Globethics Repository

Globethics

Temples And Patrons The Nineteenth-Century Temple Of **Motīśāh** At **Śatruñjaya**

This page was generated automatically upon download from the Globethics Repository. More information on Globethics see https://www.globethics.net. Data and content policy of Globethics Repository see https://repository.globethics.net/pages/policy.

| | |
|---|---|
| Item Type | Article |
| Authors | Ku, Hawon |
| Publisher | University of London |
| Rights | Creative Commons Copyright (CC 2.5) |
| Download date | 2026-11-13 00:06:01 |
| Link to Item | http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/197962 |

International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online) Vol. 7, No. 2 (2011) 1-22

# TEMPLES AND PATRONS
# THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY TEMPLE OF MOTĪŚĀH AT ŚATRUÑJAYA[1]

Hawon Ku

## Introduction

Śatruñjaya, renowned for its Jain temples, is located next to the town of Pālitāṇā, Gujarat (Plate 1). Currently there are more than a hundred and fifty freestanding temples and countless shrines on the hill, which rises six hundred meters from the surrounding plains. While Śatruñjaya is one of the most important pilgrimage sites for Śvetāmbara Jains, James Burgess' survey of 1869, which covers the history of Jainism, Śatruñjaya and its architecture, still remains the most comprehensive study of the site.[2] The lack of studies of the site can be explained by several reasons, including the recentness of many temples at the site. Multiple legends date temples at Śatruñjaya to the age of the Tīrthaṅkaras.[3] However, only during the modern period did the site acquire its current form. The majority of surviving temples at Śatruñjaya were either renovated or newly built during

[1] This paper was presented under the title "Reconstruction of Jain Identity: The Nineteenth-century Reconstructions at Śatrunjaya, Gujarat" at the Jaina Studies Workshop at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in March 2004. Since submitting this paper for publication in an edited volume, an article discussing similar issues has been published in Korean.

[2] Apart from Burgess' book one exception is Kañchansāgarsūri's account of Śatruñjaya, which was originally published in Gujarati and translated into English in 1978. In his introduction, Kañchansāgarsūri 1982: 5 mentions that Burgess' work "inspired" him to write this book, and that "if a foreigner could do it [that is, publish a book on Śatruñjaya] before 100 years, he really deserves a lot of appreciation". However, as it is geared more towards Jain worshippers, there is not much discussion on the architecture or patronage of the site.

[3] According to the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, the first world emperor (*cakravartin*) Bharata, son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ādināth, erected a temple in honour of his father (Weber 1901: 249). According to Shah 1987: 15, 97, Bharata installed twenty-four life-size images of the Tīrthaṅkaras as well as images of himself and his ninety-nine brothers, who attained *nirvāṇa* along with Ādināth. However, the location of this temple is not clear, as it is also popularly believed that Bharata made a gate to protect the site from unworthy eyes. In early Jain literature, such as the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, *gāthā* 435, this place is clearly designated as Aṣṭāpada, a mythical mountain in the Himalayas. According to Hemacandrācārya, Aṣṭāpada is identified as Śatruñjaya.

the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, making the patronage of this period the most active. With so many "modern" buildings, the temples of Śatruñjaya are not discussed in most studies of traditional architecture.[4] Neither has the nineteenth-century patronage at Śatruñjaya been examined in detail. This paper investigates the reasons for the sudden rise in temple building during the nineteenth century, the architectural style of these "modern" temples and why these temples lost significance after the late-nineteenth century.

In order to reach the temples at Śatruñjaya, one needs to climb more than four thousand steps, starting from Pālitāṇā below the hill. Śatruñjaya can be divided into three areas, the southern summit, the northern summit and the valley between the two summits. Each area is subdivided into several *ṭuṃk*s. The Gujarati term *ṭuṃk* here designates an "enclosure" or "complex," and usually houses one main temple and several subsidiary temples surrounded by a cloister formed by a row of small shrines. This cloister acts as an exterior wall when viewed from the outside. Among the major *ṭuṃk*s on the hill, the oldest and most important is the Ādīśvara Bhagavān Ṭuṃk, or Dādānī Ṭuṃk, on the southern summit.[5] The Ādīśvara Temple, the current main temple within this *ṭuṃk,* was completely rebuilt during the late sixteenth century, although the oldest non-mythical construction is usually dated to the first century CE.[6] On the other hand, eight *ṭuṃk*s were rebuilt or newly constructed at Śatruñjaya only after 1786.

Among these nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s, Motīśāh Ṭuṃk is located in the valley between the southern and northern summits (Plate 2). Still the largest on Śatruñjaya hill, the *ṭuṃk* was named after its patron, Śeth Motīśāh (Motīcand Amīcand, 1782-1836). Originally from Cambay, Motīśāh moved to Bombay and became one of the wealthiest

---

[4] Dhaky 1975: 328, for example, argues that the apex of Jain architecture was achieved by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and only briefly mentions the temples at Śatruñjaya. This view is repeated in several other architectural histories, which discuss only the main Ādīśvara Temple (e.g. Singh 1982).

[5] Depending on how one counts the *ṭuṃk*s, the number of *ṭuṃk*s on Śatruñjaya may vary. One may count two *ṭuṃk*s on the southern summit (Ādīśvara Bhagavān Ṭuṃk, Vimal Vasahī Ṭuṃk), two in the valley (Motīśāh Ṭuṃk, Bālābhāī Ṭuṃk), and eight on the northern summit (Modī Ṭuṃk, Hemā Vasahī Ṭuṃk, Ujamphaī Ṭuṃk, Sākarśāh Ṭuṃk, Caumukha Ṭuṃk [or Kharatara Vasahī], Pāṇḍavaḥ Ṭuṃk, Chīpā Vasī Ṭuṃk, Narśī Keśāvjī Nāyāk Ṭuṃk). The last three, in spite of their names, are generally not counted as separate *ṭuṃk*s, but as *derāsar*s (temples). Hence, most Jains count nine *ṭuṃk*s on Śatruñjaya hill.

[6] The earliest non-mythical temple at Śatruñjaya is claimed to be the main Ādīśvara Temple, built in Vikram Saṃvat 108 (54 CE) (Weber 1901: 306). However, the earliest archaeological relic from the site, an inscription on an image of Puṇḍarīka-Svāmī, is dated to 1006 CE (Dundas 1992: 223). Another image of Śreṣṭhī Nārāyaṇa, a wealthy layman, is dated 1075/75 CE (Laughlin 2003: 11). The inscriptions from Śatruñjaya have been published by LeGrand Jacob 1841: 57-66 and Georg Bühler 1894: 34-86.

merchants in the city through his sea trade with China and Southeast Asia. In this article, I argue that Motīśāh's patronage at Śatruñjaya was characteristic of nineteenth-century Jain patrons, and reflected the lay worshipers' desire to establish their own name as well as accrue religious merit. The *ṭuṃk* built by Motīśāh was larger than any other *ṭuṃk* on the site, and the plan and architecture clearly aimed to display the name and network of the patron. However, Motīśāh Ṭuṃk was one of the last *ṭuṃk*s to be built at Śatruñjaya. After the mid-nineteenth century, private patronage was no longer encouraged and replaced by the management of the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī, a firm founded by merchants of Ahmadabad. This led to a transformation in the patterns of patronage by limiting the promotion of one's name, and thus reflected a transformation in the Jains' understanding of the site and their own religion.

## Lay Patronage of Temples at Śatruñjaya

While the donors of many pre-modern Jain temples are known through remaining inscriptions, only recently has Jain patronage become the focus of art historical and anthropological studies.[7] Among many Jain pilgrimage sites, Śatruñjaya has been one of the most important for Śvetāmbara Jains, as it was believed that one could even be freed of bad karma by "performing just one *upvās* on the full moon of Kārtak atop Shatrunjay [*sic*]."[8] Traditionally, temple building at Jain pilgrimage sites has been the duty of lay worshippers. In particular, building a temple or installing a deity at Śatruñjaya was one of the most worthy deeds that could be performed by a Mūrtipūjaka Jain lay worshipper.[9]

Several reasons for this belief and for the resulting lay patronage at Śatruñjaya can be found throughout history. First, the site has been extolled as the site of the first sermon - and according to Hemacandrācārya also the site of *nirvāṇa* - of the first Tīrthaṅkara, and every Tīrthaṅkara but one is said to have visited the site, some more than once.[10] As a

[7] For example, see Cort 2000.

[8] Bhuvanvijay 1981: 75 quoted from Cort 2001: 177.

[9] According to the *Śatruñjaya Laghukalpa*, worshipping at Śatruñjaya incurred a hundred times more *puṇya* (merit) than worshipping at Aṣṭāpada, Sammetśikhara, Pāvāpurī, Campāpurī, or Girnār. Even at Śatruñjaya, it is believed that one attains a hundred more times *puṇya* by installing an idol, a thousand times *puṇya* by constructing a temple, and infinite *puṇya* by defending it (Kañchansāgarsūri 1982: 3).

[10] It is not clear whether Ādināth attained *nirvāṇa* at this or another site, although many believe so. See Footnote 3. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, the only Tīrthaṅkara who did not visit Śatruñjaya was Nemināth, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara (Cort 1990: 246). In a pilgrim's itinerary around

result, it was regarded as a place where one can achieve salvation (Luithle-Hardenberg 2009: 342f.). Śatruñjaya also has met the need for devotional worship among pilgrims as a depository of powerful *mūrti*s (images) and objects, which provided the lay worshiper with the sense of fulfillment at the end of a pilgrimage. For example, the main *mūrti* of Ādināth, as well as a sacred *rāyaṇa* tree in the Ādīśvara Bhagavān Ṭuṃk are renowned for their power of gift granting (Jain 1980: 48).

Religious literature and powerful *mūrti*s may explain the consistent patronage of Śatruñjaya. However, they do not explain the reason for a surge in temple building during the nineteenth century. Unlike Śatruñjaya, many other Jaina sites, for example, Girnār in Gujarat, Mount Ābu in Rajasthan, Sammetśikhara and Pāvāpurī in Bihar, did not see much patronage during this period. The only building activities include a few renovations and additions such as stone steps.[11] Perhaps, then, Śatruñjaya became the almost exclusive recipient of patronage due to other economic or social reasons. One reason could have been the geographic advantages offered by its location. It is not far from Ahmadabad (Amadāvād) and Surat, as well as Bombay (Mumbaī), especially when approached by sea routes. All of these cities were major commercial centers during the nineteenth century, replacing earlier port cities on the western Indian coast such as Cambay (Khambhāt) or the Portuguese centers of Daman and Diu (Dīv). The proximity of Śatruñjaya to these commercial centers with wealthy merchants could have been one reason for concentrated patronage at the site.

Secondly, in the nineteenth century, extensive patronage was made possible via the new wealth acquired by the Jain merchants of western India. Although many Jains of western India had belonged to wealthy mercantile communities, the decline of the Mughal Empire and the rule of the Marathas (1760-1819) had weakened most trade and commerce in Gujarat.[12] However, by the early nineteenth century, Jain merchants of

---

the Jain sites of Gujarat, Girnār (where Nemināth is known to have taken *dīkṣā* and achieved *nirvāṇa*) is usually visited after Śatruñjaya.

[11] During earlier times much more patronage was found at Girnār**,** rather than Śatruñjaya. However, Cort hypothesizes that further patronage of Girnār was probably hindered due to the extensive presence of Hindu ascetic orders, such as the Nagas (Cort, personal communication). Mount Ābu was also shared with other religions, including a powerful Śaivite order. During the nineteenth century, Mount Ābu also housed the summer headquarters of the British Governor-General's Agent (Imperial Gazetteer 1908: 5). These may have been reasons why, in spite of their locations in western India, these two sites did not attract as much patronage as Śatruñjaya.

[12] The attack of Surat by Śivāji (1664) marks the beginning of Maratha influence in Gujarat, which was strongest during the eighteenth century. Forbes 1913 I: 257f. describes the state of Ahmadabad in 1781 during a Maratha-British campaign: "Solitude, poverty, and desolution". While the *saraf*s of Ahmadabad

Ahmadabad and Bombay had gained enormous wealth through the export of opium to China. A widespread network was formed through the dealing of Malwa (Mālvā) opium, including Jain merchants such as Śeth Motīśāh of Bombay, and Nagarśeth Hemābhāī Vakhatcand and Hathīsiṅg Keśarīsiṅg of Ahmadabad.[13]

In addition to the new wealth of western Indian Jains and the proximity of two major commercial centers to Śatruñjaya, conditions of the lay merchants and bankers during the nineteenth century also propelled further patronage at the site. Providing for temples and deities as well as religious ceremonies has been and still is one of the traditional duties of Jain laypeople. In place of ascetics who had renounced worldly possessions, laymen built temples and supported pilgrimages for various reasons. On the one hand, *dāna* (religious giving) was performed to acquire merit for the donor. On the other hand, *dāna* was a significant component in building the reputation of a merchant and his business. Reputation, which allowed merchants to borrow money, was crucial to the informal credit markets of India prior to the twentieth century. Within the informal credit market, the overall credit standing of the borrowing party factored into the decisions of the brokers, rather than a specific project or enterprise (Timberg & Aiyar 1984: 45). The 1921 Census of India indicates that Gujarat and Rajasthan had the highest proportion of money-lenders and bankers per capita, most of them Jains and Marwaris (Jain 1929: 1). However, according to Bayly, substantial changes of the finance and commerce sector were encouraged by the British during the nineteenth century. This included the introduction of British notions of individual legal responsibility limited to one lifetime, and reorganisation of tolls, bazaar duties and urban taxation, which threatened the traditional structure of the merchant community since it overturned local indemnities and privileges.[14] Bayly argues that the merchant society reacted to these

---

still worked as revenue collectors and bankers for the Marathas, many fled to other cities in fear of extortion (Gillion 1968: 32).

[13] The opium trade was started by the East India Company in the 1760s after the conquest of Bengal and Bihar, the opium-growing areas of India, in order to finance the Chinese imports of tea, silk, and porcelain. Lured by the enormous profits, the Princely States of Malwa and Rajasthan started cultivating opium, which was exported from the western ports of India by Indian traders during the early nineteenth century. The British levied heavy duties, leading to illegal export of opium from the non-British ports of western India such as Daman (Shah 1999: 99).

[14] The idea of individual competence in law and temporal limitation of liability was introduced in the Bengal Regulations of 1793. However, in spite of British efforts, colonial reforms and demands were mostly ineffective. In particular, British demands that family businesses submit books in court were evaded by every means possible, as these bookkeeping records were considered to be integral to the honor of the family. Such acts were regarded as violations of the basic tenets of mercantile secrecy (Bayly 1983: 379f.).

changes by remaining conservative and cautious and the role of religiosity remained pivotal in acquiring *sakh* (credit). This was true especially in Ahmadabad, which, in spite of its British rule from 1817, maintained many traditional practices (Gillion 1968: 6). Thus another reason for the nineteenth-century patronage at Śatruñjaya could have been a rekindled interest in amassing merit to assert the patron's name and creditworthiness in the traditional informal credit market.

The nineteenth-century patronage of new temple constructions and religious ceremonies confirms this desire to enhance the "name" of the patron by building "new" temples. This contrasts sharply with earlier patronage at the site, in which renovation of older temples was regarded more highly. For example, the merit earned from renovating an old temple was traditionally believed to be eight times more than building a new temple (Desai II 1983: 209).[15] For this reason, most pre-nineteenth century patronage at Śatruñjaya focused on rebuilding or renovating the main Ādīśvara Temple, the main shrine at the site. According to the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, the main Ādīśvara Temple at Śatruñjaya underwent "Sixteen Renovations" throughout history, in which patrons rebuilt the desecrated or deserted site.[16] In contrast, late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century patronage was largely concentrated on constructing new temples, rather than renovating or embellishing existing structures. Eight new *ṭuṃk*s were built on the hill. These include Modī Ṭuṃk (1786), Hemā Vasahī Ṭuṃk (1826), Sākarśāh Ṭuṃk (1836), Ujamphaī Ṭuṃk (1837), Motīśāh Ṭuṃk (1837), Bālābhāī Ṭuṃk (1837) and Narśī Keśāvjī Nāyāk Ṭuṃk (1862). All were built by Jain merchants and their families from Ahmadabad or Bombay. Most significantly, these new *ṭuṃk*s are named after the donor, rather than the residing deity, which indicated the donors' desire to associate their names with Śatruñjaya.[17]

The need to assert one's name (and merit) also explains the proliferation of freestanding temples within the nineteenth-century *ṭuṃks*. In addition to *devakulikā*s

[15] However, it is also likely that this notion was invented to induce the provision of funds for renovations.

[16] The current structure of the main Ādīśvara Temple dates to 1593, when it was partially renovated by Tejpālsoni from Khambhat and consecrated by Hīravijayasūri (Nyāyvijaya 1949: 65).

[17] It is not clear whether the names of the *ṭuṃk*s were explicitly proclaimed by the donors. However, according to accounts of the Śeth Āṇandji Kalyāṇji Peḍhī, the trust that manages the site, Sakar Śāh's Ṭuṃk (1836) is mentioned as "Sakarcand's Ṭuṃk" in 1837, a year after the consecration (*Accounts dating from VS 1886*: n.p.). This indicates that during the nineteenth century, the donor's name would have been most likely expected to be associated with the *ṭuṃk*. Before the nineteenth century, the only temple on Śatruñjaya that is commonly known by its donor's name is the Kumarpāla Temple (1232). This may be due to the widespread knowledge of Kumarpāla (1143-1174), the Calukya king who was purportedly converted to Jainism by the ascetic Hemācārya (Hemacandra) (Campbell, 1989: 193). Another possible exception on the northern summit is the *ṭuṃk* containing the Caumukha Temple (1618), which is known as Kharatara Vasahī (enclosure of the Kharatara Gaccha) or sometimes, Sava Somjī Ṭuṃk (enclosure of Sava Somjī).

(small shrines that form a cloister around the main temple) and multiple levels of shrines within the sanctum, almost all of the nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s at Śatruñjaya boast subsidiary temples and shrines within the *ṭuṃk*. The nineteenth-century subsidiary temples at Śatruñjaya are architecturally detached from the main temple and its *devakulikā*s. Freestanding, with prominent inscriptions indicating the name of the donor and his place of business, these temples emphasized the individual name of each patron.[18] These subsidiary temples were built by family members or business associates of the main patron (Kapadia 1996: 70, 77), and also underscored the ties among the patrons. Thus while these subsidiary temples represented the merit earned in the name of the individual donor himself, they also represented the ties between the patrons of the main temple and the subsidiary ones. These were ties that could be translated into a reputation of creditworthiness, also enhanced by the prominent social network of each individual.

**The Nineteenth-century Patronage of Motīśāh**

Patronage flourished in Śatruñjaya from the late eighteenth century to the early-nineteenth century, fuelled by the sanctity attributed to the site through traditional Jain literature, its convenient location, a vast increase of wealth and changes in the merchant society. However, the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for building "new" temples resulted in somewhat conflicting approaches to architectural practices, which can be clearly found in the accounts of Motīśāh's patronage. According to Motīśāh's biography, he insisted on adhering to the *śāstra*s, as was the standard practice, when planning the temples of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk (ib., p. 114). However, several problems arose during the planning stage. Firstly, there was not enough space on the hill to accommodate the temple enclosure that Motīśāh had envisioned. Instead of moderating his plans to a smaller scale he decided to build on the present site between the two summits, which was a lake at that time. He commenced filling it against the concerns of his fellow merchants about the harm that may be caused to the living beings in the water, or the cost of filling the lake (ib., p. 107). Also, rather than waiting for an astrologically suitable date, Motīśāh performed the ground-breaking ceremony on the earliest date possible. In spite of his professed

[18] For example, one of the subsidiary temples in Motīśāh Ṭuṃk, the Hathīsiṅg Temple, displays an inscription on the left side of the entrance: "Temple of Śrī Dharmanāthjī built by Śeth Śrī Hathīsiṅg Keśarīsiṅg." Inscriptions on other subsidiary temples within the *ṭuṃk* affirm that they were built by Pratāplāl Joītādās from Bombay, Munīm Vīrcandbhāī Bhāīcand from Dhoḷerā, and Śeth Kīkābhāī Kūlcand from Ghogha. According to Kapadia 1991: 130-135, they were respectively a maternal uncle, a manager and the son of a manager of Motīśāh.

adherence to traditional religious beliefs and practices, it seems that he was determined to build an impressive structure as quickly as possible.

The need to publicize one's faith and sincere character (and creditworthiness, in addition to wealth) also led to celebrated displays of religiosity. According to Laidlaw (1995: 138), the sense of a Jain community is created by two processes: the patronage of communally owned religious buildings and participation in the events they house.[19] The nineteenth-century patronage of Motīśāh provides lavish examples. In total, Rs. 1.1 million was spent on the building of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk. The *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration ceremony), held in 1837, cost an additional seven hundred thousand rupees, an astronomical amount for that time (Kapadia 1991: 155). In order to transport pilgrims, Motīśāh's family rented a ship to sail from Bombay to a port close to Śatruñjaya. The British governor at this time, as well as several wealthy Parsi and Muslim merchants of Bombay, donated money for the pilgrimage and also attended the farewell ceremony at the Bombay Fort (ib., pp. 175f.). 125,000 to 150,000 pilgrims converged at Śatruñjaya for the *pratiṣṭhā*, and ascetics from the three leading *gaccha*s (sects) performed the ceremonies together. According to Kapadia, in order to provide for the pilgrims, food and other necessities were sent beforehand to Pālitāṇā; wells, kitchens, and hygiene facilities were maintained by the *saṅgh* (congregation), and security was also provided for the *saṅgh* by a police force brought from Bombay. These costs were all paid by Motīśāh's family, although donations were made by other prominent Jain merchants. For example, Hemābhāī, a business associate from Ahmadabad, made a substantial donation and also brought a separate *saṅgh* to the ceremony from Ahmadabad (ib., pp. 172-188). Such a display of religious giving would have reinforced Motīśāh's reputation and honor, not only among his fellow Jains, but also among the larger business community in Bombay and Ahmadabad. Thus it becomes clear that Śatruñjaya was a significant depository of creditworthiness, endowed with monuments intended to publicize the religious merit of the patron.

Motīśāh's patronage and pilgrimage was not unique; other nineteenth-century patrons at Śatruñjaya also focused on building large new *ṭuṃk*s, which were popularly identified with the donor. Within the *ṭuṃk*s, subsidiary temples were built detached from the main structure or surrounding *devakulikā*s, emphasizing the individual wealth and network of their patrons. These traits confirmed the donors' desire to underscore their own religiosity, and subsequently, the rewards of religious patronage. Religious patronage, especially temple building, can be read as an alternate form of *dāna*, or "gifting." Just as the layman "gifts" alms to *sādhu*s and *sādhvī*s, the patron "gifts"

[19] Laidlaw discusses the present-day Śvetāmbara Jain community of Jaipur.

temples or sculptures to Śatruñjaya. However, while *dāna* may endow the giver with merit, it can also be an unsafe act. The balancing of *dāna* and its results is a delicate matter, in which reciprocity is not always straightforward. In the case of gifting alms, although the giver ultimately obtains *puṇya* (merit) by giving food to the holy men and women, he cannot avoid the accumulation of *pāpa* (demerit) that inevitably occurs while preparing the food. In addition, according to Cort (2001: 91, 110), ill-borne worship will only lead to *pāpa*. Moreover, when results are favored over the motives, giving itself can produce dangerous outcomes.

For example, Motīśāh's biography describes the tragic events following his patronage. According to Rāmjī Salāt, the chief *sūtradhār* (architect) of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk, Motiśāh's disregard for auspicious dates led to his (and his wife's) premature deaths before the *pratiṣṭhā* (Kapadia 1991: 106). Other inauspicious omens followed, with the silver buried during the *muhūrat* (auspicious day for starting the construction) robbed after the ceremonies. These events "foretold" the results of Motīśāh's dangerous giving.[20] Motīśāh's biographer suggests that Motīśāh and his wife passed away in order to personally invite the gods to the ceremonies (ib., p. 174). However, the subsequent failure of his son's business and loss of prestige hints at the drastic results of iniquitous *dāna*. The fact that Motīśāh and his wife's death were explained as pious acts indicates a silent concern of the author, who needed to explain these inauspicious events surrounding their patronage. This concern was not related to a lack of generosity or grandeur. It was rather a cautionary tale of extravagant giving. As the Jain ascetic who is not supposed to accept food prepared exclusively for his consumption, in a way, later accounts suggest that Śatruñjaya did not fully accept the overtly enthusiastic worship of Motīśāh.[21] This indicates a change in the Jains' understanding of Śatruñjaya from a significant repository of merits and worldly credit to a site with more sacred associations.

## The Architecture of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk

The architecture of the nineteenth century also reflects changes in attitude. At first

[20] Another example of "perilous patronage," in which worshipers believed lavish patronage brought iniquitous results, can be seen in the building of Narśī Keśāvjī Nāyāk Ṭuṃk (1862) at Śatruñjaya. According to Muni Nyāyvijaya 1949: 90, many believed that numerous deaths were caused by the fact that the *pratiṣṭhā* was not performed at an auspicious time. This was popularly known as "the *kher* (divine curse) of Keśāvjī Nāyāk".

[21] Even now, most pilgrims to Śatruñjaya do not visit the new *ṭuṃk*s built during the nineteenth century; most of them only worship at the main Ādīśvara Temple in the Ādīśvara Bhagavān Ṭuṃk.

glance, the temples of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk can be categorized as Jain temples built in the Western Indian style, or the regional style commonly found in Gujarat and Rajasthan. First categorized by M.A. Dhaky (Mason & Meister 2007), the Western Indian style or Maru-Gurjara style temple is known to have been developed and spread throughout these areas during the rule of the Solaṅkī dynasty (10th-13th C.). Temples built in the Maru-Gurjara style have a few features in common with most north Indian temples regardless of the presiding deity. The common north Indian temple has a main sanctum, which is connected to a covered entrance hall with a porch.[22] The main sanctum, which may have one or more central *mūrti*s, is topped with a *śikhara* (parabolic superstructure), while the covered entrance hall has a triangular or domed roof. According to Dhaky, Jain temples built in the Maru-Gurjara style have three features distinctive from the commonly found north Indian temple: a platform above which the temple and its subsidiary buildings are located, a semi-open colonnaded hall in front of the covered entrance hall, and in later temples, a cloister formed with a series of *devakulikā*s. Linked together to form a rectangular or square cloister, the *devakulikā*s often formed a high, undecorated wall surrounding the temple when viewed from the exterior.[23]

However, although it is possible to recognize a temple as a Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple by these features, none of these features are exclusively Jain or derived from Jain beliefs. These features clearly lacked explicit meanings, and even after the thirteenth century, when Dhaky argued that a certain architectural stagnation had ensued,[24] there

[22] Dhaky 1975: 323f. derived vocabulary for these architectural components and spaces from traditional literature of the twelfth to fourteenth century, a period when a large number of Jain temples were built in western India. For example, a main sanctum is commonly known as a *mūlaprāsāda*, a covered entrance hall is a *gudhamaṇḍapa*, the platform a *jagatī* and the porch is known as a *mukhamaṇḍapa* or *trika*.

[23] Dhaky 1975: 323 argues that while platforms (*jagatī*) are sometimes seen in temples of other religions, platforms of Jain temples are very simple with almost no decorations or moldings. Also, Dhaky argues that the semi-open colonnaded hall (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*) is "the greatest single Jaina contribution to Indian architecture," with its richly carved concentric ceilings and pendentives. Compared to temples of other religions, Dhaky also argues that the cloisters formed by the rows of subsidiary shrines (*bhramantikā* or *paṭṭaśālika*) are always raised in Jain temples and form an organic unit with the hall of the main sanctum (ib., pp. 338, 349, 357).

[24] Among the Jain temples built after the thirteenth century, the fifteenth-century Ādināth Temple at Rāṇakpur is widely acknowledged to be an outstanding example of a Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple. However, rather than follow one of the aforementioned arrangements, it has four entrances facing the cardinal directions, forming a four-faced main sanctum (*caturmukha* or *caumukha*), with an exceptionally high three-story pillared hall in front of the main entrance. These changes were made to accommodate the four-faced main image, which was a form that became popular after the fifteenth century (Dhaky 1975: 328).

was no specific model for a traditional Jain temple. Rather, a variety of familiar architectural forms were loosely organized within the nomenclature of "Maru-Gurjara style Jain temple." All variants from the simplest form of the Maru-Gurjara style temple (with just the main sanctum and a covered entrance hall) to the most complex (with fifty two surrounding subsidiary shrines) can be found at Śatruñjaya. The main Ādīśvara Temple at Śatruñjaya is an enlarged form of the simplest Maru-Gurjara style temple, with the main sanctum expanded on three sides to provide a circumambulatory path around the central *mūrti*. The covered entrance hall has three tall, double-storied porticoes (*meghanadamaṇḍapa*), but in spite of the size, it is not a complex plan. Most of the nineteenth-century temples at Śatruñjaya follow a similar plan, in which a tripartite main sanctum is connected with a large covered entrance hall surrounded with three porticoes on the north, west, and south side of the temple, as can be seen in several temples within the Motīśāh Ṭuṃk.

While the plans of the temples at Śatruñjaya all look similar at first glance, it also becomes clear that the later temples, including those of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk, have two strikingly different features. Firstly, the later temples at Śatruñjaya show much more deliberate planning compared to the earlier temples (Plate 3). For example, Modī Ṭuṃk (1786) and Bālābhāī Ṭuṃk (1837), the two *ṭuṃk*s that approximately bracket the beginning and end of intense building at the site, show clear planning of the temples within the *ṭuṃk*s. The later temples at Śatruñjaya were all planned within a square or rectangle enclosure, with mostly symmetrical subsidiary temples. The size of the main temple, the size of the *devakulikā*s forming a cloister surrounding the courtyard and the overall scale of these new *ṭuṃk*s do not allow random additions to the *ṭuṃk*. By contrast, earlier temples, including the main Ādīśvara Temple complex, do not show this type of conscious planning. The shape of the *ṭuṃk* and placement of temples are simply governed by the topography of the site. When compared to later temples which are facing precisely east, the older temples on the southern summit seem to be parallel to the ridge of the mountain and haphazardly placed along the path towards the main Ādīśvara Temple. When viewing the whole plan of Śatruñjaya, it appears that only the temples and shrines within the *ṭuṃk*s postdating Modī Ṭuṃk were built within pre-planned spaces.[25]

[25] The only pre-nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk* with a rectangle wall is Caumukha Ṭuṃk (1618) on the northern summit. The placement of subsidiary temples within the *ṭuṃk* indicates that, however, the subsidiary temples' placement did not follow any plans. There is a possibility that the wall is a later reconstruction, since a nineteenth-century record of the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī states a payment in V.S. 1898 (1842 CE) to fix and maintain a wall behind Chīpā Vasī Ṭuṃk. Although it does not indicate which wall it is, it may include the one wall that Chīpā Vasī Ṭuṃk shares with Caumukha Ṭuṃk (Records of the Āṇandji Kalyāṇji Peḍhī 1842, n.p.).

The second difference that we can see in the later architecture at Śatruñjaya is the proliferation of subsidiary temples and shrines within the *ṭuṃk*s. The courtyard of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk is much larger than the earlier *ṭuṃk*s, and as a result the main temple is physically separated from the surrounding *devakulikā*s. This can be contrasted with the closed, dark interior spaces of earlier Jain temples, in which the ceiling of the covered entrance hall almost touches the roofs of the surrounding *devakulikā*s (for example, the Dilvārā Temples at Mount Abū). As the courtyard was much larger, it was also possible to build no less than fifteen freestanding subsidiary temples within the walls formed by the 125 *devakulikā*s. Clusters of temples are common at most Jain sites. However, the placement of *freestanding* temples and shrines within the enclosure is especially conspicuous in the nineteenth-century temples at Śatruñjaya.

**Changes in Architecture: Pilgrimage and Community**

These architectural changes found in the nineteenth-century temples at Śatruñjaya have several possible explanations. First, the planned features of the *ṭuṃk*s were probably inevitable when we consider the fact that so many new temples were built in rapid succession. In contrast to earlier patronage in which renovation and rebuilding of older temples was the norm, the patrons of the nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s had the freedom to pre-plan whole sites, with the help of family and/or business associates in many cases. Secondly, the reasons for the larger *ṭuṃk*s with the open courtyards may be deduced from studies of earlier Jain temple architecture. A popular analysis repeated by many Jains as well as scholars is that the walls and structures that cover and conceal the Jain temples resulted from the need for protection against Muslim destruction of religious sites.[26] According to this hypothesis, the lack of systematic destruction and relative political stability of the nineteenth century could explain the openness of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk and other later enclosures of Śatruñjaya.

On the other hand, it is also possible to explain the openness of the nineteenth-century temples by an increase in the number of pilgrims and larger congregations.[27] The courtyard and the temples themselves were more likely built larger to house the

[26] For example, K.C. Jain 1963: 128 argues that "the subterranean layers of Jaina edifices … are regarded as the temples proper," and "the image on the ground floor was not installed according to the *shastric* conventions, but was used as a decoy to divert attention from the sacred sanctum underneath". Likewise, the high walls surrounding the temples are popularly believed to have the practical purpose of concealing the resplendent temples within the walls.

[27] I thank Professor M.A. Dhaky for this suggestion regarding the changes in the plans.

increasing number of worshippers who came to the site. The rise of Hindu pilgrimage in India during the nineteenth century has generally been explained by several factors, including the safer transportation and environment under British rule, the withdrawal of the pilgrim tax, the ease of transportation with the opening of railroads and the rise of pilgrimage as a status symbol among the middle class.[28] Nonetheless, Jain pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya cannot necessarily be rationalized according to this argument. While the safer environment provided by British colonial rule could have been a significant factor, the withdrawal of the pilgrim tax did not apply to Śatruñjaya, since it had been under the jurisdiction of the Pālitāṇā Thakur, the ruler of Pālitāṇā who collected a "protection fee" in place of a pilgrim tax. Also, the Ahmadabad-Bombay railway, the first major railroad in Gujarat, was only opened in 1864, well after the period of active patronage at Śatruñjaya.[29] In case of the Jain community, pilgrimage and sponsorship of pilgrims had always been a symbol of one's wealth and status, as seen in the extravagant consecration ceremony of Motīśāh Ṭuṃk. Thus we will have to search for other reasons for the rise in active participation in Jain pilgrimage and communal worship at Śatruñjaya.

While pilgrimage has been an ancient practice for Jains, detailed rituals and methods of pilgrimage at Śatruñjaya only appear during the nineteenth century.[30] The increase of elaborateness in ritual, as well as the rise of the number of pilgrims attending ceremonies and partaking in pilgrimage in general, was a possible cause for the wider courtyards and the larger interior halls of the nineteenth-century temples at Śatruñjaya. The elaborateness of rituals also indicates a rise in the significance and meanings of pilgrimage to the site, which provided the needed "sense of community" as well as fulfilling personal desire (Bhardwaj 1973: 7). Sense of community acquired from

---

[28] Maclean 2003: 873-905 argues that in addition to the withdrawal of the pilgrim tax (1840), rail boosted pilgrimage attendance. From the 1880s, pilgrimage also started to become a status symbol, with more and more members of the middle class making pilgrimages. Colonial interventions such as *ghat* [step] building and improving routes also made pilgrimage safer, leading to a rise in the number of pilgrims.

[29] The first railway in Gujarat was built in 1850-51, a short line linking Dhoḷerā with the sea to provide access to the port (Gillion 1968: 69, 98).

[30] Jain 1980: 50f. argues that "innumerable later eulogies [and praise] and *Caityaparipati*s [Order of the images, or temples] of Satrunjaya are also available but none contain any reference to the ritual use of the hill. The sacred days for pilgrimage, the different ways to climb the hill, the various *pradakshina*s [circumambulations] to be conducted and the 99 *yatra*s [pilgrimages] are not mentioned in any of the earlier literary sources. Only the *Caityaparipati*s roughly describe the paths that were to be followed while conducting a pilgrimage." Thus it is most likely that only during the nineteenth century the pilgrimage routine, for example, the "99 pilgrimages" of Śatruñjaya, an important ritual of present-day pilgrims, was codified.

pilgrimage is still especially important to (image-worshipping) Jains, who maintain their group identity by claiming a pilgrimage site (Śatruñjaya), rather than a homeland, as their territory (Luithle-Hardenberg 2009: 331). Participation in pilgrimage to sacred sites was also one way to fulfill their duties as a "Jain." By gathering with fellow worshippers, they could enhance their own sense of inclusion in this community. Similarly, the religious rules of pilgrimage (which are much more stringent than those of normal life) provided the participants with a powerful means to distinguish their own community from the Other.

However, there is also a feature of nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s that contrasts with the larger, open courtyards and temples. Most of the temples at Śatruñjaya, especially the nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s, are surrounded by massive walls. The *devakulikā*s surrounding the *ṭuṃk* formed a wall around the main temple in most early Maru-Gurjara style temples, but the nineteenth-century *ṭuṃk*s at Śatruñjaya feature increasingly high and definite walls. In addition, the walls of Motīśāh's Ṭuṃk as well as the walls surrounding the two summits on the hill, have pronounced parapets and watchtowers, not unlike fort walls built for defense. In a few late eighteenth-century *paṭa*s (cloth paintings) of Śatruñjaya, the walls are even depicted with cannons (which, obviously, were not to be used). These walls at Śatruñjaya do not seem to serve any practical purposes as there had been virtually no military threat to Śatruñjaya since the fourteenth century.[31] Neither did the rulers of the surrounding area, the Pālitāṇā Thakurs, pose any physical threat, as most of the Princely States in Gujarat were closely monitored by the British.[32] Nevertheless, according to the records of the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī, the walls surrounding the hill were also regularly renovated and enforced during this period.[33] Rather than the need for physical protection from an actual enemy, it is more likely that the walls were symbolic of a separation between two worlds. Like many other Jain pilgrimage sites, Śatruñjaya is located on the top of a hill and isolated from the town of Pālitāṇā, exalting

[31] The *Nābhinandanajinoddhāraprabandha* (1336 CE) by Kakkasūri describes the rebuilding of Śatruñjaya after the destruction by the invading armies of Allauddin Khilji in 1312 CE (Granoff 1991: 190). There are no further descriptions of destructions on the site after this incident.

[32] According to the India Office Records, by 1900 the heir-apparent to the Pālitāṇā Thakur and his male relatives were educated in England and France and received army ranks before returning to India. A British tutor acted as administrator of the State, as well as a guardian for the heir. See M.S.1. India. Dated 26 February 1918. India Office Records L/PS/359.

[33] The nineteenth-century accounts of the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī list the renovations and, in some instances, the donors. Unlike temples, renovations of the fort walls seem to have been completely under the management of the Peḍhī, as discussed in footnote 25.

in its separation of the sacred and mundane. The fort walls can be understood as an amplification of this defense that protected the Jains against their enemies. The very name of the site, *śatruñ-jaya*, "victory over enemies," implies victory over not merely mortal enemies, but enemies of spiritual enlightenment. Thus the need for stronger walls, complete with parapets and towers, was a reflection of an anxiety of the Jains, that is, an anxiety over protection of the site from enemies, mortal and spiritual.

**Conclusion**

In all probability, "enemies" included secular authorities found in the outside world. Following the political and social changes brought by British colonial rule in western India, Western scholars had started to "discover" Jainism and the site of the Śatruñjaya.[34] Nineteenth-century Western writings on Śatruñjaya also aimed to provide an objective and scientific view of the site, which conflicted with traditional Jain literature that viewed the site as a sacred and thus inaccessible space.[35] Western discovery and assessment of the religion and the site was also concurrent with a series of celebrated legal cases in western India. From 1820 to 1926, the Jains had to legally confront the rulers of Pālitāṇā who claimed ownership of the site. The first and foremost result of these legal cases was the rise of the need to understand ownership according to British terms and authority, which led to the appropriation of Western legal language and historical approaches. From the nineteenth century onwards, the trust of Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī, which managed the site, provided historical documents and knowledge on their sacred site and religion to the British as evidence for the legal cases.[36] Through this process, the histories of Jainism and Śatruñjaya were re-discovered and re-packaged as evidence of Jain ownership of the site, which eventually led to its prominence to the present day.

Commissioned by the Jain merchants of Ahmadabad and Bombay, the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century temples at Śatruñjaya reflected the life of the patron, in which the institutions of religious merit, honor, and patronage were intricately woven with each other. Śatruñjaya became the most important Jain site of the

[34] The first Jain texts to be translated were the *Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tatva* and the *Kalakācaryakatha* (Stevenson 1848/1972). Translations that discuss Śatruñjaya include those of Albrecht Weber 1858/1901.

[35] While James Burgess visited Śatruñjaya and left a detailed description in 1869, James Tod 1839/1971: 233f. and Alexander Kinloch Forbes 1856/1878: 2-8 discussed Śatruñjaya and its temples much earlier in their memoirs.

[36] For a detailed discussion on the nineteenth-century legal cases on the site, see Ku, forthcoming.

nineteenth century due to the rise of such patrons in western India. As one of the representative *ṭuṃk*s built during this period, Motīśāh Ṭuṃk and its temples reflect the rise of pilgrimage as a significant component in constructing the financial status of the patron as well as religious identity. However, Motīśāh's Ṭuṃk was one of the last instances of large-scale personal patronage at the site. The tacit disapproval of such patronage found in later writings, including the biography of Motīśāh, as well as the sudden cease of private and lavish patronage suggest the rejection of such worldly deeds. This led to the re-packaging of the site. As it became the object of analysis by Western scholars as well as the British courts, no longer was personal patronage encouraged. Currently, even the management of all temples at Śatruñjaya has been transferred to trusts such as the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī, rather than individual persons. These changes were followed by the rise of highly charismatic ascetics, who replaced the *yati*s commonly found during the nineteenth century (Cort 1995: 81). The reform movements headed by such ascetics, as well as the systematic affirmation of Śatruñjaya as a "sacred and ancient" site by the Śeth Āṇandjī Kalyāṇjī Peḍhī constrained building at the site. No longer was Śatruñjaya open to reflect the patrons' personal desires. This process of protecting and ultimately "cleansing" Śatruñjaya led to its rise as an exceptional symbol of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjāka community, a focal point of the modern Jain identity.

## PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

Photographs reproduced in this article are by the author.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Accounts of the Śeth Āṇandji Kalyāṇji Peḍhī Dating from V.S. 1886*. Ahmadabad: N.A., 1842 [Gujarātī].

Bayly, Christopher A. *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Bhardwaj, Surinder M. *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Bühler, Johann Georg. "The Jaina Inscriptions from Śatruṃjaya." *Epigraphia Indica* II (1894) 34-86.

Burgess, James. *The Temples of Śatruñjaya, the Celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage, near Pālitāṇā in Kathiawad, with Historical and Descriptive Introduction*. Bombay: Sykes & Dwyer, 1869.

Burgess, James. *[Revised] Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*. Vol. 16. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885.

Campbell, James (ed.). *Gazetter of the Bombay Presidency Volume I Part 1: History of Gujarāt.* Reprint. Gurgaon: Vipin Jain for Vintage Books, 1989.

Cort, John E. "Twelve Chapters from the Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places, the *Vividhartīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri." *The Clever Adulteress & Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature.* Ed. Phyllis Granoff, 245-290. Oakville, New York: Mosaic Press, 1990.

Cort, John E. "The Jain Knowledge Warehouses: Traditional Libraries in India." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, 1 (1995) 77-87.

Cort, John E. "Patronage, Authority, Proprietary Rights, and History: Communities and Pilgrimage Temples in Western India." *Ethnography and Personhood.* Ed. Michael Meister, 165-192. New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000.

Cort, John E. *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Desāī, Ratilāl Dīpcand. *Śeth Āṇandji Kalyāṇji Peḍhīno Ītihās (The History of the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi)*. 2 Vols. Ahmadabad: Śeth Āṇandji Kalyāṇji Peḍhī, 1983 [Gujarātī].

Dhaky, Madhusudan A. "The Western Indian Jaina Temple." *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*. Ed. Madhusudan A. Dhaky & Umakant Premanand Shah, 319-384. Ahmadabad: Gujarāt State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavir Nirvana, 1975.

Dundas, Paul. *The Jains*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Forbes, James & Eliza Rosée Forbes Montalembert. *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*. Second Edition. London: R. Bentley, 1834.

Forbes, Alexander Kinloch. *Rās Mālā: Or, Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India*. New Edition. London: Richardson and Co., 1878.

Gillion, Kenneth. *Ahmadabad: A Study in Urban History*. Ahmadabad: New Order Book, 1968.

Granoff, Phyllis. "Tales of Broken Limbs and Bleeding Wounds: Responses to Muslim Iconoclasm in Medieval India. *East and West* 41, 1-4 (1991) 189-203.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. "Multi-Shrined Complexes: The Ordering of Space in Jaina Temple Architecture." *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001) 77-96.

*Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. 5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Jacob, Le Grand. "Inscriptions from Palitana." *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1841) 57-66.

Jain, Lakshmi C. *Indigenous Banking in India*. London: Macmillan, 1929.

Jain, Jyotindra. "Spatial System and Ritual Use of Satrunjaya Hill." *Art and Architecture Research Papers* 17 (1980) 47-52.

Jain, Kailash Chand. *Jainism in Rajasthan*. Sholapur: Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, 1963

Kañchansāgarsūri. *Shree Shatrunjay Giriraj Darshan in Sculptures and Architecture*. Kapadwanj: Aagamoddharak Granthmala, 1982.

Kāpaḍīā, Motīcand Girdharlāl. *Śeth Motīśāh*. Second Edition. Mumbai: Shri Godiji Jain Derasar & Trustees of Dharmada Department, VS 2047 (1991) [Gujarātī].

Kim, Hawon Ku. Re-Formation of Identity: The Nineteenth-Century Jain Pilgrimage Site of Shatrunjaya, Gujarāt. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Art History, University of Minnesota, 2007.

Ku, Hawon. “Legal Cases of Shatrunjaya: Shaping Jain Identity during the Nineteenth Century.” *Co-operation and Competition, Conflict and Contribution: The Jaina Community, British Rule and Occidental Scholarship from 18th to Early 20th Century.* Ed. Andrea Luithle-Hardenberg. Forthcoming.

Laidlaw, James. *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy and Society Among the Jains*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Luithle-Hardenberg, Andrea. “The Pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya: Refining Shvetambara Identity.” *An Anthropology of Values. Festschrift in Honour of Georg Pfeffer.* Ed. Peter Berger, Roland Hardenberg, Ellen Kattner & Michael Prager, 331-360. Delhi: Manohar, 2009.

Maclean, Kama. “Making the Colonial State Work for You: The Modern Beginnings of the Ancient Kumbh Mela in Allahabad.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, 3 (2003) 873-905.

Mason, Darielle, and Michael Meister. “(b) Rajasthan and Gujarat.” *Grove Art Online.* 19 Jan. 2011 <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/ art/T040113pg10>.

M.S.1. *India Office Records L/PS/359.* Dated 26 February 1918.

Nyāyvijaya, Muni. *Jain Tīrthono Ītihās*. Ahmadabad: Shri Caritra Smaraka Granthmala, 1949 [Gujarātī].

Shah, Kunjlata N. “Motichand Amichand: A Shipping Magnate of Bombay, 1782-1836.” *Studies in India's Maritime Trade.* Ed. Amitabha Mukherjee, 96-105. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1999.

Shah, Umakant Premanand. *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana* (Jaina Iconography). New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987.

Stevenson, John. *The Kalpa Sútra and Nava Tatva*. Two Works Illustrative of the Jain Religion and Philosophy. Translated from the Mágadhi. Varanasi: Bharat Bharati, 1848/1972.

Timberg, Thomas A. & C.V. Aiyar. “Informal Credit Markets in India.” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 33, 1 (1984) 43-59.

Tod, James. *Travels in Western India, Embracing a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and the Most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith between Rajpootana and the Indus: With an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwala*. First Indian Edition. Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1971.

Weber, Albrecht F. *Über das Çatrumjaya Māhātmyam. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, I. Band, No. 4. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1858 (Translated as "The Śatruñjaya Māhātmyam. Edited by James Burgess." *Indian Antiquary* 30 [1901] 239-251, 288-308).

## PLATES



Plate 1. General View of Śatruñjaya, with main Ādīśvara Temple in the background



Plate 2. Motīśāh's Ṭuṃk, from the northern summit

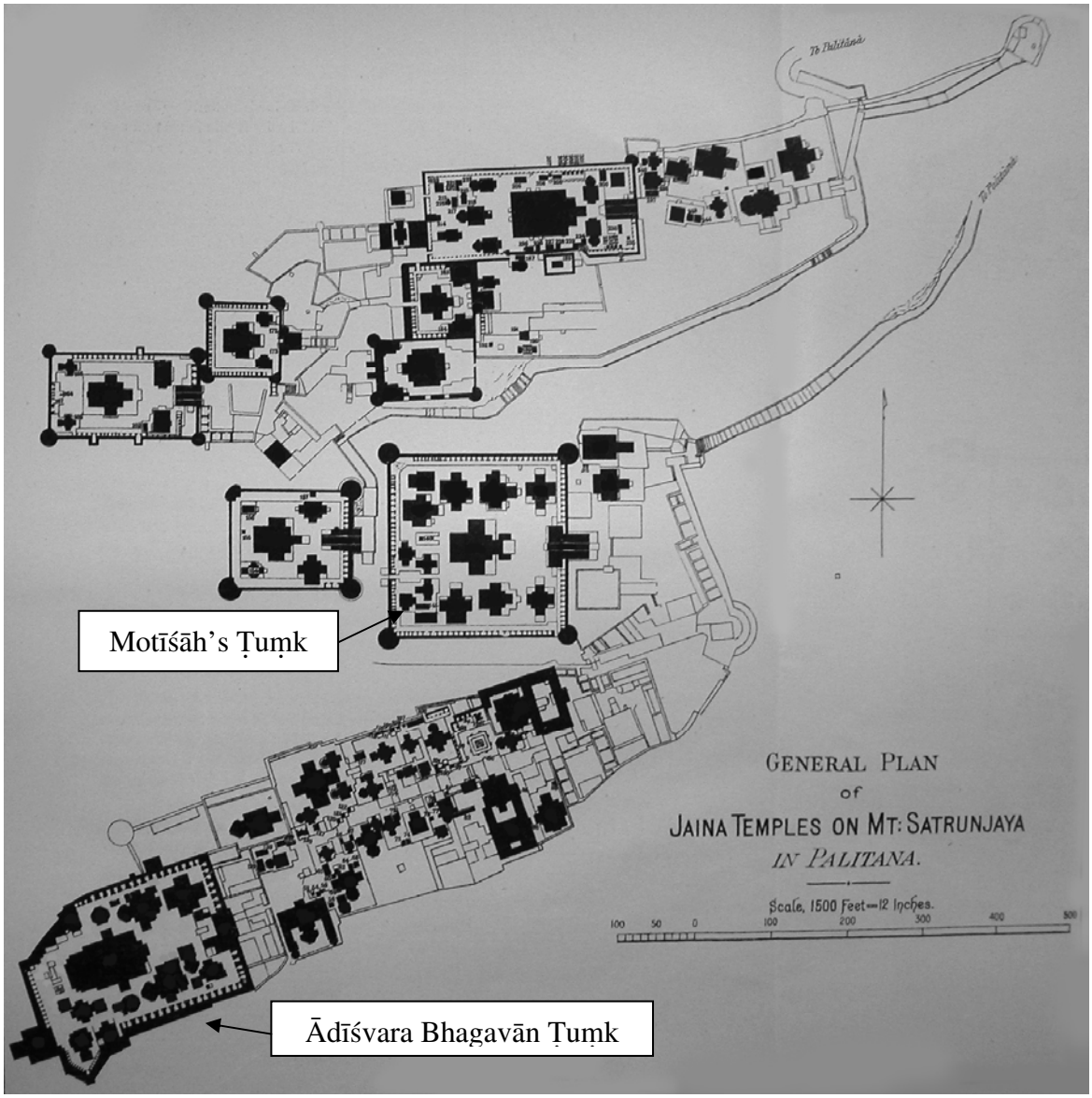



Plate 3. General Plan of Jain Temples on Śatruñjaya (Modified from Burgess 1885: 256f.)

© The Editor. International Journal of Jaina Studies 2011