

Burial *Ad Sanctos* at Jaina Sites in India

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There are two principal ways in which the main objects of worship in the Jaina tradition, the liberated Jinas and mendicants reborn in heaven,² are nowadays materially represented: by statues, *bimbas*, *caityas*, *pratimās* or *mūrtis*, and by footprint-images, *caraṇa-cinha* or *caraṇa-pādukās*.³ Jaina temples and statues are the subject of numerous scholarly publications. However, footprint images and related features of aniconic Jaina iconography, funeral monuments and memorials of prominent monks and nuns in particular, have not been systematically investigated.⁴ U.P. Shah (1955, 1987), in his classic work *Studies in Jaina Art* does not even mention *caraṇa-pādukās* in the context of his examination of aniconic symbols in Jainism and devotes only a half sentence on them in *Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana*, nor does K. Bruhn (1994) in his summary article “Jaina, Iconografia”, despite the rich pictorial record in illustrated Jaina pilgrimage guides, indicating their continuing cultural significance from at least medieval times onwards.⁵

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² On the “god-formerly-monk” pattern in the Āgamas, e.g., Viy. 11.11, 16.5, 18.2, see Bhatt 1983: 112.

³ See Laughlin 2003: 34, 38; 2005 on the usage of some of these terms.

⁴ Brief descriptions or discussions of Jaina *caraṇa-pādukās* are offered in the academic literature by Charpentier 1918-19, Bollée 1984, 2008, Shāntā 1985/1997: 174, 254-6, Shah 1987: 17, Laidlaw 1995: 63, 260f., Babb 1996: 102, 108, 111-113, 127f., Banks 1999: 312-14, Laughlin 2003: 140, 147; 2005, Hegewald 2007: 182-4, 2010: 69f., Flügel 2008c, 2010b, Cort 2010a: 128f., 188, and others. The most significant investigations of Jaina *caraṇa-pādukās* to date have been conducted in the context of the never-ending legal battles over control of the Jaina pilgrimage site Sammeta (Sammeda) Śikhara, a *nirvāṇa bhūmi* which features footprint images of the twenty Tīrthānkaras that are said to have died there. For the final rejection of the Śvetāmbara attempt to replace the Digambara style *caraṇas*, representing footprints, by Śvetāmbara style *caraṇas*, representing feet, or by Jina images, see *Hukum Chand v Maharaja Bahadur Singh*, AIR 1933 PC 193, for an analysis Flügel, Forthcoming c. On the hands of the Jina, see Balbir 1993.

Information on relic shrines of historical Jaina monks and nuns, known as *cabūtarā*, *nisidhi*, *samādhi*, *stūpa* or *smāraka*, and frequently marked by *caraṇa-pādukās*,⁶ has only recently come to light, particularly in the aniconic traditions;⁷ despite the fact that there is no evidence for a widespread cult of the bone relics of the Jina comparable to the relic *stūpas* of the Buddha.⁸

In this article I will briefly review the development of aniconic iconography in the originally anti-iconic or protestant Śvetāmbara Jaina movements that emerged from the 15th century onwards, the Loṅkāgaccha, Sthānakavāsī and Terāpantha Śvetāmbara traditions, and consider what it may teach us about allegedly similar developments in ancient India. These are discussed under the label “aniconism”.⁹ In the Study of Religions the term “icon” (Greek *eikōn*: image, figure, likeness) refers to an artistic representation of a sacred being, object or event. The term “aniconic” is often used as a synonym of the words “anti-iconic” and “iconoclastic” which designate the rejection of the creation or

⁵ The earliest footprint images of the Buddha have been placed in the second century B.C.E. See Quagliotti 1998. Bakker 1991: 23, 28, 30 traced archaeological evidence for *viṣṇu-padas* from the first centuries C.E.. The dates of the oldest known Jaina footprint images are yet to be verified. According to Shah 1987: 17, the first Jaina *caraṇa-pādukās* and *niṣidhis* (P. *niṣīhiyā*, etc., Kannada *nisidhi*, etc.), or funerary monuments for important Jaina monks (many of whom starved themselves to death), were constructed in the medieval period. As in Buddhist and Hindu contexts, the practice seems to have flourished first in central and southern India. The *caraṇa-pādukās* in the *niṣidhige* of Bhadrabāhu in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa are regarded to be among the oldest. An inscription, dated by EC II: 36 to “about 1100”, “refers to worship being done to the footprints of Bhadrabāhu”. Shāntā 1985/1997: 174, referring to Johrapurkara’s [1971] *Jaina Śilālekhasaṃgraha* Vol. V, No. 19, p. 22, points to the footprint-image of the nun Arjikā (Āryikā) Lalita in Dvārahaṭa in the Alamoḍā district in Uttarakhaṇḍ which is dated V.S. 1044 in the accompanying inscription. Settar 1990: 302 and Mahadevan 2003: 135f. date the earliest epigraphs of “*nicītikais* ... engraved on the bare summit of boulders” in Karṇāṭaka and Tamil Nadu to the 6th century C.E.

⁶ Loṅkā (K 39) stated unambiguously: “*padīka cāṃka bāṃdhai chai, te keha nī paramparā chai?*”, “To cause foot prints (shrines) (*padīka cāṃka*) to be built, whose tradition is that?” He also objected to foot worship (K 53). With the notable exception of the Jayācārya Smāraka in Jaypur, footprint images are still prohibited and non-existent in the *samādhi* architecture of the Śvetāmbara Terāpantha, for instance. The *chatrī* or parasol, however, a royal symbol, is widely used.

⁷ Flügel 2008b, 2010b, Forthcoming b, c.

⁸ The only indication, though not referring to a Jina, is the entry by Führer 1892: 141 that “10 pieces of old pottery filled with the ashes of some Jaina monks” were under his supervision “excavated from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, Mathurā”, the only ancient Jaina *stūpa* unearthed to date, and placed into the Lucknow Museum. On the Jaina icons unearthed at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā in Mathurā, see Joshi 1989.

⁹ See recently Huntington’s 1990 reassessment of Foucher’s [1917] “aniconic period” in Buddhist art, and the subsequent debate. On presumed Vedic antecedents, see Bakker 1991: 33, and others.

reverence of images, and the destruction of images of a sacred being, object or event.¹⁰ In Art History, the word “aniconic” is used in a less loaded way as a designation for a symbol that stands for something without resembling it.¹¹ Because of these ambiguities, the specific attributes of an “aniconic tradition” need to be identified in each case.

While the role of aniconic representations in the early history of Jaina religious art remains uncharted territory, and will continue to be a subject for informed speculation, the re-emergence of selected forms of image-worship in the aniconic Jaina traditions can be reconstructed. In the absence of proof, frequently suspected Islamic influence on the founders of the anti-iconic Jaina traditions, expressed mainly by representatives of the Jaina image-worshipping traditions, must be discounted.¹² There is no doubt that the rejection of the acts of violence implicated in *mūrtipūjā*, image- or idol-worship,¹³ is articulated by the protestant Jaina traditions with exclusive reference to Jaina scriptures.¹⁴ External political changes may have indirectly contributed to the success of this internal cultural realignment.¹⁵ However, temple construction seems to have continued unabated at the time.¹⁶

¹⁰ Gladigow 1988: 472f., without reference to relic cults and *stūpas*.

¹¹ Huntington 1990: 25 showed that aniconic symbols in early Buddhism “can be worthy for devotion in their own right and not mere substitute for a forbidden anthropomorphic rendering of a Buddha”. Such multivalency is a feature of all symbols. The present article focuses on icons and symbols which are either a continuation of or a substitute for the real or imagined physical presence of Jaina mendicants, which are the key symbols of the path of salvation. On symbols in early Jaina art, see Bruhn 2010: 140, 149-57.

¹² Hegewald 2007: 189, n. 9, 2009: 69f., Forthcoming, citing Glasenapp and Sangave for instance, associates the “increase and veneration of more symbolic representations of the Jinas, such as the sacred *pādukās*, and finally the formation of non image-worshipping groups” with “the introduction of Islam into India”. Laughlin 2005: 29, discussing the link of Jaina aniconism and Muslim rule, previously noted that “this argument is undermined by the fact that the production of Jina images showed little or no marked decline at this time”. He observed, however, a “decline in the production of portrait statuary of historical ascetics” and a simultaneous increase of footprint-images, particularly in the Kharataragaccha (ib.).

¹³ The unavoidable violence involved in temple construction and in the use of water, flowers and fruits in *pūjā* is defended by *Mūrtipūjakas* (and *Bīsapanthī Digambaras*) with reference to a higher purpose. See Cort 2010a: 232, 235f., 2010b.

¹⁴ See Loñkā (K, L). The question of the accuracy of this new exegesis of canonical materials is not at stake here. See Flügel 2000 ff.

¹⁵ See Collins’ 1998: 792f. distinction between “creation by negation and by external shock”. For a discussion of his sociology of Jaina philosophical schools, see Flügel, Forthcoming a.

¹⁶ See Laughlin in Footnote 11.

As a consequence of the reforms of Loṅkā and the founders of the Sthānakavāsī and Terāpantha orders, in the anti-iconic traditions the mendicants became again the main focus of religious attention. In contrast to the dual, mendicant and temple oriented cult of the Mūrtipūjaka and mainstream Digambara traditions, living mendicants remained the only acceptable tangible symbol of the Jaina path of salvation. Objects of veneration themselves,¹⁷ they were inspired by the example of the Jinas, which they and their followers praised and venerated mentally, through *bhāva-pūjā*, with a selection of hymns, prayers and mantras, most prominently the Namaskāra-Mantra, without reference to images.¹⁸ Such non-material devotional practices are still dominant today. Yet, the exclusive stress on ascetic practice and non-material forms of worship did not last for long. With the exception of a handful of orders, *sampradāyas*, of the Sthānakavāsī tradition, none of the aniconic traditions remain anti-iconic in their practice to this day. The surviving segments of the Loṅkā tradition, now almost extinct, many Sthānakavāsī traditions, and the Terāpantha, all slowly (re-)introduced forms of aniconic iconography as substitutes for tabooised anthropomorphic representations into the religious cult, such as *stūpas*, footprint images, relics of use such as empty thrones or inscriptions of sacred texts, which partly resemble the repertoire of early Jaina and Buddhist aniconic art. Amulets, wall paintings, posters, photos, reliefs and most recently even portrait statues of deceased monks and nuns have become integral décor of the contemporary aniconic Jaina cult of the saints.¹⁹ Only material representations of the liberated Jinas, always depicted as living omniscient beings, continue to be taboo, in particular three-dimensional statues and temples housing them.²⁰ Loṅkāgaccha and Sthānakavāsī mendicants who reverted to full iconic worship of the Jinas and to temple construction, such as Ācārya Megha (1572) or Muni Ātmārāma, also known under his Tapāgaccha designations Ācārya Vijayānandasūri and Ātmānanda (1875), officially re-joined the Mūrtipūjaka tradition.

¹⁷ The most common forms of worship are *guru-vandana*, *darśana*, touching their toes with the head, etc.

¹⁸ The mendicants of the anti/aniconic traditions do not, like Mūrtipūjaka ascetics, perform *bhāva-pūjā* in front of images.

¹⁹ Not to be confused with South Asian ancestor cults, on which see Caland 1893. Cf. Brown 1981 and Tambiah 1994 on the cult of the saints in Christianity and Buddhism.

²⁰ Sometimes paintings or posters of Mahāvīra or other Jinas can be found in *sthānakas* or *samādhis*.

The original exclusive focus on the physical veneration of living mendicants, as the only tangible symbols of Jaina values, was thus increasingly supplemented by forms of worship of material substitutes, often relics or aniconic symbolic representations of deceased monks or nuns. The development can be characterized as a progressive replacement of a radical anti-iconic – though rarely iconoclastic²¹ – orientation by a doctrinally ambiguous aniconic cult with dual focus on both the living mendicants and non-anthropomorphic ritual objects. Broadly, three phases can be distinguished: (1) The dominance of anti-iconic movements between the 15th to 18th centuries; (2) the consolidation of a physical infrastructure of *upāśrayas* or *sthānakas* and isolated funerary monuments in the late 18th and 19th centuries; and (3) the full development of sectarian networks of sacred places and of an aniconic Jaina iconography during the time of reinvigoration of Jainism in the 20th and early 21st centuries; including imagery displayed and published in books and on the internet; and recently even portrait statues of deceased mendicants, which are however still without significant ritual function.

Within the aniconic traditions, the gradual integration of religious artifacts into the cult seems to have followed the same logic as proposed by the theory of aniconism for the development of anthropomorphic images in ancient India. It started with relics (bone relics, relics of use) and *stūpas*, followed by non-anthropomorphic representations and culminated, finally, in the creation of anthropomorphic images and three-dimensional portrait statues of venerable ascetics.²² This process can be described as a progressive abstraction from, or rather schematization of, the physical traces of a deceased individual ascetic and the stepwise transformation of a living symbolic focus into an impersonal generalized material medium of religious communication.²³ In contrast to *stūpas* and

²¹ Only one recent example of iconoclasm was encountered by the present writer. See *infra*.

²² Hegewald 2007, 2009: 69f. argued that footprint images of the Jinās are “simplified representations of the sacred statues” and observed a “progression from [Jina] images to shrines and temple cities” (Hegewald 2008). Cf. Bruhn 1986: 158f., 2010: 152 on the “foot-lotus.” With regard to representations of the Dādāgurus of the Kharataragaccha, Laidlaw 1995: 51, 261, 270, Babb 1996: 111, Laughlin 2003: 47 and Cort 2010a: 128, 188 noticed the historical precedence of footprint images over statues; not unlike the development in early Buddhist art. Most scholars who, like Shah 1987: 17 or Jaini 1979: 193, discuss *pādukās* in passing focus on their symbolical role rather than on their primary indexical function as markers of cremation sites (Bühler 1890: 328, Laughlin 2003: 47, 180, 2005: 24f., Flügel 2008c, Cort 2010a: 189) and/or submerged relics (Flügel 2008c, 2010b: 467, etc.). Without unequivocal knowledge of the presence or absence of relics at a particular site, a clear distinction between indexical icon and symbol (cf. Karlsson 2000) cannot be made in the case of *pādukās*. For Shah 1955: 39 the Jina image is also merely a symbol.

²³ For a theory of relics as symbolically generalized media of communication, see Flügel 2010c: 472ff. Babb’s 1996: 110 observed a similar sequence of abstraction and presented a theory of “ritual effects”

caraṇa-pādukās, which of course remain controversial in the aniconic traditions and in contrast to the Mūrtipūjaka traditions are never found independently from a *samādhi*, three-dimensional portrait statues of famous mendicants, in the manner of Mūrtipūjaka and Digambara paradigms, do not yet feature as official objects of worship,²⁴ but only as means of commemoration, sometimes at sites far removed from the places of cremation and relic deposits.²⁵ With S.J. Tambiah (1984: 203, 335) one can usefully distinguish between “sites of commemoration” and “sites of empowerment” in the Jaina context as well.²⁶ The contrast between the two, I have argued,²⁷ is indirectly reflected in contemporary Jaina iconography itself in terms of the distinction of footprint-images (*caraṇa-pādukā*), symbolizing the possibility of continuing direct physical contact with relics of deceased Jinās²⁸ or famous mendicants, and images (*pratimā*, etc.), symbolizing

through either direct “connection” with deceased ascetics who became gods or reflective “emulation” with the liberated Jinās. Johnson 2003: 219 objected that the theory of reflective worship of a “transactionally absent” being cannot explain emotionally transformative effects. But, arguably, neither can his suggestion that only the performatively generated felt “presence” of the Jina produces such effects. His theory that images have an “evolutionary advantage” over *stūpas* because of physical disconnectedness and greater symbolic ambiguity (ib., p. 224) is in fundamental agreement with the present proposition. The focus on the ambiguity of the cognitively absent but emotively present Jina (iconographically represented as a living being) and the assumption that the latter is “a prerequisite for the growth of that community” (ib, p. 223) does not consider the enthusiastic orientation of Jaina worship of “abstract concept[s]” (Cort 2002: 738) and de-individualised and sometimes even “nameless Jinās” (Bruhn 1995: 260, 2010: 131).

²⁴ The oldest portrait statue of a monk in Laughlin 2003, Fig. 6 is dated 1286 C.E. In contrast to the *caraṇa-pādukās*, *pūjā* is only in exceptional cases performed to the portrait statues of deceased monks even in the Mūrtipūjaka traditions, and often, as in the Dādābārī in Jaipur, prevented by putting the image behind glass.

²⁵ The first unofficial marble portrait statue of Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1987) of the Terāpantha was installed in the foyer of a hospital in Bikaner, while a metal bust intended for his relic *smāraka* in Lāḍṇūm was, after protests, moved to the adjacent museum. The somewhat abstract “portrait” statue (said to be based on a drawing) of the Sthānakavāsī monk Muni Kanhīrām (1852-1872) was erected on top of a separate building outside his *samādhi*. (Fig. 8) The naturalistic statue of Upādhyāya Amarmuni (1903-1992) in Rājagṛha has been placed in the middle of a garden at Vīrāyatan, away from his cremation place. More recently, statues have been placed into the interior of the larger *samādhis*. Generally, the deceased saints are depicted in sitting posture.

²⁶ On “commemoration” in the Jaina tradition cf. Granoff 1992: 181 and, critically, Johnson 2003: 224. On the emic terminology, see Flügel 2010b: 391, n. 5.

²⁷ Flügel 2008a: 3.

²⁸ Similarly in Buddhist and Hindu contexts (Bakker 1998: 26f.). The presumed *nirvāṇa-bhūmis* of the Jinās, predominately on mountains conceived as “contact relics” themselves, are marked by *caraṇa-pādukās*, not by images. Cort 2010a: 129 points to the Vijayasena’s sixteenth century *Senaprasāna* (SVP) p.

abstract inner qualities of the soon to be liberated omniscient Jina for meditative contemplation and emulation. Naturalistic portrait statues for the commemoration of particular historical saints can be placed in between these two extremes, despite the fact that their form of representation seems less abstract than footprint/foot-images. In all cases, general concepts of Jainism are primarily represented and rarely the particular characteristics and powers of the individual saint; at best (using photographs today) the physical appearance. Like Jaina hymnology, the iconography appeals to different levels of conceptual imagination.²⁹ Aniconic representations of absence, in particular, such as partial representations of the body, like feet or hands, can imply multiple connotations as Metzler (1985-6: 102f.) noted with reference to aniconic representations in general.

To illustrate the actual function of the concept of the “site of empowerment”³⁰ in Jaina religious imagination, the following observations focus on the unprecedented construction of *tīrthas*, places of pilgrimage, featuring multiple *stūpas* with or without *caraṇa-pādukās*, in contemporary aniconic Jaina traditions.³¹

Burial *ad sanctos*

A most remarkable development of the last hundred years, not yet recorded in the literature, is the emergence of the phenomenon of the necropolis in the aniconic Jaina

75 which “indicates the basic equivalence of a *stupa* and a footprint icon”. The role of images as “substitutes” for relics taken away by the gods is further illustrated by Cort 2010a: 126f. with the myth of Bharata’s construction of the first Jaina temple next to the *nirvāṇa-bhūmi* of his father, the Jina Ṛṣabha, in Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (TŚPC). Hemacandra describes Bharata’s temple as “a footprint of the house of nirvāṇa” (*padyām nirvāṇaveśmanaḥ*) (TŚPC₁ 6.567, tr. Johnson 1931 I: 365). See Flügel, Forthcoming b, for a study of this and similar passages; interpreted as a “mortuary cult” of mythical beings by Granoff 1992: 194, Babb 1996: 103 and Cort rather than as “enactment of soteriological ideas”.

²⁹ See Heidegger 1951/2010: 92-7 on the relationship of image and schemata in the act of perception with reference to the photograph of a “deathmask”. Cf. Bruhn’s 2010: 152 *skepsis* re. symbolism and philology.

³⁰ The original, controversial designation of the *samādhi* of Ācārya Tulsī of the Terapanth in Gaṅgaśahar was *Śakti Pīṭh*. After protests, it was replaced with the more widely acceptable label *Naitikatā kā Śakti Pīṭh*, “Seat of Moral Power”.

³¹ The rejection of the notion of the sacred site and of external pilgrimage in favour of the internal pilgrimage (*tīrtha-yātrā*), with reference to Viy. 18.10.207, is a continuing theme from Loṅkā (L 53-54) to Jñānmuni (1958/1985 II: 258f.), and registered as such in the literature of opponents. For Loṅkā, only four “*tīrthas*” were acceptable: Mahāvīra’s teaching, the fourfold assembly, the itinerant life of the ascetic, and the soul.

traditions, which in certain respects serves as a functional equivalent of the temple city in the Mūrtipūjaka and Digambara traditions,³² though on a smaller scale.³³ For the aniconic Jaina traditions, which by doctrine are not permitted to build temples and to worship images, the mendicants are the only universally acceptable symbols of the Jaina ideals, and the focus of religious life. It is not surprising, therefore, that in those aniconic traditions that permitted the erection of *samādhis* for renowned mendicants sacred sites with multiple funeral monuments developed, which became places of pilgrimage for purposes of purification (request for forgiveness of mistakes) and empowerment (request for the fulfillment of wishes) through the grace (*kṛpā*) of the saint.³⁴ Typically, pilgrims fast before their visit. After bowing to the shrine, first the Jinās and the Jaina mendicants in general are venerated, through the Namaskāra-Mantra and through the Tikkhutto, the veneration of the (this) guru. Often money is put in the donation box. This is followed by prolonged meditation (Namaskāra-Mantra-Japa) with the help of a rosary. After the meditation, usually silent requests are made to the saint in return for the promise of service. If a wish comes true further cash and/or other offerings are made on a return visit. Selected contemporary examples from northern India will suffice to demonstrate how the Jaina cult of the *stūpa* became the seed of an aniconic cult of the *tīrtha*.³⁵

³² Bruhn 1983: 40, 1986: 167, 1995: 245, cf. 2010: 126 associates the “form-principle” of “multiplication” in Jaina mythology, art and architecture with two processes: (a) transformation of “an individual into a type”, (b) with T.S. Maxwell, as the “organization of group-gods into serried ranks”. Hegewald 1999: 436 explains the emergence of Jaina temple cities with “the need to accommodate a variety of divine beings of varied status”; especially those who “interact with the worshippers and grant them wishes”. Johnson 2003: 224 suggests that Jaina temple cities may mirror “on a grander scale, the early Buddhist practice noted by Schopen: the piling up of smaller structures around a central *stūpa* containing a relic, in an attempt to get physically closer to that living presence of the Buddha thought to be contained in the relic”. Cf. Rösel 1978.

³³ To date, the only known Jaina necropolises were the Digambara *ṭapas/niṣadīs* of Mūḍabidarī in coastal Karṇāṭaka, which go back several hundred years. Pace Jaini (1979: 193), at least the latest of these *samādhis*, of Bhaṭṭāraka Cārukīrti who died in 1998, is certainly a relic *stūpa*. This was personally communicated to the present writer by his successor and namesake Bhaṭṭāraka Cārukīrti, who also confirmed that the relics of *bhaṭṭārakas* and prominent monks are always preserved underneath their funeral monuments, many of which had been consecrated by himself; for instance the *stūpa* of the recently deceased Bhaṭṭāraka of nearby Hūmachā. According to Settar (1990: 306, citing SII IV: 217f.), who did not address the issue of relic preservation in his work, “[t]he records at Mūḍbidure identify the tombs as *muḍije* or *muḍiñja*”. The caption to his Fig. 107 uses the term *nisidhi maṇḍapa*. According to Richard Freeman (personal communication 10.9.2011), *samādhis* for buried Śaiva ascetics are called *māṭha(ga)* in the region.

³⁴ Cf. studies of the Dādāguru cult of the Kharataragaccha such as Laidlaw 1985, 1995 and Babb 1996.

³⁵ Cf. Schopen 1994: 362.

The oldest and generally largest Jaina sites with multiple *samādhis* belong to the Uttarārdha Loṅkāgaccha and to the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya and the Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja Sampradāya of the Sthānakavāsī tradition.³⁶ The majority of the sites with multiple shrines of the Uttarārdha Loṅkāgaccha, in Gujarāṃvālā, Maler Kotlā, Nakodar, Paṭṭī, Phagvārā, Rāniyā, Samānā, and Sirsā, are associated with *yatis* of the nineteenth century. But they are not precisely datable. Some of the shrines, in Samānā or Sirsā for instance, are constructed next to an older Dādābārī shrine of the Kharataragaccha. After the demise of both the Mūrtipūjaka and the Loṅkāgaccha traditions in the Pañjāb and Hariyānā, both sites (and others) were taken over by local Sthānakavāsī Jainas, who added their own *samādhis*. Similar historical processes of appropriation and re-appropriation of older shrines of traditions that have died out can also be observed within the Sthānakavāsī tradition, the focus of the following analysis. Table I lists some of the largest sites with multiple *samādhi* in the tradition with reference to the *stūpa* of the oldest Sthānakavāsī monk (except for the sites in Samānā and Sirsā).

Table I: Selected Sthānakavāsī Sites with Multiple Samādhis

PLACE	NAME	SECT	DATE
Sunāma	Ācārya Mahāsīnha (died 1804)	Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya (S.)	1804
Māler Kotlā	Ācārya Ratirām (died 1840)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	1841
Ambālā	Muni Lālcand (died 1843)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	1877
Lohā Maṇḍī	Muni Ratancand (1793-1864)	Manoharadāsa Dharmadāsa S.	
Rohtak	Muni Kanhīrām (1852-1872)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	1902
Jagarāvam	Svāmī Rūpcandra (1812-1880)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	
Rāykoṭ	Svāmī Rūpcandra (1812-1880)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	1885
Samānā	Muni Maheśdās (died 1882)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	1882
Māler Kotlā	Ācārya Rāmbakṣ (1846-1882)	Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi S.	
Ludhiyānā	Ācārya Motīrām (1821-1901)	Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi S.	
Mūnak	Muni Javāharlāl (1856-1932)	Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi S.	
Carakī Dādarī	Muni Jñāncandra (1894-1952)	Manoharadāsa Dharmadāsa S.	
Khannā	Muni Chaganlāl (1889-1971)	Svāmīdāsa Dīpacanda Jīvrāj S.	1973
New Delhi	Muni Choṭelāl (1902/3-1981)	Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja S.	
Auraṅgābād	Muni Gaṇeślāl (1879-1962)	Daulatarāma Hara S. (Koṭā S. I)	1987
Kupa Kalām	Gaṇāvachchedaka Lālcand (1857-1938)	Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi S.	2009

With the exception of Samānā and Sirsā these are the oldest surviving local Jaina funerary shrines. Many of these sites accreted also relic shrines of nuns, while there are

³⁶ On the Loṅkāgaccha and the Sthānakavāsī sectarian traditions, see Flügel 2000, 2003, 2007, Forthcoming b, and Jain and Kumār 2003.

only few sites with more than one relic shrine for nuns alone.³⁷ Because of renovations, reliable dates for the oldest *stūpa* construction can rarely be established with certainty.

Three multi-shrined sites featuring *samādhis* (*stūpa*) with or without *cāraṇa-pādukās* and/or other iconographic elements will be looked at in greater detail. The first example is the Mahān Gurūo Jain Samādhi Sthal next to the Mahākālī temple in Ambālā City, which features no less than twenty *samādhis* for Sthānakavāsī mendicants of which at least nine are dedicated to *sādhvīs* (some are unmarked). The suspicion that most of the *samādhis* are relic *stūpas* is supported by a plaque which records that the cost of the relic vessel, *kalāśa*, and the dome, *samādhi guṃbad*, of the central shrine was paid for by an Osvāl from Ludhiyānā for the auspicious memory, *punya smṛti*, of his deceased wife.³⁸ This is also common knowledge and orally confirmed by local Jains. The *samādhis* are tightly packed together, forming a *mélange* of different architectural styles. Four architectural types, reflecting developmental stages (of renovation), can be distinguished. Twelve smaller solid or hollowed out shrines with niches for oil lamps or offerings, some of them with domed *chatrīs*, all painted in pink and red, form a stylistic ensemble. According to inscriptions, cross-referenced with list of Sthānakavāsī mendicants,³⁹ most of them were constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. The two oldest and most important shrines, of “Camatkārī Tapasvī” Muni Lālcand or Lālacandra, a native of Ambālā, a poor shoemaker from a low caste who became a Sthānakavāsī monk under Muni Uttamcand or Uttamacandra of the Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja Sampradāya and died in 1843 through the religious rite of voluntary self-starvation, known as *sallekhanā* or *santhārā*,⁴⁰ and of “Pañjāb Kesarī” Ācārya Kāṃśīrām (1884-1945), one of the most important leaders of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya, were renovated in the same modern style in which the funerary monument of Kāṃśīrām’s monastic great-grandson disciple, *prapautra*, Tapasvī

³⁷ In the Mūrtipūjaka tradition, for instance, the Vallabha Smāraka in Alīpur or the Sthānakavāsī *samādhis* for Upapravartinī Abhayakumārī (1922-1994) and Upapravartinī Sāvitrī (1926-2009) in Ludhiyānā.

³⁸ Cf. the discussions of merit transfer by Cort 2003: 133ff. and Laughlin 2003: 41, 46f.

³⁹ Flügel, Forthcoming b.

⁴⁰ According to a plaque at the shrine, citing an old poem and a sermon of Mahāsati Kīraṇ, he was initiated by Muni Uttamcand who most likely belonged to the Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja tradition (see Flügel, Forthcoming a, b) and died after *santhārā* 8.6.1843 (1900 *jyēṣṭh śukla* 11). A story is told about Lālcand which indicates the reasons for his popularity. In one small place the rich villagers did not want to share the well with the poor villagers, who went to Lālcand for help. He said: “First let us look into the well whether there is water.” But the well was empty. The rich villagers then begged Lālcand to restore the water and pledged to share it with the poor villagers. The water then returned to the well, but it remained forever brackish.

Sudarśana Muni (1905-1997) was constructed. (Fig. 1) These modern buildings are not solid structures but feature interior shrines with *caraṇa-pādukās*; in the case of Lālcand a two-storey marble-clad construction with spaces for circumambulation of the footprint-image on the upper floor and of posters with detailed instructions on the preferred mode of worship and its “miraculous” benefits on the ground floor.



Fig. 1 Samādhi Sthal of “Tapasvī” Sudarśan Muni and other “Great Gurus” near the *samādhi* of Muni Lālcand in Ambālā

The perceived importance of the deceased is reflected in the relative size of the renovated *stūpas*. Older *stūpas* were simply replaced, except for the cover of the entombed relics. Some older unmarked smaller shrines, painted in white, the third type, were integrated in the shrine of Kāṃṣīrām with a new common roof. The oldest shrine for a nun is dedicated to Sādhvī Prako (Premo) who died in 1934. The three most recent relic shrines for “Tapasvini” Sādhvī Svarṇa Kāṃtā (1929-2001) and two of her associate nuns are marked by small interconnected platforms, *cābutarās*, made of shiny marble and attached posters with their photos and biographical data. The combined shrine is covered with a roof made of corrugated iron. Key to the site in Ambālā City are the enduring belief in the miracle working power of Muni Lālcand and of his remains, and the connection with the line of

the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya of Ācārya Kāṃśīrām and his disciples, for whom the Hariyāṇā town of Ambālā, the “Gate to the Pañjāb” with its strategically important *upāśraya*, became a preferred place for performing the Jaina rite of death through self-starvation. In recent decades, many mendicants of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi tradition (now part of the Śramaṇasaṅgha) came to spend their old age (*sthirvāsa*) in Ambālā in the auspicious presence of Lālcand in order to benefit from his “good vibrations”, as the present writer was told, that is, to derive inspirational strength for the willful performance of a good death, *paṇḍita-* or *samādhi-maraṇa*. Though cremations are now performed outside the sprawling city, the bone relics of the mendicants are buried next to Lālcand. In this way a veritable Jaina necropolis emerged over the last one and a half centuries. It is a significant development in the Jaina tradition, nowhere more evident than at this site in Ambālā, that an increasing number of *sādhvīs* are honoured with funerary monuments, reflecting changing social values.

The second example is a site known as Samādhi Bhavan. It is located at Pacakuriyām Mārg in Lohā Maṇḍī, a small town in Uttar Pradeś which is now part of Āgrā. The site is owned by the local Jaina Agravāla organisation, which from the eighteenth century onwards was closely associated with the Manoharadāsa Dharmadāsa Sthānakavāsī tradition, and still serves as a cremation ground for both laity and mendicants. Laypeople are cremated in a large dugout called *svarga-dhām*, heavenly paradise, that is fortified with bricks, and their remains are discarded in the Yamunā River, while mendicants are incinerated on a permanent raised platform constructed on the lawn in the small park adjacent to the main cremation ground. Their remains are entombed on site. Seventeen *samādhis* are currently identifiable, many of them unmarked. At least two are dedicated to named nuns Sādhvī Campakamālā (1904-1995) (Fig. 2) and Sādhvī Vuddhimatī (Buddhimatī) (died 1997), both of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya.

The name of the site is derived from the 1947 renovated shrine of the principal local saint Muni Ratnacandra or Ratancand (1793-1864), a well-known scholar born in a Rājput family near Jaipur who held debates with Jesuits,⁴¹ Muslims and members of other religions. He belonged to the Nūṇakaraṇa line of the Manoharadāsa Sampradāya. Since the male line of this tradition, which for a while was well integrated into the Śramaṇasaṅgha, has now died out, the necropolis is an enduring monument to its memory (even if some of the few unmarked monuments may have been built for mendicants of

⁴¹ Friedlander, Forthcoming.

other Sthānakavāsī lineages). Most *samādhis* were recently renovated and feature *caraṇa-pādukās*. The renovated *samādhis* additionally display portrait photographs and supplementary texts and/or colourful reliefs which narrate the life story of the saints. The *samādhis*, renowned for their wish-fulfilling qualities, are venerated daily by individual members of the local Sthānakavāsī community.



Fig. 2 Footprint image of Sādhvī Campakamālā with Namaskāra-Mantra and photo in the “Samādhi Bhavan” in Lohā Maṇḍī

However, since the funerary park is distant from the main Bāzār area where many Jaina Agravāls still live, a small commemorative shrine, a glass cabinet containing a printed reproduction of a painting of Ratancand and a *rajoharaṇa*, a whiskbroom carried by Jaina mendicants, was created in the main monastic residence, *sthānaka*, of Lohā Maṇḍī. The

colourfully painted assembly hall of the *sthānaka* features an empty throne, *gaddī*, made of marble and an imposing Namaskāra-Mantra relief as the main aniconic objects of veneration. This seat is not a personalised “relic of use”,⁴² an item actually used or touched by a mendicant, like the surviving *gaddīs* of the Loṅkāgaccha *yati* Ācārya Kalyāṇacandra or Kalyāṇcand (1833-1887) or of famed Sthānakavāsī *ācāryas* in Gujarāt, but a generalised symbolic object, explicitly dedicated to the five Jaina *parameṣṭhīs*.

As in Ambālā, in Lohā Maṇḍī the development of the necropolis as a sacred site is historically linked to the attempt of a locally dominant monastic sub-lineage to establish durable institutional roots in a dynamic sectarian milieu. A motivating factor is the belief in the continuing powers of a deceased saint and the ensuing practice of burial *ad sanctos*. While avoiding outright idol-worship, two-dimensional iconic images, particularly posters of paintings and photographs, and three-dimensional aniconic images are systematically used for this purpose. Most significant are the footprint-images which only mark cremation or burial sites in the aniconic traditions. They are rarely openly displayed, but housed in shrines of different shapes and sizes - sometimes older structures being wrapped in layers of later, grander structures through successive renovations. The shrines are generally venerated individually once a day through informal rituals involving touch, bowing and silent prayers or meditation. Occasionally, veneration – performed both for soteriological and for instrumental purposes or simply out of habit - involves the application of flowers, but despite many parallels, there is never an elaborate *pūjā* ritual as at the *dādābārīs* of the Kharataragaccha tradition studied by J. Laidlaw (1985: 60f.) and L.A. Babb (1996: 127-30).

The last example is the shrine of Muni Maheśadāsa or Maheśdās (died 1882) of the Nāthūrām Jīvarāja Sampradāya in Samānā. It was built next to a seventeenth century Dādābārī of Dādā Jinacandrasūri (1537-1612) and several older unmarked *samādhis* which, according to local informants, must have been constructed for local *yatis* of the Uttarārdha Loṅkāgaccha. Several later *samādhis* were erected for monks of the Pañjāb Lavjī Rṣī Sampradāya. The *samādhi* of Maheśdās is remarkable, because it comprises well preserved nineteenth century frescos with descriptions in Urdū, uniquely even portraits of Maheśdās, painted in a style which was apparently typical for many *samādhis* constructed at the time, as similar examples in Māler Kotlā (Ratirām Samādhi, now

⁴² See Flügel 2008a: 7 on the usefulness of the Buddhist distinction of relics (shrines) of commemoration (*uddesika-cetiya*), relics of use (*paribhoga-cetiya*), and corporeal relics (*sarīrika-cetiya*) for understanding Jaina architecture, art and religious practice.

destroyed through renovation), Sunāma and Nakodar indicate. The frescos in Samānā were painted by a devotee of Gorakhnāth as many references to this Hindu saint in the Urdū texts demonstrate. The texts also tell us that the shrine was built by Javālādās Bhāvaṛā (Osvāl) in memory of his father Salekhcand of the Minhānī caste and mention the lineage of Maheśdās, beginning with Ācārya Nandālāl.⁴³ Paintings in the same style at other sites in the Pañjāb do not feature depictions of Sthānakavāsī monks, but ornaments and mythological scenes from the Hindu Epics. In this respect they resemble the famous *samādhi* of the Sikh king Ranjīt Singh in Lāhaur, which was studied by N. S. Naeem (2008, 2010, 2011), who confirmed that his shrine is a relic *stūpa* as well, despite principal rejection of relic worship by the Sikh religion today.⁴⁴ It is possible that the fashion of fresco painting in Jaina *samādhis* in the Pañjāb of the mid-nineteenth century was triggered by the paradigm of the royal *samādhi* in Lāhaur. Recently, the wall murals of “Camatkārī” Muni Maheśdās were defaced by unknown thugs, as were the reliefs of the Dādāgurus in the adjacent newly renovated c. 400 years old “ecumenical” Dādābārī, constructed around the footprints of Jinacandrasūri, which is nowadays owned and

⁴³ For details on the Nāthūrāma Jīvarāja Sampradāya, see Flügel, Forthcoming b.

⁴⁴ The codified modern official (*sanātana*) “Sikh funeral ceremony” of the Dharma Parchar Committee states that “[r]aising a monument to the memory of the deceased at the place where his dead body is cremated is taboo” (SRM 1945/1994/2009§ 19: 31). Yet, located at different sites south of Amṛtsar are the *samādhis* of two famous martyrs (*śahīd*), the cousins Bābā Dīp Sīnha Jī and Bābā Nod Sīnha Jī, which are the focus of a vibrant cult. However, according to the Sikh guards of the Bābā Nod Sīnha Samādhi erected at the site of his cremation at Taraṇ Tāraṇ Road, his ashes were immersed in flowing water and no relics kept. Famous is the *samādhi* of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839) in Lāhaur, adjacent to which are the two *samādhis* of his son Kharak Singh (1801-1840) and of his grandson Nau Nihal Singh (1821-1840). The *samādhi* of Ranjīt Singh is known to be a relic shrine: “A marble urn inside the mausoleum contains Ranjīt Singh’s ashes, while other tiny urns contain the ashes of his four wives and seven concubines, who threw themselves on his funeral pyre” (Ahmed 2006). According to N. S. Naeem (2011), who investigated the fourteen urns (including those of two pigeons who died due to the cremation fire) which had originally been placed on the plinth of the *samādhi* but were removed in 1999 on request of the Khālsā “as part of the preparations for the Khalsa Tricentenary and the visit of Sikh dignitaries from India” (Wikipedia 26.12.2010: Samadhi of Ranjit Singh) and placed in storage, the “urns” (which apparently themselves were locally called “*samādhi*”) have no internal space for holding ashes. Only one of them features a hole for a copper pipe. While noting the significance of the ashes and their ceremonial dispersal in the Gaṅgā and other rivers, in reports on the cremation of Ranjīt Singh, she interpreted the role of the “knobs” as purely symbolic and used the term “commemorative urns”. She also highlighted the role of mural paintings showing Hindu mythological motifs in the *samādhi*. On the once famous Amṛtsar School of wall paintings, see also Kang (1977b: 46-56). Lāhaur features also the recently vandalised *samādhi* of Bhāi Vastirām (1708-1802), a minister in the court of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh (Daily Times 28.1.2011). Interesting stylistic parallels to Jaina *samādhis* in the Pañjāb shows the *samādhi* of the Sikh General Sham Singh Attarivālā (1790-1846), whose daughter was married to Nau Nihal Singh, at his birth place in Attari, near Vāghā. He died and was cremated at the site of the battle of Sabhraon.

managed by Sthānakavāsīs who took over after the Kharataragaccha lost influence in the Pañjāb under Muslim rule. (Fig. 3) Acts of retaliation can not be excluded. Court cases are ongoing.



Fig. 3 Defaced wall painting of Ācārya Maheśdās inside his *samādhi* in Samānā

Looking at all three examples selected from the great variety of aniconic Jain traditions together, a clear new pattern emerges. The structural relationship between *sthānaka* and *samādhi sthal* in the three examples resembles the relationship between *upāsraya* and *mandira* in the idol-worshipping Jain traditions, both serving as complementary localized centres of religious activity supplementary to the itinerant mendicant groups. But in the aniconic Jain traditions, in contrast to the image-worshipping traditions, the main symbolic representations of Jain ideals remain the mendicants, living or dead, rather than anthropomorphic statues of the Jinas (photos or drawings of Jina statues are widely used by followers of the aniconic traditions but remain peripheral to their religious culture). A problem for the cult of the *samādhi* and of the multi-shrined necropolis is that they primarily celebrate the example, values and powers of particular deceased mendicants and of their lineages, but not the Jain tradition in general. This limits the potential for symbolic universalisation within the aniconic traditions and propels them back toward either idol-worship or imageless meditation – or both.

Ecumenical Pilgrimage Centres and Guru Pratimās

One of several new ecumenical shrines intended to serve as a common reference point for all branches of the Sthānakavāsī and Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara traditions in the Pañjāb, which seems to underscore these conclusions, is the Ādīśvara Dhām that is currently under construction in the village of Kupa Kalām next to the Ludhiyānā–Māler Koṭlā highway. It was inspired by the late Vimalamuni or Vimalmuni (1924-2009), a politically influential modern monk of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi tradition, who after leaving the Śramaṇasaṅgha received an honorary *ācārya* title from Upādhyāya Amarmuni at Vīrāyatan in Rājagrha/Bihār in 1990. The unique design of the religious site was approved in 1992 with Ācārya Vijaya Nityānanda of the Mūrtipūjaka Tapāgaccha Vallabha Samudāya II and Ācārya Dr Śivmuni of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, the leaders of the two main rival Jain traditions in the Pañjāb, who both supported the project. The main shrine combines a traditional Ādīśvara temple in the Mūrtipūjaka style on the first floor of the tower of the main shrine, *prāsāda*, with a large Sthānakavāsī style assembly *cum* meditation hall (which is usually situated in a *sthānaka*) in place of the *maṇḍapa* of the classical Hindu and Jain temple. The balcony of the first floor of the hall leads to the shrine of Ādīśvara. It features a “*mūrti* gallery” of Jina statues amongst them an image of the *tīrthankara* Sīmandhara Svāmī “currently living” in Mahāvīdeha and a plate with the Trimantra of the Akrama Vijñāna Mārga. The design of the shrine is quite unusual.

Though based on classical paradigms in the *Śilpaśāstras*, in this case the *Śilparatnākara* by Narmadā Śānkara Sompurā (1939/1990: 288), creative modifications were introduced.⁴⁵ Vimalmuni insisted on a disproportionately large meditation hall, which dominates the tower, *śikhara*, housing the main shrine. The allocation of the *garbhagrha* with the Ādīśvara image to the first floor further changed the symmetries of the classical paradigm. Yet, the key innovation is the construction of two additional underground levels not found in any other shrine.⁴⁶ Located below the central *pravacana* hall is a large meditation hall oriented toward a covered aperture at the centre. A barely visible flight of stairs, locked with iron gates, leads to a second underground level, the so-called *guru-mandira*. (Fig. 4)

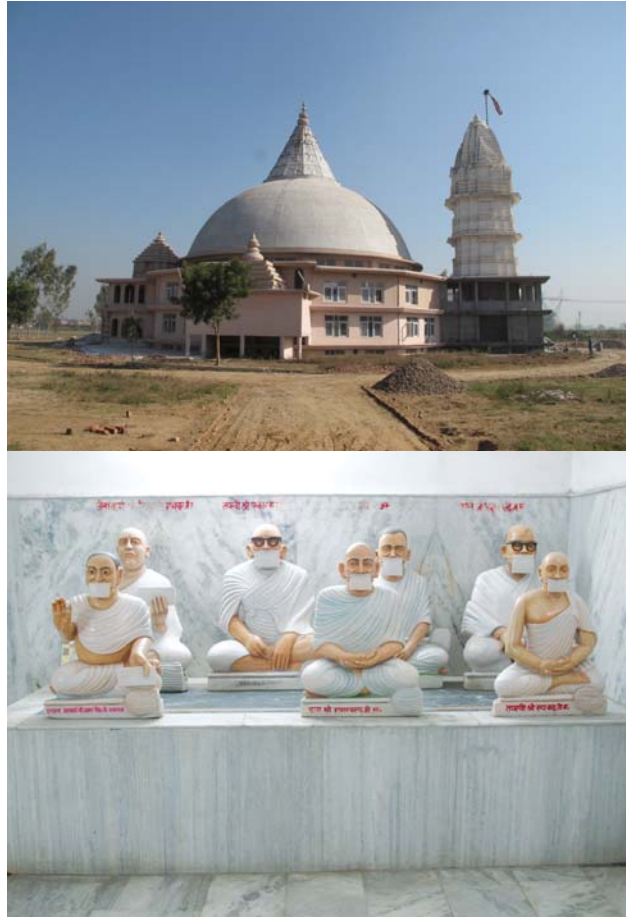


Fig. 4 Portrait statues of renowned Pañjābī Sthānakavāsī and Mūrtipūjaka monks under the Ādīśvara Dhām in Kupa Kalām

⁴⁵ On this text, see Cort 2000: 115f.

⁴⁶ On Jaina underground temples, see Hegewald 1999: 431f.

The visitor arrives first in a square antechamber, facing two rows of quasi naturalistic portrait statues of six famous Pañjābī monks of the last two centuries, four of the Sthānakavāsī Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya, one of the Sthānakavāsī Nāthurāma Jīvārāja Sampradāya, and one of the ex-Sthānakavāsī Mūrtipūjaka *ācārya* Vijayānandasūri. An adjacent platform features portrait statues of three renowned *sādhvīs* of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi tradition, amongst them Sādhvī Svarṇa Kāṃtā. From the antechamber, a meandering passage leads to the central shrine, a medium-sized spherical room located right underneath the central point of the meditation hall above to which it is connected with an oblique round opening in the ceiling. In a series of niches along the wall eleven portrait statues of Sthānakavāsī monks are displayed. From left to right the first of the five *ācāryas* of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi Sampradāya are followed by the three deceased Śramaṇsaṅgha *ācāryas*, including two non-Pañjābīs, and finally three further renowned Pañjābī Sthānakavāsī monks. On the marble pedestal at the centre of the room, containing a collection box, are portrait statues of Vimalmuni's three immediate predecessors (*guru-paramparā*) presented underneath the opening towards the meditation hall above: Gaṇāvacchedaka Lālacandra or Lālcand (1857-1938), Gaṇāvacchedaka Gokulacandra or Gokulcand, and Jagdīśamuni or Jagdīśmuni (died c. 1999). According to local informants, buried underneath the pedestal *cum* collection box are relics of the three saints brought on request of Vimalmuni in 2009 from the *samādhis* at their sites of cremation in Syālkot/Pakistan and Caṇḍīgarh. But their existence is, as usual, not indicated. The two underground chambers housing this unique ensemble of statues are constructed in such a way as to amplify sounds in order to invite meditative humming in front of the statues. The sound travels through the opening in the ceiling from the bedrock of the shrine upwards to the larger meditation hall. *Pūjā* is not to be performed.

This so-called *guru mandira* was inaugurated on 18 May 2005 by Ācārya Dr Śivmuni and Ācārya Vimalmuni. Next to the Ādīśvara Dhām are four other buildings: two administrative blocks, one vast *upāśraya* which will serve as a “retirement home” for old nuns, and a Dhyāna Sādhana Sādhū-Sādhvī Sevā Kendra, constructed on request of Ācārya Dr Śivmuni for the practice of meditation as outlined in his books. Officially, this new Sthānakavāsī pilgrimage centre is dedicated to the practice of meditation in the style advocated by Ācārya Dr Śivmuni. However, it is a multi-functional religious site. It has a temple under the management of Ācārya Nityānanda of the Tapāgaccha (who rejected the installation of an additional Kharataragaccha image) and several *samādhis* of monks of the line of Gaṇāvacchedaka Lālcand of the Pañjāb Lavjī Ṛṣi tradition. Located near the gate to the Ādīśvara Dhām is the *samādhi* of Muni Rāmamuni (Rāmnāth) (died 2005) and

a new *samādhi* for the late Vimalmuni is under construction next to the main shrine. Vimalmuni's relics in a copper vessel were entombed on 20.12.2010 with a small and simple ceremony in the presence of a modern nun who is associated with Vimalmuni's group.

Ecumenical shrines such as this, shared by Mūrtipūjaka and Sthānakavāsī traditions,⁴⁷ were first intentionally devised by the Jaina Diaspora⁴⁸ (which also contributes funding for the Ādīśvara Dhām). Yet, few of the iconographic innovations were introduced by NRIs. Already half a century ago, if not earlier, it became customary in most aniconic traditions in India to display photographs of prominent monks and nuns in *upāśrayas*, *samādhis* and in the homes of disciples for commemoration if not for worship. Often photographs of deceased saints are displayed in conjunction with a two or three-dimensional aniconic cult object, such as an empty or occupied "lion throne" or *siṃhāsana*.⁴⁹ The ensuing controversy over the religious status of two-dimensional representations such as photographs, line drawings and reliefs still divides the aniconic Jaina traditions. Three-dimensional statues such as those displayed in the subterranean vaults of the Ādīśvara Dhām presenting recently deceased monks and nuns as objects of meditative worship were previously only produced by the Mūrtipūjaka and Digambara traditions.⁵⁰

The first statue of a Sthānakavāsī mendicant, maybe the first statue of a mendicant of the aniconic Jaina traditions, represents the famous "Kaṛṇāṭaka Kesarī" Muni Gaṇeśalāla or Gaṇeślāl (1879-1962) of the Daulatarāma Hara Sampradāya (Koṭā Sampradāya 1) who was cremated in Jālnā in Mahārāṣṭra where a large *samādhi* was constructed for him. His naturalistic life-size statue, representing him in standing posture

⁴⁷ Another, entirely different, recent example is the Bhagavān Mahāvīr Vanasthalī in Barmalipur at the G.T. Road to the East of Ludhiyānā. It is a park featuring a Mahāvīra statue with an exhibition and meeting hall, but was constructed by Sthānakavāsīs promoting the unity of Jains in the Pañjāb. A similar (Digambara) site exists in New Delhi.

⁴⁸ To my knowledge, the first deliberately constructed ecumenical temple cum *sthānaka* was the Jain Mandir in Leicester, which was inaugurated in 1988. Similar temples have since been built in North America. There are many old Jaina temples and *sthānakas* in India that are disputed and used by followers of one or more traditions, sometimes under complicated administrative arrangements.

⁴⁹ The *chatrī* of the indoor "Ānanda Siṃhāsana" shelters a four-sided pillar featuring a portrait photo and inscriptions of the Namaskāra-Mantra, etc., in memory of Ācārya Ānandṛṣi's *cāturmāsa* in Māler Koṭlā of 1968. On conventional Jaina *siṃhāsana* iconography, see Hegewald 2010: 11ff.

⁵⁰ For examples of *guru mandiras*, see Hegewald 2009: 82-7.

with his *rajoharaṇa* and begging bowl, constructed over his *smāraka*, was consecrated on the 16.1.1987 at the Sthānakavāsī Jaina Śikṣaṇa Samiti in Aurāṅgābād. (Fig. 5)



Fig. 5 *Smāraka* of Muni Gaṇeślāl in Aurāṅgābād

The installation of this first Sthānakavāsī “*pratimā*” was instigated on suggestion of Gaṇeślāl’s disciple “Dakṣiṇakesarī” Muni Miśrīlāla or Miśrīlāl (1918-1993), whose own *samādhi*, with an opulent *chatrī*, was built next to the *smāraka* of Gaṇeślāl, as was a *cabūtarā*, or commemorative funeral platform, for Muni Sampatalāla or Sampatlāl (died 1998) of the same *sampradāya*. Placed at the centre of the shrine of Miśrīlāl is a large marble bowl, openly displaying ashes from his funeral pyre. Sampatlāl’s *cabūtarā* even features an aperture which allows direct access to the ashes buried underneath, with an adjacent marble slab serving as a cover. (Fig. 6) To put funerary relics on open display and permitting direct access to them is yet another innovation in aniconic Jaina iconography which has since been imitated at other Jaina relic shrines in Mahārāṣṭra, such as the unassuming *cabūtarā* style shrine of Yuvācārya Miśrīmala “Madhukara” (1913-1983) of the Jayamala Dharmadāsa Sampradāya within the Śramaṇasaṅgha which was inaugurated at the place of his cremation in an industrial district in Nāsik in 2001.



Fig. 6 Funeral relics under the *cabūtarā* of Muni Sampatlāl in Aurangābād

The *pratimā* of Muni Gaṇeślāl in Aurangābād caused a great uproar in the Sthānakavāsī community, and could only be inaugurated after a series of court cases, briefly described by Vorā (1992: 191-3). Despite similar protests, in the last decade many portrait statues were put up by the aniconic traditions; for instance the painted statue of the Sthānakavāsī Upādhyāya Amarmuni (1903-1992) at Vīrāyatan in Rājagṛha and of the Terāpantha Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997) in Bikaner (in a hospital) and in a commemorative shrine at New Delhi. The three portrait statues of Sthānakavāsī nuns Pravartinī Pārvaī (1854-1939), Pravartinī Rājamatī (1866-1953), Upapravartinī Svarṇa Kāṃtā (1929-2001) of the Pañjāb Lavjīrṣi Sampradāya in Kupa Kalām may be the first stone images of female mendicants in the aniconic traditions. Physical worship is prevented in most cases across sects by either wrapping the images with shawls (*cādar*), as in the case of the image of the “miracle working” Muni Kanhīrāma (1852-1872) (Nāthūrāma Jīvārāja Sampradāya) next to his *stūpa* at the heart of a necropolis of twenty-three *samādhis* in Rohtak (Fig. 7), or the images of “Sant Śiromaṇi” Upapravartaka Phūlacandra or Phūlcand’s (1913-2001)

(Pañjāb Lavjī R̥ṣi Sampradāya) in Ratiyā (Fig. 8) and Śardūlgarh,⁵¹ all represented the saints in sitting posture, or by encasing the image with glass covers or in other ways making access as unattractive as possible.



Fig. 7 Multi-shrined necropolis “Sant Kanhīrām Mahārāj Smārak” in Rohtak, with the wrapped statue of Muni Kanhīrām on top of the building behind his *samādhi* on the left

In reply to the question of the legitimacy of worshipping photographs, *citra*, and other physical representations of Sthānakavāsī mendicants, the late Jñānmuni (1958/1985 II: 366f.), a leading and sometimes controversial intellectual of the Śramaṇasaṅgha, in his book *Hamāre Samādhān*, Our Solution, stated the following view. From the historical perspective (*aitihāsik dr̥ṣṭi*), such images are of great benefit (*baṛe lābh*). But venerating (*vandana*) and worshipping (*pūjā*) is not right. If this is not done and pictures are used only for spreading information then even from a scriptural point of view (*saiddhāntik dr̥ṣṭi*) there is no fault: “The Sthānakavāsī tradition is not opposed to images but to

⁵¹ That this secondary shrine also contains relics is indicated in an inscription which furnishes details on the special circumstances of the cremation and collection of relics (*asthi-cayana*), the meetings for condolence/mourning (*śoka-sabhā*) and homage (*śraddhāñjali*) presented in a sequence structured by names of the days of the week: “*janma somvār dīkṣā maṅgalvār devlok buddhvār dāh saṃskār vīrvār asthi cayan śukravār śok sabhā va śraddhāñjali śanivār & ravivār*” (Photos via Ravindra Jain 1.6.2010).

image-worship”(sthānakavāsī paramparā kā virodh mūrti se nahīm hai balki mūrtipūjā se hai) (ib., p. 367).⁵²



Fig. 8 Statue of Upapravartaka Phūlcand inside his *samādhi* in Ratiyā

The Problem of Universalisation and the Namaskāra-Mantra

Multi-functional “pilgrimage shrines” (*tīrtha*) featuring *samādhis* of historical saints are currently constructed in great numbers in all Jaina traditions. In the Sthānakavāsī milieu dozens of necropolises emerged in the last century through burial *ad sanctos* and evolved into alternative physical centres for religious activity besides the *sthānakas*. Initially, all Loṅkā, Sthānakavāsī and Terāpantha Śvetāmbara traditions rejected both image and relic worship, and many still do. Loṅkā (K 5, 46, 53) explicitly criticised the veneration of the

⁵² There is no evidence as yet for monks themselves or laity gifting *caraṇas* or images “for the sake of the spiritual welfare of the subjects of the images” (Laughlin 2003: 159) as in the Mūrtipūjaka traditions.

guru through symbols. The Jñānagaccha, the Kaccha Āṭh Koṭi Nānā Pakṣa and other Sthānakavāsī traditions in Rājasthān and Gujarāt, though reliant on a network of *sthānakas*, remain orthodox in their rejection of all “lifeless” material representations, including print publications.⁵³ I have therefore used the term “idol-worship” advisedly as contextually a more appropriate, albeit old fashioned, translation of *mūrtipūjā*, given that many originally anti-iconic traditions came to accept and worship certain aniconic images, such as relic shrines, empty thrones or stylised footprints, that is, real or simulated relics of contact, and hence have become, to varying degrees, not only “image-using” but also “image-worshipping” traditions in their need and desire to establish networks of abodes and of sacred sites, whether labeled *tīrtha*, *dhām* or *aitihāsik sthal*, as durable institutional foundations for sectarian proselytisation.⁵⁴ This is often done in the name of material security, in particular for nuns and old mendicants, the stalwarts of the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition.

Without an institutional base, supported by devout laity, even the potential alternative to image worship of an aniconic cult of the holy book or manuscript⁵⁵ rather than teaching (*pravacana*) is difficult to realise.⁵⁶ When in 1930, the strategically placed first book publication featuring images of Mahāvīra and Bāhubali wearing Sthānakavāsī *mukhavastrikās* appeared (“Picture for Information, Not for Veneration”),⁵⁷ the resolution

⁵³ Only the use of handwritten manuscripts is permitted.

⁵⁴ On shades of grey between the extremes of image-worship and aniconism, see Cort 2010a: 25f., 259 on “moderate iconoclasm”. Cort reports that for many art historians “to employ images, both material and conceptual,” is a “human necessity” (ib., p. 262), as for Mūrtipūjaka scholastics “icon worship is natural” (ib., p. 271). He argues himself that “[t]erming Jainism a ‘way of icons’ (*murti-marga*) would not be inappropriate” (ib., p. 281). See Metzler 1985-6: 103, alternatively, on forms of “aniconic [religious] perception” based on smell, sound, etc. The philosophy of Hegel, for instance, stresses the fundamental difference between image (*Bild*) and concept (*Begriff*).

⁵⁵ See Johnson 2003: 225, n. 1 on Mahāyāna “book cults” predicated on the presumed presence of the Buddha in the manuscript as “rivals to *stūpa* cults”. Ritualised Jaina “book worship” also uses printed texts.

⁵⁶ In the Jaina context, book worship is, it seems, only performed by the Mūrtipūjaka and the Digambara Taraṇa Tāraṇa Svāmī traditions. Most popular is the veneration of the *Paryuṣaṇa-Kalpa-Sūtra*. This practice of *pothī-pūjā* was explicitly rejected by Loṅkā (K 13, 16): “To create the impression of the importance of the scriptures but not reading them, whose tradition is that?” (K 21). See Balbir 2010: 112-19, 122. There was considerable resistance against printing sacred texts across Jaina traditions and some Sthānakavāsī orders still prohibit book publications by mendicants. See Flügel 2003: 161, 2007: 139f.

⁵⁷ Śaṅkar Muni 1930. Amarmuni 2008: 20 defends the use of illustrations in his Āgama edition as didactic tools “for the common readers (*logoṃ*)”. He does not discuss the general depiction of ancient mendicants permanently wearing *mukhavastrikās*, for which there is no historical evidence.

for the creation of a nationwide institutional framework for all Sthānakavāsī mendicants taken at the Ajmer Sammelan in 1933 was only two years away. The context of the first book publications of the aniconic traditions, including editions of Āgamas, was more political than religious. However, in one respect the cult of the sacred text is the most significant innovation in the repertoire of aniconic Jaina iconography on display at the reviewed new sacred sites. In almost all modern shrines of the aniconic traditions physical representations of the Namaskāra-Mantra are now centrally displayed, carved in marble, cast in bronze, painted or printed, on the wall or on a stele; despite the fact that this universally accepted ritual text, to be recited not to be worshipped, has no canonical status in the aniconic Jaina traditions,⁵⁸ and is too well known to be in need of mementos. Increasingly popular is also the use of the so-called *tīrtha-kalaśa*, which elsewhere is known as *maṅgala-kalaśa*, or auspicious pot. (Fig. 9) It is a silver vessel inscribed with the Namaskāra-Mantra and sealed with an auspicious silver coconut, representing the fruits of Jaina practice, both in the other world and in this world. It is portable, like the Jina statues used for processions, and can be utilised as a tangible cult object in variable contexts. Only in combination with the “Navkār Mantra”, which “establishes a clear hierarchy among ascetics, with the Tīrthaṅkaras unambiguously on top” (Babb 1996: 112), relic shrines, footprint images or photographs of individual Jaina saints can gain universal appeal and become potential *tīrthas* or crossing points over the ocean of suffering. The material representation of the Namaskāra-Mantra is the iconographic solution for the problem of universalisation faced by relic shrines of historical saints.

Conclusion

At the outset of this article it was noted that within the surviving aniconic Jaina traditions the gradual integration of religious artifacts into the cult seems to have broadly followed the same logic as proposed by the theory of aniconism for the development of anthropomorphic images in ancient India: relics, *stūpas*, non-anthropomorphic representations, anthropomorphic images and anthropomorphic portrait statues. It seems, however, unlikely that the extant aniconic Jaina religious art from ancient India evolved along similar sequential lines. There are at least four negative reasons for this conclusion:

⁵⁸ The oldest and only Śvetāmbara canonical source, *Mahānisīha* III.5-10, can be placed in the 7th Century C.E. at the earliest according to Roth 1974: 3, 7. See also Balbir 2006: 9. It was therefore not included in the lists of canonical texts of Loṅkā and the founders of the Sthānakavāsī traditions.

The absence of (1) doctrinal aniconism in early Jainism,⁵⁹ (2) of a notable cult of the relics of the Jina, (3) of evidence for Jaina *stūpas* antedating anthropomorphic miniature reliefs,⁶⁰ and (4) of sharply demarcated Jaina sectarian traditions before the Digambara-Śvetāmbara split.⁶¹ The reputedly oldest iconographic evidence from Mathurā rather suggests a parallel evolution of iconic and aniconic representations;⁶² with footprint/foot-images as a relatively late addition to the vocabulary of aniconic Jaina art. The apocryphal development of aniconic iconography in the protestant Jaina traditions, with its increasing emphasis on the individual identity of renowned *gurus* and *gurunīs* of particular monastic traditions, seems to replicate earlier developments in the iconic traditions,⁶³ which must have started already in the early medieval period.⁶⁴ The particular sequential evolution and selectivity of aniconic Jaina iconography with its characteristic exegetical impediments against the worship of Jina images and increasing emphasis on the practice of burial *ad sanctos* leading to the emergence of a network of cities of the dead which effectively function as *tīrthas*⁶⁵ represents a genuine novelty not only in the history of Jainism but in Indian religious culture as a whole.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Bruhn 1995: 260 observed a “continuous trend towards ‘Jina.s with identity’ which started in the medieval period” in Jaina art, and already earlier in Jaina hymnology and ritual literature. A different situation existed in early Jaina art, as recently noted: “In contrast to Buddhist artists, Jaina artists showed neither legends (Jina legends) nor stories (Jātakas). As a consequence there were also no substitutes for the Jina(s), such as footprints etc. The problem of representation did not exist. The Jina is always isolated (no context), a mere idol, shown in two to three forms. Contrary to the Buddha, he is never a real human being” (Bruhn 2010: 140).

⁶⁰ Summaries of the evidence are offered by Bruhn 1994: 65ff., 1995: 250, 2010: 150-7, and Cort 2010a: 25-66.

⁶¹ On the hypothetical association of the Ardhaphālakas with the early Jaina art of Mathurā in current scholarship, see Bruhn 2010: 133-7.

⁶² This is also suggested by the mythical twelfth century account of the construction of the first Jaina temple by Bharata, although it gives precedence to the construction of the *stūpas* by the gods. See footnote 28.

⁶³ See footnote 22.

⁶⁴ See P. Granoff’s reference to the veneration of portraits of the *guru* in Haribhadra’s eighth century work *Yogabindu* vv. 100-115, cited in Laughlin 2003: 24, n. 18.

⁶⁵ See footnote 31.

⁶⁶ See Flügel 2000: 50 on the innovative character of the protestant Jaina reform movements. Necropolises of Hindu saints (which are generally buried) can also be located but are yet to be studied.



Fig. 9 *Tīrtha kalaśas* in front of a painting of the first leader of the Sthānakavāsī Śramaṇasaṅgha, Ācārya Ātmārām (1882-1962), in the “Ātma Smṛti Kakṣa”, Jain Dharmasālā Ludhiyānā

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