

THE MEDIEVAL JAIN TEMPLE PORTRAIT

ĀRĀDHAKAMŪRTI/ADHIṢṬHĀYAKĀMŪRTI:

POPULAR PIETY, POLITICS, AND
THE MEDIEVAL JAIN TEMPLE PORTRAIT

By

JACK C. LAUGHLIN, M.A.

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AUTHOR: Jack C. Laughlin, M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Phyllis E. Granoff

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Abstract

Many aspects of medieval Western Indian temple art have been subject to scholarly attention. One type of temple-image which has been identified, but heretofore unstudied, is the stone portrait. I have gathered evidence of more than 200 images of historical lay people and ascetics, extant and/or from about 60 inscriptions. Some of the images are Hindu, but most are Jain.

In this thesis, I undertake the first comprehensive study of the 'Western Indian portrait', emphasizing Jain examples. My approaches to the portraits are straightforward. First, I divide my study into analyses of images portraying the laity, and images portraying monks. Second, I consider 1) the religiosity and 2) the historical contexts behind certain lay and monastic portraits.

The evidence of Jain monks' portraits is most significant. Notably, one-third of monks' portraits were donated by other monks. On the one hand, evidence indicates that certain monks donated portraits of their brethren to generate good karma for the portrait-subjects, in order to secure heavenly rebirth for those subjects. On the other hand, evidence indicates that certain portraits donated by monks represent the alleged divinity of the portrait-subjects, asserted in order to foster a cult of the dead for material and political gain (over monks from rival lineages).

Thus, my research has uncovered some unexpected facets of Jain monasticism. It is commonly believed that Jainism is unswervingly dedicated to world-renunciation and the most severe austerities for the attainment of liberation from the cycle of rebirth. My research is significant in that it reveals a much different picture, one in which some monks shared the laity's concern for the acquisition of good karma in order to attain the felicity of heaven, and one in which certain monks involved themselves in very worldly political affairs.

*Lily was a princess she was fair skinned and precious as a child
She did whatever she had to do
She had that certain flash every time she smiled
She'd come way from a broken home and lots of strange affairs
With men in every walk of life which took her everywhere
But she never met anyone quite like the Jack of Hearts*

For **R.F.**

This work completes a long and fated journey
which unfortunately was made without her.

*But all the while I was alone
The past was close behind,
I seen a lot of women
But she never escaped my mind, and I just grew
Tangled up in blue*

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adventurous traveling companion. To the Cappers I say, I hope we all meet again in some exotic place, but til then,

May the road rise up to meet you
May the wind be always at your back(s)
May the sun shine warm upon your face(s)
And the rains fall soft upon your fields
And until we meet again
May God hold you in the palm of his hand.

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Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	Artibus Asiae.
<i>ABORI</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
<i>Abu II</i>	<i>Arbudaprācīna Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha</i> . Muni Jayantavijayajī, ed.
<i>Abu V</i>	<i>Arbudācalapradakṣiṇā Jaina Lekha Saṃdoha</i> . Muni Jayantavijayajī, ed.
<i>AIS</i>	American Institute of Indian Studies.
<i>ASI</i>	Archaeological Survey of India.
<u>Aspects</u>	<u>Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture</u> . Shah, U.P and M.A. Dhaky, eds.
<i>BEI</i>	Bulletin d'études indiennes.
<i>Bhavnagar</i>	<i>A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions</i> . Bhavnagar Archaeological Department.
<i>BJLS</i>	<i>Bikaner Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha</i> .
<i>CII</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> .
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>EW</i>	East and West.
<i>GOS</i>	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
<u>HA</u>	<u>Holy Abu</u> . Muni Jayantavijayajī.
<u>HIEA</u>	<u>History of Indian and Eastern Architecture</u> . Fergusson, James.

<i>HR</i>	History of Religions.
<i>IA</i>	The Indian Antiquary.
<i>IHQ</i>	The Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>IHR</i>	The Indian Historical Review.
<i>IJJ</i>	Indo-Iranian Journal.
<i>IK</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Kathiawad.</i> Diskalkar, D.B., ed.
<i>IT</i>	Indologica Taurinensia.
<i>JA</i>	The Jaina Antiquary.
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JBBRAS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JDPL</i>	<i>Jaina Dhātu-Pratimā Lekha.</i>
<i>JI</i>	<i>Jaina Inscriptions.</i> 3 Volumes. Nahar, P.C., ed.
<i>JIABS</i>	Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.
<i>JIH</i>	Journal of Indian History.
<i>JIP</i>	Journal of Indian Philosophy.
<i>JISOA</i>	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
<i>JMPIP</i>	Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad.
<i>JMSUB</i>	Journal of the M. S. University Baroda.
<i>JOBRS</i>	Journal of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society.
<i>JOIB</i>	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
<i>JPPS</i>	<i>Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha.</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

- JRM Jaina-Rupa-Maṇḍana. Shah, U.P.
- JUB* Journal of the University of Bombay.
- KGBG* *Kharataragacchabrhadgurvāvalī*.
- KGPS* *Kharataragacchapattāvalisaṃgraha*.
- KK* *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara.
- Nākoḍā Nākoda Pārsvanātha Tīrtha. Mahopādhyāya Vinayasāgara.
- NNP* *Nābhinandanoddharaprabandha* of Kakkasūri.
- PC* *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅgācārya.
- PCT* *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. Tawney, C.H., trans.
- PGKS* *Pracīna-gujara-kāvya-saṃgraha*. Dalal, C.D., ed.
- PJLS* *Prācīnajainalekhasaṃgraha*.
- PK* *Prabandhakośa* of Rajaśekhara.
- PLS* *Prācīnalekhasaṃgraha*. Munirāja Vidyavijayajī, ed.
- PO* Poona Orientalist.
- PPS* *Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha*. Jinavijaya Muni, ed.
- Pro. IHC.* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress.
- PS* *ŚrīPraśasti Saṃgraha*. Śāhā, Amṛtalāla Maganalāla, ed.
- PTAIOC* Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
- RL* *Revised Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*.
Burgess and Cousens.
- SBM Śramaṇa Bhagavan Mahāvīra His Life and Teaching.
Muni Ratna-Prabha Vijaya.
- SIPSM. South Indian Portraits in Stone and Metal. Aravamuthan, T.G.

- SJS Singhi Jain Series.
- SKK *Sukṛtakīrttikalolinī*. Muni Śrī Punyavijaya Sūri, ed.
- SSG Shri Shatrunjay Giriraj Darshan in Sculptures and Architecture.
Acharya Kanchansagarsuri.
- SSK *Sukṛtasamīkṛtana* of Arisimha.
- Tod Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Tod, James.
- TŚPC *Trisāṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra. Johnson, Helen, trans.
- VC *Vastupālacarita* of Jinaharṣa.
- VP Longer *Vastupālaprasāsti* of Narendraprabhasūri in SKK.
- VTK *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri.

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Preface

The medieval Western Indian temple has been the subject of much scholarly attention; several major studies have been done on the architectural forms of the temple and dozens of articles have been written on the temple's iconography. One iconographical feature of this body of temples which has been acknowledged, but heretofore unstudied, is stone portraiture.¹ The temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan contain numerous stone portraits of lay people as well as portraits of ascetics. The vast majority of the images in this genre are Jain, but important Hindu examples do exist. Many of the subjects and many of the donors are obscure personalities, but others are well known from literature and epigraphy.

In the following I undertake a comprehensive study of the Western Indian portrait, especially Jain examples of it. I know of more than 200 images, extant and/or from more than 60 surviving inscriptions. Furthermore, some medieval Jain biographical literature refers to portraits. Although my primary sources are art objects and/or their inscriptions (and textual references in some special cases), traditional art historical issues

1. The well-known Indian art historian U.P. Shah recognized the need for a special study of the Western Indian portrait at least as early as 1954 (*HA*, p. xxvi) and reconfirmed the neglect of the genre in 1975 (Ghosh, A. ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, volume 2, New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanapith, 1975, pp. 308f.), but to date there has been no major study.

raised by the evidence are not my primary concern. Rather, I focus upon the religious and social or political worlds in which the portraits were produced.

My approaches to the portraits are relatively straight forward. In the first place, I divide my study into two halves based upon the identities of the portrait subjects: parts **I-II** largely focuses upon lay portraits (that is, portraits representing historical lay persons); parts **III-IV** are concerned exclusively with monastic portraits (that is, portraits representing historical Jain monks). In turn, the discussions of both lay and monastic portraits are divided into analyses of the religiosity demonstrated by certain lay and monastic portraits, and the reconstruction of the historical contexts for certain groups of portraits of both types.

In this thesis, I hope to present much more than a catalogue of specimens of this long neglected genre of medieval Western Indian art. I attempt to use the evidence of the portraits to shed light upon ‘popular’ religious practice and political activity among lay and ascetic communities. The monastic portraits in particular give us a glimpse at the activities of historical monks which turn out to be quite different from what we might have expected based upon the description of monastic life in ancient literature (and modern scholarship).

I make a very simple claim about what I believe to be the most basic pattern of religious ideas expressed through portraiture (although I go to some length to establish it!). I believe that the Western Indian portrait was often conceived as a merit-making instrument for the sake of the portrait subject. The portrait produced merit for its subject by its placement before a temple icon and/or within the precincts of notable holy places;

the portrait subject garnered merit through the portrait as if he or she was actually engaged in temple worship or on pilgrimage to a holy place. This claim should appear to most to be rather uncontroversial, since we know that the religious life of lay Jains has always been very much oriented towards the acquisition of merit for the sake of felicity in this life and the next.

However, the implications of this claim with respect to the religious life of Jain monks are very remarkable. Now, some of our best evidence for this claim comes, for example, from the inscription for the portrait *of the monk* Guṇasenasūri which was donated *by the monk* Paṇḍita Rāmacandra for Guṇasena's merit. Although few other portrait records include such an explicit statement of purpose, I presume that many portraits were erected for this same purpose. Since almost one third of the monks' portraits for which I have good epigraphical documentation were sponsored by other monks, it would seem that a number of medieval Jain monks were indeed concerned about the acquisition of religious merit for their brethren. That monks were so concerned (and concerned about acquiring merit for themselves) is proven by the evidence of other types of gifts by monks which were made to generate merit (for the sponsors or their fellow monks to whom they transferred the merit). Hence, the evidence of some portraits of monks presents us with a vision of Jain monastic life that looks very much like the religious life of lay Jains.

Although the evidence of many portraits does not point beyond the religious conception(s) behind them, it is apparent that several other images were erected in order to make certain public claims about their subjects and/or donors. The portraits of Desala,

famed restorer of Śatruñjaya, and his family at Śatruñjaya present their subjects as exceptional patrons who could expect near-immortality as a result of their public piety. But in the portraits credited to the merchant-prince Vastupāla and his brother Tejaḥpāla, we find a complex of claims with respect to the brothers and their family in their roles as Jain laymen and state ministers. The brothers had attained unprecedented positions of power in the 13th century kingdom of Gujarat and they used portraiture in their public works as part of their larger programme to legitimate their wealth and power within their caste and within the greater Jain community, at the royal court and throughout the whole kingdom of Gujarat. Not merely satisfied with presenting themselves, their family and their royal lords as meritorious persons destined for heaven, they had themselves and their circle portrayed as various protector gods from Jain and Hindu myth.

Portraiture also holds a significant place in the political history of the medieval Jain monastic community. Śvetāmbara monasticism in medieval Gujarat and Rajasthan was divided into scores of competing often mutually hostile lineages (*gacchas*) vying with one another for the support of the lay community and the good will of secular political authorities. Several lineages were also subject to factionalism within their ranks; while the central organizations struggled to maintain the integrity of their respective bodies politic, sub-branches that attempted to break away from their main lines must have struggled to secure the regular lay support necessary to go it alone. Some of the portraits representing two of the most important lineages, the Kharatara- and Tapāgacchas, can be located in the context of the struggles between these two lineages for preeminence,

especially in the Mughal period, while other portraits point to internal tensions between factions within each organization.

The place of portraiture in the struggle for legitimacy of independent monastic sub-branches appears to be demonstrated by the portraits associated with the line of the Kharatara monk Jinavarddhanasūri. This monk was removed as the head of the Kharataragaccha in about 1419 C.E., but his line continued independently thanks to the support of a prominent lay family from the Udaipur area of Rajasthan. I believe that it is no coincidence that some of our best evidence for this line comes from its portraiture.

The portraits of the monks of the Tapāgaccha, especially those of the famous monk Hīravijayasūri (d. 1595 C.E.), point to the Tapāgaccha's own internal strife as well as its conflict with other lineages, especially the Kharatara. Hīravijaya had been a very charismatic monk and apparently worthy of special favour from the Mughal emperor Akbar. But with his death, the Tapāgaccha undoubtedly lost some of its influence at the Mughal court (which had given it an edge over the Kharatara). Furthermore, it is clear that in the wake of Hīravijaya's death, the Tapāgaccha began to fragment so that, within the first few generations after the death of Hīravijaya, the lineage had split into at least five competing branches. In the context of the Tapāgaccha's internal and external strife, a unique biographical tradition developed around Hīravijaya. Hīravijaya's biographies relate that several miracles accompanied the monk's death and funeral, and it is reported that he even appeared before Akbar in the form of a god. I suggest that the deification of Hīravijaya was an all-Tapāgaccha strategy meant to preserve if not enhance Tapāgaccha prestige at the Mughal court and in the Jain community over and against the Kharatara-

gaccha. Hīravijaya's portraits then, appear to have been elements in this strategy and were set up not simply as merit-making devices, but also as proper objects of devotion. At the same time, the biographies of Hīravijaya are each the product of a different faction within the Tapāgaccha; likewise, many of Hīravijaya's portraits are associated with various Tapāgaccha sub-sects. The portraits, like the biographies, appear also to have been part of efforts by competing factions to lay claim to the legacy of Hīravijaya.

If the deification of Hīravijaya was an attempt to create a cult of the deified dead, that effort failed, for today there is no organized cult dedicated to Hīravijaya among Jains associated with the Tapāgaccha. However, from about the same time as the portraits of Hīravijaya, a cult dedicated to four deceased monks, the Dādāguru cult, who are worshiped in image or footprint form, developed in the Kharataragaccha. Like other gods in the Jain pantheon, the Dādāgurus are believed to be capable of performing miracles for devotees. I believe that the Dādāguru cult developed under circumstances similar to those that produced the portraits of Hīravijaya, as a response to the conflict between the Kharatara- and Tapāgacchas and also as a response to the Kharatara's own factional strife.

Although the Dādāgurus are not one of the actual objects of my study of 'monastic portraiture', we must bear them and their cult in mind in the consideration of a pair of extant monks' portraits donated by the well known Kharatara monk Jinakuśala in the 14th century. The portrait of Jinacandrasūri III in particular appears to have been donated by Jinakuśala as an assertion of Jinacandra's divinity. Jinakuśala's biography in the *Kharataragacchabhṛhadgurvāvalī* (KGBG) mentions the portraits donated by Jina-

kuśala. At the same time, the text portrays the deceased Jinacandra as a figure very much like the later Dādāgurus. Most importantly, Jinacandra's supernatural powers are presented as Jinakuśala's to wield at will. Hence, I believe that Kharatara monks encouraged the deification of deceased monks in order to present themselves as a group with the power to accomplish miracles on behalf of lay devotees. This process began in the 14th century and came to final fruition in the 17th century Dādāguru cult.

It should be apparent that 'Western Indian portraiture' is not a unified body of images, homogeneous with respect to its purpose or meaning. Rather, the portraits reflect the various religious, social and political interests of a number of communities. The evidence of monastic portraiture in particular, which shows monastic interest in the acquisition of merit and the involvement of monks in worldly political matters, indicates that the lives of many monks were not focused solely upon Jainism's normative soteriology, the practice of asceticism for the sake of enlightenment and liberation from rebirth. My consideration of the portraits of monks in their historical contexts, with respect to their religious and political significance, introduces us to several ways of being a Jain monk which are quite different from how Jain monastic life is often imagined in contemporary scholarship on the subject.

I. The General Features of Western Indian Portraiture

I begin this discussion of the many contexts of the Western Indian portrait with a basic analysis of the physical features of the images and a consideration of portrait epigraphs. The style and composition of extant portraits is relatively consistent, though the images may be categorized into a limited number of types according to the postures of the subjects: both lay and monastic portrait subjects are posed standing and sitting, and some lay subjects appear mounted on horses or elephants. The language of the epigraphy is also uniform, at least with respect to the Jain portraits, following the pattern of all other Jain donative records.¹ There are no variations in the syntax, grammar or vocabulary *per se* to indicate that certain portraits were conceived of differently from others. It is only in the specifics of the epigraphical data that we can distinguish not only the unique historical contexts of certain portraits or groups of portraits, but also different meanings and purposes behind them. In this first section, I shall point to some of the evidence offered by certain portraits and their inscriptions that indicates their special contexts and/or meanings. However, my primary purpose here is to establish the few generalizations that

1. I have only a couple of records that accompanied the actual donation of Hindu portraits. These are much like the Jain records, but with some variations and/or additions to which I shall refer where they are significant.

can be made about the portraits as a group, and present what I believe to be the most common meaning behind the greatest number of images.

I believe that the portraits were often erected by the donors to produce merit for the portrait subjects. This purpose lay behind many Jain portraits as well as the Hindu portraits known to me; furthermore, this purpose can be attributed to several monastic portraits (that is, portraits of Jain monks) as well as lay portraits (that is, portraits of lay Jains). This is suggested first by the physical uniformity of the portraits. I believe that Hindu and Jain lay portraits are comparable in many respects. But for its peculiar regional style, the National Museum (New Delhi) image of King Prthvīdeva and Queen Kelachchadevī (**Figure 1**) is composed like a typical portrait of a Jain lay couple (see **Figures 2-4**); with respect to composition and style, I can see no difference between the images of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla with their wives (**Figures 3 & 4**) from the Delwara Lūṅigavasahī, and the images of Kānhaḍadeva *et al.* from Achalgarh (**Figures 5-13**) which is not surprising because many of these images are roughly contemporary and all come from atop Mt. Abu. Furthermore, there is much to compare between the portraits of Jain laymen and Jain monks. Although Jain monastic portraits are marked by the presence of the accouterments of the monastic vocation, the remaining compositional features are shared with many Jain lay portraits. The image of Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa from Śatruṅjaya (**Figure 14**) and the image of the monk Guṇasenasūri (**Figure 15**) also from Śatruṅjaya are closely comparable, as are the Abu image of the monk Hīravijaya (**Figure 16**) and the Prince of Wales Museum image of the layman Sāḍhadeva (**Figure 17**).

The idea that portraits were generally erected for the subjects' merit is based upon, admittedly, only a few portrait inscriptions. Although there is little Jain evidence in support of the claim, there is a quantity of very significant Hindu evidence: for example, the Cāhamāna prince Meghanāda worshiped Śiva *by his own portrait* in order to increase his merit.² But at the same time, the image of the Jain monk Guṇasenasūri referred to above was donated by the subject's disciple Rāmacandra "for his guru's merit."³ On the basis of this very significant case, and the Hindu evidence, I am confident that many other (Jain) portraits were supposed to provide for the merit of their subjects.

The acquisition of merit, and especially the transfer of that merit, marked much medieval religious practice, even among the Jains; thus, I do not believe that I am making a controversial claim, at least with respect to lay portraits. However, the implications of this, especially for monastic portraits like that of Guṇasena, which I attempt to work out in part III, are most significant for our understanding of medieval Jainism and especially our understanding of medieval Jain monasticism: Rāmacandra's gift of the portrait of his guru Guṇasena, for the merit of the guru, indicates that some monks had more in common with the Jain laity than many might suppose.

2. Sharma, Ram, "No. 27–Menal Inscription of the Chahamana Prince Meghanada, Vikrama 1312," *EI* XXXVII, part iv (October 1967), pp. 155-158.

3. Since this image was donated for the merit of the subject, since its subject is a monk, and since its donor was also a monk, I shall have occasion to return to this image again and again. See Shah, Ambalal Premchand, "Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya," in Upadhye, A.N., *et al.*, eds., 1968, p.169; SSG 152.

1.1. The Physical Features of Portraits

It must be apparent from the illustrations to which I have already referred, as well as the other illustrations I have provided, that the medieval Western Indian portraits are highly stylized representations. Despite the claims of some,⁴ I recognize little that is ‘individual’ in any of the medieval images, that is, I do not think that the images are in any way likenesses in the sense of attempts to approach the correct objective appearance of the subjects.⁵ The sculptural quality and degree of ornamentation of the portraits varies

4. For example, U.P. Shah says that “some of these portraits seem to have been real portraits and not stylized ones” (HA, p. xxvi). Elsewhere Shah says of the portraits that, “though they appear somewhat stylized, a comparative study suggests that they are elegant attempts at portraiture, especially in the Caulukyan Period” (in Ghosh, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 308-9) by which I presume he means that the images are attempts at likenesses. I do not deny that many of the images are unique in respects; however, I do not think that the conditions of that uniqueness are intrinsic to the images. Compare the images of Vastupāla and his wives (**Figure 4**) with those of his brother Tejaḥpāla and his wife (**Figures 3**): the two panels are distinguishable by only minor differences in their programmes; the delineation of the figures is virtually identical in both reliefs.

I hasten to add that modern temple portraits, mostly of Jain ascetics, are obviously earnest attempts at likenesses. **Figures 20-22** illustrate the Tapāgaccha monk Vijayakamalasūri and two of his disciples: not only are the hair, hands and feet, and garments and accouterments carefully and realistically delineated, but the images are also individualized by the treatment of the subjects’ facial features.

5. Some might therefore argue that the images in question are better called effigies; but since no such distinction occurs in the Sanskrit vocabulary applied to these images, I will call them portraits, especially since the inscriptions identify most of the images as historical persons.

With respect to the connection of likeness to portraiture, Richard Brilliant says, “since portraits are images, then the quality and perspicacity of their reference rather than the accuracy of depiction establishes the normative standard of their being. Then, the degree of likeness, comprehended as some requisite quotient of resemblance, may vary almost without limit, effected more by changing views about personal identity and the function of artistic representation than by the peculiar physiognomy or appearance of the Subject.” See Brilliant, Richard, “Editor’s Statement: Portraits: The Limitations of

widely. Both lay and monastic portraits may be simple and rustic (see **Figures 19**) or quite fine pieces with much baroque detail (like **Figure 17**).⁶ The portraits are not large on average, which sometimes accounts for their lesser refinement. The Mount Abu images of Vastupāla and family are almost life size; but the image of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (**Figure 24**) from the L. D. Museum is only 39 cms. tall.⁷

Many extant portraits are no longer in their original locations owing to the destruction or renovation of the original temples. For example, some of the portraits of Desala and family (1323 and 1358 C.E.) from Desala's renovation of Śatruñjaya and after have been reinstalled in niches within more recent temples in the compound of the Ādiśvara temple. More recent portraits are installed in niches in the *raṅgamaṇḍapas* of their temples. Given the relatively small size of many of the portraits, many of them must have been intended for small niches in temples or other conspicuous places before temple

Likeness," *Art Journal*, Fall 1987, pp. 171-172 as well as Brilliant's complete study, *Portraiture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Yet, bearing Brilliant in mind, I am not convinced by Coomaraswamy's notion of "ideal portraiture" and the neo-Vedantic scheme it entails (Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture," *JISOA* Vol. 7, 1939, pp. 74-82). I have found no evidence to suggest that the Western Indian portrait was an attempt to portray the 'spiritual essence' of the subject. Rather, I think that the religious background to the Western Indian portrait has more to do with the nature of popular medieval piety—giving, merit and merit transfer—than deeper philosophical principles.

6. Many images are nicely proportioned and finely detailed; however, the feet of seated figures are always stout and thick looking, like badly delineated hands. This is not the case for all medieval Jain sculpture: notice the feet on the image of the Vidyādevī Acchuptā and her attendants from Abu (**Figure 23**).

7. Furthermore, the Virginia Museum unidentified layman stands 121 cms. tall; Māṇikyā and wife with Cakreśvarī is 30 X 60 cms.; and Sādhadeva is 57 cms. tall (**Figures 43, 40 & 17**).

icons; the inscription for the image of the parents of Kapardin appears to confirm this, stating that the image was set up in front of R̥ṣabhanātha at Abu (*i.e.* in Vimāla's temple).⁸ Some recent monks' images are installed in their own shrines, which I believe reflects the increased sanctity afforded to (deceased) monks from the (late) medieval period.⁹ The portraits of Tejaḥpāla and family, and Vimāla and family at Abu are housed within structures called *hastīśālās*, or "elephant pavilions," that of the former at the back of the Lūṇiga temple, that of the latter in front of Vimāla's temple. These placements are very significant, but I leave them aside for the moment and return to them in part II. However, I note here that in one version of the story of the building of the Lūṇigavasahī, the minister Yaśovīra, and friend of Vastupāla, says that "putting (the images of) the ancestors (of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla) *behind* the Jina destroys the fortune of (their) descendants."¹⁰ Permit me the leap of logic that if it was sinful to place portraits behind the Jina, then it was beneficial to place portraits before the Jina. In any event, I presume that the portraits in the temple context were typically placed within sight of the temple icon showing it their perpetual devotion or, one could say, as eternal pilgrims.¹¹

8. *devaśrīṛṣabhanāthāgre*. Abu II 236.

9. The very recent image of Shri Vijaya Vallabhasūri is colossal and installed in a large open hall which forms the greatest part of the Bhogilal Leherchand's temple on the northern outskirts of Delhi. The temple proper is a much smaller room on the second floor above and behind the portrait and contains a much dwarfed *caumukh* Jina set as its main image, which is, incidently, flanked on one side by diminutive monks' portraits.

10. *PK*, p. 124.

11. Here, I must note a set of four Hindu portraits which do not fit so neatly into my schema thus far. They are found in the Mādḥā stepwell at Wadhwan in

Obviously, the ancestral portraits, and probably many portraits of the donors' parents and preceptors, were made after the deaths of the subjects. Although it is clear that several portraits were actually made when the subjects were still living, I do not believe that this is the rule.¹² This is suggested by the case of the image of Ratnaprabhasūri which, according to its inscription, was made by the monk himself and consecrated while the monk was alive.¹³ If many portraits represent dead persons, especially the ancestors, parents and preceptors of the donors, then we might suppose that they were erected in the fulfillment of some memorial obligations.¹⁴ This idea finds support in one

Saurashtra. Now, a stepwell is not really a secular edifice, often being richly adorned with religious imagery, so the disjuncture between these portraits and the others located in temples is, in fact, not that great. Although, stepwells do not have central icons as objects of worship, yet, they are clearly sacred precincts. Of these four portraits, the subjects of only one of them can be identified; this is in the case of the portrait of the Nāgarabrāhmaṇa Sīdhu and (his wife?) Taṣmā (*IK* 16; **Figure 25**).

12. Notable portraits of living subjects include: at Abu, Tejaḥpāla and some of his immediate family, and the descendants of Vimala, which accompany portraits of several ancestors who were obviously dead when the images were made. Furthermore, Devavijayagaṇi, the subject of a portrait of 1933 (**Figure 21**), was alive when his image was made, for he consecrated it as well portraits of his teacher and a co-disciple (**Figures 20, 22**). The Cambay image of Merucandrasūri (**Figure 88**) also appears to have been made when the monk was alive for the inscription describes the image as a *jīvitsvāmi-mūrti* (usu. *jīvantasvāmī*) or “image of the living lord.” This expression usually refers to a particular type of Jina image which shows the Jina as he was before becoming a monk (see JRM chapter 2).

At any rate, a corollary to my argument that the portraits were for the merit of the dead is that even if the portrait was set up in the subject's lifetime it would gather merit for the subject throughout the time it stood or at the very least would do so after the subject died.

13. jīvadabhiḥ (jīvadbhiḥ) śrīratnaprabhasūribhiḥ ātmamūrti kārītā. SSG 77.

14. In the absence among the Jains of *śrāddha* (the cycle of obsequies for parents incumbent upon Hindus in order to secure life in the Heaven of the Fathers for the

of the few Jain textual references to portraiture: Haribhadra (7th century) says in his *Yogabindu*, and his own gloss on it, that one should honour one's gurus¹⁵ upon their deaths by temple worship on their behalf or in their homes, by erecting portraits of them and worshiping those portraits (though others say by worshiping images sponsored by them), or by performing the gurus' funeral rites.¹⁶

The general composition of the portraits is relatively standard admitting of little variation. As I have indicated, several images of lay people are composed as husband-wife pairs.¹⁷ Many laymen are presented alone as the central figures of the images though diminutive attendants may be present.¹⁸ Monks are almost always portrayed alone,¹⁹ though like lone laymen, they may be accompanied by small attendants.

parents) portraiture might have been one way for Jains to fulfill the filial obligations incumbent upon them.

15. Among one's gurus are: parents, siblings and all religious teachers.

16. *Yogabindu* 100-115, in *Haribhadrayogabhāratī*, volume 1, Mumbai: Divyadarśana Traṣṭa, 1979-80.

17. Of course, those portrait pairs may be grouped into lineage sets as in the case of the family of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla from Abu.

18. Laywomen are seldom portrayed singly. The recent image of Rūpabāī (c. 1847) shown in **Figure 26** and that of Rājīmātī from Mt. Abu (**Figure 27**) are the only examples known to me.

19. The image of Udayadevasūri, Munidevasūri (?) and Vijayadevasūri (n.d.) from Śatruñjaya (**Figure 28**) is exceptional. The three images of the monks Devavijaya *et al.* (1933) from Śatruñjaya (**Figures 20-22**), though carved as separate images might be considered together for they were all donated at the same time and placed in single shrine.

I note here that though there are numerous images of monks from the medieval period, I know of only two medieval images of nuns (see **Figures 86 & 87**).

As I have indicated, the portrait subjects may be standing or seated.²⁰ Standing lay people are always *tribhaṅga*, the posture of three bends, but the standing ascetics known to me are fully erect. Ascetics' hands may hold books, mouth-cloths, rosaries or they may show some *mudrā* (hand gesture) befitting the monastic vocation. Lay people may hold in their hands the requisites of worship but many figures hold large stylized garlands.²¹ The figure of Sādhadeva holds large lotus blossoms. Otherwise lay people usually show the hands folded in reverence (*añalimudrā*). The standing image of Merucandrasūri (**Figure**

20. Those seated are set upon various kinds of seats. Sādhadeva and Guṇasena sit upon four-legged stools (**Figures 17 & 15**), while the parents of Kapardin, Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa and an unidentified layman from Śatruñjaya sit upon a sort of *padmāsana* or lotus-seat (**Figures 14, 19 & 30**).

21. See the figures of Minister Āśāka (**Figure 32**), and Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla (**Figures 3 & 4**). These garlands are large voluminous items, with a chain-link kind of texture, that arc between the hands of the holder. They are capped at either end with stylized lotus buds. Some images of women show simplified versions of such a garland held in one hand and cut off squarely in the middle (see the images of Rājimatī, **Figure 27**, and the wives of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla). U. P. Shah has argued that these are actually purses: the *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa* contains references to purses called *ṇoli* in Old Gujarati which is derived from the Sanskrit and Prakrit *nakula*, *nakulaka*, *naula*, *naulaya*, etc. meaning mongoose; Shah adds that it was believed that a purse made from the hide of a mongoose remained inexhaustible and the god of fortune Kubera is often portrayed holding a mongoose from whose mouth coins fall out (see U.P. Shah's introduction to the *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa* and **HA**, p. 38n.). I was initially compelled by this argument and wanted to believe that images of laymen carrying purses modelled after the purse of Kubera suggested something like a semi-divine status for lay donors who embodied uncommon fortunes. However, the flying figures above Nārāyaṇa (**Figure 14**) and Sādhadeva (**Figure 17**), and the ascetic attendants of Harita Ṛṣi (**Figure 31**) carry what appears to be the same item as Āśāka though these examples are less ornate; as well, remnants of the same less ornate item are held in the hands of the Hindu king Pṛthvīdeva (**Figure 1**). Furthermore, the exquisitely carved elephants of the Lūṇigavasahī *hastisālā* have carved on them intricately detailed chains of these items attached to the front of the howdahs and strung around the elephants' throats (**Figure 56**). Thus, I conclude that these are not purses but merely large garlands.

88)²² is an unusual monk's image that shows *añjalimudrā* though the monk's *mukhapattā* and rosary are held between the fingers; the Achalgarh R̥ṣi (**Figure 37**) is another ascetic that shows *añjalimudrā*.

The ornamentation of portrayed figures is the only feature that really distinguishes monks' from lay peoples' images. I have already mentioned the presence of some of the monks' accouterments in their portraits; additionally, the monk's whisk is often shown horizontally across the back of the subject's head (see **Figures 15, 28 & 35**). Slight traces of monastic robes may be seen in many portraits. Lay subjects, as wealthy nobles capable of great acts of patronage, are adorned in a manner befitting their social status. Jewelry covers many of them head to toe. Men wear bracelets, armlets, anklets and large necklaces; women are similarly adorned with very prominent necklaces around their necks and draped over their breasts. Men and women also often have large round earrings; the monks show distended pierced earlobes, which would have held earrings when the subjects' were still laymen, and which are features of images of the Jinas. Many laymen are covered with well-delineated *dhotis* while laywomen's bodies are marked to show their saris; the tails of long scarves hang from the arms of many lay men

22. The image is from Cambay and was installed in 1434-35 C.E. I have not been able to find published the inscription for this image but according to Shah (JRM, p. 339), it is another image styled as a *jīvitasvāmimūrti* indicating that it was made while Merucandra was alive (like the image of Ratnasūri).

and women. The heads of laywomen are covered by a type of large scarf, called an *odhñī* in Gujarati.²³ Several laymen wear a chain over one shoulder as a sacred cord.²⁴

Laymen are often bearded. Following the truism that no sculptor can really carve hair, the beards are mere tapering bibs hanging from the subjects' chins sometimes etched with vertical lines and the hair on the heads of male figures is usually no more than a smooth cap to which may be added a bun on the top and/or side. The treatment of the monks' heads differs little from images of the Jinas or the Gaṇadharas;²⁵ like those images, the monks have short hair in tight curls with a small bun on the top of the head.

The portraits are rarely free-standing but attached to a *prabhāvali* or backing member analogous to the *parikara*²⁶ of a Jina image. This member may be a simple slab with a rounded top; however, many more ornate examples are carved into a pair of pilasters flanking the subject topped by a trefoil arch.²⁷ The niches for the images of

23. See the wives of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla (**Figures 3 & 4**) but it is more prominent in the case of Māntī, wife of Māṇikya (**Figures 40 & 41**).

24. **Figure 32, 42 & 43.**

25. A *gaṇadhara* is the chief disciple of a Jina. Gautama, the *gaṇadhara* of Mahāvīra, and Puṇḍarīka, the *gaṇadhara* of Ādinātha, are popular subjects for images. A Puṇḍarīka image from Śatruñjaya appears to include an image of the monk Saṅgamasiddha (see **Figure 89**).

26. The *parikara* surrounds a Jina image and shows all his paraphernalia or complement of attending figures and symbols.

27. The Virginia Museum layman (**Figure 43**) is backed by such a member which has pilasters at the side though the top arch is just a semi-circle with a simple geometric pattern carved into it. I note here that a small enshrined Jina is also carved into this arch though it is oddly off centre. The image of Kelachchadevī and Pṛthvīdeva (**Figure 1**) also has a simple rounded top on its very simple *prabhāvali*.

Vastupāla *et al.* follow a similar pattern: the sides consist of thin pilasters with pot and foliage capitals and the tops show mini-*śikharas* (spires), *kumbhas* (pots) and other architectural members in keeping with the niches of the rest of the temple. Laymen of note like Vastupāla are shown with parasols over their heads;²⁸ the figure of “Vanarāja” (**Figure 42**) has such a parasol carved out of its *prabhāvali*.²⁹ Halos are carved around the heads of several subjects, notably a number of lay subjects. The image of Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa has a linear-floral halo etched into the *prabhāvali* as does the “Vanarāja,” though it is deeply carved into the backing slab. The lotus halo around the head of Sādhadeva is deeply carved, its petals curving out to the front of the sculpture. The image of Kelachchadevī and Pṛthvīdeva has a simple nimbus between the heads of the subjects within the semi-circular top of its *prabhāvali*. A prominent halo surrounds the head of the monk Jinadatta in the 13th century image of him from Patan (**Figure 84**).

A variety of attending figures may also be found on the *prabhāvali*. Many images show dwarfed human attendants paying devotion to the portrait subjects or posed like the subjects. Some images have enshrined Jinas and/or demi-gods within the mounting arch. Several images of lay people are accompanied by flying garland-bearers. This last type of attendant figure is particularly interesting because it resonates with

28. I note that according to various texts, the minister Yaśovīra, when asked by Vastupāla to comment on the Lūṅigavasahī, criticised the presence of a parasol over the image of the architect’s mother (*PPS*, p.53).

29. Images of Jinas are often covered by a parasol just as are images of the Buddha. Such a parasol is often three-tiered like those covering many Buddhist *stūpas*. I mention this only because there is a standing Rṣabhanātha (*c.* 1240-1) which is covered with just a single cylindrical umbrella like that over the head of Vastupāla (see *JRM* fig. 40).

several important pan-Indian and specifically Jain ideas which imply that the presence of garland-bearers in portraiture signifies the potential or actual heavenly reward of the portrayed persons. I will discuss these figures in detail below.

Smaller figures at the feet and the sides of the central figures are very common among portraits of monks and lay people. Guṇasena (**Figure 15**) has two small monks flanking him; the one on the left holds his hands in *añjalimudrā* while the one on the right holds a chowrie over Guṇasena's shoulder with one hand and his whisk with his other hand. The Surat/Patan image of a nun (**Figure 86**) is attended by two figures who appear to be laywomen. The woman on the proper right is anointing the head of the nun while the one on the left is massaging her feet. Another monk from Śatruñjaya whom I have not been able to identify (**Figure 35**) is flanked by two monk chowrie-bearers. Chowrie-bearers accompanying lay people are very rare. However, one appears with the equestrian figure at Taranga Hill (**Figure 44**). That figure is also accompanied by a parasol-bearer.³⁰

Other attendants in the images of lay people are usually simple devotees like the central figures. Two small pairs of figures flank the minister Āśāka (**Figure 32**). They each seem to be carrying articles for worship in one hand; but each has their other hand raised over their respective heads for which I have no explanation. The Virginia Museum layman (**Figure 32**) is flanked by small male on the left showing *añjalimudrā*,

30. A similar though relatively larger parasol-bearer sits behind the equestrian figure of Vimāla at the front of the *hastīśālā* of Vimāla's temple at Abu (**Figure 46**). Also, a diminutive figure with parasol can be seen on the "Vanarāja" image.

and two females on the right, one kneeling showing *añjalimudrā* and one standing carrying articles for worship. The standing figures seem to be in a devotional posture like the main figure; however, the kneeling figure seems to be showing her devotion to the portrait subject. A similar kneeling male devotee is found at the feet of “Saha Purnā” at Śatruñjaya (**Figure 45**)³¹ though he seems not to have his attention focused on Saha Purnā. The kneeling devotees next to the seats of the parents of minister Kapardin are both turned in towards the subjects (**Figure 19**). An image of Hīravijaya from Mt. Abu (**Figure 16**) is flanked by two standing monks and two kneeling lay devotees flank Hīravijaya’s seat.³² The image of Kelachchadevī and Pṛthvīdeva is flanked by small attendants with one hand raised over their heads as in the image of Āśāka, and a kneeling devotee is carved on the right of the pedestal next to the inscription.

None of the figures described above can be identified. However, some interesting portrait specimens include identifiable attendants. The image of Muniśekhara-sūri³³ is flanked by figures of the lay people Sūrā and Bālā, two brothers who commissioned the portrait.³⁴ The Merucandrasūri *jīvitsvāmimūrti* from Cambay (**Figure 88**) is

31. The figure is so identified by the AIIS photo archive though the published inscription which appears to correspond to it lacks this identification (SSG 108).

32. The 17th century images of Jinakuśala and Jinadatta from Sirohi have the same arrangement of attendants (see Jośī, Madanlāl, *Dādāvarī-Digdarśana*, Bombay: Śrī Jinadattasūri Sevāsaṅgha, 1962-63, plates opposite pp. 134, 135).

33. This monk came from a rather prestigious lineage: his guru was Jñāna-candrasūri who consecrated the repairs to the Vimalavasahī made by Vijāḍa and his brothers in 1322; they belonged to the lineage of Dharmaghoṣasūri who performed the original consecration of Vimala’s temple.

34. Abu II 91.

attended by the monks Pralayacandrasūri and Munitilakasūri. Some portrayed subjects are simply small attending figures. The images of Sonī Vīghā and Saṃghavaṇi Caṃpāi attend the large central Jina on a plaque of 72 Jinas found in the *navachokī* of the Lūṅiga-vasahī.³⁵

There are two other interesting cases where the portraits are merely attendant figures. In the first case the merchant Māṇikya and his wife Māntī are portrayed kneeling with hands folded in adoration next to an image of Gomukha; another sculpture from the same temple shows the same couple similarly posed next to an image of Cakreśvarī (Figures 40 & 41).³⁶ Another similar example comes from the Vimalavasahī at Mt. Abu (Figure 47).³⁷ The image shows a very lovely Sarasvatī seated in regal ease (*lalitāsāna*).³⁸ Standing on either side of the goddess are two labeled figures: Sūtradhara Kelā, his hands folded in *añjalimudrā*, and Sūtradhara Loyana, holding a measuring rod

35. This *paṭṭa* was commissioned by Caṃpāi for her own spiritual welfare (*svaśreyase*; Abu II 263). I return to this concomitance of merit and portraiture below.

36. These sculptures are from Ladol in Gujarat but are now housed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (see Chandra, Moti, Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay: Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1974, pp.34-36; Shah, U.P., “Jaina Sculptures from Lāḍol,” *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, vol. 3 (1954), pp. 66-73. They were set up in 1299 C.E. The *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* are enshrined like other deities, Jinas, as well as many portraits.

37. It is the only portrait known to me that is in a ceiling panel.

38. She is four-armed with typical cognisances of the goddess of learning. As in many lay and monastic portraits, two devotees kneel at the feet of the goddess. Also, garland-bearers fly about the goddess’s head; as I discuss below, these figures also occur in several portraits. Later I review the several similarities between portraits and ‘venerable’ images: I find it hard to believe that it is mere coincidence or the reliance on convention that produced these similarities.

between his folded hands. These two seem to be the chief architect and sculptor of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* which was rebuilt or added to the Vimalavasahī in c. 1148-50.³⁹

Several portraits also include the feature of enshrined Jinas and/or deities within the arches topping the images. The ‘shrines’ for these figures exactly parallel the form of the *prabhāvali* of the portraits themselves. I have mentioned the off-centre Jina atop the Virginia Museum layman. The figure of Guṇasenasūri also has such a Jina at the apex of its trefoil arch. The Hīravijaya in the Vimalavasahī at Abu (**Figure 16**) has three Jinas within the top arch which stand out boldly from the surface of the arch. The image of Rājimatī from the Lūṇigavasahī at Abu (**Figure 27**) is surmounted by a Jina though it is not placed in a ‘shrine’. A 12th century image of a standing nun (**Figure 86**) is topped by a Jina seated on a *padmāsana* and covered by an umbrella or *śikhara*-like feature; flanking the Jina are gods on elephants preparing to anoint the Jina from pots they hold in their hands. The portrait of Sāḍhadeva has an enshrined Jina at the top; within niches mounting the flanking pilasters are a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣiṇī*; and niches at the two intersections of the arch’s three foils contain pots as auspicious symbols. Since many of these portraits themselves are similarly enshrined I have to believe that viewers of these

39. HA pp. iii, 55. Now, Granoff points out that medieval literature, including works on poetics, describes the very best of poets as tantric devotees of Sarasvatī; poets worship the goddess of learning and thereby attain incredible poetic ability, great memories and supernatural knowledge. As artisans, Loyana and Kelā were undoubtedly devotees of Sarasvatī, but perhaps the ceiling panel demonstrating this relationship is suggesting something more for the creators of this spectacular portico. Perhaps these men wished to label this temple with the claim that Sarasvatī blessed them with supernatural powers in order to create such an uncommon edifice. See Granoff, Phyllis, “Sarasvatī’s Sons: Biographies of Poets in Medieval India,” *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques* XLIX·2·1995, pp. 351-375.

portraits did not strongly distinguish between enshrined portraits and enshrined deities or Tīrthaṅkaras. As I have said, some of the diminutive attendants in the portraits appear to be paying homage to the main subjects. When we look at the images of Māṅkya and his wife worshipping the ‘enshrined’ gods Cakreśvarī and Gomukha, we can recognize an arrangement parallel to the attendants worshipping portrait subjects. On this basis, we cannot be certain that portraits (of lay people) were not intended as objects of worship like images of the Jinas and the gods.

The presence of attending garland-bearers on some portraits seems to confirm further that at least some portraits (of lay people) were worthy of worship or at least that their subjects were heavenly in some way. The very interesting image of Sādhadeva, which has already been mentioned several times, shows a pair of these garland-bearers at the shoulders of the subject. The image of Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa (**Figure 14**), which is otherwise rather simple, has conspicuous garland-bearers at either side of the subject’s head. Such garland-bearers also often appear on images of deities and Jinas. The Vimalavasahī image of Sarasvatī, which is flanked by the builder and architect, also shows such figures as does an image of Lakṣmī from the same temple.⁴⁰ The parallel between the portraits, like those of Sādhadeva and Nārāyaṇa, and the images of the goddesses Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, might imply that the portrait subjects share something with the goddesses.

But here, it is perhaps more fruitful to note some Jain and greater-Indian material that might help to show that the subjects of the portraits were no mere human

40. HA figs. 23, 24.

beings. Nalini Balbir, in her analysis of Jain stories about giving, delineates a pattern which follows from a pious gift: first, the donor secures a god's life, then from heaven treasures, *flowers* and garments fall, the gods beat their drums and they shout "Wonderful! A gift! A gift!"⁴¹ I believe that the falling flowers and promise of rebirth as a god are implied by the medieval Jain portraits by the presence of the figures of heavenly garland-bearers. Many portraits accompanied the building or renovation of a temple. Tejaḥpāla's Lūṅigavasahī includes the famous portraits of the donor and his family; and, Desala's renovation of the Ādīśvara temple at Śatruñjaya was accompanied by portraits of Desala and family. The inscriptions on the images of Māṅikya and his wife with the *yakṣa/yakṣī* inform us that those images were part of Māṅikya's own temple which he had renovated.⁴² The inscription on the image of minister Āśāka tells us that Āśāka added a *vilāsamaṇḍapa* to Vanarāja's temple at Patan in which this portrait is located.⁴³ These temple renovations or new constructions are undoubtedly 'Jain gifts' and promise the patrons rich merit; on the pattern of Balbir's stories, these gifts promise the patrons great heavenly rewards, that is, a god's life. Perhaps the portraits, showing garland-bearers, serve to denote this.

41. Balbir, Nalini, "The Micro-genre of *Dāna*-Stories in Jaina Literature: Problems of Interrelation and Diffusion," *IT XI* (1983), pp. 148-149. Balbir also points out that the motif of such gifts falling from heaven is known from stories like that of Mahavīra's birth.

42. Chandra, 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

43. Singh, Arvind Kumar, "The Fresh Reading and Interpretation of Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha Temple Inscription," in Aspects of Jainology: Vol. II, Pt. Becharadas Doshi commemoration Volume, Dhaky, M. A. and Sagarmal Jain, eds., Varanasi: P.V. Research Institute, 1987, pp. 86-88.

At the same time, the descent of celestials has broader Indic associations. In the Indian cult of the fallen hero it is believed that Apsarases hover above the battlefield waiting for warriors to fall so that they may be carried up to heaven.⁴⁴ Such a picture of the heroic death is present in Jain literature also: in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* Āmrabhāṭa, the son of the minister Udayana, died in a battle and “passed into existence as a god, being emulously chosen by the Apsarases, who came to behold that wonderful sight.”⁴⁵

Now, Āmrabhāṭa was also a great temple patron: he is well-known as the builder of the Śakunikāvihāra in Broach. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* says that when that temple was being built, several workmen were injured when the Narmadā river caused a test trench for the temple to collapse.⁴⁶ Filled with compassion, Āmrabhāṭa jumped into the trench with his wife and children. The text then says that by Āmrabhāṭa’s courage the obstacles to the completion of the temple were removed. Thus, we might view Āmrabhāṭa’s death in battle as that of both a heroic warrior and heroic temple builder.⁴⁷ The celestials come to escort both kinds of heroes to heaven, as they escorted Āmrabhāṭa. I

44. Forbes, Alexander Kinloch, *Rās-Mālā Hindu Annals of Western India with Particular Reference to Gujarat*, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1973, p. 689.

45. *PCT*, p. 153.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

47. As Granoff says with respect to this very story and others, “temple building ... is a super human rather than a purely human act; it is also done when the pious layman oversteps the normal behaviour appropriate to a lay Jain and does battle with supernatural forces (Granoff, Phyllis, “The Householder as Shaman Jain Biographies of Temple Builders,” *EW* Vol. 42 - Nos. 2-4, December 1992, p. 315).

believe that the portraits that include garland-bearers denote the heavenly rebirth of their subjects, and I believe that we may extend this conception to other portraits as well.

From the discussion of the compositional features of portraits above we may conclude that all the images represent a coherent body of work which need not be subdivided according to the sect of the subjects or their social status, be they ascetics or lay people. I believe that a comparison of Hindu and Jain images of 'lay couples' suffices to show a continuity between Jain and Hindu portraiture which, I also believe, extends to the general meaning behind them. Furthermore, the fact that only a few marks of identity distinguish lay portraits from monastic while the rest of their programmes is shared in every respect shows that they also were subject to a common conception (at least in an early period).⁴⁸

The composition of the portraits appears to be related to that of the images of the (Jain) deities. This becomes apparent by comparing at least the seated portraits to the National Museum Sarasvatī (**Figure 18**). Obviously, the features which mark this as the image of a goddess, the large crown, the cognisances and of course the four arms, distinguish it from almost every portrait.⁴⁹ Also, this image is a much finer piece of

48. Immediately below I show how they did eventually diverge in certain contexts. In subsequent chapters I describe some of the historical circumstances in which that divergence took place: monks' portraits did eventually become primarily objects of worship (by which time lay portraiture had become very rare).

49. I must note here a fact to which I return in a later chapter. The figures that remain, mounted on elephants, in the Vimalavasahī *hastisālā* (or "elephant pavilion") at Mt. Abu, are four-armed. U.P. Shah says that the figures must have been given this feature in order for them to carry the objects of worship that they do; however I find it hard to believe that the sculptor, even at the behest of his patron, would resort to this device, usually reserved for the gods, for so mundane a purpose. Rather I have to believe

workmanship than the average portrait, and yet, many of its features are those which I have described for the portraits. This Sarasvatī sits *lalitāsana* like most seated portrait subjects. The *prabhāvali* differs from that of a portrait only in its ornamental detail. Sarasvatī is flanked by diminutive attendants and a small devotee kneels at her feet, hands folded in reverence towards the goddess, as attendants in some portraits do. Pilasters ‘enshrine’ the goddess as they do in several portraits. Also, like many portraits, the Sarasvatī image is topped by an enshrined Jina. From the pilaster capitals flows a sinuous arch like that on the Abu image of Hīravijaya (**Figure 16**).⁵⁰ Finally, this image also has heavenly flying figures atop the pilasters which are comparable to the garland-bearers in some portraits.

What are we to make of this? I am not trying to say that the portrait subjects were supposed to be gods on the order of Sarasvatī. But, I think that the representation of a subject in stone in a medieval Western Indian temple told everyone that the subject was no ordinary person, but likely to gain or having already gained a very special reward upon death, *i.e.* heavenly rebirth; suggestions of such a conception and how it worked are to be found in some portrait inscriptions.

Yet, the portrait, with its formal similarity to an image of a proper god, and complex notions surrounding heavenly rebirth (including in some cases the power of the heavenly reborn to perform miracles in the world, as the gods of the proper Jain pantheon

that the images were meant to appear as gods (see HA, p. 80n.).

50. However, in the case of the goddess the arch is formed from the mouths of *makaras* (sea monsters) emanating from the capitals and the Jina’s niche at the top of the image.

certainly can) make it conceivable that some portrait subjects (some portraits) could become venerated. Later, I will suggest how certain lay patrons, particularly the Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, manipulated this complexity in the service of their religious and political agendas. Furthermore, I will show how the monk's portrait went from a benefit for the deceased monk to a full object of worship, notably with respect to monks of the Kharataragaccha, and how the deceased monk went from being a mere denizen of heaven to a powerful god capable of intervening in the affairs of mortals.

I.2. The Portrait Inscriptions

I.2.1. General Remarks

The inscriptions tell us much information that we would hope to learn: the date an image was set up,⁵¹ the identity of its patron(s) and the identity of its subject(s).⁵² But sometimes we also learn several things that speak to the meaning(s) of the images. On the one hand, certain evidence suggests the superhuman status of the portrait subjects. For one thing, portrait inscriptions differ little from the inscriptions for venerable objects like images of the gods and the Jinas. Like those images, the portraits were subject to consecration (*pratiṣṭhitā*). Most importantly, some portrait inscriptions indicate that merit resulted from the portrait: some portraits were intended to make merit for their subjects; others, usually monks' portraits, were intended to make merit for their donors, in the way that images of the gods and the Jinas were. On the other hand, certain evidence appears to mitigate against any generalization in favour of a superhuman status for any portrayed subjects. In inscriptions, lay portraits are rarely called anything but *mūrti* while images of the gods are often called *pratimā*, and images of the Jinas are usually called *bimba*. Most monks' portraits are also called *mūrti*, although some images

51. All medieval Jain inscriptions use the Vikrama Saṃvat, the epoch of which was the new moon of March 57 B.C.E. For a formula of conversion see *IA*, July 1878, p. 181.

The bulk of the portraits were set up between the 12th and 15th centuries, although several important monks' portraits come from the 16th and 17th centuries.

52. Sometimes this is all the information we get and only from inscribed labels as in the case of the images of Tejaḥpāla *et al.* at his Abu temple (Abu II 319-20).

of monks are called *pratimā* which suggests that they are qualitatively different from images of lay people. As well, it is a very few number of portrait inscriptions that make reference to merit (for the subjects or the donors). The vast majority of the inscriptions do not seem to make any reference to merit at all.

Clearly, the epigraphical evidence is not definitive with respect to the meaning or meanings behind the portraits. However, I believe that there is enough data to retain provisionally the idea that the portraits, in general, lay and monastic, represent more than the simple memorialization of historical persons. The aim of the subsequent analyses is not only to bolster my thesis of a special status of portrayed subjects, but also to elucidate the manifold expressions of such a status.

The following is a typical specimen of portrait epigraphy:

saṃvat 1226 varṣe vaiśāṣa(kha) śudi 3 some śrīmadarbude mahā-
 tīrthe śrīkavaḍinā svakīyapitṛ tha° śrīāmapasā tathā svakīyamāṭṛ
 tha° sītādevyoḥ mūrttidvayo(yī) devaśrīṣabhanāthāgra(gre) kṛtā
 akṣayaṭṛtīyādine ācārya śrīdharmaghoṣasūribhiḥ pratiṣṭitaḥ(ṣṭhitā)
 // maṅgalamahāśrīḥ //⁵³

It says that in 1170 C.E. the Royal Minister Kapardin (Kavaḍi) caused to be made an image of his father Amapasā and mother Sītādevī⁵⁴ which was set up in front of Ṛṣabhanātha at Abu and was consecrated by Dharmaghoṣasūri. The inscription tells us the pertinent information, such as the identities of the subjects, the donor and the monk

53. Abu II 236.

54. This is the image shown in **Figure 19**.

who consecrated the portrait.⁵⁵ The inscription does not mention merit, but it does conclude with the benediction “[may there be] auspiciousness and great fortune” (*maṅgalamahāsrīḥ*);⁵⁶ this expression in and of itself is not significant or unusual, however, benedictions occur in portrait inscriptions with unusually high frequency. The inscriptions for monks’ portraits deviate little from this pattern except that references to merit are more common.⁵⁷

55. Other inscriptions may be more specific, telling us the caste and clan of the donors and subjects and perhaps the names of one or more degrees of ancestors, and the name of the lineage (*gaccha*) of the officiating monk and one or more of his predecessors. Such data appear to be superfluous in the epigraph in question since the donor appears to be Kapardin, well-known as the minister to the Caulukyan king Kumārapāla (see *HA*, pp. 83-4n.; *PCT*, pp. 138-40, 115ff.) and the officiating monk was the source of a popular lineage named for him (See Deo, S.B. *History of Jaina Monasticism*, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. XVI, June 1954-March 1955, pp. 525f.).

56. The date of the consecration of the portrait, the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, specified at the beginning of the record, is interesting for it is the festival day *akṣayaṭṛtīya* mentioned later in the inscription. According to Monier-Williams, it “secures permanency to actions then performed.” It is the anniversary of the beginning of the Satyayuga upon which gifts to Brahmins produce infinite merit according to Hindus (Underhill, M.M., *The Hindu Religious Year*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991, originally published 1921, p. 64). In Jainism, *akṣayaṭṛtīya* marks the occasion when Ṛṣabhanātha broke his first fast by accepting sugarcane juice from Prince Śreyāṃsā; for this good deed, the prince received infinite merit (see Cort, John E., “Liberation and Wellbeing: A Study of the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains of Northern Gujarat,” Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard, 1989, p. 294).

57. Compare the inscription from the image of the parents of Kapardin with the following inscription for the portrait of a monk:

saṃvat 1518 varṣe jyeṣṭha vadi 5 dine ūkeśavaṃśe vya / kuśa-
lākena saparivāreṇa śreyorthaṃ śrījinabhadrasūrīśvarānāṃ mūrṭiḥ
kāritā / pratiṣṭhitā śrīkharataragacche śrījinacandrasūribhiḥ /
(*Nākoḍā* 32).

The only fundamental difference between the two records is that this image was made for the spiritual benefit (*śreyorthaṃ*) of the donor and his family.

The pattern of the portrait inscriptions closely resembles the pattern of the inscriptions for images of the gods and Jinas from the medieval period almost up to the present. Consider the following examples:

saṃvat 1466 varṣe vaiśākha śudi 3 some prāgvāṭa jñatau maṃ^o
sobhita bhā^o lāuladevī su^o bhādena pitroḥ śre^o śrīadinātha-
bimbaṃ kā^o pra^o śrīkora(rem)tagacche nannasūribhiḥ⁵⁸

saṃvat 1361 phālgunaśudi 3 gurvāre adyeha śrīsarasvatī
śrīmaccandrakule vaṃsā(?)cārya śrīvarddhamānasamtane
sādhvī malayasumdarī śiṣyaṇī bāī suhava ātmaśreyase śrīambikā-
devīmūrṭiḥ kārāpitā śrīsomasūriśiṣyaiḥ śrībhāvadevasūribhiḥ
pratiṣṭhitā // cha //⁵⁹

The first example records the donation of an image of Ādinātha, the second, an image of the Jain goddess Ambikā. Each record reports the date of consecration, the patron, the object of donation, and the monk who consecrated each image. But we are also told that the Jina image was donated for the merit of the donor's parents (*pitroḥ śre^o [śreyase or śreyorthaṃ]*) and the goddess image for the merit of the donor herself (*ātmāśreyase*).⁶⁰

My analysis of medieval Jain donative records indicates that about 70% of the records for images of gods, Jinas and the like carry merit references like those above, and usually that merit was transferred.⁶¹ The near absence of merit references among portrait records is peculiar. Perhaps portraits were not usually thought to make merit, or perhaps

58. *PLS* 101 from a Jain temple in Udaipur. Coincidentally, this donation was also made on the occasion of *akṣayatṛtīya*, like the portrait of Kapardin's parents.

59. *PJLS* II 522 from a Jain temple in Radhanpur.

60. Incidentally, the donor was a nun named Suhava. I return to this record and the subject of monastic gifting in part **III**.

61. This analysis is based upon the 500 inscriptions in *PLS*.

it was simply obvious that portraits produced merit (in many cases for the subjects, in some cases for the donor).

Since the portrait inscriptions usually refer to the consecration of the image (*pratiṣṭhita*) just as the inscriptions for images of the gods and Jinas do, presumably, the portraits were subject to exactly the same enlivening ritual as were images to be worshiped, especially since monks were required to officiate. The presence of jeweled eyes and *tilakas* on several portraits appears to indicate the consecration (or reconsecration) of the images.⁶² Among the three portraits consecrated by Devavijayagani (**Figures 20-22**), his own does not have jeweled eyes or a *tilaka*, perhaps because he was (obviously) alive when the portrait was erected, while jewels are prominent on the other two images, perhaps indicating that the subjects were deceased at the time (and reborn in heaven?).⁶³

62. According to Cort (1989, *op. cit.*, p. 393), this is a feature of Śvetāmbara images, but not Digambara images. Furthermore, Cort says that “Śvetāmbara Jains argue that these added eyes enhance the efficacy of the rite of *darśan* [the image’s ‘viewing’ of the devotee which has spiritual efficacy].” This idea invites much speculation about the portraits with such added eyes which I do not wish to enter into here; however, let me say only that the presence of the eyes implies that the portraits might be considered to be ‘alive’ in the way that other images are typically thought to be.

63. To my knowledge, most portraits received little in the way of further devotion after consecration, but this is the case with the hundreds of images donated to Jain temples all over Gujarat and Rajasthan. Yet, I observed at Śatruñjaya that portraits there received the same (rather perfunctory) daily bathing and anointing with sandal paste as every other image at the site. Sandalwood paste is clearly visible on the image of Ratnaprabhasūri from the Osian Mahāvīra temple (**Figure 33**) and I observed the same on, for example, the image of Samarasimha and wife at Śatruñjaya.

I must note also that I observed at Abu several pilgrims who, before entering the Vimalavasahī, paid their respects to the equestrian figure of Vimala in the *hastisālā* by touching the threshold and touching their foreheads then showing *namas* to the statue.

John Cort says that “Jains refer to the very stone or metal [of an image] as being transformed (*samskārit*) by the mantras spoken by the monk [in the consecration ceremony];” furthermore, they say that the ritual efficacy of a consecrated image is a function of the spiritual qualities of the monk who consecrates it.⁶⁴ Thus, the portraits, subject to consecration like all other images, might have been imagined to have been transformed into something other than mere stone or at least ‘enlivened’; since the consecrators were often monks of renown, we might suppose that the portraits were imbued with great ‘ritual efficacy’. Such power, I believe, made the portrait a conduit of merit (for the subject). The merit collected on behalf of the portrait subject must have been intended to secure the subject’s rebirth in heaven, or perhaps extend his or her stay there, presuming that most of the subjects were deceased when the images were made. At the same time, the empowering of the portrait by consecration must have been part of the foundation upon which the deification of certain deceased monks was built (which I consider in part **IV**).

Variation in the terminology used for images of the Jinas and the gods, and the portraits in the inscriptions suggests that some people recognized a difference between these types of images, though the pattern is inconsistent. As I have said, Jina images are almost always called *bimba*, images of the gods are often called *pratimā*, and early medieval portraits are usually called *mūrti*, as in the cases of the parents of

64. Cort, John, “Doing for Others: Merit Transfer and Karma Mobility in Jainism,” unpublished manuscript of a paper for the forthcoming *feschrift* for P.S. Jaini, p. 12. I thank Professor Cort for supplying me with a copy of this paper. Elsewhere (1989, *op. cit.*, p. 415n.) Cort says that some Jains say that an image is empowered by the ‘eye-opening’ rite “by which it is initially ‘enlivened’ by a mendicant.”

Kapardin and Jinabhadrasūri cited above. Although *bimba*, *pratimā* and *mūrti* are otherwise synonymous, meaning “image,” and interchangeable, their respective usages in Jain donative inscriptions seems to imply a gradation of venerableness. That is to say, portraits might not have originally had the same sanctity as Jina images or even images of the gods.

However, many exceptions to this pattern occur in inscriptions and texts,⁶⁵ and sometimes, I suspect, they are not without purpose. In a single anecdote, the *KGBG*, a lineage history of the Kharataragaccha, refers to Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Sarasvatī *pratimās*, a Kṣetrapāla *bimba* as well as a *pratimā* of Jinadattasūri;⁶⁶ elsewhere the text refers to portraits by the terms *mūrti* and *pratimā* suggesting that this text makes no distinction between the terms. But, we must look at Kharatara evidence very carefully since within this line developed the Dādāguru cult, Śvetāmbara Jainism’s only formal cult of the monastic dead. The Jinadatta *pratimā* referred to above might have been conceived as much more than a simple memorial, since Jinadatta is the first and foremost of the Dādāgurus. Later I discuss in detail the *mūrti* of Jinaratna and the *pratimā* of Jinacandra, as they are known from their inscriptions. Both were donated and consecrated by

65. Several 11th-12th century Jina images from Gujarat are called *pratimā* (*PLS* 2ff.) as are some relatively early monks’ portraits (see **Table A.**).

The image of Rājīmatī of 1459 from the Lūṅigavasahī at Abu, apparently the portrait of a laywoman, is also called a *pratimā* (**Figure 27**; Abu II 255). Shah notes that Rājīmatī is the name of the betrothed of Neminātha, and if the image does portray her then it might be worthy of the designation. However, Shah is reluctant to make such an identification, for the image is styled exactly like a lay portrait and its inscription tells us nothing else about the identity of this Rājīmatī (*HA*, p. 97n.).

66. *KGBG*, pp. 50f.

Jinakuśalasūri at Śatruñjaya in 1322. Jinakuśala himself might have wished to distinguish the two images, and proclaim somewhat greater sanctity for the image of Jinacandra, who was not only Jinakuśala's uncle and guru, but also his predecessor as head of the Kharataragaccha. In part **IV** I will argue that Jinakuśala and others in the Kharataragaccha were actually promoting the proper deification of Jinacandra with respect to the portrait in question.

This early Kharatara push to the deification of the monastic dead resulted in the organized Dādāguru cult, but not until the Mughal era.⁶⁷ Later medieval efforts to deify monks appear to have occurred also in the Tapāgaccha, the main rival of the Kharataragaccha, for we find Mughal period portraits of its monks which are also designated by *pratimā*.⁶⁸ In part **IV** I argue that the Tapāgaccha tried to create a cult to compete with the Kharatara's Dādāguru cult as evidenced by the images to which I just referred. I offer further evidence of this below, for the inscriptions of some Tapāgaccha portraits (and some Kharatara ones) report that the images were erected for the merit of the patrons of the images, indicating that the images were primarily thought of as objects of veneration.

67. We might recognize the completion of this process in the 19th and 20th century portraits of Jinakuśala, himself one of the four Dādāgurus of the formalized cult, which are called *bimbas* (Jośī, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

68. See **Table A**.

1.2.2. Portrait Inscriptions and the Issue of Merit

References to merit in the portrait inscriptions might offer one of the best clues to the meaning or meanings behind the portraits, except that, as I have said, the vast majority of portrait records make no *direct* reference to merit, for the benefit of either the donors or subjects. This paucity does not mean that the rest of the portraits were not meant to be meritorious; and, the references to merit for the donors of Jain monks' portraits, along with the virtual absence of expressions of merit for lay Jain portraits, does not mean necessarily that we must make a *fundamental* distinction between lay and monastic portraiture. The meritorious nature of the portraits might have often been taken for granted (the portrait of a lay person being obviously for the merit of the subject) or donors might have veiled their intentions because it was considered inappropriate in certain circles to claim that subjects benefitted from portraits, or that donors benefitted from donating monks' portraits.⁶⁹ I believe that the evidence showing that some portraits were made for the merit of their subjects is enough to extend the idea to several other portraits. Additionally, I believe that the evidence of the benedictions at the end of several portrait records *indirectly* shows the connection between merit and portraiture.

It shall appear to some readers that I belabour a rather uncontroversial claim to which they would readily assent, that many if not all portraits were erected for the

69. Proscription with respect to portraiture is not unheard of in Indian history: according to the *Sukraniti* "the images of gods yield happiness to men and lead to heaven, but those of men lead away from heaven and yield grief" and that "the images of men, even if well-formed, are never for human good" (Sacred Books of the Hindus IV. iv. 154-155, 158, cited in SIPSM, pp. 32f.).

merit of their subjects. However, I know that some scholars might not concede the point. First, if some portraits were erected for the spiritual benefit of their subjects, then the portraits represent a form of merit transfer. A body of conservative Jain literature, and contemporary scholarship referring to it, insists that a thoroughgoing understanding of the Jain mechanism of karma and its results precludes merit transfer: one only obtains the results of one's own deeds; no one can perform a good deed on behalf of another.⁷⁰ Practices like the Hindu *śrāddha*, performed on behalf of dead ancestors, and merit transfer in Buddhism are illegitimate according to a view of karma whereby "except for karma earned for oneself by oneself, no one gives anything to anybody."⁷¹

P.S. Jaini says that certain types of beliefs and practices of questionable orthodoxy have entered Jainism, but he insists that with respect to the transference of merit through some pious deed,

the Jainas have been absolutely unwilling to allow such ideas to penetrate their community, despite the fact that there must have been a tremendous amount of social pressure on them to do so very strictly applied belief in the non-transference of karma has been reflected in the complete absence from the Jaina community of certain ritual forms typical of Brāhmanical society.⁷²

70. See Jaini, P.S. "Karma and the Problem of Rebirth in Jainism," in O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger, ed., *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980; "Is there a Popular Jainism?" in Carrithers, Michael and Caroline Humphrey, eds., *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

71. Amitagati, a 10th century *ācārya* cited in Jaini, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

However, it is undeniable that medieval Jains believed in the transferability of merit. In the *PLS*⁷³ over 70% of the image inscriptions refer to merit and in more than 70% of those cases the benefit was to go to parties other than or in addition to the donors.⁷⁴ This marked propensity for merit transfer among medieval Jains is strong circumstantial evidence for my claim that many portraits, especially of lay people, benefitted their subjects.

Without direct reference to the issue of merit, some scholars, presumably on theological grounds, would discount the idea that the Western Indian portrait benefitted its subject in any way. For example, K.C. Jain says that

statues of famous Ācāryas are seen in Jain temples, and they are worshipped by devotees The images of the goddesses as also of the Ācāryas were used for worship, but those of the donors were meant only to preserve their memory.⁷⁵

I can only guess that Jain draws this distinction with something in mind like the *namaskāra*, which describes the venerableness of the five grades of Jain ascetics that constitute the monastic community.⁷⁶ Of course, if any image is considered strictly in

73. A collection of 500 inscriptions almost all of which record the donation of images ranging in date from 1067 to 1491 and from all over Gujarat and Rajasthan.

74. Notably, in over half of these cases of merit transfer the beneficiaries were one or both parents. This clear emphasis on filial piety is significant for my purposes given the number of lay portraits representing the parents and or ancestors of the donors.

75. Jain, K.C., *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur: Jaina Saṃskṛti Saṃrakshaka Saṅgha, 1963, p. 135.

76. The *namaskāra* is a brief Prakrit formula considered by some to be Jainism's most basic statement of belief. As Babb says, "it is a charter for a type of ritual, singling out a certain class of beings as proper objects of worship. These beings ...

are all ascetics.” These ascetics are the Jinas, Siddhas, Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas, as well as all other monks. See Babb, Lawrence A., Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 22f.

However, the *namaskāra* mantra is not the only formula recognized in Jain tradition which circumscribes the beings worthy of worship. In the *Ṣoḍaśaślokī*, Dharmasāgara, the well-known 16th century Tapāgaccha polemicist (see part IV), defends the Jain worship of the gods, particularly the Presiding Goddess of the Faith (Śāsanadevatā) against those who would infer that

Worship of the Presiding Goddess of the Faith is a cause for dishonouring the right Faith, because it is worship of a goddess (god), like the worship of goddesses (or gods) such as Cāmuṇḍā.

Dharmasāgara replies, citing the *Thānāṅga* 426:

There are five ways in which souls can act that will assist them in their quest for Enlightenment. They can praise the Arhats, praise the Dharma proclaimed by the Arhats, praise the *ācāryas* and *upādhyāyas*, praise the four-fold Jain community of monks, nuns, and male and female lay disciples, and praise the gods whose religious observances have come to fruition (*vivakkabambhacerāṅam*).

A Sanskrit gloss on this Prakrit passage construes the 5th category of beings worthy of worship as “those who have become gods through the fruits of their austerities and religious restraints” (*vipakva-tapo-brahmacāryāṅam*).

It must surely be under the influence of such a conception that, in particular, Jain monks like the Dādāgurus were imagined to have been reborn as gods worthy of worship; it must have been an idea such as this that Jain monks manipulated to further the claims of the divinity of certain deceased monks, as I argue is the case with respect to Jinakuśalasūri and the portrait he donated of his guru Jinacandrasūri (see part IV).

Furthermore, it must have been under the influence of such a conception that lay donors could indicate their potential heavenly rebirth, or even potential divinity in the manner of the more powerful Jain gods, or the homology between themselves and ‘the gods beginning with Indra’, through temple patronage, as I argue in part II.

Dharmasāgara’s conception of proper objects of worship is significant for my purposes even beyond its potential with respect to the deification of the dead. In it there is clearly an affirmation of lay life in Jainism: lay Jains are also worthy of worship, presumably because they further the Jain cause, as do Indra and other gods. Babb argues that the explanation for the Dādāguru cult is to be found in an apparent tension between lay values and Jainism’s highest values, embodied in ascetic life, which is relaxed in the cult. But if ideas like those of Dharmasāgara had any currency in the Kharataragaccha (in

terms of its potential venerableness according to this formula, then we might come to Jain's conclusion, which cannot encompass the idea of a benefit which the portrait subject would derive from the image, particularly where the subject is a monk.

Jain's distinction is problematic in light of a number of portrait contexts that I shall discuss later. Here I remind readers of the case of the portrait of Guṇasenasūri, which was donated by the subject's disciple Rāmacandra "for his guru's own merit" (*svagurusreyase*).⁷⁷ This case is very important for it makes it possible to imagine that other Jain portraits were erected for the merit of their subjects. But it is also very important because it is one of several monks' portraits donated by other monks. In fact, of all the records for monks' portraits that I have, about one third indicate that the donor was a monk! Some, like those associated with Jinakuśala (see *IV.5.*), might have been intended primarily as objects of worship, thus falling within Jain's conception, but then, I think, their more obvious purposes were worldly and political. Several other images though, donated by obscure monks and portraying equally obscure subjects, must have participated in the meaning illustrated by the image of Guṇasena and been intended to benefit their subjects. This is supported by several other kinds of donations made by monks, for the merit of other monks (see **Table D.**). At the very least, all these unusual data concerning monastic gifting make it imperative that I offer all possible evidence for

the same era, for the proper Dādāguru cult appears to have developed around the 16th century), then it is difficult to see where any lay-ascetic tension might occur. I consider this point in the **Appendix** at the end of the thesis.

I thank Phyllis Granoff for providing me with this information on Dharmasāgara's *Ṣoḍaśaślokī*; the translations here are hers.

77. SSG 152.

my claim that many Western Indian portraits were erected for the welfare of their subjects.

There is some very interesting Hindu evidence which speaks to the meaning of the Western Indian portrait, relating to the heavenly rebirth of portrait subjects and specifically about the merit-making potential of the portrait. The 12th century image of the Gahadavala queen Kelachchadevī and king Pṛthvīdeva, of which mention has already been made, while not explicitly made for a subject's merit, represents a unique coincidence of ideas about giving and merit, death and the hereafter, and portraiture. Its inscription reports that, upon the death of Pṛthvīdeva, Kelachchadevī vowed to commit *satī*, but was dissuaded from doing so by her children and the king's ministers.⁷⁸ In lieu of that act of the true wife, Kelachchadevī commissioned a Śiva temple "for the increased merit and fame of King Pṛthvīdeva who had gone to heaven,"⁷⁹ in the temple she had placed the portrait of herself and the king, which the inscription describes as "oozing the nectar of the gods."⁸⁰ Although the merit mentioned in the record was clearly conceived as resulting from the donation of the temple, and although the record implies that Pṛthvīdeva was thought to have gone to heaven on his own merit, the portrait, it seems, was

78. Tewari, S.P., "No.7–National Museum Inscription of Kelachchadevī V.S. 1239," *EI* XLI (1975-76), pp. 58-60. This also supports my assumption that most portrait subjects were dead when their images were made and strongly points to a greater mortuary/memorial background for the portraits.

79. svargāya ya(yā) tasya vai Pṛthvīdeva-nṛpasya puṇya-yaśasor=vvṛddhyai.

80. *devāmṛtasyandinī*[m].

thought to secure Pṛthvīdeva's immortality (*amṛta*)—or at least prolong his life in heaven?—since it oozes the nectar (*amṛta*) of the gods.

Two other Hindu portraits imply the veritable salvation of their subjects (although, this salvation appears to be eternal life in heaven, rather than freedom from rebirth and/or extinction of the self which is what we often imagine salvation in the Asian context to be). The inscription on the cenotaph (*chhatrī*) of Ahalyā Bāī Holkar says that in 1834 Queen Kṛṣṇā Holkar placed an image of Ahalyā (the famous earlier queen), who had attained salvation (*sāmīpya*) by her good conduct, in the cenotaph before a *liṅga*, which was named Ahalyeśvara and celebrated the salvation (*sāyujya*) of Ahalyā Bāī.⁸¹ Also, an inscription from Kathiawad (c. late 13th century) reports that when the Caulukya (Vāghelā)-Rāṣṭrakūṭa noblewoman Hīrādevī “went to heaven by the power of fate, her mother ... Nāgalladevī had a moon-faced image of her placed in the sanctum of the Viñjhaleśvara Śiva temple facing East and looking just like Gaurī.”⁸² I believe that the comparison of the portrait to Gaurī, wife of Śiva, is not mere clever poetry based upon the image's proximity to the Viñjhaleśvara *liṅga*, but declares Hīradevī's attainment of

81. See Bhatt, S.K., “A Cenotaph of Ahilya Bai Holkar at Maheshwar,” in Bhatt, S.K., ed., *Studies in Maratha History*, Indore: The Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography, 1979; Tullu, Rāoji Vāsudeva, “Maheśvara, in Mālwā,” *IA* Vol. IV (November 1875), pp. 346-348; and see “Correspondence and Miscellanea,” *IA* Vol. V (June 1876), pp. 188-189.

82. hīrādevyāmatha vidhivaśānnākalokam gatāyām /
tasyā mātā mahimalaharīdhāmanāgalladevī /
asyā mūrṭim tribhuvanagurorbimjhaleśasya garbhagāre gaurīmiva
śāśimukhīm prāṇmukhī nirmamesau // 39

Diskalkar, D.B., “An Incomplete Inscription in the Rajkot Museum,” *ABORI* Vol. V, Part II (1923-24), v. 39.

something like *sārūpya* (form–of god), one of the four grades of salvation along with *sālokya* (residing in the same world–as god), and *sāmīpya* (nearness–to god) and *sāyujya* (union–with god) which occur in the Ahalyā Bāī cenotaph inscription.⁸³

Although I would not call it a portrait strictly speaking, a memorial stele of 1183 from Candrāvātī in Rajasthan, showing a female figure flanked by two goddesses respectively mounted upon an elephant and a camel, is also notable here. Its inscription reports that it honours one Sītukā and was set up by Sītukā’s parents “for the increase of the fame (as long as) the sun and the moon shine (on earth) and for the merit (*śreyase*) of their daughter, the virgin Sītukā by name, who had gone to heaven, and for the reward of the next world.”⁸⁴ This example not only shows that memorials (and so portraits?) were erected for the merit of their honourees, but that there was the expectation that the memorial was of benefit for the next life.

83. See Monier-Williams, Monier, Religious Thought and Life in India: Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism: An Account of the Religions of the Indian Peoples, Based on A Life’s Study of Their Literature and on Personal Investigations in Their Own Country, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1974, p. 41.

In this vein, I note that there is an 18th century painted portrait of Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi that shows the king as Śiva, four-armed, bearing the trident, drum, horn and rosary of Śiva, and wearing a tiger skin. Today, Sidh Sen is remembered as having magical powers in life (Gosawami, B.N., “Essence and Appearance: Some Notes on Indian Portraiture,” in Skelton, Robert, Andrew Topsfield, Susan Stronge and Rosemary Crill, eds., Facets of Indian Art: A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1987, pp. 198f).

84. ācamdrākkayaśo vṛddhaye divamgatāyāḥ svīyasutāyā śreyase kanyā-kumarī sītukānamnī pārālukikaphalāya. Srivastava, V.S. “A Unique Inscribed Memorial Stele Dated V.S. 1240 from Candrāvātī (Ābū),” *JOIB* volume 32, parts 1-2 (September-December 1982), p. 78.

The most important Hindu evidence comes from the inscription for the portrait of the Cāhamāna prince Meghanāda (1255 C.E.), for it explains exactly how a portrait can produce merit for its subject. The record states that “Megha Cāhamāna, the virtuous warrior, perpetually worships Blessed Śiva of Mahānāla,⁸⁵ by means of his own portrait for the increase of his own life span, progeny, fortune, happiness and fame.”⁸⁶ The record implies, I believe, that the portrait, standing as a permanent temple-worshiper, or at least perpetually residing in a holy precinct (can we say, ‘on perpetual pilgrimage’?) collects merit on behalf of the portrait subject—in whatever existence he or she might presently reside, including one of the heavens—as if the actual subject were performing temple worship (or undertaking a pilgrimage).⁸⁷ I believe that this conception is narrated

85. Modern Menal where the inscription was discovered.

86. śrīman mahānāla śivāya tadguṇaḥ sacchāhumānaḥ subhaṭaśca meghaḥ /
āyuhṣutaśrīsukhakīrtivṛddhyai nityaṃ svamūrtyā sa namāskaroti //

Sharma, Ram, “No. 27–Menal Inscription of the Chahamana Prince Meghanada, Vikrama 1312,” *EI* XXXVII, part iv (October 1967), v. 3.

87. T.G. Aravamuthan concludes the same thing with reference to South Indian portraiture:

If (a donor’s) image was placed next to the idol of the deity of the temple, and even in the sanctuary, it was not because the devotee claimed for himself a rank next below the deity but because he was eager to post himself beside his god so that he may acquire merit by engaging in unending adoration of the deity or in perpetual service to the idol (SIPSM, pp. 36-7).

(I shall, however, debate Aravamuthan’s assertion that no portraits reflected the claim that their subjects held a rank “next below the deity” in certain contexts below.)

If the portrait collects merit for its subject, I suppose that this begs the question of the ontological status of the portrait and the ontological status of its subject, and the relationship between them. If the portrait is ‘enlivened’ by consecration, we

by the portraits of standing lay people and monks showing *añjalimudrā*, as well as the images of lay people carrying flowers (for worship).

That portraits were conceived as perpetual devotees appears to be otherwise implied in two Jain portraits, although their inscriptions include no references to merit. The inscription for the first says: *saṃvat 1590 varṣe pauṣa vadi 3 śrī ādinātha pratimā sevaka sāv khetā putra saṃā ...*⁸⁸ This record is somewhat ambiguous to me. However, the record for the second portrait says: *saṃ° 1596 varṣe pauṣa vadi 3 śrī ādinātha sevārtha–vimalā.*⁸⁹ This epigraph seems straightforward: in 1540 C.E. the portrait of Vimalā was erected in order to serve Ādinātha. Therefore, I presume that the first record means something like “[the portrait of] ... is the servant of the image of Ādinātha.”

Where the Jain portrait inscriptions do mention merit, the references are typical of other Jain donative records, almost always using the expression *śreyas*, meaning “spiritual welfare” or “merit.”⁹⁰ Few of these images date from the period of

might ask, enlivened with what or whom? Is something of the portrait subject present in the portrait (or vice versa)? I cannot really say with respect to the Western Indian portrait; however, Aravamuthan relates that a biography of the famous philosopher Rāmānuja (which Aravamuthan does not cite) says that when an image of Rāmānuja was set up in his birth place, Rāmānuja himself suddenly became weak, implying a transfer of power from the person of Rāmānuja to his image (*ibid.*, pp. 31f.).

88. *BJLS* 2786. The editor informs us that this record comes from a portrait.

89. *BJLS* 2787. The editor also informs us that this is a portrait record.

90. One inscription uses the term *punya* (*PLS* 152). The portrait of one Merunanda Upādhyāya was erected by the donor “out of affection for her husband,” though I am not sure if this implies the transfer of merit or not. The text actually says *svabhṛāṭṛ* (her brother) *snehalayā*, but this must be mistakenly written or transcribed for *svabharṭṛ* (her husband) since the donor’s husband is the only relation named in the

Hindu rule in Northwest India, but come from later periods with more than half coming from the Mughal period. This distribution is significant in several respects. The earliest portrait carrying a merit reference is that of Guṇāsenasūri of 1286 (*svaguruśreyase*) which, as I said, is the only Jain portrait that provides evidence that portraits were made for the merit of their subjects.

There are early monks portraits which were made for the merit of their donors. Two portraits of the Kharatara monk Jinaprabodhasūri (d. 1284-85 C.E.) were donated in 1295 and 1325 respectively.⁹¹ The earlier image was consecrated by Jinacandrasūri III, successor to Jinaprabodha; the later image was consecrated by Jinakuśalasūri, successor to Jinacandra. Given the Kharatara context for these two portraits, and in light of the portrait of Jinacandra that Jinakuśala donated himself two years before he consecrated the portrait of Jinaprabodha, these two portraits appear to have been part of a very early Kharatara push for the deification of Kharatara monks, as I shall argue further in part IV.

When we approach the period in which the proper Dādāguru cult began to coalesce, that is the Mughal period, we find a number of monks' portraits erected for the merit of their donors or in one case for parties to whom the donor transferred the merit. Two 15th century images of Kharatara monks were both donated for the sake of the merit

record (*PLS* 107 and see *IV.3.* below).

91. *PLS* 56; *JDPL* I 734.

of their donors.⁹² Then in the 17th century, numerous portraits and plaques of footprints (*pādukās*) of famous Kharatara monks were set up at Jain holy places in Gujarat and Rajasthan,⁹³ representing the full-blown Dādāguru cult and popular acceptance of the divinity of some Kharatara monks. It is in this context that I think we must view a number of 17th century Tapāgaccha monks' portraits which appear to have been, in the first instance, objects of worship since they were erected for their donors' merit.⁹⁴ These images indicate that the tendency towards the deification of deceased Jain monks was not confined to the Dādāguru cult exclusive to the Kharataragaccha and lay families associated with it.⁹⁵

But if we now recognize that a number of Śvetāmbara Jain monks, even Śvetāmbara monks in general, became invested with a special sacredness towards the 17th

92. An image of one Jinacandrasūri (not to be confused with Jinacandrasūri III) was donated in 1435 by the layman Sahaṇapāla of the Navalakṣagoṭra of Delwada near Udaipur for his own merit (*svapuṇyārthe[tham]*). This Jinacandra must have been dead at the time, since his successor Jinasāgara performed the consecration (*PLS* 152). An image of Jinabhadrasūri was donated in 1462 by the Vyavahārin Kuśalāka and his family for the sake of their own merit (*vya°[vaharin] kuśalākena saparivareṇa śreyo-rtham*, *Nākoḍā* 32). Jinabhadra was certainly dead when this portrait was made for Kharataragaccha *pattāvalīs* tell us that he “reached heaven” in 1457 (see *KGPS* pp. 12, 32).

93. Jośī, *op. cit.*

94. See the images of Hīravijaya and his followers from 1606-1615 referred to in **Table D**.

95. My claim that the Tapā portraits in question represent an effort to raise the sanctity of the monks who are the subjects of the images, and that a movement was afoot in the Tapāgaccha to represent its monks like Kharatara monks is supported by stories about post-mortem appearances by Hīravijayasūri. The Kharatara's Dādāgurus are especially famed for their post-mortem appearances to the faithful (see Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 111ff.).

century, we are only a small step closer to explaining the origin and development of this phenomenon. Scholars examining the Dādāguru cult today seek explanations for it in the nature of Jainism itself, the nature of Jain monasticism, and the relationship of Jainism's monastic ideals to lay belief and practice,⁹⁶ which I believe is open to criticism based upon certain important historical facts surrounded the rise of the cult (which I discuss in the **Appendix**). First, they miss the role that Jain monks played in the creation of the cult, particularly the role played by Jinakuśalasūri, represented by the portraits that he sponsored and/or consecrated. Second, they miss much about the politics of Jain monasticism that surrounded the rise of the cult. Hostilities between the Kharatara and Tapā were particularly vociferous in the Mughal period, the era of the Tapā portraits described above and the integration of the Dādāguru cult. Furthermore, tensions existed within both organizations at this time which ultimately led to cleavages (*gacchabhedas*) within them. The Jinacandra of the portrait of 1435 cited above belonged to a branch of the Kharatara that continued independently of the main line when its founder, Jinavarddhanasūri, was removed as the head of the whole lineage and replaced by Jinabhadrasūri (the subject of the portrait of 1462 also noted above). As well, most of the early portraits of Hīravijaya and his followers noted above are associated in one way or another with a number of competing and mutually hostile branches of the Tapāgaccha.

Thus, the late date of the monks' portraits that bear references to merit *for their donors* and/or the historical contexts for those images must temper any attempt we

96. *Ibid.* and Laidlaw, James, "Profit, Salvation and Profitable Saints," *Cambridge Anthropology* 9 (1985), pp. 50-70.

might make to conclude *generally* that monks' portraits were qualitatively different from lay portraits. Since these particular monks' portraits were erected for the merit of the donors, I believe that they were presented and accepted as objects of worship in a way that lay images (almost) never were; however, this distinction was a development over time reaching its final fruition in the Dādāguru cult as we know it now, and not something that marked the entire history of the Western Indian portrait.

The early image of Guṇasenasūri does not share the same conception as the other *meritorious* monks' portraits, for the merit went to the subject Guṇasena and not the donor Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra might very well have intended for the image to be worshiped, but the inscription is clear only on the point that he was concerned for the spiritual welfare of Guṇasena his guru. If a Jain monk could express his concern for his teacher's welfare by sponsoring a portrait, it is hard to believe that such an intention never entered the minds of any of the donors of lay portraits.

Yet, references to merit for lay Jain portrait subjects, in the manner of the Hindu examples cited, are practically nonexistent.⁹⁷ However, certain evidence seems to

97. A record for a triptych of lay women from Śatruñjaya states: ... *bhāryā dharāṇa dvitīya bhā° dhāru tṛtīya bhā° vāhinade śreyase sādhu kaḍubālena kārapitā pratiṣṭhitā* (SSG 60), clearly indicating that Kaḍubāla made the image of his three wives for their merit. However, I am reluctant to use this evidence in support of my argument about merit and portraits in the absence of a date on the record. There are many relatively modern lay portraits at Śatruñjaya; if this portrait is, in fact, late then it provides little support for my claim.

Two other lay Jain portraits bear direct references to merit, but that merit does not appear to have accrued to the subjects in the first instance. A 13th century portrait of a lay couple from Palanpur was sponsored by the sons of the couple “for the merit of the family” (*kutumbasreyase*, PJLS II 549). This expression is often used in other Jain donations, but it is difficult to determine what is meant by it here. I surmise that, at the least, it depicts the belief in the rewards of filial piety, expressed by the portrait of the

illustrate indirect ways in which portraits had the power to produce merit for their subjects. First, some portraits were made in conjunction with more typical gifts for the merit of the persons represented in the portraits. A plaque of 72 Jinas from Mt. Abu also includes two labeled figures of lay people on its lower half who are identified as Soni Vighā and Campāī; the donative inscription on the plaque says that the image was donated by Campāī for her own merit.⁹⁸ Also, Narendraprabhasūri's longer *Vastupāla-praśasti* says that Vastupāla donated at Girnar four pairs of images portraying himself, two of his three brothers and another whose name is missing in the text, each paired with one of their ancestors; in conjunction with each portrait pair Vastupāla also donated an image of the Jina Neminātha for the merit of the ancestor portrayed.⁹⁹

In light of the portrait of Prince Meghanāda, by which Meghanāda is said to have worshiped Śiva for the increase of his fortune, happiness, &c., the two cases above might be implying that the portraits served to augment the merit from the more traditional

donors' parents. A corollary might be that the donors acquired merit from their filial piety because they provided for the merit of their parents with the portrait.

A portrait of 1264-65 from Radhanpur represents the parents and a number of aunts and uncles of the donor and was, similar to the case above, erected for the donor's merit (*svaśreyase*, *PJLS* II 462). This portrait was accompanied by another representing the donor of the former, his brothers, and all their wives (*PJLS* II 461). Again, we might presume that the merit from the portrait of the parents, aunts and uncles was the result of the act of filial piety, and that this, if obliquely, implies that the parents *et al.* benefitted from their own portrait.

98. Abu II 263; also see HA, p. 98.

99. *SKK*, p. 28, vs. 89-92. The missing person might have been Vastupāla's other brother Lūṅiga, based upon the pattern of the other three pairs; however, in *VC* VI.729 the person is identified as Vastupāla's mother. The issue is not important here, though I will take it up in part II for these portraits are significant in a number of ways which I will discuss there in full.

meritorious donations which accompanied them. Aravamuthan quotes Hemadri, pandit to the Yadava court in the domains due south of the Caulukyan kingdom (c. 1270 C.E.), to this effect: “the merit of making a gift is enhanced by adding to the gift an image of the donor himself;”¹⁰⁰ by this token, the transferred merit of a gift must have also been enhanced by adding an image of the beneficiary of the merit. In any case that is to say, I think, that the portrait subjects received the merit from the Jina images, and then their portraits standing obeisance to those images or at least in proximity to them garnered and continue to garner further merit as if the subjects were actually performing such devotions. The merit of Campāī’s donation continues to grow as long as her plaque, with the portrait of her on it, exists; I presume that the process must have also extended to Vighā although he was not the original donor, but was also portrayed on the plaque. So also, the merit of the Jina images donated by Vastupāla was compounded in favour of his four ancestors because the initial merit was transferred to them and their portraits stood in proximity to the images donated on their behalf.

1.2.3. The Portrait Inscriptions and Their Benedictions

The indirect assertion of the meritoriousness of portraiture is also suggested by the concluding benedictions in the portrait inscriptions, which occur much more often than in the inscriptions for other kinds of donations. In the *PLS* collection of inscriptions

100. *SIPSM*, p. 36. However, Aravamuthan provides no citation for the quotation.

for images of the Jinas, gods and other objects of devotion, only 20% of the records end with any type of benediction. But, 40% of the portrait records I have seen include such expressions. Now, many of these declarations are merely general wishes for auspiciousness, fortune, *etc.*, as in the record for the image of the parents of Kapardin which ends with *mam̐galamahāśrīh*, and give us little sense that they express the wish for some benefit to accrue to the portrait subjects or donors.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, many inscriptions recording image donations, and which include references to merit, also include benedictions, suggesting that benedictions could not have regularly been substitutes for expressions of merit.

However, some other basic benedictions appear to be significant with respect to whatever benefit might have attached to the portraits. First, two examples which are variations on the generalized wishes cited above state, “may there be auspiciousness for the *saṅgha*” (*mam̐galam bhavatu saṅghasya*),¹⁰² and “may there be fortune for the *saṅgha*” (*śrīrastu saṅghasya*).¹⁰³ These expressions, like other more abstract examples, might have been simple blessings for the community at large occasioned by the donation of the portraits, but otherwise unrelated to them. However, these two phrases bear a

101. Other common benedictions found in the portrait inscriptions include *mam̐galamastu* (e.g. Abu V 425), *bhadramastu* (e.g. *PJLS* II 528), *śubham bhavantu* (e.g. Abu II 91), *śivamastu* (e.g. *PJLS* II 523), and numerous variations on these expressions.

102. From the image of Sarvadevasūri of the Korantakagaccha (1218 C.E., *PJLS* II 552).

103. From the image of Hīravijaya (1617 C.E., Abu V 254). This image was also made for the merit of its donor. This image was consecrated by Vijayatilaka of one of the Tapāgaccha sub-branches that was hostile to the main branch; thus, this blessing might have carried extra significance. See part **IV**.

certain resemblance to older Indian expressions of merit and its transfer. Many of the Mathurā and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Jains and the Buddhists employ the donative formula *sarvasatvahitasukhārtha*, “for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all beings.”¹⁰⁴ Expressions of filial piety may accompany such expressions of intent. Although this is more common among Buddhist records, I know of one Jain example, from a donation by two brothers who were the sons of actors, which states, “May (*the merit of this gift*) be by preference for their parents; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!”¹⁰⁵ I suggest that we find an almost exact parallel to this record in some portraits representing the donors’ parents which have inscriptions ending with benedictions: for example, as I have indicated, the inscription for the portrait of the parents of Minister Kapardin ends with “[may there be] auspiciousness and great fortune” (*maṅgalamahāsrīh*).

It might be a stretch to argue that the Jain religious world of the Mathurā records had enough stability to make its presence felt in the medieval Śvetāmbara inscriptions. But perhaps the broad wishes found in these benedictions refer, not directly to the initial merit of the gift, but to the repercussions of the gift as they were traditionally

104. See Schopen, Gregory, “Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Lay/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit,” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1985), pp. 34.

One other Jain record from Mathurā uses the expression *mahābhogatāya*, “for the great happiness,” and then adds *prīyatām=bhagvān=Rṣabha-s[r]iḥ*, “May the holy and glorious Rṣabha be pleased,” according to Lüders translation (Lüders, Heinrich, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Janert, Klaus L., ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961, §16).

105. *mātāpitṛṇām agrapratyaśatāye bhavatu sarvasatvā [naṃ hita-] sukhā [rtham] bhavatu.* Bühler, G., “XLIII.—New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura,” *EI I* (1892), No. XVIII.

understood. In the Buddhist (and Jain) understanding of the results of gifting, the selflessness of giving increases “the general store of goodness on which the world at large must draw its support,” and when merit is transferred to a party, with that party’s knowledge, the beneficiary “becomes a participant of the original deed by associating himself with the deed.”¹⁰⁶ This process is called *anumodanā*, “rejoicing (in the gift).” Jain sources are explicit that this process was operative in the Jain gift: in the story of the royal minister Sajjana’s renovation at Mt. Girnar from Jinamaṇḍana’s *Kumārapālaprabandha* (1435-36 C.E.) the following is inserted:

Those who, with pure faith, rescue rotten and fallen temples of the Jina rescue themselves from the fierce ocean of existence.

Furthermore,

having rescued themselves, they also rescue their own families;
they even rescue other pious people, who rejoice in (*aṇumoamṭā*)
the (rescued) temple of the Jina.¹⁰⁷

106. Malasekhara, G.P., “Transference of Merit’ in Ceylonese Buddhism,” *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-4 (1967), pp. 86ff.

107. jīṇabhavaṇāim je u-ddharaṃti bhattīe saḍiapaḍiāim /
te uddharaṃti appaṃ bhīmāo bhavasamuḍḍāo //1//
athavā—
appā uddhariu ccia, uddhario tehiṃ taha ya niavaṃso /
anne a bhaviasattā, aṇumoamṭā ya jīṇabhavaṇaṃ //1//

Kumārapālaprabandha, p. 9.

Jinamaṇḍana is actually quoting the *Śrāddhadinakṛtya* (100-101, vol. I, p. 264) of Devendrasūri (d. 1270-71 C.E.). Devendra was the head of the Tapāgaccha, and hence a doctrinal authority. According to John Cort, Devendra says in his Sanskrit autocommentary to the Prakrit text that *niavaṃso* refers to the father and other ancestors and they experience *anumodanā* in whatever existence they inhabit at the time, becoming aware of the gift (a requisite according to Malasekhara) by supernatural faculties, and furthermore, *niavaṃso* also includes one’s descendants who can later rejoice in the gift (Cort, forthcoming, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

Medieval donors might have thought that the auspiciousness or fortune that they wished for at the conclusion of their donative records (notably the portrait records and especially those specifying the *saṅgha* as the beneficiary) occurred by the process of *anumodanā*. If a portrait, as a type of religious gift, could initiate this process, then that implies that it was intrinsically meritorious.

One final form of benediction, less common than the others, but notable for its occurrence in some portrait records, expresses the hope for the eternal existence of the object of donations. If the portraits were meritorious for their subjects, then these donative formulae reinforce the idea that portraits gather merit on an ongoing basis. Like

In this context, Jinamaṇḍana also offers several verses about the fruit of temple donations:

Who knows the ultimate reward of those very virtuous people
 who have built temples adorned with pearls, gold and precious
 gems?
 For as many wood atoms as there are in a temple of the Jina, for
 that many hundreds of thousands of years should its builder dwell
 in heaven.
 Whatever the fruit from building a new temple of the Jina, the
 renovations of a decrepit one secures merit worth eight times as
 much.

māṇikyahemaratnādyaiḥ, prāsādān kārayanti ye /
 teṣāṃ puṇyaikamūrtīnāṃ, ko veda phalamuttanam //
 kāṣṭhādīnāṃ jināvāse, yāvantaḥ paramāṇavaḥ /
 tāvānti varṣalakṣāṇi, tatkartā svargabhāḡ bhavet //
 navīnajinagehasya, vidhāne yatphalaṃ bhavet /
 tasmādaṣṭagaṇaṃ puṇyaṃ jīrnoddhāreṇa jāyate //

All of this shows “the ways in which Jains see the entire temple and image cult as a generator of a seemingly endless supply of merit,” as Cort puts it (forthcoming, *op. cit.*, p. 13). If we might reduce *anumodanā* to one or more processes of sharing merit then the potential for gain from merit transfer is virtually infinite.

the formulae discussed above, these expressions occur in abstract and concrete forms.

The elementary form is *ciram nandatu*.¹⁰⁸ It is difficult to say what is meant by this phrase since the agent of the verb is not immediately apparent. The meaning is made clear by the more specific cases. The inscription for Desala's own portrait with his wife includes the benediction *yāvat v(y)omani caṁdrārau yāvat meru mahitale mūrtidyam-idaṁ naṁdata-ṁ-naṁdaśoḥ(?)*, which must mean something like "as long as the sun and the moon (are in the sky or shine on earth), as long as Meru rests on the surface of the earth, may this pair of portraits be unharmed."¹⁰⁹ The Hindu inscription referring to the portrait of the noblewoman Hīradevī says,

*acaṁḍacaṁḍadyutimamḍalābhyāṁ dyauḥ kuṁḍalābhyāmiva
bhāti yāvat / nāgalladevīduhituḥ pavitrā mūrttiḥ kṣitau naṁdatu
tāvadeṣā,*

as long as the sun and the moon shine in the heavens like two earrings, may this pure image of the daughter of Nāgalladevī be happy (unharmed) on earth.¹¹⁰

108. This occurs in the inscriptions for the portraits of Yaśovarddhana of 1216 (Shah, Ambalal Premchand, "Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya," in Upadhye, *et al.*, eds., 1968, p. 168), an unidentified Śatruñjaya lay couple of 1374 (SSG 108), and Luṅasiṁha and Lākhī at Śatruñjaya from 1315 (SSG 137).

109. SSG 135. The inscription concludes with *śubhamastu*. Desala also expressed this wish for the perpetual life of an image of his *kuladevī* which also reckoned among his gifts of 1315 (*PGKS* appendix IX).

The inscription for the portrait of Guṇasena bears something of an intermediate form of the phrase (*candrārkam yāvat nandatu*). Recall that this record also carries the expression *svaguruśreyase* (SSG 152).

110. Diskalkar, 1923-24, *op. cit.*, v. 40.

Based upon these unambiguous examples, we can conclude that *ciram nandatu* at the end of the portrait inscriptions means “may (this portrait) be forever unharmed.”¹¹¹

If it be granted that many portraits were erected for the merit of their subjects, then the wishes for the eternal life of the images imply that they continue to generate or accumulate merit as long as they exist. The inscription for the portrait of Prince Meghānāda appears to confirm this idea. Thus, we might infer that the portrait was thought by some to be a sort of merit savings account: the installation of the portrait laid down the principle merit and by its continued existence in proximity to a temple image or sacred place it earned further merit. The portrait serves as a surrogate for its subject as a worshiper or participant in the worship of others. We read in almost every chapter of Jinaprabhasūri’s pilgrimage manual *Vivdhatīrthakalpa* (*VTK*) that virtually endless merit is attainable by fasts (especially the Jain fast unto death), dwelling, making donations, performing *pūjā* or meditating on the *namaskāra*mantra, or even just looking at Jain sacred places.¹¹² The Jain portraits (especially lay ones but not excluding several

111. One further example from an inscription recording the donation of an ancillary temple shrine (*devakulikā*) is interesting for the juxtaposition of the two main types of benedictions that I have discussed. First we find the familiar,

yāvadbhūmau sthiro meruryāvaccamdradivākarau /
ākāṣe tapatastāvannamdatāddevakulikā //2//

This is followed by, *śubham bhavatu sakalasamghasya jīrāpallīyānā gacchasya ca*, “May there be auspiciousness for the whole *saṅgha* and the Jīrāpallīyānā lineage of monks” (Abu V 120). The *devakulikā* was donated by a monk. I shall return to this record again in part **III**. For I think it significant that a monk would make a donation and wish for the auspiciousness of the *saṅgha* and his lineage.

112. For the translation of some chapters from the *VTK* see Cort, John, in Granoff, P., ed., The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories A Treasury of Jain Literature,

monastic ones) permanently dwelling in sacred locales and often posed as devotees, must have earned such merit just like flesh and blood devotees; but, this merit could be compounded over the length of time that the images would remain standing.

Thus far, I have attempted some generalizations about the corpus of Western Indian portraits based upon their physical appearance and their inscriptions. It should be clear that, short of simply cataloging all the known images, the only way to make any progress towards a fuller understanding of these little studied art objects is to begin to distinguish between them. Whatever the portraits share, with respect to their physical features for example, belies much diversity with respect to the contexts, meanings and purposes of particular portraits. I will begin by separating out 'lay portraiture' for individual analysis in part **II**. As significant as this category of portraits is, in and of itself it offers us little more than I have already said with respect to the portraits as a body. However, the category of 'monastic portraiture', its natural counterpart, contains what I believe to be a number of surprises; hence, it will receive much more attention, making up the subject matter of parts **III** and **IV**.

II. Lay Portraiture

I begin my consideration of lay portraiture with royal portraits as the easiest way to include most of the Hindu portraits in this discussion that otherwise centers on Jain portraits.¹ I include in this category also a number of kings' portraits donated by Jains and from the Jain temple context. Then I discuss the portraits found at the particular sites of Mt. Abu and Śatruñjaya. At Abu we find a number of Jain and Hindu images covering a long period of time and from several different and discrete contexts. My discussion of Śatruñjaya catalogues a number of the Jain portraits from the site, although I am particularly interested in the portraits associated with the family of Desala, who were responsible for a major restoration of the site in 1315.

Although these distinctions provide the opportunity to examine some specific usages of portraiture and some historical contexts for certain portraits, this discussion only provides some broad contours for the social background of lay portraiture and only a little more about the religious conceptions behind the portraits. However, in the portraits associated with Vastupāla and Tejahpāla we find that not only did the two ministers make greater use of portraiture in their patronage than any other donors, they also imbued their

1. I know of several images of Hindu ascetics (see **Figures 31, 37, 94-100**), but I have little or no information concerning the identities of their subjects. Hence, I am unable to include as yet a meaningful discussion of the 'Hindu ascetic portrait'.

portraits with a significance not found in any other groups of portraits. For these reasons I subject these portraits to the most extensive and thorough treatment in the last half of this section.

II.1. Royal Portraiture

II.1.1. Hindu Portraiture

Given the extent of royal temple patronage in the period from which so many Jain portraits come, it is surprising to me that they are so few extant royal portraits or even epigraphical references to them from medieval Gujarat and Rajasthan. I have only about a half dozen identifiable images, or inscriptions referring to such images.² However, as I have indicated, some of these images, such as that of Kelachchadevī and Pṛthvīdeva, and Meghanāda, are particularly significant for the study of the religious meanings of the Western Indian portrait.

There are other portraits of kings to which it is difficult to attribute any particular significance. An inscription in a niche in a Śiva temple in Visāvadā (near Porbandar, Gujarat) records that one Rāja Vikrāditya raised the image of Rāṇa Vikramāditya in 1205 during the reign of one Rāṇa Sīha.³ But since nothing is known of any of

2. The portrait of the Caulukyan king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (**Figure 24**) which I discuss below belongs to a hoard of 15 images including several portraits, but I know little about the identity of the other subjects. Also, Achalgarh at Mt. Abu is home to many portraits which seem to be royal, but I can only identify one, that of Kānhaḍadeva (**Figure 5**).

3. *IK* 2.

the persons mentioned in the record and the image is no longer extant, it is difficult to say anything else about this portrait. If we include the art of the later Kalacuris of Madhya Pradesh as part of the greater ‘Rajput’ world to which the Western Indian portraits belong, then here we can include several portraits associated with the Kalacuris. I have not been able to locate any photographs of these images, but their published records indicate that some represent ministers and others represent (feudatory) kings, but the records tell us little else that might tell us something about the purposes of the images.⁴ Additionally, the portrait of the 8th century Cāpotkaṭa king Vanarāja, which is known from among the few Jain textual references to portrait sculpture, is said to have been placed by the king himself in the Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha temple at Patan; all the texts tell us is that the image showed the king “as a worshiper.”⁵

We find a much more meaty reference to portraiture in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*’s description of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja’s Rudramahākāla temple in Siddhapur, a town founded by and named for the king just outside of Patan. The text says that

in the course of time, the temple, twenty-three cubits in height, was completed, and the king caused to be made figures of distinguished kings, lords of horses, lords of elephants, and lords of men, and so on, and caused to be placed in front of them his own statue, with its hands joined in an attitude of supplication, and so

4. CIIIV, part 2, 109-113, 116.

5. *PCT*, p. 19. Several other texts repeat this verbatim (*e.g.* the *Kumārapālāprabandha*, p. 4). There is an extant portrait from the Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha that has been called by some the “Vānarāja” portrait (**Figure 42**). However, that image appears to be from the 15th century. I note here that the image of the minister Āśāka of 1246 (**Figure 32**; Singh, Arvind Kumar, *op. cit.*) also comes from the Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha temple.

entreated that, even if the country were laid to waste, this temple might not be destroyed.⁶

The temple today is almost completely ruined, having been razed centuries ago by the Muslims, thus no evidence of these portraits remains. But presuming that they did exist as the *PC* says, it appears that they served to protect the temple in some supernatural way. Other evidence suggests that portraits at certain other sites served the same purpose; most importantly, I believe that this was the purpose behind images of the Caulukyan kings that Tejaḥpāla had placed in the rampart he had built around the town of Dabhoi, which is discussed in the last half of part **II**.

Now, the Rudramahākāla temple at Siddhapur was one of the biggest temples in North India at the time it was built. The context of its description in the *PC* seems to suggest that it was built to rival the Mahākāla temple in Ujjain, which was the seat of the royal and family deity of the Paramāras. It may have also been intended to replace the Somanātha temple, on the west coast of Gujarat, as the site of royal devotions⁷ since that temple was at a distance from the capital and sometimes difficult to reach because of foreign invasions. If this was the case, then the temple, in a city named for the king and containing his portrait, represented in some sense the centre from which royal power and authority emanated.

6. *PCT*, p. 90.

7. Somanātha was the family deity of the Caulukyas. The temple must have been in a state of disrepair during Jayasiṃha Siddharāja's reign since Kumārapāla, who succeeded him, undertook a major renovation of his temple, thus renewing royal devotions to Somanātha in a sense (see Majumdar, A.K., Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956, pp. 370ff.).

There is other evidence of close relationships between certain portraits and temples. The portrait of the Vāghelā-Rāṣṭrakūṭa noblewoman Hīradevī, which I discussed earlier, was placed in the Viñjhaleśvara Śiva temple in the town of Vāmanasthalī (modern Vanthali in Saurashtra). This temple was built by Hīradevī's great-grandfather Jagatsimha and renovated by her father Vijayānanda, according to the inscription mentioning Hīradevī's portrait.⁸ Thus, it seems, the portrait of Hīradevī was set up in the family temple, or at the least it was set up in a temple with which the subject's family had an abiding relationship. I presume that the noble family of Jagatsimha ruled over Vanthali and/or controlled it as a freeholding. The Viñjhaleśvara temple may have been a public temple, but clearly the family of the builders had a unique and special relationship to it. The portrait of Hīradevī in the temple demonstrated the family's closeness to the temple (and the god living in it) by its presence, but also by its appearance. The inscription says that the portrait showed Hīradevī moon-faced (beautiful) like Gaurī; as I suggested earlier, this was not just metaphorical, but suggested that Hīradevī had been reborn in Śiva's heaven, perhaps even literally as Gaurī, wife of Śiva. From this, I think that we might infer that the whole family, as builders of the temple, were imagined to be destined for a future life in the family of Śiva.

In this regard, I return to the image of the Cāhamāna prince Meghanāda of 1256. This image is important to my discussion, for it tells us that the image was thought to generate merit by its perpetual presence before Śiva of Menal (a.k.a. Mahānāla). The pedestal on which the inscription occurs and which must have been the base of the

8. Diskalkar, 1923-24, *op. cit.*

portrait⁹ was found in the “sculpture-shed” at Menal, which is located about 80 miles from Chittorgarh. But from the contents of the inscription, it is apparent that the image was originally set up in the Mahānāleśvara temple for Meghanāda is said to have “paid obeisance to Blessed Śiva of Mahānāla” by the image.

The history of Menal, the identity of Meghanāda, and the history of the Mahānāleśvara temple are all rather obscure. However, it appears that the Mahānāleśvara temple was the royal temple of the local rulers. The temple as it exists today is among nine others and is an impressive example of the *bhūmija* type.¹⁰ Presumably Meghanāda belonged to the local ruling family that was related and owed allegiance to the main branch of the Cāhamānas who ruled Malwā at the time, although his line of Cāhamānas is otherwise unknown. What makes all this interesting is that at Menal we find another portrait, from 1178, representing Someśvara, who was the Cāhamāna king of the main branch with his capital at Śākambharī.¹¹ This same Someśvara Cāhamāna, according to the *Prthvīrājaviṣaya*, founded a town named for his father in which he built five temples

9. Some part if not all of the portrait is now missing, but from Ram Sharma’s article on the inscription (*op. cit.*) I cannot say how much.

10. The *bhūmija* is a temple form which architectural manuals say originated with earthly kings (as opposed to gods). It is sometimes thought of as the national style of Malwā, the province in which Menal is located. See Deva, Krishna, “Bhūmija Temples,” in Chandra, Pramod, ed., Studies in Indian Temple Architecture, New Delhi: AIIS, 1975; also Dubey, Lal Mani, Aparājītaprcchā—A Critical Study, Allahabad: Lakshmi Publications, 1987, p. 203.

11. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1962-63, p. 54.

including one to Vaidyanātha, the traditional family deity of these Cāhamānas,¹² and inside one of them he placed an image of his father on a horse and an image of himself standing before it.¹³

Presuming that the portraits of father and son were set up in the Vaidyanātha temple, and presuming that Mahānāleśvara was the royal or family temple of the rulers of Menal, we might infer that Someśvara in particular used portraits as part of his efforts to solidify his rule which must have been on some shaky ground given his succession as a collateral member of the royal family. Someśvara's portrait in the temple at Menal might have served as a reminder to the local populace, and especially the local ruling family, that they owed ultimate allegiance to him (and the main branch of the Cāhamāna family). For his part, Meghanāda, by placing his portrait in the Mahānāleśvara temple, asserted as much authority as he could over the area around Menal.

The Hindu site of Achalgarh, upon Mt. Abu, was a place where every king or his representative who controlled it marked his authority with some sort of public patronage, and numerous others sought to be remembered in various ways in conjunction with the place. Later, I discuss certain other remains from this site, but for the time being, I am interested only in the Acaleśvara Śiva temple, and the large number of portraits

12. Incidentally, the succession of Someśvara was a case of the rise of a collateral branch, for he was the uncle of the previous king, Pṛthvīrāja II. This king inherited the throne from his father. Before that, kingship had past through the two older brothers of Pṛthvīrāja's father, who were also the older brothers of Someśvara. Before that, Someśvara's father was king. See Sharma, D., Early Chauhān Dynasties, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1959.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

found within its precincts. Acaleśvara was the family deity of the Paramāras and the Deorā Cāhamānas. The history of the temple is not well known; however, we are certain about a few moments in that history. The earliest reference I have found to the temple comes from the military drama, the *Pārthaparākṛāma*, written by Prahlādanadeva, who was the brother of the Paramāra chieftain Dhāraṅga, who owed allegiance to Kumārapāla Caulukya. The introduction to the play says that it was to be performed in the Acaleśvara temple on the occasion of the investiture of Acaleśvara with the sacred thread.¹⁴ Later, we know that Vastupāla had the Acaleśvara temple renovated sometime in the 13th century.¹⁵ Finally, we also know that King Lumbhā, also known as Luṅṭigadeva, of the Deorā Cāhamānas repaired the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple in 1321.

This last renovation is important, for the inscription recording it says that Luṅṭigadeva added images of himself and his queen to the temple.¹⁶ In 1344 an image of Kānhaḍadeva (**Figure 5**), son of Tejasimha and grandson of Luṅṭiga, was set up in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple. This image is the only stone portrait in the Acaleśvara complex that I have been able to identify;¹⁷ however, numerous portraits are now set up in the foyer of the temple and in several niches within the temple complex (**Figures 6-13**).

14. Sandesara, Bhogilal J., Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and Its Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan. 1953, p. 124.

15. *PK* §156f.

16. See *HA*, pp. 160-1n. and Wilson, H.H., “Sanskrit Inscriptions at Abu,” *Asiatic Researches* XVI, pp. 285ff., and Sharma, 1959, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

17. There is another identifiable portrait in the temple compound. It is the brass statue of the bard Durāsā, installed in the Nandi shrine in front of the temple in c. 1630 by the subject himself (*HA*, p. 163, **Figure 75**).

According to Jayantavijaya, these images date from the 13th to 18th centuries.¹⁸ I cannot say how many of these images might be associated with Luṅṭiga's renovation, or other renovations, or with the portrait of Kānhaḍadeva.¹⁹ I presume, however, that these images represent a string of royal (and probably some non-royal) donors to the temple. But, presuming that at least some of the unidentified images can be associated with the Deoṛā Cāhamānas, if we also take into consideration the reference to the portraits of Luṅṭigadeva and his queen and Kānhaḍadeva's extant portrait, it appears that the Deoṛā Cāhamānas made the greatest effort to associate themselves closely with a temple (of their family deity) by placing their portraits in the temple. Additionally, I presume that, as the political authority over the temple and its environs changed hands, various parties made additions to the temple and also had themselves portrayed in it, leading to the large number of portraits we find there from such a great span of time.

Achalgarh (and Mt. Abu in general) is also important for the variety of other 'memorials' found there, in addition to the portraits. These memorials might give additional clues for our efforts to understand the religious world of the portraits. I presume that at least some of the Achalgarh portraits were erected not too long after the demise of their subjects, in the manner of the portraits of Pṛthvīdeva, accompanied by his queen Kelachchadevī, and of Hīradevī. These images, taken with other kinds of memorials which appear to come out of a memorial or even funerary context, present a scheme

18. HA, p. 161.

19. The Kānhaḍadeva image does appear to be somewhat stylistically different from the others.

akin to burial *ad sanctos* where the memorial donors saw some spiritual value in representing the (deceased) subjects of the memorials in proximity to a sacred place. Here, I look briefly at some of these memorials.

Among the ‘commonplace’ memorials at Achalgarh is a typically rustic hero-stone showing an equestrian figure with a woman standing in *añjalimudrā* with figures of the sun and moon at the top (**Figure 48**). It is located in a small open shrine before the Sāraṇeśvara temple. Another hero-stone within the Nīlakaṇṭha shrine (**Figure 49**) shows a single male figure in a martial pose with raised shield and sword in his hands. The inscription for this stele as reported by Rowland indicates that it represents a certain Paramāra and was erected in 1339;²⁰ stylistically the figure resembles the portraits from the site, some of which are also as old as the 13th century. Finally, among the scattered loose remains at the site is a small column (**Figure 50**) which appears to mark the death of a certain man and the *satī* of his wife: on one surface is a raised banded arm, a motif commonly associated with *satī* memorials; on the adjoining surface is a relief of a male-female couple, appearing much like some portrait couples, and showing *añjalimudrā*.

In addition to these memorials other images from Achalgarh deserve notice. The image of Dhārāvarṣa as a bowman (**Figures 51 & 52**) set up on the bank of the Mandākinī tank built by Mahārāja Kumbhakarna,²¹ is unique, for it portrays the 12th century Paramāra king in something of a narrative pose: legend says that the king was so skilled as an archer that he could pierce three buffaloes with a single arrow (the three

20. Rowland, John, “Mount Abu,” *IA* II (September 1873), p. 255.

21. HA, p. 164.

buffaloes in front of the image each have a hole through their sides).²² Jayantavijaya says the inscription on the bow is dated 1476-77, but he believes that the rest of the image is older.²³

The Sāraṇeśvara temple, to which I referred above, stands in front of the Mandākinī tank. Jayantavijaya says the temple was built by Dhārabāī in 1578 on the cremation spot of her son Mānasimha who was murdered upon Abu by some Paramāra Rajput.²⁴ Today, the temple is a rather modest structure; but inside we find three very interesting plaques, one showing a male-female pair, another adjacent to it with four identical females, and another male-female pair on the right side of the other pair (**Figures 38 & 39**). The last plaque seems to be unrelated to the other two for the figures are much smaller than the others. However, all three plaques are styled much like the Western Indian portraits I have been discussing. Jayantavijaya identifies the six figures in the first two plaques as Mānasimha and his five *satīs*.²⁵ If these images do in fact represent Mānasimha and his wives, then these are the only portraits that I can actually place in close proximity to a proper funerary context (the images of Pṛthvīdeva, with his wife, and Hīradevī are memorials to the dead for sure, but their inscriptions do not

22. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 165f.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 165f.

explicitly relate them in any way to the funerary rites for their subjects),²⁶ however, without inscriptions for the images, I am hesitant to accept Jayantavijaya's identification.

Here I must also note some memorials from Delwara, the village on Mt. Abu which is home to the famous Jain temples. Outside the Pittalahara Jain temple lies a stone memorial upon which is the figure of a woman's hand with the sun and moon above it and a pair of human figures carrying offerings in their hands.²⁷ The inscription tells only that it was made by one Asu in 1427.²⁸ The elements of the memorial obviously suggest that it is a *satī*-stone; however, I have no definitive evidence for *satī* among the Jains. A short pillar on the porch that separates the Vimalavasahī and its *hastīśālā* shows another equestrian figure covered by a parasol on one surface and on another surface a standing figure also covered by a parasol. Its inscription says it was made by Śobhita, the brother of Śrīpālakavīndra (probably the same Śrīpāla who was court poet to King Kumārapāla).²⁹ The purpose of the monument is not clear to me, but it appears to honour Śrīpāla's parents.

This relationship between memorials and temples occurs at other notable Western Indian sites. For example, the compound of the Limbhojī Mātā temple complex

26. One feature that the "Mānasīṃha" image shares with the "portraits" is the large broken garland he holds in his hands. Compare it to **Figures 1, 3, 4, etc.** Note that the *pūjaris* feel obliged to leave flowers on these images (and on the image in **Figure 11** from Achalgarh) in the way that they leave them for the Parvatī image.

27. *HA*, p. 135.

28. Abu II 249.

29. Abu II 236.

at Delmal contains several 16th century memorials (**Figures 53-55**). In form these stelae are fairly typical of memorial stones of various types; but they have features common to many portraits. First, the stelae memorialize couples: female and male figures are portrayed standing with their hands folded in *añjalimudrā* like the Achalgarh *satī* column and some portraits from that site. Additionally, the effigies are “enshrined” like the gods, the Jinas, and like several of the subjects of proper portraits: the figures here are flanked by well delineated pilasters and some sort of architectural member covers them. The presence of such memorials in many temple contexts is significant to many of the royal portraits and suggests that temples and temples sites were important places to mark the death and apotheosis of important figures. I would like to see the portraits as partaking of this religious atmosphere.

As I remarked in part **I**, the Indian hero (who falls in battle or dies some other type of unusual death) is promised a special rebirth in heaven. Similar heavenly rewards are promised to the *satī*s as well. The hero- and *satī*-stones erected to such figures must have been erected with this in mind, and thus also celebrated the heavenly felicity of their subjects. The adoption of the hero-stone by later Rajput families, I believe, implies that the king (with his *satīs*) was thought to be subject to the same post-mortem fate as the hero. Often the inscriptions on these memorials even say that the king “went to heaven.”³⁰ In later Rajput practice, the spot of the king’s cremation was sanctified by the erection of the hero-stone and a veritable temple (the so-called *chhatrī*) to house it. The

30. See the many examples from Jaisalmer in the appendix to Somani, Ram Vallabh, History of Jaisalmer, Jaipur: Panchsheel Prakashan, 1990.

regular devotions paid to some of these memorials even today seems to vouchsafe the heavenly rebirth of the king and perhaps is intended to prolong his sojourn there.

The earlier royal portraits, at Achalgarh for instance, might have served a similar purpose as the Rajput hero-stone housed in the *chhatrī*. The portrait of Pṛthvīdeva and Kelachchadevī supports this, since it was made as a memorial to the dead king and *en lieu* of Kelachchadevī's *satī*. This is also supported by the image of Hīradevī, erected as a memorial. But this case tells us something else: the portrait was placed in a family temple. I presume that the Achalgarh portraits represent one or more families and that some were placed in the temple in a formal mortuary or memorial context. The sanctity of the location, promising heavenly rewards in part indicated by the portraits of notable people there, prompted others to erect other kinds of memorials in proximity to the temple and its portraits.

I think that something of this conception of sacred space applies to portraiture in several Jain temple contexts, such as Abu and Śatruñjaya which I discuss below. At such sites we find portraits of temple patrons, other well-known donors, and/or the descendants of these patrons; the relationship between Jain temples and these patrons is quite intimate and this provides a natural explanation for the presence of the portraits in those contexts. However, at sites like Abu and Śatruñjaya we find several portraits of figures who are otherwise unknown to us and which were donated by other equally obscure persons.

The portrait patrons in question must have seen religious and/or social value in representing the portrait subjects at famous holy places. As in the cases of the donors

who sponsored memorials (and some portraits) at Hindu temple sites which were maintained by others, lesser Jain donors tried to produce something like burial *ad sanctos* for the portrait subjects. I have argued that the portrait erected at a sacred place produces merit for the subject, as the religious meaning behind at least some portraits. But, the donors (and their families or descendants) and/or the portrait subjects (and their families or descendants) must have realized some social prestige from the association of the portraits and very public sacred places or temples which were sponsored by more famous and wealthy patrons. Much of the rest of this discussion of lay portraiture, as well as much of the discussion of monastic portraiture, considers the social value of portraiture through the reconstruction of the historical circumstances behind the production of certain portraits.

Before proceeding to the consideration of royal portraits in the Jain temple context, I must pause to note one other parallel between the folksy hero-stone and some portraits of medieval kings or ministers: the subject of the hero-stone is usually shown mounted upon a horse (like the example from Achalgarh in **Figure 49**); also, certain portraits of kings or ministers show their subjects mounted on horses, and there are extant images of elephants that were once mounted by portrait figures. Here I refer to a few examples, but such ‘mounted portraits’ are especially notable among the portraits credited

to Vastupāla and/or his brother Tejaḥpāla, which are the subject matter of the last half of this section of my thesis.

The equestrian motif is obviously a powerful martial symbol suitable to memorials for heroes who died in battle, and also appropriate for deceased kings who were honoured with hero-stone-like memorials, especially in Rajasthan. This motif was not confined to simple memorial stones, but is conspicuous in monuments like the so-called Hall of Heroes carved out of live rock at Mandore (Rajasthan). In addition to large images of the Hindu gods, this pavilion contains larger-than-life-sized images of six famous Rajput hero-gods all mounted on horses.³¹ The monumentality of these images puts me in mind of the large elephants at Abu which were once mounted by the families of Vimāla and Tejaḥpāla (**Figure 56**).³²

Along with the elephants before Vimāla's temple is a large much repaired figure of Vimāla mounted on horseback and attended by a parasol-bearer (**Figure 46**).

There is a similar though much smaller image in front of the Śvetāmbara temple at Taranga Hill, Gujarat (**Figure 44**), which is thought by some to represent Kumārapāla.³³

31. These “knights-errant of the desert, armed *cap-à-pie*, bestriding steeds whose names are deathless as their riders” are Mallinathjī, Pabujī, Rāmdeojī, Habujī, Gogajī and Mehajī (see Tod II, pp. 573ff.). Each of these figures is subject to his own popular cult and thought to be capable of bestowing favours to devotees. See **Figure 57 & 58** representing Rāmdeo and Pabu.

32. But, as I argue below, we need also to emphasize the special Jain meanings of these particular images.

33. The image is not inscribed. But, the fact that it is a figure mounted on horseback and accompanied by a parasol-bearer and a chowrie-bearer does suggest that this is the portrait of a king; the identification of the image with Kumārapāla is based upon the fact that he built the original Taranga temple.

Another horseman with an umbrella-bearer from Girnar is now kept in the Junagadh museum; it was made in 1138-39 and represents one Tha° Jasana according to its inscribed label (**Figure 83**).³⁴ Conceivably, these mounted images, as well as the mounted images of Tejaḥpāla, Vastupāla and their family that once graced Tejaḥpāla's Abu temple, were meant to evoke the Rajput military ethos, since Vimāla and family, and Tejaḥpāla and family were royal ministers in charge of military affairs, and Kumārapāla was an Indian king.

I note that there are three brass equestrian figures kept in an office at the Kunthunātha Achalgarh Jain temple (HA, pp. 153-154). Goetz identified the parasol covered one as Kumbhakarna ("Miscellanea Rānā Kumbha's Statue at Achalgarh, Mt. Abu," in Rajput Art and Architecture, Jain, Jyotindra and Jutta Jain-Neubauer, eds., Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1978), however Jayantavijaya has produced the inscription which identifies him as Dharmarāja Dattarāja, son of the legendary Kalkī, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (Abu II, 493). The other two images seem to represent historical chiefs of Sirohī. All three were made in *c.* 1510 (Abu II, 493-495).

Here I also note that at Śatruñjaya there is a *c.* 15th century image of a camel-rider accompanied by attendants (**Figure 59**). I know of no other such image in the Jain temple context, however, many of the hero-stones of the Rabāri tribals of Kutch in Gujarat show the subject mounted upon a camel, since the Rabāris are traditionally camelherds; as well, Mammai, a Rabāri goddess rides a camel (Jain, Jyotindra, "Ethnic Background of Some Hero-Stones of Gujarat," in Settari, S. and Günther-Dietz. Sontheimer, eds., Memorial Stones, Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, 1982, pp. 84-85; see also Goetz, Hermann, "Rājput Reliefs-I," *Oriental Art* Vol. X No. 3, Autumn 1964, figure 1 for an illustration of a camel-rider hero-stone from central Rajasthan). As well, the popular hero-god Dhola-Meru rides a camel (see Nath, Aman and Francis Wacziarg, Arts and Crafts of Rajasthan, New York: Mapin International, Inc., 1987, pp. 180-81 for an illustration of an image of him).

The Candrāvātī memorial stele, to which I have already referred, includes depictions of two goddesses, one mounted on a camel and one mounted on an elephant. The latter is showering water from its trunk onto Sītukā, the subject of the memorial (Srivastava, 1982, *op. cit.*)

34. Atri, C.M., "A Collection of Some Jain Stone Images from Mount Girnar," *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, volume 20 (1968), pp. 52-53. This image looks more like a hero-stone than a portrait. However, I note it here for given its date it is, as Atri says, one of the earliest human depictions at Girnar.

While there are only these few extant mounted portraits, textual sources report that Vastupāla erected many such images. Like the Abu images, many of these appear to be best interpreted by reference to certain Jain religious concepts. But, others do seem to have been intended to evoke a connection with royalty and/or martial valour. Vastupāla allegedly had made many mounted portraits of his ancestors, but here I note only that according to the Girnar inscriptions and other sources he erected images of his father and grandfather, mounted upon horses at Girnar.³⁵ A royal or Rajput emphasis is particularly clear in the mounted images of his master Vīradhavaḷa that Vastupāla sponsored. At Girnar there was an image of Vīradhavaḷa and Vastupāla mounted upon the same elephant,³⁶ and at Śatruñjaya there were images Vīradhavaḷa and his queen mounted upon one elephant, as well as images of Vastupāla, Tejaḷpāla and Vīradhavaḷa mounted upon elephants.³⁷ According to Someśvara, these last images were mounted on horses;³⁸ Someśvara was Vastupāla's own court poet, so it is difficult to explain why he differs from all the other sources unless he took liberties with the facts in order to convey something like a proper Rajput meaning for these images.³⁹

35. *RL*, p. 328.; *SSK*, p. 28, v. 97, 44ff.

36. *Vastupālapraśasti*, *SKK*, p. 28, v. 81.

37. *SSK* 11.19; *VC* VI.39-40.

38. *KK* 9.35.

39. That the horse was not merely a symbol of Rajput martial prowess is suggested by the six Mandore images of hero-gods. Furthermore, in pan-Indian folk culture terracotta elephants and horses are offered to certain gods for various purposes. In some tribal areas of Gujarat offerings of horses are tied to the erection of memorial stelae for deceased ancestors: "the tribals believe that the deceased travel on horseback at night

II.1.2. Royal Portraiture in the Jain Temple Context

I have already mentioned some ‘royal portraits from the Jain temple context’, but I return to them here to consider what these images might tell us about the relationship between the Jains and secular non-Jain authority, which will be important to bear in mind when I consider Desala’s portraits from Śatruñjaya and especially the portraits associated with Vastupāla and Tejahpāla.

This seems to be the best frame of reference in which to discuss the portrait of King Jayasimha Siddharāja which is now kept in the L.D. Museum in Ahmedabad (**Figure 24**).⁴⁰ It was made in 1228, approximately 85 years after Siddharāja died, by a certain *ṭhakura*, whose name I cannot make out from the published photograph. The image originated at Maka, Harjeej in the Palanpur district of Gujarat. It belongs to a hoard of 15 other images, which includes one of the minister Santuk and several noblewomen. The museum catalogue says of the image:

Jaisimha Siddharaj is seated in *lalitasana* in *anjali mudra* under a *chhatra* held by an attendant, standing to his left. He is wearing a *dhoti*, a scarf over his arms and a piece of cloth on his head. His

and protect the village. So, they must be well looked after with the erection of memorials and the offering of terracottas (of animals like horses)” (Shah, Haku, Votive Terracottas of Gujarat, New York: Mapin International, Inc., 1985, p. 94). Huyler reports that some tribals in Southern Gujarat offer terracotta horses to placate malevolent ancestors (Huyler, Stephen P., “Gifts of Earth: Votive Terracottas in India,” *Asian Art*, Summer 1988, p. 28). Perhaps the mounted temple portraits were set up with something of this folk view in mind.

40. I have not been able to ascertain if the image is ‘Jain’ or ‘Hindu’. However, since the image is important to a particular Jain context—the portraiture of the Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, as I explain below—I discuss it here.

ornaments include a circular ear ornament, necklace and a *yajnopavita*. He has a beard and a moustache. A male figure carrying a bag on his right shoulder and a certain object in his raised left hand, is seen on his right.⁴¹

Thus, the image is not unusual with respect to its composition, looking like many of the other small images of laymen from Jain temples. The significance of the image comes from its date.

Siddharāja was long dead when the image was made, and Bhīma II was ostensibly king of the Caulukyan empire. However, real authority in much of the kingdom by this time was held by the Vāghelās of Dholka (Dhavalakka) and apparently exercised by their ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. In my discussion of these two men below, I argue that they actively participated in the virtual coup that eventually gave the Vāghelās sole authority over the former Caulukyan domains. But, the image of Siddharāja suggests that Caulukyan authority remained in place in some part of the kingdom, or at least that certain subjects of the realm felt greater loyalty to the Caulukyās, since a portrait of a long dead king was made at this time. This is important for it is clear that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla promoted the Vāghelā cause in a number of ways including the setting up of portraits of those kings. But at the same time they appear to have treaded carefully, for Tejaḥpāla erected images of the former Caulukyan kings in the rampart that he had built around Dabhoi; I suggest that this was in response to a loyalty to the Caulukyās that may have existed in south Gujarat and is apparent in the portrait of Siddharāja from around the same time from the Palanpur area.

41. Andhare, Sridhar, Treasures from the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum, Ahmedabad: L.D. Museum, 1992, 10.

Other royal portraits from Jain temples can be put into more substantial contexts. As I have said, among the portraits that Desala included in his renovation of Śatruñjaya was a portrait of his king Mahīpāla.⁴² It is important because the *NNP* says that Desala had to obtain the permission of Mahīpāla in order to cut the stone for the new image of Ādinātha.⁴³ Several attempts were made to cut the stone but the slab cracked at each attempt. The Presiding Goddess of the Faith and the *yakṣa* Kapardin appeared to Mahīpāla to explain that failure to worship them before the work began was the cause of the problem. When they were duly worshiped the work was successfully completed. Mahīpāla provided for the transportation of the image to Śatruñjaya during which other supernatural difficulties occurred which are not important here.⁴⁴ This anecdote suggests that, on the one hand, Desala and family were beholden to Mahīpāla for the completion of the restoration, but on the other hand, the textual account of the restoration presents the work as a joint venture in which the cooperation of the king and the patrons brought about a marvelous accomplishment. Desala undoubtedly placed Mahīpāla's portrait within his rebuilt Ādinātha temple to honour his sovereign. Yet, in light of the *NNP*, he probably also wanted to show the community that he was not simply a wealthy patron with the means to sponsor such a large project, but also a man with great influence in the secular world.

42. *SSG* 35; *PJLS* II 36; *IK* 24.

43. See Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 311ff. for a paraphrase of this part of the text.

44. *Ibid.*

As I have mentioned, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla made numerous images of their Vāghelā sovereigns to accompany their temple patronage, and many of these were set up in conjunction with portraits of the brothers and their family members.⁴⁵ I have already noted that a number of these images consisted of figures mounted on horses or elephants, which evokes various Indian ideas, but the association with royalty is probably the most important. Below, I attempt to reconstruct something of the specific historical circumstances in which these royal portraits were erected. But suffice to say here that the brothers must have expressed their social and political obligations to their sovereigns by the portraits, and also like Desala and family, sought to demonstrate their closeness to the seat of secular power. As I indicated with respect to the image of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, this relationship between the brothers and the Vāghelā kings had a greater historical significance, fuller explication of which I reserve for the last half of this section.

Before I consider the brothers' royal portraits, and more importantly their portraits of themselves and their family, I want to look at Jain lay portraiture at Abu and Śatruñjaya. Although I shall mention a number of lay portraits from both sites, I am especially interested in the portraits of the family of Vimala from Abu and those of the family of Desala from Śatruñjaya. This will indicate how cosmopolitan these sites were with respect to portraiture and it will indicate something of the social and political potential of portraiture in the Jain context.

45. See **Table B**.

II.2. The Jain Portraits at Delwara, Mt. Abu

The best known portraits from the Jain temples at Abu are the near-life-size figures of Tejaḥpāla, donor of the Lūṇigavasahī, and his family that stand at the back of Tejaḥpāla's temple. I shall say little of them here, for they receive special treatment later. However, I wish to establish some context for them here by cataloguing identifiable lay portraits from the site.⁴⁶ Tejaḥpāla's portraits were clearly inspired by the portraits in front of Vimala's temple, and a consideration of certain portraits from Abu should help to identify something of the social motivations behind Tejaḥpāla's Abu portraits, as well as his other portraits and those sponsored by his brother Vastupāla.

II.2.1. The Portraits in the Vimalavasahī

Earlier I mentioned a certain type of portrait composition, several examples of which occur in the Abu Jain temples: some figures of historical people are portrayed as the attendants of another figure, such as a god or Jina. I described the image of Sarasvatī which shows Kelā and Loyāṇa, the architect and master mason of Pṛthvīpāla's repairs to Vimala's temple, flanking the goddess. I referred to the figures of Sā° Sūra and Sā° Bālā attending upon the figure of the monk Muniśekhara, from Cell 20 of the Vimalavasahī.⁴⁷

46. Monks' portraits from the site are left for parts **III** and **IV**.

47. HA, p. 45. For a plan of the Vimalavasahī see **Figure B**.

I also mentioned the portrait of Viḡhā and Campāī attending the central Jina on a plaque of 72 Jinas in this regard (though this image is in the Lūṇigavasahī).

To these I add some other examples. Cell 10 of the Vimalavasahī contains a plaque showing four Viharamāṇa Jinas, Jinas presently living on continents other than Bharataḥṣetra in Jambudvīpa, upon which two lay people are carved at the side standing with their hands folded.⁴⁸ Inscribed labels identify the figures as Sohīṇi and Abhayasiri.⁴⁹ Jayantavijaya also refers to a “stone *patta*” by which I presume he means that it has a Jina or Jinas on it, which portrays a lay woman at its centre. The figure is identified as “Vārā° Jāsala.”⁵⁰

In the *gudhamaṇḍapa* of the Vimalavasahī are five images of lay people, two men and three women (**Figure 77**).⁵¹ The figures are all standing and each holds a garland (or the remains of one) or other articles of worship. They are adorned in typical fashion. The images identified as Gosala and Guṇadevī were installed by their grandson Vijāḍa, who undertook extensive repairs to the temple in 1322; however, these images were not installed until twenty years after the repairs. Another image of a lone laywoman stands between Gosala and Guṇadevī, but I do not know what relationship the subject bore to the others, for its label simply says “Sahū° Suhāgadevī” and does not include a date. These three portraits are accompanied by another husband-wife pair who represent

48. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 45f.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 39. It is placed in the Navacokī of the Vimalavasahī.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

the parents of Lāligasiṃha, cousin of Vījaḍa, who had them put up at the same time that Vījaḍa installed the images of his grandparents.⁵²

In Cell 10 of the Vimalavasahī there is a plaque representing the lineage of Hemaratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, who repaired Cell 10 in 1144-45.⁵³ The identities of the eight figures are as follows:

1. Nīnā, chief ancestor of Vimala
2. Lahara, son of Nīnā
3. Vīra, who lived about two centuries after Lahara⁵⁴
4. Neḍha, son of Vīra and brother of Vimala⁵⁵
5. Lāliga, son of Neḍha
6. Mahinduka, son of Lāliga
7. Hemaratha, son Mahinduka
8. Daśaratha, son of Mahinduka.

Each figure is posed as a kneeling devotee, and turned slightly to the left.⁵⁶ What is particularly interesting about these portraits is that they represent a collateral lineage to that represented in Vimalavasahī *hastisālā*. But before commenting on this let me turn to the *hastisālā* and its portraits.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

53. Abu II 51.

54. HA, p. 42n.

55. The original builder of the Vimalavasahī.

56. See HA, figure 4.

The *hastisālā* is a separate open pillared pavilion attached to the entrance of the main temple by a domed portico (see **Figure B**). It was not part of the original program of the temple, but was added with the other renovations made by Pṛthvīpāla, a descendant of Vimāla, in 1147-48.⁵⁷ The pavilion contains 12 images: in the first row two elephants flank the large figure of Vimāla on horseback accompanied by a parasol-bearer. In the second row, two more elephants flank a large, sparsely adorned *samavasaraṇa*. The third and fourth rows each contain three elephants. The elephants surrounding the *samavasaraṇa* and the horseman were installed by Pṛthvīpāla; the three elephants in the last row were added by Dhanapāla, son of Pṛthvīpāla, in 1180-81.⁵⁸ The *Ādināthasamavasaraṇa* was put in the middle in 1155-56 by the minister Dhādhuka, whose relationship to Pṛthvīpāla, if any, is unknown to me. Only three of the elephants still possess their riders (two others still show their *mahouts*), but nine of the ten are clearly labeled to indicate who was depicted on each elephant. The elephants made by Pṛthvīpāla bore the following:

1. Mahāmantrī Nīnā, chief descendant of Vimāla
2. Mahāmantrī Lahara, son of Nīnā
3. Mahāmantrī Vīra, in the line of Lahara
4. Mahāmantrī Neḍha, son Vīra and brother of Vimāla
5. Mahāmantrī Dhavala, son of Neḍha

57. HA, pp. 79; Abu II 72, 233.

58. Abu II 233. Jayantavijayajī appears to be mistaken when he says that they were set up in 1220-21 (V.S. 1277), since that would put the elephants made by Dhanapāla 73 years after those made by his father (HA, p. 79).

6. Mahāmantrī Ānanda, son of Dhavala
7. Mahāmantrī Pṛthvīpāla, son of Ānanda.

Two of the three later elephants carried:

8. Pāumtāra Ṭhakkura Jagadeva, elder son of Pṛthvīpāla
9. Mahāmantrī Dhanapāla, younger son of Pṛthvīpāla.

The label on the 10th and last elephant is defaced.

The three riders that do remain on their elephants have the unusual feature of four arms. As I have said, Shah thinks that they were made four-armed in order to carry all the articles of worship that are shown.⁵⁹ But, I find this hard to believe. Is it not more plausible to argue that Pṛthvīpāla and his son had themselves and their ancestors portrayed in stone as gods? I shall show that Tejaḥpāla wanted to evoke a connection between himself and his family in portrait form and certain Jain gods, with respect to the portraits that once mounted elephants in the *hastīśālā* of his Abu temple as well as other portraits that he or his brother sponsored.

But to return to the point that led me to introduce the Vimalavasahī *hastīśālā*, we can see that the lineage represented by the portraits in front of Vimala's temple represents a line of descent through Dhavala, the son of Neḍha, while the portraits in Cell 10 within the temple represent a line of descent through Neḍha's other son Lāliga. I presume that the latter portraits were erected at the same time as the renovations carried out by Hemaratha and Daśaratha in 1144-45; the *hastīśālā* was made just three years later.

59. HA, p. 80n.

Both of these renovation/addition efforts might not have been undertaken in an atmosphere of competition, and simply represent the exceptional patronage of two branches of a single wealthy Jain family. However, it is a curious thing that both these efforts, one falling closely on the heels of the other, involve such conspicuous displays of pedigree. Perhaps the issue of proprietorship over the temple, or some political squabble in the governance of the temple was behind these efforts. If this was the case, then I have to say that Pr̥thvīpāla trumped his kinsmen Hemaratha and Daśaratha, not just by the magnitude of his addition, the *hastisālā*, but also by the symbolism of his lineage mounted on elephants. The addition of the *samavasaraṇa* to the centre of the pavilion along with three more elephants suggests that the elephant-mounted portraits were supposed to appear like the Guardians of the Quarters, who may number ten. The mythical context for this allusion appears to be the construction of the *samavasaraṇa*, which the gods make for the Jina's first sermon. Such an idea appears to have occurred to Dhāduka, since he added an image of the *samavasaraṇa* to the already existing pavilion. I believe that the evocation of the idea of the *samavasaraṇa* in this context also implies that the temple itself represents such a structure, in which case, Vimāla the builder (and his descendants on elephants by extension) is like one of the gods, for it is the gods who build the *samavasaraṇa*.

Below I shall argue that the homology between the *samavasaraṇa* and the Jain temple was very important to many of the portraits credited to Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. It is particularly evident in the case of Tejaḥpāla's Lūṅigavasahī at Abu, where portraits that were once mounted upon elephants are explicitly compared to the

Guardians of the Quarters coming to see the Jina in one of Tejaḥpāla's inscriptions from the temple. But before I turn to this material, I will describe many of the lay portraits from Śatruñjaya, concluding with those associated with Desala for what they might tell us about the medieval Jain temple patron.

II.3. The Jain Portraits at Śatruñjaya

Mount Śatruñjaya, in the southeast Saurashtra in the state of Gujarat, is probably Jainism's holiest site in Western India, for it is the legendary site of the enlightenment of the first Jina, Ādinātha. Given the incredible number of temples and shrines at Śatruñjaya, and the fact that its remains date from about the beginning of the 11th century up to the present, it is not a surprise that we find numerous portraits there. They are to be found all over the site and date from an early period and up to the recent past. Some of these portraits are immensely significant to my analyses: the image of the Guṇasenasūri, donated by the subject's disciple for the subject's merit, comes from here, and it is among several monk's portraits found at the site. Here however, I intend only to innumerate the lay portraits from Śatruñjaya known to me. Some of these lay portraits have already been mentioned in my description of the general features of the Western Indian portrait, but several have not, particularly the number of very recent portraits. I will consider these images in chronological order with one exception: I leave the 14th century portraits associated with Desala until the end.

II.3.1. Miscellaneous Portraits

The earliest ‘portrait’ at the site is, coincidentally, the oldest medieval artifact to be found there, dating to 1007 C.E. The image actually represents, in the first instance, Puṇḍarīka, the chief disciple of Ādinātha. It is housed in its own shrine above the gate to the compound of the primary Śatruñjaya temple, dedicated to Ādinātha.⁶⁰ On the base of this image is an illustration of a monk teaching two lay people. The evidence of the inscription on the image suggests that these figures represent the monk Saṅgamasiddha, who ritually starved himself to death at Śatruñjaya the year before the image was made, and the layman Ammeyaka who donated the image (the third figure, whose gender I cannot really discern from the photograph, could be Ammeyaka’s wife).⁶¹ If the figures at the bottom of the image are portraits, then this image is very unusual among Western Indian portraits by virtue of its early date and its unusual composition.

From the later 11th century, we begin to see portraits at Śatruñjaya that are more typical of the portraits I have been discussing thus far. I have already mentioned the image of Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa of 1075 (**Figure 14**), donated by the subject’s sons; I described this image as a fine example of a portrait of a seated layman and noted the presence of the flying garland-bearers and halo about the subject’s head. I presume that a similar unscripted image of a lone seated male is also a portrait (**Figure 30**). This image is not

60. **Figure 89.**

61. The transcription of the record by U.P. Shah (*HA*, p. xvi, footnote) differs in several respects from that by Shah, Ambalal Premchand, *op. cit.*, pp. 163f.

quite as ornate as that of Nārāyaṇa, lacking a *prabhāvalī* and hence lacking the garland-bearers and nimbus. There are other portraits of lone laymen at the site. At this point I mention only that of Maḥaṃ Prabhāsa of 1257, which was donated by the subject's son Gopāla. I have not seen the image but rely only on the inscription for information on this image.⁶²

Datable images showing the subjects posed as proper devotees do not appear at the site until the 13th, among the earliest being the images associated with Desala. However, a set of four representations from the so-called Vimalavasahī comes from c. 1324-25, according to the AIIS photograph archive. These images are carved as reliefs on the four sides of a sort of small cubic 'shrine' on the northeast corner of the *jagatī* of the temple at a height of about 10 feet off the ground (**Figures 60-64**). Two of the images are lone males showing *añjalimudrā*, but the other two are lay couples similar to those of Tejaḥpāla and wife, *et al.* (but for their diminutive size).

II.3.2. Portraits of Saha Purnā and His Family?

Three portraits from the last half of the 14th century appear to bear some relationship to each other, but I cannot be entirely sure. The earliest portrays Murā, son of Tejā, with his wives Mahagaladevī and Somadevī, and was made by "Dharaṇīdhara."⁶³

62. Shah, Ambalal Premchand, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

63. SSG 99. The image dates from 1362. I do not know what relationship the donor bore to the subjects.

Another image from 24 years later shows a lone layman posed in an attitude of devotion (**Figure 45**).⁶⁴ The published inscription says only *saṃvat 1442 varṣe māgha vadi 1 budhe kharatare sāhā tejā suta //*. Since the image is much later than the first, I presume that it does not represent a “son of Tejā,” one of which we know was Murā, but perhaps a grandson whose name may have appeared in the defaced portion of the inscription. According to the AIIS photo archive, the image represents “Saha Purnā,” who may have been such a descendant, and perhaps the son of Murā. The AIIS identification of this image is important because the final image I mention here represents Nīdajī (?) and her husband (Maṇḍalīka?) which was made by Saṃ° Vīra and Saṃ° “Prunā” (**Figure 2**), who is perhaps identical to Purnā.⁶⁵ The image was made 12 years before the image of “Saha Purnā.” Thus, this image might represent Purnā’s parents, although the evidence of the other two images suggests that Murā was Purnā’s father. Perhaps this image represents an aunt and uncle of Purnā or some other relatives of Purnā’s parents’ generation.

II.3.3 Recent Portraits

For the sake of neatness and completeness, I include here a number of very recent lay portraits from Śatruñjaya, before backing up to discuss Desala’s 14th century

64. It is located near the ground on the outside wall of the Kharataravasahī within the Ādiśvara *ṭuṅk*.

65. SSG 140.

portraits. The portrait of Moticandra and his wife (**Figure 65**) was installed next to the main entrance of Moticandra's temple in 1837.⁶⁶ Moti Shah and his family built this temple as well as other temples at the site in the mid-19th century.⁶⁷ On the other side of the entrance to Moticandra's temple is a rare portrait of a lone lay woman (**Figure 26**). It represents Rūpabāī, the mother of Moticandra; it was donated by Kṣemacanda, the son of Moticandra.⁶⁸ **Figure 70** represents Sā° Narasī (centre) and his wife Kuarabāī (right) along with a nun (left) who I cannot identify. It was donated by Sā° Hīrajī and Sā° Vīrajī, the sons of Narasī and Kuarabāī, who, along with their wives, built the temple in which the portrait is located in 1849.⁶⁹ I am uncertain about who is portrayed in **Figures 67-68 & 69**; however, they belong respectively to temples in the "Sākalcand" and Hemabhāī *tuñks* which are from the mid- to late-19th century. Here, I also mention again the images of Dharāṇa, Dhāru and Bahinde, the three wives of Kaḍuvāla, who donated the portrait of his wives for their merit.⁷⁰ I have not seen the image, and so I cannot be certain if it is old or recent.⁷¹

66. *EI* II, p. 82, no. lxxxii.

67. See the notes about the inscriptions for these donations in *EI* II, pp. 81 ff.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 83, lxxxviii.

69. *Ibid.*, no. xc. The temple is located in the compound before the Caumukh *tuñk*.

70. SSG 60.

71. It was on this account that I was hesitant to use this evidence for my thesis that many medieval portraits were erected for their subjects' merit.

II.3.4. The Śatruñjaya Portraits of Desala and His Family

Among the portraits at Śatruñjaya, those erected by Desala in 1315 must be considered to be among the most significant, for they are relatively early remains from the site. Furthermore, Desala and his family are immortalised among the restorers of the site in the *Nābhinandanoddhāraprabandha* (*NNP*) of 1336.⁷² The portraits, in light of the text, present their patron and their subjects as exceptional laymen in this world and potentially in the next. As I have already argued, the presence of the image of King Mahīpāla among these portraits shows Desala's power in the world by his association with secular power. This relationship is given a supernatural dimension in the *NNP*, for Desala and Mahīpāla, whose assistance was necessary to quarry the stone for the new Ādinātha image, have to earn the favour of the gods in order to accomplish their mission. This is just one example of how the *NNP* portrays Desala and family as extraordinary Jains. I will now examine all the portraits associated with Desala's renovation and what they tell us about Desala as a temple patron. I will also discuss how the *NNP* suggests something of the significance of these images. Curiously, I can find no references to the portraits in the text and I am at a loss to explain why they are not mentioned. This is certainly detrimental to my attempt to read a certain extraordinary meaning into the portraits. However, I have presented ample material thus far to show that the Western Indian portrait was rarely, if ever, just a simple memorial.

72. *Nābhinandanaoddhāraprabandha* of Kakkasūri, Jarakcanda, Bhagavandas, ed., Śrī Hemācāryajainagranthamālā, 1928.

According to the available inscriptions from Śatruñjaya, Desala caused to be made five portraits, in addition to the portrait of Mahīpāla, to accompany his restoration. One image portrays Luṅasiṃha, Desala's younger brother, along with his wife Lākḥī.⁷³ Another shows Desala's older brother Āsādhara along with his wife Ratnaśrī.⁷⁴ A third image represents Desala himself with his wife.⁷⁵ The identities of the figures portrayed in the other two images are not known. In one case, the published record consists only of the date: *saṃvat 1371 varṣe mahā suda 14 some*.⁷⁶ In the other case, the published record is filled with a number of errors, although it gives us the correct date and does state that the record represents a donation by Desala.⁷⁷ The editor's caption for the inscription says *śrāvaka bhāvikā*, which I presume is a mistake for *śrāvakaśrāvika*; that is, I presume that the image in question shows a lay couple. This inscription contains one unique detail: it is the only record for a portrait donated by Desala which indicates that the portrait was subject to consecration (*pratiṣṭhitā*).

Who these last two portraits are supposed to represent, I could only guess. I think that at least one of them must represent Desala's parents, for they are named in

73. This is the date of the other portraits and the date of the consecration of Desala's new image of Ādinātha. The editor of the record describes the image in question as *śrāvakaśrāvika*, "a layman and a laywoman," so it is, in fact, a portrait. SSG 137.

74. SSG 35.

75. SSG 135.

76. SSG 70.

77. SSG 51.

some of Desala's other inscriptions along with Desala's two brothers, who are the subjects of portraits, and as we have seen parents are common portrait subjects. Perhaps the consecrated portrait shows Desala's parents: the parents were presumably dead by the time of Desala's restoration, while Desala himself, obviously, was living at the time as probably were Desala's brothers; the consecration was perhaps necessary in this case to ensure that the portrait would produce merit for the subjects.

In addition to the six portraits, Desala also donated two images of his clan goddess Saccikā.⁷⁸ Saccikā is the goddess Durgā converted to Jainism by Ratnaprabhasūri at Osian in Rajasthan. Her conversion is tied to accounts of the founding of the Upakeśa monastic lineage and the founding of the Upakeśa Jain caste of lay people (the Oswal caste of today) to which Desala belonged. Several texts include accounts of these events including the *NNP*.⁷⁹ Every caste and clan in Rajasthan and Gujarat, Jain and non-Jain, has its own clan or lineage goddess who serves to mark off one caste or clan from another. The place of the lineage goddesses in these castes is complex; but suffice to say here, the clan goddess is the totem or embodiment of the group and as such is responsible for the protection and fecundity of the caste or clan. Desala's sponsorship of images of his clan goddess must have served to indicate that Desala and his kin bore a special

78. *SSG* 33, 69.

79. See also Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-242. Also see Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, and Harlan, Linsey, *Religion and Rajput Women*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992 for analyses of the phenomenon of the 'Rajput lineage goddess'.

relationship to their clan deity, which is to say that they possessed an exceptional rank among their fellows within their caste.

In summary, Desala's claim to fame is his renovation of the temple of Ādinātha upon Śatruñjaya which included the production of a new image of Ādinātha; in addition to these efforts, Desala sponsored two images of his clan deity, a portrait of his sovereign, and portraits of himself and some members of his family. As a group, these images express a clear hierarchy which asserts for Desala a singular authority over his community from several perspectives. Desala was obviously exceptional among laymen for his ability to sponsor such a massive undertaking as the renovation of the main temple of Śatruñjaya. The images of Desala's clan goddess and king, I would argue, in light of Desala's other portraits, present Desala respectively as the goddess's foremost devotee and hence the first among his clansmen, and as a politically influential Jain layman able to bend the ear of the king.

I now wish to consider some of the features of the *NNP* description of Desala's restoration of Śatruñjaya to see what they might suggest to us with respect to Desala's status and hence the significance of Desala's portraits. According to the *NNP*, Desala's restoration was just one chapter in a long mythical history of the Śatruñjaya. The *NNP* III relates this history in the context of Desala's taking his vow to restore the site. Desala was merely the 6th builder or restorer of Ādiśvara or Nābhinandana. Earlier building efforts occurred in two distinct groups. The first three took place before the onset of the *kaliyuga* and, it is safe to say, they are purely legendary in character. Bharata was the first builder, indeed the first temple builder in Jainism, who built a temple on the

mountain containing images of his father Ādinātha and his 99 brothers. Later Sagara, the son of Ajitanātha, the second Jina, built a new temple. Then, the Pāṇḍavas built on the site. The text says that there were many builders after that, although none are actually named here.⁸⁰ The fourth builder was Jāvaḍi, who was probably a historical person, and the fifth was Vagbhāta, who was certainly a historical person.

The text marks a breach between first three builders and those that followed in several ways. Later buildings did not include Bharata's original image of Ādinātha because, says the text, the Pāṇḍavas had hidden that image from greedy men; a certain type of continuity is thus interrupted, undoubtedly marking the immanent onset of the *kaliyuga*. Centuries later when Jāvaḍi restored Śatruñjaya, he allegedly recovered an image that had been sponsored by Bāhubali, the brother of Bharata; such a providence for Jāvaḍi's image seems to imply that the continuity broken with the beginning of the *kaliyuga* was at least partially restored by the reconsecration of an image from the same period as the original image. However, it is clear that a gap between the earlier patrons and the later ones remained, for Bharata, Sagara and the Pāṇḍavas all attained enlightenment upon their deaths from their association with the powerful *tīrtha*, while the later ones did not.

Before telling the stories of the fourth and fifth restorations, and Desala's restoration which was the sixth, the text pauses to describe the spiritual benefits offered by Śatruñjaya, even in this decadent age. I must note immediately that enlightenment is not one of them; yet, the text goes to great pains to describe the greatness of the spiritual

benefits that can be derived by pilgrims and patrons. Like many accounts of Indian holy places, the *NNP* describes the power of Śatruñjaya by comparison to other such places: “the fruit that would result from the prescribed austerities at another *tīrtha* is equal to the fruit attained by beholding (Śatruñjaya) with faith.”⁸¹ Furthermore, worship, austerities, giving, *etc.* at Śatruñjaya may produce infinite merit.⁸² Moreover, “the pious lay person who erects an image of even a thumb’s breadth, having worshiped it, may attain the prosperity like that of a *cakravartin* and (may attain) heaven.”⁸³ I will return to this below for it must surely tell us something about the spiritual status of Desala and his family, and that must bear some relationship to the portraits.

In returning to the history outlined in the *NNP*, the text notes in passing that after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra (and thus the onset of the *kaliyuga*) kings like Vikrama and the monk Padalipta undertook restorations. Then occur the accounts of the restorations by Jāvādi and Vagbhata, specifically enumerated as the fourth and fifth restorations. After this, the text returns to its main narrative, the restoration by Desala and family. These three stories are discussed by Granoff, so I will not repeat many of their details here.⁸⁴ However, I will paraphrase some of Granoff’s conclusions. These accounts present lay behaviour, particularly temple building, as heroic, fraught with obstacles that

81. tapasā vihitena phalam bhavet /
tadatra dr̥ṣtamātre bhāvato labhyate phalam // III.90

82. III.96.

83. yo ‘trāṅguṣṭhamātramapi bimbam sthāpayati sudhīḥ /
sa bhaktvā cakravartyādīsamṛddhiṃ svargamāpnuyāt // III.97.

84. Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*

can be overcome only by the patrons coming in contact with supernatural forces. The building of a temple is also a matter of self-sacrifice; Jāvāḍi had to give up all hope of offspring in order to ensure the success of his building efforts. Although Jāvāḍi's lineage is cut off as the cost of the successful completion of the temple, Jāvāḍi is spared the prospect of dying without a son (to perform his funeral obsequies) by being bodily assumed into heaven along with his wife.

The story of Desala's restoration follows the pattern of Jāvāḍi's in several respects, but we do not hear of any ascent to heaven, for Desala and family were still alive when the *NNP* was written. However, as I said in my discussion of the image of Mahīpāla, the patrons, with the help of the king, had to get in touch with heavenly powers, the Presiding Goddess of the Faith and Kapardin, in order to produce successfully the new image for the restored temple. This is simply one of the most overt ways in which the *NNP* presents Desala and his family as very special patrons. If the humble pilgrim could receive almost untold merit, the prosperity of a World Emperor and rebirth in heaven from donating even the smallest image, from even the slightest show of piety, or from even a look at Śatruñjaya, then how much more could people imagine was due to Desala and his family who renewed the work of Bharata upon the mountain?

If the rebuilding of the temple were not enough to ensure the virtual immortality of Desala and family, according to the value given to such a work in the *NNP*, Desala hedged his investment by including the portraits within the temple, according to my argument that portraits were a medium of merit-acquisition. Desala, his family and Mahīpāla stood within perpetual sight of not simply Śatruñjaya, but Ādiśvara himself *via*

their portraits; since the mere sight of Śatruñjaya is as meritorious as all the prescribed rites at another sacred place, then the merit-making potential of the portraits, and the fruit of the merit so derived, is almost unimaginable.

I have to believe that the spiritual potential of Desala's pious works had immense social potential: the building of the temple as a chapter in the well-known history of Śatruñjaya, the commonly understood payoff of that patronage in worldly and other worldly rewards (*i.e.* merit), and the arrangement of Desala's images within his temple each served to tell every pilgrim who frequented the temple that this lay patron was among the elite on several levels. Desala was a special type of patron insofar as the renovation of Ādinātha's temple gave him a place in the line of the most famous patrons in Jain history all the way back to Bharata, Jainism's first temple-patron. Although Desala, as a patron on the order of Bharata and the rest, could not be expected to attain enlightenment, he could expect to attain all the fortune in the world and rebirth in heaven, as promised by the *NNP*.

But until he attained heaven, Desala—and this must have extended to his sons, grandsons, *et al.*—must have been a layman of tremendous authority within his caste, if not the whole Śvetāmbara Jain community. I believe that the family portraits, accompanied by images of Saccikā and King Mahīpāla, within the temple served to promote such a status. As I have suggested, the mere presence of the portraits reminded viewers of Desala's place in the history of Śatruñjaya as a temple-patron. Furthermore, the connection between the portraits and the images of the clan goddess, together under the authority of Ādinātha we might say, suggested that Desala possessed a unique relationship to

Saccikā, the embodiment of Desala's Upakeśa caste; Desala, portrayed with Saccikā in a sense, seemed to have unfettered access to the chief authority and source of prosperity of his whole caste. Desala was also intimate with simple worldly authority, as demonstrated by the story of the cooperation between himself and King Mahīpāla in the quarrying of the stone for Ādinātha's new image; furthermore, this intimacy is demonstrated by the proximity of Desala's family portraits and the portrait of Mahīpāla, we might even say, under the authority of Saccikā and Ādinātha.

Before concluding, I add that some 43 years after Desala's restoration of Śatruñjaya, Samarasimha's sons Saliga and Sajjanasimha installed two more portraits. One plaque portrays Sahajapāla, the oldest brother of Samarasimha, and his wife Sahajadevī.⁸⁵ The other is the portrait of their parents.⁸⁶ These two images perhaps extended all the religious prerogatives to Desala's two oldest sons that were already enjoyed by Desala. But perhaps they were more significant for Saliga and Sajjansimha, renewing the special connection between the family of Desala and Śatruñjaya, and reminding the community of the tremendous piety of Desala, his sons, and so also his grandsons.

I have attempted to reconstruct some of the religious associations of Desala's portrait donations by a reading of portions of the *NNP* about Desala's entire renovation programme. The text and the sculptural programme link Desala and his family with their clan goddess, their immediate spiritual sovereign, and Mahīpāla, their worldly sovereign. The portraits are also a visible reminder of Desala's association with the holy mount of

85. *SSG*, 46.

86. Shah, Ambalal Premchand, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Śatruñjaya, the spiritual potential of which the text describes in detail; to see Desala and his family, now deceased, as gods in heaven, is to see through the eyes of the *NNP*, for the text makes it clear that the fruit of patronage such as Desala's is such a fate. Desala himself, and the generations of his line that followed, must have enjoyed great influence in their community, at the caste level or even at the level of the whole Jain community, by the association of Desala and Śatruñjaya, and by the associations of Desala and the other portrait subjects with Saccikā and Mahīpāla as demonstrated by the proximity of the images of all these figures to one another.

In my discussion of lay portraiture thus far, I have attempted to sketch out the broader religious conceptions that may have informed the Western Indian portrait, and the implications of the idea that the portraits were merit-generating for their subjects, as reflected especially in the relationship between portraiture and sacred place. At the same time, I have also made a shift from the consideration of the religious purposes of portraiture to the consideration of the social purposes of portraiture. I have argued that the association of portraiture and sacred place must have been intended to forward claims of elevated social status with respect to the subjects and/or donors of portraits from particular contexts.

In the remainder of this section on lay portraiture, I continue to develop the religious and social analyses begun above, as well as introduce more political analysis,

with respect to the portraiture associated with the Jain ministers Vastupāla and his brother Tejaḥpāla. The unprecedented number of portraits that are said to have been sponsored by these two men warrants the extensive discussion to which I subject the portraits in question. Furthermore, I am able to undertake more thorough treatment of these portraits, because sources about the lives of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla are far more extensive than those about the lives of any other medieval laymen, bar none.

We shall see that the brothers imbued portraiture with layers of meaning virtually unparalleled in any other single group of images. Many of these images take their religious references from a unique complex of pan-Indian and Jain ideas. Furthermore, it is apparent that many of the portraits in this group were intended to serve as part of larger efforts by the brothers to create for themselves unique identities at several levels of community. The portraits tell us a great deal about the place the brothers sought for themselves within the Śvetāmbara community as unrivaled temple patrons, and within the kingdom of Gujarat at large in their capacities as ministers of the crown.

*II.4. The Portraiture and Patronage of the Ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla*⁸⁷

The 13th century Jain laymen Vastupāla and his brother Tejaḥpāla are credited with the patronage of numerous religious edifices for their own Jain community as well

87. A version of this section is to appear in a volume edited by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara.

as for Hindus.⁸⁸ Furthermore, these men are remembered as exceptionally able ministers under the Caulukya-Vāghelā regime of Gujarat. As legendary statesmen and temple-builders, these two brothers are arguably Śvetāmbara Jainism's most famous historical laymen. Their fame has been propagated by a great tradition of biographical writing that began with authors sponsored by Vastupāla, and includes material written by Vastupāla himself.⁸⁹ But, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla remained popular biography subjects even centuries after their deaths. Both the contemporary texts and later ones include tales of the brothers' heroic service to the state and elaborate accounts of their service to religion.

All medieval Indian biographies are far more 'bardic' than purely historical; they do not seek to report objective fact, but present their protagonists as heroes who accomplish great deeds in the secular or religious worlds. The glorification of certain events or persons may even be in the service of particular social or religious agendas. The biographies of Jain monks especially may have an avowed sectarian purpose: to demonstrate the superiority of Jainism over other religions or the superiority of particular monks and their lineages over other monks and lineages.⁹⁰ In the biographies of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla we can recognize, in addition to the romanticization of history and reports of purely legendary events, the effort to create particular identities for the

88. See *PK* §156f. for a list of Jain and Hindu donations by Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. According to this list the brothers also patronized mosques for their Muslim subjects, but I do not believe that any archaeological evidence verifies this.

89. See the sources cited in Sandesara, 1953, *op. cit.*

90. See Granoff, P and Koichi Shinohara, *Speaking of Monks*, Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1992, pp. 3ff.

brothers. Since much of this material dates from the era of the brothers and since Vastupāla himself sponsored much of this literature, it is apparent that the creation of particular biographical personae served, at least in part, to further the brothers' own religious and political ambitions.

The biographies of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla contain two broad themes that I wish to investigate which speak to the brothers' identities as leaders of the Jain community and as ministers of the state. First, texts and even inscriptions consistently assert that the brothers were born into a noble lineage that had also served the state and Jain community with distinction. The importance of a high birth is proverbial in India, and social status among the castes and clans of 'Rajputana' is very much dependent upon public assent to a known lineage history. However, in the absence of any independent evidence for the history of Vastupāla's family, I am suspicious of any claims about it in the biographies. Second, certain texts provide unusual accounts of how the brothers attained their preeminent political position. The political rise of the brothers was dependent upon the ascension of the Vāghelās to rulership over the Caulukyan kingdom of Gujarat. It is in the context of certain fantastic accounts of the assumption of sovereignty by the Vāghelās that the appointment of the brothers to their respective ministerships is related. It is apparent that there was something irregular about the Vāghelā rise to power and hence something irregular about the rise of the brothers. On the other hand, it is apparent that the authority that the Vāghelās granted to the brothers did not go unchallenged even within the Vāghelā court; a number of other ministers undoubtedly coveted the positions enjoyed by the two brothers. Thus, the stories about the origin of

the power of the Vāghelās and the brothers provide occasion for the claim of intimacy between the Vāghelā kings and the brothers, in addition to justifying the authority of both.

A number of texts, including Vastupāla's own *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, claim that Vastupāla and his brother came from an illustrious Jain family of the Prāgvāta caste hailing from Patan.⁹¹ The texts give the names of the brothers' ancestors back to their great-great-grandfather; the same degree of ancestry is also represented in the family portraits in Tejaḥpāla's Abu temple (see **Table 1**). The texts say that each of the ministers' ancestors served the Caulukyan court in one ministerial capacity or another. The texts also suggest that the ancestors were Jain temple patrons on the order of their famous descendants. However, I can find no references to any of these men in any source independent of those concerning Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. At the very least, none of these ancestors enjoyed the kind of influence that either Vastupāla or Tejaḥpāla did. Also, none ever demonstrated the kind of piety that their famous descendants did for, to the best of my knowledge, there are no independent records for any kind of donation or building project by any of them. In the absence of any data to corroborate the claims made for the ancestors in the texts, I have to believe that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were in fact self-made men.

The relative fame of the brothers' ancestors aside, some very late stories indicate that the brothers were burdened with a social handicap that only their great influence and accomplishments could mask. It is said in these later stories that Kumāradēvī, the mother of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, was a widow when she married Āśvarāja,

91. See *PK*, p. 101.

the brothers' father: an Old Gujarati genealogical text adds that this fact split the brothers' Prāgvātā caste into the Vṛddhaśākhā (the "old" or "superior branch," the modern Vīsā branch), and the Laghuśākhā (the "new" or "inferior branch," the modern Daśā branch) which was allied with Vastupāla.⁹² As Sandesera says, many scholars reject this tradition because it is found only in later sources, but it consists of the kind of information that Vastupāla and his contemporaries would have undoubtedly wished to suppress; therefore, we might give some currency to the idea that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were the sons of a remarried widow. We can then recognize that the brothers' social ambitions, expressed through their public works, also required no less than the reinvention of their family history.

The brothers' reinvention of themselves, and/or suppression of certain facts about their genealogy, is apparent from the fact that many biographies of the brothers begin by stating that they and their family were very poor, and only later became rich and powerful, which many accounts say was due to the supernatural intervention of one deity or another. Accounts of the early life of the brothers say that they and their family lived in the village of Sumhālaka which was a freeholding granted to Vastupāla's father Āśvarāja by a Caulukyan king. But with the death of Āśvarāja the family moved to the village of Maṇḍalī. Sometime after that the family moved again to the town of Dhavalakka. Some accounts report that the brothers first met the Vāghelās at Dhavalakka, apparently the Vāghelā capital, and from there they embarked upon their ministerial

92. See Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 26f. for this and other sources containing references to Kumāradevī's widowhood.

careers. However, the move to Dhavalakka and the family's poverty are also notable for they provide the context for Tejaḥpāla's most famous deed, the building of the Lūṇigavasahī at Abu.⁹³ It is said that Lūṇiga, Vastupāla's eldest brother, was dying and bemoaned the fact that he could not donate even a small image to the Vimalavasahī, the oldest of the Delwara Jain temples on Mt. Abu, owing to the family's poverty. In time Lūṇiga died but sometime after that the family acquired much wealth by the miraculous favour of Śrīmātā, the patron goddess of Mt. Abu, and with that wealth Tejaḥpāla was able to construct the Lūṇigavasahī in honour of his dead brother.⁹⁴

It is apparent that, in one way or another, the family was undistinguished before Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla became successful. But once they were successful, they made every effort to make their family distinguished. Tejaḥpāla built the magnificent temple at Abu in honour of his dead brother (according to popular legend) or his son and wife (according to the temple *praśastis*). In the years after the temple's initial consecration Tejaḥpāla made a number of additions to it which became opportunities for the glorification of his entire immediate family. In the approximately thirty inscriptions from Abu recording these additions, Tejaḥpāla transferred the merit of those donations to: his

93. PPS 34.

94. Although the temple is commonly known by this designation, the temple *praśastis* are clear that Tejaḥpāla had the temple built for the merit of his wife Anupamādevī, and his son Lūṇasiṃha or Lāvāṇyasiṃha (Abu II 250-1). One of the inscriptions for an addition to the temple by Tejaḥpāla refers to the temple as the "Lūṇavasahikā" (Abu II 260). Since the temple was built for the merit Lūṇasiṃha (as well as Anupamādevī) the temple's proper name might refer not to the minister's dead brother Lūṇiga, but actually to his son, despite the fact that all later accounts of the building of the temple say that it was built in the name of Lūṇiga, the brother.

son (1), two wives (1,2), older brother Malladeva (2), seven sisters (1 each), two wives of Vastupāla (1 each), two wives of Malladeva (1 each), two daughters-in-law (1 each), three wives of the son of Vastupāla (1 each), daughter of Malladeva (1), Vastupāla's grandson (1), in addition to the original gift of the temple for the merit of his wife and son.⁹⁵ Epigraphical evidence of similar gifts by Vastupāla is almost entirely lacking. However, the longer *Vastupālaprasāsti*, by Vastupāla's court poet Narendraprabhasūri,⁹⁶ tells us about donations made for the merit of Malladeva (v. 33, 71), offspring (v. 46), grandson (v. 59, 76), wife (v. 72), Tejaḥpāla's wife (v. 84) and assorted others not related to Vastupāla or whose relationship to him I cannot ascertain (v. 61, 64, 65).

The number of donations that the brothers made on behalf of the ancestors is rather anemic compared to the donations for immediate family cited above. Tejaḥpāla only made one addition to his Abu temple for the merit of his ancestors.⁹⁷ Vastupāla's gifts for the ancestors are similarly sparse. The *Vastupālaprasāsti* says that he renovated a Jain temple in the village of Vyāgrapalli, which was originally built by the ancestors,⁹⁸

95. Abu II 250 ff.

96. SKK, pp. 24ff.

97. Abu II 256. I must note that later sources report that Tejaḥpāla had constructed upon Girnar a temple to Pārśvanātha named the Aśvarājavihāra after his father and a tank named the Kumārasāra after his mother (*VTK*, Cort, John, trans., in Granoff, ed., 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 257; *PCT*, p. 159).

98. This is one of the rare references I have found to any donation by the ancestors of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, but there is no other evidence corroborating it. Incidentally, Vyāgrapallī or Vāghelā (10 miles southwest of Patan in Gujarat) is said to have been a village granted to Ārṇorāja Vāghelā by Kumārapāla Caulukya, although all literary accounts imply that Dhavalakka or Dholka (southwest of Ahmedabad) was the Vāghelā capital at least from the time of Lavanaprasāda. See Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, p.

for their merit (v. 45) and that he donated a Jina image on each of the four peaks of Girnar (vs. 89-92), in the name of his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather.⁹⁹

It is not that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla showed little concern for either the religious merit of their ancestors or were indifferent to the fame (or lack of it) of the ancestors, references to ancestry in the biographies notwithstanding. Rather, the brothers provided for the memory of their ancestors in a very special way. At a number of sites where Vastupāla and/or Tejaḥpāla had temples built, portraits of immediate family members, but especially of the ancestors were included in the constructions. These images might have served to produce merit for the subjects, but they also must have served to assert a social status for the ancestors that they may or may not have otherwise possessed, and so too legitimate the brothers' status within the Jain community.

The donation of portraits was not an innovation by the brothers, as my discussion thus far amply shows. However, it is apparent from some of the other family portraits attributed to Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla, that the brothers expanded upon popular conceptions behind earlier portraits and imbued some of the portraits that they sponsored

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99. These were accompanied by portraits of those beneficiaries and are discussed below for this fact makes these gifts no ordinary merit transfers.

There are other stray references to donations by Vastupāla for the merit of the ancestors (see *VC* VI.702 for example). Furthermore, I note that the list of the pious deeds of the ministers appended to the *PK* (§156f.) says that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla spent one *lakh* on the Acalesvara Hindu temple upon Abu for the merit of their ancestors. However, I still think that there is not the quantity of patronage on behalf of the ancestors that we might expect.

with meanings not known to earlier examples. Generally speaking, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla presented their ancestors, if not themselves and immediate family as well, in portrait form as gods and certain mythical personages. I cannot go so far as to say that they sought the deification of the portrait subjects, but at the least they compared the subjects to gods of a very special sort, either with respect to the function of those gods or their place in Jain myth. The aim must have been to give the portrait subjects a very special status in the public eye, but more narrowly, I believe that the portraits were intended as an assertion of authority by the brothers and their family over their own Jain community. The brothers required legitimacy for their growing wealth and power, since they apparently did not inherit the necessary social status from their ancestors. They might have especially required some special means to justify their authority if Kumāradēvī was in fact a remarried widow, that is, if their parentage was socially suspect, and if this had led to some social strife within the lay Jain community.

While the legitimation of the brothers' authority over their religious community is apparent in some of their public works, the legitimation of their political authority, as well as that of their sovereigns, is apparent in others. Given the unusual circumstances under which Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla attained their preeminent political position, and under which the Vāghelās gained authority over at least part of the Caulukyan empire, I think it is clear that elements of the brothers' public building activity were meant to legitimate Vāghelā rule, as exercised by brothers. At the same time, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla had their own problems with legitimacy within the Vāghelā government; in

their public works, we can also see a claim of intimacy between them and the Vāghelā throne.

As I have said, some biographies of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla say that the brothers were first presented to the Vāghelā court at Dhavalakka. Other accounts describe this introduction differently. Thus, it is uncertain when this contact was initiated. The exact circumstances under which the brothers went into Vāghelā service are also obscure. But, it is clear that the brothers' impressive ministerial careers were dependent upon the assumption of independent Vāghelā authority over parts of Gujarat.

Vastupāla's Girnar inscriptions say that he and his brother were transferred into the service of the Vāghelās in 1220 from the service of Bhīma II, the Caulukyan king of Gujarat. Sources all agree that Bhīma was an ineffectual ruler. Gujarat was invaded several times by neighbouring kings and the Muslims; Bhīma even suffered a lengthy usurpation from about 1224. It appears that some kind of stability was only restored to the kingdom by the actions of the Vāghelās, perhaps with the help of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla; extending this service to the Caulukyās seems to have given the Vāghelās a power base from which they eventually took the throne outright.¹⁰⁰

The Vāghelās had a nominal claim to the throne of Gujarat, for they were a collateral branch of the Caulukyās: Āṇṇorāja Vāghelā was the son of the sister of the mother of the famous Caulukyan king Kumārapāla.¹⁰¹ Āṇṇorāja's son was Lavaṇaprasāda and Lavaṇaprasāda's son was Vīradhavalā. It was under Lavaṇaprasāda that the Vāghelās

100. See Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 29ff.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

came into their own. He apparently served as regent under Bhīma II. Vīradhavalā was supposed to become king eventually, but he died before Bhīma. When Bhīma died, and after the very brief reign of Tribhuvanapāla Caulukya, Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavalā, became the first Vāghelā king of the former Caulukyan empire.

The myths about the shift of power from the Caulukyas to the Vāghelās began with contemporary authors and were repeated in later decades. The most important account was penned by Someśvara, and is notable because Someśvara was a court poet and the *purohita* of Bhīma II, but he appears to have shifted his loyalty to Lavaṇaprasāda and Vastupāla as well.¹⁰² Someśvara relates that the Caulukyan empire had been divided between some of the royal ministers and vassals because of the weakness of Bhīma II.¹⁰³ The Goddess of the Royal Fortune of the Kingdom of Gujarat appeared to Lavaṇaprasāda asking him and his son to save Her. Lavaṇaprasāda asked Someśvara himself what to do and the poet advised him to bring Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla into his service, hence the rise of the Vāghelās and the brothers.

Other authors provide interesting variations on this supernatural call to action. In the *Vasantavilāsa* of Bālacandra, written shortly after the death of Vastupāla and at the behest of Vastupāla's son Jaitrasimha,¹⁰⁴ the Goddess of Royal Fortune appears to Vīradhavalā in a dream, instead of to his father, telling him to appoint Vastupāla and

102. The work in question (*KK*) was written about 1232 and is a panegyric of Vastupāla. See Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 44ff.

103. *KK* II.83ff.

104. Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 77f.

Tejaḥpāla as ministers. Arisimha, another poet in the service of Vastupāla, provides the most unusual account in his *Sukṛtasamkīrtana*. In it Kumārapāla, the famous Caulukyan king, who had been reborn as a powerful god because of his great faith in the Jain religion, appears to Bhīma II in a dream. He commands Bhīma to save the crumbling kingdom. The solution to the kingdom's woes is the appointment of Lavaṇaprasāda as the Lord of All (*sarveśvara*) and the naming of his son Vīradhavaḷa as crown-prince (*yuvarāja*). In the morning after the dream, Bhīma reports his vision to Lavaṇaprasāda and fulfills the god's demands. Vīradhavaḷa for his part asks the king to give him a minister able to help to restore the kingdom to its former glory. Bhīma, singing the praises of the ancestors of Vastupāla, transfers Vastupāla and his brother into the service of Vīradhavaḷa.

The justification of Vāghelā rule by the introduction of the divine sanction of the Rājalakṣmī and especially the deified Kumārapāla suggests that the Vāghelās claimed an authority to which they were not really entitled and for which they did not have universal support. The historical evidence for early Vāghelā rule shows that they confidently asserted paramount authority in parts of Gujarat, in keeping with Someśvara's and Arisimha's claims for them, but elsewhere had to be content with a more modest status.¹⁰⁵ In the Abu and Girnar inscriptions (1231 and 1232), the former authored by Someśvara himself, Lavaṇaprasāda is called by the most regal title "Mahārājādhirāja." Bhīma II was still ruling at this time and only to him should this title have been applied;

105. See Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 163f. and sources cited there.

in other inscriptions from Abu and in other sources Lavaṇaprasāda is called merely “Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka,” a sub-feudatory under the authority of Bhīma.¹⁰⁶

The accounts legitimizing Vāghelā rule also served to legitimize the ministerial authority of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla: if Vāghelā sovereignty was open to question then so was the ministerial authority of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla because of their allegiance to the Vāghelās and their part in the apparent coup. At the same time, the stories about how the brothers became servants to Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā must have also been intended to show that the Vāghelās were beholden in some way to the brothers for their acquisition of the kingdom. The brothers’ need for legitimacy in Vāghelā courtly circles is apparent from certain later anecdotes which say that Vastupāla found himself on the outs at court when Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavalā, became king.¹⁰⁷ Some stories go so far as to say that Vastupāla was replaced as chief minister by one Nāgaḍa, a Nāgara brahmin. In truth though, it seems that Vastupāla held the ministership until his death at which time he was succeeded by Tejaḥpāla, and only upon the latter’s death did Nāgaḍa assume the chief ministership. Other stories about the conflict between Vastupāla and Vīsaladeva say that the minister’s position was salvaged only by the timely intercession of the poet Someśvara who, as we have seen, was a great propagandist for the Vāghelās and the brothers.

106. See *ibid.*, p. 164 and sources cited there.

107. See *ibid.*, pp. 175ff. and Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 32ff. and the sources cited there.

While these stories about Vastupāla's particular courtly difficulties might not be historically true, they might be true at least in spirit. For though Someśvara would have us believe that the Vāghelā kings, at least Vīradhavalā, never wavered in their support of the ministers, it is apparent that the authority of the ministers did not go unchallenged (perhaps even by Nāgaḍa). In Someśvara's *Abu prasāsti* (1231 C.E.) it is said that "the wise Caulukya Vīradhavalā did not even lend his ears to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers."¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, a Girnar inscription of the next year, in the middle of a panegyric upon Vastupāla's generosity, asks, "what is the use of talking about sinful and wicked ministers who have nothing in their mind but malice against the people?"¹⁰⁹

In addition to the family portraits sponsored by Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla we also find a number of portraits of the Caulukya and Vāghelā kings. I believe that some of these images were erected to further the kingdom-wide political agenda of the brothers and their sovereigns, while others were meant to serve the brothers' interests in narrower Vāghelā circles. Tejaḥpāla is credited with a set of portraits of the former Caulukyan kings at Dabhoi, southeast of Baroda in Gujarat. Additionally, Vastupāla is said to have erected a number of images of the Vāghelās in conjunction with his good works at several sites. The portraits of the Caulukyās appear to have been an element in the effort to reconsolidate the Caulukyan empire, and so too to justify the authority of Tejaḥpāla (and Vastupāla), and also the Vāghelā chiefs. The Vāghelā portraits also appear to have

108. *EI* VII p. 215 v. 28.

109. *RL*, pp. 328ff.

served to promote Vāghelā rule throughout Gujarat. They must have also served to promote the idea of the intimacy between the brothers and the Vāghelā throne, because many of them were erected in conjunction with portraits of the brothers or include figures of the brothers.

The literature about Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla projects very special identities for these two exceptional men, and this material has been the subject of much scholarly interest. So too some of the unusual patronage activities of these men contributed to these identities and have similarly been closely studied. Portraiture also informs us about the kind of image or images the two ministers tried to create for themselves, in their Jain community and in the kingdom at large. However, the evidence of these portraits has been little scrutinized by scholars. In the following I consider both the portraits of Vastupāla, Tejaḥpāla and family, and those of the brothers' sovereigns.

I organize my discussion around three groups of portraits sponsored by the brothers at Dabhoi, Mt. Girnar and Mt. Abu. Groups of portraits were set up at these sites which were styled as the Guardians of the Quarters (*lokapālas* or *dignāyakas*), implicitly in the first two cases, but explicitly in the last. The Guardians of the Quarters are pan-Indian deities who may number four, eight or ten. The Guardians of the Quarters occupy a number of places in Indian myth. They are most commonly associated with kingship and protection. Indra is their most prominent member. The Indian king is regularly identified with Indra since Indra is the king of the gods, but also in his role as one of the

lokapālas.¹¹⁰ In the *Arthaśāstra* the king is said to be Indra's representative on earth (9.10) and as such is responsible for holding festivals especially those promoting fertility (the Indra Festival being one of the most important). The *Nāradaśmṛti* says the king is Indra in visible form and in the *Mahābhārata* kings are called "companions of Indra" (2.31.63). Quite commonly the king is thought to embody the essence of Indra along with that of the other *lokapālas*: that conception is common to *Manusmṛti*, *Rāghuvamśa* and other works. In *Rāghuvamśa* 6.1 the king is actually called *naralokapāla* as he is in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (1.344). In Jain myth, the gods led by Indra are central to narratives about the lives of the Jinas. They serve as the model of Jain lay devotion and temple patronage.

Based upon the fact that the portraits of the Caulukyan kings which Tejaḥpāla set up in the rampart around Dabhoi seem to have numbered ten, I believe that these images were meant to appear as the Guardians of the Quarters. The intention must have been to evoke the supernatural protective power of the *lokapālas* and hence to enhance royal power over the region. I also believe that at least four if not all eight portraits which Vastupāla is said to have erected on the peaks of Mt. Girnar, and which represented himself, his brothers, and four of his ancestors, were also intended to evoke the most basic function of the *lokapālas* in order to present Vastupāla and/or his kinsmen as very special leaders and protectors of the Jain community. The inference that the Girnar and

110. See Gonda, Jan, *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969; "The Indra Festival According to the Atharvavedins," in *Selected Studies*, Vol. IV, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975; "A Note on Indra in Purāṇic Literature," in *Selected Studies*, Vol. IV, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975; "The Sacred character of Indian Kingship," in *Selected Studies*, Vol. IV, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975 and the primary sources cited in those works.

Dabhoi portraits represent the Guardians of the Quarters, based on the fact that they occur in numbers associated with those gods, is further supported by evidence from Tejaḥpāla's temple at Abu. Tejaḥpāla included in the temple ten portraits representing his lineage, which were explicitly intended to appear as “the Guardians of the Quarters perpetually coming to see the Jina,” according to one of the main temple inscriptions.¹¹¹ The allusion to the Guardians of the Quarters in this case does not refer to the protective power of these gods, but appears to evoke narratives about the enlightenment of the Jinas. When a Jina attains omniscience, the stories report, the gods descend to earth and build a special pavilion for him, called the *samavasaraṇa*, in which gods and humans then gather to listen to the Jina's first sermon.¹¹² The Abu portraits imply a homology between the Jain temple and the *samavasaraṇa*; thus, Jain temple patrons are like the gods who build the *samavasaraṇa*. Thus, Tejaḥpāla presented himself (and his family) as patrons of an extraordinary sort.

I begin with the portraits from Dabhoi; in this context I also discuss the portraits of the Vāghelā kings which are credited to Vastupāla. Then I discuss portraiture and Mt. Girnar. I conclude with the Abu portraits, which are the only extant portraits made by either brother. Medieval Jain literature often exaggerates the quantity of patronage by famous temple-builders. There are few extant remains of temples built by the brothers; the large number of public works sponsored by Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla may well be exaggerated in some textual accounts. The number of portraits attributed to

111. Abu II 250, v. 63; *El*, VIII, p. 218; see also *VC* VIII.229.

112. For images of the *samavasaraṇa* see **Figures 71, 72 & 74**.

the brothers in some texts might also be exaggerated. However for the sake of argument, I assume that all the portraits which I shall describe and which are known only from texts did exist at one time.

I would say that the portraits credited to Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla reveal: first, an element in a massive biographical tradition devoted to these two men which began with their own court poets; and second, the unique use and manipulation of sacred space, particularly in the case of the famous Jain pilgrimage centres. The portraits then were part of an effort by the brothers to create for themselves special social or political and religious identities in their own time and for posterity.

II.4.1. Vastupāla's and Tejaḥpāla's Royal Portraiture

II.4.1.1. The Dabhoi Rampart

According to Jinahaṛṣa's *Vastupālacarita* (1441), Tejaḥpāla saw that the people of Dabhoi lived in constant fear of predatory invasions and so he had built around the town "a cloud-licking rampart rising even up to the sun (upon/in which were placed) images of the (Caulukyan) kings beginning with Mūlarāja."¹¹³ If we add up the deceased Caulukyan kings up to the time the wall was built they total exactly ten.¹¹⁴ Since these images apparently numbered ten like the portraits in Tejaḥpāla's Abu temple as I noted

113. mūlarājādibhūpālamūrttibhiḥ sphuritodayam /
nagarāḥ parito vapramabhramḥliham ... (III.364).

114. *KK* and *SSK* both give the number of kings up to Bhīma II as ten, and this is also confirmed by inscriptions.

earlier, I believe that the Dabhoi portraits were intended to represent the Guardians of the Quarters. It is possible to conclude that the representations of the Caulukyan kings as the *lokapālas* in image form was intended to indicate that the kings had literally become those gods. I have already cited a number of Hindu texts that describe an intimacy between earthly kings and the *lokapālas*. As we have seen, Arisimha described Kumārapāla Caulukya as reborn as a god without hesitation in his version of the rise of the Vāghelās. If the Dabhoi portraits were supposed to represent the *lokapālas* and the Caulukyan kings were supposed to have been reborn as those gods, then the portraits must have been meant to serve as the supernatural protectors of Dabhoi. That is to say, the portraits were meant to evoke the most basic function of the *lokapālas*, as guardians of place.

I believe that we cannot ignore the context of political events involving Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla in the interpretation of the portraits in the wall at Dabhoi, for the stories about the brothers' royal service appear to belie a certain precariousness in the political position of the brothers and their Vāghelā lords. However, it is difficult to locate these images in an exact historical context because it is not entirely certain if and when Tejaḥpāla fortified Dabhoi. There is a fragmentary inscription at Dabhoi from 1253 and authored by Someśvara, but it does not refer to a fortification by Tejaḥpāla. If Tejaḥpāla did order the fortification of Dabhoi, it was probably no earlier than 1229, the date of Arisimha's *Sukṛtakīrtana*, which mentions patronage by Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla at Dabhoi, but does not mention the rampart.

Now, the fate of Dabhoi in the years before it was fortified by Tejaḥpāla is notable here, though this history is also not entirely clear. Dabhoi had been part of the Caulukyan empire, but in the course of the usurpation of Bhīma II and the invasion by the Paramāras (*c.* 1210) it appears to have fallen into Paramāra hands for some time; also, the Cāhamānas, the Yādavas and the Muslims seem to have fought over all of Lāṭa, the region which included Dabhoi.¹¹⁵ At some point Dabhoi was rescued by Lavaṇaprasāda, perhaps through the efforts of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, and Caulukya-Vāghelā control over it was maintained for many years after.¹¹⁶ It appears that the Vāghelās and/or the brothers took Dabhoi from the Paramāras, for Narendraprabha's *Vastupālaprasāsti* says that Vastupāla replaced the gold pitchers atop the Vaidyanātha temple which Subhāṭavarman Paramāra had destroyed.¹¹⁷

Whenever Dabhoi was reclaimed, it seems that its defense remained an ongoing struggle in light of Vastupāla's most famous deed in the region, the defeat of the Muslim merchant Saīd of Broach and his general Śaṅkha at the port of Cambay.¹¹⁸ Sources say that Vastupāla was made governor of Cambay in order to put an end to the piracy and corruption which occurred there as a result of Bhīma II's weak rule.¹¹⁹ The

115. See Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, Chapter IX.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Op. cit.*, v. 48.

118. Many of Vastupāla's biographies discuss this event in detail and it is the subject of the one act military drama, the *Śaṅkha-parābhava* of Harihara (Sandesera, B.J., ed., Baroda: The Oriental Institute, 1965).

119. See Sandesera, 1953, *op. cit.*, pp. 29ff.

death of Vastupāla's general Bhuvanapāla (also called Lūnapāla) in the battle with Śaṅkha is perhaps significant with respect to the portraits at Dabhoi. For on the spot where Bhuvanapāla fell in battle, Vastupāla is said to have erected a Śiva temple called Bhuvanapāleśvara.¹²⁰ Since the deification of the medieval Indian hero is well-attested, this temple appears to have signaled the apotheosis of Bhuvanapāla: at the very least the temple was a glorified hero-stone, examples of which may be found throughout Gujarat, Rajasthan and especially in parts of the South. In the South they often serve as boundary markers.¹²¹ Presuming that the temple of Bhuvanapāleśvara did once exist, I speculate that it served to mark the reclamation of Lāṭa by the Caulukya-Vāghelā crown. The fortification of Dabhoi with its portraits of the Caulukyan kings, presuming that it occurred close to or after the battle at Cambay, might have served the same purpose.¹²²

Whether or not the portraits at Dabhoi are related to the battle with Śaṅkha, it is still curious that Tejaḥpāla chose to portray the Caulukyās in the rampart instead of the Vāghelās to whom he presumably owed the greater loyalty and who appear to have been more responsible for the rescue of Dabhoi. Inscriptions which refer to the Vāghelās,

120. *PCT*, p. 163; *VP* 61. There is no archaeological evidence for the existence of this temple.

121. See Settar and Sontheimer, eds., *op. cit.*

122. The use of portraiture to mark the borders of Indian kingdoms appears to have a long history; Giovanni Verardi speculates that the images of the Sātavahana kings which once adorned the Nāṅaghāt cave in Maharashtra (c. 1st century C.E.) marked the frontier of the Sātavāhana domains. Verardi, Giovanni, with a note by Alessandro Grossato, "The Kuṣāṇa Emperors as *Cakravartins* Dynastic Art and Cults in India and Central Asia: History of a Theory, Clarifications and Refutations," *East and West*, vol. 33 (1983), pp. 249f.

some of which I have already mentioned, indicate that before the mid-13th century the Vāghelās had only limited power in parts of Gujarat, but were bold enough to claim paramount power in others.¹²³ Since the Vāghelās appear to have continued to owe allegiance to the Caulukyas through the end of the 13th century in some parts of Gujarat, perhaps they could not claim rule over Dabhoi when it was saved, but had to claim it on behalf of the Caulukyas: while the Caulukyas seem to have lost much of their authority over north Gujarat the memory of their rule in the south may have still had a certain power.

Thus, at the time that Tejahpāla fortified Dabhoi, the Vāghelās and their ministers legitimated their authority with reference to the Caulukyas, pursuing their ambitions as loyal servants. But, the restoration of the boundaries of the Caulukyan empire must have enhanced Vāghelā political power, later permitting them to claim the throne outright. I note that when Vīsaladeva became king he asserted his exclusive authority over Dabhoi in a sense in that he performed Vedic sacrifices and otherwise patronized the Nāgara Brahmins of the region.¹²⁴

123. As I suggested above, the early 13th century portrait of the Caulukyan king Jayasimha Siddharāja from around Palanpur indicates that there was still a measure of support for the Caulukyas in some areas of Gujarat, since a certain patron wished to have this long dead king portrayed in image form.

124. Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 178.

II.4.1.2. The Vāghelā Portraits

Tejaḥpāla appears to have placed the portraits of the Caulukyās in the wall at Dabhoi as part of the attempt to solidify Caulukya-Vāghelā authority in south Gujarat, indirectly affirming the Vāghelā's own authority as exercised through their ministers. But, the legitimacy of Vāghelā rule, and the position of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla under it, appear to have been directly addressed through several portraits of the Vāghelās, together with several portraits of the brothers themselves, which Vastupāla included in his patronage at several sites.

At Dabhoi Vastupāla set up images of Vīradhavalā and Queen Jayantadevī, together with images of his brothers Tejaḥpāla and Malladeva and himself in the new Jain temple he built there.¹²⁵ At Girnar he had made an image of Vīradhavalā and himself mounted upon the same elephant.¹²⁶ According to Arisimha images of Vīradhavalā, Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla mounted on elephants were set up at Śatruñjaya.¹²⁷ Later sources describe these particular images a little differently. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* says there were three images at Śatruñjaya: Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā on elephants and Vastupāla on horseback.¹²⁸ Jinahaṛṣa says that Vastupāla erected images of his lord,

125. *VP* 48; *VC* III.372.

126. *VP* 81.

127. *SSK* XI.18. As I have already pointed out, Someśvara, writing at the same time, says that they were mounted on horses (*KK* IX.35).

128. *PCT*, p. 159.

his wife, his guru, his brother and himself in the temple of the Lord of Stambhanakatīrtha, *i.e.* Pārśvanātha, and also images of himself and brother on horses; “furthermore, he had portrayed his lord King Vīra [dhavala] with Queen Jayantadevī in an image mounted on an elephant like Indra with his companion Śacī.”¹²⁹

It is difficult to date precisely when any of these portraits would have been made. However, Vastupāla’s patronage at Dabhoi must have predated Tejaḥpāla’s, which I have said must have dated to after 1229, the date of Arisimha’s *Sukṛtakīrtana* which does not know the Dabhoi rampart, but does know the works of Vastupāla. The Vāghelā portraits made by Vastupāla at Śatruñjaya must have been made before 1229 since they are mentioned by Arisimha. Inscriptions from Girnar describe Vastupāla’s works there in the period around 1232 and presumably portraits there accompanied the works mentioned in those inscriptions. Thus, the Vāghelā portraits all seem to date from the time when the Vāghelās were still trying to stake their claim to the sovereignty of Gujarat. These images might have been intended to further such a claim.¹³⁰

Portraying the kings on elephants certainly evokes kingship, since the elephant is one of the most obvious Indian symbols of royal power. The elephant is also the mount of Indra. Since Jinahaṛṣa thought that the portraits of Vīradhavalā and his

129. VC VI.638-640.

130. With reference to the Vāghelā portraits that Vastupāla is said to have erected at Dabhoi, this statement appears to contradict my explanation of the Caulukyan portraits in the Dabhoi rampart, which I have said demonstrate that the brothers could not claim Dabhoi for the Vāghelās. However, I think that the portraits of the Vāghelā king and queen, within a Jain temple, did not immediately or directly make a strong claim to paramount sovereignty over Dabhoi by the Vāghelās in the way that the Caulukyan portraits in the very public rampart surrounding the entire town did.

queen at Śatruñjaya appeared as Indra and Śacī, that might have also been how the other portraits of the kings were supposed to appear. The portraits of Vastuāpla and family that accompanied some of those royal portraits perhaps suggested some of Indra's retinue. Hence, the portraits in the Jain temple presented the Vāghelās, and the brothers by extension, as the very model of royalty, as a not very subtle claim to political authority.

On the other hand, the proximity of portraits of the brothers to portraits of their sovereigns might have been intended to stress the relationship between the brothers and the Vāghelās, if we presume that whatever animosity that was directed towards Vastupāla within the Vāghelā court had a long history, predating the coronation of Vīsaladeva. It is apparent that Dabhoi was liberated by the Vāghelās, and probably through the actions of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, or at the least that control of the area was maintained by the brothers. If we look at the Dabhoi portraits of the Vāghelās in light of the portraits of the brothers accompanying them, we might imagine that Dabhoi was a good location for the brothers to assert the interdependence of the Vāghelās and themselves. The portrait group might have even implied that the Vāghelās were beholden to the brothers in some way for their improving political position.

Other portraits commissioned by the two ministers might be considered in terms of ideas about political authority. But since they occur in the context of the Jain temple, they might also be considered exclusively in Jain terms. I will first look at some portraits from Girnar to demonstrate how they represented a certain kind of religious or political authority which the ministers exerted over their Jain community and then I will

turn to the ten mounted portraits at Abu to show the unique ways in which the ministers claimed a special status among Jain temple patrons.

II.4.2. Girnar Portraits and the Religious Authority of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla

Written sources say that Vastupāla sponsored many works upon Mt. Girnar (Saurashtra). However, little remains of Vastupāla's original work except the much renovated Neminātha temple. In this temple and elsewhere on the mountain, Vastupāla is said to have added a number of portraits. I believe that several meanings or allusions might be recognized in these images. Here however, I am primarily interested in eight particular portraits styled perhaps as the Guardians of the Quarters or as, I will argue, the *kṣetrapālas*. Other portraits and other conceptions are briefly touched upon here, but fuller explication of them is reserved for my discussion of the Abu portraits.

According to Narendraprabhasūri's *Vastupālaprasāsti*, Vastupāla erected on Girnar images of Caṇḍapa and Mālladeva upon the Ambikā Peak, Caṇḍaprasāda and himself upon the Avalokanā Peak, Soma and Tejahpāla upon the Pradyumna Peak, and Āśarāja and another whose name is missing from the text upon the Śāmba Peak.¹³¹ Based

131. tadīye śikhare nemiṃ caṇḍapaśreyase ca yaḥ /
 mūrṭiṃ ramyāṃ tadīyāṃ ca malladevasya ca vyadhāt //
 caṇḍaprasādapunyaṃ varddhayituṃ yo 'valokanāśikhare /
 sthāpitavān nemiḥjināṃ tanmūrṭiṃ svasya mūrṭiṃ ca //
 pradyumnaśikhare somaśreyase nemiṃ jinam /
 somamūrṭiṃ tathā tejahpālamūrṭiṃ ca yo 'tanot //
 yaḥ śāmbaśikhare nemiḥjinendraṃ śreyase pituḥ
 ... tanmūrṭiṃ ca kārayāmāsa bhaktitah

VP vs. 89-92, *SKK*, p. 28.

upon the pattern of the first three pairs the unknown subject of the fourth might have been Lūṅiga, the fourth and youngest son of Āśarāja and Kumāradevī, the parents of Vastupāla, Tejaḥpāla and Mālladeva. Thus it seems, these portraits consisted of the four males of Vastupāla's generation paired respectively with their great-great-grandfather, great-grand-father, grandfather and father.

A number of potential meanings appear to lie behind these particular eight images. On the one hand, Narendraprabha says that on each of the four peaks with each of the four pairs of portraits Vastupāla donated a Jina image for the merit of the ancestor portrayed. The portraits of the ancestors might have then served to augment the merit from the initial gifts of the Jina images; that is, these portraits might have participated in the meaning that I argued in part I may lie behind the majority of portraits, as generators of merit for the portrait subjects. Such a purpose might have been intended for some or all of the portraits erected by Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, especially for the ancestor portraits: the brothers must have felt as much a sense of filial obligation as the numerous other patrons who sponsored portraits of their parents and loved ones (presumably for the merit of the subjects).

On the other hand, the total of eight for the portraits in question suggests that they were meant to appear as the Guardians of the Quarters who may number ten, as seen in Tejaḥpāla's Abu and Dabhoi portraits, but also eight. Or perhaps just the ancestor portraits were meant to appear as the Guardians of the Quarters since those gods may also

In the non-Jain (Hindu) topography of Girnar these peaks are called Ambikā, Gorakhnāth, Kālikā Mātā and Dattātreya (see *VTK*, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 256ff. and Bühler, G., introduction to *SSK*, p. 79).

number four. Below, I argue that behind the comparison of the Abu portraits to Guardians of the Quarters is the homology of the Jain temple to the *samavasaraṇa*; by this homology Tejaḥpāla declared himself and family to be extraordinary temple patrons comparable to the gods who build the *samavasaraṇa*. Above I argued that the ten portraits at Dabhoi protected that town as the Guardians of the Quarters, fulfilling the most basic function of those deities. The Girnar portraits might have been erected with one or both of these conceptions in mind.

However, I wish to consider here another possible meaning: the portraits might have represented the more generic protector-gods, the *kṣetrapālas*,¹³² alluding to some of the Jain mythology specifically about Girnar. When Jinahaṛṣa came to write about the portraits on the peaks of Girnar more than two hundred years after the fact, he repeated Narendraprabha verbatim with respect to the first three pairs of portraits; but where the identity of one of the subjects of the fourth pair is missing in Narendraprabha's text, Jinahaṛṣa wrote that the subject was Vastupāla's mother.¹³³ Thus according to Jinahaṛṣa the Girnar portraits consisted of seven males and one female. Now, in Chapter 2 of Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, seven members of the Yādava clan, to which belonged Neminātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, and Kṛṣṇa who figures into the story of Neminātha according to the Jains, became *kṣetrapālas* upon Girnar due to their great

132. The *kṣetrapālas* are simply generic protectors of place.

133. Compare the following to *VP* 92 cited above:

/ tanmūrttiṃ mātrmūrttiṃ ca kārayāmsa bhaktitaḥ // *VP* VI.729.

Since Jinahaṛṣa changes the syntax of Narendraprabha's verse in supplying the otherwise missing information, I believe that he too had before him a text with a lacuna in it and then guessed that the other portrait represented Vastupāla's mother.

asceticism.¹³⁴ In Jinaprabha's description of Girnar in the same account, an image of one of those *kṣetrapālas* was to be found on the Ambikā peak (upon which Vastupāla is said to have placed images of his brother Malladeva and his great-great-grandfather Caṇḍapa). In Chapter 4 of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* Jinaprabha says that the *kṣetrapāla* manifests himself at numerous places upon Girnar.¹³⁵ Jinahaṛṣa then, might have thought that the Girnar portraits in question were meant to represent seven *kṣetrapālas*. This might have even truly been the case given the legend reported by Jinaprabha. To my mind, it is not important which deities the portraits were intended to represent, *kṣetrapālas* or *lokapālas*, Guardians of Place or Guardians of the Quarters. What is important is that, one way or the other, Vastupāla claimed a very special relationship between himself and his family and Mt. Girnar.

I add that Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* is not the only text which reports that certain laymen were reborn on Girnar as Guardian Deities. In Merutuṅga's *PC*¹³⁶ (1304 C.E.) a Jain merchant named Dhāra, along with his five sons, made a pilgrimage to Girnar. They were Śvetāmbaras while the king who ruled over Girnar was a Digambara. When a battle for control of the mountain broke out between the two sects, Dhāra's five sons were killed and because of their zeal for the faith were reborn on Girnar as *kṣetra-*

134. Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252.

135. *VTK* 4, v. 3, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 254.

136. *PCT*, pp. 200-201.

patīs.¹³⁷ The story of Dhāra does not say that there were ever images of Dhāra’s sons as protector gods at Girnar, but other sources report that portraits of historical people served as guardians of place. A 16th century inscription from Ekaliṅgajī says that the Sisodia king Rājamalla placed four images on the peaks of Citrakūṭa representing four warriors who died in battle there; the inscription describes the images as “ready ... with their strong arms to put down the hardy and robust warriors of the other side.”¹³⁸ Also, as I have already pointed out, the *PC* relates that when the Caulukyan king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja completed the Rudramahālaya Śiva temple he added to it images of distinguished kings, generals of the cavalry, generals of the infantry and an image of himself as a devotee “and so entreated that, even if the country were laid waste, this temple might not be destroyed.”¹³⁹ Both the Ekaliṅgajī inscription and this story from the *PC* imply

137. *Kṣetrapati* is a term synonymous with *kṣetrapāla*. I note that the names of two of the sons of Dhāra are the same as two of the Yādavas in Jinaprabha’s account. Thus, it may very well be that both stories confound some common source or one was the source for the other. For my purposes this is not really important for I am only interesting in the fact of the claim that certain personalities are believed to have been reborn as Gods of Place at Girnar.

138. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, “A stone inscription of Ekalingajī near Udeypore in Meywar. Dated Saṃvat 1545,” v. 70.

139. *PCT*, p. 90. I also note that one of Jinaprabha’s hymns to Mt. Aṣṭāpada says that when Bharata, the son of Ādinātha, built the first Jain temple, he also had set up “protector-men made of iron” (*lohajaṃtamayā āraṅghagapurisā*) to keep pilgrims from committing the religious offense called *āśātanā* (*VTK*, p. 92, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 271). Sandesera and Thakur define *āśātanā* as “insult or contempt (of a religious teacher or the scriptures or an image),” *Lexicographical Studies in ‘Jaina Sanskrit’*, *The M.S. University Oriental Series* No. 5 (1962), p. 45 with reference to its occurrence in the *PK*. Professor Granoff tells me (personal communication) that it refers to destroying or pillaging temples, defacing images and the like, exactly the kinds of things from which, I have argued, the Rudramahālaya was to be protected by the portraits.

that portraits were used as supernatural protectors of their respective locales,¹⁴⁰ so perhaps a similar conception was behind the four portrait pairs sponsored by Vastupāla at Girnar.

If this was the case, we might wonder why exactly Vastupāla took the unusual step of setting up his ancestors (along with himself and his brothers) as the protectors of Girnar in image form. The story of Dhāra informs us that possession of Girnar was hotly contested; other stories say that not only did the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras fight over Girnar, but the Jains as a whole fought for the site, especially with the Buddhists.¹⁴¹ With these facts in mind I imagine that Vastupāla wanted to bring some stability not only to Girnar, but to Jainism in Western India as a whole, and offered himself and his brother (and his lineage by extension) as paramount lay authorities over the Jain congregation. I

140. I must add the unique case of the Hindu warriors of Chittor, Jaymal and Pata, who died in a confrontation with the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Akbar was apparently so impressed with the courage of these two men that he had images of them mounted on elephants placed at the main gate of his fort at Agra. Later Shah Jahan moved the images to the fort at Delhi where Francis Bernier saw them sometime in the middle of the 17th century; of them Bernier says “These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe” (cited in Muniraj Vidyavijayaji, *A Monk and a Monarch*, Shree Vijayadharmasuri Jain Book Series—No. 59, 1944, pp. 20-21). Nowhere is it claimed that these images served as protectors of the Mughal forts; however as unusual a Muslim emperor as Akbar was I cannot believe that he would take the extraordinary step of erecting anthropomorphic images out of mere tribute to those soldiers, or even from some aesthetic sense, especially in light of the stronger cases I have presented where such images were erected as Protectors of Place. See also Granoff, Phyllis, “Worship as Commemoration: Pilgrimage, Death and Dying in Medieval Jainism,” *BEI*, 10 (1992), pp. 191-192 for the very interesting story of the tigress who starved herself to death at the gate to Śatruñjaya and was honoured by the people with a stone image to the right of the gateway.

141. For that matter, other sites particularly Śatruñjaya have been disputed even up to the present. A large portion of the 17th century *Bhānucandraganicarita* (*BCGC*) of Siddhicandra is taken up with the dispute over Śatruñjaya between the two Śvetāmbara monastic lineages, the Kharataragaccha and the Tapāgaccha.

have been attempting to demonstrate throughout this discussion that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were donors of a very unusual sort. I add to this argument some details about their donations which give further confirmation of this and show the ways in which the two men tried to create a certain cohesiveness within Jainism.

First, Vastupāla's Girnar temple is known as the "Temple of the Three Auspicious Moments,"¹⁴² honoring the fact that Neminātha's enlightenment, first sermon and final liberation occurred on the mountain. The temple has an unusual plan for it consists of three shrines in a triangular relationship: the two flanking shrines represent Sammetaśikhara, a mountain in Bihar where Pārśvanātha attained liberation, and Aṣṭāpada, identified with Mt. Kailāśa, where Ādinātha attained enlightenment and where his son Bharata constructed the first Jain temple.¹⁴³ Inside the two shrines are images of Mt. Meru and the *samavasaraṇa* (**Figure 74**) both representing places where the gods honour auspicious moments (*kalyāṇakas*) in the career of the Jina. The Girnar temple seems to imply that worship in it or pilgrimage to it is equivalent to worship or pilgrimage at Sammetaśikhara and Aṣṭāpada.

Other sources indicate that this was not the only equivalence Vastupāla set up at Girnar. Jinaprabha says that Vastupāla also constructed the Śatruñjayāvātārabhavana

142. *VTK* 3.9, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 253.

143. See Dhaky, M. A. "The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat," *JMPIP* no. 3 (1961), p. 67; *HIEA*, p. 33; *VTK* Chapter 5, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 257.

(Prakrit *sittujjāvayārabhavaṇa*), “the temple of the Śatruñjaya-incarnation,” at Girnar.¹⁴⁴ Vastupāla’s inscriptions from Girnar say that he also caused to be built shrines of Pārśva-nātha’s Stambhanaka-incarnation, Mahāvīra’s Satyapura-incarnation and Sarasvatī’s Kaśmīra-incarnation.¹⁴⁵ Such equivalences applied to some of the ministers’ other temples as well. After Tejahpāla’s Neminātha temple at Abu was built, it and Vimala’s earlier Ādinātha temple at Abu became known respectively as the Girnārātīrthāvatāra and the Śatruñjayātīrthāvatāra, since Neminātha is closely associated with Girnar and Ādinātha with Śatruñjaya.¹⁴⁶ But more importantly, Jinaharṣa says that Vastupāla commissioned on Śatruñjaya the “temple of the Lord of Raivatātīrtha [*i.e.* Neminātha of Girnar] with (images of?) the Ambikā, Avalokana, Śāmba and Pradyumna summits.”¹⁴⁷ By the addition of the portraits to the actual summits of Girnar, combined with some sort

144. *VTK* Chapter 5, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 257. Jinaharṣa calls it “the temple of the Lord of Śatruñjaya” (*śatruñjayapateścaityam*), *VC* VI.699.

145. See *SKK* Chapter 9.

146. *HA*, p. 126.

147. *tatrāmbikāvalokananśambapradyumnasanubhiḥ / saha raivatātīrthendor asau caityamasūtrat // VC* VI.637.

Such ‘delocalization’ of sacred space as in the examples I have described is not unique in Jainism. Almost every Jain temple complex in Western India contains some representations of other famous pilgrimage places. The great Ranakpur Jain temple in Rajasthan contains a 15th century stone plaque schematically illustrating Śatruñjaya and Girnar. In his description of the plaque U.P. Shah says: “such representations, technically called *uddhāra* or *avatāra*, have been popular in Western India from *c.* 14th century onwards. The practice could have started earlier but no earlier representations in stone or paintings are yet discovered. Such representations on cloth are preserved in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad and in the National Museum, New Delhi, etc. Such modern Representations on walls of *maṇḍapas* of Jaina temples are quite common in Gujarat” (*JRM*, 1987, p. 340; fig. 186). However, the interconnection of sites and their representations, such as associated with Vastupāla, is unprecedented as far as I know.

of representation of the summits at Śatruñjaya, Vastupāla might have implied that the (supernatural) protection afforded by the portraits also extended to Śatruñjaya through (the images of) the Girnar peaks.

Vastupāla and Tejahpāla were exceptional patrons insofar as they like no others were able to sponsor temples at numerous sites in Western India. As part of their good works at sites like Abu, Girnar and Śatruñjaya they attempted to interlink sites not only in Western India, but also sites in Jainism's original heartland, *e.g.* Sammetaśikhara. With their portraits at the Western Indian sites, especially the "guardian" images at Girnar, the brothers and/or their ancestors stood guard over the entire circuit of Jain pilgrimage. The two ministers' ability to extend such a great quantity of patronage to Jain holy sites must have given them a great deal of authority within Jain circles. Certainly they exerted due influence over their own temples: one of the Abu *praśastis* informs us that the trust governing Tejahpāla's Abu temple consisted of Vastupāla, Tejahpāla, their brother Mālladeva, four of Tejahpāla's brothers-in-law and their descendants.¹⁴⁸ Presumably the other temples built by the brothers were similarly governed and given the number of temples they apparently built, their actual control over the sacred geography of Jainism in Gujarat must have been extensive. With the portraits, in conjunction with other objects, they attempted to expand their very visible influence.

148. Abu II 251; *EI* VIII, pp. 219ff.

A written record of 1242 C.E. further suggests the kind of influence the two ministers must have had over even the day to day affairs of the whole Jain community.¹⁴⁹ Though the record comes down to us only as a paper manuscript, the record itself says that it was originally engraved in stone at Śatruñjaya. The document records a resolution passed by a conclave consisting of temple-dwelling and wandering Jain monks and important laymen to the effect that monks who father children and any such children who may have become ascetics, retroactive to a date four years previous, are to be considered anathemas by the community. Tejaḥpāla, his son and Vastupāla's son were just three of the laymen in attendance, however none of the others is otherwise known to us. Tejaḥpāla had the resolution entered into the state record (*śāsanapattika*) preserving it in his capacity as a state minister. Therefore, I presume that the record assumed the nature of law and its enforcement was within Tejaḥpāla's power, even though the record never says that the conclave was convened at Tejaḥpāla's request or that the resolution was his idea. Despite the fact that the conference occurred after the death of Vastupāla, but within the year of it, I assume that while Vastupāla lived he had the same influence in the Jain community.

So, if the eight images on the four peaks of Girnar represent Guardians of the Mountain and that site is interchangeable with every other, then they stand guard over the entire Jain sacred geography. They might have been meant to protect Jainism from

149. Shah, U.P., "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Śvetāmbara Jaina Church or A Documentary Epigraph from the Mount Śatruñjaya," *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay* 30 (1955), pp. 100-113.

external enemies, but they might also have been meant to protect Jainism from its own internal enemies, from internal conflicts, laxity and its traditional lack of cohesiveness.

II.4.3. The Abu Portraits and the Jain temple as Samavasaraṇa

Above, I hoped to demonstrate in broad terms the exceptional influence Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla exerted over the Jain community in the kingdom of Gujarat. The evidence of at least one of the sets of portraits from Tejaḥpāla's Lūṅigavasahī at Abu points to a uniquely Jain manner by which the two brothers claimed a preeminent status among Jains. I believe that these portraits imply a homology between the Jain temple and the *samavasaraṇa*, or pavilion of the Jina's first sermon. If the two brothers constructed their temples as conscious allusions to the *samavasaraṇa*, then they were comparing themselves to the gods who build those pavilions and/or the original congregation of gods and humans who hear the Jina's sermon in it. Under this conception I will also consider some more portraits from Girnar which also suggest a comparison between the brothers and family as temple patrons to the Gods who build the *samavasaraṇa*. Furthermore, I will consider some evidence from Girnar, Śatruñjaya and Dabhoi that implies a comparison between Vastupāla and family and certain mythological personalities in the narratives of the building of the *samavasaraṇas* of particular Jinas.

The portraits in Tejaḥpāla's Abu temple were originally set up in two separate sets at the back of the temple. The first set, which is extant and which I have mentioned a number of times, consists of ten reliefs showing near-life-size figures of the men of

Tejaḥpāla's line with their wives all standing in an attitude of devotion. In front of these reliefs are ten elephants upon which Tejaḥpāla and nine males in his line were once mounted, though all those figures are now missing.¹⁵⁰ One of the main temple inscriptions says of these men that

Their ten images, mounted on the shoulders of she-elephants,
give them the appearance of the *Guardians of the Quarters*
perpetually coming in order to see the Jina.¹⁵¹

The simile of the gods approaching the (enlightened) Jina applied to these portraits in a temple complex clearly implies the comparison between the temple and the *samavasaraṇa*, where the gods first honour the newly enlightened Jina.

In textual descriptions of it, the *samavasaraṇa* is a circular or square pavilion consisting of three terraced ramparts each with four gates at the cardinal points. At the top, four lion-thrones face the gates and are shaded by a mythical tree. Descriptions of the *samavasaraṇa* occur in several texts but it did not become an important subject of iconography until the later medieval period (see **Figures 71, 72 & 74**). Hemacandra's *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (TŚPC)* contains a long description of Ādinātha's *samavasaraṇa* and abbreviated accounts of those for the other 23 Jinas. The *Samavasaraṇastav-*

150. By virtue of the presence of the elephants, the pavilion housing the portraits at the back of the temple is commonly called the *hastīśālā*, like the similar pavilion in front of Vimala's temple which was discussed above. Tejaḥpāla's *hastīśālā* was obviously inspired by the earlier *hastīśālā* in front of Vimala's Abu temple. As I argued above, the Vimalavasahī *hastīśālā* implies the temple-*samavasaraṇa* homology. I believe that Tejaḥpāla then later exploited this connection, recognizing the significance of the ten elephants in the Vimalavasahī *hastīśālā* when he had the *hastīśālā* added to his Abu temple.

151. Abu II 250, v. 63; *EI* VIII, p. 218; also, *VC* VIII.229.

ana agrees with Hemacandra's description on most points, but provides some interesting variations on the details.¹⁵²

The stories of the construction of the *samavasaraṇa* follow a basic pattern from the Jina's enlightenment to his sermon. When the Jina attains omniscience, the gods' thrones shake and they descend to earth. Various gods prepare the ground for the pavilion in the way a site is prepared for the construction of a temple. Then the structure itself is erected; the *Samavasaraṇastavana* says, "if there be a god possessed of high supernatural powers, *i.e.*, Indra, he alone does all this; if not, the other gods may or may not do it"¹⁵³ while Hemacandra says that the *vyantarās*¹⁵⁴ "are the functionaries in the case of all samavasaraṇas."¹⁵⁵ When the Jina enters the pavilion and sits on the eastern throne, the gods make three images of him for the other three thrones. Hence, the *samavasaraṇa* represents in a sense the first Jain temple and the first occasion upon which the Jina is represented in image form; in this sense the gods, and sometimes Indra in particular, are the paradigm of Jain temple patronage. Since Indra is reckoned among the *lokapālas* in

152. Bhandarkar, D.R., "Jaina Iconography," *IA* (May-June 1911), pp. 125-130; 153-161 presents the *Samavasaraṇastavana* and *Trīśaṣīśalākāpuruṣacarita* accounts side by side.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

154. The *vyantarās* and female *vyantarīs* are among the lowest gods in the Jain pantheon. Many Jain stories are told of humans who are reborn among this class of deities due to their great merit. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla had a special relationship with particular *vyantarīs* according to later stories about them. In particular they owe much of their fortune to a former princess of Kanyākubja who died fleeing the Muslims and was reborn as a goddess. See Granoff, "Worship as Commemoration," 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-202 and sources cited there.

155. *TŚPC* I, Johnson, trans., p. 192.

pan-Indic mythology and since a set of *lokapālas* is assigned to each of the Indras of the different heavens in Jain cosmology,¹⁵⁶ we might suppose that the ten Abu portraits were meant to equate the patron and his family with some Jain heavenly host led by Indra. The temple patron is exceptional among the faithful; the wherewithal to have a temple constructed demonstrates that he is very meritorious and that merit has provided him with the wealth to undertake such an extraordinary act of piety. The temple patron stands among the rest of the faithful virtually (if not literally) as Indra, the paradigm of patronage and devotion. This identity is not exclusively Jain; the architectural manual *Aparājīta-prcchā* says that in the construction of Hindu temples, the *ācārya* is Brahmā, the architect is Viṣṇu and the patron (*yajamāna*) is Śakra or Indra.¹⁵⁷

Some of the elements of the completed *samavasaraṇa* found in the texts are interesting for they put us in mind of the portraits styled as *lokapālas* as well as some others. As I have said, the *samavasaraṇa* consists of three terraced concentric ramparts rising to thrones upon which the Jina and his images sit. Each rampart has a gate at each of the four cardinal points and each gate is guarded by a pair of deities. The *Samavasaraṇastavana* says that the gates of the top rampart are each guarded by a pair of gods from one of the four major classifications of gods in the Jain pantheon, the Suras (or Vaimāṇikas), Vāṇa-Vyantaras, Jyotiṣkas and Bhavanapatis for a total of eight.¹⁵⁸ These

156. *JRM*, p. 63.

157. *Aparājītaprcchā* of Bhuvadeva, Mankad, A., ed., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 114, Baroda: The Oriental Institute, 1950, 51.5.

158. Bhandarkar, D.R., *op. cit.*, p. 158.

pairs have the proper names Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Dhanada (which is another name for Kubera); in one list or another these four gods are Guardians of the Quarters. These four pairs of guardians put us in mind of the four pairs of portraits that Vastupāla placed upon the four peaks of Girnar; but they might also remind us of the elephant-mounted portraits at Abu, despite their number of ten.

Hemacandra says that at the gates of the first or uppermost rampart are pairs of Vaimāṇikas, Vyantaras, Bhavanapatis and Jyotiṣkas gods standing as Door-Guardians (*dvārapālas*) and adds that the Jyotiṣkas¹⁵⁹ look like “the sun and the moon, at evening time.”¹⁶⁰ I mention this because in Merutuṅga’s account of the birth of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the Sun and the Moon descended into the womb of Kumāradevī “and were conceived in her, as the two ministers, named Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, like two chiefs of the Jyotiṣka gods.”¹⁶¹ The identification of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla with the sun and the moon, chiefs of the Jyotiṣka gods, which are known to be guardians of the *samavasaraṇa* provides us with one more allusion to the *samavasaraṇa* and divinity in the portraits.

Jinahaṛṣa tells us about portraits within Vastupāla’s Girnar Neminātha temple which appear to present Vastupāla, Tejaḥpāla and their father and grandfather as the door-guardians of the temple/*samvasaraṇa* in a very obvious way. According to the *Vastupālacarita*, on the right and left sides of the *trikamaṇḍapa* Vastupāla placed images

159. The Jyotiṣka gods are of five classes: suns, moons, planets, asterisms and stars. See *JRM*, p. 59.

160. *Ibid.*

161. *PCT*, pp. 155-156.

of his father and grandfather mounted on horses;¹⁶² he also placed images of his father and grandfather in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*;¹⁶³ and on the right and left sides of the door to the *garbhagr̥ha* he placed images of himself and Tejaḥpāla mounted upon elephants.¹⁶⁴ The principal structure of Vastupāla's Girnar temple, like the typical medieval Jain temple, consists of exactly these three galleries. Thus, the main structure of the Girnar temple, with the portraits on either side of its three galleries, represents horizontally and from the perspective of the gates of a single direction what the *samavasaraṇa* represents with three vertical tiers and at four sets of gates at the cardinal directions.¹⁶⁵

By evoking the idea of the *samavasaraṇa* for their temples Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla presented themselves as exceptional patrons: they were not merely pious laymen but veritable gods (Merutuṅga claims without hesitation that the brothers were Jyotiṣka gods incarnate). At the same time they claimed that they were paragons of devotion just as the gods are. The stories about the *samavasaraṇa* not only provide an archetype for temple patronage but temple worship also, for the Jina's enlightenment is

162. *VC* VI.713.

163. Dhaky, 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

164. *VC* VI.705. If we presume that these images, closest to the Jina, represent the guardians of the upper most rampart of the *samavasaraṇa*, then I must note that Merutuṅga's comparison of the brothers with the Jyotiṣka gods does not accord with Hemacandra's account of the *samavasaraṇa* for he says that the Bhavanapatis guard the uppermost rampart. See Norton, Ann Wood, "The Jaina Samavasaraṇa," Ph.D. Diss., Harvard, 1981, p. 34 citing *TŚPC* II, Johnson, trans., pp. 93ff.

165. A less complete use of portraits to evoke the *samavasaraṇa* appears in *VC* VI.654, which says that Vastupāla placed images of his older brothers Lūṅiga and Mālladeva on either side of the entrance to the Ādinātha temple at Śatruṅjaya.

one of the five auspicious moments in the career of the Jina. When the Jina reaches each moment, as in the case of his enlightenment, the gods' thrones shake and they descend to earth to worship him. At the birth of the Jina the gods take the baby Jina-to-be to Mt. Meru for his bathing ceremony. The ritual re-enactment of the Five Auspicious Moments is an important aspect of Jain temple devotions. In it, as Lawrence A. Babb says,

those who worship the Tirthankars are, paradigmatically, the deities When human beings engage in acts of worship, they take on the roles of gods and goddesses. Moreover, Indra and Indrāṇīs, the kings and queens of the gods, are the principal figures emulated by human worshipers.¹⁶⁶

Vastupāla appears to have evoked this very homology between the gods (especially Indra) and devotees, in a way entirely unique to the medieval Jain temple, through something called the Indramaṇḍapa. This temple hall is unknown to Sanskrit architectural manuals and so we cannot be certain as to its purposes.¹⁶⁷ Its name hints that it might have been connected to the ritual of the Five Auspicious Moments, bearing Babb's description of that ritual in mind; Jinaprabha, with reference to the Girnar Indramaṇḍapa, says, "people who enter the Indramaṇḍapa containing the image of the Lord of Jinas to perform the ablutions of Blessed Nemi appear like the Indras."¹⁶⁸

Vastupāla also seems to have invoked this greater mythological context at Girnar, for as I have said, the Sammetaśikhara and Aṣṭāpada shrines on either side of the

166. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79.

167. See Dhaky, M.A., "The Western Indian Jaina Temple," in Shah and Dhaky, eds., 1975, p. 354 for some speculation about it.

168. *VTK* 3, v. 10.

main temple contain exceptionally large images of the *samavasaraṇa* and Mt. Meru respectively; in myth, these are sites at which the gods led by Indra honoured the Jina's enlightenment and birth. Additionally, according to Jinahara, Vastupāla placed portraits of his ancestors in the Sammeta shrine, which contains the *samavasaraṇa*, and portraits of his mother and sisters(s) in the Aṣṭāpada shrine, which contains the image of Mt. Meru.¹⁶⁹ Vastupāla's and Tejaḥpāla's comparison of themselves and their family to the gods may not have been original in Jain ritual life, but the expression of it through the carefully contrived installation of portraits certainly was.

II.4.3.1. Postscript

To conclude this part of my discussion, I wish to note how Vastupāla invoked the *samavasaraṇa* in certain aspects of his temple patronage and compared himself and his family, not to the gods who build it, but to familiar characters from the lives of the Jinas. Vastupāla compared himself to Kṛṣṇa, known among the Jains as the kinsman of Neminātha and important to the mythology of Girnar, and to Bharata, son of Ādinātha and the first Jain temple-builder.

Vastupāla's patronage at Girnar clearly connects him to Kṛṣṇa and the story of Neminātha. According to one of Jinaprabha's hymns on Girnar, Kṛṣṇa first honoured with images the three auspicious moments in Nemi's life which occurred on Girnar and

169. *VC* VI.706-7.

he also built an Ambikā temple on the mountain.¹⁷⁰ Vastupāla also built an Ambikā temple upon Girnar,¹⁷¹ but more importantly, as I have said, he built his Girnar temple as “the Temple of the Three Auspicious Moments” (*kalyāṇatrayamandira*).¹⁷² Furthermore, the *TŚPC* version of the story of Neminātha says that Kṛṣṇa approaches Neminātha’s *samavasaraṇa* on an elephant along with his whole family and upon arriving he dismounts and takes his place inside with the assembly consisting of gods and men.¹⁷³ Vastupāla may have been attempting to evoke this very episode by the portraits of himself and family at Girnar which were mounted on elephants.

Still another association is evoked at Dabhoi, where Vastupāla is said to have erected an image of his mother Kumāradevī mounted on an elephant, in the gate-house (*balānaka*) of the Pārśvanātha temple he built, *appearing like the mother of Ādinātha* with a silver garland in her hand.¹⁷⁴ Also, Vastupāla erected an image of his mother mounted upon an elephant in a temple of Marudevī, the mother of Ādinātha, behind his Girnar temple.¹⁷⁵ In Hemacandra’s version of the story of Ādinātha, Marudevī proceeds on an elephant to her son’s *samavasaraṇa* with Bharata, the son of Ādinātha, after

170. *VTK* 2, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 251ff.

171. *VC* VI.700ff.

172. *VTK* 3, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 253. In *VTK* 5, the “*kallāṇattayaceia*” is attributed to Tejaḥpāla (*ibid.*, p. 257).

173. *TŚPC* V, Johnson, trans., pp. 265f.

174. *VC* III.369.

175. *VC* VI.710.

learning of Ādinātha's enlightenment. When she sees her son she is immediately enlightened herself and then promptly dies. Marudevī herself is a popular subject of iconography, being portrayed upon an elephant at sites like Śatruñjaya and Ranakpur. Vastupāla's intent was no doubt to honour his mother and hold her up as a paragon in the community. I cannot help but recall that there is a tradition that Kumāradevī was a remarried widow (see above) and that this was a point of serious friction within the Prāgvātā caste; the comparison of Vastupāla's mother to a Madonna-like figure from Jain mythology was perhaps an attempt to mask or offset the social stigma that attached to Kumāradevī's widowhood. But, I imagine that the comparison also implies a comparison between Vastupāla and Bharata, the first temple-builder. Upon Ādinātha's fast unto death on Mt. Aṣṭāpada Bharata builds the first Jain temple there.¹⁷⁶ In it he places images of his father and the monks who died with his father including his own 99 brothers and he also includes an image of himself as a worshiper.¹⁷⁷ Medieval Jain portraiture in general may be connected to this reference and therefore so may the numerous portraits attributed to Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, but I know of no other portraits which in any way seem to evoke this mythological connection as closely as do these portraits by Vastupāla.

176. See Granoff, 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 189ff. for sources reporting this story.

177. This is one of the few references to plastic portraiture in Jain mythology (excluding Jain semi-historical literature like *Vastupālacarita*, for example, of which I have made extensive use here).

Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla are remembered as exceptional Jain patrons and politicians. The construction of numerous religious edifices is attributed to them and several accounts probably exaggerate the extent of their patronage. Therefore, the number of portraits attributed to them may be exaggerated also. However, even the scant remains of their patronage, particularly the Abu and Girnar temples, show that they were patrons on par with medieval kings. Similarly, the Abu portraits are exceptional among medieval Jain portraits for almost nowhere else do we find such large portrait images and the images that were once mounted on elephants are almost without precedent. Therefore, I have assumed that many of the portraits attributed to the brothers in texts did in fact exist; certainly the fact that authors recorded the details I have discussed shows that in some way at least the brothers succeeded in creating for themselves unique and exalted identities through the *idea* of the portraits.

My discussion has not been exhaustive, for I have left out a few stray references to portraits associated with Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. I have focused on the most unusual images and attempted to show some of the unique allusions and circumstances that lie behind them. I have considered portraits which appear to reflect the roles of the two men as senior ministers in the changing Caulukya-Vāghelā sovereignty and I have thoroughly explored the Jain contexts for many of the images. I have not intended to suggest that any portrait or group of portraits evoked any single meaning; I believe that the images were for the most part laden with multiple meanings in order to evoke in the mind of any viewer at least one incredible comparison between the subjects and the gods or mythological archetypes. Each of these conceptions shows the attempt by Vastupāla

and Tejahpāla to present themselves as the most exceptional of donors in one way or another.

II.5. Conclusion

This second section of my study of the Western Indian portrait has been based upon what might appear to be a natural and primary distinction between the images: here I have distinguished lay portraits (images portraying lay people) from monastic portraits (images portraying monks). However, one argument I shall make in the rest of my study is that this distinction, in and of itself, does not point to any particular meaning(s) exclusive to either lay or monastic portraiture. It is apparent that many lay portraits belong to definable historical contexts reflecting, almost exclusively, the religious and social lives of particular lay persons (as the subjects or donors of the portraits); monastic participation in the world(s) of the lay portraits is largely confined to the consecration of the images. But in the following sections, I shall locate certain groups of monastic portraits in certain religious, and social or political contexts. Some of these contexts are parallel in many ways to the contexts that I have identified for the lay portraits.

In the thesis thus far, I have taken two broad approaches to the (lay) portraits with respect to their meanings or purposes. First, I attempted to identify the most general religious purposes behind the images. By the consideration of the physical features of the portraits and the available portrait inscriptions, I determined that one of the most prevalent religious purposes of the images was that they were erected in order to produce merit

for their subjects. Presumably the merit generated by the portraits was intended to secure the heavenly rebirth of the portrait subjects.

I extended the consideration of the religious background to the portraits into my discussion of the specific historical circumstances of certain lay portraits insofar as I argued that certain donors made unique religious claims about themselves via portraiture in certain social and/or political contexts. The arrangement of the portraits of Desala and family within Desala's renovated temple on Śatruñjaya implied that Desala and his family could expect virtual immortality in heaven on account of their exceptional piety. Within the many layers of meaning attached to the portraiture of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, we find not merely the suggestion of the potential heavenly rebirth of the portrait subjects, but the close identification of those figures with well-known gods of pan-Indian and Jain mythology.

The identification of the religious backgrounds to particular groups of lay portraits has been in the service of my second approach to portraits: I have attempted to reconstruct the history surrounding certain portraits in order to determine the place of the images in social or political lives of the donors and/or subjects. While several lay portraits can, at best, be placed into rather vague contexts, certain evidence suggests that a number of images served to promote the donors' claims of prominent social status. I have speculated that the portraits associated with the two branches of the 'family of Vimāla' reflect attempts by both branches to assert some sort of exclusive claim over the temple at Abu built by their famous ancestor. The portraits of Desala and his family, attending the portrait of King Mahīpāla and images of Desala's clan goddess, which

accompanied Desala's temple at Śatruñjaya, present the portrait subjects as exceptional temple patrons having a unique relationship to the sacred mountain of Śatruñjaya, chiefs of their caste by their intimacy with the caste totem, and powerful men in the world by their association with their sovereign.

The social implications of lay portraiture, which I was only able to describe in a generalized way in other cases, are very evident in the portraiture associated with Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. The greater availability of specific historical and biographical data concerning these two patrons permits us to locate numerous portraits in very specific religious, social and political contexts. The data reveal that the two brothers used portraiture as part of larger programmes to create distinctive identities for themselves, and their family and ancestors at various levels of community. The ancestor portraits suggest that the brothers attempted to rehabilitate their otherwise undistinguished (or even socially suspect) pedigree for the sake of their claim of authority over their caste and even the greater Śvetāmbara Jain community.

The portraits erected in conjunction with portraits of the Vāghelās appear to reflect the brothers' political concerns in their capacities as ministers of the crown. The intimacy between the brothers and the Vāghelās implied by these portraits might have been meant to defend the brothers' position within the Vāghelā government, since it appears to have been threatened by certain members of the court. At the same time, many of these portraits appear to reflect the brothers' attempt to legitimate their own authority, as well as Vāghelā authority, through the kingdom of Gujarat, in the context of the power shift from the Caulukyās to the Vāghelās.

My analyses of the monastic portraits shall follow the same two approaches that I took to the lay portraits. In part **III**, I shall discuss the monks' portraits which were donated by monks. I shall argue that these monks' gifts, like monks' gifts of other kinds which I also discuss, reflect the same religious concerns that I identified for the lay portraits: I believe that the monastic donors of portraits intended for the portraits to produce merit for their subjects. In part **IV**, I shall place certain groups of portraits into their historical contexts. In these portraits we might recognize the agendas of the whole Śvetāmbara community, of certain monastic lineages in competition with one another, and of factions within lineages seeking legitimacy as (virtually) independent organizations.

Hence, as I have asserted, the distinction between lay and monastic portraiture does not by itself lead the way to the understanding of the meanings and purposes of the images. But, this primary division serves to highlight some notable facts about medieval Jain monasticism that are revealed by the monks' portraits. First, the evidence of monastic giving, which includes about 1/3 of all the monks' portraits, demonstrates that the religiosity of some medieval monks was much like that of medieval lay people. Second, the clear sectarian orientation of certain portraits suggests that monastic groups were as much political organizations as they were religious ones. All of this presents us with an image of the Jain monk which is quite unlike that which is often presented in the literature on Jainism. In light of the evidence I shall now present, we must reevaluate the ways in which we have conceived of the Jain monk, the Jain monastic community, and even the nature of Jainism itself.

III. Monastic Portraiture and Monastic Giving

The history of medieval Jain monasticism, as the portrait of a unique social category, or perhaps as a ‘Jain Reformation’ as evidenced by groups like the Kharataragaccha, has yet to be fully written. All I can hope to do here is make a contribution with respect to a few episodes in that history. But, significant episodes they are. The evidence of monastic portraiture provides a number of insights into the religious aspirations of medieval monks and the politics of particular monastic groups.

Several later monks’ portraits clearly bear great political significance. Some 17th century Tapāgaccha portraits hint at some of the tensions within the monastic community (or communities) of the Mughal era. In light of the contemporary rise of the Kharataragaccha’s Dādāguru cult, the Tapā portraits might represent a parallel competitive effort to create such a cult within the Tapāgaccha. However, portraits of Hīravijaya and his successors also point to certain tensions within the Tapāgaccha itself. For we know that in the period of these portraits several sub-branches of the Tapā split from the parent organization.

A number of similar schisms occurred within the Kharatara as well. Most importantly for me, the 15th century monk Jinavarddhanasūri was removed as the head of the *gaccha* by the community at Jaisalmer in northwest Rajasthan; but his branch

continued, despite its ostracism from the parent group, under the support of an influential lay family from a place near Udaipur in southeast Rajasthan. Some of the best evidence we have for this sub-branch are portraits associated with Jinavarddhana and his line.

A pair of early 14th century Kharatara portraits are very significant for they were donated by no less a figure than Jinakuśalasūri.¹ I imagine that Jinakuśala encouraged the worship of dead monks for the political (or perhaps economic) gain of his somewhat marginal Kharataragaccha.² Since we know that in time Jainism's only cult of deceased monks, the Dādāguru cult, came to be a major element of Kharatara identity, Jinakuśala's portrait gifts seem to represent early monastic encouragement of such a cult.

It is the purpose of this last half of my analysis of Western Indian portraiture to consider these and other aspects of the Jain monastic portrait. In part **IV** I consider the political potential of the portrait in inter- and intra-*gaccha* rivalry, by reference to the 17th century Tapāgaccha portraits as well as the portraits associated with Jinavarddhana of the Kharataragaccha, and I conclude with the portraits donated by Jinakuśala for the light they shed upon the rise of the Dādāguru cult.

1. Jinakuśala was the head of the Kharataragaccha from 1320 to 1332 C.E. and himself later became best known as one of the four Dādāgurus, the objects of devotion in the Dādāguru cult.

2. The triumphal tone of Kharatara biographical literature, especially with reference to the early leaders of the lineage, belies the fact that Kharatara monks appear to have held little sway over the greater Jain community until quite late. The record of the conclave of monks and laymen in 1242 C.E., to which I have already referred, makes no mention of any of the numerous *gacchas* which developed in the medieval period and that includes the Kharatara. See Shah, U.P., 1955, *op. cit.* and Dundas, "The Marginal Monk and the True *Tīrtha*," in Smet and Watanabe, eds. 1993, pp. 231f.

But at present I am interested in the fact that, of the monks' portraits for which I have complete (or virtually complete) inscriptions, about $\frac{1}{3}$ of them were donated by other monks. I have already mentioned that Jinakuśālasūri was one such donor. For now, I am more interested in the remaining 15 medieval portraits whose monastic donors and subjects are much less famous (see **Table A.**). I consider the inscriptions for these portraits in the context of a group of more than 30 others which record the sponsorship by monks (as well as some nuns) of images of the Jinas (and the Jain gods), and temple additions and restorations. Many of these donations were made explicitly for the merit of the monastic donors, other monks, and even the biological family of the donors in a few cases.

I believe that the cases of merit transfer by monks and for monks parallel the gifting of portraits by monks and of monks, and so help to prove that portraits served as a sort of merit transfer for the benefit of their subjects. Perhaps more importantly, all the gifts by monks taken together (portraits and other donations) show that, for some monks and nuns, religious identity or aspiration was not entirely bound up with radical asceticism, but was akin to the aspirations of the laity, and included an interest in the acquisition of merit.

For the sake of conceptual clarity, I point out that my primary emphasis here with respect to 'monastic portraiture' is not upon the monastic *subjects* of the portraits, but upon the monastic *donors*. This does not represent a shift in my definition of 'monastic portraiture' for the portraits in question all represent monks; however, the status of the

subjects is of secondary importance to my discussion, and the specific identities of the subjects are of consequence in only a few cases.

The monastic donors of portraits and the other types of gifts were, in the first instance, the agents of the religiosity represented by those gifts. With respect to the miscellaneous gifts, other monks, and the biological family of the donors (*i.e.* lay people) in a few cases, are implicated in this religiosity by virtue of the fact that they were the beneficiaries of the merit of the gifts, in the cases where the monastic donors transferred the merit; we may presume that these beneficiaries gave at least their tacit approval to the donors' gestures, or that the donors believed that these beneficiaries would approve of the gestures.

If portraits represented a form of merit transfer in a number of cases, as I have argued, and if this includes a number of the portraits donated by monks, then the portrait subjects could also be said to be implicated in the religiosity represented by these images; I presume that the very existence of these portraits implies the subjects' approval of the conception behind them. Since all of the portraits donated by monks have monks for their subjects, the religious attitudes behind these portraits can thus be said to be strictly monks' attitudes; however, one point I shall emphasize here is that these are attitudes that monks shared with the laity. All of this is a very roundabout way to preserve my very simple conception of 'monastic portraiture', defined as images representing monks, as I elucidate one of the meanings behind it primarily with reference to its donors and secondarily with reference to its subjects.

III.1. "Jainism" and the Jain Monk

The evidence of monastic gifting certainly points to an image of the Jain monk which is quite unlike that described in much secondary literature on Jainism. Before I consider the monastic gifts in detail, I begin an examination of something of the state of the art of Jain studies.³ Many recent analyses of Jain behaviour are based upon a number of presuppositions about Jainism—about Jain monks in particular—that need to be reconsidered, especially in light of the evidence of monastic gifts. English language studies of the aspects of behaviour of those who call themselves Jains almost invariably begin by describing (or at least clearly presupposing) a Jainism in terms of a particular understanding of Jain monasticism and its normative soteriology. According to such an understanding, proper Jainism, as embodied in the monk, is a religion which focuses upon world renunciation, a carefully prescribed mode of life based on non-violence, non-possession and celibacy, as the only sure means to achieve a state of liberation free from the shackles of rebirth. Such a description is particularly important to accounts of the activities of Jains, especially lay Jains, which are completely at odds with the normative pattern.

To demonstrate something of the nature of Jain studies today, I examine Josephine Reynell's "Renunciation and Ostentation: A Jain Paradox,"⁴ as an example of the contemporary scholarly understanding of Jainism. As implied by the title, Reynell

3. I consider this topic further in the **Appendix** at the end of the thesis.

4. *Cambridge Anthropology*, 9 (1985), pp. 20-33.

seeks to investigate “the seeming paradox between the strictly ascetic renunciatory spirit of Jain doctrine and the opulence and wealth emphasized in its practice.”⁵ To this end, Reynell begins with a brief explanation of a (normative) Jain soteriology followed by a description of the requisites for attaining such salvation. All beings have souls, souls are bound to rebirth, rebirth entails suffering, therefore all souls “in theory” aim to attain omniscience and escape rebirth. To fulfill this aim, persons must firstly cultivate non-attachment (*aparigraha*) to internal and external phenomena, for attachments cloud the soul and keep it bound to rebirth.

At this point, Reynell begins to separate by degrees the *aparigraha* of the ascetic and the lay person. The ascetic cultivation of non-attachment involves the most severe restrictions on thought and deed; Reynell says, “the ascetics themselves follow the supreme model of non-attachment and *aparigraha*, namely that of the Tirthankaras beings who attained enlightenment but remained on this earth to show people the way to salvation.”⁶ The laity, “thought to be spiritually less developed than the ascetics,” are enjoined only to curb a number of their external attachments.⁷ If the layman follows this qualified asceticism he will reach a stage where he is willing to adopt the total renunciation of the ascetic. But, Reynell continues,

popular belief turns this on its head, reasoning that if a person renounces external phenomena then already he must have achieved a state of internal detachment. Hence greater emphasis is

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

given in popular religious practice to renunciation of external phenomena. In particular the vow [of *aparigraha*] referring to both the non-possession of inner passions and outer goods, has in popular practice been narrowed in meaning to refer to the non-possession of wealth and goods.⁸

Although lay Jains, who cannot adopt the total asceticism of the monk, are enjoined only to follow this lesser display of renunciation—and here we arrive at the crux of Reynell’s analysis—in religious practice they are more likely to manifest ostentation than renunciation. At every opportunity where the laity might make a show of their limited mode of renunciation, they never fail to turn the occasion into a display of their tremendous worldly wealth.

Reynell proceeds to describe numerous occasions for the manifestation of this “paradox.” First, it is obvious in the Jain temple itself: the temples of the 12th century and after “testify to past Jain wealth and the investment of that wealth in religion.”⁹ But, it is

8. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

9. In this very context, Reynell describes contemporary lay Jain ostentation in religious and secular or private life (*ibid.*, pp. 23-24):

In Jaipur the halls of the Murti Puja Jains are large buildings, constructed of marble, cool and airy in contrast to the narrow, congested and rather dirty streets of the old city outside. The assembled company, which is mainly women except during a festival or on Sunday, forms the only splash of colour against the white. Their more than ample figures decked in top quality sarees and their assorted diamond, emerald, pearl and gold jewellery rather belie the sermons’ tenor of restraint and renunciation, as do indeed the often portly and well fed figures of the ascetics themselves.

And,

the majority of Jain homes in Jaipur are not without their fridges, televisions, cassette players, blenders and videos. All these items are expensive. All the women are eager to acquire western made

present in almost every religious practice undertaken by contemporary lay Jains. Giving, ostensibly the renunciation of part of a person's wealth, also turns into an opportunity for the laity to display their wealth publicly. Donations within particular public Jain ceremonies are solicited by auction, the winner receiving the honour of garlanding a statue and being garlanded by the community in return, or presenting new robes to an ascetic, and so on. Such auctions often result in the collection of large sums of money for the ceremony in question. Reynell comments upon this type of 'giving and giving up' that

it is obvious that donations are necessary in order to support the religious infrastructure and this in itself does not necessarily contradict the essence of Jainism. What is contradictory is the ostentation with which the donations are performed and of the religious ceremonies themselves.¹⁰

synthetic sarees and western cosmetics and will often get their fathers or husbands to pay highly on the black market for the latter. For example, one unfortunate father I knew had spent 1000 rupees (£70) on a small bottle of French perfume. (To place this in its context, a good middle class wage is 2000 rupees a month. At the lower end of the scale labourers earn 200 rupees a month.)

Many families have invested money in modernizing their old *havelis* and were proud of their marble lined kitchens and bathrooms

This 'ostentatious' record of lay Jain slavery to Mammon may have more to say about Reynell's expectation of Victorian restraint rather than any Jain conceptions about the religious life; Reynell's description seems to be based in a number of "protestant presuppositions," since she seems to think of fridges, televisions, &c. as "innumerable mockeries ... which pervert religion," to quote Calvin (with thanks to Schopen, Gregory, "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism," *HR* Vol. 31, 1991, p. 20).

10. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Finally, Reynell appears to be particularly sensitive to the paradox in the case of Jain fasts, a mode of praxis which “has become very much a female specialisation.”¹¹ The fast seems to represent best the kind of pietism that Reynell expects of the lay Jain, accompanied as it is by meditation and religious study, but it too may be marked by ostentatious display. For the breaking of a major fast becomes an occasion for the one fasting and (her) family to offer a huge *pūjā* in which large sums of money may be spent to fete family and friends.¹²

Although Reynell sees a paradox in lay behaviour, she realizes that the Jains themselves do not. She also realizes that lay behaviour has a basis in the prevalent understanding of karma and rebirth. Wealth is a sign of spiritual merit and meritorious activity cannot help but improve worldly prosperity; so too spiritual purity cannot help but result in worldly felicity. Giving, which may be seen as a sign of non-attachment to wealth or piety, assures continued worldly prosperity; prosperity is “a sign of past and present piety and inner religiosity.”¹³ Reynell’s essay is not a singular example of contemporary scholarship on the Jains, but is illustrative of a pattern in which Jainism is described in essentialist terms that are historically problematic. Some scholars remain bound by a belief that some contradiction lies under the surface of Jain society, that Jain monks and Jain laymen represent two solitudes which are only occasionally, contingently

11. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

12. Reynell remarks that in addition to funds collected by the fasting woman and her family, the husbands will contribute large sums of “black money” to avoid paying income tax on them (*ibid.*, p. 28).

13. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

and/or artificially bridged. It is my contention that the evidence of monastic gifting, just to name one point, obliterates or at least blurs any paradox or contradiction that scholars like Reynell imagine exists in the Jain community. I do not mean to suggest that Reynell has characterized Jainism in any way that is factually incorrect; but, I question the extent to which such a pattern historically informed Jain monasticism and thus, the extent to which lay behaviour is comparable to it.¹⁴

Since Reynell provides few references to texts or the reports of informants, it is difficult to say what materials she used to produce her characterization of Jain monasticism. Although what she (briefly) says about the *raison d'être* of monasticism, as leading to enlightenment, is undoubtedly correct from the standpoint of certain texts, it is unlikely that a desire for release directly motivated most monks to take ordination, for, among other reasons, that was a path that was considered to be closed to everyone shortly after the death of the last Jina, as I explain below. If actual monastic behaviour was not prompted by the 'normative' pattern, then the evaluation of lay life in terms of such an interpretation is inappropriate.

Even in a number of the oldest texts the monastic vows did not have as much prescriptive force as Reynell imagines. For instance, Caillat describes a number of

14. I must point out that Reynell cites but one textual source to characterize what Jainism is supposed to be; and that, Hemaçandra's *TŚPC* (*i.e.* a non-canonical medieval work), is employed only to describe the demeanor of the monk free from attachment (it is difficult to believe that Hemaçandra himself, intimate of kings and wealthy merchants, was ever a monk who was "indifferent to the cares of the body" or "covered with the dust of the road," see *ibid.*, p. 22). Reynell's definition of Jainism must owe more, for instance, to contemporary informants such as the unnamed nun she later cites, than to historical sources.

exceptions to the Great Vows (*Mahāvratas*); here, exceptions to the vow of *aparigraha* are especially germane. The *Vavahāra Bhāsa* (1,108) provides for monks' desire to collect copious alms, certainly a case of 'attachment': if a monk wants to join a new group of monks, he may offer to act as servant to the group and its teacher and collect their alms; between such a monk and the monk already in the group who fills this role, the position is given to that monk who can collect the most alms.¹⁵

More interesting, for their emotional appeal, are the deviations from the vow of chastity outlined by Caillat.¹⁶ Breach of this vow does not result in automatic defrocking, but is managed according to the status of the woman involved (*i.e.* sex with a nun results in more severe penance). A monk who has great difficulty maintaining his celibacy, who is otherwise very pious, may first have to live in the company of elders who have enjoyed the pleasures of the world. Then, with the help of these elders, the monk may escape from his fellows to pursue his carnal needs. Such a monk is counseled to go to places where he will not be recognized by anyone from his family or monastic life, and there find a wife, a whore or a guileless woman.¹⁷ When the monk's desires are fulfilled he can return to the company of his fellow monks where, with a nod and a wink, he receives a public rebuke from his teacher for absence without leave. The entire process is

15. Caillat, Colette, *Atonements in the Ancient Ritual of Jaina Monks*, Ahmedabad: L.D. Series, 1975, p. 79.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 81ff.

17. The monk is advised to watch his expenses carefully. So presumably he leaves his fellow monks with cash in hand. One wonders where he gets the money, but that is a matter that I leave for my specific discussion of the monastic gift.

a carefully constructed ruse designed to prevent younger monks from being scandalized or demoralized.

These examples demonstrate that the community of monks recognized that there were individuals who *would not* live up to “the supreme model of non-attachment and *aparigraha*, namely that of the Tirthankaras,” but not necessarily that it was a pattern which ascetics *could not* emulate. We might therefore split hairs and evoke a distinction something like that between ‘a model for’ and ‘a model of’¹⁸ to evaluate the monastic careers of the Tīrthaṅkaras: the lives of the Jinas are treated as something of a charter for the lives of historical monks, but rules about exceptions to the vows illustrate the difference between the dispositions of the Jinas and historical monks, and thus, the lives of the Jinas cannot be used to describe actual monastic behaviour.

But this is not our only recourse to explain apparent ‘contradictions’ in monastic behaviour. In fact, the history of Śvetāmbara Jainism is marked by the recognition of a (growing) gap between the ascetic life and the goal of salvation,¹⁹ effectively suspending the Jain soteriology as the objective of monasticism. Medieval monks did not imagine themselves as on exactly the same path as the Jinas working towards enlightenment; the Jain monks of medieval biographical literature had quite different ambitions.

As Granoff says,

18. The famous distinction made by Clifford Geertz.

19. Dundas, Paul, The Jains, London: Routledge, 1992, p. 129.

The medieval biographies²⁰ have little to say of the proper deportment of monks, of how they eat and where they excrete; the medieval biography may describe an entire career without a mention of penance or the observation of monastic vow. We do not read of monks enduring hardship from heat and cold but of monks engaged in triumphal marches, in grand ceremonies of pilgrimage and heated public debates in the courts of kings. The death of the monk is often only perfunctorily mentioned in medieval biographies and few monks whose stories are told are explicitly said to achieve release; most, we learn, simply go to heaven.²¹

Undoubtedly, this rather ‘Hollywood’ image of the medieval monk is the product of certain medieval monastic ideologies, but it demonstrates Paul Dundas’s point that “there has always been a wider range of identities for Jains, both ascetic and lay, involving a variety of social and religious practice, than many writers have been prepared to allow.”²² Writers like Reynell single out lay Jains of the present, a moment in the history of alternative lay identity, and hold them up against an ahistorical ‘model for’ proper Jain behaviour. Thus they rip lay practice out of the context which it has shared with evolving monastic self-images, which depart from a point other than the normative model of radical asceticism oriented to liberation from rebirth.

One of the fundamental presuppositions behind the image of the medieval Jain monk, which Granoff outlines, as well as more basic varieties of it, is the belief, itself a variation upon a pan-Indian idea, that this era following the enlightenment of

20. Granoff refers to texts like the *prabandhas* and *gaccha paṭṭāvalīs*. The *prabandhas* are semi-historical stories about lay people and monks, and the *paṭṭāvalīs* are accounts of historical monastic lineages (*gacchas*); both genres date from the 12th and 13th centuries and after.

21. Granoff and Shinohara, *op. cit.*, p. 3n.

22. Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

Mahāvīra, the last Jina, is one of decline in which monasticism even spotlessly avowed cannot lead to enlightenment. Rājaśekhara, in his biographical anthology *Prabandhakośa* (1349 C.E.), has the famous 12th century Jain polymath Hemacandra state:²³

This is an age without eminence. Sixty-four years after the final liberation of Mahāvīra, Jambūsvāmi, the last Omniscient One attained perfection (*siddham gataḥ*). With him, all at once, these twelve features (of an *arhat*) vanished from Bharataḥsetra: the power to read the thought-forms of other beings,²⁴ clairvoyance,²⁵ the *pulāka* magical power, the power to become small in order to consult a *kevalin*, the powers to suppress and then eliminate the subtle passions,²⁶ adherence to the code of discipline followed by the Jinās,²⁷ the three states culminating in perfect purity which assures omniscience,²⁸ (and so also) *kevalajñāna*, (and so also)

23. *PK*, p. 53. In the absence of other explanations for the technical terms in the passage, I take their connotations from Sandesara and Thakur, *op. cit.*

24. *manahparyavajñāna*. The second highest of five types of consciousness that a living being may possess. *Parmāvadhi*, *manahparyavajñāna*, and *kevalajñāna* are, in order, the highest types and are the three types of supramundane consciousness (Jaini, P.S., *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979, pp. 121-122).

25. *paramāvadhi*.

26. *upaśamaśreṇiḥ* and *kṣapakaśreṇiḥ*. These are the names of the skills that make it possible to pass through the 8th to 10th *gunasthānas* (stages of quality). But, they are also the names of the accomplishments which place the *arhat-to-be* into 11th or the 12th *gunasthānas*: if the subtle passions are merely suppressed (*upaśama*) some backsliding will occur when these passions resurface; but if they are eliminated (*kṣapaka*) the 12th *gunasthāna* is attained from which there is no backsliding and omniscience is inevitable (Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 272-3).

27. *jinakalpa*. Hence, the actual monastic conduct of the Jinās is unknown! The monasticism practiced by historical monks is thus only a broken pieced together version of that practiced by Mahāvīra according to some, *contra* Reynell's assertion that "the ascetics themselves follow the supreme model of non-attachment and *aparigraha*, namely that of the Tirthankaras."

28. *parihāraśuddhi-sūkṣmasamparāya-yathākhyātāni caritrāni*

Siddhahood. Seven years later when Sthūlabhadra²⁹ went to heaven, the last four Pūrva texts, two bodily perfections³⁰ and the highest meditational skill were lost Over time, all the rest of Pūrvas were eventually lost.³¹

Hence, salvation in the manner of the Jinas is not an ideal popularly ignored; it is impossible to attain according to old scholastically articulated ideas about the nature of the world and living beings.

Furthermore, we may conclude from this passage that ‘developmental models’ of Jain religious life, such as those of the Eleven *Pratimās* or Fourteen *Guṇasthānas* which appear to be implied in Reynell’s study, have little prescriptive force

29. One of six “Śrutakevalins,” oral preservers of the oldest Jain teachings (the Pūrvas) which legend says went back to the time of Pārśvanātha, the Jina previous to Mahāvīra.

30. *samacaturasrasaṃsthāna* and *vajraṛṣabhanārācasamhanana*.

31. I must note that this statement appears in the context of a story wherein the famous king Kumārapāla asks Hemacandra, his Jain preceptor, to tell him about his previous existence and how it was responsible for his present life as a great king. Hemacandra explains that as a result of the loss of the original accomplishments of the Jina and his disciples (which I presented above), the only way he might learn the answer to the king’s query is to evoke the Goddess of Learning, by means of the (lesser) attainments he developed through his austerities (*āptatāpodhana*). After three days of meditation, Hemacandra causes the Vidyādevīs to appear before him and, pleased by his “purity” (*sattva*), they provide the answer to the king’s question.

It cannot be imagined that there is something intrinsic to Hemacandra’s Jain asceticism that gives him the power to evoke deities, but rather it is based in the universal Indian assumption that self-denial, regardless of its sectarian orientation, produces such abilities (see Cort, 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 300). Jain stories never suggest that the monk’s powers are different from those of magicians like the Hindu *yogīs* or Muslim *pīrs*, only that they are greater. Endless examples could be cited, but here I provide just one: according to the story of “The Glorious Jīvadeva” (translated by Granoff in Granoff, ed., 1990, *op. cit.*, pp. 149ff.), a Hindu ascetic tried to work black magic on Jīvadeva in order to kill him, but the Jain monk bested the Hindu, “because the monk had an even more powerful spell.”

because there are few extraordinary spiritual levels to attain. Other scholars attest to the contemporary rejection of various developmental models from Jain tradition as prescriptions for the religious life. The model of the Eleven *Pratimās* describes the spiritual progress of the lay person from the acceptance of Jain fundamentals (expressed by the recitation of the *namaskāra* mantra and the adoptions of basic Jain restraints mostly dietary in nature), to the formal adoption of the lay vows,³² and upward to the stage where the lay person is prepared to take monastic ordination.³³ Reynell's description of orthodox Jain life is, in one sense, a summary of the *Pratimā* model, for she outlines one version of the lay vows with their auxiliaries and she states that the adoption of these restraints is expected to prompt the lay person to "renounce the world entirely and become an ascetic."³⁴ But John Cort says:

the model of the *pratimās* exists in a fossilized form among Śvetāmbaras; it has only minimal influence, even on an ideological level. While the *vratas* are powerful and influential ideological precepts, they are rarely translated into practice. In 21 months of fieldwork, I did not meet a single person who had formally accepted the *vratas*.³⁵

Thus, Reynell holds lay behaviour up to a model that is practically defunct; as we have seen, the model is defunct because the tradition has rendered it soteriologically meaningless.

32. The *anuvratas*, or less restrictive versions of the five vows of the ascetic, plus their corollaries.

33. See Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 160ff., 186-187.

34. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

35. Cort, John, "Two Ideals of the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jain Layman," *JIP* 19 (1991), p. 398.

At the same time, Reynell describes Jainism in terms of a more encompassing developmental model wherein the most severe austerities, adopted by professional ascetics, gradually lead to the attainment of omniscience and subsequently final release.³⁶ Such a characterization appears to take its reference from the very scholastic Jain paradigm of the Fourteen *Guṇasthānas* (Stages of Quality) which describes the evolution of a living being from a state of ignorance of correct views to the state of an *arhat* just before his death and final release.³⁷ However, the passage above concerning the loss of the original attainments implies that no one may pass beyond the sixth *guṇasthāna*, the state one attains by taking initiation as a monk (*ergo*, the lay person cannot surpass the fifth *guṇasthāna*).³⁸ Paul Dundas makes this very point and comments on its implications:

Some Jain writers today invoke the stages of quality as if they threw some genuine sociological light on the way Jains envision their position in the world. However, the fact that it is generally accepted that lay people and ascetics in this age cannot progress beyond the fifth and sixth stages respectively shows that this model of the development of spirituality has only a theoretical value. Nonetheless, it demonstrates general approval of the

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

37. See Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273 for brief descriptions of each stage.

38. The passage seems to imply this by the statement that Mahāprāṇadhyaṇa was lost with the death of Sthūlabhadra. I can find no technical explanation for this term though it obviously denotes some form of meditation. I presume that it is the same as what Jaini calls *dharmadhyāna*, the meditation which removes the obstruction that prevents the adept from passing from the 6th to the 7th *guṇasthāna* (Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253, 272). There is a higher meditative state, called *śukladhyāna*, which must be attained to pass from the 7th to the 8th *guṇasthāna*, however, the *PK* passage seems to indicate that progress past the 7th stage was cut off by the loss of *kṣapakaśrenih*.

validity of the householder's role and its linkage to that of the ascetic.³⁹

Thus, by Dundas' reckoning, the relationship between Jain ascetics and the laity has grown closer over time and is not an uneasy alliance between those earnestly striving on the orthodox path and those manipulating dogmas for their own aggrandizement, as Reynell would have it.

Since it seems that many Jains from at least the 14th century have believed that salvation is not attainable, even by the best of monks, we must conclude that the best possible hope for the afterlife is rebirth in heaven.⁴⁰ This would not be an unusual soteriological expectation with respect to the laity in any event; as Granoff says, most of

39. Dundas, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

40. See Cort, 1989, *op. cit.*, pp. 304f.

Alternatively, any person, 'rich in merit', could be reborn in the continent of Mahāvideha where a Jina still preaches and in which enlightenment remains a possibility. But, I think that this still shows that Jain monkhood, here on earth in Bharataḥṣetra, cannot lead directly to enlightenment. I know no accounts of monks who were reborn in Mahāvideha and subsequently achieved release as monks there. The only case with which I am familiar is that of Vastupāla who is known to have been reborn there because the monk Varddhamānasūri, having died and become the superintending deity of Śāṅkh-eśvara Pārśvanātha, returned to earth to report it to Tejaḥpāla (*PK*, p. 128). In any case, the story of Vastupāla implies that monasticism in this world is not even a prerequisite to attain rebirth (and subsequent enlightenment) in the realm of Mahāvideha.

Of course, in didactic literature some hope is still held out for the ultimate goal of Jainism. Stories are told of lay people, who learn of their past births for example, who renounce, are reborn in heaven, and after a small number of subsequent incarnations the stories conclude, they will achieve proper liberation (see for example *Kathākośa*). But, even here we must recognize a degree of distancing later Jain life from that of the era of the Jinas, for such stories do not report the actual enlightenment of characters, only the future expectation of it.

the monks of the biographical literature are said to have gone to heaven upon death.⁴¹ In the rest of this chapter, I consider the evidence of gifts by monks, portraits and more typical donations, for I believe that they demonstrate monastic efforts towards the realization of heavenly birth, particularly for the fellow monks of the donors. This is very clear in the cases of the transference of merit from such donations; on the basis of this evidence I believe that the monastic portraits donated by monks represent another medium of merit transfer for the sake of the heavenly rebirth of the portraits subjects.

My intention here, in this rather lengthy discussion of a few of the often de-emphasized features in the history of Jainism and Jain monasticism, and recent trends in Jain scholarship, has been to clear the path of potential obstructions to an analysis of some unusual evidence concerning the history of Jainism and Jain monasticism. The evidence I now present on monastic giving in general makes little sense if we ‘dogmatically’ follow scholars who present the asceticism and enlightenment of the Jinas as the exclusive model of/for historical monastic behaviour. The evidence I present demands that we be open to the possibility of “a wider range of identities,” particularly for monks, than can be imagined when it is presumed that monasticism’s *sine qua non* is soteriological ambition.

41. Even the least embellished accounts of monastic lineages say that monks went to heaven upon their demise. See *KGPS* 1 where every head of the Kharataragaccha is said to have gone to heaven (*svargagāmī*, *divam jagāma*, *svaryayau* and the like).

III.2. *The Monastic Portrait as Monastic Gift*

The evidence of monastic gifts, of all kinds, comes almost entirely from inscriptions—as opposed to texts—and not very many of them. But, evidence of this kind has the advantage, following what Gregory Schopen says of Buddhist epigraphy, of reflecting in part what (some) Jain monks actually practiced and believed.⁴² Although this group of records numbers only about 50, we need not conclude that it represents monastic practices only on the fringe at least by virtue of the fact that Jinakuśalasūri and other Kharatara monks were among the monk-donors. Surely if monks from a group that touted itself as the measure of orthodoxy (whether it really was or not⁴³) made gifts, then the practice must have had fairly broad currency.

The records are from all over Rajasthan and range in date from 1092 to 1841. Seventeen inscriptions record the donation of monks' portraits and thirty-three more record other gifts. Fifty records of monastic gifting out of the thousands of records of Jain donations from a period of almost a millennium is nowhere near as overwhelming as, for example, the rate of nearly 40% that Schopen notes for the Buddhist site of Bhārhut over the period 120-80 B.C.E. for example.⁴⁴ However, this tiny batch of records yields some very interesting statistics: more than 30% of all of the monastic gifts consist of monks' portraits; furthermore, portraits donated by monks represent about 30% of all the

42. Schopen, 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

43. See **Appendix**.

44. Schopen, 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

monks' portraits for which I have good epigraphical documentation. Clearly, the Western Indian portrait was informed by monastic interests to a significant degree. The inscriptions for other monks' gifts refer to a range of donations from the requisites of worship to temple renovations. The details of the portrait records as well as the records of other gifts, to which I now turn, show that monastic participation in provinces commonly thought to be confined to the laity was extensive.

The portrait inscriptions give no definitive indication of a trend in donors' intentions for these images; at best, the data are mixed. One of the most telling records I have already mentioned several times. It belongs to the portrait of Guṇasenasūri at Śatruñjaya which was erected in 1286 C.E. by Paṇḍita Rāmacandra "for the welfare of his own guru" (*svaguruśreyase*).⁴⁵ Another portrait donated by a monk at Śatruñjaya, while not made explicitly for the subject's benefit, is difficult to view primarily as an object of worship. Its inscription reports that in 1364-65 C.E. Ratnaprabhasūri caused his own image to be made while he was alive.⁴⁶ If we are inclined to the idea that monks' portraits were meant for worship, this portrait could only leave us with the most cynical idea about the medieval monastic self-image. Rather, I have to believe that Ratnaprabha sought some spiritual benefit for himself by erecting his own portrait, that he took the opportunity while he lived to place a facsimile of himself at one of Jainism's most famous *tīrthas* for the time when he was dead; as long as the portrait stands it benefits Ratnaprabha in whatever existence he might occupy. Such a conception, as I have

45. SSG 152.

46. SSG 77.

argued, might explain why references to merit are so rare among early portraits: it was obvious to anyone who saw a portrait set up in a sacred place that it was meant to acquire merit for its subject.

To be sure, plenty of evidence demonstrates that certain monks' portraits were, in the first place, meant to be worshiped. The rise of the Dādāguru cult in the 17th century, with its devotion to images or footprints of the Dādāgurus, certainly confirms that monks' portraits became primarily as objects of worship at a point in time. On the basis of this phenomenon, I imagine that earlier Kharatara portraits, especially those donated by Jinakuśala, were also intended as objects of worship. Furthermore, the 17th century Tapāgaccha portraits, especially those sponsored for the merit of their donors, also seem to have been intended as objects of worship in the first instance. More neutral, yet equally compelling evidence comes from a record of 1194 C.E. reporting that the monk Sumatisūri made a donation of coconuts, banners and a sum of cash (?) "for the purpose of the worship of the image of Śālibhadrasūri, his own preceptor."⁴⁷

47. oṃ // saṃ° 1251 kārtikasudi 1 ravau atrayādhivāsinā nālikera dhvajā khāsaṭīmūlyam nijaguru śrīśālibhadrasūrimūrtipūjāhetoh śrīsumatisūribhiḥ pradattam / tatra balā° 5 māsapātake necake vyayanīyāḥ // cha // *PJLS* II 327 (*Ji* 879 records a slightly different transcription).

This inscription also shows that the medieval monk was very different from the monk imagined by some scholars. For here we find a monk sponsoring what amounts to *dravya pūjā*, worship with material things. According to Babb, "those who take ascetic vows ... cannot ... worship with material things; being possessionless, they have nothing to offer," and in a note he adds, "ascetics, however, do engage in worship in a more general sense. They can perform *bhāv pūjā* [mental worship] and can also participate in congregational worship as observers and singers. But *dravya pūjā* is barred" (Babb, L.A., "The Great Choice: Worldly Values in a Jain Ritual Culture," *HR* Vol. 34, no. 1, 1994, p. 25). See also Cort, 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

If most portraits represent dead people,⁴⁸ then we might imagine that some monastic donors of monks' portraits were attempting to foster devotion to the monastic dead. However, I think that Sālibhadra's donation is an exceptional case. It is difficult to believe that the other monastic donors (of portraits), most of whom belonged to relatively obscure lineages, had the power to secure any popular acceptance of the divinity of their monastic dead. Many of the other monastic donations indicate a marked desire by the donors to create some spiritual benefit for their fellow monks, which to my mind, is clear proof that the monastic portraits in question were primarily meant to benefit their subjects. I now turn to some of the details of those other gifts for what they, along with the portraits donated by monks, can further contribute to our idea of the medieval Jain monk and our understanding of the medieval Western Indian portrait.

III.3. The Monastic Gift: Merit and Its Transfer

The gifts by ascetics, excluding the portraits, were made between 1158 and 1841. I note that all of the portraits donated by monks come from before 1400. Bearing this in mind, I wish to draw a distinction between the miscellaneous gifts made before 1533 and those made after (see **Table D.**). The later gifts are also unique in that they represent types of gifts that do not occur earlier; therefore, I will describe them separately and will not always factor them into the various statistics I will calculate below.

48. Ratnaprabha's image appears to be the exception that proves the rule for the donor, Ratnaprabha himself, felt the need to explain the inscription that the image was set up while he was alive.

All the gifts taken together represent a range of expenditures. A record of 1174 from a well near Jalor describes the gift only as “a donation (*pradatta*) by Nemicaandra, disciple of Bha° Śānti, for the sake of his own merit (*ātmāśreyortham*);”⁴⁹ Images were the most common donations: in addition to the 17 monks’ portraits, ascetics donated six images of Jinas,⁵⁰ two images of goddesses,⁵¹ and (one plaque of) 52 Jinas with the goddess Saccikā and the god Gaṇapati,⁵² in addition to the portraits that Jina-kuśala donated, he also donated an image of a *samavasaraṇa*.⁵³ In addition to these more modest gifts, monks also donated commemorative pillars.⁵⁴ But, monks also had the wherewithal to make more substantial donations. Seven inscriptions record monks’

49. *Ji* 912. I do not know if the gift was the well itself or a gift of something like the requisites of worship that Sumatisūri made for the worship of his guru’s portrait for which the term *pradatta* is also used.

50. Abu V 319 (1158); *PJLS* II 469 (1246); *SSG* 405 (1258); *PLS* 160, *Ji* 1966 (1446 recording the donation by one monk of a pair of Jina images); *Ji* 501 (1533).

51. Agrawala, R.C., “A Unique Sculpture of the Jaina Goddess Saccikā,” *JBBRAS* (n.s.) 29 (1954), pp. 63-66, *AA*, vol. 17 (1954), pp. 232-234 (1181 C.E.); *PJLS* II 522 (1315 C.E.). Both of these images were donated by nuns, not monks, a fact to which I shall return momentarily.

52. *Ji* 2565 (1281).

53. *SSG* 82.

54. *PJLS* II 373-4. These two records are undated and I have not seen the objects in question, but I will use them freely to advance some of my arguments, for I cannot ignore the fact that their monk-donors made them for the merit of their mothers, and hence, they represent true filial piety among Jain ascetics.

One other undated donation consisted of a *lagikā* which is also perhaps a pillar (Abu V 337).

sponsorship of *devakulikās*.⁵⁵ Another inscription relates that a monk donated a pair of *ālaka*s with spires for them or their temple.⁵⁶ Some monks made donations that appear to have been even greater than these. Two monks undertook temple renovations,⁵⁷ one had a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* added to a temple⁵⁸ and one more added a portico to a temple that he had consecrated on behalf of its lay donors.⁵⁹

The later ascetics' gifts are interesting in their own right; but because of their late dates, they are less significant to my purposes. These gifts also appear to represent a range of expenditures. The kinds of donations made after *c.* 1675 are virtually unprecedented. Over the course of the medieval period, images of the footprints of ascetics, or

55. Abu V 116 (n.d.), 119 (1355), 120 (1356), 246-49 (1465, 1470, n.d.). Thus, monks donated as many *devakulikās* as they did Jina images; however, these represent only three donors for one monk donated two *devakulikās* and another monk donated three.

Devakulikās are modestly sized ancillary shrines within the compound of a temple. They are rarely found in Hindu temples, but are often found in conjunction with important Jain temples. They usually occur in quantities of 24 to 72 all joined together to form an enclosure around a central temple. See Dhaky, 1975, *op. cit.*

56. *Jl* 893; *PJLS* II 321 (1243). I cannot be sure exactly what an *ālaka* is, but I presume that it is some sort of shrine or niche. Sandesara and Thakur are not sure about it either, but they cite passages from the *PPS* which mention it (*op. cit.*, p. 109). In an account of the building of Tejaḥpāla's Lūṅigavasahī, the dying Lūṅiga wishes that he could donate even a small image of the Jina, even in an *ālaka*, to Vimāla's temple at Abu (and this wish is what prompts Tejaḥpāla to vow to build his magnificent temple). On the basis of this passage Sandesara and Thakur guess that an *ālaka* is a corner; however, the fact of the inscription recording that a monk donated a pair of them, in light of the *PPS* passage indicating that they were places to put images, suggests that they were complete shrines or at least niches.

57. *PLS* 87 (1386); Abu V 268 (1429).

58. Abu V 113 (1390).

59. Abu V 278 (1418-19).

even of the Jinas, (called *pādukās*, *pādukes* or *caraṇanyāsas* in the inscriptions) became popular objects of iconography, but the four of them donated by ascetics occurred only in *c.* 1675, 1684, 1808, and 1841 see **Table D.**)⁶⁰ Another late monastic donation represents another unique gift. Its inscription says that in 1839 the monk-donor gave something called an *aṣṭadalakamala* (“eight-petalled lotus”), and he donated it for his own merit (*āmapuṇyārtha*);⁶¹ I have no other information on this object, but presume that it is the same as the lotus-shaped *navadevatā*, an eight-petalled plaque illustrating the five worthies of the *namaskāra* and four auspicious symbols with a Jina in the middle.⁶² Finally, monks of the recent past also made greater donations: in 1801 a monk donated a *śālā*,⁶³ a hall of some type which might have been an alms-house (*paṇḍhaśālā*) like that donated by a monk in 1739.⁶⁴

The first question that might arise in the mind of anyone who encounters these records of monastic donations (those described above as well as the portraits) is: where did ascetics get the means to pay for such donations? There is very little historical evidence for the economies of medieval Jain monastic communities; thus, the economics

60. These gifts are not devoid of interest for the two earliest ones were donated by nuns and represent the footprints of other nuns. One of these was donated by a nun of the Kharataragaccha and represents a sub-branch that split from the parent group in 1630. The plaque of 1841 represents the Dādāguru Jinacandra and is thus some of the rare evidence of monastic support for the full fledged Dādāguru cult.

61. *BJLS* 2541.

62. *JRM*, pp. 44f., figs. 36-7.

63. *BJLS* 2104.

64. *BJLS* 2554.

of monastic giving can only be described in a very general way. Much available evidence is unreliable consisting of pejorative descriptions of 'lax monks' by Kharatara monks for example. A few inscriptions record temple grants in favour of Jain monks and some of the inscriptions written by Jain monks might indicate that they undertook that work for pay. Literary evidence shows that monks were not averse to accepting gifts of certain types of material goods. Perhaps monks paid for their donations with money they earned or they may have financed their donations with goods in kind. I show below that many monks maintained close ties with their biological families and this may also indicate that monks did not necessarily renounce all their property when they took ordination.

The monastic gift demonstrates that many ascetics socially and spiritually shared a realm usually thought to be inhabited exclusively by the laity. The specifics of the identities of these donors and the purposes of their donations, which I now consider, shows the degree to which a certain monastic worldview paralleled that of laity. If these donors expressed beliefs much like those of the laity, can we also assume that they participated in some of the economic activities of the laity as well? Since evidence for this is circumstantial and since its discussion is tangential to my primary interest in the religious beliefs and practices of monastic donors, I leave it to the end of the chapter. But I feel that I must include this material for it provides an opportunity to consider alternative ways of being a monk that have suffered too long under the judgement of so-called reform movements whose ideologies have been repeated by contemporary scholars as matters of fact.

I have suggested that since even Kharatara monks made gifts, we have to believe that monastic donations illustrate something approaching typical monastic practice and belief. This is supported by the fact that the Jain monk-donor, in most cases, was not, just as Schopen's Buddhist monk-donor was not, "a simple, 'uneducated' village monk,"⁶⁵ but was a religious specialist. More than 40% of the monastic donors carried the designation *sūri*, indicating that they held the leadership of all or part of their lineage. Two of the donors (representing four gifts) bore the title Bhaṭṭāraka.⁶⁶ The remainder of the gifts (portraits/other) are almost evenly distributed among officers of various rank: Upādhyāya⁶⁷ (7/4); Vācaka or Vācana⁶⁸ (1/2); Paṇḍita⁶⁹ (3/3); and Gaṇi⁷⁰ (1/2). No

65. Schopen, Gregory, "Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of 'Sinicization' Viewed from the Other Side," *T'oung Pao* Vol. LXX, Livr., (1984), p. 120.

66. One was Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayaprabhasūri, the other Bhaṭṭāraka Thūlabhadra (Abu V 246-48; *PJLS* II 374). This is a title that appears to have been more current among the Digamabaras; according to P.S. Jaini, Bhaṭṭārakas were one type of "special group of 'administrator-clerics', who not only managed the temple and its associated holdings (schools, libraries, extensive areas of land) but also assumed control of the temple rituals" (Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 307). It is not certain that the Śvetāmbara Bhaṭṭārakas acted in such a capacity; the fact that many of the heads of the Tapāgaccha bore this title suggests that they did not. See the inscriptions for the portraits of Hīravijaya and successors (*PJLS* II 510ff.).

67. All these offices listed have long histories in Jain monasticism and appear in canonical or early post-canonical literature or old inscriptions from Mathurā for example.

In post-canonical literature the Upādhyāya was the chief instructor of a group of monks, and he appears to have had no additional administrative duties. The minimum qualification to be an Upādhyāya was three years' standing as a monk. As a monastic instructor the Upādhyāya had to be "an expert in the sacred lore and its exposition." See Deo, 1954-55, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 218.

68. The Jain inscriptions from Mathurā contain references to *vācakas*. Deo describes them as "teachers of the sacred lore" (*ibid.*, p. 22). One of the donor-monks is

monastic office is specified in the records of only two other portraits and five other gifts. Hence, like Schopen's Buddhist monks, most of these monks were "teachers and transmitters of 'official' [Jain] literature,"⁷¹ and must have held a degree of authority over the Jain community. If the highest doctrinal authorities could make their own donations, then monastic gifting had the highest and most visible sanction, and thus, it must have been quite broadly accepted in the Jain community.⁷²

But on the other hand, the donors do not appear very representative of Śvetāmbara Jainism with respect to their lineage (*gaccha*) affiliations. The donors of portraits and other gifts represent only fourteen *gacchas*, though *gaccha* affiliations for a number of donors are unknown or unspecified in the records. Certain important lineages are poorly represented in the gifts or not represented at all: for example, the Upakeśa-

described as a Vācanācārya. This is a title that is known to Jain literature as old as the *Brhatkalpa*, though Deo is unsure of his place in the Jain hierarchy (*ibid.*, p. 224). Another is called a Vacaka Paṇḍita (which I also count among gifts by Paṇḍitas).

69. A *paṇḍita* in the monastic hierarchy obviously occupies a subordinate position and there is apparently no textual evidence that it was a recognized monastic office; thus Deo thinks it might have been merely and honorific or designated a well-read disciple (*ibid.*, 515).

70. In texts the exact role of the *ganin* is unclear and he is often indistinguishable from the *ācārya* (*ibid.*, p. 146); however, it is certain that he was the superior to some body of monks. A *gaṇinī*, a nun presumably in charge of a group nuns was donor of an image of the goddess Saccikā to which I have already referred (Agrawala, R.C., 1954, *op. cit.*).

71. Schopen, 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

72. The stamp of official approval is also found on the images donated by ascetics (portraits, Jinas and deities) by virtue of the fact that most of them were consecrated by the same types of monastic officers.

gaccha, a prominent line especially in northwest Rajasthan, is represented by only two monastic gifts and there are no gifts by monks of the Tapāgaccha.⁷³ The gifts (portraits/ other) were made by monks of the following *gacchas*:⁷⁴ Kharatara (6/6);⁷⁵ Kaccholīvāla (0/6);⁷⁶ Bṛhad (0/4);⁷⁷ Nānakīya (1/1); Brahmāṇa (1/1); Raudrapallīya (1/1); Vāyaṭīya (0/2); Pippalācārya (1/0); Koreṇṭaka (1/0); Kṛṣṇa (1/0); Maḍāhadīya (1/0); Upakeśa (0/1); Bhāvadevācārya (0/1); and the Candrakula (0/1). No *gaccha* is named in the records for three portraits nor in the records for nine other donations. Going by this evidence, we would have to conclude that the monastic behaviour and attitudes implied by these donations was confined to a select group of communities.

Be that as it may, these gifts are important for our understanding of the monastic portrait and the religious attitudes of certain medieval ascetics. For almost half of the monks' gifts (excluding the portraits) were donated explicitly for the merit of the

73. However, this line did not become really renowned until the Mughal era, under its charismatic leader Hīravijayasūri, a time long after the mean period for monastic giving.

74. See **Tables A.** and **D.**

75. Although Kharatara gifts rank among the greatest in quantity, it is notable that the early gifts consist almost entirely of portraits. Perhaps this 'reformist' lineage was averse to monastic giving in general, but exceptions were made for political expediency, for the glorification/deification of monks in the line.

76. Three of these are *devakulikās* donated by one monk, Bhattaraka Vijayaprabhasūri (1465-70 C.E.).

77. These donations consist entirely of major gifts, shrines and other temple additions. Two of these are *devakulikās* donated by Rāmacandrasūri (Abu V 119-20, 1355-56 C.E.). The other two are the temple renovation by Vinayacandrasūri (*PLS* 87, 1386 C.E.) and the *maṇḍapa* sponsored by Vīraprabhasūri (Abu V 278, 1418-19 C.E.).

donors or parties to whom the donors transferred the merit, suggesting that many medieval monks were concerned about their own merit or the merit of their intimates. Of the records for the thirty-three other gifts made by monks⁷⁸ fifteen carry expressions of merit,⁷⁹ and seven carry some sort of benediction,⁸⁰ four of which accompany expressions of merit. In ten cases the monk-donor transferred the merit;⁸¹ so in five cases, ascetics made donations purely for their own merit.

Before I consider the relationship between the donors and the parties to whom they transferred merit, I wish to examine the benedictions that accompany many of these inscriptions. They provide some variations upon those I discussed in part I, and if some express a process like *anumodanā* as I have argued, then they help to demonstrate the large degree to which ascetics participated in the piety typical of lay Jains. As in other donations, many of the benedictions are wishes for auspiciousness or fortune;⁸² to these

78. See **Table D**.

79. However, three of these represent *devakulikās* given by a single donor which I noted above.

80. Two of these represent *devakulikās* given by one donor, one including a reference to merit and one only including a benediction.

81. I note that, as Malasekera says, “the fact of ‘transference’ does not in the slightest degree mean that the ‘transferor’ is deprived of the merit he had originally acquired by his good deed” (*op. cit.*, p. 86).

82. Thus, in inscriptions for monks’ portraits we find *śivamastu* and *śubham* (*PJLS* II 523, 531), and *śubham bhavatu śrī* in the record for a *devakulikā* (*Abu V* 246).

may be added the hope that such auspiciousness be eternal;⁸³ and some are simple hopes for the perpetuity of the object of donation.⁸⁴

A few remaining records, however, are specific about who is to receive the benefit of auspiciousness. The records for two *devakulikās* donated Vijayaprabhasūri end with “May there be auspiciousness for the blessed Jain community.”⁸⁵ The record for an ancillary shrine at a temple in Jīrāvalā (Jīrāpallī) donated by Rāmacandrasūri *et al.* (1355 C.E.) ends with the similar phrase *śubham bhavatu saṃghasamastāya*.⁸⁶ However, the inscription for another shrine donated by Rāmacandra the next year ends with “May there be auspiciousness for the whole *saṅgha and the Jīrāpallīyagaccha*.”⁸⁷

83. The record of a portrait ends with *maṅgalam mahāśrīh / ciraṃ nandatu*, “May there be uninterrupted auspiciousness and great fortune” (Shah, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 168); that of the construction of a temple *mandapa* includes *śrīrbhavatu // śubham bhūyāt // ācaṃdrārkaṃ yāvat //*, “May there be fortune, may there be auspiciousness, as long as the sun and the moon (shine in the heavens)” (Abu V 278).

84. According to the syntax of the inscription for a monk’s renovation of the Neminātha temple at Nāḍlāi the conclusion *ācaṃdrārkaṃ nandatāt* can only mean “May (this temple which the monk renovated) be undisturbed (as long as) the sun and the moon (shine in the heavens)” (PLS 87; EI XI, pp. 63-64). So too *caṃdrārkaṃ yāvat nandatu* in the record for the portrait of Guṇasena—donated by Paṇḍita Rāmacandra for Guṇasena’s merit—must refer to the portrait (SSG 152; Shah, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 169).

85. *śubham bhavatu śrīsaṃghasya* (Abu V 247-8).

86. Abu V 119.

87. *śubham bhavatu sakalasaṃghasya jīrāpallīyānā(yā?) gacchasya ca* (Abu V 120). According to K.C. Jain this was a territorial line of monks (*gaccha*) confined to Sirohi state for which there are a handful of additional records of the 14th and 15th centuries (Jain, K.C., 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Ancient Cities and Towns in Rajasthan, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972, pp. 429f.).

Both records of this monk’s donations also include the familiar verse:

In part I, I argued that these wishes for auspiciousness and the like, for the community (*saṅgha*) for example, represent the distribution of merit by the process of *anumodanā* or something like it: in the donation of a gift, the community who witnesses the donation or who finds the opportunity for worship through the gift (as in the donation of a venerable image or a temple in which people could then worship) shares in the merit resulting from the donation.⁸⁸ The records of monks' gifts that I have cited show that monks did not simply seek out merit for themselves, and/or people close to them, but, as is typical of (lay) Jain gifting, understood the potential communal benefits of their donations. That community was not simply the lay people who were predisposed to the acquisition of merit, but included the community of ascetics, as in the case of the wish of

*yāvadbhūmau sthiro meruryāvaccamdradivākarau /
ākāśe tapatastāvannamdatāddevakulikā //*

Additionally, both records include the very interesting benedictory verse

*pātu vaḥ pārśvanāthāya sakalasaptaiḥ phaṇaiḥ /
bhayānāṃ narakānāṃ ca jagadrakṣati saṃghakān //*

May you be protected by Pārśvanātha, as he is protected by the phalanx of seven hoods, as he protects the faithful of the world from dangers and hell.

This suggests a conception of Jina (image) which is one of the “partial violations of the principle of reflexivity” that Babb identifies in lay Jain views about the nature of venerable images (1994, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 20n.). For Babb, worship of the Jina cannot involve a transaction for the Jina is removed from the world and hence he can neither accept offerings or respond to petitions; lay explanations of the belief that benefits are derived from temple worship include the idea that certain images have special power. The verse above is particularly significant for it implies that some monks did not think that the nature of the Jina (and his image) was subject to the “reflexivity principle.”

88. As Cort says, this shows “the ways in which Jains see the entire temple and image cult as a generator of seemingly endless merit” (forthcoming, *op. cit.*).

auspiciousness for the Jīrāpallīyagaccha. Monastic participation in Jain religious life, with respect to the cases of monastic gifting, did not represent some symbiotic relationship wherein “the ascetics carry the spiritual burden of the community in return for which they receive maintenance by the laity,”⁸⁹ or a division of labour where the laity feed and board the ascetics who pursue their higher goals alone, but aid the community by offering instruction and conducting ceremonies. The monks who gave were full (equal?) participants in temple life, integrating themselves as givers with the laity who benefitted by the gifts, and integrating the whole monastic community with the laity as collective beneficiaries of the gifts.

While the benedictions appear to represent the communal spirit of gifting on the part of ascetics, the direct references to merit speak more to the ascetics’ personal religious sentiments. Like lay patrons, the monks were primarily concerned for the merit of others near to them, other monks or members of their biological family, but also sometimes for themselves; the merit from the gifts by individual⁹⁰ donors is almost evenly divided between father or mother, other monks, and the donors themselves.⁹¹ Thus, the personal religious inclinations of a number of ascetics parallel those of the laity in every

89. Banks, Marcus J., “Defining Division: An Historical Overview of Jain Social Organization,” *Modern Asian Studies* 20, 3 (1986), p. 449.

90. As I noted above, among the monastic gifts, two *devakulikās* were the separate donations of a single monk, one for his own merit, and another monk donated three *devakulikās*, each for the merit of the monk’s predecessor in his lineage. Thus, the 25 monastic gifts only represent 22 donors.

91. Thus, the rate of merit transfer among monastic gifts is close to that of lay gifts, approximately 66% versus 70%.

meaningful way. This evidence does not provide an extensive picture of monastic self-identity, but it cautions us against imagining a complete separation between the personal religious pursuits of ascetics and lay people, and invariably identifying normative goals with the goals of real historical monks. The gifts made by ascetics illustrate a Jain monasticism almost seamlessly integrated, spiritually and socially, with the lay community.

Donations made by ascetics for their own benefit are the most obvious signs of unexpected monastic religious attitudes, but otherwise, the facts of these donations are unusual only in a few respects. One Nemicandra made some unspecified gift for his own merit (*ātmaśreyase*) in 1174 C.E.⁹² Paṇḍita Laṣamanasīha donated a pair of images of Pārsvanātha; the inscription reports twice that the monk made the donation for his own merit (*svaśreyortham, ātmaśreyortham*).⁹³ Also an image of the Jain goddess Ambikā was donated by the nun Bāi Suhaba of the Candrakula for her own merit (*ātmaśreyase*).⁹⁴

92. *Jl* 912.

93. *PLS* 160; *Jl* 1966. This record is unusual in a number of respects. First, the donor is described as the son of the Vyavahārin Jhāñjha of the Prāgvāta caste who was the trustee of the temple of Yavaḍa (*yavaḍaprāsādagaṣṭhika*), and then that he is said to be the disciple of Bhaṭṭaraka Sarvānandasūri of the Kacchōlīvālagaccha. I also note that the record says that Laṣamanasīha made his donation at the instruction of his guru (*sarvānamdasūrīnāmupadeśena*). Below I return to this record for it shows that the monk's biological or original social identity remained important to him despite the fact that he had taken initiation as a monk.

94. *PJLS* II 522. Donations by nuns are rare. Another nun, whose identity is not clear from the published record of her gift although she belonged to the Upakeśagaccha, donated an image of the goddess Saccikā. Saccikā is the clan goddess of the Oswals and other Jain castes as well as the tutelary goddess of the Upakeśagaccha. See Agrawala, 1954, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66; Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-242; Handa, Devendra, *Osiān: History, Archaeology, Art & Architecture*, Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan, 1984.

The only other nuns donations come from a relatively later period: the Kharatara nun Jayasiddhi donated an image of the footprints of her teacher Bhāvasiddhi

Another gift made by a monk for his own merit is more substantial than the others; it is a *devakulikā* at a temple in Jīrāvalā donated by Rāmacandra of the Bṛhadgaccha in 1356.⁹⁵

There is simply no mistaking the intentions of these donors. We might fault them for their laxity in participating in a mode of praxis that is supposed to be confined to the laity, but can we really fault them for their religious sentiments?⁹⁶ We cannot help but imagine that many other medieval ascetics shared the personal concern for merit with the ascetics who actually made donations (for their own merit), even if they did not act upon it in the same way. And whatever the fruits of merit might be, it is clear that the monastic

in c. 1675; and the nun Saubhāgyamālā donated the *pāduke* of the nun Candanamālā in 1684 (*BJLS* 51, 52).

95. I have mentioned this donation already for its inscription ends with the wish for auspiciousness for the lay community and the Jīrāpallīyagaccha (Abu V 120). I also mentioned that Rāmacandra gave another *devakulikā* the previous year, though this one included the participation of some followers and others (*parivāraparivṛtena*). The inscription for that shrine says nothing about the merit of the donation, however, portions of the record are missing (Abu V 119).

I add here also that the *aṣṭadalakamala* image of 1839 was donated by Paṇḍita Īsvarasiṃha for the sake of his own merit (*ātmapuṇyārtha*, *BJLS* 2541).

96. Sentiment appears to have been the primary motivation behind all four nuns' gifts. Two of the four gifts consist of memorials (*pāduke*) to sister-nuns. The remaining two gifts consist of images of Jain goddesses, one for the donor's own merit. Very little is known about the life of medieval Jain nuns. I would like to know if it is coincidence that the only independent images of Jain deities that were donated by Jain ascetics were donated by nuns, and if goddess worship was a central feature of the identity or identities of (medieval) nuns. These two donations at least show that the deities of the Jain pantheon were as important to some ascetics as they were to the laity. This evidence is very problematic for Babb's description of the deities and their ultimate place in the Jain world: "the deities are not, in the strict sense, objects of worship They exist for the sole purpose of enjoyment, the very enjoyment the ascetic rejects their worship is seen as a kind of postscript to the worship of the Tīrthankars" (1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 21ff.). But clearly, even some ascetics saw the Jain gods as important objects of worship for whatever reasons.

donors did not think that the ascetic life alone could secure those rewards, since they were compelled to make donations to acquire merit. This was no false modesty, for other monastic donors did not think that their fellow monks warranted any felicity based upon their vocation either, since they made donations for the sake of the spiritual welfare of those fellows.

The relationships between monk-donors and the monks to whom they transferred merit is not always clear. Two out of five donors, for certain, transferred merit to their gurus or monastic predecessors. Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayaprabhasūri's donation of a *devakulikā* in 1465 C.E. was for the merit of Bhaṭṭāraka Guṇasāgarasūri, his predecessor in the Kacchulavālagaccha (Pūrṇimāpakṣa); and so too were Vijayaprabha's two *devakulikās* of 1470 C.E.⁹⁷ In 1390 C.E. Hematilakasūri of the Brahmāṇīyagaccha donated the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Varamaṇa Jain temple for the merit of the previous teachers in the lineage (*pūrvaguruśreyortham*).⁹⁸ One other case seems to represent a donation for the merit of a superior: Muni Udayavarddhana donated a *devakulikā* for the merit of a Vācana⁹⁹ whose proper name is missing from the inscription.¹⁰⁰ In the remain-

97. Abu V 246-8.

98. Abu V 113.

99. The designation "Muni" implies that Udayavarddhana was just a simple monk without a proper monastic office, as opposed to the Vācana, the beneficiary.

100. Abu V 249. The record is undated. But, Udayavarddhana belonged to the second branch of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa (the Kacchulavālagaccha) and was prompted to make the gift by Vijayaprabha (*vijayaprabhasūrīṇāmupadeśena*), head of the *gaccha* and patron of the three *devakulikās* mentioned above. Thus, we can date Udayavarddhana's gift to c. 1470 C.E.

ing two cases, there is nothing in the inscriptions to suggest that the relationship between donors and beneficiaries was anything other than equal.¹⁰¹ The evidence cannot be said to establish a real pattern, consisting of a mere five records. But, if we add the fact that almost a third (5/17) of monks' portraits donated by other monks represent the guru or immediate predecessor of the donor¹⁰² and another five portraits represent the donors' superiors or earlier predecessors in the lineage of the donors, it becomes apparent that devotion to the guru was among the strongest motivations for monastic gifting.

Hence, the pattern of monastic merit transfers resembles the pattern of lay merit transfers: the transfer of merit to the guru or predecessor or donation of a portrait of the guru or predecessor expressed something like filial piety, although based upon fictive kinship. As I explained in part I, more than half the merit transfers for lay donations benefitted one or both parents. A Jain monk's guru or predecessor must have been, in many ways (social and personal) a substitute for a biological father, so we should not be surprised to find that certain monks honoured the guru in the way they might honour biological fathers (and mothers): as lay people donated images, *etc.* for the sake of their parents, so monks donated the same for the sake of their monastic superiors; and as lay

101. In 1246 C.E. one Paṇḍita Pāsacandra donated an image of Pārśvanātha for the merit of Paṇḍita Rāyakīrti (*PJLS* II 469); an undated inscription from Jīrāvalā reports that one Bhadreśvarasūri donated a *devakulikā* for the merit of Tilakasūri (Abu V 116). The inscriptions give no indication of the *gacchas* of these monks or any other lineage information.

102. Again I stress that the parallels between portraits (lay and monastic) and other gifts suggest that the portraits were in fact a means of merit transfer.

people donated portraits of their parents, so also monks donated portraits of their gurus or other superior monks.

While half of lay merit transfers benefitted parents, the other half benefitted spouses (15%), brothers (less than 10%), and uncles, ancestors or ‘family’ (each less than 5%). This broader familial feeling is demonstrated in monks’ gifts like the case of Hematilaka’s *raṅgamaṇḍapa* erected for the merit of the previous gurus (for the merit of surrogate ancestors). I presume that the cases of merit transfer as well as portraits, where the monk-donor and monk-beneficiary appear to be equals, reflect brotherly affection between the parties.

While the evidence above indicates that Jain monks expressed something like surrogate filial piety with respect to their teachers, there is also evidence of the expression of genuine filial piety among Jain monks. We have literary evidence for this: in the *PC*, Hemacandra dedicated the “merit of a billion recitations of the words of praise to the Jinas and teachers” to his mother at her funeral.¹⁰³ There is also historical evidence for this. However, I hasten to add that it is thin; I know only three inscriptions which carry provisions for family members of the monk-donors. Two undated pillars from Nāḍol were donated by Upādhyāya Padmacandra and Bhaṭṭāraka Thūlabhadra respectively for the merit of their mothers.¹⁰⁴ Also, the brothers Dhaṇadeva and Bahudeva, monks in the

103. *PCT*, pp. 122-123. Hemacandra’s mother had become a nun so this ceremony might be viewed as primarily monastic rather than filial. See also Granoff, “Worship as Commemoration,” 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

104. *nijajananiśūrīśreya ‘rthaṃ* and *nijajananiḥcehaṇīśreyorthaṃ*. *PJLS* II 373-374.

Bhāvadevācāryagaccha, had made an image of R̥ṣabhanātha “for the sake of the welfare of their father Usabha” (*pituusabhaśreyortham*).¹⁰⁵ Though such records are few, factoring them into the pattern of monastic giving and merit transfer yields a pattern close to what we find in lay donations: the merit from monastic gifts is almost evenly divided between the donors, the parents or gurus, and other (monks).

The dogmatic observer might dismiss the evidence of monastic giving as representative of the weakness or laxity that Kharatara literature, for example, says infected Jainism in the medieval period. If that is the case, then it certainly infected the Kharatara as well. As I have indicated, some gifts were made by Kharatara monks and nuns, although many of these are quite late. But, there are earlier gifts by Jinakuśalasūri and notable among them is a portrait of Jinacandrasūri, his immediate predecessor at the head of the *gaccha*.¹⁰⁶ This evidence is important with respect to my discussion above and my discussions to follow later. But it also leads us to another important facet of medieval Jain monastic life of interest here, for the Jinacandrasūri of the portrait donated by Jinakuśalasūri was not only the latter’s predecessor, but also his uncle. With a case such as this, the distinction I have drawn above between fictive and biological kinship collapses. There is other epigraphical evidence, from portraits donated by monks and elsewhere, to show that such intimacy was common in the Jain monastic community.

105. Abu V 319.

106. As I have said, Jinakuśala’s gifts (particularly the portraits) are special cases of monastic giving with important political implications which I discuss in part IV.

The 'spirit' of Jain monastic discipline demands that the initiated monk sever his ties with all his former worldly associates especially his family, for all such relationships are transitory across rebirths and hence any attachment to them is gratuitous. But, this idea could never have ever had much more than theoretical significance. For entry into monkhood rarely represents much more than a lateral shift in identity, socially speaking, within the Jain community, as most ascetics were born of lay Jain parents; also, the monk's initiation must have often been facilitated by previous ties between the monastic community that he entered and the lay community from which he came. Also, I doubt that many medieval Jain monks could sever their familial ties in any meaningful way since much monastic organization was based upon networks of small very localized pockets of activity.¹⁰⁷

The case of the 15th century monk Kīrtiratnācārya of the Kharataragaccha shows that strong ties persisted between monks and the families that they had ostensibly left behind. This monk's activities centred around Nākoḍā and Vīramapura in central Rajasthan. The monk died (*svārgam prasūtāḥ*) in 1469 C.E. at which time a *stūpa* was erected for him.¹⁰⁸ The *stūpaprasāsti* includes a short biographical sketch of the monk,

107. Jain literature contains many accounts of meeting between monks and their families. In the story of Jīvadeva from *Prabandhakośa* it is the mother who reconciles her sons who have become monks, one Śvetāmbara and the other Digambara, and shows her son, the Digambara, the error of his practice convincing him to become a Śvetāmbara. This monk becomes Jīvadeva, famous throughout the world and capable of great feats of magic. See Granoff, trans., in Granoff, ed., 1990, *op. cit.*, pp. 149ff.

108. The *stūpaprasāsti* records that the lamps in the Jain temple lit up by themselves when Kīrtiratna died on account of his accumulated merit. *tasmin dine tatpuṇyānubhāvataḥ śrījīnavihāre svayaṃ prādāvya pradīpāḥ spaṣṭaṃ babhūvaturiti. Nākoḍā* 49.

recording his pedigree and the significant events in his monastic career. We are told that the monk was born as the youngest son of a wealthy family in the Śāṅkhavāla branch of the Upakeśavaṃśa. In 1380 C.E. he took initiation from Jinavarddhanasūri, then head of the Kharataragaccha,¹⁰⁹ in about 1423 he was promoted to the office of Vācanācārya, and within a year Jinabhadrasūri, the new head of the Kharataragaccha, promoted him to the office of Upādhyāya. Then in 1431, he became Kīrtiratnācārya in the line of Bhāvaprabhasūri; at Jaislamer a large festival of investiture was held under the sponsorship of Lakkhā and Kelhā, Kīrtiratna's brothers. The record also says that a pilgrimage party consisting of Kīrtiratna, and Kīrtiratna's brothers, nephews and others went to Śatruñjaya, Girnar, *etc.* and it was the members of this group who sponsored Kīrtiratna's *stūpa*. In addition to this evidence of the special interest that Kīrtiratna's family took in his monastic career, there is also the evidence of a portrait of the monk erected in about 1480 C.E., just over a decade after the monk's death. The form of the inscription is unusual, stating "... Rohiṇī, the daughter of Sa° Jethā pays obeisance to her guru Śrī Kīrtiratnasūri," which I believe implies that Rohiṇī sponsored the portrait.¹¹⁰ From the *stūpa* inscription we know that Jethā was Kīrtiratna's cousin; the worshipful form of the

109. However, his subsequent promotions were at the hand of Jinabhadrasūri. Jinavarddhana succeeded Jinarāja to the leadership of the Kharataragaccha, but he was replaced *c.* 1418 C.E. by Jinabhadra for a breach of his vow of chastity. As I have already said, portraits are some of the best evidence we have for Jinavarddhana and the line that he founded after his ouster, and they form a part of the discussion in part IV.

110. 1 e samvat 1536 varṣe 5 śrī kīrtiratnasūrigurubhyo namaḥ sā° jethā putrī rohiṇī praṇamati. Nākoḍā 55.

inscription and the fact that the donor was a relative of the subject, seems to present us with a perfect blend of the (post-mortem) worship of a monk and familial sentiment.

Undoubtedly, the bonds between individual monks and lay people or families and monastic lineages were quite strong and long lasting.¹¹¹ But the case of Kīrtiratna makes it clear that the relationship between monks and the laity—a laity consisting of the very families into which monks were born—could be more intimate than mere traditional affiliation and extend even to kinship. The fact that Jinakuśala was initiated by his own uncle shows that the bonds of kinship and affiliation between laity and monastic lineage could continue to grow over generations. The point is further demonstrated by the portrait of Paṇḍita Yaśovardhana donated by his nephew, the monk Paṇḍita Padma-candra,¹¹² and the portrait that Jajjagasūri, head of the Brahmāṇagaccha, donated of his guru, who also happened to be his brother.¹¹³

Having reviewed the variety of gifts made by Jain monks and the purposes for which they were given, I am inclined to conclude that the social and spiritual gaps between certain lay and monastic communities were much smaller than many might expect. Monks were bound to each other (and to lay people) by a network of relationships that resembled kinship and in some cases consisted of genuine kinship. Monks

111. It was a general rule that lay families or clans always had to employ in religious matters the monks of the *gaccha* traditionally tied to them. See Granoff, Phyllis, “Religious Biography and Clan History among the Śvetāmbara Jains in North India,” *EW* Vol. 39 - Nos. 1-4 (December 1989), p. 197.

112. 1216 C.E. at Śatruñjaya. Shah, Ambalal Premchand, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

113. 1293 C.E. at Radhanpur. *PJLS* II 509.

acknowledged their bonds to others (or the attenuation of them in death) in ways that the laity did by providing for the merit of their intimates through portraiture or other gifts. I must be a little more circumspect in my conclusions than Schopen and others who work on Buddhist materials, for the medieval Jain evidence is much more meager in raw quantity and relative to the number of donations made by lay people. However, it cannot be ignored that so many portraits of monks were donated by other monks, that many of the other gifts by monks were made for the merit of the donors or the merit was transferred, and that many of the beneficiaries of that merit were other monks. Some might wish to brush this evidence aside as representative of precisely the kind of laxity within the Jain community of monks that groups like the Kharataragaccha tried to check. However, Kharatara gifts lend a legitimacy to monastic gifting or at the least in some sense deliver it from the margins of monastic behaviour.

Overall, the monastic gift demonstrates that a number of ascetics shared the worldview of lay Jains. These ascetics' religious hopes for themselves or their fellows did not consist of permanent salvation in the manner of the Jinas, but must have consisted of a better rebirth (in heaven) based upon the acquisition of merit by various means. The number of typical gifts made by monks and the transfer of their merit to other monks strongly suggests that the portraits donated by monks were intended to benefit the monastic portrait subjects in the same way. The concern for the religious welfare of fellow monks and biological parents, expressed through gifting and merit transfer, shows that certain medieval ascetics were a class of social actors intimately tied to real and fictive

kinship groups and not renouncers, as in the normative pattern, who severed all their pre-novice social ties.

III.4. Postscript: The Economics of the Monastic Gift

In my consideration of the ‘institution’ of monastic giving thus far, I have neglected what must be a most obvious question if we imagine that Jain monasticism represents something like a ‘radically world-rejecting religious tradition’; and that is, how did monastic donors pay for their gifts? It is generally affirmed as a normative model that the needs of ascetics, were and are maintained (exclusively) with lay support. Alternatively, Kharatara polemics present a picture of certain greedy monks who encouraged the laity to construct great temples accompanied by lavish monasteries; there, these monks permanently dwelt, and in their capacity as the temple managers, they took temple property and monies for their own use.¹¹⁴ These temple-dwelling monks (*caityavāsins*) certainly existed, but concrete evidence for their identity, their practices and how they managed their temples is sparse.¹¹⁵ Even if we accept what Kharatara literature says about these monks and imagine that that explains how monks made gifts, we are left, at

114. Dundas, Paul, “The Tenth Wonder: Domestication and Reform in Medieval Śvetāmbara Jainism,” *IT* Vol. XIV (1987-1988), pp. 182f.

115. The record of the 13th century meeting of monks and laymen at which a resolution was passed, whereby monks who fathered children were anathematized, lists a number of *caityavāsins* who were present and the temples they represented, but it tells us little else about these monks. This is almost all the solid historical evidence we have for these monks. See Shah, U.P., 1955, *op. cit.* and Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, pp. 251f.

the least, to explain the Kharatara gifts. Here, it is neither entirely possible or appropriate to examine fully the relationship between Jain monks or monastic organizations and economic activity. However, I wish to present some of the data that must go into such an enquiry in order to show that the connection between monks and money is not, nor ever was, as problematic as some might imagine; and hence, monastic gifting is not as problematic as it first appears.

K.C. Jain argues that some of the very monastic gifts to which I have referred are evidence of the *caityavāsins*.¹¹⁶ However, there is in fact no evidence that monks of the fourteen *gacchas* represented by the gifts were *caityavāsins*. The evidence we have for the *caityavāsins* (albeit strictly for Gujarat from the period c. 1242 C.E.) indicates that they were rarely identified by a *gaccha* name: they were identified by the temple with which they were affiliated.¹¹⁷ The records in which the monk-donors have no *gaccha* affiliation may indicate that the monks in question were *caityavāsins*, but there is no other evidence to substantiate that conclusion.

116. “That the Chaityavasīs deviated considerably from the traditional ways of Jaina Sādhus is evident from several Jaina temples and idols installed by them [*i.e.* sponsored, not merely consecrated]. This was the practice of the laity and not the Sadhus” (1963, *op. cit.*, pp. 89f.). Notably, Jain does not mention any of the gifts made by Kharatara monks.

117. Shah, U.P., 1955, *op. cit.* The record of 1242 does identify some monks by the temples to which they belonged and their *gacchas*. However, in one case, the *gaccha* in question is not among those for which I have monastic donations; in another case, the monk of the “Brahmāṅgaccha” in the record appears to bear no relation to two Brahmāṅa monks who made gifts; finally, the monk identified in the record as Koraṅṭāvāla Śrī Kakkasūri bears no relation to the monk of the Koreṅṭakagaccha who made a gift.

The fact that the vast majority of monastic donors were monastic officers is perhaps the best evidence upon which to draw any conclusions about the finances of these donors: if monks were to have access to any kind of wealth, we would expect that to be the case at the highest levels of monastic organization at the very least. Since a large number of gifts by monks were made at higher (if not the highest) levels of the monastic hierarchy, we may imagine that those monk-donors were able to finance their donations with *gaccha* funds, or that some of them, as well as some of the monks who had no *gaccha* affiliation, were in fact *caiytavasin*-like monks who had discretionary power over temple or monastery wealth. The heads of the *gacchas*, or other high-placed monks, might also have been the beneficiaries of substantial personal donations from wealthy laymen; judging from the biographical literature of the Kharataragaccha, for example, the wealthy and powerful often wished to reward renowned monks with lavish gifts.¹¹⁸ The donors who held lesser monastic offices might have also exercised discretion over temple wealth or received personal gifts from laymen, but they might have also put their particular skills to work to earn the money which they spent on temple gifts. There is evidence that monks acquired wealth in each of these ways, but it is meager and relates very indirectly to the monks of medieval Rajasthan.

118. Of course, many stories are told of monks who turned down such gifts and these stories serve to demonstrate the monks' piety and strict adherence to their vows. For example, the Emperor Akbar offered to Hīravijaya conveyance from Ahmedabad to Agra, but the monk refused (*BCGC*, introduction, pp. 25f.). Also, a Sultan offered many fine gifts to the Kharatara monk Jinaprabhasūri, but the monk told the Sultan that it was not proper for him to accept them (Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 3ff.).

That Jain monks engaged in economical activity, collectively and without the intervention of the laity, is confirmed by some of the oldest Jain literature. For instance, if a former lover or master of a monk laid a claim against the monk, in the last resort, his fellow monks would draw on secret funds to buy the monk out of the debt.¹¹⁹ Also, the *Vavahāra Bhāsa* indicates that in order for monks to pay the fees of a doctor, they drew upon their savings from the time before they became monks, used money that was found and no one else had claimed, or they made small toys for sale at market.¹²⁰ There is also medieval evidence that monks handled money, not simply for emergencies, but also for more common transactions. According to the *KGBG*, a certain Jineśvarasūri paid 500 gold pieces to the mother of the boy who would become Jinavallabhasūri. This Jineśvara was a *caityavāsin* and Jinavallabha eventually broke with him and became the disciple of Abhayadeva, whom the Kharataragaccha claims as a member of their lineage. We might conclude that the purchase of children was one of the improper practices of the *caityavāsins*. However, according to Alexander Walker of the East India Company, in his nineteenth century report on the Jains, the practice of buying children continued among Jain monks even then, a time when the *caityavāsins* were certainly gone from India; in the

119. Caillat, 1975, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

120. 5.89, cited in Deo, 1954-55, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-38. Certainly this, and the other evidence I present immediately below, presents an image of the Jain monk which is surprising to some, but for Jainism to survive as a monastic community, not only has it had to rely on the laity for many of its needs, but surely it must have also had to be prepared to solve day-to-day organizational or practical problems on its own. That means that monks could not always have the 'leisure' to pursue their vocation or 'freedom' from money.

table of contents of the report Walker says Jutties or Yatis¹²¹ were purchased as slaves or procured through adoption, though in the body of the essay the reference to the purchase of slaves is absent.¹²²

The above evidence suggests that some Jain monks, throughout Jain history, possessed at least a modest amount money. There is also some medieval evidence that certain Jain monks—not necessarily *caityavāsins*—acquired substantial funds from temple grants. As I have said, there is little historical evidence describing the *caityavāsins* and their practices. To the best of my knowledge, there are no records of grants to proper *caityavāsin* temples, nor other inscriptions mentioning such monks.¹²³ However, the Bijapur inscription of Dhavala (997 C.E.)¹²⁴ not only tells us much about the economics of a medieval Jain temple, but shows us a case of a monk and his followers taking a direct leading role in the operation of a temple. The record is actually in two parts. The first part tells us that Vidagdha Rāṣṭrakūṭa originally built the Ṛṣabhanātha temple at Hastikundi at the urging of his Jain preceptor Vāsudeva. It also says that Vidagdha had himself weighed against gold: $\frac{2}{3}$ of it was granted to the god (to the Jain temple) and $\frac{1}{3}$

121. Technically, a *yati* is a quasi-ascetic who has not taken full ordination, though in common non-Jain parlance Jain monks and nuns may be called *yatis*.

122. Bender, E., “An Early Nineteenth Century Study of the Jains,” *JAOS* 96.1 (1976), pp. 114-119.

123. In fact, there are not many records at all that describe Jain temple operations in Gujarat and Rajasthan. We do know that the original trust overseeing the Luṅigavasahī at Abu consisted of Tejaḥpāla the donor, his brothers Vastupāla and Malladeva, and several of Tejaḥpāla’s in-laws, while many others from nearby communities took responsibility for the festivities of the temple (HA, pp. 93ff; Abu II 251).

124. *EI* X, pp. 17-24.

went to Vāsudeva. At the end of the first part it is recorded that King Dhavala, grandson of Vidagdha, in conjunction with a corporation of laymen, renovated the temple and that Dhavala's son donated a well. The second part reconfirms a grant to the temple originally made by Vidagdha (917 C.E.) and subsequently renewed by his son Mammata (940 C.E.). The inscription lists ten levies against village produce, oil-milling and transportation in favour of the temple, and, like the quantity of gold donated by Vidagdha, this revenue was split $\frac{2}{3}$ for the temple and $\frac{1}{3}$ for Vāsudeva, the preceptor of Vidagdha,¹²⁵ as a fee for imparting spiritual knowledge. The inscription ends with a benediction hoping that the disciples of Keśavadevasūri—in the line of Vāsudeva I presume—enjoy the endowment in perpetuity.¹²⁶ Perhaps a chief monk like Vāsudeva who received such endowments shared his allotment with his disciples and whoever else was tied to the community or temple on some sort of scale: some may have received handsome shares while others received less. At the very least, this endowment certainly explains how a Jain monk could afford to make a donation as substantial as a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* or a *devakulikā*, and it may explain how a monk might spend his (modest) resources on something like a Jina image or a portrait of his teacher.

125. In this part of the record the name of Vidagdha's preceptor is given as Balabhadra but both names must represent the same person.

126. The temple to which this endowment was made was not necessarily a *caityavāsin* temple, properly speaking, for the record does not say anything about a monastery or other dwelling for Vāsudeva and his followers. However, the record surely represents the kind of monastic control over temples and their resources that so inflamed the Kharatara monks.

Medieval textual sources indicate that many monks did receive substantial gifts from important patrons. Granoff has studied the various biographies of the Kharatara monk Jinaprabhasūri, famous as the author of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (*VTK*), and pointed out the varying degrees of concern that the authors show towards Jinaprabha's relationship with the Delhi Sultan.¹²⁷ According to Jinaprabha's own autobiography (in the *VTK*) when the Sultan first tried to confer a heap of fine gifts on the monk, Jinaprabha refused them, but later accepted a few things to avoid offending the Sultan. An addendum to this account written by Vidyātilaka tells the story of Jinaprabha's trip to Daultabad in the company of the Sultan during which the ruler of Siroha gave Jinaprabha ten fine pieces of cloth, and the Sultan himself also gave the monk gifts of cloth and fragrant unguents. The account continues saying that at another time the Sultan built quarters for Jains next to his palace which Jinaprabha consecrated and then occupied. The Sultan offered more gifts to Jinaprabha after that; according to Granoff's translation, "the Glorious Lord of the Whole World honoured the master Jinaprabhasūri with gift after gift, each one greater than the next."¹²⁸

The stories about Jinaprabha indicate that even some monks of the Kharatara-gaccha, the group most critical of 'heterodoxy' in medieval Jainism, possessed a certain amount of personal property, which they acquired from wealthy patrons. It is not clear

127. See Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 3ff. No version of the story has tried to disguise the memory of that monk's association with the Sultan; however, some accounts subtly point to the inappropriateness of the relationship while others enthusiastically describe the gifts and favours the Sultan bestowed upon Jinaprabha.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

that any of this property consisted of cash or was used as currency for economic transactions. But, as some of the material I presented above indicates, some monks did engage in cash transactions, at least as a community. Furthermore, according to Glasnapp and Stevenson, some contemporary monks did actually possess personal property including cash,¹²⁹ and they must have kept that money for purchases of some sort.

If monks possessed property, collectively or as individuals, it appears that it must have come, for the most part, from the donations of lay people. But perhaps the monks earned the money that they spent on donations or perhaps they did not renounce all their property when they took initiation. Above I referred to the *Vavahāra Bhāsa*, according to which monks might pay a doctor out of their savings from before they had become monks. The inscription for the Jina images donated by Paṇḍita Laṣamanasīha says that the Prāgvāṭa family into which the monk was born was very wealthy; Laṣamana may have retained his rights over his own wealth or his family may have funded the donations on his behalf.

I have pointed out that, in addition to the many gifts made by *-sūris*, most other gifts were made by monks with monastic titles (*vācakas*, *upādhyāyas*, etc.) that indicate that these ascetics were educated teachers of the doctrine. It is possible that these monks used their education to earn money. Some Jain monks wrote inscriptions for non-Jain patrons, and it is not hard to believe that they would be compensated for their efforts. The 13th century monk Ratnaprabhasūri of the Caitragaccha wrote several inscriptions for non-Jain patrons and was chosen for this work because of his knowledge of genealogy;

129. Cited in Deo, 1954-55, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

also, Rāmacandrasūri of the Bṛhadgaccha wrote the Sundah inscription of Maharawal Chachigadeva, a Hindu.¹³⁰ Early in this century Tessitori reported that some Rathor Rajputs employed “Jain Jatīs” to keep family records.¹³¹ There is some other evidence, albeit from a dubious source, that simply being monk-teacher entitled the monk to something like a salary: according to Mrs. Stevenson, Jain monks, “*paṇḍits*,” were paid by the laity to teach monks.¹³²

The evidence I have presented to show the ways that monks might have acquired the means to make the donations that they did is suggestive, but by no means definitive. There is simply no solid evidence to link the monastic donors to any sources of personal wealth. Perhaps the monks and nuns who made the gifts in question did not really involve themselves in the economic part of the donation; maybe lay people took care of the actual payment for the gifts and left the monks to lay claim to the merit from them for themselves or the parties to whom they transferred the merit. At the very least, I have presented certain evidence that, when placed beside the evidence of monastic giving, definitely shows that we must think very carefully before we attempt to say what Jainism is or is not with reference to any normative ideas about the character of the Jain ascetic.

130. Somani, Ram Vallabh, “Jaina Inscriptions from Mewar and Vagad,” in Jain, Prem Suman, *et al.*, eds., Medieval Jainism: Culture and Environment, New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1990, pp. 45f. I have no actual evidence of monks holding lesser titles writing inscription for non-Jains.

131. Tessitori, L.P., “A Progress Report on the Work Done During the Year 1917 in Connection with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana,” *JASB* N.S. XV (1919), pp. 23f.

132. Cited in Deo, 1954-55, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

My primary object of interest in this section has been the monastic portraits which were donated by monks (but excluding the portraits donated by Jinakuśalasūri). With respect to the direct consideration of this evidence, I had but one simple point to make: monks gifted images of their fellow monks (or themselves in one unique case) for the sake of the spiritual welfare of the subjects of the images. Despite the near absence of references to merit in the inscriptions for these images (although the reference to merit in the inscription for the portrait of Guṇasena is an important one), I believe that my point is established by the facts of other gifts by monks for the merit of the donors themselves, or other monks to whom the merit was transferred.

But, the implications of this simple straightforward argument and its conclusion are very remarkable. The evidence of monastic donations, with the merit accruing from them, demonstrates that a number of ascetics actively participated in the 'realm of value' or the 'discourse' that, according to many scholars, is supposed to be confined to the laity. Hence, these portraits and other gifts typify a way of being a monk that does not appear to depart from the normative model of asceticism as the vehicle of liberation.

In my discussion of the portraits donated by monks, I left out two very important examples, the 13th century portraits of Jinaratnasūri and Jinacandrasūri III which were donated by Jinakuśalasūri. I left these portraits aside, for it is apparent that these images were not produced under the religious conception which I identified for the

other portraits donated by monks. Evidence suggests that Jinakuśala donated the portrait of Jinacandra at least as part of a claim within the Kharatara that Jinacandra had died and become a god with great supernatural powers.

I have to believe that Jinakuśala and the rest of the Kharataragaccha hoped to realize some political gain from the popular acceptance of Jinacandra's divinity. In the final section of my thesis I shall discuss the political potential of monastic portraiture with respect to the portraits donated by Jinakuśala as well as several other groups of images. The political activities of medieval Jain monks, as reflected in the portraits, show us another aspect of monastic identity far removed from the normative model.

IV. The Monk's Portrait and Monastic Politics

In part **III** I suggested that the evidence of monastic giving demonstrates, as Paul Dundas says, that “there have always been a wider range of identities for Jains ... than many writers have been prepared to allow.”¹ I implied a somewhat different context than Dundas intends: while I applied this idea to the religious behaviour of individual medieval donor-ascetics, Dundas has more in mind the social organization of monastic lineages and the political relationships between competing lineages as factors in the development of unique monastic identities. As Dundas puts it more broadly in his book, The Jains,

many contemporary Jain writers ... have often seemed principally concerned with presenting Jainism in purely metaphysical terms as little more than a gradualistic spiritual path in which the only truly significant historical event after the death of the founding teacher was a sectarian ‘schism’ and, typically, such writers make little or no reference to the main actors within the religion, the individuals, monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, who would down through the centuries describe themselves and their mode of life as Jain.²

1. 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

2. 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

Although many writers may be quick to point out that the Jains are divided into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, they rarely acknowledge that many, often competing and hostile social and religious organizations exist within these two larger groups.

It is the purpose of this section to demonstrate how certain portraits express some of this sectarian diversity among the Śvetāmbara monks of Gujarat and Rajasthan. It is clear that the lineage (*gaccha*) orientations of some groups of portraits are significant to their purposes. I am interested here in three particular groups of portraits. First, I am interested in a number of 17th century portraits of Tapāgaccha monks, the earliest portraits of monks from this line. These are significant for we know that the competition and hostility between the Tapā- and Kharataragacchas grew heated at this time. I argue that a number of these images represent something of an abortive attempt at the deification of some of the Tapāgaccha's monastic dead in a manner akin to the Kharatara's Dādāgurus, who had become the object of an organized cult from about this same period. Some of these images also seem to be related to the increasing factionalism that gripped the Tapāgaccha in the 16th and 17th centuries, for we find a number of images of the famous Tapā monk Hīravijaya associated with different sub-lines that we know grew increasingly hostile to one another from the early 17th century. We also find portraits of other Tapā monks representing at least two different branches stemming from the line of Hīravijaya; these two lines eventually became independent entities.

Second, I am interested in five 15th century portraits consecrated by and/or representing the monks of the line of Jinavarddhanasūri of the Kharataragaccha, of which 4/5 were patronized by one royal minister's family from the Udaipur region. These

images are not unusual in themselves, but this Jinavarddhana was removed as the pontiff of the Kharataragaccha by the community at Jaisalmer; the portraits are some of the best evidence we have for the continuation of this sub-branch of the Kharatara, and must surely represent part of an attempt by this line to maintain its public profile in the face of alienation from the parent group.

Finally, I am interested in the pair of 14th century Kharatara portraits which were donated by the famous monk Jinakuśalasūri of the Kharataragaccha. Evidence from the *KGBG*, a Kharatara lineage history written about 1345, concerning these portraits as well as memorials to several other monks, indicates that even at this early date several deceased Kharatara monks were thought to be not simply reborn in heaven, but also powerful enough to produce miracles in this world. The Dādāguru cult, in the form it has today, did not develop until at least the late 17th century. But, the early evidence of Jinakuśala's portrait gifts suggests that the rise of the Dādguru cult was the result of a long process and involved substantial monastic initiative.

I begin with a general discussion about the *gaccha* system of medieval Śvetāmbara monasticism in Northwest India. There exists little data to explain thoroughly this development in Jain history, though numerous inscriptions document the existence of dozens of lineages. However, some understanding of the extent of this system and its diversification over time is necessary to the appreciation of its manifestation in the monks' portraits. From it, we may recognize the political stakes involved in the creation and maintenance of medieval monastic communities, and thus the significance of the portraits in question. Uninterrupted succession from guru to disciple all the

way back to Jainism's 'founder', Mahāvīra, was crucial to the legitimacy of every lineage. The Tapāgaccha and its sub-branches, the line of Jinavarddhanasūri and the main branch of the Kharatara each had to struggle in their histories to establish their own legitimacy. This part of my study seeks to demonstrate how those struggles are reflected in portraiture.

IV.1. The Śvetāmbara Monastic Lineages

It is clear that from an early period Jainism was a diversified body with respect to its monastic organization. The *Kalpasūtra* refers to several *gaṇas*, lineages of monks and nuns, which were further divided into a number of *sākhās* (branches); these, in turn, were further divided into *kulas*.³ Organization along these lines is historically attested in the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā where we also find that various lines were also associated with particular middle-class groups of lay people.⁴ Yet, this early multiplicity of monastic lines is slight when compared to the diversity within medieval Śvetāmbara Jainism in Western India. Tradition counts 84 *gacchas*, though inscriptional evidence puts the number at closer to 150. The origin of the term *gaccha* to denote a monastic lineage is not certain nor is the point in time at which this term came into

3. Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, pp. 56f.

4. Dundas, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

common use.⁵ What is clear is that from c. 10th-11th centuries we find records referring to a number of discrete *gacchas*. The older divisions largely died out, although some *kulas* were converted into *gacchas*.⁶ The multiplication and sub-division of the *gacchas* continued even into the late medieval period; then, from about the 18th century, the membership of most groups declined, so that today only the Kharatara and Tapāgacchas can claim any widespread influence. The growth of the medieval monastic lineages appears to have begun as a result of the improved fortunes of Jainism in Gujarat and Rajasthan as a result of great economic growth from the Early Rajput period. All religious groups appear to have prospered from 1000 C.E., as is attested by the tremendous temple-building activity from this time.

One factor in the development of the *gacchas* was geography: the number of monastic lineages multiplied along territorial lines as Jain monks made inroads through the prosperous Rajput domains of Gujarat and Rajasthan; individual lineages divided into sub-groups or grew up independently as they took hold in locales at a distance from their original homelands. This process is reflected in the names of the so-called ‘territorial *gacchas*’. For instance, the Ratnapurīyagaccha evolved out of the Madāhaḍagaccha at least as early as the 14th century; obviously the former’s activities centred around the area

5. The history of Jainism from the turn of the Common Era to about 1000 C.E. is extremely vague. See *ibid.*, p. 111.

6. The Candra-, Nāgendra- and Nivṛttikulas at least, began to refer to themselves as *gacchas* around this time. See Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

of Ratnapur, while the latter originated in Maḍāra in the Sirohi area.⁷ The influence of the ‘territorial *gacchas*’ was usually confined to small geographical areas.⁸

A number of other factors appear to have been responsible for the creation of several *gacchas*. Some lineages are named for certain charismatic monks. I have already noted the case of the Dharmaghoṣagaccha. A number of other lines, while not named for monks, owe their creation to famous monks,⁹ and obviously for a sub-branch to continue without the support of the parent group its leader would have had to have been very influential within the community. The success of all lineages was dependant upon securing strong lay support. This appears to have been accomplished by established lineages by the general rule that Jain castes, clans and/or families were obliged to employ monks of the *gacchas* to which they were traditionally affiliated to conduct all their religious ceremonies.¹⁰ The proliferation of Jain castes and clans in medieval Western

7. So too, the Jirāvaligaccha, interesting to me for the number of gifts made by its monks (see **Table D.**), was born in the area around Jirāvali out of the Brhadgaccha. For these and other ‘territorial *gacchas*’ see Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, pp. 63ff.

8. See *ibid.*, pp. 67ff.

9. See *ibid.*, pp. 61ff.

10. See Granoff, December 1989, *op. cit.*, pp.197ff.

Marcus Banks has put the problem of new ascetic organizations very well: “Because the ascetic community has ‘imposed’ its *gaccha* divisions on the laity in order to provide a guaranteed resource pool for material welfare, an ascetic who breaks away from the established order will be unable to survive for long without client laity to support him, while food is necessary for his immediate survival, the provision of upashrays and *path-salas* (teaching halls) is essential if he wishes to influence others and begin a new movement. Thus ascetics cultivate a specific relationship with the laity and may build up a lay following through charismatic appeal. I do not say that all ascetics who have significant lay following are fomenting dissent and fracture, but it is a prerequisite for those that are” (Banks, *op. cit.*, pp. 449f.).

India appears to parallel the growth of monastic lineages. Hence, in the words of Lawrence Babb,

It seems possible that in the past there was a vast and complex network of ritual relations between clans and mendicant lineages among the Śvetāmbar Jains of Rajasthan an arrangement of homologous and interlinked structures, an all-encompassing ritual-social order bring the domains of spiritual and worldly “descent” together in a single system.¹¹

This system was not uniquely Jain, but apparently paralleled the social structure of other ‘Rajput’ social groups of the medieval period. Each clan and *gaccha* had its own bardic history (*vamśāvalī* and *paṭṭāvalī*) explaining its origin and the major events in its history. Jain monks maintained these records for the Jain castes, assuming the role of the traditional Rajput bards, and exerting a certain amount of control over lay social organization.¹²

I wish to consider briefly some elements of monastic ideologies as found in certain lineage documents for what they tell us about *gaccha* formation and the nature of *gaccha* self-identity; as I am trying to demonstrate, I believe that many monks’ portraits express in stone what this literature expresses in its narration. I use as an example the founding myth of the Upakeśagaccha, which is intimately tied to the founding of the Oswal caste of lay Jains. This account introduces us to many of the features important to the construction of a medieval monastic identity in general, and it includes a number of

11. 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

12. See Granoff, December 1989, *op. cit.*

significant mythological motifs which are important to the identities of certain other lineages.

Some Upakeśa *pattāvalīs* trace the lineage back to the Jina Pārśvanātha, but the line really only became a unique body from the monk Ratnaprabhasūri. While the literature places him very early in history, it is apparent that this monk must have flourished in the early 12th century, if he lived at all.¹³ The story goes that Ratnaprabha and his disciples came to Osian (the vernacular for Upakeśa) where they received no alms from the inhabitants. However, the monk brought back to life a local merchant's son who had died of snake bite. This merchant was building a Viṣṇu temple, but whatever was built each day collapsed that night. The merchant turned to the monk for help. The monk advised the merchant to dedicate the temple to Mahāvīra and all would be well. The merchant did as he was told. Now, Ratnaprabha's tutelary goddess advised the monk that she was preparing a special image for the temple. This miraculous image was found under a piece of ground upon which a cow spilt her milk each day. The monk consecrated the image and taught the merchant how to perform its worship.

Presumably, the merchant had converted to Jainism in the course of the miracles described above. The community however, was not created until a further miraculous event. Osian was the holy place of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā in the form of Saccikā. The people of Osian used to offer meat to her out of fear of her wrath. Ratnaprabha convinced them to give up such practices and promised to protect them from the goddess. After a protracted battle between the goddess and the monk she was defeated.

13. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

She converted to Jainism and promised to accept only vegetarian offerings. The people of the town, having converted to Jainism, became the Oswal Jains, and Saccikā became their family goddess.

This founding myth brings together facets of the process of *gaccha*-formation which I have already mentioned and introduces important new ones. First, the Upakeśa-gaccha is intimately tied to a particular place in its founding, Osian, though it spread to many places in its history, as did the families of the Oswal caste.¹⁴ Furthermore, the charisma of a particular monk is important to the creation of the monastic line and its community of lay votaries. The monk's charisma secures the conversion of lay people to Jainism. It is difficult to say how many new Jains were actually created in the medieval period through conversion, but monks' ability to secure conversions as well as Jain lay families' memory of conversion are important to the identity of both kinds of groups.

What is most significant to me in the founding myth of the Upakeśagaccha is Ratnaprabhasūri's power to perform miracles and/or his control over supernatural forces. Such power is common in the biographies of medieval monks: many monks are said either to have subdued malignant forces or are blessed with the special favour of particular deities. The gods (or goddesses) perform miracles on behalf of monks to demonstrate the power of Jainism to non-believers. More importantly, the legitimacy of the succession of certain monks is vouchsafed by certain deities. I shall return to this below, for powers of this sort are conspicuous in Kharatara legends. Additionally, the later cult of

14. Furthermore, many Oswal families have been tied to *gacchas* other than the Upakeśa.

the Kharatara dead represents a novel way in which the connection between living monks and the divine (deceased monks-cum-gods) was solidified.

Certainly as a result of the incredible multiplication of medieval monastic lineages, the documents preserving the history of any line have to take great pains to establish the legitimacy of monastic succession. They labour to trace the groups' origins back to a Jina, either Mahāvīra, or Pārśvanātha as in the case of the Upakeśagaccha.

As Cort says,

for Jain monks, as with most (if not all) mendicant traditions in South Asia, the purity and authenticity of one's lineage is crucial, for it is the only means of authenticating one's mendicant initiation if a monk's lineage is spurious, his initiation is therefore invalid, and he has no authority to speak on religious matters.¹⁵

But, lineal succession properly speaking must have been tenuous at best given the multiplication and subdivision of medieval lineages, even when they occurred for uncontroversial reasons like geographical expediency. Like a beam of light, the authority of succession for many monastic lineages may have dimmed as it progressed across the space of generations, and was refracted again and again through the almost innumerable monastic branches and sub-branches that arose. With only so much lay support to go around, and with their *bona fides* always questionable, many lineages needed a sort of amplifier to boost the power of the transmission through numerous medieval generations. Furthermore, any particularly dubious points of transmission in the history of a lineage could be exploited by rival lineages to cast aspersions on the lineage's authority.

15. "Genres of Jain History," *JIP* 23 (1995), pp. 480f.

I would like to suggest that many portraits of monks were intended to boost the authority of certain lineages by highlighting certain better known members of the lineage. The Dādāguru cult is an extreme example of such an effort in which the Kharataragaccha attempted to increase its authority. Certain monks' portraits ought to be viewed in the context of intense sectarian rivalries and an atmosphere in which, as Cort says, religious authority was a function of the purity of a monk's lineage. Pretensions to authentic practice—and/or decrying alleged laxity in the practice of rivals—were central to the identities of several *gacchas*, but especially the Kharatara and the Tapā, and formed a crucial part of the myths of their formation. The claim that a monk's teacher or whole lineage was derelict with respect to monastic discipline justified a monk's shifting to another *gaccha* or even starting a new one, while at the same time remaining true to monastic transmission.¹⁶

The history surrounding the Añcalagaccha provides a convenient example of such a process. The Añcalagaccha also goes by the name Vidhipakṣa, “the party (that follows) proper ritual.”¹⁷ It was founded by Āryarakṣitasūri (1080-1180) who parted with his teacher over the latter's lax behaviour (*śīthilatā*).¹⁸ Cort reports that Cakreśvarī

16. In Jain monastic codes parting with the teacher because of his conduct is ratified by the rite of *kriyoddhāra* and it justifies purging the lineage of lax members (Cort, 1995, *op. cit.* p. 484).

17. *Ibid.*

18. Accusations of this “lax behaviour” (*śīthilatā* or *śīthilācāra*) against particular monks appear numerous enough in medieval literature that we must be cautious with respect to our evaluations of them: general laxity or breach of particular monastic rules must have been a convenient scarlet letter to pin to certain lineages or individual monks by monks with their own political agendas. Below I shall discuss a number of

appeared to Āryarakṣitasūri and gave him the name for his new group (*i.e.* the Añcala-gaccha).¹⁹ At the time that Āryarakṣita formed the Añcalagaccha or just after his death, the two monks Śīlaguṇasūri and Devabhadrasūri left the Pūrṇimiyāgaccha (presumably due to laxity in it) and joined the Añcala; however, they later left to form their own line, the Āgamikagaccha, “the lineage of the followers of the Canon.”²⁰ I have seen no primary source on these events, but I gather that the decision to form the Āgamika was taken in the name of reform, for the distinguishing features of this group were its proscription of prayers to deities of place (*kṣetradevatās*) in addition to other variations in practice.²¹

No lineage as a whole is more identified with reform than the Kharatara.

Lineage histories as well as texts authored by Kharatara monks both paint a dark picture of the state of Jain monasticism in the period from the 11th century and beyond. In the

specific cases where political purges in the name of reform appear to have taken place, most notably the case of Jinavarddhanasūri of the Kharataragaccha.

19. Cort, 1995, *op. cit.* p. 484. But according to Klatt, the monk received the name Viddhipakṣagaccha from the goddess (Klatt, Johannes, “The Samachari-Satakam of Samayasundara and Pattavalis of the Anchala-Gachchha and Other Gachchhas,” *IA* Vol. XIII, July 1894, p. 175).

I shall return to this theme below, for the supernatural sanction upon the actions of certain monks is also important to claims of authority of certain other lines and individual monks. I believe that the rise of the Dādāgurus is a mere hop, skip and a jump from this. One could say that the Dādāgurus merely strengthen the relationship between the divine and the worldly in which some monks are said to participate: with the attribution of divinity to (some or all) deceased Kharatara monks, successive pontiffs, if not all the living monks of the line, immediately have the power and authority of these gods at their disposal for their own political and other ends.

20. See Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 60. This group began in either 1157 or 1193.

21. See *Ibid.* and SBM, p. 66.

interest of brevity I shall refer only to select anecdotes from Klatt's translation of one of the more concise Kharatara *paṭṭāvalīs*.²² As we might expect, the lineage traces itself back to Mahāvīra and proceeds through 37 more generations to one Uddyotana. It is after this point that the *gaccha* becomes a distinct entity.²³ According to Klatt's account, one Vardhamāna became the pupil of Uddyotana after breaking with his original teacher, a *caityavāsin*. Vardhamāna's successor was Jineśvarasūri whom Vardhamāna had converted and initiated.

It was under Jineśvara that the name of the lineage originated. In c. 1023, Jineśvara went to Patan, the capital of Gujarat under the Caulukyas, and at the king's court he debated against the *caityavāsins* who held sway in the city at the time. By citing texts on monastic behaviour like the *Dasaveyāliyasutta*,²⁴ Jineśvara defeated the "temple-dwelling" monks. The king expelled the *caityavāsins* from Patan and gave Jineśvara the name "the Fierce" (Kharatara), hence the name of the *gaccha*.²⁵

22. *KGPS* 1 is a Sanskrit text close to that used by Klatt (1882, *op. cit.*).

23. With some variation Tapāgaccha *paṭṭāvalīs* also lead to Uddyotana and then after about 9 more generations become the Tapāgaccha.

24. The appeal to this text is significant, as I discuss in the **Appendix**.

25. From the time of Jinavallabha the Kharatara became also known as the Vidhimārga, "the path of proper conduct." See Dundas, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

As central as this event is to Kharatara identity it appears to be nothing more than a creative fiction. First, there is little historical evidence for the Kharataragaccha in the era of Jineśvara. Second, the *lekha* of the conclave of *caityavāsins* and *vasativāsins* at Patan in 1242 makes it clear that nine of the most important Jain temples in Patan were at the time under *caityavāsin* control. See Shah, U.P., 1955, *op. cit.* and Dundas, 1987-88, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Jineśvara was succeeded by Jinacandrasūri I, who was succeeded by Abhayadeva. Then, according to Kharatara sources, Abhayadeva was succeeded by Jinavallabha. He was originally initiated by a *caityavāsin* of the Kūrcapurīyagaccha,²⁶ and later became Abhayadeva's disciple.²⁷ Jinavallabha was succeeded by Jinadatta, probably the Kharatara's most aggressive reformer, and the earliest of the four accepted Dādāgurus. Jinadatta is said to have 'converted' numerous *caityavāsins*. Jinadatta's own works lay out a charter for the proper behaviour of a Jain monk and condemn lax monks most vociferously.²⁸

In biographical literature, Jinadatta is credited with a very large number of miracles. These miracles are important, for many of them have to do with Jinadatta's access to or power over supernatural forces. As Babb says, "Jindattsūri's power derives both from sources internal to himself (his own yogic ability) and from an interrupted

26. This lineage is otherwise unknown. As I previously pointed out, the *caityavāsins* are rarely known by *gaccha* names, only by the name of the temple with which they were associated (Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 243n.; 1987-1988, *op. cit.*, p. 251).

27. The succession of Jinavallabha to the leadership of the *gaccha* was a small problem for some Kharatara authors, given the fact that he was originally a *caityavāsin*. In a longer Sanskrit biography of Jinavallabha he becomes the head of the line in secret for Abhayadeva fears that the rest of the lineage will be upset by the succession of a monk, who once belonged to the enemy camp (see Granoff, Phyllis, "Biographical Writing Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jains in Western India," in Callewaert, Winland M. and Rupert Snell, eds., According to Tradition Hagiographical Writing in India. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994, p. 150). These two Kharatara claims are central to the polemic against the Kharataragaccha by the Tapāgaccha monk Dharmasāgara.

28. See Granoff and Shinohara, *op. cit.*

tradition of magically potent ascetics.”²⁹ Let me quickly note some of the most important miracles. The first worth noting is that after Jinadatta became the head of the *gaccha*, he meditated and fasted three times in order to discern where he was meant to take up his mission. A dead monk named Harisimḥa appeared and told him to begin in the Marwar region of Rajasthan.³⁰ This is just one of several obscure pre-Dādāguru-cult references to the favour bestowed upon living monks by dead ones. We shall later see a similar incident in which Jinacandra appears to his disciple Jinakuśala and this seems to bear a certain relation to the portrait of the former which Jinakuśala himself donated.

Most of the other well-known miracles attributed to Jinadatta involve the subjugation of malevolent powers. Jinadatta subdued the five *pīrs*, Muslim saints of the Punjab who tried to disturb his meditation.³¹ Jinadatta’s conversion of the Sixty-four Yoginīs at Ujjain is perhaps his most famous miracle: these (Tantric) goddesses came to a sermon by the monk in order to cause trouble, but the monk was waiting for them and when they sat down in the guise of Jain laywomen they were then unable to get up off their mats due to a spell cast by the monk; suitably chastened, the goddesses promised to aid Jinadatta always in the propagation of the faith.³²

29. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 117f.

30. See Granoff, Phyllis, “Going by the Book: The Role of Written Texts in Medieval Jain Sectarian Conflicts,” in Smet and Watanabe, eds., 1993, pp. 54f. and Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

31. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

32. *Ibid.* Similar miracles by the monk include catching lightning in his begging bowl and magically moving a dead cow which some brahmins had mischievously placed before a Jain temple.

Finally, I must mention the circumstances under which Jinadatta's received the title Yugapradhāna.³³ The story is told that the goddess Ambikā, pleased by the austerities of a certain pilgrim to Śatruñjaya, wrote the name of the next Yugapradhāna on his hand in an invisible ink. The man showed his hand to many monks, but none could decipher what the goddess had written. Finally, Jinadatta looked at the man's hand, sprinkled some magic powder on it, and words were revealed that named Jinadatta as the Yugapradhāna. Here we have more than a miracle involving some supernatural power and more than the assistance of the gods or deified dead.³⁴ Here we have the actual sanction of supernatural beings for the authority of a Kharatara monk. It is apparent that later the Kharataragaccha created its own divine sanction in the form of the Dādāgurus.

Reform is also central to the identity of the Tapāgaccha. Like other lineages, the Tapā claims to go back to Mahāvīra; however, its existence as an independent body did not begin, according to Tapā sources, until 1228 under one Jagaccandrasūri.³⁵ Tapāgaccha *pattāvalīs* allude to a strange story about Jagaccandra with respect to reform: Jagaccandra saw that the monastic community was lax with respect to practice (*kriyā-*

33. "Most Learned of the Age." That this event reflects the need for legitimacy is proved by the fact that in later Kharatara history, it was a very real very living authority from whom a Kharatara monk sought the conferral of this title: Jinacandra VI is remembered as having received the title "Most Learned of the Age" from the Mughal Emperor Akbar. See **Appendix**.

34. The Jain goddess Ambikā is coincidentally one of the deified dead. For her story see Granoff, ed., 1990.

35. See Cort, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 484; SBM, pp. 74f.; Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 58. In reality, the history of the lineage is vague until the time of Hīravijaya in the 16th century (Dundas, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

śīthilamunisamudāyam) and with his teacher's permission, and with the help of a monk from the Caitragaccha, he undertook to reform it.³⁶ This reference also describes Jagaccandra as "ferocious in practice."³⁷ It was because of this quality that he got the nickname that would become the name of his line: King Jaitrasimha of Mewar was so impressed by Jagaccandra's success in performing a particularly arduous penance that he gave him the name "Tapā," which was then applied to his whole lineage.³⁸

Although Tapāgaccha sources trace the Tapā pedigree back to Mahāvīra and fill the accounts of early monks with biographical detail, the lineage really did not emerge from obscurity until the 16th century with the succession of Hīravijaya (head of the *gaccha* c. 1553-1596). Much of the authority of the lineage is invested in this figure. His biography contains many unusual details which suggest that, on the one hand, the lineage as a whole went a long way to keep his memory alive in the minds of Jains in the face of its difficulties especially with the Kharataragaccha, and on the other hand, that certain vested Tapāgaccha interests vied with one another to lay claim to his legacy.

Hīravijaya was the first Tapāgaccha monk around whom an evolved biographical tradition developed. The monk is best remembered for his apparent influence upon the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Many anecdotes about this association are told, most

36. See Cort, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 497; Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 254; *PSI*, p. 57. On the Caitragaccha see Gode, P.K. "References to the Caitragaccha in Inscriptions and Literature," in *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Volume I, SJS No. 37, Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs [Volume 4], Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953. I find this reference to cooperation rather odd.

37. Cort, 1995 *op. cit.*

38. *SBM*, p. 75; Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

of which will not concern us here. But we must note that the monk is said to have secured many concessions from the Emperor for all Jains or for the Tapāgaccha in particular; and all sources, even the barest of *pattāvalīs*, claim that he converted Akbar and that the Emperor conferred upon the monk the title “Guru to the World” (*Jagadguru*). Even some inscriptions mention these facts.³⁹ The *gaccha* as a whole had an interest in reinforcing this claim, for just as Hīravijaya secured concessions out of Akbar, so his successors and disciples often sought concessions out of the Emperor and his descendants. Many of these alleged concessions favoured the Tapā over, in particular, the Kharataragaccha.

That the memory of the association between Akbar and Hīravijaya was particularly important in inter-*gaccha* rivalry is suggested by the fact that Jinacandrasūri VI is claimed by Kharatara sources also to have converted Akbar.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Jinacandra is also said to have secured certain concessions from the Emperor, such as the prohibition of animal slaughter on certain Jain holy days, just as Hīravijaya is said to have done.⁴¹ Tapā and Kharatara sources indicate to us that great and tangible stakes were at risk in these efforts to establish an historical association between either Akbar and Hīravijaya (and his disciples) or Akbar and Jinacandra (and his disciples). According to

39. ... *akabarapratibodhakataddattajagadgurubiruda* ... (PJLS II 354).

40. Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

41. See Desai, M.C., “Jaina Priests at the Court of Akbar,” *JGRS* vol. IV (1942), pp. 7 and 12f. It is difficult to determine the veracity of these claims of either the association between Akbar and Hīravijaya, or between Akbar and Jinacandra; however, it must be noted that while Hīravijaya is mentioned in the *Ā’in-ī-Akbarī* of Abū’l Fazl, one of Akbar’s own court authors, Jinacandra is not (Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 208).

the *BCGC*, Bhānucandra, disciple of Hīravijaya, was able to get Akbar to rescind the tax on pilgrims traveling to Śātruñjaya. Envious Kharatara monks bent the Emperor's ear and tried to have Śātruñjaya put under their exclusive control. Later they tried to have a temple built upon the site; however, Bhānucandra prevailed upon Akbar to stop the construction.⁴² At the same time, it is said that after a Muslim ruler of Gujarat began to destroy temples around Dwarka, Jinacandrasūri VI asked Akbar to protect the Jain temples of Gujarat: Akbar issued an edict putting those Jain temples under the supervision of the minister Karmacandra, Jinacandra's lay patron.⁴³ The favour of (Muslim) political authorities was clearly important for monastic factions seeking to assert their greater authority over the community at large; undoubtedly, key to the exercise of that authority was control over Jainism's resources like its temples and holy places.

For the Kharataragaccha, the Dādāguru cult was obviously an element in their agenda towards such ends. Jinacandra VI is the last of the four Dādās of the Kharatara's Dādāguru cult. Since this cult appears to have assumed its complete form shortly after the time of Jinacandra (1541-1613), and since Jinacandra's biography parallels in many ways that of Hīravijaya—in recounting the monk's association with Akbar—I have to believe that the development of the Dādāguru cult was a conscious attempt by the Kharatara camp to create a means to increase its influence within Śvetāmbara Jainism,

42. See Desai's introduction to the *BCGC*, pp. 34ff.

43. Desai, 1942, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The alleged connection between Jinacandra and Karmacandra is the subject of the *Mantrikarmacandravaṃśāvalī-prabandha* of Jayasoma Pataka (c. 1594), Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni, ed., SJS, no. 72, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1980.

particularly at the expense of the Tapā and as part of a larger effort to gain control over Jain temples and places of pilgrimage.

At the same time that hostility between major *gacchas* marks much of the history of the development of the medieval monastic lineages, it is also clear that internal dissension was a serious threat to the integrity of several lineages. Many greater and lesser *gacchas* consist of a number of branches each claiming descent from some point in the long tradition of the parent line. The circumstances of most of these divisions are obscure. However, it is clear that some groups went their own way as a result of disputes within the larger body, and that certain *gacchas* purged elements from their ranks. These divisions often occurred in the name of reform, but it appears that several were strictly political.

The brief Kharatara *pattāvalī*s acknowledge that the lineage suffered periodic fissures. According to the *pattāvalī* translated by Klatt, ten breeches (*gacchabhedas*) occurred within the Kharataragaccha in its history up to 1830.⁴⁴ They are as follows:

No.	Date	<i>Kharatarasākha</i>	Founder	Kharatara Pontiff
1 st	c. 1110	Madhu		Jinavallabhasūri
2 nd	c. 1148	Rudrapallīya	Jinaśekharaśūri	Jinadattasūri
3 rd	c. 1275	Laghu	Jinasimhasūri	Jineśvarasūri
4 th	c. 1366	Vegaḍa	Dharmavallabhagaṇi	Jinodayasūri
5 th	c. 1419	Pippalaka	Jinavarddhanasūri	Jinavarddhanasūri
6 th	c. 1508	Ācāryīya	Ācārya Śāntisāgara	Jinahaṃśasūri

44. Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.* These are also acknowledged in the more detailed *pattāvalī* 2 in *KGPS*, pp. 15ff.

No.	Date	<i>Kharatarasākhā</i>	Founder	Kharatara Pontiff
7 th	c. 1565	Bhāvaharṣīya	Bhavaharṣopādhyāya	Jinacandra VI
8 th	c. 1630	Laghavācaryīya	Ācārya Jinasāgarasūri ⁴⁵	Jinarājasūri II
9 th	c. 1644	Raṅgavijaya	Raṅgavijayagaṇi	Jinarājasūri II
10 th		Śrīsārīya ⁴⁶	Śrīsāropādhyāya	Jinarājasūri II

Several things are apparent from this list. First, in the first approximately 600 years of the existence of the Kharataragaccha, sub-division was a regular phenomenon, occurring more than once in a century. It is also notable that in the 88 years between the time that Jinacandrasūri VI assumed the leadership of the *gaccha* (c. 1556) and the rise of the Raṅgavijayakharatarasākhā (in c. 1644, in the reign of Jinarāja II, two pontifical generations after Jinacandra VI), the lineage suffered three *gacchabhedas* (the last itself being subject to further division). I cannot believe that this apparent crisis in identity through the 16th and 17th centuries and the rise of the Dād guru cult at approximately the same time are without some connection.

Finally, the case of the Pippalakakharatarasākhā is of special interest to me and will be fully explored below. Jinavarddhana did not willingly give up the Kharatara pontificate but was, as I have indicated, forced out. His ouster was for a breach of his vow of chastity, according to some Kharatara *paṭṭāvalīs*. However, that did not seem to bother his lay patrons who continued to support his line for many years. Since Jinavarddhana was expelled by the community at Jaisalmer, in Northwest Rajasthan, and his

45. “Occasioned by Harṣanandana, pupil of Samayasundara.”

46. Out of the Raṅgavijaya.

continued activity occurred in the area around Udaipur, in Southeast Rajasthan, I suspect that a strong political element may have been at work in these events.⁴⁷

Throughout its history, the Tapāgaccha also had difficulties within its ranks. As in the Kharataragaccha, regular fissures occurred in the Tapā after its founding by Jagaccandra.⁴⁸ Below, I discuss in detail a number of 17th century splits within the lineage. It is clear that these later disputes had older roots. For the time being I note only some of the strife that occurred within the Tapā in the 1st half of the 16th century (some of which does bear upon later conflicts). In the reign of Hemavimala a number of divisions occurred within the Tapāgaccha; notably, the Pārśvacandragaccha was begun by the monk

47. Similar purges occurred in other lineages and many do seem to have been in the name of reform. The *lekha* of 1242 to which I have referred several times provides for the defrocking of the monks or nuns of any lineage who produce children (Shah, 1955, *op. cit.*). According to a *paṭṭāvalī* of the Upakeśagaccha, Devaguptasūri, the 41st head of the line of the 10th century, was removed from his post because he was too fond of playing the lute; the same document says that Kakkasūri, the 52nd head, in the 12th century expelled a number of Jain monks from the lineage for neglecting their duties, under the advisement of the famous monk Hemacandra and his patron King Kumārapāla Caulukya. See Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 240f.

48. See Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*; 1894, *op. cit.*; Deo, 1954-55, *op. cit.*, pp. 520ff.

Pārśvacandra out of the Nāgapurīyatapāgaṇa.⁴⁹ More importantly, the Vimalagaccha, coming out of the Tapā in the 17th century, traces its roots back to Hemavimala.⁵⁰

Now, the story is told that in the last year of Hemavimala's leadership of the Tapā, his designated successor Ānandavimala looked at the laxity that had corrupted the Tapāgaccha and vowed to reform the lineage. In c. 1526, with the permission of Hemavimala, Ānandavimala took 500 disciples to the village of Vaḍāvali (near Chāṇasmā) and performed the *kriyoddhāra* for the Tapāgaccha and laid down a new rule of monastic discipline.⁵¹ In the following year Ānandavimala assumed the leadership of the Tapāgaccha upon the death of Hemavimala. As I have said, the Vimalagaccha which existed as an independent body from late 17th century, traces its descent through Hemavimala; it

49. This obscure line claims alternative descent from the 12th century head of the Tapāgaccha, Municandra. See Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 254; 1894, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

I must also note in the generations immediately before this, sources say, began a movement that we might consider protestant in many Western senses of the term. In c. 1451 one Loṅka, a copyist affiliated with the Tapāgaccha, realizing that there were no references to idol worship in the Jain canonical texts that he was copying, founded his own Jain sect which proscribed idol worship. In time this sect further divided, deemed by some parties still to be too lax in its practice. Its most notable modern descendants are the Sthānakavāsins. See Jain, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Tapāgaccha *paṭṭāvalīs* note that in c. 1476 the Veṣadharā sect broke from the Loṅka. Then, during the time of Hemavimala, the Vījā sect broke from the Loṅka under the influence of the Veṣadharās. See Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

50. However, this lineage does not appear to have gone its own way until the 2nd quarter of the 17th century. This is the kind of evidence that begs the question of the relationship between various lines of descent within *gacchas*. It seems that a line from Hemavimala existed within the Tapā and existed well within the main body until forces made it necessary to declare its independence.

51. SBM, p. 136. This new rule is also mentioned in an inscription from Śatruṅjaya (*EI* II, p. 51, vss. 10-11).

names not Ānandavimala as successor to Hemavimala, but one Saubhagyaharṣa.⁵² I cannot help but imagine that perhaps Ānandavimala's 'reformation' of the lineage had more to do with eliminating threats to his power within the Tapā and securing his succession to its leadership, than any *śīthilācāra* among the rank and file.

The organization of Śvetāmabara Jainism in the medieval period is clearly complex. The almost innumerable *gacchas*, with their complex connections to various lay castes, clans and families, make the description of the history of medieval Jainism let alone Jain monasticism a daunting task. My purpose in this introduction to the historical development of the medieval *gaccha* system has been to indicate something of the intricacy of the histories of the Kharatara- and Tapāgacchas in particular. I shall now turn my attention to groups of portraits associated with these two lineages which reflect significant periods in those histories.

IV.2. Tapāgaccha Politics and Tapāgaccha Portraits

The earliest portraits associated with the Tapāgaccha do not form a large body of evidence with respect to either the history of portraiture or the history of the Tapāgaccha: I know of only about ten images.⁵³ However, in the light of what I have already said about Tapāgaccha history and what I shall now have to say about it, these ten images teach us much about the functions of Western Indian portraiture. Furthermore,

52. See Klatt, 1894, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

53. See **Table A**.

they are a unique source of evidence for the tumult of events in the 17th century history of the Tapā and Śvetāmbara monasticism in general.

Three of the ten images represent certain successors in the line of Hīravijaya-sūri (d. 1595); the other seven represent Hīravijaya himself. The identities of the monks who consecrated these images is most significant; a number of Tapāgaccha factions are represented. Hence, these images provide a unique window to the intra-*gaccha* history of the Tapā. However to begin, I am interested in the clear emphasis upon the figure of Hīravijaya in this group of portraits, and what this tells us about Tapāgaccha identity in the greater world of Śvetāmbara monasticism. The dateable Hīravijaya portraits were erected between *c.* 1597 and 1616, after Hīravijaya's death; hence, they are all memorials as that term is commonly understood. Whatever the purposes that we might attribute to these images, they must surely take into account the demise of this famous and charismatic monk. Below, I will argue that we can recognize in some of these portraits a number of claims to the legacy of Hīravijaya by competing factions within the Tapāgaccha. But at present, I am interested in the value of Hīravijaya to the whole Tapā in its relations with Mughal authority and the Kharataragaccha.

IV.2.1. The Death and (Apparent) Deification of Hīravijayasūri

Some evidence from the portraits suggest that Hīravijaya was considered to be more than a mere monk in death: in particular, some of the portraits were erected for the merit of the donors, suggesting that the donors imagined that there was a spiritual

benefit to be derived from devotion to the deceased Hīravijaya; such a benefit would presumably result from supernatural powers that Hīravijaya attained by rebirth as a god. Some confirmation of this may be found in the biographies of Hīravijaya which describe several miraculous events that occurred upon the monk's demise. Post-mortem miracles are rare in the biographies of medieval monks, with the exception of the Dādāgurus, other Kharatara monks, and a few others. Hence, Hīravijaya's unusual biography, combined with a substantial number of portraits erected in the years after his death, leads me to believe that a movement got underway within the Tapāgaccha parallel to the Dādāguru cult which coalesced around the same time. However, by contrast to the prominence that the Dādāguru cult assumed in the Kharataragaccha, this movement never became a permanent or popular feature of Tapāgaccha life.

The description of Hīravijaya's death and funeral are conspicuous in a number of biographies. This is unusual, for as I have said it is rare in monks' biographies before this time. As Granoff says about the life story of the Kharatara monk Jinavallabhasūri, according to the 14th century Sanskrit and Prakrit biographies of him,

The account ends with his death, which is treated very matter of factly. Indeed there is little indication in any of the medieval biographies that the remains of the dead monk were worshipped or that there was a cult of any importance at the *stūpa*; these biographies are not interested in depicting the monks as continuing objects of lay veneration. Few texts mention after-death miracles, and the biographies seem to be almost totally directed to glorifying the active service to the Faith that the monk performed during his lifetime and that was continued by his successors in the lineage.⁵⁴

54. Granoff, "Biographical Writing Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jains in Western India," 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 150f.

Granoff then points out that the case of Hīravijaya is an exception. Obviously, the development of the idea of the Dādāgurus indicates a change in emphasis in monastic biography from the earlier material discussed by Granoff.

Various accounts tell that during the rainy season of 1595 Hīravijaya fell ill at the village of Unā and in September he died. The community of lay people from the area sponsored a large and lavish funeral for the monk. In certain biographies, a number of miracles accompany Hīravijaya's death and funeral. According to the *Hīrasaubhagyamahākāvya*, Hīravijaya appeared to Akbar on the night that he died, looking just as he did in life, and telling the Emperor that he had gone to heaven.⁵⁵ Most sources agree that a certain Nāgara Vania, staying nearby the cremation place the night of the funeral, witnessed the gods singing and dancing on the spot where Hīravijaya was burnt.⁵⁶ The Vania reported what he saw to the community the next day, at which time many people also saw that the mango trees in the cremation ground all bore ripe fruit, though it was not their season and several were thought to be otherwise barren. Some of the mangoes were sent to various communities and even to Emperor Akbar.

In light of these miraculous occurrences and/or because of the monk's charisma while he lived, the community decided to erect a *stūpa* on the spot where

55. 17.186. See Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 200; "Biographical Writing Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jains in Western India," 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 151n.

56. *Hīrasaubhagyamahākāvya* 17.187; Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*; "Biographical Writing Amongst the Śvetāmbara Jains in Western India," 1994, *op. cit.*; Muniraj Vidyavijayaji, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Hīravijaya was cremated (and where miracles occurred), and which still exists today.⁵⁷ It was built in the year following Hīravijaya's death by the laywoman Lāḍakī, wife of Megha, and her family, according to its inscription, and was accompanied by a plaque of Hīravijaya's footprints. Vijayasena, the designated successor to Hīravijaya, performed the consecration. The *Hīrasaubhagamahākāvya* knows of this *stūpa* and says that it "fulfills every desire of the worshiper."⁵⁸ According to the *BCGC*, the *stūpa* "looked just like one of the aerial cars of the gods."⁵⁹ Furthermore, this text reports that Bhānucandra got Akbar to donate the land upon which Hīravijaya was cremated for the building and maintenance of the *stūpa*. That this *stūpa* was created at least in part for political reasons is suggested by the fact that a good portion of the *stūpa* inscription is taken up with a description of the concessions Hīravijaya himself secured from Akbar: for the sake of the monk, Akbar proscribed the killing of animals on various occasions, and eliminated the tax on pilgrims to Śatruñjaya among other things.⁶⁰

57. The inscription from the Hīravijaya *stūpa* at Unā (*Jl* 980) says that the monk starved himself to death at Unā and attained *nirvāṇa* (see Commissariat, *op. cit.*). Furthermore, in the *BCGC* (IV.93ff.) the Emperor Akbar asks Bhānucandra "in which village did Śri Hīrasūri attain divinity?" Bhānucandra replies, that the *nirvāṇa* of the monk occurred at Unā. However, the biographies referring to the monk's post-mortem appearances and the miracles attendant upon his death, if they imagine that Hīravijaya 'attained *nirvāṇa*', cannot imagine that the monk joined the Jinas and the Siddhas, but simply became a god. This accords with the doctrine, generally accepted from medieval times, that no one is able to attain (final) liberation in this decadent age.

58. 17.196; Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

59. IV.101.

60. Another *padukā* of Hīravijaya was set up at Śatruñjaya shortly after that at Unā by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatīrtha and consecrated by Vijayasena. Its inscription also mentions the concessions secured by Hīravijaya from Akbar (*IK* 108).

If the Tapāgaccha did not actually attempt to copy the Kharatara's sense of devotion to their deceased monks (which ultimately became an organized Kharatara cult), then they at least adopted in general changing ideas about the Jain monk and his post-mortem status. Not only was Hīravijaya honoured virtually as a god at Unā, but several of his successors were also apparently so honoured. According to Tapāgaccha *pattāvalīs*, Vijayadeva, controversial successor to Vijayasena, died at Unā like Hīravijaya.⁶¹ Muni Ratna-Prabha Vijaya, himself a Tapāgaccha monk, says that the footprints of Vijayadeva and other monks of the line (and of course Hīravijaya) have also been set up at Unā, and he also says that Vijayaprabha (who succeeded Vijayadeva and apparently in controversy) died at Unā as well.⁶² M.S. Commissariat says that the place of Hīravijaya's shrine is now called Shah Bagh; it is a garden containing a Jain temple with the Hīravijaya shrine in a group of seven to the west of the temple.⁶³

It is not unusual to find medieval Indian cremation grounds today turned into gardens, but it is worth bearing in mind that every place where the Kharatara's Dādāgurus are worshiped is called a Dādābāṛī, "garden of the Dādā."⁶⁴ According to Ratna-Prabha, the Governor of Bihar, out of respect to Vijayadeva, erected a pillar in honour of Hīra-

61. *PS I*, p. 104; Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

62. *SBM*, p. 173; 183.

63. I have had difficulty in finding any information on the archaeological remains at Unā and hence I do not know to whom these other six shrines are dedicated; perhaps they are dedicated to Vijayadeva and others who, Ratna-Prabha says, have their footprints at Unā.

64. See Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

vijaya outside Patna accompanied by a substantial land grant; today the place of this pillar is called the “Dādābādī.”⁶⁵

The material above offers a number of parallels between the post-mortem veneration of Tapā and Kharatara monks from the 17th century. It is on this basis that I imagine that the Tapā portraits were meant to convey ideas about deceased monks similar to ideas that began to be applied to Kharatara monks from at least as early as this time. That deceased Tapā monks were worshiped (as gods) in image form is suggested by the fact that some of their portraits were erected for the merit of the donors, just as images of the Jinas or the Jain gods were erected for the merit their donors.⁶⁶ Between c. 1605 and 1608, one Prāgvāta family donated images of Hīravijaya, Vijayasena and Vijayadeva at Radhanpur for its own merit (*svasreyortham*).⁶⁷ The first was consecrated by Vijayasena, the second by Vijayadeva and the last “by well-versed monks” (*gītārthaiḥ*). Vijayasena and Vijayadeva were alive at the time that these images of them were erected; the fact that the images were erected for the merit of the donors might suggest that these monks were treated as living gods, but I think it more likely that as the heirs to Hīravijaya, they participated in his post-mortem powers in some way. Below I shall show that this is a conception governing the relationship between living and deceased Kharatara monks.

65. *SBM*, pp. 170f. On the pattern of this donation (and something like Akbar’s donation for Hīravijaya’s *stūpa* at Unā) Somaji Shah donated a column at Akbarpur honouring Vijayasena to which Jahangir donated a parcel of land (*ibid.*, p. 168).

66. Earlier references to the merit from portraits accruing to the donors do occur (1295; 1325; 1462; 1480), but as I have said, it is notable that all of these cases are from portraits of Kharatara monks (*JDPL* I 734; *PLS* 56; *Nākoḍā* 32; *Ji* 2153).

67. *PJLS* II 511-13.

Another image of Hīravijaya was erected in 1615 and the merit from it was transferred to the sons and grandsons of the donor.⁶⁸ I believe that this image was also meant to proclaim the divinity of Hīravijaya, but for reasons that had more to do with the ‘domestic politics’ of the Tapāgaccha; it was consecrated by Vijayatilaka, rival to Vijayadeva for the *gaccha*’s leadership, a fact to which I shall return below.

Regardless of the narrower context for this or any other Tapā portrait, I believe that the combined evidence of the biographies and the portraits illustrate a new conception of the Jain monk from Mughal times, one that finds full realization in the Kharataragaccha and its Dādāgurus. The monk, whose shaman-like qualities were proclaimed even in the earliest medieval biographies, was potentially an object of worship not merely because of the status afforded to him in the *namaskāra*mantra, not simply by his monkhood, but as one of the special dead like so many other figures in Indian (Jain and non-Jain) popular culture. This could be very useful for all Jain monastic groups in need of legitimacy, and especially particular lineages in conflict with other monastic groups. The Tapā material appears to fit neatly into the context of the line’s ongoing conflict with the Kharatara in the Mughal period and is related in some way to the evolution of the Dādāguru cult.

68. Abu V 254.

IV.2.2. Portraiture and the Tapāgaccha's Internal Strife

It is difficult to separate fact from sectarian fiction with respect to Tapāgaccha history in the decades after the demise of Hīravijaya. However, the available evidence does serve to outline the issues (bearing upon authority) and the lineups of the sides involved. As I said earlier, some of sectarian divisions within the Tapā appear to have earlier roots, but it was not until the early 17th century that several conflicts began to come to a head. Sometime shortly after the death of Vijayasenasūri, successor to Hīravijaya, the Tapāgaccha was divided into at least five major *gacchas* or *śākhās*. It is sometimes difficult to determine the exact relationship between these lines, which became (almost) distinct *gacchas* and which formed into various alliances; however, intense conflicts between certain lineages are quite apparent.

The intensification of the legacy of Hīravijaya that occurred in this period, as attested in the biographies, must have been in part a result of this internal strife, which itself must have been in part the result of the void created in the Tapā by the demise of the line's most charismatic figure. I believe that the same forces motivated (at least in part) the Tapā portraits, such as the Hīravijaya-Vijayasena-Vijayadeva group described above, as well as the other Hīravijaya portraits which, as I shall now show, are clearly associated with various Tapā sub-branches.

All sources agree that Vijayasena succeeded Hīravijaya. But upon Vijayasena's death in c. 1615, separate lineages developed from Vijayasena's two disciples Vijayadeva and Vijayatilaka. The successors of Vijayadeva named their lineage the

Devasūrigaccha, after Vijayadeva; the name of the line from Vijayatilaka, the Ānandasūrigaccha,⁶⁹ comes from Vijayānandasūri, successor to Vijayatilaka. For the sake of what is to follow, I must also point out that, according to Ānandasūrigaccha sources, the Sāgaramatam formed the 3rd of the five post-Hīravijaya branches of the Tapāgaccha during the time of Vijayatilaka.⁷⁰ This line is best known for its acerbic leader Dharmasāgara, a contemporary of Hīravijaya, and author of several polemical works including the *Pravacanaparīkṣā*,⁷¹ a vehement attack upon other lineages particularly the Kharatara-gaccha.⁷² This work was a point of contention between factions within the Tapāgaccha as I discuss below. Hīravijaya himself appears to have attempted to curtail the activities of Dharmasāgara, for he ordered him to revise his *Gurvāvalī*, a *paṭṭāvalī* of the Tapā;⁷³ and later literature claims that the *Pravacanaparīkṣā* was also proscribed. The generations of the Sāgara branch are as follows:

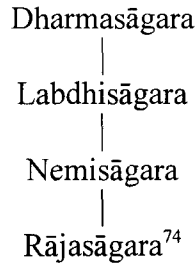
69. Also known as the Porvādagaccha (Klatt, 1894, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

70. *Ibid.*

71. Also known as the *Kupakṣakausīkāditya*, “The Sun to the Owlsh Heretics.”

72. See Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*

73. See Klatt, 1894, *op. cit.*, p. 179. The original text and its revised version do exist.



The relationships between the Devasūri, Ānandasūri and Sāgara lineages, I hope to make clear, are of the utmost significance for a number of Tapā portraits. Different sources paint very different pictures about the Vijayadeva-Vijayatilaka era of Tapāgaccha history. On the one hand, accounts favouring Vijayadeva report that the monk so impressed the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr by his austerities that the Emperor gave him the title Jahāngīrmahātapā,⁷⁵ and that Jahāngīr acknowledged Vijayadeva as the true leader of the Tapāgaccha.⁷⁶

On the other hand, sources associated with Vijayatilaka tell a much different story with respect to the favour of Jahāngīr.⁷⁷ At this time, the stories go, a number of quarrels broke out between the camp of Vijayadeva (allied with the Sāgara group) and the camp of Vijayatilaka (allied with Bhānucandra and his followers) having much to do with Dharmasāgara's *Pravacanaparīkṣā*. Vijayadeva apparently relaxed the censure which

74. He was the younger brother of Nemisāgara and it was under him, according to Jain (1963, *op. cit.*, p. 61) and Ratna-Prabha (*op. cit.*, p. 175), that the line actually became independent, in 1629, not 1616 as Ānandasūrigaccha sources say.

75. This title repeated in many inscriptions associated with Vijayadeva. See *Jl* 854 for example. This imperial honour is reminiscent of the honour bestowed upon Hīravijaya by Akbar, when the monk was given the title "Guru to the World."

76. See *BCGC*, introduction, pp. 20f.; 64.

77. See *ibid.*, pp. 62ff. and sources cited there.

had been previously imposed upon the Sāgaramatam for its strong criticism of other monks.⁷⁸ For their part, the Sāgara monks were allegedly harassing the followers of Vijayatilaka at this time, particularly in the town of Burhānpur. A disciple brought this to the attention of Bhānucandra, who sent word to his disciple Siddhicandra at the court of Jahāngīr. At the behest of Siddhicandra, Jahāngīr ordered his son Khuram Sultan, who was chief of the army garrisoned at Burhānpur, to restore the peace. Furthermore, Jahāngīr summoned Vijayadeva and Vijayatilaka to court in order to end the conflict once and for all. They came to court in the company of Nemisāgara and Bhānucandra respectively. Bhānucandra argued that the censure against the Sāgaramatam, imposed by no less than Hīravijaya, had to be enforced, while the other side argued that the work in question was in perfect consonance with the scriptures and should not be censured. Jahāngīr sided with Vijayadeva and Bhānucandra in this account, reasoning that if the doctrines and texts promoted by the other side were proscribed by former *ācāryas*, then such judgements must be respected. Bhānucandra asserted that Vijayatilaka was the true head of the lineage and Jahāngīr concurred.

I have no way to judge the veracity of the claims made in the texts of any of the groups in question. However, the evidence shows that a number of groups were anxious to claim the legacy of Hīravijaya and that they were anxious to be perceived as possessing the endorsement of the Mughal authorities, at least within Tapāgaccha circles. The evidence also makes it apparent that the conflicts between these Tapāgaccha sub-

78. Represented, seemingly, by Hīravijaya's demand that Dharmasāgara revise his *pattāvalī*.

groups were particularly bitter (regardless of what events actually transpired). Bearing the above evidence in mind, an added significance is now apparent in the portraits which are in some way associated with either the Devasūri, Ānandasūri or the Sāgara groups.

In the first place, I have already made mention of the portraits of Hīravijaya, Vijayasena and Vijayadeva which were donated by one Prāgvāṭa family at Radhanpur c. 1606-8, the first consecrated by Vijayasena, the second by Vijayadeva (and the third representing Vijayadeva). Although I believe that these were somewhat more valuable to the whole Tapāgaccha in the context of its jockeying for influence in greater Śvetāmbara circles, we might also imagine that they served to further the interests of the allies of Vijayadeva in the face of its own troubles within the Tapāgaccha.

Other images though, are difficult to view in any other context than the intra-gaccha politics of the Tapā. Ten years before the death of Vijayasena (c. 1604) Labdhisāgara, the disciple of Dharmasāgara, consecrated an image of Hīravijaya at Mt. Abu on behalf of an Upakeśa family. We already know that Hīravijaya himself tried to gag Dharmasāgara; the latter, for his part, wanted the approval of Hīravijaya as evidenced by the fact that another name for the *Pravacanaparīkṣā* is the *Śrīhīrasūrīya*.⁷⁹ As we have seen, the fortunes of the Sāgara group improved with the succession of Vijayadeva, at least according to Ānandasūrigaccha sources. The portrait of Hīravijaya consecrated by Labdhisāgara might represent part of the Sāgaramata's efforts to fight its way from anathema to endorsed sect within mainstream Tapāgaccha monasticism.

79. Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 259n.

Vijayatilaka consecrated a portrait of Hīravijaya at Sirohi on behalf of its Prāgvāta donors and this image surely bore some relationship to Vijayatilaka's troubles with Vijayadeva and his followers, or to his desire to be the true successor to Vijayasena. For it can be no coincidence that the image in question was set up in 1615 just over a month before Vijayasena died!⁸⁰ Furthermore, the portrait inscription describes Vijayatilaka as the successor to Vijayasena (*paṭṭadhāri*⁸¹), a claim that we know was rejected by the Devasūrigaccha, the main branch of the Tapāgaccha.

To sum up, it is apparent that the legacy of Hīravijaya was a valuable currency in the early 17th century within the broader politics of Śvetāmbara monasticism, but perhaps more so amongst competing factions within the Tapāgaccha itself. The unusual conclusion to Hīravijaya's biography indicates first, the significance of Hīravijaya to Tapāgaccha aspirations, and second, a new vision of Jain monasticism which was completed by the Dādāguru cult. The Tapāgaccha (as a whole) encouraged the virtual deification of Hīravijaya in order to compete with other groups, particularly the Kharataragaccha; the assertions of Mughal support in sectarian sources for the enterprises of both groups suggest the broadest historical forces behind the sanctification of Hīravijaya and the Dādāgurus. At the same time, the various Tapā attempts to canonize

80. The image was erected V.S. 1671 Vaiśākha śuklapakṣa 3 (*i.e. akṣaya tṛtīya*) and Vijayasena died V.S. 1671 Jyaiṣṭha vadipakṣa 11. See Abu V 254; Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

81. I note that this is the only case where a successor is designated by this term. In inscriptions, lineal succession is usually designated by the term “disciple” (*śiṣya*) or the expression “in the line of” (*paṭṭe* or *saṃtāne*). Occasionally, a designated successor is called “heir-apparent” (*yuvarāja*); in particular, this term is applied to Vijayasimha, as successor to Vijayadeva, whom I discuss below.

Hīravijaya appear to have been motivated by narrower sectarian interests; the quasi-deification of Hīravijaya went hand in hand with the attempts to appropriate it by sub-groups within the Tapā.

Textual sources advance competing claims to this legacy in no uncertain terms, but more subtle versions of some of these claims are apparent in a number of portraits as well. It is difficult to ignore the context of the relationships between the Sāgara, Vijayadeva and Vijayatilaka factions in the consideration of the portraits associated with each of them. The Hīravijaya-Vijayasena-Vijayadeva group of portraits from Radhanpur might have been an assertion of the authority of this particular line over all Tapā monks, but this is not certain given Vijayasena's participation in the installation of at least the first image; similarly there is no apparent sub-sectarian agenda apparent in the other portraits of Hīravijaya consecrated by Vijayasena. However, it is hard to imagine that Labdhisāgara's narrower interests did not in any way inform his consecration of a Hīravijaya portrait. Vijayatilaka's consecration of a portrait of Hīravijaya undoubtedly bore some relation to Vijayatilaka's own agenda, for, as we have seen, the portrait record includes the claim that Vijayatilaka was Vijayasena's (legitimate) successor (*pattadhāri*).

I must draw attention to the fact that all of the Tapāgaccha portraits were actually sponsored by lay people; I have to believe that the lay sponsors of these portraits were cognizant of the political implications of these particular acts of patronage and gave at the very least their tacit support. This is an important point particularly for the next section about the monk Jinavarddhanasūri: in the evidence for the history of his lineage

from the time he was cast out of the Kharataragaccha, it is clear that the survival of this sub-branch was dependent upon the support of an important lay family.

IV.2.3. Postscript: Vijayasimha and the Vijayaśākhā of the Tapāgaccha

I would be remiss if I did not discuss the portrait of Vijayasimha (c. 1670), disciple of Vijayadeva, and the other evidence associated with him. Vijayasimha was supposed to succeed Vijayadeva, however he died before Vijayadeva. The portrait of Vijayasimha, as well as a *padukā* dedicated to him, are some of the most important historical data about this monk. Yet, there is little about this evidence to suggest that it bore any relationship to any irregularity of succession to Vijayadeva. But, the story of Vijayasimha illustrates yet one more of the vicissitudes in the history of the Tapāgaccha.

Vijayadeva, whom Vijayasimha was supposed to succeed, is the same monk whose conflict with the side of Vijayatilaka was described above. Inscriptional evidence indicates that Vijayasimha was the acknowledged heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) to Vijayadeva from at least as early as 1650.⁸² However, as we are informed by the *pattāvalīs* of the line of Vijayadeva, Vijayasimha died in c. 1653.⁸³ Vijayadeva died in c. 1657 and was then succeeded by Vijayaprabha.⁸⁴ Vijayasimha's own chief disciple Satyavijayagaṇi, for his

82. SSG 28. As I have said, the term *yuvarāja* is only occasionally used in Jain inscriptions.

83. Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

84. *Ibid.*

part, went on to form his own lineage. But not surprisingly, there appears to be much variety in the way that these events are remembered.

According to documents available to Hoernle,⁸⁵ when Vijayadeva died, Satyavijayagaṇi claimed the succession to Vijayadeva because his *guru*, Vijayasimha, was Vijayadeva's named successor: if Vijayasimha had not died he would have become head of the *gaccha* and then in time Satyavijaya would have succeeded him. However, members of the Tapāgaccha rejected the claim and appointed Vijayaprabha to the seat of Vijayadeva. Satyavijaya then went his own way, founding the Vijayaśākhā⁸⁶ of the Tapāgaccha. Ratna-Prabha provides other information on these events. Although Ratna-Prabha cites no original sources, this material is worth mentioning. First, Ratna-Prabha provides an account which must belong to the side of Vijayaprabha: it is said that when Vijayasimha died, the Presiding Deity of the Faith came to Vijayadeva to say that when the time was right he would return and name another successor. When Vijayadeva's death approached, the deity returned and told the monk that Vijayaprabha was to succeed him.⁸⁷ Ratna-Prabha offers another account that appears to represent the lineage history of the Vijayaśākhā, for this story says that upon the death of Vijayadeva, Satyavijaya was actually offered the leadership of the Tapāgaccha, but he refused it. Ratna-Prabha goes

85. 1890, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

86. Also known as the Saṃvegīgaccha.

87. *SBM*, pp. 181f. We have already seen a number of other similar cases of supernatural sanction, particularly for a monk's succession to the leadership of a lineage; here, we may imagine that such a justification was necessary because of the challenge offered by Vijayasimha's disciple Satyavijaya.

on to say that in the lifetime of Vijayasimha, Satyavijaya beheld the laxity prevailing among Jain monks and vowed to reform the community. With the permission of his teacher Vijayasimha, Satyavijaya traveled the land with a number of disciples and preached a reformed doctrine. Ratna-Prabha mentions that a unique lineage followed from Satyavijaya, under the name the Samvegigaccha, but he does not suggest that it separated from the Tapā as Hoernle does; yet, I am tempted to conclude that, in fact, Satyavijaya's fame as a reformer is related to his alienation from mainstream Tapā circles.

I cannot claim that the one known portrait of Vijayasimha bears any relation to the circumstances surrounding the succession to Vijayadeva, since the image is undated and there is no consecrator indicated in the inscription, but it is worth considering. I must add one more piece of evidence here that could only bear an indirect relationship to the Vijayaśākhā, but it is important to what we know about the relationship between the Vijayadeva and Vijayatilaka camps. There is the *padukā* dedicated to Vijayasimha which was consecrated shortly after his death. The consecrator was Vivekacandra, disciple of Bhānucandra.⁸⁸ Curiously, the consecration was made at the request of Vijayadeva. The textual evidence outlined above informs us that Bhānucandra and his followers sided with Vijayatilaka against Vijayadeva, so it is difficult to explain why Vijayadeva would ask Vivekacandra to perform the consecration for his disciple's footprints.

88. The patrons were members of an Oswal family of Patan. *PJLS* II 514.

The evidence of the Tapā portraits is further indication of the complex religious world that informed Western Indian portraiture. The fact that some of the images in this group were erected for the donors' merit, just as images of the Jinas and the gods always are, indicates that these, and perhaps other (non-Kharatara) portraits, were true objects of worship. The confusion this might cause us with respect to 'the meaning of the portrait', in light of the evidence I have presented demonstrating that some portraits –even monks' portraits–were erected for the merit of their subjects, is tempered by the probability that the portrait as object of worship was the result of an evolution over time.

In this discussion of the history of the Tapāgaccha and early portraits associated with it, and in the discussions of the history of the Kharataragaccha and its portraiture to follow, I am seeking to demonstrate that the conception of the Jain monk and his post-mortem fate underwent a change especially within these two lineages: while earlier monks were thought to have simply "gone to heaven" (*i.e.* died), some later monks went to heaven *and* became gods with the power to perform miracles for devotees; although this is merely hinted at in the case of Hīravijaya, it is part and parcel of the identity of the deceased Kharatara monks known as the Dādāgurus.

I have attempted to identify the historical circumstances with respect to the Tapāgaccha that prompted the elevated sanctity of Hīravijaya; much of the remaining discussion will be devoted to identifying the historical circumstances that prompted the

deification of the Dādāgurus. But first, I pause to consider the place of portraiture in the creation and maintenance of a 15th century sub-sect of the Kharataragaccha stemming from the monk Jinavarddhanasūri.

IV.3. Jinavarddhanasūri and the Intra-gaccha Politics of the Portrait

The evidence of the Tapāgaccha's internal tensions which I have just discussed shows that some Jain monastic lineages were complicated and very worldly organizations just like any other social group we could imagine. Above I also mentioned that there is evidence of similar tensions within the Kharataragaccha as well; many of the lineage divisions (*gacchabhedas*) which are recorded in Kharatara documents are obscure or otherwise unknown in the historical record. However, the case of the Pippalakakharataraśākhā, founded in 1419 by Jinavarddhanasūri, who was removed from the leadership of the Kharatara, is a little better known. Some Kharatara *paṭṭāvalīs* describe the breakup in some detail and there are a number of inscriptions and other pieces of evidence which document a few generations in Jinavarddhanasūri's independent line. Notably, five portraits from the town of Delwada near Udaipur testify to Jinavarddhanasūri's activities there as well as to the activities of his successors Jinacandra and Jinasāgara.

I begin with a translation of an account of Jinavarddhanasūri's removal as the head of the main branch of the Kharatara.⁸⁹ I will then briefly comment on the account,

89. From *KGPS*, p. 32.

consider some of the other evidence for the sub-branch under Jinavarddhana, and then remark on the significance of the portraits associated with this group.

55. The 55th in the line of Jinodayasūri was Jinarājasūri. He was elevated to the head of the lineage with the Festival of Installation sponsored by Sāha Dharāṇa in the city of Patan on the 6th day of the dark half of Phālguna V.S. 1432. He memorized works on Nyāya consisting of 125,000 (*sūtras*). He ordained Svarnaprabhācārya, Bhuvanaratnācārya and Sāgaracandrācārya. The Guru went to heaven in the city of Devalavāḍa in V.S. 1461.

56. The 56th in his line was Jinabhadrasūri. The story goes as follows—Jinavarddhanasūri had originally been anointed as successor to Jinarājasūri by Sāgaracandrācārya. Once, when he was in the temple of Cintāmaṇipārśvadeva in the fortress of Jaisalmer, he noticed the image of the Kṣetrapāla installed next to the main temple image. Having thought to himself, “it is not proper for the Lord and the servant to be in the same place,” he uprooted the image of the Kṣetrapāla and placed it at the temple entrance. The Kṣetrapāla got angry and decided to show everyone how the Guru breached his vow of chastity everywhere he went. One time the Guru went to Citrakūṭa and continued with his bad conduct; the Kṣetrapāla then made it known that the monk had broken his fourth vow.⁹⁰ When all the lay people learned of the breach of the vow of chastity, they said, “this one is not fit for the leadership of the lineage.” In the meantime, Jinavarddhanasūri, obviously possessed by some malignant spirit, went to the village of Pippalaka with a number of disciples. Following that, the community of monks under Sāgaracandrācārya decided that a new Ācārya had to be appointed for the sake of maintaining the *gaccha*. Having worshiped a new Kṣetrapāla, they sent him to every place and had him bring back a written proclamation from the whole Kharataragaccha to the effect, “we will do whatever you say.” Then, all the monks gathered together and went to the village of Bhāṇasola. There, Jinarājasūri had kept one disciple under the protection of Vācaka Śīlacandragāṇi who was to educate him. He possessed the wealth of knowledge of the whole doctrine due to his studies, he was born in the Bhaṇasālika *gotra* and his name by birth was Bhāḍau. He had taken initiation in V.S. 1461. Now he was 25 years old. Having deemed him fit for office, and having brought together seven things containing the sound “bha,” Sāgaracandrācārya anointed him as Sūri at an auspicious festival costing 125,000 Rūpakas paid by Shah Nālhā of the Bhaṇasālika *gotra*. These seven things containing the sound “bha” were 1 the ceremony took place in the city of Bhāṇasola, 2 the candidate was born in the Bhaṇasālika *gotra*, 3 the candidate was given the name of Bhāḍau at birth, 4 the ceremony took place in the Bhaṇasālika *nakṣatra*, 5 the ceremony took place during the Bhadrā Karāṇa, 6 the purpose of the ceremony was to ordain the candidate as the Bhaṭṭāraka of the lineage, and 7 the candidate’s ordination name was

90. Another very brief account says that (at Jaisalmer) the Kṣetrapāla seduced the monk in the guise of a woman and also approached the monk similarly disguised at Citrakūṭa (*KGPS*, p. 55).

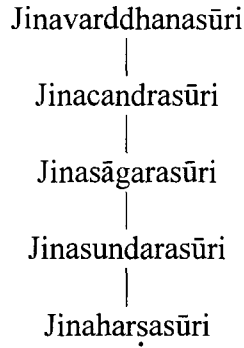
Jinabhadrasūri. He performed such duties as consecrating images and temples at places like Abu, Girnar and Jaisalmer, and he conferred the title of Ācārya upon Bhāvaprabha and Kīrtiratna. Jinabhadrasūri established two libraries for books at appropriate places. He obtained heaven in Kumbhalmeru on the 9th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa in V.S. 1514. In opposition to him, the Pippalakakharataraśākhā under Jinavarddhanasūri went its own way in V.S. 1514. This was the 5th *gacchabheda*.

It hardly seems necessary to cast doubt upon the veracity of this story, while at the same time, whether or not Jinavarddhana broke his vow of chastity is beside the point for my purposes. The fact that Jinavarddhana's line continued after these 'events' with strong lay support indicates that some in the Kharatara community did not heed such a condemnation. Therefore, I have to believe that this account testifies more to a political rift between two or more factions within the community than the peccadilloes of one monk.

This is one of the strangest 'biographies' of a monk I have encountered. It is quite a coincidence that a suitable candidate to replace Jinavarddhana existed in the form of another disciple of Jinarāja who took ordination in the year that Jinarāja died and was able to fulfill the need for regular guru-disciple succession. Be that as it may, the element of the supernatural witness to Jinavarddhana's sin reminds me of stories like that about Jinadatta receiving the title Yugapradhāna from the goddess Ambikā, which I mentioned earlier. Except that in this case, the deity is used to condemn a monk rather than promote his mission. Furthermore, the monk is caught breaking his fourth vow, his vow of chastity, not his vows to commit no violence, to be truthful, not to steal or to remain propertyless, *etc.* A (purported) breach of the vow of chastity on the part of a monk must

have evoked the greatest disapprobation in the community, since no principle is more definitive of monasticism than sexual abstinence.

The historical evidence we have for Jinavarddhana's Pippalakakharatarasākhā dates to just before his troubles and extends through several generations of disciples. The lineage, claiming original descent from Jinarājasūri, is as follows:



Inscriptions associated with these monks date from 1413 to 1538; thus, the line survived for at least a century after Jinavarddhana broke with the parent line.⁹¹

The alienation suffered by Jinavarddhana appears to have been limited to specific quarters, particularly in the region around Jaisalmer. Otherwise, there is evidence of ties between a number of lay families and Jinavarddhana and his followers. For example, at the request of Jinavarddhana himself, two brothers from a Mīṭhaḍīya family

91. Several 18th and 19th century records from Śatruñjaya refer to monks belonging to a Pippalīya branch of the Kharatara (*EI* II, pp. 37ff.). However, I can find no evidence that any of these monks is actually in the same line that began with Jinavarddhana and was continued by his immediate successors.

built a *deharī* at Jīrāvalā in 1430;⁹² and later, monks of the Pippalaka branch performed consecrations all over North India.⁹³

At the same time, Jinavarddhana's successor Jinacandra consecrated images for a Śrīmalla family in 1432 and for an Upakeśa family in 1441.⁹⁴ These records are notable for they come from Jaisalmer. In the records Jinacandra is said to be "in the line of Jinarāja" (*śrījīnarājasūripaṭṭe*) with no mention being made of Jinavarddhana.

Although the *paṭṭāvalī* account does not specify where exactly the decision was made to remove Jinavarddhana, Jinacandra's records suggest that the decision was actually made by the community in Jaisalmer. This is also supported by the fact that the *praśasti* for the Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha at Jaisalmer of 1417 indicates that Jinavarddhana consecrated the temple, but the *praśasti* for the Sambhavanātha temple at Jaisalmer of 1441, which refers to the consecration of the Pārśva temple, does not mention Jinavarddhana's part in the ritual.⁹⁵

Geography may have played a part in Jinavarddhana's break with the main line, for the real key to the continuation of this sub-branch was its association with an Upakeśa family of the Navalakṣaśākhā from the town of Devakulapāṭaka (modern

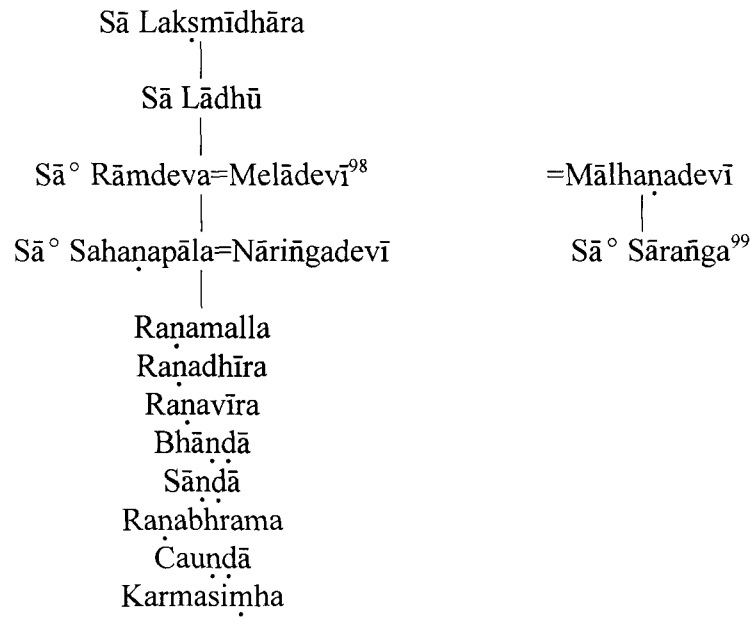
92. Abu V 151.

93. See the records from Rajagriha recording consecrations by Śubhaśīlagani at the request of Jinasāgara (*Ji* 171, 239, 256) and from Śatruñjaya (*SSG* 254) for example.

94. *Ji* 2303, 2181.

95. *Ji* 2112. Somani, Ram Vallabh, Jain Inscriptions of Rajasthan, Jaipur: Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, 1982, pp. 176f.

Delwada)⁹⁶ near Udaipur in southeast Rajasthan. A number of records (including those for the portraits) testify to the long association between this family and Jinavarddhana, Jinacandra and Jinasāgara. This was no ordinary lay Jain family, but a family of ministers to the Guhila rulers of Mewar. The pedigree of the family for my purposes is as follows:⁹⁷



The first reference we have to this family comes from a formal invitation (*vijñaptilekha*) of 1374-75 from the Mewari lay community to the Kharatara monk Jinodaya¹⁰⁰ to attend

96. This must be the same as Devalavāḍa where Jinarāja died according to the *KGPS*.

97. See *Ji* 1958; *PLS* 163; Bhavnagar Inscriptions, pp. 112f.; *JPPS* §394.

98. Rāmadeva and Melādevī also had a daughter named Khīmai who was married to the merchant Viśala of Idar (Gujarat).

99. Sāraṅga was married to Himadevī and Lakhmadevī, though there is no evidence about any offspring.

100. The guru to Jinarāja, guru to Jinavarddhana.

the consecration of a temple at Kareda; the record refers to Rāmadeva and is otherwise notable because it was written by the monk Merunandanopādhyāya, the subject of a portrait later donated by Rāmadeva's wife. Other records mentioning the family trace its history up to 1453. Rāmadeva served as the chief royal minister of the kings Kheta, Lakha and Mokala;¹⁰¹ upon Rāmadeva's death, Sahaṇapāla assumed the chief ministership and served under Mokala and Kumbhakarṇa.¹⁰² The association between Jinavardhana's line and this family is traceable back as far as 1413, eight years after Jinavardhana assumed the leadership of the Kharatara and six years before the break with the main line of the Kharatara, and continued for almost 30 more years.

The connection between the family of Rāmadeva and the line of Jinavardhana clearly has much to do with geography. The ties between Jinavardhana's lineage and Delwada begin with Jinarāja, who died there in 1405. Delwada remained the focus of Pippalaka influence, for Jinavardhana and successors performed numerous consecrations there for other families as well as for Rāmadeva and his family. Few locales are further apart in the Kharatara world than Jaislamer in northwest Rajasthan and Delwada in southeast Rajasthan. The *gacchabheda* may have been a function of simple distance, but perhaps the intimacy between Jinavardhana and the Mewari court destabilized his

101. The *Somasaubhāgyamahākāvya* says that King Lakha sent his son and Rāmadeva to meet Somasaubhāgya when he visited Mewar in 1394 (vss. 104-7). See also Somani, Ram Vallabh, *Maharaja Kumbha and His Times (A Glorious Hindu King)*, Jaipur: Jaipur Publishing House, 1995, pp. 223.

102. A manuscript of an *Ādināthastavana* refers to Sahaṇa as the minister to King Mokala of Citrakūṭa (Somani, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 223) and the colophon of a manuscript of the *Āvaśyakabrhadvṛtti* sponsored by Sahaṇa and sons refers to Sahaṇa as Chief Minister (Rājamantrīdhurādhaureya) in the reign of Kumbhakarṇa (*JPPS* §394).

standing within the community, which appears to have been centred at Jaisalmer, within the fort that served as the capital of the local kingdom; perhaps the politics of the Kharatara community turned upon the secular politics of Rajasthan.

In any event, the case of the monk Kīrtiratna, whom I discussed in part III, provides some suggestive evidence with respect to the place of geography in creation of this rift in the Kharatara. As I have said, Jinavarddhana became an anathema in Jaisalmer, where every effort was made to obliterate his name from lineage roles, yet he remained an important monk in Mewar. Kīrtiratna was initiated by Jinavarddhana in 1380 and raised to the rank of Vācanācārya by the same monk in 1424; however, he was made an Upādhyāya in 1434 and an Ācārya in 1451 at the hand of Jinabhadra, Jinavarddhana's replacement. All this information comes from the *praśasti* of the *stūpa* of Kīrtiratna erected in Nākoḍā in 1469: no effort was made by the makers of the *stūpa* and its inscription to hide the association between Kīrtiratna and Jinavarddhana, even though it is apparent that Kīrtiratna sided with the main branch in the *gacchabheda*. Coincidentally, Nākoḍā is virtually equidistant from Jaisalmer and Delwada, suggesting that the divide between the two monastic groups cut right through the middle of Rajasthan.

IV.3.1. The Delwada Portraits

I cannot argue with real conviction that the portraits associated with Jinavarddhanasūri and his successors directly reflect the history of this monastic sub-group as I have outlined it above. However, since some of the best evidence we have for this

Kharatara sub-branch, as well as the high-profile lay family that maintained it, comes from these images, we must surely consider them in our attempts to reconstruct the history of the group.

The two earliest Pippalaka portraits were consecrated by Jinavarddhana in 1413. One of them represents Jinarājasūri, the guru of Jinavarddhana.¹⁰³ Although the image was not sponsored by the family of Rāmadeva—it was sponsored by another Upakeśa family of Delwada—it is obviously significant to our story since it represents Jinavarddhana’s pontifical predecessor. Recall that Jinarāja died in 1405 and that Jinavarddhana broke with the Kharatara main line in 1419; this portrait of 1413 was made relatively close to the time of the final break. If that break was the result of protracted tension, then perhaps the image of Jinarāja was a direct product of that conflict: Jinavarddhana (through his lay patrons) might have been attempting to reaffirm the legitimacy of his succession for the benefit of the larger community or the narrower world of supporters in Mewar. The other portrait of 1413 was donated by Melādevī, the wife of Rāmadeva, and represents the monk Merunandanopādhyāya. This appears to be the monk who wrote the invitation to Jinodaya of 1374-75, which was sent by the Mewari community including Rāmadeva.¹⁰⁴

103. PLS 105; JI 1996.

104. Merunandanopādhyāya is also notable for he wrote a work called the *Śīlopadeśamālābalavabodha*, containing 42 stories about Sītā, Damayantī, *et al.*, and he also made a copy of Jinarājasūri’s *Ācarāṅgacūrṇi* in 1394 (Somani, 1995, *op. cit.*, pp. 158f.).

The remaining portraits associated with Jinavarddhana's line all date to after Jinavarddhana's demise. In 1430 Melādevī sponsored portraits of Jinavarddhana and one Droṇācārya, which were consecrated by Jinacandra, Jinavarddhana's successor.¹⁰⁵ Then, in 1435, Sahaṇapāla, son of Rāmadeva and Melādevī, sponsored a portrait of Jinacandra which was consecrated by the subject's successor Jinasāgara.¹⁰⁶ I must note that this last portrait was erected for Sahaṇapāla's own merit (*svapūṇyārtham*); the portrait of Meru-nanda might have been made for Rāmadeva's merit for its inscription says that Melādevī had it made "out of affection for her husband."¹⁰⁷ As I have indicated, but for two earlier Kharatara portraits, the record for the portrait of Jinacandra is the earliest to contain a reference to merit for the donor of the portrait. I am inclined to suggest that the line of Jinavarddhana tried to make their portraits reflect a very special status for their subjects, although the evidence for such an assertion is quite thin.

Although I cannot establish a direct connection between the portraits associated with Jinavarddhanasūri and his lineage, and the unusual circumstances of the creation of this sub-group of the Kharataragaccha, I find it difficult to ignore the history of the lineage in the consideration of the portraits. The portraits define a lineage that must have had some difficulty maintaining itself in its estrangement from the parent organization. Like the Tapāgaccha portraits discussed above, the Pippalaka portraits

105. PLS 138, 139; JI 1964, 1965.

106. PLS 152; JI 1989.

107. All the published versions of the record I have seen say *svabhṛāṭṛ snehalayā*, but I presume that *bhrāṭṛ* (brother) is a mistake for *bhāṭṛ*, since Rāmadeva, the husband, is the only relation of Melādevī named in the inscription.

suggest that some portraits were a device for the defense and maintenance of certain monastic groups against the vicissitudes of monastic political life. Also, these particular portraits help to illustrate the importance of strong focused lay support in the preservation of monastic groups, particularly those for whom the legitimacy of their lines of succession is called into question.

In conclusion, I shall now step back another century to consider the case of the two portraits donated by the Kharatara monk Jinakuśalasūri in the 14th century. These take us back to the monastic gift as well as present us with a unique facet of Kharatara monastic identity in its earliest form. These portrait gifts do not represent a monk's concern with merit (of the subjects he had portrayed), but illustrate the attempt by Jinakuśala to turn his guru in particular into one of the very special dead. I argue that the evidence of the portraits donated by Jinakuśala represents the earliest articulation of something like the conception of the Dādāgurus, whose cult later became a central feature of Kharatara identity.

IV.5. Jinakuśalasūri and the Monastic Gift

According to Kharataragaccha sources, Jinakuśala was born in 1281 at the village of Samīyāṇa in the Chājahāḍa clan. He took initiation in 1291 under the name Kuśalakīrti. His decision to become a monk was under the influence of his paternal uncle

Jinacandrasūri, who was at the time the head of the Kharataragaccha.¹⁰⁸ Jinacandra died in 1320 and in the following year Jinakuśala was anointed head of the Kharataragaccha at the hand of Rājendrācārya.

The *KGBG* account of the career of Jinakuśala¹⁰⁹ is mostly concerned with the pilgrimages he took and the places at which he passed his rainy season retreats. Here I am concerned with the descriptions of the pilgrimages he led between 1322 and 1324. On these pilgrimages Jinakuśala consecrated a number of Jina images, images of the gods, and some monks' portraits on behalf of their lay patrons. In 1322 he went to Śatruñjaya where he consecrated a pair of *samavasaraṇas*, a portrait of Jinaratnasūri, and a portrait of a Jinacandrasūri, who I presume was Jinacandrasūri, his uncle and immediate pontifical predecessor. Inscriptions for the portraits and one of the *samavasaraṇas* are still preserved and here I provide their texts:

samvat 1379 śrīśātruṃjaye yu ... jinakuśalasūribhiḥ pratiṣṭhatam
kāritam //¹¹⁰

108. Jinacandra is remembered for having earned the Kharataragaccha the other name of Rājagaccha, having enlightened four kings, and one source says he earned the title “Kevalin (even) in the Kali Era” (see *EII*, pp. 319-24; *KGPS* p. 30). Jinacandra was also born at Samīyāṇa in the Chājaḍagoṭra (see Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 249; *KGPS*, p. 11; Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

109. §91ff.

110. SSG 82. The editor's caption for this inscription reads “semavasaraṇe parikaraḥ” and so I gather that the inscription records the installation of that *samavasaraṇa*. The record is defaced, but I do not know to what extent. However, it does not seem that the name of an unknown maker of the image is part of the lost portion since a double *danda* is recorded following *kāritam*. In other records for images consecrated by Jinakuśala the donors' names are listed after *kārīta*. For example, another 1322-3 record originally from Patan says:

samvat 1379 mārga vadi 5 śrījineśvarasūri śiṣya śrījinaratnasūri-
mūrtiḥ śrījinacandrasūriśiṣyaiḥ śrījinakuśalasūribhiḥ pratiṣṭhitā
kāritā //¹¹¹

sam° 1379 mārga va° 5 kharatara° śrījinakuśalasūribhiḥ
śrījinacandrasūri pratimā pratiṣṭhitam //¹¹²

sam 1379 śrīpattane śrīśāmtināthīyacaitye śrīaṇamtanāthadevasya
bimbam śrījinacandrasūriśiṣyaiḥ śrījinakuśalasūribhiḥ
pratiṣṭhitam // kāritam vya° brahmaśānti vya° kaḍuka vya°
metulākena (SSG 87).

In 1322-3 the image of Ānantanātha was consecrated by
Jinakuśalasūri, disciple of Jinacandrasūri, in the Śāntinātha
temple in Patan. It was made by Vyavahārin Brahmaśānti,
Vyavahārin Kaḍuka and Vyavahārin Metulāka.

So also the image of Jinaprabodhasūri:

sam° 1381 vaiśaṣavadi 5 śrīpattane śrīśāmtināthavidhicaitye
śrījinacandrasūriśiṣyaiḥ śrījinakuśalasūribhiḥ
śrījinaprabodhasūrimūrtiḥ pratiṣṭhitā // kāritā ca sā° kumarapala
[putra?]ratnaiḥ sā° mahaṇasiṃha sā° depāla sā° jagasiṃha sā°
mehā suśrāvakaiḥ saporivāraiḥ svasreyortham // cha // (PLS 56).

In 1325 ... the image of Jinaprabodhasūri was consecrated by Śrī
Jinakuśalasūri, the disciple of Śrī Jinacandrasūri, in the
Śāntinātha Kharataragaccha temple in Patan and it was made by
the dear sons of Sādhu Kumārapāla, Sādhu Mahaṇasiṃha, Sādhu
Depāla, Sādhu Jagasiṃha, Sādhu Mehā and their family for the
sake of their own welfare.

I have mentioned this record several times since it is an early case of the donation of a
portrait for the merit of its sponsors.

111. SSG 144.

112. Nākoḍā 8. While this image is now located at Nākoḍā, it must have
originally come from Śatruñjaya like the Jinaratna image since they were both consec-
rated by Jinakuśala on exactly the same day. This record is also defaced, but again, I
cannot see how the name of an unknown maker could fit in the missing portion. In fact, it
contains no reference to its making at all; in the absence of any named donor I presume
that it was in fact donated by Jinakuśala and this is confirmed by the *KGBG* as I will

Before considering what the textual account tells us about the two portraits, I pause to draw one point from the inscriptions. In the record for Jinaratna's portrait, the image is called a *mūrti*, while the record for the portrait of Jinacandra calls the image a *pratimā*. As I discussed in part I, Jain inscriptions, and some Jain texts, use various terms to designate different kinds of images: Jina images are almost always called *bimba*, images of Jain deities are often called *pratimā*, and portraits are usually called *mūrti*, suggesting that many Jains recognized a gradation of venerableness among these three kinds of images. Although the pattern—in either epigraphy or literature—is not completely consistent on this point, the use of *pratimā* for the image of Jinacandra and the use of the term *mūrti* for the image of Jinaratna might indicate that Jinacandra's portrait was supposed to be more venerable than Jinaratna's.¹¹³

Certainly the *KGBG* presents Jinacandra as a particularly special figure in death. With respect to the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya in 1322, during which Jinakuśala donated the two portraits, it says that

at that great festival [of consecration in the Neminātha Kharatara-gaccha temple] His Worship [Jinakuśalasūri] consecrated 150 Jina images (*bimba*) made of stone, jewels and brass, beginning with that of Śāntinātha and *images of the various various super-intending deities* (*adhiṣṭhāyikānām mūrttayah*) beginning with

demonstrate below.

113. In the *KGBG* passage referring to the images of Jinaratna and Jinacandra, the text refers to both images as *mūrti*, but in a moment I shall demonstrate other ways in which the text describes Jinacandra as unusual among dead monks which I believe is indicated in the inscription for his portrait by the use of the term *pratimā*.

Jinacandrasūri and Jinaratnasūri and a pair of samavasaraṇas
[which were donated] by him (*svakīyaṃ*).¹¹⁴

I have translated *adhiṣṭhāyika* (“superintendent” or “protector”) as “superintending deities” for in medieval Jain literature this term is commonly applied to *yakṣas*, *vyantaras* and other “presiding deities of the faith.” But, the intended meaning here could be something like “leader (of the lineage)” or “pontiff” and not “protector (-deity).” However, in the paragraph right after the description of the pilgrimage of 1322, which describes a similar pilgrimage the next year, we are told in a parallel passage that

at that great festival [of consecration] several images (*bimba*) of stone and brass—beginning with that of Ādinātha which was made by the layman Tejapāla—images (*mūrtti*) of Jinaprabodhasūri and Jinacandrasūri, and the presiding deities (*adhiṣṭhāyika*) beginning with Kapardayakṣa, Kṣetrapāla and Āmbikā, made by various excellent lay people, were consecrated.¹¹⁵

Here *adhiṣṭhāyika* has to mean “superintending deity” for it is applied to popular Jain deities, and so we may suppose that its usage in the paragraph immediately above it denotes the same thing. Now, nothing in the account so far distinguishes the post-mortem status of Jinaratna from that of Jinacandra; however, I shall now point out elements in the text which indicate that Jinacandra was in fact unique in death. By donating the portrait

114. tasmin mahotsave śrīsāntināthapramukhaśrīsailamaya-ratnamaya-pittalāmayabimbānām sārḍhaśataṃ svakīyaṃ mūlasamavasaraṇadvayaṃ śrījinacandrasūriśrījinaratnasūripramukhanānādhiṣṭhāyikānām mūrttayaśca śrīpūjyaiḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ *KGBG* p. 71.

115. tasmin mahotsave sādihutejapālakāritaśrīyugādidēvapramukhānekaśailamaya-pittalāmayabimbānām śrījinaprabodhasūri-śrījinacandrasūrimūrttīnām śrīkaparda-yakṣa-śrīkṣetrapālāmbikādyadhiṣṭhāyikānām nānāsuśrāvaka-kāritānām pratiṣṭhā saṃjātā. *KGBG* p. 72.

of his uncle and guru, I believe that Jinakuśala acclaimed Jinacandra as a special kind of god, and the *KGBG* seems to support this. It remains to be seen exactly what kind of god this Jinacandra had become.

According to the *KGBG*, Jinakuśala led another pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya in the spring of 1324.¹¹⁶ Before I consider the events of this pilgrimage at Śatruñjaya, I wish to skip ahead to the pilgrims' return journey. On the way, the pilgrimage party stops in the village of Kośavāṇaka which is where Jinacandra “went to heaven” (*svargam gataḥ*, i.e. died).¹¹⁷ In this village the pilgrims performed various ceremonies for Jinacandra's *stūpa*. However, this honouring of the place of Jinacandra's demise and the memorial to him was no simple commemoration, for the text adds that this village was “blessed by the decease of Śrī Jinacandrasūri, the Most Learned of the Age.”¹¹⁸ The monk was believed to have a post-mortem power that was conferred upon the place by his death there and that power continued to emanate from the *stūpa* (erected, I presume, on the spot where he was cremated). I imagine that a similar power was supposed to be available from images of Jinacandra such as the one donated by Jinakuśala, a point to which I briefly return below.

116. *KGBG*, pp. 73ff.

117. Also known as Kusmāṇa, Kośavāṇā and Kosavāṇā. See also *KGPS* and Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

118. yugavarāgamaśrījinacandrasūrinirvāṇapavitrite, *KGBG*, p. 76. *Nirvāṇa* here can only mean “death” and not “attainment of ultimate release” for as we shall see Jinacandra came down from heaven to watch Jinakuśala perform the consecration ceremonies on this very pilgrimage.

Perhaps more interesting is the reference to the devotions paid to a deceased monk or at least to his *stūpa*. The *stūpas* (or at least the cremation sites) of Kharatara monks were certainly important to the formalization of the Dādāguru cult.¹¹⁹ The modern

119. A number of other *stūpas* to medieval monks are known from the *KGBG* and other sources. Few of these *stūpas* are credited with the supernatural power as Jinacandra's is; but, miraculous power is an important feature of the *stūpas* and/or cremation places (or their substitutes) of the proper Dādāgurus.

The *KGBG* (pp. 70f.) tells us of another *stūpa* associated with Jinakuśalasūri. Jinakuśala's formal teacher was Vivekasamudra. In 1322, Jinakuśala learned by his own supernatural power (*svajñānadhyanabalena*) that Vivekasamudra's life was near its end. He went to Patan and informing the monk of this he forgave the monk his sins, gave him permission to undertake a fast unto death and so Vivekasamudra died (*sakalāmaraguruḥ jayanārtham svarge prāptāḥ*). Following Vivekasamudra's obsequies (*nirvāṇamahotsava*) the lay community erect a *stūpa* which Jinakuśala consecrated with great pomp (*mahatā vistareṇa vāsakṣepaḥ kṛtaḥ*).

Several earlier *stūpas* of Kharatara monks are also known. Probably the best known Kharataragaccha *stūpa* is that of Jinadattasūri. Sources say that it was consecrated in Ajmer in 1165 and reconsecrated in 1179 (Joṣī, *op. cit.*, p. 5). The *KGBG* refers to a number of *stūpas* associated with portraits of the monks that they honoured. In 1276 an image was set up on Jineśvara's *stūpa* at Jāvālipura where that monk had died the previous year (p. 55). Similarly, an image of Jinaprabodha was placed on his *stūpa* at Prahlādanapura in 1290 and at Jāvālipura 8 months later (p. 59). Now, Jinaprabodha had died some time earlier, in 1285, and Jinadatta had died about ten years before his *stūpa* was built. Hence, I do not think that these monuments were *stūpas* in the Buddhist sense, containing the bodily relics of the monks, but were more like cenotaphs. The fact that there never seems to have been a relic cult of any kind in Jainism also appears to support this (see Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

There is little indication of any miraculous events surrounding these monuments in their early history. As I have said, post-mortem miracles are rare in the biographies of early medieval monks. However, there are important later examples of miracles associated with the deaths of certain monks. According to the inscription on the *stūpa* of Kīrtiratna, who as I have said was a well-known 15th century monk from central Rajasthan, and an important character in the biography of Jinavarddhana, Kīrtiratna starved himself death and on the day that he died lamps in the main temple at Nākoḍā lit up spontaneously (*tasime dine tatpuṇyānubhāvataḥ śrījīnavihāre svayaṃ prādāvya [pradāhiya?] pradīpāḥ spaṣṭaṃ bubhūvaturiti, Nākoḍā 49*).

Also, recall the events surrounding the death of the 17th century Tapāgaccha monk Hīravijaya: he appeared after death to Akbar as a god, the gods danced upon his cremations site at Unā and the mango trees there blossomed although some were barren and it was the wrong season. It was on account of these events that Akbar donated the

shrines of the Dādās are called *dādābārīs*, “gardens of the Dādās;” the principal *dādābārīs* of Jinadatta and Jinacandra Maṇidhārī are located at the sites of their final obsequies at Ajmer and Mehraulī respectively.¹²⁰ As Babb says, “the ideal is for *dādābārīs* to be away from population centers, as would be appropriate for a place where funerary rites take place.”¹²¹ The reference to the Jinacandra’s *stūpa* and the power it was alleged to have, combined with the reference to the portrait of him donated by Jinakuśala present us with a conception of the deceased monk approaching that of the proper Dādāgurus. I now offer one final anecdote from the biography of Jinakuśala in the *KGBG* concerning Jinacandra that completes the pattern, although, in the end, Jinacandra never became one of the objects of worship in the Dādāguru cult as it exists today, and that cult did not emerge as a defining feature of Kharatara life until more than two centuries after the time of Jinakuśala.

land upon which Hīravijaya was cremated and the community built a *stūpa*. As I argued above, I believe that these elements in Hīravijaya’s biography were a function of a number of 17th century political conflicts within the Tapā and without; and that they represent something like a movement parallel to the Dādāguru cult within the Tapā.

120. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Interestingly, Jinakuśala’s chief *dādābārī* is not at Derāur (Pakistan), the place of his demise but at Mālpurā, southeast of Jaipur. Babb relates an account explaining that Jinakuśala appeared to a Brahman at Mālpurā 15 days after his death and indicated that a plaque of his footprints could be found buried there and he said that this place would be his main place of worship and where he would perform his miracles (*ibid.*, p. 132). Devarājapura (Derāur) was, however, a pilgrimage place of Jinakuśala up to at least 1556 for Jinamāṇikya travelled there, fasted unto death and then went to heaven (*KGPS*, pp. 13, 34). Hence, the story Babb reports might have been a fairly late invention to justify changing the place because of what was probably a rather unfriendly environment for non-Muslims in Derāur.

121. *Ibid.*

I now return to the events of Jinakuśala's pilgrimage in the spring of 1324.

First, the *KGBG* says that as Jinakuśala travelled he meditated upon (*dhyāyantah*) his guru Jinacandra; as an object of meditation, Jinacandra is no ordinary dead monk, but a power to which Jinakuśala the living adept can appeal for any sort of help. The fact of Jinacandra's power-in-the-world and Jinakuśala's ability to tap into it is proven by the description of the consecration festival that occurred on this pilgrimage. That festival is described exactly like the others we have seen: numerous Jina images, a *samavasaraṇa*, and portraits of Jinapati and Jineśvara were consecrated by Jinakuśalasūri. However, the passage also says that

Jinacandrasūri,¹²² the most learned of the age, came from heaven to that festival pleased by the accomplishments (compelled by the supernatural accomplishments) of his disciple and this was witnessed by some of the very pious.¹²³

Here, Jinacandra is not merely one of the heavenly reborn, but a proper god with the power to interfere in worldly affairs. What is most interesting is that the (supernatural) power of a living monk is here asserted in conjunction with a deceased monk:

Jinakuśala's accomplishments (*labdhi*) draw the powerful dead to him. If I may be

122. I must note that in his Hindi translation of the *KGBG* Vinaysāgar says that it was Jinadatta who came from heaven to witness the festivities, not Jinacandra. I do not know if this change originates with Vinaysāgar or if he took it from elsewhere. However, I think that this substitution demonstrates that someone saw Jinacandra's appearance as Dādāguru-like behaviour; but since this Jinacandra never became a proper Dādāguru, he had to be replaced by Jinadatta, an actual Dādāguru and the only Dādā to date from before the era of Jinakuśala (Mahopādhyāy Vinaysāgar, *Khartargaccha kā itihās*, Ajmer: Dādā Jindattsūri aṣṭam śatābdhi mahotsav svāgatkāriṇī samiti, 1959, p. 155).

123. *KGBG*, p. 75.

permitted to put it in slightly anachronistic terms: deceased Kharatara monks, latter subsumed under the title the Dādāgurus, are powerful gods who may act in the service of the faithful; the Kharatara monk by his own power always has the power of the Dādās at his disposal.¹²⁴

We get a modest demonstration of the power of dead ascetics which the living Kharatara monk has at his disposal in the account of a massive consecration ceremony held at Patan 10 months after the pilgrimage at which Jinacandra appeared.¹²⁵ Jinakuśala consecrated hundreds of images donated by various parties and intended for various towns,¹²⁶ “helped day and a night with the work by his own Guru Cakravartin Śrī Jinacandrasūri and resembling the numerous Yugapradhānas beginning with Śrī Vajrasvāmi¹²⁷ with respect to every supernatural accomplishment.”¹²⁸ As a great ascetic and a monk in the regular succession from Vajrasvāmi (and hence from Mahāvīra), Jinakuśala has a special power, and included in that power is the ability to draw upon the power of

124. I wonder if the text is implying a connection between the portraits of Jinacandra erected in 1322 and 1323, and his descent from heaven in 1324. We might infer that the devotion to Jinacandra shown by the setting up of the portrait made possible his post-mortem appearance, or perhaps that any devotion paid to the image following its consecration bore some causal relationship to Jinacandra’s descent from heaven.

125. *KGBG*, p. 77.

126. This included portraits of Jinadatta for Uccāpurīya, Jinaprabodha for Jāvālipura and Patan, and Jinacandra for Devarājapura.

127. Vajrasvāmi was the 16th in the line from Mahāvīra. He was the last monk who knew the ten *pūrvas*. See Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

128. samagralabdhyānukṛtāśrivajrasvāmiḥpramukhānekayugapradhānaiḥ svagurucakravartīśrījinacandrasūrikṛtāharniśasāhāyyaiḥ *KGBG*, p. 77.

past ascetics in the line, such as his deceased guru reborn as a god.¹²⁹ Jinakuśala's guru Jinacandra is one of these past monks with a power equivalent to at least all of the other historical monks in the lineage.

Given the *KGBG* presentation of the deceased monk Jinacandra, we can refer to him as at least a proto-Dādāguru. He died and went to heaven, but his was not the simple heavenly rebirth of many who are said to have 'gone to heaven', for in death he attained the powers of a true deity, or a power much like that of the proper Dādāgurus. The place of his funerary rites has a special power, like, for example, the principle Dādābārīs of the Dādāgurus Jinadattasūri and Jinacandrasūri Maṇidhārī, which are located at the cremation places of those monks. Furthermore, Jinacandrasūri in death has the power to return to earth and achieve miracles: he came to witness the consecrations at Śatruñjaya and aided in the consecrations at Patan. However, no further tradition of Jinacandra's miraculous intervention in the affairs of other Jains, particularly lay Jains, ever developed as it did around the monks who became the Dādāgurus, among whom Jinacandra's disciple Jinakuśala is included.

Nonetheless, the case of this proto-Dādāguru is of the utmost significance. For it represents the earliest formulation of something like the idea of the Dādāguru. But more important than that, it is apparent that the construction of this conception was accomplished by direct monastic effort. In the first place, the *KGBG* was written within a few generations of the death of Jinacandra by Jinapālasūri of the Kharataragaccha. Such a monastic construction of hagiography is not unique to Jinapāla or the Kharatarā;

129. See Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 117f., 134f.

however, Jinakuśāla's donation of the portrait of his guru Jinacandra in furtherance of a developing hagiography is exceptional to the best of my knowledge.¹³⁰ Although I cannot make a direct connection between the (attempted) canonization of Jinacandrasūri III in the 14th century and the later formalization of the Dādāguru cult (in the Mughal period), this case suggests the possibility that monks were an active force behind the creation of the Dādāguru cult.

In the **Appendix** to my thesis, I shall attempt to draw out the complete significance of my study of the Western Indian portrait insofar as it has led up to the consideration of monastic portraiture and in particular the case of Jinacandra and the portrait of him donated by Jinakuśāla. I shall argue that the Dādāguru cult took the form it has today in the Mughal period, and that it was prompted by similar forces which appear to have motivated the Tapāgaccha's attempt to deify Hīravijaya. I believe that Kharatara monks prompted the deification of their monastic dead in response to certain political difficulties faced by the lineage in the Mughal period: the *gaccha* as a whole was caught in a protracted conflict with the Tapā, with both groups vying for the sanction of secular authorities; additionally, the *gaccha*, as was also the case with the Tapā, suffered from a substantial amount of internal dissension, especially in the Mughal period. The Dādāguru cult may have been intended to raise the Kharatara profile in the greater Jain

130. Of course, any number of the other portraits donated by monks, which I discussed in part **III**, might have been intended to encourage the worship of their subjects as veritable gods. But in the absence of any evidence to support this—in the absence of much evidence about either the donors or subjects of those images—I have presumed that those portraits donated by monks reflect a conception like that evidenced by the portrait of Guṇāsenasūri: the portraits were supposed to generate merit for their subjects.

community and also provide a single rallying point around which to unite all those allied with the lineage.

My historical interpretation of the Dādāguru cult finds little common ground with recent anthropological interpretations of the cult. L.A. Babb and James Laidlaw in particular have argued that the cult partially resolves a tension identified by both scholars between proper Jain values, ascetic values, and the values of the laity in the world. The evidence from monastic portraiture that I have presented shows that: 1) normative Jain values by no means informed the behaviour of all medieval monks, in which case it is hard to believe that an inherent tension within Jainism prompted the initial development of the Dādāguru cult; and 2) Jain monks indirectly and directly encouraged the deification of deceased monks, which I have to believe served to further the worldly interests of monastic groups, not to resolve any imagined tension between lay and monastic life.

In this thesis I have pursued several explicit and implicit objectives. At the very least, I have attempted to catalogue as many examples of the ‘Western Indian portrait’ as possible. The appended **Tables** and **Illustrations** bring together much of the evidence that we should like to know about the portraits at a preliminary stage of investigation: what the portraits look like, the identities of their subjects, donors and consecrators, their dates and locations, *etc.* The collection of such information is significant in

itself, since examples of the Western Indian portrait may be familiar to many students of Indian art, but no comprehensive survey of the genre has previously been attempted.

However, in my discussion of the portraits, I attempted to accomplish much more than the mere documentation of a number of specimens and the consideration of the portrait as a genre of Western Indian art. I endeavoured to place many of the portraits into thematic and/or specific historical contexts. In each half of the thesis, I considered the religiosity demonstrated by certain portraits and the socio-political settings in which particular portraits were produced. I argued that many portraits were erected for the merit of their subjects. I also argued that portraiture was used to forward particular social aspirations or specific political agendas. Ostensibly about a unique genre of medieval Western Indian art, my study also attempted to “tell a different story” about medieval Jainism and to reconsider the accepted wisdom about “the location of real religion” within Jainism.¹³¹

The idea that many portraits generated merit for their subjects is a little unusual with respect to the Jain portraits. First, it has often been presumed that the Jains have eschewed merit transfer because of their thoroughgoing understanding of karma. However, it is certain that at least half of the images (of the Jinas, gods, and the like) donated by medieval lay Jains were meant to benefit parties other than or in addition to the donors. Thus, it is quite probable that the donors of lay portraits believed that the images benefitted their subjects in some way. If the lay portrait was a simple memorial as some scholars contend, then we are left to wonder what purpose its consecration served.

131. Schopen, 1991, *op. cit.*, pp. 5ff.

Yet, the portrait as some sort of merit-gathering device implies an ontology of the image which I was not able to investigate thoroughly.

It is perhaps surprising to some readers that some of the best Jain evidence for the religious purpose of the portrait as I have just summarized comes from a portrait donated by a monk. The real import of the evidence of the monastic donation of portraits (and other monastic gifts) is that it demonstrates that many medieval monks were not entirely concerned with Jainism's traditional goal of omniscience, but shared the religious beliefs and practices of the laity in almost every significant way. This evidence demands that we think very carefully about what distinguishes Jain ascetics from Jain lay people, what we imagine Jainism to be, and what beliefs and practices define the essence of Jainism.

This becomes especially apparent when we look closely at the historical contexts for certain portraits. Clearly, many portraits of lay people and monks were produced for the social or political currency that they might generate. Many of the portraits in question do not simply signal the heavenly rebirth of their subjects, but tend towards the claim of the actual or potential deification of those subjects. This is not an unusual idea in the medieval Jain context, even with respect to the laity, although, the sophistication with which it is expressed in the case of Desala's portraits, but especially with respect to Vastupāla's and Tejaḥpāla's portraits is quite remarkable. The clear political implications of portraits proclaiming the divinity of certain deceased monks, notably in the case of Hīravijayasūri, and the advocacy of the deification of the monastic

dead by monks, notably in the case of Jinakuśalasūri, illustrate for us a Jain monasticism with very worldly concerns, not one singularly devoted to the imitation of the founders.

The substantial number of extant portraits makes it clear that portraiture was an important facet of medieval temple patronage, and among the Jains it remains important up to the present. At the very least, I hope that I have provided a resource of interest to scholars of Indian art, history and religion. Much work remains to be done directly and indirectly concerning these images. I believe that future research shall lead to an improved understanding of the religious status of the portraits and historical events surrounding their production. I have only been able to consider what I take to be the religious processes at work in the portraits in 'theological' generalities; more research into the nature of the image (in Jainism), in particular, is needed. Gaps in our knowledge of the progress of medieval Jain monasticism, for example, make it difficult to know the exact place of certain portraits in the times in which they were produced; I believe that my study has pointed to the need for a comprehensive re-evaluation of medieval Jain monastic history.

Appendix: The Dādāguru Cult in Light of the Western Indian Portrait

To draw out more fully the implications of the evidence of the Western Indian portrait, I wish to return to some of the themes that I have previously explored and consider them specifically in the light of a phenomenon prevalent in the Kharataragaccha today: the Dādāguru cult dedicated to four deceased Kharatara monks who are worshiped in image or footprint form. I have drawn attention to the Dādāgurus in my discussion of the deification of Hīravijaya as an attempt to create a movement parallel to the Dādāguru cult in the Tapāgaccha, and in my discussion of Jinacandrasūri III as a Dādāguru prototype. However, I have had little need to discuss the Dādāgurus as a separate topic up to this point, because there are few early portraits that we can identify as images of “Dādāgurus” (and not just simply images of “Kharatara monks”). Yet, some of my arguments, for example about the portraits of Hīravijaya and other Tapā monks, and the portraits donated by Jinakuśala (especially that of Jinacandra), compel me to interpret the history of the Dādāguru cult in more detail, especially since the cult has been the focus of some recent Jain scholarship.

Some scholars see the Dādāguru cult as a compromise between Jainism’s normative (monastic and renunciatory) ideals and non-/anti-renunciatory nature of lay Jainism; in their view, the cult lessens to a degree the inherent tension between the

continuation of the laity in the world and Jainism's stringent ascetic orientation. However, my characterization of the cult hinges upon two very different arguments. First, I believe that the proper Dādāguru cult was directly promoted in part by Kharatara monks for certain worldly ends: in the face of fierce competition from other lineages like the Tapā and in the face of internal dissent, the main branch of the Kharatara encouraged a cult of the monastic dead to enhance its image in greater Jain circles and to centralize its authority over a factionalized community. Second, I believe that the deification (as opposed to enlightenment) of the Dādāgurus stems from the fact that Jainism's normative soteriology was problematic in many contexts: the idea of the deification of the dead became the chief alternative to the idea of enlightenment as the result of asceticism, for at some point in the medieval period it became popularly accepted that enlightenment was no longer possible in this decadent age. My historical analysis of the cult and issues related to it offers a necessary supplement (and perhaps a correction) to scholarly explanations of the cult as it exists today, which do not concern themselves much with the historical roots of Dādāguru worship.

1. From the Western Indian Portrait to the Dādāguru Cult

My study of the Western Indian portrait began 'on the ground' with a collection of objects, the portraits, presumed by their physical similarities to form a common set of objects. Since this corpus includes data from both the Hindu and Jain settings, I did not seek to interpret the images in their sectarian contexts, as indicative of unique Jain or

Hindu doctrines as preserved in written sources. Hence, insofar as I have considered the religious meaning(s) or import of certain portraits, my attempt has been an exercise in the ‘archaeology of religions’. Schopen, reflecting on the study of religion (with respect to Indian Buddhism), says that

had the academic study of religions started quite literally on the ground, it would have been confronted with very different problems. It would have had to ask very different questions and it would have produced very different solutions. It would, in short, have become not the ‘History of Religions’—which was and is essentially text bound—but the ‘Archaeology of Religions’ This archaeology of religions would have primarily occupied with three kinds of things then: religious constructions and architectures, inscriptions, and art historical remains. In a more general sense, though, it would have been preoccupied *not* with what small, literate, almost exclusively male and certainly atypical professionalized sub-groups wrote, but rather, with what religious people of all segments of a given community did and how they lived.¹

My ‘archaeology’ has conformed to Schopen’s vision by its marked interest in religious constructions, inscriptions and art historical remains. However, I cannot claim that I have unearthed “what religious people of all segments of a given community actually did;” it is clear, I think, that the evidence of the portraits, and (Jain) donative epigraphy in general, represents socially and economically advantaged (and surely literate) classes of people. Nonetheless, the Jain evidence does provide us with insight into certain socio-economic strata that we do not obtain from non-Jain data: while most of the Hindu data represent royalty, the Jain data more often reflect the interests of merchants of probably varying

1. Schopen, Gregory, “Burial ‘*ad sanctos*’ and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions,” *Religion*, vol. 17 (1987), pp. 193ff.

degrees of wealth and influence; but more importantly, we also have epigraphical evidence that reflects the actual practice of the monastic population, or at least segments of it, which included famous as well as obscure ascetics.

It is in this sense, I believe, that the epigraphical evidence may be said to reflect 'popular beliefs and practices', not in the sense of degenerate or founded in ignorance, but in the sense of representing a broad spectrum of groups and individuals not necessarily defined by sectarian affiliation, or by social status. Even where particular Jain ideas inform the portraits, much of the evidence of medieval portraiture points to two basic variations upon more widely accepted conceptions of death and the afterlife. On the one hand, according to various sources, even a modicum of piety promises rebirth in heaven and the enjoyment of the bliss that that affords. On the other hand, certain kinds of piety afford rebirth as a proper god with the power to intervene in human affairs. Some portraits were donated with the intent to secure or maintain the former kind of heavenly rebirth for their subjects, while other portraits were informed by the belief that rebirth in heaven might entail rebirth as a proper god.

I believe that underlying the portraits of (at least) lesser known or otherwise unknown figures (lay and monastic) is the idea that these images served as conduits of merit for the portrait subjects in order to secure for them heavenly rebirth (which, in itself, does not preclude the possibility of proper deification). This conception, I believe, reflects a broad popular understanding of merit and its fruits, merit and its transfer, and karma and rebirth. This understanding is a simple calculus wherein requisite quantities of merit from good deeds, and including merit transferred from the good deeds of others,

lead to worldly felicity and may also lead to a better rebirth. This conception is reflected in medieval biographical and story literature in which people do not simply die but are said to have ‘gone to heaven’.

Now, according to all Indian schemes of the supernatural realms, the inhabitants of the heavens are gods. However, the gods in any heaven are not necessarily gods as we would conceive of them. Not all of the heavenly reborn have supernatural powers with which they can interfere in worldly affairs. Some enjoy the bliss of the abodes of the gods for a time and are later reborn into another existence according to their karma. At the same time, Indian literature is replete with examples of human beings who attained heavenly rebirth and miraculously reappeared on earth and produced miracles (*camat-kāra*) for human beings. Such persons are the truly deified dead as we might understand them.

In my previous discussions I noted several Jain cases of the deification of the dead. I cited Arisim̐ha who has King Kumārapāla appear as a god before Bhīma II, commanding him to do something about the declining fortunes of the Caulukyan empire. Also, I told the story of the goddess Mahaṇīka, who had been a princess of Kanauj in her previous human life. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla owed much of their worldly success to her and she also interfered in the building of Lalla’s Jain temple.

Medieval Jain literature refers to a number of cases of the deification of Jain ascetics as well. The monk Varddhamānasūri, after fasting to death, was reborn as the superintending deity of Śāṅkheśvara Pārśvanātha and returned to the earth to report to

Tejaḥpāla of Vastupāla's post-mortem fate.² The Kharatara nun Marudevīgaṇinī also undertook a fast to death.³ The monk Jineśvarasūri, filled with awe at the nun's resolve, begged her to get word to him after she died as to where she had been reborn. When the nun died, the Jain god Brahmaśānti had the message conveyed that Marudevī had been reborn in the first heaven as a god with great supernatural powers.

I have discussed the deification of Hīravijayasūri and Jinacandrasūri III, which are important for the portraits associated with them. Hīravijaya is said to have appeared after death before Emperor Akbar in the form of a god, and a number of miracles are said to have taken place at the site of his cremation. Also, as I demonstrated above, the deification of Jinacandrasūri III illustrates a pattern that would later become very prominent in Kharatara circles through that lineage's Dādāguru cult: Jinacandra's *stūpa* became a place of pilgrimage under the belief that supernatural power emanated from the monument; in death, Jinacandra became possessed of a power that his living disciple Jinakuśala could wield as he carried out his monastic duties.

While none of the deified dead that I have just mentioned ever became the object of an enduring cult, a number of the most popular gods of the Jain pantheon belong to the ranks of the deified dead. In traditional accounts, the goddess Ambikā was originally a pious lay woman who threw herself into a well rather than face the persecution she expected from her Hindu husband. She was then reborn as one of Jainism's most popular divinities. Kapardiyakṣa was originally an impious layabout who later converted to Jain-

2. PK, p. 128.

3. See Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, pp. 198f.

ism. When he realized the precariousness of life, he vowed to fast unto death; fulfilling his vow, he was reborn as the deity especially renowned as the protector of Śatruñjaya.⁴

Now, there is nothing intrinsic to the common understanding of karma and rebirth which makes it possible to distinguish between the simply heavenly reborn and the proper deified dead.⁵ The difference between them is not one of kind but of degree. The identification of the deified dead depends solely upon the attribution of miracles to a deified personality. As I have said, citing Granoff, the death of a medieval monk in the literature is usually reported matter-of-factly as “he went to heaven,” after which we rarely hear anything about him. However, I believe that the proper deification of Jain monks became more prevalent over time. The examples of Merudevī and Jinacandra suggest the early emphasis on this idea in Kharatara circles. The case of Hīravijaya offers some indication of the ascendancy of this idea in the Mughal period, which reached fruition in the Kharatara’s Dādāgurus.

While the deification of Jinacandra in the Kharataragaccha and Hīravijaya in the Tapā (in the Mughal period) never resulted in a sustained cult, the deification of the Dādāgurus in Kharatara circles from around the 17th century is acclaimed today by a very popular cult. In fact, the Dādāguru cult is the only organized cult of the monastic dead

4. For complete accounts of the origins of both Ambikā and Kapardin see Granoff trans., in Granoff, ed., 1990, *op. cit.*, pp. 182ff.

5. Certainly the cases of Ambikā and Mahanīkā suggest that martyrdom, a category under which we might also include death by Sallekhanā (ritual starvation) as in the cases of Marudevī and Kapardin, was a type of death that invited the belief that such persons became proper gods. However, I have seen nothing in popular karma theory that precludes such deification under more mundane circumstances.

within Śvetāmbara Jainism. Although any former *ācārya* of the Kharataragaccha might be conceived of as a Dādāguru,⁶ the cult actually focuses upon only four of them:

- Jinadattasūri V.S. 1132-1211 (1075-1154 C.E.)⁷
- Jinacandrasūri “Maṇidhārī” V.S. 1197-1223 (1140-1166 C.E.)
- Jinakuśalasūri V.S. 1337-1389 (1280-1332 C.E.)
- Jinacandrasūri VI⁸ V.S. 1595-1670 (1541-1613 C.E.)

The power to fulfill the wishes of devotees is attributed to these four monks and the institutionalized worship of them has a prominence in the ritual life of Jains associated with the Kharataragaccha that, at times, almost overshadows the worship of the Jinas.⁹

The Dādāguru cult has recently generated interest among Western scholars.

James Laidlaw considered the nature of the cult in his brief article “Profit, Salvation and Profitable Saints” of 1985.¹⁰ L.A. Babb completed a broader study with his Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture of 1996,¹¹ building upon some of his own earlier work.¹² The efforts of Babb and Laidlaw represent the first attempts, in Western

6. The use of the designation “Dādā” is not confined to Kharatara monks. The 19th century Tapāgaccha monk Paṃnyās Maṇi Vijay Gaṇi, from whom more than 2/3 of Tapāgaccha monks trace their descent, is also popularly known as Dādā (Cort, 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 99).

7. The Vikrama Saṃvat dates are taken from Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-256 and the Common Era dates are taken from Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

8. Babb calls him “Jinacandrasūri II,” however this figure is the sixth with that name in Klatt’s list of leaders of the Kharataragaccha.

9. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 110ff.

10. *Op.cit.*

11. *Op. cit.*

12. Babb’s “The Great Choice: Worldly Values in a Jain Ritual Culture,” 1994, *op. cit.*, is a brief presentation of the arguments fully explicated in the book-length

scholarship, to describe and explain the figures of the Dādāgurus, the ritual devoted to them, and the place of their cult in the life of (contemporary) Śvetāmbara Jains in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Both Babb and Laidlaw are anthropologists and are largely concerned with the practices of the Dādāguru cult today. Their evidence for the cult consists mostly of the reports of contemporary votaries and their observations of contemporary practices. Hence, it is understandable that neither Babb or Laidlaw is particularly concerned with the historical background and/or origins of the cult. It is also understandable that neither scholar really enquires into historical sources of evidence for the cult or matters related to it. Both derive all of their data concerning the biographies of the Dādāgurus, the history of the Kharataragaccha,¹³ and fundamental points of Jain doctrine from contemporary tracts and secondary scholarship, in addition to the reports of informants, rather than from a direct study of historical sources such as texts, inscriptions and art historical remains.

While anthropological research might reveal the contemporary meaning and function of the Dādāguru cult, it is by no means certain that the cult originated under the same conception and historically served the same purpose as it does today. In light of the evidence of monastic portraiture that I have presented, I propose to consider the origins and/or early history of the proper Dādāguru cult. I shall present some evidence from the earliest period of the cult, the Mughal period, and I shall use this evidence, as well as the

study.

13. I do note, however, that Babb employs some textual material in the form of contemporary liturgical manuals and Vinaysāgar's translation/paraphrase of the *KGBG* (1959, *op. cit.*).

portrait evidence which directly and indirectly bears upon our understanding of the cult, to comment upon the presentations of the cult by Babb and Laidlaw. I am particularly concerned with three aspects of Babb's and Laidlaw's analyses: their views of 'Jainism', the history of the Kharataragaccha, and, of course, the worship of the Dādāgurus. I shall outline the arguments by Babb and Laidlaw on these points, and then I shall introduce my historical evidence on each point.

2. *The Dādāguru Cult Today*

Babb and Laidlaw both begin by noting a radical discontinuity between Jain doctrine, describing the path of the Jain ascetic, and the beliefs and practices defining the lives of lay Jains. According to both scholars, the ascetic path is unambiguously oriented towards liberation. The laity may honour ascetics (according to the *namaskāra*mantra), but their personal religious expectations tend to worldly felicity rather than enlightenment. Yet, the continuing existence of Jainism is dependent upon the cooperation of both groups whose values appear to be at odds with one another. As Babb poses the problem:

What place can there be for such a radically world-rejecting vision of the world in the lives of ordinary men and women? This is the crucial question in the study of Jainism as a cultural entity as opposed to a strategy for attaining liberation. For any radically world-rejecting religious tradition to succeed in the midst of the world's endeavors—that is, for it to exist as a reproducible social institution—there must be points of connection between the central values it affirms and the ends pursued by adherents who make their way in the world. Ascetics require the support and protection of those who are not ascetics, and this means that nonascetics must some how be brought into the ambit

of a wider tradition that encompasses the religious interests of those who do and those who do not renounce the world. In the particular case of Jainism, the tradition's highest values define a way of life suitable only for a mendicant elite—the monks and nuns—but at the same time this elite cannot exist without the support of lay communities. One of the most striking features of Jainism ... is that the monastic elite is *utterly* dependent on the laity. Therefore, a Jain tradition in the fullest sense, as opposed to a mere soteriology, cannot be for mendicants alone; it must bring ascetics and their followers into a system of belief and practice that serves the religious interests of both. How can such a system “work” when asceticism is so central a value?¹⁴

Laidlaw formulates the issue in different terms, although it still amounts to a dichotomy between lay and ascetic values. Laidlaw found that certain informants related to Jain tenets in either one of two ways which are difficult to reconcile. In religious practices of all kinds, lay Jains “creatively employ and act upon sets of ‘religious’ knowledge which are not only distinguishable, but are in crucial respects contradictory.”¹⁵ These sets of religious knowledge are manifested in two distinct discourses which Laidlaw calls the “moksha discourse” and the “punya discourse.” A “discourse” for Laidlaw “is conceived as a set of social practices whose meanings show a certain ‘systemness’—one which, by the same processes by which it is produced, is necessarily, but not randomly incomplete A discourse cannot therefore be described apart from others with which it coexists.”¹⁶

14. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 9f.

15. Laidlaw, 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Laidlaw takes the example of the *aparigraha vrata* (the vow of non-possession) though it equally applies to the other vows. The vow generates two distinguishable meanings in terms of *mokṣa* and *punya*:

‘Parigraha’ is often explicated in Jain scriptures as the illusion of possession or attachment, the error of believing that anything in the material world could be of any importance beside the purity of one’s own soul. In the elaborations of the Aparigraha Vrata that I was given, this reasoning was almost never discernible. Instead one found a direct focus on amounts of wealth. To abide by the vrata is to set voluntary limits on income and to spend the remainder on gifts to the temple and to the poor; that is to convert the surplus into religious merit (*punya*). In terms of ‘Aparigraha’ in the sense it has in the context of consideration of Moksha this is pointless if the person performing these deeds cares about benefitting from the result, as this is precisely the fault to which the Karmic discussions of ‘parigraha’ are directed. However, in the ‘Punya Discourse’ the term has a meaning which is quite distinguishable from, but not entirely independent of, that which it holds within such ‘Moksha’ contexts. One meaning is thus distinguishable, but dependent on the other, each is both present and absent in the other.¹⁷

I presume that this means that the *aparigraha* of the *punya* discourse is dependent upon the *aparigraha* of the *mokṣa* discourse, and vice versa, because each is a type of ‘giving up’ oriented to one aspect of a unified worldview. Each presupposes the realm of *saṃsāra* in which virtuous deeds either produce good karma or eliminate (bad) karma;

17. *Ibid.*, p. 56. I cite this whole passage for its startling similarity to Reynell’s description of the *aparigraha* vow. Jains may discuss the vow in both ways, but, as Reynell says, they see no contradiction in the pomp of ‘giving up’. It is clear that although lay Jains may be cognizant of a ‘*mokṣa*’ understanding of the Jain vows, it bears little upon their actual practice. As was pointed out earlier, Cort could not find a single lay Jain who had formally adopted the lay versions of the Jain vows. Thus, in the absence of any practical import of variations in the lay understanding of the vows, we may wonder, just how significant is the apparent contradiction between the normative/textual explication of the vows and the informal instantiation of them in lay practice?

enough virtuous action could produce a better rebirth, produce (a more favourable) continuation in *saṃsāra*, or could result in freedom from *saṃsāra*. This is to say, common to both understandings of *aparigraha* is the idea of renunciation, and karmic consequences which bear upon one's place in (or out) of the realm of rebirth. Thus, the possibility of freedom from karma and rebirth entails the accumulation of karma and the continuation of cycles of rebirth, and vice versa.¹⁸

For Babb and Laidlaw both, the Dādāguru cult gives expression to both Jainism's emphasis on the renunciation of the monk and the worldly hopes of the laity. For the worship of the Dādāgurus is in keeping with Jainism's emphasis on the figure of the ascetic and it fulfills the laity's hopes for prosperity, since the Dādāgurus have the power to perform miracles for votaries. Laidlaw locates the Dādāgurus in his *mokṣa* and *punya* discourses for, on the one hand, they are famous (and powerful) on account of their learning, spiritual purity, *etc.*, and on the other hand, their taken-for-granted power is able

18. I believe that a subtext to Laidlaw's description is that the *mokṣa* discourse is the superior or legitimate discourse, although Laidlaw, in his other work, claims that he is not judging the authenticity of lay belief and practice: "The most damaging effect of posing judgmental questions of authenticity is that it leads one either to miss, or to be analytically intolerant of, *moral conflict* and complexity" (Laidlaw, James, *Riches and Renunciation Religion, Economy, and Society among the Jains*, New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p. 12, italics mine). Even if lay Jains report belief in terms of *punya* and *mokṣa*, but act almost exclusively with the intention of accumulating merit for worldly prosperity, then what is the significance of *mokṣa* understandings of practice? This is not the place to pursue such a criticism; I shall limit my self to explaining how, I believe, the *mokṣa* discourse did not historically inform the phenomenon of the Dādāguru cult, which does not preclude Laidlaw's dichotomy with respect to Jain practice today. Although, perhaps it begs for an explanation of the historical reasons that such a dichotomy (re-)entered modern Jainism. I suspect that the modern Western emphasis on doctrine as found in texts was in part responsible, but I have neither the data nor the space to pursue this here.

to produce miracles.¹⁹ The ritual devoted to the Dādāgurus manages the contradiction between central Jain values and lay values by its almost exact parallelism to the ritual devoted to the Jinas. Hence, Babb describes the Dādāguru cult as

a ritual subculture with a regional (Rajasthan) and ascetic-lineage (the Khartar Gacch) focus If ascetic and worldly values are in tension at the tradition's highest levels, in this ritual subculture they are brought into a far more stable relationship.²⁰

While the ritual worship of the Jinas is an act of renunciation, the ritual worship of the Dādāgurus is an exchange whereby prayers and offerings are made in the expectation of reward. Before I elaborate upon what Babb and Laidlaw have to say about the ritual devoted to the Dādāgurus, I present the material that Babb and Laidlaw employ concerning the biographies of the Dādāgurus and especially the 'Kharataragaccha focus' that Babb identifies as the context for the 'ritual subculture' of the Dādāguru cult.

Laidlaw begins his description of the Dādāgurus and their cult by depicting Jainism in the 12th and 13th centuries "as a period of decline and crisis for Jainism:"²¹

Having previously enjoyed patronage under various rulers in northern India, the Jains were suffering persecution in the face of both Hindu revivalism, and the zeal of invading Muslims. This external pressure was accompanied by an internal disintegration which was manifest in falling numbers and in what the Jains refer to as a 'moral' decline. The latter refers to the existence of permanent temple-dwellers (Chaityavasi), who enjoyed considerable wealth and religious power, quite contrary to the role of religious leader in Jainism as exemplar of the prescribed asceticism.

19. Laidlaw, 1985, *op. cit.*, pp. 65f.

20. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 103n.

21. Here, Laidlaw cites Jaini, 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 306 as his source on the state of the Jain monastic community in the period in question.

It is for their contributions as Acharyas ... to ending this general decline, that the Dadagurudevas gained their place in the history of Jainism.²²

This generalized image of the Kharataragaccha as a reform movement is already familiar to us from my brief outline of the history of medieval Jain monasticism.

Babb expands upon this image with reference to specific events reported in Kharatara lineages histories. In particular, Babb relates the story about how the Kharatara (“the fierce”) *gaccha* got its name. As I also noted earlier, the Kharatara monk Jineśvara debated the *caityavāsins* at Patan in Gujarat in 1024 in the presence of King Durlabha. By citing the *Dasaveyāliyasutta* to the effect that monks should not remain in residences especially prepared for them, Jineśvara defeated the *caityavāsins*. Under the king’s order, the temple-dwelling monks were expelled from Patan; the king was so impressed by Jineśvara’s performance that he gave him the name “The Fierce,” which afterwards was applied to the whole lineage.

Babb then proceeds to relate some of the legends associated with the four monks known as the Dādāgurus. The details of these stories need not concern us here; I have already referred to a number of the events in the life of Jinadattasūri, and later I shall refer to a few stories about other Dādāgurus. Suffice it to say, following Babb, the Dādāgurus are revered “because of their roles as defenders and reformers of Jainism, and

22. Laidlaw, 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 57. I must note that Laidlaw’s remarks about lost patronage and the like are historically suspect, for in the 12th and 13th centuries the Jains enjoyed tremendous support from the Caulukya-Vāghelā rulers (and their ministers) in Gujarat, as is indicated in my discussion of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla in part II.

as miracle workers and creators of new Jains.”²³ They are different from other Kharatara monks only in degree, not in kind. That is to say, the Dādāgurus are unique instantiations of the identity that the Kharataragaccha claims for the whole lineage over its entire history; all the leaders of the Kharatara, as well as several other monks, are famed as reformers, miracle workers and proselytizers.

Babb says that the hagiographies of the Dādāgurus are known to most devotees not from printed tracts, but from their recollection in the course of the standard ritual dedicated to the Dādāgurus (as well as from popular pictorials of the stories).²⁴ The liturgy of this rite was composed by a *yati*²⁵ named Ṛddhisār around the turn of this century. Ṛddhisār’s text consists of liturgical directions, but is mostly taken up with the legendary history of the Kharatara and the miracles of the Dādāgurus, which are both related in the course of the ritual.

It is in the nature of Jain temple ritual (Jina worship versus Dādāguru worship) that Babb (ostensibly) identifies Jainism’s inherent tension between ascetic and lay values and praxis, and recognizes the relief of that tension. The problem with Jina worship, as Babb sees it, is that such devotion is directed to a figure who, by virtue of his liberation, has left the world of *samsāra*. Babb poses the problem thus:

what if, as in Jainism, the principal object of worship is *absent*?
What implications would this have for the worshiper’s identity

23. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

25. A *yati* is a Śvetāmbara ascetic, following Babb’s definition, “whose vows are less onerous than those of full ascetics” (*ibid.*, p. 222).

and for the cultural surround of these ritual roles? ... What kind of ritual system results ... when a commitment to asceticism as a value is so powerful as to push objects of worship into a condition of transactional nonexistence?²⁶

The question is, what are devotees doing when they engage in the temple-*pūjā* of the Jina? By the ritual presentation of offerings to the Jina devotees cannot expect the Jina to provide them with any rewards—worship of the Jina’s image cannot be transactional—because the Jina is beyond the realm in which such transactions would occur.

The normative interpretation of Jina worship is that it is an act of renunciation. In the standard rite dedicated to the Jinās, the *aṣṭaparakārīpūjā* or “eightfold worship,” the devotee worships the Jina with eight substances, but these are not so much offered to the Jina (as they might be to a Hindu deity) as they are renounced by the devotee. The ritual produces the same results as any other austerity, the eradication of karma. But, the results cannot be said to have been produced by the Jina; rather, the results must come from the worshipers themselves. That is, in Babb’s terms, Jina worship is reflexive.

But, many believe that Jina worship produces worldly benefits and they engage in it for precisely this reason. Such a belief is at odds with the interpretation of the ritual as an act of renunciation, according to Babb. That this conflict is the source of real tension for devotees is demonstrated for Babb by the fact that his informants grew uncomfortable and evasive when he questioned them about the fruits of Jina worship.

Babb relates:

26. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

I was told repeatedly that, although many Jains (some said most Jains) seek good worldly results from their temple going and other religious activities, they should not be seeking such things. Such persons, I was told, are “ignorant” about what Jainism really is; Jainism is basically about *tyāg*, giving things up. The entire matter is awkward, even embarrassing, precisely because many Jains do indeed seek worldly benefits from worship, all the while knowing that there is something deeply questionable about doing so.²⁷

The tension between the ritual as an act of renunciation and the worshipers’ expectations of worldly reward is partially relieved in the worship of the Dādāgurus, whose identities and worship are parallel to, but divergent in significant ways from, that of the Jinas:

The cult of the Dādāgurus is a ritual subculture that enlarges the religious tradition to which it belongs in very important ways. It utilizes standard features of Śvetāmbar ritual culture, but reinterprets them and changes their context radically. In so doing, it bridges the gaps between the tradition’s highest values—ascetic values oriented towards liberation—and the material and social landscapes inhabited by men and women who remain in the world.²⁸

The structural parallels, and significant differences, between the rites of worship of the Jinas and the Dādāgurus which Babb discusses are perhaps the strongest evidence for his explanation of the Dādāguru cult.²⁹ The standard rites for each category of being contain almost exactly the same elements, but the emphasis in each case is clearly different. While requests cannot be made of the Jinas (because they are liberated beings), the

27. 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

28. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

29. See Babb, 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 17ff.; 1996, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2.

Dādāgurus can respond to devotees' entreaties because they remain in the world (insofar as the worlds occupied by the Jain deities are part of *saṃsāra*).

Two important variations from the Jina *pūjā* in the Dādāguru *pūjā* open the door to transactions between lay devotees and the Dādāgurus. First, worship of the Dādāgurus begins with *sthāpnā* verses which invite the Dādāgurus to be present at the rite.³⁰ This does not occur in Jina worship because, of course, the Jinas cannot come to the ritual since they exist outside of *saṃsāra*. The second variation is perhaps more indicative of the 'transactional' potential of Dādāguru worship. The eight substances offered to the Jina—notably the food—once offered (once renounced) cannot be reclaimed and eaten by the worshiper (in the form of *prasāda* as in Hindu temple worship). However, in Dādāguru worship, a portion of the food offerings may be reclaimed by worshipers and is regarded as *prasāda* (favour or blessing), a potent substance representative of the Dādās' power to fulfill devotees' requests.³¹

Babb sees a parallel between the mythological contexts of both Jain and Dādāguru worship, although each has a very different orientation.³² Standard Jina worship re-enacts one or more of the five *kalyāṇakas* (auspicious moments) in the earthly life of a Jina.³³ On these occasions, the gods led by Indra descend from heaven to

30. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 134ff.

33. These are: his descent into a human womb, birth, renunciation, attainment of omniscience, and final liberation.

worship the Jina or Jina-to-be. Lay worshipers in the re-enactment of this mythology assume the roles of the kings and queens of the gods, the Indras and Indrāṇīs, and their retinues. One might think that this homology between human devotees and the gods gives occasion for the affirmation of lay identity and aspirations, for the gods are model devotees,³⁴ but Babb thinks that it only serves to highlight the tension between life in the world and the life of the ascetic.³⁵ The gods may be archetypal worshipers, as illustrated by their role in Jain myth and ritual, but theirs is a life of pure enjoyment and the antithesis of the only legitimate way of life in Jainism, the path of the ascetic.³⁶ Jainism's inherent tension thus remains and is even exacerbated in this ritual context according to Babb: the rituals emphasize 'giving up', illustrated by the devotees' offerings which cannot be returned, but the devotees' ritual roles represent the gods for whom asceticism or giving up is never an option.

The tension in the worship of the Jina is relaxed in the parallel worship of the Dādāgurus, according to Babb, for although the roles of the worshiper and worshiped are duplicated in certain ways, this occurs on a different plane. Babb suggests that the *kalyāṇakas* celebrated in the Jinas' *pūjā* have their functional equivalent in the miracles from the hagiographies of the Dādāgurus, which are recounted in the course of Dādāguru-

34. In part **II** I suggested that such a homology was very important in the patronage of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla and by it they sought to present themselves as exceptional, even superhuman, lay Jains.

35. But as I said in part **III**, the gifts of goddess images by Jain nuns seem to imply that the donors valued goddess worship in a way that Babb says not even lay people can or should.

36. Babb, 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 23f.

pūjā. The miracles of the Dādās were performed for the sake of the furtherance of the faith, and that mission included securing converts. The pattern of conversion in the hagiographies includes miraculous cures of (especially) Hindu kings and warriors (Rajputs) in exchange for which these kings and warriors became Jains.³⁷ Jain caste and clan histories often repeat this pattern to account for the origin of the group. The Jains today performing the worship of the Dādāgurus, then, represent the descendants of those Rajputs.

It is important to note, Babb says, that the Jinas too were such transformed warriors: each renounced his princely status to embark upon the road to liberation. Lay Jains cannot usually make such a leap, and their continuance in non-renunciatory life is the source of the tension which, according to Babb, is the impetus for the Dādāguru cult. But the myths of the conversion of Hindu warriors to Jain (vegetarian) merchants centers lay Jains between “heroic asceticism” and “worldly kingship,” at least a step closer to Jainism’s highest values (acetic values) and at least a step removed from kings who consume meat and liquor, and the gods who are totally absorbed with sensual pleasure.

Laidlaw’s (briefer) characterization of the Dādāgurus and their worship resembles Babb’s, although it is presented in terms of Laidlaw’s *mokṣa* and *puṇya* discourses:

37. Such as the stories about Ratnaprabhasūri, and the origins of the Upa-keśa monastic lineage and caste which I discussed in part III.

The operator by which the Dada of Jain philosophy and history (the ascetic teacher) can also be the quasi-deity of the 'Punya Discourse' is to be found in the term used by the Jains most frequently and most readily to describe their Dada, 'Adhyamik Shakti' [spiritual power].³⁸

Asceticism can lead to enlightenment, as it did in the case of the Jinas, or produce the supernatural power of monks like the Dādāgurus.

Hence, the power of the Dādāgurus can be explained in the terms of either of Laidlaw's two discourses:

In the 'Moksha Discourse' the spiritual power of the Dada was the RESULT of his extraordinary learning, spiritual purity and ascetic practices. The SOURCE of that power was his unambiguous orientation towards and following the path of purification. The vast majority of the Dada's adherents could and did discuss him in just these terms. This represents, therefore, a store of knowledge in terms of the 'Moksha Discourse' whereby the Dada is clearly and unambiguously integrated into philosophical Jainism. His spiritual power is thus in these terms legitimately RELIGIOUS power.

On other occasions, in other contexts, the spiritual power of the Dada was not a result to be explained, but a taken-for-granted CONDITION; it was the means by which he performed his miracles and the relative prosperity and security of the Jain community in general, and of the Kharataragaccha in particular. A power which was at the Dada's command and could be appealed to, which was, in the familiar Indian sense, MAGICAL power.³⁹

The Dādāgurus serve as a bridge between the two discourses for Laidlaw, especially in the context of temple ritual where worship of the Jina and the Dādāgurus are parallel rites, as in Babb's description, though each generates its own meaning. The

38. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

primary focus of temple devotions is the Jina, and hence the operative discourse has to be the *mokṣa* discourse; however, it is in this same context that worship of the Dādās occurs, that requests for worldly assistance occur, within the *punya* discourse. Laidlaw notes, as Babb does, that several elements in the rituals in each case are shared, and these serve to mask the differences in meaning behind the devotions to each type of being. For Laidlaw, the cycle of devotions to both the Jina and the Dādā acts as a “rite of renewal” whereby the lay votary enters the realm of the *mokṣa* discourse (to worship the Jina) and is able to return to everyday life (always at odds with Jainism’s highest values) *via* worship of the Dādāgurus and its aim of worldly fulfillment; the process produces an “illusory continuity” between normative Jain values and lay identity.⁴⁰

The evidence from the ritual dedicated to the Dādāgurus, in comparison to the ritual dedicated to the Jinās, is very suggestive of Babb’s and Laidlaw’s characterization of the *contemporary* Dādāguru cult, namely, that the cult serves to bridge a discernible gap between Jainism’s normative liberation-oriented values and the worldly values of the Jain laity. However, the evidence does not establish that the Dādāguru cult *originated* in order to bridge such a gap, or in response to an inherent tension (or contradiction) in Jainism, between normative and lay values.

Babb and Laidlaw combined employ few historical sources for their characterizations of the Dādāgurus, the Kharataragaccha and the essence of Jain belief. I shall now introduce some historical evidence on each of these points. I see the Dādāguru cult as a very simple cult of the deified dead; I believe that Kharatara monks were the driving

40. See *ibid.*, pp. 61f., 68f.

force behind the cult and that their motives were (largely) political. That is to say, I believe that the image of the Kharataras as a reform movement is not all that Babb and Laidlaw imply that it is. Finally, I believe that the fundamental religious idea behind the deification of the Dādāgurus is that rebirth in heaven is the best possible fate anyone can hope for in this declining age in which enlightenment is no longer possible. This is to say, I do not believe that, historically, the Dādāguru cult is an effort to support Jainism's normative soteriology and resolve contradictions to it. In fact, I see no historical evidence of lay-ascetic tension which the Dādāguru cult could serve to mitigate.

3. The Origins of the Dādāgurus and Their Cult

I am led to my different understanding of the Dādāguru cult by a question which, I believe, an analysis of the Dādāguru cult should address, but which Babb and Laidlaw do not really consider: why is the Dādāguru cult a phenomenon that occurs only within the Kharataragaccha? Babb might have asked this question, but he only goes as far as to say:

the question of possible functional equivalents of the Dādāgurus among Tapā Gacch-affiliated Jains or other Jain traditions is not addressed here for lack of sufficient evidence.⁴¹

As far as I can tell, there are no movements analogous to the Dādāguru cult among Jains affiliated with lineages other than the Kharataragaccha. Now, I have argued that the apparent deification of Hīravijaya in the Tapā was something of an abortive attempt to

41. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110n.

create a movement like the Dādāguru cult, though it did not result in any sustained organization. I argued that the deification of Hīravijaya was a Tapāgaccha response to its ongoing conflict with the Kharataragaccha, as well as a response to its own internal strife (and not a response to any inherent conflict within Jainism). In the context of that argument, I suggested that the Dādāguru cult was a response to similar forces—that grew into a sustained movement where Tapāgaccha efforts failed. I now return to this part of my argument.

To begin my attempt to explain the presence of the Dādāguru cult in the Kharataragaccha, I pose a more specific question: why did the cult develop around the particular monks that it did? Babb and Laidlaw say that the four Dādāgurus (Jinadatta, Jinakuśala, Jinacandra “Maṇidhārī,” and Jinacandra VI) are singled out from other deceased Kharatara monks because they were great defenders and reformers of Jainism, because of their proselytizing efforts, and because of their miraculous powers in life. However, the biographies of many Kharatara monks tell us of miracles, conversions and reform. Furthermore, there does not appear to be a particular body of post-mortem miracles associated with these monks that distinguishes them from all other Kharatara monks. As I have argued, the story of Jinacandrasūri III offers many parallels to those of the proper Dādāgurus (including miracles in death), and yet this Jinacandra never became one of the Dādāgurus. I believe that there are some important historical reasons that explain the identity of (at least some of) the Dādāgurus, and these reasons point to very worldly motivations behind the rise of the cult.

The inclusion of Jinacandrasūri VI (d. 1613) in the cult indicates that the contemporary form of the cult does not predate the Mughal period. Evidence shows that the cult began to coalesce around the time of Jinacandrasūri VI's leadership of the Kharataragaccha; presumably a short time after his death he became the fourth object of the cult. First, a significant number of *pādukās*, and a few images and *stūpas* began to be erected, at least in honour of Jinakuśala, from the last quarter of the 16th century.⁴² Second, the *praśasti* to a copy of the *Jñātādharma-kathādyānīgasūtra* made in 1618 concludes with the earliest expression of devotion to (3 of 4 of) the Dādāgurus that I have encountered:

Obeisance to Śrī Śāntinātha. Obeisance to Jinadattasūri and Guru Śrī Jinakuśalasūri. May there be the protection of Śrī Śrī Śrī Lord Jinacandrasūri, the Most Learned of the Age.⁴³

A degree of devotion was extended to Jinakuśala as early as the mid-16th century. For, Kharatara *paṭṭāvalī* says that in the course of a wandering tour Jinamāṇikyasūri⁴⁴ undertook “a pilgrimage to Jinakuśalasūri at the town of Derāura” (*derāurnagare śrījina-*

42. See Nāhṭā, Agarcand and Bhanvarlāl, *Dādā Śrī Jinkuśalsūri*, Calcutta: Śankardān Śubhairāj Nāhṭā (New Rajasthan Press), 1939, pp. 49ff. I have not seen similar collected data on the images or footprints of other Dādāgurus, but I presume that a similar pattern occurs. See also Joṣī, 1963, *op. cit.*

43. śrī śāntināthāya namaḥ / jinadattasūraye namaḥ śrī jinakuśalasūriguru-bhyo namaḥ // yugapradhāna śrī śrī śrī jinacandrasūrīśvarāṇāṃ rakṣāstu // *SPS*, pt. 2, no. 728, p. 184. Since this manuscript was copied just a few years after the death of Jinacandrasūri VI, it is difficult to say whether the Jinacandra mentioned in the *praśasti* is he or Jinacandra Maṇidhārī.

44. He was head of the Kharataragaccha from 1526 to 1556 (Klatt, 1882, *op. cit.*, p. 250).

kuśalasūriyātrām) where Jinakuśala died in 1332, and during this pilgrimage Jinamāṇikya himself died.⁴⁵

Be this as it may, the origins of the cult, in the form it has today, must be located after the death of Jinacandrasūri VI, the fourth and most recent Dādāguru. I believe that increasing hostility between the Kharatara- and Tapāgacchas from around the time of Akbar, perhaps as the result of a scarcity of lay Jain and secular support under Muslim rule, was one major factor leading to the rise of the cult. In my view, the creation of a unique cult of deceased monks capable of fulfilling the hearts' desires of devotees was expected to draw lay votaries (and lay donations) to the Kharatara.

The Kharatara's desire to appear as influential as the Tapā is suggested by the fact that Jinacandra VI is called the "Awakener of Akbar" (*śrīakbarasāhipratibodhakārī*)⁴⁶ and he is also said to have secured certain concessions for the Jain community from Akbar, which are both claims made by the Tapā for Hīravijaya. But, it is apparent that Hīravijaya's influence at the Mughal court was more substantial than Jinacandra's, for the poet Abu Fazl recalls the presence of Hīravijaya at court, but not that of Jina-

45. *KGPS*, pp. 34, 56. Presumably, Jinamāṇikya went to pay devotion to Jinakuśala's *stūpa* which the *KGBG* (p. 85) indicates had been erected on the place of Jinakuśala's cremation.

As I previously reported, citing Babb, Jinakuśala's main *dādābārī* is at Mālpurā (Rajasthan), not Derāur (which is in Pakistan). The story is told that Jinakuśala appeared at Mālpurā 15 days after his death, indicated that a plaque of his footprints could be found buried there, and said that Mālpurā would then be his principal place of worship and he would perform all his miracles there. The story of Jinamāṇikya's pilgrimage to Derāur suggests that the story of the appearance at Mālpurā is a late invention. Perhaps Derāur became a hostile place for non-Muslims (recently or as far back as a time shortly after Jinamāṇikya's visit).

46. *E.g. SSG* 114.

candra.⁴⁷ If the alleged association between Jinacandra and Akbar did not succeed in raising the profile of the Kharatara, then the deification of Jinacandra might have offered more promise.

I also suggested above that the Kharatara's own internal tensions may have prompted the Dādāguru cult. I noted that a number of the ten divisions of the lineage (*gacchabhedas*) recognized by Kharatara sources occurred in the period from Jinacandra VI to his successor's successor Jinarājasūri II. Indirectly, one particular *gacchabheda*, resulting in the formation of the Laghavācārīyakharataraśākhā, may have been behind the inclusion of Jinakuśala among the Dādāgurus. As I indicated, this sub-branch was started by one Harṣanandana in about 1630. Harṣanandana was the disciple of Samayasundara. Now, Samayasundara's guru's guru was Jinacandrasūri VI; therefore, I presume that Samayasundara owed some loyalty to the line of Jinacandra, that is, the main branch of the Kharataragaccha. Furthermore, Samayasundara serves as one of the most important witnesses to the post-mortem power of Jinakuśala. Hagiographers recount the story, first recorded in a hymn to Jinakuśala by Samayasundara, which tells of a trip by Samayasundara and some companions across "the five rivers" in a boat. A great storm blew up and threatened to capsize the boat; however, by the intervention of the deceased Jinakuśala, the group made it safely across the waters.⁴⁸ It appears as an amazing coincidence that Samayasundara, somewhat responsible for intra-*gaccha* strife through his disciple Harṣanandana, is so intimately involved in the propagation of the Dādāguru cult (or at

47. Desai, M.C., *op. cit.*, p. 5.

48. See Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Granoff, December 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

least the worship of Jinakuśala). Perhaps Samayasundara attempted to offset the discord sown by his disciple Harṣanandana⁴⁹ by the promotion of the divinity of a revered figure in the main line of succession of the Kharatara.

Jinamāṅkyaśūri's pilgrimage to Derāur where Jinakuśala died also suggests that the Jinakuśala's place in the Dādāguru cult owes something to intra-*gaccha* strife. This pilgrimage was part of a tour by Jinamāṅkya intended to reform the lax behaviour of the Kharatara monks of Sindh.⁵⁰ Perhaps the figure of Jinakuśala was a point around which to rally the Kharataragaccha in the face of dissension on India's Northwest frontier. Jinakuśala, in addition to being a figure revered throughout the whole Kharataragaccha, may have been something of a local hero in the region around Derāur, since his cremation place there was also a pilgrimage place. Jinakuśala's fame in Northwest India is also implied in the story of Samayasundara and the miracle at the five rivers (in Sindh or the Punjab).

The inclusion of Jinadattasūri among the Dādāgurus does not require much explanation, but it is perhaps the most significant. I have already referred to the numerous miracles attributed to him; and it is apparent that he was among the first Kharatara

49. Satya Vrat says that Samayasundara was greatly wounded by the perfidy of Harṣanandana and his other disciples; however, I have not had the opportunity to review Vrat's sources for this to determine what they might tell us about Harṣanandana and/or Jinakuśala's divinity (Vrat, Satya, Studies in Jaina Sanskrit Literature, Delhi: Eastern Book linkers, 1995, p. 178).

50. *KGPS*, p. 34 and see also p. 56 for a slightly varied account.

The monks of Sindh appear to have been a regular problem for the Kharataragaccha. Babb reports that Jinakuśala himself was invited to Sindh by the local community to counter backsliding among the Jains (Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 123), although, there is no suggestion that these lax Jains were exclusively associated with the Kharataragaccha.

monks around whom a substantial biographical corpus developed.⁵¹ With respect to these facts, Jinadatta stands as one of the primary founding fathers of the Kharatara lineage. The deification of a group of past heads of the line, representing the period almost from the *gaccha*'s origin as a distinct line, up to Jinacandrasūri VI, reinforced the succession of pontiffs of the main branch of the lineage and gave it supernatural authority. Undoubtedly this produced a certain cachet for the Kharatara as a whole, in the face of competition from without, but it must have also had great value in creating lineage solidarity, feeding the trunk of the lineage tree and perhaps choking off malcontent and marginal branches.

4. The Dādāguru Cult Today Reconsidered

My arguments for why certain monks were included among the Dādāgurus imply that monks were active agents in the creation of the cult. In a basic and obvious way this has to be true: Kharatara hagiographies, of the Dādāgurus and other monks in the lineage, are all monastic compositions; the image of the Dādāgurus as reformers, miracle workers and makers of new Jains, and as powerful gods in death, has been advanced for centuries by monks. But more than this, I am suggesting that Kharatara monks pushed for the formalization of the worship of deceased monks in the form of the Dādāguru cult. My arguments above do not offer much direct proof that Kharatara monks worked to create the cult such as it exists today. But to be sure, Kharatara monks actively sought to

51. Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*

turn the deceased Jinacandra III into a Dādāguru-like figure in the 13th century: Jinakuśala himself donated a portrait of Jinacandra; and in the *KGBG* a few years later, Jinapāla characterized Jinacandra as a powerful god who occasionally offered supernatural aid to Jinakuśala, and whose cremation place was a source of supernatural power. If Kharatara monks encouraged the deification of monks in the 13th century, then they might have done the same in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Although Babb, in particular, is not concerned with the origins of the cult, I believe that his presentation implies that it must have been monks who propagated Dādāguru worship. As I pointed out earlier, Babb says:

Ascetics require the support and protection of those who are not ascetics, and this means that nonascetics must some how be brought into the ambit of a wider tradition that encompasses the religious interests of those who do and those who do not renounce the world.⁵²

By Babb's own admission, it seems, a Jainism for ascetics and lay people is necessitated first by the (physical) needs of ascetics. I believe that ascetics, at the very least, encouraged the Dādāguru cult in order to serve these basic needs; but more than that, I am arguing that Kharatara monks promoted the cult in the even more worldly political (and economic) interests of the Kharataragaccha. In any case, I find it hard to believe that monks promoted the cult in order to solve the problem of the lay Jain.⁵³

52. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 9f.

53. Even supposing that monks encouraged the Dādāguru cult as a means to bring lay and ascetic values into a more stable relationship—out of their own discomfort with the worldly interest of the laity and/or in response to the laity's anxiety about its relationship to the highest values of its faith—this appears to contradict Babb's (and Laidlaw's) characterization of Jain asceticism. In Jainism, according to Babb, "the ascetic's

My evidence suggesting that Kharatara monks prompted the Dādāguru cult encourages us to look more closely at the nature of the Kharatara's self-image and so also the descriptions of the Kharatara by Babb and Laidlaw. Babb and Laidlaw both assert that the Dādāgurus are revered as great reformers of Jainism, in addition to their power to perform miracles and their work in securing converts to Jainism. Since, as Babb says, the Dādāgurus differ from other Kharatara monks only in degree, reform is a characteristic of the whole Kharataragaccha. This is precisely as medieval Kharatara lineage histories and other texts by Kharatara monks characterize the group. The Kharatara rhetoric of reform has reinforced the scholarly image of the proper Jain monk as a reflection of the normative pattern, and biased the interpretation of much historical evidence to the contrary. But, as I shall attempt to show, the image of the Kharatara as a reform movement is not all that it appears to be.

The particular bane of the Kharatara monks were the *caityavāsins*, “temple-dwelling monks” who allegedly used temple profits for their own use and lived in residences especially prepared for them by the laity.⁵⁴ As I previously reported, the

path alone possesses unquestioned legitimacy” (Babb, 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 26); hence, those who have taken monastic ordination and follow the prescriptions enjoined upon them live comfortably within the tradition's dominant values, their actions having the highest sanction. The ascetic life then, neither requires any compromise, nor by Babb's and Laidlaw's characterization of it, should we expect any ascetic to encourage any compromise in Jain life—ascetics could only counsel non-ascetics to follow their example of proper Jain life, and at most quietly tolerate the failure of the laity to follow such an example. But, if we admit that some monks, in whole or in part, orchestrated the compromise between “impossibly strict ascetic values” and the worldly values of the laity in a form such as the Dādāguru cult, then this undermines the imperative which Babb and Laidlaw attach to Jain asceticism: Jain asceticism, in practice, ceases to be “impossibly strict.”

54. See Dundas, 1987-1988, *op. cit.*, pp. 182ff.

legendary defeat of the *caityavāsins* in debate by Jineśvarasūri in the 11th century is central to Kharatara identity, for it is said that this event prompted King Durlabha to give Jineśvara the name “The Fierce” (*kharatara*) which was then lent to the whole lineage.

In the words of Laidlaw, the *caityavāsins* “enjoyed considerable wealth and religious power, quite contrary to the role of religious leader in Jainism as exemplar of the prescribed asceticism.”⁵⁵ The inference appears to be that Kharatara reform was supposed to be a return to ideal discipline, modeled on the career of the Jina. Certainly Babb’s and Laidlaw’s insistence upon the image of Jain asceticism as uncompromisingly oriented toward the goal of liberation implies that Kharatara monks (or at least the Dādāgurus while they lived) were so oriented; otherwise, the conflict between lay and ascetic values that supposedly explains the Dādāguru cult in the Kharatara community would not exist, or at least it would not be so apparent. But, as I have argued, if Kharatara monks actively encouraged the worship of the deified dead, then we have to question the extent to which these monks conformed to the normative ideal.

To infer that the Kharataragaccha followed the practice outlined in authoritative codes of discipline based upon their opposition to the *caityavāsins* is problematic. We know virtually nothing about the *caityavāsin* monks or their practice except what we are told in Kharatara sources, which are hardly unbiased accounts. Our only independent historical evidence comes from the *lekha* of 1342, to which I have referred several times.⁵⁶ That document of a major conclave held at Patan mentions several *caityavāsin*

55. 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

56. Shah, U.P., 1955, *op. cit.*

monks, and several “forest-dwelling monks,” but no Kharatara monks are among them. This indicates that the Kharatara did not become an influential organization as early as its literature suggests that it did;⁵⁷ from this, we might conclude that the famous 11th century debate at Patan is nothing more than creative fiction. In any event, the *lekha* indicates that in 1342 nine of the Jain temples in Patan were *caityavāsin* institutions (as were many others in Gujarat); if Jineśvara had the *caityavāsin*s banished from Patan in the 11th century, they found a way to return, and in force. At the very least, the Kharatara claims of early triumphs over the *caityavāsin*s are greatly exaggerated. In the absence of much historical evidence about the *caityavāsin*s, I think we have to regard the Kharatara use of the term *caityavāsin* as a pejorative catchall for monks that they opposed. Furthermore, we cannot regard the supposed ‘heterodoxy’ of the *caityavāsin*s or other monks as an indication of Kharatara orthodoxy.

I do not mean to deny that certain Kharatara monks actually made efforts at reform, or that they were sincere in their concern for discipline in the community. Jina-datta railed against the corrupt monk who has fallen from the right path: “He does not understand what the real meaning of the holy words is. He too has fallen into the way of common practice and is swept away on its current.”⁵⁸ Jineśvara condemned the *caityavāsin*s, or monks like them, who say such things to the laity as “sirs, build temples and we shall strive in those areas in which you are not competent” (in order to get the laity to

57. Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, pp. 251f.

58. *Upadeśasāyana* 19, translated by Granoff in Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

build monasteries also).⁵⁹ And although temple-worship was never proscribed in the Kharatara community, as Dundas says, Kharatara monks were concerned about the possibility of corruption in the community from too much involvement in temple-based practice.⁶⁰

However, it is apparent that reform as imagined by some Kharatara monks, especially later ones, was not exactly a return to canonical injunction. Kharatara monks quite openly breached monastic codes of discipline (albeit, in rather venial ways). The *Dasaveyāliyasutta*⁶¹ says that a monk should not engage in back-biting nor should he speak to someone in a way that arouses anger or indignation in the one to whom he speaks.⁶² Kharatara identity, explicitly stated in Kharatara texts, is intimately tied to an ongoing criticism of the *caityavasins* and other lax monks; but even these ‘bad’ monks should not be criticized according to the *sutta*.⁶³ The *sutta* also says that the monk should

59. Dundas, 1987-1988, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

61. This text is acknowledged in Kharatara sources as authoritative for monastic behaviour: recall that this is the text, as Babb himself points out, that Jineśvara quoted to defeat the *caityavāsins* in debate.

62. *Dasaveyāliya Sutta*, Leumann, Ernst, ed., Schubring, Walter, trans., Ahmedabad: The Managers of Sheth Anandji Kalianji, 1932, repr. W. Schubring Kleine Schriften Herausgegeben von Klaus Bruhn, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1977, 8.46-47.

63. Granoff also points out that the polemical attitude of many Kharatara monks is in direct contravention of the prescriptions of the *Dasaveyāliyasutta*, and adds that this begs the question of “just what is the relationship between the image or self-image of the medieval monk and normative descriptions of monks in the canonical texts and the didactic stories” (Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 50n.).

not say that “there are famous pilgrimage places at [a certain] river ... he should say [not more than] that the places of pilgrimage are [of] equal [sanctity] at all rivers.”⁶⁴ Yet, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (1333), by Jinaprabhasūri of the Kharataragaccha, is one of the best known medieval pilgrimage manuals, and it says such things as “O lord of peaks Śatruñjaya! How can even wise people describe in brief your qualities? Doing *namaskāra*, etc., to you results in as much decay of karma as a one month fast elsewhere.”⁶⁵ These are surely the kind of statements the *sutta* sought to proscribe.

Now, these might be rather minor matters. But, that Kharatara monks possessed property is surely more grave and certainly proscribed by normative codes of discipline. According to the *Dasaveyāliyasutta*, a monk must not possess “a stock of things;” and he should be “without property” and “without possessions.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, the monk vows, “O my Master, I renounce all property, be it little or much, etc. I [shall myself] not acquire property.”⁶⁷ As I reported in part III, the biographies of the Kharatara monk Jinaprabhasūri say that the monk accepted numerous gifts from the Sultan. Furthermore, several Kharatara ascetics made gifts in the medieval period and even in the recent past (see **Tables A.** and **D.**). Notably, Jinakuśalasūri donated portraits of Jinaratnasūri and his own guru Jinacandrasūri III. Such gifts must imply that Jinakuśala possessed, in some

64. *Dasaveyāliya Sutta*, Schubring, trans., *op. cit.*, 7.36-37.

65. *VTK* 1, Cort, trans., in Granoff, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 251.

66. *Dasaveyāliya Sutta*, Schubring, trans., *op. cit.*, 3.3; 6.21; 12.5.

67. *Ibid.*, 4.V.

sense, the means to pay for them, and hence, Jinakuśala contravened some of the most important regulations of the *Dasaveyāliyasutta*.

Recall that Laidlaw describes the spiritual power of the Dādāgurus, with respect to the “moksha discourse,” as the result of their “spiritual purity” among other things, by which he means their “unambiguous orientation towards and following the path of purification.”⁶⁸ However, Jinakuśala, who would become one of the most popular Dādās, seems to have been oriented towards something different, as evidenced by his making gifts. For absolute poverty is undoubtedly one of the bulwarks of (ideal) Jain asceticism, but it was not a feature of Jinakuśala’s monastic life. Clearly, the image of the Kharataragaccha as a reform group does not imply that the group represented some return to the pristine discipline of the Jinas. If the asceticism of Kharatara monks was not always that of the normative rule, then we may wonder to what extent Kharatara monks were oriented to the normative soteriology; if Kharatara monks were not actively seeking enlightenment, then we may wonder to what extent ascetic values were at odds with lay values, questions to which I shall return below.

I am not particularly troubled by the fact that the Kharataragaccha was often different in practice from what it apparently was in precept. It is simply clear to me that the Kharatara polemic against the *caityavāsins* represents a particular Kharatara ideology. The Kharatara was claiming that it represented the true teaching. In this, it was not unique; I have indicated that the Tapāgaccha had a similar ideology. The Kharatara, Tapā,

68. 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

and other groups as well, as Dundas says, “shaped a sense of identity by defining as deviant other members of the Jain ascetic community.”⁶⁹

This is important to note, for the representation of the Kharatara characterization of the *caityavāsins* as if it were historical fact about historical monks, in the manner of Babb and Laidlaw, has encouraged the distortion of the history of Jain monasticism. The spectre of the *caityavāsins* presented in Kharatara literature has provided a convenient scapegoat upon which to pin all historical evidence of ‘heterodoxy’ among medieval Jain monks.

For example, as I said in part III, K.C. Jain attributes some of the very examples of monastic giving which I have discussed to the *caityavāsins* and a decline in monastic discipline:

That the Chaityavasīs deviated considerably from the traditional ways of Jaina Sādhus is evident from several Jaina temples and idols installed by them [*i.e.* sponsored, not merely consecrated]. This was the practice of the laity and not the Sadhus.⁷⁰

However, I have noted previously that there is absolutely no evidence that any of the monk-donors to whom I have referred were *caityavāsins*. I have argued that the evidence of monastic giving represents common belief and practice among medieval monks, based on a common understanding of the monastic vocation which was not informed by normative soteriology. It is clear that monks from many corners of the monastic community

69. Dundas, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

70. 1963, *op. cit.*, pp. 89f.

shared a certain religiosity with the laity; many monks were concerned with the acquisition of merit for themselves and their fellows according to the inscriptions for their gifts.

Certainly, the kind of monasticism represented by ascetics' gifts is far different from that imagined by Babb and Laidlaw. The gifts by monks (and nuns) of lineages other than the Kharatara might not bear upon Babb's and Laidlaw's analyses, and we might even choose to set aside the gifts by Jinakuśala. However, the evidence of some other gifts by Kharatara monks is very difficult to reconcile with the asceticism portrayed by Babb and Laidlaw as oriented to liberation.

The gifts in question were made in the 19th century. I note first that Paṇḍita Īśvarasiṃha donated an *aṣṭadalakamala* image in 1839 *for his own merit*, and Vācaka Vidyāhema donated some kind of religious building (*śālā*) in 1801, apparently for his own merit.⁷¹ These two gifts not only represent giving on the part of Kharatara monks, but those monks' interest in merit, presumably for worldly benefit or a better rebirth, the antithesis of the asceticism described by Babb and Laidlaw. Furthermore, we should take note of the relatively recent dates of these donations; for all intents and purposes, these are modern gifts. Hence, they demonstrate decided worldly concerns on the part of their donors within about the same period of time in which Babb and Laidlaw describe asceticism as unambiguously oriented to liberation.

To the gifts by Īśvarasiṃha and Vidyāhema I add the gift of a plaque of the footprints of "Dādājī Śrī Jinacandrasūri" by the monk a certain monk in the line of

71. *BJLS* 2541, 2104.

Paṇḍita Dīpacandra in 1841.⁷² This gift presents a circumstance not considered by Babb and Laidlaw: active monastic participation in the Dādāguru cult. This gift is problematic with respect to Babb's and Laidlaw's conception of asceticism for reasons I believe I have made clear. This gift is also problematic with respect to Babb's and Laidlaw's theories about the meaning of the Dādāguru cult, for the cult is supposed to manage the conflict between worldly and renunciatory values; ascetics should not be subject to such a conflict and so there is no reason for them to participate in the cult in the same way as the laity.

Altogether, the evidence of recent giving on the part of Kharatara monks demonstrates that the ascetics of the Kharatara often behaved in ways quite at odds with the way we would expect them to behave according to Babb's and Laidlaw's characterizations of Jain asceticism, Kharatara history and the Dādāguru cult. The gifts by Īśvara-siṃha and Vidyāhema, *et al.*, made explicitly for the merit that attached to them, show that some ascetics had an idea of the monastic vocation which was the complete opposite of the normative pattern. The gift of Jinacandra's footprints suggests that the Dādāguru cult exists for all Jains associated with the Kharatara, lay and ascetic, not just for the laity and with respect to (only) their worldly concerns.

I believe that I have presented several substantial arguments that lead us to believe that Jain asceticism, particularly in the Kharatara, was never the absolute reflection of normative prescription that Babb and Laidlaw make it out to be. Hence, we have to ask, what is the relationship between the lives of (Kharatara) monks and the normative

72. *BJLS* 1806.

soteriology? Historically, was the aim of (Kharatara) monastic life enlightenment and liberation? From a number of perspectives, the answer to this last question is, simply, *no*. In medieval literature such as the monastic biographies, the life of the monk does not follow the path to liberation. As Granoff says, mostly with respect to Kharatara literature, “Monks do not achieve *kevala jñāna* in the biographies written about them,” and as I reported earlier, citing the same passage from Granoff, when monks die, “most, we learn, simply go to heaven.”⁷³ Behind this appears to be the fact that it was popularly understood from the medieval period that omniscience was simply impossible in this decadent age.

I believe that the fact that the Dādāgurus are gods indicates that they and their cult are oriented to something quite different from normative Jain values. I do not understand how the Dādāgurus bridge Jainism’s dominant, highest or genuine values, and the values of the laity, insofar as I fail to see how the Dādāgurus are qualitatively different from other gods in the Jain pantheon. As Babb argues, the gods represent the antithesis of asceticism.⁷⁴

But, Babb argues that the Dādāgurus are gods of a different sort. His reasoning is as follows. The other Jain gods, for their part, “are not, in the strict sense, objects of worship. They cannot be. Jains worship ascetics, but the gods and goddesses of Jainism are the opposite of ascetics.”⁷⁵ Worship of the other Jain gods is diametrically opp-

73. Granoff and Shinohara, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 3n.

74. 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

75. *Ibid.*

osed to the spirit of Jainism and thus ultimately unfulfilling for the laity in terms of their Jain identity. The Dādāgurus are, like other Jain gods, powerful beings to whom devotees can appeal for aid, but they are also remembered as they were in life, as monks. Thus, “in the imaginations of devotees, the Dādāgurus represent figures in whom the identities of ascetic and deity are quite unproblematically fused,” a fact which Babb thinks is very important.⁷⁶ Now, while many of Babb’s informants compared the Dādāgurus to the Jinas’ superintendent deities (*adhiṣṭhāyak devas*) and to the gods who guard temples,⁷⁷ for Babb, this is only part of the story, as the Dādāgurus “are beings who behave like deities but, because they are ascetics, belong to the category of beings who are (unlike deities) truly worthy of worship” (according to the scheme of the *namaskāra* mantra).⁷⁸ Thus, the Dādāgurus “provide a way of seeking worldly help from powerful beings that is fundamentally in tune with Jainism’s dominant values.”⁷⁹

As an extension of Babb’s argument about Dādāguru ritual, his analysis of the Dādāgurus as gods is compelling in some ways. However, we must examine it cautiously, for I have historical evidence that tells something very different about divinity in Jainism and about the divinity of deceased Kharatara monks in particular.

First, I question Babb’s contention that the Jain gods are not really objects of worship. Certainly, if the *namaskāra* mantra defines worship worthiness, then the gods

76. 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 133f.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

are not objects of worship. However, the *namaskāra* mantra is not the only conception of worship worthiness in Jain tradition. As we have seen, Dharmasāgara has a very different idea about which beings are worthy of worship, taken from the *Thānāṅgasutta*, which encompasses the worthies of the *namaskāra* mantra, the Jain dharma, the fourfold *saṅgha* composed of lay people and ascetics, and the deities. Dharmasāgara adds that the deities are worthy of worship because they promote the Jain faith. Other significant evidence concerning the legitimacy of the worship of the gods comes from two inscriptions that record gifts of goddess images by Jain nuns: in my discussion of monastic giving I pointed out that a certain nun donated an image of the goddess Saccikā in 1181,⁸⁰ and that the nun Suhaba donated an image of the goddess Ambikā in 1315, and this was done for her own merit.⁸¹ All this evidence clearly shows that worship of the gods was unproblematic in certain quarters of the Jain community, and by no means opposed to ascetic values. On the basis of this evidence, it seems that the Dādāgurus' ascetic identities are not necessary to render them worship worthy.

Furthermore, I do not believe that Babb's informants' comparison of the Dādāgurus to the Jinas' superintending deities (*adhiṣṭāyak deva*s) is only the partial truth that Babb says it is. Recall how, in the biography of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the monk Varddhamānasūri died and became the superintendent deity of Śaṅkheśvara Pārśvanātha (*mṛtvā śaṅkheśvarādhiṣṭāyakatayā jātāh*) and was able to report to Tejaḥpāla about

80. Agrawala, 1954, *op. cit.*

81. *PJLS* II 522.

where Vastupāla had been reborn.⁸² Moreover, as I showed in my discussion of ‘Jinakuśala and the monastic gift’, in the *KGBG* Jinapāla refers to the portraits of Jinacandra and Jinaratna which were donated by Jinakuśala as “images of the superintending deities” (*adhiṣṭāyikānām mūrttayah*); Jinapāla implies that the two monks were just like the other gods in the next paragraph where he refers to images of the *adhiṣṭāyikas* Kapardiyakṣa, Kṣetrapāla and Ambikā.⁸³ On the basis of this evidence, I see the Dādāgurus as just four more of the deified dead in the Jain pantheon, not unlike Kapardin, Ambikā or Varddhāmāna.

To be sure, the ‘theology’ behind the deification of the Dādāgurus is simple and exactly the same as that behind all the other deified dead in Jain literature or the pantheon to which organized devotions are given. One attains rebirth in heaven as the reward of piety (on account of one’s merit) or austerity and religious restraint. Anyone who performs the right amount of merit-making activity or asceticism can secure heavenly rebirth. Some of the heavenly reborn simply enjoy the bliss of heaven for a time and then are reborn in some other existence; others are reborn in heaven and have the power to perform worldly miracles. However, there is nothing in general conceptions of karma and rebirth to explain the difference between the two, and all manner of persons may become gods with exceptional supernatural powers; the layman Kapardin starved himself to death and became Kapardiyakṣa and so too four particular Kharatara monks became

82. *PK*, p. 128. It is remembered by Jains even today that Varddhāmāna became the superintendent deity of Śaṅkheśvara Pārśvanātha (Cort, 1989, *op. cit.*, p. 416).

83. *KGBG*, pp. 71f.

the Dādāgurus. Hence, there is nothing unique about the Dādāgurus' asceticism in life that led to their special rebirths.

Now, Laidlaw discusses the power of the Dādāgurus in terms of his *mokṣa* and *puṇya* discourses. In *mokṣa* terms the source of the Dādāgurus' power is their "unambiguous orientation towards and following the path of purification;" in *puṇya* terms the power of the Dādāgurus is simply magical power demonstrated by their history of miraculous service. I believe that the Dādāgurus power can only be described as magical power. In my discussion of monastic giving, I referred to a story from Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* in which King Kumārapāla asks Hemacandra to tell him about his previous birth. Hemacandra explains that in this declining age the accomplishments of former teachers are no longer possible, and hence, the only way that he can acquire the knowledge the king has requested, is to meditate upon the Vidyādevīs. After three days of meditation, the goddesses appear before Hemacandra and give him the information he seeks. Hence, Hemacandra did not possess any special faculties or abilities acquired through asceticism that permitted him to know, for example, anyone's past lives; rather, he had to use the shaman-like powers of any Indian *yogī* and evoke a higher power to learn of Kumārapāla's previous birth. I believe that the Dādāgurus' power can only be described in similar terms.

This is suggested by the list of accomplishments of the former teachers that Hemacandra says have now been lost. But more importantly, this list cuts right to the heart of Babb's and Laidlaw's analyses of the Dādāguru cult. Babb and Laidlaw both assert that behind the Dādāguru cult is a paradox or tension between the worldly values of

the laity and Jainism's highest calling, renunciation in order to attain liberation. In the *PK* account, Hemacandra describes how all the accomplishments of Mahāvīra and his immediate disciples were lost soon after Mahāvra's final liberation; here, I mention only the most significant ones. First, and most importantly, *kevala jñāna*, that is, omniscience, was lost. Thus, the normative goal of Jain asceticism, liberation from *samsāra* following the achievement of *kevala jñāna*, is no longer a possibility, no matter how zealous a monk might be in his practice. Second, the asceticism practiced by the Jina (*jinakalpa*) is no longer possible. Not only is Jain monastic practice in this age not oriented to liberation, it is not even the same practice as that which once led to *kevala jñāna*. Finally, the meditational power called *mahāpraṇadhyāna*, which permits the adept to advance from the 6th *gṇasthāna*, attained upon monastic initiation, to the 7th, can no longer be attained. That is to say, the Jain monk can make no spiritual progress (on the ladder leading to omniscience) beyond that which he attains simply by his ordination. That is also to say, the most advanced lay person rises to the level of the 5th *gṇasthāna*.⁸⁴

By Rājaśekhara's account, the laity cannot be (far) out of step with the Jainism's ascetic values, for there is no ultimate goal which necessitates the adoption of ascetic vows.⁸⁵ Monasticism may still be regarded as the superior mode of religious

84. According to Dundas, the belief that the lay person can advance only to the 5th *gṇasthāna*, and the monk to the 6th is a common belief among Jains today (1992, *op. cit.*, p. 130).

85. This, perhaps, begs the question of why anyone would become an ascetic. I cannot claim to know the hearts of any Jain ascetics, living or dead, but only reply, following Collins, that "there are as many motivations as there are ascetics ... there is, simply, a taste for the perceived virtues of purity, simplicity, and celibacy which certain human beings have" (Collins, Steven, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities*,

practice, but it cannot be said to negate lay life. For, not only is monastic practice not oriented to enlightenment, it is not even the type of monasticism that would otherwise lead to enlightenment, and it does not offer any spiritual advancement beyond what is afforded to it by definition. Thus, the kind of paradox or tension which Laidlaw and Babb claim to be fundamental to Jainism and the reason for the Dādāguru cult does not seem to exist.

To answer the question of why there was a need for a cult of the monastic dead in addition to the cults of the other Jain deities, we need to refocus our attention on the fact that the Dādāgurus were monks in life, but for reasons other than those given by Babb. By my argument, the identity of the Dādāgurus as monks is crucial to the cult because, as Kharatara monks, the Dādāgurus represent a special power in the exclusive possession of the living Kharataragaccha; the fulfillment of devotees' worldly desires is only accomplished through Kharatara institutions in the form of the cult, Kharatara shrines and the Kharatara monastic community. As I have attempted to reconstruct it, the Dādāguru cult was, first, a monastic creation intended to solidify the political/economic position of the main branch of the Kharataragaccha in the face of external and internal threats by drawing lay support to the lineage.

I have offered little direct evidence that Jinakuśala (and Jinapāla) encouraged the deification of Jinacandra III for political purposes; I have uncovered no specific historical context for this phase of the Dādāguru cult. And while the historical circumstances behind the rise of the proper cult suggest strong political motives for the cult's develop-

ment, the evidence that the Kharataragaccha directly benefitted, materially or politically, from the cult is circumstantial. Certainly, as I have said, medieval sources like the *BCGC* indicate that the Kharatara- and Tapāgacchas fought tooth-and-nail to secure exclusive rights of control over the major Jain temples of Western India from the Mughal authorities. Furthermore, the Kharataragaccha (and the Tapāgaccha) survived lean medieval times while dozens of other lineages simply disappeared, suggesting to me that the Dādāguru cult was one means employed by the Kharataragaccha to increase its influence (or perhaps to prevent its extinction).

At the same time, it appears that living Kharatara monks presented themselves as indispensable to the manifestation of (the Dādās') miracles. In the *KGBG*, Jinakuśala is portrayed, in life, as the equal to all the past leaders of the Kharataragaccha in supernatural accomplishments. This in itself is not unusual, especially since he became one of the four Dādāgurus; but more significantly, a characteristic element of Jinakuśala's miraculous power in life was that the power of the deified dead was his to wield according to his will. Jinakuśala evoked the power of Jinacandrasūri III through meditation and Jinakuśala's own magic power brought Jinacandra from heaven, first to witness the consecrations performed by Jinakuśala at Śatruñjaya, and later to assist in similar consecrations at Patan. In the formal Dādāguru cult, I would argue, the Dādāgurus' devotees are beholden to living Kharatara monks, since those monks wield the power of the Dādās at will. This, I believe, is the implication of the recollection of the tales of conversion and the Dādāgurus' miracles in the *Dādāguru-pūjā*: the hagiographies remind devotees of

their descent from the earlier converts, as Babb says, and they remind devotees that living monks are the Dādāgurus' successors and living representatives.

This brings us back to the issue with which I began my description of the Dādāguru cult, and which Babb and Laidlaw do not ask of their materials: why are the Dādāgurus monks of the Kharataragaccha and not some other lineage(s)? The specific locus of the cult makes it hard to believe that the cult reflects an inherent conflict in (Śvetāmbara) Jainism, for we would then expect to find similar phenomena among the Tapā, Añcala or other surviving lineages, but we do not.⁸⁶ The cult must have developed in response to the specific needs of the Kharataragaccha. Transactional devotions to deceased Kharatara monks must have generated material gain for Kharatara institutions, or at least political gain for the organization as a whole. The recollection of past ties between magical monks (of the Kharataragaccha) and lay converts (miraculously secured) in Dādāguru-*pūjā* remind devotees of the debt they owe to the lineage and suggest that devotion to the living lineage (in the form of material support) is required to maintain the pattern of supernatural service from past lineage members.

86. I have argued that an attempt was made in the Tapāgaccha to generate a similar cult but that it bore no fruit. I also argued that this attempt was political and not a response to alleged contradictions within Jainism.

All the historical evidence I have presented and the various arguments I have made about the Dādāguru cult and the interpretations of it by Babb and Laidlaw do not really address directly two bodies of evidence presented by Babb in particular which are particularly suggestive of his interpretation of the Dādāguru cult. These are evidence from contemporary informants and the evidence from modern vernacular liturgical manuals for the worship of the Jinas and the Dādāgurus.

Babb's informants appear to feel the tension between their personal (worldly) and Jainism's normative prescriptions insofar as they seem embarrassed and grow evasive when pressed (by Babb) to explain how Jina worship, ostensibly an act of renunciation, can produce worldly benefits. The ritual of Dādāguru worship appears to be designed to manage the conflict between the laity's personal (worldly) religious expectations and the understanding of Jina worship as an act of renunciation by its adaptations and reorientations of the elements of standard *Jina-pūjā*.

Nonetheless, this evidence tells us very little about the Dādāguru cult or Jainism in history. Live informants obviously have a contemporary understanding of their religion. Also, the liturgies for the worship of the Jinas and Dādāgurus which Babb employs are of very recent authorship. In light of the evidence I have presented we might wonder, what is the source of the apparently renewed emphasis upon normative values among contemporary Jains?

Possibly, the emphasis on canonical and extra-canonical literature, and the normative philosophy contained therein, in the work of 19th and 20th century "continental

orientalists” was responsible;⁸⁷ given the fact that “the level of education and intellectual sophistication in Jain communities is high,”⁸⁸ we may suppose that trends in Western scholarship have had a certain influence over the Jain community of the recent past and up to the present. At the same time, we might suspect that the Kharatara ideology of reform, fostered in Kharatara circles by, for example, the Dādāguru cult, has prevailed and Kharatara practice has come to be regarded as orthopraxis. In that event, a real anxiety may have been engendered among the Jain laity concerning its relationship to Jainism’s normative values. That in turn may have legitimated a cult of the monastic dead which originated out of the monastic politics of the Mughal period. But, regardless of the circumstances under which Jain normative values gained renewed currency, the study of the Dādāguru cult only in its modern phase, such as Babb and Laidlaw have undertaken, misses the manifold nuances of the cult’s historical phases which lurk under the surface of the cult as it is practiced today.

87. See Banks, *op. cit.*, 450ff. for a brief history of the formation of ‘Jainology’ in modern scholarship.

88. Babb, 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 19f.

Table 1. The Lūnigavasahī Hastīśālā^a

	Reliefs	Elephants^b
1)	Udayaprabhācārya, pupil of Vijayasenasūri Vijayasensasūri, consecrator of the Lūnigavasahī Caṇḍapa, great-great-grandfather of Tejahpāla Cāmpaladevī, wife of Caṇḍapa	Caṇḍapa
2)	Caṇḍaprasāda, son of Caṇḍapa Cāmpaladevī, wife of Caṇḍaprasāda	Caṇḍaprasāda
3)	Soma, son of Caṇḍaprasāda Sītādevī, wife of Soma Āsana, son of Soma (Portrayed as a small figure at the feet of Sītādevī)	Soma
4)	Āsarāja, son of Soma Kumāradevī, wife of Āsarāja	Āsarāja
5)	Lūniga, son of Āsarāja Lūnādevī, wife of Lūniga	Lūniga
6)	Mālladeva, son of Āsarāja Līladevī, wife of Mālladeva Pratāpadevī, wife of Mālladeva	Mālladeva
7) ^c	Vastupāla, son of Āsarāja Lalitādevī, wife of Vastupāla Vejaladevī, wife of Vastupāla (known as Sokhukā in other inscriptions)	Vastupāla
8) ^d	Tejahpāla, son of Āsarāja Anupamādevī, wife of Tejahpāla	Tejahpāla
9)	Jaitrasimha, son of Vastupāla and Lalitādevī Jetalde, wife of Jaitrasimha Jamaṇade, wife of Jaitrasimha Rupāde, wife of Jaitrasimha	Jaitrasimha
10)	Suhaḍasimha, son of Tejahpāla Suhāḍāde, wife of Suhaḍasimha Salaṣaṇāde, wife of Suhaḍasimha	Lāvanyasimha (son of Tejahpāla)

^aSee Abu II 250, 319-20.^bSee Figure 56.^cSee Figure 3.^dSee Figure 4.

Table 2. All Portraits Associated with Vastupāla and Tejahpāla

Location	Subjects	Description	Sources
Dabhoi	Vīradhavala Jayataladevī Malladeva Lūṇiga Vastupāla Tejahpāla		<i>VP</i> 49
	Caulukyan kings	in Tejahpāla's rampart	<i>VC</i> III.364
	ancestors	in Vastupāla's Pārśvanātha temple	<i>VC</i> III.367-8
Girnar	Vastupāla wives Tejahpāla	in Śaiveya temple	<i>VP</i> 87
	Vastupāla Tejahpāla	in Ambikā temple	<i>VP</i> 88
	Vastupāla Vīradhavala	on elephants	<i>VP</i> 81
	Caṇḍapa Mālladeva	on the Ambikā Peak with a Jina image for the merit of Caṇḍapa	<i>VP</i> 89 <i>VC</i> VI.726
	Caṇḍaprasāda Vastupāla	on the Avalokanā Peak with a Jina image for the merit of Caṇḍaprasāda	<i>VP</i> 90 <i>VC</i> VI.727
	Soma Tejahpāla	on the Pradyumna Peak with a Jina image for the merit of Soma	<i>VP</i> 91 <i>VC</i> VI.728
	Āśvarāja (Kumāradevī)	on the Śāmba Peak with a Jina image for the merit of Āśvarāja	<i>VP</i> 92 (<i>VC</i> VI.729)

Location	Subjects	Description	Sources
	Āśvarāja Soma	on horses	VP 97
	Vastupāla Lalitādevī		SKK, p. 58
	Vastupāla Sokhukā		SKK, p. 58
	Caṇḍapa	in a temple named for him	VC VI.704
	Āśvarāja Soma	on horses on the left and right of the <i>trikamaṇḍapa</i> (Neminātha temple)	VC VI.713
	Āśvarāja Soma	in the <i>gūḍhamaṇḍapa</i> (Neminātha temple)	Dhaky [†]
	Vastupāla Tejahpāla	on elephants on the left and right sides of the door to the <i>garbhagr̥ha</i> (Neminātha temple)	VC VI.705
	ancestors	in the Sammeta shrine (Neminātha temple)	VC VI.706
	mother sisters	in the Aṣṭāpada shrine (Neminātha temple)	VC VI.707
	Kumāradevī	on an elephant (Marudevī temple)	VC VI.710
	ancestors		VC VI.722
	Āśvarāja Soma	on horses	VC VI.721
	family (brothers)	on a pillar	VC VI.720 (SKK, pp. 44ff.)
Śatruñjaya	male ancestors		SSK XI.16 KK 9.34

Location	Subjects	Description	Sources
	Vīradhavalā Jayataladevī guru kinsmen Vastupāla		<i>VC</i> VI.638
	Vīradhavalā Jayataladevī	on elephants like Indra and Śacī	<i>VC</i> VI.639
	Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla	on horses	<i>VC</i> VI.640
	Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla Vīradhavalā	on elephants (on horses)	<i>SSK</i> XI.19 (<i>KK</i> IX.35)
Abu	see Table 1.		
Cambay	Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla		<i>VP</i> 55
	Mālladeva	Vaidyanatha temple	<i>VP</i> 58
Rohaḍī	Ajayasiṃha	with an image of Ādinātha for the merit of Ajayasimha	<i>VP</i> 64

[†]Dhaky, M.A., "The Western Indian Jaina Temple," in Shah and Dhaky, eds., 1975, p. 341.

Table A. Monks' Portraits

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1064 1007	Saṅgamasiddha	Ammeyaka		Śatruñjaya	Shah* <i>HA</i> , p. xvi Figure 89.
1149 1092	Devanāga	Pam° Jinacandra disciple of Devanāga & co. (<i>goṣṭhiyutena</i>)		Sander	<i>JI</i> 881
1244 1187-8	Guṇaratnasūri Sanderagaccha			Sevadi	Somani ^b
1273 1216	Pam° Yaśovarddhana (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Āsacandra and Padama of the Vāyaṭīyagaccha	Pam° Padmacandra <i>bhrātrputra</i> of Yaśovarddhana	<i>maṅgalaṃ mahāśrīḥ ciraṃ namdatu</i>	Śatruñjaya	Shah*
1274 1218	Sarvadevasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Kakkasūri	Āmbada Saṅghapati	Kakkasūri Koraṅtakīyagaccha <i>maṅgalaṃ bhavatu saṅghasya</i>	Palanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 552
1294 1248-9	Devabhadrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) in the line of (<i>patta</i>) Siddhasenasūri	a disciple of Malayasūri	disciple of Malayasūri	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 530

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
12--	Mahendrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Pāsacandra, Jinacandra and family	Śāntisūri Nānakīyagaccha <i>mamṅalamastu</i>	Ajārī	Abu V 425
1309 1253	Pam° Jinakīrti (<i>mūrti</i>)	unknown	unknown <i>śrīḥ</i>	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 104
1315? 1249?	Siddhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Śubhacandra son of Varadeva follower of Siddhācārya	Kakkasūri Upakeśagaccha	Palanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 553
1332 1276	Bhadreśvarasūri Jayasimhasūri Jinaharṣasūri Suśamacandrasūri Devacandrasūri Jineśvarasūri Jinadevasūri Jinacandrasūri Śāntiprabhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Jinacandragaṇi	Bardhamānasūri Kharataragaccha	Ujjain	Jośī°
1334 1277-8	Jinadattasūri (Kharataragaccha)	unknown	Jinaprabodhasūri	Patan	Gandhi ^d Figure 84.
1342 1286	Guṇasenasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) Nagendragacchapūjya	Paṇḍita Rāmacandra <i>svaguruśreyase</i>	Jinabhadrasūri <i>candrārkaṃ yāvat</i> <i>nandatu</i>	Śatruñjaya	Shah* <u>SSG</u> 152 Figure 15.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1349 1293	Pam° Amaraçandra (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Jinadattasūri Vāyaṭiyagaccha	Madanaçandra disciple of Pam° Mahendra	<i>śivamastu</i>	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 523 Figure 79.
1349 1293	guru/brother of Jajjaga (name missing in my ed.)	Jajjagasūri	Jajjagasūri Brahmāṇagaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 509
1349 1293	Ratnaprabhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Guṇākarasūri Kṛṣṇagaccha	Guṇasamudrasūri disciple of Ratnaprabha		Śatruñjaya	<i>SSG</i> 54
1351 1295	Jinaprabodhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Sā° Nohā & Sā° Karmaṇa <i>svamāṭṛrāmaśreya 'rtham</i>	Jinacandrasūri, <i>jina- prabodhasūriśiṣya</i> (Kharataragaccha)	Prahlādanapura	<i>JDPL</i> I 734
1354 1297	Jinacandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) (Kharataragaccha)	Maṇḍalika		Śatruñjaya	<i>SSG</i> 102
1373 1317	Saiddhāntika Vinayacandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	[Devakula]pāṭakasaṅgha	Śubhacandrasūri <i>bhadramastu</i>	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 528
1379 1322	Jinaratnasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) Jinacandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Jinakuśalasūri	Jinakuśalasūri Kharataragaccha	Śatruñjaya (Śatruñjaya)	<i>SSG</i> 144 <i>KGBG</i> , p. 71 <i>Nākoḍā</i> 8 <i>KGBG</i> , p. 71
1381 1325	Jinaprabodhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Kumārapāla and family <i>svaśreyortham</i>	Jinakuśalasūri Kharataragaccha	Delwada	<i>PLS</i> 56 <i>Jl</i> 1988

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1383 1327	Cāracandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) Raudrapallīyagaccha	Vā° Buddhivāsa disciple of Kumudacandra		Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 101, 533
1387 1330-1	Yaśodevasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Jayadevasūri in the <i>paṭṭa</i> of Padmacandrasūri in the <i>saṃtāna</i> of Cakreśvarācārya	Śāntisūri (?)	Śāntisūri Maḍāhaḍīyagaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 508
1393 1337	Nannasūri (?) (<i>mūrti</i>) Koreṃṭakagaccha	Kakkasūri disciple of Nannasūri (?)		Sādaḍī	<i>PLS</i> 63
1396 1340	Muniśekharasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Jñānacandrasūri in line of Dharmaghoṣasūri	Sūrā and Bālā°	<i>śubhaṃ bhavatu</i>	Abu	Abu II 91 <u>HA</u> , p. 46
1421 1364-5	Ratnasūri (<i>ātmamūrti</i>)	Ratnasūri		Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 77
1429 1373	Virasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) adorning the line of Vijayasimhasūri in the <i>saṃtāna</i> of Kālikācārya		Jinadevasūri Bhāvadagaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 521
1433 1377	Siddhasenasūri (<i>guromūrti</i>) Nānakīyagaccha	Dharmeśvarasūri disciple of Siddhasenasūri	<i>śubham</i>	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 531

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1452 1394	Kakkasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) in the <i>samtāna</i> of Kakudācārya	“the Saṅgha”	Devaguptasūri Upakeśagaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 516
1454 1398	Pam° Sumati (<i>pratimā</i>)	Vā° Somaprabha	Vīraprabhasūri Pippalācāryagaccha	Ajārī	Abu V 432
1469 1419	Jinarājasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Nānhāka and family Upakeśa	Jinavarddhanasūri Pippalakagaccha Kharatarasākhā	Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>PLS</i> 105 <i>JJ</i> 1996
1469 1419	Upādhyāya Merunanda (<i>mūrti</i>)	Melāde	Jinavarddhanasūri Pippalakagaccha Kharatarasākhā	Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>PLS</i> 107 <i>JJ</i> 1997
1486 1430	Jinavarddhanasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Melādevī Upakeśa, Navalakṣa	Jinacandrasūri Pippalakagaccha Kharatarasākhā	Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>PLS</i> 138 <i>JJ</i> 1964
1486 1430	Dronācārya (<i>mūrti</i>)	Melādevī Upakeśa Nāvalakṣa	Jinacandrasūri Pippalakagaccha Kharatarasākhā	Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>PLS</i> 139 <i>JJ</i> 1965
1486 1430	Jinakuśalasūri	?	?	Mālpurā	Joṣṭ° Figure 80.
1491 1435	Jinacandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Sahanapāla Upakeśa Navalakṣa	Jinasāgarasūri	Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>PLS</i> 152 <i>JJ</i> 1989

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1491 1435	Bhattārika Ratnaprabhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) Pūrṇimāpakṣa			Sirohi	Abu V 245
1491 1434	Merucandrasūri (<i>jīvitsvāmimūrti</i>) Pralayacandrasūri Munitilakasūri	unknown	unknown	Cambay	Figure 88.
1518 1462	Jinacandrasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Kuśalāka and family Upakeśa <i>śreyortham</i>	Jinacandrasūri Kharataragaccha	Nākoḍā	Nākoḍā 32
1536 1480	Kīrtiratnasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Rohiṇī		Nākoḍā	Nākoḍā 55
1536 1480	Jinabhadrasūri (<i>pratimā</i>)	Śrī Saṃgha <i>śreyortham</i>	Jinasamudrasūri, in the line of Jinacandra	Jaisalmer	Jl 2153
1653 1597	Hīravijayasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Paūbhā and wife	Vijayasenasūri	Cambay	Vidyavijaya
1659 1602	Hīravijayasūri (<i>pratimā</i>)	Women of an Upakeśa family		Sirohi	Abu V 251
1661 1604	Jinakuśalasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Mam° Bhāgacanda and Mam° Lakṣmīcanda, sons of Mantri Karmacanda, and family, Bohiththarāgotra	Vā° Dayākamalagaṇi	Sirohi	Joṣī° Abu V 253
1661 1615	Hīravijayasūri (<i>pratimā</i>)	Mulā <i>et al.</i> Upakeśa	Labdhisāgara <i>śubham bhavatu</i>	Abu	Abu II 5

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1662 1605-6	Hīravijayasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Prāgvāta family Vṛddhaśākhā beginning with Ratna <i>svaśreyortham</i>	Vijayasena assisted by Somavijayagani	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 511
1664 1608	Vijayasenasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) adorning the line of Hīravijayasūri	Prāgvāta family Vṛddhaśākhā beginning with Ratna <i>svaśreyortham</i>	Vijayadevasūri <i>bhadram</i>	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 512
1664 1608	Vijayadevasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) designated successor to Pontiff Vijayasena	Ratan <i>et al.</i> Prāgvāta, Vṛddhaśākhā <i>śreyortham</i>	<i>gūārthaiḥ</i>	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 513
1664 1608	Hīravijayasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	<i>ratnasī bhāryā supiyārade nāmnī śrī vijayā</i>	Vijayasenasūri		<i>BJLS</i> 1552
c. 1670	Vijayasimhasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) adorning the line of Vijayadevasūri Tapāgaccha	Se° Kalyāṇajī son of Amarāde		Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 529
1671 1615	Hīravijayasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Ucharagade, wife of Pujā for the sake of the merit (<i>śreyortham</i>) of son and grandson, <i>et al.</i>	Vijayatilaka “heir apparent” (<i>pattadhāri</i>) to Vijayasenasūri <i>śrīrastu samghasya</i>	Sirohi	Abu V 254

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1675 1618	Jinakuśālasūri Jinadattasūri (<i>mūrti</i>)	Śrīmalla Bhanasālī	Jinarājasūri Kharataragaccha	Lodravā	Joṣī <i>BJLS</i> 2876
1686 1630	Jinacandrasūri (<i>pratimā</i>)	Jayamā	Jinarājasūri Kharataragaccha	Bikaner	Joṣī <i>BJLS</i> 1425 Figure 81.
1686 1630	Jinacandrasūri (<i>pratimā</i>)		Jinarājasūri Kharataragaccha	Bikaner	Joṣī <i>BJLS</i> 2877
1972 1916	Vijayāṇaṃdasūrīśvara	Tapāgacchasamṅha	śrīlakṣmīvijaya śrī vijayakamalasūri munīśa hamsavijaya panyāṣṭā sampata- vijaya samsevitā <i>akṣayatṛtīyāyām</i> <i>gurubhakyārtham</i>		<i>BJLS</i> 1637
1973 1916-7	Kalyāṇasāgarasūri Añchalagaccha			Śatruñjaya	Figure 29.
1990 1933	Vijayakamalasūri (<i>mūrti</i>) a disciple of Vijayakamala Devavijayagaṇi (<i>mūrti</i>), disciple of Vijayakamala		Devavijayagaṇi	Śatruñjaya	Figures 20-2.
saṃ 58	Pañcānacanda (<i>mūrti</i>) disciple of Nemicanda Dhārāgamja				<i>RL</i> , p. 357.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
n.d.	Hīravijayasūri	unknown	unknown	Agra	Vidyavijaya
n.d.	Jinaratnasūri	a disciple of Jinaratnasūri		Delwada (Udaipur)	<i>Jl</i> 1963
n.d.	Devacandrasūri disciple of Śīlaguṇasūri (guru to Vanarāja Capotkṛta)		Nāgendragaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 510. Figure 78. <i>PCT</i> , p. 16.

*Shah, Ambalal Premchand, "Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya," in Upadhye, *et al.*, eds., 1968.

^bSomani, Ram Vallabh, *Jain Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, Jaipur: Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, 1982, pp. 102f.

^cJoṣī, Madanalāla, *Dādāvārī-Digdarśana*, (Hindi) Bombay: Śrī Jinadattasūri Sevāsamgha, 1962-63.

^d*Three Apabhramśa Works of Jinadattasūri*, Gandhi, L.B., ed., GOS, 37, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967., introduction, p. 56.

*See also Table B.

Table B. Lay Jain Portraits

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1131 1075	Śre° Nārāyaṇa	Siddha and Vīra sons of Nārāyaṇa			Shah ^a Figure 14.
1163 1107	Salūṇikā (<i>pratimā</i>) mother of Somadeva	Somadeva		Bikaner	<i>BJLS</i> 71
1195 1138-9	Tha° Jasana			Girnar	Atri ^b
1209 1143	Dhaṇadeva (<i>pratimā</i>)			Bikaner	<i>BJLS</i> 78
c. 1145	Mahaṃ° Nīnā Mahaṃ° Lahara Mahaṃ° Vīra Mahaṃ° Nedha Mahaṃ° Lāliga Mahaṃ° Mahimduka Hemaratha Daśaratha	Hemarathā and Daśaratha? sons of Mahimduka		Abu Vimalavasahī Cell 10	Abu II 50 <i>HA</i> , p. 42
c. 1147	Vimala on horseback	Prthvīpāla		Abu Vimalavasahī <i>hastīsālā</i>	<i>HA</i> , pp. 79 Figure 46.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
c. 1147	Mahāmantrī Nīnā Mahāmantrī Lahara Mahāmantrī Vīra Mahāmantrī Nedha Mahāmantrī Dhavala Mahāmantrī Ānanda Mahāmantrī Pṛthvīpāla	Pṛthvīpāla		Abu Vimalavasahī <i>hastisālā</i>	<u>HA</u> , pp. 79 Abu II 233.
c. 1148	Sūtradhāra Kelā Sūtradhāra Loyana			Abu Vimalavasahī	<u>HA</u> , pp. iii, 55 Figure 47.
1226 1170	Āmapasā his wife Sītādevī	Kavadī son of Āmapasā and Sītādevī	Dharmaghoṣasūri	Abu Vimalavasahī	Abu II 236 <u>HA</u> , p. 83 Figure 19.
c. 1180	Thakkura Jagadeva Mahāmantrī Dhanapāla an unknown person	Dhanapāla		Abu Vimalavasahī <i>hastisālā</i>	<u>HA</u> , pp. 79 Abu II 233
1242 1186	Sādhadeva son of Jasā	Śaktikumāra nephew of Sādhadeva		Sarasthana	<u>PL</u> 112 Chandra° 96 Figure 17.
1260 1203-4	Bhāndāgārika Dhāndhu his wife Śivadevī sons as kneeling attendants		Śāntisūri?		Ghosh ^d Figure 76.
1285 1228-9	King Jayasimha Siddharāja	unknown	unknown		L.D. Museum Figure 24.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1288?	(Vastupāla and?) wife Lālitādevī	Vastupāla?		Girnar	SKK, p. 58 RL, p.357
1288?	(Vastupāla and?) wife Sokhukā	Vastupāla?		Girnar	SKK, p. 58 RL, p. 358
1[2]95 1[2]39	Sohaḍa and wife with a Pārśvanātha image	Kumarabhada son of Sohaḍa		Delmal	EI II, p. 26
1302 1246	Tha° Āsāka son of Jālhana and Rājja grandson of Kēśava <i>samsārasāratām gatvā</i>	Tha° Arisimha son of Āsāka Modhajñāṭiya	Devacandrasūri in the line of Śīlaganasūri Nāgendrakulagaccha	Śatruñjaya	Singh° PJLS II 519 Figure 32.
1309 1252-3	Vijaya his wife Sahūdādevī his brothers Madana and Salaṣaṇasīha and wives	Vijaya		Radhanpur	PJLS II 461
1309 1252-3	Rāṇigadeva his wife Ravaṇādevī his brothers Ajayasīha, Soma, Saṃgramasīha and wives	Vijaya son of Rāṇigadeva (<i>svaśreyase</i>)		Radhanapur	PJLS II 462
1313 1257	Mahaṃ Prabhāsa	Ķagapāla son of Prabhāsa		Śatruñjaya	Shah*

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1330 1274	Sāṃgā with his wife Sujāṇa accompanying a Jina image for the merit of his wife Mālhanīdevī (=Sujāṇā?)	Sāṃga Śrīmāljñātīya	Jajakasūri Brahmānagaccha	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 518 and see 518f.
1352 1296	Sāchala his wife Suhavadevī	Muṃjala, son of Sāchala <i>kuṭumbaśreyase</i>		Palanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 549
1356 1300	Mānika and his wife Mānti with Gomukha	Mānika		Lādol	PL 113 Chandra° 102 Shah ^f Figures 40.
	Mānika and his wife Mānti with Cakreśvarī				Chandra° 100 Shah ^f Figures 41.
1356 1300	Tha° Kumāradevī (and Chādā?)	Tha° Chādā		Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 537
1371 1315	Desala and wife Bholi	(Desala) and family	none	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 135
1371 1315	Lunasiṃha and wife Lākhī younger brother of Desala	Desala and family	none	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 137
1371 1315	Āsādhara and wife Ratnaśrī older brother of Desala	Desala and family	none	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 35 <i>PJLS</i> II 35

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1371 1315	unidentified couple	(Desala and family)		Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 70
1371 1315	unidentified couple	Desala	Kakkasūri Upakeśagaccha	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 51
1371 1315	Rāṇaka Mahīpāla	Desala	none	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 35 <i>PJLS</i> II 36 <i>IK</i> 24
1396 1340	Sūrā and Bālā on Muniśekharasūri <i>mūrti</i>	Sūrā and Bālā		Abu Vimalavasahī	Abu II 91 <u>HA</u> , p. 46
1398 1342	Sā° Gosala and wives Sahū° Suhāgadevī and Sahū° Guṇadevī	Vījaḍa grandson of Gosala		Abu Vimalavasahī	Abu II 19 <u>HA</u> , pp. 37-8 Figure 77.
1414 1358	Samārasimha and wife Samarī son of Desala	Sāliga and Sajjana sons of Samārasimha	Devaguptasūri disciple of Kakkasūri	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 36 <i>PJLS</i> II 37 Shah*
1414 1358	Sahajapāla his wife Sahajadevī	Sāliga and Sajjana sons of Samārasimha	Devaguptasūri disciple of Kakkasūri	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 46
1418 1362	Maham Murā and his wives Mahaṅgaladevī, Somadevī	“Dharanīdhara”		Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 99, 534
1430 1376	Maṃḍalīka and wife Nīda?	Sam° Pūrṇā Sam° Vīra	Jinodayasūri (Kharataragaccha)	Śatruñjaya	<u>SSG</u> 140 Figure 2.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Location	Sources
1442 1386	unidentified layman (AIIS: "Saha Purnā")	unknown	Kharataragaccha	Śatruñjaya	SSG 108 Figure 45.
1515 1459	Rājimatī (<i>pratimā</i>)	Prāgvāṭa family of Mt. Abu	Ratnaśekharasūri <i>et al.</i> Jayacandrasūri's disciple (Tapāgaccha)	Abu Lūṅigavasahī	Abu II 255 HA, p. 97. Figure 27.
15--	Sonī Vighā and Campāī portrayed on 72 Jina <i>paṭṭa</i>	Campāī <i>svaśreyase</i>	Jñānasāgarasūri Vṛddhatapāpakṣa	Abu Lūṅigavasahī	Abu II 263
1893 1837	Moticandra his wife Devālikā			Śatruñjaya	Bühler ⁶ no. lxxxii Figure 65.
1903 1846-7	Rūpabāī wife of Amīcandra	Khemacanda son of Moticandra son of Amīcandra	in the reign of Jinamahendrasūri Kharatarapīpaliya	Śatruñjaya	Bühler ⁶ no. lxxxviii Figure 26.
1905 1848-9	Sā Narasī his wife Kuarabai unidentified nun	Sā Hirajī, Vīrajī & wives sons of Sā Narasī		Śatruñjaya	Bühler ⁶ no. xc Figure 70.
n.d.	Sā° Muhanasīha his wife Sahū° Mīnaladevī	Īlīgasimha son of Muhanasīha		Abu Vimalavasahī	HA, p. 38.
n.d.	Dharaṇa Dhāru Vāhina wives of Kaḍuvāla	Kaḍuvāla "for the merit" (<i>śreyase</i>) (of his wives?)		Śatruñjaya	SSG 60

- *Shah, Ambalal Premchand, "Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya," in Upadhye, *et al.*, eds., 1968.
- ¹Atri, C.M., "A Collection of Some Jain Stone Images from Mount Girnar," *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery* VI XX (1968), figure 83.
- *Chandra, Moti, Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay: Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1974.
- ⁴Ghosh, A. ed., Jaina Art and Architecture, volume 2, New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanapith, 1975, pl. 199.
- *Singh, Arvind Kumar, "The Fresh Reading and Interpretation of Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha Temple Inscription," in Dhaky and Jain, eds: 1987.
- ¹Shah, U.P., "Jaina Sculptures from Lādol," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, vol. 3 (1954), pp. 66-73.
- *Bühler, G, "VI.-The Jain Inscriptions from Śatrumjaya," *EI* II, pp. 34ff.

Table C. Hindu Portraits

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Location	Sources
	Jayasimha Siddharāja with distinguished kings, lords of horses, lords of elephants and lords of men	Jayasimha Siddharāja	Patan Rudramahālaya	<i>PC</i> , p. 61 <i>PCT</i> , p. 90
1230 1180	Someśvara Cauhān before an image of his father mounted on a horse	Someśvara Cauhān	Vaidyanātha temple in town named for father	Sharma, p. 77 ^a <i>PV</i> VIII.62ff.
1235 1178	Someśvara Cauhān		Menal	<i>Indian Archaeology</i> <i>A Review</i> 1962-3, p. 54
1239 1182-3	King Prthvīdeva Queen Kelachchaldevī	Queen Kelachchadevī	Alwar dist.	<i>EI</i> XLI, pp. 58ff. Figure 1.
1262 1206	Rāna Vikramāditya	Vikrāditya		<i>IK</i> 2
1312 1255	Meghanāda Cāhumāna	Meghanāda Cāhumāna	Menal Śiva temple	<i>EI</i> XXXVII, pp. 155ff.
c.1346 c.1290	Hīradevī daughter of Vijayānanda and Nāgalladevī (Caulukya-Rāstrakūta)	Nāgalladevī	Vanthali in the sanctum of the Viñjhaleśvara temple	<i>ABORI</i> V, pp. 170ff.
1350 1293	Sīdhu and (his wife?) Tasmā Nāgarabrāhmaṇa		Wadhwan Mādhā Vāv	<i>IK</i> 16 Figure 25.

V.S. C.E.	Subject	Donor	Location	Sources
1377 1321	Maharav Lumbhā and Queen	Maharav Lumbhā	Achalgarh	<i>EI IX</i> , p. 79 Sharma, p. 200 <i>HA</i> , pp. 106-1n. Wilson, No. I ^b
1400 1343-4	Kānhadadeva son of Tejasimha (grandson of Lumbhā)		Achalgarh	<i>HA</i> , pp. 160-1n. Figure 5.
1630 1574	Śaiva saint		Achalgarh	<i>HA</i> , p. 161 Figure 37.
1634? 1578?	Mānasimha and wives(?) Unidentified lay couple	Dhārabāī, mother of Mānasimha (?)	Achalgarh Sāraṇeśvara Śiva temple	<i>HA</i> , p. 165 Figures 38-9.
1689 1633	Charan Durāsā	Charan Durāsā	Achalgarh	<i>HA</i> , p. 163 Wilson, VI Figure 75.

^aSharma, D., *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959.

^bWilson, Horace Hayman, "VI. Sānskrit Inscriptions at Abu," *Asiatic Researches*, Volume XVI.

Table D. Miscellaneous Monks' Gifts

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1214 1158	Dhanadeva and his brother Bahudeva Bhāvadevācāryagaccha		image of Ṛsabhanātha for the merit of Usabha, the father of the donors (<i>pituusabhaśreyortham</i>)	Sīverā	Abu V 319
1231 1174	Nemicandra disciple of Śānti		<i>pradatta</i> (<i>ātmaśreyase</i>)	Harajī (near Jalor)	Jl 912
1237 1181	the nun Vineyikā Ganinī Caranamātyā (?) disciple of (?) Sarvadevā Upakeśagaccha	Kaku... (Kakkasūri ?)	image of Saccikā	Rewādā near Jodhpur	Agrawala [†]
1251 1194	Sumatisūri		cocoanuts, banners, and a sum of money (?) for the worship of the image of Śālibhadrāsūri, the donor's own preceptor (<i>nijaguru</i>)	Sevāḍī	PJLS II 327 Jl 879
1299 1243	Upādhyāya Pūrnacandra disciple of Upādhyāya Ratnaprabha		2 shrines (?) with <i>śikharas</i> <i>ālakadvayasikharāṇi</i>	Haṭhundī	Jl 893 PJLS II 321

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1302 1246	Paṇḍita Pāsacandra		image of Pārśvanātha for the merit of Paṇḍita Rāyakīrti (<i>śreyortham</i>)	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 469
1314 1258	Candraprabhasūri	Candraprabhasūri	Jina image	Śatruñjaya	<i>SSG</i> 405
1337 1281	Vacana Paṇḍita Padmacandra <i>et al.</i> disciple of Devaguptācārya	unknown	image of 52 Jinas with images of Saccikā and Gaṇapati	Lodravā	<i>Jl</i> 2565
1361 1315	the nun Bāi Suhaba disciple of Malayasundarī in the line of Varddhamāna in the Candrakula	Bhāvadevasūri disciple of Somasūri	image of Ambikā for the donor's own merit (<i>ātmasreyase</i>)	Radhanpur	<i>PJLS</i> II 522
1379 1322-3	Jinakuśalasūri (Kharataragaccha)	Jinakuśalasūri	(<i>samavasaraṇa</i>)	Śatruñjaya	<i>SSG</i> 82
1411 1355	Rāmacandrasūri <i>et al.</i> (in the line of) Jinacandrasūri in the line of Devacandrasūri Bṛhadgaccha		a <i>devakulikā</i> of Pārśvanātha	Jirāvalā	Abu V 119 <i>JRM</i> , pp. 82f.

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1412 1356	Rāmacandrasūri “a pearl adorning the line of Jinacandrasūri” in the line of Devacandrasūri Bṛhadgaccha		a <i>devakulikā</i> in the Pārśvanātha temple for the donor’s own merit (<i>ātmaśreyase</i>)	Jirāvalā	Abu V 120
1443 1386	Vinayacandrasūri Bṛhadgaccha		Neminātha temple renovation	Nādlāi	PLS 87 EI XI, p. 63.
1446 1390	Hematilakasūri in the line of Ratnākarasūri in the line of Vijayasenasūri in the line of Bhadreśvarasūri in the line Bhaṭṭāraka Madanaprabhasūri Brahmāṇiyagaccha		<i>raṅgamaṇḍapa</i> for the merit of the monastic predecessors (<i>pūrvaguruśreyortham</i>)	Varamāna	Abu V 113
1475 1418-9	Vīraprabhasūri in the line of Bha° Vīradevasūri in the line of Śāntisūri Bṛhadgaccha		a (<i>gūḍha-</i>) <i>maṇḍapa</i> for the Ādinātha temple	Vīravāḍā	Abu V 278

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1485 1429	Vācanācārya Gunabhadra Kaccholīvālagaccha of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa with an association of Prāgvāta laymen		the renovation of the temple of Vya° Bambhadeva, ancestor of the donor Sarvānamdasūrīnām upadeśena	Bāladā	Abu V 268
1496 1446	Pamḍita Laṣamasīha son of Vya° Jhāmjha, yavaḍaprasādagaṣṭhika Prāgvāta jñātiya disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Sarvānamdasūri in the line of (<i>patte</i>) Bha° Ratnaprabhasūri in the line of (<i>samtane</i> <i>tasyāmvaye</i>) Bhaṭṭāraka Bhadreśvarasūri in the 2 nd branch of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa, the Kacholīvālagaccha	Pamḍita Laṣamasīha	a pair of images of Pārśvanātha <i>svaśreyortham</i> / <i>ātmaśreyortham</i> Sarvānamdasūrīnām upadeśena	Delwada (Udaipur)	PLS 160 JI 1966
1521 1465	Bha° Vijayaprabhasūri successor to Guṇasāgarasūri (see Abu V 249)		a <i>devakulikā</i> for the merit of Bha° Guṇasāgarasūri (<i>puṇyārtham</i>) in the line of (Bha° Sarvānandasūri) in the line of Bhadreśvarasūri in the Kacchulavālagaccha of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa	Sirohi	Abu V 246

(352)

(352)

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1527 1470	Bha° Vijayaprabhasūri successor to Gunasāgarasūri (see Abu V 249)		two <i>devakulikās</i> for the Ajitanātha temple for the merit of Bha° Gunasāgarasūri (<i>punyārtham</i>) in the line of (Bha° Sarvānandasūri) in the line of Bhadrēsvarasūri in the Kacchulavālagaccha of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa	Sirohi	Abu V 247-8
c. 1470	Muni Udayavarddhana at the instruction of Vijayaprabhasūri in the line Gunasāgarasūri in the line of Sarvānandasūri in the line of Bhadrēsvarasūri in the 2 nd branch of the Pūrṇimāpakṣa, the Kacchulavālagaccha		a <i>devakulikā</i> in the temple of Ajitanātha for the merit of some Vācana (<i>punyārtham</i>)	Sirohi	Abu V 249
1599 1533	Upādhyāya Gunaprabha disciple of Bha° Gunasundarasūri of the Rudrapallīyagaccha	Upādhyāya Gunaprabha	an image of Ādinātha	Delhi (?)	Jl 501

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
c. 1675	Jayasiddhi <i>śiṣyaṃī</i> of Bhāvasiddhi (?) Kharataragaccha		Bhāvasiddhi <i>pāduke</i> Bhattāraka Śrī Jinadharmasūri rāje (V.S. 1720-1746)		<i>BJLS</i> 51
1740 1684	Sā° Saubhāgyamālā		Sādhvī Candanamālā <i>pāduke</i>		<i>BJLS</i> 52
1795 1739	(Paṇḍita Śrī Kalyānasundara) Labdhisundara disciple of Bhāmasundara disciple of Bhattāraka Śrī Devaguptasūri Upakeśagaccha		Pauṣadhaśālā		<i>BJLS</i> 2554
1858 1801	Vācaka Vidyāhema Kharataragaccha	Upādhyāya Kṣamāmāṇikya Gaṇi disciple of Vācaka Jinajaya Gaṇi	<i>śālā</i> (<i>puṇyārtha</i>)		<i>BJLS</i> 2104
1864 1808	Paṃ° Rāmacandra		U° Lakṣmīrājajī Gaṇi <i>caraṇanyāsa</i>	(Dādābārī) Gaḍhīsara tālāva	<i>BJLS</i> 2873

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
1895 1839	Pam° Ísvarasimha disciple of Candañi disciple of Caturñidhāñaji Sāgaracandrasūriśākhā in the reign of the Brhatkharatarādhīśa Yugapradhāna Bhaññāraka Jinasaubhāgyasūri		<i>astadalakamala</i> <i>āñmapuñyārtham</i>		<i>BJLS 2541</i>
1897 1841	Sukhadāśa disciple of Cunnīlāla Pannālāla Hīrālāla Harakhacāñda Dharmacāñda <i>tat anukramāñi</i> Amīcāñda Hīmatarāma Canasukha Pam° Dīpacāñdra		<i>pāñduke</i> of Dādāñi Śrī Jinacandrasūri (i.e. a Kharatara gift)		<i>BJLS 1806</i>
n.d.	Upādhyañya Padmacandra disciple of Upādhyañya Yaśāścandra		a pillar for the merit of Sūrī, the donor's mother (<i>śreyortham</i>)	Nāñdol	<i>PJLS II 373</i>

V.S. C.E.	Donor	Consecrator, etc.	Object	Location	Sources
n.d.	Bhaṭṭā° Thūlabhadra disciple of Kukubhācārya		a pillar for the merit of Cehaṇi, the donor's mother (<i>śreyortham</i>)	Nāḍol	<i>PJLS</i> II 374
n.d.	Bhadreśvarasūri		a <i>devakulikā</i> of Ādinātha for the merit of Tilakasūri (<i>puṇyārtham</i>)	Jirāvalā	Abu V 116
n.d.	Pārśvacandra & disciple Vīracandra Nānakagaccha		a pillar (?) (<i>lagikā</i>)	Velāra	Abu V 337

†Agrawala, R.C., "A Unique Sculpture of the Jaina Goddess Saccikā," *JBBRAS* (n.s.) 29 (1954), pp. 63-66; *AA*, vol. 17 (1954), 232-234.

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Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.



Figure 5.



Figure 6.

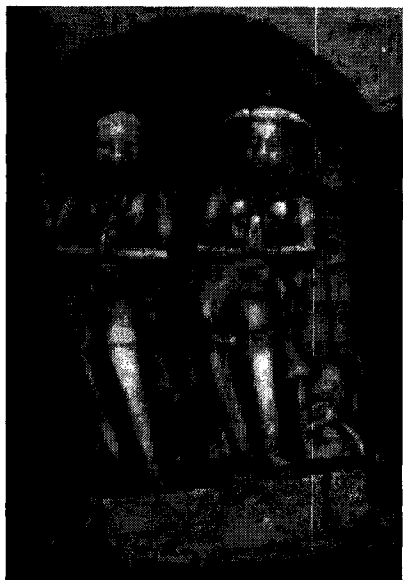


Figure 7.



Figure 8.



Figure 9.



Figure 10.



Figure 11.



Figure 12.



Figure 13.



Figure 14.



Figure 15.



Figure 16.



Figure 17.



Figure 18.



Figure 19.



Figure 20.



Figure 21.



Figure 22.



Figure 23.



Figure 24.



Figure 25.



Figure 26.



Figure 27.

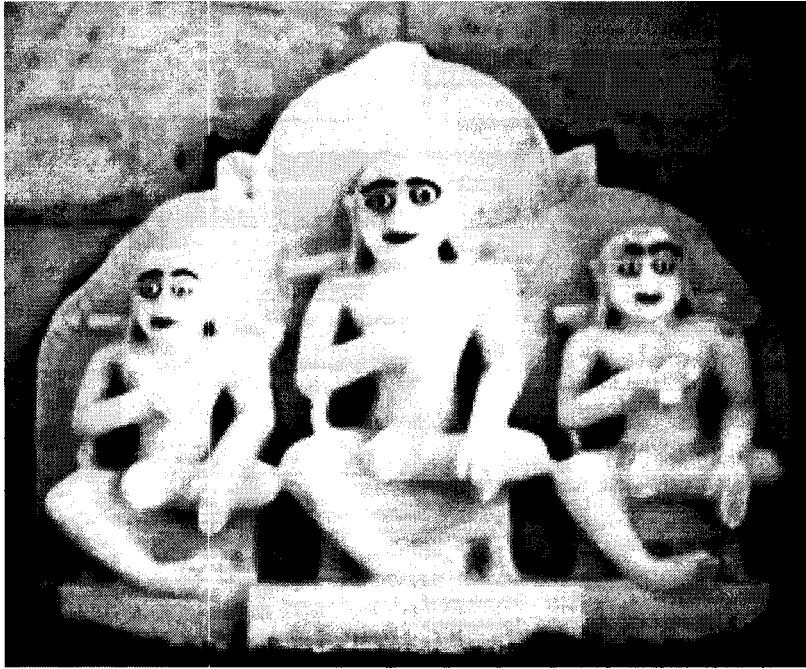


Figure 28.



Figure 29.



Figure 30.



Figure 31.



Figure 32.



Figure 33.

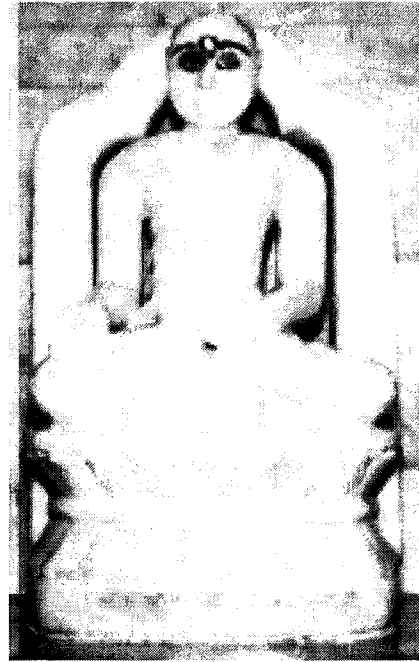


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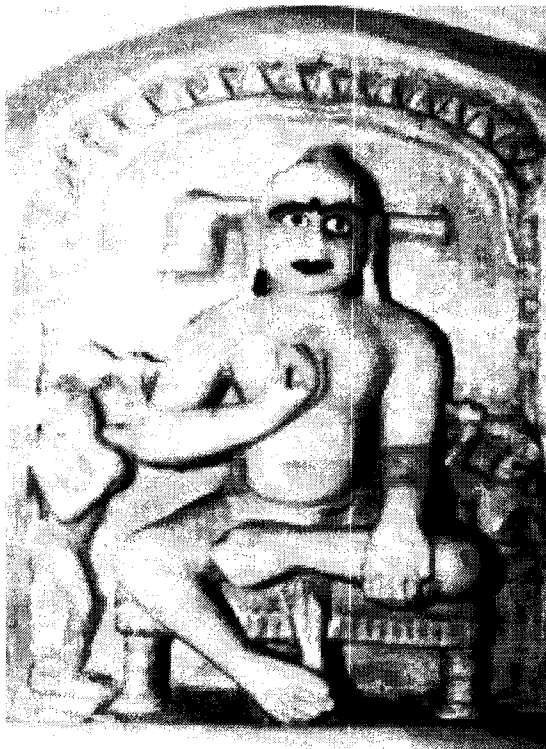


Figure 35.



Figure 36.



Figure 37.

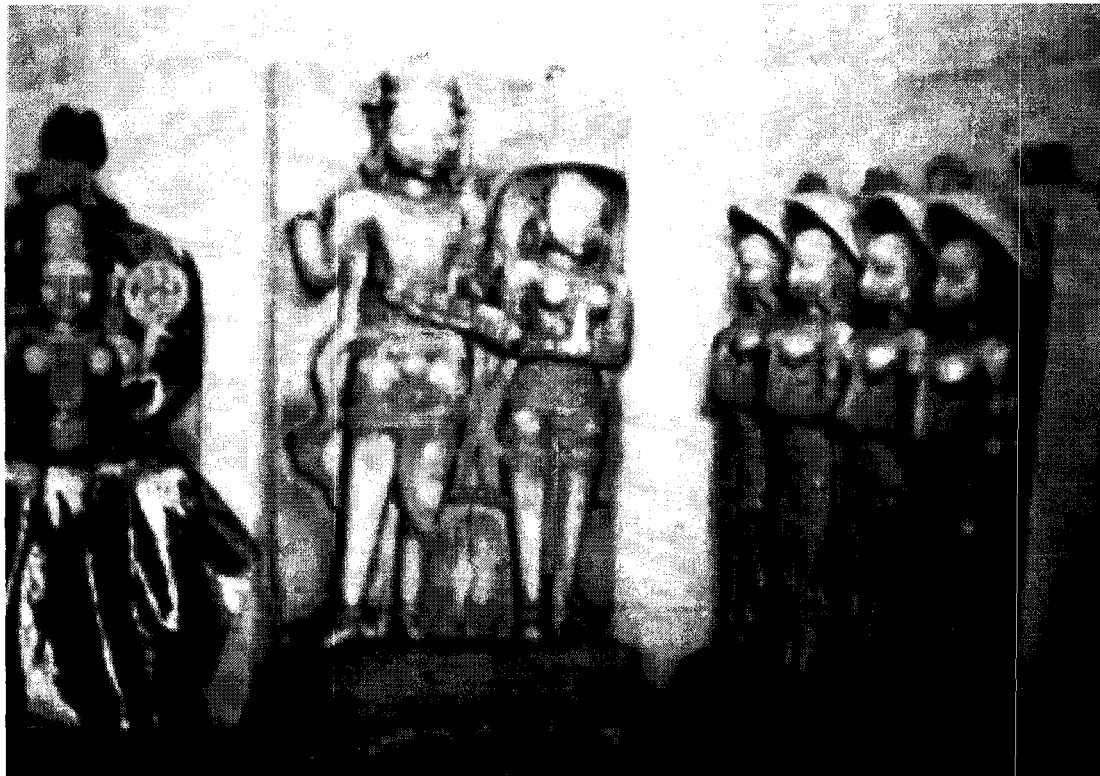


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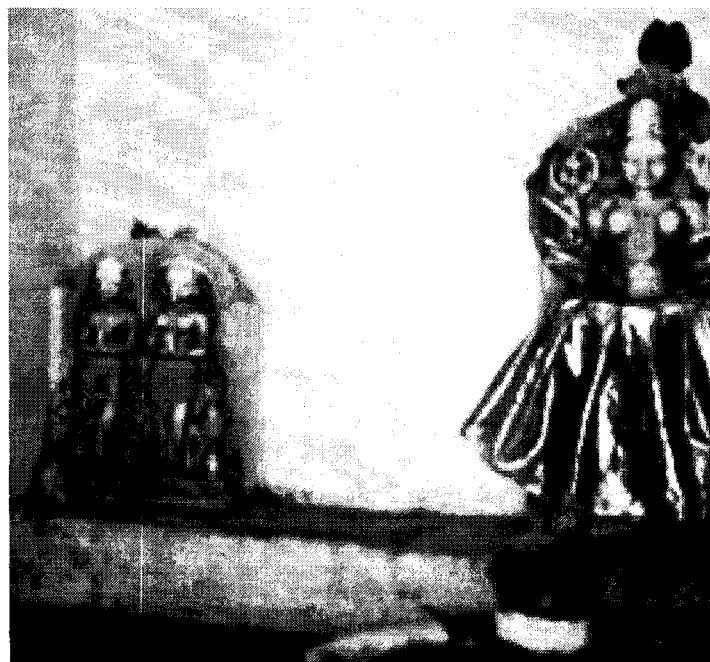


Figure 39.



Figure 40.



Figure 41.



Figure 42.



Figure 43.



Figure 44.



Figure 45.



Figure 46.



Figure 47.



Figure 48.



Figure 49.



Figure 50.



Figure 51.



Figure 52.

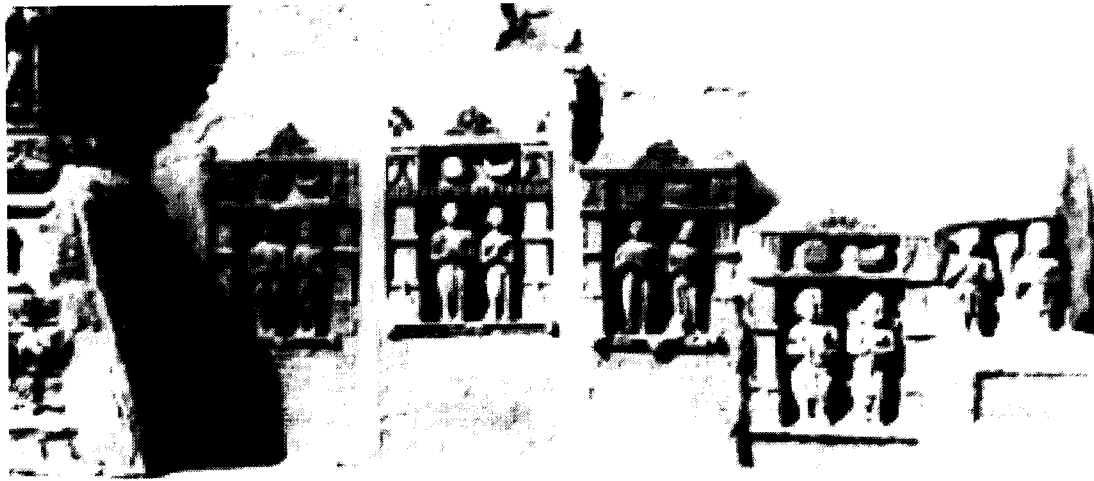


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Figure 54.



Figure 55.

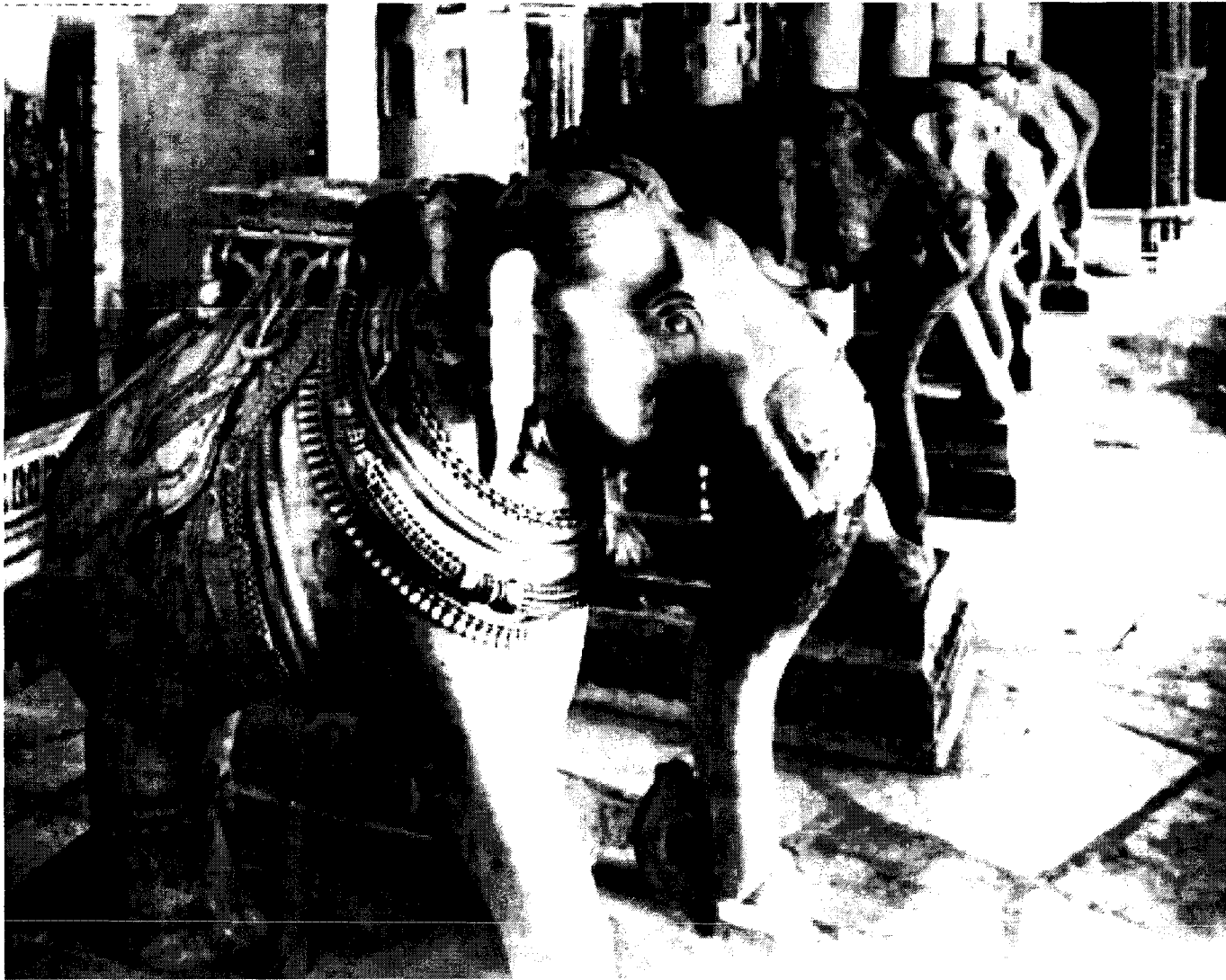


Figure 56.



Figure 57.



Figure 58.



Figure 59.



Figure 60.



Figure 61.



Figure 62.



Figure 63.

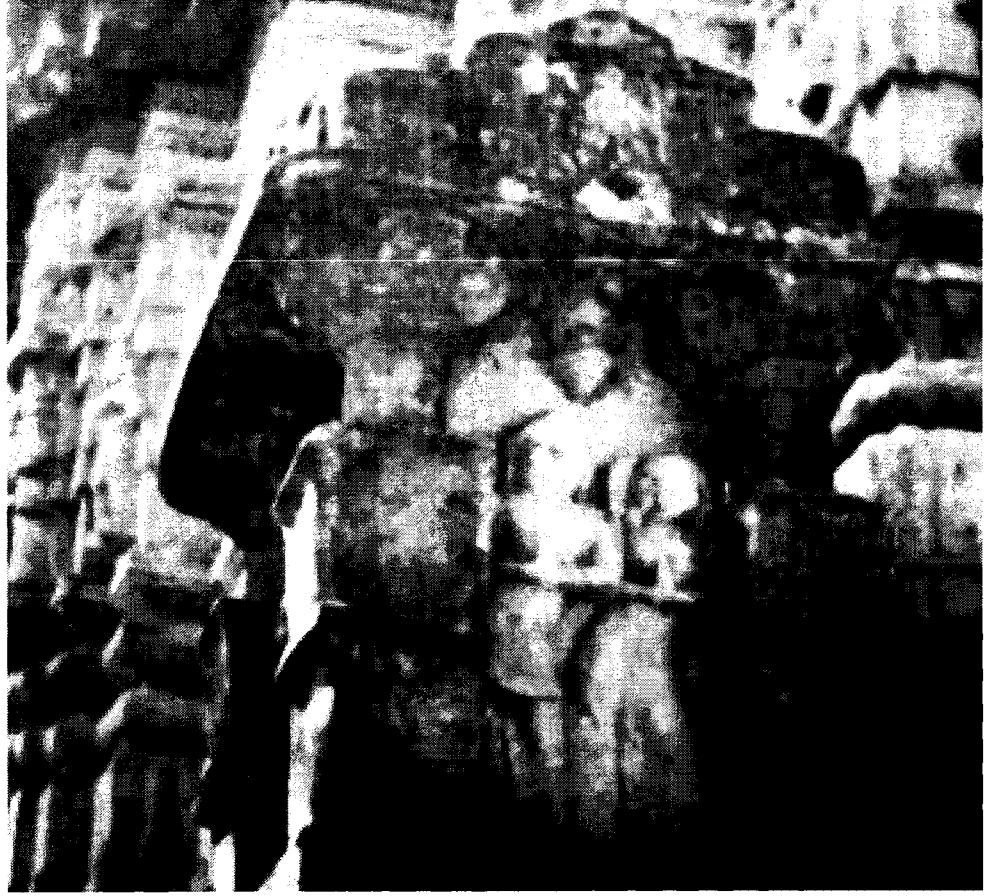


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Figure 65.



Figure 66.

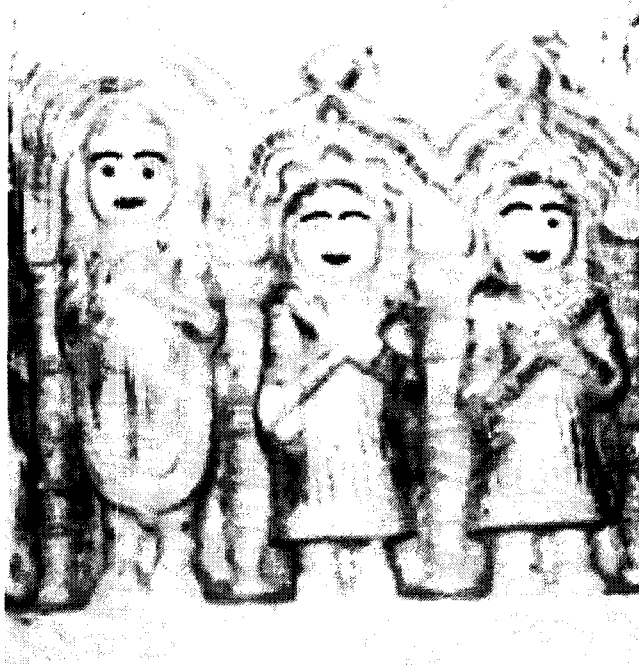


Figure 67.



Figure 68.



Figure 69.



Figure 70.



Figure 71.

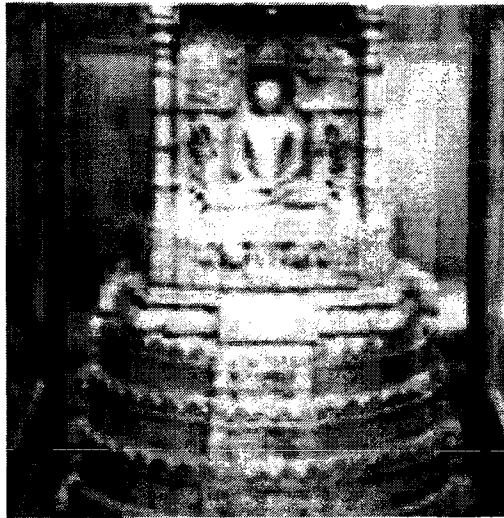


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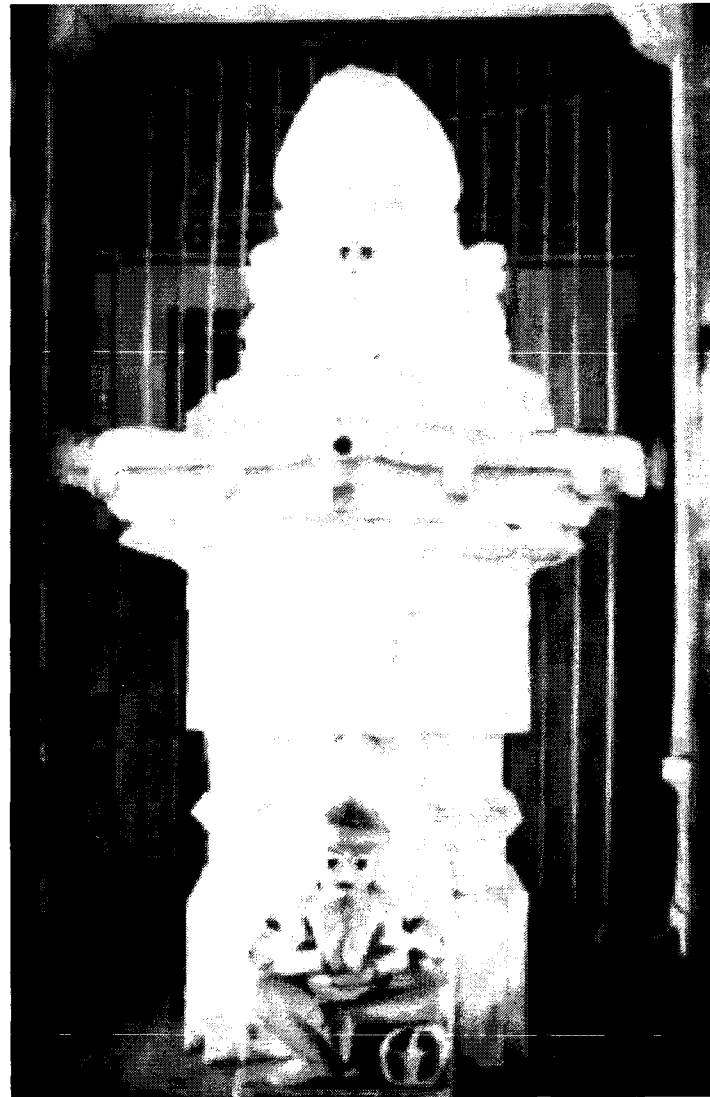


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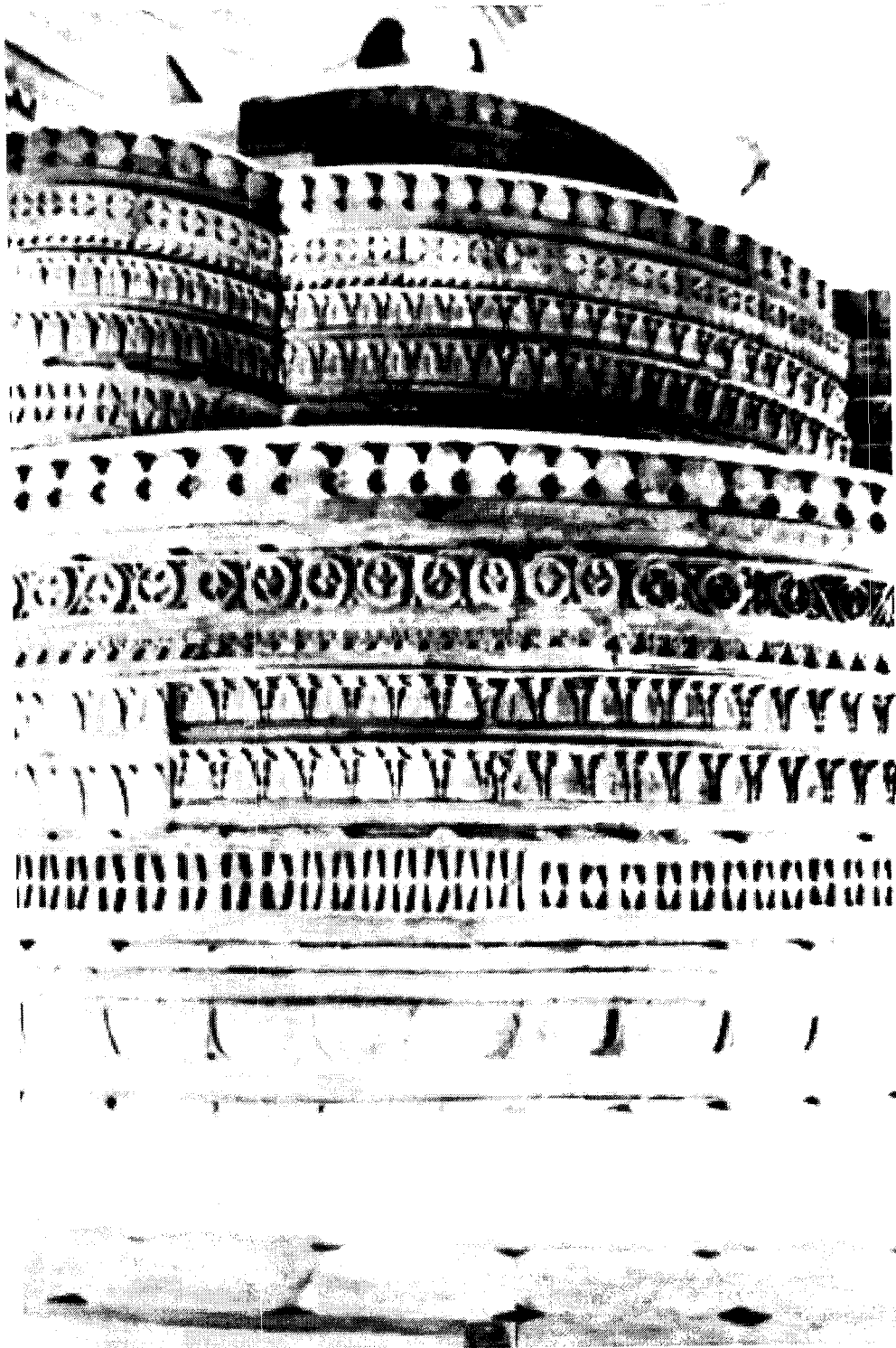


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Figure 75.



Figure 76.

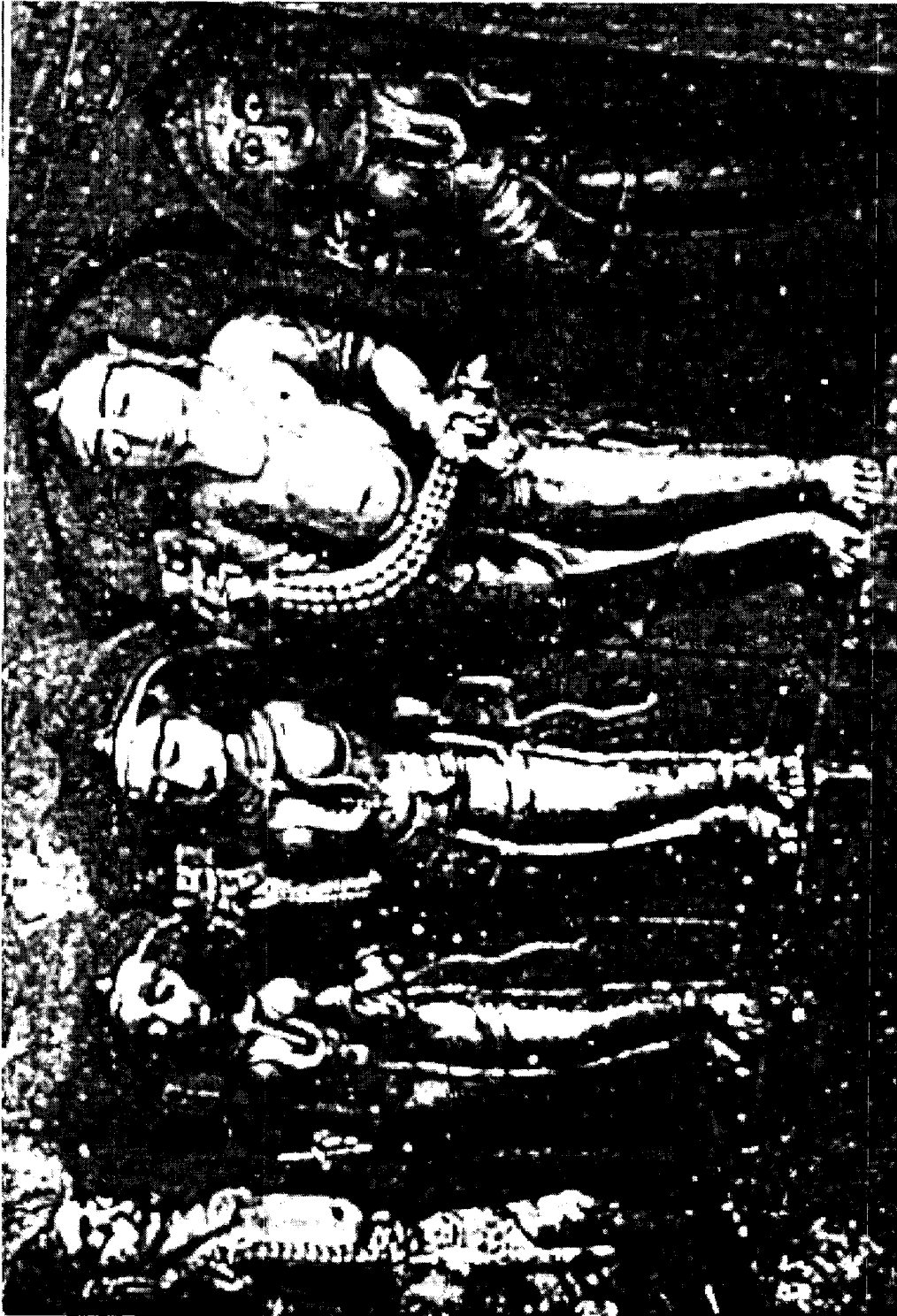


Figure 77.



Figure 78.



Figure 79.

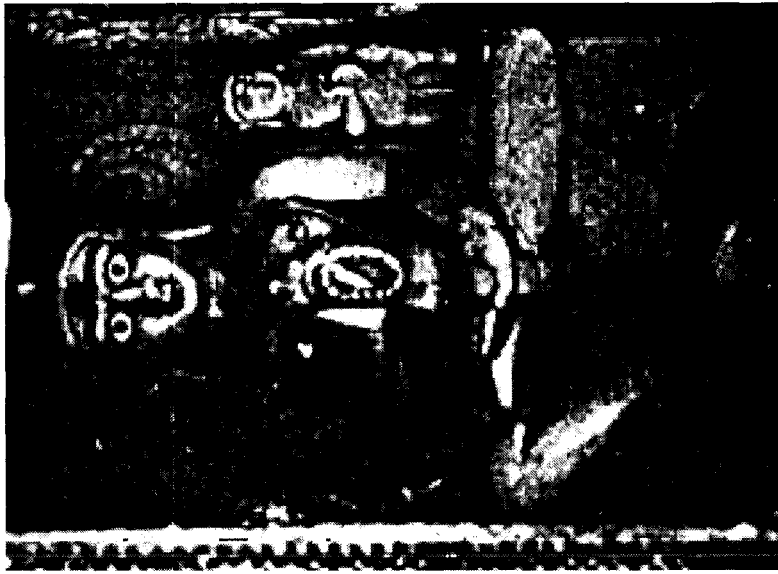


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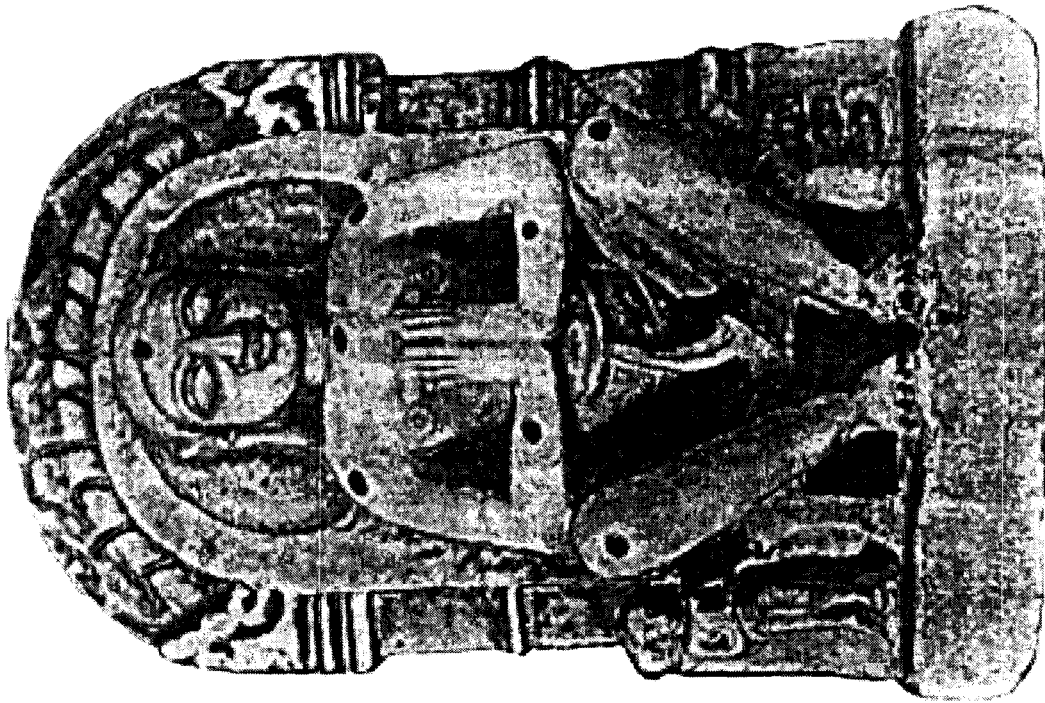


Figure 80.



Figure 82.



Figure 83.



Figure 84.



Figure 85.



Figure 86.



Figure 87.



Figure 89.



Figure 88.



Figure 90.



Figure 91.



Figure 92.



Figure 93.



←Figure 94.

Figure 95.→



←Figure 96.



Figure 97.



Figure 98.

Figure 99.



Figure 100.

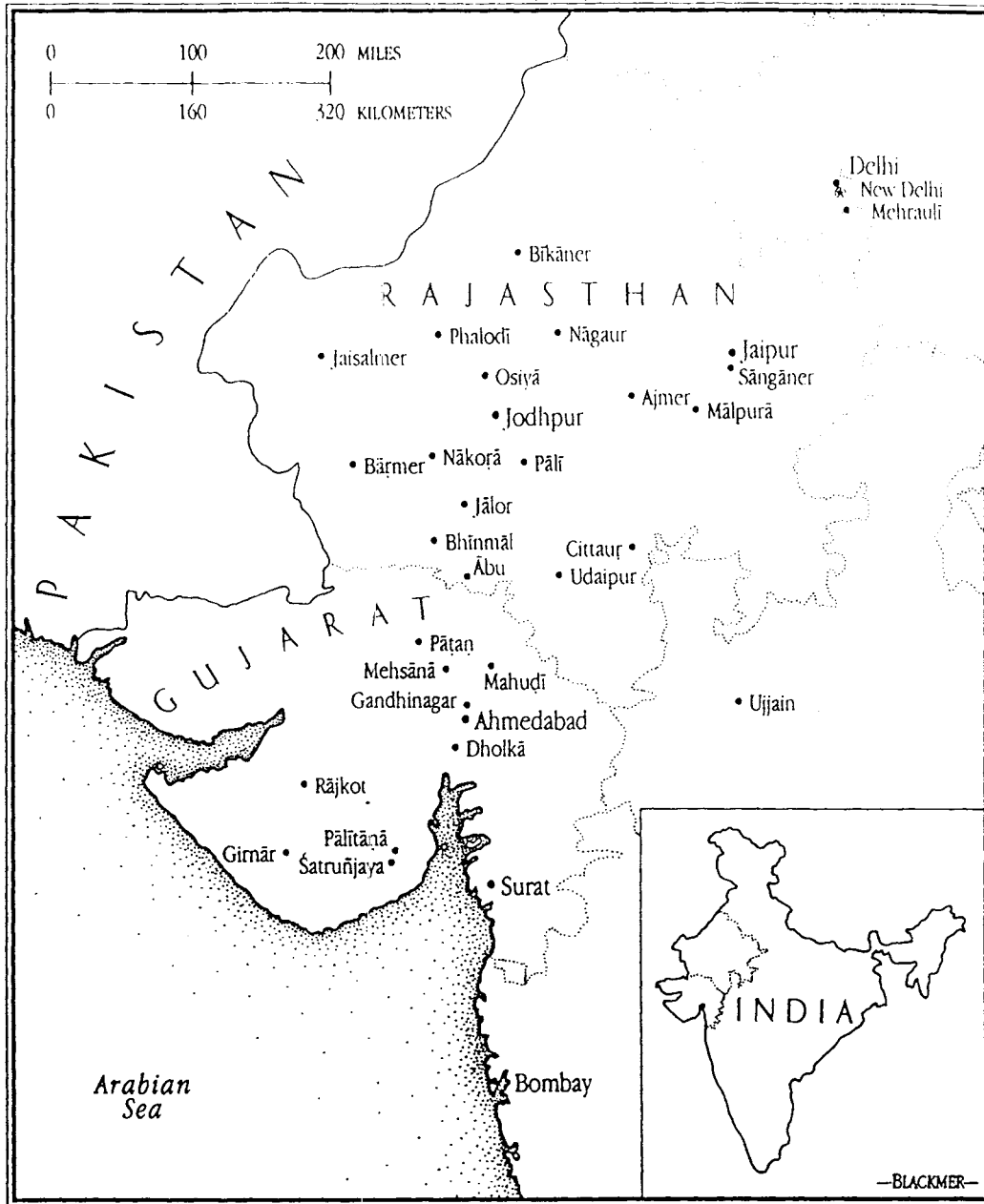


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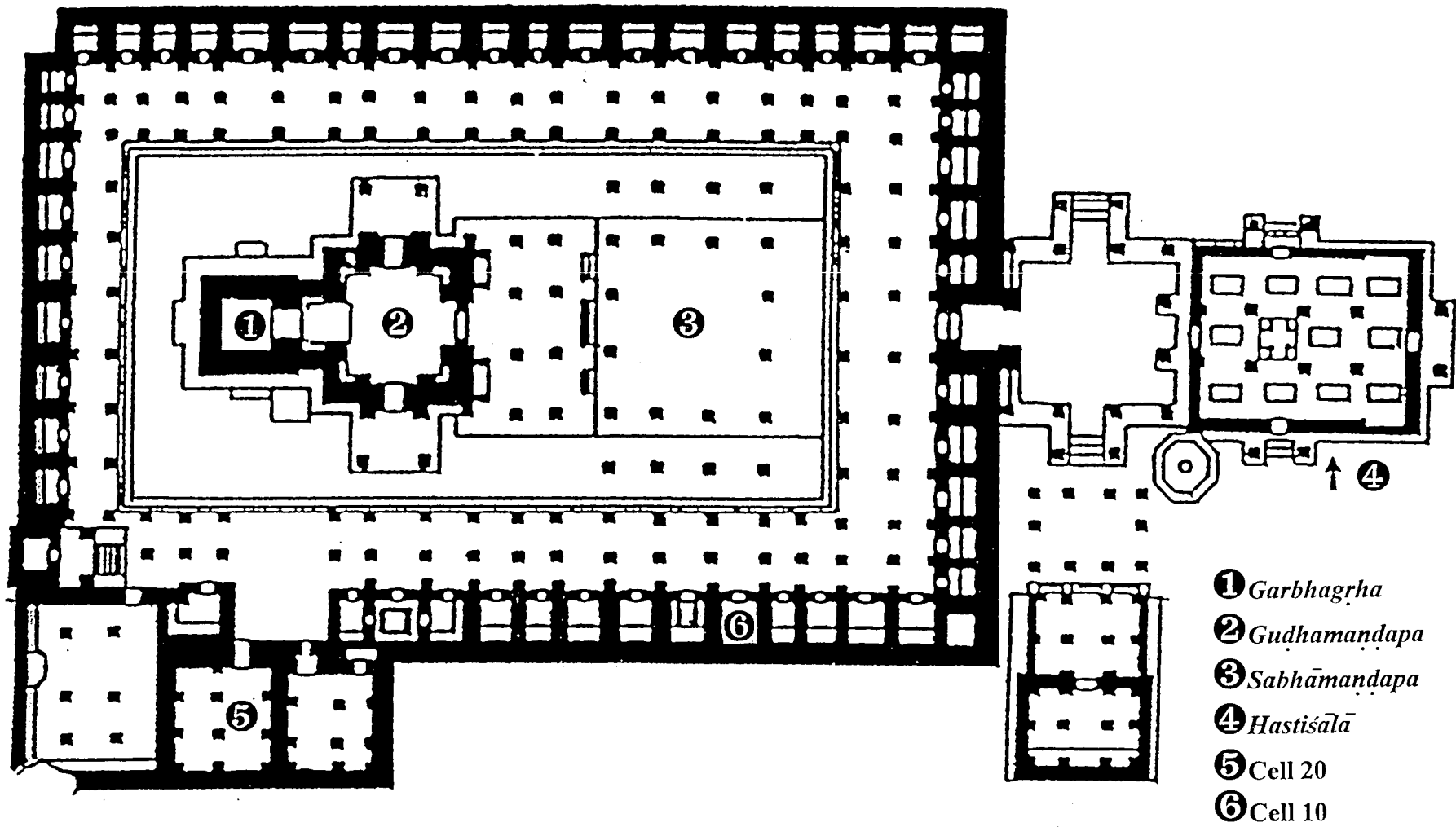


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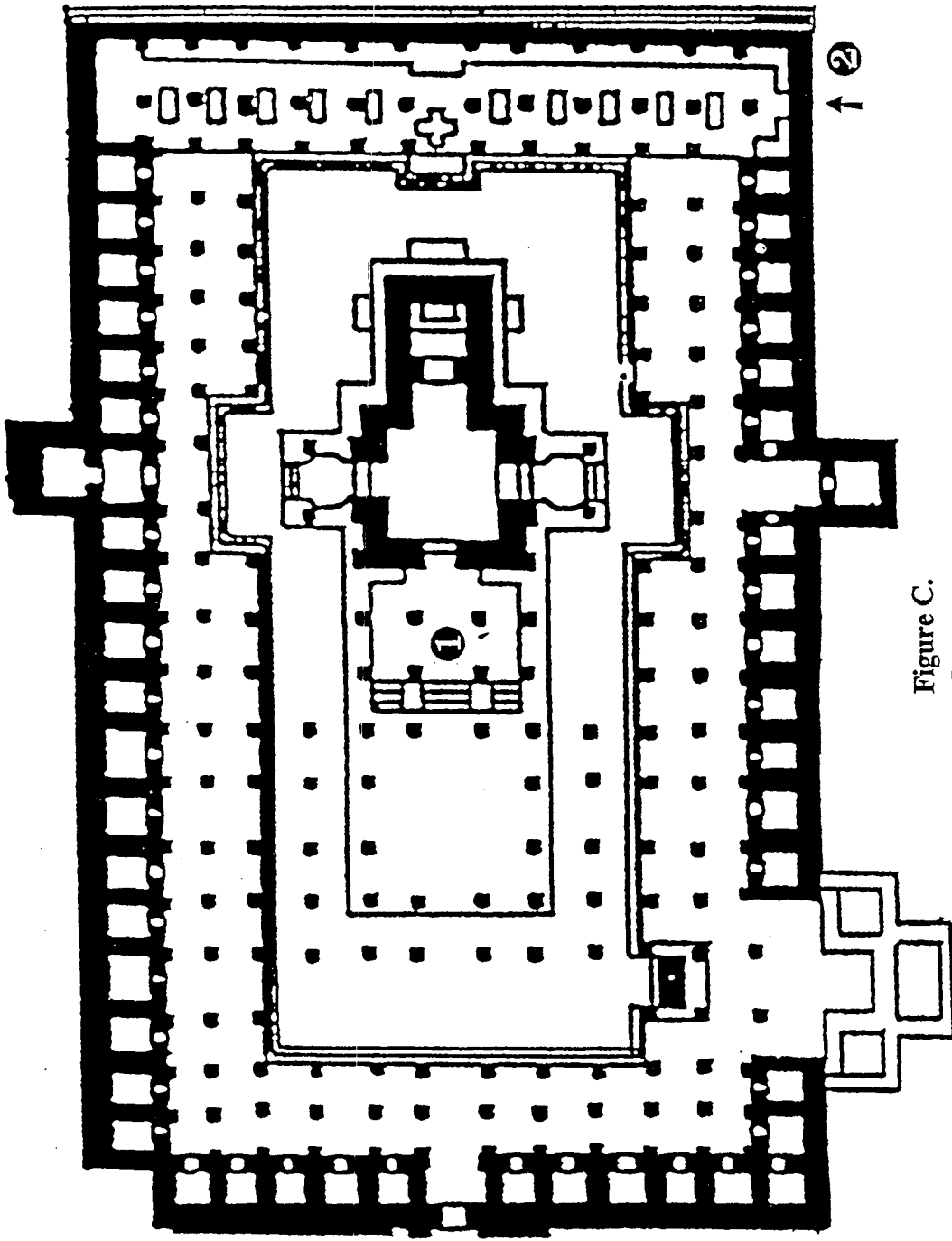


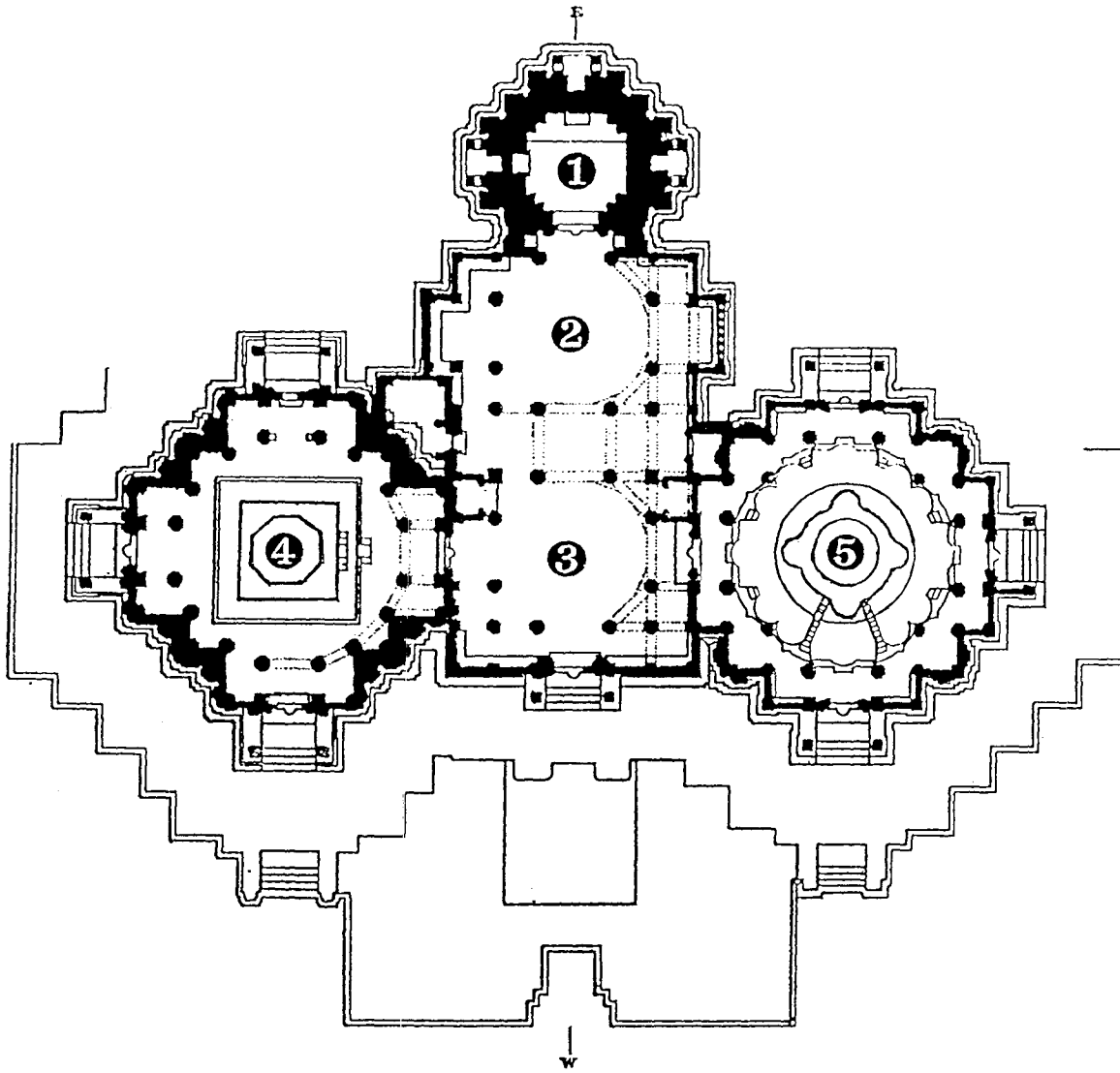
Figure C.

① Navachokī

② Hastisālā

Figure D.

(454)



- ① *Garbhagṛha*
- ② *Gudhamandapa*
- ③ *Trikamandapa*
- ④ *Sammataśikhara*
- ⑤ *Aṣṭāpada*