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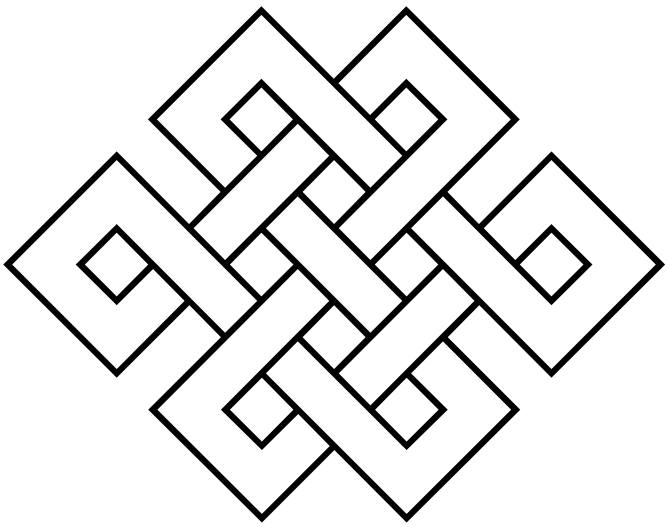

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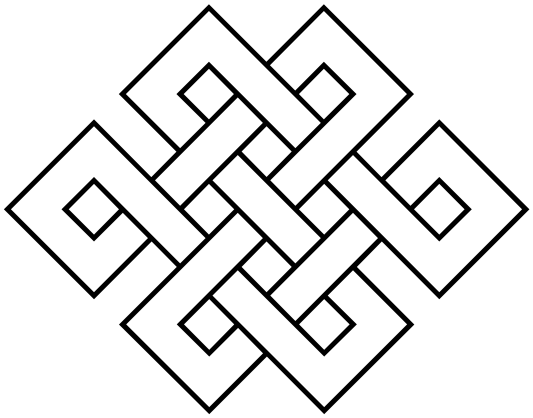

Jaina Non-Tīrthas in Madhyadeśa II.1: Sites of Non-Memory

Peter Flügel[1]

In Jaina Studies, the articulation between lived religion, cultural memory, and the cultural unconscious remains largely unexamined.[2] The biographies of "founding figures" are obscure,[3] and very little can be said about the origins of key texts[4] and fragments of Jaina material culture found all over South Asia, particularly Madhyadeśa.[5] K. BRUHN (1977: 383) noted that "amongst the

1 The article is based on fieldwork in M.P. and U.P.: January 2010 (Devagaṛha, Canderī); November and December 2018 (Bahorībanda, Khajurāho, Pannā, Mahebā, Papaurā, Canderī, Būṛhī Canderī, Thūbana, Rakhetarā, Khandā(ra)giri); December 2019 (Canderī, Devagaṛha, Bīṭhalā, Māmoṃ, Indora, Pacarāī, Golākoṭa, Gūḍara, Seroṃna (Siron Khurd), Bārī, Khandā(ra)giri, Rāmanagara, Tumain, Bajaraṅgagaṛha, Ujjaina). Several other Jaina sites in Madhyadeśa were studied as well. Research in the Canderī region was guided by Muzaffar Ansari. Evidently, the text is in many parts the outcome of an inner dialogue with the late Klaus Bruhn. I am grateful to the editor of *BIS*, Gerd Mevissen, for his helpful comments and suggestions. All unattributed photos are the author's images.

2 ASSMANN's 2000: 39f. notion of the "cultural unconscious" was adapted to the Jaina context by FLÜGEL 2008: 183. Alternative concepts of "the unconscious (or insufficiently manifested) human mind" are discussed, for instance, by BRUHN 2000: 306, reflecting on the "hypothetical 'lost key'".

3 BHATT in press; FLÜGEL 2008; 2019; KRÜGER 2020.

4 See for instance WILES 2006.

5 The term "Madhyadeśa" is used here, as by BRUHN 1958, 1959a, 1959b, as a synonym for "Central India", the term preferred by SINGH 1997: 79, for the cultural region described by PATIL 1952 as "Madhya Bharat". The term "middle country" was used differently at different times and places in India. BRUHN 1977: 384 delimited it pragmatically by the "place-names quoted". Most sites investigated in this article belong to the area of the former Gwalior State, the eastern part of which is known as Bundelakhaṇḍa (Jejākabhukti), the western part as Gopakṣetra, and the southern part as Mālavā. See WILLIS 1988: 271-273, 175; WILLIS 1996a: 124f.; SEARS 2014: 29. On the term Madhyadeśika, in a different context, see DE JONG 1985.

most neglected materials are the numerous images and architectural pieces scattered all over Madhya Deśa and belonging to the 'post-Gupta', 'early-medieval' or 'medieval' periods".[6] G. MEVISSEN (2019b: 395) similarly pointed out that "[p]roper documentation of the material remains, especially of stone sculptures, which can still be found *in situ* at many sites all over India, remains largely a *desideratum*". M. WILLIS (1996b: 31) stressed the urgent need to thoroughly document "many of the lesser-known sites and monuments" of the region that "have not been visited by historians or archaeologists for half a century" and remain unpublished.

The present study presents the results of a preliminary examination of obliterated, forgotten, rediscovered and revitalized medieval Digambara sites in Madhyadeśa. Its central concern is the documentation and assessment of the fate of the vestiges of temples that either have already vanished or will soon disappear, in particular valued Jina images and other sanctified objects, whether they have been destroyed, dispersed or re-assembled, also to probe the usefulness of the new concept of the Jaina "non-tīrtha" proposed in the first article of this series.[7]

The empirical focus is a defunct Digambara Jaina temple site to the north of the village of Bīṭhalā, which will soon be submerged under the waters of

6 On the basis of circumstantial epigraphic evidence, BRUHN 1969: 11f. dates these stylistic periods cum form-types roughly as follows: early Gupta (ca. 402-450 CE), Gupta (ca. 450-550 CE), post-Gupta (ca. 550-850 CE), early-medieval (ca. 850-975 CE), medieval (ca. 975-1150 CE) (disclaimers: pp. 1f., 54). A list of six periods starting with "post-Gupta" is presented on pp. 52-60. The medieval period is further sub-divided into four "so-called periods" (p. 113). In his book BRUHN experimented with different "types of types", especially Jina image-types. His final "purely formal" descriptive scheme of "real image-types" eventually eliminates stylistic factors altogether (which dominate the slightly different more granular list of the Appendix pp. 512f.) (cf. *infra*). The formal approach resulted from the recognition of "stylistic pluralism", and the hazardous nature of relative dating on purely stylistic grounds, in view of "the fact that both in the early-medieval period and in the medieval period archaic and baroque classes exist side by side" (pp. 214f.). The most elaborate scheme has 14 classes for the 3 periods cum types covering most of the evidence in Madhyadeśa: "early-medieval I" (6 classes: Uncouth, Slender, Far Eastern, Partite-Jaṭā, Flat-Jaṭā, Plain Images), "early-medieval II" (4 classes: Throne-Frame, with Miniature-Jinas, Late images, Fair Class), and "medieval" (4 classes: Resting, Hovering, Modern, Geometrical) (pp. 232f.). According to a less granular periodisation offered by BRUHN 1995: 245, 262 ("early-medieval -> medieval"), cf. 254, the great majority of Jina images discussed in this article fall into "Period IV (750-1500)".

7 FLÜGEL et al. 2020: 23. The research overlaps to an extent with the author's work on Jaina relic veneration.

a new reservoir. The evidence will be compared with findings on other Jaina non-tīrthas in the region that either have vanished from cultural memory or are in the process of disappearing. A case in point are the remains of the Digambara temple complex in the village of Indora (Indor) which are also unlikely to survive much longer.

As a preliminary result of the investigation of the ways in which during the last 150 years the relics of abandoned and forgotten Jaina temples were recycled or re-appropriated in the name of "heritage preservation"[8] by different agents, such as the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and local and newly-formed national Jaina community organisations, the article presents a classification of types of sites of non-memory and of the documented modern practices of re-collection of fragments of lost tradition (**Appendix I**).[9]

The principal new finding of the study is the pervasiveness of the previously undocumented phenomenon of the Digambara "heritage temple" in the region. The term "heritage temple" is introduced in this article as a new analytical category, designating a purposely-maintained or built structure for the preservation of individual objects of religious art, received either from unknown or forgotten places or collected from known ruined sites, where at least the central images are (re-)consecrated and venerated, even if damaged.[10] In this

8 On the history and global impact of the modern European "heritage industry", see LOWENTHAL 1968/1998; HEWISON 1987; HARVEY 2001; SMITH 2006; HERZFELD 2010; HARRISON 2013; LOWENTHAL 2015; GEISMAR 2015. See HARVEY 2001 and WU 2014: 863 for attempts to broaden the term to include all "meanings carried down from the past" for instance in form of local ritual and vernacular "living heritage". Here, to be sure, "heritage" is used in the first place as an etic category as a synonym for "tradition" (pp. 855f.). On the modernity of self-reflective cultural conservatism, see MANNHEIM 1925/1986.

9 See ASSMANN 2000: 22 on the cultural processes of dis-membering and re-membering or re-collection associated, on the one hand, with the identity-conferring "collective" or "connective memory" and, on the other hand, with the wider "cultural memory", which includes besides rituals and other more or less deliberate symbolic techniques of preservation and re-collection of memory (p. 31) also unconscious forms of transmission of tradition, which can be selectively re-appropriated (pp. 38-42).

10 In the Indian tourist industry, the term "heritage temple" is generally rhetorically associated with the UNESCO 2013 agenda of preservation rather than its religious use-value, which is at variance with the proposed definition. See HEGEWALD 2011: 1 note 1 on the widening of the official definition of the term "historical monument". The fact that no Jaina temple has been included in the UNESCO World Heritage List calls for an explanation. Perhaps Jaina communities reject the museification of their tradition. Yet, in a general sense, the English term "heritage" has gained increasing currency in Jaina religious

respect, heritage temples differ from "archaeological assemblages", "roadside" or "tree assemblages" and "temple assemblages", which are unstructured collections of damaged images, mostly Jina statues, found in the vicinity. Tarnished images are usually not venerated by Jainas, because they do not represent the Jaina ideal of perfection. Only very old images considered significant as individual objects offering tantalizing tangible links to the "golden age" of Jaina culture in medieval India[11] or as endowed with magical qualities[12] are nowadays not discarded and intentionally retained.[13] At the same time, Jaina "temple assemblages" are increasingly turned into "temple museums" or separate "Jaina museums" or "Jaina art museums". Jaina "museum temples", commercial modern sites for cultural experience, are the latest development. "Memorial museums", commemorating site-specific historical events, by contrast, are still rare in the Jaina tradition.[14] While Jaina culture is in the process

culture as well. See for instance: www.jainheritagecentres.com/ This is especially the case in the image-venerating traditions, which put a premium on material culture and tradition embodied in teacher lineages rather than scriptural truth alone. DUNDAS 2007: 33. The link between tourism and religion is evidently facilitated by image-worship. See CORT 2007; also *infra*.

11 CF. HEGEWALD 2014: 338f. on traditional and modern usage of this term. On the "utkarṣa-yuga", and concept of the "classical" period, see also FLÜGEL 2019: 118-125.

12 According to TREINEN 1973: 337f. the difference between material and symbolic significance of an object is key to understanding the value of a decontextualized object for preservation under conditions of continuity of the original symbolic system of which it was part. The individual object is only of value with reference to an additional symbolic frame (scientific research, social meta-functions: romanticism, nationalism, state education, etc.): "Erhaltung von Originalen ist unter den Bedingungen des sich abnutzenden Materials nur dann gesichert, wenn das Objekt *nicht* ausschließlich als Symbol eines einzelnen Sozialzusammenhanges gesehen wird, sondern einen zusätzlichen Bedeutungsinhalt erhält, der das Objekt individuiert".

13 Broken images of modern temples are simply thrown away, or put somewhere outside the temple. Jaina practices of discarding religious paraphernalia deserve further investigation. The Jaina emphasis on the durability of an image contrasts with the ritual destruction of used religious images in the context of Hindu religiosity, particularly village religiosity and periodical temple renovations. See PARKER 2009. Cf. METTE 2001. See STIRLING & KRISTENSEN 2016: 6, 12 for an adaptation of M.B. SCHIFFER's model of the life histories of objects to the study of the production and afterlife of Roman statuary, using for empirical investigation categories such as: raw materials, systematic use, archaeological record; production, reuse, recarving, construction, mutilation, destruction, ritual deposit, limekiln; carving, primary display, passive retention, secondary display, reclamation.

14 On memorial museums, see GEISMAR 2015: 81. Memorial museums, resembling exhibition rooms, were set up after the death of Ācārya Tulasī of the Terāpanth next to his

of institutionalizing the means for reproducing an awareness of its own historicity and historical depth, this paradoxically predicated on the destruction of the archaeological record, the bedrock of the cultural unconscious, in the same way as by museum culture nationally and internationally.

The main proposition of the article is that in view of the predominance of meaningful absence both ruined (non-)sites and sites of re-collection of heritage need to be classified as "non-tīrthas" rather than "tīrthas". In other regards, non-tīrthas may be categorized as a tīrthas as well. Jaina "heritage temples" are both tīrthas and non-tīrthas, sites that reflect their own temporality, and generate a sense of the contingency of the transmission of tradition.

Tīrtha / Non-Tīrtha

The first article on Jaina Non-tīrthas in Madhyadeśa argued that as an analytical concept "non-tīrtha" is a useful and necessary supplement to the concept "tīrtha" to account for the transience of the means of salvation which Jaina texts designate as tīrtha, that is, jina, dharma, and saṅgha.[15] Śvetāmbara scriptures refer to the sites associated with the five auspicious moments (pañcakalyāṇaka) in the lives of the Jinas as dravya-tīrtha. Digambaras put the emphasis on sites from where the Jinas are believed to have reached mokṣa, the nirvāṇa-kṣetras or siddha-kṣetras. Locations associated with miraculous events or Jina images are named atiśaya-kṣetras and are regarded as sacred as well. Sites where a common monk or nun performed sallekhanā and samādhis are also sometimes designated as tīrthas.[16] From medieval times onward the word tīrtha came to be widely used in a non-technical sense as a designation for "sacred place" in general, as in the Śvetāmbara Kharataragaccha JINAPRABHASŪRI's 14th-century Vividhatīrthakalpa,[17] the descriptions of medieval Digambara pilgrim sites published by JOHARĀPURAKARA (1965) or the modern five-volume Digambara pilgrimage guide of B. JAINA (1974, 1976),[18]

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samādhi in Gaṅgaśahara, and at Ladnun, his place of birth. Other known memorial museums seem also linked with birth and death locations. Usually, photographs and utensils of the deceased are exhibited.

15 This is nowhere expressed in exactly this formulaic form as in Buddhism. But see Viy 10.8.4b-5 (792a-792b).

16 FLÜGEL 2012.

17 Cf. CHOJNACKI 1991; 1995.

18 For a useful literature overview of early secondary literature see JOHARĀPURAKARA 1965: 112f. His compilation of text passages from the 5th and the 19th centuries mentioning Jaina tīrthas does not contain any of the (non-) tīrthas discussed in the present article.

as well as in academic literature.[19] Jaina ascetics, too, are still designated as "tīrtha".[20] To distinguish sacred places from other means of "crossing",[21] the term tīrtha-kṣetra, literally "crossing-place", is used in the Jaina tradition.

Non-tīrthas, in the interpretation proposed here, are non-existing or desecrated tīrthas, that is, ruined, obliterated, imagined[22] or planned temples and inactive temples whose images are not venerated. In Śvetāmbara literature,[23] a distinction between "tīrtha" and "a-tīrtha" is used in the context of general cosmological conceptions of evolution and decay.[24] Similar distinctions have not been widely used yet in empirical studies of the fluctuating historical fate of the Jaina teachings, religious institutions or sacred sites. The pilgrimage guide of B. JAINA (1976: 21), for instance, funded by the Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Tīrthakṣetra Committee, continues to use the designation "tīrtha" for non-functional sites or sites that do not exist anymore, such as Bīṭhalā or Māmoṃ, whereas B.C. NAGARAJ's (2001) slimmed-down pilgrimage guide, funded by the Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Tīrtha Saṃrakṣaṇī Mahāsabhā, omits them altogether.[25]

Meaningful Absence

As an analytical concept, non-tīrtha focuses on the absence of a known, remembered or projected alternative, that is the tīrtha, the social utopia of the Jaina world, which needs to be creatively reproduced to maintain the conditions for Jaina culture to thrive.

Historically, the most important tīrthas were the mendicant communities. In the present context only "sacred sites" and "sacred objects", that is, images of the Jina and Jaina deities, and "non-sacred sites" (or "non-sites") and "non-sacred objects", will be considered. Locations and objects are generally sanctified exclusively through physical contact with Jaina ascetics. As a rule, this is done through rites of consecration, which generally, but not always, are

19 For academic use, see for instance BRUHN 1958; 1959a; 1959b; BALBIR 1990; DWIVEDI 2007; JAIN & DWIVEDI 2007.

20 E.g., KUSUMAPRAJÑĀ 2016 on the Terāpanth Samaṇaśreṇī. See also DUNDAS 1993.

21 See PARPOLA 2003 on the etymology of the term.

22 On "virtual heritage", see CAMERON & KENDERDINE 2007. For India, see also PRIZEMAN et al. 2019.

23 Viy 25.6.8 (895a).

24 Cf. SCHUBRING 1926; GRANOFF 1991: 190; FLÜGEL 2019: 118-121.

25 JAINA's 1976: 30 brief guide to places worth visiting in his Appendix I excludes non-functional sites as well.

conducted by male mendicants.[26] Consecrated objects are invariably placed inside a sacralized space. Objects, such as small metal statues, that are in principle mobile lose their religious status if permanently located outside a sacred site. Collections of religious images at secular sites, public museums for instance, are by definition "a-tīrtha" or non-sites of religious veneration, though possibly sites of non-religious (aesthetic) veneration.[27]

In an article on creative appropriations of lost indigenous history by contemporary Uruguayan artists alluding in their work to archaeological sites, the anthropologist A. SCHNEIDER (2000: 167) demonstrated that for the artists obliterated "non-sites of history" are "imbued with history and memory" though "paradoxically charged with the very absence of their former meaning". The work of the artists "questions the amnesia of their own societies with regard to indigenous populations", but also bestows "new meaning on them" (p. 169). A similar observation was made by R. HARRISON (2013: 169f.), who coined the term "absent heritage" for practices of conservation and "memorialisation of places and objects whose significance relates to their destruction or absence". The intentional creation of "a double set of associations" by framing absences is, however, not restricted to the political hermeneutics of sites of destruction and forgetting, theorized by SCHNEIDER and HARRISON, the "ruin-value", as it were.[28]

Processes of forgetting, loss, suppression of memory, and intentional or creative amnesia can all have liberating effects.[29] Emptied of historical memory, the modern image of the founder of the aniconic or a-mūrtipūjaka Jaina tradition, for instance, the unknown Jaina reformer Loṅkā, could be painted

26 Some consecrations have been conducted by Digambara Brahmacārins, and even by laypersons it seems. COSTELLO 2020: 64, 66 reports similar agency of laity addressed as paṇḍita and saṃghādhipati recorded in 15th-century Digambara inscriptions of Gwalior.

27 DAVIS 1999: 26 speaks of "animation [...] through visual and interpretive attentiveness". He argues, somewhat polemically, that temples and museums "can both be taken as consecrated spaces". Occasionally, religious activities have entered modern museums as well. This is yet another contested arena.

28 Cf. BABB 1996 on the Jaina "absent lords", or modern philosophers of "present absence" (Derrida, etc.) and "absent present" (ZACHARIAS 1990a: 11ff.).

29 NIETZSCHE 1887/1994: 44: "Forgetfulness is not merely a *vis interiae*, as superficial people think. It is much rather an active capability to repress, something positive in the strongest sense". See also HARRISON 2013: 167. Involuntary forgetting has a similar effect. See LOWENTHAL 2015: 383: "Even famed monuments lose reliquary aura as familiarity dims or divests them from their pastness".

in almost any colour, like contours on a white canvas, and revered as an ancestral figure by different groups.[30] It was not relevant whether he was an actual person or merely a literary figure or both.[31] To retain the emancipative potential of Jaina teaching, Loṅkā evidently took refuge in the transmitted texts of the Jaina siddhānta to argue that attachment in any form needs to be renounced to achieve liberation, even attachment to Mahāvīra and to the living Jaina tradition itself, and that the siddhānta did not support image-veneration and temple-construction.[32] Rather than lamenting the decay or celebrating the proliferation of "Jaina sacred places", doctrinally a contradiction in terms,[33] Loṅkā rejected the practice of image worship and temple construction entirely. As a proponent of aniconism (not: iconoclasm), he might have preferred a different concept of "non-place" than the mūrtipūjaka Jainas, not of a dystopia or utopia, but of an atopia, "a place unconstrained by the limits of place",[34] in the sense of R. BARTHES (1977/1978: 43-36),[35] if the concept of space would not be so fundamental to Jaina metaphysics that even the siddhas had to be imagined as being tied to a particular location within lokākāśa.[36] The important point is that the realm of the liberated souls is conceived as immanent to the universe and not world-transcending.

"Non-tīrthas" can be differentiated into many sub-types, as required, in terms of forms of (meaningful) absence. In a first approach five types of non-tīrthas were distinguished, in no particular order, with the help of the following oppositions: nominal-real, imagined-real, potential-actual, present-past/future, vanished-existing, nonexisting-planned, forgotten-remembered.[37] This produced lists of non-tīrtha categories such as: abandoned, ruined, obliterated,

30 FLÜGEL 2008: 184.

31 Cf. KRÜGER 2020: 17, 19f. on Mahāvīra as a "literary figure".

32 On this issue, see SCHUBRING (1935/1962) 2000: 65f.

33 JAINI 1985: 89.

34 MILLET 2013: 5f.

35 The term atopia refers to a language without referent, pointing to something unique, unclassifiable, unspeakable, neutral, beyond type. See BARTHES 1977/1978: 36; 2002: 138, cf. 160, 184, 246; also WILLKE 2001. Cf. BRUHN 1969: 229ff. on the significance of typification in Jaina literature and art. To be able to account for all empirical variants of perceived absence, a-topian non-tīrthas should be added to the definition put forward in FLÜGEL et al. 2020: 23.

36 LUHMANN 1984/1996: 595 note 54: "To the degree that logic expands in nonspatial relationships, the degree of freedom and control in fixing contradictions grows".

37 FLÜGEL et al. 2020: 23.

forgotten, undifferentiated, unclassifiable, unknown, imagined, non-venerated, planned. In the course of the analysis of further evidence more systematic classifications will emerge and may lead to a synoptic table of the subtle distinctions of ontological, epistemological, psychological, linguistic, and sociological qualities that are implicated in the (Jaina) description of Jaina non-tīrthas.

From the point of view of Jaina logic, the caturbhaṅgī scheme could be invoked, and the ontological state of a tīrtha be determined in terms of the standard list of four types of existential quantifiers:

1. Existence
2. Non-existence
3. Both existence and non-existence
4. Neither existence nor non-existence

By calamity of nature or acts of human beings, sacred sites can be disassembled into fragments and those re-used or dispersed. To be more precise about this aspect of the term a-tīrtha, with a privative a-, recourse could be taken for instance to the temporalized categories of non-existence (a-bhāva), distinguished in Hindu Nyāya philosophy, which could again be combined with caturbhaṅgī categories:[38]

1. Prior non-existence (of a future effect)
2. Posterior non-existence (of a past cause)
3. Reciprocal non-existence (of two different entities)
4. Absolute non-existence (of an entity in past, present, future)

The crux of the discussion of the analytical potential of the concept of non-tīrtha in the sense of atopia is that it enables us to turn away from the lamentation of the lost past, a professional habit of archaeologists and historians, to the creative processes in the present, and study the ways in which the Jaina tradition is perpetually re-invented, re-appropriated, and reproduced, and what role imagined pasts and semi- or unconscious cultural habits play in these processes, at different junctures.[39]

Conflicting Values

Practices of (re-)appropriation involve variable processes of forgetting, remembering, repurposing, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, reuse,

38 Tarkasaṃgraha IX, in: ATHALYE 1918: 99: "Negation is of four kinds: Antecedent, Consequent, Absolute, and Reciprocal". See GLASENAPP 1948/1974: 249.

39 See also the equally non-dualistic rejection of the concept of utopia in LARUELLE's 1998/2013: 22; 1999; 2009 use of the negation "non-" as a de-individualizing signifier of "in-one-ness", that is, as a quasi-Hegelian predicate of the absolute.

recycling, displacement and transformation of cultural relics, and interpretations of their meaning. What is actually done with material and immaterial religious and cultural "heritage" ultimately depends on the purposes and values of present generations.[40] This argument was first developed by the art historian A. RIEGL (1903/1982) who in his work "The Modern Cult of Monuments" distinguished seven in a given case potentially conflicting subjective "value-perspectives" and corresponding aesthetic attitudes under which objects of cultural heritage can be and are currently perceived,[41] both "positive" or "negative", "secular" and "religious", and how they inform distinct heritage regimes.[42] In his view, in the modern world the main tension is between "commemoration value" (Erinnerungswert), particularly its "modern" variant of "age-value" (Alterswert), and "present-day value" (Gegenwartswert).

40 In his much cited article, HARVEY 2001: 8 defines "heritage" (German: das Erbe) broadly as "a contemporary product shaped from history". He presents this definition as concise, and compares it with Bourdieu's notion of "habitus": "This concise definition gets across the way that heritage is subjective and filtered with reference to the present, whenever that 'present' actually is." He argues that "heritage processes" are found everywhere and therefore pre-date the age of modern nationalism and capitalism. HARVEY's 2001: 7 "tradition"-oriented, quasi-catholic, approach is influenced by P. NORA's (1992) 1998: xvii-xviii concept "site of memory": "If the expression *lieu de mémoire* must have an official definition, it should be this: *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case, the French community). The narrow concept had emphasized the site: the goal was to exhume significant sites, to identify the most obvious and crucial centers of national memory, and then to reveal the existence of invisible bonds tying them all together. As revealing and sweeping as this approach was, however, it tended to create the impression that *lieux de mémoire* constituted a simple objective category. The broader conception required by the planning of *Les France* placed the accent instead on memory, on the discovery and exploration of latent or hidden aspects of national memory and its whole spectrum of sources, regardless of their nature." For a contextualisation of variant historical perspectives (which is in tune with Jaina attitudes to history), see the standard accounts of the modern notion of "heritage" in a more narrow sense of the "memory of the will" (Nietzsche, cited by ASSMANN 2000: 19) in relationship to historicism, nationalism, capitalism of LOWENTHAL 2015: 382ff., 415ff.; SWENSON 2013: 27-29. See also critiques of the opposition between "memory (which is lost, a thing of the past) and history (living, and dominating the present)" summarized by SENGUPTA 2009: 4ff.

41 RIEGL's perspectivism inspired MANNHEIM (1923) 2009/1953: 32/34f., 72-78/76-83, who however criticized the "one-sided" subjectivism and positivism of RIEGL's approach (p. 74 note 33/missing in the English edition). On the intellectual roots of RIEGL's subjective theory of value, see HAYES 2019: 141.

42 On the history of this recent term, see GEISMAR 2015.

A. Commemorative value
   a. Unintentional age-value: fragmented, achromatic, ugly - attrition, preservation[43]
   b. Unintentional historical value: original style - conservation, copy, purification, excavation, simulation
   c. Intentional commemorative value: restoration

B. Present-day value
   a. Use-value, practical use-value: physical well-being - renewal, replacement, destruction
   b. Art-value, aesthetic use-value:
      i. Newness-value:[44] unity of style, completeness, polychromy - new construction, restoration, destruction
      ii. Relative art-value: the new in the old - preservation, restoration, destruction, new construction in modern style

The hypothetical historical development modelled by the typology is based on the observation of an "increasing generalisation of the concept of the monument", culminating in the notions of "age-value" and "relative art-value" (p. 10): A.c->A.b->A.a and B.a->B.b.[45] The perspective of unintentional commemorative value, especially of history value, is the historian's, who seeks to reconstruct the original state of an individual monument and to assess the significance of a particular artefact or moment for a general development. From this perspective the unmodified conservation of the surviving relic is imperative, because the original context can only be imagined by reflection on the putative functions of its unique qualities (pp. 16-19, 28).

A dimension that is missing and should be added to RIEGL's typology of value-relations is the "exchange-value" of an object as property, the aspect that dominates in the art market.[46] He also did not distinguish "religious value"

43 Or: "developmental-value (Entwicklungswert)". As such, age-value implies practical uselessness. See RIEGL 1903: 44.

44 Or: "elementary-value (Elementarwert)" (*ibid*.).

45 RIEGL's evolutionary sketch of the history of the culture of monuments in Europe was merely intended to demonstrate the almost unprecedented nature of the modern appreciation of "age-value", paradigmatically by J. RUSKIN 1849.

46 See LUKÁCS (1919-1923; 1967) 1971: 153ff.; WESTERMAN 2018. LUKÁCS's reading of RIEGL's theory of the intersubjectively shared "will to art" (Kunstwollen), and "art-value", influenced K. MANNHEIM's (1923) 2009/1953: 54f./5ff., 72-78/76-83 notion of "documentary meaning" (Dokumentensinn), which designates the stance from which objects are interpreted as homologous "objectivations of culture" rather than as unequivocal

as a separate category. Yet, he highlights that "profane" and "ecclesiastical" modes of "artistic values" of monuments need to be distinguished in all cases.[47] W. BENJAMIN (1936/1963: 16) later coined the term "cult value" for what he termed the "original use value" of the "authentic" work of art which he contrasted with the "exhibition value" of the modern art market,[48] replacing RIEGL's subtle classification with a single opposition (p. 18).[49]

RIEGL (1903/1982: 17/29) was not interested in the then fashionable sociological theories of social differentiation or levels of culture. His government-commissioned work was primarily intervening in the contemporary debate between proponents of restoration and reinvention of cultural heritage and proponents of preservation of archaeological age-value.[50] According to him, the main value-conflict fuelling the debate was between age-value and newness-value, between the aesthetics of natural decay and of cultural renewal: "The contradiction between newness-value and age-value is at the centre of the controversy which rages over the treatment of monuments"(p. 48/44):

> "Thus, if a monument which carries the traces of decay is to appeal to the modern *Kunstwollen*, it must be restored in form and color to appear like

expressions of subjective intentionality, a perspective which also resonates with RIEGL's notion of "historical value" (note that the passage on LUKÁCS is missing in the English edition of 1953).

47 RIEGL 1903: 41.

48 DAVIS 1999: 6 adopted the terminology in arguing that in British India "the Indian villagers accent the 'cult value' of the icon, while the British officials esteem the statue for its 'exhibition value'". Yet, PELEGGI 2012: 60f. held against BENJAMIN's theory that reproducibility was an important trope and indicator of "miraculous" power of images already in pre-modern (Buddhist) religious contexts, where both "authentic" and "replica" objects were considered to be endowed with an "aura" (through the prāṇa-pratiṣṭha ceremony).

49 RIEGL's work was only translated into English in 1982 in a hard to access journal. It is therefore not surprising that it had only a belated impact on authors such as CHOAY 1992/2001, GLENDINNING 2013, SWENSON 2013, LOWENTHAL 2015.

50 PLEVOETS & VAN CLEEMPOEL 2012 (n.p.): "On the one hand, the supporters of the restoration movement, inspired by Viollet-Le-Duc, rested essentially on the amalgamation of newness-value (unity of style) and historic value (originality of style), aiming to remove all traces of natural decay and restore every fragment to create a historic entity. On the other hand, supporters of the conservation movement, led by Ruskin and Morris, appreciated monuments exclusively for their age-value. For them, the incompleteness of an artefact should be preserved as traces of natural decay that testify to the fact that a monument was not created recently but at some point in the past". See also PELEGGI 2012: 62; GLENDINNING 2013; HAYES 2019: 133.

> something newly created. Newness-value can be preserved only at the expense of the cult of age-value" (p. 46/42).[51]

The contrast was not framed as a conflict between "the ancients" and "the moderns", because for RIEGL from the perspective of "intentional commemorative value", which is transitional to the perspective of "present-day value", interest in the renewal of cultural heritage was eternal,[52] across cultures:[53]

> "As long as mankind does not renounce earthly immortality, the cult of age-value will always oppose that of intentional commemoration. This irreconcilable conflict presents fewer difficulties for the preservation of monuments than one might initially expect, because the number of intentional monuments is relatively small compared to the vast number of unintentional ones" (p. 39/38).[54]

Interestingly enough, for RIEGL (1903: 18f., 63), religious value is and was always present-day value, in contrast to the cult of national monuments, which was related to intentional-commemorative value.[55] If a religious practice involves references to past events, their value for the living religious sentiment alone counts, which for the religious sentiment is timeless.[56]

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51 GLENDINNING 2013: 193 asked: "might not a copy sometimes be better at evoking Alterswert than the repaired original?" But RIEGL allocated this function to "history-value".

52 TREINER 1973: 337 similarly argued that, "ohne Störung des symbolischen Bereichs ein Ersatz von Originalen mit symbolischer Bedeutung durch Reproduktion oder Neuschöpfung die Regel darstellt".

53 Note that RIEGL clearly distinguished between "history" and "heritage". So do NORA (1992) 1998 and LOWENTHAL 1968/1998: 15: "The distinction is vital. History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with the present purposes". The alternative view, that the distinction is illusory since all perspectives on history are rooted in the present, is defended by HARVEY 2001: 7, SENGUPTA 2009: 4ff. and others. The nuances are often lost in decontextualized debates about conceptual oppositions.

54 PELEGGI 2012: 62; 2021: 2 coined the term "devotional conservation" for what he considers to be an aspect of "premodern conservation".

55 GLENDINNING's 2013: 142 identification of a "gap in Riegl's value-system", namely "any explicit reference to monuments' political-ideological significance" does not do RIEGL justice, who indicated clearly enough that for him national monuments are but one variation of intentional-commemorative value. On the cult of ruins in a Buddhist political context, see PELEGGI 2002: 4.

56 RIEGL 1903/1982: 18f./29: "We encounter well-documented instances of old artworks being piously preserved even during antiquity, but we cannot assume that these are symptomatic of a cult of unintentional monuments. Instead, they indicate that religious beliefs, in their vitality, possess not a commemorative (monument) vale but rather a contemporary one. The cult was devoted not to the man-made object itself but to the deity temporarily occupying a perishable form. Because of the apparent timelessness of

This theory[57] would explain why Jainas had little interest in the preservation of historical relics or objects of religious art, and, in service of lived religion, seemed to prefer re-constructing their religious sites anew to repair and preservation. Temple structures as such and material objects are considered to be of no intrinsic value, and are regularly renovated, taken down, and newly erected, without much consideration of their historical significance.[58] Only Jina-images are invariably preserved,[59] unless they are damaged,[60] since damaged images are believed to have lost their energy, bestowed through rites of consecration and perpetual veneration, and, interestingly, very old images.[61] The official doctrinal reason is however that only the symbolic value of the images is significant, not their material or aesthetic value.[62]

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contemporary values, an ancient statue of a deity, for example, could simply be taken as an unintentional monument, were it not lacking the one decisive characteristic: the perpetuation of a specific moment, be it of an individual deed or an individual fate".

57 A similar idea was generalized in the work of Rudolf OTTO and in M. ELIADE's 1949 perennialist conception of religion.

58 An example for the conflict between history-value and newness-value can be observed at the Śāntinātha Mandira in "Jainagaḍha" Bajaraṅgagaṛha (Bajṛaṅgaḍha, ancient Jharkoṃ), near Gunā, a Digambara Jaina atiśaya-kṣetra, which existed from at least VS 1236 (PATIL 1952: 11), when Seṭha Pāṛā Śāha consecrated images of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Arahanātha (B. JAINA 1976: 78-84). The old temple was demolished in 2019/20, and a new construction put in its place. In the process, the wonderful old murals described by UPADHYAYA 2017 were simply destroyed. Only the mūla-nāyakas were preserved. For similar cases in Karnataka, see HEGEWALD 2014: 328. See *infra*. What for the art historian appears as "pious vandalism" (Jean-Philipe VOGEL 1912, in BRANFOOT 2013: 37) is for the devotee a revitalisation of tradition.

59 There is no official relic cult. See FLÜGEL 2010.

60 HEGEWALD 2020: 616; cf. 2009: 150f., 166: "Typical of a Jaina context is, and this is unusual of religious structures constructed by other religious groups in India, that old temple buildings are often completely demolished and entirely replaced. The *mūla-nāyaka* of such temples is temporarily transferred to another Jaina temple or to a provisional structure often raised simply for this intermediary period."

61 SHAH 1975: 471f. summarizes the prescriptions of Āśādhara, who in his Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra determines that "[d]efective images, images which are broken and repaired or those which have been highly worn out are not to be installed", and of the Ācāra-dinakara II, p. 142, vv. 27, 13-27, which states: "Images cast in metal or stucco images deserve to be repaired and continued in worship, but those of wood or stone, once mutilated, should not be repaired for worship. But if they are more than a hundred years old or if they are consecrated by the best of men they deserve worship, even though mutilated. But they should be placed in public shrines and not in gṛha-caityas". Contrary to Jaina metaphysics, image-venerating Jainas believe in the "real presence" of the Jina in undamaged, properly consecrated images. See GRANOFF 1991: 196f.; CORT 2010: 63.

62 See FLÜGEL 1994-95: 163 on the contribution of the dualist Jaina doctrine "to a relative de-substantialisation of popular preconceptions".

Awareness of Transience

The matter was of course not that simple, because, as RIEGL (1903: 54-56) acknowledged, combinations of value perspectives are evident in religious and other spheres as well. Archaeological age-value is also not the only "cult of transience", as initially claimed (p. 63). The focus on the transience of individual existence is central in Jaina philosophy and culture, though as a negative value it plays a different role than in the 19th-century and post-19th-century European enthusiasm for the preservation of decaying ruins and the natural world. Heightened awareness of the impermanence of the body and of material objects in general is cultivated through Jaina ascetic practices, intent on excavating the essential self though the deliberate acceleration of the attrition of the body. On the level of cosmological speculation, the Jaina tradition envisaged cycles of its own periodic decay and regeneration.[63] The impermanence of material entities is contrasted with the concept of the immortal soul and used as evidence for the eternal operation of postulated universal cosmological laws.

The Jainas draw attention to the finite nature of the individual and religious cultures only to heighten awareness of the intransience of the fundamental substances of the universe, especially the soul, and of the eternal law of karman. This perspective is both similar and different to RIEGL's (pp. 23-27) theory of "age-value". According to RIEGL, the modern proponents of "age-value" derive aesthetic pleasure from the apperception of the universality of the natural law of entropy. RIEGL refers to it as the "eternal cycle of coming-into-being and passing" that dissolves all human-made solids and hence liberates the individual even from its individuality (held up by the Jaina metaphysics of the soul), if only in "subjective sentiment", and not from the "social organism" of which it is part (pp. 17, 24). The notion of objective "cycles" of nature and the concept of a perceiving "subjectivity" remain metaphysical postulates in both Jaina and RIEGL's conceptions.[64] The difference is that Jaina dualists have no interest in transient states as such, while RIEGL uses the term "eternal cycle" merely as a metaphor for the law of irreversible temporality, which allows him to historicize the "sense of self" as well.

63 SCHUBRING 1926.

64 Likely, RIEGL was here also influenced by NIETZSCHE's "Indic" notion of "the eternal return". Cf. HAYES 2019: 137.

Preservation and Renewal

In British India the tension between proponents of preservation and restoration of historical monuments found its definitive expression in J. MARSHALL's (1923: 10) *Conservation Manual: A Handbook for the Use of Archaeological Officers and Others Entrusted with the Care of Ancient Monuments*.[65] The code of instructions for colonial archaeological officers on recommended methods of implementation of the Indian Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 was intent on striking a balance between the scientific interest of archaeology in the preservation of "dead monuments" and the interest of religious communities and other interests in the restoration and renewal of "living monuments". To avoid conflict, MARSHALL gave precedence to religious concerns:[66]

> "Archaeological Officers must be careful not to put forward any proposals which are not strictly in accord with the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Act, or which might offend the religious susceptibilities of the individuals or communities to whom an ancient monument belongs" (p. 7).

The conflicting value perspectives that needed to be considered and negotiated are expressly mentioned in paragraphs 24 to 27. The text is worth citing at length to demonstrate how the sensibilities of European science, historiography and the cultural politics and jargon of "authenticity" were imposed on the Indian subcontinent at the time:

> "24. As regards to the selection of monuments for conservation, it is difficult, if not impossible, to lay down any comprehensive principles which can be applied to each and every case. First, there are the individual merits of the monuments to be weighted; its historical importance; its architectural value; or any features which it may possess of peculiar interest for the social, religious or artistic history of the country. Then, its comparative merits in relation to other monuments in its immediate vicinity must be taken into account; for, in some localities, were there is a dearth of first class monuments, it may well be worth conserving a second rate building, which elsewhere would be allowed to fall to ruin. A variety of particular considerations of this kind defy the application of principles broad enough to embrace them all.
> 25. Archaeological, Public Works, or other officers charged with the execution of the conservation work should never forget that the reparation of any remnant of ancient architecture, however humble, is a work to be entered upon with

65 See also MARSHALL 1906.

66 RIEGL 1903: 63 also defended the principle of "self-determination" for the churches as far as it does not collide with the "vital cultural interests of the general public".

> totally different feelings from a new work or from the repairs of a modern building. Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their *historical value is gone when their authenticity is destroyed*, and that our first duty is not to renew them but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself. Broken or half decayed original work is of infinitely more value than the smartest and most perfect new work.
> 26. In the case of 'living' monuments (by which is meant those monuments which are still in use for the purpose for which they were originally designed) it is sometimes necessary to restore them to a greater extent than would be desirable on purely archaeological grounds. In every such case the Archaeological Officer responsible for the restoration should state clearly in his conservation note on the monument as well as in his Annual report the reasons which have compelled him to depart from the principles usually followed by the Archaeological Department.
> 27. It is the policy of Government to abstain as far as possible from any interference with the management of repair of religious buildings. But if such buildings are of exceptional archaeological interest, and if the endowments attached to them are insufficient for their upkeep, the offer of expert advice and guidance or even of financial assistance may be made by Government to the owners or trustees, on condition that the repairs are carried out on lines approved by the Archaeological Department. As a general rule, however, the Archaeological Department will not make itself responsible for the upkeep of monuments (other than those already on its books) which are used for religious observances, nor should any such monuments be declared protected under the Ancient Monuments Act, except by the express desire of the owners or trustees" (pp. 9-11, emphasis added).

MARSHALL did not, like RIEGL, distinguish between "age-value" and "history-value". For him, the main tension was between the "purely" historical interest of colonial science and the practical interest of lived religion in the continuation and renewal of "ancient tradition" as understood in the present, through a variety of methods, including intentional commemoration and religious art, not with "objectified" ancient history. SENGUPTA (2013a: 32) demonstrated that MARSHALL showed flexibility in the application of his preservation policy only with regard to the restoration of the relics of the Mughal empire, to present the "British as guardians of India's past", and thereby to legitimize and fortify colonial rule. That the archaeologicisation of "Indian" national culture informed by a narrative of degeneration and decline was at the same time a

tool of symbolic disempowerment was clearly felt by proponents of the national independence movement intent on taking advantage of the present-day potential of self-heritageisation as a political resource.[67]

While the heritage discourse continues to expand in post-colonial India, it has been noted by H.P. RAY (2019: 24 note 6) that the actual number of heritage sites preserved by the ASI and the Indian states "indicate only a miniscule protection for India's rich heritage". This fact points to the crucial role of local and national community activism for the preservation of the material heritage of India, whose active sites are not merely regarded as sites of heritage by participants, but as sites of spiritual power.[68] As the minutiae of colonial discourses fade into memory, except for aspects still virulent in the present day, the not so new struggle for the spiritual heritage of India vis-à-vis the global forces of materialism and commerce is coming to the fore, framed by concepts such as common human, national and communal heritage.[69]

Jaina Heritage

Only within this broader historical context, the peculiar nature of the modern Jaina "heritage temple" comes into view, an architectural structure and institutional format of religious self-presentation that combines the historicism of RIEGL's "commemorative value" and the Jaina "ancientness-value" of preserved heritage objects with the perennialism of lived religion, and, sometimes, the presentism of modern art. Heritage temples were (re-) constructed only during a short period of Jaina history, broadly between the late 19th century and the mid-20th century CE. The champions of the modern Jaina heritage temple were not really interested in the universal historical value or in the age-value of particular cultural relics. Their interest in preserving and restoring heritage objects was informed by the perspective of "intentional commemorative value", represented by the structure of the heritage temple as such, which, in RIEGL's terms, borders on "present-day value", and hence exhibits characteristic contradictions and tensions.

Jaina heritage temples were (re-)constructed for the preservation, display and veneration of damaged and/or restored images that were collected from

67 The European conception of "cultural heritage" was officially adopted by the Indian independence movement with the publication of CHATTERJEE, DUTT, PUSALKER & BOSE 1937. See also SENGUPTA 2013b.

68 Cf. RAY 2012: 69.

69 Cf. APPIAH 2007; MERRYMAN 1986; GEISMAR 2015.

ruined sites. Many heritage temples feature "sculpture sheds"[70] or "temple assemblages". These can be quite sizable, and are mostly, but not always,[71] located within the confines of the temple site itself. Sometimes, these collections are developed into "temple museums", mainly for the benefit of modern urbanite pilgrims and tourists. Images that are damaged and hence devoid of "religious value" are exhibited as objects of "historical value", as HEGEWALD (2009: 43) pointed out:

> "It is not entirely clear why some of the rediscovered images are not reinstated as *mūla-nāyaka*, and often only continue to play a subordinate role in the temples. Possibly, because of years of neglect and burial below ground, the images are considered to have lost some of their potency, or because newly constructed temple structures have been provided with new icons, the mages are kept outside the main temple. Although some of these excavated images are not again provided with a central role in the temple ritual, they play an important part in the historical conscience [*sic*] of the local Jaina community. Desecrated former central ritual images, but also vandalised sculptures which adorned the outer temple walls of Jaina structures, have regularly been placed outside Jaina temples which are again in ritual use. These are employed as symbols of Jaina victory and survival over hostile external threats".[72]

Broken vestiges of a lost past reminding the onlooker of the former splendour and importance of the Jaina tradition, also served as an incitement for a revival of the Jaina tradition, whose monuments were mostly in ruins at the end of the 19th century, when the Jaina heritage temple became popular.[73]

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70 WILLIS 1996a: 4; SINGH 1997: 87; RAJPUT 2015: 72.

71 GARDE 1934: 106 wrote that of the former Hindu and Jaina temples of Narwar between Gwalior and Shivpuri "nothing survives except one or two solitary traces of shrines near the Hawapaur gate of the fort and a collection of over a hundred statues of Jaina *Tirthamkaras* huddled up in an underground cellar of the town".

72 HEGEWALD 2009: 43 associates the decay of many Jaina temples and images mainly with Islamic iconoclasm: "Especially during the period of Islamic incursions in north and central India, the *mūla-nāyaka*s of many Jaina temples were secretly buried in the ground, often below or in close vicinity of the temples." The assumption seems to be here that the manner of destruction of images by decapitation might explain why not all images are restored, though there may be many, also aesthetic, reasons: "Noteworthy is that many such rediscovered images are later only stored in side-chapels or the closed halls of temples" (*ibid.*). For a twentieth-century example of a new temple created for housing medieval sculpture in Karnataka, the Śaneśvara Svāmī Digambara Jaina Basti in Mysore, see HEGEWALD 2014: 327f.

73 PELEGGI 2002: 4 cites P. BURKE 1969, who argued that in Europe at the time of the Renaissance "the monuments of antiquity were first valued as proof of cultural continuity".

The question is why, when and how historical interest entered Jaina religious culture in the form of the institution of the heritage temple? And why this cultural formation became particularly prominent in contemporary Madhyadeśa in the period before Indian independence?

P. GRANOFF (1991: 191) found already in late medieval 14th to 15th-century Jaina narratives that managed to turn the devastating experience of the destruction of images at the hands of Muslim iconoclasts into something positive, both through the lens of universal historical and cosmological speculation, and through the device of the miracle story. Jaina texts, such as the Vividhatīrthakalpa "propose a general theory for the destruction of the images, namely the declining times and with it the decline in watchfulness of the minor deities whose duty it was to take care of the images of the Tīrthaṃkaras. But beyond this, through the medium of miracle stories, these Jain texts restore the wholeness of their broken images and reassert the continuing strength of the Jain faith" (p. 190): "Images broken could be miraculously restored, offering an occasion for all to behold the wondrous power of the Jain deities" (p. 196). In terms of RIEGL's scheme, such a perspective is informed by "universal historical value" rather than by "age value".[74] The Śvetāmbara JINAPRABHA's 14th-century Vividhatīrthakalpa 29 gives a perfectly good reason for preserving images broken by (Muslim) iconoclasts in a story about gods instructing Jainas on what to do with damaged images:

> "[T]he Gods whose task it is to guard the images of the Tīrthaṃkaras, came to them and instructed them, 'Gather together all the pieces of this image and put them in the innermost chamber of the temple. Shut the door tight and lock it. Wait a full six months. At the end of that period of time, open the door and you will see that the image will be in perfect condition, intact, with all of its limbs'" (tr. GRANOFF 1991: 197).

Whether or not it was and still is widely believed that some broken images could miraculously heal themselves, the narrative offers a plausible metaphor for alternative sociological explanations of the potentially inspiring function

ELSNER 2003: 210 generalizes: "The preserved material object, in its own material being, signals both its predamaged state [...] and its new or altered state. In part, the meaning of the 'new' monument is defined by its difference from (that is, by the changes made to) the 'old' monument".

74 On the embeddedness of Jaina universal history in cosmological history, see FLÜGEL 2019: 118ff. See GRANOFF 1991: 189 note 1 on H. KULKE's 1979: 110f. theory that perennialist non-purāṇic Hindu historiographies, rooted in the idea of "eternal divine presence" at sacred sites, were created in reaction to Muslim iconoclasm.

of historical relics as symbols of continuity for the revitalisation of ruptured Jaina traditions after periods of decline and discontinuity in the transmission of tradition.[75] At least for the context of East-Asian Buddhism, the perceived merit of repairing or restoring stūpas or images, with plaster and whitewash, is well documented.[76]

It is difficult to say to what extent broken images were preserved in centuries past. Evidently, many images had been buried underground for safeguarding in times of political insecurity and are periodically resurfacing and rediscovered. Yet, there seem to be no extant examples of systematic collections of damaged Jina images prior to the 19th century,[77] when archaeologists began to record and assemble the material heritage of India. It is therefore likely that Jaina practices of re-assembling scattered relics of a vanished tradition, undertaken besides standard renovations (jīrṇoddhāra)[78] and reconstructions of religious sites,[79] were triggered by the appropriation of Jaina sites and religious objects by the 1861 founded Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), by public museums and by the international art market, which were increasingly seen as competitors in a struggle for control over the Jaina heritage.[80] The fact that in the 20th century Jainas developed an unprecedented interest in the preservation of broken Jina images, if rarely in the preservation of ruined sites, can, I would argue, be understood in terms of the dynamics of mimetic desire between Jainas and external agents and within the Jaina tradition.

The interest of various parties in the historical value and hence also property value of archaeological sites and damaged cultural fragments is one

75 Cf. SHILS 1971: 130, 133.

76 PELEGGI 2012: 55, 62 with reference to inscriptions translated by PRASERT and GRISWOLD: "In South and Southeast Asia dilapidated images and stupas were frequently left to ruin in accordance with both the belief in impermanence and the Brahmanical precept about physical integrity as necessary condition for the icon's effectiveness (DAVIS 1997: 252-253). Still, the fourteenth-century Thai inscription quoted at the beginning of the chapter attests to the sentiment of pietas for broken images that moved people to repair them".

77 CUNNINGHAM in his reports noted "unusual" collections of images from distant places at religious sites not yet touched by colonial archaeology. See BEGLAR & CUNNINGHAM 1878; CUNNINGHAM 1879; 1880; KULSHRESHTHA 2017: 300.

78 See BRANFOOT 2013 on renovation as an ongoing process.

79 E.g. Golākoṭa.

80 To an extent academics were also perceived as competitors since their analytical perspectives tend to be at variance with the performance-oriented points of view of participants. Their contributions were appreciated, because their academic interest bestowed added value on the Jaina heritage.

factor explaining the emergence of the Jaina heritage temple in 20th-century India. Competing claims of ownership to the land including the area surrounding ruined or rediscovered sites[81] is another.[82]

Another consideration that might explain the unusually high concentration of heritage temples in Madhyadeśa is the long-term economic outmigration of large segments of the local Jaina population leading to the abandonment and decay of the many Jaina temples that existed particularly in the north-western part of Madhyadeśa,[83] bearing witness to the former flourishing of local Jaina culture.[84] Characteristically, many modern heritage temples were constructed and are administered by charitable trusts controlled by individuals residing outside the region.[85] For them, heritage temples may have been a convenient way of preserving cultural fragments assembled from surrounding terrains under community control.[86] For the revitalisation of selected sites

81 MARSHALL 1923: 1 defined an "ancient monument" as follows: "'Ancient monument' means any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock-sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest, or any remains thereof, and includes – (a) The site of an ancient monument; (b) Such portion of land adjoining the site of an ancient monument as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such monument; and (c) The means of access to and convenient inspection of an ancient monument".

82 HEGEWALD 2009: 44f.: "In many instances the temple constructions above ground were entirely destroyed, collapsed on top of the buried images and over the centuries were lost and forgotten. Consequently, the discovery of concealed imaged in the earth frequently leads to fierce battles about the rightful ownership of the land as Jainas take the presence of buried images as an indisputable sign of the former presence of a Jaina temple and of Jaina legal possession of the land. [...] Disputes about the rights to sacred land do, however, not only cause problems between Jainas and other religious groups. Also the different sects of Jainism compete for the control of temples and entire pilgrimage centres, leading frequently to sectarian conflict."

83 See the map in K.C. JAIN 1997: 631.

84 Desecration of images often occurred after temple sites were abandoned by Jainas, who often buried their immobile images underground. It may well be that, despite the many reports to the contrary in Jaina historiography, only few Jaina temples were systematically desecrated and destroyed under Muslim rule, as was suggested by BRANFOOT 2013: 24 with reference to Hindu temples: "Invading armies seemed very rarely, if ever, to have targetted the structure of the temple, but their presence put pressure on the local populace that resulted in the neglect of the temple and caused its gradual deterioration." This question requires further research.

85 E.g. Golākoṭa.

86 More archival research is needed to discern the historical motivations of the principal agents.

under the auspices of the community, reconstruction of temples, restoration of central images and revival of regular practices of image-veneration through paid pujārīs was also required. Under The Ancient Monument Preservation Act of 1904 (as modified upto 1st September 1949) (TAMPA), it was imperative to provide evidence for at least periodic religious activity to the Indian Government to retain legal control over a religious site. Otherwise, the land was in danger of being taken over by the state.[87] Using old images may have also been considered cheaper than installing new images at the time.[88]

Political factors may also have played a role. If the case of Devagaṛha is typical in any way, then the process of heritage temple construction started in earnest during the Indian independence struggle, at a time when the projection of Indian cultural heritage was strategically used as a means of nation and community building.[89] The interest in the religious value of abandoned sites could also be revived, because of a renewed confidence in the safe projection of Jaina religiosity in the public sphere.[90]

Reassembling Fragmented Heritage

Why did the construction of heritage temples more of less stop in the post-independence period? Have the motivations changed? More archival research

87 TAMPA 1904 & 1949: Paragraph 10.2: "The powers of compulsory purchase conferred by sub-section (1) shall not be exercised in the case of - (a) any monument which or any part of which is periodically used for religious observances".

88 Personal information Sanjeev Sogani, 13.11.2021.

89 BRUHN 1969: 55f.; 1998: 104 sketches the general developmental sequence at the Jaina site of Deogarh: "The *Imperial Gazetteer* records that 'Jains occasionally still worship there'. After 1930, when the Jaina temples were placed under the jurisdiction of the local Jaina committee, modern restoration work started. In the beginning, the emphasis was on preservation, circumspect reconstruction, and general maintenance of the temple group. There were hardly any changes made in the archaeological substance, although the constriction of the Great Wall implied that the statues were set in mortar. This wall was built in those days in order to accommodate the majority of the vast number of sculptures lying in the Jaina compound in the open air. When all the absolute necessary work had been completed, new activities started (in the sixties), and the idea of preservation ceased to be the sole consideration. The place had to be made attractive for pilgrims and other visitors alike. Besides, protective measurements became necessary. In 1959, art robbers had looted the temples, cutting off and pocketing the heads of many Jina figures."

90 For the general trends in 19th and 20th-century South Asia, see GUHA-THAKURTA 2004, especially chapter 2, originally published as "The Museumised Relic: Archaeology and the First Museum of Colonial India", and chapter 6, originally published under the title "Instituting the Nation in Art".

is needed to establish firm answers to these questions. Another way to find out is pursued by the following documentation of the material evidence indicative of the ways in which the Digambara Jainas in Madhyadeśa tried to rescue and revive their lost or fragmented material religious heritage. The chosen method is to describe the practices of collection and memorialisation as closely as possible, based on a sample of case studies that were undertaken in 2018-19 and recorded in **Appendix I-II**, and to query or infer the motives of the agents involved and their particular attitudes toward the past expressed in their actions.[91]

M. MEISTER (1975: 223) remarked that "most temples" in the region have been "ruined, rebuilt, and ruined again, leaving little besides stray images for the historian to study". The practical issues faced by art historians and concerned members of the Jaina community alike in view of the abysmal state of the scattered Jaina heritage in Madhyadeśa[92] were addressed by BRUHN (1977: 387f.), who pleaded with the Jaina community to join forces with historians in a combined effort of heritage preservation:

> "Scattered Jaina images (mainly Jina-images) are found all over Madhya Deśa. They could be brought to safer places. However, such modern migrations of mūrtis already involve a certain loss: the piece is separated from its original local context. Clusters of mūrtis which belong together may be separated, while pieces of different provenance are placed side by side in the museums. It would be possible to keep records of the find-spots, but only very accurate notes could permit a full reconstruction of the artistic heritage of a particular site. Small museums on the spot and adequate measures to safeguard the temples and their mūrtis are more satisfactory from the point of view of the art-historian, but the

91 Cf. KANSTEINER 2002: 192: "It is one objective to write the intellectual history of the coming into being of a number of cultural artifacts which share certain characteristics (topic, author, place, time). It is an altogether different endeavor to tie these representations to specific social groups and their understanding of the past. The second step entails knowledge about reception processes which is beyond the conventional purview of historical know-how; it is also objectively very difficult to establish".

92 E.g. BRUHN 1977: 388: "BHAGWANPUR: [...] 26 images of Tīrthaṅkaras [...] lying in shrine"; "DEOPUR: [...] A number of broken images of Tīrthaṅkaras"; "KALYĀNPUR: [...] two dozen mutilated mages of these Tīrthaṅkaras [...] lying upside down are seen scattered on the site". Also SINGH 1997: 79: "The buildings in course of time had disappeared leaving only stray remains; so the still standing temples for the Jina are somewhat rare to meet while loose images abound in number"; "[w]hile extant buildings in this vast province are rare to meet with, the images are found scattered all over the region. In Central India, these begin to appear from the fifth century".

technical difficulties are obvious. Thus the type of measurement to be taken in each case depends on the specific situation. Complete photographic surveys of movable sculptures are carried out in some European countries to discourage art-thieves; a known piece is sold with difficulty."

BRUHN's statement can be read as testimony of a key witness commenting on the accelerated transformation of Jaina historical sites after Indian independence. It also shows the ways in which historians appealed to a shared cause vis-à-vis the combined threats of natural degeneration, desecration, art-robbery, and economic development. The statement intended to inspire Jaina community leaders to appreciate the "age-value", "historical value" and the "art-value" of the Jaina material heritage, and to collaborate with art-historians, in the process becoming art-historians of kinds themselves, in a concerted effort of preserving the scattered remains of a lost heritage and enabling the possible reconstruction of the "original" state of a site.[93]

More evidence of this kind is required to trace the ways in which the historicist trend developed within the Jaina tradition and shaped modern Jaina heritage-art and architecture. Notable is that heritage temples are being replaced by museums, while new museum-style heritage temple architecture is at the same time increasingly being replaced by new temple architecture, presenting cosmological and mythological designs.[94]

Types of Sites, Types of Collecting, Types of Collections

The focus of the following investigations is on practices of appropriation and collection of fragments of the Jaina material heritage. It is well-known that the development of Jaina sacred sites is in stages.[95] But the stages of processes of decline and eventual redevelopment are less well understood. At least ten types of collecting practices must be distinguished to account for the assembled data on Jaina non-tīrthas in Madhyadeśa, observed at different stages of

93 Reconstruction based on re-used debris of temples is a new trend evident for instance at the site of Hindu temples in Thūban; see *infra*. See also HARDY 2015. The uses of alternative "non-invasive" digital models are discussed for instance in CAMERON & KENDERDINE 2007; HARRER 2017; PRIZEMAN, BRANFOOT, RAO & HARDY 2019.

94 See the variants documented by HEGEWALD 2009: 145, etc.

95 HEGEWALD 2009: 41: "The sites usually undergo a series of stages. At first they are recognised and identified as places of religious importance, they are officially validated and named, and consequently transformed into religious centres, which act as markers in Jaina cosmic geography and in the creation of a sense of territory for the followers of the religion."

neglect and redevelopment.[96] They involve distinct processes of reuse-disuse, assemblage-disassemblage, memorialisation-dememorialisation, museification-revitalisation, commodification-decommodification and modes of veneration-rejection (religious, aesthetic or economic).[97]

The following list presents the ten types in form of an ideal-typical logical-historical sequence, starting with the casual collection of objects found in the fields, followed by the demarcation of sites of archaeological value, the formation of private collections and public museums, and the construction of heritage temples.

I Types of Evidence

I. assemblages of fragments at roadsides or other unmarked open sites,
II. archaeological sites,[98]
III. archaeological sites re-appropriated and transformed for secular practices,[99]
IV. archaeological sites re-appropriated for religious practices,
V. private collections,[100]
VI. public museums,
VII. private museums,[101]

96 BELK 2006: 535, 541 contrasted "mere accumulations or clutter" and indiscriminate "hoarding" from "selective", "organizing, and controlling" "collections", which assemble "non-identical" "things removed from ordinary use", which thereby gain a somewhat "sacralized" decommoditized character. POMIAN's 1994: 123 typology of collections in Europe differentiates: treasuries, private collections, and public collections. The typology highlights the intrinsic link between treasuries and museums and centres of economic, religious and political power. POMIAN 2015/2019: 27 argues that a "history of collections seen from this perspective appears to be tantamount to the history of the tools of memorisation". The history of modern Indian collections, starting in Calcutta in 1814, is in parts different, as GUHA-THAKURTA 2004: 46 highlighted: "Tracing the genealogy of the museum in India does not lead back to any princely collection of the Native States, or to private colonial collections of relics and curiosities (although both existed in large numbers, and the latter, in particular, would filter into the museums once they appeared). The beginnings are to be found, instead, in the most prestigious organ of Western orientalist scholarship, in Sir William Jones's Asiatic Society, founded in Calcutta in 1784". The Jaina temple collections have not yet been studied.

97 One could also speak of "consumption". See MILLER 1987. But see BELK 2006: 534, 537.

98 Here only marked sites under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India are considered.

99 Such as academic study, tourism, art practice or combinations thereof.

100 Many museums in India also started with private collections, in this case of colonial administrators. See KULSHRESHTHA 2017: 39, etc.

101 Most renowned is the collection of Dr Siddharth K. Bhansali in New Orleans. See DEL BONTÀ 2021.

VIII. heritage temples,
IX. temple museums,
X. museum temples.

In practice, various combinations can be found. In **Appendix I** a classification of the features of more than 24 investigated (non-)sites listed in **Appendix II** is offered, arranged in terms of eight types of re-collection practice, inductively constructed through combination of distinctive attributes of temples and/or images such as damaged/undamaged, venerated/non-venerated, types of agency, degree and form of institutionalisation, and degrees of integration/differentiation of religion, art and history. The proposed classification uses four main categories: (non-)site, assemblage, temple, and museum, plus sub-types and mixed types.

(a) Assemblage

In the present context, the term "assemblage" does not designate an iconographic form principle.[102] The term "assemblage" is primarily used in the literal sense, referring to an unstructured "collection of things".[103] "Assemblage" in the art-historical sense, denoting "art that is made by assembling disparate elements – often everyday objects – scavenged by the artist or bought specially",[104] is in the following referred to as "collage" or "artistic assemblage", to distinguish "non-creative" or "unintentionally creative" from "intentionally creative" forms of assemblage.[105]

Two types of collages or artistic assemblages are differentiated: "profane" and "religious creations" of something new through re-use of prefabricated materials. Both practices are influenced by the spirit of historicism and hence

102 In contrast, for instance, to "assimilation" and "dissimilation" in the scheme of BRUHN 1969: 257f., referring to "cases where it is obvious that prototype and additional agent are virtually non-existent", where, in other words, "attributes have been distributed lavishly and without much regard being paid to a prototype".

103 Oxford English Dictionary.

104 SEITZ 1961: 6 defines assemblage or collage as follows: "Save for a few calculated examples, the physical characteristics that these collages, objects, and constructions have in common can be stated simply:
1. They are predominantly assembled rather than painted, drawn, modeled, or carved.
2. Entirely or in part, their constituent elements are preformed natural or manufactured materials, objects, or fragments not intended as art materials".

105 Cf. BRUHN's 1969: 499 distinction between "creative" and "non-creative" forms of "assimilation".

distinctly modern practices respectively aiming at a (re-)invention of something new or preserving something old in new form.[106]

A "collage" of disparate objects in a heritage temple, as surprisingly creative and unconstrained by stylistic conventions it may be, remains confined to the vocabulary and grammar of religious iconography, since the organizing principle of the artistic assemblage is its intended religious function. Art for art's sake appears to be less constrained in its range of interpretative possibilities, both on part of the artist and the audience, but also only within the confines of its own discursive field.[107]

The aesthetics of the age-value of decomposing structures and of unstructured assemblages is entirely subjective, RIEGL (1903) argued, and hence even less constrained than intentionally creative art. Subjective perception is, however, always culturally conditioned. The perception of temple ruins or unstructured assemblages of Jina images will evoke different sensations in a committed Jaina person than in an uncommitted person. Ways of seeing constantly change.[108] It was noted by SEITZ (1961: 10f.) that the early examples of European assemblage art from the 1910s to 1920s "seem conservative rather than radical by now". Looking at the "disassembled and perceptually deformed" new constellations of objects "one is struck almost as sharply by their connection with the past as by their modernism".

Archaeology, the modern art market and related criminal networks, and Jaina heritage projects all contribute to dis-assemblage, dispersal and selective re-assemblage of objects of perceived cultural significance, whose provenance and global trajectories now become new subjects of concern and as a consequence of interest for academic research.[109] The same can be said

106 SEITZ 1961: 6: "Just as the introduction of oil painting in fifteenth-century Flanders and Italy paralleled a new desire to reproduce the appearance of the visible world, collage and related modes of construction manifest a predisposition that is characteristically modern".

107 TREINER 1973: 347, implicitly referring to BOURDIEU (p. 351 note 1).

108 See LOWENTHAL 2015: 206ff., 386ff. on ways of perceiving the past through tangible relics.

109 On biographies of objects see KOPYTOFF 1986, of Hindu images (metaphorically) "animated as much by their own histories and by their varied interactions with different human communities" DAVIS 1999: 6ff., 13, and of Jina images GRANOFF 1991; HEGEWALD 2009: 42f. See STEVENSON 2019: 254 on the "object habits" of "collection cultures" and – echoing RIEGL – the conflicting value-judgements "made on art-historical and aesthetic grounds, rather than contextual ones": "Establishing archaeological value was a longer-

already about the pre-modern image-venerating Jaina traditions, whose portable images changed places frequently during periods of religious persecution and destruction of temples.[110]

Two types of unstructured assemblages are distinguished here: roadside assemblages and temple assemblages. The latter can be outdoor or indoor assemblages.[111]

(b) Heritage Temple

Here, only the "heritage temple" is of concern, defined above as "a purposely-maintained or built structure for the preservation of individual objects of religious art, received either from unknown or forgotten places or collected from known ruined sites, where at least the central images are (re-)consecrated and venerated, even if damaged". Important is that any temple can assume this combination of functions, which constitute the "heritage temple" as an intrinsically contradictory entity, that is both a tīrtha, qua religious function, and a non-tīrtha, qua repository of more or less damaged objects without history, which can be re-rooted by way of new consecration. It is pulled into two directions by the orientation to commemorative values and present-day-values.

Heritage temples can be further differentiated into old temples, including reconstructed or renovated old temples, and new temples. New temples include temples which (a) only host undamaged images from older temples that existed on the same location,[112] (b) include broken images from the same site,[113] (c) present images collected from a variety of sites of the area for veneration, sometimes next to new images. Two mixed cases concern old temples which (d) incorporate images from ruined sites for veneration and/or preservation, and hence acquire the characteristics of a heritage temple in

term, historically situated project, an ontological issue as to the status of objects in the politics of collections that was neither essential nor stable, but repeatedly constructed and deconstructed".

110 Cf. DAVIS 1999: 19 on the prevalence of portable images "fabricated primarily to serve as a processional icon" in Western museums.

111 KULSHRESHTHA 2017: 299 assumed that "tree shrines" were/are mainly transitory repositories for images due to be re-enshrined: "when images were taken away from one temple and before being installed at a new location they were kept under a tree. In many cases, these images started receiving homage under the tree and acquired a permanent residence there".

112 This seems to be the case in the older parts of the Ādinātha heritage temple of Golākoṭa for instance.

113 See for instance Bajaraṅgagaṛha (*infra*).

degrees[114] (a feature of most older temples), and (e) display images intended for veneration together with Jaina antiquities for preservation and decoration on the same temple wall, and hence do not draw clear distinctions between heritage temple and heritage assemblage, and between religion, history and art.

The differential use of collected images in heritage temples, for veneration or for decoration, or for safeguarding alone, and the iconographic arrangement as a whole can be investigated in greater detail. In nuce, the issue was already addressed by K. BRUHN (1969: 56) in his observations in Devagaṛha (Deogarh):

> "The vast majority of images, fixed or unfixed, are in no way connected with the architecture. They were donated individually and gradually filled the existing temples. As a consequence, the images contained in one and the same temple are often not uniform from the point of view of style. But as a rule there is a nucleus of related images which were in all probability consecrated at the same time as the temple itself. Others were donated subsequently, but images from demolished temples were normally left in the open air (and not shifted to other temples) even though the extant structures were in some cases almost empty."

Heritage temples can be recognized by their use of old materials and images that are fixed to the walls of new temple structures. Even broken images, considered not worthy of worship, are collected and used in religious practice.

(c) Museum

Modern collection practices of the Jainas have generated a number of new institutions. Most prominent is the import of the institution of the museum into Jaina culture. At least six forms of private or community-run Jaina museums can be distinguished, in addition to state collections of Jaina objects:

i. Temple museum
ii. Jaina museum
iii. Jaina art museum
iv. Museum temple
v. Memorial museum
vi. Virtual museum

Apart from the temple museum, which often is an upgraded version of an unstructured temple assemblage, all museum types are secular, that is, implicate

114 E.g. the old Digambara temple of Mahebā (*infra*).

no religious practices on site. "Jaina museums" and "Jaina art museums" are collections of historical relics related to local Jaina history which are not intended to be worshipped and are housed in separate buildings or sites, though occasionally within the confines of a temple complex.

All six museum types can be and usually are sect-specific in orientation. Increasingly, the collections on show are presented in a structured form, though rarely with sufficient background information. Like all museums, the collections suffer from the de-contextualized presentation of unconnected items of unknown or only broadly identified origin. The detachment of museified objects from religious functions calls for alternative functionally equivalent frames of reference to bestow the objects with new significance: religious history as an object of knowledge, cultural symbolism, source of legitimation and other meta-functions.[115]

Entirely new formats are the museum temple, created for marketable experiences,[116] and the virtual museum, at present merely webpages presenting photos of existing collections.[117] These webpages have the potential to re-assemble the scattered religious art of the Jain tradition, and to render possible their systematic study, and re-creation through virtual reality simulations.

Museum Temple

The term "museum temple" is an observer category. It was originally used to designate monumental secular museum architecture imitating the temples of

115 TREINER 1973: 339 argued that the replacement of traditional by scientific or other universalizing symbolic systems of reference is the precondition for practices of preservation of decontextualized individual objects, presupposing the "Ausdifferenzierung von Traditionsbewußtsein und seiner symbolisierten materiellen Korrelate". This does not preclude the association of "historical objects" or "art objects", that is, "expressive symbols", with the religious tradition in a general cultural sense: "Für historische Kunstobjekte mögen sich die ursprünglichen symbolischen Interpretationen geändert haben: dennoch gehören sie der Tradition an. Sie sind eingepasst in gegenwärtige gesellschaftliche Wertebereiche" (p. 346). Yet, the link to tradition is mediated by reflection and evaluation of the changed institutional frame: "die gesammelten Objekte können als Symbol eines spezifischen Sozialsystems nur über den Umweg der Reflexion und Bewertung des universellen Rahmens mit einem Bedürfnis in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. In der Bezogenheit des Objektes auf den universalen Rahmen ist die primäre Legitimierung seiner Erhaltung begründet" (p. 344).

116 Like state museums, Jaina museums increasingly charge entry fees. The marketing of heritage objects and sites for tourism as triggers for "experiential moments" was characterized by SWER 2019 as "authenticity 2.0".

117 On Jainism in the internet, see VEKEMANS 2019.

ancient Greece for the projection of cultural hegemony (such as the British Museum).[118] In recent decades, museums of religious communities are similarly used by different religions to retain and expand their cultural influence in a changing world. The architectural style of Jaina museum temples is modern, but often alludes to elements of traditional temple designs. The self-museification[119] of the Jaina tradition is an entirely new development.[120] One of the main motivations informing these expensive "secular" projects is to generate a sense of pride in the Jaina tradition amongst young Jains, and to retain community control over cultural assets vis-à-vis the competition of public and private museums mediated by the art market.

The typological distinction between heritage temple, temple museum and museum temple presented in this article is new.

II Types of Non-Tīrthas

An empirical typology of non-tīrthas must include non-sites, ruined sites and imagined sites, besides assemblages, heritage temples, and museum collections. A non-site is in the first place physically and mentally non-existent or as an atopia neither existent nor non-existent. A ruined site is physically identifiable, and hence can be called a "former tīrtha",[121] but has lost its religious significance and is in this sense a "non-tīrtha". According to the proposed terminology, ruined sites are thus both tīrthas and non-tīrthas, like, in a different sense, heritage temples, which are non-tīrthas, because they include collections of non-venerated images, or venerated broken images, that are usually disqualified from worship.

The following list is likely to become more differentiated in the light of future research:

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118 See HOCHREITER 1994.

119 Cf. ZACHARIAS 1990b.

120 Examples are the Jaina Saṃgrahālaya of the Digambara Jaina Mālavā Prāntika Sabhā in Ujjain inaugurated in 1944 (http://jainmuseum.in), the Jain Museum in Khajurāho inaugurated in 1987 (www.thrillophilia.com/attractions/jain-museum), and the Museum for Jain Heritage in Kobā (www.sjkarchitect.com/jain-museum). More ambitious examples of Jaina "museum temples" are the planned Museum for Jainism at Veerayatan (veekas.studio/portfolio/museum-for-jainism) and the Jain Museum near Pune which is currently under construction (Firodia Institute of Philosophy, History and Culture). Interestingly, the latter are projects of adherents of the non-image worshipping Jaina traditions. For a fairly complete list of museums in M.P. holding Jaina objects, see GHOSH ed. 1975, III: 577-594, and for collections elsewhere 534-576.

121 Cf. BRUHN 1958; 1959a; 1959b.

I. Non-Site
   i. Obliterated, forgotten, unknown
   ii. Undifferentiated, unclassifiable
II. Ruined Site
   i. Non-ASI Site
   ii. ASI Site
   iii. Revitalized Site: re-appropriated for image veneration
III. Imagined Site
   i. Recollected
   ii. Envisioned[122]
   iii. Planned
IV. Assemblage
   i. Roadside Assemblage: unmarked open air collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated and venerated[123]
   ii. Temple Assemblage: Collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated
V. Heritage Temple
   i. Old Temple, with added extraneous images
      a. Old images and heritage images for veneration
      b. Old and heritage images for veneration and images not intended for veneration
   ii. New Temple
      a. For old images of a demolished prior temple on site
      b. For damaged/repaired statues collected from the vicinity
      c. For new images and old images from various backgrounds
VI. Museum
   i. Temple Museum: Collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated
   ii. Jain Museum/Saṃgrahālaya: collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated
   iii. Jain Art Museum/Jain Kalā Saṃgrahālaya: collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated
   iv. State Archaeological Museum/Purātatva Saṃgrahālaya: Collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated
   v. Museum Temple
   vi. Memorial Museum
   vii. Virtual Museum

122 In dreams, texts, virtual reality.

123 There are different types of veneration. Some Jaina statues at roadside assemblages are marked with kuṅkuma (turmeric) powder by villagers and Jaina devotees in a gesture of respect. A full pūjā ceremony is generally restricted to the mūla-nāyaka of a temple. On shrines created underneath trees, using diverse statues found in the vicinity, see also KULSHRESHTHA 2017: 299.

The sequence of types represents in now non-historical abstract form the developmental logic of the documented history of re-appropriation of lost pasts,[124] as far as the present sample is concerned, starting with the casual individual assemblage of objets trouvés and official delimitation of archaeological sites and ending in museification of tradition, and/or its local re-invention.[125]

III Processes of Appropriation

The different types of collections amongst the non-tīrthas can also be distinguished in terms of processes of (re-)appropriation of sites and objects of Jaina heritage (itself a term of appropriation). The following classification leaves out the presupposed baseline of disuse, decay, amnesia and fragmentation, for which the noun "scattering" is used.[126] The typology uses the term "heritageisation", which RIEGL did not yet know, not as a synonym of "memorialisation" or "commemorisation" or "commemorative values", like AHMER (2020), because practices of memorialisation pre-date the heritage and tourism industry.[127] Heritageisation is principally concerned with "intentional commemoration value", and hence to be distinguished from "archaeologisation", with its exclusive focus on the "age-value" of historical relics.[128] The amorphous concept of "(adaptive) re-use"[129] is treated in this context as

124 See SHILS 1971: 133; HOBSBAWN 1983.

125 See also KULSHRESHTHA's 2017: 295-306 list of processes associated with the "reutilisation of sacred space" and efforts of "recreating the sacred landscape": "the forgotten shrine" (p. 295), "renovations and reintegration of shrines" (p. 295), "reuse to recreate" (renovation) (p. 297), "emergence of tree shrines" (during periods of renovation) (p. 299), "icons as removable antiquities" (p. 300), "desecration of icons" (p. 302), "re-enshrinement of sacred images" (p. 302), "takeover by another religion" (shared interest confirming sacredness of a site) (p. 302), "from sacred to profane" (colonial efforts to stop brick robbery) (p. 305).

126 In addition to the records of colonial archaeology, cf. BRUHN 1977: 387f., SINGH 1997: 79.

127 HEWISON 1987 dates the rise of heritageisation in the UK to the late 20th century. See HARVEY 2001: 2.

128 Cf. EDITORS's note in SENGUPTA 2013a: 27 note 13. The appreciation of "age-value" of the preservation movement goes back to J. RUSKIN 1849, the Society of Antiquaries and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in the UK, and has its roots in the romantic and socialist outlook of the Arts and Crafts movement. See SENGUPTA 2013a: 23, 26.

129 HEGEWALD and MITRA, and HEGEWALD present two entirely different definitions of the essentially descriptive term "re-use" (cf. BRUHN 1969: 33), which illustrates its limited analytical potential: (a) Re-use as appropriation: "the attempt by conquering

a residual category, capturing practices of appropriation that effectively contribute to the disappearance of historical sites, objects, memories or ideas, to highlight the difference to processes that contribute to the preservation or rediscovery and possibly revitalisation of aspects of the Jaina heritage[130] (see table on following page).

Reverse processes of de-archaeologisation of cultural heritage can also be observed, for instance in the context of government-protected archaeological sites that are re-appropriated for religious worship. The physical and/or institutional separation of the functions of preservation of material heritage and religious practice through the creation of dedicated museums outside temple complexes (often under the management of the same trust) lead to a dissolution of temple-assemblages and a de-heritageisation of temples. It is this process that is responsible for the end of the period of the hybrid heritage temple. The first step towards the disaggregation of the components that make the heritage temple is often the construction of a new temple with new images next to the old temple housing damaged images. The next step is the demolition of the heritage temple and construction of a separate temple museum for old damaged images, and the abandonment of the practice of venerating damaged images. Museification has also the advantage of permitting the dis-assemblage and re-assemblage of roadside collections, and thereby of the protection of the images. The best images are usually appropriated by state or national collections and scattered across an even wider area.

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groups to appropriate the sacred sites, buildings and images of those who have lost power and transform them in a manner in which they could serve as symbols of their power" (HEGEWALD & MITRA 2008: 1f.). (b) Re-use as a creative process (in contrast to recycling): "a conscious and selective process in which existing elements are borrowed or salvaged and taken out of their former environment in order to be applied to a new context, or they are left within their old milieu but filled with new meanings, or they get manipulated and react to new external influences. [...] It is a creative combination of old and new elements, which aims to re-elaborate, improve and carry further an idea, a style, an institution or a concept. – One crucial aspect for an item or act to classify as re-use is the continuity of something already present. Another one is the focal element of agency" (HEGEWALD 2012: 48). – In the present article the term "appropriation" is preferred to "re-use" in the first sense, but as with SCHNEIDER 2003 and HEGEWALD 2005 not restricted to specific political contexts. As a designation of processes of creative adaptation and transformation the term "re-use" seems too imprecise. The term "bricolage" is here used instead, and the term "collage" or "artistic assemblage" for some of the products of processes of bricolage.

130 Parallel processes of displacement and assemblage/dis-assemblage can be observed with regard to Jaina texts and manuscripts. See CORT 1995 and BALBIR 2006; 2019.

Types of Collection / (Re-) Appropriation of Jaina Religious Sites and Objects[131]

AGENCY / PROCESS	STATE	COMMUNITY	INDIVIDUAL
Reuse	repurposing[132]	redevelopment	recycling[133]
Archaeologisation[134]	archaeological assemblage	temple assemblage	roadside assemblage
Heritageisation	archaeological site	heritage temple	private collection
Museification[135]	state museum	temple museum	private museum
Commodification	tourist site[136]	museum temple	art market

Museification[137] appears to be the first step toward the commodification

131 Notably, apart from manuscript culture, the great majority of objects of Jaina heritage are fragments of temples or shrines, or portable images. The paraphernalia and art of Jaina mendicants are taboo and not permitted to circulate outside the mendicant communities.

132 Nationalisation of religious property, use for other purposes, official appropriation by other religious groups.

133 Deconstruction through dis-assemblage and recycling of building materials and images, leading to destruction and obliteration.

134 The neutral term 'assemblage' could also have been used. Strictly speaking the term archaeologisation refers only to the activities of historians, not to temple and roadside assemblages. But arguably members of the Jaina communities or individuals were motivated to intensify their activity of collecting cultural debris by the example of archaeology.

135 The term "museification" is used in two senses here. As a designation of processes of (a) displacement and re-assemblage of valued objects in museums, and (b) the museumisation of sites in situ. For the first process see GARDE 1925 Plate V: "(a) Jain Images at Budhi <old> Chanderi", which shows that the Jina images now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Canderī were once assembled on site and put against walls at Buḍhī / Buṛhī Canderī. An example of the second process is GUHA-THAKURTA's 2004: 61 analysis of the 19th-century Department of the Conservation of Ancient Monuments's view of potentially "the whole territory" of India "as an open air museum".

136 Restoration, reconstruction, virtual reality modelling and other practices of transformation for tourism and art practice. See HARRER 2017 on virtual heritage.

137 STURM 1990: 110f. defined the term museification, in the terms of J. Baudrillard, as a violent process of de-temporalization (Entzeitlichung) or objectification: "etwas in einen Zustand versetzen, in dem es sich nicht mehr verändern und in dem es nicht sterben kann: [...] etwas aus dem Kontext nehmen, und in einen neuen Zustand bringen und dadurch den Realitätsgehalt eines Objektes entscheidend verändern" [to put something into a state in which it cannot change itself anymore and in which it cannot die: (...) to take something out of context and move it into a new state and thereby decisively change the reality-content of an object].

of heritage.[138] It is the most significant new development as far as heritage objects are concerned. At the same time, the heritageisation and thereby economic appropriation of entire landscapes following the paradigms of the temple cities of Madhubana cum Sammeta Śikhara and Śatruñjaya are evident.

In Madhyadeśa, the appropriation of the Jaina religious heritage for purposes of tourism and the art market is just beginning. But the question remains, what exactly the Jaina pilgrim or tourist is experiencing or is supposed to experience in the presence of damaged heritage objects? Not unlike RIEGL (1903), ZACHARIAS (1990a: 10) gave the general answer that objects from the past are preserved to enable subjective experiences of transcendence of impermanence. The past that visitors may imagine in the presence of fragmented relics is inevitably an invented past, a lost past that needs to be idealized in the face of ruined traces, because of the frame set by the Jaina theory of time-cycles.[139] Assemblages can have a pedagogical function (Aufforderungscharakter). More studies probing the actual motivations and experiences of different visitors of non-tīrthas are needed to test this and other hypotheses.[140]

Heritage without History

Jaina heritage temples are sites of non-memory. Their main purpose is to create a safe space for the collection, display and selective veneration of damaged and often restored Jina images of unknown provenience. Heritage temples are hybrid institutions. As repositories for fragments of forgotten tradition they are non-tīrthas. As sites of active veneration they are tīrthas. They are intrinsically contradictory, paradoxical structures. Broken images are displayed to function as objects of reflective veneration, not because of their aesthetic value, or as representations of religious perfection, but because of

138 See DAVIS 1999: 222ff. for parallel historical "careers" of Hindu images, presented in terms of KOPYTOFF's 1986 approach, published in a volume titled "The Social Life of Things" (rather than: "The Social Function of Things"), and the "interpretive community" perspective. Characteristically, the narrative plot of "recovery of ritual self" through communal de-commodification ends in heritageisation and museification (pp. 258f.). See also KULSHRESHTHA 2017. See also ZACHARIAS 1990a: 21-23 for a model for the study of the "fate of objects" (Objektschicksale) in time-space. See also the reassessment of "the biographical approach" by HOSKINS 2006.

139 Cf. SHILS' 1971: 133 remarks on created traditions: "The sought-for tradition is sometimes said to be the 'real' tradition or the genuine source of contemporary 'dilapidated' traditions, which have broken the lines of effective traditional transmission with the point of origin".

140 Cf. LOWENTHAL 1968/1998.

their unintentional commemorative value and perceived power acquired through long-term veneration. Heritage images can serve multiple purposes, because of their universal historical value as relics of former greatness and harbingers of the future resurgence of the Jaina tradition, and because of their present-day value as abstract symbols of eternal Jaina religious values. The cult of newness, demanding images of ascetic perfection in a non-refracted way, is predominant in Jaina art, as elsewhere. Miraculous powers are generally only attributed to images that are well-preserved and connected with a special narrative, images of great antiquity being the exception. Most importantly: only refracted images can combine present-day value and unintentional historical value. This requires a form of veneration reflective of both the Jaina soteriological ideal and of its historicity, perceived in terms of Jaina universal history, a perspective which is rendered possible by abstracting from the visible form of the object and concentrating on its symbolic function. This is one of the main findings of this study.

This essay addresses the question, why the Jainas in the late 19th and early 20th century started systematically collecting material relics of vanished heritage and constructed repositories of damaged sculptures and heritage temples, where broken images are not only preserved, but venerated; where, in contrast to secular or religious museums, the historical and aesthetical value of historical objects is given space, but subsumed under perennial religious values. These questions are asked at the outset and several hypotheses formulated that can be put to the test: historicism, self-esteem through reflection on historical change and continuity, influence of the cultural politics of the Indian independence struggle, Jaina communalism and religious revival in the context of a new mediated national public sphere, mimetic desire and market value of "religious art", property value of religious sites underpinning "sacred landscaping".[141] None of these aspects can be dismissed.

141 The cost implications of preserving and (re-)constructing temples at remote locations have not been studied yet. Since its 1972 World Heritage Convention UNESCO provides heritage funds, and so do national and Jaina community agencies in India dedicated to the preservation of Jaina sites. The main national body active in Madhyadeśa is the Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Tīrthakṣetra Committee which was founded already in 1899 (shortly after the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 and the foundation of the National Trust in 1895 in the UK; see HARVEY 2001: 3 note 3) and has its main office in Mumbai. Its agenda is: "1. To identify ancient Digambar Jain Temple, Kshetras, Idols, script, inscriptions and a detailed survey about the Tirth Kshetra or Temple. 2. To carry out Repair/Restoration works to Digambar Jain Kshetra or Temple thereby protecting our

The more specific question, why heritage temples are particularly prominent in Digambara-dominated Madhyadeśa was answered with reference to specific problems related to the long history of outmigration of the Jaina population from this now relatively remote region, which led to a geographical shift of the centre of religious activity.

The aspiration to re-assemble the fragments of lost regional religious history is a modern one, paradoxically leading to a museification of tradition that started with the demarcation of "heritage sites", the collection of "heritage objects" and the creation of "heritage temples". This development was triggered by the incremental re-appropriation and transformation of ASI-controlled sites into Jaina "pilgrimage sites", that is, historical sites at remote places deserted of resident Jaina populations, where the doctrinally required daily veneration of mūla-nāyakas can be performed by paid non-Jaina pujārīs only.

The standard "heritage temple" in Madhyadeśa is sustained through the motivation and support of non-residential trustees and periodically visiting pilgrims. But often a few resident Jaina families act as local caretakers. Evidently, there is a spectrum of old temples incorporating heritage objects, renovated or reconstructed temples housing preserved images (with or without imported heritage objects), and purpose-built heritage temples.

In recent decades, the combination of heritage preservation and promotion of pilgrimage and tourism, particularly targeting "trophy sites" flagged up in pilgrim's guides, has led to the revival and expansive development of heritage sites into multi-purpose recreational destinations. The danger of Jainism increasingly becoming a "heritage religion" for young "born Jainas" seems to have been one of the considerations leading to the recent trend toward a separation of lived religion and heritage through the transformation of "temple assemblages" ("sculpture sheds") into dedicated "temple museums", "picture halls", "exhibition rooms", and finally to the creation of "Jain museums", placed outside the confines of the temple complex. Amongst the different types of Jaina museums, there seems to be a shift of emphasis from the "Jain history museum" to the "Jain art museum", in line with changing tastes of increasingly cosmopolitan Jaina and non-Jaina pilgrims and tourist audiences.

It can be argued that with the (re-)separation of religion and history the days of the Jaina heritage temple are over. No such temple seems to have

ancient heritage. 3. To coordinate with various government departments and try to get government grants to repair the ancient temple/Kshetras" (https://bharatvarshiya.wordpress.com/about/, accessed on 15 September, 2021).

been newly constructed or created through transformation of an old temple in recent decades. The paradigmatic Digambara examples presented in this article are all pre-existing, often dilapidated or obliterated sites that were renovated or re-constructed in the 20th century, sometimes with support of national or state Digambara Tīrthakṣetra Committees. Though Jaina heritage temples exist outside Madhyadeśa and in the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara tradition as well, they do not dominate the religious landscape as in the investigated regions of Central India.

The main difference between heritage temples and museums is that they continue to be sites of religious practice. Jaina "heritage temples" are intentionally created sites for (a) the collection and display of historical relics from one or more abandoned tīrtha, and for (b) institutionalized practices of veneration of selected damaged or partially restored images. The heritage temples thus combine contradictory value-orientations toward the perennial "present-day value" of religion, on the one hand, and the "history value" of heritage preservation on the other.

One of the most interesting aspects of the heritage temple is the fact that it is a tīrtha that incorporated objects from non-tīrthas whose provenance cannot be traced anymore. This feature it shares with museums and the modern art market. The heritage temple is predicated on the obliteration of history and the re-rooting of displaced objects through rites of re-consecration. The value of the objects which may be damaged or of no artistic value is that they are old and that they represent Jaina religious ideals. The relic is in need of supplementation and has in this sense the ability to transport the viewer into a virtual and in this case perceived better world.

To some extent this is part of the Jaina tradition from times immemorial. Transportable Jina statues made of metal are circulating between different temples for centuries and have gained a life and value on their own by way of their detachment, echoing the peripatetic lifestyle of Jaina mendicants, and the circulation of Jaina manuscripts, whose owners usually inscribed their name.

There is no original. Every collection, every temple, every mendicant, every image is just a copy, a site where elements of culture are assembled and recombined and dissolved in a dynamic transregional process.[142] Jaina religion is a-topical in the sense that doctrinally tīrthas are bundles of contradictions.

142 Cf. PELEGGI 2012: 59-61 on the miraculous replication of images, relics and stūpas in Southeast Asian Buddhism, "by human agents who relied on mental prototypes" (p. 59), manifesting the power of the tradition.

This becomes particularly apparent in the now outmoded modern institution of the Jaina heritage temple.

The Jaina cult of monuments may possibly be replaced with a technology-oriented cult of religious experience based on virtual reality simulations of imagined past, future or trans-historical realities, which can be put to the service of religion. What presently motivates visionary Jainas to create modern museum temples and virtual reality experiences is a sense of loss of traditional Jaina way of life, and the desire to install a sense of pride in Jaina youth in their tradition to safeguard its continuity through the transmission of Jaina values in new ways that may appeal to the younger generation. This is done in full view of the inevitable doctrinally predicted decline of Jaina tradition in this spoke of the time cycle which allows at best to decelerate the speed of the process or forgetting.

The theory of eternal alternation of progress and decay of Jaina teaching and tradition according to the cycles of time is part of standard Jaina cosmology. What fascinates is the creativity involved in the processes of re-invention of historical and hence by definition precarious tradition based on a limited vocabulary of doctrinally accepted forms. Creativity in Jina image production is increasingly restricted today by the proliferation of pre-programmed mass-produced laser-cut images which all look the same.[143] At the same time, temple architecture is moving away from Māru-Gurjara and other now standard architectural forms in developing innovative Disney-style religious theme parks inspired by motifs from Jaina mythology and cosmography with a focus on the experience of occasional visitors combining religion with tourism.

143 This fact could be interpreted as a confirmation of W. BENJAMIN's 1936/1963: 15 theory of the destruction of the "aura" of the individual work of art in the age of its mass-production. Yet, as BRUHN 1969: 158, 217, 223 noted, stylistic formalisation, multiplication and mass-fabrication, and iconographic de-individualization of Jina images had begun already in medieval times. At the same time, images began to be re-individualized by means of lāñchana-marks. Though many images looked increasingly similar, exact copies were still rare. Every image was a unique individual piece of art. See *infra* the chapter on Pacarāī. The increasing "monotony" of late medieval Jaina plastic art, noted by BAJPAI 1975: 250, though artistically impoverished compared to earlier works, is in tune with the quantitative individualism of Jaina metaphysics, which is the diametrical opposite of stereotypical Renaissance individualism. Notably, many contemporary Jina images are produced in a deliberately re-individualized, expressive fashion, perhaps also in response to the increasingly popular portrait images of famous modern ācāryas and sādhvīs, based on historical photographs.

The following case studies present the evidence base for the classification and analyses of specific features of selected non-tīrthas. The centre piece of the documentations are the temple ruins near Bīṭhalā, which will soon become inaccessible, and transformed from a "ruined site" into a "non-site".

BĪṬHALĀ

Amidst the fertile fields of the left bank of the lower river Orr (Urvaśī), northwest of the village of Bīṭhalā (Bithla) are vestiges of four ruined ca. 10th-12th-century Digambara Jaina temples (**Figs. 1-5**). Hundred-fifty metres south-east of the site the remains of a Hanuman temple can be seen.[144] In the far distance, four kilometres to the south, on the opposite side of the river, are the hills surmounting the Hindu-Jaina caves of Rakhetarā (*Rakṣetrā), near the village Gadhelna (Gaderna). The ASI site is locally alternatively known as Rakhterā, with reference to the rock formation as Bhiyāṃdānta, or as Bhīmasena. Some farmers mistakenly regard the Ādinātha image as a representation of Śiva,[145] while local Digambara Jainas claim the ASI site as an atiśaya kṣetra, though it is not officially recognized as such.[146] The site features a 10th-century Gurjara-Pratihāra inscription, recording water works,[147] and two much later Jaina inscriptions, dated VS 1555 Phālguna Śukla 2 Śukravāra (12.2.1499 or 23.2.1498: VS 1554 alone yields a "Friday") and VS 1675

144 Google maps: Bīthālā.

145 Cf. BÜHNEMANN 2013 on "Bhīmsen" as guardian and as form of the god Bhairava (Śiva).

146 See FLÜGEL et al. 2019. Farmers at Bīṭhalā were not clear whether the image was Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu. Yet, the image is unmistakably Ādinātha, represented in Digambara style, here with eyes wide-open, and regarded as miracle working: "is pratimā ke kāraṇa hī loga isa sthāna ko atiśaya kṣetra kahate hai" (B. JAINA 1976: 104f.). It is a well-established cliché that from the post-Gupta period on (SHAH 1987: 3f.) Digambara Jina-images have "the half closed eyes pointed to the end of the nose" to highlight meditative self-concentration and non-interaction of the Jina, whereas Śvetāmbaras are adorned with "staring glass eyes" (SANGAVE 1981: 229f.; cf. GLASENAPP 1925/1984: 390). SHAH 1975: 468 points to the Digambara text *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* (1, 61-62) of Āśādhara (1228), who "enjoins that the eyes of the Jina image should be centred on the tip of the nose". Yet, in practice, this is not universally the case, as BRUHN 1969: 115, 194 noted in passing, and CORT 2012: 37 note 22 with reference to Digambara images in Jaipur, which are "carved with eyes looking outward", pace CORT 2012: 31; 2014: 6; 2015: 40, 56 on Digambaras imagining the Jina not to be present in his representations. Arguably, the iconographic distinction of Digambara Jina images with open and half-closed eyes has wider implications for the differentiation of regional styles than hitherto assumed. This requires further investigation.

147 GARDE 1925: 16; BRUHN 1969: 62; WILLIS 1996a: 3; RAJPUT 2015.

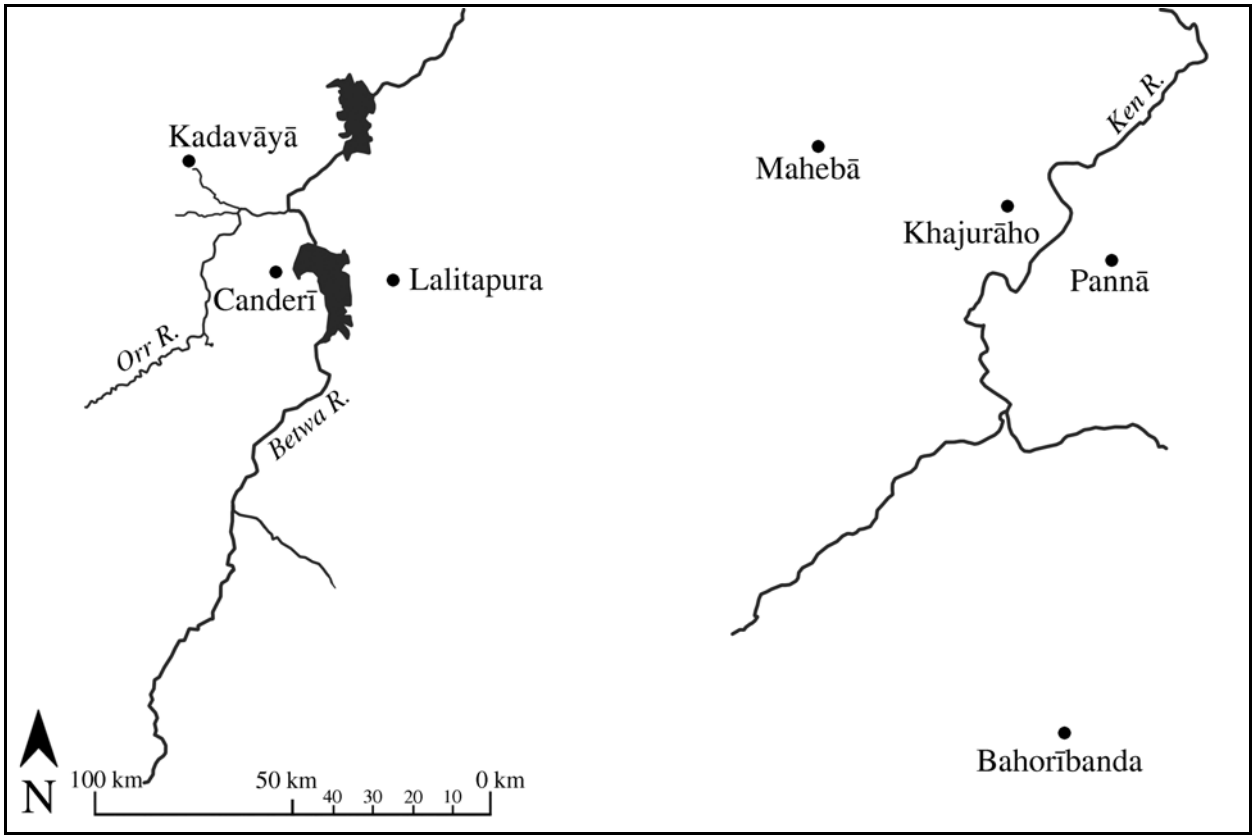
Figs. 1-5 Bīṭhalā, vestiges of ruined ca. 10th-12th-century Digambara Jaina temples

Āṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 8 Śanivāra (15.7.1618).[148] The second inscription, underneath the Ādinātha sculpture, records the visit of a Hindu pilgrim, with references to Canderī and Bīṭhalā.[149] The fact that the inscription starts with a homage

148 See JAIN 2009 and SINGH 2020: 91ff. for a similar site near the village of Āmi, south of Barāī, GeoCoordinates 26.137022°N, 78.028303°E, with transcribed inscription: zenodo.org/record/3355612 (accessed 19 September, 2021).

149 Transcription SIṂHA 2012: 79:

1. śrī gaṇepatae nāma || saṃvat 1675 varṣe āṣāḍha māse krisnapakṣeneṣṭamī sanivāra sāmī harihara bhārāyī likhitaṃ || paṃ vihārī



Map 1 Investigated Sites, Overview. Map created by Jürgen Neuß

to Gaṇeśa (Gaṇapataye Namaḥ), indicating that the sponsor of the inscription claimed the image to be a representation of Śiva, while it is identified as Ādinātha by another inscription, shows that control over the site was contested between Hindus and Jainas early on.

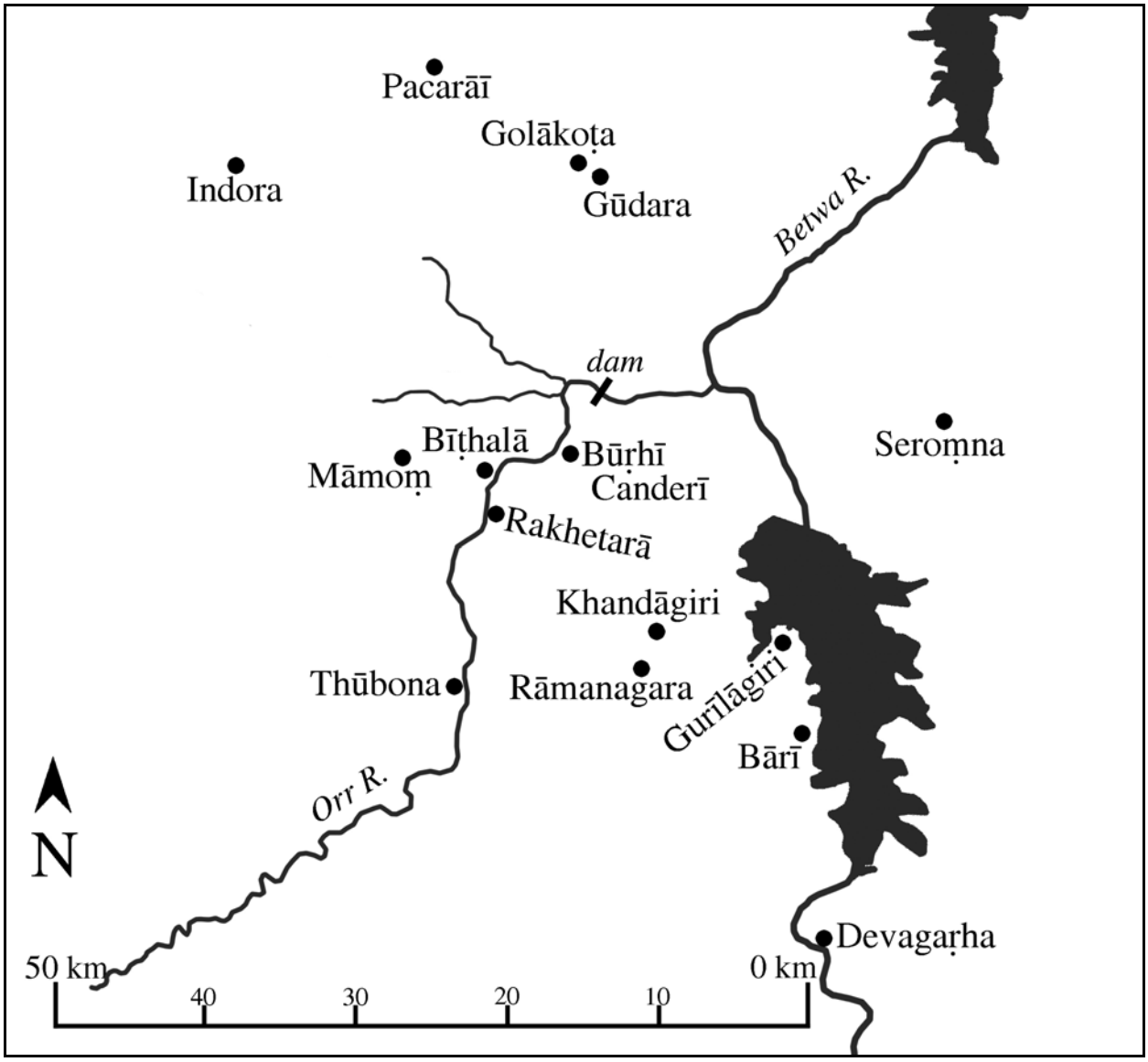
Six kilometres to the east of Bīṭhalā are the 9th to 11th-century CE[150] ruins of the Digambara temple complex of Būṛhī Canderī,[151] the political centre of the area before the ca. 15th-century foundation of the new city of Canderī, which, although defunct, is still listed as an atiśaya-kṣetra in Jaina pilgrimage guides.[152] Because of the proximity and because they can be placed in the

pipaoya kākākhama vaṃsa luhāra canderī kaṣavaya vīṭhalā subhalī .. ta ..... d.....
2. ..... tanadeva tata vadatta cheda uda
Near this inscription, which is not entirely legible and hence was not transcribed by FLÜGEL et al. 2019, two other short inscriptions exist: "śrī ādinātha praṇam" and "matirāma".

150 CUNNINGHAM 1871: 402-404; BRUHN 1969: 63, cf. 173, 176; RAJPUT 2015.

151 TRIVEDI 2000: 192: "ancient *Girijāsapantnikasthāna* [sic] [...] also Chandrapur".

152 According to TRIVEDI 2000: 192, "the political capital was shifted from Siyadoni" (Siron Khurd) to Būṛhī Canderī after "tripartite struggles between the Pālas, the Pratihāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, followed by the internecine fightings among various vassals of the Pratihāras themselves". On Būṛhī Canderī, see also GARDE 1925 (see note 132); B. JAINA 1976: 102-104.



Map 2 Canderī Region. Map created by Jürgen Neuß

same period, most likely, the temples of Bīṭhalā were linked in some way to Būṛhī Canderī.

About twelve kilometres to the south along the river is Thūbana (Thūban, Thūboṃ, Thūbon, ancient Tapovana), a Digambara atiśaya kṣetra dating from the 12th century. Five kilometres to the west existed the now obliterated Jaina tīrtha of Māmoṃ (Bhāmauna), a village located about midway between Thūban and Kadavāyā, which can only indirectly be reached from Bīṭhalā.

Bīṭhalā was thus tied into a network of Digambara temples which stretched along the river Orr from Būṛhī Canderī to Tumain in the south-west,[153] via Māmoṃ to the Jaina temples at settlements along the rivers Ahīrāvati and

153 See GARDE 1934: 75; FLÜGEL et al. 2020. The so-called "Tumen Museum" is an indoor assemblage of damaged Jaina and Hindu images within the Hindu Vindhyavāsinī Devī Mandira complex. There are also many roadside assemblages of objets trouvés in Tumain.

Madhumatī in the north[154] – such as Indora (Indor) and Pacarāī (Pachrai) on the plateau surrounding Kadavāyā (Kadavāhā, ancient Kadambaguhā)[155] – to Khandāgiri and Seroṃna (Siron[i] Khurd, Sīroñj, ancient Sīyaḍoṇī)[156] in the east, and along the river Betwa to Gurīlāgiri[157] and Devagaṛha (Deogarh)[158] in the south-east. The density of the network of temples and caves constructed by the community indicates that the region was a major centre of Digambara religiosity under Pratihāra (Pratīhāra), Kacchapaghāta and Candella rule, embedded within a cultural environment dominated by Śivaism[159] (**Maps 1-2**).[160]

According to BRUHN (1969), the Jina images at the sites in Madhyadeśa exhibit regional styles[161] that, influenced by the early Jaina art of Mathura (ca. 100-250 CE), were pioneered in Gwalior 700-800 CE and in Deogarh 850-1150 CE,[162] and came to flourish between 1150-1350 CE: "The Jina-images

154 See SEARS 2015a: 49 on the development along river routes in Central India; for Eastern India, see MEVISSEN (2008b/forthc.).

155 A 10th to 11th-century centre of Purandara's Śivaite Mattamayūra ("Excited Peacock") ascetics, deserving the epithet "Khajuraha or Bhuvanesvar of Gwalior", according to GARDE 1934: 95. See KIELHORN 1888/1892: 352f., and the full study of SEARS 2014: 31; 2015a; 2015b.

156 BRUHN 1969: 62.

157 According to TRIVEDI 2000: 192; GARDE 1925: 12f.: "68. Gurila-ka-Pahad. – About 8 miles to the south-east of Chanderi is the hill known as Gurila-ka-Pahad. On top of the hill which is rather difficult of access are the ruins of two temples of the Digambara Jaina sect standing in an enclosure of rough masonry. One of these consists of a shrine room and an entrance-porch facing west. On the shrine is a hemispherical dome of which the rubble frame is now exposed its plaster facing having peeled off. Enshrined is a big image of Santinatha 11' 9" tall but broken in twain across the neck.
69. Facing this is another temple consisting of an oblong shrine room with three entrance doors and a pillared verandah in front. The temple is 20' long and 17' 3" wide externally and has a flat roof. There are in all 26 images of Jaina *Tirthamkaras* (some standing, others seated) leaning against the three walls of the shrine. The central image is that of Adinatha. None of the other images bears a *lanchhana* or distinctive symbol by which it can be identified.
70. Two lines of an obliterated inscription on a wall of the temple – probably a pilgrim's record – is dated in V. S. 1307. The temple therefore cannot be later than this date."

158 See *infra*.

159 Cf. WILLIS 1996b: 275; SEARS 2014: 32; 2015a: 47.

160 See also the map in BRUHN 1969: Fig. 390; cf. DEVA 1998a: 4; 1998b: 16; HEGEWALD 2009: 394, 400.

161 BRUHN 1969: 221-225; 1985: 149: "defined in terms of period, province, and patronage".

162 BRUHN 1998: 101.

in the vicinity of Deogarh (Chandpur, Dudahi, Golakot, Siron Khurd, Budhi Chanderi) are so closely related to the images found at Deogarh that they can sometimes be included in groups of Deogarh images" (p. 223). The great majority of the sites are early medieval and medieval:[163] "Budhi Chanderi, Chandpur, Dudahi, Golakot, Gudar, Madanpur, Pachrahi, and Siron Khurd supply only medieval material" (*ibid*.). To this list the following sites of our sample can be added: Khajurāho (Śāntinātha Mandira), Bīṭhalā, Māmoṃ, and Indora. An exception is the ancient site of Tumain, where also images from the post-Gupta period were found,[164] and images at places such as Khandhāragiri, Thūbana or Rakhetarā whose Jina images are largely late medieval, early modern, and modern.[165]

Most prominent amongst the Jainas who created this network of Jaina sites in the 9th to 12th centuries CE was Seṭha Pāṛā Śāha, a brass merchant from Thūbana belonging to the Guharī (Gahoī) caste, who in the 12th century created and re-invigorated a great number of Jaina tīrthas in the region, by installing new images and temples at many locations,[166] which may explain some of the stylistic similarities between many temples and Jina images across the region.

Non-Tīrtha

Only one of the four Digambara temples near Bīṭhalā is partially preserved (**Figs. 4-7**).[167] The seated Jina image adjacent to the monumental central standing Jina image, the mūla-nāyaka (**Fig. 8**), which survived centuries almost unharmed, was recently severely damaged. In 2014, thieves cut off some pieces of sculpture and in so doing damaged the remaining parts of the image

163 BRUHN 1969: 223, etc., tends to date these sites generally a century or two later than GARDE 1934: 75, etc.

164 FLÜGEL et al. 2020: 24-27. See *infra*.

165 GARDE 1934: 75. WILLIS 1996a: 9, 11f., 51ff. lists Digambara inscriptions from Khandhāragiri of VS 1220: "disciple (name lost) of Bhīmadeva or Kůdakůdānvaya and Devasaṁgha", VS 1283 Jyaiṣṭha Śukla 3 Guruvāra mentioning the Lambhakaṃchukānvaya, and several inscriptions of VS 1283 Jyaiṣṭha Śukla 3. The chronologically next set of inscriptions at the site is from VS 1690 onward. On Thūbāna see *infra*.

166 B. JAINA 1976: 85 mentions the following sites: Khalārā, Balhārapura, Sukhāhā, Bhāmauna (Māmoṃ), Sumekā Pahāṛa, Śeṣaī, Rāī, Panavāṛā, Āmeṭa, Dūvakuṇḍa, Thūbaun, Ārā (Agarā), Pacarāī, Golākoṭa, Ahāra, Bajaraṅgaṛha. His wife was from a Vaiṣṇava family and sponsored Vaiṣṇava temples.

167 SHARMA & MISRA 2003: 25f. mention only remains of Jina images, not the ruined temple complex of Bīṭhalā.

(**Fig. 10**).[168] The villagers of Bīṭhalā, Ādivāsins and Jāṭs, were upset about this and became rightly suspicious of outsiders. It was, however, possible to visit the site in the company of a political representative of the local cluster of villages on 19 December 2019, just in time, before it will be inaccessible forever. Bīṭhalā and its Jaina temple ruins will soon be submerged by water. In 2016, the Environment Ministry of M.P. gave the go-ahead for the ambitious project of connecting the river Ken in Madhya Pradesh with the river Betwa (Betavā, ancient Vetravatī) in Uttar Pradesh through a network of reservoirs and canals. The plan, first envisaged by the Government of India in 2002, opposed by environmentalists and farmers, involves the construction of a dam across the river Orr only a few kilometres north-east of Bīṭhalā. When the dam is completed in 2022, as planned, an area covering seven villages and surrounding fields will be 3 metres under water.[169] The local population will be resettled to arable land elsewhere and/or financially compensated. Yet, most of the 944 families of Bīṭhalā in 2019 intend to move to Canderī rather than continue with farming at newly allocated sites. No plans exist for relocating the ruined remains of the Jaina temples. In its record of the local infrastructure, the MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCE (2014: 36) of the Government of India counted only 1 active temple in Bīṭhalā, to be reconstructed elsewhere.[170] Unless the Jaina site will be dismantled and relocated by the ASI, which is unlikely, the present report may be one of the last documentations of this abandoned medieval "non-tīrtha".

M.B. GARDE visited the site in 1924 and in 1925 composed a report which was republished two years later in the following mildly edited form:

> "The village of Bithla lies about 5 miles to the south-west of Budhi Chanderi. Some two furlongs to the north-west of the village is a group of Jaina temples. Only one of these is standing at present, but there were at least four other subsidiary shrines which are now merely marked by heaps of ruins. The former faces roughly towards the west. It consists of a shrine with a projecting entrance porch, the whole measuring externally 33' x 16'. Part of the back wall of the

168 See BRUHN 1969: 45 on the focus of art thieves in India on the removal of the heads of the main images.

169 "The Lower Orr dam is proposed across the Orr river, which is a tributary of the Betwa, near the village of Didauni on the border of the Shivpuri and Ashok Nagar districts in Madhya Pradesh. It is aimed at providing irrigation and domestic water supply to water-deficit areas of the Shivpuri and Datia districts of Madhya Pradesh" (AGGARWAL 2016).

170 See NEUSS 2012: 204 on similar promises in the Narmada valley, and cases of construction of "replicas".

shrine and the *sikhara* have fallen down. The door frame is carved in the usual way. On the lintel are sculptured three Tirthamkaras in a row, the middle one being seated and the other two standing. The rest of the surface is carved with figures of the Navagrahas. Over the lintel is a frieze in the centre of which is an image of a seated four-armed goddess probably Padmavati with a figure of a seated Tirthamkara at either end. The object of worship in the shrine is a large standing image of a Tirthamkara whose head is partly broken off. The cella also contains smaller statues of Tirthamkaras[171] but as their pedestals are buried in the *débris* their *lanchhanas* or distinctive symbols are not visible and it was therefore not possible to identify them during my short visit.

In the ruins of the attendant temples referred to above are seen carved pillars, door-jambs, lintels, roof slabs and a number of damaged images of Tirthamkaras including two which can be definitely identified as Sambhavanatha and Munisuvrata from their *lanchhanas* the horse [see **Fig. 9**] and the tortoise respectively. Judging from the style of construction the temples may be assigned approximately to the 12th century" (GARDE 1927: 166).

No other historical record of these old Digambara temples seems to exist,[172] though "Bitala" is still mentioned in the Digambara pilgrimage guides of B. JAINA (1976: 105), who describes it as a site of an "ancient shrine", and of NAGARAJ (2001: 49).

Temples

The surviving part of the one remaining flat-roofed hall-temple at the centre of the site consists of a garbha-gṛha, that is, the image chamber or cella, and a porch (**Figs. 6-7**).[173] The temple was evidently constructed without the use

171 GARDE 1925: 14 mentions "five".

172 RAJPUT & BHATTACHARYA 2013: 70 mention the site only for its "abandoned temples".

173 The early medieval temples in the region all had a flat roof. Most shrines in Devagaṛha are small flat-roof shrines or temples. BRUHN 1969: 38, 53 noted that "medieval *temples* in the form of halls are found but rarely outside Deogarh". Cf. the Ādinātha Mandira in Golākoṭa and Temple No. 2 in Devagaṛha (BRUHN 1977: 386). BRUHN 1969: 14f. uses the following terms: "If it [the hall-temple] has two rooms, then the room in the front is called the 'porch', provided it is not wider than the cella; otherwise it is called the 'maṇḍapa'." For earlier Gupta masonry "cave" and later maṇḍapikā temples, which are built with stone slabs rather than blocks, see VIENNOT 1968: Figs. 34-54; MEISTER 1974: 82; 1976: Fig. 6 (Mahuā, ca. 7th-century Śiva temple), Fig. 15 (Kuchdon, Kuraiya Bir); and RAJPUT & BHATTACHARYA 2011: Plate 1-17 (Thūbona). HEGEWALD 2009: 140 note 27 notes that "[t]here is not one established architectural term used to describe temples consisting of an image chamber with one or several halls and porches, which is the most common type of temple construction in South Asia" and proposes the term "*maṇḍapa*-line temples". No ground plan of the basic design combining an image chamber with an

Fig. 6 Bhīṭhalā, ruined Digambara temple, side view

of metal, by artfully piling up tailored blocks of stone in such a way that the distribution of the weight of the blocks of the walls, door lintels and roof slabs produced a stable and at the same time flexible mutually supporting structure. The design corresponds to the medieval Śāntinātha temple at Būṛhī Canderī,[174] which was originally a flat-roof temple to which "a later constructed" doorway and subsequently a stylistically mismatched śikhara were added (*infra*).[175] The fact that double walls are used for the support of the heavy roof slabs of the image chamber may point to the former existence of an elevated roof or a spire.[176] Remnants of two possible āmalakas amongst the debris may also

attached four-pillared open porch is offered in her typology of Jaina temple layouts, though the ground plans of "small temples" p. 230 Fig. 18 and "small shrines" p. 332 Fig. 60 depicting open porches with two pillars come close. Cf. pp. 502-503 Figs. 159-162. For parallels, see in particular Temple No. 16 at Devagaṛha (p. 184 Plate 378), which does not yet feature a porch, and the examples of "simple" garbha-gṛha shrines without and with porches or maṇḍapas on pp. 496ff. SINGH 2010: 70 noted that temples in North India primarily consist of "a square sanctum and an entrance porch, both covered by a flat roof", that followed the Gupta style (p. 77). It may be added that the examples of Temples Nos. 4 and 5 in Devagaṛha show that simple shrines had at first no door-frames and śikharas, which were added later. See BRUHN 1969: 33, MEISTER 1975: 228, and *infra*.

174 RAJPUT 2015: 105. RAJPUT does not identify the central standing Jina image, which is neither depicted nor analysed. A faint antelope cognizance carved at the bottom of the sculpture indicates that it was identified as Śāntinātha. Small Jina images of the "hovering class", carved on the same slab, indicate the medieval origin of the image (*infra*).

175 RAJPUT 2015: 105. See MEISTER 1976: Fig. 14 for a similar type of roof construction of the temple in Gyāraspur.

176 For the distinction see BRUHN 1969: 54.

Fig. 7 Bhīṭhalā, ruined Digambara temple, front view

Fig. 8 Bhīṭhalā, large ruined temple to the west of the previous temple

point in this direction. The back wall, and, if it existed, the elevated roof or śikhara placed over the cella had collapsed already at the time of GARDE's visit, likely as a result of earthquakes. Heavy blocks of stone amongst the rubble at the back of the temple may indicate that the roof or spire was constructed by piling slabs of diminishing size on top of one another.[177] In view

177 For a similarly constructed temple in Devagaṛha, see Fig. 4 in BRUHN 1958: 2f. The Mahādeva flat-roof temple in Uldnā-Kalān drawn by MUKHERJI 1899b: Plate 71 and one in Kadavāyā pictured in SEARS 2015a: 47 Fig. 5 and dated 9th century CE are somewhat similar in layout, but probably both later, since they are built with wall slabs rather than blocks.

Fig. 9 Bhīṭhalā, architectural fragment depicting Padmaprabha with horse lāñchana

of the general evolution of Jaina and Hindu temple architecture in this region it is likely that a flat-roof temple was constructed first in the early-medieval period and perhaps a śikhara added later.[178]

Of the four "subsidiary shrines", which GARDE believed to have identified, "which are now merely marked by heaps of ruins", little can be said, except that at least one structure to the west of the surviving temple ruin must have been fairly large in view of the size of its remains (**Fig. 8**). Only two of the many damaged medieval statues can be identified as representing the Jina Padmaprabha, on the basis of his cognizance (lāñchana), the horse (**Fig. 9**). The Jina image marked with the tortoise figure could not be found anymore.

178 See BRUHN 1969: 53, following CUNNINGHAM, on the shift from early medieval temples built with blocks to temples built with slabs and from flat-roof temples to śikhara temples at Devagaṛha in the medieval period (ca. 11th century); and MEISTER 1975: 409 on the parallel development of flat-roofed "pillared pavilions" with "decorated slabs". Cf. TARTAKOV 1981. RAJPUT 2015: 55 noted: "No extant temple of the śikhara-style has been found from the region. However, the debris of many temples, notably at the site of Budhi Chanderi, suggests their original presence in the region under study".

Mūla-nāyaka

The main image inside the east-facing cella is a colossal standing tīrthaṅkara (**Fig. 10**). It is cut out of a single slab of red sandstone, which visibly contrasts with the material used for the temple walls, varying in colour between red and buff sandstone. The head was already partly cut off at the time of GARDE's visit, and there are no visible cognizances, and no śrīvatsa mark. It is therefore unclear to which Jina the temple was dedicated. Likely, Ṛṣabha (Ādinātha), Supārśva and Pārśva can be eliminated, because their distinctive iconographic features, the hair of Ṛṣabha reaching down to his shoulders for instance, would have left traces, such as lateral strands even in the present decrepit condition of the image. Yet, Ṛṣabha's hair does not necessarily reach the front of the shoulders in all cases. Pārśva can also not be entirely ruled out. The colossal image of Pārśva at Būṛhī Canderī, nearby, features an unusual hood-circle, placed in such a way that it could be removed together with the head without leaving a trace on the torso (*infra*).[179]

Fig. 10 Bhīṭhalā, Mūla-nāyaka

The remaining silhouettes of the removed attendant figures at the feet of the Bīṭhalā image seem to indicate that the Jina was flanked by a pair of fly-whisk bearers (cāmara-dhara) rather than a yakṣa/yakṣiṇī pair. In this respect, it can be compared with the colossal Śāntinātha (cognizance: antelope) image in Būṛhī Canderī, standing on a lotus, which is, however, surrounded by additional miniature Jinas and other ornamental subsidiary figures. Both colossal Jina images at Būṛhī Canderī, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha, though likely to be medieval, are broadly comparable with the possibly older mūla-nāyaka in Bīṭhalā, and can be associated with BRUHN's (1969: 115, 248) broad "uncouth" (sthūla-varga) image-type, whose main distinguishing feature is an early "trend towards stylization" (p. 71).

179 Cf. also the tenth-century Pārśvanātha image at Seroṃna (Sironi) and a similar image dated eleventh-century by A. SINGH 1997 Plates Nos. 26 and 25. See also Plates Nos. 11, 13, 14 for similar medieval images from Madhyadeśa.

Fig. 11 Ādinātha(?)

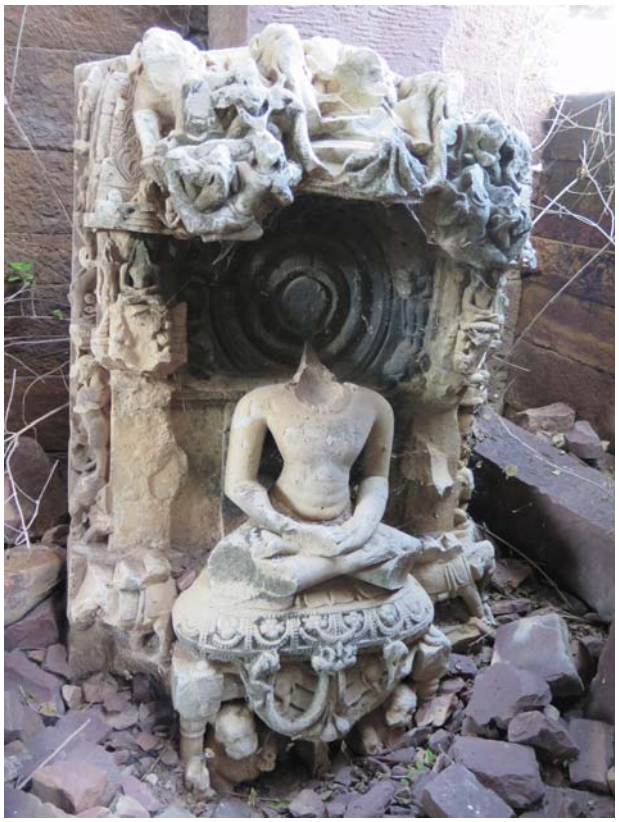


Fig. 12 Damaged seated Jina

Two other heavily damaged sculptures centring on a Jina image are left in the garbha-gṛha. Both are cut from a single piece of rock. One is in red sandstone, featuring a standing Jina, perhaps Ādinātha (**Fig. 11**), the other in buff sandstone, featuring a seated Jina (**Fig. 12**). It is not clear whether the varying colours of the pieces of sculptured sandstone found at the site reflect historical additions, repair work, or recent attempts at partial renovation. The quarries in the area where the stone blocks were cut can conceivably be identified.[180] Yet, it is not possible anymore to infer which Jinas were meant to be represented by the images.

The image in buff sandstone is artistically superior. In terms of BRUHN's (1969: 512f., cf. 302 Fig. 32, 400 Fig. 195) classification of Jina images it belongs to the medieval throne-frame (makarādyalaṃkṛta-varga) and hovering classes of the high-relief style (Figs. 211-224), since it has a śrīvatsa mark and is sitting on a lion-throne (siṃhāsana) on an unusually ornate throne-blanket and -cushion throne-top in front of an imposing bhāmaṇḍala.[181] Style and material indicate that the image was a medieval addition to the already existing temple or a part of another now obliterated temple that was deposited in the

180 See for instance the work of RAJPUT 2015.

181 Several similar, though less elaborate images of a seated Jina with attendants were found at Būṛhī Canderī. See for instance RAJPUT 2015: 229 Plate 4.1c, 235 Plate 4.7c.

image chamber. There are two niches (deva-kulikā) behind the entrance, now empty, which may have been used for the placing of small sculptures.

Mūla-nāyaka and Śāsana-devī

It might be possible to infer the identity of the presiding Jina from the iconography of the protective deity (śāsana-devī) of the temple, which is often, but not always, linked to the central Jina image. The inference cannot be certain, because there is a lack of consistency between textual system and temple iconography, particularly in Central India, as demonstrated by BRUHN (1956: 33-35; 2000: 286ff.). MITRA (1959: 127) also suggested that "iconographic concepts still existed without being crystallized into rigid forms". In view of the general uncertainty of the identity of Jaina śāsana-devatā images, resulting from the plurality of systems of names, serial numbers, and iconographic groups, BRUHN (1969: 109f.) often used a residual category: "goddess without identity".[182] After he "invalidated" the previously assumed invariable link of the textual system of correspondences between the 24 Jinas and yakṣa/yakṣī-pairs and the "real pantheon", he proposed the term "fuzzy figure" to account for unclassifiable images.

A single image of a seated, likely four-armed yakṣiṇī can be seen at the centre of the frieze (**Fig. 14**), above the image of a seated non-Pārśva and non-Ṛṣabha Jina (**Fig. 15**), the central symbol (lalāṭa-bimba) of the lintel of the richly decorated door-frame (dvāra-bandha or garbha-dvāra) of the garbha-gṛha (**Fig. 13**), the main remaining attraction of the site.

Because of the dilapidated state of her image it is difficult to identify the yakṣiṇī on the basis of the hand-attributes.[183] This was already the case when GARDE visited the site, who determined that it "probably" represented Padmāvatī, the śāsana-devī of Pārśvanātha. The hand-attributes of the four-armed figure are not clearly detectable today, only the outlines remain visible. The anterior hand-attribute to the right of the figure (from an observer's perspective) most likely represents a trident (triśūla) rather than a goad (aṅkuśa) as M.B. GARDE must have assumed,[184] and the posterior hand-attribute can

182 BRUHN 1956: 31-34. Cf. VARMA's 1994: 184 observation that by artists in Khajurāho of yakṣa-yakṣī figures "neither their traditional nor independent forms were known".

183 Cf. BURGESS 1903: 464; BRUHN 1969: 26f. ("nothing was more unstable than the iconography and nomenclature of medieval goddesses appearing in series"); GUPTE 1972: 181f.; SHAH 1987: 205-300; NAGAR 1999, I: 184-313, II: 443-450.

184 Or as a spear (śakti), club (gadā), spear (śakti) or pestle (mūsala). Less likely: a lotus-stalk cum fly-whisk (cāmara-padma), a term introduced by BRUHN 1969: 105.

Fig. 13 Bīṭhalā, door-frame of garbha-gṛha

be interpreted as a wheel-discus (cakra) or more likely a shield (kheṭaka).[185] The anterior hand-attribute to the left of the figure clearly represents a sword (khaḍga). The posterior hand-attribute cannot be clearly identified. It could be a knife (karttṛkā), a conch (śaṅkha), a lotus (padma), even a fish.

185 Less likely: a noose (pāśa).

Fig. 14 Four-armed yakṣiṇī at top of door-frame, detail of Fig. 13

Fig. 15 Seated Jina in lalāṭa-bimba, detail of Fig. 13

It is unlikely that the image represents Padmāvatī, because the attributes differ from the four-armed variants collated by SHAH (1987: 280-284), none of which features a sword (in contrast to variants featuring six and more attributes).[186] The characteristic snake hood of Padmāvatī is also missing, as are goad (aṅkuśa), noose (pāśa) and lotus (padma).[187] Until a parallel four-armed image can be found, the image of the yakṣiṇī at Bīṭhalā may have to be classified as "fuzzy", and the question of the name of Jina image left unanswered for the time being.[188]

However, the presence of the prominent sword-attribute alone limits the range of likely candidates to Manovegā, Cāmuṇḍā, Jvālāmālinī,[189] and Cakreśvarī,[190] the yakṣiṇīs related to the Jinas No. 6 Padmaprabha (cognizance: lotus), No. 10 Śītala (cognizance: śrīvatsa), No. 8 Candraprabha (cognizance: half-moon), and No. 1 Ādinātha (cognizance: bull). The yakṣiṇī

186 SHAH 1987: 335 Fig. 111 published an eight-armed Padmāvatī image at Jhalrapatan that visually resembles the Bīṭhalā image.

187 On the other hand, there are a few Padmāvatī images with a sword on record. MITRA 1959: Plate V.B.; SHAH 1987: 335 Fig. 111; NAGAR 1999, II: 448 variant (ii) for Padmāvatī has: "*Pāśa*, sword, *śūla*, crescent, club and a *mūsala*".

188 BRUHN 2000: 299, cf. 291.

189 See the 11th-century Jvālāmālinī of the Baroda Museum in NAGAR 1999, II: xviii, Plate 150; also SETTAR 1969: 315 Pl. 1 Virūpākṣa temple, Aihoḷe.

190 See the twelve-armed Cakreśvarī image in the Bārabhujī-gumphā of Khaṇḍagiri in MITRA 1959 Plate III.A., and the sixteen(+?)-armed Cakreśvarī of Golākoṭa in BRUHN 1969: 421 Fig. 227, cf. pp. 189f.

Kuśmāṇḍinī, who also holds a sword in the right hand, can be excluded, because one of the attributes of her image is usually a child.[191]

If a connection between textual system and images was observed at Bīṭhalā, then this would eliminate Cakreśvarī, the female Viṣṇu, because the mūla-nāyaka does not indicate the typical lateral strands on the shoulders of Ādinātha, as is invariable the case in medieval images.[192] Cakreśvarī remains a candidate, though, because of the possible presence of the hand-attributes discus and club that are both associated with her image.[193] Moreover, the 9th-century twenty-armed Cakreśvarī of temple no. 12 in Devagaṛha published by SHAH (1971: Fig. 38; 1987: 339 Fig. 175) visually resonates with the four-armed yakṣiṇī image at Bīṭhalā. The image carries a sword in one of her right hands and a shield and an arrow in two of her left hands, in the same positions as the "trident" of the image of Bīṭhalā.[194] Since the cakra is not as prominent in the Bīṭhalā yakṣiṇī as in other Cakreśvarī images, and even doubtful, the evidence for an identification of the image as Cakreśvarī is however not very strong.[195]

191 MITRA 1959: 130-132, Pls. III.A, IV.B, V.A presents photos of the following yakṣīs with swords in the Bārabhujī-gumphā of Khaṇḍagiri: Cakreśvarī (related to Jina No. 1: Ādinātha), Rohiṇī (related to Jina No. 2: Ajitanātha), Puruṣadattā (related to Jina No. 5: Sumatinātha), Vairoṭī (related to Jina No. 13: Vimalanātha), Anantamatī (related to Jina No. 14: Anantanātha), Aparājitā (related to Jina No. 19: Mallinātha), Padmāvatī (related to Jina No. 23: Pārśvanātha). Most of the images are eight-armed and endowed with a spear or arrow, however, which seem to be missing in Bīṭhalā.

192 BRUHN 1985: 158. The shoulders of the Ādinātha image in Bīṭhalā are partly damaged.

193 See BRUHN 1956: 33f. on the Cakreśvarī on the lalāṭa of the outer door-frame of the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajurāho, remarking in general that "the impression of absolute identity was probably nowhere aimed at". VARMA 1994: 182 mentions a sword associated with a Cakreśvarī image in Khajurāho and noted: "Cakreśvarī represents all the variations, made in the iconography of *yakṣī* figures from the 8th to the 12th century A.D." in Khajurāho. Cf. SIṂHA & JAINA 2014: 31f., 124 for a discussion of two images possibly representing a standing yakṣī of the name Jaṇākīeśrī, who also carries a sword.

194 See also SHAH 1971: 292 & Fig. 24 of a four-armed Cakreśvarī in Devagaṛha carrying a club in her right and a cakra in her left hand.

195 In inscription No. 20 Śrīyādevī is also associated with the tenth tīrthaṅkara Śītala (cognizance: śrīvatsa) (Digambara textual system: Mānasī, Cāmuṇḍa). But the corresponding image presents different attributes than image No. 14, such as cāmara and kalaśa. According to BRUHN's 1969: 26 and SHAH's 1987: 215f. juxtaposition of different lists of twenty-four yakṣiṇīs, Śrīyādevī was in later Digambara texts replaced either by Jvālāmālinī, Mānavī or Cāmuṇḍā, who in the list from South India published by BURGESS 1903: 464 is presented as the śāsana-devī of the tīrthaṅkara No. 20 Munisuvrata (cognizance: tortoise).

This leaves only three likely options, Manovegā, Cāmuṇḍā and Jvālāmālinī. Because Manovegā is usually represented without an elongated hand-attribute on the right side, a more plausible Jina-yakṣiṇī combination may be the pair Śītala-Cāmuṇḍā.[196] More likely, however, is the combination Candraprabha-Jvālāmālinī,[197] because in the iconography of the Digambara yakṣiṇīs the combination of sword and trident, the two attributes that can be identified with greatest certainty, is only found regularly in Jvālāmālinī images.[198]

However, only by comparison with a similar image in better condition the depicted goddess could be identified with confidence. But there is no clear seated four-armed parallel image at hand. The seated yakṣiṇī image at Bīṭhalā shares however at least three of her four attributes with the standing sculpture of Śrīdevī (written *Śrīyādevī*), the yakṣiṇī of the sixteenth tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha (cognizance: antelope) (Digambara textual system: Mahāmānasī, Kandarpā) represented by image and inscription No. 14 of the twenty-six wall-figures of Temple No. 12 in Devagaṛha, constructed ca. VS 900. BRUHN 1969: 103-106 interpreted the name Śrī(yā)devī as a synonym of Lakṣmī. He identified her hand-attributes as: disk with two crossed spokes, sword, shield, and axe. The photograph of the image published as Fig. 63 on p. 316 does not permit identifying the staff held by the yakṣiṇī in her anterior left arm clearly as an axe, aṅkuśa or other implement. But the shape of the attributes closely resemble the attributes of the seated yakṣiṇī at Bīṭhalā.

The Door-Frame as Exegetical Programme

GARDE (1925: 14) highlighted the fact that the exterior of the shrine is "not decorated with sculpture". The same can be said about its interior. By contrast, the door-frame of the entrance to the main shrine is richly decorated, "in the usual way". The fact that this is the case in Būṛhī Canderī and other medieval temples of Madhyadeśa as well, qualifies the general observations of BRUHN

196 See also NAGAR 1999, II: 448 who lists the following four hand-attributes for Cāmuṇḍā: "*Daṇḍa*, *kheṭaka*, *akṣamālā*, and *khaḍga"*.

197 Cf. BRUHN 2000: 300.

198 See for instance GUPTE 1972: 181f. NAGAR 1999, I: 271, II: Fig. 150 discusses a four-armed image of Jvālāmālinī at Devagaṛha which features only sword and shield, but presents and image of the Baroda Museum which shows the yakṣiṇī with "dagger, trident, cakra and sword" in the right hands and in the left hands with a clearly visible bow, pāśa and conch. Because of the prominence given to the sword held upright parallel to the body, the image appears to be somewhat similar to the Bīṭhalā image.

(1998: 111) about the "neutral" exterior of later Jaina temples,[199] and of HEGEWALD 2006: 411, that "[i]t is typical of Jaina architecture throughout India to have a comparatively plain exterior, often with high protective walls, but a very ornate interior sheltered from outside gaze and intrusion". BRUHN (1969: 43) noted, "when creating wall figures, the Jains widely followed Hindu iconography". In Bīṭhalā, as at other Jaina sites of the period, this included Khajurāho-style door-jambs displaying sexual motifs (mithuna-śākhā). This was part of the standard repertoire of Hindu door-frame motifs.[200] The overall design of the door-frame in Bīṭhalā, in terms of the arrangement of zones and positions, is closely aligned with the door-frame designs of the medieval Hindu temples of Thūbana, the Hindu and Jaina door-jambs originating from Būṛhī Canderī outside and inside the Chanderi Museum, of the Ādinātha temple in Būṛhī Canderī,[201] Jaina Temples Nos. 3[202] and 13 at Devagaṛha, the Candanātha shrine in Golākoṭa,[203] several medieval door-frames in Pacarāī, and the

199 Sculpture featured by later Jaina temples is not visibly Jaina, as BRUHN 1998: 111 emphasized: "Jaina temples have a 'neutral' exterior. There may be wall figures of every provenance, but they are rarely *clearly Hindu* and rarely *clearly Jaina*. Jina figures in particular are inconspicuous or missing altogether. [...] this was the price to be paid for the easily granted permission to erect Jaina temples under Hindu rulers. Moreover, there were no restrictions as far as the *interior* is concerned."

200 See DONALDSON 1976: 189 on the injunctions of Varāhamihira's 6th-century Bṛhatsaṃhitā.

201 For an image of the entire door-frame, see TRIVEDI 2000 Plate XI.B, who dates it to the mid-eleventh century CE. His assessment of the historical context and overlap of regional styles applies to the Bīṭhalā door-frame as well: "The workmanship of the doorway, more precisely the depiction of sixteen auspicious dreams on the upper doorway, make it datable to the middle of eleventh century A.D. when the region was ruled by the successors of Raṇapāladeva. - Incidentally, the auspicious dreams have also been shown in Jaina temples at Devagarh, and Ādinātha and Ghantai temples of Khajuraho almost of the same period. - Besides the dot-and-diamond pattern and spike-like *mālā-grāsa-paṭṭikā*, the double register over the door are the *Kacchapaghāta* conventions. But some ornamentation e.g. double-beaded border and the sculptural style are influenced by the Candellas when the region was ruled by the local Pratihāras. - Thus, it is not only the political influence but the interaction of regional styles caused by migration of sculptors and artists. Even now, in remote villages regional styles interact and overlap with change in the dialect and in accordance with the environment." (p. 194).

202 BRUHN 1977: 186 & Fig. 4: "For this type of structure compare Temple No. 3 of Deogarh". BRUHN uses the numeration of MUKHERJI 1899b: Plate 13.

203 See *infra*.

Ādinātha temple of Māmoṃ.[204] This indicates that, while some of the image chambers may have been older, the portals were created in broadly the same medieval time period by kindred regional workshops.[205] The designs that are most similar were found at geographically proximate places linked by the trade route along the river Orr, namely Būṛhī Canderī and Thūbana. The fact that Golākoṭa and Pacarāī also present similar designs indicates that the main lines of influence were along north-south routes rather than east-west routes. Further afar, the door-ways of Temple No. 12 in Devagaṛha,[206] and of the three shrines of the Śāntinātha temple in Khajurāho (**Fig. 16**), itself a heritage temple,[207] and the inner door-frame of the Pārśvanātha temple in Khajurāho are similar in structure, but more elaborated, with distinct śālabhañjikā figures not found in the Bīṭhalā region dominating the iconography of the lower door-

204 In a pencil drawing MAISEY 1850 depicts a similar arrangement with figures of Ambikā at the bottom of the jambs of a now obliterated temple in Māmoṃ. See *infra*.

205 MEISTER 1975: 233 argued that "the artistic remains at Deogarh from the late tenth and eleventh centuries seem more strongly affiliated to Kacchapaghāta style [of "Terahi and Kadwaha"] than to the Candella style in the east" and that "Deogarh marks, however, perhaps a regional boundary for that style". Regarding the Gaṅgā-Yamunā door-frame motif VIENNOT 1964: 199, by contrast, noticed a shared stylistic vocabulary throughout the Candella realm, which she assumed to have extended beyond the river Betwa. SEARS 2015b: 68 stressed the significance of artistic transmission along river (and other trade) routes, rather than royal patronage, as far as the Hindu temples and maṭhas in the Gopakṣetra region are concerned. Though dismissing Kacchapaghāta influence as yet unsubstantiated, she still emphasized "the significance of local, autonomous ruling groups", especially the rulers of Būṛhi Canderī, that were established under Gurjara-Pratihāra rule. Overall, the temples of the Canderī region, including Devagaṛha, seem to be older than the equivalent Jaina structures in Khajurāho, including the later door-frames. HEGEWALD 2006: 413 placed the inner door-fame of the Pārśvanātha temple in the thirteenth century, while the somewhat comparable inner door-frame of "Temple No. 12" (officially now: No. 35) in Devagaṛha is dated by an inscription to VS 1051, and the outer door-frame to VS 1133. See BRUHN 1969: 36.

206 MEISTER 1975: Fig. 15.

207 The main image of the temple, Śāntinātha, is dated VS 1085. The temple was newly reconstructed in 1870 CE by K. Jaina of Nagaur. See TIWARI 1987: 19; cf. B. JAINA 1976: 134f. It houses a great number of old images which may all have belonged to the old 11th-century temple that once existed on site and went through a series of renovations. Nowadays it also has a "Picture Gallery", a temple museum of kinds. The temples under ASI management are original Hindu temples appropriated by Jainas according to HEGEWALD 2005 and 2006. Cf. BRUHN 1956: 31-34; TIWARI (forthc.). The other Jaina temples in Khajurāho are not considered here.

Fig. 16 Khajurāho, door-frame of Ādinātha shrine, Śāntinātha temple

Fig. 17 Bīṭhalā, upper part of door-frame, detail of Fig. 13

jambs, which is generally indistinct from the lower door-jamb designs of Hindu temples of the period in the region.[208]

The frieze above the Bīṭhalā lintel (**Fig. 17**) shows a protective yakṣiṇī figure, and two seated Jina figures at either end. The spaces in between and at the edges of the frieze are filled with twelve standing miniature Jinas and ten tiny seated Jinas above to complete the number of twenty-four Jinas. In the middle of the lintel (uttar-aṅga), placed underneath the yakṣiṇī image on the frieze (**Fig. 14**), a seated Jina (**Fig. 15**) is depicted in a medieval "hovering class" style,[209] with a śrīvatsa,[210] flanked by two images of standing Jinas at either end in a tri-tīrthika composition, while the spaces in between are filled with figures of the protective nava-grahas (**Figs. 18ab**).[211] The nine planets are represented in standing posture, with water-pot and rosary, which is not untypical for medieval Central Indian Digambara temples.[212]

208 See *infra*.

209 See *infra*.

210 The specific shape of the śrīvatsa could be read as a mark of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, Pārśvanātha or Mahāvīra, in terms of the list of Jina śrīvatsas extant in Khajurāho presented by SHARMA 1994: 238 Fig. 190. It is not clear yet to what extent the use of individual śrīvatsa marks for different Jinas was conventionalized in practice.

211 See MEVISSEN 2005: 579 for the different functions and rationales of graha representations.

212 See the nava-grahas on similar lintels of Jaina temples at Golākoṭa, discussed in BRUHN 1977: 386, the Ādinātha shrine in the Śāntinātha temple (see **Fig. 16**) (cf. M.N.P. TIWARI 1994: 151 Fig. 101) and the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajurāho (dated by U.R. TIWARI

Fig. 18a Bīṭhalā, detail of Fig. 17, nava-graha frieze, left part, showing Sūrya, Candra, Maṅgala, Budha

There are four panels on each of the two door-jambs (śākhā) depicting human couples engaged in sexual practices (daṃpati-yugala) (**Figs. 19abc**),[213] placed in between the images of meditating Digambara ascetics on the topmost layers of the door-frame, the frieze, and the lintel including images of the nava-grahas, and sculptures of outward-facing two-handed female figures in

1994: 87, 89 Fig. 60 to the 10th century CE), and the standing nava-grahas depicted on the tri-tīrthika-style lintel of the Śāntinātha temple No. 7 in Thūban (*infra*). MEVISSEN 2000: 344 note 6 points to unpublished photographs of BRUHN from Deogarh, Gwalior and Būṛhī Canderī. With regard to grahas as subsidiary deities of central Jina images, MEVISSEN 2008a: 440 demonstrated that "[t]he vast majority of central Indian images, however, shows *navagraha*s, both at Deogarh (e.g., in the upper part of the huge, 9th century Śāntinātha in Temple 12, ref. no. 90 [on which see MEISTER 1975: 232f., 236: "ward off bad omens"]), and at other sites", and pointed to the region as the centre of this style: Deogarh, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Vidisha, Khajuraho, Satna, Jabalpur, Mandla (p. 439). The iconography was standardized, also across lintels of contemporaneous Hindu temples in the wider region of M.P. and U.P. where "the development of the Jaina art and iconography remained identical" (TIWARI 1989: 68). See VARMA, PAL & MALAVIYA 1994: 218; MEVISSEN 2019b: 399f. Figs. 22.3e & 22.4 etc. See also the nava-grahas on the lintel of temple No. 7 of Bādoha, a 10th-century Sūrya temple, republished by MEVISSEN 2016: 574 no. 1, 582 Fig. 3A, and a Śiva temple of Kadavāyā pp. 574 no.4, 583 Fig. 4A, whose design is almost identical with the nava-grahas of Bīṭhalā and of the Śāntinātha temple No. 7 in Thūban. See further MEVISSEN 2003: 472, 499. Further on nava-grahas, see TIWARI & SINHA 2011: 139f.; MEVISSEN 2008a: 441; 2012: 94-99; 2019b: 401; HEGEWALD 2009: 106f.

213 HEGEWALD 2009: 112f. points to other examples, also in southern India, and interprets *mithuna* images as symbols of "the union of opposites, or the becoming one with one's true self, one's pure *jīva* or *paramātmā* (supreme soul)".

Fig. 18b Bīṭhalā, detail of Fig. 17, nava-graha frieze, right part, showing Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, and Rāhu beneath Ketu

ābhaṅga pose[214] on the lower door-jambs, whose identity is not entirely clear, and has been determined in different ways in the literature in regard to comparable images.[215] The figure on the lower door-jamb to the left (**Fig. 20a**)

Figs. 19abc Bīṭhalā, mithunas on door-jambs, details of Fig. 13

214 Cf. VARMA 1983.

215 For parallel images of "Gaṅgā" carrying a flower and protecting a child from Hindu and Jaina temples, see VIENNOT 1964: Plates 7b Ajaṇṭā Cavernes XXVI & XXVII, Plate 19b Bhūmarā, Plate 34d Mathurā Fragment, Plate 45a Kadavāyā Temple Bhuteśavar-Mahādeo, Plate 46b Terahi Temple Mohajamātā, Plate 46c Tumain Temple ruin, Plate 47a Khajurāho Temple Pārśvanātha, Plate 47b Khajurāho Temple Lakṣmaṇa, Plate 48b Khajurāho Temple Viśvanātha, Plate 56b Aihole Temple Mallikārjuna, Plate 56c Aihoḷe Temple "Hutchimalliguli" [Huccimalli-Guḍi], Plate 59b Ālampur Temple Svarga-Brahma. The closest sculptural ensembles are Mathurā 34d, Kadavāyā 45a, Tumain 46c, Khajurāho 47b, 48b, Aihole 56b. The temple of Bīṭhalā is not covered by VIENNOT's survey, which points to the prevalence of the motif in the realm of the Candellas (pp. 86, 166), where they tend

Fig. 20a Female figure on left door-jamb, detail of Fig. 13

Fig. 20b Female figure on right door-jamb, detail of Fig. 13

holds an attribute in her left hand that could be interpreted as a waterlily, a lotus- or tree-branch or a garland of wild flowers (vanamālā),[216] and with her right hand protects a female child, holding a branch in the left hand as well which could be interpreted as a lotus. The female figure on the lower door-jamb to the right (**Fig. 20b**) holds a similar branch in her right hand, and with her left hand protects a female child, who also seems to hold a branch.[217]

Standing besides each auspicious female figure is a male armed dvāra-pāla, underneath a pedestal on which a pair of male figures sits, apparently engaged in a discussion (**Figs. 21ab**). Though not clearly visible, the depicted scene corresponds to the common "teacher-and-disciple motif". Of each pair one

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to supplement and then replace the dvāra-pālas in Śaivaite, Vaiṣṇavite and Jaina temples (pp. 169f.). For their association with amorous couples see p. 111. See also GUPTE 1972: Plate XXI.120-123 for similar representations of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Ellora.

216 Cf. BHATTACHARYA 2006: 11 Fig. 2. For a depiction of the padmapāṇi (lotus-bearer) motif, often associated with Gaṅgā and Yamunā, but also with the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, see BRUHN 1956: 29 Fig. 1; and cf. BRUHN 1969: 188, 434f. Figs. 244A, 245 on "snake-lotuses" associated with Sarasvatī which both can be similar in appearance. BRUHN 1969: 186-188, 236, 438 Fig. 249, 457 Figs. 290-292 did not identify the lower door-frame images of Devagaṛha temples Nos. 5, 11, 12 dated VS 1120, 1105, 1133. But in a hand-written note on a circulated xerox-copy he identified Fig. 11 on p. 285 as "Ganga!".

217 Cf. BRUHN 1969: 23, 472-473 Figs. 330 & 332. For parallels in Devagaṛha dated 10th-11th century, see also *ibid*. pp. 438 Fig. 249 (possibly: Tārā, p. 189), 457 Fig. 290; BRUHN 1998: 114 Fig. 157; NAGAR 1999, I: 293 Fig. 74, II: Fig. 157, cf. p. 448; also *infra*, a refined 11th-century example from Dhār in WILLIS 2011: 35 Fig. 1, and the local parallel in Māmoṃ recorded by MAISEY 1850 (*infra*).

Figs. 21ab Pairs of teachers and disciples, details of Figs. 20ab

figure holds a text in one hand in front of the chest, which indicates teacher-status. The opposite figure seems to hold a mālā in the one visible lowered hand. Evidently, the two sculptures represent different types of teachers and disciples.The figures to the left wear some kind of dress, ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces or garlands, a hat or crown,[218] and evidently a sacred thread (upavīta), and perhaps represent householders, perhaps brahmins.[219] The figures to the right represent naked Digambara monks, wearing "caps" as it were, to distinguish them from Jina images. It seems that no sthāpanā is placed between the two figures, typical for the "ācārya-motif" discussed by BRUHN (1986: 179, 181, 185 Fig. 4), but perhaps behind them.[220]

Placed between the gate-way and each of the two auspicious female figures, underneath a nāga image, is what appears to be a female cāmara-bearer, who may have been carrying a water pot (kalaśa) (damaged). Barely visible, in front of the feet of the figure to the right is the head of a crocodile (makara), and in front of the figure to the left a tortoise (kūrma). This clearly indicates that the two dvāra-pālas that are turning their heads to the gate itself rather than to the outside viewer represent the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[221]

218 According to SHAH 1975: 132 "cap-like crowns" are part of the "Gupta idiom".

219 Cf. BRUHN 1956: 29 Fig. 1 for the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, presented in similar garb.

220 The parallel iconography of the door-jambs of the Ādinātha temple of Būṛhī Canderī (*infra*) and of a lower-door jamb from Būṛhī Canderī of the 12th century preserved at the Chanderi Museum (Acc. No. AMC 576/08; *infra*) clearly show pairs of mendicants engaged in discussion.

221 The gate-way of temple No. 4 at Thūban (2019 number) shows the cāmara-bearers and nāga sculptures more clearly, as well as the hand-attributes, though the female children are missing. The lower door-jambs of the Ādinātha temple in Būṛhī Canderī are also similar in design (*infra*). They clearly show Gaṅgā and Yamunā carrying both cāmara and

Woman with Flower and Child Motif

The question is, who are the auspicious mother-figures carrying tree-branches or flowers and protecting a female child? If the cāmara-kalaśa-dhāriṇīs are representations of the river goddesses, then the ābhaṅga figures cannot represent river goddesses as well, unless the former are considered as attributes of the latter, like the protected child. VOGEL (1929) coined the term "woman and tree motif", and ROTH (1957: 95) spoke of the motif of a "woman with the branch of a tree" (śālabhañjikā). SHAH (1987: 263f.) framed a narrower observers category, which might be called the "goddess, tree and child motif", while most other art-historians, such as BRUHN (1969), did not identify these types of images at all.[222] The problem of identification is twofold. Śālabhañjikā figures are shown holding one of their hands up while breaking off a tree-branch with leaves and blossoms. The figures at Bīṭhalā and similar sculptures elsewhere, by contrast, only hold a bunch of flowers or branches in one of their hands. There is no tree. This type of image could be described as the "woman with flower and child motif". The question is whether the motif was considered to be a variant or substantially different from the śālabhañjikā motif, which is otherwise iconographically identical. Both are commonly used in Jaina lower door-jamb designs. In Devagaṛha, Temple No. 16 (and perhaps other temples where the child position is not filled but the protective hand gesture maintained, possibly because of damage), the "woman with flower" motif – without child, with left hand placed on the hip – can be found. Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures with Nāgas alone are also evident, at Temples Nos. 9, 13, 18, etc., or even without Nāga figures, as in Temples Nos. 14 and 20. Temples Nos. 22, 23, 24, 37 feature frontal Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures as the main figures, with a "Śālabhañjikā" in the first case without a child on the right side and a daṇḍadhāriṇī with a parasol-stick in her hands turning towards Yamunā in a protective gesture. This is evidently a transitional form. Temples Nos. 23 and 24[223] have in the "woman and child" position only a daṇḍadhāriṇī with a child, effectively replacing the woman with a śālabhañjikā and the tree-canopy with a parasol, and unambiguously defining the woman with kalaśa as Gaṅgā-Yamunā. Door-frames of this type present standing or sitting Jina figures in

kalaśa. See also CUNNINGHAM 1880: 104 on the lower door-jamb of Temple No. 5 in Devagaṛha.

222 But see note 216.

223 MEISTER 1975: 230 & Fig. 12 (Temple No. 15, numeration of MUKHERJI 1899b: Plate 13, not current numeration used above).

the middle door-jamb. Temple No. 37 presents frontal same-sized Gaṅgā-Yamunā and "woman with flower without child" figures standing next to one another. Devagaṛha offers examples of almost all variations. Notably, many temples, such as Nos. 7 and 8, have no door-frame at all, occasionally with a single Jina figure on the lintel. The Ādinātha shrine in Khajurāho (**Fig. 16**) features a śālabhañjikā and Bīṭhalā a "woman with flower and child" motif. VIENNOT (1964; 1968: 47-49 & Figs. 87-92), who modeled the evolution of the "river goddess" motif, and other authors, like STIETENCRON (1972/2010), DEVA (1975: 291) or RAJPUT (2015: 62f.), interpreted both types as representations of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[224] This created additional problems. Only MEISTER (1975: 230)[225] attempted to distinguish two types of auspicious female figures with plants and children, representing in his as in STIETENCRON's (1972/2010) view either yakṣīs or, later, Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Both auspicious female figures in Bīṭhalā could indeed be interpreted as representing the yakṣiṇī Ambikā, given the presence of a child and branch of a plant, with or without the depiction of a tree. Yet, in this case one would expect a male counterpart such as Sarvāṇha or a similar Kubera-like figure to appear on the opposite lower door-jamb. But this is not the case. Standing Ambikās are also always depicted with a male rather than a female child. Hence, the images are unlikely to depict Ambikā. The two auspicious females on their own cannot be clearly identified as Gaṅgā and Yamunā either, since there are already Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures, and because they are not depicted as standing respectively on a crocodile (makara) and a tortoise (kūrma), as common in medieval Hindu temple iconography, though BRUHN (1960: 227) noted that "in the late medieval period the representation of the makara and the tortoise on the lower door-jambs was no longer common practice".[226]

At Bīṭhalā the auspicious female figures seem to have retained their original ambiguity as vṛkṣa devatās, śālabhañjikās or yakṣīs, all symbols of fertility, as J.P. VOGEL (1925; 1929: 220, 224, 226) had already suggested in general

224 The proper representations of the river-goddesses, carrying cāmara and kalaśas, are interpreted as mere "attendant-figures": "The base of the doorway shows Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanked by female attendants on each side. The attendants portrayed on the door-jambs proper face each other and carry a water-jar with crocodile represented behind the proper right figure and tortoise behind the proper left figure" (DEVA 1975: 281).

225 The formula used by the authors was: "Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and attendant figures" (MEISTER 1975: 233).

226 See BRUHN 1969: 25, 285 Fig. 11 (cf. note 192), 457 Figs. 290-292, and the comparable 10th-century door-frame of a Śiva temple in Kadavāyā in SEARS 2015a: 61 Fig. 30.

terms,[227] while remaining distinct from the separate personifications of river goddesses next to them. U.P. SHAH (1987: 263f.) discussed the association of śālabhañjikā figures, Ambikā, and Gaṅgā-Yamunā with children and concluded that from the 5th century "[i]t seems that there existed a conception of a yakṣī or a śālabhañjikā or a goddess standing under a mango-tree and having a child by her side. This conception was the prototype of the form of Gaṅgā, the Jaina Ambikā and the Brahmanical Tripurasundari". ROTH (1957: 94) traced the literary paradigms of the śālabhañjikā variant in earlier Jaina Ardhamāgadhī passages, and Buddhist stūpa iconography, and came to the conclusion that "the Ardhamāgadhī sphere of East India is the homeplace of *sālabhañjiā* in the wider sense of its original meaning, namely: carving of a woman bending down the branch of a tree" (p. 97).

Hitherto, the iconography of the door-frames of Jaina temples has only been studied in terms of typologies of individual elements, subjects and style,[228] some of which seemed "strange" within the context of Jaina temples.[229] MEISTER (1975: 235) noted that "[t]hroughout the eighth century only rarely does any temple present a cohesive iconographic schema on its door". BRUHN (1986b: 185) notes that in Devagaṛha, generally "[t]he result can be described as a compromise". Yet, the objective meaning of the iconographical programmes of the door-frames (and mukha-maṇḍapas) of medieval Jaina temples can be investigated in terms of the relationships between the elements and their organizing principle.[230] The compositions of the door-frames of Jaina temples

227 For one of the principal textual paradigms for symbols of fertility such as architectural śālabhañjikās, the Śvetāmbara Rāyapaseṇaijja, see ROTH 1957/1980/1986: 22f.; SINGH 2010: 9, cf. 71. Sculptures of "genii" of this type have been excavated not only at Sāñcī, but also in front of the Jaina stūpa at Mathurā. See GLASENAPP 1925/1984: 401, 488 & Plate 10. See also examples in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London to which Nicholas Barnard kindly pointed me: Yamunā relief (https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O66522/figure-group-unknown); Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures at Tigawa (https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1270573/photograph).

228 Cf. VIENNOT 1968: 47-49; BRUHN 1986b: 179f., 185.

229 BRUHN 1956: 35. See for instance BRUHN 2000: 308 on the "strange presence [...] of a mother-goddess (Ambikā) and of females studded with weapons (Cakreśvarī, etc.) on the image of a great ascetic (the Jina) 'absorbed in deep meditation'." BRUHN 1956: 35 and SIṂHA 1994 addressed the question of sexual motifs in Jaina iconography, and S. JAINA 1994 the iconographic polemics against Jaina mendicants in Hindu temples depicting erotic scenes. See also HEGEWALD 2009: 172f.

230 On "objective meaning" and the method of "objective interpretation", broadly following A. RIEGL, see MANNHEIM (1923) 2009/1953: 74/77, who contrasted the analysis of "phe-

are structured hierarchically.[231] Images of ascetic self-control are invariably placed above all other images. MEISTER (pp. 235f.) speaks of a "reverential hierarchy", and observes "a greater cohesiveness in the arrangement of Jaina deities" from the 10th century, in response to similar developments in Hindu door-ways, without compromising the essential essence of the Jina image with polytheistic imagery. ROTH (1957: 97) observed that, in practice, "the figures of *sālabhañjias*, *dāraceḍis*, etc., are not intended to fulfil a decorative purpose only but that they are fully included in the act of worship in line with the Jina images!" – "We learn from this that the temple as a whole with Jina images, along with the carvings of branch bending women, female doorkeepers and other decorative motifs is conceived as a complete unit in the act of worship." Since there are evidently different iconographic (Digambara) Jaina door-frame programmes, embedded within different temple designs, the question is how their structural and conventional ritual meanings differ and how to explain the variations, if any, in the underlying rationale. In general, the asymmetrical distinction jina / loka[232] can serve as a model of the implicit generative principle informing the door-frame constructions under investigation. A code such as this, combined with the male / female distinction, is able to accommodate a great number of variant stylistic programmes without losing structural unity.[233]

In the present case, Jina images, and images of the nava-grahas, are placed above images of auspicious couples, and of the river goddesses and

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nomenologically necessary correlations between units of the visual universe" with subjective interpretation: "Objective meaning, that is, meaning to be grasped by objective interpretation, is rooted in the structural laws of the object itself; certain elements – and phases – of sensible reality here become necessary stages in the progressive realisation of meaning" (p. 48/51).

231 MEISTER 1975: 233. BRUHN 1977: 383 criticized his own work on Deogarh for not giving enough "emphasis to meaning (as opposed to mere form)". Cf. BRUHN 1995: 245f. on the iconographic "form-principles" "symmetry and hierarchical scaling", and BRUHN 2000: 277 on "distinction".

232 Loka, in its different meanings. Apparently, there are no textual paradigms for these iconographic programmes.

233 The middle door-jambs of "Temple No. 15" (now: No. 23) in Devagaṛha are unusual since they, as well as two other cases, displays only images of seated Jinas. See MEISTER 1975: 235 & Fig. 12. The door-frame of Būṛhī Canderī published by TRIVEDI 2000 Plate XI.B presents also only Jina figures on the middle door-jambs. The door-frame seems, however, artificially constructed out of debris. On formal standardization as a means of "coping with an expanding universe of possibility" and the relation between code, style and theme, see LUHMANN 1995/2000 and SCHUMACHER 2011: 233-240, 260.

nāgas.[234] The asymmetrical juxtaposition of three levels, or four levels if frieze and lintel are counted separately, suggests a chain of causation or conditionality, pointing the viewer to austerity as the ultimate source of fertility and bliss.[235]

S. KRAMRISCH (1946, II: 314f.) interprets the iconographic programme of Viṣṇu temples in reverse order, presenting the river-goddesses on the lower door-jambs, which in her view are connected with the star-studded, water-supplying "heavens" represented on the top of the door-frames, as the foundation of all life:

> "Above their groups are carved and repeated in many panels such shapes and configurations, in which life is young and quick; procreative couples on the posts, and baby-shapes of Gaṇas ("quantities" of celestials) amidst creepers rambling around the door-way. Serpents are interlaced on the door-way of Viṣṇu temples, especially. [...]
> The door-way is an iconostasis of the descent of the Rivers, of Śakti; and of the ascent of life competing for its heavenly origin in the creepers rambling upwards on the 'branches' (śākhā) of the frame, in the multiform concatenations within their stalks and, on each single Śākhā, in the sequence of lovers ('mithuna'), prancing chimaerae (śārdūla) and jubilant spirits (gaṇa)".

If this interpretation holds for the iconography of door-frames of medieval Hindu temples, it does not for Jaina temples. While assimilating fertility motifs from Vaiṣṇava and Śivaite iconography, the door-frames of Jaina temples in medieval Madhyadeśa differ considerably. Because the iconographic programme is dominated by the hierarchical contrast between asceticism and fecundity, the symbolism of the door-frames of the Jaina temples is

234 MEVISSEN 2000: 344 argued that the grahas on door-lintels "do not function as subsidiary figures for a deity represented on the same slab but for the deity enshrined in the *garbhagṛha*". Like BRUHN 2000: 299, he does not consider nava-grahas on lintels in this article (he does so in MEVISSEN 2012: 94-99), but his research points to the fact that in Madhyadeśa the nava-grahas were associated with a limited number of Jinas such as Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Pārśvanātha, and Śāntinātha. See MEVISSEN 2000: 373; 2008a: 447. These were also the most popular Jinas in the medieval period.

235 In different contexts, MEVISSEN 2003; 2019a: 191f. pointed out "that one feature common to goddesses depicted with astral figures or symbols is their relation to marriage and birth, *i.e.* their nuptial and motherly aspects, both aspects being closely inter-related: Pārvatī's *tapas* (lit. "heat", penance, asceticism) is only the final stage of several unsuccessful efforts (of Brahmā and other gods) to convince Śiva to marry and produce a son". This may suggest that the nava-grahas in the door-frame are associated both with the Jinas and the goddess, within a frame dominated by symbolism of fertility and asceticism.

transformed. The view that the exterior of Jaina temple architecture and ornamentation is virtually indistinguishable from Hindu temple architecture therefore needs to be qualified.

Following KRAMRISCH's interpretation of the door-way in the Hindu temple, it may, however, be argued that because the door-way is the frame through which the image is perceived, "[i]t appears as if the many divinities carved on the door frame belonged to the image in the Garbhagṛha, were its 'parivāra' or 'surrounding' divinities" (p. 313). In other words, the door-frame can be seen as a functional equivalent or extension of the parikara, especially in older Jaina temples, with little decorum inside the image-chamber itself. If the frame of the door-way and the parikara are taken in view together by a visitor, it is also interesting to note that in the case of the door-frame of Bīṭhalā, and similar gateways, the placement of the grahas appears above the main image, not below. G. MEVISSEN (2000: 389) noted that the former position is "very rarely used in Jaina art whereas in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava art it occurs almost ubiquitously". The placement of nava-grahas on top of the door-frame thus seems to represent an assimilation of Hindu motifs within a Jaina frame.

Social Function of Framing: Involution of Meaning

The iconography of the door-frames[236] can be read as a self-exegesis of medieval Jaina temples in Madhyadeśa, generally juxtaposing an austere image of a monolithic standing Jina on the inside with ostentatious ornamentation on the outside, echoing the dual soul-body relationship in Jaina metaphysics, and reflecting the relationship of the temple to the outer world within the temple itself. It can be argued that with the supplementation of ornate door-frames the Jaina temple became a self-referential structure. The door-way frames interpretative perspectives on the Jina in his relationship to society, which demarcates the boundary between the religion of the individual and the world

236 The classical study of the symbolism of the door-frames of Hindu temples is KRAMRISCH 1946, II: 313-316. See also DONALDSON 1976 and U.R.TIWARI 1994. By way of summary, SEARS 2008: 14 identified two key functions of the ambiguous iconography of door-frames as thresholds of 10th-century Śivaite temples in Gopakṣetra: "The first was primarily auspicious and apotropaic: the doorway was the final threshold separating the space of the exterior world from the temple sanctum. The second was to signify the specific identity of the deity enshrined within; the figures depicted on the door frame both signaled the temple's sectarian affiliation and acted as a projection of the deity's presence from within." On the (astral) symbolism of the threshold and the lalāṭa-bimba in a Buddhist context, see MEVISSEN 2011: 99-100.

of social relations. The restriction of viewpoints creates redundancy and generates information channeling perceptions, interpretations and social communications[237] by constraining premises for future communications[238] through self-referential frames.[239] Adapting this approach to Jaina religious architecture it can be argued that only through the creation of self-referential door-frame designs medieval Jaina temple architecture projected itself into society with an unambiguous message. Jaina architecture visibly self-identifies as "Jaina" architecture, and frames perceptions and discourses of its religious, social and architectural[240] significance. While the imagery depicts the potential multiple fruits of renunciation, it is clear to the informed viewer that the power of asceticism can be used in two ways, for material benefit, depicted on the outside of the temple, and for the advancement on the path of liberation, pictured on the inside. The narrative imagery of the door-frame in its function as a threshold can be perceived in two ways by the visitor, who is meant to undergo a transformation when stepping through the door-way into the garbha-gṛha, before returning back into the outer world: outside-in and inside-out.

237 For art and architecture as self-referential social systems, see LUHMANN 1995/2000: 114: "In the imaginary world of art, just as in the real world, a spatial position defines itself by providing access to other places. Architecture determines how the context of the edifice is to be seen. A sculpture defines its surrounding space. [...] It is always the difference, the boundary, that makes a difference and is turned into information by the work of art". On processes of involution of contextual meaning through framing in general, see also Jonathan CULLER, cited by CORT 2010: 15: "[A]ny given context is open to further description. There is no limit in principle to what might be included in a given context, to what might be shown to be relevant". CORT (*ibid*.) concludes from the fact that "every time we turn context into text we simply create another context" that the recourse to "agency" "allows us to bring to a standstill the process of endless recession", and then sets his own frames: "history, scripture, and comparison", including "Japanese Buddhist icons, mandalas, or twentieth-century Minimalist art". If CORT's frames seem too wide, BRUHN's 1985: 150ff.; 1995: 144ff. frame of typological "slot-filler analysis" is too narrow to account for the function of door-ways as visual, religious and social hermeneutical frames.

238 In terms of LUHMANN's theory of the autopoiesis of architecture adopted by SCHUMACHER 2011: 365, "[b]uildings, or, to be more precise, the spaces (territories) around and within buildings, thus constitute important communications. They are communications that are generated within the autopoiesis of architecture, but at the same time they cross architecture's system boundary to enter other social communication systems as their framing devices".

239 The function of serial door-frames can be interpreted as intensification of self-referential involution and augmentation of hermeneutic self-control.

240 Examples of architectural self-references are Jina images on door-jambs placed within architectural frames for instance.

Jaina ascetics also fulfil social functions, as symbols of the value of renunciation, and as social mediators. Asceticism can thus have self-transformative and communicative functions.[241] By acts of appreciation (anumodana), devotion (bhakti) or veneration (pūjā) of asceticism, the power and auspiciousness generated by individual acts of renunciation can be transposed from the level of the individual to the level of society.[242] The Jaina temple as an institution for the organized devotion of renunciation practices, in mind, speech and body, can thus function at the same time as a vehicle for the reproduction of fruitful social relations.

Antarāla

The flat roof of the porch is held up by caturmukha and trimukha capitals depicting dwarfish atlantes (bhāra-vāhaka) carrying the load of the roof slabs on top of the square (rucaka) pillars (**Figs. 22abcd**). The four ornamental pillars supporting the flat roof of the four-pillared porch (mukha-catuṣkī) protecting the antarāla or intermediate space in front of the cella, where worshippers can take darśana of the central image or witness rituals within the shrine,[243] are richly decorated with pūrṇa-kalaśa floral motifs (**Fig. 23**), which are symbols of fertility as well.[244] Each of the two pillars flanking the door-frame of the garbha-gṛha features a dvāra-pāla or pratihāra (**Figs. 24ab**).

Stylistically, the ornamentation of the pillars corresponds to the door-frame. The door-frame and porch were evidently intended to form an integral whole. The stonework of the main image chamber seems to be of a different colour. Hence, the fitted door-frame and porch may have been added in the medieval period to a pre-existing unornamented structure. Since rows of miniature Jinas and vegetable motifs on pillars and jambs were introduced only in the medieval period,[245] the image chamber could be placed in the early

241 For a Weberian analysis of the social implications of devotional practice, see BAYLY 1983: 38. For a mixed Weberian and Durkheimian analysis, see CORT's 2002: 738 theory of the "universalization" of the Jaina "practice of asceticism" through the "enthusiasm" for or "devotion to abstract concepts such as asceticism" and ascetics (p. 736), which makes the "asceticism of the few accessible to all" "without renouncing the world".

242 FLÜGEL 2019.

243 HEGEWALD 2009: 140.

244 Cf. BRUHN 1969: 15, 300 Fig. 30, cf. 458 Fig. 293.

245 BRUHN 1969: 224. The former to indicate the significance of "the sequence of 24 Jinas" according to BRUHN 1986a: 161.

Figs. 22abcd Dwarfish atlantes on top of square pillars in antarāla

medieval period[246] and the door-frame and porch in the medieval period.[247]

The well-preserved door-frame of the temple ruin at Bīṭhalā is of extraordinary stylistic coherence, and should be preserved in a museum, if the temple as a whole is not shifted on higher ground.

Individualisation of Tīrthas through Attribution of Miracles

The information gathered at Bīṭhalā in 2019 is not very significant in itself. But it contributes to a better understanding of the regional Jaina religious and art-historical configurations in the early medieval period under Gurjara-

246 Or earlier. MEISTER 1975: 240 note 22 thinks that many of BRUHN's dates "are too late", not least in view of the period of "iconologic formlessness" still evident in the interiors of several shrines.

247 BRUHN 1969: 36 and MEISTER 1975: 223f., cf. p. 228, similarly noted that in Devagaṛha, "the original doorway to the inner shrine of temple no. 12 was replaced in S.V. 1051/994 A.D. by a highly ornate door (Fig. 15)" and the open maṇḍapa added later as well. Similarly, HEGEWALD 2006: 408 who, with regard to the Pārśvanātha temple in Khajurāho, argued that therefore "the presence of Jinas on the door lintels of the temple cannot, as many scholars have argued, be taken as lasting proof of the original dedication of the shrine".

Fig. 23 Pūrṇa-kalaśa on top of square pillars in the antarāla

Figs. 24ab Dvāra-pālas flanking the door-frame of the garbha-gṛha

Pratihāra rule (ca. VS 919-1025) and in the medieval period, under Candella overlordship (ca. VS 1154-1239), with some influence in the intervening period of the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior.[248] It is unlikely that within regional networks Jaina tīrthas became already strategically individualized through the creation of distinct mūla-nāyakas in order to attract pilgrims and donations, as testified by the lack of individualizing marks on the images themselves[249] and the limited variety of identified Jinas.[250] However, selected images were sought to be individualized by attributing "miracle working powers" to them, perhaps by extension of the special powers associated with Pārśva and the protective snakes linked to his image. Temple sites were also important as residencies for Digambara monks, and clerics, which may explain the pattern

248 Dates from BRUHN 1969: 64f. According to MEISTER 1975: 233, "in the tenth century there were still strong connections between this region and the region surrounding Kadwaha, which still was under feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras". RAJPUT 2015: 74f. and SINGH & JAINA 2018: 9 argue that the inscriptions of Thūbana VS 1055, of Canderī VS 1100, Pacarāī VS 1122, and a fragmentary inscription of Kadavāyā suggest that the Pratihāra dynasty ruled "in the region of Jhansi, Chanderī, Thūbon, Pacharaī, Kadwāhā and adjoining area during 10th-13th century C.E.".

249 See BRUHN 2000: 290, and p. 297 on indistinct images of Jinas and attendant figures as a "peculiarity of Northern and Central India".

250 See BRUHN 1985: 152ff. on the prevalence of the "Ṛṣabha-Pārśva-Others" opposition, and the limited number of personal attributes until the medieval period. He speaks of "empty identifications" as generic Jinas, recognizable mainly by their nakedness and frontality (pp. 168f., 163). See BRUHN 1995: 260 on the "mystery" of "[t]he psychology of the creation of nameless Jina.s".

of distribution of temples along major north-south routes. Most temples located along trade routes, like the site at Bīṭhalā, must have been linked to once sizable local Jaina communities and mainly visited by merchants, such as Pāṛā Śāha, who may have been the main pilgrims in the region.[251]

The reconstruction of the history of the temples, monastic lineages, Jaina support networks and Jaina art in the region remains a challenge, because much of the historical evidence has been obliterated or displaced, and requires more research, supplementing the pioneering work of M.B. GARDE, U.P. SHAH, K. BRUHN, O. VIENNOT, B. JAINA, K. DEVA, M. MEISTER, K.C. JAIN, R.S. RAJPUT, A.K. SIṂHA and N.K. JAINA.

The concluding part of this essay, Jaina Non-Tīrthas in Madhadeśa II.2, will present illustrated sections on Indora, Māmoṃ, Thūbana, Bahorībanda, Seroṃna, Pacarāī, Golākoṭa, Mahebā and Bajaraṅgagaṛha, Devagaṛha and Būṛhī Canderī.

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Appendix I: Investigated Digambara Jaina (Non-) Tīrthas												
Location	Label	NS	ASIS	RS	RVS	RA	TA	HT	NT	TM	JAM	SAM
Bahorī-banda	Dig. Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra						x	x				
Bajaraṅga-gaṛha	Candra-prabhu Dig. Jai. Mandira								x			
Bārī	Dig. Jaina Mandira	x										
Bīṭhalā	Dig. Jaina Mandiras			x								
Būṛhī Canderī	Dig. Jaina Mandiras		x	x								
Canderī	Dig. Jaina Pārśvanātha Mandira							x				
	Archaeo-logical Museum											x
Deva-gaṛha	Dig. Jaina Mandiras & Museum		x	x	x		x	x				x
Golā-koṭa	Ādinātha Mandira, Dig. Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra						x	x	x			
Gūḍara	Abhinanda-nanātha Dig. Jaina Mandira		x			x						
Gurīlā-giri	Dig. Jaina Mandiras			x								
Indora	Dig. Jaina Mandira			x		x						
Khaju-rāho	Dig. Jaina Mandiras		x									
	Śāntinātha Dig. Jaina Mandira							x		x		
	JM / Sāhū Śāntiprasād Jain Kalā Saṃgrahā-laya										x	
	SAM											x

Mā-moṃ	Dig. Jaina Mandiras	x										
Mahebā	Dig. Jaina Mandira							x				
Pannā	Dig. Jaina Mandira							x				
Pacarāī	Dig. Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra						x	x	x			
Rakhe-tarā	Dig. Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra		x	x								
Rāma-nagara Mahal	Archaeo-logical Museum											x
Se-roṃna (Siron Khurd)	Śāntinātha Digambara Jaina Mandira							x		x		
Thū-bana	Dig. Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra							x		x		
Tumain	Vindhya-vāsinī Devī Mandira						x			x		
	RA					x						

Key to Appendix I

ASIS Archaeological Survey of India site

HT Heritage Temple: Collection of damaged / repaired statues from the vicinity and/or earlier structures on site, venerated

JAM Jain Art Museum / Jain Kalā Saṃgrahālaya: Collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated

JM Jain Museum / Saṃgrahālaya: Collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated

NS Non-Site: abandoned, obliterated, forgotten, undifferentiated, unclassifiable, unknown, imagined, planned site

NT New Temple: Newly constructed temple with new undamaged statues, venerated

RA Roadside Assemblage: Unmarked open air collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated

RS Ruined non-ASI Site

RVS Revitalized Site: ASI Site re-appropriated for image veneration

SAM State Archaeological Museum / Purātatva Saṃgrahālaya: Collection of damaged and undamaged objects, non-venerated

TA Temple Assemblage: Collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated

TM Temple Museum: Collection of damaged statues from the vicinity, non-venerated

Appendix II: Investigated Digambara Jaina Non- / Sites		
SITE	LABEL	GEOCOORDINATES
Bahorībanda	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra	23.666279°N, 80.061751°E
Bajaraṅgagaṛha	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.583073°N, 77.288927°E
Ujjaina	Digambara Jaina Mandira & Museum	23.174274°N, 75.764868°E
Bārī	Digambara Jaina Mandira	24.640736°N, 78.231771°E
Bīṭhalā	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.796096°N, 78.027514°E
Būṛhī Canderī	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.805408°N, 78.080760°E
Canderī	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.712449°N, 78.138670°E
Devagaṛha	Digambara Jaina Mandiras & Museum	24.517874°N, 78.246872°E
Dhubelā	Mahārāja Chatrasāla Purātatva Saṃgrahālaya Dhubelā	25.008000°N, 79.479889°E
Golākoṭa	Digambara Atiśaya Kṣetra	24.977085°N, 78.086681°E
Gūḍara	Digambara Jaina Mandira & Assemblage	24.970744°N, 78.099512°E
Gurīlāgiri	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.693728°N, 78.220874°E
Indora	Digambara Jaina Mandira & Assemblage	24.976496°N, 77.861915°E
Khajurāho	Digambara Jaina Mandiras & Museums	24.844671°N, 79.935757°E
Khandā(ra)giri	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra	24.700407°N, 78.138830°E
Mahebā	Digambara Jaina Mandira	24.983550°N, 79.472103°E
Māmoṃ	Digambara Jaina Mandiras	24.803052°N, 77.971414°E
Pacarāī	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra	25.035087°N, 77.991172°E
Pannā	Digambara Jaina Mandira	24.721294°N, 80.191234°E
Papaurā	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra	24.709440°N, 78.857486°E
Rakhetarā	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra	24.770465°N, 78.031712°E
Rāmanagara	Rāmnagar Palace Archaeol. Museum	24.679225°N, 78.128836°E
Seroṃna	Śāntinātha Digambara Jaina Mandira & Museum	24.824687°N, 78.325079°E
Thūbana	Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra & Museum	24.667766°N, 78.007683°E
Tumain	Vindhyavāsinī Devī Mandira & Museum & Assemblages	24.490529°N, 77.707162°E