Julia A.B. Hegewald

DEPENDENCY, SUBJUGATION AND SURVIVAL: A WORKING PAPER ON THE JAINA CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA, SOUTH INDIA

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Julia A. B. Hegewald
Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies, Department of Asian and Islamic Art History,
University of Bonn

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Abstract

This paper investigates the changing position of the Jaina religious community in the south Indian State of Karnataka in premodern times. From the early fifth century onwards, the influence of the Jainas in the region had consistently increased. This situation changed significantly during the middle of the twelfth century. This was due in part to transformations which the Jainas themselves made to the structure of their society, religious practices and ethical standards; but also because Jainism became side-lined by the arrival of competing religious groups. As a consequence, the Jainas suffered a significant loss in power. From a former position of superiority, they dropped to one of extremely strong asymmetrical dependency. The persecution of the Jainas led to the destruction and annexation of their icons, temples and religious centres. This paper examines the changes this severe form of dependency had on Jaina art and architecture—and through the absorption of Jaina religious objects and spaces, also on the cultures of the newly dominant groups.

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I. Introduction

This chapter embodies work in progress and represents the first results[1] of a large research project on the changing history and status of the Jaina religious group in the south Indian State of Karnataka in pre-modern times.[2] From the early fifth century onwards, the authority and influence of the Jainas in the region consistently intensified. At this time, many local kings, their ministers, generals and the upper levels of society professed to Jainism. The production of literature as well as other arts and architecture were clearly in Jaina hands; they expressed the core ideas of the religion and were frequently even produced by members of the community itself.[3] The situation changed substantially during the middle of the twelfth century. On one hand, this was due to deliberate and voluntary changes which the Jainas themselves had undertaken on the structure of their society, religious practices and values. On the other hand, Jainism became more and more marginalised with the arrival of competing religious groups in the area. Consequently, they suffered a substantial loss in influence, got ostracised, threatened and often even killed. From a former position of superiority and wide-ranging control, they plunged into strong asymmetrical dependencies[4] as they lost their financial base as the previously dominant trading community. The persecution of the Jainas led to the destruction of their venerated icons, sacred temple complexes and religious centres. In other cases, their statutes, additional objects of worship and architectural structures were forcibly taken over, adapted and re-used by newly formed or incoming faith groups. This chapter examines the changes these extreme asymmetrical dependencies had on Jaina art and architecture and, consequently, also on the cultures of the newly dominant faith groups. Despite the severe decline in Jaina authority throughout the wider region, the belief continued to be practiced by individual families and in certain urban, religious and provincial centres, where rulers from other faith groups, as well as Jaina merchants who had retained some limited local influence, continued to support the community. This enabled Jaina cultural activities to

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[1] This chapter represents a longer version and further development of the ideas expressed in an earlier paper presented in the lecture series, titled "Control, Coercion, and Constraint: The role of religion in overcoming and creating structures of dependency." The lecture series was organised during the winter semester 2021/22 and the following summer semester 2022 by the Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies. The paper is being published as Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Vīra-Śaiva and Jaina Rivalries in Medieval South India: Creating and Overcoming Structures of Dependency," in *Coercion, Control, and Constraint: The Role of Religion in Overcoming and Creating Structures of Dependency*, 2 vols., ed. Wolfram Kinzig and Barbara Loose, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming). An even more comprehensive and substantial book publication on this topic, including a number of issues not included in the discussion here, will be submitted to the publication series of the Cluster of Excellence, "Dependency and Slavery Studies," with De Gruyter publishers in 2023.

[2] For a brief introduction to the Jaina religion in India and Karnataka, see section 3. "Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka."

[3] We know that in India, the workmen creating sacred objects and edifices for one faith often also worked for other religious groups, and there was no expectation of belonging to a religious group yourself to fashion art works for them.

[4] By and large, asymmetrical relationships are characterised by strong inequalities. In such relations, one side clearly has more power or resources—of any kind—than the other. A more in-depth discussion and definitions of the concept can be found in Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2–3, 8 (https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 11.11.2022]).

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endure in the region to the present day. Nevertheless, they never regained their former position of authority.

II. Dependency Studies and the Visual Arts

This research project on the changing conditions of the Jaina religious community and the influence this had on its art and architecture in Karnataka is part of the large interdisciplinary and transregional Cluster of Excellence, 'Beyond Slavery and Freedom: Asymmetrical Dependencies in Pre-Modern Societies'.[5] The aim of this network of researchers from various disciplines and faculties of the university is to overcome the broad Western conceptual opposites of 'slavery' and 'freedom' which are both strongly ideologically charged terms. Alternatively, the objective is to investigate situations of 'asymmetrical dependency' more generally.[6] This particular subproject contributes to widening the view in this debate.

Everywhere in the world and at all times, artists have been constrained by a number of dependencies, whether these be a reliance on donors, materials or religious and social contexts. However, even more interesting than these limitations are the freedoms, which artisans, artists, master builders and architects have constantly developed to overcome these at times long-term (e.g. climatic, social), but also more temporal and local dependencies (e.g. ruling dynasties, changing faiths). It is in the areas of their liberties, creative energy and imagination that they have succeeded to transgress these restrictions and find freedoms within strongly asymmetrical dependencies.[7]

Publications on theoretical, analytical and terminological aspects of slavery and from the emerging field of dependency studies at times differentiate between the two terms, 'dependence' and 'dependency'.[8] They argue that 'dependence' focusses mainly on specific defined cases that illustrate temporarily limited developments and spatially constricted situations of dependent relationships on a comparatively small scale. In contrast, 'dependency' (*dependencia*) is interpreted as being of longer duration, acting in larger and often global frameworks. Thus, dependencies are more likely to be based on highly

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[5] The Cluster was established at the University of Bonn in 2018/2019.

[6] For further information, see the webpage of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/about-us [accessed 30.05.2022]. This information is also based on the unpublished Application for the Cluster of Excellency, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn (BCDSS 2021). Concerning the research undertaken within the context of the Bonn Research Cluster, Antweiler draws our attention to the fact that 'the concept of slavery may be problematic in scientific terms to describe many of the forms we study, as it is only one case of asymmetrical dependency, and an extreme one at that' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 11.11.2022]).

[7] The issue of general dependencies incumbent on artist communities and architects have been discussed in more detail in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 1–32.

[8] Consult, for example, the publication by Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn": 1–16.

formalised, instituted or systemic practices, frequently sustained through a firmly established wide-ranging system.[9] Nonetheless, the two concepts of 'dependence' and 'dependency' are closely related, and situations of the more limited dependence can intensify or expand over time to culminate in larger entities of more wide-reaching dependency. Whilst it is comparatively straightforward to differentiate clearly between the two concepts in theory, in actual practice, this is often less so.[10] Therefore, and as this chapter is not a theoretical treatise but an introduction to a concrete case study, in this paper we will not differentiate between the two terms along the lines outlined above. Rather, we will apply the two idioms synonymously.[11]

Questions of dependency have thus far not represented a major focus of enquiry in the area of Asian history of art and architecture. However, a conference organised at the University of Bonn in October 2021 addressed the topic for the first time in more depth.[12] The papers presented at this two-day conference and published in the conference volume clearly illustrate the wide-spread nature and huge variety of extreme forms of unequal dependencies, which we find reflected in Asian art and architecture and affecting Asian artist communities.

Immediate representations of slavery and slave-like relations, although existent in South Asian societies, have rarely been depicted in pre-modern art.[13] Art has, until the modern period, been very much exclusively produced for a sacred context, where the focus was on the representation of what were considered to be higher caste professions—such as priests and warriors—and the eternal myths surrounding the life and deeds of the gods. However, there are allegorical representations of dependencies[14] and material artefacts, such as

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[9] See Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn": 2, 4.

[10] On this issue, see the discussion in subchapter 3 ("Dependencies, Dependences and Freedoms") in Hegewald, "Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms."

[11] I am not a specialist in the areas of slavery and dependency studies but a historian of art and architecture with specialisation in South Asia. Nonetheless, the case study presented in this chapter illustrates how strong forms of asymmetrical dependency influence and become visible in the art and architecture of the Jainas and of other faith groups in Karnataka.

[12] The conference titled "Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia" was organised by Julia A.B. Hegewald and brought together fifteen specialists. They presented aspects of their research work, concentrating on solid unequal dependencies in the art and architecture of South Asia (India and Nepal), the region of Tibet, the Silk Routes, mainland China and Japan. Thirteen papers were eventually included in the published conference volume, which is forthcoming in the publication series of the Cluster of Excellence (Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, Dependency and Slavery Studies [Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming]).

[13] In South Asia, it is likely that this has to do with a wide-spread belief in the concept of *karma*. Corresponding to this, rebirth into a modest and dependent position, such as a caste which is considered of lower rank, is to a certain extent understood to indicate the spiritual status and religious purity of an individual. Resulting from this perception, situations of strong dependency can be explained as reckonings for one's own actions in previous lives and resulting manifestations of one's own liability. Further details on the notion of *karma* can be found in Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994): 86, and Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999): 95. For this reason, South Asian representations concentrate more strongly on noble divinities and individuals or groups of society who are judged to be purer and more high-ranking within the prevailing social system.

[14] See, for instance, the chapter by Gudrun Bühnemann, "Patterns of Dependency in the Buddhist Tantric Iconography of Nepal," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 237–49.

damaged or annexed icons or spaces, which dominant groups absorbed from dependant people, indicating asymmetrical power relations. Further areas of interest already briefly mentioned before are the various dependencies in which individual artists as well as artist communities find themselves.[15] Amongst others, they are dependent on the locally dominant climate and availability of resources for the production of art objects and edifices. They are further reliant on oral and written regulatory texts, religious, social, gender and artistic conventions, on customers and patrons and today, also on local and global art markets.

This working paper focusses on one specific case study: the intense asymmetrical dependencies suffered by the Jaina religious community in Karnataka between about the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. To lead into the topic, Chapter 3 below (Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka) provides a brief introduction to the origins of Jainism, its arrival, establishment and initial burgeoning in the region. This is followed by Chapters 4 and 5, which provide deliberate as well as unintended causes that led to the subsequent decline and suppression of the Jainas. Through these, the formerly prevailing Jaina community was relegated to a subordinate rank and became strongly dependent on other religions that became dominant throughout the region from the mid-twelfth century onwards. As will be shown in Chapter 6, these new ruling groups not only embezzled and mutilated Jaina sacred objects of worship and damaged or entirely crushed their temple structures and sacred centres, but also annexed and re-used their statues, sacred objects and temple edifices. In doing so, they integrated elements of Jaina religious tradition into their own culture. Through this, the culture of the newly governing factions of society also got transformed.

As the Jainas were vigorously pursued and, in many cases, forced to convert and even killed, this was life-changing for them. Furthermore, they were deprived of their economic, social and political position. This lasted not just for the four centuries of their active persecution— from the twelfth to about the fifteenth centuries—but in ample regions, much longer. In many areas and villages, the Jainas never regained any significant influence, politically, economically or from a religious point of view. Therefore, their situation can clearly be characterised as one of 'strong' or 'extreme' dependency.[16]

III. Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka

This section deals with the condition of the Jainas in Karnataka before these immense historic transformations took place. The first part briefly delineates the origins of Jainism in the north of India, its advent in the south, as well as reasons for its early popularity in the region during the early centuries CE. Further outlined are the period of flourishing and start of the decline of Jainism in the region.

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[15] As association with a particular group of artisans has traditionally been dependent on caste and sub-caste attachment, artists are organised in guild-like groups.

[16] Bethany Walker has argued that 'Strong dependencies emerge when one actor cannot exit without the other'. and for this, the relationship between the two sides has to be 'heavily unequal' (Bethany J. Walker, "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?," *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 2). For further thoughts on this, see also Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 8.

III.1. The Arrival of the Faith and its Popularity

If we were to start with the legendary arrival of Jainism in Karnataka and the South of India more generally, we have to commence our story in the north of the country. Jainism originated in the east Indian state of Bihar in about the fifth to sixth centuries BCE. In the fourth century BCE, an acute drought and grave famine affected the region and forced large parts of the population to flee the area, including the substantial local Jaina community. The Jainas emigrated into two main directions, the north-west and the south, which led to a split of the community and, subsequently, to a religious schism between the two main groups. Those who remained in the north largely formed the Śvetāmbara sect of Jainism, of which the ascetics wear simple white cotton robes. Those who went to the south essentially formed the Digambara subgroup, whose ascetic male members have no belongings and go naked.[17]

Traditional stories recounting the legendary arrival of Jainism in Karnataka in the fourth century BCE tell of the Jaina teacher Bhadrabāhu fleeing the north-eastern famine and travelling with a large group of Jaina followers to the south. According to local lore, he was accompanied by Candragupta Maurya, the grandfather of the famous emperor Aśoka. Links to the purported presence of these two prominent historical personalities can be found at numerous sites throughout the region (**Plate 1**). Edifices have been named after them, and later literary works also refer to this account.[18] However, the conversion of Candragupta to Jainism and the induction of the religion to Karnataka at this early age have been questioned by contemporary scholars.[19] Historically, it appears more likely that Jainism moved south from its place of origin in north-eastern Bihar, through Orissa and into Tamil Nadu, from where it was likely to have reached Karnataka during the early centuries of the Common Era, most probably in the second century CE.

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[17] Today, the regional division between the two sections is no longer as clearly delineated. For further information on the schism and the differences between the two main sects, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, G+H-Verlag, 2009): 17–19.

[18] Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Deccan Heritage Foundation and Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 12, 54, 68–70.

[19] This has been discussed in more detailed by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 476–77, 319.
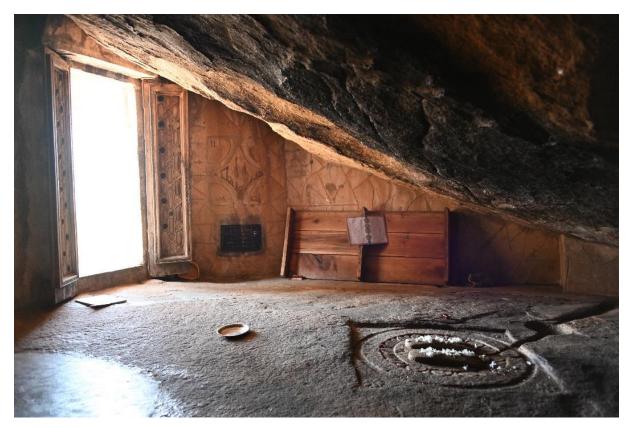
Plate 1: Amongst the sites connected with the alleged migration of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya is the meditation and enlightenment cave of Bhadrabāhu on Candragiri at Vijayanagara.

III.2. Changing Fortunes in Karnataka

This initiated a period from the second until about the ninth century CE, in which Jainism became firmly established and proliferated extensively in Karnataka. One reason for the early popularity and increase in followers at this time appears to have been the positive influence of the Digambara subgroup of the Yāpanīyas. Although they were loyal to the key Digambara tenets, such as the rejection of garments by its male penitents, the Yāpanīyas are believed to have followed a more moderate form of the religion.[20] Thus, due to their general balanced approach, the Yāpanīyas are said to have played an important role in promoting Jainism and contributing to a wide-ranging communal coherence and harmony throughout the region. The latter point and the fact that the Jainas give the impression of having been well-integrated into the wider society during the early centuries of the

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[20] Contrary to conventional Digambara opinion, they argued, for instance, that salvation is also achievable for women. As women are socially not permitted to wander naked, mainstream Digambara Jainas stress that they cannot give up all their belongings and worldly attachments, which, however, would be necessary for the attainment of deliverance. On this issue, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991). The position taken by the Yāpanīyas is therefore more akin to Śvetāmbara belief. This issue has been further deliberated by Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛti, 2011): 213–43. In this context, it is intriguing that the Vīraśaivas, who replaced Jaina dominance in wide areas of Karnataka, also support the belief that women can reach enlightenment (Blake Michael, "Women of the Śūnyasaṃpādane: Housewives and Saints in Vīraśaivism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 2 [1983]: 361–68).

Common Era, is reflected in a number of inscriptions.[21] These indicated that the local Hindus also offered protection and assets for the founding and preservation of Jaina places of worship. The spread of Jainism appears to have been further supported by their ability to adapt to local circumstances.[22] As will be shown later in this chapter, Jainism persisted particularly well in the coastal area of western Karnataka, where it entered into a particularly intense dialogue and close relation with local and Hindu sacred practices.

Following this initial phase of arrival and establishment in Karnataka during the early centuries CE, Jainism thrived strongly from the ninth to about the eleventh centuries, a period, which has often been classified as a 'glorious' period or 'golden' age of Jainism in Karnataka.[23] Up to the early-twelfth century, the literature in the south was almost completely Jaina in origin. In this context, revered Jaina poets, such as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, advanced the development of literature in south India. In the area of the visual and built arts, too, the simpler Gaṅgā design—as will be discussed in more detail in section 6.1. Modifications by Choice—was succeeded by the more opulent Hoysaḷa style. Many important statues were carved, new shrines raised and further pilgrimage centres inaugurated.

This period of great blossoming, however, was soon followed by difficulties, intimidations and persecution. During the second half of the eleventh century and at the start of the twelfth century, Jainism began to come under severe pressure. This resulted in a grave deterioration of power, the active discrimination against Jaina followers and their fight for survival in Karnataka. There is literary and physical evidence in the form of artistic and architectural proof, of this persecution. References to it can be found in Jaina as well as in Vīraśaiva literature and art.[24] Thus far, the ability of the Jainas to change and adapt to new or different circumstances has been highlighted as a constructive, positive proficiency. However, a religion which changes too much and progresses too far from its core ideas and beliefs risks losing its own identity and integrity in the end. The changes outlined in the following section illustrate that this seems to have been one of the problems that led to the loss of power and subjugation of the Digambara Jaina community in Karnataka, to a position of extreme asymmetrical dependency.

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[21] For further information on the Yāpanīyas and their social standing, see P.N. Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka: Developments from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 47–49; Shantinath Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis: A Historical Perspective," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 66; Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan": 221–23; and Vatsala Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses and their Worship in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 247.

[22] This capacity is even more pronounced in the proliferation and expansion of Buddhism, also beyond South Asia.

[23] R.V.S. Sundaram, for instance, calls this a 'glorious period'. See the chapter by R.V.S. Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 30–34.

[24] Sundaram provides substantial textual references, pointing to a clear weakening of Jaina power and the mistreatment of its followers from the early-twelfth century onwards. See the chapter by Sundaram on this issue (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 29–37).

IV. Internal Modifications, Undermining the Resilience of Jainism

This subchapter examines the transformations that Jainism underwent from the tenth century onwards. Although these changes were voluntary and initiated by the Jainas themselves, they weakened the religion and its society from within and paved the way for the downgrading of this formerly dominant faith group to the unfortunate position of being a severely dependent player in the region.

During the so-called 'glorious' or 'golden' period of Jainism under the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi in the north[25] and the Hoysaḷas in the south of Karnataka from the early tenth century onwards, Jainism prospered. Royal patronage and the persistent support from influential traders and landowners led to the accumulation of enormous wealth by Jaina temple establishments. This capital had to be administered and new outlets found to invest the money in. This motivated the Jainas to undertake considerable changes in their religious organisation, the structure of their society and ritual practices.[26] Hence, the Digambara Jainas of Karnataka initiated and further elaborated monasteries as more permanent seats of learning, landownership and administration; castes that structured society hierarchically; and elaborate ritual practices conducted particularly in temple contexts.

If we examine these aspects in more detail, castes had initially been absent from the earlier, more simple form of the religion. The creation of castes led to a fragmentation into sub-groups, such as the Yāpanīyas. All these factions paid allegiance to different monastic institutions, the *maṭha*s. The unity of the Jaina population was diminished and this made it easier to further disintegrate and disempower the community.[27] Additionally, the Jainas developed more highly evolved temple rituals and enlarged the pantheon of divinities, which were venerated alongside the most important fully-enlightened human teachers, known as Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras, as well as other more abstract objects of veneration (**Plate 2**).[28] Whether this intensification of ritual practices and development of Tantric Jainism actually further debilitated Jainism remains questionable. Today, it is widely acknowledged that a 'pure' and abstract form of Jainism probably never existed.[29] Nevertheless, these changes undermined the distinct nature of Jaina custom and established firmer links with Hindu ritual practices. In contrast, one might argue that the integration of the images of gods and goddesses, which are more approachable than the fully-enlightened and detached Jinas, might have made Jainism more attractive to ordinary believers.[30] However, it is striking that the faith group that gained power most rapidly following the unseating of the

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[25] The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi are also known as the Later Western Cālukyas. They arose as an independent political power in the tenth century.

[26] On this topic, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 43–44.

[27] In their openness towards women, for instance, the Yāpanīyas were in some ways more appealing to followers than conventional Jainism with its more fixed rules. Although the Yāpanīyas did not endanger majority Digambara Jainism, they contributed to a diversification and internal segregation of the Jaina community, which some scholars argue, eventually destabilised and reduced Digambara unity in Karnataka. On this issue, see, for instance, the chapter by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 38–62.

[28] For a discussion of the different kinds of figures and objects, venerated in a Jaina sacred context, see Chapter 3 by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 63–125.

[29] Paul Dundas has written on this topic (Paul Dundas, *The Jains* [London and New York: Routledge, 1992]: 182). See also Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 94, 107.

[30] On this issue, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 92.

Jainas were the Vīraśaivas. At least officially, they reject all ritual practices and objects of veneration, besides the small stone *liṅga*, which its followers carry around their neck, chest or upper arm.[31] Many of the changes, such as the maintenance of running *maṭha*s, large pilgrimage centres with complex temple structures and regularly prescribed rituals, could only be sustained during the period in which Jaina religious institutions had amassed enormous wealth and land for their financing.

Plate 2: As part of the voluntary changes which the Jainas undertook on their own religion, they expanded the number of deities and statues displayed in their temples, as can be seen at Mudabidri.

From the early-twelfth century, there was a decline in the support of influential royal families and wealthy merchants and landowners in the region. Simultaneously, resentment against the originally ascetically-minded but now often prosperous and dominant Jaina elite led to confrontations and conversions to other religions, and this reduced the financial and political influence of the Jainas even further. This resulted in discrimination, communal violence and outright attacks on Jaina religious institutions and Jaina followers themselves.

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[31] Whilst ordinary worshippers carry a small black stone or raisin *liṅga* tied to a thread or contained in a small cloth sachet or sliver container, there are also more elaborate necklaces. Frequently, they integrate *rudrākṣa* (alternatively: *rudrākṣi*) beads and elaborate metal boxes, containing the *liṅga,* into their design. *Rudrākṣa* garlands of seeds are generally sacred to Śiva and used to make rosaries for prayer. Amongst the Vīraśaivas, the *liṅga* as the divine principle is also referred to as *iṣṭaliṅga.*

V. Interactions with Other Faith Groups

In addition to the voluntary or internal changes, which in the long-term weakened the Jaina community, the period of stability from the tenth century onwards was soon disturbed and threatened by external, non-Jaina forces as well. These arrived mainly in the form of one newly-founded local as well as other incoming religious groups coming from further afield.

Especially pronounced was the influence of the novel religious movement of the so-called 'heroic Śaivas', the Vīraśaivas. Alternatively, they are known as the Liṅgāyats, meaning 'the bearers of the *liṅga*'. This is a faith group that was founded by the religious leader Basava within Karnataka at the start of the twelfth century.[32] In his book, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Henry Cousens wrote 'The Liṅgāyats were particularly hostile towards the Jains, and wherever they could, they appropriated their temples as well as those of the orthodox Hindus'.[33] This statement stresses the difference between mainstream Hindus on the one hand and Vīraśaivism on the other, as distinct creeds. Additionally, local Śaivas and Kāḷāmukhas also gained power.[34] In the fifteenth century, the powerful and expanding cult of the Vīraśaivas absorbed the Kāḷāmukhas.[35] Following the communal unrest, persecution and appropriation of their sacred sites,[36] the Jainas became a minority in Karnataka, with different Śaiva denominations above all increasing in numbers and authority, posing active threats to Digambara Jainism in the region.

Aside from the largely local, internal strife with Śaivas and Vīraśaivas, other religious groups also penetrated the area. Whilst the Vīraśaivas are *bhakti* followers of Śiva, *bhakti* groups focussing on the worship of Viṣṇu, such as the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, also moved into Karnataka from Tamil Nadu.[37] This began in the middle of the twelfth century and increased towards the thirteenth-century. From the north, Muslim groups also moved into the area from the late thirteenth century onwards.[38] All these different religious groups acted as additional

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[32] In reality, Basava probably strongly reformed an earlier form of the faith, which appears to have been called Liṅgāyatism. The reformed version of the religion from the time of Basava is more regularly referred to as Vīraśaivism.

[33] Refer to Henry Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (Government of India, 1926 [reis.: New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996]): 13.

[34] On this subject, see Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 70. The Kāḷāmukhas, meaning 'black-faced', were an extreme Śaiva sect, mainly prevalent in South India between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries CE. Their followers worshipped the goddess Kali and her consort Śiva in his manifestation as Bhairava. The name 'black-faced' relates to the practice of their followers, who bore a black line or mark on their foreheads. The Kāḷāmukhas are a southern Indian Tantric offshoot of one of the oldest Śaiva sects, the Pāśupatas. (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 22–23.

[35] Refer to Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka": 23.

[36] This has been outlined in detail by Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 67–72.

[37] *Bhakti* means 'love' or devotion'. The *bhaktimārga* is 'the path of devotion', an emotional path, leading to salvation. It consists of practicing love and devotion to a personal divinity, usually given shape in a physical representation. For further details, see K. Sharma, *Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement: A New Perspective* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism*: 42, and Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism*: 36.

[38] After the fourteenth century, a part of the Deccan came under the Baḥmani Sultanate, and then under five

rivalling forces and upset the previous relative equilibrium where the Jainas had been dominant, followed by the mainstream Hindus.

The discussion so far has shown that in the Jaina collapse into severe dependency, internal and external factors came together. The fact that Vīraśaivas played an important role in trade and rapidly started to control mercantile activities throughout the area appears to have accelerated the speedy conversion to Vīraśaivism of the ruling Jaina families of landowners and other important economic players heading trade guilds. This had devastating consequences for the maintenance of Jaina temples and funding of expensive ceremonies, as conversions of formerly generous donors resulted in the withdrawal of their financial support. With the conversion of such significant players to new religious cults, the population followed suit. We know that even Jaina monks, who were in charge of often substantial properties, were oftentimes more concerned with their recently acquired worldly powers and estates than preserving the unity and authority of the Jaina religion. Because of the immense religious and political importance that temples had for the community, and also as they were centres of wealth, these edifices were usually the first to come under siege in the strife for sovereignty in the region.[39] In this fight for hegemony, all the religious groups—Vīraśaivas, Śaivas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Kāḷāmukhas and Muslims—participated in damaging, destroying and absorbing the Jaina cultural assets.[40] Recorded throughout the region are countless glorifications of conversions of Jainas and their temple structures.

VI. Indications of Change and Dependency in Jaina Icons and Temples

We have outlined both internal religious adjustments taking place in Jainism itself, as well as confrontations with new and incoming religious denominations, which had a marked effect on the unity, stability and authority of the Jaina faith. These transformations are also reflected in material remnants, such as the venerated statues and temple architecture. Due to their transformed outlook on life and religious practices, the Jainas modified their sacred edifices and increased the number of their images and other objects of worship. In the confrontations with other religions, these icons and temples were targeted in the violent attacks.

VI.1. Modifications by Choice

In the same way that Jainism as a religion, its practices, organisation and self-understanding were reformed by the Jainas, there were also controlled and deliberate changes which the Jainas themselves undertook regarding their sculpted figures and sacred edifices. These

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later *sultān*s.

[39] For further details, consult the chapter on temple destructions by Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 63–76.

[40] Two former Jaina temples in Karnataka which have been converted by Vīraśaivas have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald in a joint chapter with Subrata K. Mitra (Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional State Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 (2008): 1–37, http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/8015. See in particular, 22–29.

iconographic and architectural amendments become especially visible from the second half of the twelfth century onwards.[41] This was a period when the situation of the Jainas, although beginning to deteriorate, was still reasonably favourable and the hostilities had not yet reached its apex. Nevertheless, these alterations are by no means merely superficial, caused by artistic influences and modifications in style. The makeover of the art and architecture mirrors the broad changes in Jaina society, philosophy and religious outlook.

In terms of the Jaina icons, the pantheon increased substantially. Whilst there were no additions to the group of twenty-four enlightened teachers—the venerated Jinas—the number of gods and goddesses became substantially larger and their significance and standing within religious practice increased. The female goddesses (*devī*s) especially, also referred to as *yakṣī*s or mothers (*mātā*s), gained in influence.[42] Whilst before, they served as subsidiary divinities in temples dedicated to the Jinas, now, large temples dedicated to them as major objects of veneration were erected.

In the architecture, the modifications were even more noticeable, especially with regards to temple structures. In Karnataka, Jaina temples were referred to as *basti*s or *basadi*s. The earlier Jaina shrines of the Gaṅgā period (ca. fourth to eleventh centuries) reveal a strongly functional and utilitarian character and mirror a form of the religion, which propagated an ascetic life-style. With the increase in power and affluence, the creation of monasteries and enhanced economic influence of temples, the socio-religious values of the Jainas changed. This was also reflected in the style of the Jaina temples, dating from the subsequent Hoysaḷa period (ca. eleventh to fourteenth centuries). In contrast to the earlier shrines that were plain and simple, the Hoysaḷa structures displayed a larger expanse of decoration and ornamentation. Visually, the later temples expressed a more pronounced interest in decorative beauty and displayed a more worldly attitude. One of the most elaborate temple examples that expressed this move from the ascetic cubical shrines of the Gaṅgās to the more elaborate and ornamental temple exteriors associated with the Hoysaḷas, was the Śāntinātha Basti at Jinanathapura (Jinanāthapura).[43] On this temple, the outside niches were filled with many statues. Even though this unique amount of figural representations was rare in a Jaina context, it became more common to have highly ornate mouldings and pilasters, elaborately framed niches and richly decorated roofs.

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[41] On this issue, see, for instance, the entire chapter by M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture in Southern Karnataka: From the Beginning to c. 1300 CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṃskṛiti, 2011): 95–115.

[42] The concept of the sacred mother refers to earlier fertility cults and still survives in the concept of the seven or eight sacred mothers.

[43] Whereas Krishna Murthy explains this as representative of the general changes that took place in the religious attitudes, practice and architectural approach of the Jainas (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112), Del Bontà argues for more personal reasons by the local patron of the temple (Robert J. Del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṃskṛiti, 2011]: 121, 123–25). In the context of the changed self-understanding of the Jaina community, I am more inclined to support Krishna Murthy's interpretation, although personal reasons, too, might have played a certain role, as this temple is exceptionally ornate. The first time a place name is mentioned, its local spelling, including diacritical marks, is given if this differs from the English spelling.

VI.2. External Influences on Jaina Temple Architecture

Even more noticeable than the voluntary stylistic changes was the influence of external forces, such as other faith groups, on the design of Jaina temple architecture. Religions which had just gained in power in the region removed and desecrated the icons, damaged and entirely destroyed temples, but also re-used and adapted them for their own ritual needs. As outlined above, the period starting with the early-twelfth century was marked by religious strife and loss of power of the Jainas in most parts of Karnataka. In this context, large numbers of sacred places, which were centres of prosperity and also social and political hubs, were looted and devastated. In the following, the effects these had on Jaina icons and religious architecture are outlined.

VI.2.1. Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues

The icons housed inside Jaina temples represent the focal elements of the sacred sites. Therefore, they were usually targeted first during the violent assaults. As part of these religiously motivated attacks, different approaches were taken towards the sacred images. Whilst in some cases, the figural representations were removed entirely, in others, they were desecrated or mutilated in varying degrees.[44] Only very rarely were such disfigured icons later repaired by the Jainas.

Large numbers of Jaina temples were robbed of their central religious sculptures. This can be seen in the Śāntīśvara Basti at Nittur (Niṭṭūr), whose initial icon was removed and only replaced much later, during more peaceful periods.[45] At other sites, the stolen statues were never replaced, as illustrated by most of the Jaina temples in the village of Aihole (Aihoḷe) (**Plate 3**). The only items that remained in these cases were the frequently very beautifully carved and ornate image platforms (*siṁhāsana*), but lacking the principal statue for which they were originally carved.[46] If the images were taken away, the religious edifices were frequently spared, as the elimination of the most sacred objects of worship sufficed to render them religiously and politically ineffective. This situation can be observed at Bhatkal (Bhaṭakaḷa) in the coastal region of Karnataka, where the Candranāteśvara Basti was not re-consecrated after all its images had been stolen, although the edifice itself was only slightly damaged. Of particular interest were the metal figures, which could be melted down and recast to form other statues or non-religious artefacts, such as jewellery, coins and armoury. Precious stones, which have often been inlaid into Jaina icons, were also extracted and recycled in new settings.[47]

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[44] In chapter 6.3.2, the re-use of Jaina sacred icons will also be discussed.

[45] On this, see K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 318.

[46] This can, for instance, be seen in a destroyed Jaina temple in the village of Aihole. When Cousens visited the temple in the early 1920s, an unusual statue—not clearly identifiable—possibly the image of a *yakṣa*, had been placed on the seat. According to Cousens, the figure was obviously not the original one made for the pedestal (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*: 49, Fig. 14). In 2001, when I visited the temple, the pedestal was empty.

[47] For a discussion of the concept of 'recycling' in an art historical context, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Sse: The Art*
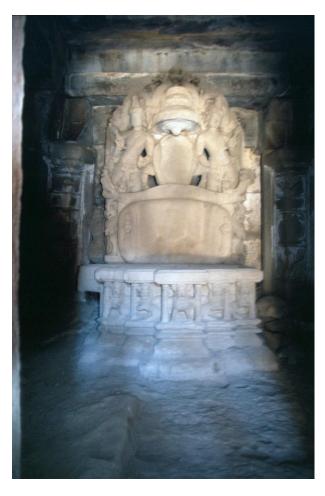
Plate 3: During the time of struggle, large numbers of venerated icons were removed from their pedestals in the main shrine rooms of Jaina temples, and they remain empty to the present day, as seen here at Aihole.

Illustrating a second approach are instances where the images were left behind but desecrated. To dishonour them, they were removed from their raised altars and placed onto the dusty ground (**Plate 4**). Icons of all Indic religious groups should be elevated above the floor to signal their purity and significance. In their new Śaiva or Vīraśaiva setting, they were also often smeared with sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), signalling the conversion and annexation of the temple and its sacred images.[48] An example can be seen in the former Jaina temple at Hallur (Haḷḷūr), which was converted by the Vīraśaivas (Plate 4).[49] Alternatively, the statues

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and Politics of Integration and Anxiety, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 32.

[48] Blake Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasaṃpādane* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992): 84 mentions five so-called 'supports' in Vīraśaivism, which he calls 'the minor sacramental substances'. The fourth substance is *vibhūti*, sacred ash, prepared in a complex process from cow dung. The end product is used to mark the forehead with a dot or with horizontal lines known as signs (*tilaka*). These denote the belonging of a person or a statue to Vīraśaivism.

[49] For further details on this converted temple, see the discussion by Hegewald in the two pieces by Hegewald and Mitra (Hegewald and Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared": 1–37; Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, eds. "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra [New Delhi: Sage

were physically mutilated. This was also done to figures decorating the outer facades of the temples. In the shrine at Hallur, the Jaina statues immediately flanking the entrance were partially damaged. On the image to the west one of its arms was removed and on the one to the east, the face was sliced off.[50] The disfigurement of the face of a sacred image is an especially pronounced gesture.[51]

Plate 4: Other images were taken down from their altars, placed on the ground and tarnished with white ash to vandalise them and signal the Vīraśaiva annexation of the sacred temple space as, for instance, at Hallur.

Even more powerful than the damage or defacement of a statue is its full decapitation, illustrating the third method of defilement. This can, for instance, be seen in the first-floor shrine of the deserted Meguḍi Temple on the hill at Aihole. Whilst the halo of the statue has been preserved, the head has been cut off, with the remaining circular mandorla further

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Publishers, 2012]: 55–85).

[50] The deformity of these statues has also been highlighted by Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Early Phase, A.D. 550–1075)*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986): 147, and by K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi," *in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṃskṛiti, 2011): 110.

[51] This practice is also known from an Islamic context. During acts of mutilation, the faces and, in the case of female sculptures, the breasts were frequently marred.

emphasising the lost body part. As the statue is still present but has been severely maimed, this is an especially poignant specimen. From a ritual viewpoint, the elimination of the head prevents devotees from gazing into the eyes, which although less important in a Digambara than in a Śvetāmbara context, still bears strong significance in Jaina worship. Furthermore, such intensely marred icons can never be re-consecrated again. At times, the beheaded figures were displayed at the front of temples to signal their takeover to anybody approaching the site. There are still a number of places where, even after the regaining of control and re-consecration of the shrines by the Jainas, such disfigured statues are still kept on display. These serve as stirring reminders of the violent times the community endured and survived. Their subsistence is taken as a proof of the strength and ultimate superiority of the Jaina faith. A poignant example is the headless torso of a seated statue of a Tīrthaṅkara placed on view at the front of the temple neighbouring the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi (Lakkuṇḍi).[52] Moreover, the detached limbs and heads, which were chopped off sacred icons, were also put on display in the context of Jaina shrines. Examples are kept in the framed outer niches of the Anantanātha Basti in Lakshmeshvar (Lakṣmeśvara). Other mutilated statues are found leaning against the facades of temple edifices, gateway structures and their compound walls (**Plate 5**). At first, it was the local dominant powers' agents who violated Jaina icons and exhibited them as signs of suppression and control. Later, they were kept in place by the Jainas themselves, as powerful aides-mémoires of the hostility and carnage they and their sacred sites of worship had been subjected to. Therefore, it is very uncommon for such damaged statues to have been repaired. However, during the preparations for the 2018 Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Bhānu Kīrtti Svāmījī commissioned the restoration of the statues placed in the outer niches of the temple and the gateway at the Pañcakūṭa Basti at Kambadhalli (Kambadhallī). In this instance, the reinstated elements were moulded out of grey plaster, which can clearly be differentiated from the original yellow sandstone of the stone sculptures. It appears that this has less to do with modern Western restoration practices surrounding the idea of 'authenticity', than with the Jaina approach of preserving historically suffered 'wounds'. This victory of survival is taken as a reconfirmation of the strength and, to a certain extent, also the superiority of the Jaina faith.[53]

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[52] Displayed alongside the mutilated Jina icons are small stone images, which look like statues of Nandī, the vehicle of Śiva or a symbolic representation of Basava and of Gaṇeśa, the son of the Hindu god Śiva. It is not entirely clear whether these indicate a Hindu period of occupation which has ended and which the Jaina community is remembering through this ensemble, or whether it points towards a looting of all the temples at the site—both Jaina and Hindu—by another religious force. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to obtain precise information about attacks on sites due to the sensitivity of the issue and the wish of the informants not to accuse any community as the culprit, and today, to live together as much in harmony as possible.

[53] Only rarely have the new occupiers of annexed Jaina temples converted or appropriated the statues to reflect representations more fitting of their own specific mythology or religious system. These will be discussed in section 6.3.2., Re-using Icons and Sacred Objects, in this chapter.

Plate 5: Mutilated Jinas and other sacred statues were put on display by newly dominant groups—as can be seen at Kambadhalli—and often kept in place later by the Jainas as reminders of the wrongs they had suffered.

VI.2.2. Destruction and Re-Construction of Temples

With regard to how the new dominating religious powers dealt with the Jaina statues, we have discussed the theft, desecration and various degrees of mutilation of images. However, the temple edifices housing these icons were also targeted in these violent conflicts. Here again, we can identify a number of distinct methods.

Plate 6: Ruined Jaina temples, as at Vijayanagara, can be found throughout the region and are the result of military assaults and neglect due to a loss in influence which the Jainas suffered from the twelfth century onwards.

In one approach, the temple structures were severely damaged or even demolished. Completely impaired structures and the foundations of entirely levelled Jaina temples can be found throughout the region of Karnataka (**Plate 6**). Such annihilations have been attributed to Muslims but particularly to Vīraśaivas. Basava, in one of his famous religious sayings (*vacana*s), pronounces 'Things standing shall fall, but the moving ever shall stay' (*Vacana* 820).[54] In a Vīraśaiva context, the 'moving' appear to be the practitioners themselves, who follow the religion by carrying the symbol of the divine principle, the *liṅga*, on their own body.[55] The human body of the follower is argued to replace the need for any temples. It seems that, obeying Basava's wish to bring to a fall the shrines of other religions, large numbers of Jaina shrines were completely devastated. At Chikka Hanasoge (Chikka-

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[54] See A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973 [reis.: 1985]): 88.

[55] Besides ordinary worshippers, 'the moving' also relates to the so-called 'Moving One', the *jaṅgamana*, the enlightened sage who has, by fusing with the *liṅga*, turned his body into a moving temple. According to Vīraśaiva teachings, the human body is the true temple (John Bowker, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 (reis. 1999)]: 581). *Liṅga*, *jaṅgamana* and *guru*, the enlightened sage heading a *maṭha*, form a central trinity in the Vīraśaiva faith. Due to the importance of moving and walking in this religion, the shoes worn by their saints were placed on funerary monuments (*samādhi*) and kept in their religious headquarters, the *maṭha*s, where they receive special veneration (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Cult of Feet and Footwear in the Liṅgāyat Tradition: Symbology and Peculiarities," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020]: 344–52).

Haṇasoge), there is one very well-preserved temple, the large and complex Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basti. However, according to local knowledge, there were another sixty-four temples at the site, most of them Jaina. It is said that they were shattered in religiously motivated attacks, leaving no trace of them above the ground.[56] For some sacred structures, we have clear epigraphic records informing us of their destruction. The famous sixteenth-century inscription from Mulgund (Muḷgund), near Dharwar, portrays the annihilation of the local Pārśvanātha Jinālaya by Muslim armies, and the martyrdom of Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti, who was killed in the assault.[57] A particularly interesting case is the Ādinātha Basti (1589 CE) in Srirangapatnam (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa). The large number of statues on display inside the temple are said to have come from supposedly one thousand and eight completely destroyed Jaina shrines in the area.[58] These are understood to have been wrecked by the Muslim, Malik Kafur, a general of 'Alau'd-Dīn Khiljī.[59] The Jaina re-use of their own icons from other sites is relatively rare.[60] The icons were frequently buried in the ground to protect them from theft and desecration by approaching armies and thugs. Previously buried and exhumed, as well as returned looted icons were not usually re-consecrated. It appears that somehow, they were considered to be stained or disempowered. This can be seen in the Pārśvanātha Jaina Temple at Bijapur, whose main black marble statue of Mahāvīra was concealed in the ground to protect it from the Islamic assaults on the site. When it was brought back to light, it was only displayed in the porch of an adjacent small shrine and not reinstated as a main sacred image (mūlanāyaka). Above entirely crushed Jaina temples, new buildings could be erected by other religious groups, or later even by the Jaina community itself. In actual fact, it is very common to observe such a continuity of sacred sites.[61] The flattening of temples of one religious denomination and their replacement with a structure associated with a different faith can be a powerful political statement.[62]

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[56] This information is based on a personal communication with local Jaina families at Chikka Hanasoge in 2001.

[57] The inscription states that Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti remained inside the temple and died when it was set alight. On this, see P.B. Desai, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964): 433, inscription no. 695, and K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 365. This act of self-sacrifice is interpreted as a demonstration of extreme non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), one of the main tenets of the Jaina faith.

[58] One thousand and eight is a number perceived as sacred and auspicious by most indigenous religious groups in South Asia and is often used when a particularly large amount is referred to.

[59] This information is based on personal communications with the Jaina family caring for the temple in Srirangapatnam and with neighbouring Jaina families in 2001. Malik Kafur defeated the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla II in Tamil Nadu (James C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, The Pelican History of Art [Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1986]: 261) and Karnataka (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 114).

[60] This is a case of 'conventional re-use', in which an object is used for the same purpose without a change in function. The only aspect which changed is the particular named temple in which the statues are venerated. For more information on the concept of conventional re-use, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31–34.

[61] On this issue, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 34.

[62] Cases of such utter destruction and complete rebuilding, often recycling the building materials taken from the wiped-out structures, are also known from an early Islamic context in India. This has been discussed in the chapter by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty," in '*Das alles hier' Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrike Niklas, Heinz Werner Wessler, Peter Wyzlic and Stefan Zimmer (Heidelberg: Xasia eBooks, 2021): 151–74.

In most instances of complete destructions of sacred buildings, local legends name a culprit. However, some structures may have also degenerated and collapsed due to general negligence, such as the abandonment suffered after voluntary or enforced conversions away from Jainism. Other sites and temples were discarded for different reasons. The city of Vijayanagara, for instance, was abandoned when the empire collapsed in the middle of the seventeenth century. Whilst the local Hindu structures have generally been restored and well-maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India, only a few of the originally numerous Jaina edifices at the site have been preserved. Only the Pārśvanātha Temple and the Gaṇagitti Temple, in neighbouring Kamalapura (Kāmalāpur), have been completely refurbished and well-maintained. Most other Jaina structures at the site have fallen into a state of grave decay and are no longer in use (Plate 6).

At some sites, completely broken temples, which were of particular significance for the community, were later rebuilt. A striking example is the Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar, raised under the Kalyāṇi Cāḷukyas in the eleventh century.[63] The attack on this temple was so ferocious that its fabric was ground down to minute stone fragments. Therefore, an authentic re-construction of the original structure was not possible. Small wall segments and sculptural remains were fitted together in a fairly random manner (**Plate 7**). The result was an edifice that very strongly reflected the aggression and scars from the past.[64] At other sites, only selected former building elements, such as thresholds, doorframes or altars were integrated into the largely new temple buildings. The Śrī Śanteśvara Svāmī Digambara Jaina Basti in Mysore is characteristic of this situation. Although the fabric of the temple dates from the twentieth century, it preserved some ancient doorframes, integrating elaborate lintels and life-size statues of door guardians (*dvārapāla*s).[65] The Jaina community, however, also demolishes their own temples to replace them with pristine new structures. In Karnataka, this can be seen at Dharmasthala. Originally, the Candranātha Basti was a mostly wooden structure, which was torn down and entirely rebuilt in concrete, clad with marble panels sometime between 2000 and 2005.[66]

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[63] For more information on this temple, see Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300": 312–13.

[64] It is fascinating that the Lakṣmīliṅgeśvara Temple at Lakshmeshvar, which is at least today under Hindu control, also represents as much of a building patch-work as the Śaṅkha Jinālaya. On the basis of the present remains, it is not entirely clear whether a Jaina and Hindu temple were destroyed by Vīraśaivas or Islamic troupes moving into the area or whether possibly both were Jaina to start with but one was reconstructed by the Hindus. Dhaky does not refer to this or the destruction of the temple in his brief discussion (M.A. Dhaky, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa [Later Phase, A.D. 973–1326]*, 2 vols. [New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996]: 173). The reverse case, where the Jainas re-consecrated a destroyed former Hindu temple after Muslim assaults, can be seen at Khajuraho. This has been discussed in the article by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change: A New Interpretation of the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies, vol. 1, ed. P. Flügel (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 401–18.

[65] In addition, the temple houses a sizeable collection of medieval Jaina metal statues.

[66] Kurt Titze has published a photograph of the earlier wooden structure which must have been taken before the publication of his book in 1998 (Kurt Titze, *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998]: 223, plate 318).

Plate 7: The Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar illustrates the attempt at re-construction of a severely damaged Jaina temple where, due to the violence of the attack, a faithful rebuilding could not be done.

VI.3. Re-Using Icons, Sacred Objects and Edifices

We have discussed stolen, dishonoured and damaged images, as well as completely flattened, rigorously impaired and reconstructed temples. Another approach taken by rival religious groups who wished to establish new religious and worldly orders was to absorb and adapt icons and sacred spaces. Sculptures and shrines were converted by different faith groups and, by doing so, they were re-used in a changed religious context and invested with new meanings. Through this, often ancient and treasured objects and architectural spaces were preserved and continued to play important roles as valued cultural relics. These remained to bear an active influence on the local culture and identity. Soundara Rajan writes regarding the shattered but reconstructed and re-consecrated Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi: 'Even in their utter desolation and nominal worship, the temple-ruins present a grandeur befitting its [their] famed past from the sixth to the thirteenth century'.[67] For those robbed of their valued places of veneration, however, such temples harbour traumatic memories and act as lasting reminders of the degradation, theft, destruction and conversion. In Karnataka, there are particularly many cases of temple changeovers and conversion from Jaina to Vīraśaiva ownership. There are examples where no Jaina remnants have been preserved and it is only the evidence that Vīraśaivism simply did not exist in its reformed state before the twelfth century which reveals that an annexation of a former

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[67] For this quote, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300": 315.

Jaina temple must have taken place. However, there are also edifices that continue to display obvious Jaina elements and where the act of reappropriation has not been completely masked. The most famous Jaina temple site in the region which has been converted is Sringeri. Formerly, a Jaina temple since the fourteenth century, it is one of the most celebrated Hindu religious centres in Karnataka.[68] The Muslims, too, seized Jaina temples and adjusted them to fit their own ritual practices.[69]

VI.3.1. Methodologies in the Re-Use of Architecture

Generally, we can identify three approaches which were followed in the re-use of Jaina temples in Karnataka. Structures characteristic of the first approach clearly expose the fact of annexation. Those belonging to the second carefully aim to conceal the act of appropriation and pretend that the shrines were raised by its most recent users. Those temples falling into the third and last group follow a less conscious and clearly delineated tactic. Here, certain elements, characteristic of the previous religious users, have been coarsely removed but not replaced with new ornaments or symbols that would be more fitting of the latest owners. Let us examine some examples to illustrate the points more clearly.

Converted shrines belonging to the first class are by and large reasonably unusual. However, a perfect example of a confident annexation, which is not hiding this fact, is the already mentioned Meguḍi Temple at Hallur, converted by Vīraśaivas. Very prominent statues of naked Jaina ascetics have been preserved on the facades of the temple. Only those statues immediately flanking the entrance to the structure show slight impairments. Nevertheless, they are still clearly identifiable as Jaina figures and, as such, form elements which do not belong in a Vīraśaiva environment. The nude icons embellishing the outside of this forcefully converted temple appear like war trophies, exhibited to disgrace the Jaina faith and its venerated saints.

Re-used temples, where the Jaina foundation is less clear, are more common. In a way, the second and third approaches only illustrate two degree of how vigilantly the conversion was handled. There are examples where the attackers took great care to eradicate all obvious hints pointing to a Jaina origin. Acting as helpful identifiers for the religious identification of temples are the statues—in a Jaina context, frequently Jinas—and ornaments that have been carved onto the lintels (*lalāṭabimba*) leading into the temples and shrine rooms. In adapted buildings, such denominational markers have often been eliminated. In instances where no *lalāṭabimba*s were present in the first place, where they have been carefully removed and the area has been polished to eliminate all traces, or where an entire lintel has been replaced to show symbols of the latest users, it is difficult to prove the annexation of a temple without written and historical evidence.

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[68] This is based on personal conversations with Prof. Dr. Robert Zydenbos in Munich in 2005, and with a number of local informants during fieldwork in Karnataka between 2001 and 2007.

[69] See, for instance, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity," *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 9 [special issue on Jainism, guest editor: Prof. Aloka Parasher-Sen].

In most cases, the third approach was taken, in which the *lalāṭabimba*s have been chiselled away quite crudely. In this middle way, the former images and symbols have been removed, but the fact that the original denomination of the temple was altered is not completely hidden. Two good examples illustrating this technique are the former Jaina Temple at Hangal (Hāngal) and the Pārśvanātha Temple at Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri). In both, the icons adorning the lintels to the sanctum of the temple have been coarsely removed.[70] Well-defined iconographic elements indicating the religious denomination of a structure are, however, not only found inside temples but also on the lintels above entranceways. Even though the outer walls of Jaina temples are often quite sparsely decorated, figural images have often been incorporated into the parapets and roof structures of halls, and more elaborate superstructures found above the shrines. These representations were also frequently eradicated during the conversion of temples. Most of these small statues adorning the roof of what is today the Vīr Nārāyaṇ Hindu Temple, a Viṣṇu shrine at Gadag, were removed and only a very small number of Jina statues can still be found in more hidden places. These clearly indicate the original Jaina nature of the temple.[71] Another example is the former Jaina temple at Pattadakal (Paṭṭadakal). Today, the shrine houses a prominent *liṅga*, whilst its initial sculptural panels were removed. A reasonable clean-up was easily possible in the context of this temple, as it appears that its iconographic scheme did not contain unique Jaina imagery. Cousens commented on this temple as follows:

> There are no dedicatory blocks over the doors, and the only indications to show that it was a Jaina temple are two little images of seated Jainas, one halfway up the back or west side, and one on the north side of the tower. To this might be added the negative evidence that there are no Brahmanical images about the building. (1996: 72)

Another example of this approach is the Nāganātha Temple—which today is dedicated to Śiva—which still bears icons of Jinas in its roof structure (**Plate 8**). On the inside, the empty pedestal (formerly of Pārśvanātha) has been fitted with a *liṅga* as new religious icon.[72] These examples demonstrate the middle or third approach, which neither publicises nor disguises the fact that a takeover and change in denomination has taken place.

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[70] The Pārśvanātha Temple at Annigeri is a fascinating example, where although many images on the door lintels have been chiselled away, indicating at least a temporary take over or at least a sectarian attack, today, it is again used as a sacred place of Jaina worship. An image of a Jina flanked by elephants, which strongly resembles a representation of *gajalakṣmī*, was not removed, although it is located above the main entrance to the temple. It appears that this image is so close to a Hindu concept that it could be appropriated. There are a few temples where the coarsely removed images adorning the door lintels are more puzzling. Amongst these are the temples on Hemakutta (Hemakūṭam) Hill at Vijayanagara, which appear to have been conceived as Hindu but where the *lalāṭabimba* have been removed as well. It is not entirely clear whether these were actually Jaina and whether the outside Hindu statues and decorations have been added later, or whether this was a change-over from mainstream Hindu to Vīraśaiva usage.

[71] More obviously, Jaina is the prominent *mānastambha*, with an empty image pavilion standing in front of the temple. Also common in a Jaina context is the lotus altar at its side.

[72] This fits especially well, as both Pārśvanātha and Śiva are closely associated with snakes, depicted on the back of the pedestal.

Plate 8: Temples such as the Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi frequently still bear small Jaina statues in their roof decorations, which continue to indicate the original dedication of converted temples.

The previous temple is not the only that had been provided with a new icon after the most prominent remnants of the former denomination were removed.[73] Jaina temples which were converted to Vīraśaivism have generally been endowed with a *liṅga* in their main sanctum (*garbhagṛha*). Facing this, placed in the vestibule (*antarāla*) or adjacent hall, are usually small statues of Nandī, the bull associated with Śiva and with Basava.[74] This can be seen in the Virūpākṣa and other former Jaina temples of the Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group at Aihole. In former Jaina temples which have further shrines on raised levels, typically only the lower sanctum has been supplied with new Vīraśaiva statues after their transformation. The shrines on raised floor levels have, in most cases, been retained but are usually empty and no longer in use. A good example again is the former Jaina temple at Hallur. These abandoned higher shrines do not form part of the new ritual practices of the converted

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[73] Jainas themselves also at times change the specific dedication of their temples. For instance, the Maṅgāyi Basti in the village of Shravanabelgola today houses a statue of Pārśvanātha, although an inscription on the lintel identifies it as Anantanātha. There are many more instances where today, the name of a temple does not reflect the identity of the principal enshrined statue.

[74] This can be seen in the converted Jaina temple at Hangal, in Jaina Temple no. 7 in Aihole and in the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur. In the latter two temples, the *lalāṭabimba* statues have been coarsely removed as well.

temple. This is because Vīraśaiva practice is less ritualistic and does not involve many statues.

VI.3.2. Re-Using Icons and Sacred Objects

Thus far, we have focussed on the annexation of architectural spaces or empty altars. However, statues and other sacred objects housed in the context of Jaina shrines were also taken over, rededicated and sanctified anew by other faith groups. Despite their existence, such cases are reasonably rare but can be found in the context of different religious groups. Prominent examples are associated with a new Vaiṣṇava context. In particular, sculptural representations of Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha, who are sheltered by three to seven-headed snake hoods, could be transformed into icons of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa without much trouble.[75] His iconography also prescribes a sheltering snake hood.[76] However, it is particularly intriguing that Vīraśaivas, who as was outlined before have a very reduced ritual and should focus their veneration on the *liṅga* only, also adopted and continued to worship statues of the Jinas. A conspicuous example is the large seated stone Jina, in what is today the main Liṅgāyat temple of Adargunchi (Adarguñchi). Nowadays, the Jina icon is referred to as 'Doḍḍappā', which in Kannada language means 'paternal uncle'.[77] Its religious transformation is evident from the pronounced parallel white lines, which have been painted onto the body of the statue, and from the fresh flower offerings draped in garlands around its neck.[78] There are other instances where Vīraśaivas appear to venerate other divinities outside their strict doctrinal frame.[79] Another fascinating example are the Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, guardians of the sacred temple compound in a Vīraśaiva shrine at Kagvad (**Plate 9**). Today, they are venerated as forms of Śiva, although only the *liṅga* and not Śiva are part of Vīraśaiva worship. In addition to icons, other venerated objects, such as representations of Jaina footprints, were also annexed and venerated by Vīraśaivas.[80]

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[75] Nārāyaṇa is a representation of Viṣṇu sleeping on the cosmic snake (Śeṣaśāyin) between two world eras.

[76] Examples of such conversions have been discussed by Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 33. See also Plate 2.3 in the same publication.

[77] For additional information, see the discussion by Hegewald in Hegewald and Mitra, eds., "The Past in the Present": 63–64. Locally, no information was available about the specific meaning of Doḍḍappā, who does not appear to have a specific significance in a Vīraśaiva context. Instead, it seems to provide ceremonial contact to a family-like figure that believers can turn to in times of trouble.

[78] For further details and photographs from the converted temple and venerated objects at Adargunchi, see Hegewald and Mitra, eds., "The Past in the Present": Plates 3.4 and 3.5.

[79] Dr Sara Mondini, in the digital lecture series "Religious Traditions of India," organised by the University of Ghent, showed in her presentation on 17 November 2021 that the Vīraśaivas of Madiyal, located between Sholapur and Kalaburagi in the very north of Karnataka, carry a statue of the south Indian mother goddess Maisamma in procession. Also fascinating is the close connection of the Vīraśaivas of that area with the local Muslim community, described by Mondini.

[80] For a discussion of the particularly easy conversion of footprints from one to another religious ritual use, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints (Pādukās): Multivariate Symbols in Jaina Religious Practice in India," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 7 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 357–423.

Plate 9: Although they are not part of the reduced Vīraśaiva ritual practices, Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, as can be seen in the converted temple at Kagvad, were re-used by the new temple owners and venerated as forms of Śiva.

VII. Survival and Endurance

Jaina temples were targeted not only during this period of intense communal and religious unrest from about the mid-twelfth to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. According to Cousens, the situation continued well into the later periods.[81] Literary evidence points towards continuous prejudices and discrimination waged against the Jaina community in Karnataka. This appears to have persisted well into the nineteenth century.[82] Despite verbal and written threats as well as real physical persecution which the Jainas experienced, the religion and its art and architecture continued to be produced and to evolve. Not much has been written about Jaina art and architecture after the thirteenth century. This applies not only to the south, which forms the focus of this chapter, but also to the whole of India.

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[81] In his book on Cālukyan architecture first published in 1926, he reveals that the central icon of Mahāvīra, originally enshrined in the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi, was thrown out by '*badmāshes*' a few years before his visit (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*: 78). '*Badmāshes*' is an Anglo-Indian term for rogues or rascals. On a later visit by Cousens, also before 1926, the temple had been re-consecrated by the Jainas and remained closed to visitors. For this information, refer to the book by Cousens mentioned in this footnote on p. 79.

[82] Sundaram has written on this issue. See Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 35.

With regards to Karnataka, there is a particular appeal felt towards the Vijayanagara empire, founded by Harihara I and his brother Bukka Rāya I in 1336 CE. The rulers themselves were Hindu; however, some had Jaina wives. The kings seem to have been particularly tolerant towards other religions and to have offered protection to the Jainas.[83] The capital city, Vijayanagara, alternatively known as Hampi (Hampī), has a number of substantial Jaina temples. One of the most prominent structures amongst these is the Pārśvanātha Basti. It was constructed under Devarāya II (1422–1446) in 1426 CE.[84] Another elaborate granite structure is the Gaṇagitti Temple, alternatively known as Gaṇigitti or Kunthunātha Temple, in nearby Kamalapuram (**Plate 10**). According to an inscription found on the pillar in front of the temple, it was commissioned by the Jaina general Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka (1384–1442) in 1385 CE.[85]

Plate 10: The late fourteenth-century Gaṇagitti Temple at Kamalapuram is an example demonstrating the continuity of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka, although on a severely diminished scale.

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[83] This has been examined by Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* [Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938]: 298–321, K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka [Ground Plans and Elevations]*, 2 vols. [Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003]: 60, and Pius Fidelis Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛti, 2011]: 77–92. An inscription of Bukka Rāya I testifies that he mediated in a dispute between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Jainas in 1368 and extended royal protection towards the Jainas. On this particular issue, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302, and Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 365.
[84] See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302.
[85] Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka served under Bukka Rāya II during the reign of Harihara II, and under Devarāya II (Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 366, 368). On the Jaina temples in and around Hampi, see also Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 177–97.

In addition to Vijayanagara, where the political environment was favourable towards the Jainas, Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa) also continued to develop and expand as one of the major religious centres of the Jainas throughout these difficult times. The small town lies between two major hillocks, bearing the majority of the sacred structures at the site. Most early Jaina remains are found on the sacred hill of Candragiri. During the following centuries, further edifices were raised particularly on the second peak, Viṇdhyagiri, as well as in the town. The Maṅgāyi Basti, close to the centre, dates from 1325 CE.[86] On Viṇdhyagiri, close to the entrance of the Gommaṭeśvara enclosure, is the small Siddha Bhagavāna Temple, raised in 1398. The Cennaṇṇa Basti, located on the same hill, goes back even further and dates from 1673 CE. The later Jaina temples, in general, again have reasonably unadorned exterior walls, often not even incorporating niches any longer. This reflects a situation of austerity and hardship after the great flourishing under the Hoysaḷas.

Besides prominent royal and sacred pilgrimage hubs, such as Vijayanagara and Shravanabelgola, Jainism persisted and continued to prosper in a number of provincial centres. This is especially noticeable from the fifteenth century onwards.[87] Particularly plentiful and distinct are the Jaina temples found on the west coast of Karnataka. Some of the prominent centres of Jainism in this area are Mudabidri (Mūdabidri), Karkal (Karkāla, Kārkaḷa), Venur (Venupura, Vaṁśapura) and Bhatkal. Additionally, almost every village or town in this area maintains valuable Jaina vestiges and temple structures. The local shrines have the characteristic steep sloping and widely projecting roofs, covered with terracotta tiles or stone slabs.[88] Their outer walls are usually plain and the design of the pillars and roof constructions have been derived from earlier wooden construction techniques.[89] Some prominent examples are the Candranātha Basti at Mudabidri, built in 1429 CE, the famous Caturmukha Basti erected between 1586 and 1587 at Karkal and the Candranāteśvara Basti at Bhatkal, dating from 1556 CE.

In the north of Karnataka, there is clearly less continuity, due to an evident Vīraśaiva and Islamic presence. However, in this area, the building of Jaina temples never ceased entirely.[90] One example is the Pārśvanātha Temple at Bagalkot (Bāgalakōṭe), which was inaugurated as late as 1976. There is also a very noticeable migration especially of Śvetāmbara Jaina families from north-western India into this region. Whilst this move

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[86] For further information, see Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 to 1800": 369.

[87] Srinivasan points out that Jainism flourished, especially at regional courts, as 'they were more congenial for its growth than the capital of the empire' (Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 366).

[88] This visualises a dependency on and an adaptation to the local climate, marked by heavy monsoon rains. Climatic and resource dependencies in this region have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 69–96.

[89] On this issue, see Miki Desai, "The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 202–8, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 69–96.

[90] We noticed this already in the Jaina temples at Hampi, which are also located in the north of the State.

appears to have started at the beginning of the twentieth century, it became particularly manifest from the 1960s onwards. This movement appears to be largely due to commercial reasons and continues to the present day, with large numbers of temples having been raised in and around the economic centre of Bangalore during the twenty-first century. This illustrates an unbroken continuity of Jaina temple-building in the entire state until the present, but on a much lower scale than was seen during the heydays of Jainism in Karnataka.

VIII. Concluding Thoughts

From the early to mid-twelfth century onwards, the Jainas in Karnataka clearly found themselves in a situation of severe asymmetrical dependency. This had not always been the case. From about the fifth century CE, their influence in the region had actually steadily increased, reaching its peak in about the tenth and eleventh centuries. During this time, the Jainas not only dominated local trade and commerce but also the arts in general, and supplied local rulers and state administrators. A number of reasons contributed to the sudden demise of this originally influential religious group. Some of these were home-made, such as the changes the Jainas themselves undertook on their own religion from about the tenth century onwards. This time of transformations was a period of calm and prosperity, which led the leaders of the Jaina community to elaborate on their so far strongly ascetically minded religion. Through the introduction of castes and manifold Jaina sub-groups, expression of loyalty and offer of commitments to a number of different religious leaders and *maṭha*s, they made themselves more susceptible to further fragmentation and dissolution. Additionally, the elaboration of temple rituals and increase in their divine pantheon might have contributed to diluting the clear-cut character of their faith even further and eradicating the characteristics which had made their belief so distinct in the past. One can argue that through these changes, the faith came closer to mainstream Hindu movements in their practice. In this context, it is fascinating that the Vīraśaivas, who predominantly gained in power during this period of Jaina submission, offered a path back to simplicity and a strongly reduced ritual.

The most prominent reason for the Jainas' loss of authority, however, was the advent of newly founded or reformed movements, such as the Vīraśaivas. Together with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas who entered the area from the south, they illustrate the victorious path of *bhakti* movements at this time in history. From the north, Muslim groups also penetrated into the region. This created highly complex religious relations and interactions in a reasonably small area. All the faith groups were competing to increase their following, religious importance and influence over sacred sites. They were all equally aiming for commercial power, such as the control over trade routes in the region. Consequently, this led to open hostility towards the Jaina community, tactical voluntary as well as enforced conversions, the destruction and annexation of their sacred centres and outright physical violence against the members. These confrontations commenced around the early to mid-twelfth century and lasted at least until the fifteenth century. However, in some regions, these sectarian struggles continued well beyond this period. Fortunately, this decline never led to an outright extinction of Jainism in Karnataka. At first, only on a much reduced scale, and later with more vigour, Jainism managed to regain some power, at least in a number of royal, specific pilgrimage and some provincial centres. In these places, a further

development of the religion and its art and architecture can be outlined until the present day, although in a much reduced form, when compared to its former glory.

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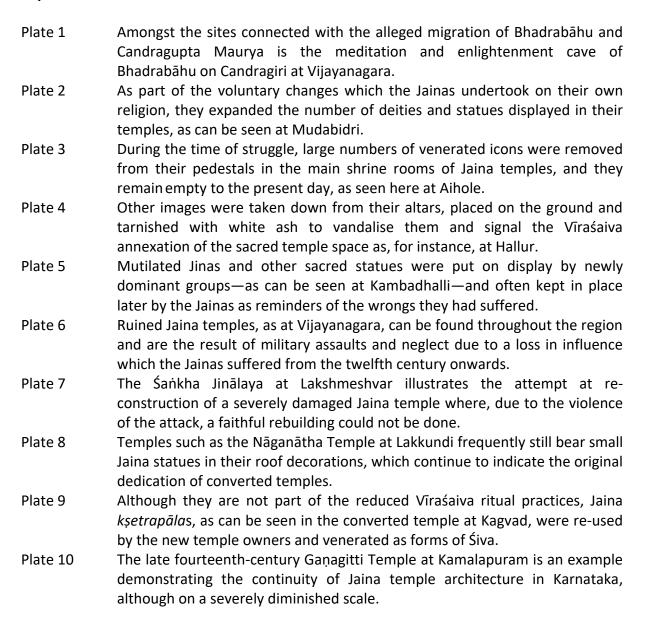
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Captions

Plate 1   Amongst the sites connected with the alleged migration of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya is the meditation and enlightenment cave of Bhadrabāhu on Candragiri at Vijayanagara.

Plate 2   As part of the voluntary changes which the Jainas undertook on their own religion, they expanded the number of deities and statues displayed in their temples, as can be seen at Mudabidri.

Plate 3   During the time of struggle, large numbers of venerated icons were removed from their pedestals in the main shrine rooms of Jaina temples, and they remain empty to the present day, as seen here at Aihole.

Plate 4   Other images were taken down from their altars, placed on the ground and tarnished with white ash to vandalise them and signal the Vīraśaiva annexation of the sacred temple space as, for instance, at Hallur.

Plate 5   Mutilated Jinas and other sacred statues were put on display by newly dominant groups—as can be seen at Kambadhalli—and often kept in place later by the Jainas as reminders of the wrongs they had suffered.

Plate 6   Ruined Jaina temples, as at Vijayanagara, can be found throughout the region and are the result of military assaults and neglect due to a loss in influence which the Jainas suffered from the twelfth century onwards.

Plate 7   The Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar illustrates the attempt at re-construction of a severely damaged Jaina temple where, due to the violence of the attack, a faithful rebuilding could not be done.

Plate 8   Temples such as the Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi frequently still bear small Jaina statues in their roof decorations, which continue to indicate the original dedication of converted temples.

Plate 9   Although they are not part of the reduced Vīraśaiva ritual practices, Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, as can be seen in the converted temple at Kagvad, were re-used by the new temple owners and venerated as forms of Śiva.

Plate 10   The late fourteenth-century Gaṇagitti Temple at Kamalapuram is an example demonstrating the continuity of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka, although on a severely diminished scale.

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Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

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