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A Tale of Two Courts: Records of Kachavāhā Mahārājas in Digambar Jaina Memorials

Tillo Detige

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Self-Representation
and Presentation of Others
in Indic Epigraphical Writing

Edited by
Dániel Balogh and Annette Schmiedchen

Asien- und Afrika-Studien 63
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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A Tale of Two Courts: Records of Kachavāhā *mahārājas* in Digambara Jaina memorials

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1. Introduction

Throughout most of the second millennium, the Digambara Jaina mendicant traditions were led by lineages of *bhaṭṭārakas*. The *bhaṭṭārakas* of Western India were venerated as ideal, paramount renunciators by ascetic and lay Digambara communities, but also carried important socio-political functions. They developed and maintained links with rulers on behalf of merchant communities, often setting up their own seats in royal and imperial capitals. In this chapter, I focus on the inscriptions of ten mid-17th-to-19th-century Digambara memorial stones commemorating *bhaṭṭārakas* and lay *paṇḍitas* related to what I call the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍasākhā, the Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāragaṇa ascetic lineage which was active in the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍa region of present-day Rajasthan (Figure 1 in section 5 below). These inscriptions consistently and elegantly defer to the reigning Kachavāhā dynasty *mahārājas* of Amer (Āmera) and Jaipur (Jayapura). A mere few other examples are found of such references to local rulers in Digambara memorial inscriptions from other parts of Western India. This idiosyncratic epigraphic practice in Ḍhūṇḍhāḍa speaks of a particularly close alignment between the local *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage and the Kachavāhā court. Ritualised legitimisation and economic transactions between both polities are also evident from other aspects of Ḍhūṇḍhāḍasākhā commemoration practices.

2. *Bhaṭṭārakas*: Digambara renunciators

From the latter half of the Sultanate period (1206–1526), throughout the Mughal era (1526–1857), and up to the early 20th century, Digambara Jaina mendicant lineages were led by renunciators with the *bhaṭṭāraka* rank. While the Digambara

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ascetic ideal is that of the naked, itinerant and possessionless, male *muni*, *bhaṭṭārakas* from at least the 16–17th centuries onwards were clothed and mostly sedentary. *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats (*gaddi*) continue to function and flourish in South India today, but the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages of Western and Central India were all discontinued by the 19th and 20th centuries. As *munis* reappeared in increasing numbers in the first half of the 20th century, they came to stand at the centre of Digambara devotion. At the same time, the autocratic, courtly style of leadership which characterised the *bhaṭṭāraka* traditions fell from grace as lay communities came to prefer representative and bureaucratised modes of governance and administration, and modern organisations and institutes. When laypeople retracted their support for the *bhaṭṭārakas*, the “old regime” *bhaṭṭāraka* polities collapsed.

Scholarship long conceived of the pre-20th-century Digambara *bhaṭṭārakas* as administrators, “clerics”, ritual specialists, or at most “semi-renouncers”. Digambara *munis* were often taken to have disappeared all at once in the Sultanate period due to the harassment of naked renouncers by Islamic rulers and to have been replaced by clothed *bhaṭṭārakas*. *Bhaṭṭārakas* were thought to have had only celibate but not fully-initiated renouncers (*brahmacārin*) and lay scholars and ritual specialists (*paṇḍita*) among their pupils. It is now clear, however, (1) that in the medieval period (8th–13th cent.) the *bhaṭṭāraka* rank was inserted on top of the prior Digambara ascetic hierarchy, above the *muni* and the *ācārya* ranks; (2) that in the early modern period (c. 14th–18th cent.) the *bhaṭṭārakas* of Western and Central India were regarded and venerated as ideal renouncers by the lay and ascetic communities which supported them (Detige 2019a);¹ and (3) that *bhaṭṭārakas*’ ascetic communities (*saṅgha*) included *munis* up to the 17th century and *ācāryas* up to the 18th century (Detige 2020). Prosopographical studies of manuscript colophons (Detige 2018) and memorials (Detige forthcoming) allow us to reconstruct the evolution of the *bhaṭṭāraka* circles. Up to the 17th century, these were sometimes substantial *saṅghas* including renouncers of a broad spectrum of lower ascetic ranks, both male (*maṇḍalācārya*, *ācārya*, *muni*, *brahmacārin*) and female (*āryikā*, *brahmacāriṇī*, *kṣullikā*). In the 18th century we see constellations of *bhaṭṭārakas*, *ācāryas*, and *paṇḍitas*, and from the late 18th to the early 20th century, *bhaṭṭārakas* operated with networks of associated *paṇḍitas*.

1 The rituals for the veneration of living pre-20th-century *bhaṭṭārakas* (*pūjā*, *ārati*) are also performed for contemporary Digambara renouncers (Detige 2024).

3. *Bhaṭṭāra*kas: Digambara lords

One of the *bhaṭṭāra*kas' functions which scholarship has always stressed, yet never fully explored, is their interaction with rulers on behalf of lay communities. While regarded as venerable renouncers, the *bhaṭṭāra*kas of Western India also carried considerable political and socio-economic clout, functioning as the kingpin of devotional and financial networks constituted by ascetic and lay communities. Digambara communities consisted of wealthy merchant castes whose elites included chief donors (*saṅghapati*) and, at least in the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍa region, ministers (*dīvān*) and courtiers at the royal court, lower-level officials, and financiers. Following ideas of Inden (1990, 22–33), as recently applied by Hatcher (2020, esp. 73–100), I conceive of the *bhaṭṭāra*ka circles as renouncer-centred polities operating within a hierarchical, poly-centric “scale of forms”. Polities can be conceived of as partially self-governing groups with a collective identity constituting an identifiable political entity, organised through institutionalised social relations, capable of mobilising resources, and led by a sovereign lord (after Ferguson and Mansbach 1996, 33–40). The scale of forms refers to a range of polities with overlapping realms of authority and graduated power. This model captures worldly rulers and religious leaders within a single analysis, highlighting forms of governance and ritual practices common to both.

The 17th-to-19th-century Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭāra*ka polity specifically inscribed itself into that of the regional rulers (*mahārāja*) of the Kachavāhā dynasty, and these were in turn subordinated to and closely allied to the paramount polity of the Mughal emperors.² Local Digambara caste councils (*pañca*), in the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍa region predominantly of the Khaṅḍelavāla caste, family patriarchs, and possibly *pañditas* operating in *mandiras* and towns away from the *bhaṭṭāra*ka seat can be seen as standing at the centres of polities subservient to the *bhaṭṭāra*ka seat. Other regional religious traditions constituted polities parallel to that of the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā, regularly standing in conflict or competition. Among these were both Hindu and other Jaina traditions, and the latter included both the Śvetāmbara tradition and the Digambara Terāpantha which opposed the *bhaṭṭāra*kas of the Bīspantha tradition and introduced ritual reforms.

2 The connections between the three polities go back to the early 16th century, as shown by a large consecration festival held in Mauzamabad in VS 1664, at which the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā *Bhaṭṭāra*ka Devendrakīrti consecrated a *mandira* and thousands of temple icons (subsequently distributed throughout northern India), with some, possibly nominal cooperation by the Mughal emperor Akbar and the Kachavāhā Mahārāja Māna Siṅha (Kāsalivāla 1989, 151).

Lordship was articulated in largely similar ways in *bhaṭṭāraka* polities and at royal courts, with an epistemic continuity in conceptions of authority, legitimacy, and governance. The *bhaṭṭārakas* styled themselves in royal fashion, surrounded with regal paraphernalia like parasols, sitting on thrones, travelling in palanquins, and installed on the seat with anointment rituals parallel to royal consecrations (Detige 2019b). The practice of erecting *bhaṭṭārakas*' memorial pavilions, 'stone umbrellas' (*chatrī*, see next), was itself also shared with the Kachavāhā and other Rajput courts, whose commemorative practices constituted a performance of kingship, political authority, and legitimacy and in turn referred to the Indo-Islamic tomb tradition (Belli Bose 2015, esp. 9–14, 33–92). The ethical virtues, intellectual qualities, and literary practices embodied and claimed by the *bhaṭṭārakas* and the rituals of their glorification also matched with elements of the courtly culture of royal and imperial polities (Ali 2006, esp. 69–96). Such alignments formed a lingua franca which facilitated ritualised interaction between hierarchically differentiated but structurally similar polities. Religious lords like the *bhaṭṭārakas* drew authority from their association with rulers. And in ceremonially honouring the mastery of such gurus, *mahārājas* acknowledged the wealthy lay communities associated with them and integrated them into their realms. In the present chapter, I begin to study the interactions of *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages with secular courts based on evidence from the inscriptions of Digambara memorials.³

4. Digambara memorial inscriptions

Digambara memorials are typically pavilions (*chatrī*), often erected on hilltops, sheltering a foot icon (*pādukā*) representing the commemorated individual or a pillar with carvings depicting him (far less frequently, her). Often referred to as *nasīyā* (*nasīyān*, *nasīyā*, and other variants), commemoration sites sometimes grew into necropolises with a substantial number of memorials. In a survey mostly conducted in Western India but also including a smaller number of find-spots in Central India, I documented some two hundred Digambara memorials

3 The close interaction between Jaina mendicant leaders and Indian rulers long predates the current case. Famous examples from the Śvetāmbara tradition are the association of Ācārya Hemacandra with the Caulukya rulers in 12th-century Gujarat (Cort 1998, esp. 96–97, see also p. 105) and the Kharataragaccha Jinaprabhasūri's (c. 1261–1333) close association with Sultan Muhammed bin Tughluq (r. 1325–51) (Vose 2022, esp. 4–6).

of the 11th to 20th centuries, the majority from the 16th to the 19th centuries.⁴ These memorials commemorate *bhaṭṭāarakas*, lower-ranking male and female renunciators, and lay *paṇḍitas*. As the paramount renunciators, *bhaṭṭāarakas* were often commemorated with the grandest monuments. These memorials are important sources to study the early modern *bhaṭṭāarakas*' venerability, the composition of their *saṅghas*, the geographic distribution of the various lineages, and the frequent shifts of their seats within specific regions. The inscriptions of the small number of late medieval memorials discovered are short, recording but sparse information, a date, and the name of the commemorated renouncer. In the early modern period and into the 19th and 20th centuries, when the Digambara mendicant lineages themselves had also become more formalised, their memorial inscriptions became longer and somewhat standardised. A memorial inscription's date can either be that of the commemorated individual's death or that of the memorial's consecration, and mostly we do not know which type of date is recorded. Only rarely do the inscriptions explicate this or include both dates (e.g. 5.1), although sometimes other sources help us to interpret the dates.

The memorial inscriptions of the *bhaṭṭāaraka* traditions are almost entirely composed of information on the commemorated individuals and their lineage, featuring little eulogy other than honorific markers. Typically included are the name of the commemorated individual, the appellations of the ascetic tradition (*saṅgha*, *gaṇa*, *gaccha*) to which he or she was affiliated (in the inscriptions discussed here, the Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāragaṇa), and the names of a few successive lineage incumbents (*bhaṭṭāarakas*, *maṇḍalācāryas*, sometimes *ācāryas*) leading up to the incumbent flourishing at the time of the memorial's consecration, who often performed the consecration. These successions help us determine the specific lineage attested (here, the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā, my nomenclature). *Bhaṭṭāarakas* consecrated the memorials of their direct predecessor (5.1) or of earlier predecessors (5.2) and of lower-ranking renunciators, who are often though not always explicitly identified as their pupils. In the 19th and 20th centuries, *paṇḍitas* also consecrated memorials of their *paṇḍita* gurus (5.3). Occasionally, further renunciators, *paṇḍitas*, or other laypeople are mentioned as pupils or devotees of the commemorated or commemorating individual or as involved in the memorial's erection. The inscriptions usually conclude with the consecrating agent(s) offering eternal salutations to the commemorated

4 Detige (2023; *forthcoming*). I did not survey memorials of renunciators of the 20th-to-21st-century *muni saṅghas*, which developed independent from the *bhaṭṭāaraka* traditions.

individual⁵ and a blessing for prosperity.⁶ As such, and although many specimens do not include all these categories of information, the structure and contents of Digambara memorial inscriptions largely overlap with those of the inscriptions of Digambara temple icons (*mūrtilekha*) and Digambara manuscript colophons.⁷ However, names and genealogies of lay donors are commonly included in the latter two kinds of sources while rarely appearing in memorial inscriptions. Likewise, references to rulers are fairly standard in colophons but exceptional in memorial inscriptions and *mūrtilekhas*.

5. Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā memorial inscriptions attesting Kachavāhā rulers

Within a corpus of some two hundred Digambara memorial inscriptions, only thirteen contain a reference to a ruler (in two cases incomplete). Ten of these inscriptions, dating from the mid-17th to the second half of the 19th century, defer to the Kachavāhā *mahārāja* reigning at the time of the memorial's consecration. These belong to memorials of *bhaṭṭārakas* (Figure 1) and *paṇḍitas* related to the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā, and are found in Jaipur and towns in its immediate surrounding. A late-19th-century memorial of a *paṇḍita* related to the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā but deferring to a ruler of Ajmer is found in Bundī, further south in the Hāḍautī region. Two examples stem from the Vāgaḍā region on the Rajasthan-Gujarat borderland. They relate to one of the Balātkāragaṇa lineages operating there and date to the early 16th century and the first half of the 19th century (6). The preponderance of such attestations from the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā and the Dhūṇḍhāḍa region and the elegant deference⁸ given suggest a close association between this *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage and the Kachavāhā court. The relative silence about the Jains in the documents of the royal court⁹ would indicate that this may mostly express a desire of the Digambaras to present themselves as closely allied to the Kachavāhās. Other elements of the *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition's consecration, commemoration, and building practices, however, confirm actual interactions between both polities, including Kachavāhā recognition and legitimisation of the *bhaṭṭārakas*, and land grants to them (5.1, 5.2).

5 E.g. *nityaṃ praṇamati, nityaṃ praṇamanti*, “he/they bow eternally.”

6 E.g. *śrīr astu, śubhaṃ bhavatu, kalyāṇam astu*, etc., “may there be prosperity.”

7 On Digambara manuscript colophons, see Detige (2018).

8 *mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-[X]-simha-rājya-pravarttamāne*, and variations.

9 As pointed out to me by John Cort, with reference to the work of Monika Horstmann (2009; 2013).

An early example found in a mid-17th-century *bhaṭṭāraka* memorial in Amer dates from the time when the connection between the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā and the Kachavāhā polities was being forged (5.1). The Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā practice of deferring to the reigning Kachavāhā monarch in memorial inscriptions became standardised from the late 18th century onwards. The chronologically next specimen is a collective *bhaṭṭāraka* memorial found at the same site in Amer as the latter memorial. This VS 1845 pillar stood as the axis around which Kachavāhā legitimisation of Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā incumbents was ritually enacted (5.1). At the very end of the 18th century, a new Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā commemoration site was inaugurated in Jaipur at a plot of land donated by the Kachavāhā court. Late-18th-to-early-19th-century Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* memorials at this site (VS 1853 [3] and VS 1881) and in the nearby town of Cākasū (VS 1886) uniformly and relatively lengthily defer to the reigning Kachavāhā *mahārājas* (5.2). Similar references are also included in the inscriptions of memorials of three 19th-century *paṇḍitas* related to the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā, found in Jaipur (VS 1880) and in two nearby towns, Caurū (VS 1888) and Phāgī (VS 1924) (5.3). In the following subsections, I discuss these ten Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā memorials attesting Kachavāhā rulers and their inscriptions one by one. An edition of the inscriptions is given in the concluding section (8).¹⁰

10 I occasionally refer to other memorial inscriptions, both from the same findspots and from elsewhere. I do not, however, offer a full edition of these, nor of the three memorials attesting local rulers found in other regions.

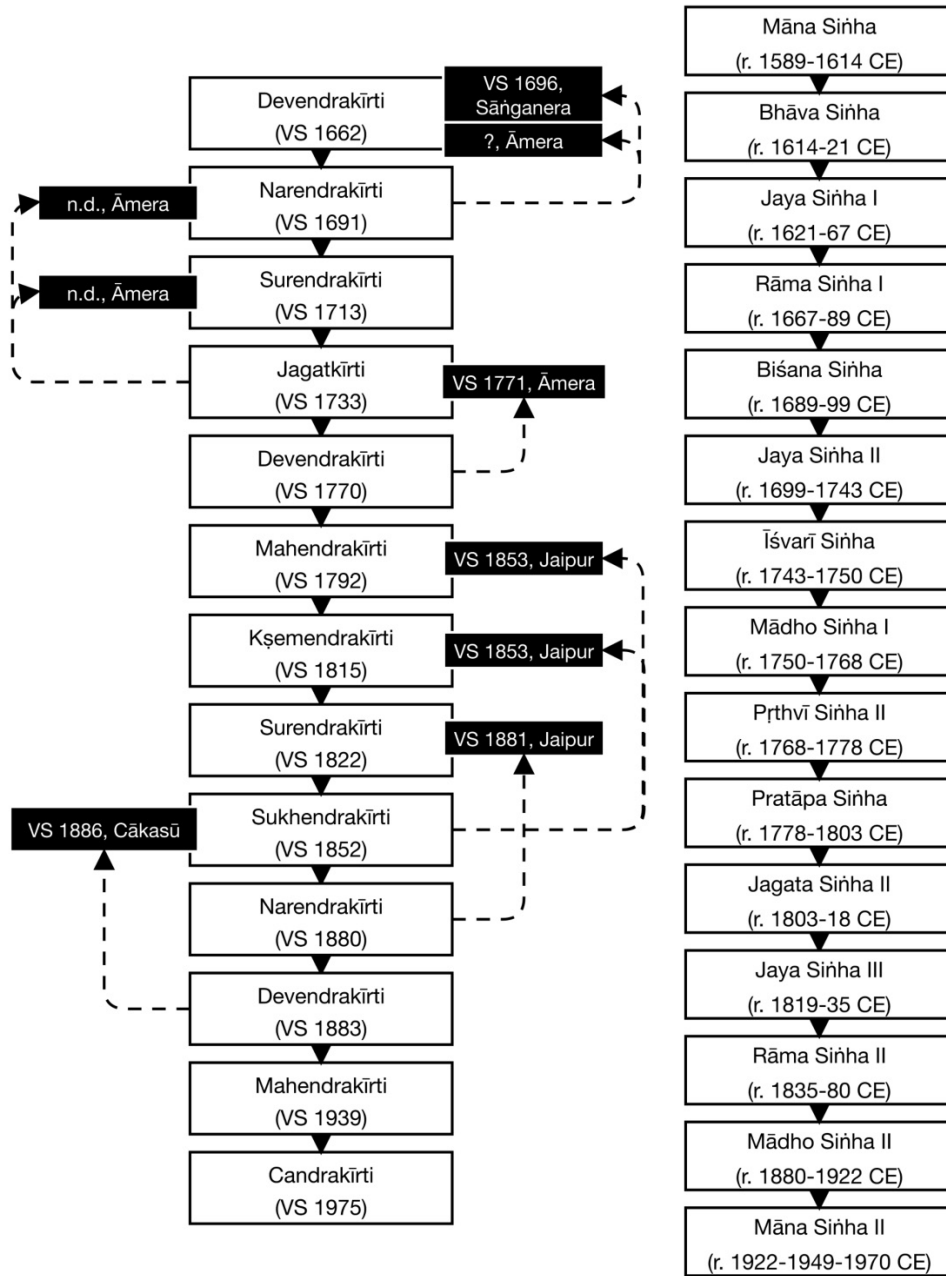


Figure 1. Succession of Kachavāhā rulers (right) and Dhūṇḍhāḍasākhā bhaṭṭāarakas (left) with discovered memorials, incl. indication of year of consecration (VS), town of provenience, and consecrating bhaṭṭāaraka (dashed arrows)

5.1. Amer (VS 1691–1722, VS 1845)

The earliest memorial from the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍa region to record the ruling Kachavāhā mahārāja is found at the Kīrtistambha Nasiyām, a Ḍhūṇḍhāḍasākhā commemoration site in Amer named after a communal memorial pillar (*kīrtistambha*) from VS 1845 discussed below (this section). Here, a single raised platform supports four *caraṇa-chatrīs* with *pādukās* installed in small shrines (Figure 2, Figure 3). The latter set-up is almost entirely unique to this site; the only other example found in Western India is a single *chatrī* in Bundī (Figure 10 L). The oldest memorial at the site in Amer commemorates Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti and was consecrated by his successor Narendrakīrti (Figure 2). The *pādukā* inscription records the reign of Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Siṅha (I)¹¹ (r. 1621–67) and, calling for long-lasting veneration, informs that the memorial was built by the *brahmacārin* Keśava out of *guru-bhakti*. The date in the inscription is effaced, but internal and external evidence places the memorial in the mid-17th century. Devendrakīrti was on the seat from VS 1662 to VS 1691, his successor Narendrakīrti from VS 1691 to VS 1722 (Hoernle 1891, 355; 1892, 83). Devendrakīrti's death in 1634 (VS 1691), as recorded in the inscription of another *pādukā* of his found in Sāṅgānera (see next), is a *terminus post quem* for his memorial in Amer. The roughly coterminous end of Narendrakīrti's incumbency in 1665 (VS 1722) and of Jaya Siṅha's rule in August 1667 (VS 1724) a *terminus ante quem*. It is most probable that Narendrakīrti consecrated the memorial earlier in his incumbency, especially since he also consecrated another memorial of Devendrakīrti in Sāṅgānera in VS 1696.

11 8.1: *mahārājāḍhirāja-jayasimha-rājya-pravarttamāne*.



Figure 2. Carāṇa-chatrī of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (TL, Hindu chatrī in the background) with pādukā (BL) installed in small shrine (R), no legible date, mid-17th century. Kīrtistambha Nasiyān, Amer, February 2013.

At the Nasiyā in Sāṅgānera, a town south of Amer and Jaipur, a second memorial stone of Devendrakīrti was found. The pādukā was stored in a small, modern-day shrine, but its inscription refers to Narendrakīrti building a chatrī in VS 1696. This original chatrī may have become ruined, or removed to make space for a big temple building project underway at the site at the time of my visit (February 2013). The Sāṅgānera pādukā's inscription does not feature a reference to the Kachavāhā ruler, but includes other information rarely found on early modern Digambara memorial stones, concerning Devendrakīrti's death and succession and the consecration of his memorial. Devendrakīrti accordingly passed on the bhaṭṭāraka seat (paṭṭa dīyā) to Narendrakīrti on the 15th day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika in VS 1691 (22nd October 1634).¹² Devendra-

12 The inscription on Narendrakīrti's own pādukā in Amer records his ascension to the seat in Sāṅgānera a day earlier, on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika VS 1691. Paṭṭāvalis (lineage succession texts) situate it a few days earlier again, on the 8th

kīrti died a few days later, on the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika (27th October 1634), and Narendrakīrti built his *chatrī* and consecrated his *pādukā* five years later, in VS 1696, possibly on the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna (25th February 1640). Devendrakīrti was consecrated to the seat in Cākasū (A. Nyāyatīrtha 1985, 421) but is also said to have spent his incumbency in Sāṅgānera (Hoernle 1892, 83), and the memorial found here thus likely represents his actual place of residence, demise, and cremation. Narendrakīrti on the other hand was consecrated in Sāṅgānera (A. Nyāyatīrtha 1985, 421) but probably moved the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā seat to the flourishing Kachavāhā capital Amer, and may have erected a secondary memorial of his predecessor Devendrakīrti there in an attempt to formally moor his lineage in its new hometown. The then uncommon, explicit reference to Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Sīrha (I) may well express Narendrakīrti's intent to insert his polity into that of the Kachavāhās. Narendrakīrti no doubt anticipated the larger platform on which he built Devendrakīrti's *caraṇa-chatrī* to be used for the erection of further memorials. This indicates that he had good hopes for the Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā seat to flourish in the Kachavāhā hub.

Three further Ḍhūṅḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* were commemorated at the Kīrtistambha Nasiyām (Figure 3): Narendrakīrti himself, and his successors Surendrakīrti and Jagatkīrti, all of whom are known to have resided in Amer (Hoernle 1892, 83). Their *pādukās'* inscriptions follow the example of Devendrakīrti's Sāṅgānera *pādukā* in recording dates for the successions. According to these, Narendrakīrti was, as we already saw, consecrated in VS 1691, and died in Amer in VS 1722. Surendrakīrti both passed the seat to his successor Jagatkīrti and died in Śrāvaṇa VS 1733. The inscriptions of these two memorial stones do not record when they were consecrated, but they are installed under a twin *chatrī*, a combined memorial for both (Figure 3 right), and the inscription of Narendrakīrti's *pādukā* explicitly records that it was consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti, who occupied the seat from VS 1733 to 1770. The inscription on Jagatkīrti's own *pādukā*, installed in a separate *chatrī*, records that Jagatkīrti died on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha in VS 1770, that his successor was consecrated six days later (*badi* 11), and that the memorial was consecrated some ten months later, in Mārgaśīrṣa (*sudi* 2) VS 1771. The latter inscription also

(Hoernle 1891, 355; 1892, 83) or the 11th (Hoernle 1892, 83). Further cases are known of *bhaṭṭārakas* abdicating from the seat and consecrating their own successors while still alive. Yet it was probably more common for new incumbents to be consecrated by the community after the demise of the previous *bhaṭṭāraka*. Sometimes a gap of a few months or years fell before a new incumbent was consecrated, possibly indicating that it took time for a suitable candidate to be identified or agreed upon.

records the name of the artisan (*karigāra*) who built the *chatrī*, and probably its donor, information which is only very infrequently found on Digambara memorial stones. Neither of the inscriptions of these three further *bhaṭṭāraka* memorials at the Kīrtistambha Nasiyāṁ take up the practice of referring to the reigning Kachavāhā *mahārāja*. This became common practice only from the end of the 18th century, in one further memorial at this site (see next), and at other *bhaṭṭāraka* memorials in Jaipur and Cākasū (5.2).



Figure 3. Platform with carana-chatris commemorating the *bhaṭṭārakas* Devendrakīrti (mid-17th cent., left on picture), Narendrakīrti and Surendrakīrti (probably late 17th cent., double chatrī, right), and Jagatkīrti (VS 1771, extreme right). Kīrtistambha Nasiyāṁ, Amer, February 2013.

The Kīrtistambha Nasiyāṁ in Amer is also home to a communal memorial pillar (*kīrtistambha*) consecrated by another Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti in May or June 1788 (VS 1845) (Figure 4 L). I found about half a dozen of such “pillars of glory” in Western India, related to various Mūlasaṅgha Balāt-kāragaṇa and Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha lineages (Detige *forthcoming*). *Kīrtistambhas* are an iconographic format for the commemoration and glorification of an entire mendicant lineage rather than an individual *bhaṭṭāraka*. They feature a large number of small, generic depictions of renunciators (Figure 4 R), identified as the consecutive incumbents of a specific lineage with inscribed

captions giving their names and often dates of consecration.¹³ At approximately four metres, the Amer pillar is taller than other discovered *kīrtistambhas*. It was erected in a dedicated *chatrī*, which is provided with stone lattices (*jālī*) between the pillars and as such appears a rather enclosed structure. A longer inscription near the base of the pillar chronicles its consecration but remained unfinished. Space was left blank for the day of the fortnight and the name of the reigning Kachavāhā monarch. Perhaps the missing data were meant to be inscribed as part of the consecration rituals of the *kīrtistambha*. Or, more pragmatically and maybe more likely, they were perhaps originally left open in consideration that the date of consecration might change and the ruler might pass before that time – and ultimately never got added. Yet Mahārāja Savāi Pratāpa Siṅha (r. 1778–1803), who had been on the throne in Jaipur for ten years at the time of the memorial’s consecration, flourished and reigned for another decade and a half.



Figure 4. *Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāsākhā* kīrtistambha installed in a *chatrī* (L., VS 1845) with depictions of *bhṭṭārakas* (R., left *Surendrakīrti*, paṭṭa VS 1822; middle *Kṣemendrakīrti*, paṭṭa VS 1815; right undedicated). *Kīrtistambha Nasiyām*, Amer, February 2013.

13 I here forego an edition of these inscriptions on the Amer pillar, which record the Mūla-saṅgha and Balātkāraṅga succession from the first century BCE onwards roughly as known from *paṭṭāvalīs* (Hoernle 1891; 1892).

The inscription also refers to the *darśana* and veneration of the icons of the gurus,¹⁴ and to the rituals and great festivities held for the consecration of the pillar, for which Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti reportedly gathered masses of laypeople. A part of the proceedings was apparently held in Cākasū (*caṃpāvati*), a town 40 km south of Jaipur where the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seems to have been established briefly in the early 17th century, before it relocated to Sāṅgānera and Amer.¹⁵ Involving the community of Cākasū in the erection of this important ritual object probably served to reconfirm the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā's ties to this town. In a section which is difficult to read (8.2, lines 2–3), the inscription seems to record the involvement of “all the *munis*” (*sakala-munibhi*). The latter presumably is a shorthand uncommonly used here to refer to lower-ranking, not fully initiated renunciators like *brahmacārins*, since *munis* are rarely if ever attested in this period.

The Amer *kīrtistambha* seems to have had a double function of both commemorating prior incumbents and legitimising new incumbents. In the original design, a number of additional, generic depictions of renunciators had been carved into the pillar, left void of any inscription (Figure 4 R). Three of these were marked as further Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā incumbents after the pillar's consecration by Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1822–52): Sukhendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1852), Narendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1880), and Devendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1883).¹⁶ The names of new incumbents were inscribed on the pillar not upon their passing but at the time of their consecration to the seat. At these events, the Kachavāhā court sent a shawl of honour, and a procession took place with much pomp (A. Nyāyatīrtha 1997, 9; Varmā 1998, 20, 28).¹⁷ The *kīrtistambha* thus functioned as a medium of expression for Kachavāhā legitimisation of the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭāarakas* and for ritualised interaction between both polities. Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1822–52), who erected the pillar, was generally particularly active in icon consecrations and temple building and renovation projects,

14 8.2: *śrī guruṇām pratimā-darśanārcana-varṃdanā-vidhāṇām*.

15 Anūpacanda Nyāyatīrtha (1985, 421) ascribed the consecration (*paṭṭābiṣeka*) of four consecutive, 16th-century incumbents, up to Devendrakīrti, to Cākasū, but these instead seem to have been associated to Cittaṛaḡaḡha and the Mevāḍa region.

16 8.2: *śrāvaka-śrāvikā-saṃdoha-kṛta-paramotsava-yuktābhih*.

17 The names of yet two further Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā incumbents, Mahendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1939, d. VS 1974) and Candrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1975, d. VS 2026), were not added on the *kīrtistambha*, perhaps because these later-day *bhaṭṭāarakas* had shifted their activities to Mahāvīrajī, or because the type of ritual pomp connected to the inscription of new incumbents' names on the pillar no longer found sufficient support. Nineteen of the generic images which had been carved on the pillar in anticipation of a longer continued lineage remained unmarked.

travelling widely throughout the region to perform *pratiṣṭhās* (Varmā 1998, 14–15; Cort 2002, 59–60). When he consecrated the *kīrtistambha*, Surendrakīrti had been on the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seat for over two decades, being succeeded by Sukhendrakīrti seven years later. In the decades before the erection of the Amer *kīrtistambha*, debates had raged in Jaipur between *bhaṭṭāraka*-supporting Bīsapantha Digambaras and anti-*bhaṭṭāraka* “reformist” Terāpanthīs. The important Terāpantha author Paṇḍita Ṭoḍaramala was murdered in VS 1822, possibly in anti-Jaina riots. After this, the Bīsapantha-Terāpantha animosity in Jaipur is said to have decreased. Yet by the time of the pillar’s consecration two decades later, Ṭoḍaramala’s son Gumānirāma was attempting to resuscitate the Terāpantha fervour by starting an even stricter reform movement, the Gumānapantha, also known as Śuddha Terāpantha Āmnāya (Cort 2002, 61–62). It seems almost impossible then not to see Surendrakīrti’s conception of the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā “pillar of glory” as part of an effort to defy Terāpantha influence and materially re-establish the glory of the Bīsapantha polity, setting up the pillar as an axis for the ritual enactment of the connection between the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā Bīsapanthī polity and the Kachavāhā court.

5.2. Jaipur (VS 1853, VS 1881) and Cākasū (VS 1886)

In 1727, Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Sīnha (II) (r. 1688–1743) founded the city of Jaipur as the new Kachavāhā capital. The city quickly flourished as a crucial trade post for long-distance trade routes. Jaina merchants, administrators, intellectuals, and litterateurs migrated to Jaipur, and among Jaya Sīnha’s (II) courtiers were many Digambaras. In 1725 and 1735 respectively, the Pāṭodī Mandira and the Barhā Terāpantha Mandira were constructed close to the royal palace as central temples for the Bīsapantha and the Terāpantha traditions, expressing the insertion of both separate Digambara polities within the city (Cort 2002, 55), and their proximity to the royal court. Still, in 1735 (VS 1792) the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā incumbent Mahendrakīrti was consecrated in a Digambara *mandira* in Jayasiñhapurā (A. Nyāyatīrtha 1985, 421). This neighbourhood of Śāhjahānābād, close to Connaught Circle in today’s New Delhi, had also been founded by Jaya Sīnha (II). Mahendrakīrti also seems to have spent part of his incumbency in Delhi, during the rule of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719–48). Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti probably turned towards Delhi thanks to the Kachavāhā connection to the Mughal empire. We here see the lords of three polities in a hierarchical scale setting up court in proximity to each other, the Digambara *bhaṭṭāraka*, the Kachavāhā *mahārāja*, and the Mughal emperor. The respective connections between the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* and the Kachavāhā rulers, and between the latter and the Mughals, opened up avenues to the imperial capital

for Digambara lay communities. Mahendrakīrti soon left Delhi, no doubt after the Persian Afsharid dynasty ruler of Persia, Nādir Shāh (r. 1736–47), invaded the Mughal Empire and defeated Muḥammad Shāh in battle in 1739. He took control over Delhi but after an uprising sacked the city and took huge booty back to Persia. Mahendrakīrti is subsequently attested firstly in some other, smaller towns in Rajasthan, but ultimately seems to have settled, unsurprisingly, in Jaipur (Detige 2018, 289–92).

The consecration of Mahendrakīrti's successor Kṣemendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1815–22) was organised at the Pāṭodī Mandira in Jaipur. His successor Surendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1822–52) was not only consecrated in the Pāṭodī temple but shortly after also moved the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seat there.¹⁸ At the very end of the 18th century, less than a decade after Surendrakīrti had erected the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *kīrtistambha* in Amer, his successor Sukhendrakīrti initiated a new commemoration site south of Jaipur, still referred to as the Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām (Figure 5). The plot of land on which it was built had been donated to Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti by the royal court in 1744 (VS 1801) (Varmā 1998, 13–14), early in the reign of Mahārāja Savāī Īśvarī Siṅha (r. 1743–50). In the 18th and early 19th century, the Rāmabhāga royal palace was developed on an adjacent plot of land. *Mandiras* found at early modern Digambara commemoration sites often postdate the memorials. At the Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām however, a *mandira* was built under Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti in 1769 (VS 1826), predating four memorials later consecrated at the site. Among these are three particularly elegant *bhaṭṭāraka caraṇa-chatrīs* raised on a shared, pillared platform. The octagonal, eight-pillared *chatrīs* are richly decorated with floral and geometric motives on the plinths, pillars, and lintels, inside the domes, and on the drums of the cupolas. The *pādukās* installed in them (Figure 6 R) are intricately carved, octagonal stones with plentiful floral decorations and large depictions of the ascetics' paraphernalia: *kamaṇḍalu* (water pitcher), *picchī* (whisk), and *mālā* (rosary). The stylistic development of the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā memorials parallels that of Kachavāhā memorial architecture, from its earlier specimens in Amer, erected in local, grey stone, and with smooth domes and plain pillars, to the Makrana marble, more sumptuous ornamentation, and more bulbous, externally segmented domes of the *chatrīs* at Geṭora, the new royal commemoration site in Jaipur (Belli Bose 2015, 52).

18 Joharāpurakara (1958, 111–12); Joharāpurakara and Kāsalivāla (1975, 261); Jaina (1978, 44); Cort (2002, 59).



Figure 5. Platform with three bhaṭṭāraka caraṇa-chatrīs, VS 1853 (right and middle) and VS 1881 (left), Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, Jaipur, February 2013.

Two of the *chatrīs* at the Jaipur Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām commemorate the consecutive *bhaṭṭārakas* Mahendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1792, Figure 6 R) and Kṣemendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1815), who as we saw were the first Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā incumbents to be active in Jaipur. Their names had already been inscribed on the Amer *kīrtistambha*, presumably at the time of their consecration (5.1). Their dedicated *chatrīs*, however, were consecrated only in early February 1797 (Māgha śukla 5 VS 1853) by Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti, their successor to the second and third degree, a little more than a year after his own consecration to the seat in early January 1796 (Mārgaśīrṣa *kṛṣṇa* 9 VS 1852) (Hoernle 1892, 83). The delay in the erection of these memorials may have been related to the Terāpantha polemics raging at the time. Like Narendrakīrti at the Kīrtistambha Nasiyām in Amer about a century and a half earlier, Sukhendrakīrti may also have undertaken a grand commemoration project to establish his lineage in his new hometown, the new Kachavāhā capital, similarly erecting these memorials on a larger *chatrī* platform. A third *pādukā* is installed on a waist-high pillar in open air next to the platform. According to its inscription, it was consecrated by Sukhendrakīrti on the same day as the two *chatrīs*' *pādukās*, the 1st of February 1797. The inscription, oddly, does not name whom the memorial commemorates. Carvings of ascetic paraphernalia next to the feet indicate that it was intended as a renouncer's memorial. The *pādukā* is more weathered than those installed in the *chatrīs* and is of a different, somewhat less refined design, and its inscription

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also differs in phrasing and orthography. The idea comes to mind that the *pādukā* may have been a prototype that was disapproved but later nonetheless installed on a simple pedestal. Perhaps it was used as a generic memorial for all earlier *Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā* incumbents like the *kīrtistambha* in Amer. The inscriptions of these three VS 1853 memorial stones record the continued rule of Mahārāja Savāi Pratāpa Siṅha (r. 1778–1803),¹⁹ who was already on the throne at the time of the erection of the Amer *kīrtistambha*.



Figure 6. *Bhaṭṭāraka caraṇa-chatrī* (L) and *pādukā* of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti* (VS 1853, R).
Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, Jaipur, February 2013.

Perhaps Sukhendrakīrti devised the larger platform in the hope that his own memorial would be erected on it, but his *caraṇa-chatrī* is found in Cākasū (see next). His successor Narendrakīrti instead used the remaining space for a *caraṇa-chatrī* of Sukhendrakīrti's predecessor Surendrakīrti. Narendrakīrti, the commemorated *bhaṭṭāraka*'s successor to the second degree, consecrated the *pādukā* on the 24th of January 1825 (*Māgha śukla* 5 VS 1881), doing so – like Sukhendrakīrti three decades earlier – very soon after his ascension to the *bhaṭṭāraka* seat, which took place in VS 1879 (Hoernle 1891, 355) or VS 1880 (Joharāpurakara 1958, 113). It probably was not a coincidence that Nendra-

19 8.3: *mahārājāḍhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-pratāpasimha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*; 8.4: *mahārājāḍhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-pratāpasimha-jid-rājya-pravattamāne*; 8.5: *mahārājāḍhirāja-śrī-savāi-pratāpasimha-jid-rājye*.

kīrti consecrated the third *carāṇa-chatrī* at the Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām on the same calendar date as when Sukhendrakīrti had consecrated the first two memorials at the site, the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. Narendrakīrti also followed the by then standardised practice of deferring to the Kachavāhā monarch in recording the reign of Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Siṅha (III) (r. 1819–35).²⁰ The three *carāṇa-chatrī* inscriptions also record that the *pādukās* were installed and consecrated with great festivities,²¹ and call for the continued performance of *pūjās* at the memorials.²²

Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti, who developed the Jaipur commemoration site, probably died in Cākasū during a visit to this town with long-standing relations to his lineage (5.1). His *carāṇa-chatrī* (Figure 7) is found at a site outside of the town centre, which was formerly also referred to as the Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām but has recently been developed under another name (Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra Akṣayanidhi Ādiśvara Dhāma). Sukhendrakīrti's *chatrī* is the latest Ḍhūṅḍhāḍāśākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* memorial found, and probably the last to have been erected. It was consecrated on the 28th of November 1829 (Mārgaśīrṣa *śukla* 2 VS 1886) by Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1883), once more the commemorated *bhaṭṭāraka*'s predecessor to the second degree, and once more within the first few years after his ascension to the seat. As we saw, Sukhendrakīrti's direct successor Narendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1880–83) did consecrate a memorial for his earlier predecessor Surendrakīrti in Jaipur. It may have taken more time for the Cākasū community to gather funds for the erection of a grand memorial. Or for some reason the pattern of memorials consecrated not by direct successors, as was more common elsewhere, but by successors to the second degree, may have come to be seen as the expected practice. The design of the Cākasū *chatrī* is similar to that of those at the Jaipur Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, being particularly close to the latest pavilion there, from just five years before (VS 1881). It also stands on a pillared platform, a feature unique to these two sites. The *pādukā*'s inscription records the continued rule of Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Siṅha (III).²³

20 8.6: *śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-jayasīṅha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*.

21 8.3 and 8.4 (VS 1853): *mahotsavena*; outdone by Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti in 8.5 (VS 1881): *mahā-mahotsavam kṛtvā*.

22 8.3 and 8.4: *pūjakānām kalyāṇāvalīm karotu*; 8.5: *pūjakānām kalyāṇa-paramparām karotu*.

23 8.7: *śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-jayasīṅha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*.



Figure 7. Carana-chatrī of Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti (VS 1886) raised on pillared platform with recently renewed balustrade, next to recent constructions (right on R). Bhaṭṭārakiya Nasiyān, Cākasū, December 2014.

5.3. Paṇḍita memorials: Jaipur (VS 1880), Caurū (VS 1888), Phāgī (VS 1924)

By the 19th century, lower-ranking renouncers had disappeared from the *bhaṭṭāraka saṅghas*, and the *bhaṭṭārakas* operated within networks of lay *paṇḍitas*. The latter probably served as adjuncts to the *bhaṭṭārakas*, as satellites of their polity. Memorials and manuscript colophons attest pupillary lineages of *paṇḍitas* connected to the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* based both in Jaipur and in smaller towns in the broader region. Memorials of *paṇḍitas* were commonly erected from the late 18th to the early 20th century and were often substantial structures. According to Bhaṁvaralāla Nyāyatīrtha (1986), the 19th-and-20th-century *paṇḍitas* of Jaipur were celibate. In the inscription of a memorial of *paṇḍitas* related to the Ajmer Balātkāragaṇa lineage, two *paṇḍitas* are recorded with honorifics of venerability otherwise reserved for Digambara renouncers (*pūjya*, 108) (Detige *forthcoming*). *Paṇḍitas* probably took up additional activities and a higher standing in the absence of broader circles of renouncers. Within their own localities, they may have acted as the lords of their own small-town polities as masters of Jaina doctrine and philosophy, as ritual specialist, teachers, preachers, storytellers, astrologists, or experts in yet further associated arts. The inscriptions of the memorials of three *paṇḍitas* related to the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā refer to the Kachavāhā rulers flourishing at the time of their consecration. Two of these date to the same period as the latest of the Jaipur and the Cākasū *bhaṭṭāraka* memorials, the second and third decades of the 19th

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century. The third dates to almost half a century later. One is found in Jaipur, the others in two nearby towns some fifty kilometres further southwest.

At the Śyōjī Godhā Nasiyām to the north of Jaipur, a VS 1880 *pādukā* of Paṇḍita Kesarīsīnha is found in a spacious modern building, at the time an unusual, innovative commemorative structure. The structure is a type of *tibārā*, a simple block building with three open arched doorways which now have been provided with metal lattices (Figure 8). Another three arched doorways against the back wall create a *garbhagrha*-like structure. Paṇḍita Kesarīsīnha's *pādukā* in the middle section is the only cult object in an otherwise bare room. The *pādukā* is an octagonal drum-shaped stone installed waist-high on a pillar, possibly meant to provide easy ritual access.²⁴ The finely carved, hexagonal *pādukā* slab with a large lotus flower below the feet is akin to the coeval *bhaṭṭāraka pādukās* at the Jaipur and Cākasū Bhaṭṭārakiya Nasiyāms and may well have been commissioned from the same artisans. The inscription refers to the incumbent Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1880–83) and to the reign of Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Sīnha (III) (r. 1819–35).²⁵ The *pādukā* was consecrated by Paṇḍita Lālacandra on the 7th of March 1824 (Phālguna śukla 7 VS 1880) “in eternal memory and praise” (*niraṃtarasmarāṇārthaṃ vandanārthaṃ ca*) of Paṇḍita Kesarīsīnha. Lālacandra was the pupil (*tadamtevasi*) of Kesarīsīnha, the crest-jewel among *paṇḍitas* (*paṇḍita-śiromaṇi-paṇḍita*), and the latter is recorded as himself a pupil of the foremost *paṇḍita* (*paṇḍita-pradhāna-paṇḍita*) Sukharāma. The inscription also records Lālacandra's own pupil Paṇḍita Jhāñjhūrāma and two pupils of the latter for whom no title is indicated, Devālāla and Bhairūlāla. In total, the inscription thus records five pupillary generations: Paṇḍita Sukharāma > Paṇḍita Kesarīsīnha > Paṇḍita Lālacandra > Paṇḍita Jhāñjhūrāma > Devālāla + Bhairūlāla. The whole *paṇḍita* succession is recorded as standing in the tradition (*-āmnāye*) of Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti,²⁶ who was on the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seat at the time of the memorial's consecration, but is cited here without the usual mention of his predecessors, next to the longer-running *paṇḍita* pupillary succession and without an explicit indication of his relation to

24 The socle seems to be more recent than the *pādukā*, and the whole is sunk deeper into the ground than the rest of the shrine room. Some renovations seem to have been performed, perhaps in view of ritual practice. I thank Brian Hatcher for raising my attention to these material aspects of the memorial.

25 8.8: *śrī-mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāi-jayasīnha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*.

26 Joharāpurakara and Kāsalivāla (1975, 248) give a pupillary pedigree of up to eight generations of *paṇḍitas* as stemming from the 17th century Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti. They do not give the source of this information, but it seems likely these are instead *paṇḍitas* who traced their descent from the 19th-century namesake *bhaṭṭāraka*.

them. It is remarkable that Paṇḍita Lālacandra himself consecrated the memorial stone, rather than calling upon the *bhaṭṭāraka* who was present nearby and is deferred to in the memorial's inscription. Apparently Paṇḍita Lālacandra had sufficient autonomy to undertake such a project and the ritual authority to consecrate the *pādukā*.



Figure 8. Pādukā of Paṇḍita Kesarisīṅha (VS 1880) waist-high on a pedestal sunk into the ground (R) in the back section of the shrine room separated off with arches (L) Pārśvanātha Digambara Jaina Mandira Nasiyām Śyojī Godhā, Jaipur, December 2014.

A *caraṇa-chatrī* at the *nasīyā* in Caurū (Figure 9 L & R), a town some 60 km southwest of Jaipur, is a memorial of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja established in November 1831 (Mārgaśīrṣa *kṛṣṇa* 5 VS 1888). The inscription records the continued rule of Mahārāja Savāi Jaya Siṅha (III),²⁷ but the incumbency by then of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti (*paṭṭa* VS 1883–1939; Varmā 1998, 31). Paṇḍita Dhanarāja's memorial was built (*kārayitvā*) and consecrated (*prasthāpitam*) by his pupil (*tad-amtevasinā*) Paṇḍita Ratanasukha, “for eternal remembrance and praise” (*nirāntaram smaraṇārtham baṁdanārtham ca*). Paṇḍita Dhanarāja is remembered as a pupil of the “foremost paṇḍita” (*paṁḍita-pradhāna-paṁḍita-jicchrī*) Baṣatarāma (= Bakhatarāma). This pupillary succession of *paṇḍitas* is recorded as standing in the tradition (*-āmnāye*) of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti, who ascended the seat some five years before. The inscription runs closely parallel to that of Paṇḍita Kesarisīṅha's *pādukā* in Jaipur from less than a decade earlier, and is clearly modelled after it or after another common source. Although different

27 8.9: *śrīman-mahārājādhīrāja-mahārājya-śrī-savāi-jayasīṅha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*.

pupillary successions of *paṇḍitas* are attested at both sites, this indicates a relation between both.



Figure 9. Carāṇa-chatrīs, Nasīyā, Caurū, February 2016. L: pādukā of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja (VS 1888). R: From right to left: carāṇa-chatrīs commemorating Paṇḍita Dhanarāja, an unidentified individual, and Muni Puṣpadantasāgara (VS 2048, repurposed). Inset: unmarked pādukā.

Two further *carāṇa-chatrīs* at the Caurū nasīyā (Figure 9 R) are roughly contemporary to, and of similar design and size as, that of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja. These are fairly typical examples of the 19th-century Digambara *chatrīs* of Central Rajasthan, medium-sized, elegant, and well proportioned, standing on an octagonal plinth and featuring bulbous, ribbed domes with a stone *maṭaka kalaśa*, angular eaves, and arched openings between the eight, graceful pillars. One of the other two *chatrīs* at the Caurū nasīyā (central in Figure 9 R) shares a platform with that of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja, another indication that it is near contemporary to it. It houses a *pādukā* without inscription (Figure 9 inset), which has a somewhat more rudimentary design than that of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja and therefore seems to be slightly older. The third *chatrī* (left in Figure 9 R) is raised on its own, spacious platform, slightly higher than the other. It may be slightly more recent than the other two *chatrīs*, but architectural elements clearly show it to be of comparable antiquity. It has, however, been repurposed as a memorial for a local, contemporary Digambara *muni*. It was whitewashed more recently than the other *chatrīs*, and decorative patterns and verses of poetry were painted on its pillars and lintels and inside the cupola. Furthermore, it features a *pādukā* of Muni Puṣpadantasāgara, a pupil of Ācārya Dharmasāgara, according to the inscription born in nearby Mauzamabad in VS 1969 and deceased in Caurū in VS 2046 (1989), his memorial having been erected in VS 2048 by *brahmacāriṇī* Pyārībāi under the inspiration of Āryikā Pārśvamatī Mātājī. Given the similar

size of all three *chatrīs* on site, the repurposed *chatrī* and the *chatrī* with the unmarked *pādukā* likely also commemorated *paṇḍitas*.

At the Candraprabhū Digambara Jaina Nasiyām in Phāgī, another town 50 km southwest of Jaipur, ten kilometres east of Caurū, stands a memorial of Paṇḍita Jayacanda consecrated in July 1867 (Āṣāḍha śukla 2 VS 1924). The memorial is a simple platform with a *pādukā* installed in open air (*caraṇa-cabūtarā*). The inscription on the *pādukā* again follows the same structure as those of the Jaipur and Caurū *paṇḍita pādukās* discussed before. It records the continued incumbency of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti and the reign by then of Mahārāja Savāi Rāma Siṅha (r. 1835–80).²⁸ The memorial was built (*caraṇālayam kārāyivā*) in eternal remembrance and praise of Jayacanda (*niraṃtaram smaraṇārtham vandanārtham*) by his pupil Paṇḍita Śivalāla. Jayacanda is commemorated as a pupil of Paṇḍita Amaracanda, who in turn is recorded as a pupil of Paṇḍita Vaṣatarāma (= Bakhatarāma), most probably the same *paṇḍita* as attested in the Caurū inscription. As in Caurū, this *paṇḍita* pupillary succession is recorded as standing in the tradition (*āmnāye*) of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti. The design of the *pādukā* is similar to that of Caurū, though slightly less refined. Some emblems are also depicted which are not found on the earlier Caurū *pādukā*, two flowers, a *mālā*, and a simple rectangular shape probably representing a scripture or manuscript (*śāstra*). Paṇḍita Jayacanda's *caraṇa-cabūtarā* is of course a far more modest memorial than Paṇḍita Dhanarāja's *caraṇa-chatrīs* in Caurū and Paṇḍita Kesarīsiṅha's memorial building in Jaipur. Paṇḍita Jayacanda's name was still remembered in the town by elderly Jainas at the time of my visit (February 2016).

As attested by these memorials, related pupillary lineages of *paṇḍitas* were active in the nearby towns of Caurū (Paṇḍita Bakhatarāma > Paṇḍita Dhanarāja > Paṇḍita Ratanasukha) and Phāgī (Paṇḍita Bakhatarāma > Paṇḍita Amaracanda > Paṇḍita Jayacanda > Paṇḍita Śivalāla). No memorials have been found of the other *paṇḍitas* of these lineages, although they may be among the unidentified memorials of Caurū or at other sites in the region. The inscriptions of these three Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *paṇḍita* memorials all defer to the flourishing *bhaṭṭāraka*, which expresses their allegiance to the Jaipur *bhaṭṭāraka* polity. The inscriptions do not, however, explicate the specific link of the commemorated or consecrating *paṇḍitas* to the *bhaṭṭārakas*. Instead, the pupillary *paṇḍita* successions are recorded at great length and generically said to have stood in the incumbent *bhaṭṭāraka*'s tradition (*āmnāye*). Given the geographic location of Phāgī and Caurū, within the zone of influence of the Jaipur *bhaṭṭāraka* seat and at the same time

28 8.10: *śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-māhārājya-śrī-savāi-rāmasiṅha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne*.

at some distance from it, local *paṇḍitas* here may have had some additional agency, more autonomy, and a higher, more strongly profiled standing in their local communities. Yet even the *paṇḍita* memorial inscription from Jaipur shares this stronger focus on the *paṇḍitas*' internal relations than on their relation to the incumbent, and in this case nearby, *bhaṭṭāraka*. While these successions of several pupillary generations of *paṇḍitas* flourishing in Jaipur and in outlying towns thus seem to have operated with some self-determination, they were undoubtedly still subordinate to the *bhaṭṭārakas*, whose polity was itself inscribed within that of the Kachavāhās.

6. Other Digambara memorials attesting rulers

Only a few further examples are found of Digambara memorials from Western India deferring to local rulers. One of these is a *paṇḍita* memorial found in Bundī in the Hāḍautī region, on the border with Mevāḍa. At the *nasīyā* outside of this town almost 200 km south of Jaipur stands an elegant ensemble of four *caraṇa-chatrīs* commemorating local *paṇḍitas* with links to the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā (Figure 10 L). The oldest memorial has the mid-19th-century (VS 1911) *pādukā* of Paṇḍita Ḍuṅgarasidāsa installed in a small shrine under the *chatrī*, like the much earlier examples from Amer (5.1). Around the turn of the 20th century, the smaller *chatrīs* of three *paṇḍitas* in Ḍuṅgarasidāsa's pupillary lineage were erected in a nicely laid out, symmetrical plan around the memorial of their predecessor. Among these are two direct *paṇḍita* pupils of Ḍuṅgarasidāsa, Rāmasukha (VS 1949) and Śivalāla (VS 1949), and a pupil of again the latter, Paṇḍita Ratnalāla (prob. VS 1956). The inscription on Paṇḍita Śivalāla's *pādukā* also records a ruler of Ajmer, Rāvā Rapudīra Simga. The two VS 1949 *pādukās* were consecrated along with a grand festival by Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti. The latter is described as "the leader of the Mūlasaṅgha" (*mūla-saṅgha-nāyaka*) and "the leader of the whole śrāvaka community" (*samasta-śravaga-saṅgha-nāyaka*). No further indications of his lineage are recorded, but this is no doubt the Mahendrakīrti who had then occupied the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seat for a decade.



Figure 10. L: Chatrī of Paṇḍita Śivalāla (VS 1949, left in front) next to other paṇḍita memorials, Digambara Jaina Mandira Nasīyāji, Bundī, February 2014. M: Bṛhadvāgaḍāśākhā kīrtistambha (VS 1571), Nasīyāji, Naugāmā, January 2014. R: Memorial of Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti (VS 1887), Sambhavanātha Mandira, Īḍara, January 2014.

The last two memorial inscriptions referring to local rulers stem from the Vāgaḍā region on the Rajasthan-Gujarat borderland and relate to one of the Balātkāragaṇa lineages which were active there. They are separated by over three centuries, dating to the second decade of the 16th century and the third decade of the 19th century. In both cases we can discern specific circumstances which may have motivated the inclusion of this uncommon reference in the inscription. The first is a VS 1571 Bṛhadvāgaḍāśākhā kīrtistambha found at the Nasīyāji in Naugāmā (Figure 10 M). The pillar's long foundation inscription also includes an extensive family pedigree of its Hūmbaḍa caste lay patrons. Through this feature, rarely encountered on early modern Digambara memorials, the inscription conforms more to the template of manuscript colophons. This also renders less unexpected the short, seemingly defective reference to the reign in the Vāgaḍā land of an unnamed ruler, whose name is possibly missing by mere oversight of the carver.²⁹ Yet the intended reference to the regional monarch could be seen as specifically appropriate for this communal memorial, mooring the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage in the royal polity just like the later Amer *kīrtistambha* (5.1). At the time, Naugāmā was administered by *ācāryas* of the Laghuvāgaḍāśākhā, who were subordinated to the Bṛhadvāgaḍāśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* settled in nearby Sāgavāḍā. The Laghuvāgaḍāśākhā later became an independent *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage, but at the time of its consecration, the Naugāmā

²⁹ *vāgavara-deśe rājādhirāyje*. The phrasing *rājādhirāyje* seems to be an erring contraction of the common *mahārājādhirāja-māhārāja-[X]-rājya*.

kīrtistambha stood as an axis connecting three hierarchically differentiated polities, namely those of the Naugāmā *ācāryas*, the *bhaṭṭārakas* of their mother lineage, and the royal court.

The last memorial to be noted here is a VS 1887 Bṛhadvāgāḍāśākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* memorial found at the Sambhavanātha Mandira in Īḍara (Figure 10 R). The memorial consists of a heavy, hourglass-shaped base with separate *niṣedhikā* and *pādukā* stones installed in a spacious, no doubt purpose-built *chatrī* annexed to the temple. According to the *pādukā* inscription, in an entirely unique attestation, Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśakīrti installed his own memorial. A separate inscription on the back of the *niṣedhikā* records the victorious rule of Māhārāja Gambhīra Siṛha over the fortress of Īḍara. Yaśakīrti seems to have been the first Bṛhadvāgāḍāśākhā incumbent to have established his seat in Īḍara, at the Pārśvanātha Mandira, one of the other Digambara temples in town. Yaśakīrti's deference to the local ruler in his own memorial may well be seen as expressing efforts to insert his own polity in the local kingdom. This would be similar to the case of the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā Narendrakīrti two centuries earlier, who initiated the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā practice of referring to Kachavāhā *mahārājas* in memorial inscriptions when moving into their capital Amer (5.1). That the record of the ruler in Īḍara was added in a separate inscription confirms its intentionality.

7. Conclusions

After the early, 17th-century example (5.1), nine late-18th-to-19th-century Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā memorial stones are found deferring to the ruling Kachavāhā monarchs. Four of these commemorate consecutive *bhaṭṭārakas*, one is a collective *bhaṭṭāraka* memorial, and one is an unspecified renouncer's memorial (5.2). Three other memorials commemorate *paṇḍitas* (5.3). No individual memorials have been retrieved of four further Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā incumbents from the 19th and 20th centuries, and they probably were never erected. The waning of the Kachavāhā court's autonomy in the colonial period probably also reflected on the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā. A number of further memorials found in Jaipur and other small towns in the area possibly commemorated *paṇḍitas* related to the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā, but either the *pādukās* do not feature inscriptions or the memorial stones are missing altogether. In other words, not a single Ḍhūṇḍhāḍāśākhā memorial contemporary to those recording the Kachavāhā rulers has been found which does *not* follow this practice. On the other hand, references to rulers are particularly uncommon in Digambara memorials elsewhere, being represented by only three further examples in my corpus of some 200 Western

and Central Indian Digambara memorials predating the contemporary *muni saṅghas*.

In several cases from both the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍa region and elsewhere we can identify circumstantial factors which potentially prompted the Digambara agents erecting and inscribing memorials to defer to the local ruler. They may have sought to establish associations to the royal court after newly settling in its territory, to formally record and acknowledge established relations with or favours received from the court, like land donations and royal legitimation of the *bhaṭṭā-raka* lineage, or simply to portray themselves as closely linked to the Kachavāhā court. We also see connections between three, hierarchically differentiated polities. The pupillary lineages of *paṇḍitas* in the Jaipur region formed semi-autonomous, satellite polities under the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭā-rakas*, themselves subordinated to the Kachavāhā throne. In the Vāgaḍā region, the Laghuvāgaḍāśākhā *ācāryas* of Naugāmā worked under the Bṛhadvāgaḍāśākhā *bhaṭṭā-rakas*, who at various points also seem to have sought to connect their polity to local kings. And the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā *bhaṭṭā-raka* Mahendrakīrti capitalised on the Kachavāhā ties to the Mughal court in turning to Delhi.

Connections to local rulers were no doubt initiated and cultivated by *bhaṭṭā-rakas* throughout Western and Central India on behalf of the lay constitution of their polities. The uncommon but consistent, relatively elaborate, and elegant deference given to the Kachavāhā rulers in the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā memorials from the late 18th and 19th century seems to express a particularly close alignment between the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā and the Kachavāhā court. Beyond a purely symbolic claim to a connection to the court on the part of the Digambaras, an actual link between both polities had already been established in the 17th century, when Narendrakīrti settled in Amer, and is also confirmed by the Jaipur *mahārājas*' engagement with the Amer *kīrtistambha* and their donation of the plot of land in Jaipur which became an important Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā commemoration site. The structural alignment of the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā with various royal and imperial courts on the longer run also becomes clear when mapping the repeated shifts of its seat onto political history. From the early 16th all the way up to the 20th century, each relocation of the Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā seat can be connected to the revolving fortunes of imperial and royal polities and attendant socio-economic conditions (Detige *forthcoming*).

8. Inscriptions

The following editions conform to the DHARMA transliteration scheme (Balogh and Griffiths 2020), an extension of ISO-15919. In this system, full (initial) vowel signs of the original script are rendered as uppercase Roman vowels (e.g. *mahotsava-Arcakam* corresponding to Devanagari महोत्सवअर्चक), and *virāma* marks attached to consonant characters are rendered with a · (median dot) sign after the transliterated consonant (e.g. *saṁvat·* corresponding to Devanagari संवत्). The following editorial markup is used in these editions:

- <¹> line numbering
- _3_ space left blank in original, with size in approximate number of *akṣaras*
- [...] lacuna in original, extent indefinite
- [×] lacuna in original, number of × marks indicating approximate number of *akṣaras* lost
- [a?] lacuna in original, tentatively restored
- (a) unclear or ambiguous characters in the original, confidently legible in context
- (a/b) ambiguous characters in the original, alternative readings
- (a?) unclear or ambiguous characters in the original, tentative reading
- <<a>> scribal insertion in original
- [[×]] deletion in original, number of × marks indicating approximate number of *akṣaras* deleted and now illegible

8.1. Pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti, built by Brahma Keśava, date unknown, Kīrtistambha Nasiyām, Amer.

<¹>[...] varṣe (dvi?)tīya śrāvaṇa vadī 8 ma(m?)galavā(re?) A(m?)vāvatī-nagar(e?) mahārājādhirāja-jayasīmha-rājya-pravarttamāne kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye bhaṭṭāraka śrī-deve(m?)dra [××××××××××] <²>v(a/e/ai)(dy/ch)ā(r?)takāra bhaṭṭāraka-śrīman-narendrakīrtti-jī tasya pādukā (sthā)(ppa?)taṁ|| sevaka vra keśava karāpya ta guru-bhakti nimita cira(m?) va(m)datu śubhaṁ bhavatu||

8.2. Kīrtistambha of the Dhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti, VS 1845, Kīrtistambha Nasiyām, Amer.

<¹>saṁbat 1845 madhye jyeṣṭha-māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe _3_ tithau Ambāvati ka[rvvate?] mahārājādhirāja-śrī-savāī _3_ śīmha-rājye śrī-mūla- <²>saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye

balātkāra-gaṇe kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye bhaṭṭāraka śrī-sureṁdrakīrtinā sakalamunibhi dāka-gaṇi-nī^{<3>}dhi-pūjjana-śrāvaka-śrāvika-saṁdoha-kṛta-paramotsavayuktābhi(h?) caṁpāvati-Arca-sṭhāpanā-vivaddanānaṁtaraṁm atra niveśitaṁ^{<4>}mahotsava-Arcakarṁ|| śrī-gurūṇāṁ pratimā-darśanārvana-varṁdanā-vidhā(tr?)ṇāṁ sarvadā maṁgalāvalī saṁgh(obhayādanārate?) ||śrī||

8.3. Pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti, VS 1853, Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, Jaipur.

^{<1>}saṁvat 1853 māgha-māse śukla-pakṣe pañcamī guru-vāsare ḍhumḍhāḥaḍa-deśe savāī-jaya-nagare mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāī-pratāpasimha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye valā^{<2>}tkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye Amvāvati-paṭṭodayādri-dinamaṇi-tulya-bhaṭṭārakendra-bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-deveṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-mahēṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-kṣemeṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-sureṁdrakīrtti-ji-deva-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-su^{<3>}khemḍrakīrttinā Iyaṁ śrī-mahēṁdrakīrtti-guroḥ pādukā prasthāpya mahotsavena pratiṣṭāpitā pūjakānāṁ kalyāṇāvalīm karotu śrīr astu śubham bhavatu||

8.4. Pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Kṣemendrakīrti

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti, VS 1853, Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, Jaipur.

^{<1>}|| saṁvata 1853 māgha-māse śukla-pakṣe pañcamī guru-vāsare ḍhumḍhāḥaḍa-deśe savāī-jaya-nagare mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāī-pratāpasimha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye valātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye Amvāvati-paṭṭodayādri-dinamaṇi-tulya-bhaṭṭā^{<2>}rakendra-bhaṭṭāraka-jī(c-ch?)rī-mahēṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-kṣemeṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-sureṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-sukhemḍrakīrttis-te<<neyam>> śrī-kṣemeṁdrakīrtti-guroḥ pādukā prasthāpya mahotsavena pratiṣṭitā|| pūjakānāṁ kalyāṇāvalīm karotu|| śrīr astu||

8.5. Pādukā of unspecified renouncer

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti, VS 1853, Bhaṭṭārakīya Nasiyām, Jaipur.

^{<1>}|| savat 1853 kā māgha śukla pañcamyām guru-vāre savāī-jaya-nagare mahārājādhirāja-śrī-savāī-pratāpasimha[××××]drājye śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye valātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gache kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye Amvāvati-paṭṭe bhaṭṭārakendra-bhaṭṭārakaḥ^{<2>} śrī-deveṁdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-mahēṁdrakīrtti-jitkasya bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-sureṁdrakīrti-deva-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-

sukhemdrakirttinā Iyaṁ pādukā ^{<3>}pratiṣ(ṭ/ṭh)āpitā

8.6. Pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakīrti

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakīrti, VS 1881, Bhaṭṭārakiya Nasiyām, Jaipur.

^{<1>}|| saṁvat· 1881 māgha-māse śukla-pakṣe pañcamī soma-vāsare ḍhumḍhāḥa-
deśe savāl-jaya-nagare śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāl-jayasīmha-jid-
rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye valātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-
gacche kuṁdakuṁdācāryānvaye bhaṭṭārakendra-bhaṭṭāraka-jic-chrī-
mahemdrakīrtis tat-pa(ṭṭe?) bha^{<2>}ṭṭāraka-śrī-kṣememdrakīrttis tatpaṭṭe bhaṭṭā-
ka-śrī-suremndrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-sukhemdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭā-
raka-jic-chrī-naremdrakīrtti-jika Eteṣām madhye bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-naremdrakīrttinā
mahā-mahotsavaṁ kṛtvā bhadrā-bhāvena śrī-suremndrakīrtti-guroś caraṇa-
yugalaṁ prasthāpya pratiṣṭhitāṁ pūjakānāṁ kalyāṇa-paramparāṁ karotu|| śrīr
astu|| śrīḥ||

8.7. Pādukā of Bhaṭṭāraka Sukhendrakīrti

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti, VS 1886, Bhaṭṭārakiya Nasiyām, Cākasū.

^{<1>}|| śrī-gurave namaḥ|| saṁvatsare rasa-basu-siddhīndu-yute 1886 mṛga[×]sira
sudi 2 śani-vāsare ḍhumḍhāḥa-deśe caṁpāvati-nagare śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-
mahārāja-śrī-savāl-jayasīmha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-
āmnāye balātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche kuṁdakuṁdācāryānvaye bhaṭṭāraka-
śirośekhara-bhaṭṭā^{<2>}raka-jic-chrī-suremndrakīrttis tat-paṭṭodayādri-dinamaṇi-
bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-sukhemdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka-naremdrakīrttis tat-paṭṭa-
śaila-dinamaṇi-sama-vinayavatā bhaṭṭāraka-devemdrakīrttinā śrī-bhaṭṭāraka-
sukhemdrakīrtter guror mahā-mahotsavaṁ kṛtvā caraṇa-yugalaṁ prasthāpya
pratiṣṭhitāṁ|| jagatāṁ śam astu||

8.8. Pādukā of Paṇḍita Kesarīsīnha

Consecrated by Paṇḍita Lālacandra, VS 1880, Śyojī Godhā Nasiyām, Jaipur.

^{<1>}|| śrī-paramātmāne namaḥ|| saṁvata 1880 phālgua śukla saptamī ravi-vāsare
savāl-jaya-nagare śrī-mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-śrī-savāl-jayasīmha-jid-rājya-
pravarttamāne śrī-mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye balātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche
kuṁdakuṁdācāryānvaye bhaṭṭāraka-ji-śrī-narendrakī<<rtti>>jid-āmnāye
paṇḍita-pradhāna-paṇḍita-jic-chrī-sukharāma-jitkas tac-chiṣya-paṇḍita-
śiromaṇi-paṇḍita-ji-chrī-kesarīsīmha-jitkas tad-amtevasī paṇḍita-lālacandraś
tac-chiṣya-vara-paṇḍita-^{<2>}jhāmjhūrāmas tac-chiṣyau dvau prathamāḥ devālāḥ
dvitīyāḥ bhairūlāḥ Eteṣām madhye paṇḍita-lālacandraṇa caraṇālayaṁ kāriyitvā
sva-guroḥ śrī-kesarīsīmha-jitkasya caraṇa-kamala-yugaṁ niraṁtara-

smaraṇārthaṁ vandanārthaṁ ca prasthāpitam|| śrīr astu||

8.9. Pādukā of Paṇḍita Dhanarāja

Consecrated by Paṇḍita Ratanasukha, VS 1888, Nasīyā, Caurū.

^{<1>}|| śrī-paramātmane namaḥ|| sambat· 1888 kā māsottama-māse mṛḡsira kṛṣṇa
paṁcamī gura-vāsare ḍhūṁḍhāhaḍakaye deṣe corū-nāmni nagare śrīman-
mahārājādhirāja-mahārājya-śrī-savāī-jayasimha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-
mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye balātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche
kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye bhaṭṭārakendra-bhaṭṭāraka-jīc-chrī-deveṁdrakīrtti-
jīd-āmnāye paṁḍita-pradhāna-paṁḍita-jic-chrī-baṣatarāma-jitkas tac-chiṣya
vidyadhara-paṁḍita-dhanarāja-jī^{<2>}tkas tad-amtevasinā paṁḍita ratanasukhena
caraṇālayaṁ kārayitvā sva-guro śrī-dhanarāja-jitkasya caraṇa-yuga(m?)
niraṁtaraṁ smaraṇārthaṁ baṁdanārthaṁ ca pras(th)āpitam|| śrīr astu||

8.10. Pādukā of Paṇḍita Jayacanda

Consecrated by Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti, VS 1924, Candraprabhū Digambara
Jaina Nasīyāṁ, Phāgī.

^{<1>}|| śrī-paramātmane namaḥ samvata 1924 kā māsottama-māse Asāḍha-māse
śukla-pakṣe doyaja vudha-vāsare ḍhūṁḍhāhaḍakaye deṣe phāgaī-nag(are) śrīman-
mahārā(j)ādhirāja-mahārājya-śrī-savāī-rāmasimha-jid-rājya-pravarttamāne śrī-
mūla-saṁghe naṁdy-āmnāye valātkāra-gaṇe sarasvatī-gacche
^{<2>}kuṁdakuṁdācāryyānvaye bhaṭṭārakendra-bhaṭṭāraka-jī-śrī-deveṁdrakīrti-jīd-
āmnāye paṁḍita-jī-śrī-vaṣatarāma-jitkas ta-siṣya-vidyadhara-paṁḍita-jī-śrī-
Amaracaṁda-jitkas ta-siṣya paṁḍita-(vidyadhara)-jayacaṁda-jitkas tad-
amtevasinā paṁḍita-śivalālena caraṇālayaṁ kārayitvā sva-guro śrī-jayacaṁda-
jitkasya caraṇa-yuga niraṁtaraṁ smaraṇārthaṁ vaṁdanārthaṁ pras(thā?)pit||

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