# Vīraśaiva and Jaina Rivalries in Medieval South India: Creating and Overcoming Structures of Dependency

### 1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the changing fortunes of the Jaina community in the South Indian state of Karnataka. It analyses how initially, from the early fifth century onwards, the authority of the Jainas appears to have consistently increased throughout the region. The Early Medieval period was a time when many kings and their ministers in South India were Jainas, and literature, as well as other arts and architecture, openly articulated Jainism's sacred ideas.

However, during the twelfth century, the situation changed significantly. Internal transformations had already begun in Jaina society, practice, and the religious values they maintained as early as the tenth century. As argued here, shifts in Jaina society made them more prone to harm and maltreatment. The main change, however, was the formation of new and the arrival of other competing religious groups in the area from the twelfth century. These rivalling faith communities established structures of strong dependency into which the previously dominant Jainas had to integrate. Particularly threatening was the local but newly formed religious creed of the Vīraśaivas.<sup>1</sup> Due to the rise in Vīraśaiva control and dominance, emerging first in northern Karnataka and then spreading throughout the region, the Jainas lost most of their power and were persecuted. During this period of religious, political, and communal turmoil, Jaina icons, shrines, and religious centres were targeted, and many were destroyed: others were annexed, adapted, and re-used by the Vīraśaivas.<sup>2</sup> Despite the severe decline in Jainism's influence, the faith survived and continued to be practised, which demonstrates that the Jainas eventually managed to overcome newly created structures of dependency. These are the core issues, which will be explored in more detail in the following sections.

**Note:** The material presented here presents a work-in-progress presentation of a larger research project, which will lead to a substantial book on the subject to be published in the series "Dependency and Slavery Studies" of the Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies with de Gruyter, probably in 2024.

<sup>1</sup> Basic information on the Vīraśaivas will be provided in section 4 of this chapter.

**<sup>2</sup>** For more information on the theory of re-use, see the theory chapter by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, eds. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54, and the many practical examples from the areas of art and politics within the same publication.

## 2 Jaina Roots in Karnataka

Jainism originated in the east Indian state of Bihar in the fifth or sixth centuries BCE. A severe drought, which affected the region during the fourth century BCE, caused a large portion of the local Jaina community to migrate from the area. The Jainas ventured both to the northwest and the south of the country, which led to a schism between the Digambara group of the sky-clad or naked ascetics and the Śvetāmbaras, who wear simple white cotton garments.<sup>3</sup>

A number of legends assert that Jainism came to Karnataka in the fourth century BCE through the religious teachings of Bhadrabāhu (Fig. 1). Despite this popular tale. historically, it is more likely that the religion was transmitted from its place of origin in Bihar, through the East Indian state of Orissa and into Tamil Nadu in the south. From there, it appears to have reached Karnataka during the early centuries of the Common Era, probably around the second century CE.<sup>4</sup> Jainism became firmly established throughout the region and proliferated extensively until about the ninth century CE when its influence appears to have reached a temporary plateau. One reason for Jainism's significant popularity and increased following in Karnataka during this period appears to have been the activities of the Digambara Jaina subgroup of the Yāpanīyas. They were more liberal than mainstream Digambara Jainas. For instance, they believed that salvation could be attained from within a female body. 5 The Yapanīyas appear to have contributed to the firm integration of the Jainas into the wider society and to the propagation of a relative collective societal harmony. 6 Additionally,

<sup>3</sup> For additional information on Digamabara and Śvetāmbara Jainas and further subdivisions, 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): 17-21.

<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed exploration of the subject, 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): 319, 476–77.

<sup>5</sup> On the fact that this is not part of majority Digambara religious thought, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, Gender & Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991) and Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Samskriti, 2011): 213–43. 6 This has been deducted from a number of inscriptions, which suggest that local Hindus provided protection and monetary support for the construction and preservation of Jaina temples. Additional information on the Yāpanīyas can be found in 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: Samskriti, 2011): 47-48; 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: Samskriti, 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: Samskriti, 2011): 247.

the spread of Jainism appears to have been further supported by its ability to adapt well to local circumstances. As will be shown later in this chapter, Jainism survived and thrived, especially in the coastal region of western Karnataka, where its proponents entered a close dialogue with Hindus and various local sacred practices and cults.<sup>7</sup>



**Fig. 1:** Panels on two steatite screens in the Candragupta Basti at Shravanabelgola depict the alleged introduction of Jainism to Karnataka through Bhadrabāhu in the fourth century BCE.

After the introductory phase of religious consolidation in Karnataka, Jainism flourished from the ninth to the eleventh centuries of the common era. This phase referred to as a "glorious period". The time of the Gangā dynasty (c. fourth to eleventh centuries) and even more so that of the Hoysala rulers (c. twelfth to fourteenth centuries) have also been classified as a "golden age" of Jainism in Karnataka. In the lead-up to

<sup>7</sup> On this subject, see section 6 on later Jaina continuities.

<sup>8</sup> 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: Samskriti, 2011): 30–34 has used this term.

<sup>9</sup> The application of the term "golden age" for the Hoysala period in Karnataka has been discussed in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Golden Age or Kali-Yuga? The Changing Fortunes of Jaina Art and Identity in Karnataka," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, vol. 1, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014): 316–22. The generally problematic nature of using this term has been discussed in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Out of the Shadow of the Golden Age," in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and* 

the twelfth century, large numbers of temples and sacred centres were established. Nevertheless, this period of flowering was soon followed by pressures, intimidations, and coercions. 10 Already during the second half of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, the Jaina community came under relentless political and physical attack, leading to a severe decline and a struggle for survival in the area. There is literary, as well as artistic and architectural evidence for persecution. 11

## 3 Changes in Jainism

So far, we have highlighted the ability of the Jainas to adapt as a positive skill. A religion, however, which changes too significantly and moves away too far from its essential doctrines, may risk losing its identity and credibility. This appears, at least partially, to have been the fate of the Digambara Jainas in Karnataka under the rule of the Calukyas and the Hoysalas from the early tenth century onwards.

This period of stability, calm and the accrual of increased authority appears to have motivated the Jainas to undertake substantial changes in the organization and social outlook of their religion.<sup>12</sup> By way of example, consider the emergence of Jaina castes, the elaboration of ritual practices, and the formation of monastic institutions as permanent seats of control, religious learning, and landownership (mathas) (Fig. 2). Castes had been absent from the earlier, more archaic form of the religion, and their reconfirmation created hierarchies and inequalities which had not previously existed. The fragmentation of Jainism into castes and sub-groups, such as the Yāpanīyas, which paid allegiance to different monastic centres, weakened the unity of the Jaina populace. Increased intra-religious divisions, in turn, made it easier for other groups to split, disintegrate, and disempower the community. Whether an intensification of ritual practices and the development of Tantric Jainism further destabilized the faith remains questionable.<sup>13</sup> However, such developments clearly diluted the distinc-

Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age, vol. 1, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014): 31–76; and backed up with many examples in Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age, vol. 1, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> For further details, see Hegewald, "Golden Age or Kali-Yuga?": 322.

<sup>11</sup> For textual references in Jaina and Vīraśaiva literature, referring to the persecution of the Jainas from the early twelfth century, see R.V.S. Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 35-36.

<sup>12</sup> Refer to the chapter by 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: Samskriti, 2011): 43–44.

<sup>13</sup> Whilst K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi," in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Samskriti, 2011): 182 suggests that Jaina temples and icons were the result of the tenth-century changes taking place in Jainism, we know that statues

tiveness of Jainism and established closer links to Hindu practices. The once highly ascetically-minded Jaina religious institutions gradually accumulated enormous prosperity and became powerful landowners. From the early twelfth century, the support of prominent and instrumental royal families in the region deteriorated, and resentment against the often wealthy and authoritarian Jaina elite led to confrontations. This resulted in discrimination and, at times, outright collective public aggression. In addition to these internal developments, external forces also undermined the authority of the Jaina community. Specifically, Jainism had to grapple with the rise of both local and supra-local religious beliefs and groups, which started to threaten the Jaina's social position.



**Fig. 2:** The Jaina *matha* at Karkal illustrates the creation of monastic institutions as seats of religious and political control in Karnataka from the tenth century CE onwards.

of Jaina saints existed already at the time of Mahāvīra. On this issue, see the section entitled "Questions Concerning the Veneration of Images in Jainism" and "The Beginnings of Jaina Sculptural Art" in 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): 63–65. Furthermore, temples had been fashioned for centuries at this time already and it is now widely acknowledged that a "pure" and abstract form of Jainism, devoid of icons, sacred structures and image veneration never existed. On this issue, see Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992): 182 and Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 94, 107.

<sup>14</sup> On this issue, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 113-16.

### 4 The Rise of Vīraśaivism

The creed which gained most rapidly in power at this time was the so-called "heroic Śaivas", the Vīraśaivas, also known as Liṅgāyats, the "worshippers of the *liṅga*". <sup>15</sup> Vīraśaivism was initiated in northern Karnataka by the religious leader Basava. 16 He lived from approximately 1105 to 1168. Vīraśaivism is a bhakti reform movement<sup>17</sup> that focuses on the god Śiva. However, it is a distinct faith and not a form or subgroup of Hinduism. This becomes apparent, for instance, in its complete rejection of multiple gods, the concept of  $karma^{18}$  and the authority of the central body of religious texts in Hinduism, known as the Vedas. Vīraśaiyas preach against social inequalities and reject the caste system, so prevalent in Hindu social and religious life. Furthermore, orthodox followers rebuff temple worship, sacrifices, and the concepts of purity and pollution, which are central to mainstream Hinduism. Vīrašaivas worship the symbol of the god Śiva, the *liṅga*, which they wear on a thread around their neck.<sup>19</sup>

Other local groups that gained power were the Śaivas and the Kālāmukhas. The latter are an extreme Saiva sect that worshipps the Hindu god Bhairava and the goddess Kālī.<sup>20</sup> In the fifteenth century, the powerful and expanding cult of the Vīraśaivas absorbed the Kālāmukhas.<sup>21</sup> Due to the social reorganization prompted by this

<sup>15</sup> While the concept of the "hero"  $(v\bar{v}r)$  plays a role in various religious systems, including Jainism, in the context of the Vīraśaivas, it is also related to an aggressive and militant attitude, which its bhakti supporters followed. For further details on bhakti devotionalism, see n. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, he is also known as Basavanna.

<sup>17</sup> Bhakti has generally been translated as "devotion". However, the meaning of the term changed over the centuries; it can also signify love and personal surrender to a specific divinity. Although it traces its roots to early Indian literature, such as the *Upanisads*, it eventually became a wide-ranging ideology. The bhakti movement originated in Tamil Nadu between the sixth and the seventh centuries CE. In addition to the expectation of complete surrender to a personal god, the bhakti message is one of strict adherence to religious rules and the rejection of caste inequality. For further details, see Krishna Sharma, Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement: A New Perspective (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987): 8-35, 201-54.

<sup>18</sup> The concept of karma basically refers to the totality of a person's actions and deeds in both the present as well as previous lives. Karma is believed to influence subsequent rebirths and one's status in future existences. The rejection of other gods here is not a form of henotheism, but the outright rejection of any other divinities.

<sup>19</sup> While ordinary worshippers carry a small black stone or raisin *linga* tied to a thread, contained in a small cloth sachet, or sliver container, there are also more elaborate necklaces. Among the Vīraśaivas, the *linga* as divine principle is referred to as *istalinga*.

<sup>20</sup> On this issue, see 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: Samskriti, 2011): 70. Kāļāmukha means "black-faced". They were mainly prevalent in South India between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries CE.

<sup>21</sup> Compare 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): 23.

expansion, the Jainas became a minority in Karnataka, while diverse Śaiva denominations continued to increase in numbers and authority. This led to a remarkable Śaivite revival during the twelfth century. In addition to this primarily local, regional rivalry, from the mid-twelfth century, Śrīvaiṣṇava bhakti followers of Viṣṇu from Tamil Nadu also penetrated the region. These developments were all part of a broader renewal of Brāhmanical faiths in the region. However, to a lesser extent, Muslim groups from the north also infiltrated the region from the late thirteenth century onwards. All these faith groups competed for influence, thus disturbing the relative Jaina-Hindu religious balance, in which the Jainas had maintained a prominent place for many centuries but eventually were downgraded to fourth or fifth place.

As we have already seen, both internal and external factors contributed to the decline of the Jainas. The growing impact of Vīraśaivas on trade and commerce also appears to have expedited the conversion of leading Jaina families, including landowners and heads of trade guilds, to the newly ascendant faith.<sup>22</sup> Since it allowed them to live by their ideals of non-violence (ahimsā), before the rise of the Vīraśaivas, Jainas had been the leading players in trade. However, in the twelfth century, amid fierce competition, the Vīraśaivas ultimately took control of trade in the region. This had catastrophic conseguences for the maintenance of Jaina temples and the funding of costly ceremonies: conversions resulted in the withdrawal of the financial support from which Jainism had previously benefited.<sup>23</sup> Religious opposition and commercial competition were linked as the various centres of the competing religions struggled for the support of the wealthiest trading communities.<sup>24</sup> Upon the conversion of influential players, like wealthy landowners, to Vīraśaivism and other faith groups, the ordinary population followed suit. The list of influential converts also, perhaps surprisingly, included influential Jaina religious figures, such as monks. They often controlled large properties and seem to have been more concerned with maintaining their wealth than the survival of their religion at this time. Due to the important roles that temples as religious, educational, cultural, economic, and political centres played for the Jaina community, the sacred edifices were usually the

<sup>22</sup> On this issue, see P.N. Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 58. The participation in trade appears to be based on the religious view of work. Likewise, it exemplifies an understanding of trade as a religious and social service (kāyaka) in which a part of a person's earnings is given to the support of the community, especially its poorest members. This was known as the vīra bānjiga dharma, the "law of the noble merchants". Due to the prominence of the Vīraśaiva traders in commerce, Indian tradesmen are often referred collectively as Bānjiga, Bānjiga, Bānjiga, or Bānjiga merchants. The information on the involvement of Vīraśaivas in trade has been taken from a lecture by Tiziana Lorenzetti made by invitation through the Deccan Heritage Foundation on 20 May 2022 (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "'The Vīraśaivas / 12th Century Karnataka' – A Talk by Tiziana Lorenzetti (ISAS)," 20.05.2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsBqa756fR4 [accessed 30.05.2022]).

<sup>23</sup> Consult the chapter by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka."

<sup>24</sup> This is based on the paper presentation by Tiziana Lorenzetti at the Deccan Heritage Foundation on 20 May 2022 (Lorenzetti, "The Vīraśaivas / Lingāyats of 12th Century Karnataka'").

first to be targeted in the fight for hegemony.<sup>25</sup> The groups gaining in influence at this time – Śaivas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Kālāmukhas, and Muslims – participated in both the destruction and the conversion of former Jaina statues and temples. <sup>26</sup> Indeed, there are countless records which glorify conversions of Jainas and their temple edifices to other faiths. Now that we have explored the religious and political background that is relevant to the present discussion, we will turn to art and architecture, which reflect the religious changes already introduced.

## **5** Transformations in Jaina Art and Architecture

Some of the changes that occurred in Jaina temple architecture were voluntary, but others were enforced. The latter have to do with attacks and alterations conducted by rival groups, particularly the Vīraśaivas, who, from their newly-won positions of supremacy and control, expressed their political and religious power by looting, damaging, and even destroying the icons and sacred spaces of the deposed Jainas.

### 5.1 Voluntary Changes

If we start by considering the freely chosen aspects of the transformation of the Jaina religion's life and practice, we notice that intra-religious developments had a pronounced effect on the design of Jaina edifices. The earlier temples of the Ganga period, roughly from the fourth to eleventh centuries, exhibit a primarily functional character and reflect a form of the religion which propagates a more or less ascetic approach to life.<sup>27</sup> Typical of this style is the Jaina temple (634 CE) on Meguḍi Hill at Aihole (Fig. 3). However, with an increase in power and worldly influence, the growth of monasteries and the economic influence of temples, the socio-religious standards of the Jainas appear to have changed. At least some sacred edifices, dating from the

<sup>25</sup> The multidimensional use of the Jaina temples and religious centres has also been stressed by K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 178. Shantinath Dibbad has written about temples being primary targets in conflicts in South Asia (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: Samskriti, 2011]: 73).

<sup>26</sup> Two examples of Vīraśaiva conversions of former Jaina temples in Karnataka have been examined by Julia A.B. Hegewald in a joint publication with Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The politics of appropriation, re-use and regional state traditions in India," Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP) 36 (2008): 1–37. See, in particular, pages 22 to 29.

<sup>27</sup> On this issue, see 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: Samskriti, 2011): 98.

subsequent Hoysala period (roughly the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries), display an amount of decoration and ornamentation – both on the outside as well as on the inside of the temples – which visually represents a celebration of splendour and wealth: it also clearly reveals an increasingly mundane attitude.<sup>28</sup> These developments are well-reflected in the comparatively ornate style of the Śantinatha Basti at Jinanathapura.<sup>29</sup> The term *basti* or *basadi*, employed in the name of the aforementioned structure, is the local term used to refer to a Jaina temple.

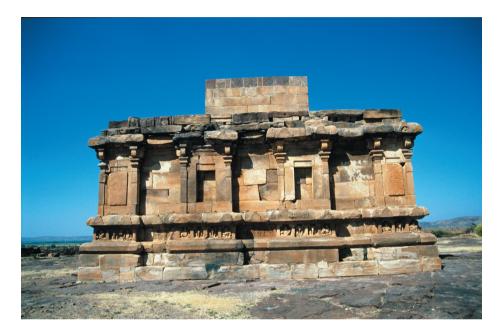


Fig. 3: Rear view of the seventh-century CE Jaina temple on Megudi Hill at Aihole, reflecting an unpretentious and minimalistic approach to sacred architecture during the Gangā period.

<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98; and Robert J. Del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Samskriti, 2011).

<sup>29</sup> M.S. Krishna Murthy explains this change as representative of the general transformation that took place in religious attitudes, practice, and architectural approach of the Jainas, see M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 98. Robert J. Del Bontà, on the other hand, argues for a more personal choice in style of the donor, see Robert J. Del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura": 123-25. In the context of the changed self-understanding of the Jaina community, I support Krishna Murthy's interpretation.

#### 5.2 Enforced Modifications

Even more marked than these initial voluntary stylistic changes was the influence that Vīraśaivism and other denominations had on the temple architecture of the Jainas. From about the mid-twelfth century, large numbers of sacred places, which were hubs of wealth but also social and political centres, were looted and destroyed. As the icons were the most important elements of these sacred sites, they were targeted first. Regarding these attacks, different approaches towards the statues can be outlined.

#### 5.2.1 Theft and Adjustments of Icons

First, large numbers of Jaina temples were deprived of their venerated sculptural representations. In these instances, often only empty image platforms (simhāsanas) remain. If the images were removed, the temples were often saved, as this made them religiously and politically ineffective, thus depriving the community of its power. This was the case in the Candranāteśvara Basti at Bhatkal, whose statues were all eliminated, and which as a temple has not been reconsecrated, although the edifice itself was only marginally damaged.

However, there were other ways to deprive the community of its power by modifying their temple complexes. The second approach to temple modification shows that icons were not always completely removed. Some were left behind but desecrated. To defile them, it was enough to simply remove them from their raised pedestals and place them on the dirty ground. 30 In a context increasingly dominated by Vīraśaivas, they were also smeared with sacred ashes (vibhūti), indicating their annexation. An example of this practice can be seen in the former Jaina temple at Hallur, which the Vīraśaivas converted.<sup>31</sup> In other instances, the images were kept in place but disfigured, for instance, by cutting off an arm or the face. Both approaches are on display in the same temple at Hallur.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In a sacred context, icons of all Indic religious groups should be lifted above the ground in order to signal their purity and religious importance.

<sup>31</sup> The temple and site have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald in the joint chapter with Subrata K. Mitra (Hegewald and Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared": 1-37; Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra [New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012]: 57-61.

<sup>32</sup> The mutilation of these statues has also been highlighted by Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India – Upper Dravidadesha (Early Phase, AD 550-1075), 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986): 147 and by K.M. Suresh, Temples of Karnataka (Ground Plans and Elevations), 2 vols. (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003): 110.

The third line of assault is even more stunning. In this case, rather than damaging or defacing statues, the attacking religious community fully decapitated them. An example of this practice is the seated Jaina teacher<sup>33</sup> in the first-floor sanctum of the Megudi Temple on the hill overlooking Aihole (Fig. 4). The complete elimination of the head precludes a later reconsecration of the icon. Furthermore, it impedes devotees from looking at the eyes of the figure, which plays an important role in the Jaina ritual of worship. Beheaded sculptures were frequently exhibited at the front of Jaina sacred edifices to indicate to those who approached that a new group had taken over the structure. When, during later centuries, Jainas regained control over some of their former sites, they frequently kept the severely mutilated icons in place. In this context, the disfigured objects fulfil a new meaning. The statues act as lively reminders of the violent times the community endured but survived.<sup>34</sup> The victory is taken as a reconfirmation of the strength and the superiority of the Jaina faith. An expressive example is the headless torso of a seated Jina displayed in front of the Jaina shrine next to the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi. The dismembered limbs and heads, which were cut off stone figures, have also been displayed in sacred Jaina centres. Examples are housed in the outer niches of the Anantanātha Basti at Lakshmeshvar (Fig. 5). This way of using dismembered statues was first employed by those who violated Jaina shrines to signal a takeover and exercise control. Yet, later, the practice was also taken up by the Jainas themselves to memorialize the violence they had suffered. Therefore, it is comparatively rare for such mutilated statues to have been restored. During the preparations for the 2018 Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, the local bhattāraka<sup>35</sup> commissioned the restoration of the statues placed in the outer niches of the Pañcakūta Basti at Kambadhalli.<sup>36</sup>

#### 5.2.2 Modifications of Temple Buildings

It was not only Jaina statues but also entire temple edifices that were severely damaged (Fig. 6) or entirely demolished by rival groups.<sup>37</sup> With architecture, as with stat-

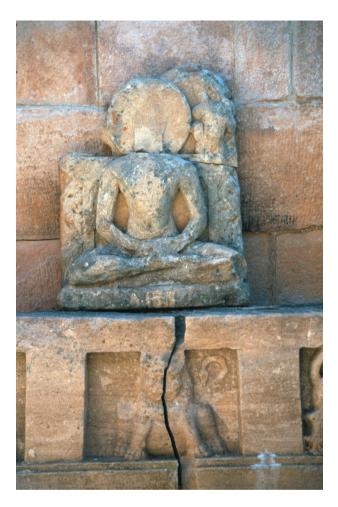
<sup>33</sup> These are referred to as Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras.

<sup>34</sup> The issue of survival is very important in a Jaina context. See the discussion in Julia A.B. Hegewald "Jaina Temple Architecture in India from the Fifteenth and later Centuries: Stylistic, Religious and Political Meanings," in Festschrift: Jan Pieper zum 65. Geburtstag - Von seinen Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen, eds. Anke Fissabre and Caroline Helmenstein (Aachen: Eigenverlag, 2009): 74.

<sup>35</sup> A bhaṭṭāraka is the clerical head of a Digambara religious institution, such as a maṭha.

<sup>36</sup> During the Mahāmastakābhişeka, an important religious festival taking place only once about every twelve years, for instance, at Shravanabelgola, the monumental statue of Bāhubali is reconsecrated with a so-called "great-head-anointing" ablution ceremony (Mahāmastakābhiṣeka). During the restoration in Kambadhalli, the limbs were replaced in a different colour to mark the alteration.

<sup>37</sup> Some temples may also have degenerated and collapsed due to neglect, such as the abandonment suffered after voluntary or enforced conversions from Jainism to other faith groups.



**Fig. 4:** Stone statues of fully decapitated Jaina teachers, which had formerly served as objects of veneration, have been left inside the sanctums of Jaina temples throughout Karnataka.

ues, several different approaches can be outlined. From inscriptions, we know that large numbers of Jaina temples were completely razed to the ground in religiously motivated attacks. These complete demolitions have been attributed to both Muslims and Vīraśaivas. For instance, at the site of Chikka Hanasoge, the Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basti has been well-preserved. Allegedly, however, there were another sixty-four temples in the village, most of them Jaina, which were completely destroyed in religiously motivated assaults.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, as already mentioned, Vīraśaivas were not the only group who destroyed entire temple buildings. From Mulgund, near Dharwar, we

<sup>38</sup> This is based on personal communications with local Jaina families in Chikka Hanasoge in 2001.



**Fig. 5:** The dismembered limbs and heads of Jaina icons have been put on display in the outer niches of Jaina temples, as seen here in the Anantanātha Basti at Lakshmeshvar.

have a sixteenth-century epigraphic record that narrates the complete flattening of the Pārśvanātha Temple by Muslim troops and, in the process, the martyrdom of the Jaina teacher Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti. Another particularly fascinating case is the Ādinātha Basti (1589 CE) from Srirangapatnam: the icons housed inside have all come from wrecked Jaina temples in the area. According to legend, it was the Muslim ruler Malik Kafur who tore down one thousand and eight Jaina temples. Above entirely flattened Jaina shrines, new buildings could be erected by other religious groups or, later, even by the Jaina community itself. The continuity of sacred sites across multiple architectural iterations is common: annihilating temples of one religious denomination and replacing them with structures of a different faith represents a powerful

**<sup>39</sup>** The inscription states that the Jaina saint stayed inside the temple and was killed when it was set on fire (P.B. Desai, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions 2 [Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964]: 433, inscription no. 695; K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture AD 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. Amalananda Ghosh [New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975]: 365).

**<sup>40</sup>** This information was obtained in a personal communication with Jaina families in Srirangapatnam in 2001. One thousand and eight is a number perceived as sacred or auspicious by most indigenous religious groups in South Asia and is often used when a particularly large amount is referred to. **41** On this issue, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 34–35.

political statement. However, only on the basis of temple inscriptions and other written records made in the context of raising new shrines on former entirely destroyed temple plots, is it possible, to identify such sites. Some severely damaged temples were later reconstructed. A remarkable sample is the Śańkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar, originally commissioned by the Kalyāṇi Cālukyas in the eleventh century. 42 The strike on this temple was so fierce and the destruction so severe that a faithful reconstruction was impossible. Instead, small pieces were fitted together in what seems like a haphazard manner. The edifice thus reflects the violence and the scars of the past. In other instances, only selected former building elements, such as thresholds, lintels, entire doorframes, or altars, were fitted into largely new and modern temple structures. The City Basti in Mysore contains such a blend of ancient and modern elements.



Fig. 6: External view onto the severely damaged former Pārśvanātha Jaina Temple at Hale Belgola, which has not been reconsecrated.

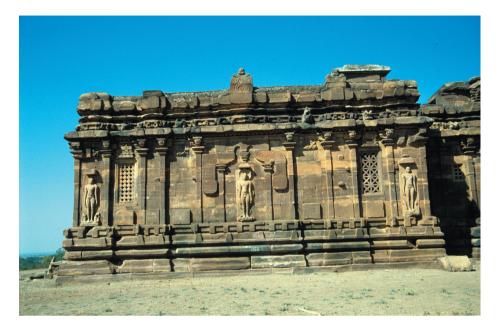
<sup>42</sup> This temple has been discussed in detail by K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Monuments & Sculpture AD 1000 to 1300: The Deccan and South India," in Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. 2, ed. Amalananda Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 312-13.

#### 5.2.3 Re-Use of Icons and Temples

So far, we have analysed stolen, desecrated, and mutilated statues. We have also examined flattened, severely damaged, and reconstructed temples. Another option frequently chosen by newly dominant groups in the Deccan to express their superiority, namely Vīraśaivas, Śaivas Kālāmukhas, and Muslims, was to absorb, convert, and reuse Jaina icons and temples. In these cases, sacred objects and architectural spaces were conserved and continue to influence local culture and identity to the present day. For those deprived of their revered places of worship, however, such sites express painful memories and act as constant reminders of humiliation, theft, and conversion.

In Karnataka, there is evidence of an exceptionally high number of such temple annexations and changeovers from Jaina to Vīraśaiva usage. Re-used temples largely fall into three distinct groups. In the first group are those which openly publicize their appropriation. Those in the second group consciously try to hide it, while temples that fall into the third group indicate a less intentional middle way. Converted shrines, which openly advertise enforced annexation, are reasonably scarce. For a clear example, we can again look at the Megudi Temple at Hallur. On the outside of this large temple, the tall statues of naked Jaina ascetics have been intentionally retained on the facades as trophies, advertising the conversion of the temple (Fig. 7). Reused temples, where the Jaina origin is less obvious, are more numerous. In these examples, we encounter two different gradations of how cautiously the adaptation has been conducted. In some instances, the new users have taken considerable care to remove all traces which indicate a Jaina origin. In such instances, one can only prove that the temple was initially of Jaina construction based on historical research and the analysis of written records. In most cases, however, there are traces of a takeover. This approach can be seen, for instance, in the Jina statutes carved onto the lintels of temples (lalāṭa-bimba), which frequently have been chiselled away and not been replaced. Often this has been done quite crudely, and the forceful change is not concealed. This approach can be seen in the former Jaina Temple at Hangal (1150 CE) and the Pārśvanātha Temple at Annigeri. Clear iconographic indications of the original Jaina affiliation of a temple are not only found on the lintels but also in other architectural features. Although the outer walls of Jaina temples are often relatively unadorned, sculptures have regularly been integrated into the roof structures of halls and shrines. While iconographic remnants on the inside of temples were usually carefully removed, in relatively hidden sections on the outside, they often survived. This can be seen in the Nāganātha Temple, today dedicated to Śiva, which still bears icons of Jinas in its roof (Fig. 8).

Rarer than the annexation of architectural spaces or empty altars is the re-use of Jaina icons by other faith groups. Nevertheless, there are instances where Jinas and

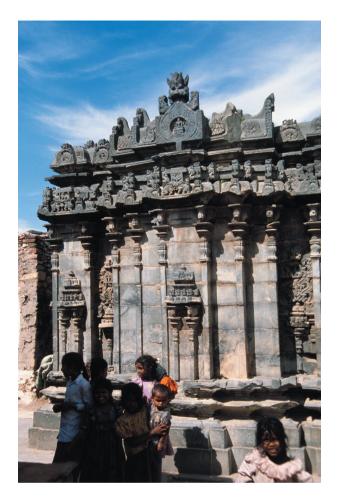


**Fig. 7:** On the Megudi Temple at Hallur, the statues of Jaina ascetics were intentionally kept in place after its conversion and use as a Vīraśaiva place of worship.

other objects of veneration<sup>43</sup> were absorbed, reinterpreted, and reconsecrated by other religions. Of particular interest in this regard is the fact that Vīraśaivas, whose tenets reject the veneration of images other than that of the *linga*, absorbed and continued to venerate Jaina statues and symbols. See, for instance, the large, seated sculpture of a Jina, which today is venerated by the Vīraśaivas at Adargunchi (Fig. 9). The icon is referred to as "Doḍḍappā", meaning paternal uncle in Kannada.<sup>44</sup> The statue does not appear to represent a specific religious or mythical character but seems to provide contact to a family figure to whom one can turn in times of trouble.

<sup>43</sup> This has, for instance, also been done with venerated foot imprints. Sacred depictions of feet lend themselves especially well to re-use, because though they relate to a human body, they are abstract enough so that they do not bear many iconographic details. 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, vol. 7, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 413–16.

<sup>44</sup> On this, see Julia A.B. Hegewald in the joint article together with Subrata K. Mitra (Hegewald and Mitra, "The Past in the Present": 63–64).



**Fig. 8:** Although the outer walls of the former Jaina temple in Lakkundi are quite plain, Jina statues integrated into the roof decorations were retained following the conversion of the structure.

# **6 Jaina Continuity**

This chapter has outlined the reasons for the initial rise and subsequent religious persecution of the Jainas, which resulted in the destruction and re-use of their sacred icons and temples. Literary evidence indicates that the Jainas continued to experience discrimination in Karnataka well into the nineteenth century. <sup>45</sup> However, despite per-

**<sup>45</sup>** R.V.S. Sundaram has written on this issue, see Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 35.



Fig. 9: Today, the Jina housed in the main sanctum of the erstwhile Jaina temple at Adargunchi has been absorbed, rededicated, and is venerated by Vīrašaivas as an icon of Doddappā.

petual threats and real physical persecution, Jainism, as well as Jaina art and architecture, never completely ceased to be produced and to develop.

Regarding Karnataka, in the present discussion about religious affiliation, there is a certain interest in the Vijayanagara Empire, founded in 1346 CE. Although the rulers were Hindu, some had Jaina wives and protected the Jaina community. 46 Their capital, Vijayanagara, also known as Hampi, includes a number of substantial Jaina temples. The largest is the Pārśvanātha Basti (1426 CE), and the probably most famous is the Ganagitti Temple in neighbouring Kamalapuram (1385).

In the important religious centre of Shravanabelgola, west of Bangalore, we also encounter uninterrupted building activities by the Jainas. The style of the later temple constructions continues the earlier Hoysala paradigm in many respects. The Maṅgāyi Basti in town, dating from about 1325 CE, provides one example of this continuity

<sup>46</sup> This has been discussed in Basker Anand Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938): 298–321 and K.M. Suresh, Temples of Karnataka: 60. An inscription of King Bukka I, testifies that he mediated in a dispute between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Jainas in 1368 and extended royal protection towards the latter (Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism: 302; Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture AD 1300 To 1800": 365. This enabled the Jainas to recommence construction works on temple sites.

(Fig. 10).<sup>47</sup> Another example is the very small temple on Vindhyagiri, close to the entrance of the Gommateśvara enclosure, known as the Siddha Bhagavāna Temple or Siddha Basti (1398). An even later testament is the Cennanna Basti on the same sacred hill, dating from 1673 CE.<sup>48</sup>

Jainism also continued to flourish in various provincial courts, <sup>49</sup> particularly from the fifteenth century onwards. The Jaina temples on the west coast of Karnataka from this period merit consideration here. In this region, vassals of the Vijayanagara kings ruled comparatively independently from the capital. Since most were Jainas, they restored, enlarged, and founded new bastis throughout the region. The temples reveal a distinct architectural style, which has been adapted to the local climate of heavy monsoon rains.<sup>50</sup> Major centres of Jainism in the region are, Mudabidri, Karkal, and Venur. Typical examples displaying the regional style are the Candranātha Basti (1429 CE) at Mudabidri and the Caturmukha Basti (1586–1587) at Karkal, Jainism appears to have survived and thrived in this region due to its firm integration of local customs. The Jainas absorbed elements from Hinduism and local cults. 51 Even today, Jainism is still an active religious force in the region.

Though the Jaina presence in the northern regions of Karnataka was much diminished by vigorous encounters with Vīraśaiva and Islamic followers, there is also some continuity. 52 This continuity can, for instance, be seen in the Pārśvanātha Temple at Bagalkot in the very north of Karnataka, which was founded as late as 1976. Also relevant for considerations of ongoing religious practices in the region is the migration of Śvetāmbara Jainas into the area for commercial reasons, especially during the past forty to fifty years, but which commenced even earlier. The Pārśvanātha Śvetāmbara Temple at Gadag (1914) provides an architectural attestation of early twentieth-century Jaina practice in the region. Also fascinating are the many contemporary building sites erected in and around the regional capital Bangalore. The comparatively recent construction of these sacred spaces reveals that, despite their severe persecution during the late Medieval and Early Modern periods, there is an uninterrupted continuity of Jaina temple construction throughout Karnataka to the present day.

<sup>47</sup> Srinivasan has written on this temple (Srinivasan, "Monuments & Sculpture AD 1300 To 1800": 369).

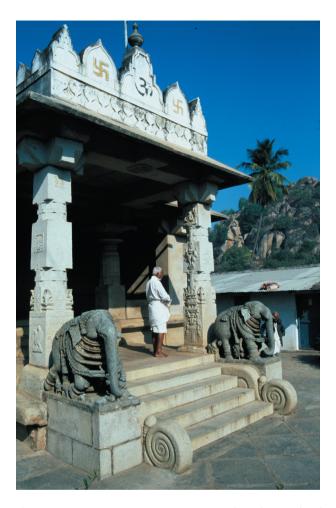
<sup>48</sup> Detailed information on all these temples can be found in Julia A.B. Hegewald, Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Deccan Heritage Foundation and Jaico Publishing House, 2021).

<sup>49</sup> 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 & Sculpture AD 1300 To

<sup>50</sup> For a detailed discussion of these temples, see Hegewald, Jaina Tradition of the Deccan.

<sup>51</sup> This has been argued by Pius Fidelius Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Samskriti, 2011): 88-90.

<sup>52</sup> We noticed this already in the Jaina temples at Hampi, which is also located in the north of the State.



**Fig. 10:** Despite severe persecution, continuity in the architectural tradition and practice of Jainism can be observed in the fourteenth-century Mangāyi Basti at Shravanabelgola.

## 7 Conclusion

The situation outlined in this chapter reveals the complexity of relationships and interactions between different religious groups in Karnataka. For the Jainas, after an initial phase of flourishing and substantial influence, religious competition became particularly pronounced between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. In many areas, this competition continued well beyond the advent of the early modern period. The Deccan region was characterized by often violent inter-religious struggles. Jainism was only one of many beliefs in a system of interrelated faith communities that

were all competing for an increase in their following and for religious, political and commercial influence.

Due to changes within their own religious structure, during a period in which the Jainas found themselves in a situation of superiority, Jainism appears to have become increasingly susceptible to criticism from within its own ranks and to competition from other faith groups. Due to these changes, Vīraśaivas, in particular, gained power and exercised control, coercion, and constraint over the Jainas in large areas of Karnataka. The formerly austere and highly ascetic Jainas had accepted caste segregation, increased their ritual activities, expanded their pantheon of gods and goddesses, settled, and amassed substantial wealth. Initially, this evolution from simplicity and abstraction to elaboration and abundance might have been attractive to devotees because the detached and fully enlightened Jinas could not be called upon for help and advice in times of difficulty. However, the changes might have eventually gone too far and created a rift between the ordinary population and the privileged Jaina religious leaders. At times, due to religious and political pressure, but also because of its appealing simplicity and propagated equality, people also converted voluntarily to the Vīraśaiva form of bhakti veneration, which made temples, donations, and massive religious administrations superfluous. Vīraśaivism, with its focus on believers, who are themselves considered "a temple", that is, "a carrier of the divine principle", empowered the general public and dislodged a wealthy elite, which had been in power for centuries.

Nevertheless, despite this pronounced period of severe persecution, Jainism survived at a number of provincial courts and even in some major royal and religious centres. Through partial withdrawal but quiet perseverance and with some support from individual rulers and wealthy merchants, they managed first to persist in a much-reduced form and slowly to enlarge their influence again. Through their decline and subsequent reassertion, the Jainas overcame the newly created Vīraśaiva dependency structures in Karnataka.

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