified the representations of the static *liṅga* and, with them, the rituals connected to this symbol.

Let us now proceed with further considerations. Since, as we have seen, in an increasing number of Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s, a fixed *liṅga* is to be found at the centre of the *samādhi*, this place is, in effect, coming more and more to resemble the *garbhagṛha* of Hindu temples.

The *samādhi* at the Mur Śaver Maṭha in Hubli (Darwar District) would be a pertinent example. Square in layout, it is surrounded by an ambulatory typical of the *sāndhāra* Hindu temples. At the centre stands an *ekamukhaliṅga* (Plate 4.24) on whom the *pujārī* and the Vīraśaiva devotees bestow the selfsame attentions and offerings as Brahmans and the Hindu faithful reserve for the *liṅga* of their own heritage. Again, just as only Brahmans may enter the Hindu *garbhagṛha*, the interior of the *samādhi* is accessible only to the *pujārī*.



Plate 4.21: Flower and fire offerings. Basaveśvara Temple (Haveri District).

It is interesting to observe here that in the *samādhi* of the aforementioned fifteenth century Guru Siddhaliṅga Śiva Yogin in Yedeyur (Yadiyūr, Tumakuru District) access to the interior is a privilege exclusive to the *guru*'s direct descendants, who are believed to be endowed in some way with a kind of "natural" spiritual purity.

What is more, Siddhaliṅga Śiva Yogin would seem to have been one of the earliest exponents of Hindu notions of inborn ritual purity. His teachings on this subject found such a fertile soil in the Vīraśaiva community that, after the fifteenth century, besides the revolutionary changes in thought and customs (which we have already mentioned), a caste and sub-caste hierarchy also came to obtain amongst them, the vertex being occupied by the *jaṅgamana*: a term that came to mean not only the itin-



Plate 4.22: Chariot procession. Gavi Maṭha, Koppala.

erant guru who has attained oneness with God, but also a priest affiliated to a group to which he belongs by birth.[239]

It therefore seems that, with time, the conception of a hierarchical order determined by birth, on the lines of age-old Hindu caste divisions into the customary pure/impure dichotomy, came to permeate Vīraśaiva society as well (or, at least, certain Vīraśaiva communities). This, in turn, favoured the rise of a Vīraśaiva priesthood, which class, although in contravention of Basava's teachings, has become widely diffused. Indeed, a custom is gaining currency amongst contemporary Vīraśaivas of paying priests to perform *pūjā* at a fixed *liṅga*, which may be seen as running counter to the very purpose of the *iṣṭaliṅga*.[240]

239 Ishwaran, *Religion and Society*: 128.

240 Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy*: 104.



Plate 4.23: Image of Gaṇeśa, entrance to *samādhi*. Mur Śaver Maṭha, Hubli.

In general, the emerging trend among Vīraśaivas is not only to place their own "ethnocentric" priesthood at the top of the Vīraśaiva social pyramid, but also to extend the same status of primacy to the Hindu Brahmans external to their society. This is clear from the practice (observable in several *maṭha*s and temples under Vīraśaiva management) of soliciting the services of Hindu Brahmans (often in competition with the Vīraśaiva officiants)[241] for the fulfilment of certain rituals. At the Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District) mentioned above, for instance, the daily *pūjā* is performed by a Brahman female officiant (Plate 4.25),[242] and at the very *samādhi* of Siddhaliṅga Śiva Yogin, it usually falls to a Brahman to recite the ritual formulae—in Sanskrit.

241 M. Chidandana Murthy, *Vīrashaiva dharma: Bharati samskrti*, appendix VI (Bangalore, 2000): 354–55, quoted by Rao, *Allama Prabhu, a Study in Philosophy*: 104.

242 Recently, women could also be appointed as priests in temples following stipulated training.

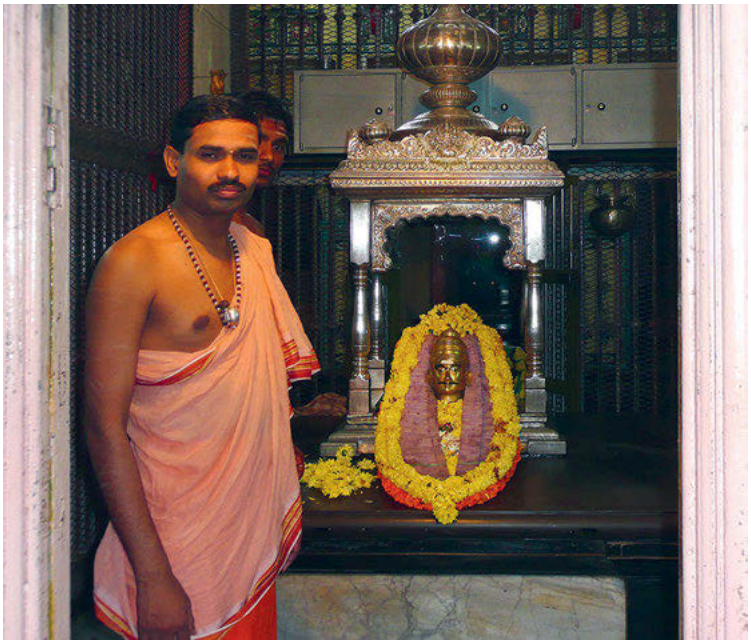


Plate 4.24: *Samādhi.* Mur Śaver Maṭha, Hubli.



Plate 4.25: Daily *pūjā* performed by a Brahman lady. Lakṣmeśvara Temple (Gadag District).

9 Vīraśaiva Temples

Although already as early as the end of the twelfth century certain Vīraśaiva groups were appropriating temples belonging to other cults, we have no evidence of the construction of what may only be defined as true and proper Vīraśaiva temples in those ancient times. Due to the scarcity of datable evidence, the only thing that can be asserted is that the erection of sacred buildings was a phenomenon that might have started quietly—probably from the turn of the thirteenth/fortheenth century, spurred by the influence of the Kāḷāmukhas, by Hindu and Jaina converts and, no less, by pressures from contemporary Hindu society—only to gain momentum in the centuries that followed.

According to the findings of a field research project undertaken by the author in Karnataka state, in 2009 and 2010, extensive temple building activity would seem to have begun among the Vīraśaivas only after the Independence and continues unabated to this day.

These new sanctuaries are usually dedicated to a Vīraśaiva *guru*, as is the case with the one in honour of the *guru* Siddhaliṅga Śiva Yogin (Tumakuru District), although there are a few dedicated to Hindu divinities as well. Of little relevance from an artistic point of view, these sacred buildings have a very simple basic structure, a number of whose architectural features recall those of contemporary Hindu temples in the area. By and large raised on a rectangular foundation, these brickwork edifices are characterised by two enclosed rooms, that is, a hall of varying size, occasionally colonnaded, and the recess of the sanctum where one generally finds enshrined a static *liṅga* of stone. On the rear wall of the hall or that of the sanctum, or on the lintel of the entrance, one invariably finds portraits of Basava and/or photographs of the Vīraśaiva *guru*s active in the locality. At times, one may even find, alongside it, images (usually sculpted) of the most popular Hindu deities. As opposed to the densely undulating outer walls of Hindu temples with their characteristic rhythmic projections, those of Vīraśaiva temples all tend to be smooth and sparingly decorated. The only place where adornments may sometimes be seen is atop the perimeter of the flat roof, where—just as in Hindu temples—one may find square or round-topped aedicule (*kūṭa*) or barrel-vaulted (*śālā*) ones. Laid out in more or less serried ranks, these architectonic elements guide the viewer's attention to the turreted superstructure that (again, as in Hindu temples) signposts many a Vīraśaiva sanctuary. Let us now bring some of Karnataka's Vīraśaiva temples under the lens of our investigation.

We shall begin with the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple in Citradurga (Citradurgā, Citradurga District), one of the most elaborate ones, built in the early twenty-first century. Rectangular in plan, it rises on a moulded base, which may be reached by way of a staircase aligned with the main entrance. The entire complex is fronted by a simple pillared veranda, delimited by a stone balustrade (Plate 4.26). In the middle of the veranda stand three portals, the chief of which is surmounted by a typical Vīraśaiva bas-relief featuring a *liṅga* with a Nandin on either side (Plate 4.27). The interior is quite well lit, thanks



Plate 4.26: Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple in Citradurga.



Plate 4.27: Bas-relief surmounting the entrance. Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple.

to wide windows as well as screens of perforated stone (*jālī*). It comprises a vast hypostyle hall (*maṇḍapa*), the space divided at regular intervals by slender pillars with a plain round shaft (Plate 4.28), and with four cells opening into the rear wall.



Plate 4.28: *Maṇḍapa.* Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple.

The main cell is directly in line with the grand portal of the entrance, so as to emphasise the direct link—both visual and ideal—between the devotee who approaches the sacred precinct and the holy place inside. The entrance to the cell, guarded by a squatting Nandin, is surmounted by a photograph of the region's last Vīraśaiva *guru*; within, there is a black stone *liṅga*, canopied by the five-hooded cobra framed, in turn, by a gold-leafed arch topped by a *kālamukha*, one of the most popular Hindu motifs (Plate 4.29). To the left and to the right, respectively, lie the minor sanctuaries of Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa; while, opening on the extreme left, there is another naos, similarly arched over, that harbours three divinities: Vīrabhadra, in the centre, flanked by Kālī and Subrahmaṇya (Plate 4.30). What is worth taking note of is that not only does this threesome enjoy a wide following in south India, but the identity of each is such that it merges and mixes with that of an autochthonous god, even seeming to have evolved out of an ancient local deity. Apart from these stone sculptures, the walls within are entirely free of ornamentation. The outer walls, too, appear likewise to be scanty in this respect; except that certain decorative motifs may be seen overlying the edge of the flat roof, which is surrounded by an

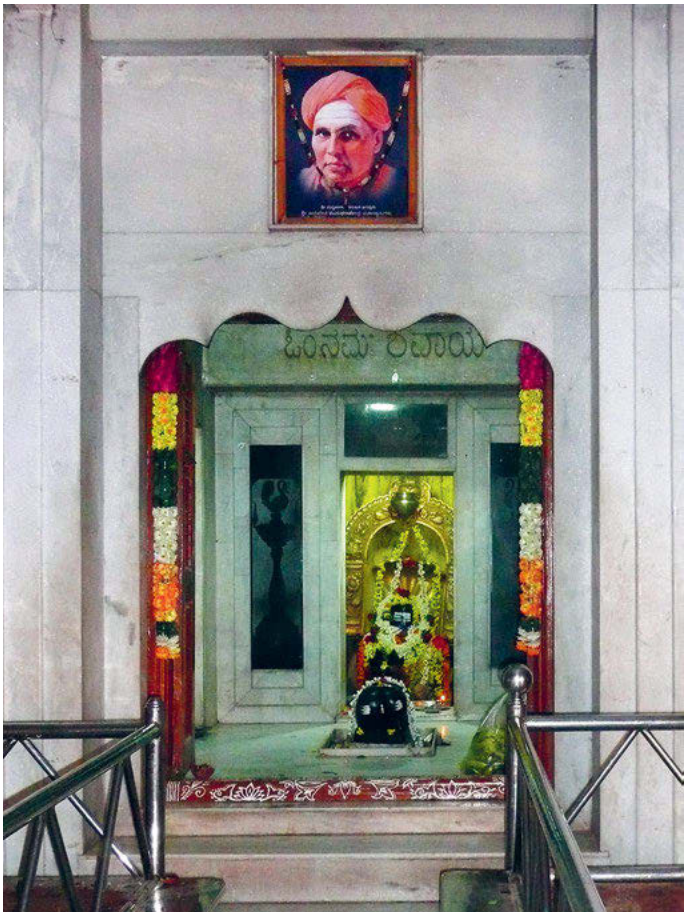


Plate 4.29: Main cella. Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple.

overhung ribbed eave (*kapota*). The two corners of the main façade display the sculpture of a squatting Nandin. Just beside these angular bulls rise two square aedicules with a covering of singular design. Cushion-shaped, it supports three quadrangular tiers of stone, each smaller than the one below. Together, in a sort of a single block, they presage the heavenward surge of the four architectonic elements emblematic of Hindu temples, all in shining brass: the vase (*kalaśa* or *kumbha*); the round and indented stone (*āmalaka*); the lotus blossom (*padma*) and the pinnacle (*stūpi* or *stūpika*). Between the two aedicules, in line with the entrance doorway, towering at the centre of the roof's perimeter, is a superstructure that looks rather like a miniature *gopura*, typical of Dravidic temples (Plate 4.31). Rectangular in plan and with a characteristic truncated pyramidal shape, it presents a succession of tapering upwards storeys. Each one, cadenced by a jutting cornice, bristles with rich images and miniature pieces of architecture. At the



Plate 4.30: Vīrabhadra, Kālī and Subrahmaṇya, left-hand sanctuary. Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple.



Plate 4.31: Superstructures along the edge of the roof. Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple.

base of the whole structure lies a niche housing an image of the seated Śiva, while above, there is a barrel vault aedicule once again surmounted, like the lateral ones, by the four symbols of *kalaśa*, *āmalaka, padma* and *stūpi*.

Another appealing new Vīraśaiva temple is the one at Dambal (Gadag District). Small in size, and very simple in its rectangular shape, this sanctuary rises on an elevated platform and has completely blank outer walls (Plate 4.32). The entrance, as usual directly in line with the *garbhagṛha*, comprises a big wrought-iron gate overhung by a pink wooden pelmet at whose centre there stands out the most quintessential Hindu emblem of all: the mystic syllable *om*. Under this is inscribed the name of the *guru* (Śrī Satguru Patreśvara), to whose grace the temple is dedicated. Inside, one finds a spacious hall done up in various teal-blue tones. This too is bare, with the exception of the rear wall, the top of which is occupied by photographs of renowned Vīraśaiva *guru*s of the area (Plate 4.33). The sanctum is at the centre of this wall: it is a rectangular cell and houses a comely black stone *liṅga*, flanked by Nandin (Plate 4.34). These sacred images, objects of daily *pūjā*, are bedecked with garlands of marigold and other seasonal flowers; behind them hang picture-portraits of a number of Vīraśaiva swamis. Opening off the left wall of the hall is a small niche, fronted by a grilled postern: it enshrines a fine painted image of the enthroned Basava (Plate 4.35).



Plate 4.32: Vīraśaiva temple in Dambal (Gadag District).



Plate 4.33: Interior. Vīraśaiva temple in Dambal.



Plate 4.34: *Garbhagṛha*. Vīraśaiva temple in Dambal.

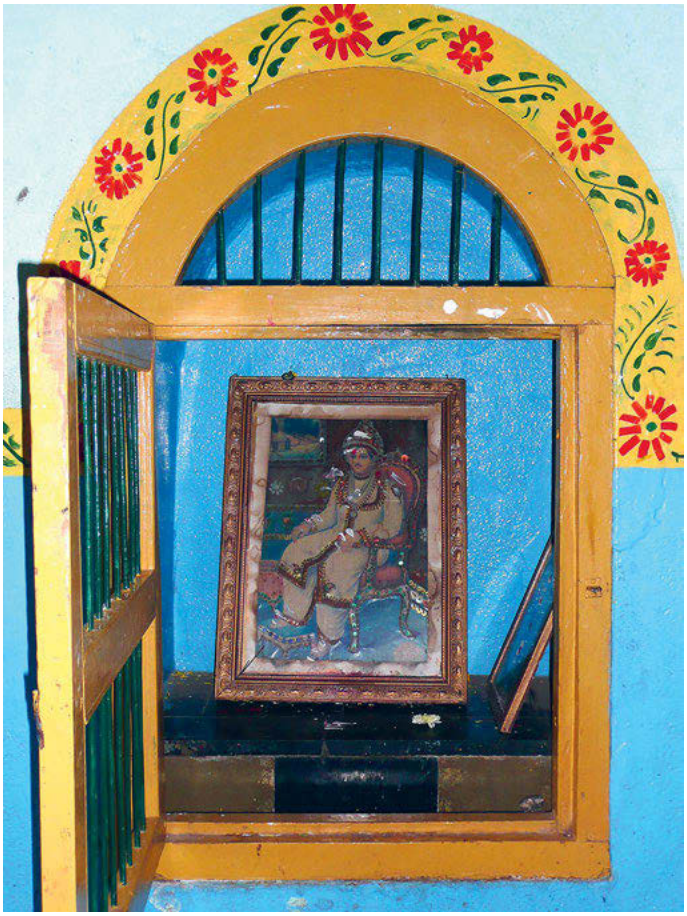


Plate 4.35: Small niche housing a painted image of the enthroned Basava. Vīraśaiva temple in Dambal.

Finally, let us look at one of the most recent of Vīraśaiva temples: that of Koppala (Koppaḷa), still under construction at the time of writing (Plate 4.36). Also set on a raised base, this, too, has a rectangular layout and external walls with scarce decorations but with large windows. The main façade has a narrow brick canopy; along the edge of the roof runs a parapet at whose corners are four sculptures of the squatting Nandin. At the centre of each side of the parapet can be seen three conjoint niches. The central one of those right above the entrance holds stucco images of Śiva and Pārvatī, with the lateral niches having a *lokapāla* apiece. On the other sides, a troika of niches displays Gaṇeśa flanked by Pārvatī and Sarasvatī. Each niche is topped by an aedicule: the lateral ones are square in plan and comprise three tiered elements, while the median is rectangular with the typical barrel vault above. Apart from this elaborate parapet, the rest of the roof is flat and devoid of any other ornamental or architectonic features, save the small tower rising above the sanctum—as it would in



Plate 4.36: Vīraśaiva temple, Koppala.

a Hindu temple. This turret is of stucco and pastel shades (with sea-greens, blues and pinks predominating), and, typifying Karnataka's Hindu architecture, aggregates models and elements characteristic both of the *nāgara* and the Deccan-*drāviḍa* typologies. It comprises a dome-shaped drum, overlying which is a round and indented stone (*āmalaka*), surmounted, in turn, by a small cupola and a lotus bud. Crowning the entire structure are four full metal elements, hallmarks of Hindu temples: the vase (*kalaśa*); the *āmalaka*; the lotus (*padma*) and the pinnacle (*stūpi*). The temple's interiors are made up of the usual unclad rectangular hall (Plate 4.37) and, aligned to the entrance, the sanctum. The latter contains the stone *liṅga* which the Vīraśaiva *pujārī* propitiates with fire and floral homage (Plate 4.38).

10 Endnotes

By no means does the above claim to be an exhaustive study of the most relevant Vīraśaiva temples arising all over Karnataka, since the spiritual-aesthetic panorama is still undergoing evolution and certain issues with religious-anthropological connotations call for further in-depth investigation. For instance, a question that undoubtedly begs to be

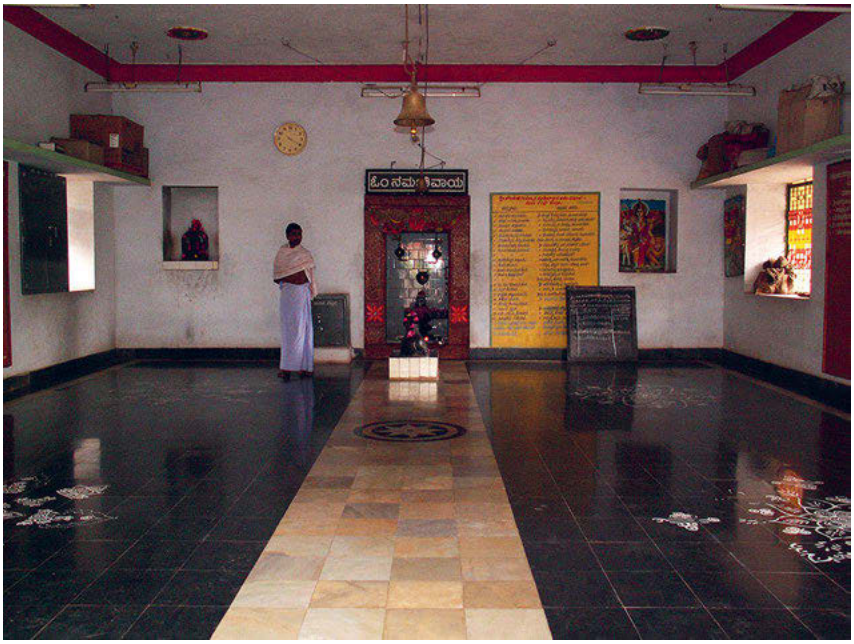


Plate 4.37: Interior of the Vīraśaiva temple, Koppala.

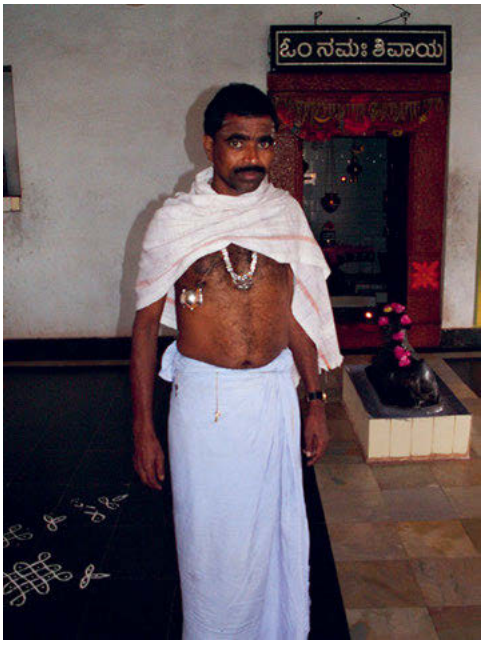


Plate 4.38: Vīraśaiva *pujārī* propitiating the *liṅga*. Vīraśaiva temple, Koppala.

addressed is whether the construction of these new temples is a cultural endeavour shared by all Vīraśaivas or one pursued only by certain segments of the community (now the majority), for example those connected to the Gurusthalins. This group, indeed, having used *maṭhas* since the very beginning, has always displayed an inclination for certain liturgical celebrations and, therefore, for the use of temples. Indeed, in the course of my research survey, I gathered that some Vīraśaiva devotees—especially those belonging to the more cultivated classes—categorically refused to frequent sanctuaries, particularly the new ones. However, future studies apart, germane as they might be, the scope of the present paper has been to draw attention to the process of transformation whereby nowadays the majority of Vīraśaivas feel affiliated to true and proper religious shrines, where they practise certain rituals that are similar to Brahmanical ones.

On the other hand, as far as India's peoples and cultures are concerned, it is rather difficult (if not impossible) to preserve a religious tradition without externalised rites. One also needs to keep in mind that the mass conversions to Vīraśaivism—whether on the part of Jainas[243] or Hindus themselves—would certainly have favoured a sort of syncretistic diffusion of traits adopted from these older traditions.

All the same, contemporary Vīraśaiva society faces some complex challenges. As a matter of fact, despite certain departures from the ideals of Basava and the ever-thinning borderline between the Vīraśaivas and their neighbouring Hindu groups, modern Vīraśaivism does seem to be striving to maintain—even revive—beliefs and values proper to its own origins. Such is the light in which we must see the significant role played by the Vīraśaivas in the educational and economic canvas of Karnataka, or their insistence on upholding the dignity of all labour as a moral asset.

Last but not the least, it is worth noting how, as in the past, community cooperation amongst the Vīraśaivas still manifests itself in their remarkable ability to respond to changing needs by setting up and developing ever newer associational arrangements—which constitute the true cohesive factor in modern Vīraśaiva society.

11 Concluding Remarks

The loss of the Jainas' religious, cultural and economic heritage in Karnataka was not a sudden event; rather it was an incremental phenomenon spread out over many centuries. This long-drawn-out decline had already begun to be evident at the dawn of the Indian Middle Ages, when the consolidation of Hindu temple ideology and of the consequent Brahmanical interests led, inevitably, to competition on the one hand for royal patronage, and on the other, for religious, social and economic predominance.

243 As we have seen, the Jainas, too, in their day, had already absorbed religious practices originating in the Hindu-Brahmanical context.

The tension between the Jaina community and Hindu-Brahmanical power—by and large in the hands of the Śaiva sect—reached its climax in the twelfth century: the period that, with the complete incorporation of the *bhakti* movement into the Hindu-Brahmanical mainstream, saw a massive proliferation of Hindu temples. As a matter of fact, the growth of the "cult of devotion" went hand in hand with the popularity of the temple institution itself, since the path of the devotee, the *bhakta*, involved a series of devotional acts that revolved around the temple: making offerings to the images of the deities, cleansing their premises, singing in their honour and, last but not least, contributing to the construction of the temples themselves.[244] Thus it was that in vast areas of Karnataka the authority of the Hindu-Brahmanical tradition came to be greatly enhanced, to the detriment of the Jainas who lost even the patronage of some of the ruling dynasties. One celebrated case was that of the Hoysaḷa king Biṭṭideva (1104–1141) who is believed to have converted from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism. It was, however, above all the conjunction of two new factors in the history of mediaeval Karnataka that determined the Jainas' definitive loss of power: firstly, a particular economic situation and secondly, the rise of the Liṅgāyat/Vīraśaiva movement.

With regard to the economic situation, even a quick survey of twelfth-century Karnataka will show that, in that period, the region was one of the major Indian centres for business and commerce. Indeed, Karnataka had always maintained a primacy in commercial exchanges not only between the north and the south of the peninsula, but also with overseas markets. Nevertheless, particular elements were at play in the revival of trade in the twelfth century: the progressive substitution of the traditional economy of exchange by a monetary economy[245] favoured the growth of a new mercantile class (mostly Śaivas) that came into conflict with the Jainas. In fact, as attested by many sources, the business community of mediaeval Karnataka was largely controlled by them.[246] The clash between Śaiva and Jaina traders became all the more acrimonious as it was connected with the development—and often the very survival—of the sacred institutions (Hindu temples; Jaina sanctuaries), whose wealthiest patrons hailed precisely from their respective merchant communities.

The second fundamental factor characterising this twilight scenario of the rapidly diminishing economic and religious status of the Jainas was the rise of the Liṅgāyat/Vīraśaiva movement. This made inevitable the definitive decline of Jaina power, which came to pass not only in Karnataka, where the new doctrine established itself quickly, taking precedence over all other creeds, not just locally, but also in most of modern Andhra Pradesh. The advent of Vīraśaivism was a catalyst not only for further competition with and violence against the Jainas but, above all, for conversions: entire communities of followers of Mahāvīra's ancient teachings embraced the new

244 Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*: 10.
245 Nandi, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement": 471, 472; Yarlagadda, *Social History of the Deccan*: 97.
246 Aery and Mathur, "Some Aspects of Trade in Jain literature": 85–93; Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 101–3.

religion. This phenomenon—scarcely analysed to this day, despite the enormity of its proportions—led to the final disappearance from the Kanarese area of the flourishing and populous Jaina communities; with them, their great *basadi*s were lost as well, being either abandoned to neglect or reused and renamed by the Vīraśaivas. A research study undertaken in the 1990s concluded that only sixty-nine Jaina *basadi*s were then active in the Kanarese territory, as against the three hundred known at the inception of the twelfth century.[247]

As for the Liṅgāyats/Vīraśaivas, their communities are still thriving all over the Kanarese territory. However, what may be noted is that, over the centuries, their faith has subsumed an ever greater number of "Hinduised" customs, rituals and viewpoints: a development which might have been facilitated by the mass of Hindu and Jaina converts, who never entirely gave up their old ways and habits. In time, the process of constant transformation, due to several reasons, of Vīraśaiva religious heritage has brought about the erection of true and proper temples, though it should not be forgotten that, as early as the end of the twelfth century, certain Vīraśaiva communities frequented temples, mostly re-used, ex-temples formerly belonging to other faiths.

Extensive Vīraśaiva temple building activity is well attested today; the temples, of little relevance from an artistic point of view, show a number of architectural features recalling those of contemporary Hindu temples in the area.

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247 S.D. Vasantaraja, *Karnataka Digambara Jina Mandira Galu* [in Kannada] (Bangalore: Karnataka Jain Mahamandal, 1994): 90, 129.

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Julia A.B. Hegewald

Chapter 5
Development and Destruction, Conversion and Continuity: The Legacy of Jaina Temple Architecture in Karnataka

1 Introduction

The region of Karnataka is renowned for its impressive medieval temple architecture, which attracted the attention of visitors and scholars alike from relatively early on, as attested by a number of reports from at least the nineteenth century onwards.[1] However, in the available art-historical literature, the emphasis has so far been on the Hindu religious constructions of the region, with those found at Halebid (Halebīd), Belur (Belūr)[2] and Somnathpur (Somnāthpuram) figuring most prominently. Even when it comes to the analysis of lesser-known sites, Jaina examples have rarely been discussed.[3] Despite this general neglect, there are striking Jaina temple constructions found throughout the various districts of Karnataka which more than bear comparison with the sacred buildings of other faiths. It is noteworthy that it was a historian, working largely with written records, Bhasker Anand Saletore, who stressed the particular contribution of the Jainas to the art and architecture of Karnataka as early as the nineteen thirties.[4] However, not much has been published on these vestiges since this time.

1 Refer, for example, to the chapter by James Fergusson, published for the first time in 1876 (James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. 1, book 4 [Dehli: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967 (1876)]). His interest in Hindu architecture is reasonably rare for its time, although studies of the Islamic architecture of the region are more common. In E.B. Havell's *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasions to the Present Day* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1927 [1913]), at least Vijayanagara and Bijapur figure as separate chapters. Individual chapters on the Hindu monuments of the region can also be found in the slightly later, but still comparatively early publications by Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, The Pelican History of Art (London: Penguin, 1953), and the book by Hermann Goetz, *India: Five Thousand Years of Indian Art*, Art of the World (London: Methuen, 1964), which was in fact first published in 1959.

2 This place-name has also been spelled: Haḷēbīḍ, Haḷebīḍu, Haḷeyabīḍu. Its ancient name is Dvārasamudra. For Belur, ancient Velāpuri, the spellings Bēlur and Bēlūr are also common.

3 See, for instance, the two otherwise very helpful books written by Gerard Foekema, *Hoysaḷa Architecture: Medieval Temples of Southern Karnātaka Built During Hoysaḷa Rule*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Books & Books, 1994), and Gerard Foekema, *A Complete Guide to Hoysaḷa Temples* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1996).

4 For this reference, refer to Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938): 268.

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In addition, the few existing studies on Jaina remains focus more specifically on early medieval developments. Most commence with the formative phase of cave excavations and the beginnings of structural temple building, starting generally from the sixth or seventh century CE under the early Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi (c. 540–753 CE).[5] The surveys outline the architectural developments under the Early Gaṅgā (350–650 CE) and the later Gaṅgā rulers (650–1004 CE)[6] and most end with the celebrated structures erected by the Later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (973–1156 CE and 1183–1200 CE) and under Hoysaḷa patronage (985–1346 CE). With regards to architecture dating from after these dates, the few published reports take a very selective approach and focus on individual regional centres only, such as the capital city of Vijayanagara and named pilgrimage sites in the coastal region of Karnataka. Practically nothing has been written on Jaina temple architecture from the fifteenth century onwards and even less on contemporary developments in the region.[7]

On the one hand, this reflects a general phenomenon and has to do with an unspecific common preoccupation of historians of art and architecture with the very earliest or at least comparatively early periods and those perceived as "classical"—whatever this might mean in an Indian context.[8] However, a further reason, more specific to this particular regional case study, is that after the time of the late Cāḷukyas and Hoysaḷas, which has often been portrayed as the "golden age" of Jainism in Karnataka, Jainism and Jaina influence in the region went into a decline.[9] However, despite the destruction and appropriation of statues and temple structures, this is a period which is very well worth studying. From a religious and ritualistic point of view, partially destroyed and re-used icons and shrines which have been adapted to the religious practices of another faith in fact tell us a lot about the use and meaning of

5 According to Harle, the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi were largely in charge from the late sixth to the late eighth century (James C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, The Pelican History of Art [Middlesex: Penguin, 1986]: 166). Pinto in Chapter 2 dates their rule slightly earlier, from 540 till 753 CE. This is the date we use throughout this publication. The sometimes remarkable discrepancies in the dating even of major dynasties in the Deccan have been discussed in Chapter 1.

6 The Gaṅgā dynasty can alternatively also be spelled with a short final "a," as Gaṅga. For the dates, refer to I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka*, Architectural Survey of Temples 6 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 6–25.

7 On Vijayanagara, see H.T. Talwar, *Jaina Art and Architecture at Vijayanagara (Hampi)* (Mysore: Government of Karnataka, 1997), and on the coastal region, Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture: From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975).

8 This reflects a belief in early phases of artistic developments, which are regarded as "pure" and "uncorrupted." The discussion by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54 and especially p. 38, however, has shown that such clean, genuine and unalloyed styles do not exist and that re-use and hybrid styles are characteristic of all cultures at all times.

9 This concern has been outlined in more detail in Chapter 1 and in the chapters by Pinto (Chapter 2) and Scholz (Chapter 3) in this publication.

venerated objects and sacred spaces. Despite this loss in power and influence, Jainism continued to be practised, and new Jaina temples have been erected throughout the region without interruption until the present day, if on a strongly reduced scale. What is also fascinating is the relatively recent move of Śvetāmbara Jainas into this predominantly Digambara-dominated area during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, largely for mercantile purposes.[10]

The present chapter aims to redress the omissions outlined above and to retell the story of architecture in Karnataka from the angle of Jaina sacred buildings. At the start, I shall delineate an architectural development from relatively plain to structurally and ornamentally more complex building forms, starting with the seventh century CE. This will be followed by an outline of the impressive rise of Jaina power from the eighth century CE onwards, as well as its extraordinary artistic and architectural expressions during the tenth and eleventh centuries in particular. This will be followed by a discussion of its ensuing decline, resulting in the abandonment of certain sites, and the conversion or even destruction of temples that started in the early twelfth century. This, however, was not the end of the story. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Jaina building activities reached unforeseen heights of elaboration, but only at selected sites. I shall also provide evidence of the remarkable survival of a tradition which, although severely threatened, continued to develop and has played an important role in Karnataka and the wider context of Indic architecture to the present day. As this is only a single chapter and not an entire book on the development of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka, this will have to be done in a selective and exemplary way, only showcasing especially clear and fitting examples. A more detailed examination has been planned for the future.

2 The Region of Karnataka and its Temple Architecture

The modern State of Karnataka (Karṇāṭaka) is situated in the south-west of the Indian subcontinent. Its Deccan region lies on the northern border of the state. This area harbours some of the earliest preserved temple structures in the whole of India. Its temples are very plentiful and display a large number of stylistic approaches. This diversity has to do with the fact that the northern Deccan region lies on the border between the north or central regions, where the *nāgara* temple type is most common, and the south, where the *drāviḍa* temple mode predominates. Consequently, temples in this boundary area may conform to either one of these two temple styles or even

10 For a brief discussion of some of their temple sites, refer to section 6.4 “Modern and Contemporary Temple Building.”

the less clearly defined, *vesara* (Kannada: *vēsara*) style, which combines elements of both approaches. Additionally, a further distinct style is found in the coastal belt of Karnataka. With their often multiple sloping roofs, these are more akin to the tiered roof shrines, often wrongly referred to as pagoda temples, that are also seen in neighbouring Kerala.[11]

2.1 Temple Building History

Initially, at the very start of the Common Era and probably also before, temples throughout the area of Karnataka appear to have been built out of more perishable materials, such as mud, wood and thatch. It is likely that inscriptions which refer to the "burning" of Jaina temples by Vīraśaivas (Annigeri inscription from 1184 CE) or Muslims (Mulgund inscription from the sixteenth century), during the period of persecution of the Jainas, refer at least partially to wooden temple constructions.[12] Krishna Murthy mentions wooden planks as roof coverings in early Jaina temples.[13] Due to the short-lived nature of such constructions, no ancient examples of these temples survive.

11 This type of multi-roofed temple architecture is also typical of the Himalayan slopes and can be seen in Himachal Pradesh, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Such temples need to be differentiated from so-called "true" pagoda temples, which have been derived from Buddhist *stūpa*s and have a central ritual pole running through the entire monument. Examples of the latter can be seen along the Silk Routes, as well as in China, Korea and Japan. The development from the *stūpa* to the pagoda has been discussed by Dietrich Seckel, "Stūpa Elements Surviving in East Asian Pagodas," in *The Stūpa Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980): 249–59, and Johannes W. Glauche, "Die Spirituelle Dimension des Stupa," in *Der Stupa: Kultbau des Buddhismus* (Cologne: DuMont, 1995): 97–99.

12 These inscriptions have been discussed in Chapter 1. See the respective sections 5.2.1 "The Expansionism of Śaiva Groups" and 5.5 "Islam." Information on these inscriptional records can also be found in Shantinath Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina *Basadi*s: A Historical Perspective," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 71, on Annigeri and in P.B. Desai, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions vol. II* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964): 433, inscription no. 695, and K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975: 365), on Mulgund.

13 On this, refer to M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture in Southern Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 100. On the wooden origins of the temples, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 368 and Miki Desai, "The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian and Comparative Studies (New Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 202–8. Later temples imitate such wooden roof planks in stone. This can, for instance, be seen in many of the temples at Aihole.

The earliest surviving structural shrines in the region date from the early seventh century CE and are made of stone or brick.[14] This indicates a later date for structural temple building in the south than in the northern or central regions of India, where edifices dating from the late fifth and early sixth-century CE Gupta period are still standing.[15] A continuing tradition of temples made of mud and wood can be seen along the west coast of Karnataka, and will be discussed later in this chapter.[16] The Jaina structures in this area, however, do not on the whole predate the fifteenth century. Contemporary shrines are also built of steel girders and concrete.

The local term used in Karnataka to refer to Jaina temple structures is *basadi* or *basti.* It derives from the Sanskrit word *vasatī.*[17] Initially, it appears to have referred to monastic accommodation, but later the term came to denote a shrine.[18] This illustrates the close connection between Jaina monasteries and temples, already outlined in the establishment and development of Jainism in Karnataka in Chapter 1 in this volume. Alternatively, as in other parts of India, terms such as *jinālaya*, *caityālaya* and *jinamandira* are commonly also used to refer to the temples.[19] As has also been the practice in previous chapters in this edited volume, the different terms for temple will all be used interchangeably as synonyms.

14 Copperplate inscriptions provide information on a possibly earlier structural temple building in Karnataka, the Vijaya Jinālaya, a Jaina temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha at Talakad (Talakāḍ, Talakadu; ancient Talavanapura). According to the record, this east-facing structure was raised in 466 CE (Sakka 388). However, Krishna Murthy questions this early date and later states that the temple probably consists of sections from the sixth to seventh and from the tenth centuries CE. Only the foundations of this brick temple have been revealed in archaeological excavations, making it difficult to verify the date (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 95, 99–101).

15 In the south, the tradition appears to start later but to be more coherent, from the earliest simple shrines to later temple cities. Michell has commented on this as well (George Michell, *The Hindu Temple: An Introduction to Its Meaning and Forms* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988 (1977)]: 86).

16 See also the discussion of building materials in Dibbad. With reference to early temple buildings, he also wrote: "Inscriptions refer to such structures as "*maravesana*" (made of wood) and "*kaluvesana*" (made of stone)." (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 65).

17 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 367, and M.A. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India – Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Later Phase, A.D. 973–1326)*, 2 vols (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996): 569.

18 This topic has been dealt with by Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 63. *Vasatī* is a term still found in inscriptions. See, for instance, P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā 6 (Sholapur: Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakshaka Sangha, 1957): 388.

19 Dibbad enumerates a large number of further alternative terms which can be substituted for Jaina temple, which, however, are not frequently used today (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 63).

2.2 The Constituent Elements of *Basadi*s

Jaina temples, *jinālaya*s, in Karnataka always consist of a sanctum (*garbhagṛha*)[20] and most have a small porch (*ardhamaṇḍapa*). This projects from the *garbhagṛha* or main temple building, sheltering worshippers as they gaze at the sacred objects. Generally, the main part of the *basadi*, which contains the *garbhagṛha*, is referred to as *prāsāda*. In the south of India, it is also called *vimāna*, although, officially, *vimāna* refers more specifically to the pyramidal superstructure of *drāviḍa* temples, positioned above the *prāsāda*. In South India, however, the term *vimāna* has often been taken to apply to the entire shrine part of the temple as a whole.[21] Sanctum and porch are habitually raised from the ground. In many instances, this is done on at least a shallow terrace (*jagatī* or *vedī*), reached by a number of steps. If the *jinālaya* is not raised on a proper platform, it has at least a moulded plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*), to be discussed later. The entrance to the porch is reached by steps (*sopāna*; Kannada: *sōpāna*), usually in a central position, which are regularly flanked by a balustrade frame. In the south, this is often decorated with a stylised elephant trunk (*hastihasta*),[22] enclosing an open flower blossom (Plate 5.1 above). Other balustrades feature figural representations of humans,[23] mythical water animals, the *makara*s, or other fabulous animals, such as *yāḷi*s. Sometimes, a creeper (*latā*) issues from the mouth of the *makara*, *yāḷi* or other animal and runs along the balustrade railing (Plate 5.1 below). The threshold at the bottom of the stairs is frequently in the shape of a moonstone, most commonly referred to as *candraśilā* and in the south also as *aśvapāda.*[24]

In larger temple arrangements, the porch connected to the shrine has been turned into a small internal vestibule (*antarāla* or *kapilī*), from where worshippers gaze at the icon or object of veneration and where they can deposit their offerings. In south India, the *antarāla* is also referred to as *śukanāsa* or *śukanāsi*.[25] Most devotees

20 *Garbhagṛha* literally means "womb-house" (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 572).

21 Dhaky uses the term in the latter sense and according to him, *vimāna* means shrine or temple and is the south Indian equivalent for the north and central Indian term *prāsāda* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 589). The *prāsāda*, however, is separate from the beehive-shaped north Indian temple tower, the *śikhara* and in the north, *śikhara* cannot be used interchangeably with *prāsāda.*

22 *Hastihasta* literally means "elephant trunk."

23 Such an example can be seen at the late-Hoysaḷa Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi at Chikkahanasoge. The depiction might show a *yakṣa*.

24 In the north, the term *ardhacandra* is usually employed for the same feature. On this terminology, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 568, 570, 574.

25 In Karnataka, these terms denote the small area connecting the final hall to the *garbhagṛha*. More often, however, the term *śukanāsa* is used to refer to the roof projection or antefix, shaped like a parrot-beak, attached to the main temple tower (*vimāna*), positioned right above this internal temple section (Robert J. del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 118).



Plate 5.1: Steps leading to Jaina *basadi*s are regularly flanked by balustrade frames, decorated with elephant trunks (*hastihasta*), lotuses (above: Lakkundi) or mythical animals (below: Mulgund).

are not allowed to proceed beyond this space and usually only the priests are permitted to enter the most sacred sanctum. In more complex *basadi*s, an internal ambulatory (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) is sometimes provided around the *garbhagṛha*.[26] Access to this circumambulatory path is usually from the *antarāla* or a space a little in front of it. *Basadi*s with such internal ambulatories surrounding the main sanctum are referred to as *sāndhāra* temples, *sāndhāra prāsāda* or *sāndhāra garbhagṛha*s and in the south as *sāndhāra vimāna*s. On one side, the vestibular space of the *antarāla* is connected to the *garbhagṛha* and on the other to a hall. Larger *jinālaya*s have one or a number of closed- or open-columned halls (*maṇḍapa*) or a combination of the two. These *maṇḍapa*s provide an approach to the reasonably small, most sacred shrine at the end of this axis of access. This leads usually from large, open, well-lit and intricately decorated spaces towards the small, unadorned, dark and cave-like *garbhagṛha* or womb chamber of the temple.

The terminology applied to different types of halls is highly complex and very diverse, depending on the area of temple building, the period the halls were erected, and the individual preferences of the author writing about them. Whilst *maṇḍapa* is the generic term used for all halls, specialist terms are employed to differentiate between various types. The halls vary predominantly in terms of size, whether they are open or walled and with regards to their specific functions. There is no consistency in the terminology used even by scholars writing exclusively on the region of Karnataka. Nevertheless, we find the following terms for halls. The largest hall of the *jinālaya*s is usually referred to as the great or large hall, in Sanskrit a *mahāmaṇḍapa*. These can be found in connection with smaller halls. Those which are pillared and especially intricately decorated, usually with an elaborate ceiling (*vitāna*), are called *raṅgamaṇḍapa*s. These are in most cases open pillared structures.[27] Local texts tend to use the Kannada term *navaraṅga* or *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* for a central pillared hall, usually square, pillared, and highly decorated. In contrast to the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*s, however, the *navaraṅga*s were initially closed structures[28] but during later centuries, at least from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, splendid open examples were also built. The term *navaraṅga* is used exclusively in Karnataka and not with regards to the temple structures of other regions. *Navaraṅga* has also been used as a synonym

26 An alternative term used for an inner, usually unlit circumambulation path is *andhārikā* or *andhakārikā* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 567). Krishna Murthy has shown, with reference to the example of the *basadi* at Talakad, that such internal circumambulation paths were at times added to earlier foundations in the process of enlarging a temple (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 100–101).

27 According to Dhaky, the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is a "semi-open colonnaded hall for theatrical purposes" and identical with a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (to be discussed below) (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 583). The term *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is most commonly used in connection with the north-west Indian Māru Gurjara, better known as Solaṅkī temples.

28 The fact that *navaraṅga*s are usually closed has been pointed out by Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 580.

for *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, which is a closed hall, for *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, usually a semi-closed hall which is used as an audience or assembly space, and even for *raṅgamaṇḍapa*.[29]

Navaraṅga and its alternative terms describe relatively large, usually square halls, provided with four pillars at the centre.[30] These four pillars usually surround a slightly raised circular stone platform or dais (*raṅgabhūmikā*) on the floor of the nave of the hall (Plate 5.20 below) and support a domed ceiling (*karōṭaka*).[31] This creates a central square floor area below and square ceiling section above, and the surrounding compartments and wall pilasters generate eight square surrounding spaces. This system divides the entire hall into nine squares in the ceiling and corresponding bays on the ground.[32] This feature is reflected in the name *navaraṅga*, a hall with nine internal quadrants or ceilings supported on four pillars.[33] Such square, coffered or cassetted ceilings (*kōla*) are usually flat[34] but can also be more three-dimensional, deeper, domical constructions, as will be discussed later.

As mentioned above, entry to the first, outer hall, when approaching the structure from outside, is in most cases through a small pillared entrance porch, or *ardhamaṇḍapa*, also referred to as *mukhamaṇḍapa*, *mukhaśāla* or *mukhacatuṣkī*.[35] Some *basadi*s also have side entrances to at least one hall, also provided with porches (*pārśvacatuṣkī*).[36] The majority of temples face east, the direction recommended in most treatises on architecture, as the image in the main shrine should face the rising sun. However, comparatively many *jinālaya*s in the region of Karnataka face north. Normally, this has not been considered an auspicious direction.[37] However, as the statues positioned on the tops of pillars (to be discussed later) also face this direction, it cannot have been considered totally inauspicious by the Jainas in Karnataka.[38]

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29 Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 573, 584 has written on this. See also K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi: An Art-Historical Appraisal," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 187.

30 A four-pillared hall, porch or pavilion is also known as *catuṣkī* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 570). A porch with four pillars is referred to more specifically as *mukhacatuṣkī* or *mukhacatuṣkya*.

31 For this term and a definition, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 575, 583.

32 A bay formed by pillars is referred to as *aṅkaṇa* in Kannada and in northern architecture as *kṣaṇa* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 568).

33 A *navaraṅga* is a hall with "nine internal quadrants." On this issue, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 580, and del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118.

34 On *kōla*s, see Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 576.

35 Refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 579, for this terminology.

36 For this term, see Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 581.

37 Krishna Murthy has commented on this issue as well. He points out that, with the exception of the western doors of *caturmukha* shrines, which have four doors, each facing one direction of the compass, Jaina temples, at least in the south of Karnataka, do not face west (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 97).

38 More research is needed to determine the reasons for this common north-wards orientation of a large number of Jaina temples and statues.

The *basadi* interiors, with their elaborately carved doorways, lintels, ceiling panels, perforated stone screens, wall niches, raised floor sections and sloping seats with backrests (*kakṣāsana*) integrated into the sides of open halls, are lavish and highly varied. Particularly noteworthy are the pierced stone screens (*jālī*s) which were fitted into window openings on the sides of temples. Frequently they were also inserted during the enlargement process of earlier *jinālaya*s, when an *antarāla* and a larger hall were added to an existing sanctum (or multiple shrines). In such cases, *jālī* screens often create semi-enclosed dividers between the *maṇḍapa* and the adjacent *antarāla*. This can be seen in the *jinālaya* at Talakad[39] and in the Candragupta Basadi extension at Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa).[40] In the latter example, the *antarāla*, semi-separated by two lateral flanking stone screens with a central doorway, forms an elongated mediating vestibule between the three parallel sanctums and the new assembly hall.[41] There are also *basadi*s where such perforated stone lattices, flanking the entrance to the *antarāla*, were planned and integrated from the outset. This can be seen in the Akkaṇṇa Basadi in Shravanabelgola (Plate 5.2 below). The screens separating the *antarāla* from the adjacent halls are known as *antarāla jāla*s.[42]

The complex ceilings, or *vitāna*s, found in the *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*s of temples in Karnataka (Plate 5.2 above) constitute another particularly striking feature. These can be flat (*samatala*), with a central carving depicting an open lotus (*padmaśila*) or a field of nine squares. The latter usually feature the eight guardians of the cardinal points, the *aṣṭadikapāla*s, also known in Karnataka as the *aṣṭadikapālaka*s. In order to fill nine fields, one central figure has usually been added. Alternatively, the nine fields can be occupied by the seven mother goddesses (*saptamātṛkā*s) with two other additional auspicious beings.[43] The central panel often carries a representation of one of the Jinas (Plate 5.3 above), Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa, or the god Indra, who is a central figure in Jaina religious cults as well.[44] A *yakṣa* is a minor deity.[45] Some ceilings display

39 On this, refer, for instance, to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 101.

40 There is a variety of spellings for this place-name. Whilst Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa are also common, the version used in this chapter will be Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa). The first time a place is referred to here, its name will be shown once again in brackets with diacritical marks.

41 For further details on this temple, refer to section 3.3.1 "The Candragupta Basadi on Candragiri."

42 Compare Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 568.

43 For descriptions of the motifs carved onto the horizontal elements of these elaborate flat ceilings in *basadi*s, refer to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98.

44 On this issue, see also Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98. He further points out that Īśāna, the guardian of the north-eastern direction, can be exchanged for a Jina. On the role played by Indra, especially in the early life of the Jinas, see Julia A.B. Hegewald "Representations of the Jina's Birth and Enlightenment in Jaina Art, Architecture and Ritual," in *South Asian Archaeology 2003*, ed. U. Franke-Vogt and J. Weisshaar, Forschung zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen 1 (DAI) (Aachen: Linden Soft, 2005): 491.

45 For a detailed discussion of the position of male *yakṣa*s and female *yakṣī*s, refer to Chapter 1, and here especially section 4.1.1 entitled "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)."

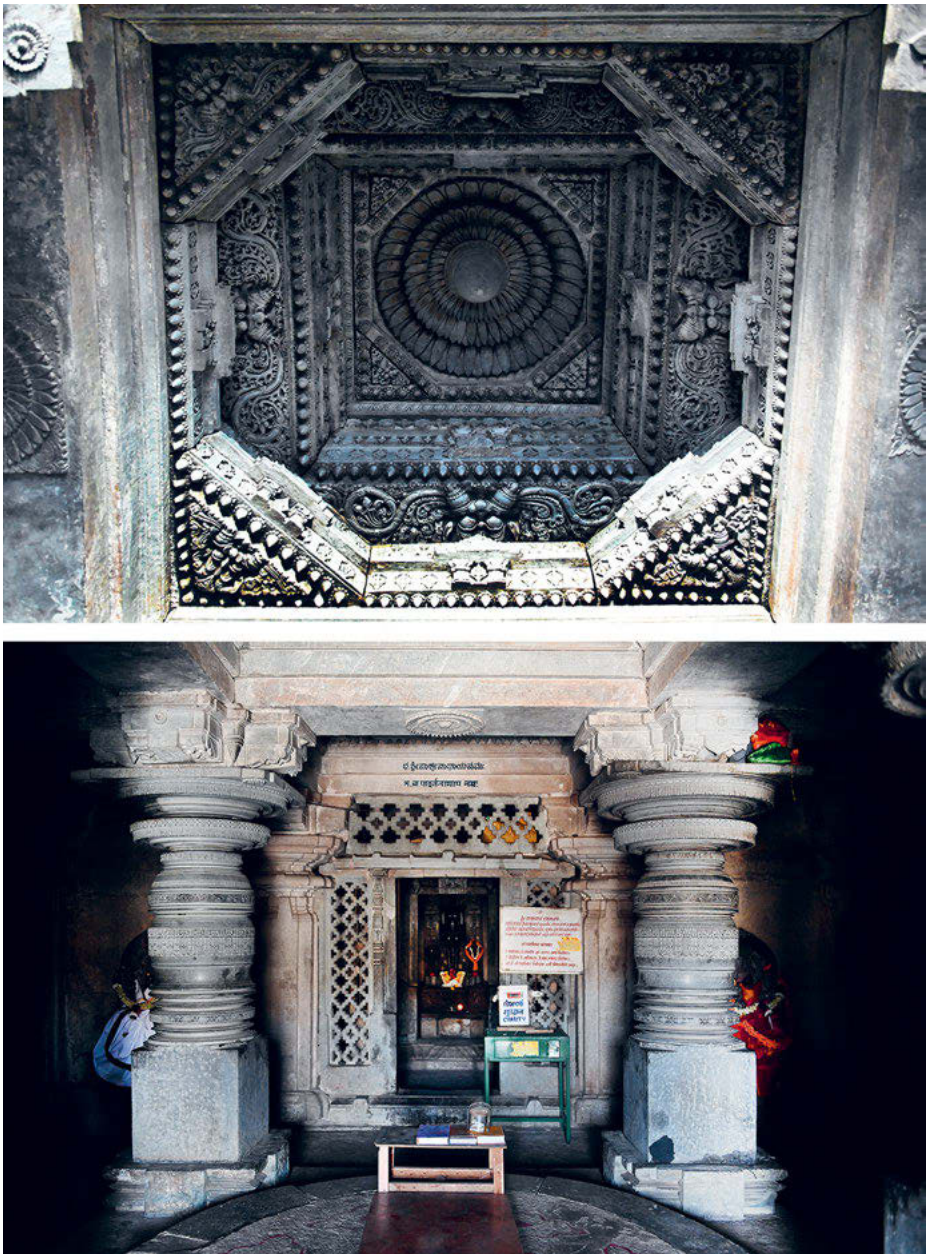


Plate 5.2: In the Akkaṇṇa Basadi in Shravanabelgola, intricate stone screens separate the hall from the vestibule (below) and the *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* has a complex ceiling (above).

large numbers of open lotus flowers (Plate 5.3 below), while others again are not completely flat but have been constructed using corbelled techniques. When they are square and quite shallow, consisting of straight stone planks, they are referred to as lantern ceilings, locally known as *nābicchanda*.[46] Round corbelled ceilings are usually more spacious and domical. Due to their popularity and the many variations, they are known by a number of names, such as *bhuvaneśvarī*s, *sabhāmandāraka*s, *padmanābha* or *padmamandāraka* ceilings or as s*abhāpadmamandāraka*s.[47] Most are cusped and coffered and have a central lotus pendentive. In the context of domical ceilings, these central pendentives are usually referred to as *lambana*s.[48] There is a fascinating hybrid ceiling in the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Jinanathapura, which combines the straight-sided elements of a lantern and the octagonal and rounded elements of a *bhuvaneśvarī* (Plate 5.32 above).

These structural building elements and internal architectural features are supplemented inside the *basadi*s by movable furnishings. These can consist of offering tables (*cabūtarā*) and offering stands (*siṁhāsana*; "lion-throne"), both usually made of metal.[49] We also find wooden frames, to hold lights or to display multiple statues (*gandhakuṭī*) (Plate 1.14),[50] which became necessary after the eighth century CE, to accommodate the large numbers of donations, often of sacred venerable objects, that were made to Jaina *basadi*s. In order to house them, additional shrine rooms were planned at ground level and on various superimposed floors. However, smaller statues, often made of metal and precious stones, were often housed in such *gandhakuṭī* frames. They can frame the entrance to the *garbhagṛha* or be set up inside the hall in front of the main shrine.[51] Other additional elements found inside *jinālaya*s are standing or hanging metal lamps, bells (*ghaṇṭā*),[52] palanquins to carry images on festival days, and bookcases. The latter provide the temple establishments with small library areas

46 Dhaky describes them as "concentric ceilings with cusped and coffered courses" (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 579).

47 These specialised terms have been taken from Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 577, 584, 589 and Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98.

48 For further details, see Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 577, 581, 589.

49 On *cabūtarā*s, refer to Julia A.B. Hegwald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 201. For further details on *siṁhāsana* stands in Jaina temples and their symbolism, see Hegewald, "Representations of the Jina's Birth and Enlightenment": 495–96, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "*Meru, Samavasaraṇa* and *Siṁhāsana*: The Recurrence of Three-Tiered Structures in Jaina Cosmology, Mythology and Ritual," in *Kalhār (White Water-Lily). Studies in Art, Iconography, Architecture and Archaeology of India and Bangladesh (Professor Enamul Haque Felicitation Volume)*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Gerd J.R. Mevissen, Mallar Mitra and Sutapa Sinha (Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2007): 139–141), and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 202–6.

50 Plate 1.14 refers to a plate reproduced in Chapter 1. The first numeral always refers to the chapter in which the plate is found.

51 See Hegewald on *gandhakuṭī*s (Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 207–12).

52 On ritual bells, refer to the discussion by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 206.

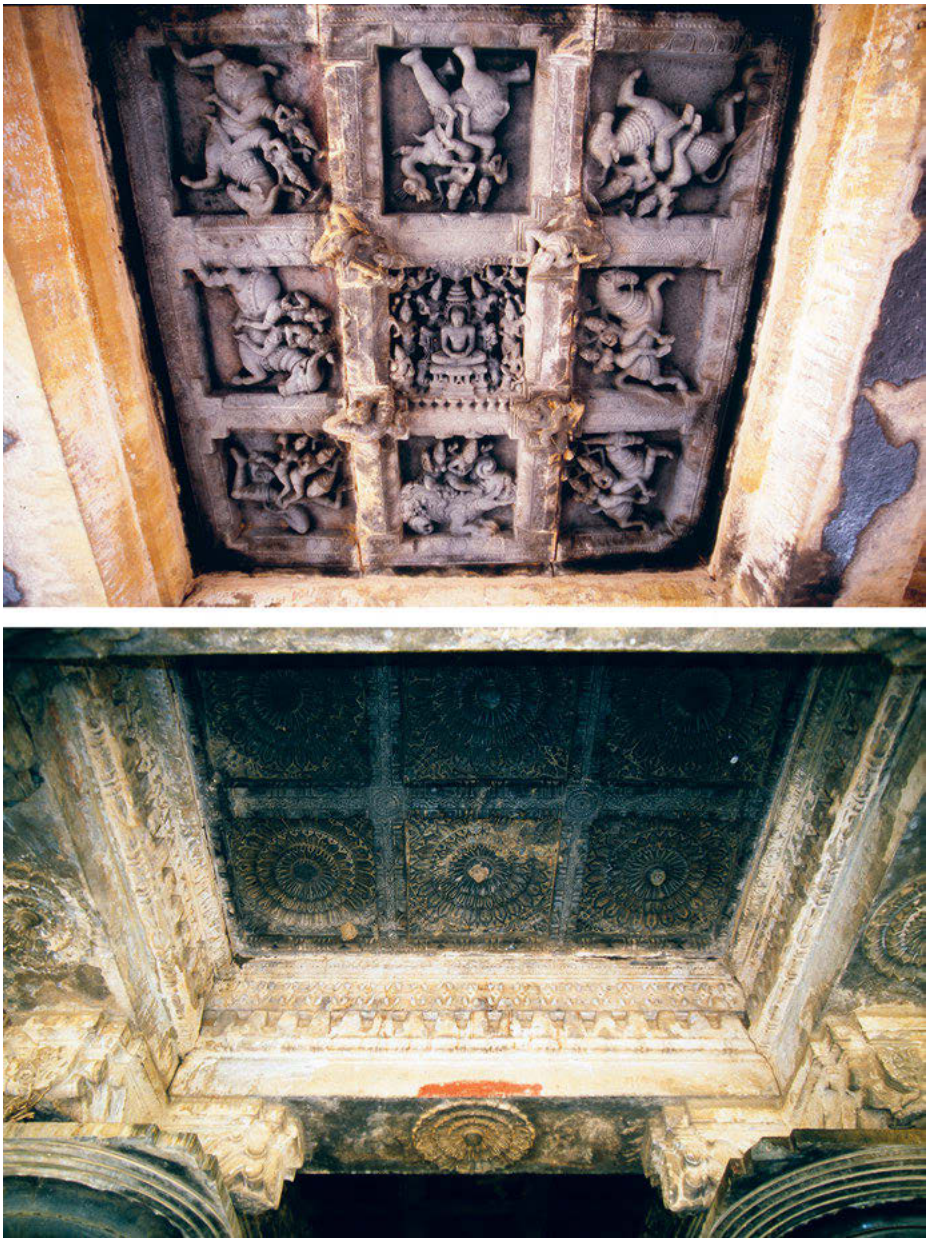


Plate 5.3: Nine-square ceilings with the *aṣṭadikapāla*s and a central Jina from the Śāntinātha Basadi at Kambadhalli and with full-blown lotus blossom from the former Jaina temple at Hangal (below).

and contain the sacred texts of the *basadi*s. Larger complexes have separate library rooms or entire buildings constructed for this purpose (*bhaṇḍāra, bhaṇḍara*).

The outer facades of Jaina *basadi*s in Karnataka traditionally consist of a base in the form of a moulded plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) (Plate 5.4). This is closely related to other south Indian (*drāviḍian*) temple building traditions. The walls (*jaṅghā*) above are usually quite plain but can be structured by pilasters and niches. At the top of the walls is a pronounced eave or roof moulding (*kapota*; Kannada: *kapōta*). This is in the form of a large parapet, often decorated with miniature pavilions (*hāra*s),[53] horseshoe arch ornaments (*gavākṣa, kūṭu, nāsī*)[54] and statues of seated or standing Jaina teachers and female or heavenly figures (*apsarā*s) and other holy or mythical creatures.

The halls of *jinālaya*s, at least on the dry high upland of Karnataka, are usually relatively wide and have been provided with a flat roof (*muṇḍamāla*).[55] This is typical of the *drāviḍian* temple idiom. In these *basadi*s, there is usually a largely pyramidal roof structure, a *vimāna*, above the *garbhagṛha*. This is fashioned out of the typical parapets, repeated in superimposed layers and diminishing in size to create a roughly pyramidal shape culminating in a pointed tip, crowned by a domical *āmalaka* ring stone and an auspicious water pot (*kalaśa*). However, on the Deccan plateau, due to the prominently dry climate, the roofs of shrines can also be flat, like the halls in front.[56] As the northern regions of Karnataka lie on the border between north and south, northern-style (*nāgara*) temples were also built there, albeit more rarely. These usually have pyramidal roofs positioned above their halls and a parabola- or beehive-shaped roof tower, known as a *śikhara*, above the sanctum. In the Deccan region, the *śikhara*s, however, are usually less pronounced and slightly smaller than in the north. Even less common is the mixed or hybrid central Indian *vesara* style, which combines elements of both the northern and the southern traditions in one structure.

It is noteworthy that in Karnataka, *basadi*s with more than one shrine are especially frequent. Although the development of *jinālaya*s is comparable in many ways to that of *brāhmaṇical* structures, particular importance is attached in Jaina worship to large numbers of venerated icons and to more abstract elements, so that the *basadi*s needed a distinctive spatial layout. This is reflected, for instance, in the erection of multi-

53 See also Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 97.

54 Whilst the term *gavākṣa* appears to be most general, *kūṭu* and *nāsī* are widely used in the context of *drāviḍa* temple architecture.

55 This term is used for flat-roofed temples and their halls (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 579).

56 On the influence of the weather on building traditions in Karnataka, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 73–78.



Plate 5.4: The prominent moulded plinth, *adhiṣṭhāna*, of the large double temple at Kambadhalli. The second shrine, at the eastern end (front of photo where the steps are), was destroyed.

shrined temples. Multiple *garbhagṛha*s can be found on the horizontal plane, as can be seen in double (*dvikūṭācala*) or triple (*trikūṭācala*) *basadi*s with *garbhagṛha*s lying parallel to each other.[57] Triple temples, however, are more likely to have a star-like layout in the form of a three-petalled clover leaf, with three sanctums projecting in three directions from a central hall, which usually has an entrance porch on the fourth side. *Caturmukha* temples, which contain a four-faced statue and provide access to this central icon through four doorways, are considered by Jainas to be quadruple *basadi*s.[58] A particularly common phenomenon in Karnataka is the fivefold temple (*pañcakūṭa basadi*). These were created by adding another two opposing shrines to a *trikūṭācala* arrangement, usually star-shaped. As in other regions of India, however, additional sanctums were also erected on raised levels, on a first

57 Some of the earliest temple remains in the region, such as the Pārśvanātha Temple at Talakad, dating from as early as the sixth or seventh century (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 99) and the roughly mid-ninth-century Candragupta Basadi on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola have east- and south-facing triple parallel sanctums.

58 This is reflected in the numbering system of sacred sites, in which all four sanctums frequently have separate numbers. *Caturmukha* temples are also referred to as *sarvatobhadra* or *sarvatobhadrikā* temples, spelled *sarvatōbhadra* in Kannada (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 585).

floor or at roof level, usually reached by internal staircases.[59] There are surprisingly many relatively early structures with a double-storeyed layout of this kind.[60] A number of later *jinālaya*s, especially in the coastal region, can even have as many as three superimposed shrines.[61] Examples will be discussed in the historical and regional sections later on in this chapter.

2.3 Additional Features of Jaina Temple Complexes

In the South, a number of additional accessories often adorn the entrance axis of a Jaina *basadi*. As most temples discussed in this chapter belong to the Digambara form of Jainism, many have a *mānastambha* in front of the entrance. These are free-standing stone pillars, topped by a platform or small pavilion (*cūlikā*). At the tip or inside the small *cūlikā*, there is usually either a seated or a standing quadruple image (*caturmukha*) of one and the same or of different Jinas (victors) or Tīrthaṅkaras (ford-makers). However, we also find examples with only one statue, seated or standing. These, however, are much rarer. *Mānastambha* is usually translated as "that which brings an end to pride," which is based on a story in which Indrabhūti Gautama, a learned *brāhmaṇ*, was initially unable to understand the Jaina teachings, but when he saw the pillar of Mahāvīra standing at the front of the teaching assembly (*samavasaraṇa*) which the gods constructed for the presentation of his first official teachings after he reached enlightenment, he instantly lost all his pride and comprehended the Jaina path, the *dharma*.[62] This former *brāhmaṇ* became one of the first followers of Mahāvīra, a *gaṇadhara*.[63]

Another element typical of Karnataka are the pillars surmounted by a statue of Brahmadeva, known as Brahma or Brahmadeva pillars or *stambha*s (Plate 5.5).[64] In

59 On this issue, see K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 312, and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 567–659.

60 "Storey" or "floor level" is *tala* in Sanskrit. Whilst one-storeyed structures are known as *ēkatala*, two-storeyed structures, which are especially common throughout the region, are referred to as *dvitala* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 571, 572, 586).

61 Four-storeyed shrines are known from sacred texts on architecture but are not extant in Karnataka today. They are known as *catustala* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 570).

62 For further details on *samavasaraṇa*s, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 9–11, 146–49.

63 On this refer to Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990 [1979]). On *mānastambha*s, see also Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 183–90, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 138–46.

64 Additional information on Brahma *stambha*s can be found in the publications by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 146–58, and Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings": 134–60.



Plate 5.5: The seated statue of Brahmadeva atop the Gaṅgā period Kūge Brahmadeva Stambha on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola is not sheltered by a pavilion.

Digambara Jainism, Brahmadeva is both a *yakṣa*, a deity associated with the Tīrthaṅkaras, and a *kṣetrapāla*, a guardian of the sacred temple area. Brahma is the only male *yakṣa* of any importance in this area of South India.[65] Specific examples will be discussed later in this chapter. Alternatively, flagpoles (*dhvajastambha*) are erected at the front of *jinālaya*s.[66] However, in Karnataka, this may take place only if the temple owns a chariot (*ratha*) and hosts an annual car festival.[67] Other Jaina *basadi*s have light pillars (*dīpastambha*s), but these appear not to be as common as they are in a Hindu temple context.[68]

Furthermore, altars or sacrificial slabs for leaving offerings (*balipīṭha*), which due to their frequent lotus ornamentation are also known as lotus stones, are common and often intricately decorated. In a Jaina context, such offerings are vegetarian, consisting of fresh flowers, uncooked rice and spices, such as clove pods (Plate 5.6).[69] The *balipīṭha* of the Pañca Basadi at Humcha (Hombuja),[70] has been provided with a small pavilion, for shelter. Smaller pedestals, decorated with lotus (*padma*) flowers, which surround the entire temple building, represent the *aṣṭadikapāla*s (*aṣṭadikapālaka*), the guardians or regents (*dikapāla*s, *dikapālaka*s) of the eight (*aṣṭa*) directions (*dika*).[71] There are also sites for the execution of fire rituals (*homa*), which became popular amongst Jainas as part of the adoption of Tantric rituals.[72] Whilst Tantrism originated as early as the late fifth century CE, we find it in Jainism from the seventh century CE onwards, and by the eighth to tenth century CE, Tantrism appears to have exercised a strong influence over Jaina temple rituals. The fire oblations are made in mud-built, masoned or concrete containers on the ground, in various geometric shapes, such as

65 This has been stressed by Robert J. Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus," in *Aspekte des Weiblichen in der indischen Kultur*, ed. Ulrike Roesler (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica und Tibetica, 2000): 166. Del Bontà refers to him as a *kṣetrapāla* (Robert J. del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi [Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981]: 98), whilst Srinivasan identifies him as a *yakṣa* (K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh [New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975]: 218). For a discussion of the parallel usage of the two terms with regard to Brahmadeva, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 97, 100, and Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings": 149–50.

66 Compare Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 194–95.

67 For further details on *ratha*s, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 198–99.

68 On these, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 195.

69 Further information on *balipīṭha*s can be found in Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 197.

70 This place-name is also spelled Humcca and known as ancient Pombucca, Pombuccapura, Paṭṭi-Pombuccapura or Pompuccanagara (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 200).

71 Additional information on *aṣṭadikapāla* stones can be found in Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 197.

72 The integration of Tantric practices into Jainism has been discussed by Ram Bhusan Prasad Singh, "Jain Goddesses and Tantricism in Karnataka," *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 6, no. 1–2 (1972–1973): 120–24; Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. A.D. 500–1200)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975): 56–60, 80.



Plate 5.6: Sacrificial altars or lotus stones, *balipīṭha*, with rice offerings at the front of the Pārśvanātha Temple on Kanakagiri.

triangular, square, starshaped and round receptacles, known as *homakuṇḍa*s.[73] These are typical in particular of Jaina complexes in the Deccan and the South of India more generally.

Jaina *basadi*s in the region have often been enclosed by compound or enclosure walls (*prākāra*). The entrance to many is through highly complex gateway structures, known as *dvāramaṇḍapa*s or *pratolī*s (Kannada: *pratōlī*).[74] They can have deep verandas, facing the inside or outside of the walled *jinālaya* complexes. In Karnataka, the gates often accommodate lateral or raised shrines. Examples of all these temple layouts, interior and external features and additional elements will be discussed in the concrete examples described in the following sections on the development of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka.

73 Compare Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 198. See also illustrations 413 and 414 on page 196.

74 *Dvāramaṇḍapa*s are gates in the form of hallways which have been attached to the compound wall of the temple. In Karnataka, the term *upparige* (Kannada) is also used for a gatehouse or a gate hall (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 587). Smaller entrance gates are referred to as *dvāraśālā* or *dvāraśōbhā* (see the same publication, p. 571). For *pratolīs/pratōlī*s, see p. 583.

3 The Foundation of Jaina Sacred Architecture (ca. Sixth to Tenth Century CE)

In sections 3 and 4, I shall outline the development of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka from the earliest known rock-cut examples in about the sixth century CE to the complex achievements of the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The first section (section 3) deals with the earliest preserved cave structures associated with the Jainas and the commencement and evolution of structural temple building in Karnataka up to the end of the tenth century CE.

In the West, we are used to formulating and constructing histories of art and architecture, starting with fixed points in time, conveying the impression of a clearly linear evolution. The validity of this view has lately been questioned by art historians working in a variety of Asian contexts.[75] The perception of a straight, strictly linear development of artistic production with a set starting point is frequently favoured by the absence of clear artistic evidence—or at least of statues and temple edifices—from before a certain period. For instance, there are no well-preserved surviving structural temple edifices from the pre-Christian era in India. However, it is easy to forget that other forms of defined sacred space, such as natural caves, rock paintings marking important sites, temporary fire altars, *stūpa* memorials, portable objects and shelters made of less durable materials, such as wood, thatch, palm leaf, clay, rammed earth or sundried bricks, probably constituted earlier stages of a continuing ritual tradition and artistic development. In the region under discussion, the earliest preserved architectural structures which appear to have been used for ritual purposes, and which were commissioned by the Jaina community, are a series of caves.

3.1 The Beginnings: Early Cāḷukyan Jaina Cave Temples

In this publication, the chapter by Pius F. Pinto refers to the Jaina tradition according to which, after a famine had struck East India, one part of the Jaina community migrated south. Local lore has it that the Jainas reached Shravanabelgola in Hassan District on

75 See Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014), and especially Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Out of the Shadow of the Golden Age," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 1 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014): 31–76.

the high plateau of Karnataka under the leadership of the revered Jaina teacher, Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu.[76] This is believed to have happened in the second century CE.[77]

A natural cave, on the smaller of the two sacred hills at Shravanabelgola, known as Candragiri,[78] houses representations of what are said to be the foot imprints of Bhadrabāhu. This connects the sacred site, the Jaina *tīrtha*, directly with the legendary tradition of the religious teacher's migration. The cave is located outside the large walled temple compound, slightly to its south-east, at the summit of the sacred hill. The cave structure is a natural cavern, to which a small projecting portico was added at a later date (Plate 2.1). According to local history, Bhadrabāhu died in deep meditation inside this cave.[79] The actual spot where he is believed to have attained liberation has been marked by foot images on the floor of the cave.[80] These are in actual fact not negative "imprints," but positive renderings of a left and a right sole, carved in high relief, placed side by side. This is typical of Jaina depictions of this theme.[81]

76 For further information on the site of Shravanabelgola, see Julia A.B. Hegewald *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 12–13, 30.

77 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 6, and Misra Rajalakshmi, "The Jains in an Urban Setting (The Ascetics and the Laity among the Jains of Mysore City)," *Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India* 21, no. 1–2 (1972): 4. However, there is great disagreement on this date. Del Bontà places this migration in the third century BCE (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 78) whilst Champakalakshmi and Srinivasan argue for a date towards the end of the fourth century BCE (R. Champakalakshmi, "Monuments & Sculpture 300 B.C. to A.D. 300: South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh [New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974]: 92; K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh [New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974]: 185). On various dates suggested, refer also to Chapter 1, section 2.1.1 on "Jaina Origins in Karnataka."

78 Candragiri is alternatively known as Candrabeṭṭa ("the mountain of Candra") (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317), as Choṭā Pahār (Hindi) or Cikkābeṭṭa (Kannada), both meaning "small hill." In inscriptions, it is also referred to as Kaḷvappu, Kaṭavapra (Kaṭāvapra), "hill of tombs" or "black hill," or as *samādhi beṭṭa*, meaning the hill of "meditation-unto-death." See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 3, and S. Settar, *Inviting Death: Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill* (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University, 1986): xxvii.

79 Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 93.

80 For an inside view of the cave and a reproduction of the footprints of Bhadrabāhu, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints (*Pādukās*): Multivariate Symbols in Jaina Religious Practice in India," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 7 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 412, Plate 8.38.

81 On this, refer to Julia A.B. Hegewald, "*Pādukās*: Revered Foot Imprints in the Jaina art of India," in *Bridging Heaven and Earth: Art and Architecture in South Asia, 5th–21st century CE.Research Presented at the Twenty-Third Conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art, Cardiff 2016*, vol. 2, ed. Laxshmi Rose Greaves and Adam Hardy (New Delhi: Dev Publications, 2020): 164–65, and Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints": 365–67.

The cave appears to have gained in prominence only from the ninth or tenth century CE onwards,[82] notwithstanding the tradition of its ancient usage in the early centuries CE, and the fact that the first inscriptional evidence addressing the legend of the voyage to Shravanabelgola dates from about 600 CE. The earliest literary references are even later and date from the eleventh to the twelfth century only.[83] This indicates that when we go back this far in history, legend and art-historical evidence mingle and it is often difficult to date largely natural structures more precisely. The cavern might well have been in use from the second century CE onwards, but this is impossible to verify on the basis of the evidence available to us at present. On the other hand, the fact that the cave gained in importance from the ninth century CE onwards shows that during this period, in which Jainism flourished throughout the region of Karnataka and many bequests of *basadi*s were made, the Jainas consciously started to develop a sacred geography of their own, centring on sites of Jaina religious significance, such as Shravanabelgola.

We should, therefore, think of these caves, known locally as *guha jinālaya*s (cave temples), as the earliest Jaina architectural remnants in the region.[84] At first, natural caverns appear to have been utilised, making it almost impossible to date the start of the architectural development process. Later, these were further excavated and enlarged, by adding structural elements, as with Bhadrabāhu's meditation cave. The early cave excavations were developed for meditational purposes, to accommodate ascetics and enable statues to be venerated, generally in remote and undisturbed places where students of Jainism could make quiet retreats. Although in the modern state of Tamil Nadu, natural caves were altered and expanded from as early as the second century BCE,[85] man-made Jaina caves in Karnataka do not seem to predate the sixth or seventh century CE. These were excavated by the early Western Cāḷukyas who had their capital city at Badami (Bādāmi; ancient Vātāpi).[86] The greatest

82 Parasher-Sen has written on this subject (Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 237).

83 For this issue, consult Champakalakshmi, "Monuments & Sculpture": 92. Del Bontà dates this inscription on the rock earlier, to about the fourth century CE (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 93).

84 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 65.

85 Refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 476–78, and to Chapter 1, section 6.1.1 "The Situation in Tamil Nadu."

86 There is a considerable amount of variation in the dates provided for this and other dynasties. In this publication, we use the dates CE 540–753 for the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. The majority of authors place the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi in the period from the sixth to the eighth century (see, for instance, George Michell, *The Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*, vol. 1, *Buddhist, Jain and Hindu* [London: Penguin, 1990]: 348). Deo suggests the dates 535 to 757 CE (S.B. Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh [New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974]: 32). Srinivasan dates them, and consequently also their temple structures, slightly later, to about 600 to 1000

number of early Cāḷukya Jaina caves have been preserved on the Deccan plateau of northern Karnataka.[87]

3.1.1 The Jaina Cave at Badami

Badami is located in the north of the State, in Bagalkot District. The ancient town borders an artificial lake. On its south side, a number of Hindu caverns and one Jaina cave were exced out of a natural hill during the sixth century CE. They were commissioned by the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. The Jaina cave temple is the last in a line of four caves, situated at the highest point of the hillside, overlooking the lake.[88] There is no dated inscription in cave number four, which is dedicated to the twenty-fourth Jina, Mahāvīra. It was probably carved and completed over a substantial period of time.[89] Dates suggested range from the sixth, via the middle of the seventh to the first half of the eighth century CE.[90] Probably most of these dates are correct with regards to specific sections of the cave and it is plausible that excavations started in the sixth century CE.

The Jaina excavation is the smallest at the site and its exterior is relatively plain, with pillars supporting a heavy, unadorned roof moulding (Plate 5.7 above). The square pillars have been adorned with simple decorative circular medallions with relief carvings of lotus flowers, other vegetal motifs, auspicious loving couples (*mithuna*) and representations of mythical sea creatures (*makara*s). At the tip they are crowned by cushion capitals and brackets.[91] As for the layout of the cave, a shallow wide porch

(Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 184). In most cases, no reason or precise evidence is provided for the alternative dates.

87 See the comprehensive study by K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*, Archaeological Survey of Temples 3 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1981).

88 The lake is known as Agastya (Agasthya) Lake, after a local legend.

89 Soundara Rajan suggests that it was commenced as a *brāhmaṇical* structure and only later completed by the Jainas (Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 79).

90 Dibbad associates the cave temple with the Cāḷukyan King Maṅgaleśa (597–609 CE) (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 66). As ruler, he had succeeded his brother Kirtivarman I. Michell provides a dating of "sixth and later" for this cave (Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 348). Srinivasan mentions the middle of the seventh century (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 186), whilst Soundara Rajan argues for a completion in the first half of the eighth century (Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 79). No reasons are provided by the individual authors for their particular dating.

91 On this, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 186.



Plate 5.7: Exterior view of the Cāḷukyan Jaina cave number 4 at Badami (above) and inside view of the large hall of the Menābasti cave temple at Aihole (below).

with four pillars and two flanking pilasters, one bay deep,[92] gives way to a large pillared hall, a *mahāmaṇḍapa*, which is also very wide and two bays deep.[93] This leads to a small *garbhagṛha* in the middle of the rear wall, containing a seated rock-cut depiction of the twenty-fourth Jina, below triple umbrellas. The image chamber is reached via a plain moonstone carving on the floor, a *candraśilā*, and a short stairway of three steps, flanked by *hastihasta* balustrades. The narrow entrance to the shrine is elaborately decorated.[94]

Particularly noteworthy are the large-scale carved reliefs positioned along the sides of the inner *maṇḍapa*, depicting Gommaṭeśvara, Pārśvanātha and two other Tīrthaṅkaras who have no distinguishing emblems and are difficult to identify. Whilst Srinivasan recognises one as Ādinātha, Soundara Rajan classifies both as depictions of Mahāvīra, without providing any reasons for one or the other interpretation.[95] Singh points out that in this cave, the *yakṣī*, which would normally be placed on the Jina's left, is found at his right hand, suggesting the start of the promotion of female divinities over male gods in Karnataka.[96] This illustrates a development in which the *yakṣī*s gained markedly in influence in South India, and especially in Karnataka, eventually reaching a position where they almost rivalled the Jinas.[97]

3.1.2 Three Early Cave Excavations at Aihole

Another early Jaina cave of comparable date is found at Aihole (Aihoḷe; ancient Ayyavoḷe) also situated in Bagalkot District. The town was a major trading centre during the time of the early Cāḷukyas. The Menābasti cave temple is situated on the rear, the south-eastern side, of Meguḍi Hill.[98] It appears that this excavation was planned as a Jaina temple from

92 This particular form of *ardhamaṇḍapa*, an oblong columnar hall or forehall is usually referred to as a *paṭṭaśālā* or a *vīthika* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 582, 589).

93 It is confusing that in a drawing of the cave produced by Burgess, the hall, just like the porch, is only one bay deep (James Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgâm and Kaladgi Districts. January to May 1874*, Archaeological Survey of Western India [London: India Museum, 1874]: Plate IV).

94 Further information on this can be found in Srinivasan "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 187.

95 For these identifications, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 186–87, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 79.

96 On this, refer to Singh, "Jain Goddesses": 116–17. On p. 117, he provides further examples of females placed at the right hand of a Jina. On this subject, see Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 52.

97 Additional information on this can be found in Chapter 1 and here particularly in section 4.1.1. entitled "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)."

98 Alternative spellings for the name of this hill are Meguti and Mēguṭi. See, for instance, Henry Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996 [1926]): 28, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 187.

the outset and that it dates from the late seventh or early eighth century CE.[99] It likewise has a shallow entrance hall, originally with four pillars and two pilasters. However, in this case, the front of the portico was enclosed with large blocks of stone and today is entered only through a central doorway. On the left side in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are displayed relief carvings of Pārśvanātha, flanked by his *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, and on the right side, Gommaṭeśvara, flanked by two attendants. This portico gives onto a roughly square inner hall, which may be entered through three openings, created by two pillars. The central floor and ceiling sections are decorated with outsized fully-blown lotus flowers (Plate 5.7 below). From this *maṇḍapa*, two lateral and one central *garbhagṛha* are cut into the natural rock. Soundara Rajan identifies these as rock-cut antecedents of the later structural triple-shrined or *trikūṭācala* temples, so common throughout the region.[100] Unusually, the shrine also has a pillared front, creating three openings, through which the main seated statue, again of Mahāvīra, can easily be seen from the hall.[101] The sanctum is flanked by enormous rock-cut depictions of wardens, guarding the doorway, known as *dvārapāla*s or *dvārapālaka*s. Access to the shrine is likewise via three steps of stairs, with flanking balustrades and a *candraśilā* on the ground.

On the same hill site, slightly below the latter temple, lies another early Jaina rock-cut shrine. This seventh-century CE cave is a two-storeyed structure, which in addition to the excavated section penetrating into the hill has structural elements in the form of a double-storeyed porch, erected at the front of the cavity. The two-storeyed portico again has four pillars and two pilasters on each level. This is among the first signs of a fashion of creating multi-storeyed and multi-shrined temple structures, which came to typify the religious architecture of the Jainas not only in Karnataka but throughout the subcontinent.[102] Whilst the excavation on the ground floor appears not to have been completed, there is a large room, likewise with three rock-cut *garbhagṛha*s, on the first floor.

The evidence for identifying this structure as a Jaina shrine is convincing. Several scholars take the small statue carved in relief on the ceiling of the upper veranda, of a seated figure below a triple umbrella, to be a Jina.[103] Challenging this interpretation, Michell identifies the statue as a representation of the Buddha, consequently classifying the cave as a Buddhist monument. This has, however, been questioned by Soundara Rajan, as other details in the iconographic programme of the cave also indicate a

99 On this dating, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 187, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 134. Dibbad dates it earlier and associates it with the patronage of Kirtivarman I (566–598 CE) in the sixth century CE (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 66).

100 For discussion of this topic, refer to Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 129.

101 Further details on this cave can be found in Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 187–88, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 129–34, fig. 16.

102 On this issue, see the publication by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*.

103 This has been outlined by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 188, and Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 32.

Jaina denomination and suggest a connection to the Meguḍi Temple nearby, which undoubtedly is Jaina, as its inscription makes clear.[104] Due to the close similarities between Buddhist and Jaina architecture and iconography during their formative phases, identifications can at times be difficult.[105] However, in this case, I support the Jaina identification of this structure.

There is another small Jaina cave on the west face of Meguḍi Hill which also dates from the seventh century CE but has been left incomplete. It consists of a *garbhagṛha*, a rock-cut hall and an open *maṇḍapa* with a roof section only. It appears to have enshrined another statue of Mahāvīra, which is more evidence for the popularity of depictions of the twenty-fourth Jina in early Jaina ritual in this region.[106]

The discussion so far has shown that the earliest Jaina remains are caves in the northern area of Karnataka. The excavations commenced during the sixth or seventh century CE and were continued during the eighth century CE. This is the period in which Jainism appears to have become well established in the State and to have started its steady rise to religious and political prominence.

3.2 Structural Temple Building under the Early Cāḷukyas: The Formative Period

In addition to the caves mentioned above, the Jainas in Karnataka began to erect structural temple buildings, a number of which date from the seventh century CE, under the early Cāḷukyas.[107] Dibbad refers to an even earlier structural *basadi* in Kar-

104 For the two standpoints, refer to Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 332, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 74.

105 On this subject, see the article by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina and Buddhist Art and Architecture in India: Similarities and Differences," in *Buddhist and Jaina Studies: Proceedings of the Conference in Lumbini, February 2013*, ed. J. Soni, M. Pahlke and C. Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014).

106 Additional information on this cave can be found in Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 188, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 74.

107 During the medieval period, South India was ruled by a number of overlapping and consecutive rulers and small chieftains. This fact and the frequent lack of inscriptions and precise dates for the founding of temples often make the firm connection of religious structures with ruling dynasties difficult. There were a number of Cāḷukya rulers. In our project, we use the following dates for the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi (c. CE 540–753) and the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (973–1156 CE and 1183–1200 CE). In the intervening period, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ were in the ascendant (735–973 CE). See Chapter 1 for the reasoning behind these dates. Suresh, for one, however, dates the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi to about 500 to 757 CE, the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa to about 973 to 1198 CE and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to about 757 to 973 CE. For these dates, refer to K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka (Ground Plans and Elevations)*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003): 6, 10, 17.

nataka, dating from the fifth century CE. According to him, it was commissioned by Kadamba King Mṛgēśvarmā (455–480 CE) in Halsi (ancient Palāśikā, Palāśika).[108] Unfortunately, no further details on this *jinālaya* are supplied. The information appears to come from an inscription of which no physical remnants have been preserved.

When dealing with caves and structural temple buildings, it is important that we resist the temptation to think of them in a linear evolution where one type develops into the other, and the earlier tradition is discontinued when the new one begins. In actual fact, caverns retained their importance as sacred spaces inside venerated hills and continued to be used, enlarged, added to and newly excavated even after the Jainas had started constructing temples out of separate building blocks.

With regards to naming the styles of Jaina *basadi*s, scholars now prefer to avoid dynastic terms, such as "Cāḷukyan temples." However, it is often difficult to find suitable replacements for these established names, which are commonly used and understood. In full awareness, therefore, of the limitations of such terms, I shall continue to employ them in this chapter. However, when I use dynastic terms, such as "Cāḷukyan," I consciously refer both to structures built under the explicit direction and commission of the Cāḷukyan rulers and their extended families and employees (ministers, generals, etc.) and to those erected in their wider area of influence during the main phase of their rule.

Early Cāḷukyan temples are characterised by flat-roofed halls, fairly shallow temple towers (*vimāna*s) and relatively plain exterior walls. The shafts of their pillars, on the inside of the structures, are square, usually with simple geometrical decorations.

3.2.1 The Meguḍi and Other Jaina Temples at Aihole

Probably the best-known example of a *basadi* from this early period of structural temple construction is the Meguḍi Temple or Meguḍi Jinālaya, located on the hill overlooking what is today the village of Aihole.[109] According to an inscription located on the east side of one of the lateral shrines, the temple dates from 634 CE. Whilst the inscription was composed by Ravikīrti, the *basadi* was donated by the Western Cāḷukya King Pulakeśin II (c. 610–642 CE) (Plate 2.4).[110] Harle refers to the temple date in

108 On this, refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 66. Here, Dibbad spells Mṛgēśvarmā as "Mrigesha Varma."

109 At times, this temple name is given as "Meguti," "Melguḍi" (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 195) or "Mēguṭi" (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 29).

110 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 195. Confusingly, according to him, the slab with Pulakeśin's inscription is said to be found on the south side of the temple (see p. 196). This, however, is not the case. For this temple, refer also to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 29.

the inscription as 638 CE and correctly states that part of it is even of a later date.[111] Pulakeśin was said to be a follower of the Yāpanīya sect of Jainism.[112]

The large yellow sandstone temple rests on a tall moulded plinth, an *adhiṣṭhāna*. The wall sections above it are structured by large projecting empty niches. The *jinālaya* is entered via two lateral stone stairways on the northern side.[113] When I visited the temple in 1994, two pillars of an earlier porch, albeit without a roof, still remained in place (Plate 5.8), although these were gone on a second visit to the site in 2001. Devotees enter a large open pillared hall, a *mahāmaṇḍapa*, which is a slightly later addition. At the southern end of this hall, where one enters the *garbhagṛha*, two small lateral shrines have been inserted into the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The space between them creates a narrow vestibule, an *antarāla*. Entrance to these subsidiary sanctums is not frontally from the hall but from the side, through the *antarāla* between them. In addition to the doorways providing access to the side-shrines, window openings with low balustrades have been integrated into the sides of these additional *garbhagṛha*s, facing the *mahāmaṇḍapa.* These allow visitors to gaze into the flanking sanctums from the main hall.[114] The layout of the temple with its additional *garbhagṛha*s represents a relatively unusual form of triple-celled assembly, a *trikūṭa* or *trikūṭācala* layout. This is probably due to the early date of the *basadi*, before shrine configurations had been standardised.[115]

The main square sanctum, behind the *antarāla*, housing a monumental seated statue of an unidentified Jina, was originally surrounded by a relatively wide enclosed ambulatory, a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*: essentially, a large square space enclosing a smaller square sanctum. The circumscribing passage had small windows fitted with perforated stone screens, *jālī*s, admitting light into the passage from the outside. Over the centuries, however, the passage behind the shrine was altered to contain three further sanctums, preventing the further circumambulation of the central main *garbhagṛha*. This constant addition of more and more sanctums to a core structure to accommodate icons and other sacred objects, which are regularly gifted to sacred establishments, is typical of Jaina temple architecture in general. What is unusual in

111 Compare Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*: 169. For the dating of Pulakeśin II, see also p. 167. The name of the Western Cāḷukyan monarch is also spelled Pulakēsi.

112 This has been proposed by Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 104. On pp. 164–65, Desai identifies Aihole as a major Jaina centre of the Yāpanīya cult. On the Yāpanīyas, see Chapter 1, section 3.2.2 "Divisions into Subgroups: The Yāpanīyas." Pinto in Chapter 2 also writes about this inscription and the patron of the temple.

113 The temple faces almost due north.

114 Although shaped slightly differently and dating from a much later date, window openings from the main hall into an elongated shrine room can also be seen in Tangi Basadi in Shravanabelgola.

115 Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 195, also identifies the lateral rooms as *garbhagṛha*s and the temple consequently as a triple-shrined structure. Curiously, Cousens, who visited the temple before 1926, does not mention these side shrines at all (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 29–31).



Plate 5.8: The structural Cāḷukyan Meguḍi Temple on the hill overlooking the village of Aihole is double-storeyed and has a large open pillared hall.

this example is that the main shrine and the original circumambulation path are wider than the preceding hall, which was added later.

In addition to the six sanctums on the ground floor, there is also a raised cella. Above the main *garbhagṛha* rests a seventh shrine, situated on its roof. Access to this is by steps located in the north-eastern corner of the earlier ambulatory. As Cousens pointed out, "This upper shrine was a distinguishing feature in these early Jaina temples."[116] No roof or superstructure has been preserved above the elevated sanctum. The statue on the first-floor level, which is seated on a substantial platform with three lion figures, has been decapitated: a violation pointing to a forceful annexation and

116 On this, refer to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 31. Contrasting with this, Michell considers the raised shrine to be a later addition (Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 332). However, comparatively many temples of this early date have higher shrines. Similar examples from Hallur and Shravanabelgola will be discussed later in this chapter. Over the centuries, raised sanctums became a standard characteristic of Jaina temple structures more generally (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Multi-Shrined Complexes: The Ordering of Space in Jaina Temple Architecture in North-Western India," *South Asian Studies* 17 [2001]: 77–96; Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temple Architecture: A Progression from Images to Shrines and Temple Cities," in *South Asian Archaeology 1999. Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, ed. Ellen M. Raven [Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2008]: 427–37; Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 563–69).

partial destruction of the site, which is further corroborated by additional mutilated relief panels in the surroundings of the *jinālaya*.[117] The issue of beheading statues as part of take-overs of sacred sites by other religious groups will be discussed later in this chapter.[118]

A number of other structural Jaina temples in the village of Aihole date from this early period, too. These are three clusters of temples known as the Yeniyavārguḍi, the Yogi Nārāyaṇa and the Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group of Jaina shrines, of which several are early Cāḷukyan constructions.[119]

The Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group, consisting of the remains of about six *jinālaya*s, lies inside the settlement of Aihole, just below Meguḍi Hill. Although these seem to be slightly later than the temple on the nearby hill, they still appear to be Cāḷukyan structures.[120] Most of the principal icons have been removed, with only one beautifully carved black seated Pārśvanātha remaining in place in temple number 2 of this group. However, vestiges of small Jaina statues and of the goddess Lakṣmī lustrated by two elephants (Gajalakṣmī) can still be identified on the central block of the lintel (*lalāṭa*) and as part of the outer roof decorations of most of the temples. For the most part, the images adorning the *lalāṭa* block of the doorframe, which are usually referred to as *lalāṭabimba*,[121] relate to or repeat the main icon installed in the *garbhagṛha*. Often, this is a small representation of a standing or seated Jina, that may be attended by flywhisk bearers (Plate 5.9 above). Instead of a central Tīrthaṅkara statue, there can also be found an auspicious symbol or other religious image, such as Gajalakṣmī,[122] the iconographic depiction of Lakṣmī with two elephants performing an ablution (*abhiṣeka*) ritual on her. For this reason, Lakṣmī is also known as Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī (Plate 5.9 below).[123] Even though Lakṣmī also belongs in a Hindu context, she

117 Later, probably during colonial times or more recently, a statue of a Jaina *yakṣī* from this temple was moved to the Archaeological Museum in Badami (Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 332).

118 This will be debated under section 5.1.1, entitled "The Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues." The subject has also briefly been discussed in Chapter 1, in section 7.1, "The Targeting of Jaina Icons and Temples."

119 Compare Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 197.

120 On this issue, see also Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 48. Srinivasan also dates the temples of this group to the Cāḷukyan period. An inscription of 1119 CE helps to date one to the Late Cāḷukyan period (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 199). Soundara Rajan refers to the same inscription from the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 312–13). According to Cousens, there is no precise date on any of the temples (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 30).

121 For this term, see Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 567, 577.

122 On this issue, refer also to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98. For a description of such lintels, see, for instance, Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 187, 189, 194.

123 Compare Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 572.

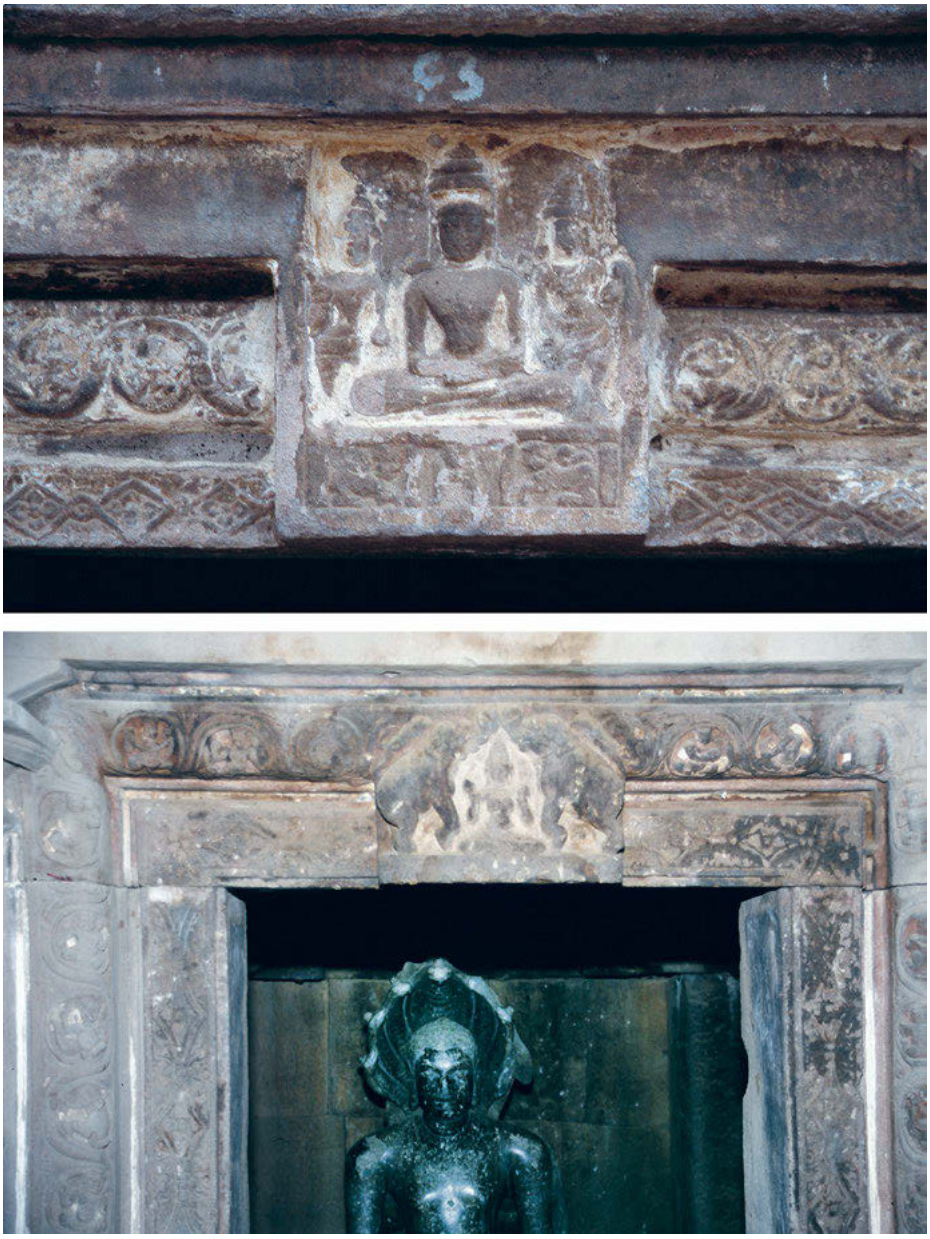


Plate 5.9: The images adorning the lintels, *lalāṭabimba*, of the Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group of Jaina temples at Aihole usually show a central Jina with attendants (above) or Lakṣmī lustrated by two elephants (below).

is a Jaina goddess, too. Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī in particular is often found on the lintels providing access to *basadi*s and especially to their *garbhagṛha*s.[124]

Several of the sacred edifices of the Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group have been planned as multi-shrined constructions, displaying three *garbhagṛha*s, following the plan of a triple-petalled clover leaf. The largest temple of the group is known today as the Virupākṣa Temple (temple no. 5).[125] Originally Jaina, it was taken over by the Vīraśaivas[126] and now contains a *liṅga* and Nandī,[127] the bull (*vṛṣa*), who is the vehicle of Śiva and also considered a manifestation of Śiva himself.[128] It is fascinating to notice here the first examples of the typical Jaina triple-celled layout, opening towards a central joint hall. This feature was identified as typically Jaina by A.H. Longhurst at the start of the twentieth century.[129]

3.2.2 The Meguḍi Temple at Hallur

There is another temple construction known as Meguḍi Temple dating from this early period. This is located at Hallur (Haḷḷūr), which is not far from Bagalkot (Bāgalakōṭe) in what is known today as the Haveri District (formerly Dharwar District) of northern

124 The sharing of goddesses between Hindu and Jainas has been discussed in Chapter 1, section 4.1.1. "Female Divinities: Śaktism (*Yakṣī*s)." It is important to note that this does not represent a simple absorption of Hindu goddesses by the Jainas but is a much more complex topic.

125 Saletore spells the name of the temple, Vīrūpākṣa (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 287).

126 There is no absolute agreement on whether Vīraśaivism should be regarded as a sub-sect of Hinduism, a caste, or a distinct religious group. William McCormack, "Lingayats as a Sect," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 93, no. 1 (1963): 59–71, and R. Blake Michael, "Foundation Myths of the Two Denominations of Vīraśaivism: *Viraktas* and *Gurusthalins*," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 2 (1983): 310 in particular have written on this issue and Lorenzetti has discussed this subject in the previous chapter in this book. However, as Vīraśaiva practice presupposes the rejection of most Śaiva core tenets, the scholars in this research project consider it a separate religious group. Whilst some authors use the terms Liṅgāyats and Liṅgāyatism as synonyms for Vīraśaivas and Vīraśaivism, we differentiate between the two names on the basis of pre-Basava origins (Liṅgāyatism) and post-Basava reformism (Vīraśaivism). On these issues, see the discussion in Chapter 1, section 5.3.1 on "Basava and His Teachings."

127 There are again various spellings for Nandī. Leslie spells it with a long "ī," as is done here (Julia Leslie, "Understanding Basava: History, Hagiography and a Modern Kannada Drama," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 61, no. 2 [1998]: 239). Dhaky writes Nandi with a short "i" (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 580) and Lorenzetti in her chapter in this book refers to him as Nandin. On this temple, see also Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 49–50.

128 Leslie has written on this in detail (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 239). See also the section 5.3.1, "Basava and His Teachings," in Chapter 1.

129 See A.H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins: Described and Illustrated* (Madras: Superintendent of Government Press, 1917): 100.

Karnataka (Plate 5.10 above).[130] Cousens points out that "Mēguṭi" or "Myaguṭi," as he spells it, are all variations of "Mēgudi," which means "the upper temple" or "the temple that is above" in Kannada.[131] Indeed, both sacred Jaina edifices of this name at Aihole and Hallur are located on hill sites, towering above the settlements they are associated with. There is no definitive indication of a date at the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur. Although in many respects it is similar in style to the Meguḍi temple at Aihole, construction dates suggested for the Hallur Jaina sacred edifice range from the second half of the seventh, via the late eighth, to the late ninth century CE.[132] The simplicity of the internal pillars suggests a date of seventh century CE, yet as the sculptural decorations are more refined, a date in the late eighth century CE might be more probable.

The *basadi* at Hallur is smaller and less complex than the one at Aihole but also double-storeyed. While the *jinālaya* at Aihole has fallen into disuse, the Hallur temple is still being used—albeit not by the Jainas. At some point, probably during the twelfth century, it was converted to Vīraśaiva ritual use, and, as such, is an example which we shall return to later in this chapter as an instance of reappropriation.[133] The Meguḍi Temple at Hallur has no porch, indicating that it was never entirely completed before it was annexed. Access to the temple is by a short flight of centrally positioned steps on the south side. Via these stairs, one enters a large closed hall. This has massive stone pillars, with the typical simple geometrical decorations, and is four bays deep and wide.

At the end of the dark hall is a small vestibule. Reflecting the imagery of the new Vīraśaiva devotees frequenting the temple, this small antechamber accommodates a statue of the bull Nandī or Nandin. Two further Nandī sculptures have been positioned outside the threshold to the *antarāla.* A Nandī image would also be typical of Śaiva temples. However, in a Vīraśaiva context, he has a distinct meaning and is associated with the founder of Vīraśaivism, Basava. In her chapter in this publication, Lorenzetti quotes Rice who narrates the story explaining the presence of Nandī in this

130 There are a number of alternative spellings for the *basadi* at Hallur. The Meguḍi temple is also known as the Melguḍi or Melaguḍi Temple.

131 On this, refer to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 31.

132 The seventh-century date has been suggested by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 197, the late eighth-century dating by Kirit Mankodi, "A Rāṣṭrakūṭa Temple at Hallur in Bijapur District," in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1975): 205, 211–13, whilst a construction in the late ninth century CE has been proposed by Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India – Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Early Phase, A.D. 550–1075)*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986): 146–47, and by Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 109.

133 From the twelfth century, the Vīraśaiva community substantially gained in influence – particularly in the area of northern Karnataka – over a large number of Jaina sites. This is an aspect which has also been discussed in Chapter 1 (section 5.3.3 "Persecution of the Jainas and Economic Conflict with the Vīraśaivas") and in the previous chapter by Lorenzetti.



Plate 5.10: The Meguḍi Temple at Hallur has been converted by Vīraśaivas who have left the nude standing statues on the outside (above) and placed the main sacred icon of a Jina on the floor (below).

context. He wrote: "The Great God, therefore, decides to send into the Kanarese territory an incarnation of his *vāhana* (the bull Nandin), in order to fight the enemies and re-establish the Śivaite faith."[134] In this manner, Nandī was born on earth as Basava. This also is made clear by the name itself. The appellation "Basava" is a Kannada form of the Sanskrit "*vṛṣabha*," meaning bull. In this sense, the Nandī statue in this temple should not be understood as the vehicle (*vāhana*) of the god Śiva, but as a representation of Basava, the founder of Vīraśaivism.[135] The small bull statue faces a *liṅga,* housed in the adjacent *garbhagṛha* of the temple. Whilst in a "mainstream" Śaiva context the *liṅga* is considered to be the aniconic or phallic symbol of the god Śiva, for Vīraśaivas it represents the divine principle (*iṣṭaliṅga*). Here at Hallur, the presence of the *liṅga* signals the conversion of the temple to the Vīraśaiva religion.

In this *jinālaya*, too, an internal circumambulation path encloses both the *antarāla* and the shrine sections of the temple. As is typical of Jaina constructions, the edifice was again conceived as a double-storeyed construction with a second *garbhagṛha* erected above the one on the ground floor. Simple stone stairs, positioned in the north-eastern corner of the large hall, provide access to the roof level. The sanctum above is empty today and not used for ritual purposes any longer. As has been outlined in the previous chapter by Tiziana Lorenzetti, orthodox Vīraśaivism rejects temple worship, the offering of sacrifices and the practice of pilgrimage.[136] According to Vīraśaiva teachings, the human body is regarded as the true temple.[137] In consequence, Vīraśaiva shrines follow a very reduced temple ritual, making additional image chambers superfluous. These additional sanctums had become popular in Jainism from the tenth century CE onwards, at a time when their temple rituals became more complex and large numbers of statues and other venerated objects had to be accommodated.

What is particularly fascinating in terms of the re-use of this former Jaina temple by the Vīraśaiva community is the handling of the Jaina statuary. A free-standing icon of a Jina, which was probably formerly installed on a pedestal in one of the two superimposed sanctums, now rests on the ground close to the entrance of the enclosed hall

134 For this quote, refer to Edward P. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1982): 119.

135 See also P.B. Desai, *Basavēśvara and his Times* (Bangalore: Basava Samithi, 2006 [1968]): 169, and Michael, "Foundation Myths": 311.

136 On this, refer also to André Padoux, "Vīraśaivas," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987): 12. This understanding and practice are based on the view that the inner experience and development of the individual is more significant than external rites (Michael, "Foundation Myths": 310). On this subject, refer also to Chapter 1, and the section 5.3.1 "Basava and His Teachings" in particular.

137 Bowker has commented in detail on this issue (John Bowker, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999 (1997)]: 581). The religious reformer Basava taught that no temples are necessary in order to worship god, and that no one needs to renounce worldly life in order to be a religious person (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 242).

(Plate 5.10 below). It is the figure of a seated Tīrthaṅkara, sheltered underneath a triple parasol, flanked by two attendants. Without an identifying symbol (*lāñchana*) it is not possible to ascertain which of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras is represented by this figure. However, the Vīraśaivas clearly marked their takeover of the *basadi* through the desecration of the fordmaker who previously resided there, by placing his statue on the bare floor, smearing it with white sacred ash (*vibhūti*) and marking it with vermillion red turmeric powder paste (*kumkum*, *kumkumārchan*).[138] In common with practitioners of Śaiva cults, Vīraśaivas apply parallel lines of ash to their foreheads or other body parts, alluding to Śiva's connection with the cremation ground.[139] By defiling the statue but keeping it inside the temple, rather than removing it completely, they sent an even stronger signal about the conversion and annexation of this sacred Jaina space. The stone statue of this Jina at Hallur rests against one of the pillars in the central aisle, very close to the entrance of the temple. This is a well-lit area in an otherwise very dark *basadi*. The statue is located on the main access route to the shrine and would in consequence be passed and seen by everybody entering the *jinālaya* or even by those gazing into the sacred space from outside. As such, it conveys a strong message of destruction and victory and would cause great anxiety to Jaina devotees who would have been used to venerating this as one of their most sacred objects. Even today, therefore, the icon carries strong religious and political significance.

Otherwise, the Jaina imagery inside the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur has been preserved reasonably intact. This includes a small representation of a seated Tīrthaṅkara, adorning the lintel of the sanctum on the ground floor, the *lalāṭabimba*, and the attendants of the Jina, his *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, carved on the external sides of the image chamber at the entrance to the enclosed ambulatory.[140] Furthermore, the large Jaina statues adorning the external walls of the temple have been left essentially complete. They consist of a group of eight tall standing icons, four of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha and four of the ascetic Gommaṭeśvara,[141] raised on small pedestals. Following Digambara practice, the images are nude and unadorned. Only the two depictions of Pārśvanātha at the front of the *basadi*, immediately framing the doorway to the temple, have been partially mutilated. In consequence, even a worshipper approaching the *jinālaya* from the outside would instantly realise that this temple had been converted.

This suggests strategic planning rather than an act of uncontrolled destruction. Selected icons in key positions have been damaged and desecrated, but otherwise the

138 A similar paste, known as *sindūr*, is also applied to the parting of a married woman's hairline.

139 For the significance of *vibhūti* in Vīraśaivism, refer, for instance, to Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 230.

140 The two depictions are in varying degrees of completion, indicating that the temple was unfinished at the time of its appropriation.

141 On the importance of Gommaṭeśvara, also knonw as Gommaṭa or Bāhubali, see Chapter 1, section 4.1.3, entitled "Lay Participation: Ablutions, the Cult of Bāhubali and *Sallekhanā*."

layout has been left recognisable in its original Jaina format, presumably in order to celebrate the takeover. No attempt has been made by the new occupiers of the former *basadi* to convert or appropriate the statues, to reflect representations more fitting of their specific mythology or religious system. With respect to Vīraśaivism, in which the *liṅga* forms the single focus of veneration, this would admittedly have been difficult. However, this selective approach was not universal. The fates of other converted *jinālaya*s, which will be discussed later in this chapter, will in fact show that figural representations were also converted and reinterpreted in a Vīraśaiva context.[142]

3.2.3 The Jaina Temple Pattadakal

In the middle of the eighth century CE, the Badami Cāḷukyas were replaced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (735–973 CE) who had their capital at Malkhed (Maḷkhēḍ, Mānyakheṭa).[143] The Jaina temple at Pattadakal (Paṭṭadakal, Kisuvolalu; ancient Raktapura) dates from the late Cāḷukyan or early Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, and was probably erected under Kṛṣṇa II (878–914 CE).[144] Locally, the *basadi* is referred to as Jaina *devālaya*, a different term for a *jinālaya* or Jaina temple. The temple is dated by Del Bontà to the early eighth century CE and by Srinivasan to the eighth century CE or later.[145] According to Cousens, it was erected in about 846 or 896 CE, whilst Michell places it in the ninth or tenth century CE.[146] It appears that various sections of this *jinālaya* were completed at different points in time. The temple is again a two-storeyed, yellow sandstone structure (Plate 5.11).

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142 In connection with other religious groups, re-interpretations of sculptures are well-known and can regularly be observed at converted sites. Examples, for instance, of the conversion of the Jina Pārśvanātha to represent the Hindu god Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, which is favoured by the shared association of both characters with a hooded snake, will be discussed later in this chapter in section 5.2.1, entitled "The Re-Use of Jaina Sacred Structures." For a more detailed discussion of the thoughts behind the conversion of the Jaina temple at Hallur, see the contribution by Hegewald in Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 57–61.

143 The date of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas has also been given as 733 to 975 CE. See S.B. Deo, "The Expansion of Jainism": 32, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 184.

144 His father and predecessor, Amoghavarṣa I (also spelled: Amōghavarṣa), is especially renowned for having commissioned a large number of Jaina *basadi*s. He might even have converted to Jainism himself and Cousens states that "Jainism was at the zenith of its prosperity during his long reign." (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 10).

145 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 81, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 200.

146 Compare Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 71, and Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 389.



Plate 5.11: Rear view of the double-storeyed Jaina temple at Pattadakal. Visible here is the open ambulatory surrounding the sanctum, which since its conversion houses a *liṅga*.

Today, this Jaina temple also enshrines a *liṅga* in its main sanctum, signalling its conversion probably to Vīraśaivism. When Cousens visited the site before 1926, it already contained a *liṅga*, indicating that the conversion was probably a medieval appropriation.[147]

The moulded base of the *basadi* at Pattadakal, the *adhiṣṭhāna*, is relatively low and surmounted on the eastern side by a short flight of five steps, which, however, are new replacements. This gives way to a wide open pillared porch.[148] The shape of a number of sandstone pillars, which are partially lathe-turned, is noteworthy here, seeming to anticipate the design of later schist and soapstone pillars of Late Cāḷukyan or Hoysaḷa date, which were turned on a lathe, some along their whole length.[149] The outer balustrade of the entrance hall is decorated with relief carvings, of a large number of auspicious water pots (*pūrṇa kalaśa, pūrṇa patra*), dancers and musicians who look like dwarfs, riders on mythical composite animals (*yāḷis*), as well as celestial beings. On the inside of this large entrance pavilion are two massive elephant statues,

147 Consult the publication by Cousens, which was first published in 1926 (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 72).

148 Cousens refers to this porch as an "*agra-maṇḍapa*," an alternative term for entrance hall or porch (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 72).

149 Srinivasan has commented on this observation (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 201).

which seem to appear from the wall of the next hall in line. This second *maṇḍapa* is a closed hall, a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, with lateral window openings in its northern and southern sides. At the western end is an *antarāla* vestibule, which gives onto a small sanctum. What is now an open ambulatory surrounding the *garbhagṛha* was originally probably walled, or at least intended to be so.[150] The temple appears never to have been completed.[151]

Access to the roof level of this double-storeyed *jinālaya* is by steps positioned in the north-eastern corner of the closed hall. The upper image chamber is raised above the lower cella and surrounded by an open ambulatory as well. We have remarked already on the typical character of elevated sanctums in the very earliest *basadi*s in the region. Srinivasan describes the temple as three-storeyed (*tritala*)[152] but it is not clear how he came to this evaluation as the superstructure survives intact above the second storey. This is a low pyramidal south Indian *drāviḍa* roof structure. Following the common scheme, it consists of a prominent overhanging cornice, a *kapota*, adorned with ornaments in the shape of miniature pavilions and horseshoe arches. These horizontal layers are repeated in diminishing tiers to form a roughly pyramidal roof shape, a *vimāna*. In this temple, as also in Karnataka more generally, the *vimāna* towers are usually quite low.

3.3 Early Temple Edifices under the Gaṅgās in and Around Shravanabelgola

The temples discussed so far date almost exclusively from the seventh to the ninth century CE and have not been substantially altered and enlarged during later periods. Consequently, they are relatively clear—some might say "pure"—in their early stylistic features. I have already questioned the concept of artistic "purity," which I regard as very problematic (and probably illusory).[153] We have seen that even these early structures were repaired, transformed and often enlarged, ending up in most cases with a combination of styles and elements dating from a range of periods. This "hybrid" condition is reflected even more clearly in the structures I shall discuss below, which follow roughly chronologically in the line of development.[154] They are all part

150 In this context, Srinivasan describes the *basadi* as a "*sāndhāra-vimāna*" (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 200) and Burgess in his plan of the temple drew an internal circumambulation path (Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: Plate XLV). However, this is not present today. Behind the shrine part of the temple is an old circular well.

151 This has also been suggested by Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 71.

152 For this, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan": 200. For the architectural term "*tritala*," refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 587.

153 I have discussed this issue in depth in Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 30–54.

154 This is also reflected in the often large range of dates suggested for individual structures.

of a group of Jaina temples from in and around the celebrated pilgrimage site of Shravanabelgola in Hassan District, indicating the pronounced rise in popularity of this area with the Jainas from about the ninth century CE onwards.

Let us start with the *tīrtha* of Shravanabelgola itself. The name of the town means "the white (*beḷ*) pond (*koḷa*, *goḷa*) of the *śramaṇa* or *śravaṇa*."[155] A *śramaṇa* or *śravaṇa* is a Jaina ascetic. The reference to the pond relates to the roughly square water tank, today called the Kalyāṇa Tank, in the centre of the small town. This water structure has a mythical story attached to it. According to a local legend, an old lady brought some milk in a hollow *gullakayi* fruit (hairy-fruited eggplant, *solanum ferox*) and poured it over the head of the Gommaṭeśvara colossus on the neighbouring hill. Although the amount of milk was very small, just such as the hollow fruit would hold, it flowed down the image and the mountainous site and collected in the valley between the two hillocks to create the above-mentioned water tank. On this basis, the "*goḷa*" in Shravanabelgola has also been linked to the old lady's "*gulla*" fruit. Most of the present tank dates from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the time of the Oḍeyars of Mysore.[156]

Furthermore, the *"śravaṇa"* or *"śramaṇa"* (i.e. ascetic) element of the name relates to the many Jaina saints who resided in this place and concluded their lives here. Parasher-Sen noted that, according to inscriptions, by the seventh century CE roughly seven hundred Jainas had ended their life by means of a religious death by self-starvation, known as *sallekhanā*, on the two hills at Shravanabelgola.[157] This sacred ritual, terminating one's life under religious supervision, took place on the hill known as Candragiri.[158] The oldest temple structures at Shravanabelgola are found on the same hill. Inscriptions indicate that the Jainas considered it sacred from their earliest days in the region, and that for this reason, saints and spiritually advanced lay people ended their life there in a controlled religious fashion. Large numbers of Jaina temples, pavilions, sacred pillars and other venerated architectural and sculptural elements are also spread over the second, larger hill, known as Viṇdhyagiri.[159] Even

155 For further details on the meaning of the name of the site refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 63, L.K. Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 46, Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 34, and S.P. Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005): 34, 37).

156 This story has, for instance, been narrated in del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 63.

157 Compare Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 235. According to Jaini, even some Jaina Gaṅgā kings participated in this practice (Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280). See Settar, *Inviting Death*: 8, 214–56 on memorial records.

158 Candragiri rises about 930 metres above sea level (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 78).

159 Viṇdhyagiri is also known as Indragiri, the hill of Indra. In the local Kannada, it is referred to as Doddābeṭṭā or Doḍḍabeṭṭa. For the latter spelling refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 143.

though legends suggest that the site is of great antiquity, the earliest dated inscriptions at Shravanbelgola go back only to the sixth (and early seventh) century CE,[160] by which time the town had developed into a major pilgrimage centre, or *tīrtha*.

The patrons of these early temples at Shravanabelgola were the Later Gaṅgā monarchs, who ruled from the sixth till about the eleventh century CE, and were great defenders and benefactors of Jainism.[161] As a sign of their support, they provided reliable and stable patronage. Due to this fact, the period of Gaṅgā rule is one amongst several which have been classified as a "golden age" of Jainism in Karnataka.[162] However, this term has more frequently been applied to the Hoysaḷa age. The discussion in Chapter 1 of this volume has questioned the usefulness of this term.[163]

The early Gaṅgā temple structures are usually reasonably small and plain. They have either completely unadorned or quite modestly ornamented exterior walls, featuring simple pilasters with square capital elements. More elaborate examples integrate arches formed out of mythical sea animals (*makaratoraṇa*s) into their decorative scheme. However, in most instances, the framings of the recesses are plain and the niches are left empty. The roofs of halls are flat and the *vimāna* towers low. Most *basadi*s at this time were made of granite.[164]

3.3.1 The Candragupta Basadi on Candragiri

Among the prominent temples which were at least commenced during this early period are the three small and relatively unadorned shrines collectively known as the Candragupta Basadi. This granite *jinālaya* is located on Candragiri. The name of the *basadi* derives from the fact that it has been associated with Candragupta Maurya,[165] who, as Jainas argue, converted to Jainism. The Jaina tradition credits him and his teacher (*ācārya*) Bhadrabāhu with bringing Jainism to the south.[166] Both Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta are said to have died a voluntary religious death on this hill.[167] All

160 On this, refer to Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola": 45, and Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 44.

161 Jaini states that "the Ganga rulers were all staunch Jainas" and that they "provided almost seven centuries of uninterrupted pro-Jaina rule" (Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*: 280).

162 Compare Pius Fidelis Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 78, with reference to R.S. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* (Dharwar: Karnataka Historical Research Society, 1940): 14–15.

163 See especially the section 2.3.1 "High Points and Golden Periods Questioned."

164 Del Bontà has written on the Gaṅgā architectural style (del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118). See also the study by Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*.

165 Compare Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 214.

166 The chapter by Pinto in this publication questions this assumption.

167 Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82. On this subject, see also the discussion in Chapter 1, especially section 2.1.1, "Jaina Origins in Karnataka."

the temples on Candragiri have been numbered and this structure is number twelve in the local system. The three parallel *garbhagṛha*s of this early triple-shrined temple look towards the south. In facing this direction, the shrines opened towards the renowned Bhadrabāhu inscription, incised onto the rock surface, probably in about the fourth century CE (Plate 2.2). This rock-cut epigraphic record, states that Bhadrabāhu died on this hill.[168] The orientation of the structure connects the *basadi* closely to the religious narrative. Today, the large entrance hall of the much later Kattaḷe and Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadis lie between the Candragupta Temple and the lithic record (Plate 5.12).



Plate 5.12: At the far left is the outer wall of the Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi, with the porch in the middle providing access to the Kattaḷe and the Candragupta Basadis. The three shrines of the latter project to the right.

The three sanctums, which have been erected on a common low moulded terrace, have been dated to about 850 CE.[169] The outer facade is structured by regularly placed

168 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82, 40, 93.

169 This date has been suggested by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 214. Suresh dates it slightly earlier, to the time of Gaṅgā King Śiva Mara II, during the eighth century (Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 212), whereas Krishna Murthy assigns this king to about 800 CE (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 101). Del Bontà dates the foundation of this temple even as late as the tenth century CE (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 78, 82), which, on the basis of its stylistic appearance, seems too late.

wall pilasters (Plate 1.27). Above is an architrave, topped by a strip of birds, and a pronounced *kapota* moulding adorned with *gavākṣa* windows in the form of horseshoe arches. The central *garbhagṛha* houses a standing statue of Pārśvanātha, while the slightly narrower flanking shrines are occupied by the two *yakṣī*s Padmāvatī (to the west) and Kuṣamāṇḍinī (to the east).[170] Kuṣamāṇḍinī Yakṣī, who is the principal goddess of Shravanabelgola,[171] is generally shown riding a lion (Plate 1.19).[172] This is another early example of a triple-shrined, a *trikūṭācala* temple, although the sanctums have been arranged side by side (parallel) and not in a star-like fashion. The flanking sections have very low *drāviḍa vimāna* roof structures, whilst the central sanctum has a flat roof. Krishna Murthy considers the superstructures of this *jinālaya* to be the earliest preserved examples of temple roof towers in southern Karnataka.[173] As has been discussed before, both *drāviḍa* and flat roof designs are common on the dry high plateau of Karnataka on which Shravanabelgola is situated.[174] The three *garbhagṛha*s are preceded by a shallow vestibule.

Today, these three interconnected ancient shrines form part of a larger architectural arrangement, incorporating the sizeable and much later Kattaḷe Basadi (immediately to the south) as well as the neighbouring Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi (south of the previous temple), which, due to their more recent date, will be discussed later in this chapter. The connection between the Candragupta Basadi and the hall of the immediately neighbouring Kattaḷe Basadi consists of two finely-carved cut stone screens. As these *jālī*s flank the entrance to the *antarāla*, they are known as an *antarāla jāla*.[175] This trellis was added to the *jinālaya* during the twelfth century.[176] The depiction on the soapstone lattices, featuring the arrival of Candragupta Maurya and the Jaina

170 Alternative spellings for Kuṣamāṇḍinī are Kuṣmāṇḍī or Kūṣmāṇḍinī. Some scholars switch the names of these two *yakṣī*s. On this, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 214, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82 and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 42. It is not clear whether this is simply a confusion or whether they have been physically rearranged at some point. When I last checked, in 2019, the order was at least as described above in the main text, which is also reflected in the writings of Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 143.

171 This has been discussed by Saryu Doshi, "The Pilgrim's path at Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 32, and Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 143, n. 2.

172 On the iconography of Kuṣamāṇḍinī, refer, for instance, to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 170.

173 Despite their pyramidal shape, clearly following the *drāviḍa* logic, Krishna Murthy describes them as "shikhara towers" of the category of "*shrikara-vimāna*" (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 102). The term "*śikhara*" is normally used with regards to the beehive-shaped temple towers of the northern, *nāgara*, temple style, only.

174 With respect to the local climate and the adaptation of temple architecture to this, refer to Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka": 69–96.

175 On this feature more generally, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 568.

176 For the dating, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 214, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82.

teacher Bhadrabāhu in Shravanabelgola, led to the naming of the temple as Candragupta Basadi. Unusually for Indian art of this early date, the name of the sculptor is provided below one of the lattices. He is named as Dāsojā of Baḷḷigrāma, an artisan, whom we know also to have been active at the Hoysaḷa temple site of Belur.[177]

The Kattaḷe Basadi was erected right next to the earlier triple-shrined temple in about 1118 CE.[178] Both temples are entered through a common east-facing porch and a large pillared hall, from which the three *vimāna*s of the earlier Candragupta Basadi project as lateral *garbhagṛha*s towards the north, while the main section of the Kattaḷe Basadi, its next two halls and its shrine protrude towards the west. The neighbouring Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi is later again, but still dates from the twelfth century.[179] It has its own entrance and a *maṇḍapa* but the large section containing vestibule and shrine shares a joint lateral wall with the Kattaḷe Basadi to its north.

3.3.2 The Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi on Candragiri

Probably the best-known temple structure from this early phase of building on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola is the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi, alternatively referred to as Cāmuṇḍarāya or Cāmuṇḍarāja Basadi. It is number four in the local enumeration system and is typical of the early period, in which *basadi*s are still reasonably plain and reflect the strongly ascetic outlook on life which the Jainas shared at this time. The *jinālaya* was commissioned by the Gaṅgā minister and general Cāvuṇḍarāya, who served under King Rācamalla IV and his successor Gaṅgā Mārasiṁha.[180] He was also the patron of the Gommaṭeśvara statue on the opposite hill and is associated with a large number of other gifts at Shravanabelgola. Cāvuṇḍarāya (940–989 CE) is considered one of the main patrons of Jaina art and architecture during the period when

177 Compare Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 214, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 83. The village of Balligrama (Baḷḷigrāma) is also known as Belagamme.

178 This date has been provided by Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 56.

179 For this dating, refer to Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 468. The Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi will be discussed later in this chapter. In the local numbering system, all three edifices have been counted individually. However, even raised shrines, such as the one belonging to the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi on the same hill, to be discussed later, have been provided with a separate numeral. This illustrates the desire of pilgrimage officials to increase the significance of a site by having an abundance of temples, and the wish of devotees to gain increased merit by visiting and venerating in a particularly large number of shrines.

180 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 102. He names the Western Cāḷukyas, the Noḷambas (Nōḷambas) and the Pallavas as the main enemies of the Jainas of this time, who were defeated by the armies which Cāvuṇḍarāya commanded (see the same publication pp. 103–4).

Jainism flourished in Karnataka.[181] The Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi is rated highly and on the basis of its actual size and (for its time) stronger ornamentation, Srinivasan identifies it as "the largest and finest example among the Jaina temples of the period" and says that it is "of more exquisite workmanship than any other" (Plate 5.13).[182]



Plate 5.13: View towards the entrance and the highly decorated roof parapet of the two-storeyed Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi on Candragiri, commissioned by the Gaṅgā minister and general Cāvuṇḍarāya.

According to the foundation inscription, the granite temple was commenced in 982 CE and completed in 995 CE.[183] The structure is erected on an exceptionally tall terrace[184] and is reached by a single steep flight of steps leading to a small porch facing roughly east. The stairs have the usual balustrades with *hastihasta* and lotus blossom designs.

181 Compare R.V.S. Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 31.

182 For these quotes, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 219. Krishna Murthy reiterates this evaluation in his discussion (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 104–5).

183 On this dating, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222, and Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 118.

184 It is almost double the height on the north side, where the terrain the temple was built on steeply descends a slope.

Through the porch, visitors enter a closed pillared hall, a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. Due to its relatively large size, this is often referred to in the literature on the site as *mahāmaṇḍapa*.[185] The hall narrows from five bays to an *antarāla* of three bays at the western end. In the 1970s, this section of the *jinālaya* still bore traces of ancient paintings.[186] Inside the vestibule, the male and female guardian divinities of the principal Jina are accommodated, in this instance Sarvāhana Yakṣa and Kuṣamāṇḍinī Yakṣī,[187] dating from the twelfth-century Hoysaḷa period. They flank the entrance to the small square sanctum, which houses a seated dark grey-black soapstone statue of Neminātha.[188] While in Jaina temples dating from later periods, the interior can be highly ornate, at least with regards to the main hall, the inside of this *basadi* is entirely plain and—apart from the decayed murals—unadorned.

As is the case with many other structures from this early period, this temple is double-storeyed. Steps leading up in the south-eastern corner of the hall provide access to the open roof terrace where, situated above the shrine on the ground floor, a shallow wide porch is the entrance to a wide sanctum, which accommodates a black standing icon of Pārśvanātha. The image inscription states that this soapstone statue was gifted by the son of Cāvuṇḍarāya, Jinadevaṇa, in 995 CE.[189] It is, as such, later than the foundation of the *jinālaya*. Srinivasan takes this as an indication that the completion of the temple by father and son took thirteen years.[190] However, it is quite normal for *basadi*s to be continuously enlarged and extended by the installation of new statues and the addition of raised sanctums to what were initially single-storeyed structures. On this level, it is difficult to speak of a "completion" date when referring to Jaina temples more generally. The upper *garbhagṛha* is referred to as Megala Basadi or Megamla Basadi. In the local enumeration system, the raised shrine counts as a separate *jinālaya* and has its own numeral, number five.

The facade of the temple has been elegantly structured by narrowly spaced wall pilasters. Above the prominent roof moulding, the roof structure of the *basadi* is adorned by a profusion of prominent Tīrthaṅkara figures and depictions of heavenly creatures as well as mythical and real animals. For its relatively early date, it has a comparatively tall *vimāna* tower. Although this *jinālaya* was started in the tenth cen-

185 See, for instance, Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 220.

186 This has been described by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 221.

187 This identification has been provided by del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 79, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 44. This also reflects their identification at the site. For the associated *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s of the Jinas, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 597.

188 An inscription states that the statue is a later replacement of an earlier icon (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 221).

189 On this donatory inscription, refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 80, and Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 147.

190 Refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 221.

tury CE, it has eleventh- and twelfth-century additions and inscriptions,[191] indicating the continued enrichment and enlargement of this celebrated structure over the centuries. The small entrance hall, for instance, appears to have been added under Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana.[192] On the rocks outside the temple are a number of weathered linearly incised foot representations, carved into the natural rock surface of the hill. These are referred to as *pādukā*s. Some distance from the stairs, there is also a small sacrificial altar, a low *balipīṭha* (Plate 2.3).[193]

3.3.3 Brahmadeva Pillars on Candragiri and Viṇdhyagiri

In addition to major temple structures, Shravanabelgola also features architectural accessories dating from the Gaṅgā period. Amongst these are a number of free-standing pillars, carrying representations of the *yakṣa* and *kṣetrapāla* Brahmadeva. In general, these early examples are relatively independent structures, which are not usually directly associated with particular *basadi*s, although they are found at sacred temple sites.

The Brahma *stambha* known as the Kūge Brahmadeva Stambha or Pillar (Plate 5.5), dating from the Gaṅgā period,[194] is found inside the walled temple complex on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola to which a number of the *jinālayas* discussed above belong. It rests on two lower square and two superimposed octagonal tiers. The corners of the second square platform and its mid-points used to be adorned with elephant statues, most of which, unfortunately, have been lost. The pillar is topped by an east-facing seated representation of Brahmadeva, which is free-standing, rather than sheltered by a miniature pavilion.[195] As the inscription on the pillar commemorates the voluntary religious death in 974 CE of Gaṅgā Mārasiṁha II (ruled 961–974 CE), it is

191 On this issue, see Meister and Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 193. According to Krishna Murthy, also some of the statues associated with this *basadi* are later and date from the middle of the twelfth century (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 105). This applies, for instance, to the representations of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*.

192 Srinivasan has commented on this (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222). For further details on Viṣṇuvardhana, who is also known as Biṭṭideva, see Chapter 1, section 5.4 on "Vaiṣṇavism and Śrīvaiṣṇavism."

193 Altars, known as *balipīṭha*, for leaving offerings, such as fresh flowers, uncooked rice and spices, have been discussed earlier in this chapter. On *pādukā*s, see Hegewald, "*Pādukā*s" and Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints."

194 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 26, Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 206, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 47.

195 According to del Bontà, Settar identifies this statue as Sarvāhana Yakṣa (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 92). However, at least for the past twenty years, this and all comparable images throughout the region have been identified locally as Brahmadeva by the local priests, and at the sites, all pillars are referred to as Brahma *stambha*s. On this, refer to the longer discussion in Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings": 146–58.

believed that the pillar must have been erected close to this date.[196] In memory of the Gaṅgā King Mārasiṁha, the pillar is also referred to as Mārasiṁha's Mānastambha. However, a *mānastambha*[197] would carry representations of one or four seated or standing addorsed Jinas at its apex, rather than an image of Brahmadeva.[198]

There is another fascinating Brahmadeva Stambha on the opposite hill of Viṇdhyagiri. This pillar, which also has later additions, is located close to the twelfth-century Odegal Basadi. It measures about 2 to 2.5 metres tall, with a circular shaft which has been intricately carved with stylised creeper motifs and foliage patterns (Plate 5.14). The *stambha* was set up in 973 CE by the famous Jaina general Cāvuṇḍarāya.[199] The additions made to it during the Hoysaḷa age will be discussed later in this chapter.[200] The core pillar, from the formative period of Jaina art, is known as the Brahmadeva Tyāgada Stambha or as Tyāgada Brahmadeva Pillar.[201] The name means "pillar of gifts" and relates to a local legend, according to which Cāvuṇḍarāya made a daily donation to the poor of as much gold as the weight of the stone which had been quarried from the hill that day to bring to light the monumental statue of Gommaṭeśvara.[202]

On the same hill is another complex Brahma *stambha*, known as the Gullekāyi Ajji Maṇḍapa. It consists of another roughly two-metre pillar, supporting a seated statue of Brahmadeva, enshrined in an elevated pavilion. The date of the pillar is not entirely clear. Whilst some have suggested that it was donated by Cāvuṇḍarāya,[203] making it a Gaṅgā structure, others support a later date in the early twelfth-century Hoysaḷa period.[204] It appears conceivable that this original central pillar also dates from the ninth century CE, and was added to during later centuries. As, namely, was also the case with the other two *stambha*s discussed so far (as well as with many early temple structures),

196 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 92, Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 204, 206, and Chavan *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 47. According to Saletore, the king's full name is Mārasiṁha Guttiya Gaṅgā and the inscription bears the date 974 CE (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 26, 27).

197 A *mānastambha* is a pillar of respect, raised at the front of Jaina temples (Compare Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 578).

198 There is also a Brahmadeva shrine on the same hill. This is found outside the walled compound, to the north, located near the Kanchinadone (bell-metal pond). It is the tenth-century Iruve Brahmadeva Basadi, dedicated to the *yakṣa* and *kṣetrapāla* Brahmadeva. It is a small, west-facing cubical structure. For further details, see del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 93.

199 For the date, refer to Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153. According to Saletore, an inscription on the pillar dates it to 983 CE (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 103).

200 See section 4.2.4, entitled "Hoysaḷa Temples on the Hills at Shravanabelgola" in this chapter.

201 Refer to Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 51, 53.

202 On this legend, refer to Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 68, Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 54, and Doshi, "The Pilgrim's path": 23.

203 See, for instance, Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 51.

204 This is, for instance, the case with del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 72.



Plate 5.14: The Brahmadeva Stambha on Viṇdhyagiri. Its intricately decorated central pillar, adorned with stylised creeper motifs and foliage patterns, was set up in 973 CE by Cāvuṇḍarāya.

simpler Jaina architectural and sculptural arrangements were regularly added to by consecutive dynasties, further increasing the glory of important Jaina sites.

3.3.4 Statues of Gommaṭeśvara and Bharateśvara

In addition to substantial temple structures and free-standing pillars carrying images of Brahmadeva, a number of large-scale sculptural arrangements from the period of the Gaṅgās are found on both sacred hills at Shravanabelgola.

The most famous monumental sculpture of the Gaṅgā age is the colossal Gommaṭeśvara statue on Viṇdhyagiri, on the south side of Shravanabelgola. Gommaṭeśvara is

alternatively known as Gommaṭa or Bāhubali (Bāhubalī) (Plate 1.2). The hill itself already rises over one hundred and forty metres above the plain, making the tall standing figure visible from far away. Inscriptions on the base of this vast icon credit Cāvuṇḍarāya, the minister of Gaṅgā King Rācamalla (974–984) with its endowment, some time after 978 CE, probably in 981 or 983 CE.[205]

According to legend, Bāhubali was the son of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādināṭha. When Ṛṣabha, the king of Ayodhya (Ayodhyā) in Uttar Pradesh, reached old age, he decided to divide his kingdom amongst his two sons, Bharata and Bāhubali. As Bharata, however, wished to own the entire territory, a fight ensued between the two brothers, from which Bāhubali emerged victorious. However, instead of subduing his sibling, in the moment of victory, he understood the problematic nature of their fight and he withdrew from it, from his part of the empire and from worldly life all together.[206] Bāhubali became an ascetic and stood motionless, submerged in deep meditations for so long that creepers (Sanskrit: *mādhavī*, Kannada: *kāḷa guḷaguñji*)[207] grew over his body and ants formed hills at his feet. Especially for Digambaras, Bāhubali represents the perfect model of the ideal ascetic and he is believed to have been the first soul of this cosmic cycle to have reached enlightenment (*kevalajñāna*).[208]

The statue of the naked standing ascetic on Viṇdhyagiri is about eighteen metres tall. Reflecting the sacred narrative, summarised above, Bāhubali is shown in an erect pose referred to as *kāyotsarga* or *khaḍgāsana*, with long arms hanging down on either side, and hands reaching almost to his knees, indicating his advanced spiritual status.[209] The monumental statue was carved out of a fine-grained light grey granitic

205 For these dates, refer, for example, to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 224, and Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 167. Best-known as Rācamalla, his full name is Rājamalla Satyavākya (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 224). The dedicatory inscriptions at the base of the colossus are in Tamil-Grantha, a Nāgarī (old Marāṭhī) script and in that of Kannada (Kannaḍa) (see the previously quoted publication by Srinivasan, p. 224). The date of the statue is not entirely clear and some sources even provide a date of 1028 CE, which seems too late. For a discussion of these alternative dates, see again the last quoted publication by Srinivasan, p. 224.

206 A longer version of the story of Bāhubali has, for instance, been provided by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 109–10.

207 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 367–68, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222.

208 On this, refer to L.C. Jain, "The Legend of Bāhubali: The Quintessence of Quest and Conquest," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, Bombay, 1981): 37–44. This conflicts with the orthodox Jaina view according to which only the Jinas have reached complete enlightenment but exemplifies the high importance this figure holds for the Digambaras of Karnataka.

209 An athletic physique and elongated limbs are also characteristic of statues of the Jinas, who are considered to be *cakravartin*s or *mahāpuruṣa*s, religious as well as worldly rulers. On elongated limbs as a sign of spiritual advancement, refer to B.N. Goswamy, "Essence and Appearance: Some Notes on Indian Portraiture," in *Facets of Indian Art. A Symposium held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982*, ed. Robert Skelton, Andrew Topsfield, Susan Stronge and Rosemary

tor which projected naturally from the top of the hill.[210] Its surface has been highly polished and shows little signs of weathering despite its exposed location on the summit. The colossal sculpture is carved fully in the round and all the natural rock was removed down to about the height of the statue's knees. Below this, the rock has been retained to depict a large anthill, towering behind the statue, from which snakes emerge and creepers with thick foliage twine around the ascetic's legs and up to his armpits, indicating the long time he stood without moving. Structurally, this slightly pyramidal lower section of the sculptural ensemble provides the colossal monolith with stability. From the anthill there also emerge what have been described as cockatrices (*kukkuṭa sarpa*s),[211] two-legged serpent-like creatures with the head of a chicken. The ascetic's knees, lower legs and feet have been carved out of the rock in high relief. The latter rest on a low but very large lotus pedestal or platform. In this pose, Bāhubali represents the ascetic of Digambara Jainism par excellence.

With the important figure of Bāhubali represented on one of the two hills, the need was felt to feature his brother Bharata (or Bharateśvara) at the site as well. His statue, which was also carved under Gaṅgā patronage and might be of comparable date to the famous Gommaṭeśvara statue,[212] stands on the western side of the hill of Candragiri, facing Viṇdhyagiri (Plate 5.15). This monolithic statue measures about three metres in height. After apparently suffering damage to its lower legs, it was set into concrete to above knee-level for the celebrations of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka ceremony in 2006.

Bharata is depicted in an ascetic posture like that of his brother, naked and in *kāyotsarga* pose. Unusually, certain parts of the statue are painted white, giving emphasis to his nipples, the centre of his chest, the middle of his upper belly, his navel and his genitals. Although the paint was at its most vibrant in 2006 for the celebrations of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, faint traces were visible in these areas in 2001 as well. A photograph published by del Bontà even shows the statue with a flower garland draped around its neck.[213] In Digambara Jainism, statues of Jinas are not dressed or adorned. While Bāhubali reached an almost Jina-like status with the Digambaras,

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Crill (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986): 199, Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 68–70, 90–91, and Hegewald, "Jaina and Buddhist Art": 9–10.

210 Refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222. The Jainas, and before them probably other peoples, were attracted to similar stone formations at other sites as well, even if the carving of a statue out of a natural combination of stones like this might be rare. See, for instance, the striking needle-like rock formations projecting from the twin peaks of Mangi and Tungi (Maṅgī Taṅgī) in Maharashtra. For illustrations, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: Plates 782, 703.

211 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 110, 368, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 222.

212 This has been suggested by del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 92.

213 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 91, plate 46.



Plate 5.15: As counterpart to the colossal Bāhubali on Viṇdhyagiri, a statue of his brother, Bharata, was set up on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola, also under Gaṅgā patronage.

this can, of course, not be said for his brother Bharata. As he is a worldly character, reverence to him might well be expressed by garnishing him.

According to Srinivasan, the Bharata statue on Candragiri is shown in a posture known as *pūrvāśrama*. This is a term used with reference to Sannyāsins, ascetics who have reached the Sannyāsa, the last of the four stages of life (*āśrama*), just before they attain to renunciation, indicating that in the end, Bharata, too, understood the fight of the brothers as senseless.[214]

214 The reference to the *pūrvāśrama* pose has been suggested by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 225, and Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, *A Glossary of Indian Religious Terms and Concepts* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990): 25, 143.

3.3.5 *Basadi*s at Kambadhalli

The Pañcakūṭa Basadi, although of a comparably early date as well, primarily from the ninth century CE, is a very substantial granite temple structure.[215] This Gaṅgā temple is to be found at the north-western side of the village of Kambadhalli (Kambadhallī)[216] in Mandya District, not far from Shravanabelgola. It was constructed during the reign of Rājamalla II (870–909), a ruler of the Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ.[217] Del Bontà places the temple slightly later, between about 900 CE and the end of the tenth century CE.[218] The original core structure has later additions from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[219]

Small sections of the temple's original enclosure wall, its *prākāra*, are still preserved, as is its pronounced entrance gateway in the form of a pavilion, a *pratolī*, in the north. Positioned on this side, outside the temple complex, is the tall Brahmadeva *stambha* which gave the village its name. The early twelfth-century pillar carries a statue of Brahmadeva. As has been pointed out before, in Jaina iconography, he is the guardian of the temple complex, a *kṣetrapāla*, and a *yakṣa*.

As is indicated in its name, the temple consists of five (*pañc)* sanctums (*kūṭa)*, forming a *pañcakūṭa* arrangement. The original nucleus comprises three interconnected ninth-century CE shrines, organised in the shape of a three-petalled cloverleaf, known as *trikūṭācala* (Plate 5.16 above). Of these, the central *garbhagṛha*, facing north, houses a statue of Ādinātha,[220] the one facing east, Neminātha, and that opening towards the west, Śāntinātha.[221] This situation is still reflected in the layout today. The shrine rooms are quite large and spacious. As the icon of Ādinātha is the only one made of soapstone rather than granite, del Bontà assumes that it must be a later replacement.

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215 Narasimha Murthy informs us that alternative names for this temple are "Ekkoti Jinalaya" or "Eddoti Jinalaya," referring to a Vīraśaiva group, the "Ekkoti Maharudras," who allegedly protected the temple (P.N. Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka: Developments from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 50–51).

216 The place-name derives from "*kamba*," "*kambada*" or "*stambha*," meaning "pillar," referring to the Brahmadeva pillar at the front of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 97).

217 Refer to Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 268.

218 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 79, 97. In a later publication, he provides "ca. 900 CE" as a date for the temple (del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 117).

219 On this, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 218. Del Bontà assigns these later additions to Hoysaḷa Gaṅgarāya (del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 117).

220 For further details, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 218, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98. Srinivasan in one of his publications states that it is a statue of Mahāvīra (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 216), but this appears to be a mistake.

221 This has also been reconfirmed by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 218, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98.

There is evidence that the sculpture was added in 1167 CE by a Gaṅgā general of the Hoysaḷa dynasty.[222] All three *garbhagṛha*s are preceded by their own substantial vestibules and connected to a square central joint *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*. The central ceiling panel, the *vitāna*, depicts a standing five-hooded Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa carrying a bow and conch, flanked by flywhisk bearers (*caurīdhara, cāmaradhara*) and surrounded by the eight guardians of the directions, the *aṣṭadikapāla*s (Plate 5.16 below).[223] The entrance to this arrangement of three interconnected sanctums is through a small later porch in the north which has four, twelfth-century Cāḷukyan lathe-turned soapstone pillars.[224]

The five-shrined complex is completed by two shrines facing each other at the front of this cruciform temple. These were erected slightly later, towards the end of the tenth century CE.[225] Krishna Murthy and del Bontà even suggest a date as late as the early twelfth century.[226] The difficulty in dating is partly due to the close resemblance in style between earlier and later building elements. These additional sanctums turned the *basadi* into a quintuple arrangement. The two flanking shrines are linked by a further joint open entrance hall, while each has its own *antarāla* and *ardhamaṇḍapa*.[227] Here again, references in the literature do not reflect the present placement of the Tīrthaṅkaras inside the *garbhagṛha*s. According to Srinivasan, both cellas are dedicated to Mahāvīra, while following Krishna Murthy, the one on the eastern side honours Neminātha and that on the western side Śāntinātha.[228] In 2006 and 2019, however, when I visited the site, I found that, the *garbhagṛha* facing east housed a statue of Candraprabhu and that facing west one of Śāntinātha. On the outside, the temple walls are adorned with pilasters, creating niches. Above is a parapet adorned with *gavākṣa* arches, crowned by representations of mythical animals and small-scale pavilions. All five sanctums preserve their original superstructures, which are taller and more elaborate than in the earlier structural *basadi*s discussed so far.

222 Compare del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98.

223 On this temple ceiling, see also Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 216, and Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 104. As has been discussed earlier in this chapter and also by Krishna Murthy, this is a common arrangement in Jaina temple ceilings (see the previously quoted publication by Krishna Murthy, p. 98).

224 Consult Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 216, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98.

225 On the dating, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 217, and Meister and Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 199.

226 Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98, and Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 103. In the latter, the author makes an interesting connection between this temple, its architect and the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana.

227 For a discussion of this feature, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 217.

228 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 218, and Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 103.



Plate 5.16: View onto the three interconnected and the two opposing shrines of the ninth-century CE Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli (above) as well as the elaborate ceiling inside the *navaraṅga* (below).

Between the cruciform triple temple structure and the two flanking shrines is a small offering stone, a *balipīṭha*.[229] It dates from the foundation of the site and is as old as the *trikūṭācala* temple element.[230] The sacrificial altar is adorned with representations of the *aṣṭadikapāla*s, whom we encountered already in the ceiling panel in the main temple. The *aṣṭadikapāla*s are shown seated with their consorts on their respective animal carriers, or *vāhana*s.

To the north of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi is another large Jaina temple, of which at least some parts date from the Gaṅgā period but which was extended during later centuries.[231] It has been erected on a tall terrace with very pronounced ornamental *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings (Plate 5.4). This edifice, too, was once a twin temple. Like the later additions of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi, but on a much larger scale, two shrines with individual open pillared halls face one another across a later connecting joint hall. While these three halls survive intact, all that remains of the two temples is the Śāntinātha shrine to the west. Here again, we find an elaborate ceiling arrangement, consisting of nine squares accommodating the *aṣṭadikapāla*s with a seated Śāntinātha at the centre (Plate 5.3 above). There is a small monastery, a *maṭha*, next to the Jaina temples at Kambadhalli.[232]

At Shravanabelgola and the surrounding sites, there are a number of other ruined or extensively altered and expanded temple structures and sculptural remains which date from the Early Cāḷukya and Gaṅgā dynasties. However, the temples, pillars and monumental statues described here represent the best preserved and most substantial remains from this early period. We have seen that the beginnings of Jaina sacred architecture lie in cave excavations, as can be said of the development of *brāhmaṇical* structures, too. The first structural temple buildings, from the seventh century CE onwards, are reasonably plain in terms of decorations but often already quite complex in their spatial layout, in that they often have multiple *garbhagṛha*s in double, triple and quintuple arrangements, as well as shrines erected at first-floor level.

229 On this, consult Srinivasan, “Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India”: 217.

230 This is based on Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 155.

231 Sarma dates this *basadi* to the late Gaṅgā period (Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 166). Del Bontà assigns a later addition to Boppa, the son of Gaṅgarāya, in 1128 (del Bontà, “The Shantinatha Basadi”: 117).

232 In Karnataka, *maṭha*s—monasteries—are sometimes also referred to as *muṭṭa*s (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 579).

4 The Elaboration of Jaina Temples (ca. Tenth to Fourteenth Century)

Following this formative period, described in the literature as "Cradle of Temples,"[233] the art of temple building flourished in Karnataka under late Cāḷukyan rule, or, more precisely, under Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇī Cāḷukyan rule (973–1156 CE and 1183–1200 CE) in the north of Karnataka, and under the Hoysaḷas (ca. 985–1346 CE) in the south of the region.[234] This period has frequently been portrayed as the "golden age" of Jaina temple architecture in the region.[235] Based on the grandeur of the art and architecture and the comparative peace prevailing, this might—to a certain extent—be understandable. However, the fact that the same label has been applied—equally deservedly—to the earlier Gaṅgā art shows that such subjective value judgements are not really helpful in academic research.[236] Statements such as "The era of the Hoysaḷa kings is considered the golden age in the development of art, architecture and religion of Karnataka"[237] are common, and echoed on many webpages relating to Karnataka.[238] However, in scholarly literature, too, the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas have been portrayed as the "most outstanding

233 Suresh uses this expression (Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 6).

234 This phase also includes structures commissioned by the Yādavas, Kākatīyas and the Raṭṭas (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 311).

235 Krishna Murthy, for instance, uses this expression (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 108).

236 See Hegewald for issues questioning the usefulness of such a term, which so clearly expresses a value judgement (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Golden Age or *Kali-Yuga*?: The Changing Fortunes of Jaina Art and Identity in Karnataka," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture [SAAC] 1 [Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014]: 311–46, and Chapter 1, section 2.3.1 "High Points and Golden Periods Questioned").

237 This and the statement "The Hoysala era is considered a golden age in the development of art, architecture and religion." can be found in the online version of *The Hindu* (Tara Kashyap, "Picking up from a Past," The Hindu, online edition of India's National Newspaper, 03.11.2006, http://www.hindu.com/fr/2006/11/03/stories/2006110301500100.htm [accessed 24.08.2011]).

238 See, for instance, the webpages of Religious India.info and of a number of travel companies, such as South India Tour Package and Karnataka Tours and Travels, who all use the same wording ("In the dust and turmoil of history, India was witnessing the Golden Age of the mighty Cholas, Pandyas and the Hoysalas") (Religious India.info, http://www.religiousindia.info/page/8/ [accessed 24.08.2011]; South India tour package, http://www.south-india-tour-package.com/south-indian-temples/karnataka-temples/somnathpur-temple.html [accessed 24.08.2011]; Karnataka Tours and Travels, http://www.karnatakatoursandtravel.com/karnataka_temples/somnathpur_temple.htm [accessed 24.08.2011]). The Wikipedia page on the site of Balligavi has an entire entry on "Golden Age," which includes the statement, "The golden age of Balligavi was during the rule of the Western Cāḷukyas, during the 10th century–12 century." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balligavi [accessed 04.01.2024]). On Balligavi or Balligave, which emerged as one of the biggest settlements in northern Karnataka in the twelfth century under late Cāḷukyan rule, refer to Rajaram Hegde, "Temple-Hierarchy, Mathas and Socio-Political Factors in Medieval India – A Regional Context in Karnataka," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 58 (1997): 233, 237.

patrons of art" and Jainism has been described as "as its best in their realm."[239] Soundara Rajan also characterises Hoysaḷa architecture as "spell-binding in its ravishing charm, virility and grandeur," while Settar speaks of "the excellence of Hoysaḷa architecture."[240]

In the period from the late tenth to the twelfth century, when Jainism flourished in Karnataka, large numbers of *basadi*s were extended or newly constructed throughout the region. By the end of the thirteenth century, although many aspects of earlier developments had continued, Jaina temple architecture had reached new and previously unknown heights in terms of elaboration and complexity. Whilst earlier *basadi*s are characterised by a relatively plain treatment and built in a fairly coarse-grained light-coloured sandstone, later temples were more highly decorated and often made of a black, grey or greenish and much finer chloritic schist, which allowed for the carving of minute details.[241] As has been discussed in Chapter 1,[242] the modifications in the architecture appear to reflect changes in the religious and social outlook of the Jainas at this time. Outlined below are brief considerations concerning prominent temple structures from this period, which echo these changes.

4.1 Later or Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyan Jaina Temples (Tenth to Early Thirteenth Century)

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyan rule was at its peak. The affluence and grandeur of this dynasty is reflected in the highly ornamental style of their temple architecture. This finds expression, for instance, in the outer wall articulations, which have numerous projections and recesses, unknown during earlier centuries. This created more star-like expressions of the *prāsāda*s of the temples. Pillars and niches adorning the outside carry miniature roof structures. This elaboration can also be noticed on the interior of the structures, with their highly ornate pillars, elaborately carved doorways, lintels and domical lotus ceilings. An increase in pierced stone screens is also seen. These features were later further elaborated by the Hoysaḷas. Amongst the most famous Jaina constructions of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas are *basadi*s at Lakkundi, Lakshmeshvar and Belgaum. These will now be discussed in their respective sections.

239 For this quote, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 310.

240 The quotes have been taken from Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture ": 315, and S. Settar, *The Hoysaḷa Temples*, 2 vols. (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnataka University and Bangalore: Kalā Yātra Publications, 1992): XVII.

241 On this refer also to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 77.

242 See especially section 4.2. "Voluntary Changes in Jaina *Basadi*s."

4.1.1 *Jinālaya*s at Lakkundi

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Lakkundi (Lakkuṇḍi; ancient Lokkiguṇḍi) in Gadag District[243] was one of the most important and prosperous centres of Jainism in the region. One of the earliest structures at the site—and one of the major building achievements of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas—is the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi. An inscription at the temple, dated to 1007 CE, outlines the donation of land from Dānacintāmaṇi ("the jewel of benevolence") Attimabbe or Attiyabbe,[244] to the Brahma Jinālaya, which she commissioned.[245] Attimabbe is credited with initiating the construction of about one and a half thousand Jaina temples in the region[246] and is therefore regarded as the most prominent donor of this period.[247] Another inscription associated with the *basadi* bears the date of 1172 CE, which is taken as the date of the completion of the temple.[248]

The Brahma Jinālaya is part of a small temple complex. This appears to have been walled, with an entrance through a gateway located north-east of the main temple. It currently encloses one other temple structure. As was typical of this period (see the discussion above), the *basadi* is a grey schist temple, featuring more ornamentation than earlier sacred edifices in the region. It has a large, open, pillared hall of black polished stone, known at this site as a *śṛṅgāracaurīmaṇḍapa*,[249] through which modern-day visitors enter the temple (Plate 5.17 above). This was not, however part of the original layout, but is a later addition.[250] Next in line is a large closed hall. Above the doorway leading from the open to the closed *maṇḍapa* is a carved statue of Gajalakṣmī. Locally, the closed hall is referred to as a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, although the more common term in Karnataka is *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*. This leads via a vestibule to the square sanctum, which used to house a

243 Formerly, this was part of Dharwar District.

244 The title Dānacintāmaṇi has also been translated as the "ever-gifting gem of heaven" (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 45). This refers to the generous donations which Attimabbe made to Jaina sacred sites and monastic institutions, the propagation of Jaina literature and the ascetic community.

245 See *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 11, part 1, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, ed. C.R. Krishnamacharlu (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986 [1940]): 32–43, Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 140, and Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 31.

246 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 310, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 45. Although Attimabbe is the most prominent female donor during the high phase of Jaina influence in Karnataka (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 31, 33), she is not the only one. On this issue, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 155–71, Rajaram Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations: Saivism in Medieval Karnataka," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 60 (1999): 194, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 45, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 79.

247 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 156–57, and Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 66, have commented on this.

248 For the dating, see Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 77, 79.

249 This term has been used by Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 313. The term *śṛṅgāra* normally refers to an erotic sculpture.

250 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 313, has commented on this.

statue of Mahāvīra.[251] It is possible that a decapitated icon, today situated outside the neighbouring temple, was the original main statue, or *mūlanāyaka*, of the Brahma Jinālaya.[252] At least the lion *lāñchana* below the figure indicates that it represents the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara. Above the ground-floor sanctum there is again a raised *garbhagṛha*, which, however, has been damaged and is no longer in use.[253]

The facades of this *basadi*, and of the shrine and closed hall, have been richly decorated. They have a central projecting niche (*bhadra*). The walls are adorned not only with the typical wall pilasters, seen already in earlier temple structures, but also with smaller niches, topped by roof ornaments in the form of small *vimāna* towers. In between are relief carvings of pillars topped by *vimāna* elements as well as vegetal ornamentation, crowned by lion-like *kīrttimukha* faces (Plate 5.17 below). On the outside, on the north side of the shrine, is a water outlet spout, shaped as a cow head (*gomukh*). The superstructure of the temple consists of multiple receding tiers and is taller than the *vimāna*s found in earlier *basadi*s.

Jaina imagery in the form of statues of Tīrthaṅkaras has been preserved on the door lintels and in the superstructure of the temple. Both the Brahma Jinālaya and a neighbouring Jaina temple appear to have been taken over by the Vīraśaivas, probably between the later twelfth and the fifteenth century, when Vīraśaivism was especially strong and dominant in this region. Whilst the Brahma Jinālaya is today once again a place of Jaina worship, the smaller neighbouring temple was still in use by the Vīraśaivas when Cousens visited the site in the 1920s, as it still is today.[254] Other temples from Lakkundi will be discussed later in the context of temple conversions.[255]

4.1.2 Lakshmeshvar and its *Basadi*s

In the early centuries of the Common Era, the village of Lakshmeshvar (Lakṣmeśvara; ancient Puligere), also located in Gadag District in the north-western region of Karnataka,[256] was a town which functioned as an important centre of Jainism.[257] The large Śaṅkha Basadi or Śaṅkha Jinālaya, alternatively known as Nemināṭha Basadi (Plate 5.18), is particularly well known. The Jaina temple, erected under Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyan rule, has been substantially rebuilt after suffering severe damage, so it is difficult to ascertain its

251 See Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 78.

252 For an illustration, see the image on the cover of this book.

253 According to Soundara Rajan, the raised shrine is today "blocked up with solid walling" (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 313).

254 For the reference to Cousens, see (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 79).

255 There is, for instance, another Jaina temple at Lakkundi, today renamed as the Nāganātha Temple. This will be discussed in section 5, "Jaina Temples Under Threat" later in this chapter.

256 Lakshmeshwar was formerly situated in Dharwar District.

257 Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 388, and Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 314, have commented on this.



Plate 5.17: The eleventh to twelfth-century Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi has a more elaborate facade (below) and is entered through a later wide open pillared hall (above).

original shape, though it appears that the reconstruction followed roughly the original layout of the temple.



Plate 5.18: The eleventh-century Śaṅkha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar has been rebuilt from rubble after it was completely dismantled during religiously motivated attacks on the site.

In its present form, the structure is entered via a short flight of steps in the east. At the front stands a *mānastambha* and a small offering slab. Devotees step into a spacious pillared *navaraṅga*, which, although it is closed, can be lit by opening three doorways, on the northern, eastern and southern sides. At the southern end, this *maṇḍapa* accommodates a large *sahasrakūṭa* statue[258] and further small black stone icons on low pedestals.[259] A *sahasrakūṭa* is a representation consisting of a large square block of stone, with images of 1000 (sometimes also of 1008), or at least a very large number of Jina figures on each of its four sides. The block can also be pyramidal in shape. This *maṇḍapa* is followed by another two halls, a *mahāmaṇḍapa* with side windows, and an entirely closed hall, which Soundara Rajan describes as an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, which means

258 Soundara Rajan identifies this as "a *caumukha* statue in diminutive model [...] it is a *caumukha* combined with [a] *cauvīsī* type of shrine" (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 314). A *caubīsī* usually shows one central seated or standing Jina surrounded by smaller representations of the other twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

259 On my visit to the temple in 2001, a statue of the *kṣetrapāla*, of the snake divinity (*nāgadevata*) and of the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī were on display in the north-western corner of the hall.

porch, despite its reasonably large size.[260] While fulfilling the function of a large vestibule, this closed hall itself contains further statues: a standing icon of Pārśvanātha, his *yakṣī*, Padmāvatī, and his *yakṣa*, Dhāraṇendra. Behind this *antarāla* comes the main sanctum of the temple, which today houses a seated black stone icon of Neminātha.[261]

On the roof top, we again find a second higher shrine, positioned immediately above the lower sanctum. The raised *garbhagṛha* is reached via a set of outside stairs on the northern wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The cella on the first floor accommodates a beautifully carved panel with a central Jina surrounded by a large number of Tīrthaṅkaras. Although it is difficult to identify all the twenty-four Jinas (*caubīs*-Tīrthaṅkara) and the emphasis here is very much on the central statue, it is locally referred to as a *caubīsī* or a *caubīsī paṭa*. The latter consists of one large central Jina, surrounded by twenty-three other Tīrthaṅkaras.

As has been seen in this *basadi*, a large number of the temples from this later period, too, have multiple *garbhagṛha*s. These can be positioned on superimposed levels, as was the case in the Brahma and the Śaṅkha Jinālayas. However, additional sanctums were also added on the horizontal plane during this time, as the following example illustrates.

Lakshmeshvar is also home to the Anantanātha Basadi, alternatively known as Hale Basadi, which dates from the mid- or late twelfth century.[262] The temple faces north. At the entrance, where we again find a low offering slab, we meet an unusual construction: the visitor climbs one step and passes through a passage between two flanking elevated terraces, which have been raised about one metre above the ground. The side platforms which protrude from the front of the *jinālaya* lack the typical sheltering superstructure of a porch.[263] Devotees cross the threshold (*udumbara*)[264] and enter a later elongated closed pillared hall. From this *maṇḍapa*, a small subsidiary sanctum, dedicated to the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha, projects from the middle of the western side. At the end of the hall lies an earlier closed square *maṇḍapa*, from which three main shrines protrude in star-like fashion. Whereas the cella projecting from the first hall appears to be a later addition, these three shrines are probably original, and are arranged in the characteristic cruciform manner already encountered in earlier temple structures in the region (Plate 5.19). Nowadays, the cell protruding from the south side,

260 For this reference, see Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 314.

261 An alternative name for the *basadi* is therefore Neminātha Digambara Jaina Temple.

262 In the available literature, the temple is also referred to as Ādinātha Basadi. See, for instance, Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 314. At least today, however, it is known as the Anantanātha Basadi and the main icon enshrined in its principal sanctum is identified as the fourteenth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Anantanātha. For the dating, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 314.

263 This kind of arrangement, albeit usually connected with a gateway structure, is more common in the coastal region of Karnataka. There also is a simple draw well at the front of the Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar.

264 Another term for doorsill or threshold is *bhuvaṅga* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 587).

which is the main sanctum of the temple, houses a standing statue of Anantanātha, the fourteenth Jina. The other two *garbhagṛha*s to the west and east both accommodate icons of Pārśvanātha. In order to elongate the three projecting shrine wings, and provide devotees with a more discreet space to gaze at the images in the sanctums, small vestibules have been inserted between the joint hall and the three individual cellas in this *basadi*. The central hall is large enough to accommodate another seated statue of Supārśvanātha, on a low altar on the southern side. This is flanked by Brahmadeva on his right and Jvālā Devī, better known as Jvālāmālinī, on his left.[265] The niches on the outside of the temple house a number of desecrated sculptures and parts of violated ones, such as the loose head of a Jina, bearing witness to violent attacks on the site in the past.



Plate 5.19: View onto the three star-like sanctums of the mid- to late twelfth-century Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar. Large numbers of desecrated statues indicate violent assaults in the past.

The addition of structural elements to a temple, of which we see clear evidence in the Anantanātha Basadi, was common practice during this period in which Jainism flourished, when ample funds were available to the Jainas. Structural additions were made to other earlier *basadi*s in the region, too. Inscriptional evidence from 1119 CE records, for example, that substantial additions were made by the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas to the Cār-

265 These are not the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* identified with the Jina. In Digambara Jainism, Anantanātha has traditionally been connected with Pātāla Yakṣa and Anantamaṭī Yakṣī. On this, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 597.

aṇṭī Maṭha group of Jaina temples at Aihole, on which building had started during Cāḷukyan rule.[266]

4.1.3 Jaina Temples at Belgaum

Jainism flourished in and around Belgaum (Belgāum, Bēḷagāma, Belgaon; ancient Vēṇugrāma), today also known as Belagavi, located in Belagavi District,[267] at the start of the thirteenth century in particular. This was due to the patronage of the Raṭṭas, who were vassals of the Cāḷukyas and gave liberal support to Jainism. Desai identifies the town as a major centre of Yāpanīya Jainism.[268] Inside the fort of Belgaum, there are two Jaina temples, which date from the late Cāḷukyan period.[269]

The Neminātha Temple, better known as the Kamal or Kamala Basadi, which is today protected by the Archaeological Survey of India, is especially refined (Plate 5.20 above). It is a north-facing schist construction, dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[270] In the past, two stone tablets near the temple provided a date of 1204 or 1205 CE.[271] Its popular name probably derives from the prominent lotus (*kamal*) ceiling, above the large, open, highly-decorated *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, which appears to be a later addition. As this *navaraṅga* is open, it has also been referred to as *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, a term which is more common in the Jaina architecture of north-west India. A central pendant hangs from the centre of the domed roof. This elaborate corbelled ceiling is supported on highly-polished, lathe-turned pillars (Plate 5.20 below).

Thanks to this extension of the *basadi*, one steps from this open pillared hall through what must have been the earlier entrance porch of the temple into another two smaller halls: a closed *maṇḍapa* and a reasonably spacious square antechamber.[272]

266 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 312, 313, has written on this.

267 Belgaum used to be located in Belgaum District.

268 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164, 165.

269 According to Burgess, there are three Jaina temples within the fort, all dating from around 1200 CE (Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: 1). On the following page, Burgess states that the third temple is a short distance from the other two and has undergone such a comprehensive conversion into "quarters for married soldiers" that it is no longer recognisable as a Jaina temple.

270 The earlier dating has been suggested by the records of the photographic archive of the American Institute of Indian Studies. See, for instance, their negatives number AAB Neg. No. A13.20 and AAB Neg. No. A13.22. The later dating comes from Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 369.

271 On the 1204 CE date see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 122, and on the 1205 CE dating Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122. Unfortunately, these tablets were later removed. According to Burgess, at least one of the inscriptions is housed in what used to be called the Museum of the Bombay B.R. Asiatic Society (Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: 1). The text of the inscription has been reproduced in the same publication on p. 2.

272 For a plan of the temple, see Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: plate IV.



Plate 5.20: The late twelfth or early thirteenth-century Kamala Basadi at Belgaum has an open pillared hall, *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, with lathe-turned pillars and an elaborate domical lotus ceiling (below).

The latter has perforated stone screens, flanking the doorway to the shrine, and a lantern ceiling above. Inside the *garbhagṛha* is a seated black stone statue of Neminātha. On the backplate behind the image are representations of two flanking trees with stylised foliage. According to local information at the site, the icon of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was found in a forest near the temple. Such narratives about the miraculous appearance of icons are common in a religious Jaina context and add particular sanctity to the sculptures. When Burgess visited the *basadi* in the late nineteenth century, he also noticed the striking backrest of the altar inside the sanctum but described it as empty.[273] Consequently, the statue placed on the pedestal must be of a relatively recent date. The ceilings and lintels are richly decorated with Jaina imagery.

The roof above the large *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* has been repaired. Above the sanctum, there is an unusually shaped low-tiered, pyramidal roof structure, containing a raised shrine, which however is not accessible any longer.[274] The outer walls of the temple are plain and not structured by pilasters. This is quite rare for its reasonably late date, in which relatively opulent exterior decorations are quite common. Cousens described the structuring of the walls as "being decorated only with flat horizontal bands."[275] These can be found as part of the lower *adhiṣṭhāna* but also at the upper end of the outer walls.

The second Jaina temple in the fort of Belgaum, known as the Cikki or Cikka Basadi,[276] stands slightly to the north-east of the Kamala Basadi and faces it. This south-oriented structure is in a more ruined state of preservation than the *jinālaya* opposite. All that has been preserved of this *basadi* are a shallow, wide veranda or porch, and a large enclosed hall, which has sixteen pillars and as many wall pilasters. The four central pillars surround a slightly raised square platform.[277] Above, we again find a domical corbelled lotus ceiling. The shrine part of the temple has been entirely destroyed and the doorway to the former sanctum has been sealed off with wooden door panes.[278] This feature has already been noticed in connection with the second Jaina temple at Kambadhalli, where one of the *garbhagṛha*s of the double temple, next to the Pañcakūṭa Basadi, was also completely flattened. By this means, aggressors deprived the *ji-*

273 Refer to Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: 3.

274 Cousens also noticed this raised sanctum and wrote: "In the *śikhara* is the small upper shrine so often found in Jaina Temples." (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 121).

275 For this quote refer to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 121.

276 The name has also been spelled with a "ch" (Chikki or Chikka).

277 A ground plan of what remains of the temple has been provided by Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: plate II.

278 Burgess suggests that the sanctum of this temple was torn down to allow the building of a road close to the *basadi* (Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: 2). However, we must assume that this destruction predated the colonial building of roads. On the same page, Burgess stated that the *jinālaya* was used as a store by the colonial "Fort authorities."

*nālaya*s of their most sacred sections. Even where large portions of the temples remained otherwise, such desecration rendered them religiously and politically impotent.

The exterior walls of the Cikka Basadi are largely plain, once again displaying strong horizontal bands. The porch, by contrast, is intricately decorated. In the lower registers there are depictions of squat pillars and vegetal motifs in diamond shape. Higher up, we find a figurative band with numerous musicians and dancers. The highly ornate parapet wall above the roof of the veranda, which has been adorned with three medallions, is especially striking. Whilst the central medallion contains a Tīrthaṅkara statue, the others display images of goddesses.[279] According to Cousens, the central statue appears later than the images of the female divinities, as the latter seem to him Hindu in form. His identification of a statue above the lintel to the damaged shrine as Garuḍa leads him to suggest that this *basadi* might actually have been appropriated from Vaiṣṇava to Jaina usage.[280] The *lalāṭabimba* clearly does not show a Jina, however, whether it is a representation of Viṣṇu's carrier vehicle is not entirely clear. The fact that the Jainas did appropriate temples, as did all religious groups worldwide, is obvious from the example of the Pārśvanātha Temple at Khajuraho (Khajurāho) in Madhya Pradesh, for instance.[281] Although the two temples at Belgaum are very different in layout, both are similar in style and appear to date from the Cāḷukyan period, probably the early thirteenth century.

4.2 Hoysaḷa Temples (Early Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Century)

Late Cāḷukyan and Hoysaḷa temples did not develop in isolation. Both influenced one another and showed regional specialisations during a period of exchange, experimentation and flourishing of Jaina art and architecture in Karnataka. The larger and supra-local temples of this period excel in size, quality and elaboration. Before discussing individual examples, I shall provide an overview of some of the broad characteristics of the sacred structures built in this characteristic style, initiated by the Hoysaḷa dynasty in particular.

279 Cousens supports the view that two more medallions, at the edges of the veranda, were probably lost (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122).

280 For this suggestion, refer to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122.

281 On this temple, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change: A New Interpretation of the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, ed. P. Flügel, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies 1 (London: Routledge, 2006): 401–18.

4.2.1 General Features

Late Cāḷukyan and early Hoysaḷa Jaina temples are often still reasonably simple in design and layout. However, noticeable changes took place from about the middle of the twelfth century onwards.[282] Although this was already a period during which a large number of religious groups competed for precedence, especially in the northern areas of Karnataka, different faith groups appear still to have coexisted in a reasonably peaceful manner in the Hoysaḷa region in the south of the state. For the Jainas, it was a phase of renewal, reform and development in the areas of religion, societal organisation and literature and the cultural vigour and financial opulence of this time also influenced the style of Jaina art and architecture. Alongside the continuities in Jaina temple architecture from this later period, we notice a general increase in ornamentation and complexity, which reflect a more this-worldly attitude on the part of the Jainas, and there are some *basadi*s which very clearly break out of the earlier Gaṅgā mode.

From the middle of the twelfth century onwards, new Jaina temples differed little in layout from earlier structures. In this context, too, the practice of constructing temple structures with multiple shrines continued.[283] However, they were often produced on a larger, more substantial scale. In the large late-Hoysaḷa Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi at Chikka Hanasoge (Cikka Haṇasoge, Cikka Hanasōge), for instance, three *garbhagṛha*s have been arranged in a star-like fashion. In the late twelfth-century Pañca Basadi at Humcha, five parallel sanctums have been combined, whilst in the late twelfth-century *basadi* at Markuli, three shrines have been combined in a star shape with two shrines that face each other (as we saw already at Kambadhalli).

As part of these later developments, the *basadi*s have more pronounced terraces, flat halls, superstructures which can be more oriented towards northern temple towers, and shrine sections (*prāsāda*s), which have been planned on more complex radial or star-like ground plans, although the latter is more typical of Hindu than Jaina structures.

The material most typically used in the northern area of Karnataka is a locally quarried greenish, grey or black soft schist, which is easy to carve and can yield sharp edges and clear outlines. This chloritic schist, or chloritoschist, is also referred to as potstone.[284] This is a kind of soapstone.[285] The Hoysaḷa temples of the southern regions also employ the hard local granite. To a certain extent, however, both types of

282 Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106, and del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 124 have commented on this.

283 Soundara Rajan has also remarked on this fact (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316).

284 This has also been suggested by del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118.

285 As in prehistoric times, cooking vessels and pots were made from soapstone, it is also known as potstone (Collins, English Dictionary, "Potstone," https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/potstone [accessed 19.01.2024]).

stone were used throughout the wider region.[286] To provide some examples: structures constructed of schist are the Akaṇṇa Basadi (1181 CE) at Shravanabelgola and the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Heggere (1160 CE).[287] The Pārśvanātha Basadi at Koppala (Koppaḷa; ancient Kopaṇa) (1240 CE) is a granite structure.[288] A *basadi* in which both materials have been combined in a single structure is the Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi at Chikka Hanasoge, which is a granite structure but has doorways made of schist.

Later Hoysaḷa temples generally have a more elaborately decorated exterior than those of earlier periods.[289] The detailed carvings on the facades have been linked to the long tradition of ivory and sandalwood engraving in the area.[290] The walls of most larger Hindu temples in this later style have carved friezes, with countless statues above them.[291] Some authors call the profusely ornate style of the Hoysaḷas baroque and extravagant. Pal, for instance, writes: "Just as the Hoysala temples are among the most complex in the history of Indian architecture, so also their ornamentation is the most baroque of all Indian sculptural styles."[292] Along the same lines, Mehta writes of the Chenna Keśava Temple: "As is common in Hoysaḷa temples, the decoration is profuse and bewildering, the ornamental motifs running riot everywhere."[293] The sculptures in these temples are usually individual carved panels, fixed to the facades, rather than carved directly out of the stone walls of the temples, as is the more common practice. In later Hoysaḷa *jinālaya*s, statues were also used to decorate the main temple, in other words, the outer facade of the shrine.

Although the later *basadi*s show a clear increase in ornament in comparison with earlier structures, most Jaina temples are plainer on the outside than their Hindu counterparts and follow a more conservative style. Although this later approach is clearly more elaborate, it still shows connections to the earlier Gaṅgā temples.[294] Del Bontà suggests that although *jinālaya*s became more ornate, the much plainer "Ganga

286 Generally, granite is more commonly used in the southern regions of Karnataka and on the border to Tamil Nadu (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 315).

287 For further information on the latter temple, see Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 174, and Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318. The place is also known as Herggere. The earlier Brahma Jinālaya (1007 CE) at Lakkundi is also of schist.

288 Compare also Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 272.

289 On this topic, see, for instance, Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 107.

290 This has been suggested by Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*: 261.

291 The Hindu temples at Belur (e.g., the Chenna Keśava Temple, c. 1117 CE), Halebid (e.g., the Hoysaḷeśvara Temple, mid-twelfth century) and Somnathpur (e.g., the Keśava Temple, 1238 CE) are particularly celebrated for their complex outer figural decorations.

292 For this quote, refer to Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, vol. 2, *(700–1800). A Catalogue of the Los Angeles Museum of Art Collection* (Berkeley: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, 1988): 229.

293 This quotation has been taken from Rustam J. Mehta, *Masterpieces of Indian Temples* (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1974): 63.

294 On this issue, see also del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 95.

style of architecture was the desired building style of the Jainas."[295] Although some later *basadi*s still have quite unassuming facades, the ornamentation on the inside, at least, greatly increased, as can, for instance, be seen in the group of Jaina temples at Halebid.[296] The interior features will be discussed later on in this section.

However, one Jaina temple in particular clearly reflects the later Hoysaḷa approach in its highly ornate exterior. This is the Śāntinātha Basadi at Jinanathapura (Jinanāthapura), a village to the north of Shravanabelgola (Plate 5.21 left). This *jinālaya* dates from the end of the twelfth century.[297] Similarly, the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Nittur (Niṭṭūr), Tumkur District, which also dates from the late twelfth century, has been adorned with seated and standing Tīrthaṅkara statues and with female representations.[298] In the Trikūṭa Basadi at Mulgund (Muḷgund), three-dimensional elephant statues emerge from two sculpted niches (Plate 5.21 right).

As stated above, however, in a Jaina context, it is more common for the walls to be structured by shallow pilasters, as can be seen at Halebid. In Jaina *basadi*s, external figural decorations have generally been relegated to the roof. Some have miniature wall niches (*koṣṭha*s), which usually remain empty, or representations of miniature shrines (*vimāna* models), as is the case on the exterior walls of the Jaina temple at Hangal (Hāngal) (Plate 1.29 above).[299] The walls of the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi combine both approaches in one structure. Some *basadi*s have a lower moulding with diamond patterns (*bandhana*-moulding).[300] Dhaky calls such diamond or lozenge-shaped ornamental motifs *ratna* and a band of such jewels a *ratnabandha*.[301] Other temples, as we saw at Belgaum, have walls with strongly indented parallel linear mouldings.

Jaina temples dating from 1150 CE or later are generally more elaborate inside than out.[302] Both in detail and complexity, their interior decoration does not lag behind

295 Del Bontà has written on this topic in a number of publications. Compare, for instance, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 98, and del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118.

296 Refer to del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118–19.

297 For further details, consult the examination further on in this chapter or the discussion by del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi."

298 See the discussion later in this chapter and Soundara Rajan on this temple (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318). Saletore also describes the outside of the Ādīśvara Basadi at Nittur as completely decorated with statues (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 181–82).

299 The publication by Cousens, which was originally published in 1926, includes illustrations of the Jaina temples in the fort of Hangal in a bad state of repair in the nineteen-twenties (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 92, plate LXXXVIII).

300 On *bandhana*-mouldings, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 311.

301 See Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 583.

302 In a way, this feature is typical also of Jaina *basadi*s in different periods and in other regions of the subcontinent. Compare, for instance, with the Solaṅkī temples in north-western India. Jaina Solaṅkī temples have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "The International Jaina Style?: Māru-Gurjara Temples Under the Solaṅkīs, Throughout India and in the Diaspora," *Ars Orientalis* 45 (2015): 114–40, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/ars/13441566.0045.005?view=text;rgn=main [accessed 10.10.2024].



Plate 5.21: The exterior of later Hoysaḷa temples was often adorned with figural images—as in the Śāntināth̄a Basadi at Jinanathapura (left)—or with animal sculptures, as in the Trikūṭa Basadi at Mulgund (right).

that of temples built by the followers of other religions in the region. Luxurious decorations and highly treated surfaces are mainly to be found on the multiple pillars and the prominent ceilings of Hoysaḷa Jaina *basadis*. This applies in particular to their multi-pillared spacious *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*s, which from this time onwards are often open, as well as to their open detached halls.

Some of the Hoysaḷa-style ceilings found inside *navaraṅga*s and detached halls, as well as in smaller and closed sections of the *jinālaya*s, are flat and adorned with decorated registers, referred to as *samatala vitāna*.[303] Most of these consist of a number of squares, usually three by three, in a checkerboard pattern, creating a nine-square ceiling arrangement. A particularly elaborate example is the ceiling inside the *navaraṅga* of the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Nittur, which displays a grid accommodating representations of the eight guardians of the directions, the *aṣṭadikapāla*s,[304] a fashion which commenced during the earlier Gaṅgā period, for example, at Kambadhalli. An even more common ceiling style in this period, however, is the corbelled domical variant,

303 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

304 On this issue, see the discussion in Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

with concentric circular or octagonal stone rings arranged in a trabeate manner. Often, a central pendant hangs from the apex of the dome. In architectural terminology, these are referred to as *kṣipta vitāna* and the pendentives as *kuḍmala*.[305] Ceilings of the *kṣipta* type can also be multangular and lack the central pendant. A good example of this variant can be seen in the detached hall of the Pārśvanātha Temple at Halebid. The Jaina temple at Belgaum and the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Heggere (ca. 1160 CE), Tumkur District, have elaborate *kuḍmala* or *lambana* pendants hanging from the centre of the domed section.[306]

One of the most characteristic features of the interior of Hoysaḷa temples is the high polish of their lathe-turned, slightly bell-shaped, pillars. These are the fruit of new and more advanced technologies,[307] requiring highly skilled workers and plenteous funds. Such shafts can, for instance, be seen in the Pārśvanātha Temple at Halebid, where fourteen highly polished black stone pillars support the ceiling of the open detached hall (Plate 5.22).[308] Most pillars have a square base and a series of rings towards the top of the shaft, crowned by a square abacus. Often, pillars have recurring square sections and rings along their shafts. These can also be decorated with carved scrolls, floral designs, abstract rosettes and bead chains. Some pillars have been adorned with heavenly beauties (*bhuvaneśvarī*s) and tree nymphs (*śālabhañjikā*), including erotic forms. Krishna Murthy makes the fascinating observation that in late Hoysaḷa literature, there is an increase in references to eroticism, sex and the enjoyment of worldly pleasures.[309] The popularity of these themes is also evident in the carvings of the temples. In contrast to the simplicity of earlier building traditions, the later Hoysaḷa *jinālaya*s show an increase in extravagance and grandeur not seen previously in the temple edifices of the Jainas.

4.2.2 The Jaina Temples at Halebid

After these more general deliberations about the Hoysaḷa style, we shall examine a selection of individual Hoysaḷa temples in more detail. Under Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana, the capital was moved to Halebid, ancient Bastihalli, then known as Dvārasamudra (Dōrasamudram), where a number of splendid temple structures exemplifying the character-

305 For additional information, consult Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

306 For further details on the *jinālaya* at Heggere, built by Mahāsāmanta Govideva in memory of his wife, Mahādevī Nāyakīrti, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 143, and Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

307 On this issue, see for instance, Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 107.

308 Soundara Rajan has written on this *jinālaya* (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318) under the old place-name of Bastihalli (Bastihaḷḷi). In the past, it was treated as a separate settlement adjacent to Halebid (del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 119). Bastihalli is the part of Halebid in which the Jaina temples are located. This was a prospering centre of Jainism during the Hoysaḷa period (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 211).

309 Compare Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 107, 108.



Plate 5.22: In the detached open hall of the Pārśvanātha Temple at Halebid are fourteen highly polished lathe-turned stone pillars, which are typical of later Hoysaḷa *basadi*s.

istic later Hoysaḷa style were erected. Three substantial twelfth-century Hoysaḷa Jaina *basadi*s are enclosed by a single compound wall. Within the north-eastern corner of the complex, a Brahma *stambha* and a deep stepped water basin (*kuṇḍa*) are located.

In the westernmost part of the compound, where one enters the sacred area through a gateway structure in the north-west, we find the substantial Pārśvanātha Temple.[310] It was erected in 1133 CE, commissioned by Boppa or Boppana, the son of general

310 It is also referred to as the Vijaya Pārśvanātha Basadi (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 109).

Gaṅgarāya (Gaṅgarāja, Ganga Rāja).[311] The Pārśvanātha Basadi is the largest structure at the site and overall the largest Hoysaḷa temple, exemplifying the beginnings of the later and more luxurious style.[312] The *jinālaya* has a fully detached open pillared hall (Plate 5.23 below).[313] This has been furnished with thirty-two tall lathe-turned pillars (Plate 5.22).[314] Krishna Murthy comments on the comparatively unadorned style of the temple exterior and explains this with reference to the enormous size of the structure.[315] The facades are ornamented with very tall, narrowly spaced slender pilasters. Sculptural decorations have been relegated to the roof structure (Plate 5.23 above).

The Pārśvanātha Temple's elaborately adorned interior stands in stark contrast to its exterior. On entering through the open pillared detached pavilion, devotees reach a closed *maṇḍapa*, the *navaraṅga,* with twelve tall polished lathe-turned black pillars (Plate 1.5). Both the free-standing hall and the *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* have highly decorated complex ceiling panels. The central panels of both feature Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa, surrounded by the *aṣṭadikapāla*s, heavenly musicians and dancers, as well as warriors, Jinas and other *yakṣa*s with their female counterparts, the *yakṣī*s (Plate 1.28 above).[316] From the main hall, there projects an *antarāla*, accommodating a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī*. Locally, they are identified as Sarvāhana Yakṣa and Kuṣamāṇḍinī Yakṣī, who are the associated divinities of Neminātha. The *garbhagr̥ha,* however, houses a 4.3-metre standing black stone statue of Pārśvanātha. With its complex pillar and ceiling arrangements, this later Hoysaḷa *jinālaya* clearly exhibits the ornate nature and lavishness of the later temple style.

Some evidence suggests that a *liṅga* may have been stamped onto a pillar at the Pārśvanātha or Vijaya Pārśvanātha Temple at Halebid by a Vīraśaiva called Huccappa Deva. It is not entirely clear which of the large number of tall lathe-turned pillars of the *basadi* was at issue. The *jinālaya* has no separate free-standing pillar, but there is a Brahma *stambha* in the temple compound. The Jaina Vijayappa is said to have removed the imprint, which was considered a humiliation.[317]

311 This is based on epigraphic evidence at the site (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 109). On the patron and this dating, see also del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 117. For further details on this famous general, whose parents were Jainas, too, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 116–22, 130–41.

312 This issue has been commented upon by Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112.

313 Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 109, calls this a *mahāmaṇḍapa*. Separate open pillared halls have a long tradition in the region. The earliest evidence for such detached pavilions dates from the sixth to seventh century, from Talakad (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 100).

314 For a plan of the temple, refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 326–27.

315 Compare Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 109.

316 On this issue, see Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 109.

317 For further information on the inscription, referring to this incidentce, consult Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 84–85.



Plate 5.23: The twelfth-century Pārśvanātha Temple at Halebid has reasonably plain facades, topped by ornate roof decorations, integrating Jinas as well as heavenly and mythical creatures (above).

Neighbouring this temple, immediately to the east, is the smallest of the group. It is dedicated to Ādinātha, but an inscription indicates an earlier dedication to Mallinātha. The statue of Mallinātha was gifted to the *jinālaya* in 1138 CE. It appears to have been decapitated and the headless torso has been kept in the neighbouring Śāntinātha Basadi.[318] The temple has a small pillared porch, whose entrance is flanked by two elephant sculptures. The *jinālaya* further consists of a roughly square closed *maṇḍapa* and a shallow vestibule whose lantern ceiling has a central lotus and pendant. The door to the shrine has been heavily decorated. The square *garbhagṛha* houses a standing black statue of Ādinātha, raised on a pedestal. The latter is again decorated with prominent representations of elephants. Sculptures of the eighth Jina Candraprabhu, Gomukha Yakṣa, his associated Cakreśvarī Yakṣī[319] and the Jaina goddess Sarasvatī are also housed inside the *basadi*.

The next *basadi*, located on the eastern edge of the compound, is slightly larger than the latter structure and roughly the same size as the Pārśvanātha Temple without its detached hall. This is the Śāntinātha Temple, also known as the Śāntīśvara Basadi. The *jinālaya* was donated by two well-known traders, Kavaḍamayya and Dēvī Seṭṭi, in 1196 CE.[320] This illustrates the growing interest of the Jaina laity, and particularly of merchant families, in making lavish donations to Jaina religious establishments during the period from the tenth to the twelfth century CE. According to Saletore, the *basadi* was not erected before 1257 CE, which seems somewhat late.[321] The Śāntinātha Temple is less elaborately decorated than the previous two *jinālaya*s but its interior again shows the typical black lathe-turned highly polished pillars. A tall standing statue of the sixteenth Jina, Śāntinātha, is venerated in the sanctum. Representations of the *yakṣa* Kimpuruṣa and the *yakṣī* Mahāmānasa, who are associated with Śāntinātha, are on display, flanking the tall central icon in the shrine. Like the other two temples, this *basadi* also opens towards the north. The porch is a later addition, dating from the Vijayanagara period.

In front of the *basadi* stands a tall Brahmadeva *stambha.* The icon of the god, seated at the tip of the pillar, is enclosed within a small pavilion.[322] At the base of the pillar are depictions of the Brahmadeva, standing with a club and a relief carving of his horse. In the north-eastern corner of the complex, next to the pillar, is an extensively repaired deep *kuṇḍa* with steeply descending sides.

318 Refer to Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 328. Unfortunately, no further information is available on the beheading of the icon.

319 This *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* are connected to the Jina Ādinātha and not to Candraprabhu.

320 The term Dhaky uses to refer to these two tradesmen is "*mahā-baḍḍavyavahāri*" (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 355). Alternatively, Seṭṭi can also be spelled Śeṭṭi.

321 On this, consult Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 212.

322 This pillar has been discussed in Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings": 150–52. For an illustration, see plate 9 in the same publication.

Whilst recent excavations at the site have revealed other Jaina remains in the vicinity, these three *basadi*s are the most substantial, best preserved and clearest Hoysaḷa *jinālaya*s at Halebid. The lavish treatment accorded to their temple interiors is representative of that found in later Hoysaḷa structures, as to a certain extent are their external decorations, in the way they integrate imagery into their roof structures.

4.2.3 Hoysaḷa Shrines in the Town of Shravanabelgola

After an earlier building phase under the Gaṅgās, a substantial number of Hoysaḷa temples were erected on the two sacred hills and in the town of the ancient pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola, from the twelfth century onwards. This is due both to the sharp increase in the number of pilgrims visiting the site, and to the rise in donations received from royalty and, in particular, from the laity, during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The resulting building boom at this sacred *tīrtha* entirely changed the nature of Shravanabelgola during the twelfth and following centuries.[323] The pilgrimage centre remained in the hands of the Digambara Mūla Sangha.[324] Whilst during earlier periods, the emphasis had been on the two sacred hills, which had been used as quiet places of retreat and contemplation and to practice *sallekhanā*,[325] the town as a whole now developed into a large-scale pilgrimage centre. This involved the construction of pilgrim accommodation and monasteries. One of the most prominent *maṭha*s in the region and numerous *basadi*s were erected inside the settlement.[326] The religious area, the *kṣetra* of Shravanabelgola as a whole, is sacred to the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī, who gained enormously in popularity during this period.

One splendid Jaina temple built during this time in the centre of Shravanabelgola is the Bhaṇḍāra Basadi, located below Viṇdhyagiri, close to the large Jaina *maṭha* inside the town. It is also known as Bhaṇḍari Basadi. *"Bhaṇḍari"* (treasurer) here refers to the donor of the *jinālaya*, called Huḷḷa or Huḷḷe, who was the treasurer and one of the commanders of King Narasiṁha I (1141–1172 CE) in 1159 CE.[327] King Narasiṁha I is said to have named the temple Bhavya-cūḍāmaṇi and signed over the village of Savaneru for the maintenance of the *basadi*.[328]

323 This has been discussed in Chapter 1, especially in section 4.1.3 "Lay Participation: Ablutions, the Cult of Bāhubali and *Sallekhanā*." On the same issue, see also Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 236–37.

324 Parasher-Sen has commented on this (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 237).

325 While Candragiri is the better-known site for the practice of *sallekhanā*, both hill sites in fact witnessed the performance of this ascetic ritual (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 230, 231).

326 Parasher-Sen has written on this subject (Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 238).

327 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 35. On General Huḷḷa, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 81, 141–46.

328 On this issue, see Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317.

The Bhaṇḍāra Basadi is entered through a prominent gateway structure, facing just off north, and is contained in a walled compound (Plate 2.6). The *jinālaya* is a particularly large structure, measuring about 81 by 23 metres, and also has later extensions.[329] The temple edifice consists of a substantial open pillared hall, in which the lower parts of the pillars are figuratively carved. A representation of Sarasvatī, in the centre of the *maṇḍapa*, is of particular importance to worshippers, and the hall is called Sarasvatī Maṇḍapa in her honour. At the end of this hall is a vestibule with an elaborate carved Hoysaḷa doorframe, featuring a central representation of the dancing Indra, framed by two mythical water monsters, or *makara*s (Plate 5.24 above). This is followed by a large closed *maṇḍapa* and a spacious and very wide shrine area,[330] dedicated to all twenty-four Jinas, which makes the temple a *caturviṁśati* Tīrthaṅkara *basadi* or *caturviṁśati jinālaya*, with reference to the number of enlightened Jaina teachers housed inside this *basadi. Caturviṁśati* means twenty-four. Statues of all twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are on display, each roughly one metre tall, arranged in one long line inside the *garbhagṛha* (Plate 5.24 below).

A prominent *mānastambha* is positioned in front of the temple, flanked by two pavilions and offering stones. One of the pavilions is open, whilst the other has one enclosed side, displaying a cosmological painting of the one and a half islands (Aḍhāīdvīpa) of the Jaina cosmos.[331] An inscription indicates that it is designed to house a pair of sacred foot imprints, which, however, are not present at the time of writing. It is unclear whether they have been removed or are yet to be placed there.

At walking distance from the Bhaṇḍāra Basadi, but closer to Candragiri on the other side of town, we come to the slightly later Nagara Jinālaya or Nagara Basadi.[332] Its name derives from the Jaina merchants (*nagara*) who covered the expenses for the maintenance of the temple.[333] This illustrates the aforementioned lay donations which increased substantially at this time. In particular, it also shows the significant increase in influence which the Jaina merchant community enjoyed from the eleventh century onwards and which they were still able to retain during the twelfth and into

329 Soundara Rajan has commented on this (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317).

330 Outside the closed hall on the western side is a stone-built draw well.

331 The island of Jambū and the next concentric one and a half island rings, knows as the Aḍhāīdvīpa, are the only places in the vast Jaina cosmos where human beings can live (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Images of the Cosmos: Sacred and Ritual Space in Jaina Temple Architecture in India," in *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, ed. Deena Ragavan, Oriental Institute Seminars 9 [Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2013]: 70).

332 See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 175, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 59.

333 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 175–77, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 76, Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 59, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 80.



Plate 5.24: The Bhaṇḍāra Basadi in Shravanabelgola has an elaborate Hoysaḷa lintel, displaying dancing Indra flanked by two *makara*s (above) and statues of the twenty-four Jinas displayed in its sanctum (below).

the thirteenth century.[334] The importance of the Jaina trading community, the Vīra Bāṇajigas, in donating and looking after *basadi*s has been discussed in detail in Chapter 1 in this volume.[335] The building of the Nagara Jinālaya was commissioned by Paṭṭanasvāmī Nāgadeva, a minister of Ballāla II (1173–1220 CE), in 1195 CE.[336]

The Nagara Jinālaya is entered from the west through a wide porch and an enclosed hall, both of which are later additions. At the eastern end of these extensions, towards the shrine, the former exterior wall and entrance gateway of the original twelfth-century temple are still visible. Nowadays, these are situated inside the *maṇḍapa* of the extended temple structure (Plate 1.4 above). In its earlier form, the *basadi* consisted of a walled hall giving onto a vestibule and an unusually long and spacious *garbhagṛha*. Today, it enshrines eighteen white marble Jina statues. The main icon of the *jinālaya* is a black standing figure of Ādinātha.

From outside, in particular, the original twelfth-century temple structure is clearly distinguishable from the later wide hall. The older part is made of grey potstone or chloritic schist[337] and adorned with *drāviḍa* wall pilasters, miniature shrine ornaments and rosette decorations. In contrast to this, the later, much wider, hall and porch additions at the front of the *jinālaya* are absolutely plain, plastered and painted white (Plate 1.4 below). In this instance, the contrast between the more highly decorated Hoysaḷa style and the more simple later additions is very obvious. The plainness of the later style reflects the decline in influence of the Jainas from the late twelfth century onwards, when they lost their financial power. The later porch, added at the front of the *jinālaya* houses ancient inscription panels and modern photographic reproductions of saints as well as additional religious statues.

The most famous Jaina temple of this period in Shravanabelgola is probably the small Akkaṇṇa Basadi. This particularly sophisticated Hoysaḷa *jinālaya*, a slightly later construction, reflects clearly the typical features of the more evolved style. It is located on the northern edge of the settlement, below Candragiri.

The *basadi* is built from a greenish-grey chloritic schist. An inscription dating the temple to 1181 CE mentions a female donor, a lady by the name of Aciyakka, also known as Acaladevī or by her full name, Hērggaḍiti Acaladevī.[338] Aciyakka was the

334 Singh has written on this with regards to this particular temple and to another, named Nagara Jinālaya, overseen by the commercial elite, at Dambal (Daṁbal, Ḍambaḷ) (Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*: 115).

335 Refer in particular to section 2.1.3 on "Support by Farmers, Merchants and later Rulers."

336 On the patron of the *jinālaya*, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 175, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 118. For the dating of the temple, see del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 76, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 59.

337 Del Bontà has commented on the stone of the *basadi* (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 76).

338 On this, see Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 110.

wife of one of King Ballāla II's *brāhmaṇ* ministers and generals, known as Candramauḷi.[339] The ending *-akka* in the name Aciyakka means "older sister" and is used as a term of respect.[340] This is not the only documented instance where a female patron is mentioned in connection with the construction of a Jaina temple. It appears not to have been uncommon for the wives of public officials or even of kings to commission *basadi*s.[341] The best-known female benefactor is Attimabbe or Attiyabbe, more precisely Dānacintāmaṇi Attiyabbe. We have already encountered her as a benefactor of the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi and she has been credited with founding a large number of Jaina temples throughout the region.[342] It is remarkable that at this time, a number of women appear to have followed a faith which was different from that of their husbands. For instance, this is believed to have been the case with queen Śāntalā Devī, who continued to support Jainism even after the conversion of her husband, King Viṣṇuvardhana to Śrīvaiṣṇavism, under Rāmānuja.[343]

The Akkaṇṇa Basadi is entered via a small pillared porch which gives onto a closed *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*. On the eastern side, perforated stone screens shield a vestibule leading to the shrine (Plate 5.2 below). The latter houses a black standing statue of Pārśvanātha. In addition, figures of *yakṣa* Dhāraṇendra and *yakṣī* Padmāvatī flank the entrance to the sanctum at the eastern end of the hall.[344] The temple has ornate lathe-turned pillars, elaborately carved doorways and an intricate corbelled lotus ceiling above the *navaraṅga* (Plate 5.2 above). A smaller version also adorns the ceiling of the porch (Plate 5.25).

Although this temple was never entirely completed,[345] the outer walls also clearly reflect the changes that had taken place in the style and show a more lavish approach (Plate 5.26). The outer surface has been structured into multiple projections and recesses, creating a more star-like plan. The walls are adorned with shallow wall pilasters of which some are crowned with miniature roof elements. Here, we find *stambha pañjara*s topped by *vimāna* motifs with an elaborate parapet above. The *drāviḍa* superstructure of the *basadi* has been preserved. In the *vimāna* tower, there are horseshoe arch motifs, containing small images of Jinas, clearly indicating the Jaina dedica-

339 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 169, Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of The Deccan*: 317.

340 Leslie has commented on this (Leslie, "Understanding Basava": 228).

341 Narasimha Murthy discusses the role of Jaina women as patrons of the arts (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44–46), as does Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 229. On female donors, see also Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 219, Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 44–46, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 79–80. See also Saletore for the role of Jaina women in the history of Karnataka (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 154–71).

342 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 310.

343 See Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316. On Śāntalā Devī, see also Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 166, and Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 45.

344 The *yakṣa* Dhāraṇendra and the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī are mythologically linked to the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. Refer, for instance, to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 175, for the story.

345 On this fact, refer also to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 110.



Plate 5.25: Entrance porch to the late-Hoysaḷa Akkaṇṇa Basadi in Shravanabelgola, with an ornate doorframe, a Jina as its *lalāṭabimba*, and an intricate ceiling panel with a projecting lotus pendant above.

tion of the structure on the outside of the *jinālaya* as well.[346] Some blocks of stone have not yet been carved, reflecting the incomplete status of the temple.



Plate 5.26: View onto the back of the Akkaṇṇa Basadi whose star-like plan and elaborate exterior wall and roof decorations clearly reflect changes in Jaina architecture.

4.2.4 Hoysaḷa *Jinālaya*s on the Hills at Shravanabelgola

During the Hoysaḷa period, Jaina *basadi*s were not only built inside the pilgrimage town of Shravanabelgola, but continued also to be erected on the two sacred hills. The most intensive building took place during the twelfth century.[347] Whilst in earlier periods, the hills had mainly been places where people practised *sallekhanā*, temple worship increased in importance from the tenth century CE onwards, as did the raising of donations for building *jinālaya*s.[348] The *basadi*s were commissioned by royalty —especially queens—and by generals, wealthy merchants and other influential members of society. We shall now discuss the Jaina temples on Candragiri, as far as possi-

346 Krishna Murthy has written on these small statues integrated into the roof structure (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98).

347 Del Bontà has also commented on this fact (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 79).

348 See Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 237–38.

ble in chronological order. However, firm construction dates are not available for all the *jinālaya*s and many were developed or added to over several centuries. Generally speaking, the Hoysaḷa *basadi*s on Candragiri are extremely numerous but generally smaller and less highly adorned than those discussed in section 4.2 so far.

One of the earliest Hoysaḷa temples on Candragiri is the Terina Basadi, erected in 1117 CE. This is another example of a *jinālaya* dedicated by a female donor. According to the inscription on the offering stone at the front of the *basadi*, Mācikabbe and Śāntikabbe, mothers of the royal merchants of King Viṣṇuvardhana, Poysaḷa Seṭṭi and Nemi Seṭṭi, donated the sacred structure and the external altar positioned at the front of the *jinālaya*.[349] In the local numbering system, this temple bears the number eight and is found in the north-eastern corner of the compound. It is approached via a long set of stairs cutting through three shallow terraces on the northern side of the structure. There is no entrance porch and one enters straight into the *navaraṅga*. Here, the ceiling treatment is very simple and features only a small reduced lotus carving in the centre of the ceiling. The statue housed inside the main shrine is of Gommaṭeśvara.

The plain exterior of the stone *basadi* is adorned at its upper edge with crenellation-like decorations, which are a reflection of later renovations. These run along the flat roof and are more subtle than in other temples on the same hill.[350] The name of the *jinālaya* derives from a chariot (*teru*, *ratha* or *mandara*) associated with it.[351] This *teru* is not a real wooden movable cart, but a stone version, positioned at the front of the temple.[352] However, the structure has no wheels carved onto its sides, does not closely reflect the shape of temple carts and appears in fact to be a more elaborate version of the moulded offering altars, the *balipīṭha*s, found in association with other *basadi*s at this and other sites (Plate 5.27).[353]

The neighbouring Śāntīśvara Basadi (number nine) is similar in shape and probably also in date. Saletore refers to a stone inscription from the temple from 1118 CE.[354] Del Bontà mentions that an unnamed “earlier chronicler of the site” stated that the *jinā-*

349 For the dating and further information on this temple, see Soundara Rajan, “Monuments & Sculpture”: 316, and Krishna Murthy, “The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture”: 106.

350 Crenellations adorning the roofs of *jinālaya*s and compound walls are referred to as *kapiśīrṣa* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 575).

351 See Soundara Rajan, “Monuments & Sculpture”: 316.

352 Del Bontà has also commented on this *teru* (del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 88, plate 43).

353 Some halls are modelled more directly on temple carts, with depictions of wheels carved onto their sides. Examples can be seen, for instance, at the mid-thirteenth-century Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa and in the open *maṇḍapa* of the twelfth-century Airāvateśvara Temple at Darasuram (Dārāśuram) in Tamil Nadu. At Konarak, even the horses pulling the cart have been depicted in stone. For illustrations of both examples, refer to Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*: plate 193, 194 and 249.

354 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 124.



Plate 5.27: The Terina Basadi on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola was commissioned in 1117 CE by a female donor and has an unusual *balipīṭha*, referred to as *teru*, meaning a temple chariot.

laya was erected by Śāntalā Devī at the same time as her Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadi, that is, in 1123 CE.[355] Krishna Murthy proposes an even later date of 1150 CE, although without providing a rationale.[356]

The temple is also known as the Śrī Kone Śāntinātha Basadi. It lies in the very north-eastern corner of the compound, bordering the eastern enclosure wall. Like the Terina Basadi, it is erected on three shallow terraces and approached by a stairway from the north. It consists of a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* with a simpler but still substantial trabeate lotus ceiling, leading to the usual vestibule and a sanctum. Its main statue is of Śāntinātha, the Tīrthaṅkara enshrined in this *jinālaya*, accompanied by the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī Devī and her partner, the *yakṣa* Gomedha (who amongst the Digambaras is better known as Sarvāhana), who are found in almost every temple on the site. They are normally associated with the Jina Neminātha. Their predominance here is probably due to the fact that Shravanabelgola is sacred to Kuṣamāṇḍinī Devī.

The Śāsana Basadi, temple number eleven, located roughly in the middle of the enclosure on the same hill, is also amongst the earliest Hoysaḷa structures on Candragiri. It

355 For this reference, consult del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 81, 89. The Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadi will be discussed later in this section.

356 Consult Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106.

appears to have been erected around 1117 CE.[357] Krishna Murthy dates it to 1118 CE.[358] Such slight differences in date can be due to the conversion from Vikram Samvat dates, which are based on a lunar calendar, to Gregorian dates. The person credited with the donation of this *jinālaya* is the Hoysaḷa general and chief of the army Gaṅgarāya. He was the patron of many structures and statues on this hill and on neighbouring Viṇdhyagiri.

The east-facing edifice of the Śāsana Basadi has modern access stairs leading via five steps to a small squarish terrace in front of the temple. To the left of the entrance is a tall inscription (*śāsana*) panel, to which the temple owes its name, "Śāsana Basadi" (Plate 5.28). The inscription records the gift by Gaṅgarāya of a village to the north-east of Shravanabelgola, for the maintenance of the *jinālaya*, funded by his mother Pochala Devī and his wife Lakṣmī Devī.[359] Probably for this reason, the *basadi* is also known as "Indirakula-gṛha," meaning "the abode of Lakṣmī" (Indira being an alternative name for Lakṣmī).

In this *jinālaya*, there is no porch, but a spacious closed pillared hall leading to the shrine. This houses a roughly one-metre standing statue of Ādinātha, flanked by the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, Gomukha and Kuṣamāṇḍinī. According to Digambara Jaina iconography, Gomukha should be associated with Cakreśvarī, who in Digambara Jainism can also be referred to as Apraticakra. This shows once again that in the later structures on Candragiri, links between the Jinas and their associated *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* do not always follow established iconographical rules, but clearly give preference to especially popular divinities, even if they are not associated with the enshrined Jina of a particular temple. The facade of the *jinālaya* is structured through prominent wall pilasters, culminating in pavilions and niches above. In front of the edifice we again find an offering altar, a *balipīṭha*, and, closer to the *basadi*, another inscription pillar.

Close to and slightly north-east of this temple, we find the Eraḍukaṭṭe Basadi (number six), also known as the Yaraḍu Kaṭṭe Basadi. It lies next to the much earlier Gaṅgā-period Cāvuṇḍarāya Basadi. The *jinālaya* dates from 1118 CE although Krishna Murthy dates it again later, to 1150 CE.[360] Like the Terina and Śāntīśvara Basadis, discussed above, the Eraḍukaṭṭe Basadi also faces north.[361] Its name derives from the two prom-

357 This is according to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316.

358 See Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106.

359 On this, refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 80. On p. 81, del Bontà points out that the name of Gaṅgarāya's mother, "Pochala," which he argues is equivalent to "Hoysaḷa," indicates royal descent for her as well as for himself, with reference back to the earlier Gaṅgā dynasty. Pochala Devī is also known as Pochavve or Pocchive.

360 Compare Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106.

361 Del Bontà points out that the *basadi* is not aligned precisely towards true north but faces slightly east of north (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 86).



Plate 5.28: The Hoysaḷa-period Śāsana Basadi on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola was named after the prominent inscription panel (*śāsana*), found to the left of its entrance.

inent winding stairways leading up to the terrace at its front. "*Eraḍu*" means "two" and "*kaṭṭe*" "stairways."[362]

The *basadi* has no porch and entry is directly into a large hall with six pillars. The attendants accommodated in the vestibule at the southern end of this *maṇḍapa* have been identified locally as Gomedha Yakṣa and Kuṣamāṇḍinī Yakṣī. As noted above, this *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* are normally associated with the Jina Neminātha, whilst the sanctum of this temple houses a statue of Ādinātha. The Eraḍukaṭṭe Basadi is surrounded by a narrow open ambulatory, a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*.

This is another *jinālaya* endowed by a female patron: Lakṣmī, the wife of general Gaṅgarāya.[363] Her death in 1121 CE by *samādhi*, denoting a religious passing away out of deep meditation, which ideally leads to salvation, is recorded in an inscription close to this temple.[364] The death of her husband, Gaṅgarāya, in 1133 CE, is documented in the inscription of the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Halebid in Hassan District.[365]

The Kattaḷe Basadi,[366] whose name refers to its dark interior, is another dating from the early twelfth century.[367] It has already been mentioned briefly, as it forms a unit with the three much earlier shrines of the Candragupta Basadi, from the Gaṅgā period in the ninth century CE. The main section of the Kattaḷe Basadi (number thirteen) was erected by the Hoysaḷa Gaṅgarāya in about 1118 CE.[368] Measuring roughly 38 by 12 metres, it is the largest temple on the hill.

In front of the *basadi*, we find a modern simple flagpole and a small offering slab.[369] The temple consists of a wide but shallow open pillared porch which is unusual in its uneven number of five pillars. This gives onto a large closed pillared hall, which despite its size is usually referred to as a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, or entrance pavilion. It has probably acquired this name because of its situation at the front of both the

362 On this issue, see Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317. For the meaning of the terms, consult del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 87.

363 Consult Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 80, 86.

364 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 87.

365 In the inscription, Halebid is referred to by its ancient name, Bastihalli. Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 81. On this *basadi*, see also Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317–18.

366 This *jinālaya* is also known as Ādinātha Basadi or Padmāvatī Basadi (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317).

367 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82, have commented on this.

368 The image inscription states that the statue was carved by Gaṅgarāya, for the benefit of his mother Pochala Devī (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317). According to del Bontà, the entire temple was dedicated to Gaṅgarāya's mother (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 81). For the dating, see also Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106.

369 While in 2001, the flagpole was still intact (see Plate 5.12), in 2006 it had lost its flag and at least by 2019, it had been removed entirely.

earlier triple-shrined Candragupta Basadi, which projects from its right-hand side, and a further two halls leading west from this large entrance hall. Del Bontà makes the convincing suggestion that this *maṇḍapa* was added after the completion of the Kattaḷe Basadi in order to connect it with the three earlier sanctums as well as with the neighbouring Pārśvanātha Basadi.[370] The neighbouring construction, on a clear east-west axis, is another hall, a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, which lies much higher than the joint front hall and is reached by a small but quite steep stairway of seven steps, raised on a low pedestal. The pillars of this hall are highly decorated, but very different in style from the circular lathe-turned pillars analysed above. This second hall gives onto an *antarāla*, accommodating Hoysaḷa-style *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* statues, again of Gomedha and Kuṣamāṇḍinī. Last in line comes the *garbhagr̥ha*, housing a statue of Ṛṣabhdeva or Ādinātha. Rather unusually for a Hoysaḷa structure, the shrine is surrounded by an internal circumambulation path, a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, and as such, follows a *sāndhāra* layout.[371] The temple has no surviving superstructure.

Between the Eraḍukaṭṭe and the Terrina Basadi lies the Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadi, temple number seven. It derives its name from an epithet used for the chief queen of Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana, queen Śāntalā Devī.[372] She has been credited with gifting this *jinālaya* in 1123 CE.[373] A *niṣidhi* (*niśidhi*) stone, an inscribed memorial slab, housed in one of the open pavilions close to the temple, documents her death at Shivaganga (Śivaganga), close to Bangalore (Beṅgaḷūru), in 1131 CE.[374]

The north-facing temple stands on a high terrace. There is no entrance porch and devotees step straight into a spacious *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* with a simple lotus ceiling ornament, which leads through a vestibule to the shrine. This contains a 1.5-metre statue of Śāntinātha.[375] Although they are not officially associated with Śāntinātha, the attendant divinities Gomedha and Kuṣamāṇḍinī have again been arranged flanking the door to the *garbhagr̥ha* at the southern end of the *navaraṅga*. This is a comparatively large structure, measuring about 21 by 10.5 metres.[376] This *jinālaya* is un-

370 On this, see del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 82.

371 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 81.

372 "Savati Gandhavāraṇa" means "a rutting elephant among co-wives" (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 87).

373 This has been suggested by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 166, Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316, and Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106.

374 On this issue, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 166. The inscription also records the death of Śāntalā Devī's mother by *sallekhanā* at Shravanabelgola in the same year (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 87). Saletore has also written on the death of the parents (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 166–67).

375 The measurement has been provided by Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316.

376 Soundara Rajan has also commented on the size of the *basadi* (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316).

usual in retaining its *drāviḍa vimāna* superstructure, in contrast to most of the surrounding *basadi*s on the same hill (Plate 5.29).

The Majjigaṇa Basadi, dedicated to Anantanātha, is another structure whose foundation, at least, dates from the early twelfth century.[377] It is number ten in the local numbering system and located to the south, directly behind the Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadi. It is one of only two *jinālaya*s on the hill which face south.[378] It measures about 9.7 by 5.8 metres[379] and is raised on a shallow but relatively wide terrace, which allows devotees to circumambulate the sacred edifice on the outside. The temple structure has a pillared *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*. In this hall we encounter once again the typical polished black Hoysaḷa pillars described at other sites in the earlier sections, although the pillars here are comparatively short. There is a vestibule and a small shrine.

On the outside, the lower wall section of the *jinālaya* is adorned with a band of stylised, almost geometrical flowers, which Soundara Rajan identifies as original floral *bandhana*-mouldings.[380] No other temples on the hill have similar decorations.[381] However, the *basadi* has obviously been much renovated. The relatively bulky crenellation-like decorations and corner pavilions appear to be of a much later date, probably from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. These lend the edifice a vaguely Islamic air.[382]

Three more Hoysaḷa temples on the western edge of the compound remain to be discussed. The first two, the Śāntinātha and the Supārśvanātha Basadis, are small structures. The Śāntinātha Basadi (number one) sits in the far south-western corner and is the first *jinālaya* which pilgrims visit on their circuit around the sacred compound. Although it has been repeatedly renovated, its foundation appears also to date from the early twelfth century.[383] It consists of a small porch, a hall and a shrine, all three of almost the same dimensions. The *garbhagṛha* houses a black standing statue of Śāntinātha, which is almost 4 metres tall. An unusual feature is that the walls and ceiling of the sanctum appear to have been painted in the past.[384]

377 Del Bontà suggests that the name may derive from the donor of the structure (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 86).

378 Besides this temple, only the triple cells of the original Candragupta Basadi face south.

379 These measurements have been taken from Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316.

380 Compare Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 316.

381 This has also been pointed out by del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 86.

382 The fact that large numbers of temples dating from – or with alterations dating from – the fifteenth century onwards show Islamic stylistic features has been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Domes, Tombs and Minarets: Islamic Influences on Jaina Architecture," in *The Temple in South Asia*, ed. Adam Hardy (London: British Association for South Asian Studies and the British Academy, 2007): 179–90.

383 On this, refer also to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 90.

384 This has been pointed out by del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 90.



Plate 5.29: The Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadi, gifted in 1123 CE by Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana's chief queen, Śāntalā Devī, preserves its *drāviḍa vimāna* superstructure.

Unfortunately, not even faint traces of the paintings remain visible. In front of the temple is a small *balipīṭha* altar.

Almost identical in layout and size is the Supārśvanātha Basadi (number two), located in the north-western corner. As the serpent behind the black seated image in the sanctum is seven-headed and not five-hooded, as is normally prescribed for the iconography of Supārśvanātha, the icon might actually represent Pārśvanātha. It has been ascribed to the late tenth century CE,[385] which probably means that it predates the foundation of the *basadi.* On the lintel leading into the *jinālaya* is a carved statue

385 For this dating, see del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 90.

of the goddess Lakṣmī being lustrated by two flanking elephants, an icon known by the name of Gajalakṣmī.

The Candraprabha or Candranātha Basadi (number three) is a north-facing structure, located slightly to the east of the former temple. No inscription recording its date of construction is to be found. However, its foundation appears to go back to the early twelfth century.[386] Although this *jinālaya* is smaller than the Pārśvanātha Basadi, the two are remarkably similar in layout. In the shrine of the Candraprabha Basadi is a statue of Candraprabha, the eighth Jina, and flanking its doorway are a *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* (Plate 1.19). At the front of the sacred edifice is a small offering altar.

The final temple which Jainas usually visit on their circuit is the Pārśvanātha Basadi, or more precisely, the Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi (number fourteen). It is one of the latest firmly dated Hoysaḷa constructions inside the irregular walled sacred enclosure on the summit of Candragiri. The *jinālaya* lies in the south of the complex, very close to the entrance gateway just north of the famous rock inscription, and completes the sacred circuit.

In front of the edifice stands a tall pillar, which most scholars have identified as a *mānastambha*.[387] However, it has some unusual features. The lower part of the pillar has been adorned with depictions of various *yakṣa*s, of which one is definitely the *kṣetrapāla* Brahmadeva, pointing more towards a Brahma *stambha*. According to del Bontà, the pavilion at the tip of the pillar used to house representations of two *yakṣa*s and two *yakṣī*s, rather than a single statue of Brahmadeva—which would be typical of a Brahmadeva pillar—or a quadruple (or a single) statue of a Jina—characteristic of a *mānastambha*.[388] By 2001, however, it was empty. The pillar appears to have been erected by local merchants during the rule of Chikka Deva Rāya Oḍeyar in the seventeenth century.[389]

Inside the *basadi* is a commemorative inscription, on a *niṣidhi* stone, mentioning the death in 1129 CE of the Jaina teacher Mallisẹṇa Maladhāri.[390] Although this is not a foundation inscription, the *jinālaya* has been dated to the twelfth, probably even the early twelfth century.[391] Through a small porch, visitors enter a closed hall, a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, which accommodates tall light-grey lathe-turned pillars

386 Del Bontà has also suggested such an early date (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 89).

387 See, for instance, Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317. Michell calls it a lamp column (Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 468).

388 Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 84.

389 On this, see del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 84, and Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 468. He is also known as Chikka Deva Rāja and Oḍeyar has also been spelled Voḍeyar. See, for instance, *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2, *Shravanabelgola*, 2nd ed. (Mysore: Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, 1973): xc.

390 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 317, and del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 84, have written on this.

391 See, for instance, del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 84. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 106, provides the date of 1125 CE.

(Plate 5.30). Next in line, there follow an antechamber and the *garbhagṛha*. This contains the tallest Jina sculpture on this hill, a roughly five-metre statue of Pārśvanātha.[392]

In addition to the temples, pillars and the tall statue of Bharata on this hill, there are several pavilions housing inscription panels, referred to as *śāsana maṇḍapikā*s.[393] Most are square, consisting of a platform, four corner pillars and a flat roof. The pavilion positioned between the Eraḍukaṭṭe and the Savati Gandhavāraṇa Basadis is more elongated in shape.

Two pavilions erected side by side in the south-western corner of the compound are collectively referred to as the Mahānavamī Maṇḍapas.[394] These open granite pavilions shelter three square memorial tablets made of soapstone, which record the names of deceased monks, nuns and laypersons from the late twelfth century. There are a number of other *niṣidhi* pavilions on Candragiri, which were erected to mark the locations where Jainas died by practising the sacred rite of *sallekhanā*. Whilst this practice became especially popular from the eighth century CE onwards, with an increase in the twelfth century, most of these *niṣidhi* pavilions postdate the events they commemorate, and were built in the second half of the twelfth century.

On the neighbouring hill of Viṇdhyagiri, there also are a number of fine Hoysaḷa structures. The largest is the twelfth-century granite *trikūṭācala* Odegal Basadi, also known as Vadegal Basadi.[395] It stands on a tall star-shaped terrace, propped up by stone struts (*odegal*), from which it derives its name (Plate 5.31).[396] The temple is entered through a pillared entrance porch from which one steps into a joint central *navaraṅga* hall whose lantern ceiling features a central lotus stone. Vestibules on three sides provide access to the triple shrines. These house Ādinātha as the main statue in the southern cell and representations of Śāntinātha in the eastern and Neminātha in the western *garbhagṛha*s.

Not far from this temple, we find the ornate, free-standing, round Gaṅgā pillar mentioned in 3.3.3. above, measuring about two metres tall (Plate 5.14), and noted for its shaft which is ornamented with climbing plant and foliage motifs. During the Hoysaḷa period, a seated statue of Brahmadeva was added to the tip of the *stambha*: hence its name, Tyāgada Brahmadeva Stambha.[397] The image at the apex was added

392 Compare del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 84 and Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 468.

393 This term has been taken from Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 585.

394 Del Bontà has commented on them (del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 90).

395 On this temple, refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 67, and Michell, *Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India*: 466.

396 Del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 66, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 55, have commented on this sense of "odegal."

397 Cāgada Kaṇbha, its original form, means "pillar of gifts" (Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153). For further details concerning the name of the pillar, refer to the section earlier in this chapter (3.3.3 "Brahmadeva Pillars on Candragiri and Viṇdhyagiri") and to Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 35.



Plate 5.30: View towards the sanctum inside the early twelfth-century Antarāla Pārśvanātha Basadi on Candragiri, which has tall lathe-turned pillars inside its *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa.*



Plate 5.31: The twelfth-century *trikūṭācala* Odegal Basadi (left) and the Tyāgada Brahmadeva Stambha (right) on Viṇdhyagiri. The pillar was supplied with an image and a pavilion in the thirteenth century.

in about 1200 CE by Heggaḍe Kaṇṇa.[398] Slightly later, in about 1250 CE, a surrounding pavilion was constructed, enclosing the seated statue of Brahmadeva (Plate 5.31, far right of photo).[399] In Karnataka, such older pillars have often been supplemented with further surrounding columns, to support the pavilion constructions enclosing the statues placed on top of them. In this instance, four surrounding subsidiary pillars were added to support the pavilion. This exemplifies the way in which additions were frequently made to earlier structures during the Hoysaḷa age, to add significance to pillars and to enlarge temple establishments.

This can also be seen in a structure further up the hill. It is a prominent gateway, the Akhaṇḍa Bagilu, dating back to the Gaṅgā period, commissioned by Cāvuṇḍarāya in 980 CE. This gate is flanked by two shrines with open pavilions, which were added in 1130 CE by Bhāratamayya (Bharateśvara), a general of the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana.[400] The sanctum on the left is dedicated to Bāhubali and the one on the right to his legendary brother Bharata.

398 In Kannada, a *heggaḍe* is a kind of chief or headman of a village.

399 On these datings, refer to Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153, 208, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 53.

400 Refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 68 and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 53.

On the brow of the hill, directly in front of the entrance to the Bāhubali enclosure, is another complex Brahma *stambha*, which has been mentioned briefly above.[401] It is known as the Gullekāyi Ajji Maṇḍapa. The central pillar is understood to have been erected during the Gaṅgā period, but added to under Hoysaḷa rule.[402] According to del Bonta, the pillar and its crowning icon were commissioned by the Hoysaḷa minister Baladeva in the early twelfth century.[403] This complex arrangement consists of a central, roughly two-metre pillar, carrying a seated Brahmadeva statue.[404] This is enshrined in a raised pavilion. The exceptional size and weight of this raised structure is supported by twelve surrounding pillars. An inscription stele dating from 1422 CE, and a roughly 1.5-metre statue in front of it of Kuṣamāṇḍinī Devī in the disguise of the lady Gullekāyi Ajji, are even later additions.[405] Gullekāyi Ajji is the humble lady who is said to have poured over the Gommaṭeśvara statue milk from her hollow *gullakayi* fruit, which then filled the tank between the two hills in the centre of Shravanabelgola.[406] According to Sarma, the statue of the goddess was set up already by the Gaṅgā King Cāvuṇḍarāya.[407] However, it is more likely to be of later date, probably from the Vijayanagara period. This later dating is also supported by del Bontà.[408]

Whilst the colossal standing statue of Bāhubali in the enclosure at the top of Viṇdhyagiri is a Gaṅgā achievement, the pillared cloister surrounding it, known as the Śuttāla or Śuttālaya, was added in 1117 CE by Gaṅgarāya, the general of the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana.[409] It encloses the back and two sides of the colossus and incorporates a number of cells and large spaces to accommodate statues. The colonnade was extended and provided with additional icons and decorative features in the following years, for exam-

401 Refer to section 3.3.3 “Brahmadeva Pillars on Candragiri and Viṇdhyagiri.”

402 Chavan has also commented on this (Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 51).

403 Compare del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 72.

404 For further information, see Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 51. This statue has also been identified as Sarvāhana Yakṣa (del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 72). In actual fact, Settar suggests that all Brahma *stambha*s carry images of Sarvāhana Yakṣa (del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 92). However, this interpretation does not reflect contemporary religious understanding—at least, not in so far as the local Jaina communities who venerate such pillars themselves are concerned.

405 Her name is also spelled Gullu Kāya Ājjī and Gullakayajji. See, for instance, Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 56.

406 This story has been recounted earlier in this chapter, in section 3.3. “Early Temple Edifices in and Around Shravanabelgola.” On this statue, refer to Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 56.

407 See Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 153.

408 Refer to del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 72. For an explanation of the placing of a sculptural representation of Kuṣamāṇḍinī in this position, refer to Zydenbos, “Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus”: 167–68.

409 On this, consult, for instance, del Bontà, “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola”: 63, 80–81.

ple, in 1159 CE by Huḷḷa or Huḷḷarāja, a minister of the Hoysaḷa King Narasiṁha I. The comparatively wide but dark cloister houses more than forty Jaina images.

The Śuttālaya fulfils several functions. It shelters and protects the tall central statue of Bāhubali and creates an open courtyard area at its front. Through additions at the front, it also enables the complex to be securely locked at night. Above this colonnade, the head of the monumental statue is visible from afar, but the entire statue can be seen only by a person standing right in front of it inside the sheltered courtyard itself. Devotees circumambulate Bāhubali in a clockwise direction (*pradakṣiṇā*) inside the covered arcade, where they venerate additional statues. During the celebration of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, devotees are permitted also to stand on the roof of the surrounding cloister to view the spectacle from nearby.

We shall now turn from the pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola to examples of *basadi*s in its surroundings and further afield, to provide a more detailed picture of particularly grand structures which exemplify the typical features of the Hoysaḷa style.

4.2.5 Later *Basadi*s at Nittur, Arasikere and Jinanathapura

To the north of Shravanabelgola, a number of sites enable us to track with particular precision the changes which Jaina temple architecture underwent during the later phases of Hoysaḷa rule. Of special interest are Jinanathapura, which lies just on the northern outskirts of Shravanabelgola, Arasikere (Arasīkere), to the north-west, and Nittur to the north-east of this important pilgrimage centre.

At Nittur, in Tumkur District, the Śāntīśvara Basadi, also known as the Śāntinātha Basadi, is an excellent example of the specific features of the more elaborate and luxurious later Hoysaḷa style. The *basadi* dates from 1175 CE.[410] It appears that the *jinālaya* was originally dedicated to Ādinātha and was reconsecrated as sacred to the Jina Śāntinātha only after its destruction and reinstatement.[411]

The *basadi* has an unusually elaborate exterior, with integrated niches, in the form of small shrines, fulfilling the structural function of buttressing the temple

410 Nittur was a major Jaina centre, known as “the Ayyahole of the South” (Jain Temple, “Shri Shantinath Bhagwan and Sri Jwalamalini Devi Jain Mandir, Nittur, District – Tumakuru (Karnataka),” https://jainmandir.org/Temple/Shri-Shantinath-Bhagwan-and–Sri-Jwalamalini-Devi-Jain-Mandir%2c-Nittur%2c-District – Tumakuru-(Karnataka) [accessed 05.09.2023].

411 The present image is said to have been installed on 26 January 1969. Refer to Jain Heritage Centres, “Karnataka, Nittur,” https://www.jainheritagecentres.com/jainism-in-india/karnataka/nittur/ [accessed 05.08.2022], and Jain Temple, “Shri Shantinath Bhagwan and Sri Jwalamalini Devi Jain Mandir, Nittur, District – Tumakuru (Karnataka),” https://jainmandir.org/Temple/Shri-Shantinath-Bhagwan-and–Sri-Jwalamalini-Devi-Jain-Mandir%2c-Nittur%2c-District – Tumakuru-(Karnataka) [accessed 05.09.2023].

walls.[412] In this *jinālaya*, sculptural decorations were added on the outer walls: the empty niches are flanked by seated and standing Tīrthaṅkara statues and female figures. It appears that the sculptural scheme was never entirely completed.[413]

Inside, we again find the typical Hoysaḷa highly polished lathe-turned pillars. Unusually, two of those in the *navaraṅga* are not cylindrical but star-shaped.[414] The *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* has nine elaborate corbelled domical ceilings. The central ceiling section is especially sumptuous. It is supported on an octagonal frame, from the centre of which a pronounced lotus bud, adorned with a representation of Indra, hangs down into the hollow domical space. The figural decorations of the *bhuvaneśvarī* ceiling comprise the *aṣṭadikapāla*s with their consorts, seated on their vehicles, *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s and performance artists, such as musicians and dancers.[415] At the site, the image of the *yakṣī* Jvālāmālinī Devī is given much prominence. For this reason, the *basadi* is also known as Jvālāmālinī Devī Temple.

The Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya at Arasikere in Hassan District is slightly later, dating from 1220 CE.[416] This temple is said to have been constructed by Rēcimayya (1135–1225 CE), a general and minister of Hoysaḷa King Vīra Ballāla II (1173–1220 CE).[417] The main object of veneration at this *basadi* is a tall black stone *sahasrakūṭa* statue. A *sahasrakūṭa* is a sculptural representation comprising a reasonably large square or pyramidal block of stone, with large numbers of Jaina images—traditionally 1000—on its four sides.[418]

This *jinālaya* is especially well known for its sumptuous interior, above all for its highly ornate Hoysaḷa *bhuvaneśvarī* ceiling panels and ornately decorated door frames. The domed ceiling of the *navaraṅga*, which has attracted the particular attention of scholars, displays a complex iconographical scheme in which the eight guardians of the directions have been portrayed, in addition to the usual inverted open lotus flower. However, in this example, in place of the usual Īśāna figure in the north-east, we find the figure of a Jina.[419] In Hindu iconography, this is where we would expect a representation of Śiva. It seems likely that, since Śiva is regarded as the master of all earthly and divine beings, at least in a Śaiva context, the Jainas replaced him with a representative

412 For a discussion of this issue, refer to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 110.

413 This has been pointed out by Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

414 Krishna Murthy points out that to carve a star-shaped section requires a high level of craftsmanship (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 111).

415 For further details on the decorations, see Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 110.

416 The name "Arasikere" translates as "queen's tank."

417 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 14.

418 We have discussed another *sahasrakūṭa* sculpture in the Śaṅkha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar in section 4.1.2 on "Lakshmeshvar and its Jaina Temples."

419 In the same way, as was pointed out above in the context of the discussions of elaborate Jaina ceilings, Īśāna can also replace the Jina in the centre of coffered ceilings.

of one of the Jinas, considered supreme in their own religion.[420] However, this might also reflect the Jainas' growing unease, especially with regard to the Śaiva community, which had strongly gained in influence from the late eleventh century onwards and had started to threaten the existence of Jainism, at least in the northern areas of Karnataka.

The most elaborately decorated and highly crafted of these three later Jaina temples is probably the Śāntīśvara Basadi, also known as Śāntinātha Basadi, at Jinanathapura. The village is located on the northern side of Candragiri, not far from Shravanabelgola. The *jinālaya* is build from the potstone typical for the region. Like the previous *basadi*, this structure was erected under Hoysaḷa Rēcimayya, the general of King Ballāla II, towards the end of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century.[421] Rēcimayya's family was initially connected with the Late Cāḷukyas and with the Kaḷacuris (Kaḷachuryas).[422] Del Bontà relates this unusually highly decorated temple style at Jinanathapura to the changing dynastic associations of the general, who, he claims, used it as a way of stressing his own importance.[423] In this chapter, however, I argue in favour of this being principally an expression of the newly gained importance of the Jainas, who at this time started to make their influence and wealth visible also in the style of their *basadi*s.

The Śāntīśvara Basadi is erected on a wide, elevated platform, a *jagatī*, which can be used to circumambulate the structure in a clockwise direction (Plate 5.32 below). In actual fact, in another sign of the importance of the *pradakṣiṇā* ritual in a Jaina context, this elevated path enables the temple to be ambulated on two levels, on the ground and on top of the wide terrace. During this ambulation, practitioners see the full beauty and iconographic complexities of this highly decorated *jinālaya*. Although the *basadi* was never finished, this is probably the only Hoysaḷa Jaina temple which really equals the Hindu structures built at this time in terms of their exterior figural decoration (Plate 5.21 left).

420 On this issue, see Krishna Murthy, who also describes depictions of secular scenes and of the *saptamātṛkā*s, the seven mother goddesses, in connection with this *jinālaya* (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 111). For images from this *basadi*, refer, for instance, to Jain Temple, "Shri Sahastrakuta Digamber Jain Basadi (Temple), Tippu Nagar, Arasikere, District-Hassan (Karnataka)," https://www.jainmandir.org/Temple/Shri-Sahastrakuta-Digamber-Jain-Basadi-(Temple)%2C-Tippu-Nagar%2C-Arsikere%2C-District-Hassan-(Karnataka) [accessed 05.09.2023].

421 For the dating, refer to del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 95, and Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 62. The precise date of construction is not known and Krishna Murthy and del Bontà (in a later publication), consider the early thirteenth century as more likely for the erection of this *jinālaya* (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112; del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 121).

422 This has been suggested by Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112, and del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 121.

423 Compare del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 123–25.



Plate 5.32: The Śāntīśvara Basadi at Jinanathapura has a highly ornate interior with an elaborate ceiling panel (above), as well as exterior walls furnished with figural representations in niches (below).

The temple consists of a *garbhagṛha*, an *antarāla* and a *navaraṅga*. Its porch was never built. The sanctum houses a black seated figure of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara. As is typical of Hoysaḷa structures, the interior has been decorated with elaborate ceiling panels (Plate 5.32 above), intricately carved door frames and door guardians. Unusually, in this *jinālaya*, the pillars are not as highly polished and there are large empty niches, also referred to as *koṣṭha*s, integrated into the southern and northern sides of the *navaraṅga*.[424] This sacred edifice is unique in that its exterior is even more ornate than its interior.

The superstructure of the Śāntināth Basadi has not survived. It is clear, though, that this temple breaks with the earlier and more simple and austere Gaṅgā style and exhibits a tangible worldly beauty, primarily thanks to its lavish exterior ornamentation, consisting of seventy-three individual major statues (counting the unfinished slabs). The surface decorations combine figural, architectural and decorative features. Large standing statues of the nude Digambara Jinas are arranged in a band around the entire building, set below tower-like architectural, vegetal and floral canopies. In addition, there are statues of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s, *kṣetrapāla*s, other attendant figures, such as heavenly creatures, musicians, dancers and flywhisk bearers (*caurīdhara*, *cāmaradhara*). What is new is that there is quite an emphasis on worldly figures as well, in particular, beautiful young women (*madanikā*s), often nude and also erotic sculptures, expressing ideas of beauty, love and eroticism, known as *śṛṅgāra* (Plate 5.33).[425] While erotic statues adorn other *jinālaya*s, too, they appear to be slightly more frequent in a medieval northern and central Indian Śvetāmbara context than in that of the south Indian Digambaras.[426] Erotic statues might also indicate the growing significance of Tantric elements in Jaina art. During the seventh century CE, Tantrism took root in Jainism and by the eighth to tenth century CE, it exercised a strong influence on their temple ritual as well as their arts. On the facades of the Śāntīśvara Basadi, surrounding these different sculptural elements, are meandering scrolls of creeper and *kīrttimukha* faces. As the *jinālaya* is incomplete, some of the statues are not fully carved. As has been shown, in this fine Jaina *basadi*, lavish ornamentation has been displayed both on the interior as well as on the exterior of the temple, making it so special.

In actual fact, there is another Jaina Hoysaḷa temple at Jinanathapura, known as the Aregal Basadi. “Aregal” means “rock” and refers to the temple’s location on a low hill.

424 This has also been discussed by Krishna Murthy, “The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture”: 113.

425 Krishna Murthy, “The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture”: 112–13, has written on these. On a detailed study of the figures, see also del Bontà, “The Shantinatha Basadi”: 125–28.

426 Examples can, for instance, be seen on the Jaina temples at Ranakpur (Rāṅakapura) in Rajasthan and Ramtek (Rāmṭek) in Maharashtra. For illustrations, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: plate 260 and 261.



Plate 5.33: The images adorning the facade of the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Jinanathapura also display loving couples, which is typical of the later, more this-worldly approach of Jaina art and architecture.

The *jinālaya* faces north-west and its foundations date from 1135 CE.[427] The *basadi*, raised on a tall terrace, is small and follows the common layout, with an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*, a vestibule and a shrine. The seated white marble icon of Pārśvanātha which is housed inside the sanctum is a replacement of an earlier broken statue and was consecrated in 1889 CE. This temple is much less elaborate and has undergone such substantial renovations that its Hoysaḷa origins are hardly visible any longer.

427 See del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola": 94–95.

4.2.6 Multi-shrined Temples at Chikka Hanasoge, Markuli and Humcha

Three other major late Hoysaḷa *jinālaya*s deserve mentioning as they illustrate particularly well the continuity of design in the twelfth century, when Jaina *basadi*s were being built with multiple sanctums. Two consist of triple-shrines arranged in a star-like fashion, to one of which another two frontal facing shrines were added, to create a five-shrined constellation. The last example represents an unusual five-shrined Jaina temple, in which the five icons of the *jinālaya* stand in an elongated sanctum entered through five doorways.

The late-Hoysaḷa Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi at Chikka Hanasoge, near Konanur in Mysore District, follows the typical three-petalled layout already encountered many times in our survey of the temple architecture of the region.[428] However, in this Hoysaḷa example, the arrangement was realised on an even larger scale than anything we have yet examined. During its heyday, according to local informants, Chikka Hanasoge had seventeen thousand inhabitants and sixty-four temples, many of which were Jaina by denomination. The name of the town was then "Panasoge," meaning "prosperous town" and its wealth derived from its location close to the Cauvery River. The Jaina religious headquarters at Chikka Hanasoge, locally referred to as *maṭha*, used to be the principal Jaina monastic centre of the region and had sixty-four branches in the surrounding area. Both the Karkal (Kārkaḷa, Karkāla) and the Kambadhalli Maṭhas were once branches of this monastery, which was visited three times by the Queen of Mysore.[429]

The architectural arrangement at Chikka Hanasoge is much larger than those of other triple-shrined formations from earlier periods. In this *basadi*, the joint central *maṇḍapa* is separated by three additional halls, not just individual vestibules, from the three star-like projecting *garbhagṛha*s that protrude south, west and north (Plate 5.34 above). The individual halls and their associated shrines alone are each about 10.5 metres long.[430] The hall in front of the east-facing sanctum, dedicated to Ādinātha, whose statue is the main icon of the *jinālaya*, houses a further statue of the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī Devī. The shrine to the south accommodates a statue of Neminātha and the north-

428 According to inscriptional evidence, the village of Chikka Hanasoge was known as a sacred Jaina site as early as 910 CE and continued to be an important centre until the twelfth century (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 173, 199). Before the reorganisation of districts, it was located in Manda District.

429 This information is based on personal conversations in 2001 with the only Jaina family left in Chikka Hanasoge at that time. I am grateful to Professor Dr K.S. Shivanna, retired historian from Mysore University, for accompanying me to Chikka Hanasoge and supporting me in the conversations with translations. Today, the village has about two thousand inhabitants. The fact that a cobra is said to live inside the *basadi*, appearing to devotees from time to time, is regarded as auspicious.

430 It is a very large temple structure with incredibly solid and bulky walls. At certain places, the walls are said to be three metres thick. They are hollow but packed with filling material such as earth and rubble. This is based on the report of the only Jaina family left in this place, who were involved in renovation works of the *jinālaya* in 2001.

ern *garbhagṛha* a representation of Śāntinātha. The temple is entered from the east, where a small porch provides access to the shared *maṇḍapa*. The pillars are lathe-turned but shorter than at other sites (Plate 5.34 below) and the lotus ceiling has again been replaced by a small lotus rondel. The joint hall is semi-enclosed and has a pillared open front, where it gives onto the porch. In front of the *jinālaya* are various offering slabs.

Temples with five aligned sanctums also continued to be planned and built under Kalyāṇa Cāḷukya and Hoysaḷa rule. The Pañca Basadi in Humcha and the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Markuli are notable examples (Plate 5.35 above). Markuli (ancient Manikala) is a small village, about sixteen kilometres from Hassan in the Hassan District of Karnataka. The Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Markuli is sometimes referred to simply as Trikūṭa Basadi, by those who disregard the later addition of two sanctums facing each other immediately behind the access gateway at the front of the *trikūṭācala jinālaya* and count only the original Hoysaḷa shrines of the main temple building. It is known alternatively as Śrī Cakreśvarī Temple, referring to the *yakṣī* who is also housed inside this *basadi*. The fact that, in some places, Jaina goddesses gave their name to the temples of Jinas shows how their importance had been increasing from the eighth century CE onwards and that in the mind of the people, the *yakṣī*s had obtained an almost equal status to that of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

According to local information, the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Markuli was commissioned by Śāntalā Devī and Bucchimayya, King Viṣṇuvardhana's Prime Minister. The inscription panel, however, to the left of the main entrance, names only Bucchimayya, and refers to him as a minister of Hoysaḷa King Vīra Ballāla II, giving a construction date of 1173 CE.[431]

The Pañcakūṭa Basadi is entered from the north through a porch with a beautiful trabeate ceiling panel. This gives access to a joint *navaraṅga* hall, which again has the typical pillars which have been turned on a lathe (Plate 5.35 below). The central ceiling has been divided into nine panels, all decorated with open lotus flowers, of which the central one is very deep. The three off-branching shrines all have vestibules. The *antarāla* on the southern side is very wide and is flanked by pierced stone *jālī*s screens. The main *garbhagṛha* on this side houses a seated black stone figure of Ādinātha with an image frame, *prabhāvalī*, fitted to the wall behind it. In front of the left- and right-hand walls in the antechamber, there are seated stone representations of Ādinātha's *yakṣa*, Gomukha, with four arms, and his *yakṣī*, Cakreśvarī Devī, with twelve. The large number of limbs of these divinities suggests Tantric influences which become noticeable in these later statues. At the feet of Cakreśvarī Yakṣī, a smaller metal representation of the *yakṣī* Jvālāmālinī Devī is seated. This again points to the growing importance of the female element in the ritual of later Hoysaḷa Jaina temples. On the opposite side, where the *yakṣa* is placed, there is also a depiction of

431 For the original text as well as the translation of inscription number 119, see Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica: Inscriptions in the Hassan District*, vol. 5, part 1, Mysore Archaeological Series (Mangalore: Basel Mission Press, 1902): 35–36, 76–79. The same patron and date have also been provided by Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.



Plate 5.34: The late-Hoysaḷa Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi at Chikka Hanasoge was built on a much larger plan but its lathe-turned pillars are shorter and the ceilings simpler than at other sites of the period.

the *kṣetrapāla*, coated in orange vermillion powder. The sanctum on the eastern side houses a standing statue of Mahāvīra with his *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* and that on the western side a standing statue of Pārśvanātha, with his *yakṣī* at his feet.



Plate 5.35: Outside and inside view of the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Markuli, which has pierced stone screens flanking the entrance to the vestibule and a deep and ornate lantern ceiling.

The two temples facing one another at the front of this *trikūṭācala* arrangement, shrines numbers four and five, are not interconnected by a joint hall as was the case at Kambadhalli. Here, the two shrines are separate entities. The *garbhagṛha* of the eastern *jinālaya* houses a statue of Neminātha and the one to the west a further representation of the standing Pārśvanātha.[432] The cropped torso of a former standing Jina lies behind the temple, recalling the difficult times the Jainas experienced from the Hoysaḷa age onwards. According to personal information from the local Jainas, there is only one Jaina family resident in the village today. Most of the others have apparently become Gauḍas, also known as Wokaliya Hindus.[433]

The third and last site to be discussed in this section on later multi-shrined Hoysaḷa temples is Humcha in the coastal belt of Karnataka. This was a prominent Jaina *tīrtha* as early as the ninth century CE.[434] From the tenth century CE, it was the capital of the Sāntara Dynasty.[435] The religious *tīrtha* has a large Jaina *maṭha* and several ancient Jaina *basadi*s. The site as a whole is sacred to the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī, who is the most popular *yakṣī* in Karnataka as a whole.[436]

Amongst the *jinālaya*s at Humcha, we shall focus on the famous Pañca Basadi, also known as the Ūrvītilakam.[437] Interestingly, like the temple at Markuli, discussed above, the Pañca Basadi at Humcha is also in the Hoysaḷa style and was commissioned by Bucchimayya in the same year, 1173 CE,[438] although a slightly earlier date of 1077 CE has also been suggested.[439]

Despite their shared benefactor and similarity of style, the two *basadi*s look entirely different. The Pañca Basadi, located in the narrow coastal region to the west of the Western Ghats, is designed with a climate of heavy rains in mind and has sloping

432 The identification of the enshrined Jinas by Soundara Rajan deviates from the situation I encountered in 2006. According to him, the five shrines house statues of Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puṣpadanta and Supārśvanātha (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318). For additional images refer, for instance, to the YouTube video by Historia Indica, "Markuli Trikuta Basti," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0ZChuwz1LE [accessed 04.09.2023]. According to this, both eastern shrines house representations of Bāhubali.

433 Regular instances of Jainas becoming Gauḍas have been discussed in Chapter 1 in this volume. See, for instance, footnotes 208 and 600.

434 On this, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 200.

435 This has been suggested by Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 176. Sāntara is also spelled Śāntara.

436 Zydenbos has commented on this (Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 174).

437 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 11, 162, 200.

438 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318, has written on this.

439 For this earlier date, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 11. This dating is also shared by Pinto, who maintains that it was donated by the Sāntara Queen Chattala Devī in 1077 CE (Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 79). Sarma on the contrary dates the temple much earlier, to the ninth century (Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas*: 155). This, however, seems too early in consideration of its style.

red-tiled roofs (Plate 5.36 above).[440] In this temple, rather than five individual cells, there is one very long narrow sanctum, housing the five statues of Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puṣpadanta and Supārśvanātha. The illusion that there are five separate shrines is, however, reinforced by the name of the *basadi* and by the fact that each Tīrthaṅkara is approached through its own doorway. The spacious layout of the *jinālaya* allows not only for the veneration of a number of different fordmakers but also for the accommodation of further stone statues which were donated to the temple. There are, for instance, prominent sculptures of a *yakṣa* and of a Tantric four-armed Cakreśvarī Yakṣī.

At the front of the Pañca Basadi is a *mānastambha*, an open pillared pavilion sheltering a *balipīṭha* and two independent flanking shrines, of which one houses a statue of Pārśvanātha. Despite these further additions, it is not usually counted as a seven-shrined *basadi* arrangement. Nevertheless, this example shows very clearly that *jinālaya*s that were already multi-shrined could be extended to contain further shrines through the erection of additional temple structures, and that this was commonly done to accommodate the increasingly large number of statues donated to *basadi*s from at least the tenth century CE onwards. The Pañca Basadi at Humcha has a roofed ambulatory surrounding the entire building, a separate *nāga* shrine and a well. Due to its regional character, employing predominantly local building materials, what chiefly marks it out as an example of the typical Hoysala style are the stylistic features of the large stone statues of the Jinas, the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* and the two life-size *dvārapāla*s flanking the entrance to the vestibule (Plate 5.36 below).

The discussion in this chapter so far has given a rough overview of the evolution of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka from its earliest preserved beginnings in the cave architecture of the Early Cāḷukyas, starting in the sixth century CE, via the first structural *basadi*s of the seventh century CE to the elaboration of large and often very complex structures during the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. As we have seen, even the earliest *jinālaya*s are often already reasonably complex in their spatial layout, with multiple sanctums arranged on the horizontal as well as on superimposed vertical levels. The ornamentation of ceilings and pillars, especially in the interior, was initially very plain, but it became more complex over time, especially during the period of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas and the Hoysaḷas. Although structures from all over Karnataka have been discussed here, it is striking how many were erected in and around the sacred pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola, which was a centre of Jainism from as early as the sixth century CE, if not before. It is still the most important pilgrimage centre of the Digambaras in South India today.

440 This style of construction will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter, in section 6.3. entitled “Continuity in the Kanara Region.”



Plate 5.36: The Pañca Basadi at Humcha, in the coastal region of western Karnataka, has sloping tiled roofs. On the inside, Hoysaḷa door guardians protect the entrance to antechamber and shrine.

5 Jaina Temples Under Threat

The period of the blossoming of Jainism outlined in the previous sections, with Jainism and Jaina art and architecture flourishing in Karnataka, that took place essentially between the tenth and the twelfth century, in fact also saw the start and increase of inter-religious struggle for hegemony in the region. This led to the persecution of the Jaina community and the destruction and conversion of statues and temples in the larger area of southern India.[441]

There are references to earlier threats experienced by the Jainas in Karnataka. Cousens, for instance, relates how "[D]during the reign of Sōmēśvara I, the Chōḷa king penetrated into the Beḷvola district and burnt the Jaina temples which Gaṅga-Permādi had built in the Aṇṇīgeri *nāḍ*."[442] Sōmēśvara I ruled from about 1042 to 1068 CE. The first wave of organised persecutions started around the late eleventh century and intensified in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These attacks came from followers of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the southern regions of Karnataka[443] and from Vīraśaivism in the northern and eastern areas of the Deccan. During the time of the Kaḷacuris of Kalyāṇa (1156–1183 CE) in particular,[444] the Jainas suffered considerable persecution in consequence of the establishment and rise of Vīraśaivism under Basava. Cousens wrote of this period (using the term Liṅgāyats instead of Vīraśaivism, which we prefer in this publication):[445] "The Liṅgāyats were particularly hostile towards the Jains, and wherever they could, they appropriated their temples as well as those of the orthodox Hindus."[446] The way in which this statement stresses the difference between Hindus and Liṅgāyats/Vīraśaivas is important to note, as is its reiteration that the latter should not be confused with a form of Hinduism but treated as a distinct creed.[447]

From the late thirteenth century, Islamic invasions, too, jeopardised Jaina culture, in the Deccan region in particular. In 1296 CE, the armies of the *sultān*s of Delhi ar-

441 Davis has described these developments in Tamil Nadu (Richard H. Davis, "The Story of the Disappearing Jains: Retelling the Śaiva-Jain Encounter in Medieval South India," in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort [Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, Indian Book Centre, 1998]: 213–24) and the publication by Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, Heidelberg Series in South Asian and Comparative Studies (New Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011), brings together contributions from a number of different viewpoints outlining the dangers, intimidations and oppressions posed to Jaina society and culture in Karnataka. See also section 5. entitled "Struggle for Hegemony in the Region" in Chapter 1 in this volume.

442 For this quote, see Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 10. "Aṇṇīgeri *nāḍ*" is the land or area surrounding the city of Annigeri.

443 On this issue, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 365.

444 The Kaḷacuris are also known as the Kaḷachuryas (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 12).

445 For the reasons for our choice of the term refer to Chapter 1, section 5.3.1 "Basava and His Teachings."

446 This quote has been taken from Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 13.

447 On this, see also Chapter 1 by Hegewald and Chapter 4 by Lorenzetti in this publication. Both list aspects of Vīraśaivism which distinguish it from Hinduism.

rived in the region and started looting temple precincts. In 1311 CE the troops reached Halebid and the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla III submitted to the Islamic rulers in order to prevent an outright attack.[448] The subsequent Ṭughlāq rulers of Delhi continued an approach of southern expansionism and formed a permanent base at Devagiri in Maharashtra, later renamed Daulatabad.[449] In the course of the fourteenth century, they took over the area north of the Thungabhadrā River.[450] Although the Islamic conquest of the south was concluded around 1318 CE, widespread destruction of Jaina and Hindu statues and temple structures continued for about another three hundred years.[451] While *brāhmaṇical* power in the south endured in the form of the Vijayanagara empire, the Hoysaḷa dynasty was brought to an end in 1342 CE.[452] From the early fourteenth century, the Baḥmanid *sultān*s ruled the area north of the Kṛṣṇā and Thungabhadrā rivers.[453] Epigraphical records chronicling the persecution of Jainas and the destruction of their *basadi*s at the hands of Muslims in the south are to be found even from as late as the sixteenth century.[454]

Although Śaivas, Kāḷāmukhas, Vīraśaivas and Muslims were competing alongside one another, the struggle was most violent between the Jainas and Vīraśaivas, even if we take into account that some reports about killings and the absorption of *jinālaya*s in their inscriptions might be somewhat exaggerated.[455]

As has been outlined above, from the late eleventh and early twelfth century onwards, the Jainas were threatened by a number of rival religious groups who moved into the wider area of southern India. In some instances, we have concrete evidence of inter-faith aggression, in the form of inscriptions recording the names or religious affiliation of those who attacked holy Jaina sites, or an admission by the current owners that a conversion has taken place.[456] Often, however, it is not so clear who exactly was responsible for the destruction and looting, or precisely when it took place. At

448 Foekema has written on this issue (Foekema, *A Complete Guide to Hoysaḷa Temples*: 15–16).

449 This has been suggested by Foekema, *A Complete Guide to Hoysaḷa Temples*: 16.

450 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 365.

451 Compare Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 14.

452 In 1342 CE, Ballāla IV, the son of Hoysaḷa King Ballāla III died and the dynasty lost its influence (Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 60).

453 Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 310, has written on this.

454 One prominent testimony of this kind is the Mulgund Inscription, to be discussed later in this chapter in section 5.1.2 "Destruction, Demolition and Reconstruction of Temple Edifices."

455 This has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 1. Lorenzetti also commented on this in her presentation for the Deccan Heritage Trust (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Vīraśaivas / Liṅgāyats of 12th Century Karnataka," talk by Tiziana Lorenzetti, organised by the Deccan Heritage Foundation, 24.05.2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsBqa756fR4&t=19s [accessed 09.06.2022]).

456 For instance, in the former Jaina *basadi* at Tadakoda, known today as the Kalameśvara Hindu Temple, which is Śaiva and not Vīraśaiva, the people frequenting the temple were very open about the fact that it had been forcefully appropriated from the Jainas in the past.

times, different accounts disagree over whom to blame: usually either the Vīraśaivas, the Śaivas or the Muslims.

Although local legend and certain inscriptional evidence will usually attribute the ruin of a structure to the violence committed by a particular religious group, some may in actual fact have degenerated and collapsed as a result of general neglect. Some structures disintegrated, for instance, when they were abandoned after enforced—or at least strongly encouraged—mass conversions away from Jainism. This concerns in particular the Jaina conversions to Vīraśaivism which commenced in the twelfth century and were particularly prominent during the fifteenth century. Other sites were deserted in different contexts. The city of Vijayanagara, for instance, was abandoned when the eponymous empire collapsed in the middle of the seventeenth century.[457] While its local Hindu structures have generally been restored and well maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India, only a few of the once numerous Jaina temple structures have been preserved. Apart from the Pārśvanātha Temple in Vijayanagara and the Gaṇagitti Temple in neighbouring Kamalapuram, which have been completely refurbished and are well kept, most other Jaina *basadi*s at the site have fallen into a state of serious decay and are no longer in use. Dibbad also names what he calls "natural calamities" as a possible further explanation for the destruction of *jinālaya*s.[458] Krishna Murthy in fact provides a concrete example of what he calls an "ecological disaster." During the seventh century CE, the Jaina temple at Talakad was destroyed by wind-borne sand and deserted in consequence.[459] Afterwards, the *jinālaya* was gutted and the dressed stone elements re-used to erect other buildings in town, so that ultimately, the *basadi* was entirely destroyed.

Portable statues might also have been removed at a much later date, long after these troubled times in Medieval Karnataka. Colonial travellers, for example, frequently appropriated Jaina icons, many of which have ended up in European museums,[460] where they generally form a small element of a wider Indian statuary collection. Some were removed by the Archaeological Survey of India for safe keeping. Cousens noted, for instance, that two stone inscription tablets, dated to 1205 CE, were removed from the Kamala Basadi at Belgaum and taken to the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.[461]

In some cases, though, it is clear that the destruction of Jaina *basadi*s is associated with the time of trouble that gained momentum in the eleventh century. When speaking

457 The Vijayanagara empire lasted from about 1346 till 1646 CE.

458 See Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 72.

459 For this, refer to Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 191.

460 I am grateful to Katherine Kasdorf for suggesting this in a discussion following my paper at the Deccan Heritage Foundation (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Reflections of Jaina and Vīra-Śaiva Interactions in the Art and Architecture of Karnataka," talk by Julia A.B. Hegewald, organised by the Deccan Heritage Foundation, 03.06.2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8mzOeJ4TDsk [accessed 08.06.2022]).

461 Consult Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122.

about these difficult times at present, one notices a general reluctance amongst the Jainas to blame anybody directly. Local communities often speak only in private about takeovers and threats in the past. However, when we as a team were searching for Jaina *basadi*s referred to in ancient accounts, it was local Jaina families who took us to Vīraśaiva and Śaiva sites of worship, explaining and moaning about the appropriation of their former temples. When one reads the descriptions of major early Jaina centres in Karnataka, one becomes very much aware of how many have almost entirely vanished, leaving little more than a few dispersed temple ruins and scattered statues, and how many formerly prominent Jaina *tīrtha*s are practically unknown today. This brings home forcibly the enormous loss in power and influence suffered by the Jainas during this period.[462]

5.1 Diverse Approaches in the Destruction of Jaina Centres

As we have seen, some Jaina *tīrtha*s were completely demolished by the various religious groups who attacked them, while in others, the Jaina statues and temple structures were absorbed with little or no alteration. The tactics used in each case convey a particular attitude towards the Jaina heritage, but all were applied by representatives of all faiths and none are peculiar to one group only.

5.1.1 The Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues

During this period of religious strife, a large number of sacred places were looted and destroyed. The attackers' first target in a sacred place was usually the icons, usually referred to as *mūrti*s or *bimba*s, which were the focus of veneration in Jaina *basadi*s, as they still are today.

It is fascinating that we can identify different approaches in the behaviour of the newly empowered religious groups towards Jaina sacred images. Whilst some statues were entirely destroyed or removed from their temple settings, leaving no trace, others were demeaned, mutilated to varying degrees or, as will be shown in a later section, even re-used.[463] On very rare occasions, the disfigured sculptures were repaired and returned to the community.

462 See, for instance, the detailed description—largely on the basis of inscriptions—of major Jaina *tīrtha*s by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 172–215. Refer also to the Jaina centres enumerated in Joseph, of which few survive in their former splendour (P.M. Joseph, *Jainism in South India* [Thiruvananthapuram: The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1997]).

463 This is with the exception of the absorption of icons for further worship, which was not practised by Muslims. They did, however, integrate sacred Jaina *mūrti*s in a highly visible fashion into their fortifications and religious structures, being aware of their high status for the indigenous local community.

In the process of deposing the Jainas of their power and targeting their temples, large numbers were completely deprived of their sacred statues. The original *mūrti* of the Śāntīśvara Basadi at Nittur, for instance, was removed and replaced only much later, after the Jainas had once again retaken control over the site.[464] In other *jinālaya*s, whose venerated sculptures were stolen—as were most of those inside the village of Aihole—they have never been replaced. What remain are often beautifully carved and ornate altars or stone seats (*siṁhāsana*), frequently displaying full image frames (*parikara*, *prabhāvalī*) with flywhisk bearers (*caurīdhara*, *cāmaradhara*), but lacking the principal statues for which they were originally provided. This can be seen, for instance, at Aihole (Plate 5.37, 1.41). When Cousens visited the temple in the early 1920s, an unusual, not clearly identifiable statue, possibly the image of a *yakṣa*, had been placed on the seat. According to Cousens, the figure was obviously not the original one made for the pedestal.[465] In 2001, when I went to see the *basadi*, the pedestal was completely empty. This might be a case where the original statue was destroyed or removed during the upheavals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but where other later replacement figures were still taken from it during the early twentieth century.

Temple edifices from which venerated Jaina icons were removed were often spared and not torn down, as the loss of their most sacred objects of worship sufficed to render them religiously and politically impotent and to deprive the community of their influence. The intricate Candranāteśvara Basadi at Bhatkal (Bhaṭkaḷ, Bhaṭakaḷa), for example, whose statues were all removed, has never been reconsecrated and taken into active worship again, although the edifice itself was only marginally damaged.[466]

In most instances, it is not entirely clear what happened to the statues. There is some evidence that a Hindu *liṅga* was integrated into the threshold of the Aṛhāī-dinkā Jhomprā Masjid (mosque) in Ajmer, Rajasthan, which was built from the spolia of a local Jaina religious college and various Hindu temples, in order to humiliate the indigenous community. The Jaina temple spolia, including venerated statues, which were integrated into the wall facing the deep wide moat belonging to the fort of Belgaum in the north of Karnataka (Plate 5.38) are particularly interesting. It is one of the oldest fortifications in the State. The fortress was established by Bīchirāja, also known as Bīchaṇa, of the Raṭṭa dynasty in 1204 CE and served the dynasty as headquarters from 1210 till 1250 CE.[467] It is not clear whether the spolia were integrated into the fort wall as early as the thirteenth century or only in the fourteenth, when the fortress was taken over by the Khiljīs of Delhi. Large numbers of Jina *mūrti*s were

464 On this, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 318.

465 See Cousens for his comments on the site (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 49, fig. 14).

466 The full name of this temple is Jattappa Nāyakana Candranātheśvara Basadi (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 372).

467 Desai stresses that at this time, the region was controlled by the Śilāhāras and the Raṭṭas, who were Jainas themselves and contributed greatly to Jaina influence in the area (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 110).



Plate 5.37: The icons of most *jinālaya*s in the village of Aihole were stolen and whilst the *lalāṭabimba*s still indicate a former Jaina association of the temples, their altars are frequently empty.

also integrated into the fortification walls of the fort at Koppala. However, following very strong rains in 1992, these walls collapsed.[468] Looted Jina statues, one decapitated statue of a Tīrthaṅkara or a Bāhubali icon (Plate 1.40) and a square stele with seated Jinas are still on display inside the fourteenth-century Kuśmahal palace at Warangal, Andhra Pradesh.[469] In most cases, the icons were kept for political reasons and not

468 This is based on personal communications with residents at Koppala in 2007.

469 The fact that this practice of stealing images had a tradition predating the Islamic conquest of India can be seen in the case of the Nandas who had stolen an image of the Jina Anantanātha in 150 BCE. In order to regain it, King Khāravela of Orissa (ancient Kaliṅga), fought a battle and brought the

completely destroyed. Metal figures, however, were treated differently, for as well as their significance as symbols of religious influence, they were also sources of valuable metal that could be recast to make different statues or non-religious artefacts, such as coinage, jewellery or even armoury. Likewise, Jaina icons inlaid with precious stones were looted and recycled for the raw materials they contained.[470]



Plate 5.38: Spolia from destroyed Jaina *basadi*s in the region, such as this roof element, displaying a seated Jina, have been integrated into the fortification walls of the fort at Belgaum.

statue back home. Dibbad has written about this episode (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 64).

470 A discussion of the concept of "recycling" in an art-historical context has been provided by Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31–33.

In other instances, venerated Jaina *mūrti*s were left in their original sacred contexts but desecrated, which could be done simply by taking them down from their raised pedestals and placing them on the dusty floor. In a sacred environment, venerated icons of all Indic religious groups need to be elevated above the ground, in order to express reverence towards them. In their new Śaiva—or most frequently Vīraśaiva—setting, sacred Jaina images were then also smeared with ashes, known as *vibhūti*, to signal the conversion and annexation of the site and its associated imagery. This was done, for example, in the former Jaina temple at Hallur, which was converted by Vīraśaiva followers (Plate 5.10 below, far left corner).[471] Since the twentieth century, Śaivas and Vīraśaivas have also applied white paint to converted or desecrated Jaina statues, as a more permanent alternative to the white *vibhūti* ashes. This can be seen in the main Jina statue and the *pādukā*s on a pedestal at the front of the former Jaina temple at Adargunchi (Adarguñchi, Adaraguñchi), which today belongs to the Vīraśaivas (Plate 5.39).

Venerated icons at a former Jaina sacred *tīrtha* might also be subjected to physical mutilation, to send a strong signal that the site was under new control. Those singled out were often only minor statues which formed part of the roof or niche decorations. Whilst the outer walls of Jaina *basadi*s often bear no figural representations, small statues were regularly integrated into the roof structures of temples, more particularly, into the horseshoe arch motifs decorating the parapet and the layers of the pyramidal superstructure of the *jinālaya*s.[472] Such statues were often damaged or entirely chiselled away. This can be seen, for instance, in the Cikka Basadi at Belgaum. Here, the seated Jina and his attendants placed in the central niche above the temple porch were damaged. At Hallur, mentioned above, large disfigured statues can be seen on the outer walls of the *jinālaya*. In this instance, the Jaina sculptures immediately flanking the entrance to the *basadi* in the south are partially destroyed. The statue on the left as one approaches the temple has been deprived of one of its arms, and the one on the right has had its face sliced off (Plate 5.40, 1.43). The defacing of a ritual image is a particularly poignant gesture. It is known from Islamic instances of the desecration of sculptures as well. During acts of disfigurement usually the faces of statues were targeted, as were the breasts of female representations, targeted by Muslims. Representations of naked standing Jinas or other saints, such as Bāhubali, often

471 For further details on this converted temple, see the discussion earlier in this chapter as well as the examination by Hegewald in the contribution jointly written by Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional State Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 (2008), https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/8015/1/HPSACP_Hegewald_Mitra_final.pdf [accessed 10.10.2024], and Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "The Past in the Present": 55–85.

472 In addition, figural representations can also be found as part of the *makaratoraṇa*s (in Kannada: *makaratōraṇa*) above the wall niches on the exterior of *jinālaya*s. On this, see Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98, and Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 586.



Plate 5.39: Jaina objects, such as these footprints, *pādukā*s, from Adargunchi village have been re-used by Vīraśaivas, who have indicated their annexation by applying white lines of ash and paint to them.

had their genitals chopped off. The fact that the Digambara monks' habit of wandering naked was particularly offensive to Muslims has been discussed in Chapter 1.[473] The removing of an arm, as can be seen in one of the figures at Hallur, is less common.[474] In any case, the disfigurement of the statues immediately flanking the access to the temple provided a clear indication to people approaching the building that it had been converted.

473 See, in particular, section 5.5 on "Islam."

474 The mutilation of these statues has also been highlighted by Meister and Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 147, and by Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 110.

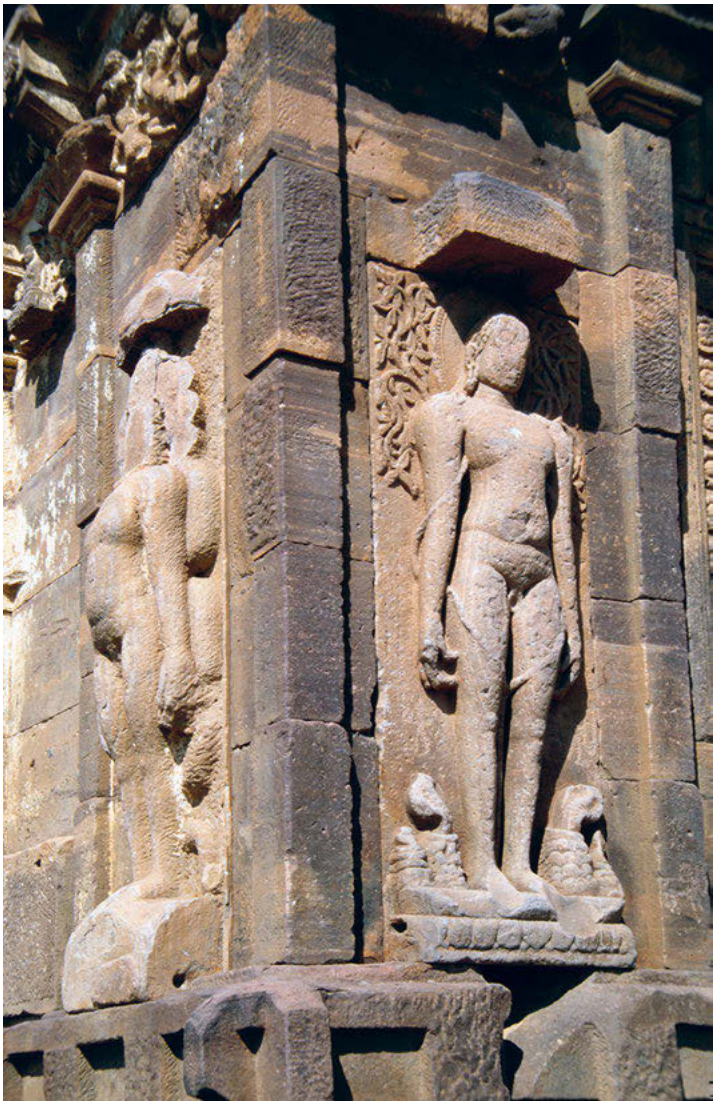


Plate 5.40: Jaina statues were mutilated when *basadi*s were appropriated by Vīraśaivas, as can be seen in this image of Pārśvanātha (left) at the front of the temple at Hallur, which had its face cut off.

Such mutilations become particularly frequent in the context of Islamic plunder or takeover. In the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadīth*s, whoever creates images of human beings and animals is threatened with the maximum punishment. By imitating, modelling or depicting living things, artists are seen to "compete" in their artistic creations with

Allah (al-A'lā), who is the creator *par excellence*.[475] The mutilation of statues by Muslims, because of their rejection of created images, is known from other geographical regions outside South Asia as well.[476] Thoraval argues that this destructive behaviour arose less from cruelty than from the intention of depriving the images of their life. Statues were beheaded, their eyes gouged out, or their noses or hands smashed, as if to cut off their blood circulation and prevent them from breathing. Once distorted, these representations no longer have anything in common with a human being, which, according to the orthodox Muslim view, God alone has the power to create.[477]

An even stronger statement than the damage or defacement of an icon is its full decapitation. One icon that has suffered in this way is the seated Jina preserved inside the upper *garbhagṛha* of the deserted Meguḍi Temple on the hill at Aihole. Whilst the halo of the statue has been preserved, the head has been chopped off, while the circular mandorla advertises and further emphasises the absence of the body part (Plate 5.41). Such instances are especially moving, as the images are still present but have been severely mutilated and made ritually impotent and invalid. This articulates not just the beheading of one single statue and enlightened teacher, but figuratively the execution and amputation of Jainism from the region. The removal of the head also prevents devotees from looking at the eyes of the icon, a practice which still bears great significance for all Jainas, although it is less important in Digambara than in Śvetāmbara ritual.[478]

The message conveyed by a beheaded statue was extremely powerful, so they were often put on display in front of former Jaina *basadi*s by their attackers. To a person approaching the location, this signalled that a cessation of Jaina worship at the site had been enforced. It is fascinating that there are still a number of places where, even after the Jainas regained control and reconsecrated temporarily annexed temples, such dishonoured icons have been kept on public display. It appears that they act as poignant reminders of the turbulent times the community has gone through,

475 This ban on depiction does not apply to plant, landscape or geometric representations, nor to calligraphy. On this, refer to Yves Thoraval, *Lexikon der islamischen Kultur* (Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995): 72, and Klaus Kreiser, Werner Diem and Hans Georg Majer, eds., *Lexikon der Islamischen Welt (1. Band A-Grab)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1974): 105.

476 Signs of damage and destruction can be observed in numerous sculptures, building decorations or metal objects, both ancient (Egyptian or Greco-Roman sculptures), Christian (churches in Kappadocia after the disappearance of most Christians from Anatolia) or Buddhist (as in Bamiyan/Bāmiyān in Afghanistan) and occasionally even Muslim. On this, refer to Thoraval, *Lexikon der islamischen Kultur*: 73.

477 On this issue, refer to Thoraval, *Lexikon der islamischen Kultur*: 73.

478 The eyes of Śvetāmbara Jaina statues have often been inlaid with metal or precious cut stones, which reflect the light of candles and oil lamps and sparkle in the dark temple interiors, to intensify the experience of looking at the eyes. Whilst this makes the images appear almost alive, the Jainas do not believe that any real contact can be made with the fully enlightened beings, who have terminated all contact and links with this world.

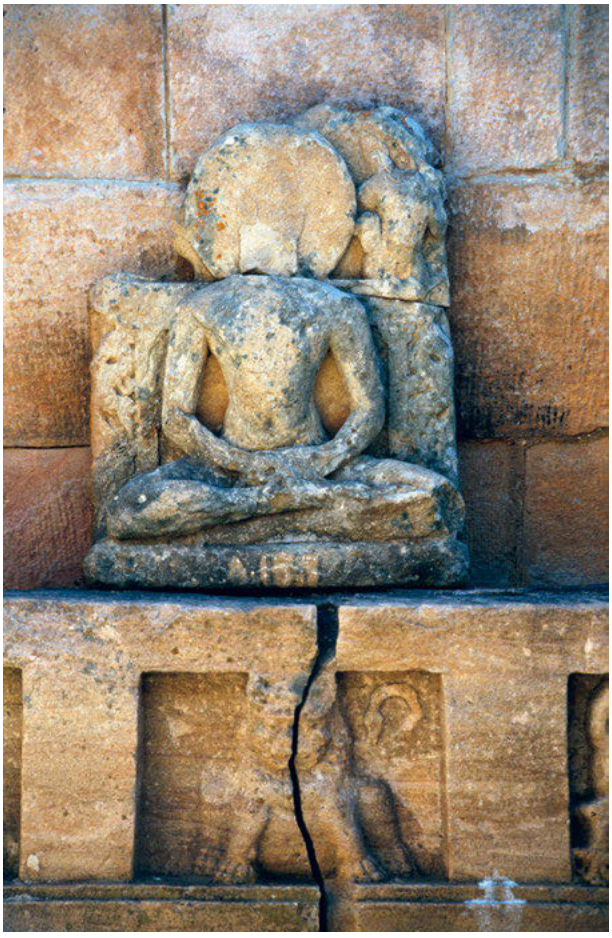


Plate 5.41: The seated icon of the Jina inside the upper sanctum of the Meguḍi Temple at Aihole has been beheaded and only the halo of the sculpture remains in place.

and the violence they suffered but survived.[479] A good example is the headless torso of a seated Tīrthaṅkara at the front of the Jaina temple next to the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi,[480] pictured on the cover of this book. On the western side of the gateway to

479 The issue of survival is very important in a Jaina context.

480 Alongside the mutilated Jaina statue, we find small stone images of Nandī, which can be both a representation of the vehicle of the Hindu god Śiva and an image of Basava. There are also broken figures of Gaṇeśa, the son of the Hindu god Śiva. It is not entirely clear whether these indicate a Hindu period of occupation which has ended and which the Jaina community is remembering through this ensemble, or whether the wider assemblage points towards a looting of all temples, Jaina and Hindu, by another force, such as Vīraśaivas or Muslims. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to ob-

the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli, a group of beheaded and destroyed Jina statues, mutilated door guardians, *dvārapāla*s, and the remains of temple elephants from the Gaṅgā and the Hoysaḷa periods is on display (Plate 5.42),[481] as was the case when Srinivasan visited the *kṣetra* in the nineteen sixties and seventies.[482]



Plate 5.42: At the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli, a group of decapitated and damaged statues of Jinas, door guardians and temple elephants from the Gaṅgā and the Hoysaḷa periods are on display.

We also find displays of the limbs and heads which were cut off stone statues at *jinālaya*s which are back in Jaina hands. In the Anantanātha Basadi in Lakshmeshvar, the severed head of a Jina has been placed in an empty niche on the outside of the *basadi* (Plate 5.43). Other mutilated images are found leaning against the outer temple walls and in its surroundings. Another good example of this practice is in the complex of the Pārśvanātha Temple at Tadakoda, where a large number of mutilated icons from earlier Jaina *basadi*s on the site have been lined up along the eastern compound wall.

tain precise information about attacks on temples due to the sensitivity of the issue and the wish of many informants not to blame any religious community and to live as much as possible in harmony today.

481 See also Chapter 1, Plate 1.44, for a similar arrangement at the front of the Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar.

482 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 218.



Plate 5.43: One exterior niche of the Anantanātha Basadi at Lakshmeshvar exhibits the amputated head of a Jina icon.

Although Desai mentions one case of the reconsecration of a Jaina image which had been desecrated by Muslims,[483] such Jaina re-use of their own statues is relatively rare.[484] In many instances, icons which were buried in the ground to protect them from annexation and desecration, or looted sculptures which had been returned,

483 An inscription from Mulgund, dated to 1675 CE, states that Bandāmbike, the wife of Nāgabhūpa, "reconsecrated the image of Arhat Ādinātha, which was polluted by the Mohammadans." (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148). An Arhat is a Jina.

484 This would be a case of "conventional re-use," in which an object is used for the same purpose without a change in function. The only element of change is in the use of the Jaina temple in which the images are venerated, or the fact that there has been some interlude in which the icons were not

have not been re-invested with their previous central space in the temple context. In some ways at least, they are considered polluted or disempowered. In the Pārśvanātha Jaina Temple at Babanagar (Bābānagar) in the outskirts of Bijapur (Bijāpur, Bījāpur, Bījāpūr), for example, the ancient black marble statue of Mahāvīra, which was buried to protect it from the Islamic assaults on the *jinālaya*, is today displayed only in the porch of an adjacent small shrine.[485] A similar case is the statue of a Jina outside the Jaina temple at Tadakoda (Plate 1.45), which is still kept on the ground, and has not been re-integrated into the full ritual circle of the temple establishment.

As the Jainas appear to like pointing out the violence their religious institutions have suffered at the hands of other faith groups, it is reasonably rare for such disfigured statues to be restored later on. A prominent exception, however, is the aforementioned Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli. During the preparations for the 2018 Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, the local Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Bhānukīrti Svāmījī commissioned the repair of at least those statues placed in the niches of the temple structures and the gateway.[486] The newly fitted elements, however—mainly heads, limbs and genitals—have been formed out of grey plaster, which can be clearly differentiated from the yellow sandstone of the original statues (Plate 5.44). This does not seem to have any connection with modern Western restoration practices, concerned with preserving the authenticity of the image, as part of which reinstated elements are clearly marked as such. Instead, it appears to be an expression of the Jaina approach of keeping historically suffered "wounds" openly visible.

In actual fact, the Jainas often go one step further and state that such practices are not merely about expressing the distress they suffered, but are a way of stressing the victorious survival of Jainism, despite the enormity of the violence suffered in the past. This triumph of endurance is taken as a reconfirmation of the strength and to a certain extent also the superiority of the Jaina faith over other religions.[487]

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worshipped. For more information on the concept of conventional re-use, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31–34.

485 According to local history, as recounted by the Jainas looking after the temple in 2007, the buried icon was discovered in 1982 when a snake indicated the way to it. Although the image has been brought to light again, the underground location is still kept as a sacred place.

486 The Bhaṭṭāraka of Kambadhalli has his own small *maṭha* close to the main temple. This is one of the monastic headquarters which were established later in the development of the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition. On this, see Scholz in Chapter 3 in this book, and Chapter 1, section 3.1.3, "*Bhaṭṭārakas* and Monasteries."

487 Scholz in Chapter 3 writes about the close relation of the Jainas with warrior kings, and the way in which military bravery was translated into the model of the resilient and strenuous ascetic, who fights against all worldly attachments and desires. See also the discussions of this issue by Hegewald in Chapter 1 in this volume, especially section 2.2.1, "Jainas as *Ahiṃsā* Warriors," and Dundas (Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices [London: Routledge, 1992]: 102) on the importance of "vigour and bravery" in Jainism, which enjoyed the respect of the military classes.

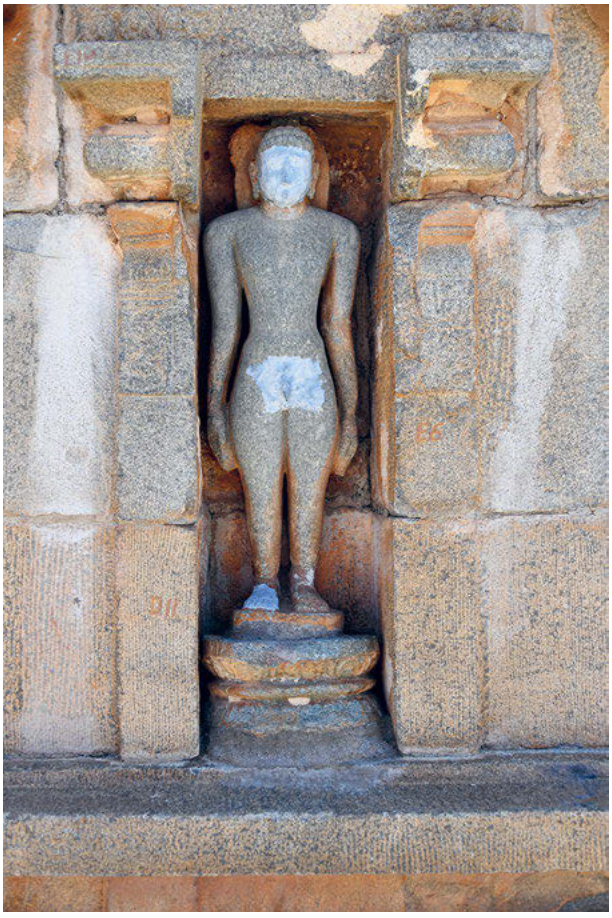


Plate 5.44: Only rarely have mutilated statues been restored as here at the bequest of the local Bhaṭṭāraka at the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli. The replaced elements are clearly identifiable.

5.1.2 Destruction, Demolition and Reconstruction of Temple Edifices

At times, not only the venerated statues but also temple structures and entire Jaina pilgrimage centres were destroyed and completely razed to the ground, leaving almost no trace of their former splendour. As Soundara Rajan commented, with regard to the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi, which was destroyed but rebuilt and reconsecrated: "Even in their utter desolation and nominal worship, the temple-ruins present a grandeur befitting its [their] famed past from the sixth to the thirteenth century."[488]

488 This quote has been taken from Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 315.

In cases where the *basadi*s were completely wiped out, only inscriptional evidence informs us about their former existence. On the basis of inscriptions, Dibbad deduces that roughly half of all the *jinālaya*s built in Karnataka before the early eleventh century were destroyed, probably about two thousand in number.[489]

Severely damaged edifices and the foundations of completely demolished *jinālaya*s are to be found throughout Karnataka. In the Cikka Basadi in Belgaum, the large hall and porch adjacent to the shrine remain relatively untouched, and only the shrine, the most sacred part of the building, was completely flattened (Plate 5.45). Once this ritually most important element was annihilated, the edifice lost its sacred function. Another example, which we have mentioned in the section on the historical evolution of *basadi*s in Karnataka, is the large double temple next to the Pañcakūṭa Basadi at Kambadhalli, of which only the Śāntinātha shrine section has been preserved. Here, too, the second shrine was completely razed (Plate 5.4). Chikka Hanasoge is one place where entire *jinālaya*s were demolished. While the Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basadi has been well preserved, the local Jaina community maintains that there used to be sixty-four temples at the site, most of which were Jaina. They were apparently torn down in religiously motivated attacks from the twelfth century onwards.[490] At Koppala, too, which together with Shravanabelgola was one of the major centres of early Jainism in the region, and where about fifty Digambara Jaina and one hundred and fifty Śvetāmbara Jaina families live, there is only one major Jaina temple still in use. Allegedly, seven hundred and seventy-two former Jaina *basadi*s were destroyed at the site, predominantly by Vīraśaivas.[491] Koppala has a prominent Vīraśaiva *maṭha*, established during the twelfth century.

In a Vīraśaiva context, temple demolitions appear to have a particular religious meaning. In one of his famous religious sayings (*vacana*s), Basava declared: "Things standing shall fall, but the moving ever shall stay" (*Vacana* 820).[492] I would argue that the "moving" are the Vīraśaiva practitioners themselves, who represent the religion and carry the symbol of the divine principle, the *liṅga*, on their body at all times. Besides the reference to ordinary worshippers, the expression "the moving" also relates to the so-called "Moving One," the *jaṅgamana*, the enlightened sage, who, by fusing with the *liṅga*, has turned his own body into a moving temple.[493] The human body of

489 On this, see Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 67. Pinto has also commented on this (Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 85).

490 This information is based on personal communications with local Jaina families at the site in 2001.

491 This was communicated to me by the Jaina families associated with the Pārśvanātha Temple at Koppala in 2007. See also the publication on what remains of Jaina culture at Koppala by Hampa Nagarajaiah *Jaina Corpus of Koppaḷa Inscriptions, X-Rayed* (Bangalore: Ankita Pustak Publishers, 1999).

492 See A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1973]): 88.

493 *Liṅga*, *jaṅgamana* and *guru*, the latter relating to the enlightened sage heading a *maṭha*, form a central trinity of the Vīraśaiva faith. Due to the importance of moving and walking in this religion, the shoes worn by their saints were placed on funerary monuments (*samādhi*) and kept in their religious



Plate 5.45: The complete shrine section of the Cikka Basadi at Belgaum has been demolished. The debris has been removed and what remains of the *jinālaya* has been sealed off with a door.

the believer is regarded as a living substitute for any temple structure. Following Basava's recommendation to bring down all shrines of other religions, many Jaina *basadi*s were completely demolished by Vīraśaiva followers.

In some instances, we have clear epigraphic records, telling us about and openly naming the offenders. The sixteenth-century inscription from Mulgund (Muḷgund) near Dharwar (Dhārwār) in northern Karnataka is particularly well known. It describes the obliteration of the local Pārśvanātha Jinālaya by Muslim armies and the martyrdom of Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti, who died during the attack. According to the epigraphic record, the *ācārya* remained inside the *basadi* and died when the building was set alight.[494] Endurance of fire is seen by Jainas as an extreme act of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) on the Jaina teacher's part. Another inscription refers to a Vīraśaiva attack on a *jinālaya*. This is the Abalur (Abbalūr) inscription. Abalur was a large centre of

headquarters, the *maṭha*s, where they receive special veneration (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Cult of Feet and Footwear in the Liṅgāyat Tradition: Symbology and Peculiarities," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020]: 344–52). See also Chapter 1, Plate 1.32 below, for a reproduction of such a situation.

494 See Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 148, Desai, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15: 433, inscription no. 695, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 365.

Jaina worship in the north of Karnataka, today situated in Haveri district. In the lithic record, the stern Śaiva Ekāntada Rāmayya is described as promising to cut off his own head and to regain life after one week, if the Jainas will accept Śaivism as the superior faith.[495] According to the legend, Rāmayya succeeded in his undertaking and the Jainas of the place were all forced to convert.[496]

In other instances, it is not so clear who destroyed the *jinālaya*s. Although we differentiate here between Śaivism and Vīraśaivism as independent denominations, and most Vīraśaivas identify strongly as non-Hindus, when we visited sites as part of our research project, it was often difficult to find out precisely which religion was practised at a particular place, as local people often did not always distinguish clearly between the Vīraśaiva and Śaiva denominations,[497] and were at times vague about the ownership of sites. Contrasting with this, at other places, Vīraśaivas were very clear about the fact that they were not Śaivas and did not practise Hinduism. This was, for instance, the case at the Vīrabhadreśvara Temple, also known as Vīrabhadra or Iranna Deva Gudi in Haveri. The temple, originally a Jaina *basadi*, was converted by the Vīraśaivas. The unclear nature of religious ownership is perhaps indicative of the general difference between theory and texts on the one hand and religious practice on the other, and also of the enormous diversity found in India in connection with the practices of all religious groups.

The Ādinātha Basadi, built in 1589 CE, in Shrirangapatna (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa), also known as Srirangapatnam and popularly referred to as the Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa Svāmī Jaina Temple, illustrates in poignant fashion the widespread destruction of Jaina temples in Karnataka. All the statues it houses are said to have come from obliterated Jaina temples from the wider area—allegedly one thousand and eight in total.[498] The central *mūrti* of this sixteenth-century Jaina temple is reputed to have come from a destroyed *basadi* in the village of Bannur, about twenty-five kilometres from Shrirangapatna. The twenty-four Jinas in the antechamber were found underneath a destroyed *jinālaya* in the village of Kalastavari (Kalastanari, Kalastauan) at a distance of eight kilometres from this new *basadi* (Plate 5.46). The statue of Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa in the main hall cames from Pallali near the modern Brindavan Gardens at Mysore, and the associated icon of Padmāvatī Yakṣī from Ganjam village. According to local lore, the Jaina *basadi*s in these surrounding villages were demolished by the Muslim

495 There are a number of different versions of his name, such as: Śaiva Ekāntada, Ēkāntada Rāmayya, Ekāntada, Ekānta or just Rāmayya. For further details of this inscription, refer also to Chapter 1 (5.3.3) and Chapter 4 (6.1.1).

496 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 281.

497 With regards to historic examples, this fact has also been emphasised by Lorenzetti. She highlights in Chapter 4 that from the inscriptions she worked with, it is often not entirely clear whether somebody is a Śaiva or a Vīraśaiva.

498 One thousand and eight is a number perceived as sacred or auspicious by most indigenous religious groups in South Asia and is often used to indicate a particularly large quantity.

Malik Kafur (Raj al-Din Izz al-Dawla), locally referred to as Mallikaphar.[499] Malik Kafur defeated the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla II in Tamil Nadu.[500] He was the general of ʻAlau'd-Dīn Khiljī, who invaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom and its capital Dvarasamudra (Dvārasamudra, Dōrasamudram), which is modern-day Halebid.[501]



Plate 5.46: The statues of the sixteenth-century Ādinātha Basadi at Shrirangapatna have all come from destroyed Jaina temples in the area, as have these twenty-four Jinas, which stem from Kalastavari.

The well-known Jaina sacred centre of Koppala, mentioned earlier in this chapter, which has been associated with Jainism for as long as Shravanabelgola, is one place of pilgrimage that was completely annihilated. Koppala, which flourished from the seventh century CE, was once the second most important Jaina *tīrtha* in Karnataka, known as a *mahātīrtha*, a large or major pilgrimage site, eulogised in numerous tenth-

499 This information is based on personal communications with the Jaina family caring for the *basadi* in Srirangapatnam and with neighbouring Jaina families in 2001.

500 See Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*: 261.

501 Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 114, has written on these different names.

to thirteenth-century inscriptions.[502] It is also referred to as Koppal or Koppa.[503] The *mahātīrtha* Koppala used to be a centre of Yāpanīya Jainism, whilst the Jainas in Shravanabelgola were mainstream Digambaras. Koppala was, however, completely destroyed and no longer exists as a Jaina centre.[504] Koppala housed about seven hundred Jaina temples, recorded in inscriptions, which were razed to the ground, probably by Śaivas. Only one, Pārśvanātha Temple, is still in Jaina hands and a number of foot imprints of venerated teachers have survived[505] in addition to a very few other Jaina remains, now under Vīraśaiva control, which will be discussed later. Many other places shared the same fate and are today known only from inscriptional evidence.[506]

The demolition of a *basadi* was an enormous loss for any local Jaina community. *Basadi*s were not only centres from which monks provided spiritual guidance, but also sites for social gatherings and religious instruction, as well as hubs for community-based festivals, centres of learning and the production of literature. Moreover, they were effectively welfare facilities, providing food and medicines to any of the ordinary population in need.[507] This was why adherents of other religions destroyed Jaina temples when they wanted to eliminate Jainism from the region.[508]

Once these sacred areas were annihilated, the land was often annexed or sold to smallholders who used the ground for agriculture. Therefore, it is a common occurrence today for farmers to discover statues or other sacred objects when ploughing their fields. This happened in a small village close to Shravanabelgola while our research group was on fieldwork in the area in 2006. One almost full-scale intact Bāhubali and two slightly damaged figures of attendants were freshly unearthed (Plate 5.47). The icon of the naked standing ascetic was indubitably of Jaina origin. Nevertheless, all were quickly cleaned, oiled and then painted with parallel Śaiva lines and further designs in red *kumkum* (*kumkumārchan*) and yellow sandalwood paste, worshipped and provided with flower offerings by the local Vīraśaivas. The markings, which are considered auspicious, signal the annexation of the statues by the local Vīraśaiva community. This is despite the fact that—as outlined above and in Chapters 1 and 4—figural images should not have a ritual signif-

502 On this, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 185, 187. Comparably important were also the sites of Kittur (Kiṭṭūr, Kīrtipura) in the ancient region of Punnad (Punnāḍ) and Paudanapura or Podan, modern Bodhan (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 185–86). On Koppala as a *mahātīrtha*, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 157, Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 31, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 80.

503 Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death": 231, has written on this.

504 For further details on Koppala, see the monograph by Nagarajaiah, *Jaina Corpus of Koppaḷa Inscriptions*, and the chapter by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 51–52.

505 Refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 64–65, 71.

506 Narasimha Murthy has also commented on this (Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 53).

507 Dibbad has also commented on this topic (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73). See also Chapter 1 by Hegewald, especially, section 2.2.4 "Engaging with Women and the Community."

508 On this topic, see also Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 76.

icance in Vīraśaiva worship. Once again, we see discrepancies between doctrine and actual religious practice. The sculptures were probably "absorbed" to prevent lengthy legal battles and claims with regards to legal ownership of the land.



Plate 5.47: These freshly unearthed Jaina icons found in the fields of a village close to Shravanabelgola were immediately marked by the local Vīraśaiva community to signal their takeover.

In other instances, new edifices were built on the land of annihilated Jaina *basadi*s by other religious groups, or later on also by the Jainas themselves, so that a widespread continuity of sacred sites was preserved.[509] Although the continuity of sacred sites is a worldwide phenomenon common to all religious groups, it is striking how often Vīraśaiva structures were raised above former *jinālaya*s in Karnataka.[510] In this context it should be noted that the complete flattening of temples of one religion and

509 The continuity of sacred sites has been discussed by Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 34–35; Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Reflections on the Past – Perspectives for the Future: Re-Use Theory as a Method for Critical Analysis in Art-historical Research," in *Reflections on the Past – Perspectives for the Future. Proceedings of the International Congress, Rome, 18–19 April 2011*, ed. Tiziana Lorenzetti and Fabio Scialpi, Studi umanistici: Ricerche sull' Oriente, Collana Convegni 19 (Rome: Sapienza Università Editrice, 2012): 85–86.

510 Sundaram has also commented on this issue (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35).

their replacement with the sacred structures of another faith group is not only a religious but also a poignant political statement about power and dominance.

On occasion, where a temple of particular significance had been severely damaged, the Jaina community sometimes decided to rebuild it at a later stage. It is, in fact, one of the obligations of Jainas to take care of and maintain their temples, and to reconstruct damaged *jinālaya*s.[511] Dibbad describes this as a form of "self-respect" displayed by the Jaina faithful, pointing out that the renovation of structures was as highly regarded as the donation of a new shrine. Furthermore, he mentions about twenty inscriptions from Shravanabelgola referring to such renovation campaigns. The famous general, Gaṅgarāya, is named repeatedly in these as a prominent major donor.[512] He is also known to have extended existing *basadi*s and had new shrines built.

Many *jinālaya*s throughout the region indicate by displaying images in unusual places that they were at least partially rebuilt out of broken pieces. This can be seen, for instance, in the Pārśvanātha Temple at Shankeshvar (Śaṅkheśvara) in Belagavi District, about fifty kilometres from Belgaum. The *basadi,* dating originally from the early eleventh century, was destroyed and rebuilt out of debris. In the shrine section in particular, original imagery from the former building is found integrated in abnormal positions into the temple's facade. The Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar, erected under the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas in the eleventh century,[513] underwent a whole-scale rebuilding. The attack it suffered was so violent and its fabric was dissected into such small blocks of stone that a faithful reconstruction of the original structure was impossible (Plate 5.18, 1.46). Small wall segments and statues were pieced together in what appears to be a relatively haphazard manner, creating a place of worship visually scarred by the past.[514]

In other instances, only selected building elements were used, and the former thresholds, door frames, lintels, door guardians and altars were integrated into a largely new temple structure. The Śrī Śanteśvara Svāmī Digambara Jaina Basadi, alternatively known as the Mysore City Basadi, preserves some ancient door frames, of which one integrates Hoysaḷa-age *dvārapāla*s into its frame (Plate 5.48). Furthermore, it still holds a large collection of medieval metal statues, although the main body of the *jinālaya* dates from the twentieth century. For most of the Jaina temples in the

511 On this subject, refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 65.

512 For these references, refer to Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 73–74.

513 See Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 312–13.

514 It is fascinating to observe that the Lakṣmīliṅgeśvara Temple at Lakshmeshvar, which at the time of writing at least is under Hindu control, likewise represents as much of a building patchwork as the Śaṅkha Basadi. On the basis of the present remains it is not entirely clear whether a Jaina and a Hindu temple were destroyed by Vīraśaivas or Muslims moving into the area or whether both may originally have been Jaina, with one being reconstructed by the Hindus. More research would be needed to ascertain the circumstances of the destruction. The reverse case, where the Jainas reconsecrated a destroyed former Hindu temple after Muslim assaults on the site, can be seen at Khajuraho. This has been discussed by Hegewald, "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change."

large complex at Narasimharajapura (Narasiṁharājapura, ancient Simhanagadde), too, we have foundation dates ranging from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, although their present fabric dates predominantly from the modern period.[515] This *tīrtha* is especially sacred to the *yakṣī* Jvālāmālinī.[516]

In a Jaina context, however, it has to be noted that the Jainas themselves also regularly undertake substantial changes to their own structures. Temple dedications, for instance, are often altered. The Maṅgāyi Basadi in the village of Shravanabelgola, for example, now houses a statue of Pārśvanātha, although an earlier inscription on the lintel identifies the enshrined Jina as Anantanātha. There are many more instances where today the name of a *jinālaya* no longer reflects the identity of the principal venerated statue.

Even more drastically, the Jaina community also tears down its own temples at regular intervals to rebuild them from scratch. Rebuilding an old *basadi* gains the benefactor as much merit as commissioning a new structure. In Karnataka, this can be seen, for instance, at Dharmasthala, where the Candranātha Basadi, originally a largely wooden structure, was entirely demolished and reconstructed in concrete clad with marble, between about 2001 and 2006.[517] At the site of Guruvayanakere (Guruvāyinakere), likewise, three *basadi*s were completely torn down and replaced with new temple buildings by the local Jaina community. In 2001, the Śāntinātha and the Candranātha Svāmī Temples had already been replaced with largely concrete structures, but the Anantanātha Temple was still a plastered brick *jinālaya* with a red-tiled roof. By 2006, when I next visited, it had also been replaced with a concrete *basadi*. The reconstruction of earlier temple buildings has a long tradition in Jaina architecture. One of the earliest dated structural temples in Karnataka, the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Talakad, appears to have first been built between the fifth and seventh century CE with a least a wooden roof, and to have burnt down in the tenth century CE. Shortly afterwards, it was reconstructed in brick on a slightly larger scale.[518]

When *basadi*s are knocked down by the Jainas themselves in order to rebuild them in a more opulent fashion, the sanctified statues are temporarily kept in improvised shelters or small transitory shrines.[519] The wood of the flattened original *jinā-*

515 One element that supports the epigraphic evidence and points to an earlier date is the fact that the Jvālāmālinī Temple in Narasimharajapura is located in a depression, which points to the general raising of the ground around ancient structures.

516 On the site and its association with the *yakṣī* Jvālāmālinī, refer to Zydenbos, "Göttinnenverehrung im Jainismus": 170–74.

517 Titze published a photograph of the earlier wooden structure (Kurt Titze, *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998]: 223, plate 318).

518 See Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 99–101, on this temple site. On p. 191 of the same publication, Krishna Murthy wrote that the *basadi* was destroyed by windborne sand.

519 A photograph of such a short-term temple has been published by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 35, plate 55.



Plate 5.48: In the Mysore City Basadi, ancient door frames, displaying Hoysaḷa-style *dvārapāla*s, have been integrated into a largely modern Jaina temple structure.

laya is often kept on site for a considerable amount of time, as valuable raw material, as could be seen at the Pārśvanātha Temple at Tadakoda in 2007. It is not entirely clear whether the timber may be re-used only for new but simpler sacred structures, made largely of wood and mud, or whether it is possible to use it for non-sacred purposes as well.

5.2 The Annexation and Appropriation of Jaina Sites

Other Jaina statues and temples were not damaged or destroyed, but preserved, converted and re-used in a changed religious context, thus taking on new meanings. In these instances, objects and architectural spaces are preserved and continue to function as valued cultural remnants, which have an enduring influence on local culture and identity. However, for those people deprived of their sacred places and objects of worship, such sites and items which they formerly revered always engender painful memories and are constant reminders of humiliation, theft and conversion.

5.2.1 The Re-Use of Jaina Sacred Structures

In Karnataka, there was a disproportionate number of annexations and conversions of *basadi*s from Jaina to Vīraśaiva usage.[520] Many have already been referred to above. Tiziana Lorenzetti, in Chapter 4, suggests that some Jainas who converted to Vīraśaivism from the twelfth century CE onwards actually made available for Vīraśaiva usage the Jaina *basadi*s they themselves had once bequeathed to the Jinas. In other instances, *jinālaya*s were forcefully taken from the Jainas and converted, most notably by Vīraśaiva followers, but more rarely also by Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Muslims.

In some of these converted spaces, no former Jaina traces remain. In these contexts, the only elements which clearly point to the appropriation of earlier structures are historical narratives, inscriptions and the fact that Vīraśaivism—at least in its present reformed form—was founded by Basava only in the mid- to late twelfth century, so that earlier temple foundations cannot have been initiated by the Vīraśaivas.[521] On the other hand, there are former *basadi*s which retain obvious Jaina traces and do not obscure the fact of an enforced takeover, as we saw at Hallur. The most famous converted Jaina temple site in the region is probably Sringeri (Śringeri),[522]

520 Hegde has also written on this subject (Hegde, "Dynamics of Sectarian Formations": 194).

521 Refer to the chapter by Lorenzetti in this publication on the unfortunately quite unclear origins of Vīraśaivism, possibly in a form of the religion known as Liṅgāyatism, which predates Basava.

522 Saletore has written on this takeover (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 206, 357). Following Dibbad, one can assume that this annexation must have happened during the eleventh or twelfth century (Dibbad, "Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 67).

which is one of Śaṅkarācārya's four *pīṭha*s (*pīṭham*s), "seats" or sacred places.[523] Since the fourteenth century, it has been one of the most celebrated sacred Hindu Vaiṣṇava centres in Karnataka. In addition, Muslims also took over temple spaces and adapted these for their own ritual use. There is a striking example from Bankapur, known as the Aratranbat Gudi.[524] The original structure is a ninth- to tenth-century CE Jaina *basadi*,[525] consisting of a sanctum, a small antechamber, a small closed *maṇḍapa* and a large open pillared one. The connection of the latter to the smaller hall has been sealed off and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* has been converted into the prayer hall of a mosque (Plate 5.49 below). In order to obscure the Jaina origin, the *lalāṭa* block in the centre of the lintel and doorway leading to the next hall has been unceremoniously chopped off and the figural icons inside the niches decorating the roof structure on the outside of the former *basadi* have all been chiselled away, leaving empty spaces (Plate 5.49 above). The crowning lion-like *kīrttimukha* faces, which bear some resemblance to humans, have also been mutilated, while depictions of birds have been retained. The statues adorning the balcony seats of the open *maṇḍapa* have been defaced but not removed.[526] Inside the complex of the former *jinālaya*, a number of Muslim graves raised on stone-built terraces are lined up along the southern compound wall.

In this brief introduction, we have already encountered a number of ways to identify re-used and appropriated *jinālaya*s. Essentially, re-used *basadi*s can largely be divided into three main groups: firstly, those which confidently advertise the fact of appropriation, secondly, those which clearly try to hide the act of takeover and pretend that they were originally built by the latest users, and thirdly and finally, those which follow a less conscious middle way. In the following sections, we shall discuss distinct examples of all three groups.

Converted *jinālaya*s falling into the first category, which clearly publicise an enforced changeover, are generally rarer, at least today. We do not know if more temples ini-

523 On the concept of the *pīṭha*, refer to Gösta Liebert *Iconographical Dictionary of the Indian Religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism*, Asian Arts & Archaeology Series 5 (Delhi: Sri Satgruru Publications, 1986 [1976]): 222, and Fredrick W. Bunce, *A Dictionary of Buddhist and Hindu Iconography (Illustrated): Objects, Devices, Concepts, Rites and Related Terms* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2001 [1995]): 229.

524 The meaning of this temple name is "sixty-nine temple" or "temple with sixty-nine columns," from *kambad* or *kambada*, meaning pillar.

525 Compare to Joseph, *Jainism in South India*: 29.

526 There is a similar example from neighbouring Andhra Pradesh, known as the Deval or Pattar Masjid in the fort of Bodhan (Bōdhan). Here again, the original large pillared hall of the *jinālaya* was converted into the prayer hall of a mosque with the sanctum and its antechamber sealed off. For illustrations, turn to G. Jawaharlal, *Jaina Monuments of Andhra* (Delhi*:* Sharada Publishing House, 2002), and in his photo section on "Jaina Temples" to figs. 33–35 as well as the photo section on "Conversions of Jaina Monuments," figs. 12–13. The conversion of this Jaina *basadi* has also been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity," *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 9.



Plate 5.49: At Bankapur, the former Jaina *basadi* has been converted into a mosque. The Jina images have been chiselled out of the exterior niches (above) and the large open hall is used as a prayer hall (below).

tially followed this approach but were further adapted, given that nowadays, a raised awareness of the past and a desire to preserve communal peace are more widespread. However, a clear example of a confident annexation which does not hide the fact is the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur, mentioned above. In this sacred edifice, large statues of naked Jaina saints, have—as it appears—deliberately been preserved on the outside of the *basadi*, although they could easily have been broken off and removed by the new Vīraśaiva owners of the annexed site. Those statues flanking the entrance have suffered minimal damage, such as a cut-off arm or face, as markers of conversion (Plate 5.40). Nevertheless, all eight naked fully erect figures on the outside of the former *jinālaya* are still clearly recognisable as Jaina icons. In their new Vīraśaiva context, they are alien elements, as according to Basava's teachings, figural images have no place or meaning in the faith. Adorning the converted *basadi*, still in use by Vīraśaiva followers today, the nude statues appear like trophies displayed for public humiliation.

At the important Vīraśaiva site at Koppala, too, which was formerly a major Jaina *tīrtha*, obvious Jaina imagery remains in a number of prominent places. Today, the site is in Vīraśaiva hands. In the context of the large Vīraśaiva Gavisiddheśvara Maṭha, also known as Gavi Maṭha, the shallow image of a tall standing naked Bāhubali carved out of the natural rock has been retained (Plate 5.50). Although this colossal rock icon has no ritual significance in Vīraśaivism, childless couples worshipping at the site offer it glass bangles, and it is locally referred to as Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of wealth, who plays an important role in so many Indian religions. On top of the hill, an originally Jaina Gupta cave temple has been converted, but the images of seated Jinas cut out of the rock beside it are still there. None of the statues have been damaged or removed, openly flaunting the fact of conversion at the former Jaina *mahātīrtha* of Koppala.

The former Jaina *basadi* at Lakshmeshvar is another structure appropriated by the Vīraśaivas which makes no attempt to disguise its origins. This original late eleventh- or early twelfth-century structure, today called the Mantin Maṭh, clearly predates the fashioning of the reformed form of Vīraśaivism. The beautiful pillared entrance pavilion to the compound has been preserved and soon after entering the complex, visitors see on the ground a fully intact door lintel with a centrally positioned Jina *lalāṭabimba*, which has been removed from the former Jaina sacred building, thrown disrespectfully down and kept in a very visible place (Plate 5.51 above). A further sign of the former Jaina association of the site is a tall *mānastambha* which has been deprived of the single or multiple statues crowning its tip. Above the converted temple structure, whose interior still retains beautifully decorated coffered ceilings with lotus flowers, there now towers a large representation of a *liṅga*, signalling clearly its present Vīraśaiva ownership (Plate 5.51 below).

The Vīrabhadreśvara Temple at Haveri, briefly mentioned above, is a further interesting obvious conversion. This is another *jinālaya* made over to Vīraśaiva use. The statues of the Jaina Brahmadeva *kṣetrapāla* and a snake on the eastern facade of the temple have been retained unaltered, as has the statue of a goddess, probably Lakṣmī,



Plate 5.50: The Gavisiddheśvara Maṭha at Koppala, once an important Jaina sacred site with a tall rock image of Bāhubali, has been converted to Vīraśaiva usage.

above the entrance door to the first hall in the east. As such, Jaina imagery has been preserved at the entrance to the converted *jinālaya*. In 2007, when asked about Brahmadeva, the Vīraśaiva priest of the temple could not say who it was or provide any information about his significance in Vīraśaivism.[527] In addition to these clear Jaina remnants at the entrance to the sacred edifice, there was a signboard inside the *maṇḍapa* which stated in Kannada that the temple had been converted. This all shows us

527 Inside the converted Vīrabhadreśvara Temple at Haveri, only the *lalāṭabimba*s on the lintels leading to the *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha* had been removed. The conversation with the priest took place on Sunday, 18 February 2007.



Plate 5.51: At Lakshmeshvar, a former *jinālaya*, now known as the Mantin Maṭh, is used by Vīraśaivas who have extracted a Jaina lintel and thrown it onto the ground. This and the *liṅga* above the temple signal its conversion.

a range of ways for rival religious groups, especially Vīraśaivas, to advertise their takeover of former Jaina *basadi*s.

Re-used temples where the Jaina origin is less obvious are more common. However, we can distinguish two different degrees of obscurity in the takeovers (categories two and three). In some instances, the new users have taken considerable care to remove all distinct remnants pointing to a Jaina past. Here, the only evidence that a sacred edifice was Jaina at the time of its foundation lies in written records or local knowledge. Sometimes, the date of construction can also help, as reformed Vīraśaivism did not exist before the mid- or late twelfth century CE.

Although temples in which practically all traces of a former Jaina association have been removed are reasonably difficult to identify, this is occasionally possible, for example, at the aforementioned former Jaina *basadi* that is now the main Hindu temple at Sringeri. The fewer iconographic remnants there are in a sacred edifice, the easier it is to disguise the original denomination of a structure. As such, *jinālaya*s whose exteriors are reasonably unadorned and which regularly have empty niches lend themselves well to such concealed conversions. As early as the late nineteenth century, Burgess commented on the difficulty of identifying the original dedication of temples in the region: "it is sometimes a matter of considerable difficulty to determine with certainty who were the builders of certain temples, for they have in many cases been appropriated by the Lingayat Śaivas and the original distinctive sculptures destroyed."[528]

One such temple is the former Pārśva-Supārśva Jinālaya, dating from about 1054 CE,[529] at Honwad (Honawada), a village in Vijayapura district in the very north of Karnataka, almost on the border with Andhra Pradesh. Although it long predates the reformation of Vīraśaism, the temple is today in Vīraśaiva hands. It is today known as the Kāleśvara Mandir, which is the name of a particular *liṅga*, called "the lord of time." Some snake stones, which might have been retained from the original Jaina structure, are preserved in the compound. However, no more obvious Jaina imagery has been kept.[530]

Most converted temples, however, fall into the third category in which, although the appropriation is not blatantly advertised, some traces of a takeover are to be found. To pick them up, however, one needs to pay particular attention to certain building elements. Tell-tale signs might, for instance, be Jina statues carved onto the lintels of doorways leading into the porches of temples, into their larger halls, but most frequently into the main sanctums. There is usually a kind of dedicatory block in the

528 For this quote, refer to Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: 3.

529 Compare Joseph, *Jainism in South India*: 24.

530 In addition to a *liṅga*, a Nandī and three statues of Gaṇeśa as well as a Gaṇeśa *lalāṭabimba*, there is also an image of Viṣṇu on the back wall inside the shrine housing the *liṅga*. Such assemblages of statues referring to different ownership periods of the temples are typical of many structures dating from this period of religious struggle and temporariness in Karnataka.

centre, bearing an image—a *lalāṭabimba*—which in most instances quite unmistakably indicates the dedication of the temple. The lintels of many *basadi*s are adorned with a central Jina, which can either be seated or standing. When seated, the icon is often sheltered below a triple umbrella, flanked simply by symbols of flywhisks.[531] Alternatively, the Tīrthaṅkara may be attended by two standing flywhisk bearers (Plate 5.9 above) or two lustrating elephants. Representations of Lakṣmī with two elephants (Gajalakṣmī) are also common (Plate 5.9 below). Sometimes, the entire lintel may be decorated with the nine planetary divinities (*navagraha*s). The ends of the lintels can also show *makara* carvings. At times, the lintels of the original temples were not completed and we find only polished flat *lalāṭa* blocks. In these cases, it is hard to prove a takeover, as was outlined in the discussion of the second approach.

However, in cases where icons with clear Jaina iconographic features were present, these will generally have been removed when a *basadi* was converted. Often, this has been done quite crudely, indicating an approach in which the old statues were disposed of, but where no attempt was made to disguise the fact that the original structure had been tampered with. This can be seen, for instance, above the doorway to the sanctum in the former Jaina Temple in Hangal, where all figural icons adorning the lintel have been removed (Plate 5.52 above). The Pārśvanātha Temple in Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri, Aṇṇigēri, Aṇṇigere)[532] is a fascinating example. Although many images on the door lintels have been chiselled away (Plate 5.52 below), indicating at least a temporary takeover or a sectarian attack, the temple is nevertheless used as a sacred place of Jaina worship today. An image belonging to the original arrangement of a Jina flanked by elephants, which strongly resembles a representation of Gajalakṣmī, has not been removed, although it is located above the main entrance to the temple. It appears that this image was so close to the Hindu concept of Gajalakṣmī that it could be appropriated. In addition, representations of *makara*s, which are associated with all the main Indic religious groups, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, were also left untouched, as can be seen in the example from Hangal. There is an inscription at the site which refers to one of the most ferocious Vīraśaiva fighters, Goggidēva, who has been discussed in detail in Chapter 1 in this volume.[533]

In some temples, it is harder to understand why the images which once adorned the door lintels were so unceremoniously removed. On Hemakuta (Hemakūṭam, Hēmakutam), a prominent hill at Vijayanagara, which is located south of the Pampāpati Temple, there is an entire group of largely cruciform shrines which are generally re-

531 This has also been described by Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 140.

532 Annigeri was one of the major centres of Jainism in the north of Karnataka. On this site, see Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 387.

533 The Vīraśaiva Ekāntada Basavēśvara has also been associated with assaults on Hangal (Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation": 72). See also Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 54–55. On Ekāntada Basavēśvara refer also to Chapter 1, section 5.3.3 "Persecution of the Jainas and Economic Conflict with the Vīraśaivas."

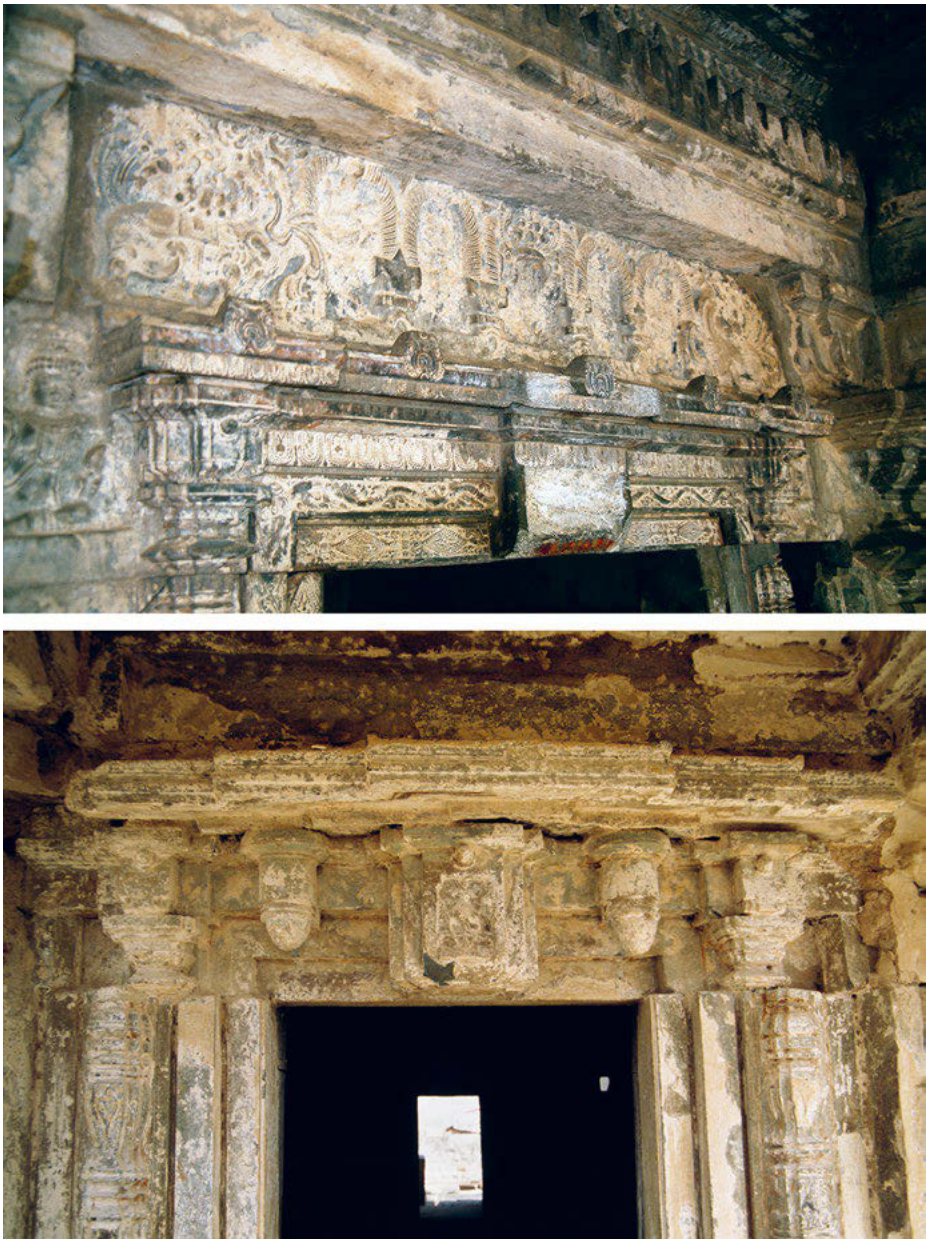


Plate 5.52: The Jaina imagery adorning the lintels leading to the sanctums of the former *basadi*s at Hangal (above) and Annigeri (below) has been crudely removed, indicating their conversion.

ferred to as Jaina temples.[534] H.T. Talwar, on a joint visit to the structures there in 2001, suggested that based on current understanding, these were originally Hindu, but this seems not to fit the evidence as there are signs that many of them originally had *lalāṭabimba*s, which have been removed.[535] This could signal a conversion from Śaiva to Vīraśaiva usage. However, a conversion from Jainism to Vīraśaivism or a form of Hinduism might be more plausible. This view is shared by A.H. Longhurst, who believed that at least the smaller temples of the group were Jaina from the outset, predating the Vijayanagara empire, and that they were possibly built as early as the seventh century CE.[536] Whilst this might be somewhat early, it could in fact make sense to think of these simple structures as being built in the eighth or ninth century CE. From the eighth century CE onwards, large numbers of shrines were erected at Hampi, and the *kṣetra* increased further in importance during the twelfth century.[537] During the next two centuries, the place expanded further, with the larger temples on Hemakuta hill appearing to date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, that is, the Vijayanagara period.[538] Some of the larger, later temples on Hemakuta hill are adorned with Hindu statues and decorations on the outside and we have references to the building of Śaiva temples on the hill during the early fourteenth century.[539] Were these figural representations added later, after the conversion of the structures, to strengthen their Hindu character? Further research onsite will be necessary to clarify this question. It is feasible that the smaller shrines are earlier Jaina *basadi*s which went through a conversion process, and that the larger ones were built slightly later by Hindu groups.

As we have seen, Jaina statues were regularly removed from the lintels of *basadi*s when they were converted. There are also instances where entire lintels were taken out of the structures of *jinālaya*s[540] and replaced with a blank stone. One example where this change is very obvious—as the replacement lintel was inserted with very

534 See, for instance, Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 368.

535 Today, even the sanctums no longer house icons.

536 On this, refer to Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 26, 100, 102 and fig. 44. Suresh also refers to inscriptional evidence for large numbers of Jaina temples erected during the seventh and eighth centuries CE in Karnataka (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 183).

537 Compare Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 178.

538 Suresh points out that the site of Vijayanagara was a cultural centre from prehistoric times onwards. It played important roles under the Kadambas, the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Maḷkhēḍ, the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra, the Kaḷacuris and the Yādavas. Only after this did it become the capital of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. There are numerous inscriptions testifying to the various dynasties at the site (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 177–78).

539 An inscription referring to one of these Śaiva temples describes it as having three sanctums (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 179).

540 Such a case of a completely extracted Jaina lintel has already been mentioned in connection with the converted Mantin Maṭh at Lakshmeshvar, currently Vīraśaiva.

thick mortar grooves, which are not typical of ancient temples—is the former Jaina *basadi* at Haveri, dated to 1197 CE. Today, it is a Vīraśaiva structure, known as the Siddheśvara Temple.[541]

On relatively rare occasions, the new users of former Jain structures inserted replacement images in empty niches or on other elements of converted *basadi*s. In the aforementioned Siddheśvara Temple at Haveri, the new Vīraśaiva owners added statues to the outside of the temple imitating the former twelfth-century sculptural style. The difference, however, is very obvious, as the figures are much cruder, carved out of a different stone and implanted with very thick mortar grooves, clearly indicating an alteration. It appears that all the statues of the large open hall at the entrance to the converted *jinālaya* were replaced, whilst at the back of the temple, many niches were simply left empty. Another striking example can be seen in the Kamala Basadi at Belgaum, discussed above in the section on later Cāḷukyan temples. Above the doorway leading to the antechamber of the temple, which otherwise is decorated with very clear Jaina imagery, there is a carved statue of a male dancing figure. Although severely damaged, it appears to have had eight arms and to be wearing a crown. This has generally been identified as a representation of the dancing Śiva, Śiva Naṭarāja (Plate 5.53). Cousens suggested that the image was inserted by the Vīraśaivas, who annexed and used the temple for some time.[542] This is slightly confusing, however, as worshipping a representation of the dancing Śiva would not be part of orthodox Vīraśaiva practice. It is true that we have encountered an image of the dancing Indra in a Jaina context in the Bhaṇḍāra Basadi at Shravanabelgola. However, the carved panel at Belgaum appears to have been a later insertion and does not seem to be Jaina in origin. What is puzzling is that in the Kamala Basadi, the seated Jina on the lintel of the doorway leading to the shrine has been left intact and not replaced. Then again, the main icon inside the *garbhagṛha* has been removed, indicating a very undecided approach to Jaina images in this converted space.[543] The neighbouring Cikka Basadi also appears to have suffered the insertion of new images after being appropriated. Although there is undoubted Jaina imagery in the parapet above the entrance porch to the Cikka Basadi, the dedicatory block in the doorway leading to the *garbhagṛha* of the temple shows a representation of Garuḍa, the carrier (*vāhana*) of Viṣṇu. As it differs in shape and style from the other figures on the lintel, Cousens suggest that it was inserted later, when the temple was taken over.[544] In that case, the Vaiṣṇavas must have been responsible.

As we have seen, remnants of Jaina figures are sometimes found on the exterior of *basadi*s converted to Vīraśaiva or Hindu usage. Figural decorations are generally integrated into the roof structures of *jinālaya* shrines and halls rather than the outer vertical walls or the niches created by flaking wall pilasters. As these reasonably

541 For further details on this site and this temple, see Joseph, *Jainism in South India*: 30–31.

542 On this, consult Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122. There is a photograph of the doorway with the lintel displaying Naṭarāja in Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations*: plate V.

543 Cousens has also written on this (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122).

544 Refer to Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 122.



Plate 5.53: It appears that in the Kamala Basadi at Belgaum, the new users of this former Jaina temple inserted a panel into the lintel close to the shrine which depicts dancing Śiva (Śiva Naṭarāja).

small icons in the higher portions of the *basadi*s are frequently not that obvious, they have often not been removed after the annexation of the temples. In what is today the Vīr Nārāyaṇ Hindu Temple, a Viṣṇu shrine at Gadag, only a few Jina statues, in more obscure sections of the roof, testify to the faith of the donors who initially commissioned the sacred edifice.[545] Even less care has been taken in cleaning up the Jaina statues on the outside of the Siddheśvara Śaiva Temple in Haveri, formerly a Jaina *basadi*. Possibly due to tensions in the area about past annexations, photography was strictly prohibited at the site in 2007 in this and the Vīrabhadreśvara Temple, which was also formerly a *basadi*, dedicated to the Jina Mallinātha, and which is now under the control of the Vīraśaivas. Both converted temples were watched over by permanent guardsmen and the atmosphere was very tense.

The former Jaina *basadi* at Pattadakal is another "middle-way" conversion, albeit no longer perceived as quite so controversial. Today, a *liṅga* is venerated in its sanctum, while its Jaina imagery, which is not very pronounced, is still in place. Cousens wrote of this structure: "There are no dedicatory blocks over the doors, and the only indications to shew that it was a Jaina temple are two little images of seated Jainas, one half way up the back or west side and one on the north side of the tower. To this might be added

545 However, there is also a prominent *mānastambha* with an empty image pavilion standing in front of the temple. The lotus altar on its side is also common in a Jaina context.

the negative evidence that there are no Brahmanical images about the building."[546] This exemplifies the middle way or third approach, which neither advertises nor obscures the forceful takeover of many Jaina *basadi*s throughout Karnataka.

5.2.2 Re-Using Jaina Icons in Hindu and Vīraśaiva Contexts

Re-use was not, however, confined to sacred architectural spaces. Jaina icons, other sacred objects and intricately carved altars have also been re-used by rival faith groups who converted former Jaina *basadi*s. As in the previous example from Pattadakal, appropriated temples were usually furnished with statues venerated by the new claimants of the sacred space. We shall now, however, discuss situations where existing icons or other sacred paraphernalia whose Jaina origin is still quite obvious have been appropriated into a new religious context.

The actual conversion of an iconographically distinct image is quite complex, however, there are intermediary stages, which are fascinating to examine. In the northern parts of Karnataka, Jaina icons were usually removed and replaced with *liṅga*s, placed there by Vīraśaivas and more rarely also by Śaiva followers. Additionally, Nandī statues were regularly set up in the vestibule or hall adjacent to the sanctum. These representations face the main venerated symbol in the shrine (Plate 1.31).[547] The renamed Nāganātha Temple, a twelfth-century former Jaina edifice in the north-western part of the village of Lakkundi, is a particularly interesting case. This temple still preserves the original Jaina imagery on its lintels and in its outside roof ornamentation. As is indicated by the sheltering snake with a seven-headed hood carved on the backplate of the altar in the main sanctum, the temple must in the past have been dedicated to Pārśvanātha. The Jaina *mūrti* has been removed, but the altar with its snake hood ornament has been preserved, so that the *liṅga* which sits on the altar today is now protected by the snake (Plate 5.54). This is especially interesting, as both Pārśvanātha and Śiva are associated with snakes and in this case, the *liṅga*'s position on the pedestal with a snake backrest gives the serpent-symbolism of the original Jaina arrangement a new Śaiva meaning.[548]

In former Jaina temples with raised *garbhagṛha*s, it is usually only the lower sanctums that are furnished with new statues by Vīraśaivas or Śaivas. The architecture of higher *garbhagṛha*s has typically been preserved but they are generally empty today, for lack of use, as we have seen at Hallur (Plate 1.47). The raised and deserted shrine rooms no longer have relevance for the new ritual use of the converted spaces, as Vīra-

546 For this quote, consult Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 72.

547 This can be seen in the converted Jaina temple at Hangal, in Jaina Temple no. 7 in Aihole and in the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur, to mention but a few. In the latter two temples, the *lalāṭabimba* statues have been coarsely removed as well.

548 For further details of this temple, see Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 79.



Plate 5.54: In the twelfth-century Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi, a former *jinālaya*, the new owners have made use of the snake backplate of the altar, which also fits with the newly positioned *liṅga*.

śaiva worship, in particular, is less ritualistic and does not involve multiple statues. In fact, statues play no part in Vīraśaiva ritual at all. Śaiva ritual, too, accords less importance to particularly large numbers of venerated beings than the Jaina approach.[549]

Despite the fact that Vīraśaivas should not venerate figural statues—not to mention the difficulty of converting icons which show clear iconographic markers—we still find images of Jinas, Jaina gods, such as guardians of the sacred temple compound, or more abstract elements, such as *pādukā* foot images, being absorbed, reinterpreted and reconsecrated by the followers of other religious groups. Figural representations of Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha, sheltered by a seven- or five-hooded snake, respectively, could easily be converted into icons of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, whose iconography also involves the presence of a snake hood behind the head of the image.[550]

It is particularly remarkable that Vīraśaivas, whose religious tenets preclude the veneration of objects other than the *liṅga*, should have taken over Jaina statues and continued to worship them. As Tiziana Lorenzetti has pointed out in this publication, the Vīraśaiva insistence that only the *liṅga* should be venerated is based on the belief that the divine is not present in images and temples, but resides inside human beings themselves. By carrying the *iṣṭaliṅga* on their body, believers and teachers become "moving temples."[551] As Friedrichs said, "Its members view the *linga* as the sole sacred symbol and hence are opposed to pilgrimage, sacrificial rites, and image worship. […]. Liṅgāyats […] possess no temples, and their priests do not perform *pūjā*."[552] Tiziana Lorenzetti in this book stresses that both Jainism and Vīraśaivism have changed substantially over time and taken on even elements and practices which are opposed to their own core tenets. The worship of statues has thus on one level become normal for Vīraśaivas today, who also build temples themselves. Whilst some Vīraśaiva practitioners and scholars question these practices, most do not do so openly.[553]

549 On the multiple icons, symbols and objects venerated in a Jaina context, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 63–125.

550 For an example of a statue of Pārśvanātha being venerated today as Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 33, plate 2.3. The practice of the re-use of Jaina images by Vaiṣṇavas in Karnataka has also been described by Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 85.

551 After initiation, Vīraśaivas carry a small stone *liṅga* (*iṣṭaliṅga*), the emblem of Śiva, in a small container or tube tied around their neck or arm. According to Vīraśaiva teachings, the human body is the true temple (Bowker, *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*: 581).

552 For this quote refer to Kurt Friedrichs, "Liṇgāyat," in *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Zen*, ed. Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, Franz-Karl Erhard, Kurt Friedrichs and Michael S. Diener (Boston: Shambhala, 1994): 203. Nevertheless, others have also commented on the annexation and continued worship of Jaina temples and icons. See, for instance, R. Blake Michael, "Liṅga as Lord Supreme in the Vacanas of Basava," *Numen* 29, no. 2 (1982): 206, 208, and C.N. Venugopal, "Liṅgāyat Ideology of Salvation: An Enquiry into Some of Its Social Dimensions," *Religion and Society* 29, no. 4 (1982): 5.

553 Lorenzetti mentions the late Professor M.M. Kalburgi as one scholar and Vīraśaiva practitioner who saw these changes critically. He paid for his outspoken criticism with his own life when he was assassinated in 2015.

In this context, some images have also been appropriated by Vīraśaivas. This can be seen at the site of Adargunchi, which was converted from Jaina to Vīraśaiva veneration.[554] The original larger than life-size seated sculpture of a Jina is still housed inside the former Jaina temple, which is now the main Vīraśaiva shrine of the village. Desai identifies it as a statue of Anantanātha.[555] Today, this *mūrti* is venerated by its new owners and has been re-named "Doḍḍappā." This is the Kannada word for paternal uncle.[556] Cousens sheds light onto the legend behind this name with a story: a man with the name Dodappā (presumably the same as Doḍḍappā), the main doorkeeper of the neighbouring fort of Bankapur (Baṅkāpura), was in love with a woman, whom he visited every night. However, he had to return to the fort before sunrise. One day, he returned too late and turned into stone at the village of Adargunchi.[557] However, this story neither explains the Jaina origin of the statue nor its particular significance for Vīraśaivas. In a Vīraśaiva context, the Doḍḍappā who is venerated in the temple appears rather to represent an older paternal family figure to whom one can turn at times of trouble.[558] The denominational transformation of the original Jaina icon is made visible in the prominent parallel white lines, known as *tripuṇḍra*,[559] which have been painted onto the body of the Jina (Plate 5.55). The *tripuṇḍra*, usually three parallel lines of white ash, are applied to the forehead of human followers but also to stone or metal sculptures to signal their association with Śaivism and with the distinct form of Vīraśaivism. This violates the Digambara Jaina belief that the Jinas should not be decorated, as does the Vīraśaiva practice of draping fresh flowers over the figure. The white markings and the garland mean the *mūrti* cannot be worshipped again by the Jainas.

554 Upadhye refers to a Yāpanīya inscription in this place which might indicate that this temple originally belonged to the Yāpanīya sect (Adinath N. Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha: A Jaina Sect," in *Upadhye: Papers.* Other Publications 77 [Mysore: Wesley Press, 1983]: 197). According to Desai, too, Adargunchi was a centre of Yāpanīya Jainism (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 165).

555 Refer to Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 165.

556 On this, see, Manjulakshmi, L. "Modes of Address in Kannada: A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Use in Mysore District," Language in India, vol. 4, 09.09.2004, http://www.languageinindia.com/sep2004/manjulakshitermsofaddress1.html [accessed 04.01.2024].

557 For this account, consult Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 150.

558 A temple with a similar name, the Cāḷukyan Doḍḍa Basappā Temple, is found at Dambal near Gadag. According to Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this publication, this might also have been converted by the Vīraśaivas. On the temple, see Mehta, *Masterpieces*: 61, Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*: 257, and Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 114–15. Unfortunately, the original dedication of the temple cannot be identified as the icons adorning the lintel above the entrance to the shrine have been "knocked out," as Cousens writes and shows in the latter publication on p. 115 and plate CXXVI.

559 On this, see Elaine M. Fisher, "Public Philology: Constructing Sectarian Identities in Early Modern South India," in *Hindu Pluralism: Religion and the Public Sphere in Early Modern South India* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017): 128.

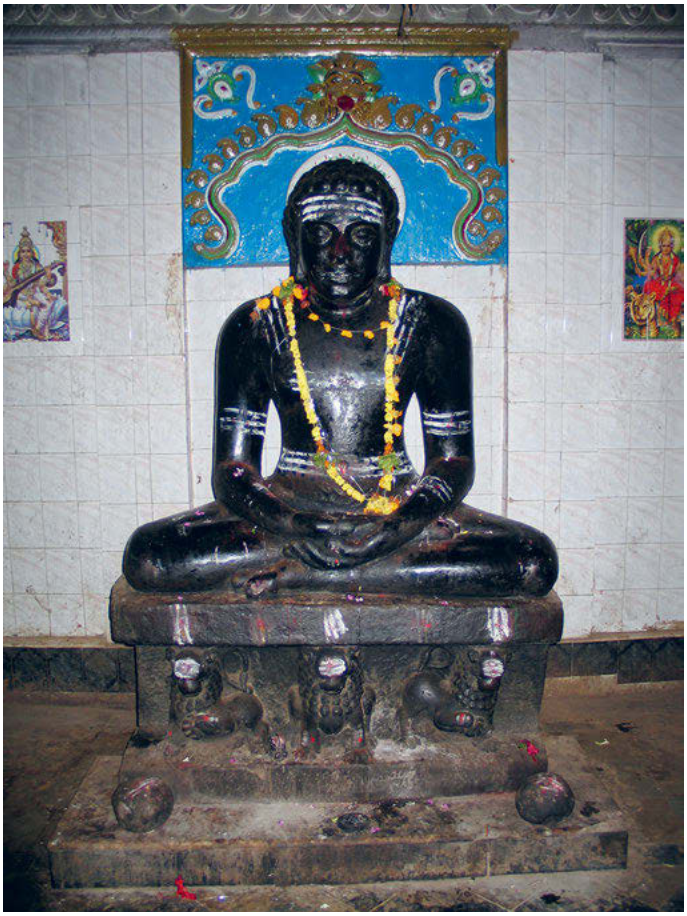


Plate 5.55: The former Jina in the temple at Adargunchi has been re-used by the Vīraśaivas, who have marked the icon with parallel white lines and garlanded it, making it unfit for future Jaina veneration.

Another fascinating case of the annexation and further veneration of Jaina statues by Vīraśaivas can be seen at Kagvad (Kāgavāḍ). Before the Vīraśaivas seized the *basadi*, the main icons of the Jinas had been removed for safety and kept on two subterranean levels. The Vīraśaivas took over the Jaina guardians of the temple complex, the *kṣetrapāla*s, which had probably been left behind, decorated them with metal plates, reminiscent of the trident of Śiva (*triśūla*), and started worshipping the former *kṣetrapāla*s as figural representations of this god (Plate 5.56). In figural form, Śiva is not usually revered by Vīraśaivas, but this practice is not questioned at the site. This temple is a rare example of a syncretic usage of a sacred space today. Whilst the Vīraśaivas took over many Jaina statues and venerate these on the ground floor, the Jainas continue to worship their most sacred icons at subterranean levels: that of Pārśvanātha in a shrine on

the lower ground floor and of Śāntinātha on the floor below that.[560] Although access to these underground chambers is quite challenging, through very low, narrow passages, the Jainas have still been able to hold on to their most important *mūrti*s and continue to practise devotion towards their icons alongside the Vīraśaivas. As Jaina worship is not a communal affair but usually performed individually, this does not create any real problem. It is noteworthy that in this case, what makes this parallel usage possible is that both parties blame a third group, the Muslims, for the initial devastation of the *jinālaya*. In this context it is interesting to recall Sabine Scholz's comment in Chapter 3, that although the Muslims are often blamed for the damage done to Jaina temples, in many cases, especially in the north of Karnataka, the *basadi*s had been devastated by Vīraśaiva followers long before the arrival of Muslim troops.



Plate 5.56: At Kagvad, the Vīraśaivas have provided a former Jaina *yakṣa* and a *kṣetrapāla* with metal spikes, reminiscent of Śiva's trident, and worship them inside the former *basadi*.

560 Upadhye refers to a statue of Neminātha in his study and suggests a Yāpanīya association of the site (Upadhye, "More Light on the Yāpanīya Sangha": 197). In his 1933 publication he wrote: "there is the Kāgavaḍa inscription of Śaka 1316, in an underground Jaina temple which records an epithet of Dharmakīrti and Nāgacandra perhaps the pupils of Nemicandra, […]" (Adinath N. Upadhye, Adinath

There are other instances where Vīraśaivas appear to venerate other divinities outside their original strict doctrinal frame. These can be Hindu gods and goddess, such as Maisamma Devī.[561] Tiziana Lorenzetti in Chapter 4 in this volume describes modern Vīraśaiva temples which also house statues of Gaṇeśa (Plate 4.23), Kālī, Pārvatī, Vīrabhadra and Subrahmaṇya. The Gavisiddheśvara Maṭha at Koppala has a wall-painting of a goddess which resembles Durgā riding on her lion or tiger but is locally referred to as Annapūrṇeśvara, the goddess of food.

In addition, more abstract elements were also absorbed from Jaina contexts, such as the foot imprints, or *pādukā*s of Jaina teachers.[562] Here again, the temple at Adargunchi provides a good example. Raised on a platform outside the converted *jinālaya* is a former set of Jaina *pādukā*s, which, like the statue inside, is painted with Vīraśaiva markings and decorations to indicate its annexation (Plate 5.39).

The examples discussed in section 5 have illustrated the effect which assaults on their sacred sites had on the statues and shrines of the Jainas. The amount of carnage caused by these religiously motivated attacks and by neglect, the consequence of conversions and a resulting withdrawal of the funds which had secured a sacred place's upkeep, is still very visible throughout Karnataka today. However, although Jainism was decimated and its political, religious and artistic influence reduced, it never vanished completely—neither from Karnataka, nor from India as a whole. The survival of Jainism and the unremitting creation of Jaina cultural artefacts throughout the region will be briefly examined in the following section.

6 Survival, Continuity and Modernity

The fact that Jaina *basadi*s were targeted not only during the period of particular unrest from about the mid-twelfth to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but also during later periods, is attested to by various authors. The persecution of the Jainas is de-

N. "Yāpanīya Saṅgha – A Jaina Sect," *Journal of the University of Bombay* 1, no. 4 [1933]: 229). Desai also characterises Kagvad as an important centre of the Yāpanīyas (Desai, *Jainism in South India*: 164, 165.

561 Sara Mondini, in the digital lecture series "Religious Traditions of India," organised by the University of Ghent, showed in her presentation on 17. November 2021 that the Vīraśaivas of Madiyal in Kalaburagi District (formerly Gulbarga District) in northern Karnataka, carry a statue of the goddess Maisamma in procession. Fascinating is also the close connection of the Vīraśaivas of that area with the local Muslim community, described by Mondini. Unfortunately, the lecture is not available digitally.

562 As I have shown elsewhere, *pādukā*s are especially easy to re-use (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Footprints, Sculpted Feet and Shoes in the Art of Asia and the Islamic and Mediterranean Worlds," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture [SAAC] 7 [Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020]: 57–77, plate 1.25). However, despite their reduced iconographic and denominational indicators, foot images do not fit into an orthodox Vīraśaiva context either.

scribed by Sundaram as continuing into the nineteenth century[563] and by Cousens as right into the twentieth. In his book on Cāḷukyan architecture, first published in 1926, Cousens mentions that the main statue of Mahāvīra, originally enshrined in the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi, was thrown out by what he called "*badmāshes*," a few years before his visit.[564] "*Badmāshes*" is an Anglo-Indian term, meaning rogues or rascals. The statue set up outside the neighbouring temple today—at least during my visits to the site in 2001 and 2007—is a representation of Mahāvīra, but it appears to be different from the one seen by Cousens, as the image reproduced in his book still has a head with curly hair and displays a complex backplate furnished with attendants and a triple umbrella above the central image,[565] whilst the one found in this place in the early 2000s (see cover image of book) has been sculpted in the round and consists simply of a headless torso.[566]

It is noteworthy that, despite the threats and persecution which the Jaina community suffered in Karnataka, Jainism never ceased to evolve, nor Jaina art and architecture to be created. Little has been written about Jaina culture after the thirteenth century, not only in the south but in the whole of India. In this publication, too, this subject can be dealt with in only a cursory manner,[567] as the emphasis here is on the establishment and proliferation of Jaina temples from the early centuries CE onwards, and the period of persecution in Karnataka with its main focus from the eleventh till the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

6.1 Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century *Jinālaya*s at Vijayanagara

The Vijayanagara empire, founded by Harihara Rāya I and his brother Bukka Rāya I in 1346 CE, is one of the few later phases of Jaina history that has attracted scholarly attention.[568] Its capital city Vijayanagara, the City of Victory, close to the modern city of Hospet (Hosapaṭṭaṇa) in Bellary District, acquired substantial supra-regional influ-

563 Refer to Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History": 35.

564 On this issue, see Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 78. On a later visit by Cousens, also before 1926, the temple had been reconsecrated by the Jainas and remained closed to visitors (Cousens *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 79).

565 For an illustration of the statue Cousens saw, consult his own publication (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: plate LXIII).

566 It is interesting that Cousens identifies the statue as Mahāvīra but describes it as having long curls descending from behind the ears down to the shoulders (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 78). This iconographic feature is generally associated with icons of Ṛṣabhanātha. On this see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 78–79, plate 158.

567 A more substantial book publication, providing an overview of Jaina temple building in Karnataka from its beginnings to the present day, is planned.

568 There is a certain variation in dates even with regards to the well-studied Vijayanagara empire. The date of 1346 CE has been taken from Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 283.

ence and developed into one of the foremost cities in medieval India. By this time, Jainism had seriously declined and had lost its power base in most other regions of Karnataka.[569] Although the Vijayanagara rulers were Hindus, some had Jaina wives and they appear to have been tolerant towards other religions and provided protection to the Jainas, among others.[570] An inscription of Bukka Rāya I testifies that he mediated in a dispute between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Jainas in 1368 CE and extended royal protection towards the latter.[571] Suresh identifies this behaviour of mediation as one of *anekānta*, better known as *anekāntavāda*, and *ahiṃsā*, both core Jaina practices.[572] This regal safeguard enabled the Jainas to reconstruct damaged *basadi*s and to recommence construction work on new temple sites.[573] The wife of Devarāya I (1404–1422), queen Bhīmā Devī, a Jaina herself, is known to have donated a statue of Śāntinātha to the Maṅgāyi Basadi at Shravanabelgola.[574] The imperial capital, Vijayanagara, also known as Hampi,[575] on the Tungabhadrā River, has a number of substantial later Jaina temples.

The largest of these sacred Jaina edifices at Vijayanagara is the Pārśvanātha Basadi, located in Pānsupāri Bazar. It was constructed under Devarāya II (1422–1446) in 1426 CE.[576] The *jinālaya* has a square *garbhagṛha*, leading into a shallow vestibule, a closed hall which has been provided with long benches to display statues, and a large

569 In the words of Saletore, "In the year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346) Jainism stood baffled but not beaten." (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 283).

570 This has been discussed by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 298–321, Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*: 60, Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 184, and by Pius Pinto in this publication. See Chapter 2.

571 On this, refer to Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 26, Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 288–89, 291, Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 365, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 83. See also inscription No. 475 (*Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. 2, *Shravanabelgola*, 2nd ed. [Mysore: Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, 1973]: lxxx, 285–86).

572 Compare Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 184. *Anekāntavāda* is the Jaina doctrine of manifold aspects or realities and *ahiṃsā* the practice of non-violence.

573 The site of Vijayanagara has a long history of Jainism. The temples on Hemakuta Hill that predate the Vijayanagara empire have been discussed earlier.

574 This donation has been mentioned by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 299, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 366, 369.

575 Hampi (Hampī) or Hampe are later Kannada forms which have been derived from the ancient name Pampa, Pampakshetra (Pampakṣetra) or Pampatirtha (Pampatīrtha) (Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 177). Pampa Sarovar is a sacred lake nearby, in which Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, performed penance to prove her allegiance to her husband. The lake is remarked on in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Epic.

576 On this dating, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302, Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 84, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 184, 188. Devarāya II commissioned another Jaina temple in the capital to the north-east of the elephant stables. Despite its ruined state, this originally *trikūṭācala* temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha bears many Jaina features (e.g. Jina *lalāṭabimba*) and an inscription dating it to 1426 CE (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 369). The same ruler donated the income produced by the village of Varanga (Varāṅga,

square hall, a *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*. From the latter hall, a further shrine projects outwards from the western side. Today, both sanctums are empty. In the wall opposite the side shrine, and facing it, is a side entrance to the *jinālaya* (Plate 2.7). The *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa* has a lantern ceiling with a simple, central lotus rosette. The *basadi* has another pillared porch at the front, which faces north. This is more complex than is usually the case, as it consists of two low, flanking terraces which have double rows of columns and a door frame leading to a wide shallow porch. The arrangement survives in only a very rudimentary state, with many pillars and the roof missing. No superstructure has been preserved above the sanctum. Like most other *jinālaya*s constructed under the Vijayanagara dynasty, it is built from granite. There is a small water tank to the east of the *basadi*.

The Gaṇagitti Temple (Gāṇagitti Temple), alternatively known as Gaṇigitti Temple (Gāṇigitti)[577] or Kunthunātha Jinālaya, on the Kampli Road in neighbouring Kamalapuram (Kāmalāpur), is another elaborate granite structure, built from substantial elongated dressed slabs. It also faces north (Plate 5.57). According to an inscription found on the *mānastambha* in front of the *basadi*, it was commissioned in 1385 or 1386 CE by the Jaina general Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka (1384–1442 CE), who was said to be the most famous Jaina general of his time.[578] He served as a minister under Bukka Rāya II during the reign of Harihara Rāya II (alternatively known as Vīra Harihara Rāya) and under Devarāya II.[579] On the approach to the *jinālaya*, one again passes through two low pedestals to reach the *mānastambha* pillar and a small miniature water *kuṇḍa.* The *basadi* has a wide shallow entrance porch which leads to the *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa.* Due to its large size, the *navaraṅga* has also been referred to as a *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The four central pillars inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are square in section and carry a lantern ceiling with a central lotus medallion. This *jinālaya*, too, is multi-shrined. As in the Pārśvanātha Temple, there is an additional cella branching off the large hall on the western side. Today, the lateral shrine and the main *garbhagr̥ha* are

Varāṅganā) to the local Neminātha Basadi for its maintenance in 1424 (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 301; Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 366).

577 Gānigitti means "oil-woman." On this, see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 102, 140, and Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 83. On the site, the spelling provided is Gāṇagitti, which is translated as "old woman." In both instances, the relevance to the local temple is not clear.

578 His name is also spelled Irugapa. On these issues, see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 140, Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 303–7, Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 83, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 185. On Irugappa, refer also to Jagadeesh Kivudanavar, "Jaina Generals in Vijayanagara Court," *Jain Journal* 35, no. 1 (2000): 24–26.

579 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302, 306, Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 366, 368, and Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 184. In the latter passage, Suresh also refers to the fact that he commissioned the Mahāvīra Jinālaya at Anegondi (Ānegondi, Ānegundi), dating from 1346 CE. For further details on this *basadi*, see the publication by Suresh, especially pp. 193–95.

empty. The elongated entrance porch of the structure is crowned by a plastered brick parapet, decorated with ornamental stucco niches containing the remains of seated Tīrthaṅkara statues, a sign of its later date.



Plate 5.57: The Gaṇagitti Temple at Kamalapuram near Hampi illustrates Jaina building continuity in the royal centre of Vijayanagara during the late fourteenth century.

A number of other Jaina *basadi*s in and around the capital city of Vijayanagara are today in a bad state of repair. The early fifteenth-century Jaina temple close to the Sōmavārada Bagilu, the "Monday Gate," is a case in point.[580] However, despite their ruined state, these *jinālaya*s show how popular the faith was at Vijayanagara, at least during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[581] With regards to the importance of the Jainas in the region at the start of the twentieth century, Longhurst wrote in 1917: "The ruins of their temples at Hampi, and also those scattered throughout the Bellary district show how widely the Jaina faith must formerly have prevailed. Even to-day, a

580 For further details on this *basadi* and the dating, see Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 190.

581 Five Jaina temples can be found close the elephant stables, including the large Pārśvanātha Basadi.

few Jainas occur in the district but their numbers are very small and their influence upon the religious life of the district is now a negligible quantity."[582]

However, during these difficult times, it was not only in the capital city of Vijayanagara that Jainism continued to flourish. The religion was still well represented throughout the Vijayanagara empire, in particular in its early days. It was especially prominent at sites such as Anegondi, from where the new empire had come into being, Hospet, Kalleha and Penukonda (Penugoṇḍa, Penukoṇḍa), the last is in Andhra Pradesh today.[583]

6.2 Later *Basadi*s at Shravanabelgola and at Other *Tīrtha*s

Another place where Jainism endured beyond the thirteenth century was Shravanabelgola, the faith's most important religious site in the region, known as an *āditīrtha*.[584] The earlier temple constructions at the site have been described in detail above. Throughout these more troubled times, Shravanabelgola, too, enjoyed uninterrupted building activities, as ruling dynasties continued to wish to contribute to its grandeur.[585] The new shrines of later periods were erected above all on Viṇdhyagiri and in the town below the two hills. In this major pilgrimage place, the style of the *jinālaya*s followed the earlier Hoysaḷa layout in many respects. However, the *basadi*s are usually simpler in design, returning in many ways to an earlier idiom established under Gaṅgā rule, probably because less money was available for building projects during later phases, and because the Jainas felt less influential after their multiple set-backs.

Reflecting this more modest approach to temple building, the Jaina structures dating from the fourteenth century and later generally have a plain exterior with entirely unadorned walls, usually even without wall pilasters or niches. Similarly minimal are the ceiling panels, which are usually flat and without decoration. In some *basadi*s, there is a simplified and very small lotus rosette in the centre of the *navaraṅga* ceiling. Larger *jinālaya*s continue to have flights of steps flanked by balustrades. These can be adorned with elephants or mythical creatures, *yāḷi*s. The *vimāna* towers are once again lower. Nonetheless, additional elements such as high compound walls,

582 This quote has been taken from Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*: 26.

583 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 290.

584 It is also a *mahātīrtha*, which means important sacred centre and also applies to other places, such as the aforementioned Koppala. On the concepts of *āditīrtha*s (foremost sacred centres) and *mahātīrtha*s (important centres), refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 185, 201.

585 Compare Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 51. Del Bontà stresses the importance of Shravanabelgola and "its endurance and growth throughout the centuries. It is a site of incredible diversity of form, of style, and dynastic patronage." (del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi": 118).

gateways (*gopura*s)[586] and various types of free-standing pillars regularly complement Jaina temple complexes from the fourteenth and later centuries.

One of these later *jinālaya*s from the two hills and the town of Shravanabelgola is the Maṅgāyi Basadi, found inside the urban fabric at the site. The *basadi* dates from about 1325 CE[587] and has been mentioned before, in connection with the statue of Pārśvanātha that was donated to it. Another is the small Śrī Siddha Bhagavāna Temple or Siddha Basadi (1398 CE) on Viṇdhyagiri, close to the entrance of the Gommaṭeśvara enclosure. This is named after the statue of a *siddha*, a fully enlightened Jaina teacher, enshrined inside. The Cennaṇṇa Basadi, on the same sacred hill, is an even later temple. The *jinālaya* dedicated to Candranātha, dating from 1673 CE,[588] is found to the west of the Odegal Basadi.[589]

Other ancient or medieval sites of Jaina religious importance have continued to expand during more recent years as well. We can see this, for example, on the sacred Jaina hill site of Kanakagiri (Kanakagirī).[590] There are a number of mutilated Jina statues preserved at this site, indicating threats to its sanctity during the late eleventh or twelfth to the fourteenth century. However, we also find evidence here of damaged *jinālaya*s being repaired and older structures extended. In addition, many records dating from the mid-fourteenth to the sixteenth century concern the construction of new *basadi*s (Plate 5.58). In actual fact, like Shravanabelgola, Kanakagiri has remained a bastion of Jainism and a centre of active temple building activity to the present day.[591] Again, the sacred site of Sthavanidi (Tavandi, Tavandī, Tāvandi, Tavanandi) continued to expand during these troubled times, though it is of slightly lesser importance. We have records from this *tīrtha* firmly connecting it to the Jaina faith during the second half of the fourteenth century.[592] Narasimharajapura (Narasimharājapura, Narasiṅharājāpura) is another Jaina holy centre which survived the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century to become a flourishing religious centre in the sixteenth century and persist to the present day.[593] However, Narasimharajapura really falls into the regional remit of section 6.3 below.

586 A *gopura* is a typical south Indian gateway with a tall tower. In Kannada, *gopura* is usually spelled *gōpura* (Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*: 573).

587 The name of the temple, alternatively also spelled Mangāyi, reflects the name of its supposed patron, who is said to have been "Maṅgāyi of Beḷuguḷa" also provided as "Mangāyi of Belgoḷa." For this information and the date, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 143, 299, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 369.

588 For the dating of both temples, see Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 369–70.

589 Further details on these later *basadi*s can be found in Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 32–33, 37, 48–49.

590 On this, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 328. It is close to Malayuru or Maleyur (Maleyūr) Village.

591 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 328–30.

592 On this and for further details on the site, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 335.

593 For further information, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 356–57.



Plate 5.58: Kanakagiri is a good example of a sacred centre in which an unbroken development of Jaina architectural activities can be observed, with many shrines dating from the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

In general, there is less Jaina continuity in the northern regions of Karnataka, due to a pronounced Vīraśaiva and Islamic presence. Nevertheless, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (r. 1509–1529 CE) donated a number of Jaina temples and made a gift to the Jaina *basadi* at Chippagiri in Bellary District.[594]

6.3 Continuity in the Kanara Region

From the fifteenth century onwards, in particular, Jainism flourished not only at large political centres, such as Vijayanagara, and sacred *tīrtha*s like Shravanabelgola, but also at a number of provincial courts.[595] The *basadi*s constructed in the coastal region of Kanara (Canara) or Tulunadu (Tuḷuvanāḍu, Tuḷuva) during this time are impressive in number and have a distinctive style of architecture, otherwise not common on the high Deccan plateau.[596] The major centres of Jainism in the region are Mudabidri (Mūdabidri, Mūṛabidrī, Mūḍabidure, Mūḍabidrī), Karkal and Venur (Vēṇur, Venupura, Vaṁśapura), all located in the South Kanara District. These Jaina places grew to prominence chiefly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[597] However, almost every village and small town throughout the area preserves important Jaina remains. It is fascinating that even today, Jainism still maintains an active presence in the area. As the architecture of this region is generally less familiar to architectural historians, more emphasis will be laid on the sacred building traditions of this part of Karnataka than on the structures considered in the previous two subsections (6.1, 6.2) that discussed continuities.

The Jaina *basadi*s of the coastal region are characterised by widely projecting sloping roofs, covered with either terracotta tiles or stone slabs, usually made of a local laterite. This represents an adaptation to the local climate, which is marked by heavy monsoon rains.[598] The outer walls of the temples are plain. They were tradi-

594 Additional information can be found in Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 301, who provides the date of 1528 CE for this donation. See also Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 366.

595 Srinivasan points out that in the provincial region of western Karnataka, Jainism became a popular religion from the fourth century onwards and that it flourished especially at regional courts since "they were more congenial for its growth than the capital of the empire" (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 366, 370).

596 On this region, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 115, 268. According to him, Jainism can be traced back to about 1100 CE in the region of coastal Karnataka (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 351–52). However, this seems quite late and Jainism in this region appears in fact to be traceable back to the fourth century CE (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 370).

597 On this dating, refer to Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire": 87, and Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 84.

598 Terracotta tiles were first introduced to the region during the activities of the Basel Mission in the 1880s (I am grateful to Kevin Fernandes for this information). Before this, wood or other perishable materials, such as thatch and palm leaf were used. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 100, has written on the continued construction of wooden roofs.

tionally made of wood and mud. Since the late nineteenth century, bricks have also been used, as have concrete building elements in more recent times. The roof designs and those of the multiple pillars supporting the superstructures are derived from wooden construction techniques.[599] In this area, the interior of the *jinālaya*s continued to be richly carved during later periods. Many of the sacred structures are multistoried and accommodate superimposed sanctums on a number of levels.[600]

The largest Jaina centre in the coastal belt is Mudabidri,[601] which due to its large number of *basadi*s and with reference to the Hindu pilgrimage site of Benares (Banāras), is also known as Jina Kāśī.[602] By the seventh century CE, Jainism already represented a prominent faith in the town, and it has been a major Digambara pilgrimage centre since the twelfth century. It owes its grandeur largely to the local merchant community of the Seṭṭis or Seṭṭikārs. Today, about nineteen Jaina *basadi*s and an active *maṭha* survive at the site.[603]

The largest and most celebrated of the *jinālaya*s in this small town is the Candranātha Basadi, also known as Hosa Basadi, dating from 1429 to 1430 CE (Plate 5.59 above).[604] The temple was built under the patronage of the Vijayanagara ruler Devarāya II.[605] It has three storeys, of which the lowest is made of stone, the next of wood and stone, and the top storey of wood only, covered with a roof of copper sheeting. The main sanctum on the ground floor houses a tall standing statue of Candranātha. Access to the small sanctum is via a line of four halls: the Lakṣmī, the Tīrthaṅkara and the Namaskāra Maṇḍapas and the slightly later detached structure of the Bhairavdevī (Bhairādevī) or Citra Devī Maṇḍapa, at the very front of the *basadi*. The latter was added between 1451 and 1452 CE, donated by Gopaṇa Oḍeyar under Vijayanagara emperor Mallikārjuna Immaḍi Devarāya (1446–1467 CE).[606] Later, the Bhairavdevī Maṇḍapa was connected to the Namaskāra Maṇḍapa through a small roofed section. The large temple structure is contained inside two concentric walled enclosures and entered through a pair of monu-

599 Refer to Desai, "Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri": 202–8, and Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka": 83.

600 The Śāntinātha or Śāntīśvara Basadi at Venur (1489–1490 CE), for instance, has a raised second sanctum of this type.

601 For further details on the site, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 351–53, and Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 82–106.

602 This has been pointed out by Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 353.

603 For information on the *maṭha*, see Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 90–93.

604 This temple is known by a number of names. Popular ones are Tribhuvanna-Tilaka-Cūḍāmaṇi Basadi (temple of the crest jewel of the three worlds) and Thousand-pillared Basadi, referring to the large number of carved stone pillars supporting the overhanging eaves of the roofs.

605 See Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 370.

606 Refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 352, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 370.

mental gateways. Inside the walled compound, at the front of the *jinālaya*, are a *mānastambha* and a flagpole, indicating that the temple hosts its own chariot festival.[607]

Karkal is another important Digambara Jaina pilgrimage centre in the coastal region, which flourished in particular from the thirteenth century onwards. It is especially famous for its tall Gommaṭeśvara statue (Plate 2.8). At roughly thirteen metres in height, this monolith is smaller than the most famous monumental statue at Shravanabelgola, which measures about eighteen metres and which must have been its model (Plate 1.2). Both colossal images stand on prominent hills and are the focus of elaborate ritual proceedings, carried out at regular intervals. The Karkal colossus was commissioned by Vīra Pāṇḍya in 1432 CE.[608] Saletore points out how specifically Jaina these statues are and notes that they all face north.[609]

Karkal also has a prominent *basadi*. This has a *caturmukha* layout with a very large central block whose four sides face the four cardinal directions. On each side, we find a statue of Aranātha, the eighteenth, Mallinātha, the nineteenth, and Munisuvratnātha, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara. Consequentially, the *jinālaya* is known as the Caturmukha Basadi (Plate 5.59 below). It is made of grey granite and was built between 1586 and 1587 CE,[610] with all the characteristic features of the local temple style, including strongly sloping roofs covered with stone slabs.

The sixteenth-century Caturmukha Temple at Gerusoppe (Gērusoppe), also known as Gerasoppe (Gērasoppe), in the northern region of coastal Karnataka, is another substantial quadruple *basadi.* Gerusoppe became an important Jaina centre in the middle of the fourteenth century and flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in particular, as a prominent temple site, a stronghold of Jainism and a substantial city.[611] Today, however, it is only a small hamlet and the *jinālaya* is in a ruined state.[612]

Venur is another prominent Jaina *tīrtha* in the coastal region. Here, we find another tall Gommaṭeśvara colossus (Plate 3.3). This measures about eleven metres in height

607 For further particulars on the temple, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 84–90. For information on the *maṭha* and other *basadi*s in this town, refer to the same source on pages 90–106. Saletore identifies the many free-standing pillars associated with *basadi*s in this region as one of the local peculiarities (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 369).

608 On the history of Karkal, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 360–64. For the Gommaṭeśvara statue, refer to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 268, and Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 224.

609 Compare Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 367.

610 For the date, compare Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 371. Together with the general feature of having regular raised shrines, the *caturmukha* layout, when applied to principal temple structures, is a distinctive feature of Jaina temple architecture (Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture": 312).

611 Saletore has written on this (Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 340).

612 For information on the history of Gerasoppe, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 340–50.



Plate 5.59: The fifteenth-century Candranātha Basadi at Mudabidri (above) and the sixteenth-century Caturmukha Basadi at Karkal (below) are typical examples of continuity in the provincial region of coastal Karnataka.

and was commissioned by a local chieftain called Timmarāja in 1604 CE.[613] As such, it is the latest and smallest of the medieval Gommaṭeśvara statues, although not less refined. Close by is the comparatively early Pārśvanātha Basadi, whose foundations date from the thirteenth century.[614] Originally constructed out of locally available building materials, such as mud, wood and burned clay tiles, it was restored and rebuilt many times during its history. Despite the recurrent renovation campaigns, this *jinālaya* still has a traditional red-tiled roof.[615]

Having discussed the three main Jaina sites of Mudabidri, Karkal and Venur and mentioned one *basadi* from the very north of the region, we shall conclude this section with an account of one further temple from a town in the north, namely, from Bhatkal. This coastal town has another especially elaborate *jinālaya*, the Candranāteśvara Basadi, alternatively known as the Jattappa Nāyakana Candranāteśvara Basadi.[616] The temple incorporates ornate pierced stone screens and a double-storeyed gateway structure. In this *jinālaya*, too, stucco figures have been inserted, in this case in the form of bracket figures positioned below the overhanging eaves.[617]

Although evidence of Jaina activities in the region goes back to the fourth century CE,[618] in their present form, most of the *basadi*s of the coastal belt of Karnataka date predominantly from the period after the main phase of Jaina ascendency in Karnataka, from about the fifteenth century onwards. These illustrate an uninterrupted continuity of creating Jina statues and erecting sacred edifices for the glorification of the faith in Karnataka.[619]

6.4 Modern and Contemporary Temple Building

Despite the enormous loss in influence which the Jaina religious community suffered in Karnataka from about the eleventh to the twelfth century onwards, and although the Jainas and their *basadi*s are now very much in the minority in the State of Karnataka, there has been an uninterrupted continuity of Jaina temple construction throughout

613 On the dating of the Venur Gommaṭeśvara, refer to Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 600 To 1000: South India": 224, and for particular information on its donor, to Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 269.
614 Consult Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 352.
615 For further details on Venur, the Gommaṭeśvara and the Pārśvanātha Basadi, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan*: 107.
616 This alternative temple name was supplied by Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 135.
617 Additional information on this *jinālaya* can be obtained from Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture*: 136–37.
618 This has been pointed out by Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan": 370.
619 Further details on the Jaina *basadi*s and the bronze images of the region can be found in the article by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Pagodas, Pillars and Popular Cults: The Jaina *Basti*s of Coastal Karnataka," *Veranda: Journal of Sushant School of Art and Architecture* 1, no. 1 (2019): 14–37.

the region to the present day. The Jaina custom of demolishing ancient *jinālaya*s and constructing them anew, often in concrete with thin stone cladding, has already been mentioned. Examples of such entirely replaced Jaina temples can be seen at Guruvayanakere, Dharmasthala, Humcha and Narasimharajapura. Nevertheless, Jainas emphasise the great antiquity of these places, citing their early foundation dates and the long continuity of religious practice, even if the temple structures standing there today are largely modern. At other places, such as Hassan, older *basadi*s have been preserved and new additions in the form of subsidiary constructions have been made.[620]

The period from the 1920s to the 1980s in particular represented an active time of the enlargement of sacred areas and construction of new *jinālaya*s, particularly in provincial towns throughout South India. The colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvara at Dharmasthala, for instance, was commissioned in 1966 and installed on site in 1975, with the consecration ceremony (*pratiṣṭhāpanā*) performed in 1982. Other *basadi*s built at this time include the Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Temple in Bagalkot, constructed in 1976,[621] the Cintāmaṇī Pārśvanātha Temple in Gogi village, erected in 1986 and the contemporary Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Temple at Bijapur, known for its buried statue. Many modern structures surround the hill carrying the Gommaṭeśvara statue, known as Gommaṭagiri, close to Mysore. In addition, many of the Jaina *tīrtha*s which continued to flourish during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also display modern and contemporary continuities. They include, for instance, Kanakagiri, Narasimharajapura and Humcha, to mention but a few.[622]

A fascinating aspect of contemporary Jaina temple architecture in the south is that many temples have been commissioned by the local Śvetāmbara Jaina community. From around the 1950s, commerce and trading opportunities have encouraged Śvetāmbara Jainas, especially those from the north-western Indian Mārwārī community, to settle in the south. The Pārśvanātha Śvetāmbara Temple established in Gadag in 1914 is a prominent modern Śvetāmbara construction.[623]

Today, Bangalore in particular, as one of the largest trading hubs in Karnataka, abounds in contemporary Jaina construction. In this State capital and largest city of Karnataka, the Digambaras of course also play a prominent role as the dominant Jaina denomination in the south. However, as the Digambaras have so many traditional *basadi*s and pilgrimage sites to frequent, for which long family traditions exist,

620 This can be seen in the Digambara Pārśvanātha Temple in Hassan. There are other modern and contemporary Jaina constructions in this town.

621 I visited the temple in 2001, just before the entire area was going to be submerged by the waters of the Upper Krishna Project (UKP). This modern *basadi*, too, follows the typical layout of having a raised shrine reached by an external staircase.

622 Illustrations of modern *basadi*s at Humcha, Bijapur and Narasimharajapura have been published in Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 550–52, plates 919–23.

623 For a photograph of this *jinālaya*, refer to Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 503, plate 852.



Plate 5.60: Many contemporary Śvetāmbara Jaina temples, such as the Ādinātha and the Nākoḍā Pārśvanātha Temples, have been built at Devanhalli, close to Bangalore, in recent years.

most *jinālaya*s raised in the past ten or twenty years have been Śvetāmbara. Since about 2000, outsize Jaina complexes have been under construction at the foot and all over the sacred hill at Devanhalli, known as Devanagirī, close to Bangalore airport. The temple designs incorporate many references to the past but also explore novel ways in which a combination of traditional and modern building materials, such as glass, can give tried and tested concepts a new lease of life (Plate 5.60).

7 Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has illustrated the connection between historical, political and religious changes in Karnataka and the effect these had on the development of Jaina temple building activities from the early centuries CE to the present day. Jainism probably reached the region of modern-day Karnataka in the second century CE. The earliest datable rock inscriptions to have survived are from the fifth century CE, along with linear drawings of footprints as markers of sites of enlightenment, for instance, on the sacred hills at Shravanabelgola. From the fifth to the ninth century CE, the Jainas appear steadily to have increased their influence. The earliest surviving constructions in the region are cave excavations, which commenced under the Early Cāḷukyas in the sixth or seventh century CE. During this period, the first structural *basadi*s were also raised. These are generally reasonably plain, cubical temples, which, however, do not lack in spatial complexity, given the multiple sanctums that many of them have. The first raised *jinālaya*s display little ostentatious ornamentation, reflecting the more ascetic outlook of early Jaina practice, but they often have a number of *garbhagṛha*s, arranged either on a horizontal or on a number of vertical levels. Triple-shrined arrangements, *trikūṭācala* temples, were especially popular at this time. These could later also be transformed into five-shrined constellations by adding a set of two flanking shrines at the front. Double-storeyed *basadi*s are also typical of this period.

From the tenth century CE, Jainism flourished throughout the region and large numbers of *jinālaya*s were constructed. With their increase in power and the accumulation of donations, including land grants, the Jaina monks were turned into wealthy landowners. This opulence soon became visible in the style of their *basadi*s, too. The number of decorations on facades and in particular on the inside of the structures increased, with a hitherto unknown degree of decoration and complexity transforming the formerly plain, dark, cubical halls into spacious, well-lit and heavily adorned airy spaces.

In this situation of superiority and strength, the Jainas introduced castes and subgroups, established permanent monastic institutions and a complex structure of dependent administrative headquarters, strongly enlarged their pantheon of venerated icons and expanded their ritual practice. Through these changes, however, they appear to have become more vulnerable, as these modifications led to a fragmentation into small subgroups, made them dependent on large sums of money for the upkeep

of institutions and employees and made their religion more similar to other alternatives, which at the same time became their rivals. In addition, resentment started to grow towards what might have been perceived as an authoritarian and wealthy Jaina elite, and this led to communal upheaval and threats, starting from the late eleventh century onwards. This tension was further aggravated through the creation or reformation of a new cult in northern Karnataka, known as Vīraśaivism. In contrast to the Jaina path towards increased complexity and an ever more elaborate temple ritual, involving Tantric practices, the Vīraśaivas offered a simpler approach to life and ritual. By contrast with Jaina practice at the time, Vīraśaivas needed no temples and images other than the *liṅga* they wore on their own bodies. This and their egalitarian approach to society appear to have appealed to many people at this time. In addition, Śrīvaiṣṇava *bhakti* followers entered the area from the south-east, as did Muslims from the north. This created a situation of intense religious strife between a number of prominent players.

From the eleventh or twelfth century onwards, one of the many competing faiths of Vīraśaivas, Śaivas, Kāḷāmukhas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas or Muslims always dominated, especially in the north of Karnataka, with the Jainas, in most instances, now taking a subordinate position. As what provided the Jaina community with authority and legitimacy were their *basadi*s and sacred icons, these were targeted first in the fight for religious and political survival in the area. This chapter has shown a number of different approaches in the attacks launched on sacred Jaina sites. In some instances, icons were removed or destroyed and *jinālaya*s were severely damaged or completely razed to the ground. This was the most destructive method of undermining the Jainas, which almost entirely prevented continuity, restitution or later reconciliation. In such a case, only a general continuity of the sacred site was possible, if a new Jaina temple or other religious structure were built above the demolished *basadi*. In other instances, statues were desecrated, mutilated or decapitated. The re-use of sacred spaces and images, while still extremely harmful, is generally less devastating and more conducive to a continued cultural dialogue. Although Vīraśaivas should theoretically not own or use icons and temples, their new ruling elite absorbed, renamed and rededicated shrines, statues and other objects of veneration, especially in the northern regions of the State. This came to be typical of Vīraśaiva-Jaina exchanges.

Despite this severe onslaught, which involved the obliteration of Jaina sites and the assassination of Jaina followers, Jainism was able to survive in Karnataka in a decimated form, albeit with the loss of nearly all their political influence. At first, survival was possible only in certain imperial centres, in sacred Jaina pilgrimage towns of especial popularity or in more remote and protected provincial areas. However, during the calmer fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some Jaina faith communities at least were able to recover strength and start to expand again.

Although the Jainas never regained their former influence and power in the region, they constitute an important presence at least in specific areas, such as the coastal belt, to the present day. Due to the influx of Śvetāmbara Jaina families, partic-

ularly from the north-western region of the subcontinent, and the development of Bangalore into a modern and supra-regional commercial and IT centre, the Jaina community has grown again during recent years and funds continue to be invested into often large-scale temple building campaigns throughout the region.

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Julia Lauer and Sabine Scholz

Chapter 6
Of Flourishing Economic Exchanges and Political Stereotypes: The Complex Relationship Between Jainas and Muslims in Karnataka—Then and Now

1 Introduction

Two important points can be made about both Jainas and Muslims, in Karnataka and in India in general: they have always been minorities in their region, but they were both once rulers of kingdoms. Despite these commonalities, early encounters between the two religions in northern India were not always harmonious, and their common history in Karnataka lacks thorough research.

As has been shown in the previous chapters in this publication, from the fifth to the twelfth century CE, ruling dynasties in Karnataka promoted and patronised Jaina culture with its religious institutions. Muslims tried to promote Islam when they came to rule over parts of Karnataka from the fourteenth century onwards, spreading and developing their religion as well as their art, architecture and literature. Despite their influential roles in the past, both Jainas and Muslims have always been minorities in a Hindu-dominated South India.[1] According to the census of 2001, the percentage of Muslims in Karnataka was 12.2% and Jainas amounted to only 0.8%; their share remained relatively stable in the census of 2011, with a slight percentage increase in the Muslim population to 12.92% and a minimal decrease, to 0.72%, in that of the Jainas.[2]

1 Although Jainas have most probably always been a religious minority, even during the "golden period" of Jainism in Karnataka (from the fifth to the twelfth centuries), their community has been suffering from dwindling numbers mostly due to the growing popularity of rival Hindu communities. This does not hold true in the case of Muslims.

2 For the data of 2001 see: Government of India, "Census of India 2001: The First Report on Religion Data," Commissioner Jayant Kumar Banthia, http://lsi.gov.in:8081/jspui/bitstream/123456789/60/1/41020_2001_REL.pdf [accessed 19.10.2022]. For the census data of 2011 see: Government of India, Office of the Census Organization of India, the Commissioner & Registrar General of the Indian 2011 Census C. Chandramouli, "Census 2011," Religious Groups by Districts in Karnataka, https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/29-karnataka.html [accessed 06.09.2022]. The Census of India 2001 (2011) counted 412 659 (440 280) Jains and 6 463 127 (7 893 065) Muslims in Karnataka (The data for 2011 is published on: Government of India, Office of the Census Organization of India, the Commissioner & Registrar General of the Indian 2011 Census C. Chandramouli, "Census 2011." https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/karnataka.html [accessed 06.09.2022].) Although the Indian census was conducted every ten years from 1881 to 2011, the 2021 census was first deferred due to the Covid pandemic and

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However, the two communities differ in more than just population share. Muslims in Karnataka are not only a much bigger minority, but their community is also a far more visible one. Since in several respects Jaina laymen are very similar to lay Hindus, Muslims are easier to recognise as such. Many Muslims show their religious identity by wearing a special kind of dress, whereas in Jaina society only naked ascetics are identifiable by their appearance. Jainas speak local languages and do not have a language of their own; Muslims often learn Urdu as their first and sometimes only language. Despite the widespread custom among Jainas of adding the word "Jain" to their name, many Digambara Jainas of South India do not stick to this practice and often share their surnames with Hindus. Most Muslims, on the other hand, use proper Muslim names and surnames. Although Islam on the subcontinent has absorbed elements of Indian culture and religion, Jainism is culturally closer to the Hindu majority. A decisive factor which helps explain this phenomenon is the fact that Jainism is an indigenous religion, which has developed and existed side by side with other Indian traditions for many centuries, whereas Islam has its roots on the Arabian Peninsula.

With these differences and similarities in mind, we became particularly interested in the relationship between Jainas and Muslims in Karnataka nowadays. Is there contact and exchange on a social, economic and religious level? Do the problems and grievances Muslims and Jainas experience through being a religious minority link them with each other? These were the predominant questions of our field research in Karnataka.

Modern social sciences focus on the relationship between Jainas or Muslims and the Hindu majority, while the relationship between Jainas and Muslims has not yet been the subject of intensive research. Therefore, our study cannot be considered to be universal or concluded, but rather a first attempt to understand the complex relationship of Jainas and Muslims in Karnataka. We shall preface the results of our field research with a historical overview of Islam and Muslim rule in Karnataka.

2 A Qualitative Study

Our field study was conducted in Karnataka in February and March 2007. Over the course of one month, we conducted personal interviews with Jainas and Muslims. The interviews (which often lasted several hours) were conducted personally, with one or several informants. During the interviews, we were often joined by acquaintances or

subsequently postponed several times. See, for instance, T.K. Rajalakshmi, "Why is the Government Delaying Census 2021?: It is Crucial for Budget Allocations, Delimitation of Constituencies, and Administrative Planning," Frontline, 23.01.2023, https://frontline.thehindu.com/the-nation/why-is-the-government-delaying-census-2021/article66413377.ece [accessed 24.10.2023].

colleagues of our informants. Sometimes they added something to the discussions with the main interview partner, but their comments are not taken into consideration here. We did not use a questionnaire for the interviews, but asked all the informants about their contact with members of the other religion. The majority of the interviews were with individuals, depending on the occupation of the informant and the circumstances of the meeting. In 28 interviews, we spoke with 35 Indians (24 Muslims, ten Jainas, one Hindu).[3] Our interview partners were predominantly male (28 men, seven women) and they were all adults. Furthermore, we spoke mainly to people from an upper middle-class background with a higher educational qualification, such as students, teachers and lawyers. Most of our informants, however, were specialists in Jainism or Islam, either in an academic or a religious sense. Their number included scholars, journalists and missionaries. Due to the amount of data, the limited time for data collection, the origin of information and our method, our study does not claim to represent the views of the gamut of Jaina or Muslim society in Karnataka. But since we conducted individual interviews and met many experts (and some religious laymen[4] and pilgrims) our study can be considered a qualitative one. Our investigation led us to districts inhabited by both Muslims and Jainas: urban Bangalore (Beṅgaḷūru) (Muslims: 13.4%, Jainas: 1.1%), Bijapur (Bījāpur) (Muslims: 16.3%, Jainas: 0.5%), Dharwar[5] (Dhārwār) (Muslims: 19.7%, Jainas: 1.6%), Gulbarga (Muslims: 17.6%, Jainas: 0.2%) and Mysore (Maisūru) (Muslims: 8.9%, Jainas: 0.6%).[6] A common feature of these places is that they were ruled by Muslims for a period of time, but Jainas have always lived in these areas, too.

3 While conducting ten months of field research for her PhD-thesis about the identity of Digambara Jainas in Karnataka, Sabine Scholz also had the chance to ask many Jainas for their opinion about the reasons for the decline of Jainism in Karnataka and the importance which should be attached to Muslim rule regarding this development. The results of these interviews, which were not part of the field research conducted exclusively for this chapter in February and March 2007, are included in our argumentation.

4 While we use the term "layman" in contradistinction to "expert," with "expert" we do not necessarily mean someone like a priest with a religious status or mandate, but also scientists, journalists etc. with a profound knowledge of a particular religion.

5 Dharwar is also spelled Dharwad.

6 Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, "Population Census 2001," Table C-01: Population by Religious Community, Karnataka – 2001, https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/21491 [06.09.2022]. The data for the 2011 census shows a similar result: Urban Bangalore (Muslims: 12.97%, Jainas: 0.86%), Bijapur (Muslims: 16.97%, Jainas: 0.4%), Dharwar (Muslims: 20.94%, Jainas: 1.57%), Gulbarga (Muslims: 19.99%, Jainas: 0.19%) and Mysore (Muslims: 9.68%, Jainas: 0.48%); see Government of India, "Census 2011." Religious Groups by Districts in Karnataka, https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/29-karnataka.html [accessed 06.09.2022].

3 Part I: A Historical Overview—Islam and Muslim Rule in Karnataka

3.1 The Establishment of Muslim Rule

When Muslim rule was first established in the south of India, Jainism had already lost most of its influence over the ruling dynasties and the common people. Contrary to the popular belief that Islam was first brought to India as the religion of Muslim invaders, we find Muslim settlements in South India centuries before the establishment of Muslim rule. The oldest Indian Muslim community, the Konkani Muslims, arrived at the beginning of the eighth century CE as a maritime trading community on the coast of South India. Its members married local women and settled permanently. It was therefore trade, rather than conquest, which brought Islam to India in the first place.[7] When the famous Maghrebi traveller Abu ʻAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Battūta, better known simply as Ibn Battūta, visited South India in the early fourteenth century, he saw some Muslim trading settlements, and his travel accounts also mention mosques in the Karnataka area. Those early Muslims, however, did not stay exclusively in trade. Many found employment in civil or military service at the courts of Hindu rulers.[8]

3.1.1 The Ṭughlāqs

While Muslims began organised invasion and plundering operations in North India in 1022 CE, it was not until the first half of the fourteenth century CE, under Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq, that the Delhi Sultanate (which had been founded in 1206) extended its permanent administration to the south.[9] As Eaton points out, however, "outright annexation of the Deccan was not on Delhi's mind, at least not yet."[10] The first step of the Delhi Sultanate's strategy was the incorporation of South Indian kingdoms into their circle of tributary realms. Intimidated by the most modern military technology in the world, these states were asked to pay certain tributes to the Delhi court. If they were unable to discharge such payments, the Delhi army invaded, plundered and de-

7 Omar Khalidi, *Muslims in the Deccan: A Historical Survey* (New Delhi: Global Media Publications, 2006): 13–16.

8 Iftikar Ahmad Ghauri, "Muslims in the Deccan in the Middle Ages: An Historical Survey," *Islamic Culture. An English Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1975): 151–52.

9 K.R. Basavaraja, *History and Culture of Karnataka. Early Times to Unification* (Dharwad: Chalukya Publications, 1984): 176.

10 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761. Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 18.

stroyed the whole capital. The case of Warangal (Varangal),[11] today in Telangana State, shows that this process also led to the desecration of the temple housing the state deity, which was regarded an important link between the geographical area and the successful rule of the king. A mosque was built on that site and Warangal was annexed by the Ṭughlāq Empire.[12]

Revolts against the Ṭughlāq empire led to the foundation of two large and trans-regional successor states which absorbed the former regional kingdoms along the Krishna River: the Baḥmanid Sultanate in the north and in the south the Saṅgama Sultanate, which soon was to become the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar.[13]

3.1.2 The Baḥmanids and the Deccan Sultanates

The Baḥmanid Sultanate, founded by the Turkish governor ʻAlau'd-Dīn Baḥman Shāh in 1347 CE, with its capital Gulbarga in North Karnataka, was the first independent Muslim kingdom in South India. For strategic reasons, the capital was shifted to Bidar (Bīdar) in 1425 CE. In the course of time, the Baḥmanid Sultanate became more and more disintegrated, mainly due to the rivalry of two hostile groups of Muslim aristocracy.[14]

With the decline of the Baḥmanid Sultanate, five independent kingdoms emerged as the Deccan Sultanates. Two of them, namely, the dominions of the Adil Shāhis of Bijapur and the Barid Shāhis of Bidar, are of importance for the further history of the area of the modern Karnataka state. The Bīdar Sultanate, the smallest of the five, was annexed to the Bījāpur Sultanate in 1619 CE. In 1686 CE, the Mughals under Emperor Aurangzeb (Ālamgīr) conquered Bijapur and brought the sultanate to an end.

3.1.3 Sufism

The Adil Shāhi dynasty ruled over an important area of the Deccan for nearly two centuries. In the course of time, the city of Bijapur developed into a cosmopolitan centre which attracted scholars, artists and Sufis from places like Iran, Iraq, Turkey and

11 The kingdom of Warangal was located in the Northern Deccan within the boundaries of what is today Maharashtra. Although north of Karnataka, this example is given because it is the best researched site of Delhi's conquest in the Deccan. Other annexations probably followed its example.

12 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan*: 17–22.

13 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States in Medieval India* (Gurgaon: Hope India Publications, 2004): 22.

14 These two groups were the Dakhnis and the Āfāqīs or Gharib-ud-diyar. The former were Muslims whose ancestors had been living in India for centuries and who were generally Sunnīs, and Hindu converts to Islam. The latter were foreigners from Iran or Iraq, generally Shīʻas, who were attracted to the court of the Baḥmanid *sultān*s. See Ghauri, "Muslims in the Deccan": 154–56.

North India. Under the Adil Shāhis either the Shīʿa or the Sunnī form of Islam was practised officially, according to the preference of the particular *sultān*.[15]

Sufi saints were of special importance, not only for the spread of Islam in North Karnataka, but also and especially for the legitimacy of Muslim authority. Even before the establishment of the Baḥmanid Sultanate, some Muslim mystics had come to the Deccan from North India. The systematic organisation of the Sufi movement in the Deccan began at the time of the Delhi Sultān Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq, who had sent Sufi saints from Delhi to Daulatabad. Like other emerging kingdoms in India, the Baḥmanid *sultān*s sought the help of the saints for the consolidation of their rule. The Sufis not only interfered actively in internal conflicts of the ruling elite, but also helped to create public confidence in the Baḥmanid rule.[16] It was thanks to them that the expansion of the Ṭughlāq Empire came to be associated with religious piety rather than just with plunder and violence.[17] Furthermore, the alliance with well-respected Sufi saints could be used by the Baḥmanids to establish and legitimise their Indo-Muslim rule in the Deccan, which, for the first time, was not dependent on Delhi. The fame of Sheikh Muḥammad Gisu Darāz (1321–1422),[18] who settled at Gulbarga at the invitation of Sultān Fīrūz Baḥmani, survived the downfall of the Baḥmanid empire and "the grave-site of Gisu Daraz grew to become the most popular Muslim shrine in the Deccan, as it has remained ever since."[19]

From the beginning of the fourteenth until the end of the seventeenth century CE many Sufi orders flourished in the Bijapur kingdom. As Eaton points out in his study of the social roles of Sufis in medieval South India, "the stereotyped conception of medieval Indian Sufis as pious and quietistic mystics patiently preaching Islam among Hindus is no longer valid."[20] He therefore describes the Sufis in the following terms:

> Some of them wielded a sword, others a pen, others a royal grant, and still others a begging bowl. Some were introverted to the point of reclusive withdrawal, others extroverted to the point of militancy. Some were orthodox to the point of zealous Puritanism, others unorthodox to the point of heresy.[21]

15 The practice of the Sunnī or the Shīʿa form by a particular ruler depended mainly on his preference for either the Dakhni or the Āfāqī aristocracy. See Basavaraja, *History and Culture of Karnataka*: 187–204.

16 H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, eds., *History of Medieval Deccan (1295–1724)*, vol. 2, *Mainly Cultural Aspects* (Andhra Pradesh: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1974): 176–82.

17 Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan*: 34.

18 His name is also spelled Muḥammad Gēsu Darāz.

19 Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan*: 54. For a detailed account of the relationship between Muḥammad Gisu Darāz and the Baḥmanids, see Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan*: 33–58.

20 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700*. Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): 283.

21 Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*: 283.

Those Sufis whose main interest was not politics, but the writing of folk literature, played a crucial part in connecting with the non-Muslim masses. Through their efforts, the public devotion to deceased Muslim spiritual leaders, also practised by non-Muslims, could be combined with the mystic philosophy of Islam.[22] The tombs of Sufi saints, the *dargahs*, became centres of public devotion, visited by Muslims and non-Muslims alike.[23] According to Jackie Assayag's studies of popular worship at *dargahs* in North Karnataka, the cult is often focused on offerings to a saint in order to ask him for help in matters of physical or mental diseases and other personal wishes.

In some cases, saints are worshipped for their alleged powers over "demons," and their tombs are usually visited by members of the lower class. Assayag comments in this regard:

> But this must be understood in a wider sense. It matters little whether they are Hindus, Muslims or Christians. What is important is the effectiveness of the action taken to control these evil powers, which appear and disappear in no time. When it is a question of combating disease or affliction, religious affiliation signifies only a superficial variation in a common cognitive universe of evil, its causes and its treatment. And it is the same in the case of divine power.[24]

South Karnataka also witnessed a period of Muslim rule in the eighteenth century when Haider Alī, followed by his son Tipu Sultān, ruled over Mysore. In 1799, the British defeated Tipu at Shrirangapatna (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa) and brought Muslim rule in Karnataka to an end.[25]

3.2 Muslims in Power—A Threat to Other Religions?

It is difficult to reconstruct the treatment of non-Muslim communities under Muslim rule and facile generalisations should be avoided. Inscriptions do not necessarily serve as reliable sources, whether set up by Muslims or non-Muslims, and Karnataka belongs to India's understudied regions, as indeed does the Deccan.[26]

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22 Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*: 289.

23 Today, some *dargahs* are still famous religious centres in North Karnataka, attracting members of several religious communities from all over India. Worship at the shrines of deceased Sufis involves unorthodox features like circumambulations, offerings of flowers and the belief in the healing power of the saints (Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*: 204).

24 Jackie Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers. Muslims and Hindus in South India* (Delhi: Manohar, 2004): 96–97. The very complex question of religious affiliations and their definition brought up by Assayag in the above-mentioned statement is discussed thoroughly in *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*, a study of Hindu and Muslim interaction in religious worship in Karnataka. See Assayag, *At the Confluence of Two Rivers*.

25 Basavaraja, *History and Culture of Karnataka*: 532.

26 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 11–17.

3.2.1 The Situation in the South

In general, Muslim rule was far less aggressive towards other religions in South India than in the north, where the persecution of so-called heretics and Shīʿites and forceful conversions are proven to have taken place.[27] Descriptions of the interaction between Jainas and Muslims are ambivalent. Tahir Mahmood, for example, offers a picture of tolerant Muslim rulers in India, who

> [...] followed the policy of non-interference in the religions and religious affairs of the Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Christians, Jews and Parsis of India, and did not discriminate between them and the Muslims in non-religious matters.[28]

Literature on Jainism, in turn, deals with the "clash of civilizations" in a different manner. As Virendra Kumar Sharma says:

> The advent of Islam in India [...] delivered a cruel blow to Jainism. As a result of Muslim aggression the Jainas living in various parts of India lost contact with each other; forced conversions of the Jainas to Islam and the policy of destruction and demolition adopted by many Muslim rulers of India weakened the monastic organisation of Jainism.[29]

It does not come as a surprise that information is not more unanimous insofar as the Deccan and the Muslim rulers' religious policy in this area are concerned. But it seems certain that contact between Muslims and non-Muslims existed, at least in the government apparatus and the army of the different rulers. Contemporary records mention the employment of Marāṭhās, *brāhmaṇ*s and members of other non-Muslim communities in military and administrative services. Promoting matrimonial alliances with Hindu women and making grants to non-Muslim religious establishments were also key to the rulers' practice.[30] For the sultans, ruling over a majority non-Muslim population, interference into the religious practices and freedom of their subjects would have been unwise and dangerous for the stability of the sultanate.[31]

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27 Annemarie Schimmel, *Der Islam im indischen Subkontinent* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983): 28.

28 Tahir Mahmood, *Statute-Law Relating to Muslims in India. A Study in Constitutional & Islamic Perspectives* (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 1995): 4.

29 Virendra Kumar Sharma, *History of Jainism* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2003): 3.

30 See on this issue Abdul Gani Imaratwale, "Secular Attitudes of the Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur," in *Studies in Medieval Bijapur* (2006): 191, https://www.academia.edu/30605096/Secular_Attitudes_of_the_Adil_Shahi_Sultans_of_Bijapur [accessed 05.09.2022], as well as his article on the history of Jainism in Bijapur (Abdul Gani Imaratwale, "Jainism During the Rule of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur," in *Studies in Medieval Bijapur* (2006): 67–70, https://www.academia.edu/30460712/Jainism_During_the_Rule_of_the_Adil_Shahis_of_Bijapur [accessed 05.09.2022].

31 That small religious communities such as the Jainas continued their traditional education in Karnataka throughout the Middle Ages is further evidence that they enjoyed religious freedom (Jyotsana K. Kamat, "Education in Medieval Karnatak (AD 1450–1800)," *Studies in History of the Deccan. Medieval*

However, with explicit reference to the Deccan, historians working on Jaina history also mention the menace from the Muslims: "[…] it is believed[32] that the activities of the Virasaivas, the Muhammedans in the seventeenth century led to [the] decline of Jainism in North Kanara."[33] Shakuntala Prakash Chavan makes Muslims jointly responsible with the Vīraśaiva/Liṅgāyats and the Vaiṣṇavas for aggressions against the Jainas. In this context, she mentions "a serious menace to the Jain religion in medieval times from the Muslim iconoclasts" and a decline of Jaina religion because "all Indian subcontinent was overpowered by an iconoclast Muslim ruler."[34] Expanding on this rather unreflective exaggeration, Chavan, with some other scholars,[35] relates the development of the *bhaṭṭāraka* institution within the Digambara tradition directly to the alleged Muslim threat: "The Bhattaraka was a special type of religious authority evolved by the Digambara Jains during the early part of the medieval period as a policy of survival to meet the severe challenges created by the advent of Muslim rule in India."[36] This argument, found in several accounts of Jainism during the Middle Ages, is, however, a somewhat too simplistic explanation for the development of the *bhaṭṭāraka* institution, since it ignores the influence of dynamics within the Jaina tradition itself. Furthermore, it reduces the interaction of Jainas and their surroundings to a "Jaina minority-Muslim rulers" relationship, which in many cases did not hold true. The *bhaṭṭāraka*, as a dressed representative of the local Digambara community, also mediated between Jainas and Hindu rulers.[37]

Not even literature on Jainism agrees on the Muslims' contribution to the decline of Jainism in South India. Some authors do not refer to Islam at all when outlining the history of Jainism in Karnataka, but do mention the threat by the Vaiṣṇava king Viṣṇuvardhana[38] or the Vīraśaivas.[39]

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and Modern, ed. M.A. Nayeem, Aniruddha Ray, K.S. Mathew and A. Rā Kulakarṇī [Delhi: Pragati Publications, 2002]: 263).

32 The author explicitly writes "it is believed" since he admits that there is no definite proof of this information, as he makes clear in the following sentence.

33 K.G. Vasantha Madhava, *Religions in Coastal Karnataka, 1500–1763* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1985): 81.

34 Shakuntala Prakash Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005): 225, 237.

35 For example, see: Vilas Adinath Sangave, *Facets of Jainology. Selected Research Papers on Jain Society, Religion and Culture* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001): 133.

36 Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka*: 225.

37 For more information about the development of the *bhaṭṭāraka* institution and its several functions, see: Paul Dundas *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992): 105–7; Kristy L. Wiley, *The A to Z of Jainism* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2006): 54–56.

38 P.M. Joseph, *Jainism in South India* (Thiruvananthapuram: The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1997): 4–6.

39 M.S. Ramaswami Ayyanger, *Studies in South Indian Jainism* (New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1988): 113, 117.

3.2.2 Temples and Images

Due to the manifold positions and the lack of historical evidence within the discussion about a possible threat of the Jaina community by Muslims, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the religio-political reality of medieval Karnataka. Although Muslim rulers seem to have granted religious freedom to their subjects in general, sporadic persecutions may have taken place. It is unlikely, however, that the Deccan region witnessed the destruction of Jaina temples on a larger scale. As Eaton says, "[...] temple desecrations were never directed at the people, but at the enemy king and the image that incarnated and displayed his state-diety [sic!]."[40] Therefore, "temples that were not so identified [...] were normally left unharmed."[41] Destruction of temples followed logical patterns:

> The chronology and geography of the data indicate that acts of temple desecration typically occurred on the cutting edge of a moving military frontier [...] when Indo-Muslim states expanded into the domains of non-Muslim rulers. Pragmatism as well as time-honoured traditions of both Islamic and Indian statecraft dictated that temples lying within such states be unmolested.[42]

Hence, temple destruction was used to conquer new land by delegitimising the former king who was closely connected to a geographical area and a particular deity. Muslims definitely looted Jaina temples in other parts of India, such as Gujarat,[43] but, given Eaton's considerations, it seems unlikely that many Jaina temples were among the sites destroyed in Karnataka, where Jainas had already lost their political power before Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq reached the Deccan plateau.

Once the area was conquered, temple destruction usually ceased.[44] Muḥammad bin Ṭughlāq gave anybody paying the poll-tax the right to construct temples in his state territory.[45] During the third phase of Muslim rule in the Deccan, the Mughal period, it was common to consider any temples within the governor's territory as state property. Accordingly, they even received protection,[46] although the great Mughal ruler Aurangzeb forbade the construction of new temples.[47]

Some inscriptions, nevertheless, mention Muslim invaders in connection with the destruction of Jaina monuments and persecutions of Jainas in the area of modern Karnataka. In the village of Mulgund (Mulgund), near Gadag, North Karnataka, one un-

40 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 46.
41 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 31.
42 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 38–50.
43 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 48.
44 Exceptions were made in cases of disloyalty: if a non-Muslim official was considered to be disloyal, a temple associated with him was sometimes destroyed. See Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 63.
45 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 50.
46 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 52.
47 Eaton, *Temple Desecration and Muslim States*: 56.

dated inscription, found at the Parśvanāth temple, records the burning of the temple by Muslims and the violent death of a Jaina ascetic. Another inscription, dated 1675 CE, found at the Candranāth Temple, mentions the reconsecration of a Tīrthaṅkara statue which had been polluted by Muslims. It is not clear if both inscriptions refer to one and the same or to two different attacks by Muslim invaders.[48]

In the area of North Karnataka, in particular, many beheaded Jina statues can be found in or in front of (often ruined) Jaina temples, or in newly constructed museums.[49] Due to the lack of reliable historical sources, it is difficult to establish whether the aggressors would have been Muslims or followers of some Hindu sects, such as the very influential Vīraśaivas. The same area, comprising the districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, Gulbarga and Belgaum, is also rich in Tīrthaṅkara statues, which had been buried underneath the ground centuries ago and were recently rediscovered and installed in some existing or newly built Jaina temples. In several cases, local Jainas named the threat of Muslim aggression as the reason for the hiding of the image. Here again, the statements are based rather on local traditions and hearsay, than on any historical records. Whereas the destruction of Jaina temples and Jaina images in the area of Karnataka is a proven fact, the lack of reliable historical sources makes it far less easy to determine who was responsible for the destruction. Bearing in mind that, as we have seen, Jainism in North Karnataka had already lost most of its influence to the adherents of Vīraśaivism when Muslim invasions to South India started, it seems to be quite likely that many Jaina monuments had already been destroyed or converted before the beginning of Muslim rule. This issue of responsibility for temple destruction is particularly important for the next section. In our field study, we asked Jainas and Muslims for their perception of the common past in the region.

4 Part II: The Field Study—The Contemporary Relationship of Jainas and Muslims

4.1 The Interpretation of History

For Jaina identity, the historical development of their community and religion is of great importance, especially because the decline of the Jainas' influence over ruling dynasties from the twelfth century CE onwards has never been fully explained by historians. Jainas nowadays often consider the rise of the Vīraśaiva movement to be the

48 See P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala 6 (Solapur: Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka Sangha, 2001 [1957]): 148. During Sabine Scholz's visit to Mulgund in January 2006, local Jainas also showed these inscriptions to her.

49 Beheaded Jaina statues can be seen, for instance, at the museum at the Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur, and the State Museum, Gadag.

most important factor in the changing fortunes of their religion. Although Islam is not mentioned as a major factor for their decline, Muslim rule on the subcontinent does not have a reputation as tolerant in religious matters among a large part of the non-Muslim population. In this context, Jainas often make allegations about two aspects of Muslim history in India: the destruction of Jaina monuments and forceful conversions into the fold of Islam.

4.1.1 The Jaina Assessment

As far as the destruction of architecture is concerned, several versions of events circulate among Jainas. Generally speaking, there is a tendency to dismiss the old stereotype of considering all forceful destruction to be brought about by Muslim invaders. By contrast, Jainas lay many destroyed temples and the large number of beheaded statues found all over Karnataka,[50] especially in the northern districts, to the charge of Hindu fanaticism.[51] Those Jaina who do hold Muslims responsible for the aggression shown to their architecture consider the nakedness of their statues to be a possible source of objection for Muslims. But if it was the nakedness that shocked the Muslims, how could they have spared the colossal image of Bāhubali at Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa)? This question, raised by a Jaina from Gulbarga, was meant not as a scholarly argument, but as a warning against generalisations. Public nakedness is definitely objected to by orthodox Islam, but other non-Muslim communities are not in favour of it either.[52] When, after a period of decline, the tradition of naked Digambara *munis* was revived in the first half of the twentieth century, the ascetics' appearance in public caused protests among the non-Jaina population which were not confined to the Muslim community. If it were disapproval of their nakedness, therefore, that led to the beheading of Jaina images, then any of a number of faith groups could have been to blame. It is too easy to attribute the destruction to Muslim iconoclasm.

With reference to conversions, the other problematic aspect in Jaina-Muslim history, again a range of answers are offered. Some Jainas advance the popular argument that conversions to Islam had always been realised by force. Most Jainas doubt that their ancestors converted peacefully to Islam, since they regard the different food habits as an insurmountable obstacle for voluntary conversion. Many, however, mention with appreciation the peacefulness of Sufis past and present. Yet the fact that

50 Many of these have been discussed in the previous chapter by Hegewald.

51 It is sometimes said of crumbling temple buildings, instead, that sacred buildings decay naturally and that their interior has been neglected for centuries. Muslims are only rarely considered to be the culprits.

52 At the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka in Shravanabelgola in February 2006, Sabine Scholz met a Vīraśaiva woman from Mysore. Asked for her impressions, she replied that the ceremony had been nice, but that she preferred the Jainas to dress their statues.

Jainas converted to Islam is accepted without controversy; the Navaita Muslims around Bhatkal (Bhaṭkaḷ), Uttar Kanara District, are often cited as an example.[53]

To conclude, many Jainas dismiss the cliché of an aggressive, intolerant Islam, brought by Muslim invaders, breaking forcefully into the indigenous Indian atmosphere of religious tolerance and harmony. Islam is not considered to be a major factor for the decline of the Jaina influence in Karnataka, although Muslim fanaticism is regarded as one of several elements at play in the destruction of Jaina art and architecture and forceful conversions. Bearing the results of Eaton's study in mind, it is likely that the Jainas' experience with Muslim rule in Northwest India is projected onto the south. It is also imaginable that Jainas identify with the Hindus who were the target of Muslim aggression in the Deccan. However, since the question of fixed religious identities and the idea of rather homogenous religious communities such as "Muslims," "Hindus" and "Jainas" is a rather modern phenomenon,[54] one has to be very cautious in making statements about Indian identities in earlier periods. Muslim invaders were very likely regarded principally as "foreigners" by the inhabitants of the Deccan, whereas the fact that they practised a different religion would not have been the first criterion which distinguished them from the local population. Furthermore, since the separate categories "Hindus" and "Jainas" did not exist at the time of the Muslim invasion, it seems to be very doubtful whether Muslim iconoclasm differentiated between Vīraśaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Jaina temples and monuments.

Warfare between Hindu and Muslim rulers along the Krishna River led to a rhetoric of mutual demonisation which has left its traces up to modern times.[55] The Vijayanagar empire has often been glorified as a southern Hindu bastion, where indigenous religious traditions, including Jainism, could flourish undisturbed by Muslim

53 More information on the Navaita Muslims will be given in paragraph 4.2 below.

54 One factor which led to the emergence of the idea of separate religious communities in India, especially to that of the "Hindus," was the work of the nineteenth-century Western orientalists. For the orientalist construction of the term "Hinduism," see: Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion. Postcolonial Theory, India and "the mystic East"* (London: Routledge, 1999); Brian K. Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and the Colonial Construction of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Wilfried Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); Sharada Sugirtharajah, *Imagining Hinduism. A Postcolonial Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003). Another important factor was the introduction of the census in British India during the second half of the nineteenth century, which aimed at strict classifications of the Indian population, also in matters of religious affiliations. For the early census takings and their impact on the development of notions of distinct religious communities, see Bernard S. Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia," in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, ed. Bernard S. Cohn (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000): 224–54; Kenneth W. Jones, "Religious Identity and the Indian Census," in *The Census in British India. New Perspectives*, ed. N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981): 73–101.

55 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000): 175.

aggressors.[56] Jainism, although not one of the major religious sects patronised by the rulers of Vijayanagar, nevertheless enjoyed the patronage of some petty chiefs, which is still appreciated by some Jainas today. In the perceived dichotomy between Hindus and Muslims, Jainas have naturally positioned themselves—and have been positioned by others—as belonging to the "non-Muslim" side, which most probably made for a common identification with the Hindus.

4.1.2 The Muslim View

Although Muslims had once been in power in the region, the Muslims we spoke with did not grieve for their former status. "The past was as it was, and now is it over" was a common statement concerning their regional history. Hence, there was hardly any hint of regret for the loss of Muslim territory, nor any sign of remorse for Muslim invasions and their consequences either. They were concerned rather with the contemporary problems facing Indian Muslims, such as poverty and insufficient education. Asked for their opinion about the religious policy of Muslim rulers in Karnataka and the Deccan, all of our informants denied the possibility of Muslim violence or intolerance and stressed the religious freedom given to all citizens. Our Muslim interview partners showed no tendency to glorify Muslim rule in India, with the exception of the historical figure of Tipu Sultān. This is an interesting point, because it was not under Tipu Sultān's reign, but that of the Mughal Akbar that Islam in India unfolded its richest blossom.[57] Hence, Muslims in Karnataka look back rather to their last regional reign than their cultural achievements on the subcontinent. Among Muslims, Tipu Sultān enjoys the reputation of having been a very pious and tolerant ruler, but his glorified reputation is based on the fact that he fought against the British, trying to defend his lands against the colonial power. He enjoyed some success, but finally lost the last Muslim bastion of the area to the British.

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56 For example, see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India. From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 4th ed. (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1976): 309.

57 Schimmel, *Der Islam im indischen Subkontinent*: 56–57. Whereas mythification of Muslim rule in India is focused on Tipu Sultān, Muslims in and outside of Spain glorify the whole period of Muslim rule on the Iberian peninsula—although the last Muslim kingdom of Granada also gains particular importance within the reception of the history of al-Andalus. The peaceful co-existence of the three predominant religions—Christianity, Islam and Judaism—is an important element of the feeling of nostalgia, but another crucial feature is the cultural blossoming of Islam on the peninsula. The expulsion of the Muslims in 1492, in particular, is still remembered today and adds a tragic moment to Islamic rule. Compared to the information of our Indian informants, the nostalgia towards Muslim rule in al-Andalus seems to be a lot stronger, which could result from the fact that Muslims were expulsed from the Iberian Peninsula, but not from the Indian subcontinent. The contemporary Muslim reception of al-Andalus has been investigated by Julia Lauer who dedicated her Masters dissertation to this issue.

Considering the argumentations of our informants concerning the Muslims' religious policy in and around Karnataka, it is not surprising that their version of history also differs with regard to conversion. Our Muslim informants regard all conversions as brought about by Sufis and stressed the peacefulness of the Sufi mystics' endeavour. A Muslim historian from Bijapur, Abdul Gani Imaratwale, who has done research on Jainism during Muslim rule, referred to the *attār*s, a community of perfume sellers, who are said to have converted from Jainism to Islam.[58] Interestingly, the historian described the *attār*s as a "soft community, very soft in their dealings," which showed, he maintained, their former religious affiliation as Jainas. According to his research, Sufi saints were responsible for the conversion of such Jainas as the weavers or thread makers in the Dharwar area. All these conversions, he said, had been peaceful. The fact that Islam does not teach vegetarianism had not prevented Jainas from converting to Islam, since Islam did not force anyone to eat meat. The historian argued that economically poor, low-caste Jainas like the weavers had been among the main communities who were attracted by the preaching of Sufi saints. As "soft-hearted, not stubborn people," the Jainas were more likely to be attracted by the strict and simple teachings of Islam than the "more fundamentalist" Vīraśaivas who had formed the religious majority in North Karnataka for some time.[59]

Reliable historical sources about conversions of Jainas to Islam are rare to find. The district gazetteers of the British from the last decades of the nineteenth century contain some statements about the original religious affiliations of some local Muslim classes. In the *Bijapur Gazetteer*, first published in 1884, some alleged conversions of Jainas are mentioned. Apart from the already mentioned caste of *attārs,* which "are probably the descendants of Jain Hindus of the class of the same name,"[60] some agriculturist castes, too, "are said to represent Jains who were converted by Pir Mahabir Khandāyat an Arab preacher, who came as a missionary to the Deccan about the beginning of the fourteenth century [...]."[61] Further explanations are not given, and unfortunately one has to be content with vague phrases such as "are probably" and "are said to represent." The caste of *attārs* is also found in other districts of North Karnataka, and the corresponding gazetteers of Dharwar, Belgaum and the neighbouring Kolhapur district of South Maharashtra mention Muslim *attārs* as converts of a Hindu caste of the same name.[62] Since Jainas are not always strictly categorised in these gaz-

58 His statement is based on the *Bijapur Gazetteer* of 1884. See James M. Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 23, *Bijapur* (Bombay Presidency, 1884 [Bangalore: Government of Karnataka, 2001]): 289.

59 Interview with Abdul Gani Imaratwale, conducted at Bijapur on 11.03.2007.

60 James M. Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 22, *Dharwar* (Bombay Presidency, 1884 [Bangalore: Government of Karnataka, 2003]): 289.

61 Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 22, *Dharwar*: 282.

62 See Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 22, *Dharwar*: 232–33; James M. Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 21, *Belgaum* (Bombay: Government Central Press 1864 [Bangalore: Government of Karnataka, 2004]): 205; Arunchandra S. Pathak, ed., *Gazetteer of*

etteers as a separate religious community, and Jainas in several cases are listed as one group within the larger category of Hindus, it is possible that the converts mentioned also included Jainas.[63] Regarding the motives for conversion, it does not seem plausible to consider the abovementioned alleged conversions as brought about forcefully by Muslims. It is more likely that Sufi saints, their teachings and worship, must have had an impact, especially on the lower strata of the Jaina community. It is a widely accepted fact that Jainas, while not believing in a religious sanctification of the caste system, are nevertheless divided into several castes, according to their profession. Since the economic position and social standing of a person depends largely on his profession, we also find a kind of class hierarchy among the Jainas, in which several groups belong to the lower classes of Indian society. The *Kolhapur Gazetteer* of 1886 mentions "barbers, washermen, and many other castes who have ceased to be Jains."[64] It can therefore be assumed that among not only Hindus, but also Jainas, some lower castes had been attracted to the Sufis' teachings.

The principle of an Arabic College near Bijapur argued that there were no cases of conversion from Islam to Jainism, but only the other way round. This was evidence to him, an orthodox Muslim, that the principles of Islam were far more attractive than those of Jainism, which he did not consider to be a religion in a narrow sense, but an ideology, an "-ism."

Both Jainas and Muslims agree with the academic appraisal of Muslim rule in South India as being less aggressive than in the north. On the whole, members of both religions stressed the peaceful role of the Sufis in matters of conversion. Many Jainas, however, rejecting the Muslims' picture of their rule as peaceful, still consider that Muslims converted non-Muslims forcefully and attacked their sacred monuments, although this idea is on the wane. But how do Jainas and Muslims think about each other today? The following paragraph is dedicated to this question.

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the Bombay Presidency, vol. 24, *Kolhapur District* (Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra, 1999 [1886]): 148.

63 The notion of the Jainas forming a separate religious community is a rather late development, which has gradually been evolving since the end of the nineteenth century. Before this, Jainism had been classed either as a branch of Buddhism or a heterodox Hindu sect. Although at the present time most Jainas reject the notion of Jainism being part of Hinduism, the Jainas' status as a separate religious community is nevertheless doubted or denied by some non-Jainas, as well as some Jainas who, for political, economic or social reasons, prefer to be seen as part of the Hindu community. The question of Jaina identity is very complex and cannot be the topic of this chapter. It will be discussed by Sabine Scholz in her forthcoming Ph.D.-Thesis about revival, reform and identity of the Digambara Jainas of Karnataka during the twentieth century,.

64 Arunchandra S. Pathak, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 24, *Kolhapur District*: 135.

4.2 The Own and the Other: More Similarities than Differences?

Nearly all our informants were familiar with aspects of the other's religion, to a greater or lesser extent. Of course, having a conception of another religion requires the knowledge of its existence. The awareness level of Jainism and Islam differs in present-day Kanarese society. Whereas all Jaina informants knew something of the Muslim religion, the degree of familiarity with Jainism among Muslims is a lot smaller. As mentioned above, Jainas are fewer in number and more similar to Hindus when it comes to dressing, temple architecture and the domination of local languages. They also receive less media coverage than Muslims. Since we spoke mostly with educated people, only very few Muslims had not heard of the Jaina community. Education plays a key role in conveying knowledge of other religions. But, according to those we talked to, it does not enable people to understand another religion, or judge its similarities or differences with their own faith. On both sides, we found highly educated Indians who emphasised differences—or parallels—between the two religions. As far as differences are concerned, food habits are perceived to be a very important point of antagonism: vegetarianism versus non-vegetarianism tends to be the first argument for Jainas who wish to separate themselves from Muslims. The latter, in turn, stress their own monotheism and the possible existence of innumerable gods in Jainism as the biggest difference regarding faith. Besides, members of both religions contrast *karma* and rebirth in Jainism with doomsday and the lack of worldly rebirth in Islam. Nakedness as the ideal for a male ascetic is another feature considered to be distinguishing, since the tradition of naked monks, *munis*, is upheld among Digambara Jainas, but disapproved of by Muslims.[65]

Among those Jainas and Muslims who argue for the similarities between Jainism and Islam, it is common to regard love and affection for human life as well as a general peacekeeping mission as a unifying element. Jainas in particular insist on the Muslims' principle of "live and let live" and the compatibility of vegetarianism with the *Qur'ān*. The believers' modesty and the abstention from "idol-worshipping" are regarded by those on both sides as further similarities, notwithstanding the very widespread practice of image worship in Jainism[66] and unorthodox practices of many

65 Nevertheless, some Muslims we talked to see parallels between Jaina ascetics and Sufi saints, since some rather heterodox Muslim mystics are said to have had abandoned all their clothes.

66 Apart from Śvetāmbara sects whose members abstain from the worship of images, the veneration of the images of Tīrthaṅkaras is a widespread practice among most Jaina communities, which probably goes back to ancient times. Therefore, our informants' statement regarding the Jainas' abstention from "idol-worshipping" probably refers to the fact that, according to Jaina principles, it is not the "idol" that is venerated, but the "ideal" of the perfect soul, which is expressed through the Jina images.

Sufi orders in Indian Islam.[67] Whereas many Muslims compare the Jainas' attitude of non-attachment (*aparigraha*, meaning both non-possession and non-possessiveness) to the Muslim pillar of *zakat* (paying taxes for a social purpose), only one Muslim considered the remarkable treatment of women to be a common feature. While Jainism, a university professor for history argued, had been the first religion in the region to make a monastic vocation accessible for women, Islam had also upvalued a woman's social position by allowing her private property after marriage.[68]

The majority of our informants mentioned both similarities and differences concerning the relationship of Jainism and Islam. Some Jainas and Muslims emphasised the distinctive features of the two religions, or saw them as "opposites," while only Jainas, in pursuit of harmony, affirmed that they were "very similar." On this continuum, those who considered both religions to have many features in common were less orthodox than those who saw a huge theological difference. Also, the first group tended to describe all religions as similar at their core. However, when it came to positioning one's own and the other's faith in a religious framework, having social contact to adherents of the other religion did not seem to count. Those with neighbours or friends belonging to the rival religion were no more likely to acknowledge a similarity with themselves than those who had never been in touch with it.

According to our informants, Jainism and Islam not only have common features, but have sometimes even been able to fuse. When asked about the relationship between Islam and Jainism in Indian society, four university professors from Hubli and Dharwar referred to a historically unique synthesis of both religions. In different interviews, two Jainas, one Muslim and one Hindu mentioned the powerful influence of Jainism on the Navaita Muslims around Bhatkal, Uttar Kanara District. These are said to be descendants of Jainas who converted to Islam, but upheld their own customs. Since pious Jainas do not eat, drink or travel after sunset, all four informants saw the Navaitas' custom of having dinner before sunset as confirming proof of their thesis.[69]

On several occasions, we found Jainism and Islam perceived as competitors: members of both religions periodically claim that their own tradition is the most scientific. Jainas have been making this argument since Western-influenced Jaina reformers wrote the first English accounts of Jainism around the end of the nineteenth

67 In Indian Islam there is no image worship in a narrow sense, but Sufism is often regarded as containing image worship in a wider sense. Orthodox Muslims criticise the veneration of saints, pilgrimage to tombs etc.

68 Nowadays, the position of Jaina women in Indian society is better than average for the country, at least in terms of education. In Karnataka in particular, Jaina women have contributed to local literature. Nevertheless, male literacy among Jainas is five times higher. See Vilas Adinath Sangave, "Status of Women in Jaina Society," *Jain Journal* 26, no. 2 (1991): 111–15.

69 The four informants referred to the same source, but, paradoxically, the book's author ascribes the influence of Indian religions within the Navaitas' community explicitly to Hindus and not to Jainas. For further reading, see Victor Disousa, *Navayats of Kanara. A Study in Culture Contact* (Dharwad: K.R.I. Karnataka University Press, 1955).

century. The main points at issue are Jainism's rejection of a personal creator god and the claim that all physical laws discovered by modern science had already been implied in the Jaina philosophy for thousands of years. The Muslim claim that Islam is the most scientific religion refers to its theory of creation: According to the *Qur'ān*, Muslims from the Centre of Islamic Studies in Bangalore argued, "in the beginning there was nothing." This corresponded to the theory of the big bang and the discovery of zero gravity. According to them, details about pregnancy, visible only with the electro microscope, had also been mentioned in the *Qur'ān*. Food habits, too, are drawn into the argument by followers of both religions who seek scientific justification and explanations of their own tradition. In contrast to Jainas, for whom the weakness of human canine teeth is biological evidence for man's being a natural vegetarian, Muslims see the mere existence of canines as equally scientific proof that humans naturally eat meat as well as plants.[70] Whereas most Jainas who told us that their religion was the most scientific, only one had never heard of Muslims claiming this status for Islam. Several Muslims promoting the opposing view knew about their Jaina "rivals" in this matter. The acknowledged link between science and Islam is of great importance to the Muslims working in mission. The Centre for Islamic Studies in Bangalore, for example, has published information on this topic with the aim of promoting Islam among possible converts.

The preceding paragraphs have dealt with the relationship between the Jaina and the Muslim religion in Karnataka historically and at the present day. Despite substantial theological differences, members of both religions recognise unifying elements. They share the endeavour to be the most scientific religion, and the Muslim community of the Navaitas serves as an example for successful compatibility of the two faiths. The next part of this essay is concerned with the question of whether the alleged positive relationship we discerned between them brings their adherents into contact with each other. We have therefore considered social, religious, economic and political dimensions to the relationship.

4.3 Harmony and Threat: Contact in Different Dimensions

4.3.1 Social and Community Interactions

On a social level, contact between Jainas and Muslims exists, but to a limited extent. In Kanarese neighbourhoods, Jainas live alongside Hindus and sometimes Christi-

70 These two arguments for and against vegetarian nutrition do not form part of the Indian religious discourse only, but also of Western (popular) science. See, for example Axel Meyer, *Fleisch ade!* (Munich: Goldmann, 2001 [1990]).

ans.[71] Muslims, on the other hand, tend to live in Muslim-dominated quarters like the City Market area in Bangalore or the streets around the Great Dargah in Gulbarga where they have access to Urdu newspapers, *halāl* food, Muslim clothing and ritual paraphernalia. Of course, this is no more than a tendency—in many quarters, members of different religions can be found, sometimes even in the same street. But a house's court would not normally be shared between Muslims and Jainas. It is therefore possible for contact to be established in neighbourhoods, but this is more likely to happen at schools and workplaces.

Inter-faith friendships do exist and, according to our informants, invitations to houses where another faith is practised are not rare. Such visits can be problematic, because food habits come into play. Whereas Muslims can easily trust the Jainas' cuisine, orthodox Jainas would not take food in non-vegetarian households. More liberal Jainas and in particular young people interpret the rule less strictly and accept at least fruits, if not even vegetarian meals, even if the household is not a vegetarian one. Muslims with contact to the Jaina community know about this, and we met several Muslims who confirmed they had already cooked vegetarian meals for Jaina acquaintances. Although we were told about Jainas inviting Muslim families to attend a family member's wedding and vice versa, friendship between whole families is a rare phenomenon. It is more likely to exist between two persons of the same sex, and is more probable at a young age. Some married Jainas and Muslims had had friendships with members of the other religion during adolescence, but these had ceased with marriage.

Interreligious marriages between Jainas and Muslims, often tallied as a measure of the permeability of societies, probably number little more than zero. We found one single hint of such a couple in urban Bangalore, and none of our other informants in Karnataka had ever heard of such a constellation. By contrast, marriages between Jainas and Hindus are quite common nowadays,[72] and also take place—albeit to a much lesser extent—between Muslims and Hindus. For young Jainas and Muslims of marriageable age, however, as well as for their parents, such interreligious marriage is unthinkable. The main arguments cited against it are the fear of not being able to practise one's own religion freely and of being treated as a second-class family member.

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71 We find our observation confirmed in Sangave, *Facets of Jainology*: 37, who shares the view that Jainas tend to live in areas with a large Hindu majority.

72 Despite their small number, Jainas used to marry within their community. Among some Śvetāmbara trading communities in West and North India, intermarriage with Vaiṣṇava Hindus has been quite common. Nowadays, the number of intermarriages between Digambaras and Hindus seem to increase even in case of arranged marriages, for the educational and economic background of a possible marriage partner is in some cases considered to be more important than the community he or she belongs to. But questions such as ritual purity, reflected in eating habits, matter a lot. Therefore, in most cases, Jaina parents will choose a Hindu from a vegetarian community as spouse for their child.

4.3.2 Economic Exchanges

Whereas social contact can be problematic and is not a matter of course, economic exchange works much more easily and with few religious obstacles. Both Muslims and Jainas buy from each other's shops, tea stalls and market stands. The religion of an institution's owner or salesman does not seem to count, and what is decisive are rational advantages like the quality and price of the goods and whether the shop is nearby. Only one Jaina student who had a very poor opinion of Muslims in general avoided their stores because she felt sexually threatened.[73]

At the workplace itself, contact takes place on few occasions. Many Jainas and Muslims we met did not have colleagues of the other religion. Inter-faith professional contacts tend to be made in educational and governmental institutions rather than in small-scale businesses, where any inter-faith contact is more likely to be between two companies than between a single company's employees. Jainas and Muslims perceive each other as working in different economic sectors. Whereas Jainas are said to work frequently as traders, professors, lawyers and jewellers, Muslims are associated with repair shops, butcheries and wholesalers.[74] Still, contacts are made, since single enterprises depend on each other. A Jaina, for example, would consult a Muslim mechanic to get their bike fixed, or purchase technical components from Muslim traders for their factory. Muslims, in turn, would consult a Jaina moneylender to start up their own business. Muslims are also found working in Jaina households. This division of work suggests a clear hierarchy. But although Jainas and Muslims reject the caste system on religious lines, they claim to cope well with the social hierarchy. Adherents of both religions considered the division of labour to be complementary and necessary for the balance of the regional and national economy. Even among Muslims we did not find any trace of envy or resentment towards Jainas, who—generally speaking and in comparison with a majority of the Muslim population—are economically better situated.

Nevertheless, again on an economic level, the image of the other religion can affect decision-making. A Jaina principal of one of the Karnataka colleges emphasised that he recruited his employees according to their abilities—but Muslims were always his second preference. Since he blamed them for destroying the system with their terrorist tenden-

73 At this point, at the latest, it became evident that many prejudices of European and US orientalism also circulate in India: Edward Said, who investigated the Muslims' reputation in the Western world, found they were seen as wild, uncivilised, sexually dangerous and dishonest. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Delhi: Penguin, 2001 [1978]).

74 This statement about the main professions of Jainas in Karnataka applies in towns and cities, where most of our informants resided. The image of Jainas as a wealthy trading community does not take account of the southern Digambaras who are for the most part a rurally based farming community. Nevertheless, for the last decades, more and more Jaina youths from agricultural backgrounds have been going into higher education and now work as professionals.

cies and their inclination to steal, employing Muslims—according to him—could easily harm the institution he led. But he contradicted his own statement. With the intention of providing us with Muslim contacts, he presented one of his employees whom he supposed to be a Muslim because of his surname. During our interview, the man in question turned out to be a Hindu. So ultimately, at least in this case, religion had not mattered in the question of his employment.

Another example from Bangalore shows that economic interests can break down social barriers. A downtown moneylender would prefer to have as his neighbours Jainas or Hindus. His business, however, is located in a street with many Muslims and Muslim facilities, because they are his main clientele.

4.3.3 Work Relations

Work can also make a religion itself more accessible, and not only to members of its community. Anwar Baig, the chairman of a university in Hubli, is an unusual example. He is a practising Muslim, but wrote his doctoral thesis on Jaina society during the Hoysaḷa period. The choice of the subject was pragmatic: many of the sources he needed were written in Kannada or Prakrit, whereas his language abilities in Urdu and Persian were not sufficient for his original plan of doing research on Islam. Although he personally never felt attracted to the other faith, he did not tell his parents what he was working on and so they never realised that their son was a specialist in Jainism. His secretary who typed his thesis used to call him "Jaina Muslim" which did not bother him at all; on the contrary, he enjoyed the acknowledgement of both his religion and his work.

Among Jainas, too, we found people who took a keen interest in the Muslim religion. The retired lawyer A.B. Pandit, a 73-year-old Jaina living in Gulbarga, is secretary of the *dargah* at the nearby historical site of Malkhed (Maḷkhēḍ). Although A.B. Pandit is a believing Jaina who would not pray at the Sufi shrine, he acknowledges the importance of the buried saints for other religions because of their spiritual power. For forty years, he has been promoting the *dargah* as a spiritually important place. Furthermore, he has organised meetings as well as helping in the coordination of the annual *urs*, the anniversary of death of a Sufi saint. At the functions, scholars, politicians and *svāmī*s (Hindu saints) give lectures on national integration. His activities, A.B. Pandit told us, would not lead him into trouble. It was simply his "task," he said, and a "service to mankind."[75] Besides, he could assist the president of the *dargah* who had been a pious Muslim and was highly respected by him and many other Muslims, Hindus and Jainas.

75 Interview with A.B. Pandit, conducted at Gulbarga on 04.03.2007.

Anwar Baig and A.B. Pandit each have an exceptional approach to the other's religion. However, several other Jainas and Muslims who were asked about the contact they had with the other religion had some encounter to relate. All the Jainas we met had been to mosques in that area, and Muslims who knew Jainas said they had visited Jaina temples. Occasions for visiting the sacred architecture of other religions often arose at school, where classes visited the holy sites of distinct religious communities. School was often the place to convey knowledge of other religions. A Jaina chief traffic administrator who attended a Karnataka government school from 1954 to 1957 recalled how already half a century back, his teachers had taught him the principles of different religions in India. There he had learned the five pillars of Islam and the history of Muslims in India. He had also been taught how to recite the Muslims' *basmala* (*bismillāh*), a qur'ānic term referring to Allah (al-Aʿlā) which accompanies the five daily prayers.[76] Led by his particular interest in Islam, he has even read parts of the *Qur'ān* and visits mosques every once in a while. For him, it is no problem to pray there to his personal Tīrthaṅkara. Although he prays sitting and not in the Muslims' prayer style, he said he felt welcome there. The editor of *Islamic Voice*, a liberal print and web magazine on Muslim culture in Bangalore, confirmed that some Jainas took an interest in Islam. According to him, there were members of other religions among his subscribers, including some Jainas.

Nonetheless, we picked up hints that contact with the other religion might not always be as harmonious as it is often made out to be. According to a Jaina student in Dharwar, annual visits to holy sites with her school turned out to be difficult. It was common, she said, for some of her classmates, in particular Muslims, to refuse to visit temples. She suspected that these classmates were influenced by their parents, who had also sought to prevent their children from learning Kannada or from having non-Muslim friends.

4.3.4 The Politics of Minority Status

With reference to politics, we did not find that the minority status of the two groups united them in any tangible way. No political parties or associations drew Jainas and Muslims together to defend their interests as minorities. This is not surprising, given that neither Jainas nor Muslims are to any degree politically organised in Karnataka. Furthermore, many Jainas would be put off making common cause with Muslims because of the resentment they feel at what they see as the special treatment accorded to Islam under Indian law. India is a democracy without a state religion and was defined as a secular state by an amendment to the preamble of the constitution in 1976. This means that the Indian state aims to treat all subjects equally, independent of

76 "Bismillahi ar-rahmani ar-rahimi": "In the name of God, most Gracious, most Merciful."

their religious confession. There is an important exception, however, within the principle of "One Nation—One Law": the personal law, which can be derived from religious traditions. Because of this exception, Muslims have the right, for example, to polygamous marriage, which is denied to members of other communities. The codified Hindu personal law is applied to Jainas, Buddhists and Sikhs, since these communities lack an officially acknowledged codified personal law of their own. Since the first half of the nineteenth century, some Jainas in legal cases have been trying to enforce an independent "Jaina Law" for their community. Among the lay Jaina leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were several lawyers who wanted to prove that, in their opinion, a key element of Jainism's independence and distinctiveness from the Hindu tradition consisted in a separate Jaina law, different from the Anglo-Hindu law, codified through the efforts of the British. But what the Jaina reformers claimed was a uniform and universally accepted Jaina law was really more of a collection of local traditions, mostly concerning customs of inheritance and adoption.[77]

The "special treatment"[78] of Muslims is in fact regarded by many non-Muslim Indians as a contradiction to the "One Nation—one Law" policy, and Jainas are no exception here. The topic of religious minorities—in particular, how they are defined, and what their rights are—is a sensitive one for many Jainas. Having already been counted as a distinct religious community since the Indian Census of 1881, Jainism has also been considered in several law cases before and after Independence as a religious tradition separate from the Hindu religion. Furthermore, unlike other religious minorities such as Christians and Muslims, Jainas are a very small minority not only all over India, but also in every single Indian state. Bearing all this in mind, it does not come as a surprise that Jainas are puzzled at not being officially granted religious minority status nationwide. Whereas other religious communities were granted this status on a nationwide basis, the decision was left to every single state in the case of

77 For the Jaina leaders' efforts and motivations to create an independent Jaina law see Peter Flügel, "A Short History of Jaina Law," *Jaina Studies. Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* 2 (2007): 24–27.

78 It should be stressed that what is considered "special treatment" by some non-Muslims is sometimes used in anti-Muslim communal propaganda. It is often concealed that the official acknowledgement of a separate personal law does not apply to the Muslims alone since there is no "specific reference to Islam or Muslims anywhere in the Constitution of India" (Mahmood, *Statute-Law relating to Muslims in India*: 6). In this regard, the jurist Tahid Mahmood states: "That now only the Muslims continue to have a separate personal law is a popular myth […] The only difference [between the religious communities] is that while the Christian and Parsi personal laws had been codified during the British rule, and the Hindu-Buddhist-Jain-Sikh personal laws have to a great extent been codified after Independence – the Jewish law wholly, and the Muslim law to a large extent, remain uncodified. The codified "Hindu" law has been extended to the Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs because these communities since times immemorial did not have any scripture-based personal law of their own and followed only certain customs and usages different from Hindu law." (Mahmood, *Statute-Law Relating to Muslims in India*: 15–16).

the Jainas. Karnataka is among the few states which have granted them minority status. Nevertheless, the *Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Jain Sabhā*, a more than one-hundred-year-old Digambara Jaina organisation based mainly in Southern Maharashtra and North Karnataka, keeps working hard for a nationwide recognition of Jainas as one of India's religious minorities. The principal activists, who have been engaged in the matter for years, state that their main intention is not to gain any economic advantages for their community, but to obtain for it from the government the same rights which have already been given to others who have not spent years campaigning and sending petitions. It seems that the main point of grievance for Jainas is that their community has not been given the same treatment as other minorities. Jainas are proud of upholding one of the oldest indigenous religious traditions still existing on the subcontinent today, and interpret this refusal to acknowledge them as a religious minority as a lack of respect. When asked about the reasons for their treatment, most Jainas hold Hindu nationalism responsible.[79] According to them, if Jainas were awarded nationwide minority status, pro-Hindu activists would no longer be able to consider Jainism as a Hindu subsect.[80]

The differential treatment of Muslims and Jainas in the issue of religious minorities is little understood by Jainas, who feel that their community is discriminated against. On the other hand, several Muslims we talked to doubted that the Muslims' recognition as a religious minority did any good to their community.

Many Jainas are afraid of the Islamisation of India. They often suppose Muslims to have separatist intentions. The Muslims' comparatively high birth rate, in particular, is interpreted as an attempt to achieve majority status in the country and is thus perceived as a threat to the other communities.[81] We asked five Jainas for their perception of Islam in its political dimension, and all of them said they were afraid. Current

79 There are also a few Jainas who argue against the acknowledgement of their minority status, among them some Jaina members of the BJP who are in favour of a union with Hindus.

80 A short introduction to the Jaina minority status issue is given in Joseph Benjamin, ed., *Minorities in Indian Social System*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2006): 189–96. For our account we also used interviews with Bal Patil who has been the main activist on behalf of the *Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Jain Sabhā* for more than ten years, and written petitions and official letters provided to us by him and other members of the *Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Jain Sabhā*.

81 The percentage of Muslim population in India rose from 10.7% in 1961 to 13.5% in 2001 (14.2% in 2011), whereas the percentage of Hindu population experienced a modest decrease (Stephanie Kramer, "Population Growth and Religious Composition," Pew Research Center, 21.09.2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/09/21/population-growth-and-religious-composition/ [accessed 05.09.2022]). The growth is often explained with the socio-economic status of Muslim communities and education, but Padilla y Sotelo and Kumar Acharya blame Islam for impeding the use of contraception. See Lilia Susana Padilla y Sotelo and Arun Kumar Acharya, "Religion and India's growing population: evidence from some selected States of India," in *Caminhos de Geografía* 6, no. 15 (2005): 1–12, https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/caminhosdegeografia/article/view/1538 [accessed 05.09.2022].

Muslim world politics and fear of terrorism dominate the Jainas' image of Muslims as a political group.[82]

Conversely, Jainas as a political group enjoy a good reputation among Muslims. Of all our Muslim informants, not a single one doubted that they were politically modest. All Muslims we spoke with confirmed the image of the Jainas as a peace-loving community which propagates non-violence as its main message.

5 Conclusion

Jainas and Muslims in India and in Karnataka can both look back on a history of having once ruled over large areas, and both groups are now a minority in a Hindu-dominated state—or indeed, country. Nevertheless, they differ from each other in number, religious belief and practice and in their degree of cultural proximity to Hindu society.

In our exploration of the relationship between the two groups, in our qualitative field study in Karnataka, we found that, despite serious differences concerning belief system and social rites and habits, members of each religious community tended to perceive the other as not too different from themselves, in some cases even pointing out similarities. Furthermore, Muslims try to compete with Jainas by claiming to be "the most scientific religion."

The quality and quantity of contact and exchanges between Jainas and Muslims depend on the dimension that is taken into consideration. On a social level, members of both communities declared that they had a good inter-faith relationship, characterised by contact and friendship. In this dimension, the greatest problem consists of particular food habits that complicate the visits of Jainas to Muslim households. On an economic level, exchange is easier than in the social sphere. According to our informants, members of both religions visit each other's shops, buy from one another and accept the division of labour. Our case studies show that economic exchange can be capable of breaking borders that exist in a social dimension. On a religious level, we found that both Jainas and Muslims were interested in the substance and history of the others' religion. This interest was not motivated by an appetite for conversion, but resulted from the consideration of education as an end in itself or served for scholarly work. As far as the religious sphere is concerned, in particular, our study cannot

82 This argument is also part of the Hindu political discourse. Members of the right-wing Hindu movement VHP suggested prohibiting all conversions to assure their own majority. Earlier, a law was passed in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu to forbid conversions "through fraud, force or allure." This includes conversions to Islam and Christianity for material benefits. Many converts are from low castes trying to overcome their socio-economic drawbacks. See Charles Haviland, "Fears for India's Secularism," BBC News, 06.06.2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2967196.stm [accessed 05.09.2022].

claim to be representative as we mainly talked to highly educated Indians only. Up to this point, both Jainas and Muslims talk in harmonising terms about each other. When they refer to the perception of the other's religion and to interactions on a social, economic and religious level, members of both communities are emphatically tolerant and respectful, keen to promote contact and foster productive exchange.

However, on a political level, the tide turns. Whereas Muslims appreciate the Jainas as a political community for their propagation of non-violence, Jainas, on the contrary, mistrust Muslims, assuming that they have separatist intentions and are trying to achieve a majority share of the population in order to finally rule over India. Many Jainas feel threatened by the idea that an Islamic regime might come to power, and see secular India as being in danger. One could easily assume that their historical experience with Muslim rule in the region was an underlying factor for this fear. But this does not seem to be the case. Asked for the experience with Muslim rule in Karnataka in the past, Jainas did mention Muslim destruction of their holy sites and statues. Although stereotypes of an aggressive, intolerant Islam can still be found among Jainas (and among Hindus), but the tendency to explain all destruction and persecution as caused by Muslims is getting weaker,[83] thus upvaluing the Muslims' position, from a historical point of view. The Jainas' negative image of Muslims in India on a political level is determined less by historical experiences on the subcontinent than by riots on the part of Muslim and Hindu fanatics, which have kept breaking out since the traumatic experience of India's partition and its violent aftermath, and by worldwide acts of terrorism. In this sense, the Jainas' perception of Muslims resembles that of the Hindus. Both traditions have been developing on the Indian subcontinent side by side since ancient times, so similarities in many cultural aspects are only to be expected. Within the communalist polarisation between Muslims and Hindus, Jainas will generally be much closer to Hindus.

Despite the fact that Jainas and Muslims are both religious minorities, the problems they face differ, in particular in the political sphere. Muslims are often considered a dangerous, anti-national and pro-Pakistan community. Although acknowledged as a nationwide minority, many Muslims feel that the main problems of their community are being ignored by the government. While popular debates about the rights of Muslims as a religious minority tend to focus on the protection of a distinct Islamic culture and the Muslim personal law, a majority of Muslims experience pressing socio-economic problems, especially a high rate of illiteracy and poverty, which remain unresolved. The declaration in 1983 that the Muslim community in India was a "backward community" changed little about the situation.[84] Jainas, in turn, lament the de-

83 Interestingly, while the cliché of the aggressive Muslim is slowly being dismissed, the stereotype of the tolerant, peaceful and never fanatic Hindu is also fading away.

84 For a discussion of the minority rights of Muslims, see Kamaljit Bhasin-Malik and Yamini Aiyar, "Minority Rights, Secularism and Civil Society," in *In the Making. Identity Formation in South Asia*, ed. Kamaljit Bhasin-Malik [Gurgaon (Haryana): Three Essays Collective, 2007]: 99–116.

nial of the acknowledgement of their nationwide minority status, which they consider a lack of recognition of Jainism as a separate, independent Indian religion. Being a religious minority, therefore, does not serve as a unifying bond between Jainas and Muslims in India.

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Glossary

Most Indian technical terms listed below are Sanskrit words or derivatives from Sanskrit. Only if they are clearly derived from Kannada or another language, or are spelled differently in Kannada, has this been specifically mentioned.

abhiṣeka Ablution or anointment ceremony.

Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī The goddess Lakṣmī, lustrated by two elephants. Alternatively: Gajalakṣmī.

ācārya A preceptor or leader of a group of Jaina ascetics, a mendicant scholar and teacher.

Aḍhāīdvīpa One and a half islands. The central one-and-a-half island continents of the Jaina cosmos.

adhiṣṭhāna The moulded plinth of a temple.

Ādinātha The first Jina. Alternatively: Ṛṣabha, Ṛṣabhanātha.

Ādīśvara Alternative for Ādinātha, the first Jina.

āditīrtha The first and foremost important religious site in a region.

advaita Non-dualism.

***Āgama*s** Sacred Jaina literature.

agrahāram A grant of land and the income from it, usually made to a religious institution.

agramaṇḍapa The entrance hall or porch of a temple.

ahiṃsā The key virtue of the Jainas of non-violence or non-injury.

aikya Final step of the *ṣaṭsthala*, known as total fusion.

ajji Jaina nun. Alternatively: *āryikā*, *kanti* (*ganti*).

al-Andalus Name referring to the Muslim-ruled areas of the Iberian Peninsula between the eighth and the fifteenth century CE.

aḻiyasantānam [Kannada] Tradition of the female heir in the coastal region of Karnataka.

Āḻvārs (Ālvārs, Āḻvārs) South Indian, *bhakti* Vaiṣṇava saints, who lived in the about the fifth to ninth centuries CE.

āmalaka A domical ribbed ring stone at the summit of temple structures.

Aṁbikā “Mother.” A Jaina goddess and *yakṣī*. Amongst the Digambara Jainas of Karnataka, she is better known as Kuṣamāṇḍinī. She is associated with the male *yakṣa* Gomedha (Sarvāhana) and the Jina Neminātha.

Anantanātha The fourteenth Jina.

anekāntavāda / anekānta The doctrine of many principles, the manifold nature of reality and of non-one-sidedness in Jainism.

aṅkaṇa [Kannada] A bay formed by pillars in a temple space. In northern architecture known as *kṣaṇa*.

Annapūrṇeśvara The goddess of food.

antarāla Vestibule at the front of a sanctum. Alternatively: *kapilī*, *śukanāsa*, *śukanāsi*.

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antarāla jālas Pierced stone screens, separating the *antarāla* from the adjacent hall.

Anubhava Maṇṭapa “Hall of Experience.”

anvaya A lineage of individual Jaina teachers, a subdivision of Jaina monks. Alternatively: *gaṇa*, *gaccha*, *saṅgha*.

aparigraha Vow of non-possession.

apsarā Female heavenly figure, often adorning the outside of temples.

ārādhyadevatā Deity of worship.

āratī Temple ritual involving the waving of a light or lamp in front of a statue.

ardhamaṇḍapa Temple porch, entrance hall. Alternatively: *mukhamaṇḍapa*, *mukhaśāla* or *mukhacatuṣkī*.

arhat “Worthy of worship” or “a worthy one.” Someone who has attained *kevalajñāna*. Alternative term for *kevalin*, Jina or Tīrthaṅkara.

aryan Ethnocultural self-designation by Indo-Iranians settling in North India in ancient times, contrasting themselves with the *drāviḍian* cultures of South India.

āryikā Jaina nun. Alternatively: *ajji*, *kanti* (*ganti*).

aṣṭadikapālas [Sanskrit] / *aṣṭadikapālaka*s [Kannada] The eight divinities of the four cardinal and four ordinal directions.

aṣṭaprakārī pūjā The *pūjā* of eight substances.

aṣṭavaraṇa The eight “pillars” or “shields” of support in Vīraśaivism.

Aśvamedha *yāga* Royal Vedic ritual of horse sacrifice.

aśvapāda Threshold in the shape of a moonstone at the bottom of stairs leading into a temple. Alternatively: *candraśilā*. In the north, the term *ardhacandra* is more common.

Atimārga Outer Path.

ātman An individual’s inner self, spirit or soul.

attārs A community of perfume sellers.

avatāra “Descent.” Manifestation, material appearance, incarnation.

badmāshes [Anglo-Indian] Rogues or rascals.

bagilu [Kannada] Gate.

Bāhubali Son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina, and brother of Bharata. He meditated so long in an upright, standing position that creepers grew over his body. He is the model of a Jaina ascetic. Alternatively: Gommaṭeśvara or Gommaṭa.

balipīṭha Altar or sacrificial slab for leaving offerings at the front of a *basadi*.

Bāṇajiga Merchant. Alternatively: Bāṇjiga, Baṇajiga, Bāṇia, Bāṇiya or Bāṇija.

bandhana External temple moulding with diamond patterns. Alternatively: *ratna*, *ratnabandha*.

basadi Term for a Jaina temple in South India, mainly in Karnataka. The term has been derived from the Sanskrit word *vasatī*, meaning temple. Alternatively*: basti.*

Basava Founder of Vīraśaivism and reformer of an earlier form of Liṅgāyatism, who lived in the twelfth century CE. Alternatively: Basavaṇṇa, Basavēśvara (Basaveśvara).

Basava Purāṇa A thirteenth-century CE epic poem and sacred text of Vīraśaivism, narrating the life story of Basava.

beḷ [Kannada] White.

bhadra An outside central projecting niche on a temple wall.

Bhadrabāhu Jaina teacher, who after the east Indian famine of the fourth century BCE, allegedly led one section of the Jaina community south to the pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola.

Bhairava Wrathful incarnation of the Hindu god Śiva.

Bhakta Someone who practises *bhakti*.

bhakti "Devotion." Respect, love and personal surrender to one supreme deity.

bhakti mārga The devotional path.

bhaṇḍāra / bhaṇḍara A Jaina library.

Bharata / Bharateśvara First emperor of this world age, son of Ṛṣabha and brother of Bāhubali.

bhaṭṭāraka Head of a traditional Digambara religious institution, such as a monastery or a religious library. *Bhaṭṭāraka*s are celibate but not fully-initiated ascetics, taking a hereditary name and wearing orange robes.

bhāvapūjā Mental or contemplative worship in Jainism.

***bhoja* (*bhojaka*)** Priest of a Jaina temple.

bhṛtyācāra Acting as a servant to one's society and fellow believers. One of the five Vīraśaiva regulating principles of conduct.

bhūta A supernatural being, usually the ghost of an ancestor.

bhūtārādhane [Kannada] Worship of the deceased ancestor.

bhuvaneśvarī Round corbelled ceiling in a temple. Alternatively: *sabhāmandāraka*, *padmanābha*, *padmamandāraka*, *sabhāpadmamandāraka*.

***bilva/vilva* leaves** Leaves from a sacred Indian tree, used in Śaiva and Vīraśaiva ritual

bimba Figural statue, icon. Alternatively: *mūrti*.

bismillāh / basmala [Arabic] An Islamic prayer formula, a *qur'ānic* term referring to Allah (al-A'lā) which accompanies the five daily prayers and appears at the start of each chapter (*surah*) in the *Qur'ān*.

Biṭṭideva Hindu religious name of Viṣṇuvardhana, a Hoysaḷa king (ca. 1104–1141 CE), who was originally a Jaina but who under the influence of Rāmānuja converted to Śrīvaiṣṇavism.

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party.

Bodhisattva / *bodhisattva* One who follows the teachings of the Buddha. A Buddha-to-be.

Brahmā A Hindu god.

Brahma / Brahmadeva A Jaina *yakṣa* and *kṣetrapāla*.

Brahma *stambha* Sacred Jaina temple pillar, topped by a representation of the *yakṣa* and *kṣetrapāla* Brahmadeva.

Brahmadeva pillar See Brahma *stambha.*

brahmadēya A donation made to *brāhmaṇ*s.

brāhmaṇ "Ultimate reality." The term is also used for members of the priestly class of the Hindu caste system. In Karnataka there are also so-called Jaina *brāhmaṇ*s, that is, Hindu *brāhmaṇ*s whose families converted to Jainism.

Brahman See: *brāhmaṇ*

brahmāṇḍa The "Brahmā egg," meaning the universe.

brāhmaṇical Hindu.

brahmārādhane [Kannada] Worship of Brahma.

Brahmaśiva A twelfth-century Kannada Jaina author and poet.

cabūtarā Low offering table in a temple.

caityālaya A temple structure.

cakravartin Universal worldly or religious monarch. Alternatively: *mahāpuruṣa*.

Cakreśvarī A Jaina *yakṣī*, associated with the *yakṣa* Gomukha and the Jina Ādinātha.

cāmaradhara / caurīdhara A flywhisk bearer.

Cāmuṇḍā Fearsome Hindu mother goddess. She is one of the seven mother goddesses and one of the most powerful *yoginī*s of Tantric Hinduism.

Candragiri The smaller hill at Shravanabelgola. Alternatively: Candrabeṭṭa, Choṭā Pahār, Cikkābeṭṭa, Kaḷvappu, Kaṭavapra (Kaṭāvapra).

Candragupta Maurya Founder of the Mauryan dynasty and grandfather of the famous emperor Aśoka in the fourth and third century BCE.

Candranāteśvara The eighth Jina. Alternatively: Candranātha, Candraprabhu.

Candranātha The eighth Jina. Alternatively: Candraprabhu, Candranāteśvara.

Candraprabhu The eighth Jina. Alternatively: Candranātha, Candranāteśvara

candraśilā Threshold in the shape of a moonstone at the bottom of stairs leading into a temple. Alternatively: *aśvapāda*. In the north, the term *ardhacandra* is more common.

cāturmās / cāturmāsa The four-month rain retreat obligatory for Jaina ascetics.

caturmukha A four-faced Jina image. Alternatively: *caumukha*.

***caturmukha* temple** A temple housing a four-faced Jina image. Alternatively: *sarvatobhadra* or *sarvatobhadrikā* temple. In Kannada: *sarvatōbhadra*.

caturmukhaliṅga A four-faced *liṅga.*

caturviṁśati Twenty-four.

caturviṁśati jinālaya A Jaina temple enshrining statues of all the twenty-four Jinas. In Karnataka alternatively: *caturviṁśati* Tīrthaṅkara *basadi*.

caturviṁśati* Tīrthaṅkara *basadi A Jaina temple in Karnataka, enshrining statues of all the twenty-four Jinas. Alternatively: *caturviṁśati jinālaya*.

catuṣkī The four-pillared hall, porch or pavilion of a temple.

***caubīs*-Tīrthaṅkara** The twenty-four Jinas.

caubīsī / cauvīsī Stone slab depicting all the twenty-four Jinas. Usually there is one central seated or standing image surrounded by depictions of the other twenty-three Tīrthaṅkaras. Alternatively: *caubīsī paṭa, caturviṁśati paṭa*.

caumukha A four-faced Jina image. Alternatively: *caturmukha*.

caurīdhara / cāmaradhara A flywhisk bearer.

cauvīsī / caubīsī Stone slab depicting all the twenty-four Jinas. Usually there is one central seated or standing image surrounded by depictions of the other twenty-three Tīrthaṅkaras. Alternatively: *caubīsī paṭa, caturviṁśati paṭa*.

Cāvuṇḍarāya A Jaina minister and general, who served under King Rācamalla IV and his successor Gaṅgā Mārasiṁha. He commissioned the Bāhubali monolith on Vindhyagiri. His name is also spelled Cāmuṇḍarāya.

choultry Rest house.

cūlikā A small pavilion, in Jaina art, for instance, at the tip of a *mānastambha*.

Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Jain Sabhā Digambara Jaina organisation based in Southern Maharashtra and North Karnataka.

dāna Donation.

dānacintāmaṇi "Jewel of benevolence." An honorific title.

dānaśālā Charity home.

dargah [Persian] The tomb or shrine of a Muslim Sufi saint.

darśana "View," "sight." The meeting of the devotee with the eyes of the deity.

dāsōha "Contribution." The religious ideal of redistributing wealth.

deśa Land.

deśī Folk, folkish.

deva, devatā God, male divinity.

devālaya* / Jaina *devālaya A (Jaina) temple.

devī Goddess, female divinity.

Dhāraṇendra Yakṣa Popular Jaina *yakṣa*, associated with the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī and the Jina Pārśvanātha.

dharma Law, religion.

dhvajastambha Flagpole.

Digambara "Sky clad." The group of Jainas whose male mendicants reject clothing and go naked. This group is more numerous in the south of India and in Karnataka.

Digambara Mūla Saṅgha The main branch and oldest monastic order of Digambara Jainism in South India.

dikapāla / dikapālaka Regent of the directions.

dīkṣā Religious initiation.

dīpastambha Light pillar.

Doḍḍappā [Kannada] Paternal uncle.

drāviḍa The south Indian temple idiom.

Draviḍa Saṅgha The Digambara Jaina community founded by Vajranandī in Madurai, Tamil Nadu, in the fifth or the ninth/tenth century CE. It also played an important role in Karnataka.

drāviḍian South Indian; pertaining to South Indian culture and tradition.

***drāviḍian* / dravidic temples** South Indian temples.

Durgā Powerful Hindu goddess associated with motherhood and war.

dvaita Dualism, dualistic doctrine.

dvāra Door, doorway.

dvāramaṇḍapa A relatively complex gateway structure. Alternatively: *pratolī*. In Kannada: *pratōlī*.

dvārapāla Door guardian.

dvāraśālā [Sanskrit] / *dvārasōbhā* [Kannada] Small, ordinary entrance gate.

dvikūṭācala Double temple, usually with two shrines side by side or facing one another.

ekamukhaliṅga A one-faced *liṅga.*

ekānta One-sided.

ekāntavāda Absolutist doctrine of one principle only with regards to divine provenance and existence as a whole.

gaccha A lineage of individual Jaina teachers, a subdivision of Jaina monks. Alternatively: *gaṇa*, *anvaya*, *saṅgha*.

Gajalakṣmī Representation of the goddess Lakṣmī lustrated by two elephants. Often found on the central block of the lintel leading into Jaina temples and sanctums. Alternatively: Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī.

gaṇa A lineage of individual Jaina teachers, a subdivision of Jaina monks. Alternatively: *gaccha*, *anvaya*, *saṅgha*. The term is also used by Śiva groups.

gaṇācāra Working, serving and even fighting to defend the Liṅgāyat community. One of the five Vīraśaiva regulating principles of conduct (*pañcācāra*).

gaṇadhara Head of a *gaṇa* and in Jainism a follower of the Jinas.

gandhakuṭī A wooden frame to hold lights or to display multiple statues inside a temple.

Gaṇeśa Elephant-headed divinity, popular in Hindu and Jaina worship.

garbhagṛha The sanctum of a temple.

Garuḍa Carrier animal of the Hindu god Viṣṇu.

Gauḍa A Jaina caste in Karnataka.

gavākṣa Horseshoe arch. Alternatively: *kūṭu*, *nāsī*.

gāvuṇḍa Landowner.

ghaṇṭā Bell.

Gomedha (Sarvāhana) A Jaina *yakṣa*, associated with the *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī and the Jina Neminātha.

Gommaṭeśvara Son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina, and brother of Bharata. Meditated so long that creepers grew over his body. Model of a Jaina ascetic. Same as: Bāhubali or Gommaṭa.

gomukh Cow head.

Gomukha Jaina *yakṣa* associated with the *yakṣī* Cakreśvarī and the Jina Ādinātha.

gopura [Sanskrit] */ gōpura* [Kannada] South Indian gateway structure belonging to a temple or sacred compound.

gudda The lower of two main Jaina castes, comprising the majority of the Jaina populace of Karnataka, many of whom were converts from other faith groups.

gūḍhamaṇḍapa A closed temple hall.

guha A cave.

guha jinālaya A Jaina cave temple.

gulla / gullakayi Hairy-fruited eggplant, *solanum ferox*.

Gullekāyi Ajji Kuṣamāṇḍinī in the disguise of an old lady, who allegedly performed ablutions on the tall statue of Gommaṭeśvara at Shravanabelgola with the little milk contained in a *gullakayi* fruit.

guru Spiritual teacher.

Gurusthala Monastic tradition which traces the origins of the Vīraśaiva movement to a lineage of five masters (*pañcācāryas*).

***guruvādi*s** Jaina monastic orders.

***Ḥadīth*s** [Arabic] The sayings or traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad.

halāl [Arabic] “Permissible,” “permitted,” “lawful” (in Islam).

hāra Miniature pavilion decorating the pronounced eaves (*kapota*) of *drāviḍia* temples.

hastihasta The stylised elephant trunk design decorating the balustrade frames flanking the stairs leading to temples.

heggaḍe [Kannada] “Chiefman,” “Headman of a village.” Today, usually a feudal lord of a temple town and religious chief, also responsible for solving disputes. It can also be a head of a Śaiva *maṭha*. Alternatively: *herggaḍe*, *maṭhādhipati.*

homa Fire offerings in Jaina and Hindu temples.

homakuṇḍa Receptacle for making fire offerings.

Īśāna The guardian (*dikapāla*) of the north-eastern direction.

iṣṭa Meditation.

iṣṭadevatā The chosen, personal deity of a person.

iṣṭaliṅga “Personal *liṅga.*” The object of veneration for all Vīraśaivas to carry on their body.

jagatī The terrace or platform raising a temple above the ground. Alternatively: *vedī.*

Jaina A follower of the Jinas.

jakka Kannada for *yakṣī.*

jālī Perforated stone screen, often found in the temple architecture of Karnataka.

janapada "Foothold of a people." Settlements or countries demarcated by boundaries in ancient India.

jaṅgama "Moving," as for instance in *jaṅgama liṅga*s, moving *liṅga*s, carried by the believers. Refers also to living beings that can move, such as devotees and wandering Vīraśaiva mendicants.

jaṅgamana "The moving One." Vīraśaiva (and formerly also Kāḷāmukha) itinerant sage who has attained oneness with the *liṅga*, turning himself into a moving temple. Today, the term is also used to refer to a group of hereditary Vīraśaiva priests.

jaṅghā Outer wall of a temple.

jāti Sub-caste.

Jina "Conqueror," "spiritual victor." The twenty-four enlightened teachers of each world age. Alternatively: *arhat*, *kevalin* and Tīrthaṅkara

jinālaya Jaina temple. Alternatively: *jinamandira*.

***jinaratha* festival** A Jaina festival procession involving a chariot.

Jvālāmālinī A Jaina goddess and *yakṣī*, also known as Jvālā Devī. Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, she is referred to as Bhṛkuṭi. She is connected with the *yakṣa* Śyāma and the Jina Candraprabhu.

jyotirliṅga "*Liṅga* of light." There are sixty-four main *liṅga* temples at different sites in India.

kakṣāsana A sloping seat with backrest in a temple.

***kāḷa guḷaguñji* [Sanskrit] / *mādhavī* [Kannada]** A creeper.

kālamukha / kāḷāmukha "Face of time." Vanitas motif. Ornament found on Hindu architecture. Alternatively: *kīrttimukha*.

Kāḷāmukhas The "dark" or "black-faced ones." Ascetic followers of an early heterodox *bhakti* Śaiva order, worshipping the male god Bhairava. They were especially influential from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Alternatively: Kālāmukhas, Kālamukhas. See Chapter 1, section 5.2.3.

kalaśa A narrow-mouthed water-pot-like ornament placed at the tip of the superstructure of a *basadi* or temple.

Kālī Hindu goddess associated with death, who plays an important role in Tantric cults.

kamal Lotus.

kamaṇḍalu A water pot carried by Jaina ascetics.

kambad / kambada [Kannada] Pillar. In Sanskrit: *stambha*.

Kanarese People living in Karnataka, sometimes only those living in the coastal region of the State. It can also be an old-fashioned term for Kannada, the language of the region.

Kannada / Kannaḍa South Indian language, spoken primarily by the people of Karnataka. Formerly also known as Canarese or Kanarese.

kanti / ganti Jaina nun. Alternatively: *ajji*, *āryikā.*

kapāla A human skull.

Kāpālikas “Skull-bearers.” Ascetic followers of an early heterodox form of Śaivism, commencing around the second century CE and now extinct. The *kapālin*s followed a monotheistic *bhakti* path, concentrating on the worship of Bhairava, the wrathful form of Śiva. See Chapter 1, section 5.2.4.

kapilī Vestibule at the front of a sanctum. Alternatively: *antarāla*, *śukanāsa*, *śukanāsi*.

***kapota* [Sanskrit] / *kapōta* [Kannada]** Pronounced overhanging cornice, typical of south Indian temple structures.

karma “Action.” In Jainism, *karma* is considered to be a physical substance which applies itself to the human body and prevents it from reaching enlightenment. Alternatively *karman*.

Karnad, Girish Indian actor, film director, Kannada writer and playwright (1938–2019).

karōṭaka A domed temple ceiling.

kāyaka In Vīraśaivism, worshipful work, social labour.

kāyotsarga Standing posture of abandonment. Alternatively: *khaḍgāsana*.

kevalajñāna Supreme knowledge, full enlightenment, omniscience.

kevalin A person who has attained *kevalajñāna*. Alternatively: *arhat,* Jina and Tīrthaṅkara.

khaḍgāsana Standing posture of abandonment. Alternatively: *kāyotsarga*.

Khāravela King in Orissa in the late first century BCE or early first century CE.

Kimpuruṣa A Jaina *yakṣa*, associated with the *yakṣī* Mahāmānasa, and the Jina Śāntinātha.

kīrttimukha / kālamukha / kāḷāmukha A mask or face of the passing of time or of death. A popular ornament found on temple facades above niches and windows.

kōla A square, usually coffered temple ceiling, which can, however, also be domical.

koḷa / goḷa [Kannada] A pond or tank.

koṣṭha A wall niche on the inside of a temple.

kṣatriya A member of the warrior caste of the Hindu caste system.

kṣetra The sacred area of a temple or a pilgrimage site.

kṣetrapāla Guardian of the sacred temple compound.

kṣipta / kṣipta vitāna Domical ceilings with a central pendentive (*kuḍmala*).

kūḍalasaṅgamadēva “Lord of the Meeting Rivers.”

kuḍmala A pendentive projecting from the centre into a concave, domical ceiling (*kṣipta vitāna*). Alternatively: *lambana*.

kukkuṭa sarpa A two-legged, serpent-like creature with the head of a chicken.

kuladevatā Clan deity. A person’s inherited lineage deity (as opposed to his or her chosen personal deity, *iṣṭadevatā*).

kuladevī Female lineage goddess of local ruling families in Karnataka.

kumbha A water pot, or a stone depiction of one, as part of the finials of temple towers.

kumkum / kumkumārchan Vermillion red turmeric powder paste, used to make auspicious markings on human beings and sacred icons.

kuṇḍa A deep stepped water basin, usually accessing ground water through an integrated well shaft.

Kuṇḍakuṇḍa Important Digambara Jaina monk and philosopher, who lived around the first century CE. Alternatively: Koṇḍakunda or Koṇḍakundācārya.

Kuṣamāṇḍinī (Kuṣmāṇḍī, Kūṣmāṇḍinī) A popular Jaina goddess and *yakṣī*, associated with the male *yakṣa* Gomedha (Sarvāhana) and the Jina Neminātha. Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jainas of North India, in particular, Kuṣamāṇḍinī is also known as Aṁbikā.

kūṭa A shrine.

kūṭa Square or round topped aedicule in the shape of a shrine.

kūṭu Horseshoe arch. Alternatively: *gavākṣa*, *nāsī*.

Lakṣmī / Śrī Goddess of wealth in Jainism and Hinduism.

Lakulīśas Ascetic followers of an early form of Śaivism, now extinct, which followed a monotheistic *bhakti* path. The Lakulīśas or Lākulas are a school of the Pāśupatas. They believed that Lakulīśa founded the Pāśupata system in the second century CE.

lalāṭa The block in the centre of a temple door lintel.

lalāṭabimba The central image adorning the *lalāṭa* block of a temple doorframe.

lambana Pendentive in the centre of a domical ceiling. Alternatively: *kuḍmala*.

lāñchana A mark or sign. A symbol of recognition, associated with the individual Jinas since the early Gupta period.

latā A creeper.

laukika Mundane, worldly.

liṅga "Sign." The phallic symbol that, in a Śaiva context, represents the essence of the god Śiva. In the Vīraśaiva tradition, the *liṅga* is the Supreme Absolute.

liṅga śarīra The subtle vital body of Śiva.

liṅgācāra Wearing and worshipping the *liṅga.* One of the five Vīraśaiva regulating principles of conduct.

Liṅgāyats Alternative term for Vīraśaivas.

lokapāla The guardian of the world and of the cardinal directions.

madanikā A beautiful young woman.

Mahābhārata Famous Hindu epic.

mahādāna An especially large donation.

Mahāmānasa A Jaina *yakṣī*, associated with the *yakṣa* Kimpuruṣa and the Jina Śāntinātha.

mahāmaṇḍapa A large or great hall. Usually the largest hall of a temple.

Mahāmastakābhiṣeka "The great anointing of the head." Major ablution ceremony of colossal statues, usually of Bāhubali.

mahāprabhu "Great master or lord." Term for a great saint or holy man.

mahāpradhāna Principal minister and advisor of a king.

mahāpuruṣa "Great man." Universal worldly or religious monarch. Alternatively: *cakravartin*.

mahārāja King, ruler.

mahātīrtha A large or major pilgrimage site or centre.

***mahāvidyā*s** The great goddesses of knowledge and learning.

Mahāvīra The twenty-fourth Jina.

mahāvrata Great vow.

Mahendravarma I A Pallava emperor (about 600–630 CE).

maheśvara The second stage of the *ṣaṭsthala*, taking the shape of socially shared labour.

Māheśvaras Vīraśaivas. Alternatively: Vīra Māheśvaras.

Maisamma Devī Hindu mother goddess, who is believed to protect cattle, worshipped predominantly in rural areas of Karnataka, Telangana and Maharashtra.

makara Mythical water animal, combining elements of a crocodile, an elephant, a snake and/or a fish.

makaratoraṇa An arch formed out of two mythical sea animals (*makara*s) facing each other.

Mallinātha The nineteenth Jina.

mānastambha "Pillar of glory." A free-standing pillar constructed in front of Jaina temples or *samavasaraṇa*s, carrying either one, or more commonly, four addorsed seated or standing Jina statues, usually contained inside a small pavilion (*cūlikā*).

maṇḍala Sacred diagram or circle in Jaina (and Buddhist) Tantric art.

maṇḍapa Generic term for a temple hall.

Mañjuśrī Buddhist Boddhisattva carrying a sword.

mantra Mystic syllables, single-word spells and sacred utterances more generally.

Mantramārga Path of *Mantras*.

Mantravadin Someone having great mastery over spells.

mantravidyā Spell.

Marāṭhās Largely eighteenth-century Indian rulers with their headquarters in the central Indian State of Maharashtra.

masjid [Arabic] Mosque.

mātā Mother, mother goddess.

maṭha Priest house, seat of a Jaina *bhaṭṭāraka*, religious or monastic headquarters associated with all religious groups in the area of Karnataka.

maṭhādhipati "Lord of the *maṭha*." In Jainism, alternative term for *bhaṭṭāraka*. In Vīraśaivism also *maṭhapati* or *jagadguru*.

maṭhavāsī Ascetic who has settled in a *maṭha*.

***mātṛkā*s** Mothers, mother goddesses.

mithuna A loving couple, often adorning the outside of temple structures.

moktēsara [Kannada] Manager of a religious institution.

Mount Śatruñjaya North-west Indian pilgrimage site, sacred predominantly for Śvetāmbara Jainas.

mudrā Powerful positioning and movement of the hands and fingers.

mukhamaṇḍapa / mukhaśāla / mukhacatuṣkī Temple porch, entrance hall. Alternatively: *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

mūlanāyaka The main sacred icon of a Jaina temple.

Mūla Saṅgha (Digambara Mūla Saṅgha) The main branch and oldest monastic order of Digambara Jainism in South India.

muṇḍamāla A flat temple roof.

muni A mendicant.

mūrti "Appearance," "embodiment." Figural statue, icon. Alternatively: *bimba*.

nābicchanda Lantern ceiling constructed in a corbelled technique.

nāḍ Country, area, land.

nāga A snake or serpent.

nāgadevata A snake divinity.

Nāganātha "Lord of the serpent."

nagara Merchant.

nāgara The north Indian temple idiom.

nāgarādhane [Kannada] Worship of the serpent, the *nāga.*

Nākoḍā Bhairava A popular Śvetāmbara Jaina guardian deity associated with the site of Nakora Tirth (Nākoḍā Tīrth) in Rajasthan, which allegedly goes back to the third century CE and expanded during the eleventh century.

Nandī / Nandin *Vāhana* or animal carrier of the Hindu god Śiva and in Vīraśaivism itself a manifestation of Śiva.

Nārāyaṇa A form of Viṣṇu, showing him asleep on the cosmic snake. Alternatively: Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa or Śeṣaśāyin (Śeṣaśāyī).

nāsī Horseshoe arch. Alternatively: *gavākṣa*, *kūṭu*.

nāstika Heterodox, non-Vedic.

***navagraha*s** The nine planetary divinities.

Navaitas The Navaita Muslims (also spelled Navayat, Nait or Naita) are a subgroup of the Konkani Muslims, living along the west coast of Karnataka.

navaraṅga / navaraṅgamaṇḍapa Large pillared hall, especially intricately decorated, usually with an elaborate ceiling. The name refers to a hall with nine internal quadrants or ceilings, supported by four pillars. Outside Karnataka: *raṅgamaṇḍapa*.

Nāyaṇārs (Nāyaṇmārs) A group of sixty-three Śaiva *bhakti* Tamil saints, who lived in the period from the sixth to the eighth century CE.

Neminātha The Twenty-second Jina.

nirgrantha / nigaṇṭha Jaina ascetic.

nirvāṇa Liberation, enlightenment, the release of the soul from *karmic* bondage.

niṣidhi Memorial stone. Alternatively: *niśidhi.*

niṣidhi* platform / *maṇḍapa A platform with footprints or an inscribed panel, carved to commemorate a deceased person who has committed *sallekhanā* and to mark the sanctified spot. Some were later transformed into pavilions.

niṣkala The divinity in its formless or abstract state.

Oḍeyars Fourteenth to twentieth-century Hindu royal family, the former kings of Mysore. Alternatively: Wadiyar, Wodeyer.

om / oṁ Sacred syllable.

padma A lotus flower. Frequently an ornament in the superstructure of temples and inside as decorations for ceiling panels.

padmanābha / padmamandāraka Round corbelled ceiling in a temple. Alternatively: *bhuvaneśvarī*, *sabhāmandāraka*, s*abhāpadmamandāraka*.

padmaśila Central carving depicting an open lotus at the centre of a flat (*samatala*) ceiling.

Padmāvatī Popular Jaina goddess and *yakṣī*. Associated with the male *yakṣa* Dhāraṇendra and the Jina Pārśvanātha.

pādōdaka "Water of [master's] feet." The holy water sanctified by contact with the *guru*'s feet.

pādukā Foot imprint or foot image.

pañc / pañca Five.

pañca / pañcakūṭa basadi Five-shrined temple.

pañcācāra The five regulating principles of conduct in Vīraśaivism.

***pañcācārya*s** Five masters.

pañcakūṭa Five-shrined (temple building).

pañcamahāśabda Honouring someone with five specific drums and cymbals.

***pañcapīṭha*s** "Five seats." The five main Vīraśaiva *maṭha*s.

pāralaukika Otherworldly.

parama bhāgavatha A devotee of Viṣṇu.

pārśvacatuṣkī Porch for a side-entrance to a temple structure.

Pārśvanātha The twenty-third Jina.

Pārvatī One of the most powerful Hindu goddesses. Wife of the god Śiva.

Paryūṣaṇa A Jaina festival.

Pāśupatas Ascetic followers of an early form of Śaivism, now extinct, dating from about the second century CE. The Pāśupatas followed a monotheistic *bhakti* path. See Chapter 1, section 5.2.2.

Pāśupati Epithet of the god Śiva, meaning "lord of the animals."

paṭṭaśālā / vīthika An oblong shallow columnar hall or forehall, which is a variant of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

paṭṭavaḷi [Kannada] The term refers to the record of a spiritual lineage of the heads of monastic orders.

***pavāḍa*s** "Purifications." The meaning in Kannada is "miracle."

piñchī A brush made of peacock feathers for cleaning the floor before sitting or lying down, carried by Digambara ascetics.

piṇḍāṇḍa The human body, microcosm.

pīṭha / pīṭham "Seat." A pedestal or altar and by extension also sacred place.

prabhāvalī An image frame.

pradakṣiṇā Ritual circumambulation in clock-wise fashion.

pradakṣiṇāpatha An ambulatory or path used for clock-wise ritual circumambulation.

prākāra A compound wall of a temple.

prāṇa Life force, vital principle or soul.

prasāda "Sacred oblation." Food presented to an icon and received back by the worshippers as a blessing. In Vīraśaivism, also the third stage of *ṣaṭsthala*, usually translated as "grace."

prāsāda Main part of a temple, containing the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*).

pratiṣṭhāpanā The consecration ceremony of a statue.

***pratolī* [Sanskrit] / *pratōlī* [Kannada]** A gateway structure. Alternatively: *dvāramaṇḍapa*.

pūjā Ritualised worship.

pujārī A priest.

***Purāṇa*s** Vast body of Hindu literature composed originally in Sanskrit.

Purāṇic Pertaining to the *Purāṇa*s.

pūrṇa kalaśa / pūrṇa patra Full auspicious water pots, usually as an ornament adorning the top of temple towers.

***puruṣa* / Prajāpati** The primeval Being.

Puṣpadanta The ninth Jina.

***Qur'ān* / Koran** [Arabic] The central religious text of Islam.

ragaḷe [Kannada] A type of metre in used in Kannada poetry.

Rājasūya yaga Vedic ritual of the royal consecration, emphasising the king's universal royal power and endowing him with divine charisma.

rājguru Royal preceptor.

Rāmānuja Eleventh-century Hindu poet, teacher and social reformer. Founder of the prominent south Indian *bhakti* form of Vaiṣṇavism, known as Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Alternatively: Rāmānujācārya.

raṅgabhūmikā A slightly raised circular stone platform or dais at the centre of large temple halls.

raṅgamaṇḍapa Large pillared hall, especially intricately decorated, usually with an elaborate ceiling. In Kannada: *navaraṅga*, *navaraṅgamaṇḍapa*.

ratha A festival chariot. Alternatively: *teru* [Kannada], *mandara*.

ratnatraya The triple jewels of Jainism: *samyak darśana* (true insight), s*amyak jñāna* (right knowledge) and *samyak cāritra* (correct conduct). The same term is also used to refer to the three great Kannada poets, Pampa, Ponna and Ranna.

Rēcimayya A general and minister (1135–1225 CE) of Hoysaḷa King Vīra Ballāla II (1173–1220 CE).

Ṛg Veda Ancient Indian collection of Vedic sacred hymns. It is the oldest Vedic Sanskrit text.

Ṛṣabhanātha The first Jina. Alternatively: Ṛṣabha, Ādinātha.

Rudra A *Ṛg Vedic* deity, associated with the god Śiva.

rudrākṣa / rudrākṣi The garland of seeds sacred to Śiva, employed to make rosaries for prayers.

sabhāmaṇḍapa A temple hall, usually semi-closed, used for audiences and assemblies.

sabhāmandāraka / sabhāpadmamandāraka Round corbelled ceiling in a temple. Alternatively: *bhuvaneśvarī*, *padmanābha*, *padmamandāraka*.

sadācāra Work and action in harmony with one's vocation and duty. One of the five Vīraśaiva regulating principles of conduct.

sādhu A mendicant, a religious person, a holy man.

sahasrakūṭa A cubical or pyramidal structure in Jaina temples, decorated with one thousand or at least with a very large number of Jinas.

Śaiva Siddhānta The form of Śaivism prevalent in the south of India from about the fifth century CE onwards, which is Tantric and aims to achieve a union with Śiva.

Śaiva Siddhāntins Adherents of Śaiva Siddhānta.

Śaivas Followers of the Hindu god Śiva.

Śaivism One of the major Hindu sects, focusing on the veneration of the god Śiva.

Śākta Tantrism Tantric form of Śaktism.

śakti "Energy." The female principle, feminine energy or goddess. The central deity in Śaktism.

Śaktism One of many Hindu sects, focusing on the veneration of the female principle, the *śakti* / Śakti.

śālā Barrel-vaulted aedicule in a temple.

śālabhañjikā Tree nymph.

sallekhanā The Jaina religious practice of fasting to death under strict religious guidance. Known also as *sallekhanā vrata*, the vow to perform a ritual death.

samādhi "Self-absorption." The highest level of mental concentration or meditation that can be achieved while still bound to the body, leading to union with the highest reality in death. By extension, it is also used to refer to the place of cremation and to funerary monuments.

samāja The merchant guild.

samatala / samatala vitāna A flat ceiling panel in a temple, usually decorated with a grid pattern.

samavasaraṇa The teaching auditorium constructed by the gods for the first sermon delivered by an enlightened Jina.

sāmāyika Developing equanimity, refraining from injury and temporarily renouncing some of one's possessions by making a religious gift.

saṁnyasana Alternative term for *sallekhanā*.

saṃsāra The cycle of rebirths.

***saṃskāra*s** The sixteen worldly rituals or sacraments of the *brāhmaṇ*s.

***sāndhāra* temple** A temple with an internal circumabulatory path around the sanctum. Alternatively: *sāndhāra prāsāda, sāndhāra garbhagṛha*, and in the south *sāndhāra vimāna*.

sandhivigrahi Term for a minister in charge of foreign affairs, often responsible for writing important documents.

saṅgama Confluence.

saṅgha Religious community.

Śaṅkarācārya A Vedic Sanskrit scholar and teacher, who probably lived in the eighth century CE. He is the first (Ādi Śaṅkara) in a long line of important Vaiṣṇava teachers.

śaṅkha Conch.

Sannyāsin / Saṁnyāsin A person who has reached the final stage of their life (especially amongst *brāhmaṇ*s) in which they have separated from their family and become a religious ascetic.

santhārā Alternative term used for *sallekhanā*, more widespread in Śvetāmbara Jainism.

Śāntinātha The sixteenth Jina.

Śāntīśvara Alternative name for Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Jina.

***saptamātṛkā*s** The seven mother goddesses.

śarana Holy man or refugee.

Sarasvatī The goddess of learning in Jainism and in Hinduism.

sāṛī Traditional unstitched Indian woman's dress.

Sarvāhana (Sarvāhṇa) *A* Jaina *yakṣa*, paired with the female *yakṣī* Kuṣamāṇḍinī and the Jina Neminātha. Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jainas of North India, in particular, he is also known as Gomedha.

śāsana Inscription.

śāsana maṇḍapikā A pavilion sheltering one or several inscription steles.

ṣaṭsthala Six successive stages of the spiritual journey of a Vīraśaiva devotee.

Seṭṭi / Seṭṭikār [Kannada] Trading or merchant class. The term Seṭṭi can also be spelled Śeṭṭi and derives from *śreṣṭin*, whilst *-śeṭṭi* as suffix means "head of a guild."

sheikh [Arabic] An honorific title in Islam, meaning "elder," referring to a leader, master or chief.

Shī'a [Arabic] One sect of Islam, according to which the Prophet Muḥammad left 'Alī ibn Ṭālib as his successor.

siddha A fully-liberated being.

Siddheśvara A form of Śiva.

śikhara Tower of a north Indian temple.

Siṁhanandi Important Jaina teacher in Karnataka at the time of the Western Gaṅgā dynasty.

siṁhāsana “Lion-throne.” Offering stand, usually made of metal, or a more permanent pedestal made of stone supporting an icon in a temple.

śiṣya Higher of two main Jaina castes, comprising the so-called “Jainas by birth” or “pure Jainas,” who can prove their descent from an ancient Jaina family bloodline.

śivācāra Worshipping only Śiva. One of the five Vīraśaiva regulating principles of conduct.

***sopāna* [Sanskrit] / *sōpāna* [Kannada]** The steps leading up to the entrance of a temple structure.

śramaṇa An ascetic spiritual aspirant who follows the Jaina, the Buddhist or some other non-Vedic religious path.

śrāvaka A Jaina layperson.

Śrīvaiṣṇavas Adherents of the south Indian reformed *bhakti* form of Vaiṣṇavism known as Śrīvaiṣṇavism, which originated in the eleventh century.

Śrīvaiṣṇavism South Indian form of Vaiṣṇavism. It is a renewed *bhakti* form, focusing on the sixth-century CE Āḻvār saints, reinvigorated by Śaṅkarācārya and further reformed by Rāmānuja in the eleventh century. See Chapter 1, section 5.4. Alternatively: Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Rāmānuja.

śṛṅgāra An erotic sculpture.

śṛṅgāracaurīmaṇḍapa A large open pillared hall.

śrutakevali An ascetic who has acquired profound knowledge of the Jaina scriptures, the *Āgama*s.

stambha Pillar. Alternatively: *kambad, kambada* [Kannada].

***stambha pañjara*s** Pillar ornaments on the outside walls of temples.

Sthānakvāsī A non-image-worshipping group of Śvetāmbara Jainas.

sthāvara “Immovable,” “stagnant.”

sthāvara liṅga “Fixed” or “permanent.” An immovable stone *liṅga*, installed inside a temple.

strī mokṣa Enlightenment.

stūpa Buddhist commemorative monument.

stūpi / stūpika The pinnacle of a temple building.

Subrahmaṇya Hindu god of war. The son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Alternatively: Kārttikeya, Skanda, Murugan (Murukaṉ).

***śūdra*s** Labourers and service providers, lowest of the four classes in the Hindu *varṇa* system.

Sufi [Arabic] A Muslim mystic who practises the Sufi form of Islam.

Sufism The mystical form of Islam.

śukanāsa / śukanāsi Vestibule at the front of a sanctum. Alternatively: *antarāla*, *kapilī*. The term can also refer to the roof projection or antefix, shaped like a parrot-beak, attached to the main temple tower. This is positioned right above the internal vestibule.

sultān [Arabic] Title of an Islamic ruler.

Sunnī [Arabic] One sect of Islam, according to which the Prophet Muḥammad left no successor.

śūnya pīṭha “Seat of Void.”

Supārśvanātha The seventh Jina.

sūtra "String," "thread." A verse, an aphorism or collection of aphorisms, or the canonical scriptures more generally.

Śuttāla / Śuttālaya The pillared cloister surrounding the statue of Gommaṭeśvara at Shravanabelgola.

***svāmī* / swami** An honorific title given to an ascetic.

Śvetāmbara "White (cotton) clad" group of Jaina ascetics whose male and female mendicants wear simple white robes.

śvetapaṭa Those who dress in white robes.

syādvāda Doctrine in Jaina metaphysics that all judgments are conditional.

Śyāma A Jaina *yakṣa*, paired with the female *yakṣī* Jvālāmālinī and with the Jina Candraprabhu.

Tantrism This is an overarching term for esoteric forms of practice which focus on the sacred texts of the *Tantra*s. It developed in India from about the late fifth century CE and was applied to Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina traditions.

teru [Kannada] A festival chariot. Alternatively: *ratha* or *mandara*.

tīrtha "Ford." A sacred place or a holy person.

Tīrthaṅkar "Fordmaker." The twenty-four enlightened teachers in Jainism. Alternatively: *arhat*, Jina and *kevalin.*

***trikūṭa / trikūṭācala* temple** Temple structures with three sanctums, usually arranged either in a star-like fashion or side by side.

tripuṇḍra Parallel white lines worn by Śaiva practitioners on their forehead as a denominational indicator. The same lines are also applied to Śaiva and Vīraśaiva statues to indicate their belonging or annexation.

***tripuruṣaśālā* temples** Temple structures with three sanctums, of which the main and central sanctum is dedicated to the Hindu god Śiva and the other two to the Hindu divinities of Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

triśūla The trident carried by the Hindu god Śiva.

tritala A three-storeyed temple.

udumbara Threshold. Alternatively: *bhuvaṅga*.

upasarga A condition of unavoidable calamity.

upparige [Kannada] A gatehouse or gate hall.

urs [Arabic, Persian] An annual festival celebrating the death anniversary of a Sufi saint.

***Vacana*s** [Kannada] "Sayings." Prose-poems composed by Basava and his successors.

vāhana The vehicle or animal carrier of a god.

Vaiṣṇavas Followers of the Hindu god Viṣṇu.

Vaiṣṇavism One of the major Hindu sects, focusing on the veneration of the god Viṣṇu.

vanavāsī Forest-dwelling ascetic.

varṇa "Colour." Indian system of social stratification into four main classes, based on occupation.

vedabāhya People who are "external" to the *Veda*s, that is, who are heterodox.

Vedānta One of the six orthodox (*āstika*) schools of Hindu philosophy, based on the *Veda*s, also known as Uttara Mīmāṃsā.

***Veda*s** A large body of ancient sacred religious texts written in Vedic Sanskrit.

vedī The terrace or platform, raising a temple above the ground. Alternatively: *jagatī.*

vesara The central Indian temple idiom. In Kannada: *vēsara.*

VHP The Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) is an affiliate of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist organisation, formed in 1925.

vibhūti The sacred ash, prepared in a special process from cow dung, used to make a sign (*tilaka*) on the forehead or to mark statues, denoting association with a particular religious sect.

***vidyādevī*s** The goddesses of knowledge and learning.

***vidyā*s** Magical multi-word utterances or spells. In Prakrit: *vijjā*.

vimāna The pyramidal superstructure of *drāviḍa* temples. By extension sometimes also applied to the main part of a south Indian temple, below the superstructure.

Viṇdhyagiri The taller hill at Shravanabelgola. Alternatively: Indragiri and in Kannada Doddābeṭṭā or Doḍḍabeṭṭa.

Vīr Nārāyaṇ “Hero Nārāyaṇa,” “Hero Viṣṇu.”

vīra Hero.

vīra bāṇajiga dharma “Law of the noble merchants.”

Vīra Bāṇajigas The merchant class.

Vīra Māheśvaras Vīraśaivas. Alternatively: Māheśvaras.

Vīrabhadra / Vīrabhadreśvara “Auspicious hero.” A fierce form of the Hindu god Śiva.

Vīraśaivas Followers of Vīraśaivism.

Vīraśaivism On Vīraśaivism (and Liṅgāyatism), refer to Chapter 1, section 5.3.1.

viśiṣṭādvaita Qualified non-dualism.

Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa A form of Viṣṇu, showing him asleep on the cosmic snake. Alternatively: Nārāyaṇa or Śeṣaśāyin (Śeṣaśāyī).

Viṣṇuvardhana A Hoysaḷa king (ca. 1104–1141 CE), who was originally a Jaina but who under the influence of Rāmānuja converted to Śrīvaiṣṇavism and subsequently called himself Biṭṭideva.

vitāna Temple ceiling.

Viṭṭhala Name of Viṣṇu. Alternatively: Viṭhōbā.

vṛ̥ṣa / vṛ̥ṣabha Bull.

yāga Sacrifice. Alternatively: *yagna* or *yajña*.

yakṣa Originally a nature spirit. In later Jainism, a male divinity, associated with the Jinas as guardian deity.

yakṣī Originally a nature spirit. In later Jainism, a female divinity, at first associated with the Jinas as guardian deity and later a more independent goddess, almost rivalling the status of the Jinas in the later forms of Jainism in South India.

yāḷi A fabulous animal, often composite, combining elements of a lion and an elephant.

yantra Sacred diagram, commonly used in Tantric rituals.

Yāpanīya Saṅgha The religious community of the Yāpanīyas.

Yāpanīyas Medieval subgroup of Digambara Jainism, no longer extant. For further details, see Chapter 1, section 3.2.2.

yati An ascetic.

yogin An ascetic Kāḷāmukha priest. Alternatively: *jaṅgama*.

yoginī Powerful female goddess. Also, a female expert practitioner in Tantric forms of Hinduism and Jainism.

yuga A cyclic world age.

zakat [Arabic] Almsgiving or paying taxes for social purposes, considered a religious obligation in Islam. One of the Five Pillars of Islam.

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